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A Truth Universally Acknowledged: Beyond Wealth And Status At Archanes-Phourni

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Abstract
In the Pre- and Protopalatial periods, Minoan burial practices were communal, interactive, and sustained, creating complex tomb assemblages that span several hundred years. Small-scale taphonomic analyses of mortuary contexts indicate that secondary treatments of human remains were variable and frequent while large-scale regional studies suggest greater diversity among Early Minoan (EM) and Middle Minoan (MM) communities than previously believed. These nuanced approaches to variability, however, have not been fully realized at the mid-range, intra-site scale. Diversity in tomb architecture and object assemblages has continually been interpreted as evidence of hierarchical social structure and increasing social complexity before the appearance of the Minoan palaces, often ignoring other aspects of these contexts that contradict this interpretation.

This dissertation focuses on social interaction rather than social structure, and proposes a methodology for considering complex tomb assemblages and intra-site variability using the well-known site of Archanes-Phourni as a case study. It provides a detailed, contextual re-analysis of the 23 communal and long-lived burial contexts dating from EM IIA to MM II (ca. 2700-1700 BCE), highlighting chronological and spatial variability related to changing burial practices and distinct group identities. Using quantitative and qualitative analytical methods, and drawing on contemporary theories of time, materiality, personhood, and value, this work offers an interpretation of the diverse and interactive burial practices at Archanes-Phourni at multiple scales. Contextual analysis of these tomb assemblages indicates that there was significant variety in spatial structure, methods of interment, and object deposition but that these individually variable practices occurred alongside long-lived, communally shared traditions. The frequent interactions with burial deposits that served to maintain connections between the living and the dead throughout the Prepalatial and into the Protopalatial period, diminished in MM II, suggesting a new approach to burial and to the cemetery.

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ABSTRACT

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In the Pre- and Protopalatial periods, Minoan burial practices were communal, interactive, and sustained, creating complex tomb assemblages that span several hundred years. Small-scale taphonomic analyses of mortuary contexts indicate that secondary treatments of human remains were variable and frequent while large-scale regional studies suggest greater diversity among Early Minoan (EM) and Middle Minoan (MM) communities than previously believed. These nuanced approaches to variability, however, have not been fully realized at the mid-range, intra-site scale. Diversity in tomb architecture and object assemblages has continually been interpreted as evidence of hierarchical social structure and increasing social complexity before the appearance of the Minoan palaces, often ignoring other aspects of these contexts that contradict this interpretation.

This dissertation focuses on social interaction rather than social structure, and proposes a methodology for considering complex tomb assemblages and intra-site variability using the well-known site of Archanes-Phourni as a case study. It provides a detailed, contextual re-analysis of the 23 communal and long-lived burial contexts dating from EM IIA to MM II (ca. 2700-1700 BCE), highlighting chronological and spatial

variability related to changing burial practices and distinct group identities. Using quantitative and qualitative analytical methods, and drawing on contemporary theories of time, materiality, personhood, and value, this work offers an interpretation of the diverse and interactive burial practices at Archanes-Phourni at multiple scales. Contextual analysis of these tomb assemblages indicates that there was significant variety in spatial structure, methods of interment, and object deposition but that these individually variable practices occurred alongside long-lived, communally shared traditions. The frequent interactions with burial deposits that served to maintain connections between the living and the dead throughout the Prepalatial and into the Protopalatial period, diminished in MM II, suggesting a new approach to burial and to the cemetery.

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Death ends a life, not a relationship. – Albom, *Tuesdays with Morrie* 1997, 176

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Since its discovery in 1957, the cemetery of Archanes-Phourni has been considered in almost every synthetic treatment of Minoan tombs and burial practice (Fig. 1). The long use-life of the site, variable tomb architecture, and rich object assemblages have made the cemetery a prominent feature of scholarship concerning the material culture of Minoan Crete (Fig. 2). Scholars have consistently used this mortuary site and its assemblages to support arguments related to Minoan social structure, administration, trade networks, and regional variation.

While certain chronological and contextual features of the site are well represented in the literature, others remain obscure. Many studies incorporate Archanes-Phourni into large-scale regional analyses while others consider a single tomb, leaving an interpretive gap for the mid-range, intra-site scale analyses. Publications and scholarship on Archanes-Phourni tend to organize and analyze the finds based on object types, decontextualizing tomb material in favor of typological analysis. Furthermore, the site has been used to support interpretations regarding the social structure of those living at Archanes, with significantly fewer interpretations of Minoan approaches to death, leaving the long-term, consistent, and variable interactions between the living and the dead under-theorized.

My project focuses on social interaction rather than social structure and provides a contextual reanalysis of the 23 communal, and long-lived burial contexts (Fig. 3) dating from Early Minoan (EM) II to Middle Minoan (MM) II at Archanes-Phourni (Fig. 4). I

focus on this time period for several reasons. First, it represents an interesting chronological sequence, from the earliest use of the site in EM IIA (Fig. 5), followed by an era of decline or full-scale abandonment in EM IIB, its subsequent reuse and intensive building projects in EM III/MM IA when the cemetery reached its greatest extent (Fig. 6), and into a period of decline in MM II, when several buildings went out of use and the relationship with the cemetery began to change (Fig. 7). Furthermore, the Pre- and Protopalatial periods have been of great interest to Minoan scholars, who have relied on cemetery data for reconstructing Minoan society before and during the emergence of the state. Finally, this roughly 1000-year time span attests to both long-lived, community-wide burial traditions and remarkably variable uses of space and depositional practices, including the construction of several building types, the introduction of burial vessels, and changes in burial goods.

Using all of the published descriptions of these burial spaces, I re-contextualize the objects and human remains, placing them back in their tomb contexts for analysis. I use the data from these tombs and funerary spaces to show chronological and spatial variability among and within assemblages related to changing burial practices and distinct group identities at a single but complex cemetery. To analyze these assemblages, I employ quantitative and qualitative analytical methods, as well as alternative theoretical apparatuses, and offer a detailed, context-driven, and multi-scale analysis of EM II – MM II Phourni. Using contemporary theories of time, materiality, and personhood, as well as under-appreciated concepts of value and gift giving, I offer a nuanced interpretation of the interactive communal burial practices that took place at Archanes-Phourni.

These analyses offer an approach to cemeteries that highlights chronological and spatial variability at multiple scales. Funerary practice at Archanes-Phourni is characterized by long-term, communal burial methods and consistent but variable secondary interactions over many generations (Fig. 8). Contextual analysis of the human remains at multiple scales, including burial vessel, room, and tomb, indicate that the Minoans employed a spatial organization for various burial stages, with some rooms and vessels used for primary burials and others for secondary depositions. While these methods were consistent throughout the cemetery, the organizational methods employed in each tomb were distinct. Quantitative and qualitative analyses of the tomb material indicate that people were interred with similar numbers and types of objects throughout the cemetery but the details of the objects deposited suggest that various group dynamics were also present. I argue that these variations should not be attributed to wealth or status but to multiple groups with distinct identities living and burying at Archanes.

Drawing on the analyses of physical anthropologists such as Sevi Triantaphyllou, I consider the types of secondary treatments and the number of events needed to create an assemblage, and suggest that interactions were much more frequent and variable than previously believed. The multitude of secondary interactions, such as manipulation, movement, and redeposition, deliberately disaggregated individuals and recombined human remains into new assemblages, often including multiple skulls and long bones. These practices were intended to reify and emphasize group and community identities rather than individual status, an argument also put forth by Murphy (2011a) and Legarra Herrero (2016), and suggest that the Minoans had a more permeable and dividual sense of personhood than one constructed around bounded individuals. Objects were also part

of this interactive relationship. Primary burials were accompanied by objects and during secondary treatment these objects could be moved and depleted along with the human remains. These consistent practices leave complex burial assemblages, making it difficult to associate people and objects. I suggest, however, that secondary remains were often redeposited with gifts consisting of objects that had been buried and then gathered and recombined to form new offerings. Burial gifts, I argue, were used to maintain relationships with the dead at all stages of interment, from the primary burial of a newly deceased person, to the secondary deposition of ancestral skulls.

My reanalysis indicates that the function of the tombs and the relationship between those living at Archanes and the cemetery was subject to change while still maintaining a consistent set of burial practices. In the earliest cemetery phase, only a few tombs were used and the dead were deposited with many imports and large quantities of reusable wealth, such as precious metals. The subsequent period, EM III/MM IA, is marked by the construction and use of several new tombs, likely representing multiple groups using the cemetery. In this later period, burial gifts were fewer, mostly ceramics and stone objects, such as beads, made from local and imported materials, signifying a change in interment practice and a preference for depositing materials that could not be recycled. The cemetery began to contract, however, in MM II, when several tombs went out of use, suggesting fewer people and fewer groups using Archanes-Phourni. The burial gifts were mostly made of local materials and there appear to be fewer instances of secondary interactions, suggesting a different relationship with the cemetery. In LM IA, the cemetery contracted even further. Only the two most elaborate tombs remained in use and a few non-funerary buildings were also constructed. The extant interments indicate

that limited numbers of people were buried in the tombs, and that these were accompanied by significant quantities of imported material, such as gold jewelry and ivory furnishings. It appears that the relationship with the cemetery in LM IA was vastly different from previous periods and that the rituals that had once taken place at Archanes-Phourni were either relocated or no longer practiced. It seems likely that the community's need for the cemetery and their relationship with the past, which had been maintained for almost 1000 years, was completely changed by the Neopalatial period.

ARCHANES-PHOURNI

The cemetery of Archanes-Phourni (Figs. 9-10) is located in north-central Crete, about 15km from Knossos and near the base of Mount Iuktas. The likely habitation site associated with the cemetery is now beneath the modern village of Epano Archanes, located to the west of Phourni. Limited information exists for the extent or density of the Pre- and Protopalatial settlement as the location has made large-scale excavation impossible. Some Pre- and Protopalatial architectural features have been found, however, throughout the modern town, often below later LM material (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 30). A large, "palatial" structure was discovered near the center of Epano Archanes, called "Tourkoyeitonia". It was destroyed in LM IB and the majority of the evidence comes from the Neopalatial period but the excavators suggest that it was first constructed in the MM period (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 30–45, 1997, 74–151). There are several ritual sites in the area of Archanes, including the Psili Koriphi peak sanctuary on Mount Iuktas (A. Evans 1921, I, 154-159; Karetsou 1981) and Anemospilia (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 137–40, 1997, 268–93), considered by the excavators to be a shrine in which a human sacrifice took place.

While there is some evidence of small funerary sites in the area, Archanes-Phourni is by far the largest cemetery. It was discovered in 1957, and excavation began in 1965 under the direction of Yiannis Sakellarakis, who worked consistently at the site for roughly 25 years. The findings of these excavations were published yearly in the *Praktika*, along with a few other publications, culminating in a two-volume monograph (in Greek and English) on the entirety of Archanes, including the settlement, "palatial", ritual, and cemetery evidence (Sakellarakés 1991; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997). This monograph, like most contemporary publications of large-scale excavations, organizes and analyzes the material typologically, with limited contextual analysis of the assemblages found at Phourni.[1]

The cemetery has a long use-life, with the earliest structures built in EM II and the latest dating to LM III. It was used more or less continually but with fluctuating intensity. Tholos Γ and Tholos E, along with a few rectangular burial buildings (BB 25, BB 26, and possibly BB 24) that are less well preserved, were constructed in EM IIA and used until EM IIB when there appears to be a hiatus at the cemetery. The period of most intense construction and use seems to be the EM III/MM IA period, during which the earlier tholoi were partially cleared of their remains and leveled for reuse, and several other tombs were constructed on top of earlier buildings in the northern part of the cemetery. This phase lasted until MM IB, when several burial buildings went out of use. Only a handful of the structures contain MM II material and by LM I only two burial buildings, Burial Building (BB) 3 and Tholos B, continued functioning. Several new structures were

[1] There have also been several reanalyses of single tombs from the cemetery of Archanes-Phourni, including BB 19 (Maggidis 1994), Tholos E (Panagiotopoulos 2001b, 2002), Tholos Γ (Papadatos 2005).

built in LM III, when there was renewed interest in the cemetery. Tholos B was altered and new, Mycenaean-style tholoi were built, including Tholos A and Tholos Δ, which was used until the Subminoan period when the cemetery ceased to function.[2]

CEMETERIES IN MINOAN SCHOLARSHIP

Cemeteries have been heavily incorporated to Minoan scholarship. The limited number of EM and MM settlement sites discovered (Whitelaw 1983; Tomkins and Schoep 2010; Schoep and Tomkins 2012), combined with the wealth of well-preserved material within early cemeteries, has led to a reliance on mortuary data for reconstructing Minoan society, particularly status and class differences (Dabney and Wright 1990; Stein 1998). This use of cemetery data has come about due to sustained interest in the appearance of the palaces and "emergence of the state," a research focus that has dominated the field of Minoan studies (Renfrew 1972, 2004; Manning 1994; Cherry 1984; J. C. Barrett and Halstead 2004; Catapoti 2005). Scholars have looked to better-understood contemporary and slightly later societies, such as Near Eastern and Mycenaean states, to fill in the gaps and reconstruct the emergence of the Minoan state. Aside from the physical remains of the palaces themselves, funerary evidence has been the main source of data for archaeological discussions of social structure. While unidirectional and teleological arguments regarding the appearance of the palaces and the rise of the state have been thoroughly problematized (Schoep 2002a, 2002c, 2006), these arguments have remained embedded in Minoan cemetery scholarship.

[2] The chronology of the cemetery is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4, in the section on Archanes-Phourni.

Many studies of Minoan cemeteries in general, and of Archanes-Phourni in particular, use aspects of the data as proxies for reconstructing social structure. Tomb size and wealth, based on the number and types of objects found in the tomb, are often suggested as accurate metrics for the social status of those interred (Seager 1912; Xanthoudides 1924; Soles 1988, 1992; Sakellarakés 1991; Maggidis 1994, 2000). In response to these simplistic correlations between the physical material in the tombs and the lived status of the individuals, scholars have argued for the agency of those interring, suggesting that tomb architecture and grave offerings were part of a process of negotiation in an era of increasing social complexity (Karytinos 1998; Schoep 2006; Cappel 2011; Whittaker 2013).

While these studies have augmented our understanding of Minoan cemeteries and broadened our perspective on funerary practices, the focus has steadfastly remained on social structure. It has been "a truth universally acknowledged" that "wealthy" Minoan cemeteries must convey social structure (cf. Damilati 2005).[3] Other aspects of Minoan interment practices have been put forth in support of an evolving hierarchy, namely the introduction of burial vessels, such as larnakes, and the increasing importance of the individual in EM III/MM IA, which often ignore the communal aspects of Minoan tombs (Glotz 1925; Pini 1968; Maggidis 1994, 45; Tsipopoulou 2008, 133; Warren 2008, 24; Mee 2010, 281; Legarra Herrero 2014, 55–56). More recent reanalyses of mortuary

[3] This quote has been shamefully borrowed from the first line of Jane Austen's "Pride and Prejudice" which reads "It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife." This brilliant and ironic statement was chosen for the title of this dissertation as it encapsulates the dogged assurance put forth in much of Minoan scholarship that a desire to find evidence of social complexity, must mean that cemeteries want to express it.

contexts question these assumptions and attempt to decouple funerary architecture, burial vessels, and objects from assumed status through quantitative analyses and fresh theoretical approaches to the material culture (Damilati 2005; Legarra Herrero 2009, 2012, 2014, 2016; Anderson 2015; Karacic 2015).

Detailed analyses of regional variations in burial practices, as well as craft-production and administration problematize this concept of unidirectional, evolutionary development of complexity (Halstead 1994; Wilson and Day 1994; Beck 1995; Relaki 2003, 2004; Watrous 2004; Schoep 2009; Murphy 2011c; Knappett 2012; Brogan 2013; Legarra Herrero 2014). These studies illustrate the heterogeneity of Minoan society, including distinct social practices, especially for burials, and various constructions of identity. Regional analyses indicate the need for explicit considerations of variability, but the breadth of these studies tend to homogenize intra-site variation by characterizing sites and regions for larger-scale comparisons. Sbonias, for example, characterizes the manufacture and use of seals in large-scale terms, citing Archanes as one of many "large communities" that dominated both the production and consumption of ivory seals, without consideration of the intra-site distribution of these objects (2012, 279–80). Similarly, in his treatment of Cycladic-Cretan exchange networks, Brogan (2013) considers variable access to Cycladic imports in the Mirabello region and north-central Crete, homogenizing intra-site variability in order to compare regions. Regional studies offer a structure and the vocabulary for studying variation that does not yet exist for the mid-range scale of intra-site analysis. Small-scale analyses of burial practices with focused attention on taphonomic processes and interaction with human remains indicate the extraordinary variability in Minoan interment methods, including chronological and

spatial differentiation in a single tomb (Triantaphyllou 2016, in press; Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015). Furthermore, these studies provide an apparatus for analyzing complex assemblages that attest to long-lived, communal burial practices. These two scales of analysis provide a mechanism for considering variability among and within tombs at a single cemetery site.

Thinking About Scale and Variability: Site Matters

Minoan burial practices have been thoroughly analyzed at large and small scales, while variation in interment practices and dissimilarities among burial assemblages at the mid-range, intra-site scale have continually been interpreted as evidence of social differentiation. A close analysis of the assemblages and mortuary practices within and among the EM II – MM II tombs of Archanes-Phourni, however, indicates significantly more variability and complexity among the groups using the cemetery, as well as a more interactive relationship between the living and the dead than has previously been proposed. In his analysis of EM III/MM IA Phourni, Legarra Herrero states,

> The cemetery must be seen as a combination of the individual histories of use of each tomb, in which the utilization of the building as tomb, ossuary, and ritual place developed or was combined in a unique way. Tholoi and the burial buildings in Archanes Phourni were probably ever-changing, following short-lived dynamics within the history of use of the cemetery (2014, 76).

This dissertation attempts to see the cemetery as a combination of multiple and variable histories and practices. Synthesizing all of the published information about the cemetery, I offer a complete summary of each burial context in use from EM II – MM II Archanes-Phourni for a contextual analysis of the cemetery. I use this data to consider

chronological change in community-wide practice and to analyze the frequency and variability of secondary treatments throughout the cemetery. I also consider spatial organization within burial buildings, drawing attention to the specific function of rooms for various interment stages. Furthermore, I make use of this quantitative and qualitative data to analyze differentiation among the tombs and consider group and community identity.

The How: New Methods for Old Data

New approaches to legacy data offer a multitude of possibilities for the reanalyses of previously excavated sites. Scholars using these data sets emphasize the accessibility of such projects, allowing for pluralist readings of the same material (Kwan 2002a, 2002b; Allison 2008). A combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses of the material from the Phourni cemetery both strengthens interpretations and provides other scholars with usable data for further studies. While quantifying data from numerous written descriptions of tomb assemblages is far from straightforward, a consistent and well-considered methodology allows for a comprehensive comparative analysis of mortuary practice at multiple scales.

Using simple methods of Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) that visualize complex assemblages of human remains and objects, I explore variability among and within the tombs, changes over time, and diverse manifestations of group identity among the communal tombs of Archanes-Phourni. These analyses are augmented by select use of multi-variate statistical methods to test correlations between variables and problematize assumed associations between wealthy objects and tomb size, as well as offer new ways of considering connectivity and similarity among tomb assemblages. A

combination of visual data analyses based on quantified representations of assemblages, including human remains and burial objects, and qualitative examinations of materials and depositional practice, suggests that the Minoans of Phourni had numerous chronologically and spatially varied methods of interment. The basic practice of primary burial followed by secondary interaction(s) was broadly shared but the details of this practice were remarkably diverse.[4]

CEMETERIES FOR CEMETERY STUDIES

In order to resituate cemetery data within the field of mortuary studies, I offer alternative methodologies and theoretical models for reconsidering deposition and interaction, the concept and function of time in communal tombs, and the value of objects given to the dead. Methods, such as archaeothanatology, which analyze the combination of natural and human processes that created the complex assemblages in the tombs, and theories of structured deposits are used to reconsider the strategies and meanings of deposition as well as the structured interactions and redepositions that characterize Minoan mortuary practice (Triantaphyllou 2009, 2016, in press; Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015).[5] Contextual analysis of the human remains indicate that they were subject to a series of acts that included burial, manipulation, depletion, movement, and reinterment taking place in a single room, multiple rooms, or multiple burial spaces, including other buildings or open-air spaces, such as the Area of the Rocks located in the western part of the cemetery. The tombs could be used by a single group for all stages

[4] This multitude of practices has been noted by physical anthropologists working at several other sites on Crete, including Sissi (Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015), Petras, Livari-Skiadi, and Moni Odigitria (Triantaphyllou 2009, 2016; Vasilakis and Branigan 2010; Papadatos and Sofianou 2015).

[5] For a similar analysis from the Levant, see also Cradic (2017).

and aspects of interment, with some rooms serving as short-term locations for primary burials and others for long term deposition of secondary remains. Alternatively, burial buildings could have a single function, namely as ossuaries that were used for the redeposition of secondary remains, though function was subject to change over time.

A reconsideration of time in the communal and long-lived tombs of Phourni that does not adhere to the concept of time as a linear and unidirectional series of events, provides a model for analyzing change and an opportunity to consider the Minoan perception of time when encountering ancestral remains in tombs representing hundreds of years of interment. Employing a multi-scalar approach, such as that put forth by the *Annales* school, I consider both the *moyenne durée* scale of shared social practice and the *événements* of individual interments and moments of interaction that are occasionally visible with careful analysis and deliberate attention to various time-scales in a single tomb (Bintliff 1991; Knapp 1992; Sherratt 1992; Braudel 1995; Johnson 2010, 186–87). Placing events along a linear timeline can misconstrue time as an agent of change (Lucas 2005, 21–28), leading to uncritical, evolutionary theories, such as increasing social complexity.[6] Non-linear theories reject the concept of time as an independent dimension and instead see it as inseparably linked to events, providing a model for analyzing changing burial practices that considers the effects of previous events on subsequent events (Fig. 11). Using this model, the introduction of new interment methods, such as the introduction of burial vessels, can be studied without labeling them as either change or continuity of practice, leaving room for an interpretation that considers both.

[6] This critique has been made for evolutionary theories of the "emergence of the state" on Crete (Cherry 1984; J. C. Barrett and Damilati 2004; Schoep and Knappett 2004; Whitelaw 2004; Catapoti 2005).

In addition to these methods for analyzing burial practice and change, I use a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to consider material expressions of identity (Yaeger 2000; Mills 2004; MacSweeney 2009, 2011; Murphy 2011a; Malkin 2014; Legarra Herrero 2016). These analyses suggest that identity expressed through material culture and burial practice was layered, with community-wide practices and diverse group dynamics. Comparative analyses of mortuary deposits that consider internal similarity among objects in a tomb and dissimilarity for these same objects between tombs, indicate that expressions of identity that marked internal group cohesion, simultaneously marked intra-group dissimilarity.

Relatedly, analysis of the deposition, movement, and depletion of both human remains and objects, suggests that the Archanes-Phourni cemetery represents a porous community made up of groups with distinct identities and shared practices. I offer an interpretation of identity at the cemetery using theories of materiality that question the separation of subject and object, and alternative conceptions of personhood that offer various types of identity beyond a firmly bounded individual (Fowler 2004; Davies 2017). I suggest that the communal tombs, as well as the sustained and intensive interactions with human remains and previously interred objects attested at the cemetery, indicate partible and dividual identities, in which people may have had combined identities and may have shared aspects of themselves with others through ritual and gift giving/receiving.

Finally, I reconsider Minoan practices of depositing grave gifts, as well as moving and depleting (selectively removing) these objects, using a quantitative analysis of the objects found in various contexts. The act of burial with objects followed by depletion or

wholescale removal of burial goods is frequently described as "looting" or "robbing" (Xanthoudides 1924, 8; Davaras 1975, 110–11; Maggidis 1994, 30, 72, 74, 78, 80–82, 94; Karytinos 1994, 243; Hood 2010, 167; cf. Antonaccio 1994, 401).[7] This laden term connotes both disregard or disrespect for the dead, as well as self-interested action. Alternatively, I suggest that interring and removing objects was part of an interactive practice intended to maintain a relationship between the living and the dead. Most interpretations of funerary gifts focus on the assumed value of the objects, based loosely on variables such as numbers of objects and type of material. Deposits of "wealth" that effectively remove material from circulation, such as those in burials, are seen as displays of wealth and an opportunity for status negotiation (Cadogan 1986; Maggidis 1994, 80; Karytinos 1994, 192, 257; Damilati 2005, 222; Hickman 2008, 169; Colburn 2008b; Vavouranakis 2014, 214).

Such interpretations draw on theories of gift exchange, often agonistic ones such as the potlatch, first introduced by Marcel Mauss (1990). As noted by Legarra Herrero (2016), the large amounts of reusable wealth, such as gold, found in the EM IIA contexts are suggestive of this type of deposition while the later tombs at Phourni (dating from EM III and MM II) indicate a different role for Minoan burial offerings. Deposited objects were not elaborate or related to the status of the person interred, nor were they ever intended to be completely taken out of circulation, as objects were continually removed from the tombs.[8] It is clear that gifts were deposited during primary burial, but

[7] Of the material removed from Minoan tombs, for example, Hickman suggests that it may have been looted or that it may have been acceptable to remove objects from tombs (2008, 41).
[8] Numbers of objects in the tombs are strongly correlated to numbers of individuals, indicating that similar numbers of objects were deposited (and sometimes moved or removed) for each interment.

the evidence also suggests that some objects were depleted, gathered, and reassembled from previous depositions for reinterment with secondary remains, suggesting that objects were not only for display, nor for honoring or forgetting the dead. Non-agonistic forms of gift giving that exist between people with close ties, such as families, and were intended to maintain relationships (Fig. 12), have been proposed but have not made their way into funerary scholarship (Mauss 2007, 101; Sahlins 1972, 193–94; Graeber 2001, 219–20). These, however, are likely more useful for understanding the role of objects in Minoan cemeteries where gifts were given, moved, and exchanged maintaining a connection between the living and the dead.

DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

This reanalysis of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery begins with a thorough consideration of funerary scholarship. **Chapter 2** offers a chronological summary of excavations and approaches to Minoan funerary practices from the earliest explorations of Minoan cemeteries in the early 20th century to contemporary scholarship on the burials of Bronze Age Crete. This is followed by an analysis and critique of these approaches. **Chapter 3** provides alternative methodological and theoretical models for the analysis of Minoan cemeteries, with explanations of theoretical concepts and their potential application to the study of Archanes-Phourni and other funerary sites, as well as descriptions of the methods used for data gathering and analysis. **Chapter 4** is a review of Archanes, including the history of the site as well as the excavation history. The chapter is organized chronologically and by the type of evidence found in and around Archanes, such settlement and ritual areas, with a detailed explanation of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery. **Chapter 5** is an analysis of the data gathered and presented in Chapter

4 and, more thoroughly, in Appendix I. It is organized by tomb with a thorough discussion of the assemblage, including spatial and chronological variations among the human remains – whether primary or secondary deposits and found in burial vessels or on the surface of the tomb – and the objects, which are analyzed by type and material. **Chapter 6** offers a synthetic analysis of the cemetery, focusing on broad chronological changes throughout the site, and comparisons among contemporary tombs to better understand variation within the site of Archanes-Phourni. Finally, a discussion of the findings and a conclusion is offered in **Chapter 7**, which returns to the theoretical concepts outlined in Chapter 3 to suggest interpretations of the analysis offered in the previous chapters. In **Appendix I**, I provide a detailed review of the Phourni tombs, with information drawn from the various publications of the site and synthesized into contextualized summaries for each tomb, organized by room, stratum, and burial vessel.

Towards the end of the season we found the early cemetery which was a very rich one quite the best I should say that has been found so far in Crete .... One of the largest tombs was literally filled with gold ornaments. Diadems, pins, chains, etc. You will realise the importance of this when I tell you that the graves are for the most part Early Minoan II and III. – Seager 1908

CHAPTER 2: A REVIEW OF MINOAN CEMETERY SCHOLARSHIP

Before offering an alternative methodological approach to cemetery analysis, it is necessary to consider the theoretical and analytical methodologies applied to Bronze Age Crete over the last century. This chapter will attempt to outline Minoan funerary scholarship roughly chronologically while examining topical trends that consistently appear throughout the history of scholarship, even as they evolve with varying methodological and theoretical perspectives.[9] The goals of this chapter are to understand the current attitudes toward funerary data and to offer a critique that will provide the context for a reanalysis of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery, discussed in detail in the following chapters.

Part I of this chapter is a chronological examination of Minoan cemetery scholarship from the earliest excavations at the beginning of the 20th century to contemporary studies of recently discovered funerary sites. Part II draws upon the historiographic information given in Part I and presents a critical examination of the major diachronic, analytical approaches to Minoan burials. This section focuses on methodologies and publication strategies; the pervasive focus on socio-economic status,

[9] There are several historiographic reviews of burial publications and the major methodological and analytical shifts in the scholarship of Minoan cemeteries and tombs (Branigan 1998a; Mee 2010; Murphy 2011c; Younger and Rehak 2008; Lagia, Papathanasiou, and Triantaphyllou 2014).

increasing complexity, and the rise of the state; as well as burial ritual and theories of ancestors. This chapter concludes with a brief consideration of how these developments have affected funerary scholarship, including the tendency to homogenize intra-site variation in order to draw attention to variation at the regional level.

Part I: Historiographic Review

Early Cemetery Studies

To fully comprehend the state of Minoan cemetery scholarship it is necessary to understand the earliest approaches to excavation and publication of cemeteries on Crete. Early publications of Minoan burial contexts provide the raw data used by archaeologists for the interpretation of Minoan society as well as the structural framework for these studies. These studies were remarkable contributions to the field, quickly making excavation results available to a wider audience although circumstances were less than ideal (A. Evans 1924, v; Murphy 2011c, 2–3). Whether later scholars agree or disagree with previous analyses, however, these early studies also heavily influenced the interpretation of the Minoans via terminology and publication strategies, and by the questions asked of the data.

The earliest scholarship on Minoan cemeteries consists mostly of reports from large-scale excavations that were often reactionary responses to looting. Looting, and the threat of it, has prompted several excavations since the early 20th century, especially in the Mesara region in south-central Crete (Paribeni 1904; Savignoni 1904; Stefani and Banti 1930; Xanthoudides 1924; Blackman and Branigan 1975, 1982). The goals of these early excavations were to salvage information from already disturbed tombs and to

excavate those still intact before they could be plundered in order to share the information with other scholars and the interested public.

As most Minoan interments were made in large, aboveground constructions (house tombs and tholoi), they are easily identifiable within the landscape.[10] In conjunction with high visibility, these well-constructed tombs help to preserve the objects interred within them, making them targets for clandestine excavation. The illicit removal and subsequent display of objects found in Cretan tombs were, however, precisely what attracted Sir Arthur Evans to excavate on the island. Prior to his excavations at the site of Knossos, Evans saw a collection of objects displayed in the Heraklion (Candia) Museum that were said to come from Ayios Onouphrios, likely a looted tholos tomb in the Mesara, near the site of Phaistos (A. Evans 1895; Branigan 1993, 8). In order to combat looting, these early excavations tended to be large-scale and hasty (Branigan 1993; Xanthoudides 1924).[11] Early excavation reports have been criticized for their lack of detailed contextual information and their scant catalogs of extraordinary objects, as well as the lack of

[10] In his publication of the cemeteries at Knossos cemeteries, Evans remarks that of the 100 tombs discovered at Zafer Papoura, 40% had been looted. Those with higher visibility were much more likely to be plundered- ca. 60% (31 of 49) chamber tombs while only ca. 25% (8 of 33) shaft graves and less than 6% (1 of 18) pit-caves were found disturbed (A. Evans 1906, 103).

[11] In 1904, Halbherr first excavated an intact tholos tomb, known as Tholos A (later published by Banti in the 1930s) and Paribeni excavated Tholos B at Ayia Triada, near to the site of Ayios Onouphrios (Banti 1932; Paribeni 1904; Savignoni 1904). These large, round tombs also had complexes of small, rectangular rooms outside the entrances and contained hundreds of objects, as well as human remains. In order to combat looting, Xanthoudides, then the Ephor General of the Cretan Antiquities, excavated 13 tombs in the Mesara between 1904 and 1908. He continued to excavate during WW I and later published the findings in his volume "The Vaulted Tombs of the Mesara" (1924). Unfortunately, the need for rescue excavations as a reaction to looting has continued. As shown by Blackman and Branigan, however, the careful excavation of a previously looted tomb can still yield important and illustrative information on Minoan burial practices (Blackman and Branigan 1975, 1982).

interpretation offered (Murphy 2011c, 3). Many publications provide descriptions, but analyses and interpretations are mostly limited to comparanda.[12]

Throughout the first half of the 20th century, excavations of Minoan cemeteries continued and expanded from the Mesara. With the exception of western Crete, which has only recently been thoroughly explored, local scholars, as well as those from Western Europe and the United States, rigorously investigated the island. Italians and Greeks continued to work in south-central Crete with Spyridon Marinatos excavating at Arkhaiokorapho, Vorou, and Krasi (Marinatos 1925, 1929, 1930). American archaeologists became interested in eastern Crete with Edith Hall excavating at Sphoungaras (Dohan 1912), Harriet Boyd Hawes at Gournia, and Richard Seager working at the sites of Mochlos and Pachyammos (Seager 1912, 1916). French scholars began excavating at Malia in northeastern Crete at the site of Chrysolakkos (Demargne 1945; Pelon 1992) and further east in the Bay of Mirabello (Van Effenterre 1948), and English archaeologists continued to work in and around the site of Knossos in north-central Crete (A. Evans 1906, 1914; Forsdyke 1927; Hood, Huxley, and Sandars 1958; Hood 1960).

Early scholars, such as Evans and Stephanos Xanthoudides, were concerned with the origins of Minoan civilization and searched for evidence of migrating populations

[12] Forsdyke's publication of the Mavro Spelio cemetery near Knossos provides a brief description of the site followed by a short explanation of each of the 22 tombs excavated, some photographs and drawings and list of the finds, and finally notes on the materials found. The analysis offered is limited to comparanda for the most spectacular objects and no interpretations of the tombs or cemetery are suggested. Useful dating information comes from some sealed deposits, suggesting that some of the tombs were in use as early MM IIB and several tombs were added through the LM III period, but the contextual information provided is such that it is difficult to comprehend the use-life of each tomb and the relationship between the tombs, the larnakes, the human remains, and the objects interred (Forsdyke 1927).

among human remains, architectural types, and the materials and artistic styles of objects found in tombs (A. Evans 1912; Xanthoudides 1924). This diffusionist perspective suggested that changes in the material record of Minoan civilization were attributable to new populations on Crete. Early publications were also heavily dominated by hierarchical models that closely resemble the contemporary social and political structures that were well known to the archaeologists. Scholars relied heavily on material recovered from tombs, as few EBA domestic sites have been recovered and little is known about this early phase from the excavations of the palaces. As a result, scholars were less concerned with the tomb contexts themselves or Minoan approaches to death and burial than with finding evidence that traced the evolution of Minoan culture from the EBA mortuary remains to the Late Minoan palatial structures (Legarra Herrero 2007, 15). These early avenues of inquiry, such as the origins of Minoan culture and the mechanisms of the so-called "Rise of the State", have remained thoroughly ingrained in the scholarship concerning Minoan cemeteries.

After the discoveries made by Schliemann at Hissarlik (Troy) and Mycenae, the earliest studies of cemeteries in the Aegean were concerned with,

> The nature, organization and attitudes of the contemporary societies which made them. Initially attention focused on such topics as the racial affinities and origins of those buried in the tombs, on possible kin-relationships between occupants of adjacent tombs, and on the status or the rank of those accompanied by a wealth of prestige grave goods (Branigan 1998b, 9).

In conjunction with the earliest excavations on Crete, scholars sought to distinguish features of the Mediterranean and Minoan race(s).[13] These studies focused on anthropometric data from crania, specifically the ratio between the breadth and length of the skull called the cephalic or cranial index, to determine race. Scholars used descriptive categories characterized by shapes, such as ovoid, ellipsoid, and pentagonoid, to identify variations among the "Mediterranean" race. Heterogenous data was interpreted as an indication of the movement of people and the introduction of different races to the island of Crete.[14] Because archaeological data were scarce, anthropologists working on Crete relied heavily on data gathered from the contemporary populations of the island. As McGeorge points out, among the many issues with these studies, most scholars arbitrarily dismissed the impact of potentially significant historical invasions in favor of attributing all heterogenous data to prehistoric demographic changes (McGeorge 1983, 1–15).

In order to identify the origins of the so-called "Mediterranean race", and specifically the people of Minoan Crete, several scholars combined the anthropometric data with the material recovered in tomb excavations to argue for a certain geographic origin. Xanthoudides dedicated a portion of his major publication on the tombs of the Mesara to describing the work of physical anthropologists on Crete and its relation to archaeological remains found in south-central Crete. Having found many objects in the

[13] Italian scholars such as Sergi and Mosso studied skeletal material from Ayia Triada (Sergi 1901a, 1901b; Mosso 1910), British physical anthropologists, namely W. Boyd Dawkins, WLH Duckworth, and Charles Hawes worked with remains from Zakro, Palaikastro, Knossos, Phaistos, and Gournia (Dawkins 1900; Duckworth 1902, 1904, 1911, 1913, Hawes 1904, 1909a, 1909b, 1910, 1911b, 1911a), and two German scholars, Felix von Luschan and Fritz Schiff, gathered information from living populations on Crete (von Luschan 1913; Schiff 1914).

[14] McGeorge provides an excellent summary of early 20th century physical anthropology on Crete in the first chapter of his dissertation (McGeorge 1983, 1–15).

tombs of the Mesara that he considered similar to Egyptian material, he concluded that the Minoans likely originated in Africa, rather than from northern "Aryan" races (1924, 126–30). Evans, who agreed with Xanthoudides on the Egyptian or Libyan origins of the Minoans, further suggested that the Minoans had settled the Mainland based on the presence of Minoans in figural wall-painting found on Mainland Greece. He argued that race could be distinguished by variations in skin color, citing the red skin of the Minoans and the paler, yellow skin of the northern Hellenic race (A. Evans 1912).[15] The concept of visibly distinct races remained part of the Minoan narrative into the second half of the 20th century.[16]

In addition to the origins of the Minoan people, early studies were concerned with the socio-economic standing of those interred. Early publications often made correlations between tomb placement, tomb architecture (size and construction methods), and the number and types of associated objects, with the status of the interred individuals. Xanthoudides, for example, used the beads from Tholos B and Tholos A at Platanos as potential indicators of relative wealth. He interpreted the few gold beads from Tholos A as a sign of greater wealth than the large number of stone beads in Tholos B (Xanthoudides 1924, 124). In his description of the six chamber tombs found on the island of Mochlos in eastern Crete, Seager said, "Their isolation and the richness of the objects which they contained lead to the supposition that they were the burial places of

[15] He refers to the boar hunting fresco from the Palace at Tiryns, stating "…the first definite evidence of the existence of men of another and presumably subject race existing side by side with the Mycenaean. An attendant in a menial position, apparently helping to carry a dead boar, is there depicted with a yellow skin in place of the conventional red, which otherwise indicates the male sex" (A. Evans 1912, 283).
[16] As late as 1962, Hutchinson refers to the Mediterranean and the Tauric races (59–60).

the ruling or princely families of the E.M. settlement at Mochlos" (1912, 17). Many of these arguments were based on impressions of the cemetery, rather than statistically relevant data. Furthermore, issues of preservation, chronology, and use-life, were rarely considered.

The terminology used to describe the suggested hierarchical model of the Minoan world, and specifically the individuals and families found in cemeteries, may be as problematic as the interpretation itself. Seager used the terms "princely" and "ruling" to describe what he believed to be families of individuals buried in the large chamber tombs (1912, 17), and Evans used the term "royal" to describe a tomb from the Isopata cemetery (1906, 139). The effect of such vocabulary on the scholarly discourse concerning the social and political structure of Minoan Crete cannot be underestimated. This terminology has remained prevalent within scholarship despite the dearth of information regarding social organization. Many interpretations regarding hierarchy and social structure come from the archaeological remains of the palaces, which is often anachronistically retrojected onto early periods, as well as comparisons with contemporary civilizations and the personal experience and perspective of the excavator.

Evan's impact on the interpretation of Minoan civilization has been thoroughly discussed over the last 30 years (Jenkyns 1980; MacEnroe 1995; J. K. Papadopoulos 2005). The view of Minoan civilization as a thalassocracy with a hierarchical socio-political structure composed of a palace-dwelling royal family, elites, and rural plebeians was more a product of Evan's Victorian and Edwardian upbringing than the

archaeological record.[17] Nonetheless, while scholars have considered the implications of this for Minoan palaces (MacEnroe 1995; MacGillivray 2000; Hamilakis 2002b, 7), there has not been a similar reconciliation of these interpretations for Minoan cemeteries.

Many of these publications remain the best or only resources for understanding these important cemeteries; scholars continue to rely upon them for the extraordinary number of tombs excavated and the detailed descriptions of the built structures themselves and many of the objects excavated. The limitations of these early resources, however, are substantial and will be discussed in greater detail below. Limited catalogs of imported or "elite" objects have led to a dearth of holistic cemetery data and have obscured the variation among Minoan burial practices. The focus on typology, including architecture and objects, as well as publication strategies that analyze objects of similar types and materials, decontextualizes tomb assemblages and emphasizes similarity over variation. While scholars have offered new methodological and theoretical approaches to Minoan cemeteries, they continue to privilege material from well-built tombs and objects made from "elite" materials, such as gold and precious stones (Soles 1988; Watrous 1994; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997).

Processualism: The 1960s, 70s, and 80s

The scholarship of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s is distinguished by significant methodological and theoretical change. The introduction of the New Archaeology marks a major shift in anthropological scholarship and specifically in Minoan archaeology, as

[17] For information regarding Evans' specific agenda concerning the search for an advanced early European society and other interpretations, such as the peaceful and nature-loving Minoans, see (Jenkyns 1980; Starr 1984; Pemble 1987; MacEnroe 1995; Hamilakis 2002a; J. K. Papadopoulos 2005).

archaeologists attempted to acknowledge and correct some of the issues presented above. Generally, the scholarship on death in ancient societies began to question the over-simplified methodologies that were prevalent in culture-historical approaches prior to the 1960s and suggested new models for the interpretation of funerary remains. Focus shifted from direct interpretations of those buried to those burying and to the functional reasons for burial ritual. This section examines the major methodological innovations of the time, from the meager interpretive efforts of the previous decades to the emphasis on an explicit methodological approach, such as Binford's introduction of the Middle-Range and the use of ethnoarchaeology. Secondly, it will consider the effects of the New Archaeology on Aegean and Minoan scholarship, mainly through the work of Colin Renfrew and Keith Branigan, who were interested in evolutionary versus diffusionist models for the rise of the state associated with the construction of the palaces.

Methodological Shifts

Processual archaeology offered alternative approaches to the types of questions that could be answered by thorough archaeological research and the methods for answering these questions. Simple inductive reasoning, it was argued, was not sufficient for explaining the function of objects in the archaeological record and the variations noted in these objects over time and space. Processualists attempted to apply a more rigorous scientific approach to such inquiries, often in the form of functional analysis and evolutionary models (Johnson 2010, 24–27). As the term Processualism implies, the goal was to understand the process by which cultures developed through the scientific analysis of assemblages. As applied to mortuary data, this methodology is often called the 'Archaeology of Death' (Chapman, Kinnes, and Randsborg 1981). Proponents of

Processualism claimed that scholarship must go beyond observation and object catalogs to understand the cultural processes behind apparent variations.

Processual archaeology offered new methods of interpretation that were seen as more scientifically sound than the inductive interpretations offered previously. Lewis Binford introduced the concept of the Middle-Range, that is, the area between the archaeological data and the anthropological meaning. The Middle-Range is comprised of methods of interpreting the "dynamics" of past societies – how cultural systems formed, functioned, and changed over time – from the "static" archaeological record. The goal of explicating the Middle-Range is to move from common sense, implicit analogies to explicit and prescribed assumptions. Archaeologists used ethnographic parallels to understand archaeological remains by considering the material culture of a similar society with more cultural information.[18] In order to accept ethnoarchaeological comparisons, one must accept a "uniformitarian assumption", that the conditions of the past are the same as the present. While this is a strong argument when related to principles of the physical world such as geological processes, it is much weaker when interpreting human behavior and meaning, and is especially problematic for considering various approaches to death and the often multivalent function and meaning behind burial practices (Johnson

[18] Binford's analysis of Mousterian assemblages, in which he compared them with the contemporary Alaskan Nunamiut culture, is perhaps the most famous example of the application of an ethnographic parallel for understanding archaeological material. He studied the contemporary Alaskan Nunamiut culture, which hunted similar prey in an environment he considered to be analogous to the Paleolithic environment of the Mousterian culture of southern France. In order to understand the dynamic processes (specifically whether variations in the assemblages should be considered the remnants of multiple culture groups or the functional differences of a complete hunting tool-kit) that may have resulted in the creation and use of the stone tools attributed to the Mousterian in the archaeological record, he studied the hunting practices and the tools used by the Nunamiut (Binford 1978).

2010, 51–53).

Archaeologists have criticized the application of analogy in some circumstances as inherently unscientific, as the correlation can never be proven or disproven, and for failing to consider the cultural influence on behavior and, therefore, the archaeological record. Ian Hodder argued against simplistic use of analogy, maintaining that analogies cannot be tested because there are no true independent variables, arising from the fact that archaeologists must both consider the data and assume a causal relationship behind the data (1982c, 20–24). Analogy must consider context, a notion that includes not only the function of a practice but also "the ideational realm" as "attitudes and conceptions intervene" (Hodder 1982c, 24). As a partial remedy, scholars have suggested that a relational analogy, where multiple points of similarity exist or where there is a clear cultural link, will provide a stronger correlation than a formal analogy (Hodder 1982c, 16–24; Wylie 1985; Johnson 2010, 62–64).[19]

Mortuary Data and Analogy

Scholars, including Binford himself, have questioned the application of analogy specifically as they relate to burial practices. Binford later demonstrated that cultural connections between groups should not be assumed based simply on a similarity in burial practices (1972, 383–89).[20] A more nuanced response to the validity of analogy for understanding mortuary practices is offered by Ucko, who suggests that while a one-to-

[19] The Direct Historical Method, for example, suggests that analogy between ancient and modern Native American groups is strong, based on cultural continuity.

[20] Binford draws upon the work of Kroeber, who notes that burial customs are often irregular and do not conform with other cultural traits (Kroeber 1927), and in this passage Binford states, "Surprisingly, only a few anthropologists have addressed themselves to a consideration of the nature and causes of variation in mortuary activity" (1972, 388).

one correlation is inherently flawed, the use of ethnoarchaeological parallels can serve to broaden the archaeological perspective and elucidate important varieties and heterogeneities among practices (1969, 262–63). To fully comprehend burial practices, alternative processes and cultural meanings attached to various burial methods must be acknowledged. Ucko provides dozens of ethnographic and archaeological examples and cautions against the assumption that static or changing burial practices correlate to any other cultural traits.[21] Variations in practice also exist within a cultural group, calling into question the direct association between funerary practice and religion, namely that treatment of the dead and burials with objects suggest a belief in the afterlife. Ucko cites the Lugbara of Uganda who place offerings with the dead as "the visible expression of part of a person's social personality" rather than any belief that they will be needed or used in the afterworld (Ucko 1969, 265).

The supposition that the richness of grave material corresponds to the general wealth of the society, or with the wealth and status of an individual, is also hugely problematic, an argument put forth by V. Gordon Childe as early as the 1940s. Childe cautioned against the assumption that greater wealth is reflected in burials as cultures become richer. In a generalizing but significant analysis of 50,000 years of burial practices, he suggests that, contrary to what might seem logical, less wealth is deposited and less effort given to burials in stable, state societies, while the greatest amount of wealth in tombs is found during the transition from kinship to state structure (Childe

[21] For example, variations in the use of cremation or inhumation do not necessarily correspond to changes in religious beliefs or the introduction of new peoples. Ucko cites examples both from ancient Rome, where there seem to be no distinguishing terminologies or regulations for the two practices, and England, where there was a rapid increase in cremations between 1885 and 1960 without any associated change in religious belief (Ucko 1969, 274).

1945b, 85, 87–88, 92, 1945a). Although there is much in Childe's data and language that should be questioned, the overall principles that wealth in life does not equal wealth in burial, and that what appears logical is not necessarily demonstrated in the archaeological material, is significant. This correspondence between socio-political stability and a lack of grave goods, and greater amounts of wealth associated with social structures in transition, also appears to be borne out in many Minoan cemeteries.

Identifying rich or poor members of society based on mortuary remains is also not straightforward. Archaeologists have used various data to distinguish wealth – total quantity of tomb-goods, quantity of certain goods, distinct areas within a cemetery, standardization of burial customs, size of tombs – but these are not always useful variables. Offerings in tombs have been socially selected, and social and ritual customs might affect the choice of material more than economics (1969, 558). Furthermore, one cannot identify wealth and poverty without comparative and contextual data. There is often little comparative evidence for poorer burials, and even where that evidence exists, various forms of burial are shown to contain comparatively wealthy interments (Childe 1958; Ucko 1969, 266–67).[22]

The conclusion that similarity in objects relates to similarity in meaning is similarly problematic. The nature of meaning in material culture as contextual, abstract, non-discursive, subconscious, ambiguous, durable and, therefore, subject to change, should caution against simple analogy and the assignment of specific meanings. In what may be considered a major epistemological shift, Hodder proposed that archaeologists

[22] Ucko uses the example of the barrow and flat-grave burials from Bronze Age Denmark, both of which include wealthy burials, and are therefore unlikely to represent people of higher and lower status (Broholm 1943, 285; Ucko 1969, 267).

must consider structure, context, and agency (1989, 72–75). This will be discussed in greater detail in the section concerning contemporary scholarship but it is important to note here that this major shift in archaeological perspective, now referred to as Post-Processualism, developed directly from a critique of earlier Processual thought and has greatly affected the study of cemeteries.

Aegean Archaeology and Processualism

Renfrew and Branigan contributed widely to the Processual turn in the archaeology of the Aegean, and specifically on Crete. Along with many others, they dismissed earlier diffusionist models, preferring to attribute change over time to internal economic and social factors. These scholars were interested in evolutionary models for the emergence of the state, marked by the construction of the palaces, and often relied upon mortuary data for the analysis of earlier social and political structures (Renfrew 1972, 1982, Halstead 1981, 1988, Branigan 1983, 1985; Lewthwaite 1983; Whitelaw 1983; 1987b, 1988c, 1988b, 1990; Cherry 1983; Cadogan 1986; Warren 1987).

From the 1950s to 1970s, excavations continued throughout the eastern and central parts of the island, but most excavations were published as short, yearly reports. British excavations continued in north-central Crete near and around Knossos (Hood 1958a, 1958b; Hood, Huxley, and Sandars 1958) and at the site of Palaikastro in eastern Crete (Sackett et al. 1965; Smee 1966; MacGillivray and Sackett 1984). Italian excavations were renewed in south-central Crete at the sites of Phaistos and Ayia Triada (Levi 1961, 1964) and Branigan and Blackman began surveying the larger Mesara area (Blackman and Branigan 1975, 1977, 1982; Branigan 1976). Explorations in eastern Crete also continued with the French at Malia (Van Effenterre and Van Effenterre 1963;

Pelon 1992) and the Americans, with Greek colleagues, at the site of Mochlos (Soles 1974, 1992; Dorothinis 1986; Soles and Davaras 1992). Greek excavations also began at important sites such as Ayia Photia (Davaras 1971; Tsipopoulou 1989) and Archanes (Sakellarakis 1965a, 1966b, 1967b, 1971a, 1972, 1973a, 1975; Papadatos 1977; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1976a, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1991; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997).

During this period, Processual scholars in other parts of the world were concerned with finding a scientific approach to the study of mortuary data that relied upon rigorous statistical analyses (Randsborg 1974b; Tainter 1975; Hodson 1977; C. J. Arnold 1980; McHugh 1999). While many archaeologists were interested in exploring the Minoan funerary record scientifically, the lack of rigorous excavation reports, and the confused nature of the long-lived, communal tombs, did not allow for clear associations between people and objects (Xanthoudides 1924, 134; Legarra Herrero 2007, 19). This, however, has not stopped many scholars from attempting to find social status and rank among Minoan funerary remains (Whitelaw 1983; Soles 1988, 1992; Branigan 1991b; Watrous 1994, 2001a; Maggidis 1998; Murphy 1998). Architectural studies continued, and focused on cataloging tombs and finding both the origins of the tholoi and tracking their appearance throughout the island (Belli 1984; Pelon 1976a; Blackman and Branigan 1982; Baurain 1987; de Pierpont 1987). Scholars also analyzed material types by cataloging and examining the regional and chronological variations of object types such as metals, stone vases, seals, and pottery (Branigan 1968c, 1968a, 1971, 1974; Warren 1969; Wiencke 1981; Yule 1981; Betancourt 1985).

POST-PROCESSUALISM: THE 1980S AND 1990S

Where the New Archaeology criticized the earlier culture-historical scholarship for assuming direct parallels between mortuary remains and the rank of the deceased, the Post-Processualist shift of the 1980s critiqued Processual treatments of cemeteries for their simplistic expectations that the funerary record was an accurate reflection of social, economic, and political structures (Hodder 1980, 1982a; Ellen Jane Pader 1980; E.J. Pader 1982; Parker Pearson 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1982). Post-Processualists asserted that society is not merely determined by its socio-economic structure but is a unique, complex, and diverse system that cannot be understood through analogs. Approaches to death are determined, enacted, and given meaning through the symbols and rituals specific to that society. Individuals, groups, physical space, and material culture are allowed more active roles in the creation and maintenance of social structure and burial practice (Parker Pearson 1982, 1999; Cannon 1989; I. Morris 1992; Wason 1994; Byrd and Monahan 1995; Lull 2000). Post-Processualism attempted to interpret thoughts and ideas within their own context, and meanings and values of objects were not considered inherent (Johnson 2010, 102–11). According to Legarra Herrero (2007, 21),

> This completely changed the conceptualization of the cemetery from being a passive indicator of status or rank (Randsborg 1974a; Tainter 1975; C. J. Arnold 1980), 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 (Cannon 1989; I. Morris 1992; Wason 1994; Byrd and Monahan 1995).

Some of the questions asked by Minoan mortuary archaeologists, however, have not changed drastically with the Post-Processual turn, there being continued emphasis on finding evidence for social status (Dimopoulou 1999; Voutsaki 1999; Preston 2000, 2001; Colburn 2008b). While this has produced some seminal studies of Minoan burials

and funerary practices, focus has remained on social structure, no longer passively reflected, but actively negotiated. Scholars have also addressed, however, issues of ritual, including cult (Branigan 1987a, 1991a; Murphy 1998; Soles 2001; contra. Whitley 2002b), feasting and toasting rituals (Hamilakis 1998b; La Rosa 2001; Panagiotopoulos 2001a; Relaki 2003; Damilati 2005; Catapoti 2005), and the social meaning of certain objects found within tombs such as daggers and seals (Blasingham 1983; Whitelaw 1983; Nakou 1995; Sbonias 1995, 1999, 2012; Karytinos 1998; Cappel 2011).

Contemporary Scholarship: 2000 to 2018

The most recent archaeological work in cemeteries attempts to correct the methodological errors of earlier excavations by employing more scientific methods through the use of flotation – attempting to identify seeds and other remains of foods as well as the smallest artifacts, such as discoid beads – and the presence of a physical anthropologist on the site. This has allowed for a more complete understanding of the human remains and the many forms of human interactions with the skeletal material. New excavation reports and reanalyses of previously excavated cemeteries (Maggidis 1998, 2000, Panagiotopoulos 2001a, 2002; Papadatos 2005; Preston 2005, 2007, 2013a; Watrous 2005; Branigan 2008; Aluia 2011; Bonney 2011; Caloi 2011a; Carinci 2011; Flouda 2011; Legarra Herrero 2011; Relaki 2012; Girella 2013; Galli 2014), call into question the uncritical interpretations put forth regarding secondary interactions with human remains and the nuanced social meaning of burial practices and the interment of objects. Physical anthropologists working on human remains *in situ* have noted that Minoan burial practices involved much greater variation in interment methods as well as more frequent interactions with human remains than previously realized (Triantaphyllou

2008, 2009, 2012, 2016; Vasilakis and Branigan 2010; Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015).

Several of the sites excavated in the last 20 years have been newly discovered cemeteries in eastern and south-central Crete, while excavations have also continued at previously explored sites. Jeffrey Soles and Costis Davaras, for example, have sustained excavations at the site of Mochlos, excavating both the settlement and a later, LM III cemetery (Soles 2008; Soles and Davaras 2011). In south-central Crete, several new EM tholoi have been discovered at Moni Odigitria (Vasilakis and Branigan 2010; Campbell-Green and Michelaki 2012) and in southeastern Crete, the cemetery of Livari Skiadi has recently been excavated (Papadatos and Sofianou 2015). In north-eastern Crete, work continued at the site of Ayia Photia (Davaras and Betancourt 2004, 2012; Betancourt 2008) and at Pseira (Betancourt and Davaras 2002, 2003; Betancourt 2011). In the Sitea Bay region of north-eastern Crete, several sites have been explored including the cave ossuary of Ayios Charalambos (Betancourt 2007, 2014; Betancourt et al. 2008); the Kephala Rock Shelter (Preston 2005; Triantaphyllou 2009, 2012), the LM III cemetery at Tourloti (Paschalidis 2009; Galanakis 2011; Koh and Clinton 2015). The Petras cemetery, near a long-lived settlement and palace site of the same name, is still being excavated (Tsipopoulou 2012, 2015, forthcoming). Near Knossos, a new MM cemetery has been discovered at Ailias (Hood 2010), as well as one at the port town of Poros (Dimopoulou 1999). Near the site of Malia, a Belgian excavation has recently explored the cemetery site of Sissi (Driessen et al. 2009, 2011, 2012; Driessen 2014; Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015). Finally, a cemetery in western Crete at the site of Armenoi, although previously discovered, has been thoroughly published only recently (Chappell,

Tzedakis, and Martlew 2011; Tzedakis and Martlew 2012).

Although a focus on socio-economic status has remained ever present, in the last 20 years Minoan archaeologists have asked new questions of the funerary data. Recent work has focused on archaeology of the senses, most thoroughly explored by Yannis Hamilakis (2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2014; Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012; J. Day 2013). There has also been interest in cultural interaction (Preston 2000, 2001; Marthari 2009; Betancourt 2012; Aruz, Graff, and Rakic 2013; Eder and Pruzsinszky 2015), landscape and the environment (Moody 2009; Nixon 2009), and in developing a more nuanced approach to regional differentiation (Relaki 2003; Legarra Herrero 2009, 2011; Betancourt 2011; Murphy 2011c, 2011b; Knappett 2012). Feminist archaeologies and studies of the body and gender have also become prevalent (Goodison and Morris 1998a, 1998c, 1998b, 2013; Goodison 2009; C. Morris 2009; Zeimbeki 2009), and there has been some attempt at self-reflection in Minoan archaeology (Duke 2006; Hamilakis 2006; Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006; Hamilakis and Theou 2013). As noted by Legarra Herrero, scholars have begun adding to the long-standing ritual interpretations put forth by Glotz, Wiesner, and Pini[23] by examining other aspects of ritual, such as the practice of cleaning tombs and possible associations between the orientations of tombs and human remains and astronomical events, such as the rising of the sun (Georgoulaki 1996, 2002, Goodison 2000, 2004, 2006, 2011; Bardsley 2004; Branigan 2008; Letesson and Driessen 2008; Murphy 2010; Caloi 2011a; Campbell-Green and Michelaki 2012).

[23] These include the cult of the dead, such drinking and toasting rituals, and functional explanations for secondarily burial practices, such as a belief in the afterlife or a process of mourning and renewal (Glotz 1925, 131–37, 277–88; Wiesner 1938, 104, 128, 166–77; Nilsson 1950; Pini 1968, 29; Legarra Herrero 2014, 11).

Finally, scholars have started to explore other forms of social identity and human interactions beyond vertical hierarchy, such as heterarchy and competition among competing social groups (Papadatos 1999; Haggis 2002; Relaki 2003, 2012; Schoep and Knappett 2004; Schoep 2006, 2010a; Legarra Herrero 2012; Schoep and Tomkins 2012; Schoep, Tomkins, and Driessen 2012).

PART II- ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE

Theory, as defined by Johnson, is "the order you put the facts in" (Johnson 2006, 118, 2010, 2). While acknowledging that there is no clear line between methodology and theory, he says that theory is the *why*, and methodology is the *how*.[24] We as archaeologists decide what degree of importance to give to certain pieces of evidence and the order in which we place the facts as we attempt to come up with the most plausible interpretation, all of which should be clearly considered and stated (Johnson 2010, 2–5). The types of questions asked will determine the methodologies available, and likewise the methodologies employed will affect the broader concept of social and archaeological thought. Theoretical perspectives will affect excavations, material and publication organization, and interpretation, and must, therefore, be clearly outlined. In order to understand the current state of Minoan funerary archaeology, we must consider the methodologies and social theories employed as well as the interpretations offered. This section offers an analysis and critique of the trends within the scholarship of Minoan

[24] To explain the fuzzy relationship between methodology and theory, Johnson aptly uses an example of a analyzing social inequality by comparing "rich" and "poor" graves, stating that certain ideas about social differentiation are clearly assumed "..that social status will be reflected in treatment of the body at death, that material goods are unequally distributed through society and that this has a direct relationship to social inequality..", all of which are theoretical (2010, 2).

cemeteries and burial practice, including excavation and publication methods, the focus on regionality, socio-economic status, ritual, and ancestors.

Excavation and Publication Methods

Methods of excavation and publication employed throughout the history of archaeology on Crete have greatly affected the discipline of Minoan archaeology, the theoretical frameworks available, and the interpretation of the funerary record. The lack of detail and contextual information offered in early excavation reports, which is compounded by the already confused stratigraphy of tombs with long use-lives and communal burials, has led to limited understanding of precise mortuary assemblages and variation over time and space. Relatedly, methods of organizing material for study and publication tend to rely on principles of similarity, with publications organized by material and object type rather than context. While these studies undoubtedly provide better comprehension of typologies, craftsmanship, and trade, the result is a convoluted and under-theorized conception of Minoan cemeteries.

Early excavations were often hurried and publications covered entire cemeteries or multiple cemeteries with brief descriptions of tombs, burials, and objects. This publication model necessitated limited treatment of contexts and select catalogs of objects. Cemeteries, tombs, and objects are given attention according to their "importance," which is often determined by presumed economic or social value based on relative size, number of objects, and assumed material worth. Excavation reports from the early 20th century also give attention to imported objects. Seager's publication of Mochlos (1912) and Xanthoudides publication of the Mesara tholoi (1924), for example, are both heavily focused on the objects imported from the Near East and Egypt (Legarra

Herrero 2007, 16).

The salvage excavations of many tombs in the Mesara by Xanthoudides resulted in an extensive monograph of multiple tombs and cemeteries. The publication of 16 tombs in a single volume necessitated an inadequate treatment of each context and associated material.[25] Xanthoudides offers a brief summary of the context with information about the area, the tomb itself, such as the size, orientation, and construction methods, as well as some report on the state of the tomb, whether looted or intact. Little or no information is given about the context and find-spots of the objects. Finds from the tombs were discussed under material headings rather than within the context of the tomb, making it difficult or impossible to determine the tomb in which the object was found.[26] Early reports also provide only scant catalogs of select objects. Xanthoudides, in his publication of the small interments found at Platanos, provides only a list "of the more important objects" (1924, 93), and for Koumasa a catalog of "the most important" clay objects (1924, 9).

The Pachyammos cemetery in eastern Crete is made up of more than 200 burials in jars, as well as six larnakes, with very few finds other than the burial vessels themselves and other associated ceramics. Seager's publication of the Pachyammos cemetery provides information for only those pieces that he considered worthy of a description.

I have not attempted to give a description of all the pithoi found in the

[25] He also excavated tombs from Marathokephalon and Pyrgos, published in the Deltion. The excavations of all of these tombs in the Mesara took place between 1904 and 1918, with a substantial break between 1908 and 1914 (Xanthoudides 1918b, 16, 1918a, 1922).

[26] Of the four tombs excavated at Koumasa, Tholos B, the largest, is treated separately, while the other tombs are considered together with the objects found under headings by material type, thoroughly obscuring the contextual information for each tomb (Xanthoudides 1924, 34–49).

> cemetery. The majority of them are without any especial interest so that in the following account I have mentioned only those which, either by their decoration, shape or context, deserve notice (Seager 1916, 15).

It is not only the "lesser" objects that are omitted or given less attention, but "lesser" areas of cemeteries or even entire cemeteries. Seager provides significantly less information on the vessel burials at Pachyammos and Sphoungaras than he does for the built tombs of Mochlos, while Xanthoudides dismisses the burials made in rectangular structures at Platanos as "the tombs of poor persons…" (1924, 93).[27]

Excavation reports of cemeteries have continued to employ this organizational method and provide limited contextual treatment of tomb objects. The 1997 publication of the Archanes-Phourni Cemetery, which will be discussed extensively in following chapters, is arranged in a similar manner to the early excavations described above (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997). The excavators occasionally provide a precise find-spot but more often conclude the summary of the tomb with the number of objects found and a list of the materials, as well as some account of "the most important" finds (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 152–267).[28] As with most publications of cemeteries, the objects and materials are discussed in separate sections or, in the case of Archanes-Phourni, a separate volume, organized by material and type. Materials are privileged above context and the organizing principle is similarity, further obscuring the context and significance of the interments and leaving little room for interpretation.

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[27] Xanthoudides goes on to note that the burials found in these rectangular structures were of a later date based on the discovery of LM pottery and sealstones.

[28] Tholos E, for example, concludes with "…of the total of 137 grave offerings made of ivory, bone, clay, faience, etc…, the most important group was that of the seals" (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 188).

Beginning in the 1960s and, perhaps, influenced by the scientific methodologies presented by the New Archaeology, Minoan scholarship focused on a deeper understanding of specific materials – their variation over time as well as their geographic distinctions. Site publications often include a short introduction to the site, a description of the various elements of the site such as areas and tombs with catalogs, followed by typological descriptions of object groups, usually organized by material or type. Regional and island-wide catalogs and typological analyses of objects follow similar principles and highlight similarity among objects, rather than variation among contexts. Although they were not limited to funerary contexts, many of these in-depth studies focus on the well-preserved objects from tombs. Treatment of discrete object types allowed for studies of chronology, using object typologies, and craft production. The types of objects selected for such analysis tend to be those that are both relatively common and visibly variable, indicating chronological or geographic differentiation in production, such as pottery (Betancourt 1985), stone vases (Warren 1965, 1969), seals (Wiencke 1981; Yule 1981), and metals (Branigan 1968b, 1968d, 1968c, 1968a, 1971, 1974; Muhly 1969). While earlier typologies were remarkably exhaustive and descriptive, these studies were dedicated to illuminating various aspects of object types.[29]

In addition to chronological typologies, these studies allow for more nuanced understanding of trade, both among regions of Crete and off-island networks, as well as essential information on Minoan craft production. These publications provide information about trends and variations among and between regions and over time as well as

[29] For an example of an early exhaustive catalog, see Jacobsthal (1956) *Greek Pins and Their Connexions with Europe and Asia* and the *CMS*.

movement and trade.[30] Others offer accurate measurements and drawings in order to consider craftsmanship and manufacturing techniques.[31] Some analyses also provide support to diffusionist or indigenous developments on the island. Branigan's metallurgical studies, for example, suggest that the Minoans learned to smelt from other regions with metalworking technologies, such as Anatolia, but that from this knowledge Minoan metalworking developed indigenously (1974, 102).[32]

While these studies address issues of chronology, trade, and technological development, they decontextualize objects, favoring analyses of similarity rather than variation and manufacturing context over depositional context. This organization places objects in a much larger, often island-wide context, contributing to the misconception of a homogenous Minoan culture. It may also imply a simplistic, evolutionary model of craft production, on a trajectory of less to more sophisticated craftsmanship, often employed in support of a hierarchical system existing as early as EM II (Watrous 1994,

[30] Betancourt's seminal work on Minoan pottery, for example, is organized chronologically but categorized by wares, allowing for a clearer image of the regional variations in ceramic production within various time periods (Betancourt 1985).

[31] Warren's study of stone vases analyzes ca. 3,500 Bronze Age vases from Minoan Crete and Mainland Greece, sacrificing a chronological organization in favor of a typology. Although a huge number of stone vases were cataloged, the focus was not a complete record but providing accurate drawings and measurements, and information on the stones used and methods of craftsmanship. By tracing the raw materials and craftsmanship to their places of origin in the wider Mediterranean world, Warren provides information about the movement and exchange of goods and manufacturing techniques (Warren 1969).

[32] Branigan's metallurgical studies were mostly typological with an attempt to place Minoan Crete in the larger Aegean and Mediterranean world. The bulk of his book provides a typology and a catalog of some 3000 metal objects, and references materials used for metalworking. Various scientific analyses of metals are marshaled to address a much larger Processual question concerning the origins and evolution of Minoan metalworking. He is concerned not only with the sources of the metal ores themselves but also the transmissions of the technologies for extracting and working metals (1974, 102).

713–17).[33] Finally, typological organization both ignores and confuses valuable information regarding Minoan burial practices, which are more easily analyzed with context-focused publication.

This analytical methodology privileges the materials and objects over the archaeological context of the tomb, cemetery, and even people burying the objects. Origins, craftsmanship, and function are valued over deposition and use-life. Some materials are privileged over others, including imports, technologically advanced objects, and luxury items. Egyptian stone vases, metals, and semi-precious stones, for example, have received significantly more attention than locally produced objects like stone and bone beads. It is not surprising, then, that our understanding of cemeteries and burial practices are not as well developed as our knowledge of pottery chronology or bronze-working technologies.

Human Remains

In addition to limited contextual information, early cemetery publications give little attention to human remains, with the exception of anthropometric studies focused on race discussed above. This is perhaps related to the lack of primary burials and the long-term, communal use of the tombs. While it seems certain that the convoluted burial stratigraphy contributed to the prioritization of materials and architecture, the lack of attention to human remains in both excavation and publication has led to many generalizations and misunderstandings concerning Minoan burial practices.

[33] Watrous later suggested, however, that social complexity does, in fact, exist in EM II. He states, "despite the fact that the evidence for EM II social complexity is still scarce and indirect, I have changed my mind on this issue, partly as a result of our findings of the 1992-1994 surface survey carried out around Gournia" (Watrous 2001b, 221).

Early excavations recovered and stored very few human remains. Skeletal material is not often mentioned, and when information is given, human remains are discussed in generalizing terms. Forsdyke's (1927) publication of the Mavro Spelio tombs, for example, contains few references to human remains. While there are careful lists of the objects found in each tomb, a total of only 12 references to human bones are given for all 22 tombs.[34] In his description of Chamber Tomb 1 at Mochlos, Seager mentions human remains only once, relating, "there were parts of at least thirty skulls mixed with a confused mass of other bones" (1912, 18). Xanthoudides provides some information on the burial strata and a rough estimate of the number of individuals, as well as anecdotal comments on the nature of the burials. In the description of Tholos B for Koumasa, for example, he notes that the thickness of the stratum suggests that there were hundreds of burials, that no skeleton appears to be *in situ*, and that the bones had been "…mixed up, perhaps moved and heaped together in various parts of the chamber to give space for later burials, or else thrown about when rifled of their valuables" (Xanthoudides 1924, 7).

Later studies focused on the size and type of social group interred within a tomb. This debate centered on whether the group was a family, a clan, or an entire village based on the number of individuals interred over time (Pendlebury 1939, 63–65; Hutchinson 1962, 233; Branigan 1970c, 128–30; Hood 1971, 140; Warren 1972, 267; Alexiou 1973, 18; Cadogan 1976, 22; Blackman and Branigan 1977, 83–84; Whitelaw 1983, 334–35;

[34] Most references to human remains simply state that bones or scraps of bones were present (Forsdyke 1927, 247, 254, 264, 270, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 283).

Cherry 1984, 31; Branigan 1993, 81–95).[35] To compensate for the confused nature of the burial remains, some scholars have pursued alternative means of determining an estimated number of individuals, relying on equations or proxies. Processual scholars working in Minoan cemeteries, such as Branigan and Whitelaw, became interested in finding a scientific approach for determining the number of individuals in a given tomb. According to Branigan, any equation for such a determination must be based on three components – the total number of burials, the period of time in which the tomb was in use, and the assumption that 20 individuals would be interred from each family over 100 years (Branigan 1993, 82).[36] He acknowledges that, in most circumstances, the data will be insufficient and has therefore suggested the use of objects as proxies for numbers of people. Drinking vessels, such as cups and bowls, as well as sealstones and daggers, have been suggested as representations for either individuals, male occupants, or heads of families (Branigan 1970c, 1993, 84–95; Renfrew 1972, 388; Whitelaw 1983, 343).

Beginning in the 1960s, archaeologists paid more attention to human remains and some saved representative samples for later study.[37] Only recently have there been sincere attempts to understand human remains within their context (Triantaphyllou 2009, 2012; Vasilakis and Branigan 2010; Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015). Some of the first anthropological considerations of Minoan burial practices noted that interment

[35] Most scholars prefer to interpret each tomb as the burial place for a clan or genus, while others support that an entire tribe was interred within a tomb (Glotz 1921), or that a single nuclear family made use of the tomb over an extended period of time (Whitelaw 1983, 334–35; Cherry 1984, 31). For a summary of this debate, see Branigan (1993, 81–95).

[36] Ian Morris has also offered detailed equations for the numbers of persons interred within EIA cemeteries on the Mainland (1987, 72–96).

[37] Some of the human remains from Tholos Γ at Archanes-Phourni were collected and later analyzed (Triantaphyllou 2005).

methods often included multiple stages (Murphy 1998) and that the Minoans used a variety of secondary treatments (Branigan 1987a, 1993, 124–27; Georgoulaki 1996). More recent studies by physical anthropologists have shown that secondary interaction with human remains within Minoan tombs was significantly more frequent and varied than previously understood. The findings, methodologies, terminology presented by physical anthropologists such as Triantaphylou and Crevecoeur should inform all future analyses of Minoan burial practices and mortuary data. While *in situ* examination of human remains is ideal, some of these methods can be adapted for the reanalysis of legacy data, which I discuss in greater detail in the following chapter.

ARCHITECTURE

Early excavation reports often provide architectural description of the materials, building methods, size, and orientation of the tombs, but thorough analysis and theoretical treatment of the physical structures began in the 1970s. Much like the material and object analyses discussed above, the large number of architectural studies is perhaps related to the complicated archaeological record found within the tombs (Branigan 1970c; Soles 1973, 1992; Warren 1973; Pelon 1994, 1976a; Biancofiore 1973; Blackman and Branigan 1982; Belli 1984, 2003; Baurain 1987; Petit 1987; de Pierpont 1987; Cavanagh and Laxton 1988; Cultraro 2000). Focusing on architecture allowed for a comparative study of multiple tombs without the need for a clear understanding of the burial practices, the people, or the objects interred. Architectural studies have concentrated on the origins of tomb types, construction methods, especially whether tholoi were vaulted, and regional variations among burial structures.

TOMB ORIGINS

Early in the excavation history of the Mesara tholoi, scholars were interested in the origins or inspirations for the round tombs. The sudden appearance of the tholos tombs in the EM I period with no antecedents in the Neolithic led scholars to look outside Crete in places such as Egypt and the Levant, for round, burial structures which predated the EM I period. Evans, Pendlebury, and Xanthoudides all suggested African, likely Egyptian, inspiration for the Minoan tholoi, citing round Nubian tombs and brick, vaulted tombs from Archaic Egypt (Xanthoudides 1924, 128; A. Evans 1928, 34; Pendlebury 1939, 74; Alexiou 1967, 484). These arguments were often made in conjunction with diffusionist arguments for the origins of Minoan Crete. Based on the Egyptian material found within the early tholoi, Evans argued that the early Cretan tholoi were built by Egyptian immigrants.[38] Other scholars looked to the Levant and Cyprus as well as the Cyclades for precursors to the tholos tombs of south-central Crete, but the round buildings found in the Levant are significantly earlier in date and were not used for funerary purposes (Hood 1960, 1985; Hutchinson 1962).

With further exploration of Minoan Crete and a paradigmatic shift from diffusionist to evolutionary models of cultural change, interpretation of the tholos tombs shifted away from external motivators toward indigenous development (Renfrew 1972, 1982, Branigan 1983, 1987b, 1988c, 1988b, 1988a, 1990).[39] Branigan, for example, suggested that the round tombs emulated the caves that were used in the Final Neolithic

[38] The Nubian structures were built over previous burials as markers rather than functioning tombs. Furthermore, Evans' identification of the material as Egyptian was either based on superficial comparisons or the objects were dated to the later EM II or EM III periods and were, therefore, not connected to the original construction of the tombs (Branigan 1970a, 1973, 1993, 34–35).

[39] For a summary of these arguments, see Tomkins and Schoep (2010).

(and later) for both domestic and funerary purposes, and were needed especially in the Mesara region, which is relatively flat and lacking in caves (Branigan 1993, 37–40).[40]

Tomb Construction

Minoan cemetery archaeology has also been concerned with tomb construction, focusing on roofing structures and energy expenditure for various building types in order to understand the origins and social structure of the Minoans. Scholars have also offered functionalist interpretations of Minoan tombs, using variations in tomb architecture, such as size, building materials, and the time and energy needed to build a tomb, to understand the socio-economic character of the living community and the social status of those using the tombs.[41] One method for evaluating social rank among archaeological remains is an economic analysis of funerary contexts by measuring the energy expended on a burial, including the tomb, method of interment, and the accompanying objects (Tainter 1975; Peebles and Kus 1977; Tainter and Corby 1977; C. J. Arnold 1980). At Mochlos, for example, Seager and Soles, as well as several other scholars, have directly correlated variability in tomb size, placement, building materials, and energy expended during construction with the socio-political structure at EM II Mochlos (Seager 1912, 13–17;

[40] Caves were used heavily in northern and eastern Crete from the Neolithic through the EBA, but were limited to funerary use after the Neolithic. This is discussed in further detail below.

[41] Cultural systems as defined by David Clarke are "an intercommunicating network of attributes or entities forming a complex whole" (Clarke 1978, 495). The question of how these various subsystems, such as trade, ritual, and social structure relate to one another is thoroughly embedded in the scholarship of cemeteries and burial practices both globally and in the Minoan world. Correlation, as opposed to causation, between subsystems is explained often in terms of function, that is, how one subsystem relates to and affects another. Observable trends in one subsystem are explained with reference to their function within another subsystem. For example, the assumed functions of observable archaeological data, like objects and spatial patterning, are used to understand aspects of the society that are unobservable, such as social-political structure.

Soles 1988, 1992; Branigan 1991b, 99; Colburn 2008b, 212).

Scholars have also debated how tholos tombs were roofed since the earliest publications of the round tombs, beginning in the 1920s with Xanthoudides' book "The *Vaulted* Tombs of the Mesara" (1924). While some scholars, namely Evans (1924, xi) and Stefani (1930) and later Alexiou (1973, 225), Nikolaos Platon (Daux 1960), and Levi (1961, 104) agreed that the tombs were likely vaulted, others questioned whether the free-standing structures could support a stone roof. Scholars have proposed several other roofing methods, suggesting that they were covered with wooden beams or thatch (Marinatos 1931, 168f; Pendlebury 1939, 64) or even mud brick (Glotz 1923, 9:157; Hood 1960, 1985; Treuil 1983, 435f). Archaeologists have also pointed to the few examples where the walls of the tombs were preserved at a height to indicate corbelling (Vorou A and Skotomeno Kharakas A), as well as the collection of stones preserved within the tombs that likely resulted from a collapsing roof (Branigan 1993, 41–56). Few publications report the number and size of the stones found within the structures and there is currently no consensus on roofing structures. It seems likely, however, that a variety of methods were used for roofing the round tombs and that at least some had stone vaults. This discussion remains present in the scholarship of Minoan tombs (Girella, Marini, and Palmieri 2013).

Regional Tomb Structures and Burial Practices

Scholarship on Minoan tombs has focused on shared characteristics, tracing tomb types across time and space. Based on the appearance of built tomb structures in the EBA, including tholoi and cist-grave cemeteries in EM I and house-tombs in EM II, analyses have centered on the chronological variations, growth, and spread of tomb types.

Typologies and catalogs of similar structures are comparable to the material studies of the 1970s and 1980s, adding to our understanding of the types of structures but providing little information about Minoan burial practice (Branigan 1970c, 1993; Pelon 1976b; Belli 1984, 2003; Baurain 1987; Soles 1992).

Minoan archaeologists have also been interested in regionally specific tomb types (Relaki 2004; L. Hitchcock 2010, 190–91). As burial structures are more easily identifiable than domestic buildings, especially in the EM period, scholars have used these regional differences in architecture to study the groups that built and used these (Glotz 1925, 322; Branigan 1988a, 152–78; Soles 1992, 249–51; Georgoulaki 1996; Papadatos 1999, 103–19, 152–70; Wiesner 1938, 108). While geographic similarity among tomb types has been noted, such as the house tombs of eastern and north-central Crete, round tholos tombs of the Mesara, cave burials found mostly in eastern Crete (but present throughout the island), and the large cist-grave cemetery of Ayia Photia in northeastern Crete, only recently have scholars considered the significance of regional differentiation, both among funerary architecture and practice and more broadly.[42]

Scholars have also been interested in regional and ethnic differentiation among funerary contexts and some evidence suggests that Cycladic people were living (and burying) in the northeastern part of the island in the EM I period, specifically at the site of Ayia Photia. The tombs of Ayia Photia differ significantly from the house-tombs, cave

[42] Regional variations in scripts and, more recently, in sealing-practices and craft production have been considered evidence of unique cultural centers. For more about scripts, see Olivier (1986); Schoep (1995, 2002b); Younger (1997); Tomas (2010), for sealing practice (Weingarten 1990, 1994, 2010; Relaki 2003; Krzyszkowska 2005; Cappel 2011, 2012), for craft-production (Wilson and Day 2000, 1994; Nakou 1995; P. M. Day, Wilson, and Kiriatzi 1997; Whitelaw et al. 1997; Broodbank 2000, 294–96; Muhly 2002; Bevan 2004; Betancourt 2006; Catapotis 2007; Doonan, Day, and Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2007).

burials, and tholos tombs that were in use elsewhere on the island. Individual cist graves lined with schist slabs were used, rather than the communal surface burials found throughout the rest of Crete, and the material associated with these burials is more consistent with that from the Cyclades, although there are also Minoan vessels that appear to come from the Mesara region to the south (P. M. Day, Wilson, and Kiriatzi 1998). From the material, tombs, and burial practices, the excavators have concluded that Ayia Photia is most likely the cemetery for a nearby Cycladic settlement, although the settlement itself has not yet been found (P. M. Day, Wilson, and Kiriatzi 1998; Davaras and Betancourt 2004, 2012).

Regional studies indicate that Minoan Crete was never a monolithic system and that differentiation has existed at all levels throughout its history. New studies have explored different social networks throughout the island, concentrating on specific types of networks (Sbonias 1995; P. M. Day, Wilson, and Kiriatzi 1997; Whitelaw et al. 1997; Haggis 2002; Relaki 2003, 2004). Aside from these studies, however, variation, especially in burial practices, is severely under-appreciated and under-theorized (Legarra Herrero 2007, 27–29). While regional differentiation is now accepted, smaller scales of variation, especially intra-site variation, remain somewhat invisible. Legarra Herrero's masterful treatment of Pre- and Protopalatial tombs and funerary practices, for example, offers a remarkable level of detail for each cemetery and tomb under consideration, but as his main focus is regional differences, intra-site variation is given less attention.

Status and Hierarchy

Questions and interpretations regarding Minoan social, economic, and political structure have dominated the scholarship on Minoan burials for over 100 years. In fact, it

is difficult to find a publication about cemeteries or tombs that does not reference the wealth or status of those buried or burying. Although these arguments have become more nuanced with attention to context and grounding in contemporary theoretical and ethnoarchaeological thought, the fundamental correlation between wealth in tombs and a vertical social structure has remained the primary interpretation for Minoan burials.

Early scholars associated tomb size, tomb placement, and the "richness" of objects interred with the socio-political standing of those within the tomb has a long history. Seager (1912, 17) interpreted the tombs of Mochlos as the burial contexts for princely families, and Evans (1906, 139) named the tomb at Isopata the "Royal Tomb" based on location, construction, and material found within the tombs.[43] With the Processual turn, evolutionary models for the rise of the state and the emergence of the palaces focused on increasing "complexity" among the remains of earlier settlements, architectural precursors beneath the palaces, and within the rich EM tombs (Branigan 1970b, 1970c, 130–31, 1985, 1988a, 1988c, Warren 1972, 1987; Renfrew 1972; Halstead 1981, 1988; Zois 1982; Lewthwaite 1983; Cadogan 1986).[44] With this approach, "social history is understood from a teleological point of view, as a process that culminates in the first palace societies of the Protopalatial period" (Legarra Herrero 2014, 5).[45]

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[43] Concerning this LM III tomb within the Isopata cemetery, Evans states "From the considerable size of the monument as compared with the tombs discovered in the neighbouring cemetery, its commanding position and the importance of some of the objects found within it, it may fairly be regarded as a Royal Tomb" (A. Evans 1906, 139).

[44] Peter Warren's excavation of the EM settlement site of Myrtos, for example, in which he suggests that the plan of the domestic site resembles that of the palaces and is evidence of continuity and complexity much earlier than MM IB (Warren 1972; cf. Whitelaw 1983).

[45] This evolutionary model has been critiqued, perhaps most famously by Cherry (1983) and most thoroughly by Damilati (2005), over the past 30 years, but only recently there been much of an attempt to thoroughly undermine this argument and to offer alternative interpretations (Whitelaw 1983, 2004; Bintliff 1984; Manning 1997, 1994; Knappett and Schoep 2000; Schoep 2002a,

This model of gradually increasing complexity is problematic for a number of reasons. First, it collapses and simplifies chronological, regional, and intra-site variations and assumes that all dynamics must be attributable to increasing hierarchy.[46] Secondly, the teleological model often assumes that vertical hierarchy is the only form of complexity that leads to state-level societies and that this process was cumulative, though scholars have shown that societies continually move toward *and* away from complexity (Pauketat 2000; Wiessner 2002; Wright 2004). For cemetery studies specifically, this model relies on the assumption that burials are an accurate representation of social structure and assumes that the "wealth" found in tombs both conforms to modern concepts of value and is directly related to socio-political rank. It also conflates distinct practices, such as individual burial and collective interment, and ignores the contextual specificity of communal, long-lived tombs. Finally, as most interpretations of social structure before the palaces rely on mortuary data, with little comparative data, wealth and status can only be conceptualized vaguely and relatively.

CHRONOLOGICAL COLLAPSING

The investigation of early cemeteries for increasing social complexity is complicated by the lack of chronological certainty for burial assemblages, which were created by long-term use, collective burials, and continual interaction with human remains. These assemblages are often dismissed as "too mixed" or "disturbed" for any in-depth analysis of changing practices over time (Paliou and Bevan 2016, 189; Driessen

2002c, 2006, 2009, 2012; Hamilakis 2002a; Relaki 2003, 2004, 2012, J. C. Barrett and Damilati 2004, 2004; Schoep and Knappett 2004; Tomkins 2004; Wright 2004; Damilati 2005; Parkinson and Galaty 2007; Legarra Herrero 2007, 2009, 2016; Parkinson 2010; Pullen 2010; Schoep, Tomkins, and Driessen 2012; Paliou and Bevan 2016).

[46] For more on the problems with this assumption see Whitelaw (2004).

2010, 113).[47] By labeling a context "disturbed," complex assemblages with deep histories are dismissed and long-term dynamics functioning on a larger time scale are overlooked in favor of shorter, simpler time scales.

Although many scholars acknowledge this problem, explicit dating and analytical methodologies are mostly missing, leading to different conclusions for the relative date of the emergence of ranked societies on Crete. Vastly different dates for the emergence of social complexity have been offered, ranging from EM II (Carter 1998, 72–74; Watrous 2001b, 221–23; MacSweeney 2004; Watrous, Hadzi-Vallianou, and Blitzer 2004) to EM III-MM IA (Branigan 1970a, 127; Blasingham 1983, 18; Cherry 1983, 40; 1984; Watrous 1994, 717; Sbonias 1995, 150; 1999, 46; Papadatos 1999, 167–170; Schoep and Knappett 2004), while others refrain from offering a date (Branigan 1984; Murphy 1998) and there is currently no scholarly consensus (Legarra Herrero 2007, 28). These various dates would suggest different evolutionary timelines for emerging complexity and it is insufficient to suggest that any evidence of social hierarchy predating the palaces confirms a slowly developing state society.

This issue is compounded by the lack of explicit consideration of how our concepts of time affect our interpretations. Archaeological interest in time is often relegated to the investigation and refinement of chronology. In essence, the project of chronology is devoted to "creating a specific time in which material culture resides" (Lucas 2004, 112). Through chronology and periodization, the past is joined to the present through a shared concept of universal time. Scholars rely on chronologies

[47] For more on making sense of disturbed remains see (Osterholtz, Baustian, and Martin 2014).

informed by object seriation for the interpretation of burial assemblages. Once objects are assigned a date within the accepted chronology, there is a tendency to collapse the complexity of the assemblage and the multitude of depositions into a single chronological space. There is limited attempt to comprehend how intensive use over a long period of time has affected the assemblage or how time might have been envisioned and conceptualized in the past, especially in relation to the long-term use of communal tombs and cemeteries. A single, uni-directional consideration of time places objects and associated action along a timeline, effectively giving equal weight to each event without consideration of how past events or perceived future events might affect each instance.

Time is most often conceptualized based on absolute and relative chronological systems, which are ingrained into Minoan archaeology. Absolute chronology offers an interval system of specific units of equal duration, which provide simple one-to-one correlations with the rest of the world, and relative chronologies provide an ordinal system of units that are directional but of non-equal duration.[48] Minoan archaeology makes use of several chronological systems of various scales and periodizations based on different comparative systems – the Three Age System of Europe; the Early, Middle, and Late system developed by Evans in comparison with Egyptian chronology; and the internal palace-centered system of Pre-, Proto-, Neo-, and Post-palatial. While this chronology is both unavoidable and necessary, there are many weaknesses of these systems.[49] Chronology is problematic because "it presents time as a uniform, linear

[48] For more on the issues with chronology and other traditional concepts of time see (Bailey 1983; Ramenofsky 1998; Lucas 2005, 2–15, 2013; Simonetti 2013).
[49] For more on the dating systems of Minoan archaeology and their drawbacks see (Manning 2010).

phenomenon which has tended to define the model for historical explanation in a similar uniform, linear way" (Lucas 2005, 10). Periodization and traditional chronologies offer more than a dating system, they also offer an evolutionary explanation for change over time.[50]

Concepts of time for the Minoan world are mostly universal, totalizing, and, in essence, evolutionary with a progression toward increased complexity and eventually the rise of the palace/state. Focus on the emergence of the state has led scholars to search for evidence of evolving and increasing social stratification, often using cemeteries as the context for such discussions. Variations among tombs and assemblages, such as size and the distribution of "elite" materials, is seen as evidence of an evolving hierarchy. Burial evidence is used to describe time and social change in a number of linear and uni-directional ways, including: heterarchical → hierarchical, non-complex → complex, non-stratified → stratified, and communal → individual. This traditional view of linear time and the slow evolution toward complexity has been used throughout the history Minoan of archaeology (Renfrew 1972; Whitelaw 1983; Warren 1987; Branigan 1988c; Soles 1988; Watrous 1994, 2001a; Watrous, Hadzi-Vallianou, and Blitzer 2004; Murphy 1998, 2011b; Sbonias 1999; Cultraro 2001, 31:107–15; Schoep and Knappett 2004; Tomkins and Schoep 2010).[51] While most scholars acknowledge that this overly simplistic view of

[50] In his critique of scholarly conceptions of the Neolithic as a "coherent whole", Julian Thomas has labeled this directional concept of time as having a "totalizing" effect (1993, 389).
[51] Warren wrote that scholars must understand the rise of palatial civilization on Crete by examining the slow progress of the EM period stating that "the crucial factor for Minoan development was that nothing interrupted it. The material culture of the First Palace Period evolved directly from that of the Early Bronze Age," and goes on to say that "burial methods illustrate another aspect of the uninterrupted Cretan development. Round communal tombs and rectangular enclosures for bones continue from Early into Middle Minoan" (Warren 1989, 36).

social change for Minoan Crete is flawed, the monolithic and uni-linear view of funerary customs and burial assemblages has been less thoroughly problematized.[52] Chronological collapsing of funerary data, the lack of overt analytical approaches to time, and the use of linear, evolutionary models further obscure this complicated funerary record and ignore aspects of funerary practice that might express other social dynamics or have little to do with social structure.

Models of State Formation: Vertical Hierarchy

The evolutionary model of state formation leading to the construction of the palaces assumes that vertical differentiation is required for a linear movement toward a state-level society. The terms 'complexity' and 'hierarchy' are so often connected as to have become almost synonymous in Minoan scholarship. Damilati has addressed the archaeological understanding of inequality head on, arguing that inequality is present in all types of societies and that the search for its origins "is a trivial and meaningless task" (2005, 2). Concepts of state, hierarchy, and even the role of the palaces have recently been questioned, with scholars contemplating alternative models for increasing

[52] Uniform orthogenesis was questioned by McNeal and Cherry (McNeal 1973; Cherry 1983, 1984), who critiqued this Darwinian approach as "…quintessentially gradualist, orthogenetic, and time-dependent; it is a *taxonomic model*, not an *explanation*, for observed organizational change" (1983, 36). Following trends in paleobiology and evolutionary biology, Cherry suggested an alternative model of change characterized by "punctuated equilibria" – stasis and sudden appearance – and discontinuous change rather than continuous (Cherry 1983, 37–38). He questioned the evolution toward palatial society by critiquing concepts of visible hierarchy in early (EM II) contexts, both in settlements, such as Vasiliki and Phounou Koriphi, and within cemeteries, which he says "give few indication of *any* dimensions of social differentiation" (Cherry 1983, 40). Cherry argues for a pluralism in models of change and for an examination of concepts of time and change (Cherry 1983, 41).[52] While this approach resonated within the field of Minoan archaeology, in many ways it was not fully acknowledged or reflected within scholarship until relatively recently (Watrous 1987, 1994, 2001a, 174–79, Schoep 2002a, 2010b; Tomkins and Schoep 2010).

complexity such as heterarchy and factionalism (Papadatos 1999; Knappett and Schoep 2000; P. M. Day and Relaki 2002; Haggis 2002; Hamilakis 2002b; Schoep 2002a, 2002c; Relaki 2003; Damilati 2005; Schoep and Knappett 2004; Schoep 2006; Legarra Herrero 2007; Chapman 2008; Schoep 2010a; Schoep, Tomkins, and Driessen 2012; Chliaoutakis and Chalkiadakis 2016).

In her consideration of the MM II town of Malia, for example, Ilse Schoep has shown that multiple 'semi-official' buildings, including the impressive workshops of Quartier Mu, were in use at the same time and suggest a function similar to the palace. Based on shared features such as evidence of administration, craft specialization, and religious or ceremonial activity, Quartier Mu is not considered a subsidiary of the palace, but an elite complex roughly equivalent to the palace. Schoep argues that multiple elite structures indicate a heterarchical model for MM II Malia rather than a hierarchical one, but is careful to distinguish between heterarchical and egalitarian societies, suggesting that there is evidence of social inequality but that multiple groups had power, rather than a single, centralized authority (Schoep 2002a; Schoep and Knappett 2004; Schoep 2010a). A similar approach that thoroughly examines multiple, roughly contemporary structures within a single site should also be applied to burials. Evidence of social diversity should not be taken as direct evidence for a vertical power structure but must be considered within the context of the site as a whole.

VALUE

Although tomb material has been used for analyses of social, political, and economic structures, there has been little attempt to consider value explicitly. Numbers of objects and types of material are assumed to have real value that is then plotted along a

relative and sliding scale of wealth. Quantifiable wealth is further complicated by the simplistic assumption that modern concepts of value are applicable to ancient objects (Voutsaki 1995b). Furthermore, publications organized by similarity of material inevitably rank objects by seeming importance, which is determined by the perceived value of the object, privileging objects of precious and imported materials (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; Sherratt 1993; Colburn 2008b, 2011) and those used for economic or administrative purposes, such as seals (Branigan 1970b, 130; Hodder 1994; cf. Damilati 2005, 46). This object ranking is then implicitly or explicitly suggested as a proxy for social rank (Maggidis 1998), but wealth and power are not always associated (Berreman 1981; Damilati 2005, 43). Although tombs contain collective burials and any association between an individual and an object is rare, it is often suggested that more valuable objects must equal higher-ranking people. More recent re-analyses of cemeteries have questioned these assumptions by directly problematizing the correlation between "elite" architecture and objects at cemeteries such as Mochlos (Karacic 2015). Legarra Herrero (2016) has also argued against the 'prestige model' for EM III-MM II burials, embracing the complicated nature of Minoan tombs and suggesting that burial evidence indicates more integrated group identities and communal dynamics than individual agency toward increasing complexity.

Objects within tombs are often described as "grave gifts" or "funerary gifts" (Bartel 1982, 40; Graziadio 1991, 370, n. 184; Mazarakis Ainian 1999, 30; Thomas 2000a, 656; Chesson 2001b, 106; Burke 2005, 409, n. 21; C. E. Barrett 2007, 14; Colburn

2008b, 215; Betancourt 2009, 174; Driessen 2010, 114; Bonney 2014, 170).[53] These "gifts" to the dead are often compared to other forms of gift giving, such as the potlatch, whether explicitly stated or not.[54] While gift giving and the destruction of large amounts of material associated with the potlatch may be a helpful analogy for some burial deposits, it is a misleading one for the communal tombs of Minoan Crete. Rather than a single deposition of vast quantities of wealth, the tomb assemblages were agglomerative, accumulated through many interments taking place over generations. Why and how these objects were deposited and the relationship between those giving gifts, namely the living, and those receiving them, the dead, deserves greater analysis.

Communal versus Individual

Most publications of Minoan burials acknowledge the difficulty in interpreting data from long-lived, collective tombs, but a focus on social differentiation has thoroughly confused the distinction between groups and individuals. A "wealthy" tomb is compared with a "poor" tomb in the same way that a wealthy individual burial might be compared to an impoverished one (Seager 1912; Soles 1988). We may assume that objects were placed within collective tombs and with individual interments for similar reasons and to similar effect, but the secondary treatment of funerary remains – the disarticulation of human bones and the movement of objects – suggest that the correlation between people and things is both likely to be lost and that intended meanings of this correlation were quite different for collective and individual burials, as any connection

[53] For more on this terminology see Ekengren 2013.
[54] Among native people of the northwest coast, the potlatch is a ceremonial feast at which the host gives away or destroys large amounts of wealth. This forms the basis of Mauss's famous treatise, *The Gift* (1990). Gift giving and the potlatch are described in greater detail in the following chapter.

between a person and an object has been deliberately obscured.

This interest in the individual has greatly affected the interpretation of burial vessels, such as larnakes and pithoi, which were first used sometime around EM III/MM IA.[55] Many scholars have suggested that the appearance of burial containers is related to a new concern with the individual (Glotz 1925; Wiesner 1938; Pini 1968; Branigan 1970c, 127, 131; Mee 2010). Although there are a few larnakes found containing individual burials, at Gypsades for example (Hood, Huxley, and Sandars 1958, 196), most larnakes contain either multiple individuals, select remains from multiple individuals, or no bones at all (Legarra Herrero 2014, 15). Larnakes at Archanes-Phourni, for example, contain anywhere from no remains to 10 skulls and are treated much like any other space within the tomb (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 199–200). It is possible that larnakes and other vessels were originally used for primary burials and only later cleared to be reused for multiple interments or for depositing some remains from several individuals, like an ossuary, but these vessels are placed within the same tombs alongside previous burials and surface burials are made contemporaneously.[56]

Although the vessels themselves are new, the practice is remarkably consistent, with a presumed primary burial and later secondary interaction with the human remains and with the associated objects. Yet scholars have continued to make these associations. Branigan points out that the introduction of burial containers does not mark any full-scale change in practice but suggests, nonetheless, that vessel burials indicate an increased focus on the individual during an era of growing social complexity and differentiation

[55] For more on the introduction, distribution, and use of larnakes and pithoi on Crete see (Rutkowski 1968; Preston 2004b; Vavouranakis 2014).
[56] See also (Hatzaki 2012, 309).

(Branigan 1970c, 131). Christopher Mee states that the use of larnakes and pithoi for burial at Archanes-Phourni were either an "indication of higher status", or for greater "emphasis on individuality" (Mee 2010, 281). Close analysis of Minoan burials indicates the complete lack of correlation between burial vessels and individual interments in EM III/MM IA. More recently, scholars have rejected the importance of the individual and considered alternative social units and dynamics, focusing on group and community identities (Murphy 2011a; Legarra Herrero 2016).

Relative Social Scales and Issues of Vocabulary

To compensate for the lack of historical texts and comparative data regarding Minoan socio-political structure, scholars rely on analogs, particularly from the contemporary Near East and Egypt (Renfrew 1972; Branigan 1987b), or anachronistic administrative and social organizations, such as the later and better understood Mycenaean structure (Halstead 1988; Hamilakis 1996; Halstead 2004).[57] The application of Mycenaean economic and political models for the function of the LM I and MM palaces has been thoroughly questioned (Schoep 2002a, 102–3), but this critique has not yet extended outside the context of the palaces. Without direct knowledge of the socio-economic system of Minoan Crete, all discussions of wealth and status are limited to vague language and relative relationships. A large tomb with more gold, for example, is suggested to have greater value than a smaller tomb with less gold. This one-to-one correlation is most likely too simplistic for such complex assemblages but it is also

[57] For more on the use of Near Eastern and Egyptian parallels see (Watrous 1987; Cherry 1999; Driessen, Schoep, and Laffineur 2002; Schoep and Knappett 2004; Schoep 2010b; and Macqueen 1986; Postgate 1992 esp. p. 109).

extraordinarily limited, as wealth and associated status are not connected with any known structure and provide little information regarding social organization (Pauketat 2000; Wiessner 2002; Schoep and Knappett 2004; Legarra Herrero 2007, 27). As the relationships among tombs must be expressed relatively, we are faced with an uncritical, static relationship of poor/wealthy or wealthy/wealthier/wealthiest, with little discussion of social dynamics and interactions. All of these issues are compounded by the use of vague, undefined terminology to express social differentiation (Gamble 1981; Gilman 1981; Soles 1988).[58]

Socio-Economic Critique: Mochlos Case Study

The issues with focusing on socio-economic status and hierarchical structure in Minoan mortuary studies, are best illustrated with a case study of the well-known cemetery at Mochlos. Mochlos, now an island just off the coast of northeastern Crete, was originally excavated by Richard Seager in the early 20th century (1909, 1912) and has been under excavation off and on for the last 60 years by Platon (1954, 1959) and most recently by Davaras and Soles (Davaras 1972, 1976, Soles 1978, 1992, Soles and Davaras 1992, 1994, 1996). Since the earliest discovery of the site, the EM cemetery at Mochlos has been at the center of the debate concerning the rise of the state (Seager 1912; Soles 1988; Damilati 2005, 196–233). Minoan scholars have interpreted the cemetery data as positive evidence of an evolving hierarchy early on in the history of Minoan Crete (Whitelaw 1983; Soles 1988; Branigan 1991b; Soles and Davaras 1992; Watrous 2001a), while others propose a revolutionary model for the appearance of the

[58] See (Damilati 2005) for a thorough discussion (especially pp. 143-164).

palaces, suggesting that the wealth of objects at Mochlos does not inherently suggest a ranked society (Cherry 1983, 1984, Watrous 1994, cf. 2001a).

Comparing the chamber tombs on the northwest part of the hill and the smaller, pit-style graves on the more accessible slope of the hill of Mochlos, Seager concluded that the former housed the elite while those on the slope contained the remains of commoners (Seager 1912, 13–17).[59] Seager, however, did not consider contextual distinctions such as preservation, chronology, and size, all of which vary greatly.[60] The 17 cist graves discovered on the hill were greatly eroded and as many as twice the number of tombs may have been in use based on the number of objects found in the soil (Seager 1912, 13–15). The chamber tombs, on the other hand, were well-preserved, though two had been looted in antiquity. The contexts are also chronologically distinct. The chamber tombs were used through the EM III period and, although some were reopened in the MM period, most of the deposits remained intact. The tombs on the hillside, however, functioned much longer with several used into the MM III period, certainly affecting the number and types of objects present in the tombs.[61]

Soles also argued that the elaboration of the chamber tombs suggest an elite

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[59] This is perhaps the earliest connection between "elite" objects and ranked society in the Prepalatial period, though many contemporary scholars have maintained this conclusion (Soles 1988; Branigan 1991b; Soles and Davaras 1992, 417).

[60] For a thorough critique of the interpretations of Mochlos cemetery see (Karacic 2015).

[61] Evans' interpretation of Isopata presents a similar example of chronological collapse for the purpose of interpretation. He compares all the tombs discovered in the cemetery although they vary massively in date with several early examples from the EM and MM periods as well as those from LM III (A. Evans 1906). Evans was not yet aware of the Mycenaean presence and likely political control of Knossos during the LM III period but this makes the comparison all the more egregious, as the burial practices of the Minoans and Mycenaeans varied greatly. The most important variation being that Minoans practiced communal burial with objects found with the group and Mycenaeans practiced, at least partially, individual inhumation with wealthy objects associated with a single person.

agenda with the power to mobilize substantial resources for their construction, stating that "more energy and expense went into the construction of those on the West Terrace" as the chamber tombs are two to three times larger than the tombs on the South Slope and were built more carefully (Soles 1988, 50). More recent studies suggest that the chamber tombs were actually constructed over time, with rooms added as needed, suggesting that less resource expenditure was needed than previously believed (Soles 1988, 43–60; Watrous 1994, 713; Karacic 2015). More recent excavations have also brought to light a large and elaborate tomb (L) on the south slope, suggesting that architectural differentiation is not limited to certain areas of the cemetery, as has been previously proposed (Soles and Davaras 1992; Watrous 1994, 713).

Seager uses the size of the tomb and the wealth of the objects to argue for the elite status of the people interred within the chamber tombs. These two variables are treated as if they are independent, creating circular arguments by basing an assertion on one variable while using the other to support this assertion, i.e. the large size of the tomb indicates that an elite family was buried here and the large number of objects discovered supports this interpretation (Seager 1912, 51). This interpretation ignores the fact that the numbers of objects interred could be considered a dependent variable of the size of the tomb. That is, the large size of the tomb provides more space for people and objects to be interred, functionally allowing the chamber tombs to hold larger numbers of people and objects than the pit graves. Because he gives very little information on the numbers of individuals found in each tomb, it is impossible to produce even an approximate ratio for

numbers of individuals and numbers of objects.[62] It seems likely, however, that the large chamber tombs contained greater numbers of individuals than the small, ca. 1 x 2 m, cist tombs of the hillside. According to Seager the burials were all "secondary" with bones lying in a heap at one end of the tomb and objects were found interspersed throughout the burial deposits (Seager 1912, 15). It is therefore impossible to begin associating objects with individuals to produce even a rough estimate of the numbers of objects found with individuals within the various contexts of the cemetery.

This discrepancy is made more relevant by the types of objects found in the smaller cist-burials. Seager, as well as Soles, Davaras, and Branigan have argued that the distribution of 'elite' objects suggest limited access to resources and the presence of social hierarchy (Davaras 1975, 114; Soles 1988; Branigan 1991b; Soles 1992). Objects of remarkably similar material and craftsmanship, however, were found within both the large chamber tombs and the cist burials (Watrous 1994, 713; Damilati 2005, 203). Tomb XIX, a small cist grave, contains many of the same types of objects as those found in the chamber tombs, including ceramic fruit stands, several stone vessels, bronze weapons and personal grooming objects, necklaces of stone beads, and several gold objects of fine craftsmanship. Four gold pins in the shape of daisies were discovered, as well as two bands of gold with geometric decoration, which Seager admits are "almost identical with one from [chamber] Tomb II" (Seager 1912, 72). The correlation between wealthy

[62] The little information regarding the human remains comes from descriptions of the deposits with statements such as "All the objects seemed to have been thrown in promiscuously and were mixed with the fragmentary remains of many bodies" to describe a deposit from Tomb II (Seager 1912, 24). These vague descriptions are likely due to a lack of preservation for the human remains,"…although human bones were reduced to the consistency of paper and only one skull could be saved out of the many fragments" (Seager 1912, 17).

objects and tomb construction is also shaky. Seager remarks that the construction of Tomb XIX was "very poor" but that it was also "the richest of the smaller tombs" (Seager 1912, 70). The presence of similar, high-value objects in both the cist graves and the chamber tombs, and the lack of clear association between elite objects and well-constructed tombs, discourages the interpretation that social status is clearly represented or negotiated within burials at Mochlos.

The intra-site comparisons of Seager, Soles, Davaras, and Branigan illustrate several important differences between the two parts of the cemetery including locality, size and elaboration of tomb architecture, and the quality and numbers of objects interred. The simplistic interpretations of these dissimilarities as expressions of socio-economic and political hierarchy without consideration of contextual disparities in preservation, chronology, or even burial practice are, however, problematic. Distinction among tomb structures and interred materials should be considered in light of these differences, and methods of expression and social interaction other than vertical hierarchies must be considered to appreciate the relationship between and among complex contexts.

Contemporary Scholarship: Is Agency Enough?

One of the many critiques of the Post-Processual movements in archaeology has been the simplistic correlation between the wealth of a tomb and the status of the interred. Agency (Flannery 1999; Dobres and Robb 2000), the role of the living in constructions of identity (J. C. Barrett 1990; B. Arnold 2001), and manipulations of space and objects for negotiating status (D. Miller and Tilley 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1987b, 1987a; Parker Pearson 1993; J. C. Barrett 1994; Beck 1995; Rainville 1999; Chesson 2001a, 2001b), have dominated contemporary literature on funerary spaces broadly (Bartel 1982; Hodder

1982a; E.J. Pader 1982; Parker Pearson 1982; Hodder 1982b; Carr 1995; Parker Pearson 1999; Tilley 1999) and in Aegean archaeology specifically (Blasingham 1983; I. Morris 1987; Soles 1988; Branigan 1991a; Voutsaki 1992; Maggidis 1994; Antonaccio 1995; Voutsaki 1995b, 1995a; Hamilakis 1998b; Karytinos 1998; Maggidis 1998; Murphy 1998; Voutsaki 1998; Dimopoulou 1999; Preston 1999; Voutsaki 1999; Maggidis 2000; Borgna 2003; Relaki 2003; Preston 2004a, 2004b; Papadatos 2005; Legarra Herrero 2007).

While this consideration of the living and the active role that people, objects, and spaces play marks an important movement toward acknowledging the major social significance of burial and the importance of cultural context for the interpretation funerary behavior, it has not greatly altered the understanding of Minoan cemeteries as focus has remained on socio-economic status. Agency and active reproductions or deviations of social structure among the living provide a more holistic view of burial rites than a focus solely on the dead, but funerary data remains mired in analyses of social ranking. The living are granted agency but only to maintain or disrupt the social order. The numbers of actors increase but it maintains a narrow view of social interaction, limited to vertical movement along a relative social scale. While acknowledging agency is significant, it is only a one-dimensional shift in perspective and must not be considered a panacea for the myriad problems in the study of cemeteries solely for social structure. More recently, several scholars have questioned the role of individual agency in the era before and during the early palaces, suggesting that social practice, especially those taking place in cemeteries, highlight group and community affiliations rather than individual wealth and status or agonistic relationships (Schoep 2006, 2012; Schoep,

Tomkins, and Driessen 2012; Murphy 2011a; Legarra Herrero 2016; Déderix 2017).

Ritual in Cemeteries

Ritual within tombs and cemeteries, along with studies of material and architectural, regional differentiation, and social structure, has been a major focus of Minoan archaeology. Studies of Minoan funerary ritual have focused on burial stages, such as primary burial and secondary treatment of human remains (Branigan 1987a, 1993, 124–27; Georgoulaki 1996; Murphy 1998), rituals for the living within tomb spaces and cemeteries (Branigan 1970c, 1991a; Goodison 2000; Letesson and Driessen 2008; Caloi 2011a; Campbell-Green and Michelaki 2012), and the manipulation of human remains and objects for veneration and reifying access to resources, such as land and social power (Branigan 1987a, 1991a; Murphy 1998; Soles 2000, 2001, 2012; Caloi 2011b; Bonney 2014). This section considers sociological interpretations of funerary ritual with a thorough treatment of the ancestor trend in burial scholarship.

Sociological Interpretations of Cemetery Ritual

Drawing on earlier sociological studies of death and ritual such as Hertz (1907), and van Gennep (1909), anthropologists of the 1960s became interested in the complexity of funerary rituals, the multi-stage process of death and burial, and the function of mortuary practices for managing the inevitability of death and sustaining social structure (Goody 1962; Miles 1965; Turner 1967, 1969; Bloch 1971).[63] The concept of liminality,

[63] Following (Durkheim 2008), Hertz' work on collective representations of death considers the process of death, citing cultures which did not consider death to be instantaneous but rather a longer progression of dying (1907, 1960). Van Gennep considered the function of ritual to be a process of incorporating individuals into culturally defined identities. Death was one of many rites of passage and associated rituals a of means of coping with the inevitability of death (1960). For a review of this scholarship see (Huntington and Metcalf 1979, 1–20; Murphy 2011c, 4–5).

a state of transition, put forth by van Gennep (1909) and Turner (1969), was a major contribution to funerary studies. While earlier sociological studies were concerned with how ritual functions to restore the social fabric, archaeological studies suggest that mortuary rituals accurately reflect and serve to recreate and reconstruct social and economic structures (Huntington and Metcalf 1979, 16; Murphy 2011c, 5).

In his ethnographic analysis of the secondary burial rites of the Ngadju-Dayak, for example, Miles disagreed with Hertz's sociological interpretation that a liminal period of delay between the funeral and the secondary burial was due to the shock that the collective consciousness experienced at the death of the individual and suggested that economic factors, that is the ability of those responsible for the rite to afford what is needed for the ceremony, played a substantial role. He maintained that the ability to perform the ritual as well as the lavishness of the ceremony are related to the economic standing of the family or person responsible for the ritual, and that the ceremony itself is a display of conspicuous consumption (Hertz 1960; Miles 1965). According to Miles, for the Ngadju-Dayak, the economic output had a direct effect on the soul of the deceased. Those who received the sacrifice of a cow, for example, could reside in greater comfort than those who received only a chicken or pig (Miles 1965, 163).[64] Miles argued that socio-economic subsystems have a direct correlation with burial ritual and that observable patterns in the secondary burial rites suggest socio-economic diversity and differential access to wealth.

[64] Among the Ngadju-Dayak, the afterlife is conceived of as a village similar to those of the living and called "The Rich Village". Those who receive offerings of cows are able to live in the core of the village whereas those to receive offerings of chickens or pigs are only able to live in the nearby hamlets, in less comfort (Miles 1965, 163).

Huntington and Metcalf: Contextual Analysis

The work of Huntington and Metcalf can be considered a turning point in the historiography of the study of death and funerary rituals. Published in 1979, their work traced the complicated history of the study of mortuary practices. Catalogs of western practices had been compiled (Mitford 1963; Gorer 1965; Ariès 1967) but they note the lack of anthropological treatments of death. Huntington and Metcalf asserted that archaeological interest in burial remains are not attributable to any particular fascination with funerary customs, but arise from the nature of the data, such as the superior preservation of tombs to other contexts and materials, and the fact that "mortuary constructions are often the most impressive and revealing remains of early civilizations" (Huntington and Metcalf 1979, 6).

They also criticized earlier sociological interpretations of ritual for their lack of a contextualized interpretation in favor of universal and generalizing theories. Radcliffe-Brown's analysis of Andamanese weeping, for example, illustrated the contexts in which ritual weeping takes place and suggested that weeping is not simply born of emotion but serves to create and strengthen social bonds. While they accept this interpretation for Adamanese weeping, Huntington and Metcalf point out that ritual weeping likely has different meanings depending on the associated culture and context. They critique Durkheim's work for a similar dissociation with the contextual meaning behind ritual. Durkeim interpreted a death ritual among the Warramunga from a written description, without intimate knowledge of the culture (Radcliffe-Brown 1964; Durkheim 2008; Huntington and Metcalf 1979, 23–34). Huntington and Metcalf argue for a fully contextual treatment of funerary remains both methodologically and interpretively and

reject an analysis of isolated incidents and universalizing interpretations for burials and ritual.

Ritual on Crete

Many of these scholarly trends regarding the interpretation of ritual, including the function of ritual for the living, the sociological implications of burial and multi-stage burial processes, and the importance of a contextualized reading of funerary rituals, have been employed in the analysis of Minoan tombs (Pini 1968; Branigan 1970c, 1991a). Scholars have drawn on van Gennep's three-stage burial process for analyses of ancestor ritual, secondary interactions with human remains, and tomb treatments, such as fumigations, (Branigan 1987a, 1993, 124–27; Georgoulaki 1996; Murphy 1998). Others have discussed the role of gender in rituals (Goodison 1989; Goodison and Morris 1998a, 1998b; Chapin 2007; Goodison 2009; Kopaka 2009; Zeimbeki 2009; Goodison and Morris 2013), the evolution of ritual along with changing political systems (Murphy 2010; Caloi 2011a), and cognitive approaches to cemetery ritual (Bardsley 2004). Perhaps the largest body of scholarship, however, has been produced on ancestor veneration and the cult of the dead (Branigan 1987a, 1991a; Murphy 1998; Soles 2001; cf. Whitley 2002b), as well as feasting and toasting rituals within cemeteries (Hamilakis 1998a, 1998b; Panagiotopoulos 2001a; La Rosa 2001; Relaki 2003; Damilati 2005; Catapoti 2005; Branigan 2008; Letesson and Driessen 2008; Campbell-Green and Michelaki 2012).

Ancestors

Ancestor theory, now engrained in Minoan funerary studies, began in the late 1960s, with the pioneering work of Saxe and later Goldstein, and was later taken up by

Post-Processualists.[65] The Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis unites anthropological, sociological, and economic interpretive methodologies by suggesting that the use of multi-generational burial places served to legitimate group rights to land and agricultural resources. Funerals and rituals honoring the ancestors acknowledge the indebtedness of the group to the ancestors for the use of the land and burial space (Saxe 1970; Goldstein 1981; I. Morris 1991).[66] This ancestor hypothesis has roots in the Marxist theory that agricultural and kinship-based societies rely on previous generations for resources to produce food, making continuity more important among agriculturalists than among nomadic groups (Meillassoux 1972, 99; Bradley 1984, 15–21; Whitley 2002b, 120–21). These two frameworks reinforce one another and serve to explain why agricultural, kinship-based societies bury their dead in communal, monumental tombs within bounded, ancestral land (Whitley 2002b, 121).

Ancestor theories have, however, received some criticism (Fortes 1976; Newell 1976a, 1976b; I. Morris 1991; Thomas 1991; Whittle 1998; Whitley 2002b). Scholars caution against the universal practice and utility of ancestor veneration, suggesting studies consider cultural specificity and account for long-term change (I. Morris 1991, 155–63).[67] Whitley calls the 'ancestor hypothesis' an orthodoxy that has mostly avoided

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[65] Ancestor theory is distinguished here from scholarship on memory. For thorough treatments of memory see (Alcock 2002; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Meskell 2007; Yoffee 2007; Mills 2008; Mills and Walker 2008; Borić 2010; Van Dyke 2016).

[66] In the interpretation of Neolithic Britain, Processual archaeologists relied on analogies with agriculturalists groups who made use of collective and monumental burial places and venerated ancestors, namely the Merina of Madagascar (Bloch 1971; Renfrew 1976) and Asian, specifically Taiwanese, practices of ancestor worship, in which each identified lineage possessed inherited land and worshiped ancestors within an ancestral hall containing tablets painted with the names of ancestors (Ahern 1973; Harrell 1976; Chao 1983; I. Morris 1991, 152–54).

[67] Morris criticizes ethnographic analogs, citing the need for studies of long-term change among textually documented ancient societies. For example, 5th-1st century BCE Athens and 2nd century

contextual analysis and testing against data (Whitley 2002b, 119).[68] Ethnographic comparanda have been uncritically applied to material from ancient cultures, especially Neolithic Britain and ancient Greece (Snodgrass 1982, 1988; Antonaccio 1995; Hägg 1999). Citing the three kinds of archaeology – nationalist, imperialist, and colonialist – put forth by Trigger (1984), Whitley suggests that the interest in ancestors, especially for British prehistory, is directly related to nationalist archaeology focused on making people feel a connection with their past (2002b, 120).

Ancestors, although they need not be recalled individually or by name, must be linked to descendants who remember them and perform rituals emphasizing continuity (cf. Antonaccio 2016). It follows that not all dead become ancestors, and burial or disposal of the dead should not be considered indicative of ancestor veneration. Ancestorhood is achieved and often requires special rites of passage. Ethnoarchaeological evidence indicates that veneration or worship of ancestors most often takes place at a site removed from the place of primary burial (Goody 1962, 235-238-384; Wolf 1976; Whitley 2002b, 122; cf. I. Morris 1991, 152–54). Furthermore, the majority of these interpretations have failed to distinguish between various kinds of ancestors who are portrayed one-dimensionally as benevolent, in spite of much ethnographic evidence to the

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BCE-2nd century CE Rome. Texts indicates a shared concern for inheritance and property transmission as well as the use of delimited, formalized cemeteries, but Morris emphasizes their drastically different origins, ideologies, and practices. Burial within a formal Athenian cemetery marked citizenship and collective identity, while Roman cemeteries were more permeable and served to divide people in terms of economic and social standing as much as unite citizens (I. Morris 1991, 155–63).

[68] He criticizes the lack of contextual analysis of ancestors, noting that while the interpretation relies heavily on analogies with African, Asian, and Malagasy agriculturalists, archaeologists have not reconsidered the analogy since the agricultural basis of Neolithic Britain has been questioned (Thomas 1991; Whittle 1996).

contrary.[69] Whitley states:

> If we cannot distinguish between different kinds of ancestor, we cannot make distinctions between the kinds of relationship that might have been established between the past and the present in the past, and we cannot arrive at interpretations that respect the specificity of the evidence we seek to understand (2002b, 122).

Finally, in the interpretation of reused and repurposed monuments, ancestor theories focus only on continuity with the past and a shared identity, ignoring other possibilities, especially discontinuity. For example, both Irish and Greek folklore attribute earlier monumental structures to previous or alien races, such as the Tuatha Dé Danaan and the Cyclopes. While they may have been venerated, the emphasis is on discontinuity with the past and a distinct identity (Whitley 2002b).

Greek archaeologists have drawn on ancestor theories for the interpretation of monumental and funerary structures of the Greek world and the communal, long-lived tombs of Minoan Crete as places of ancestor veneration. Although there is no evidence for continuity in the practice, or for any true connection between those buried and those reopening the tombs, Antonaccio and Snodgrass argue that reopening Bronze Age tombs and depositing of material, mostly in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, indicates an interest in and concern for ancestors (Snodgrass 1982, 1988, Antonaccio 1992, 1995, 245–50; cf. Whitley 2002b, 124; I. Morris 1991, 157).[70] This archaeologically and textually

[69] For a response to this critique see (Antonaccio 2016).

[70] Mazarakis Ainian distinguishes between later cult activity at prehistoric tombs, cults of mythical heroes, and cults in honor of the recently heroized dead. Based on evidence from the *heroon* of Lefkandi, the *megara* at Thermon, and the Sacred House at Eleusis, worshipping ancestors within a ruler's dwelling existed in the EIA and may have continued from the LBA. He also connects this practice to the circulation of the Homeric epics, and agrees with Morris that this interest in ancestors might serve to connect rulers of the 8th century BCE with the earlier heroes (I. Morris 1986b, 129; Mazarakis Ainian 1999).

documented practice has been interpreted as a social and political mechanism that Archaic Greeks used to connect themselves with ancient inhabitants in order to claim ownership of the land (Snodgrass 1980, 38–39(I. Morris 1986b, 129; Mazarakis Ainian 1999).[71]

Over the last 30 years, several studies have been published on Minoan ancestors (Branigan 1998c; Murphy 1998; Soles 2000, 2001; Driessen 2010; Soles 2010; Caloi 2011b; Soles 2012; Bonney 2014). Drawing on evidence from the entire Minoan period – EBA through the end of the LM III – as well as multiple tombs, cemeteries, and regions, including the Mesara, the house tombs of eastern Crete, and the cemeteries of north-central Crete, scholars have argued for ancestor worship at specific sites. Based on their location and architectural elements, it is suggested that the tholos tombs of south-central Crete, for example, were used to demarcate land ownership in the fertile Mesara and for ancestor worship.[72] At Mochlos, Soles uses the mortuary evidence to directly interpret the socio-political structure in place at various times, citing a continual but variable practice of ancestor worship from the Minoan to the Archaic periods. While the later evidence suggests a political motivation for reopening tombs based on claims to land, he argues that the Minoan period was more egalitarian and so ancestors were not needed for such

[71] The textual evidence includes Herodotus' recounting of Orestes' bones returned to Sparta (Herodotus i.67-68). Herodotus also recounts Kleisthenes of Sikyon's reburial of Malanippos' remains after their removal from Thebes (v.67). Plutarch's description of Kimon's retrieval of Theseus' bones in Skyros and repatriation to Athens is similar (Plutarch *Life of Theseus* xxxvi.1-2; *Life of Kimon* viii.3-6).

[72] Based on changes in the burial structures and the amount and types of goods discovered, Murphy argues that the elites of EM III and early MM controlled access to the ancestors to legitimize their power. Using Saxe's eighth hypothesis, outlined above, to argue that the location of the tombs, with impressive views and proximity to areas of habitation, as well as the energy expenditure for their construction, she argues that the tombs "marked the resources and legitimized the related community's right to those resources" (Murphy 1998, 30).

claims (Soles 2001).[73]

Despite the lack of shared and consistent approaches to burial process in Minoan tombs, the manipulation of human remains has been interpreted as evidence of ancestor worship. Analyses of Minoan burial practices draw on van Gennep's three-stage funerary process with rites of separation, transition, and finally, incorporation. Accordingly, the body was given a respectful primary burial with objects from the individual's life, accompanied by rituals involving food and drink. The body was then left to decompose as the living mourned and severed ties with the deceased. Finally, the deceased was incorporated into the world of the ancestors, which, in the Minoan world, involved disarticulation and occasionally cleaning the bones.[74] After disarticulation, the interment no longer warrants respect, objects, or offerings of food and drink. Altars, located inside or outside of tombs, were used for rituals honoring the deceased and access was

[73] Soles interprets the reopening of an LM III tomb, removal of skeletal material to an unknown location, and deposition of two vases, as the establishment of a hero cult, intended to create a sense of identity and continuity, but this was not a widespread practice in Archaic Crete as land was worked by non-landowning serfs. LM III rituals involved both drinking and libations in honor of the newly deceased, but no evidence exists for extended worship of ancestors in the Mycenaean period, suggesting to Soles that the majority of people did not own land and did not confer property to heirs, leaving little need of ancestors (Fortes 1976; Soles 2001, 231–32). The long use-life of tombs and evidence for the retention, collection, and redeposition of skulls in the Minoan period are considered indications of ancestor worship. Only a few "elite" tombs have altars and shrines nearby and some structures perhaps served as a "mortuary chapel" where offerings to the dead were made (Soles 2001, 235). In LM I the space and methods of worship changed as chamber tombs do not lend themselves to the practice. Following van Leuven, Soles suggests that focus turned to the pillar crypt (van Leuven 1981, 14–15; Soles 2001, 234). He posits that the Minoan world was more egalitarian and that Neopalatial Crete was populated by "a large middle class of free, land-owning people", although this is not consistent with his studies of the Mochlos cemetery, which he suggests represent a hierarchical social order as early as EM II (Soles 1988; Soles 2001, 235) .

[74] The evidence for cleaning is scant but Murphy cites some evidence of scraping and cutting from Ayia Kyriaki and the presence of obsidian blades and flakes within tombs, the cleaning of the tombs and occasional removal of bones (including lack of goods in the lower level of Koumasa B), and the fumigation of certain tombs, such as Koumasa B and Platanos B (1998).

determined by social status – with higher status individuals closer and lower status people further away.[75]

Ancestors have become engrained in the academic consciousness, allowing scholars to move beyond questioning their existence or function (Driessen 2010; Caloi 2011b; Bonney 2014; Antonaccio 2016). Many recent publications concerning ancestors in the Minoan world omit theoretical concepts and ethnographic evidence present in earlier studies, offering only further confirmation with specific archaeological evidence like the rare circumstances of human remains found in domestic contexts, such as the fragmentary skull from Myrtos Phournou Koriphi, considered meaningful by its adjacency to the so-called "Goddess of Myrtos" (Driessen 2010, 107). Evidence for the deposition of objects with secondary interments, on the other hand, offer a more compelling argument for the veneration of previously buried people. It seems that some objects were not intended to accompany individual burials (cf. Colburn 2008b), but were deposited or moved after secondary treatment in honor of the collective ancestors, suggesting that individual status was not central to Minoan society but that the structure revolved around group dynamics and community practice (Driessen 2010; Murphy 2011a).[76] Inverted cups, for example, are most often found with secondary interments and a particularly good example of this practice comes from BB 7 at Archanes-Phourni,

[75] These include Porti (Y), Ayia Triada A (G), Platanos A, Ayia Triada A (Room I), Kamilari I (Room B), Vorou A (Di, D2), and Lebena II (Room AN). The increase in conical cups, perhaps used in the drinking ritual, and a larger number of prestige objects in the EM III/MM IA is interpreted as an increase in the drinking rite, now controlled by elites, and an increase in social stratification (1998).

[76] Driessen cites examples of objects placed on or near skulls after secondary treatment. E.g. Kyparissi rock tomb, excavated by Serpetsidaki, BB 7 at Archanes, published by Maggidis, MM III Gypsades, by Hood, and Lebena Zervou III tholos, Alexiou and Warren (Driessen 2010, 113–14).

which will be discussed in greater detail.[77]

The weaknesses of ancestor theories lie in the failure to distinguish types of ancestors and to provide contextually specific interpretations of their veneration (Whitley 2002b). Ancestors are seen one-dimensionally as altruistic and uncomplicated entities to be drawn up for the purpose of claiming access to resources or for group cohesion and status. They tend to offer tidy interpretations that rely heavily on a single example of extraordinary secondary treatment to suggest that all secondary treatment of skeletal remains and associated objects, regardless of context, must have similar meaning. Soles, for example, cites the redeposition of skulls from Tomb III (EM II) into Tomb I (MM IA) at Gournia as ancestor worship based on a "repeated ritual act" (Soles 2001). The removal and redeposition of skulls 600 years after primary interment is a single act, and while it may imply concern for the proper redeposition of human remains it does not suggest a continual process of ancestor worship over many hundreds of years. If we accept that the ancestors had a role in Minoan burial practice, expressed through the secondary treatment of human remains, it must be acknowledged that the data do not indicate a consistent or single method of secondary interment. Minoan funerary methods are marked by various types of secondary treatment and contextually specific approaches to death.

In an attempt to produce a contextually specific understanding of the lived experience of burial rituals, Bonney comprehensively analyzed the single tomb structure

[77] Caloi notes examples of cups found inverted, on their side, or in unknown orientations, accompanying disturbed or relocated skeletal material. The best example is a skeleton found in Room 5 of BB 7 at Archanes where the individual was discovered in a mostly primary position with a cup underneath the jaw and cranium placed at near the legs with an inverted cup (Caloi 2011b).

of Lebena Yerokambos in the Mesara. Combining contemporary archaeological understandings of time and space, agency, phenomenology, and materiality, she reinterpreted the architectural history and use-life of the tomb. Several significant changes are noted in this one tomb, suggesting that the relationship between the living and the dead changed alongside new depositional practices.[78] Bonney's approach to ancestors is contextual and focuses on human interaction with the deceased. This methodology and interpretation moves away from seeing architectural additions and changes in depositional practices as expressions of power or the emergence of hierarchies at the end of the Prepalatial Period, toward an understanding of how they shaped and were shaped "by changes in the views the survivors had of the departed" (Bonney 2014, 171). She rightly argues that burial practices and the tombs themselves be seen as the embodiments of social relationships, both among the living and between the living and the dead, rather than as mere symbols or representations. In addition to chronological changes such as architectural modifications and alterations in funerary practice, contemporaneous, intra-site variation should also be considered for a fully contextualized

[78] Bonney outlines four tomb phases, from its construction at the beginning of the EBA through the addition of a second tholos and at least four other rooms. Tholos II was constructed first and then a smaller tholos (IIalpha) was added ca. 400-450 years later. Rooms AN and Delta were built over the next 100-150 years. Around 1900 BCE, the entry to Tholos II was filled with bones, IIalpha was sealed off and two more rooms (A and M) were constructed. A appears to have been used as an ossuary and M functioned as an offering space as no bones were found but the room was filled with hundreds of conical cups (Bonney 2014, 165–66). The latest rooms indicated a change in burial practice, with Room A used only as an ossuary and Room M reserved for offerings, suggesting that the earlier practice of secondary interaction with human remains had changed. The pottery offered also changed, moving from a variety of domestic vessels to a more standardized deposition of cups and bowls (Bonney 2014, 170). The move from domestic pottery to a distinct set of drinking vessels and the addition of rooms mark a distancing from the deceased. The addition of the final rooms A and M indicated that the deceased were now ancestors and the burials complex was now a symbol of the dead, rather than an actual boundary (Bonney 2014, 172).

understanding of relationships between the living and the dead. Attention to both chronological variation and differentiation among contemporary tombs distinguishes alternative approaches to death among groups of people living side-by-side.

While theories of ancestors may offer productive models for interpreting mortuary contexts, too often they are uncritically used to connect the abundant data from cemeteries to the social, political, and economic structures, for which there exists little evidence. Many studies make little or no attempt to contextualize this practice both chronologically and regionally, instead choosing to cherry-pick examples from multiple time-periods as it suits the argument. Before pursuing analyses of ancestor veneration at Minoan cemeteries, it is imperative to first understand the types of secondary interaction taking place, which are anything but consistent. It is also necessary to understand the process of becoming an ancestor in a contextually specific way, rather than citing individual actions that appear to be the exception rather than the norm.

CONCLUSION

This chapter summarized the history of Minoan mortuary studies, from the earliest cemetery excavations to contemporary interpretations of funerary data on Crete, and offered an analysis and critique of several trends in the scholarship. Organization of objects within archaeological publications, a focus on materials and architecture, and the emphasis on similarity among classes of artifacts has left contextual analyses of tomb assemblages and cemeteries vastly under-theorized. Studies focusing on regional variation in burial practices and socio-political structures indicate the need for a contextualized understanding of Minoan Crete. Contemporary scholarship on Minoan cemeteries, including the work of Schoep, Legarro Herrero, and Triantaphyllou, has

problematized many of the issues presented above and advanced funerary studies to include more nuanced and contextual approaches.[79] As scholars tend to privilege larger scales of differentiation and interaction, however, variation within a single cemetery has been overlooked. Legarra Herrero, for example, states that chronology and geographic space are the two "most important axes of variation" (2007, 29). While this scholarship offers an alternative to a homogenized and monolithic view of the island, smaller scales of differentiation have been obscured in order to illuminate differences among regions.

Variation within and among cemeteries and burials is most often analyzed using three variables – chronological change, regional differentiation, and social hierarchy – leaving diversity among contemporary social groups and evidence of intra-site interaction mostly unconsidered. Studies considering hierarchy, 'complexity', and social inequality have dominated the scholarship of Minoan cemeteries. Differences among tomb structures, materials and objects interred, and burial practices and rituals, have been attributed to socio-economic disparities and limited access to resources, leading to competition and the inevitable rise of the State. While scholars have sought to identify agency among those interring, rather than viewing burials as direct reflections of individual identity, the use of cemeteries for understanding social structures during the rise of the state has remained unchanged. Differentiation in architecture, material culture, and custom, including burial practices, however, cannot be limited to static, linear views of increasing complexity. Contextual and nuanced approaches to the dynamics of variability must be applied to a single site in the same way they have been

[79] With the exception of Soles' analysis of Mochlos (1988, 1992), which has a different agenda.

conscientiously and rigorously applied to regional studies.

Carson Daly: We were expecting you a little earlier, Prince, but we're happy to have you.
Prince: I don't use time.
Carson Daly: So what do you use?
Prince: Truth.
– Holmes 2016

CHAPTER 3: NEW THEORIES AND METHODS

In the previous chapter I provided a summary of mortuary studies on Crete, underlining the role of cemeteries in Minoan scholarship and the limitations of these investigations and methods. Here I offer alternative approaches to cemetery studies and a context-focused cemetery analysis, highlighting intra-site variability, group identity, and communal funerary practices. Drawing on the methodologies and findings presented in large-scale regional studies and small-scale tomb analyses, I consider diverse burial practices and changing attitudes toward the cemetery at the mid-range scale of a single site. The complex tomb assemblages at Archanes-Phourni attest to a broadly shared, community-wide set of interment methods and approaches to death. Aspects of this practice, however, varied over time, and different groups in the cemetery, represented by different burial structures, had their own distinctive methods of interring people, organizing funerary space, and depositing burial offerings. I advocate for a contextual approach to a single cemetery that considers shared mortuary habits and group diversity, changes in funerary practice over time, and the relationship between the living and the dead.

While Archanes-Phourni and other Minoan cemeteries are well-studied, there are only a few treatments of burial practice *per se* and interactions between the living and the dead (Branigan 1970c, 1987a, 1991a, 1993, 2008; Hamilakis 1998b; Murphy 1998,

2011a; Younger and Rehak 2008). Large-scale regional analyses of Minoan cemetery data have greatly added to our understanding of variability in practice and social structure throughout the island (Halstead 1994; Relaki 2003, 2004, 2012; Watrous, Hadzi-Vallianou, and Blitzer 2004; Schoep 2009; Murphy 2011c; Brogan 2013; Legarra Herrero 2014, 2016), while close analysis of tombs, mostly by physical anthropologists, have shown the intensity and diversity of burial practices in a single space (Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015; Triantaphyllou 2009, 2012, 2016). The mid-range scale of intra-site variability, both spatial and chronological, however, has not been given the same attention.

In the last 15 years or so, cemetery studies have focused on publishing new data from smaller cemetery excavations (Driessen et al. 2009, 2011, 2012; Driessen 2014; Vasilakis and Branigan 2010; Tsipopoulou 2015) and reanalyzing single tomb structures (Maggidis 1994; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Papadatos 2005; Flouda 2011; Betancourt 2012). Given the small scale of most contemporary excavations, a detailed reanalysis of a single cemetery requires the "re-excavation" of a previously excavated and published site, and legacy data offer rich possibilities for such work. For the re-excavation of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery, I draw my data from the final report (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997), the numerous yearly excavations reports, and the few re-analyses of single tombs (Maggidis 1994; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Papadatos 2005).

In this chapter I present methodological and theoretical apparatuses for reanalyzing a single, well-published, cemetery site. Drawing on approaches developed by osteologists, archaeologists, and anthropologists analyzing complex assemblages on Crete and elsewhere, my reanalysis of Archanes-Phourni considers interment methods

directly, contextually grounding the multitude of practices used in the cemetery in space and time. For considering dissimilarities and distinctions between and within assemblages, I use the widely accepted archaeological concept of 'structured deposition' (Richards and Thomas 1984; Thomas 1991, 1996, 2000b, 2011). I adapt methodologies developed and implemented by physical anthropologists, such as archaeothanatology and other taphonomic approaches, for studying legacy data in order to analyze secondary treatments and instances of interaction in the Phourni tombs (Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015; Triantaphyllou 2016). Alternative approaches to time, including multi-scalar and non-linear models put forth by the *Annales* School and anthropologists like Gavin Lucas, provide a methodology for interpreting Minoan tombs with long use-lives and continuous interactions with the dead (Bintliff 1991; Knapp 1992; Sherratt 1992; Lucas 2005, 2008, 2012, 2013).

To address the interactive and communal nature of Minoan tombs, I make use of recent approaches to materiality, personhood and identity, value, and gift giving. The 'material turn' problematizes the binary distinction between material/immaterial and subject/object, putting forth an integrated approach to the human and material worlds that is useful for studying Minoan cemeteries (D. Miller 2005; Knappett 2007, 2014; Knappett and Malafouris 2008; Mills and Walker 2008). Rather than *a priori* assumptions about the importance of the individual in Minoan funerary contexts, I consider their communal nature and explore anthropological concepts of dividual and partible personhood (Fowler 2004). Furthermore, I assess object value within the Phourni cemetery, placing it within the larger social system and focusing not only on its value at deposition, but on its "potential" for maintaining relationships as an alternative to socio-

economic interpretations (Graeber 2001). Drawing on Mauss's later theories of gift exchange, including other forms of non-agonistic gifts, I suggest that his concept of total presentation and communistic giving is a more fruitful model for the interpretation of Minoan burial objects and the relationship between the living and the dead (Mauss 2007; Sahlins 1972, 193–98).

These theoretical concepts provide alternative frameworks for interpreting the data gathered from Minoan cemeteries and will be employed and developed for a thorough reanalysis of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery in the following chapters. Similarly, I will also apply alternative methodologies for gathering, presenting, and analyzing the data from the tombs. Using Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) and simple statistical comparative analyses, I will reconsider the relationships between and among burial structures and assemblages at Phourni. Graphic representations of the finds visualize the data, allowing the assemblages to be clearly comprehended and compared. I employ select multivariate analyses to augment this analysis. To test the correlation between two variables, such as MNI (Minimum Number of Individuals) and MNO (Minimum Number of Objects) and tomb area and MNO, I use both Regression Analysis (RA) and Spearman's Rank Correlation. To better comprehend the relationship among the tombs and change over time, I use a modified version of an "adjacency" matrix that I call a Similarity Index, which quantifies and visually represents similarity among the assemblages.

The following sections further explore the theories and methods mentioned above, beginning with an explanation of the theoretical models for reconsidering variation (structured depositions, archaeothanatology and taphonomy), time, materiality, and value.

This is followed by an explanation of data-collection methods and a brief consideration of how simple statistical models will be used for the case study of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery.

THEORETICAL APPARATUSES

STRUCTURED DEPOSITION

The concept of the 'structured deposit' was first developed by Thomas and Richards for their study of Neolithic assemblages in Britain (Richards and Thomas 1984; Thomas and Whittle 1986; Thomas 1988). In reaction to interpretive models that analyzed assemblages as the static preservation of 'cultural behavior', they suggested that meaning is not simply reflected in depositions but that the act of deposition can be considered meaningful and contextually specific.[80] Richards and Thomas were interested in the intentionality behind assemblages, including the symbolic aspects of objects and the association between materials, and suggested that some deposits are 'structured' by formal and repetitive behavior (1984, 191). Rather than emphasize similarities between deposits, although those certainly exist, this theoretical model considers variation among contextually associated depositions (Thomas 1991).

In his study of deposits within pits, ditches, henges, and wet places across Neolithic Britain, for example, Thomas notes the structural differences between interior and exterior assemblages found at monuments. Interior deposits were found to hold

[80] Thomas and Richards are responding to theories put forth by Binford, and especially, Schiffer, who argued that deposits could be altered by natural agencies of change, 'n-transformations, and cultural 'c-transformations' (Schiffer 1976, 1983, 1987). This binary used to define what is natural and what is cultural has been rejected as an unhelpful separation of natural and human. Additionally, such models rely "on an assumption that assemblages are the 'fall out' of human action, side stepping questions of human intentions and meaning" (Joyce and Pollard 2010, 298).

domestically associated materials while exterior assemblages were composed of material that might belong in the wild, such as deer bones, human remains, and flint. Pits not associated with any structure, on the other hand, seem to have been dug, filled, and then covered quickly with domestic material. He interprets these as a way of 'fixing' places with material, of taming the landscape for a mobile community (Thomas 1991, 76). Assemblages are not analyzed as a reflection of activity but as an agentive act of deposition. Variation between assemblages is, therefore, potentially meaningful.

The theory of 'structured deposits' has been criticized for its emphasis on intentionality. According to Brudenell and Cooper, deposits mark sequences of events in which actors maneuver objects in relation to one another but we cannot assume that a deposit was created with a clear objective (2008, 31). The use of 'structured deposits' has expanded considerably to include areas not just associated with ritual, such as henges and burials, but more mundane depositional spaces, such as middens. Pollard has explored how Neolithic middens became important landmarks and were even incorporated into monumental architecture, suggesting that even commonplace depositions can have agency and 'act back' in ways that were not considered during deposition (2005). The terms 'structured deposition' and 'depositional practices' stress the movement away from the sole consideration of ritualized deposits toward other types of deposition (Joyce and Pollard 2010, 303).

Although Richards and Thomas developed this theoretical model for single depositions, unlike the funerary deposits found at Archanes-Phourni, the concept of 'structured deposition' is central to a reanalysis of Minoan cemeteries. First, there are rare instances where an act of structured deposition can be seen, but more importantly, a

conscious interrogation of these assemblages, explicitly for depositional processes, is necessary for comprehending Minoan burial practices and making sense of the archaeological context. Traditionally, the natural process of decay is seen as separate from the culturally specific human interaction with skeletal remains. Scholars have typically seen Minoan burial practices as a three-stage process, in which the deceased is placed in the tomb, the body is allowed to naturally decay, and then the skeletal remains are manipulated during some secondary burial ritual.[81] This human-natural-human process has recently been called into question by physical anthropologists. A close analysis of tomb assemblages suggests that the binary between human and natural processes is much less straight forward, often indicating a variety of approaches to the manipulation of human remains throughout the process of decay. This may include depletion, or removal of skeletal material, pushing bones aside to make room for new interments, and burning or other processes that physically alter the human remains (Triantaphyllou 2016; Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015). Natural and human processes are copresent, with a complex and intertwined relationship that must be fully appreciated for an understanding of Minoan burial practices.

Secondly, analysis that considers variation among deposits is imperative for interpreting communal Minoan tombs. Previous studies have tended to homogenize

[81] This process is sometimes referred to as a two-stage process when only considering the human interaction with the dead during primary and secondary burial (Murphy 2011b, 41). Branigan and Murphy align these processes with van Gennep's well-known three-stage scheme for rites of passage – separation, segregation (liminality), incorporation (van Gennep 1909, 1960; Branigan 1993, 119–27; Murphy 1998, 32–35). Triantaphyllou labels this "traditional" interpretation a two-stage process (2016). Branigan and Murphy outline various interactions with human remains but see them as part of the third stage of incorporation, after the liminal stage of decomposition, rather than as a continuous process of both human and natural processes (Branigan 1993, 124–27; Murphy 1998, 32–35).

single cemetery contexts by characterizing burial practice for comparison with other cemeteries on the island. Additionally, although the assemblages created by Minoan burial practices are unique, analytical methods have not been updated or have been unthoughtfully borrowed from contextually distinct disciplines.[82] When variation is acknowledged among tomb assemblages, it is often attributed to differences in status. Thomas addresses this directly by stating that "we cannot simply consider the single vector of rank and hope that we have understood the social relations of a community. Societies, after all, 'do' a lot of other things besides being internally ranked" (1991, 104). In order to understand Minoan burials, variation must be considered in more meaningful ways.

Furthermore, by expanding 'structured deposition' to encompass more than ritual deposits, and examining the form of depositional practice in addition to the material, more constructive comparisons are potentially available. In many ways, EM and MM tombs have more in common functionally with contexts like storage magazines than they do with tombs intended to receive single inhumations. Single deposition tombs were constructed, sealed, and never reopened.[83] Once sealed, these burials have limited function and can only be visited or forgotten. The person or objects within may be

[82] Christofilis Maggidis' analysis of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery, for example, outlines eight criteria "employed to reveal social ranking from mortuary data", assembled from various theoretical approaches and applications from the Minoan, Mycenaean, and Classical worlds, as well as Europe, Africa, and the New World (Maggidis 1998, 89).

[83] There are limited examples of single deposition tombs on Crete. Earlier examples exist at Ayia Photia but are considered to be the cemetery of a Cycladic community, discussed more thoroughly in the preceding chapter (Davaras and Betancourt 2004). LM III examples of single deposition burials are more common, and include the Mycenaean Grave Enclosure at Archanes-Phourni (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997) and other late cemeteries, including the so-called "warrior graves" (Hood and De Jong 1952; Whitley 2002a; Alberti 2004).

remembered but the tombs are not meant to be opened or manipulated. Minoan house tombs and tholoi, however, were built to hold many people for many generations, intended to be opened and reopened, and for the contents to be added to, subtracted from, and interacted with. Like the material housed in storage spaces, the contents of tombs were readily accessible. Adding and removing bones and objects was part of the practice, suggesting a relationship with tomb contents that more closely resembles a storage area than a sealed tomb (Hendon 2000).[84] Tombs and those within may therefore be seen as resources, maintaining an active role in the community. I suggest that such "mutual knowledge" and functional analyses offer more potential for studying the role of cemeteries in Minoan society than comparisons with single deposition tombs.

Archaeothanatology, Taphonomy, and Geomorphology

While the long and complex use-life of Minoan tombs is accepted and well-documented, the openings and re-openings, as well as the various actions and interactions that took place within the tombs, have remained relatively invisible. Traditional excavation methods and ceramic chronologies provide the duration of tomb use but are ill-equipped to illuminate frequency, intensity, or types of burial practice. Current excavation techniques, including geomorphology and taphonomic methodologies, such as archaeothanatology, that prioritize careful, contextual, and scientific analysis of tomb assemblages, offer glimpses of Bronze Age mortuary habits that are numerous and varied.

[84] Hendon makes such an argument concerning the 'mutual knowledge' of storage, defined as "an activity involving the placement of useful material resources in specific physical locations against future need" (2000, 42). She suggests that if we consider storage to be part of mutual knowledge and as part of the dialogue in which people create and challenge the moral order, we could extend the definition of storage to include caches, burials, and votive offerings.

Macro- and microstratigraphic excavation of several Mycenaean chamber tombs in the Nemea Valley, for example, revealed evidence of multiple instances of digging, reopening, and backfilling (Karkanas et al. 2012). Although these LH IIIA-B chamber tombs from mainland Greece are chronologically and geographically distinct from the tombs under consideration, they were constructed and reopened for burials multiple times, much like Minoan tombs, providing a useful methodological comparison. Excavation of the chamber tomb dromoi indicated multiple openings, likely directly followed by backfilling rather than a period of time in which the dromoi were left open. Karkanas et al. were able to distinguish multiple re-openings that roughly correlate with the number of individuals in the tomb, suggesting that tombs were re-opened once for each new burial, while ceramic analysis suggests that these re-openings took place over multiple generations (Karkanas et al. 2012, 2731). Such analysis has only recently been applied to a Minoan tomb. Micromorphological analysis of several undisturbed layers discovered in the northwest half of Tholos B at Koumasa, in the Mesara, revealed at least one instance of intense burning, followed by the spreading of a layer of lime, a new clay floor, and possibly other instances of burning (Boness and Goren 2017). Burning or "fumigation" has been reported in several other tholoi around the Mesara but the micromorphological analysis of Koumasa B provides significantly more data regarding temperature, intensity, occurrences, and fuel types than has previously been available (Boness and Goren 2017, 514–15).

Contemporary excavation of Minoan cemeteries highlights the need for on-site physical anthropology. Contextual analysis of the bones and taphonomy are particularly important for the analysis of complex assemblages, like Minoan tombs. In order to

understand the methods of burial and secondary interaction, physical anthropologists argue for careful excavation of remains and particular attention to articulation. Archaeothanatology, a methodology first developed for the excavations of Paleolithic cave assemblages, was recently applied to new excavations at Sissi in eastern Crete. Like taphonomic approaches, archaeothanatology provides an excellent model for detailed assessment of funerary evidence as it seeks to understand attitudes and behaviors related to death by reconstructing the various treatments of the deceased (Duday 2009; Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015). It "combines knowledge about how the human body decomposes with detailed observations of the created grave environment in order to explain the final spatial configuration of skeletal remains as found at the moment of excavation" (Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015, 285). *In situ*, contextual analysis of human remains provides much needed data for the formation processes that contributed to the tomb assemblage.

Early excavation techniques either discarded, reburied (as at Kamilari A), or collected and stored only some of the human remains discovered (Levi 1961). Analyses of human remains were limited to rough estimates of the numbers of individuals interred and simplified explanations of a two-stage burial practice, consisting of primary and secondary deposits.[85] Interpretations of these practices often focus on the process of depositing and forgetting; once a body decays, it is assumed to be no longer associated with the individual, leading to secondary deposition. As discussed above, however, recent attention to the taphonomy has revealed a significantly more variable practice of

[85] For a thorough history of the study of human remains in Greece see Lagia, Papathanasiou, and Triantaphyllou (2014).

interment and interaction than previously realized. Rather than a simple process of primary burial followed by secondary burial, Minoan tombs indicate a wide variety of secondary interactions with human remains and multi-stage processes, including removal, relocation, and fragmentation of the human body (Triantaphyllou 2016, 774). Careful analysis of human remains *in situ* further suggests a differential use of space. Different tombs indicate different functionality, with some spaces clearly used for temporary placement of human remains, and others for more permanent deposition. In her analysis of the human remains from House Tomb 5 within Petras Cemetery, Triantaphyllou notes that the low frequency of human remains in Rooms 1, 3, and 12 and suggests that these areas may have been used for temporary repositories, while the high frequency in Rooms 2, 9, and 10, suggests they were used for permanent placement of the dead (2016, 772–74).

Although the application of taphonomic archaeology and archaeothanatology cannot be applied to legacy data, such as the publications of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery, these excavation and interpretative methods provide the best standard of practice for the study of Minoan funerary contexts. These studies also indicate a need for the reconsideration of burial practices and the differential use of space in all Minoan cemeteries. Any reanalysis of a previously excavated cemetery, such as Archanes-Phourni, must consider both a multitude of secondary interactions with human remains, as well as variable types of interaction, as opposed to a simple two-stage burial process.[86]

[86] A similar study has been done for Levantine tombs. Melissa Cradic has argued that secondary treatment should not be considered as "unceremonious" or "cavalier" acts intended only to make room for new burials but that "the commingling of skeletal remains represents the end result of a series of highly ritualized, symbolic depositional episodes in which mourners actively handled and removed deceased bodies from the original placements" (2017, 220).

As Triantaphyllou has noted, the osteological evidence suggests significantly more interaction with human remains, over a longer period, than previously believed. In addition to keeping an eye out for evidence of intensive and variable interaction, the social theory of Minoan burial practices must be thoroughly reconsidered. A process of depositing and forgetting, or similarly (but conversely) of depositing and later venerating an ancestor, have been associated with a two-stage burial process. Both interpretive models must be adjusted to include more intensive, prolonged, and variable burial practices (Branigan 1970c, 1993, 1998c; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997; Soles 1992; Alexiou and Warren 2004; Murphy 1998, 2011b). Furthermore, as new excavations suggest varied spatial organizations, especially for rooms within house tombs, a thorough, contextual analysis of the assemblages is needed to understand how space was used for Minoan burial rites. While the taphonomic evidence cannot be reconstructed for Phourni, it is possible to reconsider how spaces within tombs were used based on the finds, or lack thereof, within rooms of a single tomb. Beyond an intra-site analysis of tombs, the intra-tomb, or room scale will indicate if and how various spaces were used for various aspects of the funerary rites.

Geomorphology and taphonomic approaches to Minoan tombs offer a methodology that will greatly enhance our understanding of these complex burial assemblages. Instances of opening and re-opening may become visible through the careful, stratigraphic excavation of entrances and tomb interiors. Burial methods, instances of interaction, and tomb cleanings are also made clearer through attention to *in situ* physical anthropology and contextual analysis of human remains and soils.

TIME

Time is such a fundamental principle of archaeological thought that it is difficult to imagine any analysis that does not consider it in some capacity, whether explicitly or implicitly. Archaeologists have recently started to consider alternative approaches to time that include various time scales, drawing on the philosophy of the *Annales* school, and more recently, non-linear time, through the work of archaeological theorists such as Lucas.

Scholars have drawn on the *Annales* school to argue for a view of time and change that is characterized by continuity and rapid change (Cobb 1991). The *Annales* school offers a multidimensional view of time that considers various time-scales – the *longue durée* of environmental change, the *moyenne durée* of social histories, and the *événements* or short-term scale of individuals and events – as opposed to the traditional view of history as a series of important events (Johnson 2010, 186–87).[87] Fernand Braudel, drawing on the work of Bloch and Febvre, applied this conceptualization of time to the Mediterranean, stressing the unity of the Middle Sea and moving beyond the, then traditional, consideration of known events and major political actors toward a view of history that emphasized social, economic, and environmental dynamics (Braudel 1995).[88]

[87] For more on the *Annales* school, see (Bintliff 1991; Knapp 1992; Sherratt 1992; Shavit 1994).
[88] The analysis of historical change as moving within scales or rhythms has had a profound effect on Aegean and Minoan archaeology, with a particular focus on environmental factors in the grand narrative of Bronze Age history (Barker 1995; Sherratt 1995). For example, Peter Warren recently wrote that for a study of Minoan history "…the basic Braudelian model is much the best, in particular because we may use it to evaluate not just the different but contemporaneously operating scales of activity (long-, medium- and short-term), but the linkages between them" (2015, 378). He uses the eruption of Santorini as an example of the three time-scales linked to a particular event, namely as a single historical event that began and ended in period of days, a *moyenne durée* factor that affectively ended the life-span of a community, and thirdly, the eruption was part of the long history of the geological area, the *longue durée* (Warren 2015, 378).

Lucas advocates for the conceptualization and explicit analysis of time to be a legitimate and necessary part of archaeological method and theory (Lucas 2004, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2013). He acknowledges two major conceptions of change and historical time – the long-term process and the short-term event – and suggests that we see "time as the tension between continuity and change" (Lucas 2005, 17). Drawing from the *Annales* school and post-Newtonian science, Lucas argues for a non-linear conceptualization of time for archaeology, in which time is not an independent dimension, as Newtonian science advocated, but inseparably linked to events.[89]

A single dimension of time views history in points, and time is conceptualized spatially – first here, then there. Drawing on the early work of McTaggart and, later, Husserl, Lucas (Fig. 11) offers a consideration of time that is useful for archaeology (Lucas 2005). McTaggart plotted time in a single dimension on a horizontal axis, while Husserl added a second dimension through the use of two axes, rather than one, to visualize time (1966).[90] The x-axis is 'succession' (A, B, C) from left to right, like a traditional time line. The y-axis is added at a right angle to each point, signifying what he calls 'retention' or what Lucas calls an 'echo' (A, A', A''), to indicate "time flux".[91] The 'echos' created by events have various effects on later points in time, depending on their

[89] For more on non-linear concepts of time, see (McGlade and van der Leeuw 1997).
[90] McTaggart suggested that there are two types of time, the A Series and the B Series (1908). A Series time considers continuity and duration in the form of tenses – past, present, and future – while B Series time is a series of points that appear in succession – earlier or later, before or after. Archaeology relies on the B Series, but B Series time, as points or periods, cannot deal with change but can only present a succession.
[91] This concept of time as flux is related to Bergson's view of time as a heterogeneous continuum in which "the past is preserved in the present" (Lucas 2013, 8; Bergson 1991). Husserl used the analogy of a single musical tone to illustrate this point. From beginning to end the tone is continuous and all instants of sound are retained with the following instants; it flows (Husserl 1966; Lucas 2005, 22).

"depth". A' might affect B and A'' might affect C. In this way, time is not linear, moving from one point to another, but events can be interpreted based on the "weight" or "depth" of preceding events. C is, therefore, not directly dependent on B but might be affected by the 'echo' of A (Lucas 2005, 21–28). This non-linear conception of time allows for moments of change to be affectively studied, rather than implied or assumed.

The deliberate consideration of multiple time scales for the long-term use of the burial structures on Crete provides alternatives to the traditional chronological approach. In many ways, a scaled approach already exists for the study of tombs on Crete, as archaeologists acknowledge that occasionally a primary burial might exist among large numbers of secondary human remains. As Lucas states "…the level of chronological resolution is directly related to the nature of the interpretation we need to make" (2005, 9). By explicitly studying the tomb assemblages at multiple time-scales, it becomes clear that the tombs functioned at two or more time-scales. They were used over hundreds of years with little visible change in practice. A primary burial within this context marks a single event and represents a merging of these two scales. Without multiple time scales, archaeologists run the risk of misinterpreting features, such as a primary burial, as a mark of change in practice. The explicit acknowledgement of multiple rhythms preserved within mortuary contexts provides a depth of understanding that might otherwise be missed.

Materiality and Agency

The "material turn" and the theoretical concept of materiality have had great influence on the field of archaeology over the last 15 years (Keane 2003, 2005; D. Miller 2005; Knappett 2007, 2014; Knappett and Malafouris 2008; Mills and Walker 2008;

Hamilakis 2014).[92] Scholars have drawn attention to the problematic subject/object binary that has plagued much of archaeological interpretation. Materiality calls into question the humanistic tendency not only to see the binary – subject/object, immaterial/material – but to elevate one and deprecate the other. Religious and cultural wisdom often submits the superiority of the immaterial as Truth and encourages the rejection of the material as merely the evident or superficial and, therefore, lesser or false. The immaterial/material binary is consistently undermined by the paradox "that immateriality can only be expressed through materiality" (D. Miller 2005, 28). Material culture studies are dominated by the "tyranny of the subject", in which object/material is subservient to subject/society/culture (D. Miller 2005, 3). By preserving this dualism, perhaps from fear of losing autonomy, we risk continuing a process of reification, in which we see material as simply a marker of some immaterial presence, a mere representation.

Materiality draws on theories of agency from Gell and Latour, of structure and practice from Lévi-Strauss and Bourdieu, and more recently Peircean semiotics from Preucel and Keane.[93] Material/objects/signs are more than just the representation of something immaterial/signified but are "the semiotic ideologies that guide practice" (D. Miller 2005, 31). This theoretical model suggests a more fluid and integrated conception of the material world. Rather than separating subjects and objects, or merely

[92] Miller suggests the broadest definition of materiality that encompasses all aspects of material culture and situates it "within a larger conceptualization of culture" (D. Miller 2005, 4). This definition of materiality, though vague, allows for a degree of freedom to problematize and attempt to overcome the traditional duality of subject-object in studies of material culture.
[93] For more on object agency, see (Gell 1998; Latour 2005). For more on structuralism see (Lévi-Strauss 2008) and for practice theory see (Bourdieu 1977). For Peircean semiotics, see (Preucel 2006; Keane 2003).

acknowledging that objects may represent subjects, materiality argues for an integrated approach. In his semiotic analysis of clothing, Keane questions the separation of things and ideas by considering the materiality of signs. He problematizes traditional interpretations of clothing as representative of social identity and structure by considering the role of "proper dress" for missionary work and the anxiety over positive and negative effects of clothing. Missionary history "…shows a persistent and troubling tension between the hope that clothing will change people, and the danger that people once clad will invest their clothing with too great a significance" (Keane 2005, 191). Clothing is not a symbol of propriety but a phenomenon that makes new practices and intentions possible.

This approach to material culture acknowledges the contextual specificity and plurality of things. Some objects have more weight; scale and temporality affect material lives. Materiality and most contemporary approaches to archaeology urge a consideration of how preservation affects interpretation.[94] Plurality of meaning and the acknowledgement of various semiotic structures also guard against reductive processes and the misinterpretation of that which is signified. Money, for example, is conceived of in many different ways and may have multiple functions, such as different principles of interest used by Islamic banks (Maurer 2005) or New Guinea highlanders who use money as personal adornment (D. Miller 2005, 30). But as these representations are considered threatening to accepted conventions of sign and signified, we risk labeling them

[94] As Lynn Meskell points out, the monumentality and temporality of Egyptian pyramids have made them part of our contemporary lives. Their weighty materiality gives them power (Meskell 2005).

incorrectly. This social "policing" of materiality is a result of protecting and privileging a signified, namely ourselves, over signs (D. Miller 2005, 30).

Materiality provides language and structure to a reanalysis of Minoan mortuary data. As discussed in the previous chapter, for much of the history of Minoan scholarship, objects found in burial structures were generally seen as direct representations of the buried individual's social status. More recently, scholars have attempted to offer more nuanced interpretations of cemeteries and burial assemblages by acknowledging the agency of the space and objects to shape social practice and for use in negotiating status (see Chapter 2). These analyses, however, often fail to go beyond a mere nod to the agency of the objects and space and these reductionist theories of status have been perpetuated. Representation of status is replaced with objects and space utilized for creating and legitimating status. The acknowledgment of agency is a significant step but does not "dethrone" the subject in the manner required by a true reframing of our concepts of material culture.

A more fluid and integrated view of subjects and objects offers a deeper and more cohesive approach to the study of Minoan funerary contexts and the study of secondary interactions with human remains. Minoan burial practices are increasingly shown to be characterized by prolonged and intensive interaction with human remains, burial gifts, and funerary spaces, suggesting that there was an active participation in the process – as the human body went from subject to object. Unlike practices of single inhumation, when the body is interred shortly after death and never reopened, Minoan approaches to mortuary contexts indicate consistent interaction at multiple stages of decay. Unlike most secondary burial traditions in which the body is allowed to decay for a substantial amount

of time before secondary interaction takes place, Minoan secondary interaction appears to take place throughout the process of decay, when some articulation among the skeletal remains is still present.[95] While this interaction has not been ignored, it has been both vastly simplified and undertheorized, likely because of the complex nature of the assemblages themselves and the discomfort with a practice so different from our own. A concept of human materiality that does not firmly separate subject/human from object/human remains offers a deeper understanding of burial ritual that involved consistent and variable involvement with the dead.

Identity and Personhood: The Dividual and Partible Person

Much like space and time, our conceptions of identity are also plagued by issues of scale. Archaeology has generally been interested in large-scale or small-scale identities, such as ethnic groups (Jones 1997; van Dommelen 1998, 2002; Insoll 2006), and the individual, particularly individual agency in the creation and maintenance of social identity (Tilley 1994b; Dobres and Robb 2000; Knapp and van Dommelen 2008). Large- and small-scale identities, therefore, have been well-theorized, focusing on shared perceptions of decent and social practices as well as individuality and differentiation. Recently, anthropologists and archaeologists have become interested in other types of identity, including the mid-range scale of group identity, "a form of social identity that

[95] As Triantaphyllou has noted, human remains also appear to have been taken in and out of tomb spaces. She found that within a single tomb space some of the bones were burned while others were not and the space itself did not indicate the presence of fire, as would be found with fumigation for example, indicating that some bones were burned outside of the tomb space and then interred. Differentiation also existed among the burned bones, with some showing signs of burning when wet and others dry, suggesting that burning took place at various stages of decay (Triantaphyllou 2016, 774–75).

emphasizes a sense of togetherness just as much as a sense of distinction" (MacSweeney 2009, 105).

Groups, such as those represented in the burial structures in a single cemetery, create a sense of shared belonging within the group *and* a differentiation from other groups through "practices of affiliation" (Yaeger 2000, 125). These are usually socially significant group activities such as feasting and religious rituals (Wright 1994, 61; DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle 1996, 31; Mills 2004; L. A. Hitchcock, Laffineur, and Crowley 2008), and can include the burial practices and drinking ceremonies that took place at the cemetery of Phourni.[96] Additionally, groups can distinguish themselves with visual symbols that indicate commonality (Bennet and Davis 1999; Terrell 2001; MacSweeney 2009, 105–6, 2011; Malkin 2014; Ristvet 2015, 214), such as adornment, often found in the tombs and likely specific to the group interred. One goal of my analysis is to assess aspects of burial practice that are shared among a group, represented by a tomb, but are distinctive between groups. I also consider community-wide practices throughout the cemetery to investigate group identity at Archanes-Phourni.

Furthermore, recent scholarship has questioned our understanding of the past as peopled by individuals and the application of contemporary conceptions of individuality for the interpretation of ancient ideas of identity. Theoretical concepts of personhood and dividuality suggest that past notions of identity "…may have been temporary, contextual,

[96] In the Area Between BB 6 and Tholos B at Archanes-Phourni, hundreds of drinking vessels were discovered. These are likely the remains of drinking rituals that took place outside of the tombs. For more on this evidence, see the Area Between BB 6 and Tholos B in Appendix I. Additionally, the presence of benches, added to the interior and exterior of several tombs, have been interpreted as ritual spaces for these group activities at Phourni (Maggidis 1994, 22) and other cemeteries (Legarra Herrero 2016, 355; Relaki 2003, 245).

and community concerns" (Fowler 2004, 3). Such an approach deliberately considers notions of boundaries between individuals and between individuals and things.[97] Studies of past personhood should consider dividuality (the composite state of being), partibility (the notion that parts of oneself can belong to others), and permeability (the concept that parts of people can flow in and out).[98]

A theoretical approach to personhood that includes dividuality and partibility is a useful mechanism for considering Minoan funerary rites that involve intensive and variable interaction with human remains and interred objects. While many Western traditions involve preserving the memory of a person through the intact or preserved body, stressing individuality, other approaches to death revolve around the partibility of the person and may prompt the complete fragmentation of the body after death. In Melanesia, for example, parts of the person are dispersed and may be socially circulated (Fowler 2004, 96). As Fowler notes, funerary rites often involve gathering people and objects associated with the deceased together, temporarily uniting the person and creating an image of the individual. Afterward, aspects of the person are distributed and dispersed. The deconstitution of the body is part of the production of death, which can take place

[97] For more on dividuality and other concepts of personhood, see (Valentine 2008 esp. 40, 83, and 174; Davies 2017, 74–78). A similar interpretation was put forth by Driessen in his analysis of the skull found at Myrtos Phournou Koriphi, in which he states that this skull represents "a type of fragmentation and bodily circulation that that goes beyond the individual" (2010, 115).

[98] The partible person has been considered with regard to gift giving, in which the gift given is seen as representing part of the giver. The object then is both part of the giver and the receiver, rendering the object dividual, a composite that joins multiple people. For more on this, see (Strathern 1988; Weiner 1992; Fowler 2004, 53–78).

over a long period of time, and may involve the reconfiguration of the person (Fowler 2004, 96–97).[99]

Recent anthropological studies suggest a range of ongoing relationships with the dead, including 'continuing bonds' (Davies 2017, 74–75). Drawing on the work of Marriott and Strathern, Davies offers an embodied view of personhood in which a person is not a bounded individual to be grieved and forgotten but a dynamic and interactive dividual. Dividuality illustrates "…a flow of phenomena out of a person and into others and into the surrounding world at large" (Davies 2017, 76). This approach to personhood that considers dividuality and partibility allows new avenues of exploration for the study of Minoan mortuary contexts. The intensive, variable, and sustained interactions with human remains and interred objects suggests a long process of deconstruction and deconstitution of Minoan persons that likely reflect a conception of personhood that is more communal than individual.[100]

Value and Gifts

Value

Concepts of value are central to archaeological interpretations of past systems in general and to the analysis of mortuary material specifically. Current approaches to value for anthropological and archaeological studies emphasize both the difficulty in theorizing

[99] For a thorough description of Minoan interment practices, including the myriad secondary treatments, see Murphy 2011a, especially 55-58.

[100] I agree with Murphy (2011a) that the disassembly of bodies and retention of select human remains indicate the deconstruction of individual and family identity in favor of community membership after death. I further suggest that incorporation into the realm of the dead did not mark the end of interaction, but that consistent manipulation of secondary remains and objects indicates a continued relationship with the dead, as well as dynamic, permeable, and communal identities.

and even defining value, partly because of the proliferation of concepts of value, as well as the need to do so.[101] Traditional conceptions of value are often based on economic or linguistic models. An economic interpretation relies on the "maximizing individual", that is, a self-interested person attempting to get as much of something in return for as little as possible.[102] A side effect of attempting to reconcile a mode of exchange, such as gift giving, with the maximizing individual is that abstract "values" must be defined as fundamentally akin to tangible things. Power and prestige, for example, are quantified and objectified so that they can participate in an economic system where giving an object has the direct result of increased power or prestige. Such abstractions cannot be traded back and forth but exist in a social world that may be related to the economic one but cannot be considered directly correlated (Graeber 2001, 8-9). Linguistic models that rely on negative value, namely the meaningful difference between words (or things), are similarly limited in their ability to determine value archaeologically. While a Saussurian conception of value that considers context may contribute to an evaluation of meaning for an object, the value of an object cannot solely be determined by what it is not (Graeber 2001, 16).[103]

[101] In his attempt to define value, Graeber breaks down the differences between sociological "values", conceptions of what is good and proper; economic "value", the quantifiable desire for an object, measured by what one is willing to give up for that object; and the linguistic, Sassaurian definition of "value", where the value of the word is its meaningful difference from another (Graeber 2001, 1–2). For more on definitions of value in archaeology, see also (Darvill 1995; J. K. Papadopoulos and Urton 2012).

[102] As Graeber notes, this behavior cannot be considered helpful for predictive modeling of human action but only adds "a set of assumptions about human nature" (2001, 8).

[103] For more on linguistic value, see De Saussure (2016) and Tilley (1994a, 1999).

Similarly, the creation of value is interpretively problematic. According to Kopytoff (1986), objects can have value as unique objects or as commodities.[104] Traditional theories of value advocate for either Marxian production-generated value, in which the value of an object arises from the labor of those producing it (Marx 1967), or a classic definition where value arises only from the point of exchange, and is determined by the individual desire for an object, namely what one is willing to sacrifice for it (Simmel 2004; Appadurai 1986, 4). The theory of inalienable objects offers the mirror image of the value-at-exchange concept, in which value arises from an object's *in*exchangeability, what one is *not* willing to sacrifice (Weiner 1992).[105] The value of inalienable objects is often based on their "capacity to accumulate history" (Graeber 2001, 34). Appadurai argues that economic value is created as objects circulate within different "regimes of value", that is "…the ways in which desire and demand, reciprocal sacrifice and power interact to create economic value in specific social situations" (1986, 4). As these theories are fundamentally focused on power structures – how elites attempt to control and consolidate production and exchange and popular forces attempt to expand them – value is seen as the passive result of the disruption and reification of existing socio-political structure. Value from exchangeability and inexchangeability both offer a biographical approach that considers the entire life-cycle of an object as it moves within and around various cultural and historical situations over time and space. While

[104] The definition of a commodity is somewhat up for debate, namely whether a commodity only exists within the open market and serves mostly for analysis of capitalist societies, or if it can be applied to all societies with exchange.

[105] Drawing on Mauss's term *immeuble*, Weiner describes inalienable objects as those that are given away but still belong the giver in some capacity. Inalienable objects tend to be those of historic, religious, or social value, such as the Crown Jewels (1992).

production and exchange are useful for theorizing object value in archaeological contexts, especially when interpreted within a larger system, they simplify the roles objects play in complex social relationships.

Graeber advocates for a contextually specific and dialectical theory of value that considers the active system; "…value is the way actions become meaningful to actors by being placed in some larger social whole, real or imaginary" (2001, 254). This theory of value considers not only the "inherent" worth of an object or its timeless value but what it has the potential to be. While value based on object "potential" may not be easily analyzed by adding another dimension of some unrealized future, we are forced to confront and critique our largely static notions of value that most often rely on a vague amalgamation of apparent value from raw material, manufacture, and exchange.

As explained in the preceding chapter, most analyses of Minoan burial assemblages offer some interpretation of the value of the objects found within the tombs and the meaning of their deposition. These are often an unclarified mixture of assumptions based on perceived economic value (rarity and amount of material or human labor involved), display, and gift giving. Assemblages are considered to have more or less value based on generalized perceptions of numbers of objects and subjective notions of the value of those objects. In order to make sense of value in the Minoan world and for objects deposited within tombs specifically, it is essential to have an overt explanation of the theories and methods used to determine value. Graeber's theory offers a nuanced approach beyond raw material, production, and exchange, to consider the meaning of an object's deposition and its potential simultaneously. We can move beyond simplistic

economic or symbolic value by analyzing an object's use-life, deposition, and potential, to consider how objects and actions make meaning through perceived future value.

Unlike most burial goods, objects interred in Minoan tombs were not necessarily intended to remain with one individual or even within the tomb. They were not completely removed from circulation or the world of the living, but were deposited, moved, and removed, potentially finding their way back into circulation. Burial goods, therefore, retained a great deal of potential, which we must consider in our interpretations of objects within long-lived tombs. Their value, and the identity of the person/people they were interred with, was not simply determined by economic or symbolic meaning at the time of interment, but on their potential to be moved, depleted, and returned to circulation. As objects were deposited and redeposited, serving as gifts to those interred, they remained an active part of the system and expanded the dynamics of social interaction through gift giving to include the world of the dead.

The Gift

Much of the theoretical discussion among anthropologists regarding value has revolved around the distinction between commodity and gift. Commodity exchange serves to establish quantitative equivalencies between the value of objects while gifts are considered to create relationships between people. Mauss's seminal work "The Gift" posits that while gifts may appear to be voluntary, disinterested, and spontaneous, they actually are both obligatory and interested (Mauss 1990). Much of Mauss's essay concerns agonistic forms of gift exchange, what he generally terms the "potlatch". Among native people of the northwest coast, the potlatch is a ceremonial feast at which the host displays, gives away, and/or destroys possessions, sometimes representing vast

amounts of wealth. Anthropological and archaeological scholarship on gift exchange has tended to focus on the power dynamics and economics of the potlatch (1990, 4–5).[106] Bourdieu, for example, suggested that gift giving is a method of procuring social capital. Such an interpretation commodifies gifts, suggesting that objects and prestige can be directly exchanged, and blurs the distinction between commodity and gift exchange (1977).[107]

Although they have received far less attention and remain undertheorized in comparison with agonistic gift exchange, other forms of gift exchange exist. While he is best known for his theories of "total prestation" within the potlatch, Mauss later distinguished between agonistic prestations and another form of total prestation, what he calls "communistic" gift giving.[108] Unlike the potlatch, in this "original" form of prestation, gifts are given without expectation of reciprocity (Mauss 2007, 101).[109] Based on Mauss's conception of total prestation and Malinowski's "pure gift", Sahlins theorized a spectrum of gift giving from what he calls "generalized reciprocity" to "negative reciprocity", with "balanced reciprocity" at the midpoint of the spectrum.[110] Generalized

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[106] Based on the well-known practice of elaborate gift exchange among the Kwakiutl people of North West America, Mauss labeled all forms of competitive and extravagant prestation the "potlatch". He states that this exchange is "…above all a struggle among nobles to determine their position in the hierarchy…" (Mauss 1990, 4–5). But gifting has many non-economic effects, namely the creation and maintenance of social relationships. As Graeber rightly notes, obligatory and interested do not mean that they were intended to produce a profit or victory (2001, 27).

[107] Bourdieu argued both that gift giving is a mode of commodity exchange that is merely hidden by the duration of time between exchanges and that all exchange conforms to "… economic calculation even when it gives every appearance of disinterestedness…" (1977, 171).

[108] Mauss later stated that "The Gift" was not an attempt to consider all types of gift exchange, but rather, to theorize the religious and moral value of the objects given as part of a competitive system (2007, 101).

[109] Mauss believed that competitive gift giving appeared only later in the evolution of society (2007, 101).

[110] Malinowski created a classification of Trobriand transactions "according to the principle of its equivalence". The "pure gift" is something given without expectation of something in return.

reciprocity signifies altruistic giving and an indefinite expectation of reciprocity (Sahlins 1972, 193–94). Physical proximity is a major factor in the scheme of relative types of reciprocity (Fig. 12).[111] This spectrum is correlated with variables such as "kinship distance", in which generalized reciprocity is inclined toward close kinship and negative reciprocity toward kinship distance. Agonistic exchange among kinship groups and those in close physical proximity is at odds with the need for cooperation within groups and, therefore, gift exchange is more likely to take place between groups rather than within them (Sahlins 1972, 198).

Generalized reciprocity or communistic exchange "…is all about maintaining a permanent sense of mutual obligation" while balanced reciprocity "…is about the denial of obligation and a maximum assertion of individual autonomy" (Graeber 2001, 219). If gifts create social relationships, then a "balanced" exchange can be canceled out, suggesting that the relationships can, by design, be ended when the exchange is equivalent. While a gift-countergift system may help to form an ongoing relationship, only when it ceases to be tit-for-tat does it truly become permanent and mutually supportive. To describe these relationships, Graeber proposes the terminology of "open reciprocity" and "closed reciprocity", in which open reciprocity requires no accounting as the relationship is based on "permanent mutual commitment" and closed reciprocity

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Because economic and social obligations are well defined among the Trobriands, Malinowski notes that pure gifts are relatively rare but are most common within the family unity – between husband and wife and between parents and children (Malinowski 1922, 176–80).

[111] "The close kinsmen who render assistance are particularly near kinsmen in a spatial sense: it is in regard to people of the household, the camp, hamlet, or village that compassion is required, inasmuch as interaction is intense and peaceable solidarity essential" (Sahlins 1972, 198–99).

requires a consistent balancing of accounts, maintaining the possibility of an end to the relationship (2001, 220).

The term "gift" is often used to describe the objects found within tombs, as they were likely interred along with an individual at the time of burial and are viewed as a contribution or dedication to the dead. The political and economic forces driving the deposition of objects within graves has received a great deal of scholarship and comparisons with the potlatch are common.[112] The potlatch is associated not only with gift exchange, but also with the destruction of material wealth in ostentatious displays of generosity (Mauss 1990, 35). Mauss himself suggested the destruction of wealth during funerary rites were "not only for the dead to carry them off to the netherworld, but also to display the wealth of their group." (2007, 103). A comparison with the potlatch has also been thoroughly discussed and applied to later Greek examples of gift giving, including Homeric references and archaeological contexts (Finley 1957; Donlan 1982, 1989; I. Morris 1986a; Beidelman 1989; Traill 1989; cf. Scodel 2008)**.** These studies all focus on highly visible depositions of wealth, that is, large amounts of usable material and objects that are effectively removed from circulation.[113]

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[112] At the Royal Tombs of Ur (Pollock 1999, 215–16; Meijer 2003, 56; C. E. Barrett 2007, 15), cemeteries of Neolithic China (Kim et al. 1994), Neolithic Netherlands (van de Velde 1992), Bronze Age Poland (Gralak 2015), and Early Medieval Europe (Härke 2014), e.g.

[113] Morris, for example, argues for the importance of "potlatch" gift exchange in state societies, namely Archaic Greece (8th-6th c. BCE). Focusing on the deposition and deliberate destruction) of wealth, in this case mostly metals, he argues that practice of competitive gift giving was continual but that the context changed over time. Throughout the Archaic period, metals seem to function mostly as gifts rather than utilitarian objects used in everyday life. In the 8th century, funerary contexts account for the vast majority of archaeological visible deposition of metals. At the end of the 8th century, during the rise of the *polis*, burials begin to receive fewer elaborate goods, and most extravagant deposits of wealth appear within the context of sanctuaries (I. Morris 1986a). While the process of competitive giving continues into a state-level society, it merely changes context.

Comparisons with the potlatch, explicitly stated or not, are present in studies that consider the display and destruction of wealth during mortuary rites for the negotiation or reification of social status. As is thoroughly demonstrated in the previous chapter, Minoan mortuary scholarship is dominated by such studies but comparisons with the potlatch are problematic for several reasons. First, the archaeological visibility of such agonistic displays relies on the ability to recognize single instances of the deposition of wealth that is effectively removed from circulation as well as amounts of wealth that differ over time and space in keeping with this unequal form of gift giving, neither of which are not provided by the assemblages associated with the long-term and communal use of Minoan tombs.[114] Secondly, this display and status-oriented approach only considers the power dynamics between the living who are burying and those who are observing. It does not offer a theoretical methodology that reflects either relationships among the living beyond socio-political rank or, perhaps more importantly, the relationships between the living and the dead.

A comparison of Minoan burial gifts with open reciprocity (Mauss's communistic exchange) offers a theoretical apparatus that actively considers relationships between those giving gifts and those receiving them, the living and the dead. Structures of total prestation are "…concerned with maintaining the value of a timeless human commitment" (Graeber 2001, 225). If burial gifts are analyzed on this spectrum, leaning heavily toward the open reciprocity pole, a more complex and fruitful means of

[114] Hitchcock has recently argued that the large number of metal objects found deposited at Minoan sanctuaries suggests a potlatch-like destruction of material in order to "flaunt one's wealth and power" (2014, 29). This is similar to Morris's argument regarding the transition from tomb to sanctuary for the deposition of wealth during the rise of the polis.

interpretation for the intensive and prolonged interaction with the dead is apparent. Interpretations that rely on comparisons with balanced or agonistic forms of exchange force the relationship between the living and the dead into an uncomfortable interpretive space, in which it is assumed that the living expect something in return for their gift to the dead. While such a relationship with "ancestors" might very well have existed in the Minoan world, without any understanding of Minoan conceptions of the role of the ancestors, any analysis must end there. Communal Minoan tombs do, however, attest to an "eternal" relationship between the living and dead, as these funerary structures were consistently reopened, maintained, and added to over many generations. This process is more consistent with the concept of open reciprocity, in which the living perpetuate a relationship with the dead by giving gifts that are not intended to (but may) result in a countergift. In this way, the distance between the living and dead may be seen as a continuation of close kinship ties, and those in close physical proximity. Such an interpretation does not immediately rule out the role of the cemetery for display but it allows for a consideration of the treatment of the dead *per se*, and not simply as a medium for social competition and agonistic gift giving.

METHODOLOGY

I employ these alternative scholarly approaches to Minoan cemeteries to investigate a single case study, the well-published cemetery of Archanes-Phourni. A reanalysis of this long-lived cemetery is made possible through the digitization of this legacy data. I rely on a close reading of archaeological reports, final publications, and more recent reanalyses of certain tombs for quantitative data that is easily visualized and analyzed to address new and alternative questions regarding Minoan burial practices.

Utilizing Exploratory Data Analysis, including simple graphs and visual representations of assemblages, I highlight often obscured evidence for a variety of mortuary deposits and interactions. For more rigorous analysis of correlations between variables, I use select multivariate analyses, such as Regression Analysis and Spearmans Rank tests. In the final chapter, I draw on this quantitative and qualitative data to problematize and question prevalent assumptions about Minoan funerary practices and the use of mortuary data for understanding social complexity. Finally, with this data and the theoretical apparatuses discussed above, I explore intra-site variation as it relates to change over time, group and communal agency, and a synchronous proliferation of practices and approaches to death in a Minoan community.

Legacy Data and Archanes-Phourni

The digitization and reanalysis of 'legacy data' is a well-established method for investigating past social practices and the use of space.[115] While time-consuming, the digitization of published and unpublished datasets from previous excavations offers seemingly endless possibilities for the reanalysis of ancient sites and social behavior. Digital techniques have been widely applied to archaeological data for mapping landscapes and analyzing spatial data, both regional and, to a lesser extent, within a single site.[116] The breadth and depth of these studies provide thorough evidence of the potential for using legacy data for the reanalysis of a single site, including those with

[115] 'Legacy data' is defined as data from "obsolete information systems", meaning any data that is not yet digitized and must be prepared or manipulated before being used in a "digital environment" (Allison 2008 Section 3).

[116] For examples of intra-site analyses, see Vullo, Fontana, Guerreschi (1999), Constantinidis (2001), and Palmer and Daly . (Vullo, Fontana, and Guerreschi 1999; Constantinidis 2001; Palmer and Daly 2005).

imperfect datasets. More recently scholars have emphasized the potential of such reanalyses for pluralist readings that consider both quantitative and qualitative data (Kwan 2002a, 2002b; Allison 2008).[117]

The legacy data provided by the 25-year excavation and publication of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery allows for a holistic, intra-site analysis of Minoan mortuary practices from the Pre- and Protopalatial periods.[118] By compiling and digitizing the finds from the large-scale excavation of this cemetery, published in yearly and final reports, as well as some more recent publications of single tombs (Tholos Γ, Tholos E, and BB 19), a reanalysis of the cemetery and a reconsideration of Minoan burial behavior is possible. Digitized databases of each tomb context, including rooms and strata, allow for quantitative and qualitative investigations of EM and MM funerary practices that analyze variation at a smaller scale than is typical for Minoan studies. In this way, variation in behavior over time and space can be analyzed precisely, leading to well-supported interpretations that consider visible patterns of behavior.

Data Gathering and Interpretation

To move from published, written descriptions to quantified, digitized accounts of the burial assemblage is by no means straightforward. Creating data that can be analyzed and compared across rooms and tombs requires a clear and consistent internal methodology that takes heterogeneous descriptive information and makes meaningful, standardized data sets. The following chapter provides a summary and description of the

[117] For more on the use of legacy data, see (T. L. Evans and Daly 2006; Allison 2008) and the entirety of *Internet Archaeology* 24.
[118] For more on the digitization and reanalysis of cemetery data specifically, see (Bradbury et al. 2016).

publications available for this reanalysis. Here, I provide an explanation of how the data was gathered, including choices about vocabulary, data reporting, and categorization.

To accurately represent the types of interaction that took place within Minoan tombs, it is necessary to use consistent and meaningful vocabulary.[119] I rely on Crevecoeur *et al.* (2015, 285–86) for much of the terminology used here and I have created a few additional terms mainly to distinguish various types of interaction. Crevecoeur *et al.* use the term 'reduction', for example, to indicate the gathering and rearrangement of bones in the same location as the primary burial, a process that might be used to make space for a new deposition. For this particular practice, I also use the simple term 'move'. To describe the act of removing of some bones and leaving others, I have added the term 'depletion', and for rearranging only select skeletal elements, such as the cranium, while leaving others *in situ*, I use 'manipulation'. In addition to 'secondary deposit' for describing bones that have been moved from the area of decomposition to another space (Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015, 285), I use the term 'secondary interment'. To describe all types of secondary activity I have employ the terms 'secondary treatment' and 'secondary interaction'. Finally, following Crevecoeur *et al.* the term 'secondary burial' is only used "if it can be demonstrated that the manipulation of partly de-fleshed body parts or dry bones had been planned from the start of the mortuary practice" (2015, 285).[120] As this intentionality or preplanning cannot be

[119] For a list of the terms used in this dissertation, please refer to Figure 8.
[120] When other evidence, such as textual or iconographic evidence of burial practices, is completely lacking, it is difficult, if not impossible, to corroborate such preplanning. For more on primary burial see Duday 2009; Knüsel and Robb 2016.

demonstrated in any of the burial assemblages from Archanes-Phourni, I completely avoid this term.

As I rely heavily on the original archaeological reports, written in Katharevousa Greek, there are a few points regarding translation that also require explanation.[121] A large part of this study is dedicated to an analysis of the burials and interments found throughout the cemetery. The identification of primary or disturbed burials and secondary interments is difficult, as there are limited descriptions of the human remains found in the tombs. The Greek word for burial, ταφή, used in the excavation reports, does not indicated the precise state of the remains, namely whether it was primary or disturbed. I list these as primary burials unless there are further descriptions that suggest a disturbed burial.[122] The distinction between primary and secondary interments is clearer as the excavators used more specific language for skulls, κρανίο, and long bones, μακρών οστών.[123] Numbers of interments for each context are calculated from the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) listed as burials and skulls.[124] A similar approach was applied to the objects found in the tombs. While the original reports diminish the need for estimated counts of objects, when exact numbers are not provided, I record a minimum number. If a set of objects is merely reported as "beads", for example, I give a Minimum

[121] I am incredibly grateful for the help I received from Dr. Kyle Mahoney in translating the original excavation reports.
[122] Ταφή is also the word for tomb and grave but contextual information in the descriptions mitigates any potential misunderstandings or mistranslations.
[123] Κρανίο, is translated as skull, rather than cranium, unless otherwise specified.
[124] For the 20 pithoi found in Room 4 of BB 5, for example, the excavators report between one and four individuals in each, giving a possible range between 23 (if 19 pithoi held one individual and one held four individuals) and 77 (if 19 pithoi held four individuals and one held one individual) (Sakellarakis 1967b, 160). The precise number of individuals is certainly somewhere in between 23 and 77 but for the purposes of this analysis, the MNI is 23.

Number of Objects (MNO) two. This approach is not flawless, but it does provide a consistent recording system, allowing for internal comparison and analysis.

While categorization systems diminish heterogeneity among assemblages, they are necessary for comparing large sets of data. For a scaled analysis of the spatial distribution of interments, human remains were categorized based on burial status – primary, disturbed, and secondary interments – and burial types – surface, larnax, pithos, etc. Object analyses are similarly based on two categories of information recorded for each assemblage. The object category considers types of objects, such seals, beads, and clothing ornaments. The other category quantifies objects by their material, such as gold, silver, and bronze. These two categories are further compared in larger, more manageable groupings of object categories, including weapons, tools, and jewelry, and material categories, such as metals, lithics, and ceramics.

One further explanation is needed for the quantification of MNOs. Beads are found in almost every burial context in the cemetery but only rarely do we find complete necklaces. To create comparable data sets for the assemblages and limit the number of outliers, necklaces are only recorded if they are contextually well-established and more or less complete, while beads that are not clearly part of a larger necklace are recorded as one object each. MNO records one necklace as one object and one bead as one object. For each context with a necklace, however, I also provide another larger number that includes the various individual parts of the necklace, such as beads, shells, and seals. This larger number is also used for comparing the number of materials across contexts, as often the necklaces are composed of beads and pendants of multiple materials.

The interactive nature of Minoan burial practices often involved moving or removing of human remains and objects, which I describe as 'depletion'. This does not negate the efficacy of quantitative analyses as both deposition and removal, even if mostly invisible in the archaeological record, are worthy of analysis. Occasionally, object depletion, reduction, and movement is noticeable, if not entirely quantifiable. Beads are the best indication of this. It is impossible to recreate necklaces with complete accuracy or to say with certainty that the presence of a few beads indicates a larger necklace that has since been depleted. It is, of course, possible that some necklaces were made of only a few beads and that we are missing beads as archaeological methods are imperfect, especially for the identification of such small objects. I advocate for this interpretation and methodological approach, however, for a number of reasons. First, acknowledging the deficiencies of this data set, I follow MacSweeney (2011, 98–102) and suggest that intra-site comparative analyses are possible as the site was under the direction of the same person throughout its exploration, meaning that excavation and recording biases were consistent between and within tombs. While it is possible that the excavations and publications missed beads, it is likely that these biases and issues are consistent. Secondly, based on the archaeological evidence from Archanes-Phourni and the admittedly limited and contextually distinct visual evidence, most notably the frescoes from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri, it seems likely that most necklaces were made up of multiple beads and pendants that were strung along the entirety of the necklace, rather than single pendants or a few beads.[125]

[125] While visual analysis of necklaces and beads is beyond the purview of this study, it is important to note that evidence from frescoes shows that necklaces were made up of many beads that are strung together along the entire length of the necklace, rather than pendants single

For example, there are at least two necklaces represented by the beads in the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ, one of which was discovered directly below one of the later larnakes and is more or less complete. Beads of remarkable similarity (gold tubular beads with repoussé decoration) were discovered throughout the layer along with beads and pendants of other materials and shapes. It is likely that some of these beads made up a second necklace that was similar to the first but it is not possible to recreate the necklace as they were not found together. We also know that beads, rather than complete necklaces, were deposited with secondary interments. In fact, one of these same tubular gold beads was discovered in the Area of the Rocks, almost certainly originating in the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ, and strongly suggesting that human remains were reinterred with some objects, including beads from disassembled necklaces. A larnax with 10 skulls from Room 4 of BB 5, also contained a few beads of various types, as well as a lapis lazuli cylinder seal. As this deposit was unquestionably secondary, it seems most likely that a few beads were gathered along with the skulls and reinterred in the larnax. It seems most likely that the few complete necklaces discovered in several of the Phourni tombs represent some of the objects accompanying the later depositions, much like the primary burials discovered in the tombs likely represent the later interments, while the beads and secondary human remains, represent the reduced, depleted, and relocated remains of earlier burials.

These systems for gathering, recording, and categorizing data sets are necessary for analyses of diverse assemblages that were excavated and published in myriad ways. I

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pendants or a few beads. For more on the wall paintings of Xeste 3, see Doumas (1992), Chapin (2008), and Vlachopoulos (2008).

have attempted to create and employ methods and categories that minimally diminish variation within assemblages for comparative analyses at multiple scales within the single cemetery site of Archanes-Phourni. Qualitative analyses are important for highlighting variation among contexts while quantitative methods illustrate patterns within the data that might otherwise remain invisible.

Data Analysis

A holistic, context-focused approach to Minoan cemeteries, combined with the alternative theoretical models above, provide a rigorous methodology for an intra-site analysis of a single cemetery. Variation among tombs can be considered both qualitatively and quantitatively and hypotheses regarding change over time can be thoroughly examined. Quantitative analyses such as EDA and multi-variate statistical tests allow for the assessment and reconsideration of certain assumptions prevalent in Minoan mortuary studies, and for the consideration of alternative questions.

Exploratory Data Analysis

EDA is an approach for summarizing data that does not require statistical models but instead relies most often on simple statistics and visualizing data through a variety of graphs. This method looks at presence and absence, median and mean, range, and standard deviation for a given set of data. For most archaeologists faced with a mix of quantitative and qualitative data, such exploratory techniques are often more useful and appropriate than complex statistical models (Drennan 2009, viii). Visual representations of tomb assemblages provide a method of analyzing archaeological assumptions regarding Minoan tombs in general and Archanes-Phourni specifically. Variation among tomb and room assemblages can be illustrated clearly with graphical representations of

material found within various spaces throughout the tombs and cemetery (Shennan 1997, 1–33).

Various methods of EDA will be used for two purposes. First, I employ this approach to interrogate Minoan burial practices and in doing so highlight problems with several common assumptions regarding Minoan burial practices, such as the rise of the individual and the expression/negotiation of social status through mortuary deposition. Secondly, I use EDA, along with theories of deposition, taphonomic processes and archaeothanatology, time, materiality, dividuality, and value to reanalyze the single cemetery of Archanes-Phourni. To minimize problematic, incomplete, and imperfect datasets, as well as analyze variation over time and space I utilize presence/absence comparisons. Patterns that might otherwise go unnoticed or be overlooked in the analysis of other aspects of the burial record, are more readily identifiable through the visual expression of data. In addition to quantitative analysis of material within tombs, variation in burial practice can be considered spatially and chronologically, with a focus on group burial dynamics and changes in practice over time.

Assemblage data is visualized using a combination of column graphs and pie charts with consistent color schemes for simple comparative analyses. Graphs of each burial context are used to represent the published skeletal data, including burial types such as interments made on the floor or in vessels, and burial status, indicating the number of primary, disturbed, or secondary interments. Similarly, object data is represented in graphs of object type and object material by context to indicate the relative distribution of material among and within the tombs. Histograms, representing the relative frequency of values, are used to analyze the numbers of individuals found in

burials vessels, such as larnakes and pithoi, which have been interpreted as an interment method for single, primary burials (Shennan 1997, 34–47).

MULTIVARIATE STATISTICS

To augment the analytical power of EDA, correlations between variables can be examined with multivariate statistical analyses such as Regression Analysis (RA), Spearman's Rank Tests, and Similarity Matrices.[126] I use Regression Analysis to consider the relationship among variables, namely how a dependent variable responds to a change in an independent variable, such as a change in burial method over time, the relationship between tomb size and MNO, and the correlation between MNI and MNO. A correlation can be calculated based on the relationship between any two variables, and can be quantified in terms of "R" or "R^2", which represent the strength of the correlation. A perfect positive correlation is expressed as R = 1 and a perfect negative correlation expressed as R = -1. The closer the number is to zero, the weaker the correlation between the two variables.[127]

I use Spearman's Rank, which analyzes variation based on rank rather than magnitude, to consider both the relationship between two variables and, more importantly, the rank-order relationship among tombs and assemblages based on those variables. Like RA, Spearman's Rank tests correlation between two variables. If the rank-order for variable X matches exactly with the rank-order for variable Y, there is a perfect positive correlation, expressed as $\rho = 1$ (Shennan 1997, 145–46). Tomb size and number

[126] The term "Similarity Matrix" used here refers to a modified version of an Adjacency Matrix developed for this analysis.
[127] For more explanation of Regression and Correlation, see (Shennan 1997, 127–50).

of objects are frequently given as reliable metrics for analyzing wealth and status in Minoan cemeteries (Soles 1988, 57, 1992, 257; Branigan 1991b, 99; Colburn 2008b; Maggidis 1998, 90–91). Spearman's Rank has been used to great success for problematizing this correlation for the tombs at Mochlos cemetery (Karacic 2015).[128] My analysis of the Phourni cemetery also includes a Spearman's Rank test of the correlation between tomb size and MNO based on tomb rank.

Similarity Matrices use quantifiable data from the tombs to analyze the similarity between burial assemblages and the relative connectedness of the tombs. These Similarity Matrices are a modified version of Adjacency Matrices and were tailored to this analysis.[129] This methodology originates in Graph Theory and is the basis for much of Social Network Analysis.[130] A Similarity Matrix is a square matrix with each row and column representing a burial context in the Phourni cemetery. Each context is compared to every other context by recording the "tie" between the contexts. I quantify and record these ties in three ways – shared presence/absence of objects, shared numbers of objects, and the natural logarithm (log) of the shared numbers of objects.[131] Similarity Matrices

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[128] Karacic used Spearman's Rank to problematize Soles' interpretation of hierarchy among the Mochlos tombs, which was based on a perceived correlation between tomb size and number of objects. He found a very weak positive correlation between the two variables with $\rho = 0.3152$ (Karacic 2015, 173–74).

[129] An adjacency matrix is a matrix in which each cell represents a quantified connection between two entities (the row and column). The connection can be, for instance, whether or not two buildings both contain a single object type. A similarity matrix is the sum of the adjacency matrices for all object types. Each cell in the similarity matrix, then, is the sum total of all the quantified connections. Entities with higher connection numbers are thus defined as more similar.

[130] For more information about Adjacency Matrices and its use for Social Network Analysis, see (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). For more on Graph Theory, see (Brughmans 2013, 628–32). For more on current approaches to Network Analysis, see (Knappett 2013).

[131] Three separate similarity matrices were calculated in this analysis, using three different metrics for the quantified connection. The first is a present/absent metric: a score of "1" indicates that two entities share the same object type, while a score of "0" indicates that the object type was not present in both. The second metric is the minimum shared number of objects of an object

analyze the relative connectedness of each tomb to every other tomb and test the overall connectedness of each burial context. Similarity and variability among the assemblages illuminate changes in depositional practice over time and differential expressions of group identity based on objects interred in chronologically similar contexts.

While these analytical tools are not a panacea for the issues and difficulties with analyzing complex mortuary data such as Minoan tomb assemblages, they do provide a thoughtful methodology that goes far beyond typical impressionistic interpretations.[132] Contextually specific quantitative analyses, such as EDA combined with some multivariate statistical methods, successfully illuminate heterogeneity within the cemetery and even within tombs, which runs contrary to prior interpretations of these assemblages that simplify and neatly classify the data. They also make room for alternative interpretations of the cemetery by providing a meaningful set of data for further analysis.

CONCLUSION

Recent excavations of Minoan cemeteries indicate more consistent interactions with the dead and a more variable set of burial practices than has previously been acknowledged. Reanalysis and reinterpretation of excavated cemetery sites that recognize these new findings offer an opportunity to consider previously unasked questions of well-

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type. The connection score between, e.g., entity A with five objects of one type and entity B with three objects of the same type would be three. The present/absent metric prioritizes presence over raw numbers. On the other hand, higher shared numbers in the minimum shared number of objects metric strengthens the connection score, but is open to skewing from outliers. One way to combat this skewing is by using a third metric that combines the first two. This third metric takes the natural logarithm of the minimum shared number of objects, which more evenly balances the present/absent and minimum shared number of objects components.

[132] I am extraordinarily grateful to Dallas Simons for his assistance with the multi-variate statistical analyses.

known material. My reanalysis of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery both digitizes and makes visually accessibly the data from this well-published site, as well as asks new questions of the funerary material. I use a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses to ground the discussion of Minoan mortuary customs and to question some of the prevalent assumptions regarding the use of cemetery space for the negotiation of status.

Utilizing the data and theoretical apparatuses described above, I pose different questions and make alternative claims for the interpretation of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery. Drawing on theories of materiality and value, I consider spatial and chronological variation among rooms and tombs, highlighting change over time and dissimilarities among tomb assemblages of the same date. I explore the communal and long-lived tombs as spaces where two or more time-scales converge – the *moyenne durée* of multi-generational burial practice and the *événement* of primary burial. Furthermore, I consider the introduction of "new" burial methods using a non-linear conception of time that places new practices in context with traditional ones. Rather than status-oriented questions of the material found within the tombs, I explore possible meanings of burial gifts and later treatments of objects and human remains using the alternative concept of non-agonistic exchange. Objects in tombs, traditionally considered elaborate and visible destructions of wealth, are more fruitfully explored as open prestations, gifts intended to preserve and continue a relationship with the dead. I interpret deposition, as well as continuous and variable interactions with objects and bones, as practices contextually specific to dividual and partible personhood. These mortuary customs are viewed as part

of an ongoing and meaningful connection with the dead, rather than a process that ends with incorporation into the realm of the ancestors.

My case study of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery analyzes Minoan burial practices *per se* and considers long-term and community-wide traditions, as well as change and specific group dynamics and identities that manifest as variations among strata and tombs. I advocate for a study of mortuary contexts that considers the cemetery as a place for funerary ritual and explores questions relating to the relationship between the living and the dead. The following chapter provides contextual information about the area of Archanes and accounts of the excavations and finds from the tombs of the Phourni cemetery. Thorough analysis of this data, using the methodological approaches and theoretical models outlined above follows.

It was not until 1964 when a Late Minoan cenotaph was found that the systematic excavation of Phourni began and uncovered what appears to be the most important cemetery in all Crete. – Sakellarakis (1967a, 276)

CHAPTER 4: ARCHANES IN CONTEXT

The previous chapter offers alternative methodological and theoretical apparatuses for analyzing a single mortuary site – specifically, the tombs dating from EM II – MM II at Archanes-Phourni. Using legacy data, these analyses will rely on detailed, contextual information, drawn from more than 25 years of publications. This chapter offers a review of the site of Archanes, including the history of the area and excavations; a short catalog of settlement, religious, and funerary sites in the area; a review of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery; a consideration of the publications and methods of data collection; and finally, an examination of how the Phourni cemetery has been interpreted and incorporated into the scholarship since its discovery. Such a review situates the cemetery of Archanes-Phourni within the larger structure of Minoan burial practices to offer contextually specific interpretations. The goals of the chapter are to contextualize the cemetery within the larger area of Archanes and within the scholarship of Minoan mortuary customs. Appendix I provides detailed summaries of the tombs, organized by room, stratum, area, and burial vessel, and this data is analyzed in Chapters 5 and 6.

EXPLORATION AND EXCAVATION HISTORY

Archaeological interest in Archanes began in the early 20th century with the discovery of the famous Archanes ladle, found around Troullos and purchased by the Heraklion Museum (Xanthoudides 1909). Xanthoudides first noted the importance of Archanes in 1909 and Evans made frequent visits to the town, purchasing the well-known

signet ring depicting a bull-leaping scene and seven seal stones now housed in the Ashmolean Museum. Evans likely excavated at several places within the modern town of Archanes that are now unknown, but in 1922, during "building works" he uncovered a circular structure and several Minoan walls (A. Evans 1921, II, 64-66; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 55).[133] Evans interpreted the site as the summer palace for the Knossian king.

Marinatos and Platon later conducted small excavations of the Minoan settlements at Troullos and Tzami, respectively (Marinatos 1956; Platon 1957a). In 1964, excavation began at the "palace" site of Tourkoyeitonia. The cemetery of Phourni has been known since 1957 when Synadiniakis, the guardian of antiquities, brought a bronze dagger to the Heraklion Museum, and work officially began there in 1965 (Platon 1957b). The Archaeological Society granted Sakellarakis control of the Archanes excavations in 1966 and Sapouna-Sakellaraki became co-director in 1975 (1991, 22; 1997, 54-58).

Habitation, Palatial, Ritual, and Mortuary Evidence from Archanes

Archanes is located in the north part of central Crete (Figs. 9-10), about 15km south of Knossos and near Mount Iuktas. There are several important sites within the larger area of Archanes, including the Phourni cemetery, which will be discussed in greater detail. As much of ancient Archanes lies under the modern town of Epano Archanes, there has been limited large-scale excavation and much of the current

[133] The circular building is called the "spring chamber", "well house", and "reservoir". Sakellarakis notes that many of these walls were visible above street level into the 1960s.

understanding of the settlement comes from small excavations undertaken during building projects.

Evidence of human activity in the area near Archanes is attested from the Late or Final Neolithic period to the modern day. The earliest demonstrable activity in the area occurs in the form of a Late Neolithic axe found at the site of Vathypetro, southeast of Mount Iuktas, and evidence of human habitation in the Stravomyti Cave, located on Mount Iuktas (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 28–29).[134] Most of the EM material from the area of Archanes has been found at the Archanes-Phourni cemetery, but traces of an EM settlement have been found beneath the modern village of Epano Archanes, with evidence from Vorna, below and near the later "palace" building at Tourkoyeitonia, at the church of Ayios Nikolaos, and at Troullos, in the easternmost part of the village (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1987, 21–46; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 9–10, 1997, 30–31).

Evidence of MM habitation is found throughout the modern town of Epano Archanes, often beneath later LM structures: at Tourkoyeitonia, the Reservoir, the Theater Area, Vorna, the Agora, Papadaki bakery site, and the Kassotaki and Psaltaki plots (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 11, 1997, 31). MM material is also found at the Phourni cemetery, and at the MM I-II Katsoprinias cave tomb, located northwest of Archanes. Evidence of Protopalatial ritual has been found at several places around Mount Iuktas, including the shrine at Anemospilia, the shrine at Vitsila, and the

[134] Neolithic axes have also been found at the sites of Karnari, Myristis and Tourkoyeitonia (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 29). For more on the site of Vathypetro see (Marinatos 1952, 1956). For more on the Stravomyti Cave see (Marinatos 1950b). Stravomyti Cave remained in use during the Prepalatial period and EM pottery has been found at Vitsila, on the periphery of Archanes, and at Karydaki (A. Evans 1921, II, 71).

peak sanctuary at Psili Koriphi, as well as another possible peak sanctuary to the east of Archanes at Choudetsi (Karetsou 1981).[135]

The "palace" structure at Tourkoyeitonia and the remains of settlements found around the building, at Troullos to the east, and Sambas and Synoikismos to west, are dated to the LM period. LM settlements are found around the area of Archanes at Vitsila and Karnari, and houses or villas exist at Karydaki, Myristis, Chomatolakkos, Xeri Kara, and Vathypetro (Platon 1958; Cadogan 1992). Several structures within the Phourni cemetery were used in the LM period, including Tholos B and BB 4. Many religious sites also continue to be used in the LM period, such as Psili Koriphi and the Stravomyti Cave (A. Evans 1921, II, 71; Marinatos 1950b; Karetsou 1981; Chrysoulaki 1987; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 32–33).

Post-palatial Archanes is also well attested, with evidence from Tourkoyeitonia in the form of pottery, mostly kylikes, and at the sites of Vitsila and the Stravomyti Cave.[136] The Phourni cemetery remained in use, with large amounts of finds from Tholos A, Tholos Δ, the Mycenaean Grave Enclosure and some from Tholos B (Platon 1951; Platon and Davaras 1960; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1987, 119–29; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1990; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 14, 1997, 33). Occupation of the area of Archanes has continued to some degree up to the modern period (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 34–46).

Settlement/Habitation Sites

[135] Other evidence of MM habitation exists at Kakoskalo, Karydaki, Chomatolakkos (east of Archanes), and the Stravomyti Cave (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 31–32).
[136] Several LM III figurines were found at Metochi Spiliotaki, and tombs of this date were found at Aniphoros, Phythies, Mesambela, Karnari, and Limnes.

Minoan Archanes likely occupied much of the same space as the modern town and was surrounded by small villages or other centers. Although several small areas of habitation have been uncovered, most of these sites have not been thoroughly explored and are only known from pottery or poorly preserved architecture. The location of the main EM and MM settlement is not clear, but was likely beneath the center of the current village. The extent and organization of the settlement, however, is completely unknown due to the spotty nature of excavation within the modern town (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 30).

Troullos, the neighborhood located at the east end of the modern village and at the highest point of the hill above Archanes, preserves some of the best Proto- and Neopalatial architecture in the area (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 24, 1997, 65–66).[137] A Pre- and Protopalatial period structure was found beneath an LM structure at Ayios Nikolaos. The deepest layers were reached here and Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki suggest that the Prepalatial settlement was located at the center of the modern village around Ayios Nikolaos, Tourkoyeitonia, and Vorna (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 30).[138] Further evidence has been found at Stravomyti Cave, which was

[137] Several MM II, MM III, and LM IA buildings and a large retaining wall have been discovered. Kamares ware vases, terracotta figurines, and later Floral Style pottery were discovered near the wall and suggest a date of MM II to LM. Ashlar masonry, paved courtyards, and painted wall-plaster led the excavators to label Troullos an "exceptionally important part of the settlement" (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 24; Marinatos 1956; Sakellarakis 1966c, 413–14; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1978, 309–15; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 65–66).
[138] At the site of the Ayios Nikolaos church plots were an LM structure, possibly a raised, paved road made of dressed poros stone, and beneath it, the remains of the earlier structure. Three levels of superimposed paved floors were discovered with signs of a major destruction. EM II and EM III pottery have been found in association with the successive layers (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 130–31).

in use from the LN to the Roman period.[139] Architectural features have been found at the site of Vitsila, located west of Archanes and Mount Iuktas.[140] The remains of a paved road have also been identified here. Evans believed it was part of a much larger road system from Knossos to the south, although Vitsila is the only site along the road that has been identified with any certainty (A. Evans 1921, I, 155, 113B; II, 60-74; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 71–73).[141]

The "Palace"

Although only small parts of the so-called "palace" have been uncovered, the excavators note that the structure seems to have been equal in size to the palaces found elsewhere on Crete. The palace of Archanes was identified by the excavation of four main sites within the town, the most thoroughly explored and important of which lies

[139] The site is located at the southern end of the Iuktas mountain range at a 400m altitude and its function is unclear and likely varied over time. It was explored by Evans and then Marinatos and has five entrances and two levels, an upper and a lower. Neolithic and EM I ceramics were found with obsidian blades and animal bone and Marinatos discovered 15 pithoi dating to the MM I-LM I periods. A base of porous dressed stone was found embedded in the earth at the entrance to the lower cave. It was interpreted as the base of an altar or of a baetyl and likely dates to the Geometric or Archaic period. Marinatos suggests that the cave was used for habitation in the LN and EM and was used as a cult space from the MM onward, although newer studies suggest there is little to support the ritual interpretation (Tyree 1974, 34–37; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996, 1:72; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 30, 67; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 318). For more on the Stravomyti Cave see (Marinatos 1949, 108–9, 1950a, 248–57; Faure 1964, 68, 173–75; Zois 1973, 174–77).

[140] The site is also called Visala, Vissala, Vitsiles, and tou Diakou ta kephalia. EM I-III pottery was discovered along with a MM and LM wall, which was associated with a *propylon*, a so-called "sanctuary", and a house built of dressed poros stone, as well as a drain and a staircase. A rock shelter was also found with surface pottery dating to MM II, MM III, LM and later periods. It was possibly used for cult and excavations suggest it was used for burial in the EM period (Faure 1964, 56 nn. 1, 68; Tyree 1974, 37; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996, 1:72; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 30, 67; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 318). Platon believed the ceramics were of Neolithic date (Platon 1953, 491).

[141] MM pottery was found at Kakoskalo. Some sporadic finds of this period, including larnakes, suggest that Karnari was also occupied in the Protopalatial period. Finally, a potter's wheel as well as a lamp and a few jugs of MM date were discovered at a settlement at Karydaki (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 67–68).

under the area called "Tourkoyeitonia", meaning Turkish neighborhood. The building has a monumental south façade of ashlar masonry, a large threshold with two supporting columns, and a *polythyron* (Fig. 13). The entrance leads to a paved courtyard with a raised platform, as well as several interior rooms and magazines. Several biconcave altars were discovered within the palatial structure, along with ivory figurines, stone vases, and many ceramics, including large storage pithoi.

The palace preserves an image of the last Minoan phase but the excavators suggest that it was originally constructed in the MM period along with the other Protopalatial structures on the island, stating that "its general conception appears compatible with this period" (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 28). This earlier date is supported by pottery and figurines that were discovered in a few areas and date to the earlier phase of the palace.[142] The majority of the evidence for the structure dates to the Neopalatial period. It was destroyed in LM IB but there is some evidence that at least parts of the structure remained in use into the LM III. Continuity at Archanes is confirmed by the long use-life of the cemetery at Phourni (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 24–28, 1997, 74–112).

The Reservoir site or Cistern was first discovered in 1922 by Evans and is located to the north of Tourkoyeitonia but seems to have been within the palace area.[143] Several

[142] Areas 1, 17, and 18 are noted as bringing forth earlier remains. In Area 1 bell-shaped objects and figurines were discovered in the northwest part of the courtyard. Area 17 yielded evidence that the lower floors made use of the earlier palaces walls, with newly constructed walls for upper stories. The room associated with Area 18 lies on a layer associated with the destruction of the earlier palace and the construction of the walls here suggest a new arrangement after the damage (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 30–45). Excavation reports for each area of the palace were published regularly, see (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 74–151).

[143] This underground, circular structure surrounds a spring. It was constructed of poros stone and contained a pebble-lined floor and an attached 1 by 1m stone conduit that fed water from the

other structures that date to the Neopalatial period have been found, including the Theatral Area and the Archive. The Theatral Area was paved, with four "walkways" that form a triangle, and a raised platform, near which was discovered poros Horns of Consecration. Within the Archive were many Linear A tablets with MM III-LM IB pottery. Traces of an earlier MM IIIA-B building were discovered here as well, with remains of polychrome plaster on the walls. A house model was found here, along with fragments of unworked rock crystal, obsidian, and steatite (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 48–49, 1997, 120–29, 132–35).

Ritual Areas

Several sites located on Mount Iuktas appear to have some cultic connection. These ritual sites include caves and the well-known peak sanctuary at Iuktas, Psili Koriphi. Chosto Nero, a so-called "sacred cave", is on the west slope of the mountain.[144] The peak of Mount Iuktas, called Psili Koriphi, is an open-air sanctuary with terraces dating to the end of the Proto- or beginning of the Neopalatial.[145] A long altar lies on the

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Reservoir to the west. From the discovery of MM bell-shaped objects and zoomorphic figurines, it was likely constructed in the Protopalatial period and then repaired in LM IB (A. Evans 1921, II, 64ff; Sakellarakis 1965b, 558–59; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 48, 1997, 112–15).

[144] It is located at a height of 720m and was studied by both Faure and Marinatos. The mouth of the cave leads to three passages, including a room with three or four pillars and a small pool. Another passage leads to a chamber with three small pools, where many terracotta figurine fragments were discovered. The excavators suggest that ritual use of the site began in the MM period, was especially relevant in the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, and continued into the historic era (Faure 1964, 175–76; Karetsou 1981, 137; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996, 1:45–46; Marinatos 1950a, 250–51). Stravomyti Cave may also have a cultic function (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 136, 1997, 31, 68–69).

[145] It was first explored by Evans in 1909 when he discovered the peak sanctuary and surrounding Cyclopean wall, and then by Karetsou for the Greek Archaeological Society, beginning in 1974 (A. Evans 1921, I, 154-159; Karetsou 1981). Originally called the "priest's house" by Evans, it consists of stepped terraces, oriented north-south and accessed by a ramp. A series of rooms are located on the east side of Terrace II and a bench sits just above one of the terraces, with which hundreds of objects are associated, dating from the Protopalatial period until LM IIIA-B.

west side of the terraces, situated above deep fissures in the bedrock, including a very deep chasm, which may have served the function of a cave-like ritual space (Rutkowski and Nowicki 1996, 1:41). MM IA sherds were discovered in the lowest levels of the fissures across the entire sanctuary, suggesting an MM date for the beginning of cult practice on the peak. The lower level, associated with the Protopalatial use of the site, called the "ash altar" by Evans, was filled with objects testifying to its religious significance.[146] A cyclopean circuit wall was added in the LM period. On the terraces and in the rooms were gold objects, alabaster cups, one of which bears a Linear A inscription, offering tables, and many zoomorphic clay figurines. Both Evans and Karetsou suggest that the peak sanctuary was associated with Knossos, especially in the Neopalatial period, but association with the site of Anemospilia (discussed below) and the inhabitants of Archanes seems certain (Karetsou 1981; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 136, 1997, 68–69, 323).

Anemospilia

Anemospilia is located on a relatively level protrusion about 400m high on Mount Iuktas.[147] It is a built structure consisting of three parallel rooms and an antechamber running along the width of the building.[148] Many vessels used for storage, such as large pithoi, and those associated with ritual functions, such as a Kamares Ware vase with plastic decoration, were left here when the building collapsed, likely in an earthquake and

[146] Several offering tables, including one of stone, a poros kernos, and many figurines, mostly male, of bronze and clay, were discovered as well as many animal figurines. A cache of 34 bronze double axes were also discovered close to the altar.
[147] It was discovered by Sakellarakis in 1979 and is the most thoroughly documented ritual site associated with Archanes.
[148] It is called a "tripartite shrine" by the excavators and compared to images of these shrines such as that depicted on the Zakros Rhyton and gold clothing ornaments from Mycenae and Volos.

subsequent fire, around MM IIB-IIIA. Larger than life size ceramic feet were discovered in the central room along with a thick layer of ash. These have been interpreted as the remains of an acrolithic wooden cult statue, or *xoanon* (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 137–40, 1997, 268–93).

The remains of four individuals were discovered in the building as well. One skeleton of unknown sex and age was discovered in the antechamber and the other three were in the westernmost room. A woman, about 28 years of age, was discovered face down in the southwest corner of the room and a man, roughly 37 or 38 years old, was found lying face up to the north of the woman. The man wore a rectangular agate seal depicting a man rowing a boat on his left wrist as well as a silver ring with a round bezel covered in iron, possibly a signet ring, on his left hand (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 151, 1997, 298–99). Both individuals have been interpreted as priests. The excavators interpret the body of an 18-year-old male, discovered on a slightly raised platform, as the object of human sacrifice that took place at the very moment of the building's collapsed. The position of the body, a bronze blade that was discovered on or near the body, and the level of burning on the bones are all cited as evidence of human sacrifice. Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki have suggested that, during a rash of devastating earthquakes, the human sacrifice was performed to appease the local deity and prevent further destruction, but that this sacrifice was interrupted by yet another earthquake, destroying the building and killing the individuals (Sakellarakis 1981; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 137–56, 1997, 294–311).

Anemospilia is a rare example of a building that was destroyed in a single incident, rather than abandoned. The image provided by this destruction is both detailed

and otherwise unavailable. The unique evidence provided by human remains outside of a cemetery, and within a functioning building, further affords an opportunity to consider the lives of the Minoans. Such exceptional remains have led to rich interpretations, questions, and criticisms (Hughes 1991, 13–17; Rehak and Younger 2001, 434; Younger and Rehak 2008, 170; Müller Celka 2016). [149] Hughes, for example, among other critiques, has identified the bronze blade as a spearhead rather than a knife, bringing into question the ritualistic nature implied by a simple blade (Hughes 1991, 13–17).[150] Younger and Rehak suggested that perhaps the young man was killed during a hunting accident (Younger and Rehak 2008, 170).[151]

Although there have been numerous critiques and responses concerning both the nature and function of the Anemospilia building as well as the activity taking place just before the destruction, the original interpretation has never been dismissed completely. Recently, Müller Celka proposed that the structure was used for the treatment and preparation of the dead prior to interment, possibly within the Archanes-Phourni cemetery. Rather than a sacrificial altar or table, the dimensions of which (0.63 by 0.73m) roughly fall within the range of size of the larnakes found at Phourni, the platform could have been used to prepare the body for burial. This would also explain the contracted

[149] For extensive defense of the interpretation see (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 306–11).
[150] Other critiques of the sacrificial interpretation concern whether the platform is similar to the sacrificial tables depicted in visual evidence, the differential burning on the upper and lower parts of the skeletal remains, and whether the structure constitutes a tripartite shrine (Sakellarakis 1981; Hughes 1991, 13–17; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 137–56, 1997, 268–94; McEnroe 2010, 66; Shaw 2015, 32–33, 81–82; Müller Celka 2016).
[151] Müller Celka questions this interpretation based on the usual type of spearhead and the engraved boar heads on both sides (Müller Celka 2016, 550).

position of the body.[152] The spearhead, rather than the ritual blade used for sacrifice or the functional hunting weapon that accidentally pierced the young man, was intended as a funerary offering to be buried with the deceased. The structure was not rebuilt after the destruction and Müller Celka (2016) suggests that Phourni's Building 4, dating to LM IA, could have functionally replaced the building at Anemospilia.

This intriguing interpretation, if correct, would provide invaluable evidence for the treatment of the dead prior to interment. There is no obvious relationship between Anemospilia and the Phourni cemetery, however. The distance between the two sites is just over 1.7km (1.08 miles), as the crow flies, and overlooks the valley to the north, toward Knossos, rather than to the southwest, toward Archanes. While this distance is not impossible to traverse, it seems unlikely that the preparation of the dead would take place at a site that is neither close to the place of interment nor to the area of habitation.[153]

Secondly, the date of the destruction of Anemospilia, sometime in the first half of the 17th century BCE, does not align with the dates of use for the Phourni cemetery, which shows little evidence of use during MM III. Müller Celka mostly refers to BB 18, dated to EM III - MM II, for comparative material, but the pottery from Anemospilia is

[152] She also suggests that the older man, found near the young man's body, was already deceased at the time of destruction and rather than acting as priest, ministrant, or mourning family member, was awaiting funerary preparation. She argues this based on the presence of the seal on his left wrist, and the iron ring on the little finger of his left hand, saying that most seals are found within burial contexts (Müller Celka 2016, 551). This argument seems both unnecessary and unsupported given that seals and rings most certainly served functional roles as adornment and administrative tools prior to being interred with their owner, and that they were worn regularly. Their presence outside of a tomb does not necessitate an immediate funereal deposition. Although either interpretation is valid, there is no reason to presume that he was deceased based on the presence of a ring and a seal on his person.

[153] The likely location of the Archanes settlement during the MM period is somewhere beneath modern Epano Archanes. The distance between Phourni and the center of Archanes is 1.09 km (0.68 miles).

dated to the MM IIB-MM III. Although she acknowledges the lack of burials dating to the "Anemospilia period", as well as the distance between the sites, she does not explain this discrepancy or offer an alternative cemetery with which Anemospilia might be associated (Müller Celka 2016, 554).

Archanes and Archanes-Phourni

The settlement and ritual evidence from Epano Archanes and the area around it provide a physical and chronological context for the Archanes-Phourni cemetery. It is likely that a sizeable Protopalatial settlement, with earlier occupation history, was in existence nearby. Although a firm MM construction date for the palace is not possible given the current level of excavation, it seems likely that this large structure was built and used concurrently with other palaces at Knossos and Phaistos. The proximity of Archanes to the important religious centers on Mount Iuktas likely contributed to the prominence of the site. The wealth of material, both local and imported, and the great variety in burial architecture, burial method, and funerary deposits within the cemetery should all be analyzed within the context of the scant but significant evidence for a vibrant community at Archanes.

Cemeteries

Archanes-Phourni is by far the largest and most thoroughly excavated cemetery in the Archanes area but Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki have noted the discovery of a few smaller cemeteries in the area of Archanes, outside the main town (1997, 32, 68). Larnakes were found at the site of Tragomandra in Karnari, west of Mount Iuktas.[154] A few graves have been discovered to the north and northwest of the settlements at

[154] The exact location and date of the site is not provided and no previous publication is mentioned.

Aniphoros and Katsoprinias. At Aniphoros they discovered two carved LM III tombs, one of which made use of a much earlier MM bathtub-shaped larnax.[155] A MM II "cave-like grave" was found on the rocky hill at Katsoprinias and held six burials, two of which were in larnakes, with burial goods of pottery and seals, all disturbed from cultivation (Sakellarakis 1965b, 557–58). Larnakes were also found to the south at Ontades and Mesambela, and to the east at Kavallaropetra (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 12, 1997, 68).[156]

Since their excavation and publication in the mid 20th century, very little has been published about these tombs. It is therefore difficult to provide any meaningful comparison of these small burial places with the large cemetery of Phourni. The salient point, however, is that other locations were being used for burial throughout the Minoan period and that burials took place outside of planned cemeteries, like Phourni, in caves and on the outskirts of small settlements. Unlike Mycenaean cemeteries that physically separate wealthy and poorer tombs, Minoan cemeteries of the Pre- and Protopalatial periods do not appear to have any such distinction.[157] Although it is possible that another cemetery may have existed alongside Archanes-Phourni for the interment of wealthier or poorer classes, the limited evidence for other mortuary spaces suggests that the Phourni cemetery was used by everyone living at Archanes.

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[155] One held a highly decorated larnax and several ceramic vessels. On the floor of the tomb were two *bothroi*, each with a contracted burial. A third *bothros* held a well-preserved burial, equipped with an *in situ* bronze ring, and was covered by the reused MM larnax. The second tomb had an irregular circular shape with a north-south dromos. It was found undamaged with a larnax containing the remains of two individuals and three vessels (Platon and Davaras 1960).
[156] Locations and dates are not all provided and previous publications are not given.
[157] The cemetery at Mochlos has been interpreted as having such a physical separation but this has been thoroughly problematized (Seager 1912; Soles 1988, 1992; Karacic 2015).

ARCHANES-PHOURNI CEMETERY

The Archanes-Phourni cemetery (Fig. 2) has been called "the most important prehistoric cemetery of the Aegean" (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 66). It is located on a hill in the north-central part of Crete, not far south of Knossos and just east of Mount Iuktas.[158] It is most likely that this cemetery was used by the community at Archanes. [159]

Archanes-Phourni is one of the longest-lived cemeteries on the island, with a use life beginning in EM IIA and continuing until the Subminoan period, with some periods of greater and more extensive use and some periods with very little evidence of use. The Neopalatial period is the least represented period for burial activity, but several buildings appear to have been used for other purposes, which the excavators term "the secular buildings" (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 223–31).[160] The cemetery is located 1.09km to the northwest of the center of the modern town of Archanes. The approach to the Phourni cemetery is, accordingly, from the south. Some of this path has visible pavement, which is similar in orientation and appearance to the uphill path located within the cemetery. Use of the area appears to have expanded from south to north over time (Figs. 5-7). The earliest use of the cemetery are the two tholos tombs in the south, Tholos E and Tholos Γ, dating to EM IIA, with some evidence of other earlier structures

[158] 5.89km (3.66 miles) south of Knossos and 1.45km (0.9 miles) from Psili Koriphi on Mount Iuktas.
[159] The excavators remark that the relationship between the settlement and cemetery of Minoan Archanes seems similar to that between the modern town and cemetery, currently located to the south of the modern town but at a roughly similar distance to that between the Minoan counterparts (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 156).
[160] Tholos B and BB 3 are the only burial structures at Phourni with some evidence of funereal use in the MM III and LM I periods.

below the later ones. The latest constructions are in the north, such as Tholos A (LM IIIA) and Burial Building 21 (LM IIIB), with some reuse of Tholos Δ in the Subminoan period.[161] The name Phourni is likely related to Tholos A, as the visible circular structure resembled an oven or *phournos* (φούρνος) (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 155–57).

The Phourni cemetery is approximately 6,600m square, with a rough north-south alignment (Fig. 2). Phourni contains 26 funerary buildings of various shapes and sizes that employ various construction methods. Many of these are founded directly on bedrock or cut into the bedrock (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 54–56). These include rectangular structures with multiple rooms and occasionally multiple stories called "funerary" or "burial buildings" by the excavators, circular tombs or tholoi, which are more typical of the south-central Mesara, and one unique apsidal structure, BB 19.[162] Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki have subdivided the types of rectangular tombs within the cemetery, drawing distinctions between those that are freestanding and those that are extensions to earlier tholoi, such as Room 3 of BB 9 for Tholos Γ and BB 16 for Tholos E.[163] These are further divided into what they term burial enclosures, house tombs, and

[161] The post-palatial, LM III, Tholoi A and D will not be considered for this study, as they post-date the periods of interest.

[162] Tholos E and Tholos Γ at Archanes-Phourni are two of only seven tholoi found outside of S Crete and are two of only four that were constructed in the earlier part of Prepalatial period, EM I-II. Other early tholoi outside of the Mesara occur at Krasi (Tholoi A and B) and the three later tholos tombs of EM III-MM I date are Tholos B at Archanes, one at Gypsades near Knossos, and another at Myrsini in E Crete (Papadatos 2005).

[163] It is likely that these developed organically from the presence of buttresses outside domed tholoi (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 239–40). Perpendicular walls were added to support tholos walls from the pressure exerted by the domed roof and were then enclosed to create more space for burials. Such an explanation possibly calls into question the functional addition of annexes to tholoi for burial preparation, storage, etc.

composite tombs. Burial enclosures, such as BBs 5, 6, 7, and 12, have organic, agglomerative plans and do not appear to have an entrance, suggesting that interments were made from the roof. House tombs are those with simple plans and only one or two rooms with entrances and internal communication, such as BB 8 and the earlier phase of BB 6. Composite tombs resemble the other types but are uniform in design and are so large and complex, sometimes with multiple stories, that they appear to resemble later palace architecture; these include Tholos B, BB 3, and BB 18 (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 238).

In addition to the burial structures, other parts of the cemetery were also used for interments, including areas between buildings and the so-called "Area of the Rocks". The Area of the Rocks is an enigmatic feature of Phourni. It is made up of large, flat, platy stone slabs that cover a long narrow area along the southwestern edge of the cemetery, with spaces and fissures in between them that were used for interments similar to those found throughout the cemetery. Some sections of the Area of the Rocks, however, were clearly used for the reinterment or relocation of material removed from earlier burial layers.[164]

Deposits were also made in the narrow spaces between buildings, but these seem to be variable in their function. The Area Between BB 8 and BB 9, for example, greatly resembles the structures around it and seems more likely to have been part of a burial structure such as BB 8, located directly north. The larger, open-air space between BB 18

[164] The South Section of the Area of the Rocks appears to have been used for the reinterment of material from the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ. For more on this, see the section on the Area of the Rocks in the following chapter as well as (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 232–36; Papadatos 2005, 52–53).

and 19, on the other hand, appears to have functioned like the Area of the Rocks, with human remains and objects likely redeposited here from the clearance of nearby burial structures, such as Tholos E.[165] Still other areas in between buildings and outside burial structures seem to have had a public function. Some spaces were paved, apparently for moving around the site and for ritual purposes. A paved area, ramp, and staircase equipped with drainage pipes to conduct rainwater were discovered in the area between BB 6 and Tholos B. A corridor, formed by a large retaining wall in between the higher BB 6 and the lower Tholos B, held roughly 300 vessels of MM IA-II date, suggesting to the excavators that these were thrown here during rituals taking place on the paved areas above (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 202–5). Another paved area exists to the north of BB 12 and it is likely that these areas were connected, providing access, and possibly ritual space, for those using the cemetery.

Chronology of Buildings and Practice at Phourni

EM IIA

The earliest buildings (Fig. 5) appear in the southern part of the cemetery with later structures added further north and functioning more or less continually, from the EBA to the end of the Minoan period. The two earliest buildings of the Phourni cemetery, Tholos Γ and Tholos E, are round tholos tombs, the types most commonly found in the Mesara. Both tombs were constructed and used in EM IIA with a break in EM IIB and were later cleared of most material, leveled, and reused in EM III or MM IA. There is very little evidence for the use of the cemetery in the EM IIB period, with the exception

[165] For more on these area, see the relevant sections of the following chapter as well as (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 232, 379, 383–384, 474, 513, 814).

of some ceramic deposits between BB 18 and BB 19. Two, possibly three, other structures within the cemetery have been dated to EM. BB 25, BB 26, and possibly BB 24 were built sometime in EM II and then covered by later burial buildings.[166] There is little known about the contents of these tombs but they appear to have been rectangular structures, suggesting that in EM II, Phourni was made up of both circular tholoi and house tombs, which are more typical of eastern Crete.

Only scraps of bones have been discovered in most of these early layers, but the tholos tombs (especially Tholos E) and redeposited material found in the Area of the Rocks have been slightly better preserved. Based on the remains from Tholos E, it seems likely that in EM IIA Phourni, burials were made on the surface of the tombs and were followed by a variety of secondary practices, such as clearing and depletion. Although many of the objects were removed from the two tholos tombs when they were cleared, it is evident that the people of EM II Phourni buried their dead with large numbers of objects, including a significant quantity of imported gold, marble, and ivory.[167]

EM III/MM IA

Although there is little evidence from the preceding EM IIB period, the EM III/MM IA periods (Fig. 6) indicate heavy utilization of the cemetery with large-scale construction, and reuse of earlier buildings. Human remains and objects were removed from Tholos Γ and Tholos E, and in the case of Tholos Γ, much of the material was redeposited in the South Section of the Area of the Rocks. The floors of these structures

[166] The lack of preserved contextual material has made it impossible to date these structures more precisely than within EM II, or for BB 24, either EM II or EM III.
[167] As will be discussed below and in the Analysis chapter, Tholos Γ contained many more objects of gold and imported materials, mostly from the Cyclades, than Tholos E.

were leveled with soil, leaving some scraps of bones and small objects behind. These structures were then reused both for surface burials and burial vessels, especially larnakes, which were introduced to cemeteries of Crete at this time. While the tholos tombs were maintained and reused, the EM II rectangular buildings, on the other hand, were covered over and replaced by other house tombs during this EM III/MM IA building phase.[168]

Five house tombs, BBs 5, 6, 12, 13, and 18 (and possibly 24), and one unique apsidal structure, BB 19, are dated to the EM III period, while the foundations of BBs 3, 7, 8, 9, and 16 are dated to MM IA. Tholos B, and the large rectangular structure surrounding it known as the Annex, which is one of the most elaborate structures at Phourni, was also built in MM IA. A very poorly preserved curving wall, located within the Area of the Rocks, directly west of BB 12, dates generally to MM I. The Area of the Rocks was used for the occasional reinterment of material from the tombs and some primary interments throughout this period. It is therefore clear that EM III/MM IA at Archanes-Phourni was a period of rapid expansion of the cemetery, large-scale construction, and innovative architecture. Variations among the structures of the burial buildings, the methods of interment and secondary interaction, and the objects accompanying the burials suggest differentiation of practice among groups using the cemetery and even within these groups.

[168] It is interesting to note, however, that two of the three earlier buildings were destroyed only in the later phase of the EM III/MM IA use of the cemetery. BB 24 (EM II or EM III) was destroyed by BB 18, which was constructed in the later EM III period, BB 25 was destroyed by BBs 5 and 3 (constructed in EM III and MM IA, respectively), and BB 26 was covered by BB 8 of MM IA date. It is possible, therefore, that some of these structures, or at least parts of them, were visible, if not used, in the earlier phase of this EM III/MM IA period of intensive use at Phourni.

While the practice of surface burials and secondary interaction with human remains, such as clearing, depletion, and selective retention, was maintained during the EM III-MM I phase of use, this period is also marked by the introduction of burial vessels. Pithoi, box- and bathtub-shaped larnakes, as well as other vessels, were used for interments at this time. Burial vessels were used to hold both primary burials and secondary interments and often contained burial gifts for the dead. One larnax held 10 skulls but larnakes and pithoi were also occasionally found empty, suggesting that human remains were never interred in the vessel or had been removed after deposition.[169]

MM IB-MM II

While many of these tombs and areas are single period structures and are not used beyond MM IA (Fig. 7), such as BBs 5, 7, 8, 13, 16, and possibly 12, a few of the larger structures continue in use into MM IB (BBs 6, 9, possibly 12, and the Area of the Rocks) and MM II (Tholos Γ, Tholos E, and BBs 18, 19).[170] Although there is little discernable change in burial practice to be noted at the beginning of the Protopalatial period in MM IB, there is some evidence of significant change in MM II, notable within BB 18. The later rooms of BB 18 are characterized by a move away from the tradition of primary burial and intensive secondary interaction toward single inhumation with little to no evidence of secondary interaction. This notable change, however, is accompanied by continuity in other aspects of burial practice. Burial is still within the same structure that was used beginning in EM III with little architectural change, and these inhumations are made both on the surface of the tomb and within burial vessels, consistent with the

[169] This is thoroughly discussed in Chapter 6.
[170] BB 13, which is poorly preserved, is dated only to the EM III period.

practice of EM III-MM IB at Phourni. Variation in some aspects of burial practice in MM II is conspicuously accompanied by a marked decrease in the number and "quality" of grave goods associated with the interments.[171] This change, however, is not visible within all MM II areas of the cemetery, but appears to be restricted to the later rooms of BB 18.

MM III/LM IA

The MM III/LM IA period at the site of Phourni marks the largest and most significant change in the use of the cemetery (Fig. 2). There is limited evidence for Neopalatial burial in the cemetery for the entirety of the Neopalatial period, a phenomenon that has been well-documented throughout Minoan Crete (Younger and Rehak 2008, 170; Hatzaki 2012, 309–10).[172] Tholos B and BB 3, two of the most elaborate structures of Phourni, indicate some use during this period though the nature of this use is not clear for various reasons.[173] The excavators date the final use of BB 3 to LM IA although there are remarkably few burials preserved. There were only four larnakes of Neopalatial date, two of which contained child burials, but they were accompanied by high value, imported objects, often associated with palatial contexts.[174] Tholos B, on the other hand, continued to be used until LM IIIA, preserving limited evidence for the Neopalatial use of the Tholos and Annex. Some LM IA deposits have

[171] Similar changes in practice were noted at the cemeteries in the area of Knossos (Preston 2013b, esp. 63).
[172] Younger and Rehak state that "cemeteries have proved elusive, leading some scholars, such as ourselves, to wonder if some Minoans of the New Palace period were buried at sea" (Younger and Rehak 2008, 170).
[173] The buildings are both large, roughly square in plan, and have evidence of second story.
[174] These include a gold hair-spiral, gold clothing decorations, a silver cup, a decorated bronze lamp, a bronze vessel, three bronze weapons, a stone vase, and a stone rhyton. The number of burials and the age of the individuals, if there were any, are not provided (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 197–98).

been discovered in the Pillar Room of Tholos B, some of which include similar high value objects that must have fallen from the second floor, which was likely used for burial although no human remains are reported.

Building 20, an enigmatic structure of unknown use, was found in the north part of the cemetery, just south of Tholos A. It was not fully explored but excavation revealed small stones, heaped to 0.50m in depth, and covering 35m square area bounded by a circular wall. At the center was an elliptical building, 4.40m in length. Some human bones were discovered among the exterior stones with sherds from MM IIIB-LM IA vessels, animal bones, and a few other objects. Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki have suggested that the structure may be a tumulus of sorts, but nothing like it has been found elsewhere on Crete.

Other buildings, seemingly of non-funerary use, however, were constructed and used during the Neopalatial period. Building 4, located northeast of Tholos B and the rest of the Pre- and Protopalatial cemetery, was constructed in LM IA and does not seem to have a burial function (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 223–29). The building sits at a higher elevation than the earlier cemetery buildings and consists of two wings, and almost certainly had an upper story. The west wing was not well preserved but the lower level was possibly used for wine production and storage, as well as for ritual purposes, suggested by a serpentine offering table and the 250+ conical cups discovered in the area, while the upper floor, based on the discovery of three column bases, may have been an open colonnaded space. The lower floor of the east wing gave access to the upper floor and may have been used for wine production and storage. The objects from the upper story consist of bronze and stone tools, stone vessels, mortars and

pigments, loom weights, a lead weight and a bronze ingot, giving the impression of an area used for production and crafts. Based on the complete lack of human remains within the structure, the strange architectural layout of the building, and the assemblage of production related objects, the excavators interpret Building 4 as a production center providing materials needed for burial and ritual within the cemetery.[175]

A few wall foundations and paving stones of Building 17 were discovered to the northeast of this structure. Beneath the pavement was discovered a few objects and a large deposit of MM IA and LM IA pottery, with around 120 mostly complete LM IA vessels found within a pit dug into the bedrock. The excavators suggest that these were redeposited here after clearing a MM IA and LM IA building, possibly Tholos B, for reuse. Some paving stones seem to connect Buildings 4 and 17, giving the impression of a paved open area in the north part of the cemetery during the Neopalatial period.

The Neopalatial aspects of the Phourni cemetery are not well understood. Some burial buildings remained in use and some new buildings, one of non-funerary use, were constructed. While there is a significant decrease in the number of tombs and in the number of burials at Phourni, the cemetery remained in use into LM IA and the nature of burial practice, the layout of the cemetery, and the function of the spaces indicate substantial changes. It appears that burial vessels, mainly larnakes, remained in use and some high value objects were deposited, marking a possible break with the MM II evidence from BB 18. The appearance of structures dedicated to craft-production and

[175] Müller Celka suggested that the building at Anemospilia was used for the preparation of the dead and, after the destruction of the building, was replaced by Building 4 within Phourni. Anemospilia is lacking any evidence of craft production, however, and Building 4 does not have any obvious space for the preparation of the dead. While this lack of evidence does not preclude such a use, there is no direct correlation between the two buildings.

ritual suggests a major shift in the use of the cemetery. These deviations might be reflective of new practices associated with the new palace complexes, and possibly associated with changes seen in other contexts, such as the peak sanctuaries, which likely shifted from a space for open, collective rituals in the MM period to those dominated by palatial control in the LM period (Peatfield 1987).

LM III

The Postpalatial period of Phourni indicates a renewal of interest in the site and corresponds with the construction of large tombs of various types (Fig. 2), including the Mycenaean type tholoi, such as Tholos A (LM IIIA1) and Tholos Δ (LM IIIA2), and carved tombs, such as the so-called, Mycenaean Burial Enclosure (LM IIIA). As mentioned above, Tholos B was used during the LM IIIA period and was somewhat altered to fit the customs of other Postpalatial structures, including the closure of the original, southwestern dromos and the addition of a new dromos at the northwest. Building 21 is another enigmatic structure. It was found to the south of Tholos A and is made up of a corbelled dome covering a channel and staircase that leads ca. 4.10m down toward a depression in the bedrock. Sherds of LM IIIB date were discovered were discovered, leading the excavators to suggest that the structure was used for religious, possibly chthonic, purposes in the Postpalatial period.

These structures provide a great deal of evidence for the reuse of the earlier cemetery and LM III burial practices. They are characterized by remarkably wealthy, single inhumations within pits and cut tomb, often accompanied by large animal

sacrifices. As they are outside of the chronological scope of this dissertation, however, they will not be considered in the intra-site comparison.[176]

ARCHANES-PHOURNI PUBLICATIONS

The following sections are dedicated to a thorough review of the publications available for a reanalysis of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery, including the monograph, the yearly reports, and more recent publications of specific tombs. They also include methods of data collection and some commentary on the limitations of the analysis based on the publication methods.

Monograph

The bulk of the data for this study of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery comes from the large, two-volume, monograph published in English by the excavators, Yiannis and Efi Sakellarakis in 1997. Volume I contains a chapter dedicated to the excavation, architecture, and burial deposit for each tomb found within the cemetery and several other areas that contained human remains and objects (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 152–267). Most tombs receive limited treatment and the amount of space dedicated to description is based on the size, preservation, and number of interments and objects discovered. Poorly preserved tombs, such as BBs 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26 are given very little attention. Volume II is organized by material and object types with sections devoted to seals, figurines, pottery, jewelry, etc.

[176] The conception of Minoan burial practices of the Protopalatial period and that just before the appearance of the palaces, often bears more similarity to the evidence from the Postpalatial burials found at sites such as Archanes, than they do to the image produced by the evidence from the EM III-MM II burials. This phenomenon, paralleled by the interpretations of the palaces themselves.

Both volumes of the final publication provide invaluable information for the tombs and burial practices of Archanes-Phourni in accessible language with photographs and drawings and thorough references to previous publications. These large volumes also offer revised and thoroughly considered interpretations based on many years of excavation and study. The nature of such holistic publications, however, necessitates limited treatment of each context, lack of clear find-spots for objects and skeletal remains, and unspecific object information such as material, size, shape, and number. Issues with dividing objects according to material type has been discussed more thoroughly above, but for Archanes this often means a divorcing of objects from their context as well as a distinct lack of treatment of more mundane finds, such as locally produced stone beads or shell and faunal remains.

Yearly Reports

While the monograph provides an interpretation based on complete excavation, seasonal excavation reports often contain significantly more detailed data. Numbers of objects, find-spots, and spatial relationships between the architectural structures, objects, and human remains are frequently provided in the yearly reports. The yearly reports provide significantly more information regarding complex architectural phases for burial buildings and for the find-spots and numbers of objects discovered.[177] The clarity of information provided in the yearly reports allows for a more complete data set for each

[177] For example, BB 5 has 10 rooms with complicated building phases. The yearly reports provide room numbers while the monograph describes the location of the rooms by their relative position, such as "the room in the west wing" or "the east rooms" (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 199–201). The final publication also gives vague object information, such as "…obsidian blades and a few beads" in the east rooms of BB 5. The yearly reports provide the find spot, Room 8a, and precise descriptions of objects – two obsidian blades, 24 obsidian blade fragments, and one obsidian flake, as well as five beads, two of steatite, one of a black stone, one of an unidentified stone, and one of ivory (Sakellarakis 1972, 323–24).

structure. While these reports provide better data, they were published over many years and the information for each context is dispersed. The following chapter gives a summary of the excavation and a complete description of the chronology, structure, and assemblage for each burial space gathered from the excavation reports, providing a complete, contextually specific account of the EM IIA-MM II cemetery.

Recent Re-Analyses of Single Tombs

Recent re-analyses of the Archanes-Phourni burial buildings add greatly to our understanding of the cemetery by adding contextual information, detail, and clarity to the succinct descriptions of the tombs and deposits found in the final report. Using the original excavation notebooks and yearly publications, Christofilis Maggidis' added much needed stratigraphic information, which is only briefly discussed in earlier publications, including the identification of two burial layers within each of two strata.[178]

Yiannis Papadatos' study of Tholos Γ dramatically changed the interpretation of the structure and its deposit, originally recognized as a "single burial layer… dated to the EM III period" (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 182). Papadatos identified three separate strata, the lowest of which (Stratum III) represents some of the earliest interments at the site and corresponds with the original construction of the tholos in EM IIA. He notes that this level was greatly disturbed by clearing and cleaning activity and

[178] In addition to the two burial strata identified by the excavators (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 218), Maggidis discovered two distinct layers of burial activity within each stratum, as well as what he interprets as a practice of horizontal deposition, in which the earliest deposits are made around the walls of the apsidal structure, then the center, then toward the entrance (Maggidis 1994, 29–45, figs. 11-13). This allows for better contextual analysis that would not otherwise be possible, including find spots for most objects and human remains (Maggidis 1994, figs. 14-19).

that many of the objects seem to have been deposited in the nearby Area of the Rocks.[179] Stratum II, the upper burial stratum, dates to EM III/MM IA and is marked not only by the cleaning episode(s) but also by the introduction of larnakes (Papadatos 2005).[180]

Diamantis Panagiotopoulos' study of Tholos E, offers significantly more detailed information for both the stratigraphy of the tomb and the objects (Panagiotopoulos 2002). Panagiotopoulos clarifies the deposits from the earlier EM IIA use of the tomb and the later MM IA reuse of the space (Panagiotopoulos 2002, 5–13). He provides an extensive catalog of the tomb finds and assemblages within each larnax, allowing for a thorough analysis of the material in the tomb, the chronological changes between the two periods of use, and the burial practices that are specific to Tholos E (Panagiotopoulos 2002, 14–28)**.**

Practicalities and Acknowledgments

There are many issues with using data from a large-scale and long-term excavation that predates many modern archaeological field methods. Although the records from the excavation may not be as detailed as one would like for a statistical analysis and it is quite likely, as with many contemporary excavations, that the archaeologists were selective with the materials saved and published, we can assume that whatever biases exist, these are consistent and, therefore, comparable. The Archanes-Phouni cemetery is a closed context, excavated and published by one archaeologist, Yiannis Sakellarakis. When confronted with an important site with a convoluted history

[179] This redeposition was previously noted by the excavators (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 232).
[180] This restudy also includes an important analysis by Sevi Triantaphyllou of the selection of human remains that were collected and stored from Tholos Γ (Triantaphyllou 2005).

or flawed excavation and publication history, reanalysis should not be avoided, rather deficiencies should be recognized and limitations acknowledged (MacSweeney 2011, 98–102). At Archanes-Phourni, excavation and recording biases are consistent among contexts, and therefore comparable.

Tomb chronology and use-life at Archanes-Phourni, as with most Minoan cemeteries, is complicated and problematic. The context considered here were all used sometime between EM IIA and MM II but have variable use-lives. Some were in use for short periods of time and were then covered with new structures, such as BB 25 found below BB 5, while others went in and out of use, such as Tholos Γ and Tholos E used in EM IIA and then cleared and reused in EM III or MM IA. Still others remained in use for long periods of time, such as BB 18, which was in use from EM III-MM II. Some tombs are agglomerative structures with rooms added over time, such as BB 5. Additionally, it is apparent that bones and objects were occasionally moved between rooms within a tomb, such as in BB 5, or were removed from tombs and placed elsewhere like the Lower Burial Layer in Tholos Γ, which were reinterred in the Area of the Rocks. Rather than avoiding analysis of these complex assemblages, the various use-lives and mortuary practices associated with these burial contexts should be thoroughly compared and reconsidered.

ARCHANES-PHOURNI IN SCHOLARSHIP

In keeping with the tradition of Minoan cemetery scholarship, Archanes-Phourni has been studied, analyzed, and published in numerous ways. The organization of the final excavation report reflects the most common organizational methods for cemeteries throughout the 20th century, with a focus on the "prestige" objects and a

decontextualized, monolithic analysis of the cemetery site, which privileges periods associated with palatial buildings and change over time rather than variation within and among structures and time periods. Other scholars have concentrated on one structure within the cemetery, one time period, or one aspect, such as architecture, imports, and administrative objects, all of which have the effect of decontextualizing and standardizing the cemetery site (Pelon 1976b, 16, n. 5B, 1994; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990; J. S. Phillips 1991, 2008; Soles 1992; Maggidis 1994; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Goodison and Guarita 2005; Papadatos 2005; Ben-Tor 2006; Colburn 2008b, 2011; Tsipopoulou 2008). Finally, scholars have considered Phourni for analyses of regional variations among Minoan burial practices, providing valuable comparisons among cemeteries but also serving to collapse and homogenize the structures, interment methods, and assemblages within the cemetery (Sbonias 2012; Brogan 2013). We are therefore provided with either small-scale analyses, such as a single structure or a single object type, or large-scale analyses of entire regions, leaving the intermediate, intra-site scale relatively unanalyzed.

Final Report and Tomb Analyses

The organization of the final report begins with a summary of the site, a short introduction to the structures and contexts, followed by a decontextualized analysis of the objects discovered (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997). The objects are not given in a traditional catalog, but are organized by object type and presented in a narrative format with only occasional references to context (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 345–745). There is a clear focus on objects of high value, such as imports and those made of precious materials; objects associated with administration, such as seals; and complete, datable ceramics. This catalog includes all of the comparable

object types from Archanes, not only those from the Phourni cemetery, further obscuring the various contexts.

While this publication methodology allows for valuable comparisons of objects throughout the cemetery, this organization has two negative effects. The first is that the analysis of one object type and corresponding lack of contextual information has a tendency to standardize the finds from the cemetery, presenting an undifferentiated view of the assemblages associated with the burial structures. With the focus on the general number, subtypes and materials of an object class, variations over space and time are obscured. The second negative effect is that important contextual information is lost. Positions, associated objects, and associated human remains are almost completely absent from such a catalog. Occasionally objects might be associated with a particular room but rarely is an object provided with a complete context or a context provided with a complete list of objects and find-spot. Any association between burials and other objects is lost within the final report.

Other publications have focused either on a single time period or a single burial structure within the cemetery. The detailed treatments of single tombs, including BB 19, Tholos Γ, and Tholos E provide a much-needed level of detail for these structures and associated material (Maggidis 1994; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Papadatos 2005). They contain more information concerning chronology, stratigraphy, arrangement of burial vessels and human remains, the find spots, and detailed treatment of the objects than can be found in the final report or the original yearly reports. The relatively new publication of Tholos Γ also gives important analyses of the human remains, which is otherwise completely lacking for the cemetery (Papadatos 2005; Triantaphyllou 2005). These

detailed reanalyses provide excellent information but are contextually limited. They may refer to other buildings in the cemetery for chronological or architectural comparison, but they do not provide any meaningful comparison between the structures in the cemetery. The single period analysis of the Mycenaean elements of the site, on the other hand, provides a holistic account of the LM III period at Archanes, allowing for comparison among buildings and assemblages (Kallitsaki 1997).

Architecture, Materials, and Objects at Phourni

Since its discovery, scholars have been interested in Archanes-Phourni for its architecture and the variety of objects discovered within the tombs. Architectural studies mostly place Phourni in the larger context of Minoan funerary architecture or focus on particular building techniques, such as corbelled vaulting.[181] Other treatments of the cemetery consider multiple types of evidence, including variation in tomb architecture and assemblages. While these studies provide thorough catalogs and important comparative information, these treatments of material culture tend to decontextualize the material and offer single, simplistic interpretations of intra-site variation mostly based on assumed hierarchical structures (Karytinos 1994, 2000a, Maggidis 1994, 1998, 2000; Colburn 2008b; Tsipopoulou 2008).[182]

[181] The most recent reconsideration of the roofing methods for these tombs was Papadopoulos' reassessment of Tholos Γ and BB 19. These were analyzed for the purpose of virtually reconstructing the tombs (C. Papadopoulos 2010; Bonney 2011). Papadopoulous' study of these tombs is part of a new interest in digital methods of understanding archaeological sites generally and architecture specifically. The result for the structures of Phourni are interesting digital models of the tombs presenting various building strategies, but little attempt to contextualize these structures within the cemetery itself.

[182] For more information on this general trend in Minoan scholarship see the section within the Scholarship Review chapter.

The tombs of Phourni have appeared in synthetic treatments of Minoan tomb architecture, which often focus on the distribution of tomb types, allowing for comparison with other areas of Minoan Crete but not attempting an analysis of the variation within the cemetery site (Pelon 1976b, 16, n. 5B; Goodison and Guarita 2005; Soles 1992; Pelon 1994, 164; Tsipopoulou 2008). On the other hand, the presence of both east Cretan rectangular structures and Mesara tholoi has led the excavators to suggest that the tombs represent different peoples of Crete settling the area of Archanes and making use of the cemetery. Furthermore, what Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki consider "combination" types, such as BB 19, have been interpreted as perhaps reflecting a "political union" of these different groups (1997, 239).[183] Furthermore, the excavators and other scholars have argued that the variation in the size and complexity of the tomb buildings are a direct reflection of the hierarchical socio-political structure of Minoan Archanes (1997, 245; Maggidis 1998, 2000).[184]

Specific object categories, types, and materials from the cemetery have been singled out for cataloging and comparison with other similar objects from Minoan Crete. Those that receive the most attention are ubiquitous objects, such as ceramics, which can be used to for seriation, and rare material that are considered valuable status-markers, such as imports and seals. Ceramics of all types and some specific shapes, such as rhyta, zoomorphic vessels, and larnakes, have been reviewed and compared by many scholars (Walberg 1983; E. B. Miller 1984; Petit 1990; Koehl 2006). The proliferation of Cycladic

[183] Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki suggest that the presence of various tomb types possibly "…reflects a tribal and/or political union of different Cretan elements at Archanes at the dawn of the first palace centres" (1997, 239 and 245).
[184] Similar to the arguments made by Seager (1912) and Soles (1988) for the tombs at Mochlos.

imports, found mainly within Tholos Γ and the Area of the Rocks have been well analyzed (Stucynski 1982, 57; Pieler 2004, 112–13; Karantzali 1996, 68–69). Egyptian and Near Eastern imports have been well documented throughout Crete and within Phourni specifically (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990; J. S. Phillips 1991, 2008; Ben-Tor 2006; Colburn 2008b, 2011). Knowledge of trade and interaction in the Minoan world are made possible with analyses of imported objects. These studies suggest that the people of Archanes were importing materials and objects from the Cyclades in the north, the Levant and even further east, and from Egypt in the south. Focusing only on imported objects, however, ignores contextual information, such as associated remains and other accompanying objects. Isolated studies of imports may lead to misinterpretations and misconceptions of value and obscures interpretations that might be generated by contextualized analyses.

Administrative objects like seals and objects incised with scripts are one of the best-studied object classes within the Phourni cemetery. As seals are considered administrative, objects of adornment, and are often made of imported materials, they have received perhaps the most attention of any Minoan object type. They often tagged by the excavators as the most important finds from a particular tomb (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 211, g.). The Phourni seals have been cataloged and analyzed by several scholars, with a focus on the shape, style, materials, and function (Grumach and Sakellarakis 1966; Platon 1969; Sbonias 1995; Karytinos 1994, 1998, 2000b, 2000a; Müller and Pini 1999). Specifically, the seven seals that led to the identification of the so-called “Archanes Script”, which is likely the earliest script on Crete, have received a

great deal of attention (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 326–30).[185] These seals have been thoroughly published due to the overlap of signs on these seals with those that appear both in Hieroglyphics and Linear A, and because of some disagreement as to whether the script is 'true writing', that is pictographic or phonetic (Grumach and Sakellarakis 1966, 113; Yule 1981; Watrous 1994, 727, 241; Sbonias 1995, 108; Olivier and Godart 1996; Brice 1997, 94; Karytinos 1998, 85; Godart 1999; Weingarten 2007, 137; Schoep 2010a, 71; Flouda 2013). Scholars have additionally argued that based on the elite contexts of these objects, this early form of writing was part of the competitive status negotiations going on at this time on Crete (Schoep 2006, 45–47; Whittaker 2013, 214–16).

Contextual arguments have been used to emphasize or support claims concerning the visibility, value, and meaning of seals. Several scholars have argued that seals mark high status individuals and were employed in competitive negotiations between elite groups (Karytinos 1994, 1998; Schoep 2006; Whittaker 2013). Such arguments point to the variety in burial buildings and the presence of elite, imported, and religious objects within the Phourni cemetery as evidence of wealth and social differentiation and argue the symbolic and prestigious natures of the seals by proxy.[186] The significance and high-

[185] These seven seals are all of EM III/MM IA or MM IA (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki for the former and Schoep for the latter date) date and have been found in three different burial buildings. Four seals were found in BB 6, two were in BB 3, and one was within BB 7 (Olivier and Godart 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 327; Schoep 2006, 45).

[186] An excerpt from Whittaker illustrates this argument. "These burials undoubtedly represent the emergence of an increasingly hierarchical society, and the grave goods attest to the wealth, far-flung connections, and prestige of those buried there. It would seem not implausible that writing was first invented at Archanes. The finds in Burial Building 6, where four of the seals with writing were found, were particularly rich and included jewellery, amulets made of bone, ivory, and gold, seals made of ivory and steatite in a variety of shapes and with different types of scenes, both figural and geometric, an Egyptian faience scarab, clay figurines, bronze tools, stone vases

status nature of certain types of seals, such as those bearing the Archanes script or the subset of zoomorphic seals, is further emphasized by their rarity (there are only seven Archanes Script seals and the zoomorphic seals make up only 10% of the seals at Archanes-Phourni). Such contextual analyses are not flawed by nature, but often the context is large, non-specific, and overly simplified. Whittaker and Schoep both suggest that the presence of the Archanes script seals within the elite Phourni cemetery is evidence of the high social status of their owners/users and their functions as objects of display for the purpose of negotiating status (Schoep 2006; Whittaker 2013). Such a circular argument, which first labels the site elite and then supports the elite nature with prestigious objects, undermines the strength of contextualization, namely specificity and nuance.[187] Without discussing the assemblages or tombs associated with the seals or offering a comparison among the tombs, seals are only assumed to be prestigious.

Schoep attempts to understand the symbolic value rather that the simple economic value of the seals and early script both as functional writing but also as grave goods (2006, 47). While the conclusion of high status remains the same, layers of value are an important addition to the interpretation of the seals and the cemetery. Karytinos has made similar arguments but has sought some alternative explanations for the presence of seals within the cemetery. In addition to more traditional analyses concerning the number of people who would have been buried with seals, he argues that the interment of the

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and many clay vessels. It is certainly significant that in its earliest occurrence Aegean Bronze Age writing is found associated with prestige items in rich burials which attest to the wealth and social standing of their owners" (2013, 115).

[187] All seven Archanes script seals are made of bone (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 327). While this does not negate their elite nature, it is important to note that the script does not appear on imported or what is typically considered "elite" material such as ivory or exotic stones.

Archanes script seals within three tombs suggests that they might be associated with specific groups and that the similarity of the seals "may indicate a relationship among some of these people" (Karytinos 1998, 84). He also suggests that the presence of the anachronistic, Prepalatial seals within MM II levels in BB 18 possibly indicates the reuse of seals, perhaps as heirlooms, and the continued association between a tomb and family (Karytinos 1998). While he continually refers to the status of the individuals bearing seals, there is a significant attempt to contextualize the seals and to offer more nuanced interpretations of the seals and the individuals interred within the cemetery.

Catalogs of seals and other object types shed light on chronological and regional variations, administrative practices, production methods, etc., but they often ignore the funerary context altogether, or compare the use of the objects among sites, rather than within a single site. Associations with individuals, groups, and other objects are lost. Finally, catalogs must, by definition, focus on similarities between objects, through organizational methods or more explicitly. By privileging shared traits among objects, types are homogenized and variations are obscured. Furthermore, labeling the entire site "elite" based on the presence of luxury items and the large number of objects homogenizes the cemetery. Rather than supporting an argument about competition, this argument suggests a relative amount of equality. The attempt to contextualize the seals is an important, if not wholly successful, attempt to understand the meaning and value of objects beyond assumed economic functions and significance. The addition of more complex interpretations, beyond the status of the owner, adds nuance to the study of cemetery material. Ultimately, the focus on identifying evidence for competitive and evolving social hierarchies within the architecture and elite objects in the tombs, remains

the predominant interpretation for all variation, or implied variation, at the Phourni cemetery.

Burial Vessels and Individualism

Archanes-Phourni has featured prominently in scholarship concerning the supposed rise of the individual at the end of the Prepalatial and in the Protopalatial. While this interpretation of the appearance of larnakes and other burial vessels has met with some skepticism, especially in recent years, it remains a prominent feature of scholarship concerning this time period and the argument for the visible rise of social differentiation and hierarchy in cemeteries (Glotz 1925, 131–37; Pini 1968, 34; Branigan 1970c, 131, 1993, 140–41; Tsipopoulou 2008).[188]

Following this argument, traditional methods of communal interment deemphasize the individual in favor of the collective through continued use of the same space and secondary interaction with human remains. Scholars have suggested that the manufacture and use of burial vessels in EM III or MM IA marks a break with this tradition and indicates an interest in preserving the individual. This is seen as a result of changing attitudes to death but, more importantly, to preserving the association between elite objects and high-status individuals. The use of burial vessels for single interments is almost always assumed rather than verified. Such arguments rely heavily on the evidence from the tombs at Archanes-Phourni that contain burial vessels, as these deposits are stratified and datable, allowing for the clear association between the vessels and EM III/MM IA period (Maggidis 1994, 45; Tsipopoulou 2008, 133; Warren 2008, 24; Mee

[188] For more information on this general trend, see Chapter Two.

2010, 281; cf. Damilati 2005; Legarra Herrero 2014, 55–56).[189] Such arguments reflect the interpretations given by the excavators, who state that during the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods, burials were made on the surface of the tombs and "…there were burials in pithoi and sarcophagi…usually involving only one burial, though sometimes two or more, up to five, in each pithos or sarcophagus" (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 246–47).[190] They go on to speculate about the function of vessels, stating,

> The type of burial perhaps reflects a distinction in the social status of the dead, with the wealthier being buried in sarcophagi. More solidly based conclusions might be drawn from the examination of the grave offerings associated with each type of burial, though this is highly difficult because, as we shall see below, even the offerings that were personal items belonging to the people buried in sarcophagi were apparently deposited outside them and cannot, therefore, be attributed with certainty to a particular burial (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 249).

Reanalyses of the material reflect a similar conception of the use of burial vessels. Concerning the use of larnakes within BB 19, Maggidis states, "…most of them, however, were deposited in containers such as pithoi, larnakes, and other clay vases, a fact which reveals a growing individualism in the collective tomb burial practice…" (Maggidis 1994, 45). According to Metaxia Tsipopoulou

[189] Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki give a date of EM II, significantly earlier, for the first use of larnakes (1997, 248). This date is based on the presence of a few larnax fragments in the earlier burial layer of Tholos E. In the reanalysis of the Tholos E material, Diamantis Panagiotopoulos argues convincingly that these are intrusive fragments from the upper burial layer (MM IA-MM II), which indicates intensive use of larnakes, into the lower burial layer (EM IIA) (2002, 16). For a more thorough explanation of this stratigraphy see the section on Tholos E in the following chapter.

[190] They also state that this was the main method of interment beginning at the end of EM III. Pithoi appear in EM III (248).

> At the beginning of the MM period, single burials in the fetal position in clay sarcophagi and pithoi appear for the first time both in tholos and house tombs. This reflects an important social development and suggests that some individuals had amassed power, which led to an increase in social inequality, the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, and consequently, the creation of local elites. …In this frame work, the cemetery of Archanes is particularly important and constitutes an exception to the general rule, both because of the remarkable continuity, and the complexity of burial practices (2008, 133).

This interpretation is not reflected in the evidence from the EM III/MM IA burial vessels, however. As will be thoroughly demonstrated in Chapters 6 and 7, the assemblages in EM III/MM IA burial vessels are much like the remains on the surface of the tombs– a mixture of primary burials and disarticulated collections of bones from more than one individual. While the introduction of burial vessels is a distinct change, it does not represent a change in the treatment of the dead. Later uses of burial vessels in the MM II period, however, do tend toward the deposition of a single individual, a trend that it is also noticeable with the burials on the surface of the tombs, and therefore likely reflect either a change in secondary practices or perhaps a chronological "snapshot" between primary and secondary depositions that is not often visible.

The introduction and use of larnakes and pithoi for burial deserve careful analysis. Scholars have argued that they mark individuality and were used to inter wealthy, high-status individuals and, alternatively, that they were used for poor, common burials (Seager 1916; Soles 1992, 255–56). As Legarra Herrero rightly argues, scholars have ignored the variability in the use of burial vessels, given, for example, the complete absence of burial vessels in several tombs in the Mesara. He strongly asserts the need to separate the use of burial vessels from any discussion of increasing hierarchy, stating

"…this new use cannot be directly associated with vertical social differentiation dynamics or with any specific type of social change toward individualization" (Legarra Herrero 2014, 56).

This misunderstanding of the use of burial vessels remains part of Minoan scholarship for a number of reasons, many related to a decontextualized analysis of the Phourni larnax and pithos burials. By ignoring the chronological specificity that makes Phourni an ideal case study, time is collapsed into more manageable but misleading scales. These interpretations are often aligned with scholarship concerning state formation and social complexity that visualize the assumed break with tradition and focus on the individual as further evidence of burgeoning hierarchies. Like the studies discussed above, which connect the size of the tombs, high-value items, the presence of seals and the appearance of the early Archanes script to elite status, the rise of the individual is connected to the appearance of elites. While these studies may shed light on other aspects of Minoan society, they do not offer interpretations of burial practice related to Minoan attitudes toward death or the relationship between the living and the dead.

Regional Studies

Regional studies of mortuary behaviors have greatly added to our conceptions of Minoan practices and have clearly indicated the need for contextual analyses (Relaki 2003, 2004; Schoep 2009; Murphy 2011c; Legarra Herrero 2011; Sbonias 2012). The same needs are present for intra-site analyses. Analyses that compare cemeteries serve to highlight variation between the sites, which inherently diminishes variation within the sites. When variation within a site is noted, it is often attributed to social complexity.

With regional analyses, community dynamics and behaviors are well-considered, but internal, group dynamics remain understudied.

In his comparison of Koumasa and Platanos, for example, Legarra Herrero problematizes the typical treatment of the two sites together, noting the differences in the cemeteries. He says, "These disparities cannot but relate to diverse ways in which each community used its cemetery in each period," highlighting variation between the sites and chronological changes, but not explicitly considering variation among the tombs (Legarra Herrero 2011, 72). Similar interpretations have been put forth for the cemeteries of north-central Crete, including Archanes-Phourni, highlighting variable, community-wide dynamics, such as trade networks, burial methods and rituals, and social structure. While he offers intra-site comparisons for the two tholos tombs of EM IIA, less is offered from the following periods. For EM III changes he notes the deposition of large numbers of seals as a cemetery-wide trend (Legarra Herrero 2014, 89). Detailed analysis of the tomb assemblages indicates, however, that there is significant variation in the number and types of seals found in synchronous contexts, suggesting intra-site dynamics that have been over-looked or attributed to the negotiation of status (Karytinos 2000a).

Some excellent analyses for the Phourni cemetery exist among these regional treatments, providing much-needed insight into intra-site variation, but these are mostly limited to the EM IIA tombs. Treatments of the EM IIA levels within Tholos Γ and Tholos E highlight variation among the two groups expressed in the tombs. Various trade networks are considered through the proliferation of imported, mostly Cycladic, material within Tholos Γ (and the Area of the Rocks) and the scarcity of such material within Tholos E (Legarra Herrero 2014, 86–87; Schoep 2006). While a simple comparison is

impossible for the later, more complex uses of the site, such a study provides an excellent model for a contextualized study of the tombs and groups using the Archanes-Phouni cemetery. In an attempt to categorize the types of activity taking place in the EM III/MM IA and MM II periods at Phourni, Legarra Herrero notes the drastic increase in the number of tombs, suggesting an increase in population, as well as an obvious preference for rectangular structures, perhaps for different purposes, and a new interest in spaces for other uses, likely ritual, such as the paved areas.

He also attempts some analyses of the ceramic and non-ceramic materials from the tombs, indicating that there are variations between spaces and over time (Legarra Herrero 2014, 72–73, 75–76, 80–84). As is made clear by Legarra Herrero's studies, further analyses of the large expansion seen in the EM III/MM IA period and the variation in the use of the buildings, as well as changes in the MM II period deserve of much greater attention. He comments on the lack of detailed publication for many of the tombs but, as will be made clear in the following chapter, much information can be collected from the original publications of the excavations that alleviates some, although certainly not all, of the issues with undetailed reports (Legarra Herrero 2014, 81). A thorough examination and much more detailed analyses will be given in the following chapters.

Issues and Conclusions

The Archanes-Phourni cemetery has been considered for many studies of Minoan civilization, including tomb architecture, imports, administrative objects, and the appearance of writing. Certain burial practices and materials present at the cemetery are at the crux of many synthetic arguments concerning the appearance of social stratification

and the rise of individualism. Specific tombs have been thoroughly restudied and the cemetery has been considered in studies of regional variation through time. The importance of a detailed analysis of the complete cemetery from EM III to MM II, with reference to the earlier material, is quite clear. The complexity of the cemetery necessitates an explicit rejection of simplistic interpretations and unidirectional, evolutionary models.

The Phourni cemetery offers a wealth of information regarding Minoan burial practices and an opportunity to consider alternative theoretical and methodological approaches to complex structures and assemblages. Close, contextual analysis of the evidence from Archanes-Phourni suggests that some aspects of burial practice were shared among the community, while others varied chronologically and spatially. Appendix I provides a thorough account of each burial context with detailed description of each tomb organized by room, layer, and area. Chapters 5 and 6 offer analyses of these assemblages at various scales: Chapter 5 focuses on tomb analyses and Chapter 6 is cemetery-wide study. These analyses consider, among other things, the abandonment of the EM IIA tholos tombs and their subsequent reuse in EM III or MM IA along with the massive building program in EM III/MM IA period; changes in importation and depositional practices between the EM IIA and EM III periods; the introduction and use of burial vessels in EM III/MM IA followed by changes in burial practice to include more single primary burials in MM II; and spatial variations among tombs and among rooms within tombs.

It is a capital mistake to theorize before one has data. – Doyle, *Sherlock Holmes: A Study in Scarlett*

CHAPTER 5: ARCHANES-PHOURNI TOMB ANALYSIS

The following chapter is an analysis of the interment practices and object distributions in the burial contexts of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery, dating from the earliest use of the cemetery in EM IIA to MM II. The tombs and other burial contexts are presented chronologically, based on the earliest use of the tomb or area. A room by room analysis of the tomb and discussion of burial practices at this granular level is necessary for understanding larger patterns and trends in the cemetery, including both chronological and spatial variation. Close examination of the burial contexts also allows for a more complete understanding of how differential preservation of the spaces affects the assemblages. This detail also illustrates the numerous, sustained, and variable interactions with the dead present at a single cemetery.

Visual representations of the data from the tomb and room assemblages accompany the analysis of each context (Figs. 14-15). For each context, I provide information about the burial deposits in each room or space, followed by an analysis of the spatial organization in the tomb or other burial context where relevant. I consider the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) discovered in a space; the burial status of those individuals, namely whether they are primary, disturbed, or secondary deposits; and the burial types, including surface, larnax, pithos, or vessel interments. Similarly, I examine the burial goods in each space by Minimum Number of Objects (MNO); object types, including tools, weapons, jewelry, vases, etc.; object materials, such as metals, stones, and ceramics; and the numbers and types of imported materials. In this chapter I consider

the intra-tomb data and analyze the Archanes-Phourni cemetery at a small-scale. While I offer some comparative analyses here, the majority of the site-scale analysis, including chronological and spatial comparisons, are provided in the following chapter.

Based on the small-scale data, I categorize and compare rooms and tombs to better understand the practices that are shared both throughout the community and over long periods of time, as well as the frequent, short-term events that created these complex tomb assemblages. Much of the burial practice attested in these tombs indicates a shared, community-wide approach to death, which included primary burial and frequent secondary interactions with both newly deposited and very old human remains. I suggest that this mortuary tradition is used throughout Pre- and Protopalatial Archanes-Phourni but that the locations of these interment events changed. The best data for the EM IIA period (Fig. 5) comes from the two tholos tombs, Tholos Γ and Tholos E, and indicates that both primary burial and secondary interaction took place in the same space.[191] This practice changed in EM III/MM IA (Fig. 6) with the large-scale construction of several rectangular burial buildings (BBs 13, 5, 12, 6, 18, 23, 3, 8, 7, 16, 9, 22), many of which had multiple rooms that were used to organize the human remains at various stages of interment, with some used for primary burials and others for secondary depositions. I interpret the introduction of burial vessels, which held both primary and secondary interments and up to 10 individuals, as another mechanism for organizing and distributing the human remains. While this differential use of space is found in most contexts, my analysis indicates that the spatial organization employed is specific to each

[191] It is possible that a different spatial organization was used for the early rectangular structures (BB 25, BB 26, and possibly BB 24) but the preservations of these early tombs does not allow for such analysis.

tomb and is likely based on the building's construction history and the needs of the group using the tomb.

Chronological differences between EM IIA and EM III-MM II contexts at Phourni are also visible among the objects assemblages. Quantitative analysis of the burial assemblages reveals that in the earlier tombs, large numbers of objects, including Cycladic imports and significant quantities of reusable wealth in the form of precious metals, accompanied the burials. The variability in these assemblages has been attributed to the great wealth and status of those using Tholos Γ, but I argue that these differences could also be attributable to distinct group identities. In the EM III/MM IA contexts, smaller numbers of objects and fewer metals were deposited but significant numbers of imported stone beads, mostly from Egypt, were found throughout the cemetery suggesting a new interest in colorful, hard stones. Based on quantitative analyses of the object assemblages in each tomb, I propose that similar numbers of objects were deposited with each burial and these were similarly moved and depleted with secondary interactions. Burial assemblages were similar, suggesting that the same types of objects were deposited in every tomb, including ceramics, lithics, jewelry, and seals. I suggest that this consistency in the number and types of objects in each context conveys community-wide practices among several different groups using the cemetery. While generally the assemblages were similar, the specific objects, especially beaded necklaces and seals, were variable and unique to each tomb, which I interpret as indications of distinct group identities. The consistency among the objects within a tomb and their dissimilarity with the material from other contexts, suggests that some objects, especially

those easily displayed like adornment, expressed shared identity among smaller kinships groups that was different from other groups.

The emphasis on communal and group identity expressed and reified through burial practice and object deposition is further underlined, I argue, by sustained interactions with the dead. Close analysis of the human remains and objects in each context indicates that secondary interactions were much more frequent than previously believed. Quantitative analysis of discrete assemblages, such as burial pithoi, provide an opportunity to explicitly consider the number of events that were needed to create that assemblage. While scholars studying cemeteries have long recognized that the Minoans manipulated human bones using a multitude of secondary treatments, the analyses I use in this chapter allow me to quantify these interactive moments and better comprehend Minoan approaches to death. I also highlight the role that objects played in this practice, as they were moved and depleted along with secondary remains and served to maintain relationships between the living and the dead. These granular analyses at multiple scales illuminate long-term traditions and short-term events as well as community-wide practices and distinctions between groups.

EM IIA Contexts

Tholos E- Lower Burial Layer

Date: EM IIA

Tholos E (Fig. 16) was one of the first tombs built at Archanes-Phourni and had two distinct phases of use. It was constructed in EM IIA, functioned until EM IIB when the cemetery went out of use, and was reused from MM IA-IIB. Before its reuse, the remains of the Lower Burial Layer were partially cleared from the tomb and the floor was leveled for new depositions, many of which were in larnakes. The use-life of Tholos E

had much in common with Tholos Γ, also constructed in the earliest phase of the cemetery, cleared, and later reused. There is substantial evidence that the material removed from Tholos Γ, including almost identical tubular gold beads and joining pieces of gold sheet, was redeposited in the South Section of the Area of the Rocks. It is likely that some of the cleared remains from Tholos E were also moved to the Area of the Rocks and possibly to the nearby Area Between BB 18 and BB 19, which resembled the Area of the Rocks, contained material from EM IIA-B, and was in close proximity to Tholos E.

The Lower Burial Layer, Stratum IV (Figs. 17-18), was poorly preserved from the MM IA clearance and reuse, but EM IIA remains were found below and between the later burial vessels. This assemblage is characterized by surface depositions with 15 skulls, many skull fragments, and one long bone found on the floor of the tomb. The number of bone scatters throughout the layer suggests that the space was used for the primary deposition of burials, which were continuously depleted and moved during the EM IIA use of the tomb. While it is possible that the burials were only depleted during the clearance of the tomb, it seems more likely that bone scatters in the layer and the selective retention of skulls is indicative of depletion during the early use of the tomb. If the majority of the depletion had taken place during the later clearance, it is probable that the most prominent human remains, such as skulls, would have been removed first as they were most identifiable.[192]

[192] Triantaphyllou has argued for a similar scenario in Tholos A of Moni Odigitria, which contained all categories of bones, including small bones, and "evidence of extreme fragmentation", which she attributes to the removal of skeletonized material (2016, 771). Similarly, she interprets the high frequency of fragmentary human remains, such as loose teeth,

The Lower Burial Stratum of Tholos E held roughly 116 objects (Figs. 19-20), mostly worked stone, such as marble vessels and obsidian blades, as well as large amounts of jewelry, including bone and boar's tooth pendants, a steatite pendant, bronze rings, and gold and steatite beads. Several seals of ivory, bone, steatite, and serpentine were also associated with this layer. For the large number of objects discovered, only a small number of ceramics, including seven vessels and two cups, were found in the stratum. The quantity of lithics, stone objects, and small, personal items of ivory and bone is consistent with the other early contexts of the cemetery, such as Tholos Γ, the Area of the Rocks, and the Area Between BB 18 and BB 19. Cycladic marble vessels, a marble plate, and the large quantity of obsidian almost certainly imported from the Cyclades (Figs. 21-22), were also consistent with other early cemetery contexts and perhaps indicate a close relationship between the site of Archanes and the Cycladic islands.[193]

The large number of objects remaining in the Lower Burial Layer after clearance suggests that the EM IIA use of the tomb was extensive and included significant quantities of associated burial objects. Unlike the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ, which had only one interment remaining, Tholos E had at least 15 skulls on the floor of the tomb. The preservation of the human remains and the associated objects appears to be accidental. These deposits, found mostly below larnakes and in the fissures in the bedrock, suggest a pragmatic approach to the clearing of the tomb. The goal was not to

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from House Tomb 5 at Kephala Petras, as evidence of "efficient, continuous and multiple removals of human remains" (2016, 772).

[193] For more on these trade networks and the importation of Cycladic material in the Prepalatial periods see (Broodbank 2004; Schoep 2006; Broodbank and Kiriatzi 2007, 247–64; Brogan 2013).

remove every object or bone but simply to remove enough for the new burial vessels and surface interments while leaving enough material to level the interior. Like Tholos Γ, there was no obvious attempt to remove specific types of objects, though it is possible that the low number of ceramics is due to the preferential removal of larger items during clearance. Some ceramics have been found in the Area Between BB 18 and BB 19, possibly associated with the clearing of Tholos E, though these were not significant in number. It is logical to suggest, however, that the small objects remained while the larger ones were removed as they were more noticeable and took up more space. A few gold sheet fragments and a gold bead were also found inside the tomb, suggesting that there was no systematic removal of the precious metal, but this is by no means certain.

The clearance of the tomb makes any precise correlation between the number of individuals and the number of objects very difficult, but it is likely that Stratum IV had a high ratio of objects to individuals. It is also clear that the earlier use of the tomb and of the cemetery as a whole was characterized by the deposition of significant amounts of material, a practice that was altered in later periods to include fewer objects. As only 15 individuals can be identified after the clearance, it is likely that a significant number of objects were also removed. Despite the clearance, however, 116 objects remained, for a ratio of 7.73 objects per person in Stratum IV. This number is significantly higher than that of the better preserved Upper Burial Layer, discussed below.

Tholos Γ- Lower Burial Layer

Date: EM IIA

Tholos Γ (Fig. 23), like Tholos E, was constructed and used beginning in EM IIA with a break in use during the EM IIB period and subsequently cleared before reuse

beginning in EM III/MM IA. Because of this clearance, Stratum III, the earliest burial layer (EM IIA), was not well-preserved, with only a single surface skull and some scatters of bones and teeth remaining.

The Lower Burial Level of Tholos Γ (Fig. 5) was a unique assemblage, however, as it was cleared of most human remains but retained an enormous collection of objects (Figs. 24-25). Around 174 objects were discovered in Stratum III, with a total number of 205 including beads and pendants.[194] The largest category of objects (Fig. 26) was lithics, accounting for 28% of the assemblage. Jewelry was the next largest object category at 22%. Clothing ornaments such as decorative bosses and bands were also prevalent. Ceramic vases made up 14% and carved objects, including figurines and figurine fragments of marble, schist, ivory, and bone, as well as a stone vessel, account for 9% of the objects. There are also a large number of weapon-related objects including three daggers, five handles (possibly from daggers), and eight rivets. Other tools include two scrapers – one bronze and one silver – and four silver awls. For such a large and robust assemblage of objects, there are surprisingly few seals, with only three discovered in the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ.

Many beads and pendants were discovered in the Lower Burial Layer (Figs. 27-28), including ones of gold, bone, rock crystal, serpentine, and malachite. Some of the gold beads discovered had a unique tubular shape with a twisting repoussé pattern. These beads were only found in the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ and in the Area of the

[194] The lower number represents the total number of objects if necklaces are considered a single object, while the higher number represents the total number of objects considering each bead and pendant as a single object. This higher number also represents the total number of materials in the tomb.

Rocks. A concentration of seven gold tubular beads, 21 gold beads of ring, barrel, and biconical shapes, two rock crystal beads, and two bone pendants were discovered below one of the later larnakes (L10). Papadatos agreed with the excavators that this likely made up a single necklace (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 618–19 Fig. 656; Papadatos 2005, 11, 39).[195] Other beads of similar materials and styles were found throughout the Lower Burial Layer and the excavators have recreated another smaller necklace from these beads. While it seems likely that some of these beads were part of a single necklace, because they were not found in a single deposit, like the other necklace, the composition is unknown and any recreation is only speculative (Papadatos 2005, 39). Furthermore, while it is possible that a complete necklace was only dispersed at the time the layer was cleared, it is clear from other contexts that objects were depleted, moved, and redeposited in different compositions throughout the use of the tombs. By reassembling a necklace without contextual cause, we risk creating an incorrectly assembled necklace, but, more importantly, we risk overlooking secondary interactions with objects that were likely part of a variable, complex, and extended burial practice.

As the Lower Burial Layer was almost completely devoid of human remains, it is impossible to associate any objects with individuals or to determine how many objects per person were present in the stratum. There is no clear differentiation of space. The best comparanda within the cemetery are Tholos E and the South Section of the Area of the Rocks, the likely location for much of the secondarily deposited material from Tholos Γ. The large number of imported materials, such as gold, and imported objects, such as

[195] This necklace was reassembled for the final publication in 1997 but incorrectly includes a solid cast gold pendant in a vase shape and the malachite pendant found elsewhere (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 618–19 Fig. 656) .

Cycladic figurines, is both in keeping with other EM II assemblages and completely unique for the quantity of material discovered in a disturbed context (Figs. 29-30).

Area Between BB 18 and BB 19

Date: EM IIA, EM IIB, EM III-MM IB?

The Area Between BB 18 and BB 19 appears to have functioned as a space for the secondary deposition of material from the tombs, much like the Area of the Rocks (Fig. 5). No primary burials or secondary interments were found, but scatters of bones and bone fragments and seven teeth attest to some deposits of human remains. The Area Between BB 18 and BB 19 contained material dating from EM IIA through MM IB and was the only space in the cemetery where EM IIB pottery was found. The early date of the material and the proximity to the earlier tomb could indicate a relationship with Tholos E. Larnax fragments could also suggest a connection with BB 18 or with Tholos E.

Although only scatters of human remains were found in the Area Between BB 18 and BB 19, the area was filled with objects that were likely removed from nearby tombs (Figs. 31-32). Around 72 objects were found on the surface. The majority of the objects, 46 (64%), were lithics, and ceramics made up the next largest category with eight vessels, two cups, and two vase fragments. Other objects include six pendants and two seals, most of which were made of ivory, a rock crystal bead, and a rock crystal fragment, as well as some figurine fragments. The ivory seals and figurine fragments suggest a similar assemblage to that found in Tholos E.

As there was no separation of space and no primary or secondary interments were discovered, it is not possible to compare numbers or types of objects or numbers of

objects and individuals. A fruitful comparison, however, can be made with the Area of the Rocks, located to the west. The depositional practices in the two areas were similar and they were likely the only spaces for open-air secondary deposition. The material found in the Area of the Rocks and the Area Between BB 18 and BB 19 was also similar. The large amount of obsidian and the association with a fragment of a marble Cycladic figurine suggest that the area was used for the secondary deposition of objects from an early tomb that held many Cycladic imports, much like the South Section of the Area of the Rocks was used for the deposition of objects from the lower level of Tholos Γ (Figs. 33-34). This correlation, and the EM II date of the pottery in the area, suggest that the Area Between BB 18 and 19 was used for the deposition of material from one of the early tholoi, probably the nearby tomb, Tholos E.

The Area of the Rocks

Date: EM IIA, EM III-MM IB

The Area of the Rocks is located in the southwest part of the cemetery and is made up of large, flat slabs of bedrock with narrow fissures in between them (Fig. 5). Primary and secondary deposits of human remains accompanied by objects were made in the area both on the surface and in the fissures (Figs. 35-36). The Area of the Rocks is divided into four parts – the South Section, South-Central Section, North-Central Section, and North Section (Figs. 37-38). The Area of the Rocks was used for both the reinterment of human remains and objects from nearby tombs and, like most of the other tombs in the cemetery, as a burial space for primary burials and likely secondary interments. The use of the Area of the Rocks spans a long period, from the earliest use of the cemetery to the

MM IB period. The South Section and likely the South-Central Section, include remains from earlier tombs – certainly Tholos Γ and perhaps also Tholos E.

The South Section

The South Section was used to deposit human remains and other material from cleared tombs, including Tholos Γ before its reuse in EM III/MM IA. The pottery found in this area dates from EM II to MM IA. The South Section has a relatively low number of individuals for the large numbers of objects found in the area (Figs. 37-38). At least six individuals were found in the South Section and all were secondary interments. These interments were found both on the surface and in the fissures.

Huge quantities of obsidian blades and blade fragments were discovered in the South Section, with a total of 1070 pieces of obsidian (Figs. 39-42). The predominance of Cycladic obsidian, combined with the presence of eight Cycladic figurine fragments suggests that the original group using Tholos Γ imported, used, and deposited large quantities of Cycladic material, and that they likely had some connection with the Cycladic islands (Figs. 43-46). While obsidian is found in large quantities throughout the cemetery, this amount of obsidian is completely unparalleled in the other burial contexts of Phourni. The other objects in the South Section (Figs. 47-48) include some ceramic vases, including cups and vessels; jewelry and clothing ornaments, including a bronze pin, a couple gold beads, and a gold band; and some fragments of bronze and lead.

The South-Central Section

The South-Central Section held even fewer human remains with a MNI of two (Figs. 37-38). One individual was represented only by a few cranial fragments in one of the fissures, but the other was a primary burial discovered on the surface. No date is provided for this area and it was likely used over multiple periods. This area also had

significantly fewer objects than the South Section, with only 89 total objects discovered (Figs. 47-48). The objects in the South-Central Section were mainly ceramic vases, mostly cups and vessels, but also a ceramic figurine of a female figure, a bell votive, and fragments of a bull head rhyton and another zoomorphic rhyton. Some obsidian blades, blade fragments, and flakes were also discovered here, as well as a fragment of a conglomerate stone cup. Only a few pieces of jewelry were associated with the South-Central Section, including beads of sard or steatite. There were also some metals, including an iron hook and another iron object, as well as some bronze sheet (Figs. 39-42).

The North-Central Section

The North-Central Section, with pottery dating mostly to EM III, held a large number of primary surface burials (Figs. 37-38). Of the 63 individuals discovered in the area, 40 were primary surface burials. Other secondary deposits were also found on the surface including four skulls and two jaws. Human remains were also discovered in the fissures, including 17 skulls, some long bones and teeth.

The North-Central Section had 230 objects (Figs. 47-48), significantly more than the South-Central Section, and possibly correlated to the larger number of individuals in this area. The majority of the objects were ceramic vases and lithics, but there were also a significant number of other ceramic objects, carved stone objects, metals, jewelry, and seals. There were 94 vases associated with the area including some interesting vessels, such as an anthropomorphic vessel, fragments from an anthropomorphic rhyton and a zoomorphic rhyton, as well as cups, vessels, and jugs with plastic decoration of animals. Like the other areas described above, there were significant numbers of obsidian lithics

(Figs. 39-42). Like the South Section, these lithics were accompanied by other Cycladic imports (Figs. 43-46), including two complete Cycladic figurines and a fragment of a third. Other figurines were also found here, including a fragment of a rock crystal figurine, perhaps a local version of a Cycladic stone figure**.** Several ceramic animal figurines as well as stone vessels, set this context apart from the others in the Area of the Rocks. This is confirmed by other interesting finds such as a bronze blade and an imitation dagger made of bone. Several gold objects, including beads, clothing ornaments, and leaf fragments are accompanied by other imported objects such as an amethyst bead and ivory seals and pendants. A pendant of boar's tooth was also found in the North-Central Section. The large number of objects may be related to the large number of primary burials discovered in the North-Central Section. The primary burials in the North-Central Part may have originally been accompanied by more objects than those in other parts of the Area of the Rocks. Alternatively, they may be associated with more objects due to the better preservation in this area.

The North Section

The North Section, with ceramics dating mostly to MM IA, held only secondary interments and all were placed on the surface (Figs. 37-38). These include 21 skulls along with scatters of bones. This part of the Area of the Rocks held the fewest objects (Figs. 47-48) with only 26 discovered. It also had the smallest ratio of objects to individuals at 1.24 objects per person. Unlike the other sections of the Area of the Rocks, very few lithics and ceramics were found, only two of each. More in keeping with the rest of the Area of Rocks, however, were a stone vessel, anthropomorphic figurines of ceramic and

ivory, bell-shaped votives, ivory pendants, and a seal, as well as beads of amethyst and steatite, and gold bands and clothing ornaments (Figs. 39-42).

Analysis of the Area of the Rocks

The status of the interments from the Area of the Rocks is relatively equally distributed between primary burials and secondary deposits with 41 (45%) primary burials and 51 (55%) secondary interments (Figs. 35-36). Of the 92 individuals discovered in the Area of the Rocks, 70 (76%) were found on the surface and 22 (24%) in the fissures. Of the human remains in the fissures, 100% of them were secondary depositions. It seems likely that secondary deposits were depleted and then reinterred within the narrow areas between the slabs of bedrock. Both primary burials and secondary interments were made on the surface of the Area of the Rocks, with 41 (59%) primary burials and 29 (41%) secondary depositions.

Poorly-preserved remains of two rounded burial structures, BB 22 and BB 23, were also discovered in the Area of the Rocks (Fig. 3), suggesting that burial buildings were once used in the area and were subsequently destroyed by agricultural activity in this part of the cemetery. It seems likely that the human remains in the Area of the Rocks were a mixture of secondary deposits from tombs, primary burials made directly on the surface of the area, and perhaps the remains of interments made in the now destroyed burial structures in the area.

Among the enormous amount of material from the Area of the Rocks (Figs. 49-50) imports vastly outnumber the objects made of local materials (Fig. 51). Cycladic objects make up the majority of the imported material, mostly obsidian, but also marble (Fig. 52). The 20 objects of ivory are the next largest group of imported materials.

Metals, mostly gold and bronze, but also small amounts of lead and iron also account for a substantial number of imports. The small number of amethyst beads were the only Egyptian imports in the Area of the Rocks and were likely representative of later depositions taking place in the North and North-Central Sections.

The three southern sections of the Area of the Rocks were filled with earlier material that reflects the assemblages of earlier tombs with larger quantities of Cycladic material, while the later North Section is more similar to the later tombs with Egyptian imports, suggesting that the North Area was used for deposition only later (Figs. 43-44). Perhaps the South Section was used earliest for material from Tholos Γ, and depositions were subsequently made further and further north in the Area of the Rocks, mimicking the growth of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery as new structures were continuously built to the north of earlier ones.

Burial Building 25

Date: EM II

Burial Building 25 (Fig. 53) was very poorly preserved and is known only by a single north-south wall discovered below the east wing of BB 5. A few bones were discovered in the level around the wall but the poor preservation does not allow for burial analysis. This poor preservation makes any analysis of objects and human remains impossible. It is clear, however, that the building was used for interments and was likely contemporary with other early structures in the cemetery, including Tholos Γ and Tholos E. All five of the objects (Figs. 54-55) discovered in the structure below BB 5 were made of ceramic and include two bell-shaped votives, two vessels of EM II date, and one ceramic animal figurine. No objects of imported materials were found in BB 25 (Fig. 56).

Burial Building 26

Date: EM II

BB 26 (Fig. 57) was poorly preserved and is poorly understood. The structure was located below BB 8 and all that remain are two parallel north-south walls and an east-west cross wall, which served as part of the paving for the floor of BB 8. No human remains or objects were associated with the building. The date is provided by the construction of BB 8 on top of BB 26. Along with BB 24 and BB 25, these scattered remains indicate that the EM II cemetery was significantly larger than is immediately obvious from the two better preserved tholoi. It also indicates that the cemetery was made up of both round tholoi and rectangular burial structures throughout its use-life.

Burial Building 24

Date: EM II or III

BB 24 (Fig. 58) was mostly destroyed by the construction of BB 18 over top of it, but six areas were discovered, mostly below Rooms 4, 6, 8, 9, and Area 11 of BB 18, suggesting that it was once a large structure. BB 24 predates the EM III construction of BB 18, and was likely first used in EM II or early EM III. One surface burial (Fig. 59) was discovered below the foundation walls of Room 8 in BB 18 and likely belongs to BB 24. No other interments were preserved but scatters of bones were discovered. The poor preservation of the structure does not lend itself to burial analysis and makes any association between objects and interments difficult. In addition to the single burial, six objects were found in the tomb (Figs. 60-61). Despite the small number of objects, the assemblage was similar to other early assemblages. It included stone vessel fragments, a steatite seal, a ceramic figurine, and some imported obsidian lithics (Fig. 62).

EM III-MM II Contexts

Burial Building 13

Date: EM III

BB 13 (Fig. 63), found below Rooms 1 and 2 of BB 9, was poorly preserved. Two distinct burial areas were recovered from the structure, dating to EM III. No human remains were discovered in the North Area of the structure but some small bones were found in the South Area (Fig. 64). The excavator interpreted these as the possible remains of a child burial (Sakellarakis 1973a, 186–87), but no physical anthropological studies have been conducted. These bones suggest that this building was used for burial, likely directly on the surface rather than within vessels. Although it is difficult to offer any interpretation of this space, the presence of several bones possibly suggests that the area was used for primary interment.

BB 13 contained 15 objects (Figs. 65-66), the majority of which were obsidian blade fragments and flakes. The other objects included a piece of gold sheet in the shape of a bird, a pendant of bone and another of ivory, and a ceramic figurine fragment. Of the 15 objects, 11 were found in the Northern Area and four were found in the Southern Area (Figs. 67-68). Nine of the lithics were discovered in the Northern Area, along with the figurine fragment and the bone pendant. The possible child burial in the Southern Area was accompanied by four objects, including two pieces of obsidian, an ivory pendant, and the gold sheet in the shape of a bird (Fig. 69). Of the 15 objects, 13 were made of imported materials, including gold, ivory, and obsidian (Figs. 70-71).

Burial Building 5

Date: EM III-MM IA

BB 5 (Fig. 72) contained a minimum of 130 individuals but likely many more (up to 174) based on unclear reporting.[196] Several primary burials and many skulls were discovered, suggesting that the tomb was used for both primary burial and secondary interment (Figs. 73-74). Some rooms were used as temporary repositories for primary burials, signified by more complete skeletons, and others used for more permanent placement of secondary skeletal remains such as skulls and long bones (Fig. 75).

The earliest rooms (Figs. 73-75), the so-called "Central Wing", made up of the east wing (Rooms 1-3) and the west wing (Rooms 5 and 6), held only four individuals altogether. Three rooms (Rooms 1, 3, and 5) had no reported human remains. Room 2 held a single primary surface burial and Room 6 held two primary surface burials and one articulated, contracted burial in a larnax. It is likely that Rooms 2 and 6 were used for temporary placement of primary inhumations, both on the surface and in larnakes. Excavators report fragments of bones and teeth and at least one larnax in Room 5, suggesting that at some point these central rooms were used for burials, but their poor preservation makes it difficult to offer a functional interpretation. It is possible that the earlier date of these rooms, with surrounding rooms added later, made their use more difficult or unnecessary and, consequently, most human remains were removed. It is also possible that the entirety of the Central Wing was used for more temporary depositions of primary interments and were occasionally cleared of human remains, some or all of which were placed in the other rooms of the building.

[196] The excavator reports that there were 20 pithoi in Room 4 and that there were between one and four individuals in each (Sakellarakis 1967b, 159–61). The MNI of 130 represents the number of individuals if one pithos contained four people and 19 contained one, while 174 represents one pithos with one person and 19 with four.

The later rooms (Rooms 4, 7, 8, 8a, and 8b) were found to contain large numbers of skulls and some long bones (Figs. 73-75). Room 4 held two larnakes, one of which contained 10 skulls (the other is not described), and 20 pithoi, which each held between one and four skulls. Although this reporting makes it difficult to determine the number of individuals in the room, we know that the number of skulls in the pithoi was between 23 and 77. Room 4 must therefore have held between 33 and 87 skulls total. Room 7 contained 37 skulls and the excavator reports that some skulls were placed on flat stones, while others were in vessels (Sakellarakis 1972, 321–23). The reporting makes precise analysis difficult, but it is clear that Room 7 was characterized by the secondary deposit of skulls and long bones, both within vessels and on the surface. The later phase of Room 8, which was poorly preserved, contained at least 31 skulls, found on the surface but perhaps originally interred within vessels as two pithoi and at least five larnakes were discovered in fragmentary condition among the other remains. Like Room 4 and Room 7, it appears that Room 8 was used for the deposition of secondary remains.

In an earlier phase of use, Rooms 8a and 8b (Figs. 73-75) indicated a more mixed use of space. Within Room 8a, for example, the excavator described disturbed surface burials with no articulated skeletons, but 11 skulls and many long bones, and one other skull placed among stones near the dividing wall. Room 8b also held a mix of temporary primary interments within the larnakes and permanent depositions of skulls on the floor of the tomb. Although no human remains were reported in the pithos, the two larnakes within Room 8b held the remains of two individuals each. Four crania were found on the surface of the tomb between the larnakes, suggesting that they were placed there secondarily, as no other bones were mentioned. The excavators found small numbers of

human remains in vessels in Rooms 7 and 8a and suggested that these are possibly the remains of children. Four or five vessels are noted from Room 7 but the number of vessels in Room 8a was not reported.

A total of only eight primary burials, five in larnakes and three on the surface, were discovered in BB 5. Secondary interments were far more common. Of the 122 secondary deposits, 10 (8%) were found in larnakes, 23 (19%) were in pithoi, 47 (39%) were on the surface, and 42 (34%) were unspecified, suggesting that secondary depositions were likely to be made on the floor of the tomb and in any of the vessels. Primary burials, though less commonly discovered in the burial building, were evenly distributed between larnakes and the surface, depending on the room.

BB 5 had 231 objects (Figs. 76-79), the majority of which were ceramic vases. Of the 231 objects, 133 (58%) were ceramic vases, 48 (21%) were stone objects (mostly lithics), 22 (10%) were jewelry, nine (4%) were carved objects, and eight (3%) were personal objects (mostly seals). There were also a few ceramic objects, metal objects, and tools. The number of objects tends to correlate with the numbers of individuals within each room, that is, rooms with greater numbers of interments also had greater numbers of objects. The ratio of objects to individuals, however, is not consistent. Some rooms had more objects than people while others had more people than objects (Figs. 80-81). Overall, the tomb has a ratio of 1.78 objects per person, but some rooms had significantly fewer and some far more. Room 4, for example, held at least 33 individuals (likely more) but only 13 objects, for a ratio of only 0.39 objects per person. Rooms 7 and 8 also had slightly fewer objects than individuals. Room 8a held 12 secondary deposits, a small number compared to other rooms used for secondary interments, but had by far the

largest number of objects. Room 8a had 122 objects, almost four times as many as the room with the next largest number (Room 7 with 31 objects), and had a ratio of 10.17 objects per person. Room 8b, contemporary with Room 8a, held eight individuals with a ratio of only 1.88 objects per person.

Three of the rooms (Rooms 4, 8, and 8a) were used only for secondary depositions and Room 7 had mostly secondary depositions with only a few primary burials (four of 37). Of these rooms, Rooms 7, 8 and 8a had some variation in object types but mostly contained lithics and ceramics. Room 4, on the other hand, which had the smallest ratio of objects to individuals, had a much wider variety of object types, made up mostly of jewelry and seals with some lithics and stone vessel fragments. The variety of jewelry is also significant (Figs. 82-85), as it included a bronze pin and the rarest semi-precious stones found in the cemetery, such as beads of gold, sard, and amethyst, and a cylinder seal of lapis lazuli, the only object of this material in the cemetery. Based on ratio of objects to individuals, Room 4 would be considered the poorest in BB 5, and one of the poorest in the cemetery, but based on rarity of the materials it might considered the wealthiest. A contextual approach using a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses provides a more balanced image. The rare and exotic beads were not found on a single necklace or with a single individual, but together in a larnax with 10 skulls, which is the largest secondary deposit in a burial vessel in the cemetery.

Room 4, the largest room in the tomb, was added later to the western side of the building and was used for large-scale deposition of secondary skulls within pithoi and larnakes. The lack of any human remains on the surface suggests that secondary skulls

from other rooms were placed in pithoi and vessels and moved to Room 4. It is possible that objects were interred with the skulls in the pithoi but there is very little information about these deposits and it seems likely that they were mostly if not completely devoid of material. It is not possible to determine the original location of the primary burials, but it is probable that a few objects were gathered from the areas of primary interment and placed with the 10 skulls in the larnax. The beads were of different materials and shapes, suggesting that they were gathered from multiple necklaces. The goal was not to retain the coherence of the burial gifts associated with the primary interments but to create an entirely new assemblage of identifiable pieces to be placed with the secondary skulls. A few choice beads were gathered and placed with the skulls, as parts might stand for the whole – the skulls representing the individual and the beads representing whole necklaces.

Burial Building 12

Date: EM III-MM IA, IB?

The three areas of BB 12 (Fig. 86), though not well preserved, indicate a differentiated use of space, which is typical of the Phourni cemetery (Fig. 87). Room 1, though badly damaged, contained the remains of a single primary inhumation in an extended position on the floor of the tomb. The small number of individuals present in the space and the primary nature of the burial, suggest that this room was used for the temporary deposition of primary burials. The East Area, on the other hand, was characterized by a significant quantity of secondarily deposited skulls on the surface of the room. Skulls were found in relatively large numbers, placed close together in two corners of the room – 15 in the northwest corner and 20 in the southeast corner. Objects

were found distributed throughout the dense collections of skulls, suggesting that both assemblages were moved and redeposited together in a corner of the tomb, without differentiation between objects and individuals. This secondary deposition, and the lack of any primary remains, suggests that the East Area of BB 12 was intended for the permanent interment of secondarily deposited skulls accompanied by some selected objects. Room 2 is poorly preserved, but the scatter of human bones and the presence of several objects suggests that the room was used for interment, though the precise function of the room is unclear.

The lack of burial vessels in any of the three spaces associated with BB 12 is notable (Fig. 88). All depositions, primary and secondary, were found on the floor of the tomb. Above these better-preserved assemblages, on the surface of the tomb, were several fragments of larnakes, suggesting to the excavator that larnakes were used at some point within BB 12, but the burials were not preserved. Below the paving of the Paved Area to the north were the remains of some burials dating to the EM III period. One skull and some teeth were mentioned in relation to burial objects placed along the northern wall BB 5.[197]

Of the 54 objects discovered in BB 12 (Figs. 89-90), 34 (63%) were ceramics, and nine (17%) were lithics. There were also three gold sheet fragments, two steatite beads, an ivory seal, two bone pendants, an alabaster cup, a fragment of a steatite vessel, and a stone plaque. There was no correlation between the number of individuals and the number of objects in the four spaces associated with BB 12, possibly due to the poor

[197] This is not included in the current graphs of BB 12.

preservation of the tomb (Figs. 91-92). Room 1 had one individual with eight associated objects while Room 2 had no human remains but 10 objects. Conversely, the Eastern Area had 35 individuals but only 12 objects for a ratio of only 0.35 objects per person. The Paved Area also held no human remains but many objects, mostly cups and other vessels, suggesting that it might have been used for the deposition of drinking equipment rather than burial.

The Eastern Area was used entirely for secondary deposits. While there were only 12 objects found with the 35 skulls, they were mostly small, imported objects (Fig. 93). Only two cups and two vessels were found with the skulls in the Eastern Area and the rest of the objects were lithics, one complete stone vessel and a fragment of another, a stone plaque, and a bronze sheet fragment. This suggests that while there were larger numbers of individuals than objects, select small objects were moved with the skulls and deposited here as a part of a continuing process of interaction with the dead.

Of the 54 objects discovered in and around BB 12, 14 were imports (Figs. 94-95). Most of the imports were obsidian but there was also some gold, ivory, and alabaster, suggesting some connection with other tombs in the cemetery and a burial practice involving the deposition of imported objects.

Burial Building 6

Date: EM III-MM IB

BB 6 (Fig. 96), built in EM III and used until MM IB, was made up of six rooms. Publications of the rooms are not detailed enough to allow for thorough analysis of the burial types, but the distribution of human remains indicates that the rooms had different functions. Of the six rooms, only three (Rooms 1, 3, and 6) held interments (Figs. 97-98).

Human teeth and bone scatters were discovered in Rooms 4 and 5, suggesting that they were also used for burials at some point, but no human remains were reported from Room 2. Five skulls were found in Room 6, indicating that it was certainly used for secondary deposition and perhaps also used for primary burial, as scatters of bones were also reported. Although the excavators do not provide a detailed publication of the finds from Rooms 1 and 3, 196 skulls were reported from the rooms. It appears that both rooms were used for the permanent deposition of secondary interments, which were found in burial vessels and on the floor. It is unclear if there was a distinction between the use of the surface and the larnakes and pithoi, and whether some held more than one skull, but the use of vessels and surface burials in both rooms suggests that there were no major differences between them.

There were around 125 objects (390 including every bead) in the six rooms of BB 6 (Figs. 99-100). Of the 125 objects, most were ceramic vases, with 76 vessels (61%) and four cups (3%). Jewelry and personal objects account for almost all of the small finds. There were 16 seals in BB 6 – 14 of ivory and two of steatite – as well as nine pendants, two rings, one pin, four loose beads, and two beaded necklaces of steatite discoid beads – one with 134 beads and the other with 133 beads. There were also some bronze hygienic objects, including two scrapers. Finally, there were a few stone vessels and an ivory plaque.

Although BB 6 had a low ratio of objects to people (Figs. 101-102), with only 0.62 objects per person in the tomb, there were two complete necklaces, a gold pendant, and several rare objects, like the ivory plaque and the faience scarab. The low ratio of objects to people is likely due to the secondary nature of the interments in Rooms 1 and

3, which held 196 secondary deposits and only 32 objects. The only other room with human remains (aside from scatters of bones) was Room 6, which held five surface skulls accompanied by six objects, including a bone pendant, a stone vessel core, a bell-shaped idol, two ceramic cups, and a spherical vessel. Due to the nature of the publication, the context for 86 of the objects is unknown. These include most of the ceramic vases, a pin, five pendants, and two beads. Rooms 4 and 5 were almost completely empty (Figs. 101-102). Neither room held any interments and Room 4 had zero objects. Room 5 had only one object, but it was the only gold object in the tomb.

The two beaded necklaces in Room 1 were found complete but among secondary interments, suggesting that the necklaces accompanied individuals while still intact and were not depleted during the secondary interaction and interment. Complete necklaces are rare in the cemetery and those associated with secondary depositions are very infrequent. The occurrence of two necklaces together is not entirely unique but the homogeneity of the beads is uncommon. The few necklaces of known composition at Phourni were made up of two or more materials or held multiple bead types, or other strung objects, such as pendants and seals. It is possible that one of the steatite bead necklaces in BB 6 was also strung with a bronze ring, but otherwise they are homogenous in composition. This uncommon necklace type, its use of only local materials (with the possible exception of the bronze ring), and its redundancy in the burial building, are suggestive of personal or group preference or style (much like the four necklaces in Room 3 of BB 18). Such an interpretation is, of course, speculative but it is tempting to see expressions of corporate identities in such depositions. The presence of two complete

necklaces of such similar style is rare in the cemetery and two complete necklaces of such small beads in a secondary context is entirely unique.[198]

Of the 390 total objects (125 MNO without beads), 363 were made of local materials (including 267 steatite beads) and only 27 (7%) were of imported materials (Figs. 103-104). The 17 ivory objects accounted for 63% of the imports. The rest included six bronze objects, two sard beads, one gold pendant, and a faience scarab. It is likely that the faience scarab is an Egyptian import and the sard bead could also have come from Egypt, or possibly the Indus Valley. The ivory seals are of interest for a number of reasons, including the quantity of the objects, their unique shapes, and the presence of the Archanes Script on four of the seals. One seal is shaped like a fly, another like a stepped pyramid, while a third is a completely unique 14-sided seal. Yet another unique ivory object is the plaque with an engraved image of a griffin. Although the number of objects was relatively low for the number of individuals, the large number of unique ivory objects, the sard and gold beads, and the faience scarab are all suggestive of a group identity expressed through the deposition of imports with powerful, exotic images like the griffin, quintessentially Egyptian objects, like the scarab, and seals so unique as to be oddities, like the 14-sided seal. Along with the four seals with the Archanes Script, a few larnakes with incised Linear A signs were discovered in BB 6. Scripts were not unknown throughout Phourni but were relatively rare. This preponderance of objects with hieroglyphs and linear script in one tomb suggests that

[198] For more on this comparison of beaded necklaces throughout the cemetery, see the section Similarity within Tombs in Chapter 6 and Figure 277.

those interred within BB 6 were part of a group that was perhaps related to administration or religion.

Tholos Γ- Upper Burial Layer

Date: EM III/MM IA-MM IB/II

Two strata were identified in the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos Γ (Fig. 23). Stratum I is associated with the collapse of the tholos roof, dated to MM IIB/IIIA. Stratum II, the main burial layer, is associated with the EM III/MM IA- MM IB/II use of the tomb, after the clearance of the earlier remains. The interments in this layer were found in larnakes, a pithos, and on the surface of the tomb, with secondary interments representing the vast majority of the depositions. A larnax was also found in the dromos and likely post-dates the use of the tomb interior.

The Upper Burial Layer of Tholos Γ has a MNI of 54 (Figs. 105-106). Stratum I held one individual, identified from a single skull deposited with a MM IIB/IIIA cup beneath the lintel after the collapse of the roof. One individual was found in the larnax in the dromos, identified from a single long bone and some bone fragments that were discovered below the larnax. Stratum II held the vast majority of the human remains with 52 of the 54 individuals. Most of the remains were secondary (96%), and most were represented only by skulls, while fewer included skulls along with other bones. One possible primary burial was discovered in a larnax and a disturbed burial was found in another larnax, while the rest of the interments were secondary, representing 96% of the remains. The human remains were relatively evenly distributed between the surface of the tomb and burial vessels. There were 32 (59%) interments found on the surface and 22 (40%) in burial vases. Both the primary burial and the disturbed burial were discovered in

larnakes, but the small sample size makes it impossible to find any correlation between burial status and burial type. The secondary interments were divided between the burials vessels and the surface with 16 (31%) in larnakes, four (8%) in a pithos, and 32 (62%) on the surface.

Although the two tholoi were similar in many ways, the use of larnakes within Tholos Γ was markedly different from that in Tholos E. Within Tholos E, primary interments were found frequently in larnakes, suggesting that some larnakes were used for temporary primary burial while other larnakes and the surface were used for secondary interment, much like the spatial organization used in other burial buildings. Tholos Γ is dominated by secondary interments but the only primary and disturbed burials were found in larnakes (Fig. 106). It is surprising that of the 22 larnax and pithos interments, 20 (91%) were secondary. It seems likely that when Tholos Γ went out of use, most of the remains had received secondary treatment, leaving a snapshot of a period with fewer primary interments in general. It is also possible that those interring in Tholos Γ were more likely to use larnakes and pithoi for secondary interment than those interring in Tholos E.

Of the 12 burial vessels with known assemblages, six held single interments – one primary and five secondary – and six held multiple interments, which were all disturbed or secondary. Three larnakes held two interments, two held three interments, and the one pithos held four interments. This suggests that while burial vases were used for secondary interment, at least at the time the tholos went out of use, there was no standard for the number of interments within each vessel. Vessels were not reserved for single interments, and secondary depositions could be single or multiple interments. The disturbed primary

burial of a prime adult was discovered in L1 with five teeth from a young adult, indicating a MNI of two for the larnax. It seems likely that the five teeth represent a previous interment of a young adult that was later moved, possibly to the surface of the tomb, and the larnax was then used for the prime adult burial. The presence of such assemblages suggests that burial vessels were used, much like the floor of the tomb, as both a temporary and permanent depositional space for human remains. Rather than maintaining any explicit function for each vessel, human remains were interred and removed as needed, to make room for new interments, both primary and secondary.[199] The vessels could also have served an organizational function like the rooms in rectangular burial buildings, especially for single space tombs like the tholoi.

Osteological Analysis

As Tholos Γ was the only structure of interest to this study to receive any osteological analysis, significantly more data exist for this tomb than any of the others. Triantaphyllou analyzed the extant human remains and although it is not a complete representation of the tomb (or the cemetery), it does provide excellent information on the age and sex of those interred.[200] Of the 55 individuals discovered in the tholos, 28 (51%) were of unknown sex (many of whom were children), 12 (22%) were male and 15 (27%) were female (Fig. 107). There is no correlation between sex and burial type as the surface

[199] This is perhaps comparable to modern Greek practices, in which family burial plots are reserved for primary interment and after a certain amount of time, remains are removed and interred in an ossuary. Some burial vessels may have functioned much like these burial plots and others like the ossuary.

[200] About 1/3 of the human remains were not available for analysis (Triantaphyllou 2005, 68). As most of the human remains were limited to crania, sex determination is limited and should be accepted with caution.

and burial vases were all associated with relatively similar numbers of male, female, and unknown remains (Fig. 108).

The remains from Tholos Γ represent a wide range of ages, from neonates to mature/old individuals (Fig. 109). Of the 55 individuals discovered in Tholos Γ, 14 were of unknown age, six were neonates or children, 28 were adults (prime adult, young adult, adult), six were mature adults, and one was a mature/old adult.[201] The neonates and three of the children were found on the floor of the tomb while the fourth child was found in the pithos with three adults (Fig. 110). The adults were relatively evenly distributed between the burial vessels and the surface. A slightly higher percentage of mature and mature/old adults were found in the vessels than the young and prime adults. Of the seven mature and mature/old adults, two (29%) were on the surface, one (14%) was in the pithos, and four (57%) were in larnakes.

Triantaphyllou notes 43 small bones, such as hand and foot bones, and a comparatively small number, only 8, of long bones. A larger number of long bones is more common for disturbed or secondarily treated interments, while small bones are quite uncommon among these remains. Triantaphyllou suggests this might indicate that these small bones were deposited before complete decomposition took place (Triantaphyllou 2005, 68–69). It is also possible that the small bones represent previous primary burials that were subsequently depleted and their long bones moved elsewhere.

Objects

[201] Following Triantaphyllou- neonate: birth to one year; child: six to 12 years; young adult: 18 to 30 years; prime adult: 30 to 40 years; mature adult: 40 to 50 years; old adult: 50+ years (Triantaphyllou 2005, 68).

The Upper Burial Layer of Tholos Γ is characterized by a startlingly different assemblage than the one found in the Lower Burial Layer. There were 122 objects found in the two strata of the Upper Burial Layer and the dromos (Figs. 111-114). Ceramic vases made up 77% of the total number of objects. Of the 94 ceramic vases, 53 were discovered in the dromos, perhaps suggesting that the dromos was used for drinking rituals or that vessels were left there as gifts to the dead. The other objects included 10 lithics, six seals of bone and ivory, a few items of jewelry and clothing decorations, a rivet and some other metal objects, and a pointed piece of bone.

The assemblage in Stratum I (Figs. 115-116), associated with the roof collapse, held only ceramics, with 31 vessels and five cups. Stratum II held the bulk of the small finds, including the bronze, lead, ivory, and bone objects, as well as a single piece of obsidian, a pendant of "white paste", and two vessels. In addition to the majority of the ceramic vases, the dromos held the majority of the lithics, and the four gold objects, including three band fragments and a ring.

The Upper Burial Layer, not including the dromos, had a total of 56 objects, providing a ratio of about 1.06 objects per individual. The majority of the objects, however, were the 36 ceramic vases in Stratum I, in which a single individual was discovered. The 52 individuals in Stratum II were associated with only 17 objects for a ratio of 0.33 objects per person. The few objects in the Upper Burial Layer are similarly represented by few objects of imported materials. Of the 122 objects total (including the dromos), only 20 were of imported materials, 10 of which were obsidian. The other imports include gold, bronze, lead, and ivory.

While the Lower Burial Layer attests to the deposition of large amounts of metals and imported materials, perhaps indicating a connection with the Cyclades and access to a robust trade network, the Upper Burial Layer was categorized by smaller numbers of locally produced objects (Figs. 117-118). These objects were mostly ceramic but also included bone seals and pendants. There were, however, more seals in the Upper Burial Layer than in the Lower Burial Layer, perhaps indicating a shift in depositional practice that included more seals as burial gifts or a greater number of seals in circulation during the later period.

The assemblages in the Upper Burial Layers of Tholos E and Tholos Γ had similar numbers of ceramics and lithics, suggesting that aspects of the depositional practices used in the two tholos tombs were shared. Other aspects of the assemblages, however, indicate that the groups reusing the tholos tombs were quite distinct. Unlike Tholos Γ, Tholos E had both a large amount of jewelry and a wide variety of materials, including many objects of imported materials, especially those from Egypt, such as amethyst, sard, alabaster, and faience. The Upper Burial Layers of Tholos Γ and E also indicate variable interment methods. While both made use of the surface, larnakes, and pithoi, Tholos Γ held almost entirely secondary depositions, while Tholos E had many primary burials. Although the tombs had a similar use-life, it is clear that during both the EM IIA phase and the later EM III-MM II phase, the tombs were used by two distinct groups.

Burial Building 18

Date: EM III-MM II

BB 18 (Fig. 119) had one of the longest continual use-lives (similar to BB 19) and, along with BB 5, the most rooms of any burial structure in Phourni. It held at least 194 individuals, one of the largest in the cemetery (Figs. 120-121). The structure appears to have been built at one time and was composed of 10 rooms and one area (Area 11 was likely a room but only two of the walls are extant). Most rooms had multiple layers and were used for various interment stages (Fig. 122). In Rooms 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, and Area 11, 100% of the human remains were primary. The low numbers of individuals (between one and four) found within Rooms 2, 6, 10, and Area 11 suggest that these rooms were intended for temporary primary interment. Rooms 3, 7, and 8 have higher MNIs (between nine and 18), perhaps suggesting that these burials were more permanent. Room 4, 5, and 9 indicate a more mixed use of space. Room 4, with only one burial layer identified, held only two individuals. One was a single larnax burial, identified by the excavators as a child (likely based on the size of the remains rather than any osteological study) and the other was a single skull found on the floor of the room. Such limited numbers of individuals make any interpretation impossible, but it is likely that this room was not reserved for any one type of interment. Room 5 had two burial layers, with seemingly different uses of the space over time. The upper layer held two burial pithoi used for primary burial (one held a single burial and the other held two), suggesting that the space functioned as a permanent or temporary repository for primary depositions within vessels. The lower layer was poorly preserved but held the fragmentary remains of a skull and some fragments of a larnax. It is unclear if the skull was associated with the larnax, but it seems likely that this secondary deposition was permanent, possibly suggesting that the function of the space changed over time.

The interpretation of Room 9 is made more difficult by the lack of detail in the published report, but it indicates a functional change in the room over time as well as some mixed use of the space within certain layers. Layer I, the uppermost layer, was heavily disturbed and only two individuals were identified, but the finds indicate the use of larnakes, pithoi, and surface interments. The number of individuals in the second layer was not reported but it is clear that the space had a mixed function, as it held a single, primary pithos burial, surface burials, and secondary depositions on the floor. Layer III contained interments within three larnakes, two of which held multiple primary burials (two in L16 and one in L17), and the third of which (L15) held two primary burials and one secondary skull.

Room 9 had a MNI of 40, and 27 of the individuals were found within the lowest burial layer, Layer IV. The excavators report these as burials but it is clear from the description that the remains were found in secondary positions, scattered around the room. They are reported here as "disturbed burials" as it is likely that they had not been moved from the room, but were not primary burials. Bones and skulls were found mostly along the walls of the room, suggesting that primary burials were made in the center of the room and then bones were pushed to the sides to clear space for other interments. A functional change seems to have occurred between the earliest use in Layer IV, when interments were made on the surface of the room and later moved to the sides, and the later use in the upper layers, when both primary and secondary interments were made both in burial vessels and on the floor.

Room 1 (Figs. 120-121) had a MNI of 94, by far the greatest number of individuals, and was used mostly for secondary interments, with some differentiation in

function across burial layers. Layer I was disturbed but held fragments of larnakes and scatters of bones. Layer II was characterized by secondary depositions, with 37 skulls and some long bones identified, all of which were found on the surface of the room, above the tops of the larnakes discovered in Layer III. The finds from Layer III, which had an MNI of 48, suggest a more mixed use of space. Nine individuals were interred in the three preserved larnakes (fragments of a fourth were discovered with the 17 skulls nearby, some of which may have been associated). Three of the larnax burials were primary, three were secondary but retained both skulls and bones, and three were represented only by skulls, suggesting that larnakes in Room 1 were used for a range of interments. The surface of Layer III appears to have been used only for secondary deposition, with 39 skulls discovered on the floor of the room. It seems likely that, in Layer III, primary burials were made in vessels, which subsequently received some secondary treatment (either depletion or manipulation) and then secondary deposits of skulls were made on the surface of the tomb. Layer IV, with nine individuals represented, is characterized by the deposition of secondary skulls on the floor of the room.

Most of the burial vessels in BB 18 held either primary burials or secondary interments, though some held both and these are discussed below. Of the 19 larnakes with known assemblages, nine held single primary burials, two contained two primary burials, and one held three primary burials. Two larnakes held only bones and two contained no human remains. Three larnakes held both primary and secondary interments. Of the 10 pithoi with known burial assemblages, seven held a single primary burial, two held two primary burials, and one contained no human remains at the time of excavation.

As mentioned above, BB 18 is associated with a few relatively unique burial assemblages within larnakes. Three of the 19 larnakes with known assemblages held both primary burials and secondary interments, indicating that larnakes were used for multiple interment events. Two of the larnakes (L2 and L3) in Room 1 and one (L15) in Room 9 contained multiple depositions, occurring at two or more chronologically distinct times. At the bottom of L2 were two individuals in the same orientation with skulls at the north side of the vessel. These were likely primary burials made in one or two depositions. Three skulls were found in the upper part of the larnax, and were clearly deposited after the primary burials. Two of the three skulls were found in the western part of the burial vessel, as slightly different depths, and the location of the third is not provided. The three skulls may have been deposited all at one time or possibly in two, or even three, depositions. L2, therefore, records between two and five interment events.

Similarly, L3 held a single primary burial near the bottom of the vessel, while the upper portion of the larnax contained a jumble of long bones and three skulls. It appears that the larnax was used for a primary burial and, at some point later, received a deposition of secondary human remains. L3 therefore records between two and four depositions. No details are given about the placement of the bones within L15, but two burials and one secondary deposition (perhaps a skull or a skull and some long bones) were found within the larnax, representing between two and three depositional events.

The 12 spaces associated with BB 18 held around 122 objects (163 including beads, pendants, and seals associated with necklaces). Although BB 18 had the greatest number of rooms and was one of the largest tombs in the cemetery, it held remarkably few objects (Figs. 123-124) and had one of the lowest ratios of objects to individuals in

the cemetery (along with BB 6 and the Area Between BB 8 and BB 9) with 0.63 objects per person – below the overall ratio of objects to individuals in the cemetery at 2.39 and the average number of objects to individuals per tomb at 1.82 (Figs. 125-126). It is one of only three tombs with fewer objects than people. This low number of objects is even more surprising given the large number of undisturbed primary burials in the tomb, as we expect that primary burials were more likely to retain associated objects than secondary depositions.

Of the 122 objects in the tomb (Figs. 123-124), 48 (39%) were ceramic vessels and 38 (31%) were stone objects, mostly lithics. There were also 14 (11%) jewelry objects and 11 (9%) personal objects, mainly seals. The remainder of the objects were small quantities of stone vessels, figurine fragments, and pieces of ivory and metal. The lack of metals and limited variety of objects and materials might suggest that this was not a "wealthy tomb", but the number of imports suggests otherwise. Including beads, pendants, and seals associated with necklaces, there were 163 objects. Of these 163 objects, 63 were imported or made of imported materials (Fig. 127), such as bronze (2), ivory (31), agate (1), marble (4), and obsidian (26), which was roughly 39% of the total objects. While this was a large number of imports, there were very few rare or "exotic" materials such as semi-precious stones. Most of the imported material was stone from the Cyclades (marble and obsidian) and ivory, likely from Syria or Egypt. Oddly, the presence of marble is rare for later tombs and is more consistent with the early assemblages from Tholoi Γ and E (Figs. 128-129).

There was also a large number of seals for the limited number of objects present in the tomb (Fig. 123). Of the 163 total objects (including beads, pendants, and seals on

necklaces) there were 14 seals (including those considered to be parts of necklaces), which were found in small numbers in most of the rooms, including Rooms 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 (Fig. 125). The majority of the seals were ivory but there was also one steatite seal and one agate seal, which was the only agate object in the cemetery.

While the number of objects in the tomb was fewer than the number of interments, rooms with fewer objects than individuals and those with more objects than individuals were relatively evenly divided. Rooms 1, 3, 7, 8, 9 had more interments than objects while Rooms 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, and Area 11 had more objects than people. Number of objects was roughly correlated with number of people – more interments correlate with larger numbers of objects – with some exceptions. For example, Room 1 had the largest number of individuals and the largest number of objects, but the ratio of objects to people was not consistent. Rooms 1 and 9 had the largest numbers of people, but they have the lowest ratio of objects to people with only 0.18 objects person in Room 9 and 0.26 objects per person in Room 1. Rooms with fewer interments (correlated with primary burials) had a much higher ratio of objects to individuals. In Room 2 and Area 11, with only one individual identified in each, there were six objects. Rooms 4, 5, 6, and 10, each with four individuals or fewer, had high ratios of objects to people. Although there were only four individuals in Room 6, 18 objects were discovered, including nine ceramic vessels and the only piece of bronze from BB 18.

Room 3 is an interesting case study for its unique assemblage. It held 18 individuals, all of whom were discovered in primary positions on the surface of the tomb. In addition to some other objects, one necklace was found with each of four primary burials. These necklaces are of interest for a number of reasons. First, it is rare to find a

complete necklace with a single individual in the cemetery of Phourni and four in the same room is completely unique. It seems likely that the preservation of the primary burials is directly correlated with the preservation of a complete necklace. It is probable that beaded necklaces, occasionally strung with pendants and seals, were deposited with primary burials and then depleted and moved during secondary treatment, creating assemblages with only a few beads and pendants. These necklaces were also unique in their structure, as they represent a distinctive combination of materials and object types, but were relatively consistent among themselves. While tombs are filled with beads and pendants, such as pierced shells and stone beads, very little is known about their arrangements on necklaces and bracelets.

Only one of the four necklaces was assembled from a single material. The first necklace was made up of only eight pierced shells, while the other three combined multiple types of beads and pendants. The second necklace was made of four pierced shells, four ivory pendants, and an ivory seal. The third was comprised of six pierced shells, eight ivory pendants, and one ivory seals. The fourth was an assemblage of four steatite pendants, five steatite beads, three faience beads, and one steatite seal. The presence of one seal on each of three necklaces, suggests that this was an important component of these necklaces and indicates a slightly different view of the deposition of seals within tombs. Seals were not just administrative or personal items, worn as a single object in a ring or strung on a bracelet, but could be combined with other beads and pendants, some of which were made of local and seemingly mundane materials like shell.

Unlike other beaded necklaces found in the cemetery, like the one consisting of graduated beads of amethyst and sard from Tholos E, these necklaces have an unplanned

appearance, as if they had been strung together from bits and pieces of other jewelry. The mixture of materials, as well as types of objects, such as beads, pendants, and seals, creates a random appearance, but the similarity in the composition of the necklaces suggests otherwise. These necklaces give an impression of individuality that is mostly lacking from the burial evidence of the Phourni cemetery. While these necklaces had much in common with one another, they had very little in common with the other known necklaces from the cemetery and the, admittedly limited, visual evidence of strung necklaces from other sites. Individuality within Minoan cemeteries is often connected to hierarchical status, but while these necklaces were personal, they were in no way "high status" objects. One could argue that the seals on the necklaces suggest an administrative use and point to the high status of the owner. While this is certainly possible, a contextual consideration of the seals suggests a more complex social identity for the wearers of these necklaces. These necklaces are not what comes to mind when one considers "Minoan jewelry" but they are perhaps the most personal objects found at Phourni and are therefore worthy of much more consideration than they have received.[202]

Based on the number of seals and imports, BB 18 might appear to be the tomb of a wealthy, high status group, while if considering numbers of objects compared to numbers of individuals BB 18 might appear to be a poor, low status tomb. Contextual, quantitative analysis of the tomb, which considers differential use of space within the burial structure and a comparative analysis with other tombs in the cemetery, provides a much more complex image of the tomb, including elements normally associated with

[202] For more on this comparison of beaded necklaces throughout the cemetery, see the section Similarity within Tombs in Chapter 6 and Figure 277.

both wealth and poverty, and high and low status. The variable use of space within the tomb and the well-preserved primary interments provide unique information about individual identity beyond that of status.

The long use-life of BB 18 also offers a unique opportunity to consider changes in burial practice in MM II. Several of the rooms had multiple layers, some of which indicate significant changes in burial practice between the earlier and later uses of the space. In Rooms 1, 5, and 9, the lower layer held secondary depositions on the surface of the tomb while the upper layers held primary burials, mostly interred in burial vessels. This consistent change among the rooms may indicate that the function of the spaces altered over time, but likely also suggests that during the latest phase of use, in MM II, interment methods changed. Burial vessels were more consistently used for primary burials and mortuary practices involved fewer instances of secondary interaction, leaving greater numbers of primary burials intact. The low ratio of objects per person but high number of intact necklaces suggests that fewer objects accompanied primary burials during this later period and that there were fewer instances of secondary interaction. These deviations all suggest that burial practice was greatly altered in the MM II period and the community's relationship with the cemetery changed.[203]

Burial Building 19

Date: EM III/MM IA-MM II/IIB

BB 19 (Fig. 130) is an architecturally unique structure with a long use-life. It was the only apsidal burial building in the cemetery and possibly the only one on Crete in this time period. Similarly, the "semi-vault" roofing structure was unique. Like BB 18, it was

[203] This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

in use from EM III/MM IA through MM II or IIB, roughly 450 years, without an obvious break. BB 19 is the smallest burial building at Phourni, but it was completely filled with human remains, including at least 197 individuals (Fig. 131).

Two burial strata (Figs. 132-133) were identified and then further sub-divided into two layers each (Maggidis 1994). The Upper Stratum, made up of Layers IV and III, held at least 75 individuals, while the Lower Stratum, Layers II and I, contained at least 122 individuals. Most of the human remains were found in secondary positions but some differentiation across strata and among sections of the tomb do exist. Noting that BB 19 is both the smallest burial structure and the one containing the most skulls, Papadopoulos suggested that BB 19 was used as an ossuary (2010, 6). While most of the remains were secondary, the differentiation among the strata and the sections suggests that at times the space was not only used for the interment of secondary remains but also for also for other stages of burial and subsequent interactions, including primary burials, secondary treatments, and secondary deposition. It seems likely that BB 19 was constructed and used as an ossuary and then partially repurposed as a tomb.

The Lower Stratum is characterized by secondary interments (Fig. 131). It held 122 individuals, with 119 (97.5%) represented by secondary remains, two by primary burials (1.6%) and one by a disturbed burial (0.8%). The interments made in the Lower Stratum were mostly on the surface of the tomb with 118 (97%) on the floor and only four (3%) in burial vessels. The vessel interments all came from a single pithos (one primary burial and three secondary skulls) found in the Rock Cavity and only peripherally related to Layer II. This suggests that the Lower Stratum was used mostly for the secondary interment of human remains.

The Upper Stratum was characterized by a mixed use of the space (Fig. 131). Of the 75 individuals within the Upper Stratum, 63 (84%) were secondary, eight (11%) were primary, and four (5%) were disturbed primary burials, indicating some secondary interaction. The Upper Stratum was also mixed in terms of burial type, with 42 (56%) found on the floor of the tomb and 33 (44%) found in various burial vessels, including larnakes, pithoi, and other vases used for burial (mostly two-handled spouted jars). Layer IV was poorly preserved due to the collapse of the roof, so it is likely that more of the human remains were within burial vessels than is recorded (only two larnakes have known assemblages but the remains of 11 other larnakes were found). It seems likely that, along with other one room structures in the cemetery (Tholos Γ and Tholos E) that BB 19, at least in the later period of use, made use of both the floor and burial vessels for primary and secondary interment.

Maggidis (1994) divided the layers into sections associated with locations in the tomb based on what he considered to be visible patterns of use (Figs. 134-135). Section A is the area around the walls, considered to contain the earliest burials that were previously moved from the center of the tomb toward the walls. Section B is the center of the tomb and Section C is the area around the entrance, considered to house the latest burials. This interpretation, however, is not entirely borne out by the evidence. One would expect that the secondary burials would cluster in Section A, around the walls of the tomb, while Sections B and C would have the majority of the primary interments. A comparison of the sections across both strata suggests a very different pattern. Of the 197 individuals in the tomb 125 (roughly 63%) were found in Section A. This might be expected if this area was the final resting place for the individuals interred within BB 19. Primary interments

were rare within BB 19, with only 10 primary burials of 197 interments, but eight of these (80%) were found in Section A. While these primary burials represent only 6% of the interments within Section A, it is a substantial number considering the low number of primary burials within BB 19. Only five disturbed but mostly complete burials were discovered in the tomb, but two of them were found within Section A.

If Sections B and C were used for primary depositions they should hold more primary and disturbed burials. While these sections do have lower numbers of individuals in general, with 54 individuals in Section B and 14 in Section C, this hypothesis does not quite fit with the data. Of the 54 individuals discovered at the center of the tomb (Section B), 100% of them were secondary. Section C, however, suggests a more mixed use of space. This small area near the entrance of the tomb held only 14 individuals – 10 (71%) secondary interments, one primary burial (7%), and three disturbed burials (21%). The relatively large number of burials and disturbed burials near the entrance (Section C) suggests that the area may have been used for the final burials of each layer. These findings, however, differ between strata.

The Upper Stratum was, as mentioned above, more mixed in terms of burial status and types than the Lower Stratum. It held at least 75 individuals and 46 were found around the walls (Section A). Of these 46, 37 (80%) were secondary, eight (17%) were primary, and one (2%) disturbed burial. Section B, in the center of the tomb held 22 individuals, all secondary interments. Seven individuals were found near the entrance of the tomb (Section C) in the Upper Stratum. Four of the seven (57%) were secondary interments and three (43%) were disturbed burials.

The Lower Stratum is much more homogenous across sections. Of the 122 individuals from the Lower Stratum, 79 were around the walls (Section A). Of these 79, 78 (99%) were secondary and one (1%) was a disturbed burial. Section B, with 32 individuals, was again 100% secondary. Section C had only seven individuals and six (86%) were secondary while one (14%) was primary.

Maggidis' interpretation of the sections is partially supported for Section C across both strata. The lack of any primary interments or disturbed burials in Section B in either the Upper or Lower Stratum requires a rethinking of the function of the central space. Section A, around the walls, indicates a heavily secondary use in the Lower Stratum, but more mixed use in the Upper Stratum, with a high proportion of primary burials among the many secondary interments.

There is evidence of some correlation between primary interments and deposition within vessels as well as secondary interments and surface deposition. The vast majority of the human remains within BB 19 were secondary, representing 182 of the 197 individuals discovered within the tomb. Of the 182 secondary interments, 153 (84%) were found on the surface of the tomb and 29 (16%) were found in burial vessels. All five disturbed, primary burials were found on the surface of the tomb. While only 10 of the interments within BB 19 were primary burials, the majority of these were discovered within burial vessels, rather than on the surface. Eight (80%) of the 10 primary interments were discovered within burials vessels, including one in a larnax, one in a pithos, and six in burial vases, and two (20%) were on the floor of the tomb.

Although a large portion of the, albeit small, number of primary interments were found in vessels, of the 37 individuals within burial vessels, 29 (78%) were secondary

interments, indicating that while primary interments are more likely to be in vessels, vessels are still more likely to contain secondary interments than primary ones within BB 19. Other than the larger portion of primary burials in vessels and disturbed burials near the entrance of BB 19, there appears to be no differentiation of space for secondary interments, which are found in all sections, on the floor and in vessels.

It is also possible to recreate the number of interment events for several of the burial pithoi within BB 19. Three of the four pithoi from BB 19 were well preserved. One of these pithoi (P4), located in the Rock Cavity (associated with Layer II), contained one primary burial and three secondary deposits (presumably skulls). In addition to the primary burial within the pithos, three primary burials can be assumed for the three secondary interments. At least one but up to three other depositional events occurred when the secondary remains were placed in the pithos. P4, therefore, represents between five and seven events.

Two other pithoi contained relatively unique assemblages, with interments nested within multiple vessels. P1 in Section A of Layer III held the skulls of six individuals, the largest number of individuals for any pithos in the cemetery**.** Two of the six skulls were interred directly within the pithos while four of the skulls (three adults and one child) were found within a large spouted jar that had, at some time, been placed within the pithos. As each of the six interments were secondary, there are six previous primary interments. For the four individuals discovered in the spouted jar, we can assume between one and four secondary depositional instance(s). For the two skulls found within the pithos, one or two instances of secondary deposition can also be assumed. Finally, the deposition of the spouted jar (containing the four skulls) into the pithos (either before or

after the interment of the two skulls) represents at least one other depositional instance. The six interments in P1 represent between nine and 13 instances of deposition, from primary interment to the final assemblage found within the pithos. P2, also found in Section A of Layer III, contained three skulls and a fourth skull, likely of a child, placed within a two-handled spouted jar. This deposition represents four primary deposits, one deposit of the child's skull within the two-handled jar, between one and three depositional instances of the skulls within P2, and one instance of the placement of the jar within the pithos, for a total number of depositional events between seven and nine.

In addition to archaeological interest in the multiple depositional instances, these assemblages represent an intriguing glimpse into Minoan burial practices, including their priorities for retention and the movement of human remains over time and space. While primary remains were rare in BB 19, they did exist, so it is quite likely that primary interments, interactions, and secondary depositions were made within the structure at least during the later phase (Figs. 132-133). The presence of primary burials and disturbed burials on the surface of the tomb suggests that some primary interments were made directly on the floor of BB 19. The high proportion of primary burials within vases suggests that vessels were used for primary burials but that they were not necessarily intended to retain those primary interments. It seems likely that primary burials were moved from their positions on the floor or from within burial vessels to other spaces within the tomb, either on the floor of the tomb or deposited again within vessels without much differentiation. Secondary deposits are made everywhere in the tomb and, in this case, secondary does not mean permanent, although there is no reason to suggest that human remains were removed from BB 19.

The secondary deposits that were first placed within vessels and subsequently within the pithoi indicate that human remains were consistently moved and redeposited within the space. It is likely that the small area within BB 19 necessitated the consistent manipulation and reorganization of human remains. In the case of the six skulls within P1, the manipulation and reduction of six burials to six skulls, followed by the nesting of one jar containing four skulls into one pithos now containing six skulls, skulls were not removed from the spouted jar before placement into the pithos. A choice was made to retain the assemblage of four skulls while adding them to another assemblage. This suggests that depletion was necessary and retention of complete skeletons was unnecessary, but that it was important to retain the correlation between the four skulls in the vessel. It is also possible that it was simply easier to move the entire vessel into the pithos, but this also represents the loss of the spouted jar for other interments.

This assemblage represents a significant amount of time between interments. Each of the six skeletons must have been at an advanced stage of decay before the skull could be removed and placed within the vessel. While all four skulls may have been moved into the spouted jar together, it is likely that they represent a significant amount of time between burial and reinterment within the vase. We can also speculate as to the occasion when skulls and other secondary remains would be moved or reinterred. It seems quite likely that at the time of primary interment within the burial structure, other human remains would be moved, depleted, reinterred, and condensed.

BB 19 was also significant for the number of child burials discovered in the tomb (Fig. 136). These remains indicate a pattern related to the burial structure of the tomb. Of the 197 interments, 24 (12%) were children or juveniles (23 children, one juvenile). Most

of the child interments date to the later use of the structure. Children account for 21 (28%) of the 75 interments in the Upper Stratum, while only three (2%) child interments were found in the Lower Stratum. Of the 24 child/juvenile burials in BB 19, eight (33%) were primary, two (8%) were disturbed, and 14 (58%) were secondary. Children represented a significant portion of the primary burials in the tomb. Of the 10 primary burials, eight (80%) were children. Of the five disturbed burials, two (40%) were juveniles and both were found on the surface. Of the 182 secondary interments, 14 (8%) were children. Relatedly, children also represented a significant portion of the interments made in vessels. Of the 37 interments in vessels, 18 (49%) were children and of the eight primary burials in vessels, seven (88%) were children. Of the 160 interments on the floor of the tomb, six (4%) were children. Of the two primary interments on the floor, one (50%) was a child, and of the 153 secondary interments on the surface, three (2%) were children.

The Upper Stratum was a mixed-use space and child interments represented a large portion of the primary and vessel burials found in the two upper layers. Although the Upper Stratum had fewer individuals, a greater variety existed in the status of the burials (primary, disturbed, secondary) while the Lower Layer, which had significantly more individuals (122), was more homogenous in burial type and status. This has a direct correlation with the number of child burials in the Upper Stratum as these represent a large number of the primary burials and interments in vessels.

BB 19, the smallest tomb in the Phourni cemetery, held the third largest number of individuals in the cemetery and the third largest number of objects (Figs. 137-140), with 289 objects (307 with beads) in the tomb. About 60% of the 289 objects were

ceramics. There was also a large amount of jewelry and lithics, as well as a few seals, some figurines, several stone vessels, and three offering tables.

BB 19 represented the densest assemblage in the cemetery and had a ratio of 1.47 objects per person (Figs. 141-142). Layer IV held 32 individuals, mostly secondary interments but also two disturbed burials and two primary burials, and 86 objects for a ratio of 2.69 objects per person, the most objects per person in the tomb. Layer IV had a large number of ceramics, much like Layers III and II, but unlike those layers it had less jewelry. It contained only four stone vessels and two stone offering tables. Despite having little jewelry, including only three beads, Layer IV had three of the five earrings in the cemetery and one of the seven rings. The earrings were all made of different metals, one each of bronze, lead, and silver. It also had decorative bronze bosses and a gold band.

Layer III held 43 individuals, mostly secondary interments but also a couple of disturbed and primary burials, and 76 objects. Layer III also had a large number of ceramics but only six lithics, significantly fewer than the other layers. A ceramic figurine of a woman as well as a stone offering table were also found in the layer along with a large quantity of jewelry, including a necklace of ca. 19 faience beads, a few other beads of faience and bronze, and another silver earring. The earring is one of the five in the cemetery and one of four in the tomb. The 19 faience beads were likely part of a single necklace, which was found around a skull along with a miniature conical cup. Maggidis suggests that this indicates a primary burial, based on the assumption that the necklace was more likely to stay in place while a primary interment was depleted than it was for a

necklace to move with a secondary interment. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to label this a primary burial as only the skull was found.

Layer II held 106 individuals, mostly secondary deposits but including a couple primary burials, and 105 objects, for a ratio of almost one to one for objects and individuals. Layer II had slightly fewer ceramics but a large concentration of lithics, with 27 in total, as well as a stone pestle and a piece of horizontal flagstone that Maggidis interpreted as an altar (1994, 35–37). Two more ceramic figurines were found in Layer II, one anthropomorphic and one zoomorphic. Although fewer beads and pendants were discovered in the layer, they were made from a greater variety of materials, including rock crystal, ivory, shell, steatite, and meteorite. One of the steatite pendants was carved into a schematic anthropomorphic shape. Four seals, three of ivory and one of steatite, were found in BB 19 and they were all within Layer II.

Layer I had the fewest interments with only 16 secondary depositions and by far the fewest objects with only 22. Most of the objects were lithics, but there were also a couple ceramics, a miniature alabaster cup, and five pendants, mostly of ivory but also one of steatite.

Of the 307 total objects in the tomb (including beads), 99 (32%) were of imported materials (Fig. 143). The majority of the imported objects were obsidian, with 52 obsidian lithics (Figs. 144-145). The 23 faience beads also made up a large portion of the possibly imported material in the tomb, and their presence along with other Egyptian materials, such as the alabaster cup and the sard bead, might suggest some Egyptian connection. The single sard bead is consistent with the other occurrences of the stone, which was found in many contexts but in very small quantities. The largest concentration

of sard was in BB 7, which held four beads, three were found in Tholos E, and between one and two in BBs 5, 6, 19, and 16. In each occurrence, sard was found with faience and/or amethyst. Faience was better represented in the cemetery, occurring in seven tombs (sard was only in six) and, when part of a necklace, occurring in larger numbers (23 in BB 19, 17 in Tholos E, and 12 in BB 7) and in small numbers in others, such as BBs 6, 9, and 16 and the Area between BB 8 and BB 9. BB 19, however, had the largest concentration of faience in the cemetery with 23 beads, mostly from one necklace. There were also 10 pieces of ivory, some bronze, a piece of gold, and some of the rarer metals found in the cemetery including silver and lead.

BB 19, along with BB 18 and Tholos E, functioned into MM II but went out of use before LM I, providing one of the latest Protopalatial deposits at Archanes-Phourni. It seems likely that BB 19 was built and used as an ossuary but was later used for multiple functions, including primary burial. Like BB 18 and the Upper Layer of Tholos E, the Upper Stratum of BB 19 has more primary burials and more burial vessels, perhaps indicating that interment practice in MM II involved fewer secondary treatments and greater numbers of primary vessel burials.

Burial Building 23

Date: MM I

BB 23 (Fig. 146) was too damaged for any burial analysis, but the presence of many burned bones indicates that the building was used for interment and that several bones were burned during secondary treatment or fumigation (Fig. 147). Although the building was poorly preserved, a few objects were found in the tomb (Figs. 148-149), including several fragments of ceramic fruitbowls, jugs, and cups, as well as a gold

clothing ornament. MM ceramics were discovered in the assemblage and it is likely that this tomb functioned similarly to the better-preserved burial structures in the Phourni cemetery. While the small number of objects may lead to a conclusion that this was a tomb used by a group of lesser status and wealth, a contextual analysis suggests that the small number is due only to the preservation (Fig. 150). The small amount of gold in the tomb is in keeping with the relatively small amounts of gold found in other tombs of contemporary use, such as BBs 13, 5, 12, 6, 19, and 8, all of which have between one and four pieces of gold, although they have a much larger number of objects.

Area Between BB 8 and BB 9

Date: MM IA

The Area Between BB 8 and BB 9 (Fig. 151) held a total of 62 individuals found in larnakes and on the surface of two rooms – The Eastern Area and the Western Area (Figs. 152-153). The Western Area contained mostly skulls, indicating a functional use of the space for permanent secondary deposits. The Eastern Area held mostly primary burials, suggesting that it was used for the temporary deposition of human remains. Larnakes were used in both spaces, indicating that a differential use of space applies only to the rooms, rather than to the burial vases as both primary and secondary deposits were found in larnakes. The larnakes held multiple interments and were not reserved for the deposition of single individuals. Three larnakes were discovered in the Western Area with between five and eight skulls in each. Similarly, the Eastern Area had at least three larnakes with two to three primary burials in each.

The Area Between BB 8 and BB 9 had 22 objects divided between the two spaces (Figs. 154-159). The East Area, with mostly primary burials, had nine objects, while the

West Area had 13. The number of objects is correlated to the number of individuals, as the West Area had more individuals and more objects than the East Area. The ratio of objects to individuals is not consistent, however. Although the East Area had fewer objects and fewer individuals, it had a slightly higher ratio of objects to people with 0.45 objects per person while the West Area had only 0.31 objects per person. This may be related to the function of the two areas. The East Area had fewer individuals but most are primary burials, while the West Area had great numbers of interments but all are secondary. The East Area, however, held mostly ceramics and lithics, while the majority of the small finds were found with the secondary interments in the West Area, suggesting that small pieces of jewelry and personal objects were moved during secondary interment, perhaps having been depleted before they were reinterred with the secondary deposition.

It seems likely from the location of these rooms and their functional similarity to rooms found in other tombs that these spaces were associated with a burial structure, likely BB 8. These rooms may have been added later to exterior walls, but appear to contain deposits that are not dissimilar to those found in BB 8.

Burial Building 3

Date: MM IA

The long use-life of BB 3 (Fig. 160) into the LM period, provides limited information about the MM IA-MM III use of the tomb. Only the Southwest Room and the South-Central Room contained MM IA deposits (Fig. 161). Three primary surface burials of this date were discovered – two in the Southwest Room and one in the South-Central Room. The lack of secondary interments of this date and the lack of vessels are

perhaps related to the small sample size from this structure and little analysis is possible due to the later disturbance.

Only seven objects were discovered with these burials (Figs. 162-163). Of these, five were ivory and two were obsidian blades. Because the sample size for BB 3 is so small, it is difficult to identify any patterns among the depositions and whatever patterns are visible should be approached warily. Unlike many of the other burial buildings, the number of objects in the two rooms does not correlate with the number of interments. Only three objects were discovered with the two burials in the Southwest Room while four were found with the single burial in the South-Central Room. The types of objects in the rooms, however, were very similar. Both rooms held a single obsidian blade, and a few ivory objects. The Southwest Room held an ivory comb and an ivory seal, while the South-Central Room held two ivory seals and an ivory pendant. Although only a few objects were found with the three burials, 100% of the objects were made from imported materials.

Burial Building 8

Date: MM IA

Although only one of the rooms of this two room structure was well preserved, BB 8 (Fig. 164) is notable for the number of primary inhumations (Figs. 165-166). The upper stratum of Room 1 of BB 8 held a single primary inhumation surrounded by stones, while the lower layer contained 12 individuals in similar positions with heads placed on or a near a bench, similar to BB 3. Another primary burial in a contracted position was discovered encircled by stones along the southern wall of the room, while a single skull was found near the doorway. The number of primary interments within Room 1 suggests

a more permanent form of primary burial than is typical of the rest of the cemetery. The presence of 14 primary interments, two of which were surrounded by stones, suggests that either secondary manipulation of the remains, such as clearance or depletion, was not intended or had not taken place by the time the tomb went out of use. The presence of inverted conical cups, one of which was found on top of the cranium, is more indicative of the former, as it is likely that the conical cup was placed on top of the cranium after a period of decay, suggesting that a choice was made not to move or deplete the burial but to rededicate a burial gift.

The single skull, found near the doorway, was the only secondary deposit within the room. It is possible that this skull was added toward the end of the use of Room 1, as it was discovered near the doorway, rather than within the tomb interior. The presence of this secondary deposition with the other primary deposits suggests that this space was used for the permanent interment of human remains, mostly primary with a single instance of secondary deposition.

Room 2 was poorly preserved but two fragmentary skulls and some bones suggest that the space was used for interment. The lack of primary burials could indicate that the space was used only for secondary deposition, but could also be attributed to the lack of preservation. If the space was used for the permanent, secondary deposition of human remains, it would suggest that both rooms of BB 8 were used as permanent repositories, though secondary interactions were still visible. In this case, secondary interaction involved the movement or placement of objects, such as the conical cups, rather than the movement or depletion of human remains.

The two rooms were also characterized by a lack of burial vessels (Fig. 166). Unlike other MM IA burial structures at the cemetery, which were often found with both surface and vessel interments, all depositions, both primary and secondary, were found on the surface of the tomb. No fragments of larnakes or burial pithoi are mentioned within BB 8.[204]

About 21 objects were discovered in BB 8 (Figs. 167-168). Although there was a wide range of object types found in the two rooms, the largest category present was ceramics with six ceramic objects, four cups, and one vessel. There were also four bronze sheet fragments, one bronze weapon fragment, a pendant, a seal, and a stone vessel fragment. In the doorway between the rooms was a unique gold ear pick, the only gold object discovered in the tomb. These 21 objects were found with 17 individuals total, a ratio of 1.24 objects per person (Figs. 169-170). Objects tended to correlate with numbers of individuals but the small sample size makes this correlation speculative. Room 1 held 15 interments and 16 objects were discovered, while Room 2 only held two individuals and only four objects were discovered. All of the metal, lithics, and the stone vessel fragment were found in Room 1 while the steatite seal was found in Room 2, with the two secondary interments. The rooms had two cups each. The only gold object was discovered in the doorway between the two rooms. A few of the objects from BB 8 were made of imported materials (Figs. 171-172). The gold ear pick and fragments of bronze were certainly made of imported material but quite possibly manufactured on Crete. The obsidian blade fragment was imported while the ceramics were almost certainly local.

[204] If we associate BB 8 with the Area Between BB 8 and BB 9, located directly south of the structure, it appears that some rooms did make use of larnakes, but again, this is speculative.

Burial Building 7

Date MM IA

The precise number of rooms within BB 7 (Fig. 173) is unknown due to the subsequent construction of Tholos B over top of the building, but there were at least six rooms within BB 7 and another area likely associated with the building. Even though the structure is not well preserved, the burial data from the rooms indicates a spatial organization for the deposition of human remains (Figs. 174-175). Rooms 1 and 5 appear to have been used for the interment of primary inhumations. One contracted burial was found on the floor of Room 1 while Room 5 held a single surface burial and a contracted surface burial with indications of secondary interaction. At some point after decay, the cranium had been detached from the jaw and relocated near the legs of the individual in an inverted position while the jaw remained *in situ*. One conical cup was found beneath the jaw and another found on top of the cranium. The small number of mostly complete burials suggests that the rooms may have been used for the temporary deposition of primary interments that would later be moved to more permanent locations. While this may be the case for Room 1, the presence of the contracted burial with clear signs of secondary interaction in Room 5 calls this into question. It is clear that some form of secondary movement had taken place, but skeletal material was not removed from the room. Two interpretations are possible here. The first is that Room 5 was used for permanent interment of complete primary burials and manipulated burials. The second is that the manipulation represents an intermediate phase in secondary interaction with the skeletal remains that took place after primary interment but before secondary depletion and reinterment of the remains in another space. While impossible to prove either interpretation, the small number of complete primary burials within Room 5 (and Room

1) perhaps suggests the latter, as one would expect a room intended for permanent primary burials to contain more than one or two individuals. The significantly larger numbers of secondarily interred skulls in other rooms of BB 7 also support this interpretation.

Room 2 of BB 7, which lies under the "Pillar Crypt" of Tholos B, was poorly preserved and contained only scatters of bones and a few objects. Room 6, found below the northwest part of the Pillar Crypt and the Southwest Side Chamber of Tholos B, was discovered with a single skull on the floor of the room. Burial evidence from Room 4 and the area below the staircase of Tholos B (Areas 7 and 8) indicates their use for the permanent, secondary interment of human remains. Six skulls were found on the surface of Room 4 and 15 skulls, along with some scatters of bone fragments, were found in the area below the staircase.

Room 3, the only room within BB 7 that contained burial vessels, held at least 30 individuals interred in a number of ways. Six larnakes were discovered in the room. A single contracted surface burial was found below one of the larnakes and 15 skulls were deposited near and between them, concentrating in the northeast part of the room. Room 3 held interments in varying states of depletion and permanence, from one complete primary burial *in situ* to several skulls deposited on the floor. The larnakes also held a range of burial types. Two of the larnakes (L1 and L5) reportedly contained both skulls and bones, suggesting that while not *in situ* or complete, the burial vessels held an interment between primary and completely secondary (just skulls). These remains might be the result of primary burials that were depleted or secondary interments of skulls and long bones. Two other larnakes held only skulls (L4 and L6), another (L3) damaged

larnax was found with only skeletal fragments, and still another (L2) was found complete but with no reported human remains or objects. Of the four larnakes with a calculable number of individuals, three of them (L1, L4, and L6) held at least four individuals and the other held two, again in varying states of secondary deposition. This suggests either that they were constructed for single interments and then repurposed for multiple and secondary burials, or that they were never intended to hold single, primary interments. While either interpretation is plausible given the use of larnakes within the rest of the cemetery, the latter is perhaps more likely for the larnakes within Room 3 of BB 7, based on the discovery of an intact (decorated even!) but completely empty larnax. Furthermore, two of the larnakes with four individuals (L1 and L4) indicate deliberate secondary placement of human remains. In both larnakes, one skull was found within each of the four corners of the larnax, suggesting careful placement and the deliberate use of the larnax for four skulls.

It is possible that the deposition of skulls on the floor indicates that primary interments were made in the larnakes and then depleted and moved to the floor (or to other larnakes) or that larnakes were added to the room for the purpose of creating more space for the secondary interment of human remains. The single primary burial beneath a larnax suggests that the room may have been repurposed for permanent secondary deposition and that larnakes were added to create more space. An LM IIIA kylix was discovered within one of the larnakes (L4), indicating that the larnax was opened and the kylix deposited well after BB 7 had gone out of use, during the latest use of Tholos B.

BB 7 held around 64 total objects (133 including beads). Although there were relatively few objects from the tomb, likely due to the poor preservation of the spaces

below Tholos B, they represent a great deal of variety (Figs. 176-179). Of these 64 objects, 18 (28%) were ceramic vases, but there were also a large number of seals, metal objects, jewelry, and lithics, as well as some stone vessels, and figurines of stone and bronze. Some rare objects also appear in BB 7, including a dagger, a spindle whorl, tweezers, a sealing, and one of only two scarabs in the cemetery. The beaded necklaces both combine beads of two materials- one local and one possibly imported. One is made of six rock crystal and four sard beads, while the other is made of 50 steatite and 11 faience beads. In addition to the necklaces, a few loose amethyst beads and two shell pendants were discovered in BB 7.

BB 7 has a total ratio of 1.16 objects per person throughout the tomb but the number of objects per person varies greatly throughout the rooms and only some rooms indicate a correlation between number of interments and number of objects (Figs. 180-181). In the case of BB 7, it appears that the rooms with greater numbers of secondary interments are correlated with fewer objects per individual. The highest ratio of objects to individuals is in the room with a small number of primary burials and the second highest in the space with a relatively low number of secondary interments, indicating that the issue is with the sample size.

Based on the scatters of bone fragments, Room 2 was likely used for burial but no interments were found within the room. There were, however, 10 objects, including a couple fragments of gold leaf, a fragment of ivory, and fragments from a stone kernos and stone vessel. This room also held some lithics, a ceramic bowl, and a scarab of faience or white paste. Rooms 1 and 6 each held a single interment and, accordingly, these rooms also had the fewest objects. The single surface burial in Room 1 was

accompanied by a steatite seal, while the secondary skull in Room 6 was found with an ivory seal, a gold band, and some fragments of gold leaf. Room 5, which held two primary burials, had 13 objects, including several ceramics (mostly cups) but also some gold sheet fittings, likely used as gilding for objects made of organic materials and now lost, and a bronze figurine. Room 5 had the highest ratio of objects to individuals with 6.5 objects per person, perhaps related to the primary nature of the interments in the room. Room 4 had six individuals, all secondary surface interments, and 18 objects with a ratio of three objects per person. Among the objects in Room 4 were three seals of unspecified materials, a sealing, a steatite figurine of a man, some lithics, a couple ceramic vases, bronze tweezers, a couple fragments of gold leaf, and the necklace of steatite and faience beads. The presence of the complete necklace in a secondary context suggests that the intact necklace was moved to the room with one of the secondary interments, rather than being depleted during the secondary interaction with the human remains. Room 3 and the Southwest Area have larger numbers of interments and a lower ratio of objects to individuals. Both spaces held mostly secondary interments, with the exception of a single primary surface burial in Room 3. Room 3 held 30 interments with only 10 associated objects and the Southwest Area held 15 with eight objects. Objects in the Southwest Area include a spindle whorl, amethyst beads, shell pendants, and a cup. Room 3 contained a few ceramic vases, an obsidian blade fragment, a bronze dagger, four ivory seals, and a necklace of rock crystal and sard beads.

Although BB 7 did not have a high ratio of objects to individuals, the tomb had a large number of imports and one of the greatest quantities of gold in the cemetery, with

10 gold objects.[205] Of the 133 total objects (64 without beads), 47 were made of imported materials, which is 35% of the objects in the tomb (Fig. 182). The imports include metals like bronze and gold, obsidian from the Cyclades, several ivory objects, and several Egyptian objects or possibly objects made of Egyptian materials (Fig. 183). The four amethyst beads certainly originated in Egypt and the four sard beads could also have come from Egypt (or the Indus Valley), while the faience or white paste scarab was most likely imported from Egypt and the faience beads could have been imported or made locally with an Egyptianizing material. This large proportion of Egyptian material might suggest that, like the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E, BB 7 had some affinity for Egyptian material. It is also probable that the import of amethyst and other Egyptian materials was increasingly common on Crete at this time.

Burial Building 16

Date: MM IA

BB 16 (Fig. 184) is located just south of and attached to Tholos E and was poorly preserved due to agricultural practices in the area. Three rooms were preserved – one long room to the west and two smaller rooms to the east. There were no primary burials within the burial building and most of the remains were secondarily deposited skulls, though some skulls were found associated with other bones, perhaps indicating that the rooms were used as an ossuary for material removed from Tholos E (Figs. 185-186).

Room 1, located to the west, was very badly damaged and only fragmentary burial remains were discovered, including scatters of bones and teeth, and three partially

[205] BB 9 has more but also has many more objects, and Γ is both of a much earlier date and has more objects.

preserved skulls. One larnax was also found in the room but with no associated skeletal remains. The poor preservation of the room makes any interpretation of the space difficult, but the skulls, teeth, and long bones perhaps suggest that the room was used for permanent, secondary interment of more prominent bones.

Fragments of larnakes were discovered on the surface of Rooms 2 and 3 but their association with the burial layers below is unclear. Room 2 had a MNI of 22, including 16 skulls and six skulls with associated post-cranial elements. The deposits were distributed relatively evenly between vessels and the surface of the tomb. Of the 22 individuals found, 12 of these were discovered within larnakes while 10 were deposited on the floor of the room, suggesting that there was little differentiation in function among the spaces, although slightly more of the skulls (without associated bones) were found in larnakes (10 in larnakes, six on the floor). Larnakes with greater numbers of individuals tended to have fewer associated bones – L1 had five skulls and only a few bone fragments, L3 had three skulls with no other bones, and L2 had two skulls with some fragments of vertebra. L4 held the secondary remains of a single individual, whom, from the small size of the larnax, the excavator suggested may be a child. L6 held some fragments of a skull and a few bones and L5 held only bone fragments.

This variation among larnax assemblages could suggest a number of interpretations, including that some larnakes were used for primary interment and then depleted while others were used for secondary deposition (either as a primary or secondary function) after primary interment elsewhere. Most of the skulls associated with other post-cranial elements were discovered below the larnakes, whereas those discovered around the burial vessels were single skulls. Four skulls were found around

the larnakes and placed in the corners of the room. One of these skulls was discovered with a bronze earring, seemingly *in situ* near the earlobe. The lack of post-cranial elements possibly suggests that the skull was moved with some jewelry still in place but without other skeletal remains. Beneath the larnakes were several skulls and many long bones, which the excavator suggests represent between six and eight interments. This differentiation perhaps suggests a temporal distinction in the use of the tomb, with disturbed and depleted interments taking place on the surface of the tomb and then covered over by burial vessels, intended mostly for secondary interment.

Human remains were discovered in Room 3 on the surface of the tomb and within larnakes and pithoi. Of the 22 individuals, 17 were represented only by skulls and five were represented by skulls and some post-cranial elements. Room 3 also held many long bones. A pile of long bones was discovered in the southwest corner of the room and seven femurs were discovered with a single skull below the two larnakes (L7 and L8). The lack of any primary interments and the large number of individual skulls and long bones, suggests that Room 3 was mostly used for the permanent deposition of prominent secondary remains.

The excavators noted three layers within Room 3, the latest represented by the pithoi, the second by the surface of the tomb and the use of the larnakes, and the third by the deposits below the larnakes. Most of the long bones were discovered below the larnakes, along with one skull and some scatters of bones, suggesting that secondary deposits were made on the floor and then covered by larnakes. Four skulls were found in two larnakes, one of which contained three skulls. A grouping of five skulls was found in a row along the western wall with some fragments of bones. Other groups of skulls were

found throughout the room, placed between and among the vessels. These groups, like the interior spaces of the larnakes, suggest deliberate, secondary placement of skulls, sometimes with a few bones and often with objects. In this layer of Room 3, it seems that larnakes and the floor surface were used for the same purpose, for the secondary interment of prominent human remains, mainly skulls. The upper layer, made up of four pithoi, was not as well preserved. Only two of the pithoi held skulls and only one skull was found in each. One of the pithoi was found damaged and with only some bone fragments, while the other was found with nothing inside but some bones nearby that may have been associated. The small number of human remains suggests that either the pithoi were used for only small numbers of secondary interments, or that after a single inhumation, the pithoi were emptied of most of the contents, leaving only the skull.

Despite the large size of the three rooms in the BB 16 relatively few objects were associated with the interments (Figs. 187-188). Of the 51 objects from BB 16, 16 (31%) were ceramic vases and 14 (27%) were lithics. There were also several pieces of jewelry, including pendants, beads, and an earring, as well as seven seals. A stone vessel, bronze scraper, and part of an ivory plaque were also found in BB 16 with a few pieces of stone (rock crystal) and some worked ivory.

The ratio of objects per person in BB 16 was only 1.09 but there was significant variation among the rooms (Figs. 189-190). Although Room 1 had only three interments, 12 objects were associated, for a ratio of four objects per person. The assemblage was relatively homogenous, with only lithics and ceramics represented. Rooms 2 and 3 both had 22 interments, located on the surface of the tomb, in larnakes, and, for Room 3, in pithoi. While Room 2 held more objects than Room 3 – 24 to 14 respectively – the

assemblages are remarkably similar, with some lithics, a few ceramics, a couple pieces of jewelry, and a few seals. The major differences in the object assemblages is the greater number of lithics and the presence of two bronze objects (scraper and earring) and a couple pieces of ivory, including the plaque, in Room 2.

Of the 51 objects in BB 16, 25, roughly half, were made of imported materials (Figs. 191-192). The majority of the imports were obsidian, with 12 (48%) pieces of obsidian imported from the Cyclades. There are also eight ivory objects and two bronze objects of unknown origin, as well as two beads of sard, imported from Egypt or the Indus, and one faience seal, possibly imported or made locally. Each room held some obsidian (Fig. 193). The rooms with more objects held a greater variety of imported materials. Room 1 only had obsidian, Room 3 had obsidian and ivory, and Room 2 had obsidian ivory, bronze, sard, and faience.

Burial Building 9

Date: MM IA-IB

BB 9 (Fig. 194) is a complicated building as it was above an earlier burial structure (BB 13) and it also made use of spaces associated with Tholos Γ, including parts of the dromos (Figs. 195-196). Room 1 is complex (Figs. 197). Three layers were identified and within two of the layers and further delineated spaces were discovered in the layers. These spaces, though small, indicate a variable use of space as well as some functional changes over time. The uppermost layer, Layer I, in Room 1 was used mostly for primary burials, though these are quite disturbed. Seven individuals were discovered in this layer and were found within pithoi, larnakes, and on the floor of the tomb. It is unclear if the space was used for temporary interment of primary burials that were

intended to be moved eventually or if this space was for more permanent interment of individuals. No differentiation exists between the vessels and the surface of the tomb but it is possible the vessels were used for primary burial and most of the remains were then moved to the surface.

The north and south parts of Layer II within Room 1 also indicate differential use of space. Three disturbed burials were discovered in each space. In the north, the human remains were found on the floor of the tomb while in the south, they were likely interred within a single larnax, now fragmentary. The excavator suggests that these are all disturbed interments, indicating that, like Layer I, the human remains were either intended to be moved or were permanently placed here in a disturbed but mostly complete state.

The third layer of Room 1 was also divided into a north and south part and indicates a very different depositional pattern from the later use of the room. While Layers I and II held small numbers of disturbed burials, Layer III was filled with secondary deposits of skulls. The southern part of Layer III contained a pithos with some human teeth, a larnax with only a few bone fragments, and three skulls on the surface of the tomb. The north part of Layer III held 49 skulls, along with some scatters of bones, all deposited on the surface of the tomb. In this layer, Room 1 was clearly used for permanent, secondary deposition of skulls. All complete skulls were discovered on the floor, while only scatters of human remains were found in the vessels, likely indicating that human remains were removed from the vessels.

Room 2 (Fig. 198), which also has three identified burial layers, possibly indicates some change in the use of the space over time. In the upper most layer, Layer I,

four skulls were likely interred in one larnax, which was found very fragmented. No other human remains were found in that layer. In Layer II, secondary remains in various states were found on the surface of the tomb and within a burial vessel. A skull and some bones were found beneath a pithos and a single jaw was found on the floor of the tomb. Two pithoi and a larnax were found within the layer. The larnax and one of the pithoi were poorly preserved and no remains were associated with the vessels. The other pithos held a single skull. The small number of human remains makes it difficult to determine the function of the room but it seems likely that it was used for the deposition of secondary remains.

The third layer of Room 2, however, indicates a mixed use of space. The layer had a MNI of 13, six of which were complete burials – one extended surface burial and five contracted burials within two larnakes. Between the north wall and one of the larnakes were five skulls and some bones, and two other skulls were found in the room, one on the surface near the extended burial and one in a larnax. The presence of both primary burials and secondary interments, both within larnakes and on the floor, suggests that the room was used for both types of interments and it is unclear if the primary burials were permanent or if some secondary use was intended but never completed. The placement of primary and secondary interments in both larnakes and on the surface further suggests a mixed use of space. The majority of the complete burials were within larnakes, but the extended surface burial suggests that primary interments were not relegated to burial vessels. Furthermore, the presence of secondarily deposited skulls on the floor and within larnakes suggests that no differentiation existed between spaces on the floor and space within vessels. This room may represent an interesting snap shot of a

space used for both primary and secondary interments. It is possible that the six primary burials were awaiting secondary treatment but this was not accomplished before the layer was covered and interments made over top. It is also possible that the room was always intended for the permanent deposition of both primary and secondary remains.

The two areas south of Room 2 made use of the Tholos Γ dromos walls. The Area to the South of Room 2 was partially paved and contained nine complete skulls and some long bones, as well as a few objects, in a small orthogonal pit directly in front of a niche in the southern wall of the dromos (Figs. 195-196). It is clear that this is a secondary deposition but it is uncommon to find human remains placed below ground, though a similar example exists at Gournia.[206]

The Area Southeast of Room 2 contained at least nine individuals and two larnakes, one of which held two individuals, and the other of which held one individual in a contracted position, although it was poorly preserved (Figs. 195-196). Another disturbed burial in a contracted position was discovered on the paved floor in the northeast area and a pile of bones was discovered in the northwestern part of the Area Southeast of Room 2. Six individuals were identified, including the contracted burial within the poorly preserved larnax, mentioned above. This room, though not well preserved, was possibly used for the permanent deposition of mostly primary but disturbed interments, both on the floor and within vessels.

Room 3 (Fig. 199) of Burial Building 9 was a complex space and was not connected to the other parts of BB 9, but is affixed to the southeastern end of Tholos Γ.

[206] According to Soles, when an EM II tomb was discovered during the construction of a new MM burial building, the skull were collected and redeposited into a pit in the new tomb, along with some MM ceramics (Soles 2010, 334).

The excavator considers Room 3 part of BB 9, however, and this organization is maintained here. Seven burial layers were found in Room 3 and the space held at least 172 individuals, with a range of one to 60 interments per layer. Of the 172 individuals, 70 of these are described as burials, three as skulls and long bones, 41 are skulls, and 58 are unspecified. The excavator uses the term for burial most often for the description of the interments found within the room. For Layers I-III, I simply use the term burial and consider them to be relatively complete interments, but with an unclear amount of disturbance. Within Layer IV, however, the excavator uses the term burial to describe the total number of interments, which is 60, but later describes a deposit of skulls in one part of the room. As we cannot distinguish the number of burials and skulls within the layer, 58 of the interments are considered unspecified, the other two are known burials within vessels.

Of the 70 burials, 64 were found in the first three layers – nine in Layer I, 23 in Layer II, and 32 in Layer III. The relatively large number of burials suggests that these were permanent depositions but they cannot be considered primary because of the lack of information. Most of the interments in Layer IV, as discussed above, were unspecified, and although the numbers of skulls and burials are not known, it is clear that the layer held both burials and deposits of skulls, all likely permanently placed within the room. Layer V held 38 skulls, suggesting that the layer was used for the permanent placement of secondary remains, and Layer VI had nine individuals, three burials, three skull and long bone assemblages, three skulls, and a large number of long bones.[207] Layer VII, the

[207] The long bones are not considered in the MNI because it is impossible to determine the number of individuals represented and whether they were related to the skulls within the layer.

lowest layer, held a single surface burial, interred just above the bedrock, which had been leveled for the deposition. It is unclear whether the interment was primary, but it was associated with earlier walls found below BB 9, and with obsidian blades, conch shells, and some sherds, suggesting that the burial was mostly undisturbed.

The first four layers were also notable for the number of child burials (Fig. 200), likely identified by the excavator based on the size of the skulls and post-cranial remains. The number of child interments was relatively consistent among the layers – Layers I, III, and IV had three children and Layer II had four – for a total of 13 (Fig. 201). Based on the number of total interments within the layer, the higher the layer, the greater the percentage of child interments to total interments. Interestingly, the number of child interments was not correlated with the number total interments.

The first four layers each had at least two vessel burials. Layers I and IV were more certain than Layers II and III, which had only two vessels specified, but it is possible that other interments were also within the vessels. The relatively low, but consistent, number of burial vessels within the layers and the presence of burials within vessel and on the floor, suggest that no particular distinction was made between the floor and the vessels. Of the 13 child interments, two were on the surface of the tomb and four were in vessels, with seven unspecified. Of the four known vessel burials, each held a single individual, three of which were children (one infant and two children). Most of the remains were found on the floor of the tomb or were unspecified. There are eight known vessel burials (only four of which have detailed information) and four of these were child burials. The disproportionate number of child vessel burials to the rest of the interments

within Room 3 suggests that these vessels were deliberately used for the interment of individual children.

The vessels used within Room 3 are also different from those used throughout the rest of the cemetery. Unlike the typical larnax and occasional pithos burials, the burials in vessels within Room 3 were made in two pithoid jars, a bucket-shaped vessel, and a fruitstand. It is possible that the use of vessels associated with daily life were used for child burials, while specially created burial pithoi and larnakes were used for adult interments. Without a larger sample size, and without analysis by a physical anthropologist, it is impossible to prove the correlation between functional vessels and child burials but it is a startling deviation from the other cemetery evidence.

Despite its relatively short use-life, BB 9 held the most objects of any burial structure in the cemetery (Figs. 202-205). Around 321 objects were found in BB 9, including three necklaces, bringing the number up to 360 if all beads and pendants are considered. The vast majority of the objects were ceramic vases with 191 in total, making up roughly 60% of the total objects. The next largest category was lithics with 48 (15%) stone objects. Jewelry, clothing ornaments, and seals were also a large portion of the associated objects in the tombs, including many pendants of shell, ivory, and steatite; beads of gold, bronze, rock crystal, faience, meteorite, and steatite; fragments of gold bands; and ivory and steatite seals. Three necklaces were discovered in the tomb. The first was found with an interment in Layer III of Room 3 and was made up of seven pierced clam shells, likely strung with a biconical bead of meteorite, one of only two meteorite beads found in the cemetery (the other is in BB 19). The second necklace, also in Layer III of Room 3, was discovered with a child burial in pithoid vessel and consisted

of 12 pierced oyster shells. In Layer IV of Room 3 was a necklace of 22 steatite discoid beads with a surface interment. Stone vessels and a couple metal items were also discovered in BB 9. Figurines, bell-shaped votives, rhyta, and the only sistrum found in the cemetery set this burial structure apart as a space for the deposition of ritual objects.

Objects were found in all five spaces in the burial building but the majority of them were found in Room 3 (Figs. 206-209). Although the ratio of objects per individuals was relatively low throughout the tomb, the number of objects was correlated with number of individuals in the room, as contexts with greater numbers of interments had greater numbers of objects. Room 3, which had the largest number of objects and individuals, also had the highest ratio of objects to people and was the only room that averages more than one object per person.

Room 1, which held around 65 individuals, mostly secondary deposits but also some disturbed burials both on the surface and in larnakes, had only 22 objects. The 20 interments in Room 2, mostly secondary but also some primary burials in larnakes and one on the surface, were associated with only 10 objects, for a ratio of 0.5 objects per person. The Areas South and Southeast of Room 2 both held nine individuals and had only one and three objects respectively. The nine secondary interments found in the pit in the Area South of Room 2 had only one miniature pithoid vessel associated with them, while the mixture of primary burials and secondary interments in the Area Southeast of Room 2, had a figurine, a vessel, and a vase fragment. Room 3, which held 172 individuals in both primary and secondary positions, had around 259 objects associated, for a ratio of roughly 1.5 objects per person. Most of the ceramics and lithics were discovered in Room 3, along with all three necklaces, the pendants and beads, the seals,

and the gold band fragments. Most deposits in Room 3 were accompanied by more than one object. Such assemblages often consist of jewelry, such as beads and pendants or seals, and some ceramics, such as small vases and cups. Two of the necklaces were found with primary burials, one in a vessel and one on the surface, while the other is associated with an unknown interment. Similarities exist with BB 18 in the shell and meteorite necklace, with the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E for the faience necklace, and perhaps with BB 7 for the steatite and faience necklaces.[208]

Of the 360 total objects (321 without beads and pendants associated with necklaces) about 100 were made of imported materials (Fig. 210). Although this was a large quantity of imported material, it only accounts for roughly 28% of the material in the tomb. This relatively low percentage is likely due to the large number of ceramics, considered to be local objects, that were discovered in Room 3. About half (48) of the imported objects were obsidian, while gold and ivory each account for another quarter of the material (Fig. 211). A single piece of bronze and two faience objects were the only other imports, or possible imports, in the tomb. As Room 3 held most of the objects in BB 9, it also held the majority of the imported material with 81 (81%) of the imported material, including the faience and the bronze (Fig. 212).

THOLOS E- UPPER BURIAL LAYER

Date: MM IA-MM IIB

After roughly 200 years of disuse in EM IIB, Tholos E (Fig. 16) was cleared and reused for the deposition of human remains. The tholos roof collapsed in MM IIB,

[208] For more on this comparison of beaded necklaces throughout the cemetery, see the section Similarity within Tombs in Chapter 6 and Figure 277.

preserving the remains of the tomb and providing a *terminus ante quem* for the assemblages. This second phase of use was characterized by a substantial change in burial type, marked by the intensive use of burial vessels, mostly larnakes. The collapse of the tomb roof fragmented several larnakes obscuring their assemblages. It is therefore unclear if some of the human remains were originally within vessels but were moved to the floor during the collapse, if remains were deliberately removed from vessels for placement on the surface, or if remains were primarily deposited on the floor of the tomb.

Human remains were discovered within 32 larnakes and two pithoi, as well as on the surface of the tomb (Figs. 213-214). The majority of the human remains were found in larnakes, with roughly 33 individuals discovered, representing both primary and secondary interments. Only two pithoi were discovered, both containing individual, primary interments. Surface depositions were common, with around 18 skulls discovered on the floor of the tomb, seven of which may have been within vessels and deposited on the surface during the roof collapse and the destruction of the vessels. The MNI for this layer was 54, and the number of primary and secondary interments was relatively evenly distributed. About 24 primary interments were discovered, 23 of which were found within vessels, while only one was discovered on the floor but may have been within a vessel. Roughly 30 secondary deposits of skulls were found – 12 in larnakes, 11 on the surface, and seven uncertain.

The distribution of primary and secondary interments and the use of both the surface and burial vessels for deposition suggests that, unlike the burial buildings, the entirety of Tholos E was used for the temporary and permanent deposition of human remains. The single space offered by the tholos meant that burials and secondary

deposition took place within one room, rather than multiple rooms with specific functions. The number of individual interments within vessels, with 12 individual primary burials within larnakes and two in pithoi, suggest that, unlike burial vessels found in burial buildings, larnakes and pithoi were frequently used for individual burials in Tholos E. In fact, the single primary and disturbed larnax burials in Tholos E account for 46% of the single primary and disturbed larnax interments in the cemetery. Three larnakes were found with two primary burials, and one was found with three burials. Secondary interments were also deposited within larnakes – one larnax held seven skulls, another four, and a third held a single skull. This distribution suggests that while the tholos space was used for multiple purposes, differentiation of burial types was not accomplished across various rooms, but through the use of burial vessels and surface spaces. The surface was mostly used for secondary deposition, while vessels were used for both primary and secondary deposition. Larnakes were also stacked on top of one another, suggesting that when floor space ran out, vessels were simply stacked upon other vessels to create more room for interments.

Although no physical anthropological studies have been conducted on the human remains from Tholos E, the excavators suggest that the small size of the one of the larnakes could indicate its use for a child burial. It is worth noting, however, that another slightly smaller larnax was also discovered in this layer, and it contained the secondary deposition of four skulls. This perhaps suggests that the larnax was originally intended for a child's primary burial and was subsequently used for secondary depositions. Alternatively, it could imply that the size of the larnax does not indicate its intended use.

The Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E held around 112 objects, 43 (38%) of which were ceramic vases, including 21 vessels and 22 cups (Figs. 215-218). The layer had several metal objects, including bronze needles and scrapers, as well as some rare objects, including a bronze seal ring and a silver bead. Two ivory seals and a seal of boar's tooth were also discovered along with several bone pendants. There was also a large number of carved stone objects, including obsidian lithics; grinding stones; several stone vessels of alabaster, steatite, and marble; a few stone seals, and some loose beads. There were also two complete, or nearly complete, necklaces. The first necklace was made up of 54 spherical beads – 49 beads of amethyst, three sard, one faience, and one steatite.[209] The second necklace was represented by 14 complete faience beads, with many fragments of faience nearby, likely indicating a larger necklace of more beads.

Both necklaces were found in a larnax (Larnax A20) with a single primary burial, representing a significant deposit of jewelry and the largest collection of imported beads in the cemetery. An obsidian blade and two bronze needles were also discovered in the larnax. While other pieces of jewelry were found in the Tholos, the placement of two complete necklaces with a single primary burial is otherwise unknown. It is likely that the necklaces remained intact because the remains received no secondary interaction before the tomb went out of use. Whether secondary interaction was intended but did not take place or the burial was purposefully left in a primary position is impossible to determine; however, it is important to note that the deposition of intact necklaces took place with a primary interment. These rare occurrences suggest that the small numbers of beads in the

[209] The combination of amethyst and sard beads is also known from an MM III-LM tomb at Poros. Sard and carnelian are found together and likely originate in Egypt. is found at Philips suggests that these beads originate in Egypt (J. Phillips 2009, 31).

tombs represent the depletion of beaded jewelry during the depletion of the skeletal remains, rather than the deposition of only a few beads at the time of primary burial.[210]

The Upper Burial Layer held 54 individuals and 112 objects (179 including all the beads), for an average of 2.07 objects per individual in the tomb. Although this was significantly fewer objects per person than that found in the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos E, it was one of the highest ratios among contemporary contexts. Only the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos Γ and the very few burials of this date from BB 3 have a similar ratio, with 2.30 and 2.33 objects per individual respectively. The larger ratio of objects to people may be related to the larger number of primary burials in larnakes. As most interments were depleted, moved, and/or redeposited, objects were also depleted and moved, leading to fewer objects per person. The large concentration of undisturbed primary burials in the Upper Burial Layer, which was uncommon in the cemetery of Phourni, likely accounts for the larger number of objects per person and the two complete necklaces.

Of the 179 total objects (122 MNO without beads from necklaces) 92 were made of imported materials (Fig. 219). Of the 92 imported objects, 51 were Egyptian imports and another 20 possibly came from Egypt, meaning that between 55% and 76% of the imported material in the Upper Burial Layer came from Egypt (Fig. 220).[211] The 49 amethyst beads from the first necklace certainly originated in Egypt, as it is the only

[210] For more on this comparison of beaded necklaces throughout the cemetery, see the section Similarity within Tombs in Chapter 6 and Figure 277.

[211] For more on the importation of Egyptian materials see (Papadatos 1999, 124–26; Ben-Tor 2006; Colburn 2008b, 206–16, 2011; J. S. Phillips 2008; J. Phillips 2009; Hickman 2011) and trade with the east see (Branigan 1973; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990; Manning 1994, 242–46; Broodbank 2000, 341–61; Watrous 2001a, 196–98, 2001b, 219–20; Bevan 2004; Cherry 2009; Déderix 2017).

known source of amethyst in this time period. The three sard beads on the same necklace could have come from Egypt or the Indus Valley, which is the only other known source of carnelian and sard. The two alabaster vessels (there were only four in the entire cemetery) were also certainly Egyptian imports. Finally, the 17 faience beads, and multiple faience bead fragments, could have been imported from Egypt, or were possibly manufactured locally on Crete. Even excluding the possible Egyptian imports (faience and sard), the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E contains by far the largest number of Egyptian imports in Phourni. The large concentration of Egyptian imports, as well as the variety of materials, suggests that the group utilizing the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E had greater access to Egyptian materials than the other groups utilizing the cemetery.

The Upper Burial Layer, in use from MM IA-IIB, was one of the latest contexts considered. Other Egyptian, or possibly Egyptian, objects tend to cluster in tombs of similar date, such as BB 19 (EM III/MM IA-MM II/IIB) and BB 7 (MM IA). Egyptian imports were not completely unattested in earlier burial contexts, but they were rare in assemblages dating to EM III or earlier. This increase in the deposition of Egyptian objects perhaps suggests the increased importation of Egyptian materials around MM IA at Archanes.

Like BB 18 and BB 19, the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E was used until MM II, offering an opportunity to consider chronological variation in burial practices. The large number of primary burials in the layer, in this case mostly associated with larnakes, may indicate that the vessels were used to organize the interments. Like the larger number of primary burials in the later layers of the other burial buildings, however, it may also indicate that burial practices changed in MM II. It seems likely that by the end

of the Protopalatial period, people interacted with the human remains less frequently and that there was an overall decline in visitation to the cemetery, foreshadowing the major break with the cemetery in LM IA.

THOLOS B

Date: MM IA – LM IIIA

Within the complicated and long-lived Tholos B complex (Fig. 221) were only two areas with preserved assemblages dating MM IA. During the LM IIIA period, one of the many alterations to the structure was the addition of a bench along the interior tholos wall, which covered the original entrance, and the raising of the floor level. Several MM IA objects, with associated human bones and teeth, were discovered here. Additionally, two burial layers were discovered in the northwest side room (Area 11), the lower of which is dated to MM IA based on several cups. The number of individuals is not reported in the final publication, but interments were found on the floor of the space along with several objects.

The fragmentary nature of the MM IA remains within Tholos B makes any interpretation impossible, but it is clear that during the earliest use of the building some interments were made in both the tholos area and in at least one of the annex rooms. Tholos B is the latest of the three tholoi considered here (Tholos A and Δ were added during the LM III periods), both in construction date and in use. Tholos Γ and Tholos E were built during the earliest use of the cemetery, in the EM IIA period, while Tholos B was added several hundred years later. Tholoi Γ and E went out of use in the MM IB/II periods while Tholos B remained in use until the LM III period. The MM IA structure of Tholos B is architecturally quite different as well, with a surrounding, rectangular annex.

Several objects were discovered in the area beneath the original entrance, including a gold band, stone vessels, an obsidian blade, and a couple ceramics vases. In the North Side Room (Area 11) was an ivory seal and a couple MM IA ceramic cups. Because the precise number of individuals is unknown (not in the final publication) it is impossible to determine the number of objects per person. The presence of gold and ivory suggest that the early use of Tholos B had a large number of imported objects.

Burial Building 22

Date: Unknown

BB 22 (Fig. 222) was too damaged for any burial analysis. Scatters of bones and teeth were discovered so it seems certain the that building was used for interment. Only 10 objects were discovered within BB 22 but this number is significant considering the disturbance to the tomb (Figs. 223-226). It was located within the Area of the Rocks and it seems likely that the material from the tomb and from the open area were mingled over many years of agricultural disturbance. Modern objects were also discovered in the tomb so it is clear that BB 22 is not a clean context. Included among the 10 ancient objects were a metal sheet fragments, two stone vessel fragments, an obsidian lithic, a stone object, a rhyton, and four ceramic vessel fragments. The presence of the metal and stone vessels suggest that the tomb was used much like the other tombs in the cemetery.

Conclusion

A granular approach to the analysis of a single Minoan cemetery that considers chronological changes and variations in the use of space within and among tombs provides a new way to study Minoan burial practices. This analysis of Archanes-Phourni offers a contextually grounded analysis of the interment methods and depositional

practices that are specific to each tomb. I also suggest alternative interpretations for the variability among the tomb assemblages, providing multiple possible explanations for the differences between contemporary deposits while accounting for disparities in preservation. With this approach, I document chronological changes within a single tomb space, highlighting the variability among layers in a room. These small-scale and contextual analyses of a single tomb, room, and burial vessel illuminate the spatial organization in a tomb and offer new data to support functional interpretations of the rooms and tombs. In the following chapter, I use this data for interpretations of the cemetery as a whole and examine variability at the site scale.

Several tombs at Archanes-Phourni span multiple chronological periods. Tholos Γ and Tholos E had the longest use-lives, including EM IIA and EM III-MM II, while BB 18 and BB 19 spanned EM III-MM II. These structures provide evidence of various approaches to object deposition, changing burial practices, and different relationships with the cemetery from the Prepalatial through the Protopalatial periods. Analyses of the types of burials in each layer indicate distinct interment methods over time and space. The following chapter provides analysis of the site as a whole, but this small-scale analysis indicates that while the tombs follow similar trends over time, each context presents a unique approach to these larger changes.

In the EM IIA period, burials and secondary treatments took place in communal tombs and interments were accompanied by large quantities of imports and metals, but the assemblages in the tombs indicate that one group deposited greater numbers of jewelry and weapons, and the other more seals and administrative objects. In EM III/MM IA Archanes-Phourni, several more groups with distinct identities were using the

cemetery. In this period, interments were organized and structured spatially, using multi-roomed burial buildings and newly introduced burial vessels. This spatial organization was shared throughout the cemetery but each tomb had a unique layout and interment method. The 14 burial contexts of this date indicate that burials were accompanied by similar numbers and types of objects, including fewer metals than EM IIA but greater numbers of colorful, imported stones. These depositional practices were shared throughout the community but close analysis of certain object types, mainly beaded necklaces and seals, indicates that the groups had their own identities. By MM II fewer groups and people were using the cemetery. The few tombs with MM II assemblages indicate that as the cemetery contracted, aspects of burial practice were also changing. Larger numbers of primary burials in this period suggest that there were fewer instances of secondary interaction. Each context, however, expresses a different mechanism for these changes. In BB 18, for example, rooms that had been used for secondary deposition were repurposed for primary burials, while in Tholos E, large numbers of larnakes were added to create more space for primary burials.

Close examination of the EM II-MM II tomb assemblages reveals that each context had a unique history, made up of innumerable events, and was used by distinctive groups belonging to a larger community with shared burial practices. Minoan interments did not follow strict guidelines for primary and secondary burials, nor were they haphazard, with earlier human remains pushed aside to make room for new burials. Spatial analysis of the rooms and vessels indicates that interments were often organized and structured, utilizing rooms and burial vessels to organize the human remains at various stages. Even within single contexts these practices were still quite variable,

however, and the spatial organization of each tomb was different. In many burial buildings, some rooms were used for primary burials while others were used for secondary depositions. Some spaces were intended only for secondary interments, like BB 19 and the Area of the Rocks, but their functions changed over time as the needs of cemetery changed. The introduction of burial vessels, contemporary with the construction of multi-room burial buildings, also reflect the desire for organizing primary burials and secondary interments. In EM III/MM IA, larnakes and pithoi are used similarly to the surface of the tombs, holding single and multiple interments, as well as primary and secondary deposits, suggesting that they were not intended to be used by a single individual but were introduced in order to structure the depositions and provide more burial space. As Tholos E became crowded, for example, larnakes were stacked on top of one another, creating more burial spaces as needed.

While scholars have regularly noted myriad secondary treatments and consistent interactions with human remains, the quantitative approach used here provides a method for analyzing the types and frequency of depositional instances that created various assemblages. This system of investigation provides a numerical range for the events leading to that deposit, illuminating the frequency and intensity of Minoan interactions with the dead, at all stages of interment and from recently deceased to completely decayed. The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods indicate that objects and human remains were deposited, depleted, moved, and reinterred over multiple generations. During periods of intensive cemetery use and frequent interactions, such as EM III/MM IA, these practices maintained relationships with the dead, while periods of

declining use and infrequent interaction, like MM II, suggest that the living had less need of these interactions and the community rituals that took place in the cemetery.

> Surprisingly, only a few anthropologists have addressed themselves to a consideration of the nature and causes of variation in mortuary activity. – Binford (1972, 388)

CHAPTER 6: CEMETERY ANALYSIS

The previous chapter offered a contextual analysis of each burial space in Archanes-Phourni dating from EM II-MM II and provided the data for an intra-site study of the cemetery. In this chapter I compare tomb assemblages of similar chronological date, track changes in burial practice and object deposition over time, and consider the various burial functions of the tombs across the cemetery. I also explore similarity and variability among the tombs and offer interpretations of shared burial practices and tomb-specific interment methods. A reanalysis of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery that considers broad chronological and spatial trends in the burial practices is possible using simple methods of Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) and in-depth qualitative analysis. Graphic representations of tomb assemblages indicate patterns or emphasize points of similarity or variation that might otherwise be missed. I use these data to explicitly call into question long-held and pervasive ideas about Minoan burial practices and offer alternative interpretations for the variability in the tomb assemblages.

Examination of the chronological and spatial distribution of certain materials, such as gold, that are often suggested as metrics for the wealth and status of those interred or those interring, reveals that the deposition of such materials was inconsistent and therefore not a reliable metric for social status. Tomb size and numbers of objects are also often used as proxies for evaluating status, but my analyses indicate that there is very

little correlation between these variables, while there is a very strong correlation between numbers of objects and numbers of individuals. Based on this data, I argue that people were buried with comparable numbers of objects and that these were similarly moved, depleted, and redeposited with secondary interments. I also reconsider the pervasive association between burial vessels and the importance of the individual. Quantitative evaluation of the vessel assemblages reveals that larnakes and burial pithoi were used for primary and secondary interments and held up to 10 individuals. I suggest that burial vessels do not signify a break with traditional communal burials, but were used to create more space for interments and to organize human remains.

A close examination of the assemblage data reveals site-wide trends, including changes in burial practice over time and distinct spatial organizations and object depositions for each tomb. While some aspects of Minoan burial practices were consistent over time and space, others indicate diverse group approaches to interment. With contextual analysis of the data from the long-term and well-dated tombs at Archanes-Phourni, I illustrate that the function of burial structures changed over time from one-room spaces, in which all stages of interment took place, to multi-room buildings that served to organize and separate human remains. The contraction of the cemetery, beginning in MM II, is accompanied by fewer instances of secondary interaction, which I argue suggests a diminished relationship with ancestral tombs.

I consider several aspects of the data from these tombs to analyze variability among the burial contexts in the Phourni cemetery. Analysis of the human remains reveals that the vast majority of the more than 1400 interments were secondary deposits, suggesting that a mortuary practice involving primary burial and secondary deposition

was shared throughout the cemetery. Spatial analysis of the tombs indicates that some tombs were used as ossuaries while others were used by kinship groups for all aspects of interments. These groups organized the remains and structured the burials differently, with some rooms functioning for primary burials and others holding secondary remains. The assemblages also indicate that burials were consistently given comparable numbers and types of objects but qualitative analysis of the details of these objects illuminate intra-tomb similarity and inter-tomb dissimilarity, suggesting that some objects were specific to the groups using the tombs. I suggest that the cemetery was a space for rituals that emphasized community cohesion while tombs stressed kinship bonds, but that the relationships between groups and between the community and the cemetery were subject to change.

Chronological Comparisons

Early Tombs

Figures: 245-264

Tholos Γ and Tholos E were two of the earliest tombs in the cemetery (Fig. 5), constructed in EM IIA. These tombs have a lot in common and much of their similarity is likely related to their contemporary construction and use. Most obvious, is their shared round plan and roughly similar size (Figs. 16-23). The exterior area of both tombs is remarkably similar – Tholos Γ is less than one square meter larger than Tholos E – but the interior space of Tholos E is larger by roughly 5m. Tholos Γ is also equipped with a dromos which Tholos E lacks. Although only one interment remained in the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ, it appears that both tombs were used for primary burial and secondary interaction with human remains during the EM IIA period (Figs. 227-228).

The secondary interaction and ultimate interment likely involved depletion based on the predominance of skulls in Tholos E.

The assemblages of the two tholoi also share some attributes (Figs. 229-235). Both hold large quantities of lithics and jewelry, including many bone pendants, and attest to burials accompanied by large numbers of objects. Cycladic marble objects are another shared aspect of the assemblages in these tholoi. The similarity in the tomb structures, burial practices, and certain elements of the object assemblages are likely reflective of a shared approach to death and interment in the EM IIA period at Archanes.

Other aspects of the assemblages, however, indicate some variation among the two groups using the tholoi in the earliest period at the cemetery. It is possible that this variation is related to the later clearance of tomb, but it seems more likely that the differences between the assemblages are related to the original interments. Variation occurs both in the amounts and types of objects interred (Fig. 236). According to Legarra Herrero, the contemporary use of these tombs and their differing assemblages indicate two social groups of relatively similar size living in the same community but of differing social status, as indicated by the volume of imported material in Tholos Γ relative to Tholos E (Legarra Herrero 2014, 72–73). While this discrepancy is visible using both quantitative and qualitative methods, an analysis considering all aspects of the assemblages, not only the imports, indicates the need for a more nuanced perspective regarding the social structure of EM IIA Archanes.

Tholos Γ holds significantly more material, which could be attributable to a larger number of individuals interred but the clearance of the tomb makes such an analysis impossible. It also held significantly more imports, with 73% of the objects made from

imported materials, as opposed to the 31% in Tholos E. Tholos Γ also had many more metal objects, including gold, silver, and bronze. Tholos Γ's imported material included Cycladic figurines and metal objects perhaps indicating differential access to Cycladic imports and a group identity aligned with the display of jewelry and weapons. Tholos E had some gold and bronze but in much smaller quantities. Both tombs had large numbers of bone pendants, and significant amounts of jewelry but Tholos Γ contained a wider variety of materials, as well as an elaborate beaded necklace with unique gold, tubular beads. Tholos E, on the other hand, had two bronze rings and a much larger quantity of seals. Tholos E could be considered poorer in many ways but the much larger number of seals and bronze rings suggests that while the group may not have had the same access to imported materials, they were involved with more administrative activities. While the variation in these tomb assemblages could be attributable only to differential wealth and disparate social statuses, it is likely that a multitude of identities are present and visible in these assemblages.

Both tombs went out of use at the end of the EM IIA or beginning of EM IIB and these earlier remains were later partially cleared. Consistent with other parts of the island, including the Mesara and other cemeteries in north-central Crete, there is a break in cemetery use in EM IIB (Legarra Herrero 2014, 73). The small amount of EM IIB pottery discovered in the Area Between BB 18 and BB 19 is the only material of that date in the cemetery, perhaps suggesting some small-scale use of the cemetery during the period, which is distinct from the earlier and later periods attested at Phourni. Some of the material from Tholos Γ was interred in the South Section of the Area of the Rocks, where significant numbers of similar, identical, or uniting objects were discovered. It seems

likely that the material from Tholos E was also deposited in the Area of the Rocks, likely also in the South Section or in the South-Central Section, and perhaps also in the Area Between BB 18 and BB 19, which held similar types of material, including EM IIA and IIB pottery. Both tombs were reused in EM III/MM IA for Tholos Γ and MM IA for Tholos E, at the same time as large-scale building took place within the cemetery.

The Upper Burial Layers in these tholoi attest to different burial practices. They both made use of burial vases, such as larnakes and pithoi, as well as surface interments, but the function of the spaces appears to be slightly different. The burial remains in Tholos E suggest that the space was used for both the temporary placement of primary burials, mostly in larnakes, and the permanent interment of secondary human remains, found both in larnakes and on the surface. Tholos Γ, on the other hand, is categorized by mostly secondary interments. Furthermore, the assemblages in the tombs at this later date suggest different groups were using the tombs. Tholos E has many more imports, mostly Egyptian, while Tholos Γ, had mostly local objects.

Other spaces in the cemetery attest to early use, but none are as well preserved as Tholos E and Tholos Γ. The Area of the Rocks, and the Area Between BB 18 and BB 19, were used for the secondary deposition of material from these tombs. Poorly preserved remains of other early structures have also been found below some of the later tombs, including BB 25 found below BB 5, BB 26 found below BB 8, and possibly BB 24, found beneath BB 18. While these scattered remains cannot provide significant information about the use of cemetery outside of the more well-known buildings, they do attest to a significantly larger EM II presence at the cemetery than might be immediately obvious. These structures suggest that, unlike the cemeteries in the Mesara made up of

one to three tholos tombs, there was a mix of circular tholoi and rectangular burial buildings in the EM II period at Phourni. At the same time that the tholos tombs were being cleared and reused, new rectangular buildings were being placed on top of the earlier burial buildings. It is unclear why the tholoi were reused while the rectangular burial buildings were rebuilt, but we can speculate that either the structures were in better condition for reuse or that the large circular tombs were more desirable than the earlier rectangular burial buildings.

Later Tombs

Built Space

The EM III/MM IA (Fig. 6) period at Archanes-Phourni attests to widespread tomb construction and intensive use, perhaps indicating large-scale population growth in the community using the cemetery. The chronological spans of the tombs and the ongoing debate over the identification of EM III and MM IA pottery make it difficult to distinguish the dates of many structures in Phourni, but it is clear that construction began in EM III and that the cemetery reached its greatest extent in MM I (Legarra Herrero 2014, 73). This period also marks the introduction of large, multi-room burial buildings, sometimes used differentially for various aspects and stages of burial practices. One other major change occurring in EM III/MM IA is the introduction of burial vases such as larnakes and pithoi. Interment practices follow the same general form of primary burials followed by secondary interactions and depositions but there are noticeable changes in the use of space and the numbers and types of objects accompanying the interments. Pavement has been noted between several buildings, including the Area Between BB 6 and Tholos B, and continuing to the south, around BB 12 (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-

Sakellaraki 1997, 202–5). This pavement combined with the discovery of large numbers of drinking vessels and other objects, mostly near BB 6, indicates that exterior space, outside the tombs, was also consistently used, possibly for burial rituals or other religious activities taking place in the cemetery.

The earlier tholoi were reused and with the exception of Tholos B, which was possibly added in MM I, the tombs constructed in the Phourni cemetery were all rectangular. Tombs built at this time, in order of best known construction date, are BB 13, BB 5, BB 12, BB 6, BB 18, BB 19, BB 23, BB 8 and the Area Between BB 8 and BB 9, BB 3, BB 7, BB 16, and BB 9. BB 26 is of unknown date and contain little or no material. The excavators have suggested that the new burial buildings were built initially to be used as ossuaries for the redeposition of earlier material and were only later repurposed for use as tombs, for the primary and secondary deposition of human remains (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 238). The number of new buildings, as Legarra Herrero points out, makes this interpretation unlikely (Legarra Herrero 2014, 75) and with some possible exceptions discussed below, it is more likely that most of the structures were built to function as tombs. A further analysis of the interments in these buildings indicates that many of the tombs functioned as closed units, with primary burial, secondary interaction and deposition occurring within the same tomb.

A differential use of space is present at every scale throughout the entirety of the EM III-MM II cemetery. At the smallest scale, burial vessels, which had multiple functions, could be used to separate primary and secondary interments. Rooms in tombs also attests to a differential use of space with some areas used for primary burials, others for secondary interments, and still others represent completely mixed deposits. Finally,

several tombs and areas in the cemetery appear to have functioned, at least at some point in their use-lives, as ossuaries, containing all or mostly secondary deposits that appear to have originated elsewhere in the cemetery.

Larnakes and Other Burial Vases

One of the major innovations of EM III/MM IA burial practice is the introduction of burial vases – mainly larnakes but also burial pithoi and other burial vessels. The appearance and use of larnakes have been interpreted as significant for the construction and maintenance of social structure around the time of the appearance of the first palaces. It has long been assumed and reported that larnakes and pithoi held single burials and, therefore, mark an important change in burial practice from fully communal burial to a method that emphasized the individual. This interpretation is often used to support claims of a growing hierarchy and need to express status before and during the construction of the early palaces (Glotz 1925, 131–37; Pini 1968, 34; Tsipopoulou 2008; Mee 2010). More recently, scholars have pointed out that larnakes do not only contain single inhumations and therefore cannot be used to support claims of the increased importance of the individual and the rise of a hierarchical social structure (Legarra Herrero 2014, 11, 15). There has been no attempt, however, of a systematic study of the use of larnakes and other burial vases within a cemetery of this date. A quantitative analysis of the burial remains within larnakes, pithoi, and other burial vessels indicates a much more complex and varied use of burial vases than has previously been understood. The use of Exploratory Data Analysis to address simple questions regarding the number of individuals interred in a burial vase and the burial status of those individuals, whether

primary, disturbed, or secondary, indicates a more nuanced function for these larnakes and pithoi.[212]

Larnakes are used for primary burials and secondary interments, as well as some disturbed primary burials suggesting that while the introduction of burial vases into Minoan interment practice marks a significant change, larnakes and pithoi are used much like the surface of the tombs for all aspects of interment – from primary to secondary. Some larnakes also have mixed interments including some primary and some secondary. This suggests that they were used first for one purpose and then for another. Often their original remains were cleared, the primary burial within the larnax was depleting, or another interment was simply depositing on top of an earlier one. There are also several well-preserved larnakes and one burial pithos that were found empty. This indicates that some burial vases were perhaps placed in the tomb empty for later use, as opposed to functioning like a modern coffin where the individual is placed in the coffin and then into the tomb. Alternatively, primary burials were completely removed from the burial vases at some point during the process, not to make room for another interment, in which case we would expect to find all the burial vases occupied, but for other, perhaps ritual reasons.

[212] This analysis will concentrate on larnakes as there is a larger sample size and they have received greater attention in the scholarship. Pithoi are mentioned only where they differ from larnakes or offer an alternative interpretation for the use of burial vases. Burial vessels, most often spouted jars, are mentioned here but do not follow the same patterns. While there is a much smaller sample size for burial vessels, they also appear to mostly be used for interment of infants and children, though much of this is unconfirmed with osteological study. Like larnakes and pithoi, burial vessels hold both primary and secondary deposits but they have a much higher percentage of single interments, although instances of multiple interments are not unknown. This difference in assemblage suggests that burial vessels had a slightly different function than larnakes and pithoi in the Phourni cemetery.

There are at least 83 larnakes with known assemblages and a minimum number of 170 interments in larnakes. As five of the known larnakes are empty, all 169 larnax interments are found in 78 larnakes. Of these 78 larnakes, 39 hold single interments and 39 hold multiple interments, suggesting that larnakes at Phourni functioned equally as a space for individual interment and communal burial (Fig. 237). Pithoi also contain both single and multiple interments, though there is both a smaller number of burial pithoi, only 20 pithoi with reported assemblages, and a slightly greater percentage of single individuals than multiple interments. The number of individuals, both primary and secondary, found in burial vases reveals that they were used for several types of interments (Fig. 238). Larnakes in the tombs of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery hold between zero and 10 individuals (Fig. 239).[213] The number of primary burials in a single larnax does not exceed three and there are fewer instances of three primary burials than two, and fewer instances of two primary burials than one. Similarly, disturbed burials are only found in numbers between one and three in a single larnax. Secondary larnax interments have a greater range and can be found as single interments or up to groups of 10. As the number of interments within a single larnax increases, the number of instances decreases. This is a consistent pattern with one exception. There are slightly more larnakes with four secondary interments than there are with three. There is one example each for six, seven, eight, and 10 secondary interments in a single larnax. Furthermore, there are multiple instances of mixed interments in larnakes and these are found with between two and five individuals in a single larnax.

[213] For pithos and vessel interments see Figures 240-241.

While the introduction of larnakes and other burial vases indicates some change in Minoan burial practice, they do not show a firm break with tradition or a new emphasis on the individual. Instead, burial vases seem to function much like the surface of the tomb, holding a range of interments and multiple individuals, effectively serving only to increase the amount of space in the tomb. Rather than wholesale change, traditional burial methods involving primary burial followed by sustained and iterative secondary interactions were maintained. Such an analysis makes it clear that larnakes were never intended to be sealed after a single primary burial but instead functioned like small versions of Minoan tombs, receiving primary burials, acting as a space for continued interaction with the dead through multiple secondary treatments, and functioning as an ossuary for the repository of multiple secondary remains.

Burial vessels appeared at Archanes-Phourni at the same time that several, multi-room burial buildings were constructed in EM III/MM IA. Spatial analysis of the interments within various rooms of the burial buildings, indicates that depositions were structured and organized with some used for primary burials and others for secondary human remains. The use of larnakes, pithoi, and other burial vessels mimics this organization structure, with some used for larger numbers of secondary depositions and others used for fewer primary burials, and only a few containing a mix of interments. The construction of multi-room buildings and the introduction of burials vessels at this time, suggest that both of these innovations were intended to maintain the traditional pattern of Minoan funerary practice, but add a spatial organization for the human remains and create different spaces for interment stages. Group cohesion is maintained with the use of

a shared building, but older and newer interments could be kept separate by using rooms and vessels.

MM II Contraction

In MM II (Fig. 7), during the Protopalatial period, several tombs went out of use, leaving only six functioning burial structures – Tholos Γ, Tholos E, BB 18, and BB 19, as well as BB 3 and the Tholos B complex, the two largest structures in the cemetery. The use of fewer burial structures suggests that there were fewer groups and people using the Phourni cemetery. In addition to the physical contraction in the use of the cemetery, the evidence from the MM II contexts indicates that burial practices were also changing to include fewer interactive events after primary burial. Greater numbers of undisturbed primary burials were discovered in the upper layers of Tholos E, BB 19, and especially BB 18. It is also clear that several of the rooms in BB 18 (Rooms 1, 5, and 9) were repurposed to create more space for primary interments in this later period. The earlier layers in these rooms indicate their function for secondary depositions, while the upper layers attest to larger numbers of primary burials that never received secondary treatment. Despite the preservation of these burials they are associated with fewer objects than in previous periods, suggesting fewer objects were deposited during the primary interments and, perhaps, that these objects were intended to remain with the individual. The contraction in tomb use, infrequent secondary interactions with human remains, and fewer burial gifts indicate a declining connection with ancestral tombs and diminished need of the cemetery as a community space.

LM Changes

By the end of the Protopalatial period the cemetery contracted dramatically (Fig. 2). Two of the larger buildings in the cemetery, BB 3 and Tholos B, remained in use, and a few other buildings were constructed, including Building 4, which was not used for interment but for other activities taking place at the cemetery. Building 4 appears to have been used for the storage of material used in cemetery rituals and for the preparation of cemetery rituals. The surprising lack of LM burials is a noted phenomenon throughout Crete (Younger and Rehak 2008; Hatzaki 2012, 309–10), and the attenuated use of Archanes-Phourni cemetery is therefore in keeping with this island-wide trend. The effect on the Phourni cemetery, however, is unique. Most of the burial structures discussed here went out of use and several of the roofs collapsed, sealing the earlier deposits. Tholos Beta and BB 3, both used into the LM period, were two of the largest tombs and tombs with two stories, perhaps making them more attractive for LM use.

The construction of Building 4 suggests that aspects of burial practice and cemetery ritual were removed from earlier parts of the cemetery and from the tombs themselves, and relocated in separate, purpose-built structures (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 223–31). This relocation alongside the contraction in use and the selective use of the largest structures indicates a substantial change in community burial practice and perhaps community-wide use of the cemetery. It is possible that other areas were used for the majority of interments and only certain groups continued to use the cemetery. It is also possible that community of Archanes had become smaller, although the construction and use of the so-called Palace might suggest otherwise.

The use of the cemetery continued at this pace until the LM III period, associated with the Mycenaeanization of the island, when new tholos tombs, consistent with

Mycenaean type tholoi – Tholos A and Tholos Δ – were built in the cemetery. The interments found in these later tombs reflect a drastically different, and much more Mycenaean, burial practice. This practice is characterized by single interments, accompanied by large amounts of material, including gold and blue glass, as well as animal sacrifices.

Chronological Changes

Tomb Construction

While Archanes-Phourni is often cited for the combination of architecturally distinct tomb styles – tholoi and rectangular burial buildings – it is important to note that while these various tomb styles were in use at the same time (in the later use of the cemetery in EM III/MM IA) they were not constructed at the same time, and there is a gap of ca. 200 years between the building dates of the earliest tholoi, and the later, mostly rectangular structures of the later periods. It seems that some rectangular structures were constructed around the same time as the early tholoi but these are very poorly preserved. The only tholos tomb built for later use of the cemetery, in MM IA, was Tholos B. This large and elaborate tomb is in some ways the exception that proves the rule. The large circular tholos of tomb B is surrounded by a large and complicated rectangular structure and included a second story, completely obscuring the round structure inside. It seems that the tholos was constructed first but was quickly altered to include the rectangular structure. The predominance of rectangular structures is, therefore, one change that occurred in the EM III/MM IA.

BB 19, constructed in EM III/MM IA, is one oddity of the cemetery. Its roughly square exterior, apsidal interior, and partial corbelled vaulting are unlike any other

structure in the cemetery and is unique on Crete. BB 19 is also the smallest structure in Phourni. Although it was constructed around the same time as the rectangular buildings, the physical properties of the tomb suggest some variation in the intention of the building, perhaps related to a different function. Structurally, BB 19 is more related to the tholoi as it provides a single space for interment, rather than multiple spaces with various functions for burial stages. The high percentage of secondary surface interments in the Lower Burial Layer, contemporary with the construction of the tomb, in addition to the size and uniqueness of the structure possibly suggests that the tomb was built as a repository for secondary interments from other parts of the cemetery. This function is distinct from the tholoi which were used for primary and secondary interments and the rectangular burial buildings with rooms that had various functions, including primary burials and secondary interments. The Upper Burial Layer held a higher percentage of primary burials and also indicates the use of burial vessels, suggesting a change in function for the tomb.

Object Deposition

Chronological changes in the object assemblages found in the tombs also suggest substantive changes in object deposition, possibly related to changes in access to materials or in attitudes toward the deposition of objects with burials, or, more likely, some combination of these (Figs. 229-235). Large trends, noticeable in visual, quantitative representations of the material are related to both the predominance of materials and numbers of objects.

Early tombs at Phourni, including the Lower Burial Layers of Tholos E and Tholos Γ, and the southern sections of the Area of the Rocks have significantly more

metals, especially gold, than the later tombs (Fig. 242). Metals are present in most tombs in use between EM IIA and MM II but more than 50% of the metals were found in the three early contexts, as compared to the 15 later tombs with metals present (Fig. 243). Gold was present in fewer tombs but the majority, 13 of the 22 contexts studied, did have some gold (Fig. 244). Again, the early tombs had by far the most gold. Roughly 63% of the gold was discovered in the three early burial contexts (Fig. 245). Gold is present in most tombs of all chronological periods, suggesting that the practice of depositing gold continued from the earliest burials through the later periods but a substantial change, either in access to gold or in the depositional practice, took place between the earlier use of the tomb and the EM III-MM II use. While it is likely that both access and practice contributed to the change, the presence of small amounts of gold in later burial contexts seems indicative of a change in depositional practice which included far less reusable materials and wealth, such as metals.

While lithics, mainly obsidian, are also found in most burial contexts, 19 of 22, the earlier tombs average larger numbers of obsidian deposits (Figs. 233-234). Even excluding the massive number of obsidian objects discovered in the Area of the Rocks, the early contexts have significantly more obsidian, averaging 24 objects per tomb (39.33 excluding the poorly preserved contexts of BB 24 and BB 25), while the later tombs average 14.94 (17 excluding poorly preserved contexts like BB 3 and BB 22).

While the later tombs have significantly less gold and other metals, they have significantly greater numbers and varieties of personal objects, such as seals (Fig. 236 and 246). In a similar but reversed distribution pattern as the metals, seals were found in most burial contexts, 18 of 22, but far more seals were deposited in the later tombs than

in the earlier contexts, with roughly 83% of the seals found in later contexts. Although much of this is attributable to the greater number of later tombs, the average number of seals in these contexts also reflects the deposition of more seals in the later contexts with an average of 7.38 seals per tomb in later contexts compared with 3.8 per tomb in the earlier ones.

A major shift in the types and origins of imported materials also took place between the earlier and later use of the cemetery (Figs. 247-250). As stated above, the early tombs contain more obsidian and metals, especially gold, all of which are imported. They also contain other imported materials, such as ivory and marble. While the origins of the gold and the ivory are unclear (possibly the Cyclades or Anatolia for the gold), the silver, marble, and obsidian are clearly imported from the Cyclades. The average number of Cycladic imports in early burial contexts (Fig. 251), excluding the large amounts from the Area of the Rocks, is 28.6 (47 excluding the poorly preserved contexts of BB 24 and BB 25), while the later tomb contexts average only 15.44 imports (17.57 excluding poorly preserved contexts like BB 3 and BB 22). Although Cycladic imports continue to be imported in the later periods, especially obsidian, the import of marble and marble objects like Cycladic figurines and marble vessels vastly decreased after the EM IIA period. It also seems likely that the import of obsidian slowed and that much of the obsidian found in the later interment contexts is from earlier periods, representing either heirlooms or simply objects found in the cemetery.

The decline of imported material and objects from the Cyclades is also associated with the increase in Egyptian imports, such as amethyst and alabaster, and quite likely

sard (or carnelian) and possibly faience.[214] There are no imports of firmly Egyptian origin discovered in the earlier contexts, although it is possible that the gold and ivory came from Egypt, it is more likely that it originated north of Syria. The three amethyst beads found in the Area of the Rocks come from the North Section, which is associated with the reinterment of material from the later tombs located in the northern part of the cemetery and are therefore out of phase with the earlier South Section and Central Sections. The later tombs have large amounts of Egyptian material, mostly semi-precious stones that were used for beads and other jewelry items, and alabaster used for vessels. While Egyptian items were never the dominant material found in the tombs, the significant numbers suggest that Egyptian materials and objects were regularly imported and deposited in the Phourni cemetery. Synchronous variation in the deposition of Egyptian objects is also visible among the tombs, and is detailed in the above section on the tomb contents. No Egyptian imports were found in the earlier contexts but 131 objects (134 including the three amethyst beads from the North Section of the Area of the Rocks) were found in the later tombs, with an average of 8.19 objects per tomb (9.36 excluding poorly preserved contexts like BB 3 and BB 22).

While it is unclear if the sard came from Egypt or from Indus Valley, famous for its carnelian and sard, it is most likely that the sard found in the Phourni cemetery originated in Egypt. Sard is found most often in contexts with other Egyptian imports

[214] It is unclear whether faience of this early period is imported from Egypt or was created on Crete. There is some evidence to support both origins and it is possible that both were taking place. The technology is certainly Egyptian and the discovery of faience objects in assemblages also containing known Egyptian imports like amethyst, may suggest the faience in the Phourni cemetery was imported rather than locally manufactured. For more on Egyptian imports see (J. S. Phillips 1991, 2008; J. Phillips 2009; Colburn 2011).

suggesting some association and perhaps a shared origin. One necklace from the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E was made of a several graduated, cylindrical beads of amethyst and a few of sard (as well as one faience and one steatite bead). The use of both amethyst and sard on the necklace suggests a shared origin. The graduated beads were clearly created together and intended for this necklace, suggesting that they were manufactured in Egypt, imported to Crete, and deposited together as a single necklace. Faience beads, which could be an Egyptian import or a local product, were similarly discovered in contexts with other Egyptian materials, suggesting that they could be imported as well. The discovered of two faience scarabs also indicates that faience objects of Egyptian manufacture were imported to Crete and deposited in the Phourni cemetery.

A chronological examination of the cemetery and specifically the tomb assemblages, clearly indicates a substantive change in the origin of imported materials likely related to changing trade routes, but also likely related to group dynamics on Crete and further afield. It seems likely that power shifts in the Aegean and the Mediterranean affected the importation and trade practices of those living at Archanes, with a dynamic that moved from looking to the north and the sea-traders of the Cyclades for materials, to the south or east with incoming material from Egypt, either directly or through Levantine traders.

This shift also reflects a change in taste and preference. Throughout the use of the Phourni cemetery, jewelry and small personal items like seals were consistently deposited in tombs. The types of jewelry discovered in tombs, however, are more variable. Early jewelry is made up of mostly gold beads, as well as pendants of ivory, bone, and soft stones. Gold beads and pendants are known in later contexts but there are many fewer

pieces of metal jewelry. Stone jewelry is instead much more prevalent, with seals and beads created from local soft stones like steatite, or hard stones such as local rock crystal or imported hard stones. The influx of Egyptian imports is correlated with the increased depositions of stone jewelry.

Finally, this chronological change is directly related to a change in interment practice. Early assemblages are characterized by large deposits of metals, in the form of gold and silver jewelry, as well as metal weapons. Although the clearance of early assemblages makes it difficult to quantify the numbers of objects per interment, the large amount of material found in cleared contexts implies a large ratio of objects to individuals, suggesting that EM IIA burials were accompanied by large quantities of objects and reusable wealth in the form of metals. A drastic shift is seen in the interments of the later periods. These EM III-MM II burials are associated with smaller numbers of objects and with the deposition of seals and small amounts of jewelry made of local or imported stone beads and pendants. Although there is no substantive change in interment practice, as tombs of both periods are associated with primary burials and secondary interments, it seems that later burials were accompanied by different objects. Jewelry and imported materials are common to both eras, but later burials were interred with small numbers of carved beads in unique shapes and combinations.

It seems clear from other evidence around Crete that metals did not cease to be imported and that objects of bronze and other metals only increased with the appearance of the palaces. This does not correlate, however, with the deposition of metals in tombs. It is clear from the presence of metals in later tombs that metal was both available and occasionally used to accompany burials, but that burial practice was no longer associated

with the large-scale deposition of reusable and valuable materials like bronze and gold. Variation among the tombs of similar and overlapping dates also suggests that group identity and perhaps personal style were also relevant for the choice of deposited materials and objects. Later assemblages suggest that while the practice of physically interring human remains was consistent in many ways, the approach to object interment had changed so that small items were deposited instead.

It should also be noted that while there is a substantial break between the earlier and later use of the cemetery, the clearance of the earlier tholoi, the deposition of material in the Area of the Rocks, and the reuse of the tombs all indicate that the Minoans interring in the later EM III and MM periods were fully aware of the types of objects and materials deposited by the earlier groups using the cemetery. While they cleared the tombs for practical reasons, such as leveling the floors for burial vases, there was no systematic attempt to differentiate themselves from the earlier groups or to remove any specific types of objects, either related to a change in practice or to reuse the metals found in the earlier layers. While they could have carefully gathered the remains of earlier gold and bronze objects for redeposition or for reuse, they chose to reinter them or to leave them. They did not seemingly desire the gold for their own interments or feel the need to clear all tombs of the gold, but rather to continue interring on top of these remains, burying their dead with different types of objects.

A thorough engagement with alternative approaches to value and time are essential for understanding these contexts. Time here is not completely linear. There is a scaled and cyclical approach to time that involves continuing practices and newly introduced materials that is both related to earlier practices and indicative of something

completely new. They continued with long traditions, reused tombs, and built new structures over the tops of older ones. The time-scales within the cemetery and within the tombs indicate a *moyenne durée* social practice of interment and individual instances or *événements* that are distinct but engage with the past. Without a specific consideration of time and various time scales within these tombs, we run the risk of collapsing these instances of shared and changing practices into homogenized images of a single group of people, beginning and ending at some predetermined time.

Similarly, an alternative approach to value is imperative for understanding these tomb assemblages. Value is often assigned to materials like gold and from there, assumptions regarding wealth, status, and social structure are made. If one used gold as a proxy for overall wealth and status of the individuals and groups at Phourni, it would seem that the EM IIA people interring here were wealthy, high status, and part of a hierarchical system, while the later inhabitants using the cemetery were poorer, of lower social status, and part of a more egalitarian society, based on the equal distribution of small amounts of metals. It is clear, however, that the EM III – MM II periods were associated with increased trade networks, greater access to metals, and the construction of large, centralized structures or palaces. Such a simplistic assignment of modern concepts of value is also completely at odds with the archaeological remains in the Phourni cemetery. The maximizing individual model does not fit with a group of Minoans that had direct access to gold and other valuable metals while clearing earlier tombs. While it is possible that some of the gold and metals were removed and repurposed, large numbers of beads and weapons were reinterred or retained in the tombs rather than systematically gathered and reused. This does not suggest that gold was not valuable but that the Minoan

valuation of gold does not fit with modern concepts of value or the maximizing individual. A close examination of the temporality of assemblages, and a consideration of Minoan attitudes to metals and imported stones reveals changing practices and approaches to object interment, rather than a movement toward or away from hierarchical models and status based on access and deposition of metals.

Burials and Interments

Interment Status

Most tombs in the Archanes-Phourni cemetery held both primary burials and secondary interments but the majority of the human remains were discovered in secondary positions (Figs. 227 and 252). The MNI for all of the EM IIA-MM II burial contexts is 1436 and 1068 were secondary. Secondary remains account for 74% of the skeletal material in the cemetery and primary burials represent 18% (Fig. 253). There are also 46 disturbed burials and 60 unspecified interments. As described above, Minoan burial practice is a multi-stage, variable, and sustained practice involving primary burial followed by one or more secondary interactions with the skeletal remains. These interactions may involve slight alterations to skeletal arrangement, depleting the skeleton, or moving some bones, usually the skull and long bones, for reinterment, either to another space in the same tomb or outside of the tomb into an open space or perhaps to another building. This practice and the long-use of the cemetery serve to explain the vast number of secondary interments found at Phourni in comparison with primary burials.

Interment Types

While a variety of interment types were used in the cemetery (Fig. 254), including surface depositions, and interments in burial vases like larnakes, pithoi, and other vessels,

most of the human remains were discovered on the surface of the tombs. Of the 1436 individuals, 817 were found on the surface, which accounts for 57% of depositions. Larnakes were the most common burial vases used, and 12% of the individuals in the cemetery were found in larnakes, with 4% in pithoi, and 3% in other vessels used for burials. Another 23% of the human remains were not specified in the publications, and it is unclear how they were interred. Unlike many other interment methods found throughout the world, Minoan burial practice does not often involve the deposition of human remains below the ground level. There are only a few instances where skeletal material was placed below the surface. At Phourni, below ground interments were found in the fissures of the Area of the Rocks and in a single pit, found in BB 9, and these account for 2% of human remains in the cemetery.

Interment Status and Type

As one might expect from the high proportion of human remains in secondary positions and the large number of interments on the surface, secondary surface interments is the largest category, at 42% (Fig. 255). There is also a large proportion of secondary interments that are of unspecified types, at 272, which is 19%. There are 99 total secondary interments in larnakes, making up 7% of the total cemetery interments, and secondary interments in pits and fissures, pithoi, and other burial vessels are between 1 and 3%. Most of the primary burials were on the surface of the tombs, accounting for 8% of the total interments, and 65, 5%, were found in larnakes (Fig. 256). Primary burials of unspecified types are at 4%, while pithos and vessel primary burials are each 1% of the total individuals interred at the cemetery.

Although the use of larnakes (Fig. 238) is often associated with individual burials, there are more secondary larnax interments than there are primary interments, with 99 secondary larnax interments and 65 primary larnax burials. Larnakes, like most other burials types, were used throughout the burial process and were not intended to hold a single individual in perpetuity, but rather to augment a long-standing tradition of multi-stage interment. Aside from the one known pit and the fissures, every other type of burial (larnax, pithos, vessel, and surface) held mostly secondary interments, with between 14% and 47% primary burials (Fig. 257). Although more primary burials were discovered on the surface than in larnakes, primary surface burials account for only 14% of surface burials in the cemetery (Fig. 258). Pithoi, larnakes, and vessels, hold larger ratios of primary burials to secondary interments with primary burials accounting for 30% of all pithos interments (Fig. 259), 38% of larnax interments, and 47% of vessel interments (Fig. 257). The high ratio of primary burials in burial vessels (often bridge-spouted jars and other repurposed vases) is likely attributable to the high proportion of child interments in vessels (Fig. 260).[215] This number is based only on published accounts from the excavators and has not been verified by physical anthropologists but a large majority of the primary vessel burials were discovered in BB 9 and seemed to hold the remains of a single child burial. Additionally, the lack of child interments outside of vessels could suggest that children received a different method of burial than adults, one similar to intramural child burials in vessels known throughout the ancient world.

[215] Vessel interments also account for a relatively small number of the individuals in the cemetery with only 38 vessel interments total, 18 primary and 20 secondary depositions.

While surface interments vastly outnumber deposits in burial vases across the cemetery and are present in every tomb context, some tombs have more interments in burial vessels than on the surface. The distribution of primary and secondary interments and the use of burial vases is also variable among the tombs, suggesting that groups using these had a shared burial practice but slightly different approaches to interment. The use of space within tombs is also highly variable, suggesting that groups reserved rooms and spaces for different aspects of the burial process, with some rooms used for temporary primary burials, and others for more permanent secondary interments. The analysis of this variability is important for any study of Minoan burial practices or any analysis of Minoan society that considers cemetery material, as it indicates chronological differences, spatial variation related to group identity, and a continual, variable, but prescriptive approach to burial that involved sustained interaction with the dead. Such variation in burial practice is only visible with a careful, contextual analysis of each room and tomb context in a single cemetery.

Spatial Analysis of Similarity and Variation

Interment Function within Tombs

The architectural variation among tombs, including single room structures, such as the tholoi and BB 19, and rectangular burial buildings with between two and 11 rooms or spaces, indicates that groups using the Phourni cemetery constructed, used, and conceptualized spaces for depositing human remains differently. Many of the rectangular tombs reveal a differential use of space, with some rooms used for primary burial, others for secondary interment, and still others for mixed use. In the reused tholoi, primary and secondary interments were found together in a single space, or burial vessels were used to

add a spatial distinction for the interment of various types of human remains. Still other tombs had only secondary interments, suggesting either that the archaeological record preserved only the final stage of burial deposits in these cases or that these structures were used only, or mostly, for secondary depositions, much like ossuaries.

As Triantaphyllou has recently noted, there is not a single Minoan burial practice, but a variable and sustained interaction with the dead that takes place over multiple spaces and over multiple stages at different times (2016). The spatial treatment of the tombs and the function of these spaces reflects this multi-stage, and variable practice with a differential use of space in several of the tombs in the Phourni cemetery. Of the nine tombs with multiple rooms, four show different functional patterns in the use of space, three preserve a single function over multiple spaces, and two are too poorly preserved for such an analysis.[216] While a spatial distribution of human remains, with some rooms used as spaces for primary burial and others for secondary interment, is common in Phourni, it is not the only way burial buildings functioned.

Differential Use of Space in Multi-Room Buildings

BBs 5, 7, 9, 12, and 18 all have several rooms that were used differently in the multi-stage interment process. BBs 5 and 18 each have 11 rooms (or areas) and show the most varied use of space. The distribution of the various functions, however, is not consistent between the two burial buildings. BB 5 (Figs. 75 and 122) is an agglomerative structure, with rooms added over time. The central wings were built first and consist of 5

[216] BB 13, as well as the earlier structures, BBs 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26, are too poorly preserved for analysis of differential use of space. The two burial spaces within BB 13 held only one primary burial.

rooms. These rooms hold the fewest remains – three rooms are completely empty and two have small numbers of primary burials – likely suggesting that human remains were removed from these spaces as new rooms were added to the exterior of the original structure. The later rooms located to the east of the central wings were mostly used for secondary interments, but Room 7 and 8b indicate a mixed use of space. Room 7 contains mostly secondary burials with four primary vessel burials and Room 8b has an even distribution of four larnax burials and four surface skulls. This may indicate that these rooms were used for both temporary primary burials and permanent secondary deposition. The largest room, Room 4, added to the west of the original structure, is filled with secondary interments in larnakes and pithoi, suggesting that it was constructed as a repository for secondary remains, particularly skulls, which form the vast majority of the interments. The lack of interments on the floor implies that the room was added to receive only secondary depositions in burial vases, likely moved from other spaces in the burial building. BB 5 is an example of a burial structure that changed over time to accommodate both more depositions and changing mortuary practices that came to involve the use of burial vases. Older rooms were cleared of their remains and new ones were added for mixed use and for the permanent deposition of earlier secondary remains.

BB 18 has the same number of rooms as BB 5 and also shows different functional patterns in the use of space, but has a different history. There are earlier remains below the structure, but unlike BB 5, the entirety of BB 18 appears to have been constructed at the same time. While in some rooms only one or two individuals were interred, none of the rooms were found empty or completely cleared of their remains. Unlike BB 5, most of the rooms in BB 18 were used for primary burials, with seven rooms used solely for

this purpose. Most of the rooms used for primary burials have few individuals, between one and four, suggesting that they were used for the temporary deposition of primary remains. Others have larger numbers of primary burials, indicating that these may have been permanent depositions of primary burials, although this is not in keeping with known Minoan burial practices. It is possible that these burials simply not received secondary treatment for unknown reasons. BB 18 is, however, one of the later structures in the cemetery and these permanent primary burials may represent a change in interment practices. Another room, Room 9, held 40 individuals mostly primary and disturbed burials, as well as two secondary interments, suggesting that this room had a different function from the others. Most of the primary burials were found in larnakes and pithoi, while all of the disturbed burials were found on the surface. This could indicate that primary burials were made in larnakes and then moved to the surface of the tomb at one stage of the burial practice. It is unclear whether the remains were intended to stay in this space or receive further secondary treatment. Room 1, located in the southwest corner of BB 18, has the largest number of individuals and was used almost exclusively for secondary interment. Most skulls were found on the floor of the tomb, but a few come from larnakes, as do the three primary burials in the room. This room was likely used for secondary interments, perhaps moved from the seven rooms used for primary burial, but perhaps also receiving interments from primary burials in the same room.

While both BB 5 and BB 18 had one room intended to receive large numbers of secondary interments, Room 4 in BB 5 appears to have been built to receive earlier remains placed in vases while Room 1 in BB 18 was used for secondary interments from contemporary rooms placed directly on the floor. While there is a shared practice of

creating separate functional spaces, variation remains in the specific approach to those functions in these two structures. It is likely that some chronological change in practice accounts for these variations, as BB 5 ceased to be used in MM IA and BB 18 was in use into the MM II period. It is also probable that the functional differences in the buildings reflect variable groups utilizing slightly variable burial practices. Those using BB 5 preferred burial vessels, especially pithoi, for secondary interments of remains removed from earlier rooms, while those interring in BB 18 made use of burial vessels for primary burials and moved secondary interments to the surface of the tomb.

BB 7 and BB 9 (Figs. 173 and 194) have fewer rooms with seven and nine spaces respectively. Unlike BB 5 and BB 18, the differential use of space in these rooms is not as structured. Only two of the seven rooms in BB 7 were used for primary interment (Fig. 174), while four were used for secondary interment, and another held only scatters of bones, suggesting that it may have been used for primary burials that were later removed. BB 9 had no rooms that were used solely for primary burial (Fig. 195). One room held disturbed burials and secondary interments, indicating that it was a mixed-use space. Two other rooms were used for both primary and secondary depositions in larnakes, pithoi, and on the surface, while a third space held secondary skulls deposited in a pit. Room 3 of BB 9 is an enigmatic space. It is detached from the other rooms of BB 9, located at the southern end of Tholos Γ, and sharing its exterior wall. It is a very large room that may have functioned separately from BB 9, perhaps related to Tholos E or perhaps its own structure. There were 172 individuals in Room 3, with a mixture of primary and secondary interments, predominantly found on the floor, aside from eight primary burials

in vessels. The unusual use of space here further supports the conclusion that Room 3 is actually a separate structure from both BB 9 and Tholos Γ.

BB 12 (Figs. 86-87), though not well-preserved, has three spaces that were used differently. Room 2 was empty and Room 1 held one primary burial. The East Area, though the boundaries are not clear, held 35 secondary interments on the surface, suggesting that it was used solely for the redeposition of secondary remains, likely from the other spaces in BB 12, or possibly from nearby structures.

BB 8 (Figs. 164-165), according to the excavators, was made up of two rooms, one of which is empty aside from scatters, and another that was mostly primary burials. The Area Between BB 8 and BB 9 (Figs. 151-152) also had two rooms, or Areas, and was located directly south of BB 8, with which it shared a wall. Although further architectural study is needed, is seems likely that these areas were associated with BB 8, but perhaps constructed later based on the thick east-west wall separating the structures. The Eastern Area of the Area in Between BB 8 and BB 9 was used only for primary burials distributed relatively evenly between larnakes and the surface, while the Western Area was used only for secondary interments, again evenly distributed between the floor and larnakes. If BB 8 and the two Areas to the south can be considered one structure, there is a clear differential use of space with two rooms used for primary burials and two for secondary interments.

Differential Use of Space in Single Room Buildings

The Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E (Figs. 16, 213, and 214) shows that this area was used for many different funerary practices. Like Tholos Γ, the Upper Burial Layer held interments on the floor and in burials vases, mostly larnakes. Burials in Tholos E,

however, are relatively evenly distributed between primary burials and secondary interments. Additionally, the use of larnakes in Tholos E differs from that in other structures around the cemetery, with significantly more primary larnax burials than are found elsewhere. Secondary remains are found both in larnakes and on the surface of the tomb, suggesting that both spaces were considered appropriate for secondary interment. Primary burials, on the other hand, are found only in burial vases. It seems likely that Upper Burial Layer, which is contemporary with the construction and use of the rectangular burial buildings in which interior space was used differently for primary and secondary deposits, attempted to create a similar pattern in a one room tholos with the use of larnakes and pithoi. Like the rooms used for primary burials, some larnakes and pithoi were used for temporary primary burial while the floor and some other larnakes served as the permanent repository for the secondary interment of human remains once they were removed from their primary positions in larnakes. The predominance of single primary burials in larnakes is somewhat at odds with the function of larnakes in the cemetery as a whole. While it is not uncommon for larnakes to hold primary burials, most were used for multiple interments, whether primary or secondary. The number of primary burials in larnakes in a single space suggests a slightly different function than one seen elsewhere in the cemetery and it seems likely that the goal was to impose a differential use of space, which was the common contemporary practice, onto the repurposed single room space of the earlier tholos.

Ossuaries: Single Use of Space

As stated by Legarra Herrero in reference to Archanes-Phourni, we must be cautious with the identification of ossuaries "as the function of these building may have

varied throughout their history" (2014, 76). Several of the burial spaces in the cemetery appear to be just this – buildings and areas that function as ossuaries at some point in their use-lives, and as other types of burial structures at others. The Area of the Rocks (Figs. 3 and 35-38), while not a tomb, shares many features with burial buildings. The southern sections appear to have been mostly used for the redeposition of earlier remains, while the North-Central Section was used much like a tomb with primary burial on the surface, and secondary depositions found in the fissures. The North Section seems to have some association with the nearby BB 5, as well as other tombs of EM III/MM I date, suggesting that it may have received interments from these buildings. Like the South Section Area of the Rocks, BB 19 (Figs. 130-135) may have originally been constructed and used as an ossuary, as it contains a large number of individuals in a very small space, and later altered for other burial purposes. The lower layer held 78 secondary skulls and one disturbed burial, all found on the surface of the tomb. The upper layer, indicates a slight change in both practice and function. Most of the interments are secondary but there is a substantial number of primary vessel burials that likely held child burials. It appears that the upper layer was used for secondary interments and primary child vessel burials. This probably shows that the function of the tomb now included the interment of children, who were perhaps interred differently from older individuals, receiving only primary interment in vessels rather than primary burial followed by secondary treatment.

BB 16 (Figs. 184-186), constructed directly south of and partially connected to Tholos E, contained only secondary remains and could also have functioned as an ossuary. Though not well-preserved, it is clear that the structure had at least three rooms,

all of which held only secondary deposits. One room had only five secondary surface interments while the other two had over 20, both on the surface and in larnakes and pithoi. The location and assemblage may indicate that BB 16 was used as an ossuary for the secondary deposition of human remains and objects from Tholos E, but it is also possible that rooms for primary burial were destroyed or that primary interments existed but are now missing due to preservation.

There are three single space tombs in the cemetery – Tholos E, Tholos Γ, and BB 19. BB 19 and the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos Γ appear to have been used almost entirely for secondary interments. The remains in Tholos Γ (Figs. 23, 105-106) are relatively evenly distributed between the surface of the tomb and burial vases. Of the 52 individuals in the tomb, only one was a primary burial and another a disturbed burial, both found in the larnakes. It is possible that Tholos Γ received both primary and secondary deposits but that most had received secondary treatment at the time that the tomb went out of use.

Variability and Similarity in the Cemetery

Similarity among Tombs

The tombs of the Archanes-Phourni cemetery share a great number of features, suggesting broadly shared burial customs and consistent community-wide changes over time. Although variation among tomb assemblages is certainly present, similarities and consistent correlations regarding numbers of individuals and numbers of objects throughout the cemetery, a visible pattern of spatial differentiation related to stages of interment, and similar object assemblages broadly speaking, suggest that the community utilizing the cemetery had a shared set of burials customs. These practices involved

variable but sustained and consistent interaction with the dead that involved at least two stages of interment, often taking place in different spaces, and roughly similar numbers and types of objects deposited with the dead. The practices also evolved similarly with the cemetery-wide use of burial vessels after their introduction in EM III/MM IA.

Tomb contexts of roughly the same date also tend to have broadly similar spatial organizations, even working within the limits of single tomb spaces to create separate spaces for primary and secondary interments, such as the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E. After the EM IIA use of the cemetery, which is characterized by mostly secondary depositions, there is a shared trend toward creating and utilizing spaces differently, for various stages of the burial process, though variation in the specifics of these practices is undoubtedly present. Once the use of larnakes, pithoi, and burial vessels are introduced into Minoan burial practice, there is a cemetery-wide use of these vases, most of which were used for various interment purposes. Of the 16 tombs that were in use in EM III/MM IA, 10 contain larnax interments (Fig. 228).[217] Larnax fragments were discovered in BB 12 and BB 22, suggesting that interments were made in larnakes but are so poorly preserved that it is impossible to distinguish surface interments from larnax deposits. Another three tombs were either reused, such as BB 3, or are too poorly preserved. BB 8 is the only tomb context of this date without any larnakes, however, if it is indeed part of the same structure as the Area Between BB 8 and BB 9, larnakes were in fact used here. The use of pithoi and burial vessels is not as widespread but the presence of these burial vases is correlated with the presence of larnakes. There are seven tombs with pithoi

[217] BB 13 is dated to EM III but may predate the introduction of the larnakes. BB 6 held interments in larnakes and other vessels but the number is unspecified, so these data are missing from the graphs.

interments, all of which overlap with those with larnakes, and three tombs contained burials vessels, all correlated with tombs that had both larnakes and pithoi.

There is also a strong correlation between the MNI and MNO across the tombs in the cemetery, discussed at great length below (Figs. 261-263). Such a correlation between objects and individuals suggests that most interments were accompanied by similar numbers of objects and that these objects were similarly moved or depleted throughout the burial stages. This is at odds with analyses that use numbers of objects to support claims of hierarchical group dynamics visible in cemeteries like Phourni. A correlation between people and objects suggests that the main reason for the higher or lower numbers of objects in tombs would be higher numbers of individuals interred, rather than greater numbers of objects being interred with wealthier or higher status individuals.

Qualitative assumptions regarding tomb material and social structure are equally problematic. The term "wealth" though not often defined, is often measured by the presence or amount of some material, usually imports or metals, especially gold. The presence of gold is often taken to indicate the presence of social structure in the cemetery and therefore in the socio-political world of the Minoans (Soles 1988, 1992; Branigan 1991b; Hodder 1994; Maggidis 1994, 1998, 2000, Colburn 2008b, 2011; Driessen 2010, 112; Murphy 2011a, 57; Hatzaki 2012, 308, n. 22; Brogan 2013; cf. Damilati 2005). If one adheres to the belief that social structure is expressed through the deposition of objects at a cemetery, that hierarchy increases before and during the appearance of the palaces, that hierarchical structure is pyramidal in shape, and that gold is a good metric of wealth, one would expect to final small numbers of tombs with large assemblages of

gold, a few more tombs with some gold, and some tombs with no gold. An analysis of the gold in Archanes-Phourni, however, shows a very different pattern.

As discussed above in the section on Chronological changes, the largest volume of gold objects is found in Tholos Γ (Figs. 242-245) and 50% of the gold objects in the cemetery are found in the earliest contexts, suggesting that gold played a much larger role in the burial practices of earlier periods. Of the 16 tombs dating to EM III – MM II, 10 of the tombs had some gold, mostly found in very small quantities, less than five objects. BB 9 held by far the largest concentration of gold objects with 24, less than half of the amount found in the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ, which had been cleared of much of its material. Furthermore, 20 of the 24 gold objects in BB 9 are fragments of gold bands found in Room 3 and possibly represent a much smaller number of gold objects. Unlike later Mycenaean tombs that are filled with gold, such small quantities of metal in so many contexts indicate that gold is unlikely to be a good metric of wealth and status.

The earlier tombs had large numbers of stone objects, mostly lithics, as well as substantial amounts of jewelry and metals, and some ceramics (Fig. 233-236, 246). Although BB 13 is dated to EM III, the assemblage breakdown has more in common with the earlier structures, perhaps suggesting that the practice of object deposition in EM III (perhaps earlier EM III) has more in common with earlier depositions than with later ones. Most of the later tomb assemblages are dominated by ceramics, which replace lithics as the largest category beginning in EM III/MM IA. Assemblages in early tombs had an average of 44% (57% excluding poorly preserved tombs) lithics and only 15% (12% excluding poorly preserved contexts) ceramics. Later tomb assemblages have an average of 20% (16% without BB 13) lithics and 43% (46% without BB 13) ceramics.

Ceramics and lithics are present in most tombs as well as some jewelry and personal objects, mostly seals. Tomb assemblages from both periods have an average of 10% jewelry items. Seals makes up only about 5% of earlier assemblages but later tomb assemblages have an average of 10% personal objects like seals. These data suggest significant changes in material culture and depositional practices between the EM IIA and EM III-MM IIA use of the cemetery, with earlier groups depositing more lithics and metals, and later groups depositing ceramics and seals.

SIMILARITY MATRICES

Adjacency Matrices, or what I have called Similarity Matrices, are used to analyze the similarity of the assemblages across the various burial spaces in the cemetery and to rank their connectedness to other burial contexts (Figs. 264-272).[218] These matrices rank the Area of the Rocks highest in overall connectedness to the rest of the tombs in the cemetery for both materials and object types. This is almost certainly based on the chronological space of the Area, used for the deposition of EM IIA and later remains, and its partial function as an ossuary. Its connectedness to other tombs is confirmed by the presence of material from the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ in the South Section of the Area of the Rocks and its connectedness to later tombs, such as BB

[218] As discussed in Chapter 3, each cell in an adjacency matrix represents a quantified connection between two entities (the row and column). The connection can be, for instance, whether or not two contexts both contain a single object type. BB 5 and the Area of the Rocks, for example, share 17 object types and have the highest ranked connection based on a presence/absence analysis of their object assemblages. The connection can also be based on the shared number of objects. Of the total objects in both assemblages, BB 5 and the Area of the Rocks, have 135 of the same type of object, the third highest ranked connection. A similarity matrix is the sum of the adjacency matrices for all object types. Each cell in the similarity matrix, then, is the sum total of all the quantified connections. Entities with higher connection numbers are thus defined as more similar.

5, located very near the North Section of the Area is also made clear through these matrices. It is likely that material from later tombs, including BB 5, was at least partially deposited in the North Section and perhaps the North-Central Section of the Area of the Rocks.

The second most connected burial space is BB 19, which is ranked second for connectedness based on materials and fourth for connectedness based on object types.[219] BB 19 is a unique space for several reasons, including its apsidal structure, the small area within the tomb, and the large number of individuals interred. It is the smallest tomb in the cemetery and has the second largest number of individuals. This, combined with the predominance of secondary interments has led scholars to tentatively identify this building as an ossuary. Close analysis of BB 19 suggests that it was built as an ossuary and functioned as such for at least some in its use-life. BB 19's high connectedness rank indicates that its assemblage is similar to the Area of the Rocks, and was highly connected to other burial structures of similar date, such as the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E, BB 9, BB 5, BB 18, and BB 7. This suggests that BB 19's assemblage was either very similar to the assemblages in those buildings, or that it was used for the reinterment of human remains and objects that were originally buried in those structures. The latter interpretation seems more likely based on the other evidence that BB 19 functioned as an ossuary.

Adjacency or Similarity Matrices indicate not only connectedness or similarity between assemblages but also distance or dissimilarity. There is significant distance or

[219] It is superseded by BB 9 and BB 5 for connectedness rank based on object types.

dissimilarity, for example, between the Upper and Lower Burial Layers of both Tholos E and Tholos Γ, confirming a significant break in their use and underlining the differences in their assemblages. While similarity and dissimilarity can be assessed with multiple quantitative and qualitative methods, Similarities Matrices illustrate connectedness among complex assemblages for several entities (in this case, tombs) at once, using simple quantitative metrics and visually accessible matrices. These analyses offer a robust comparative method that can be easily scaled to smaller or larger data sets. The similarity and connectedness of the tombs can be tested using multiple lines of evidence, providing a quantitative but nuanced methodology for studying spatially or chronological distinct assemblages.

Variability among Tombs

Much of the variability between the tombs lies in the layout of the spaces, as tombs have all different shapes, sizes, and numbers of rooms, and in the details regarding the deposition of human remains and objects. Variation in tomb size as well as number of objects within the tombs are often cited as reliable metrics of wealth and status. Correlations between tomb size and number of objects is often assumed or otherwise indicated anecdotally. For the site of Mochlos, an EM cemetery considered to express hierarchical social structure through variably sized tombs and diverse numbers of objects, this correlation has recently been disproven using a Spearman's Rank correlation test (Karacic 2015). A Spearman's Rank correlation test of MNO and tomb area for the

better-preserved tombs at Archanes-Phourni (Fig. 273) indicated a weak positive correlation with $\rho = .32$ ($R = .13$).[220]

Given the lack of a strong correlation between the size of the tombs and the numbers of objects, we should consider alternative explanations for the large variations in tomb area and grave goods. There are likely many reasons for these variations, including non-quantitatively measurable causes such as group or individual agency or preference. Some measurable correlations do exist, however, and these can be explored quantitatively and qualitatively. A Regression Analysis that tests the correlation between MNI and MNO (Figs. 261-263), for example, is a much more statistically meaningful correlation than tomb size and MNO. For all known EM IIA – MM II burial assemblages, excluding the Area of the Rocks, the correlation between MNI and MNO is $R = .78$ and $R^2 = .62$, which are considered strong or very strong correlations. An even stronger correlation exists among the assemblages of the later contexts dating from EM III – MM II (this excludes the contexts that were cleared of remains, such as Tholos Γ and Tholos E). Among these tombs the correlation between MNI and MNO is $R = .87$ and $R^2 = .75$, both very strong correlations. This strong correlation indicates that most, though not all, of the variation in the number of objects found in a tomb is related to the number of individuals in the tomb. Function of the burial structures should also be considered. Ossuaries will likely have more individuals and more objects than tombs used for primary burials and

[220] The tombs and assemblages considered include the Upper and Lower Burial Layers for Tholos Γ and Tholos E, as well as BBs 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 18, and 19. Other tombs were not considered either because the area could not be determined or estimated based on the preserved exterior walls, or because the assemblages were too disturbed from later use to be considered an accurate measure. Unfortunately, this excludes from the analysis Tholos B and BB 3, both two-stories and the largest structures in the cemetery. The correlation is $R = .13$, considered very weak.

secondary interments as higher concentrations of human remains and, therefore, objects, are expected in ossuaries. BB 19, for example, represents a small space with significantly higher proportions of human remains and objects than larger buildings in the cemetery.

Other aspects of variability should also be explored. While the use of burial vases follows a broad trend throughout the cemetery, there is significant variation is the specifics of how the larnakes, pithoi, and burial vessels were used. As stated above, while most tombs used larnakes, there are many fewer tombs with pithoi and even fewer with burial vessels, suggesting that groups using these tombs had preferences for the types of vessels used for interments. The use of larnakes in Tholos E for mostly primary burials, discussed above, is one variation in the use of burial vases among the tombs. The presence of burials vessels (Figs. 228, 241, and 260), which seems to have been used mostly for the interment of children, is limited to only three structures, BB 5, BB 19, and BB 9. This limited use of burial vessels and interment of children in general perhaps suggests that children were buried only in some tombs, or that various groups utilizing the cemetery had other practices regarding the interment of children. Alternatively, interment practices that did not involve the use of burial vessels for children may be less visible in the tombs, related either to preservation issues or excavation technique.

Finally, while the use of burial vases for both primary and secondary interment is common throughout the cemetery, some tombs demonstrate varied and unique depositional practices. As discussed above, the predominance of single, primary burials in larnakes in Tholos E, suggests a slightly different use of burial vases that uses them to create differentiated space in the tomb. Furthermore, while most burial vases have either primary interments or secondary interments, some larnakes and pithoi contain mixed

deposits of both primary and secondary remains. This mixture of interments is present only in BB 18, BB 19, and Tholos Γ, suggesting that while most groups used larnakes and pithoi for both single and multiple interments of primary and secondary remains, only some used a single burial vase for both primary and secondary interments. A completely unique interment practice of nesting burial vases was discovered in BB 19. Two burial pithoi were found with multiple secondary interments of skulls made directly into the pithos as well as one or two skulls that were first deposited in a burial vessel, which was in turn deposited into the pithos. It is possible that this was a functional deposition related to the small interior area of this tomb, or that those using BB 19 had a unique approach to vessel interment practices.

Variability within Tombs

MNI and MNO within Tombs versus Among Tombs

While there is a strong correlation between MNI and MNO among the tombs in Phourni, there is little consistency in the distribution of objects and individuals within and across tombs. For example, some rooms in BB 18 have significantly more objects than individuals, while other have more people than objects. This suggests that the differentiation within the rooms is balanced by a similar differentiation across the tombs. The correlation between MNI and MNO across tombs and the variation among rooms further emphasizes that some tombs were closed units where primary burials might take place in one space, and secondary interments might take place in another, but the objects and human remains stayed in the tomb or were removed in similar numbers. Furthermore, the quantity of objects in rooms has no correlation with burial status, whether primary or secondary. In BB 5 (Figs. 73 and 80), for example, some rooms with secondary

interments have many more objects than individuals while others have significantly fewer objects than individuals. In BB 18 (Figs. 120 and 125), some primary burial rooms have larger numbers of objects while others have very few. No strict process for the deposition of objects with individuals or for the movement of objects with secondary remains during redeposition or other secondary treatment can be delineated.

Function of Rooms and Other Spaces

Although most well-preserved tombs indicate some differential use of space for primary and secondary interments, there is significant variation in both the details of these practices and among tombs and rooms. To continue with the example of BB 18 and BB 5, both of which have 11 burial spaces which are used quite differently, BB 18 is made up of mostly primary rooms with a single space reserved for the deposition of secondary remains. BB 5, on the other hand, has four rooms that are entirely made up of secondary deposits and a few other rooms that contain a mix of interments. Those using the Phourni cemetery had some shared depositional practices, but do not seem to have shared a precise methodology for separating these functional spaces. The use of various burial types also varies within and among tombs. Many tombs have multiple rooms with larnakes and pithoi, such as BB 5, BB 9, and BB 18, while in the eight known spaces of BB 7, only one room (Room 3) used of larnakes for interment. Tholos Γ and Tholos E, which are similar in many aspects of their use, express a different approach to the use of burial vases. Tholos E holds many larnakes with primary burials, likely to impose a spatial separation of primary and secondary interments, while Tholos Γ, which also has larnakes, contains predominantly secondary interments in the burial vases.

The reinterment of secondary remains is also inconsistent among mortuary contexts. Most secondary interments were deposited in the same tomb as the primary burial, or perhaps moved to a nearby structure, such as BB 16 or BB 19. Still other secondary depositions were made in the fissures of the Area of the Rocks, especially the North Section, throughout the MM II period. While primary burial followed by secondary treatment is a shared practice, the final depositional space is variable. Furthermore, not all primary burials were made inside tombs, as mentioned above. The North-Central Section of the Area of the Rocks, which contains the largest number of individuals among the four contexts in the Area of the Rock, was used for both primary and secondary depositions. Secondary interments were made in the fissures and around 40 primary burials were deposited directly on the surface. The interments found throughout the Phourni cemetery show that most people shared ideas about what was appropriate in a funerary context, but that specific burial practices could be accomplished in several different ways.

Assemblages and Object Distribution

Tombs of similar date tend to have roughly similar object assemblages, with large numbers of ceramics, many lithics, some jewelry, and few personal objects, as discussed above. As with other aspects of interment practices in Archanes-Phourni, there is significant variation in the assemblages found within the rooms of a single tomb. While most rooms have some ceramics and lithics, these object types are not always present. Some rooms have significantly more jewelry than others and still others have many more seals. In BB 18, for example, Room 3, which held 18 primary burials had a large amount of jewelry, including beads, pendants, and four complete necklaces. Room 8, with 17

primary burials, had no jewelry at all but did contain lithics and three seals.[221] Room 4 in BB 5 held a large number of secondary interments but had very little in the way of objects. The few objects that were discovered, however, include some metal, stone vessel fragments, and beads of imported and rare materials. Room 8a, on the other hand, had many fewer secondary interments but held significantly more objects, including around 77 vessels and two cups, suggesting that this room maybe have also been used as a repository for vessels in addition to the secondary interments.

The seven rooms in BB 7 (Figs. 173 and 176-177) demonstrate a heterogeneous set of objects types. The Southwest Area contained mostly jewelry but another four rooms held no jewelry at all. Three of the rooms contained no seals while others had between one and four seals. This dissimilarity in the distribution of objects types within tombs is consistent throughout the cemetery. It is impossible to offer a suitable interpretation for the lack of patterning in depositional behavior regarding object interment as there are likely many causes of this variation, including change over time, variable group dynamics and identities, and individual agency and preference. It seems likely that these variations are in some way related to preservation and the frequency of the interactions that took place in the various spaces and that certain people were interred with specific object types, but without more analysis of the human remains, it is not possible to make such associations.

Similarity within Tombs and Variability among Tombs

[221] It seems possible that this discrepancy is related to sex or gender but without osteological analysis of the human remains, such an interpretation is complete speculation, as no differentiation of space based on sex or any other identity marker has been discovered at a Minoan cemetery.

Many of the visible patterns and trends in the Archanes-Phourni cemetery relate to broadly shared burial practices such as sustained and frequent interactions with the dead, including primary burial followed by one or more secondary interactions. While tombs of similar dates tend to have corollary MNIs and MNOs and to share attributes such as a differential use of space and broadly similar object assemblages, variation tends to occur in the details of these practices and among the rooms in a tomb. Some trends in object deposition, however, follow an inverse pattern. Among some object types, there is significant similarity within a tomb and corresponding dissimilarity among the tombs. Using a mixture of quantitative and qualitative analysis of the small finds within the tombs, it is possible to consider intra-tomb similarity and inter-tomb variability.

As discussed in the section considering chronological trends in depositional practices at Phourni, there is a distinct change in the types of imported material deposited in the cemetery between the earlier and later use of the tombs (Figs. 249-251). This chronological change is accompanied by some spatial variation in deposition of imported materials and objects, which tend to cluster together in certain tombs while others have limited types of imports (Figs. 274-275). Including the massive quantity of obsidian in the Area of the Rocks, the number of imports in a burial space ranges from 1214 to zero, although the next highest number of imports is only 149, from the assemblage in Tholos Γ. The average number of imports is 93.23 but without the Area of the Rocks it is only 39.86.

There is a correlation between the number of imports present in a burial assemblage and the number of types of imports represented – without the Area of the Rocks this correlation is $R = .72$ and $R^2 = .52$, which are considered strongly correlated

(Fig. 276). This correlation does not explain all associated imports, however, as BB 19 and the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E have the largest number of types of imports (n = 9) but have only the fourth and fifth largest number of imports total. There are two reasons for this. Both tombs contain necklaces of imported beads such as faience, sard, and amethyst that were likely imported from Egypt (Fig. 289). There is some statistical correlation between imports from Egypt.[222] Amethyst and alabaster, for example, are often found together and there is a strong correlation between the two imports ($R = .80$; $R^2 = .64$). BB 19 and the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E are also the only tombs of post EM IIA date to have silver and, in the case of Tholos E, marble, both imported from the Cyclades in earlier periods.

BB 5, on the other hand, is ranked seventh in number of imports (n = 63), but among these, eight types of imports are represented, including the only lapis lazuli import in the cemetery. The large representation of various imported materials is due to the deposition of several beads of gold, sard, and amethyst, as well as a lapis lazuli cylinder seal, in a single larnax. This suggests that the aim was not to inter the 10 skulls found in the larnax (the largest secondary deposit in a single burial vase) with large amount of imports, but with a variety of imports, perhaps collected from other burial gifts found in the tomb at the time of secondary interaction. These objects do not represent vast amounts of wealth, but rather small symbols that represent a larger whole no longer extant in the archaeological record. Their relevance is found not in their volume but in their presence and their variety.

[222] For more on Egyptian imports see note above.

Some specific types of objects also tend to cluster in certain tombs. While most tombs have seals, the types of seals deposited can be characteristic of a specific tomb.[223] The 16 seals from BB 6 are an interesting case study for the quantity of seals found in two rooms of a single tomb, and for their unique shapes and attributes that show a shared group identity within the tomb that is distinct from that found in the rest of the cemetery. There are many seals from Phourni and while they all express some variability, for the most part they are made of soft stone, bone, or ivory, and correspond with a standard set of stamp-seal shapes. Those from BB 6, however, express a very different set of seal types. The ivory seals include one shaped like a stepped pyramid, another like a fly, and another strange 14-sided seal with the appearance of several seals stacked onto a single cylindrical seal. Four of the seals, furthermore, were inscribed with the Archanes Script, the earliest known script on Crete and a precursor to Minoan hieroglyphs. The collection of unique seals is accompanied by other interesting objects including a scarab (one of only two in the cemetery), an ivory plaque with a carved gryphon, and larnakes with Linear A signs. It is not related, however, to a large amount of wealth or a huge array of objects. BB 6 is not associated with large numbers of objects or a great volume or variety of imports and it has a relatively low ratio of objects to individuals. This assemblage of distinctive seals and objects associated with early writing expresses a unique identity for those interred within the tomb, one that is not necessarily best described as wealthy or elite, but could be related to administration.

[223] For more on the seals of Archanes-Phourni see (Karytinos 1994, 2000a).

Although only a few necklaces have been reassembled based on firm contextual evidence, unique beaded necklaces tend to cluster in a single tomb and have a distinctive appearance compared to those found elsewhere in the cemetery. Although they are relatively rare, there are several tombs with more than one necklace or a necklace and other similar beads, including the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ, BB 6, BB 18, BB 7, BB 9, and the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E. These necklaces, described in more detail in the previous chapter, have a contextually specific similarity that suggests these jewelry items expressed group identity in a unique way (Fig. 277).

The necklaces found in the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ are made up of bone pendants and gold tubular beads of a variety not found outside of the tomb (with the exception of those found in the Area of the Rocks that were apparently removed from the Tholos Γ). The two necklaces in BB 6 are made up of 133 and 134 tiny discoid steatite beads suggesting remarkable intra-tomb similarity. No similar beads are found outside of this tomb. The four necklaces from BB 18, found with four primary surface burials, are composed of distinctive assemblages of shells, pendants, and seals; they are similar to one another but are not found elsewhere. The beaded necklaces from BB 7 are both assembled from a mixture of an imported material and a local one – the first of local rock crystal and imported sard, and the second of local steatite and possibly imported faience. While necklaces made of different materials are common in Phourni, the combination of imported and local materials is not as common. Two of the three necklaces in BB 9 were made of pierced shells, one of which was likely strung with a bead carved from a meteorite. Shell is often used in necklaces but it is rarely the only or the predominant material. The two necklaces from the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E are made, almost

entirely, of Egyptian material. One is made of at least 14 faience beads (likely more based on nearby fragments) and the other is composed of 54 graduated spherical beads of mostly amethyst, a few beads of sard, and one each of faience and steatite. The preponderance of Egyptian materials suggests that these necklaces were imported directly from Egypt, rather than the other necklaces at Phourni which appear to have been assembled on Crete from either local or imported materials.

Variation in specific burial practices, use of space, and details among objects is common within tombs among the burial contexts within the cemetery. While broad trends in types of objects and burial method are found throughout, the variation within the tombs suggests significant group and individual agency in interment methodologies and burial offerings. Intra-tomb similarity among some object groups, mainly seals and jewelry, suggests that groups using these tombs had distinctive ways of expressing their shared identity. While the deposition of seals and necklaces is common throughout the cemetery and in all time periods, the clustering of unique necklace assemblages and distinctively carved seals indicates that the groups of Archanes imported, created, used, and deposited objects that were specific to them.

CONCLUSION

This chapter offers a cemetery wide comparison of the tombs and other burial spaces in the Archanes-Phourni cemetery. In conjunction with the previous chapter, it advocates for a multi-scaled approach to the study of Minoan cemeteries and burial practices that explicitly analyzes similarity and variation within rooms and tombs and among the buildings in the cemetery. With this context-driven analysis, it is possible to consider variation over time and across space, as well as offer multiple interpretations of

burial remains in a single structure. This ground-up approach prioritizes the data from these tombs over one-dimensional analyses intended to support a single interpretation. Finally, it also highlights the importance of intra-site analysis for understanding the complexity of funerary practices present at single site.

I use quantitative analyses to questions prevalent assumptions about the role of Minoan cemeteries. Tomb size, number of objects, and certain materials, such as gold, are often used as proxies for the wealth and status of those within the tombs or the people interring, and the introduction of burial vessels in EM III/MM IA is interpreted as a change in burial practice that serves to maintain the identity and status of an individual.[224] Using contextual analyses of the tomb assemblages that consider chronological and spatial variability among the human remains and the objects assemblages I illustrate the flaws with these assumptions and suggest alternative interpretations for the tombs of Archanes-Phourni.

Contextual analysis of the chronological distribution of gold indicates that the deposition of gold changed over time. Large quantities of gold and other metals were found in EM IIA contexts while small and relatively evenly distributed amounts of gold were discovered in the later tombs, suggesting that the practice of burying people with gold changed over time, making it an unreliable indicator of wealth and status. Analysis of complete object assemblages from EM IIA period tombs indicate that people were interred with substantial amounts of reusable wealth in the form of metals, such as gold, silver, and bronze and Cycladic imports, both raw materials and finished products, such

[224] These assumptions are discussed in much great detail below and in Chapter 2.

as marble figurines, were common. While the early assemblages are varied and attest to different groups using the tombs, quantitative analysis suggests that they were not necessarily characterized by hierarchical social status but by different identities, one (Tholos Γ) with greater access to imports and a preference for the display of wealth, and the other (Tholos E) characterized by administrative roles, indicated by greater numbers of seals and rings.

Tomb size and number of objects are also poor indicators of wealth as they are only very weakly correlated. Tomb size, beginning in EM III/MM IA, is more likely to be associated with the intended function of the tombs. Beginning in EM III/MM IA, new multi-room tombs were constructed and spatial analysis of the human remains within the rooms indicates that some were used for primary burials and others for secondary interments. While this differential use of space was consistent throughout the cemetery, the spatial arrangements for each tomb were distinct and specific to the group interring. Some were agglomerative with secondary remains in exterior rooms, others had a single space for secondary interments but multiple rooms for primary burials, and still others used burial vessels to impose a spatial organization for the interments. Entire buildings were also used to organize human remains; some structures were likely built as ossuaries to house secondary remains. BB 19 is the smallest structure in the cemetery but held the third largest number of individuals, most of which were secondary interments, suggesting that it was built as ossuary. This function was subject to change, however, and BB 19 was later used more like a burial building, housing a few primary burials and many secondary depositions.

The number of objects in an assemblage is strongly correlated with the number of individuals in that tomb, a correlation that only increases in strength in the EM III/MM IA period. This suggests that people were interred with similar numbers of objects and that those objects were similarly manipulated, moved, and depleted along with secondary treatments of the human remains. The types of object found in later burial assemblages also attest to a different relationship with the cemetery and with the dead. Rather than large quantities of wealth, such as the bronze weapons and gold beads discovered in the earlier tombs, the later burials were interred with smaller numbers of objects, including more ceramics, and often small amounts of jewelry and seals carved from local and imported stones. The majority of the imports in the later tombs originate in Egypt, rather than the Cyclades, attesting to differed trade networks and the desire for colorful hard stones, such as amethyst and sard. These burial gifts suggest a new type of mortuary tradition that does not require the display and "destruction" of large amount of wealth, what Legarra Herrero calls the 'prestige model', as is found in the earlier tombs, but small numbers of objects that appear to be more important in their presence than their volume.

Contextual and comparative analysis of the tombs within the cemetery of Archanes-Phourni indicate both community-wide funerary practices, marked by shared burial methods and similar burial offerings, and distinct groups identities characterized by different tombs structures and distinct object assemblages. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the few complete beaded necklaces found in various tombs suggest that groups made use of and deposited objects of adornment that were unique to them and marked their shared identity as well as their dissimilarity to other groups. Necklaces in

one tomb are composed of distinctive assemblages of shells, pendants, and seals, in another they are made of 100+ discoid steatite beads, while in another they are composed almost entirely of shell pendants. The necklaces in one tomb are similar to one another but not found elsewhere at Archanes-Phourni. This intra-tomb similarity suggests that at this period, jewelry was not a mark of individual status, but group identity.

The introduction of burial vessels, such as larnakes and pithoi, in EM III/MM IA marks a new type of mortuary practice but does not indicate wholesale change in interment method, which is still characterized by primary burial followed by secondary interactions and possibly reinterment. My analysis, which considers the number of individuals within a vessel and the status of those interred (whether primary burial or secondary deposition) indicates that larnakes and pithoi were used for both primary and secondary interments as well as for single and multiple burials, much like the earlier and contemporary surface burials. While the vessels were used to organize depositional practice and the human remains, similar to the function of the rooms, they do not mark a new interest in maintaining individual identity, but a new way to structure and arrange interments while maintaining traditional burial methods.

The relationship with the cemetery seems to have changed again in MM II, when several tombs were abandoned, burials and secondary interaction with human remains slowed, and object deposition changed. Of the 16 tombs in use from EM III-MM I only six were used into MM II. The large number of primary burials in the tomb's upper layers, often with *in situ* and intact burial gifts associated, indicates that there were fewer episodes of secondary treatment. While the evidence is limited, the burial gifts accompanying these individuals suggest that interments were accompanied by variable

numbers of objects that were made mostly of local materials. I argue that these changes are likely indicative of changing burial practice and the diminishing role of the cemetery for the people of Archanes.

The LM IA use of the cemetery indicates further contraction with very limited use of the tombs (only BB 3 and Tholos B) and new structures of non-funerary use were built. The Neopalatial period at Archanes-Phourni suggests a different function for the tombs and a different relationship with the cemetery. The few tombs in use attest to fewer burials but accompanied again by large amounts of wealth, such as gold and imported objects. Secondary interaction with ancient human remains ceased or became so limited as to be invisible, suggesting that palatial society had less need of the cemetery and the connection with dead and with the past. It seems likely that the social interactions that took place within the cemetery now took place elsewhere.

The Minoan cemetery of Archanes-Phourni is, in many ways, typical of the cemeteries found throughout Crete at these periods. Close analysis of these tomb assemblages indicates that there was significant variety in spatial structure, methods of interment, and object deposition, but this spatial and chronological variation in group expression lived side-by-side with long-lived, shared practices and community identity. Mortuary practice in some periods was characterized by continuous gift giving and interaction with the dead throughout interment stages. The evidence from Phourni put forth in this study, suggests that far more interesting and illustrative questions can be asked, and answered, with close, intra-site analysis of a single funerary context. This cemetery space was not only used to express, create, or maintain a hierarchical social structure, but was an active and meaningful part of Minoan life, and death, at Archanes.

The following chapter will consider the theoretical and methodological apparatuses discussed in the third chapter of this dissertation and how they may be usefully applied to the Phourni cemetery.

Chapter 7: Theoretical Discussion and Conclusion

This study of Archanes-Phourni offers an alternative approach to Minoan cemeteries using context-driven and site-scale approaches that explicitly analyze mortuary data for evidence of Minoan burial practices and the relationship between the living and the dead. The legacy data from this site, with 25 years of excavation and publication, is well-suited to a reanalysis that uses updated and nuanced theoretical apparatuses for understanding mortuary practices. While other studies seek to find patterns in cemetery data that are consistent with top-down social stratification, the analyses presented here offer an interpretive structure using quantitative data visualization and qualitative evaluation of archaeological remains relating to complex and sustained burial practices. The evidence presented above suggests that variability and similarity among the Archanes-Phourni burial contexts are the result of numerous social dynamics and differing interment practices. While recent large-scale studies have greatly added to our understanding of regional variation among cemeteries (Relaki 2003; Schoep 2009; Legarra Herrero 2011; Murphy 2011c; Knappett 2012), this intra-site approach offers an alternative examination of burial practices at smaller scales, within and among tomb groups. Analysis of a single cemetery fills a gap in our comprehension of Minoan approaches to death and interment.

The following discussion brings together the theoretical and methodological concepts explored in Chapter 3 with the thorough analyses presented in the two preceding chapters. This final chapter explicitly considers how these theoretical concepts can further add to our understanding Minoan approaches to death and burial. I first explore

archaeothanatology and structured deposition in light of the forgoing analysis. This is followed by a reconsideration of Minoan identity as seen through the interment, interaction, and redeposition of both human remains and objects drawing on recent anthropological conceptions of partibility and corporate identity. Scholars relying on analogy for the interpretation of Minoan tombs risk misapplying analytical methods suited to cemeteries with one-time depositions of individuals rather than communal interment practices. I consider alternative theories of time offered by the *Annales* School and non-linear valuations of time, providing a framework for analyzing burial contexts with long and complex use-lives. Finally, I explore the issues that imposing modern concepts of value onto Minoan cemetery assemblages raise and posit another assessment of burial gift value based on their context, namely their role in maintaining ongoing relationships between the living and the dead. These alternative methodological and theoretical apparatuses are used to move away from an interpretation of cemeteries focused on perceived lived social status toward an analysis of funerary data that overtly considers burial practices and how the living interacted with the dead.

ARCHAEOTHANATOLOGY AND TAPHONOMY

Archaeologists and physical anthropologists using taphonomic methods, such as archaeothanatology, have shown that Minoan funerary practices were consistent, intensive, and varied (Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015; Triantaphyllou 2016). Taphonomic methodologies advocate for explicit attention to natural and human effects on burial remains for understanding interment practices, variation, and differential use of space in Minoan tombs. While these precise methods of *in situ* analysis cannot be recreated through archaeological reports, this dissertation considers these findings for the

reanalysis of Archanes-Phourni and adapts some of their methodologies in order to ask new questions of old material.

Minoan funerary practices are often portrayed as a three-stage burial ritual with a careful primary burial, then a liminal period of decay, followed by a variety of haphazard secondary treatments that create disorganized and random assemblages of human remains (Branigan 1987a, 1993, 124–27; Georgoulaki 1996; Murphy 1998). Contextual analysis of the human remains found within the tombs of Phourni, however, indicate that the Minoans often employed a spatial structure to their interment practices. While specific spatial organizations among the tombs are diverse, the practice was by no means haphazard or random. Some structures, such as BB 19, were used for secondary interments, likely moved from other burial buildings and redeposited in the small tomb like an ossuary.[225] Several of the multi-room burial buildings at Archanes-Phourni, such as BBs 5, 7, 9, 12, and 18, indicate a differential use of space within the tomb, with one or more rooms reserved for limited numbers of primary burials and one or more rooms used for significant numbers of secondary interments.[226] Single room tombs, such as Tholos E, that do not have multiple spaces for differentiating interments employ a different mechanism. I analyzed the published accounts of the human remains found in larnakes and on the floor, and concluded that most primary burials were held in larnakes while most secondary interments were made on the floor.[227] This suggests that those

[225] In addition to the spatial differentiation, there is a chronological element to the use of space. The multiple strata in BB 19 indicate that it was likely constructed and used as an ossuary initially, and later the function of the space changed to include some primary burials as well.
[226] The differential use of space within Minoan tombs is best articulated in the taphonomic analysis by Triantaphyllou (2016).
[227] This practice of using larnakes mostly for single, primary burials differs from the use of burial vessels found in other contexts. In most cases, larnakes and pithoi hold similar numbers of

reusing this earlier tholos tomb made use of burial vessels to impose a spatial organization on this single room structure.

Quantitative analysis of the primary and secondary interments discovered in various contexts, such as tombs and rooms, indicate greater attention to secondary interments and continued interaction with human remains through a differential use of space. These findings are in line with recent taphonomic analyses of Minoan tombs by physical anthropologists, who have shown that burial practices were both more variable and more spatially structured than previously believed (Crevecoeur, Schmitt, and Schoep 2015; Triantaphyllou 2016). Attention to the deposition of human remains in various states of decomposition expands our understanding of burial practices and adds nuance to cemetery interpretations. These methodologies combined with alternative theoretical approaches, allow for a new and more robust understanding of the Minoan cemetery of Archanes-Phourni.

Structured Deposition

Like a taphonomic study of tomb assemblages, an analysis that considers structured deposition in the Phourni tombs emphasizes the iterations and differences in tomb activity. Primary burials are made on the surface of the tomb or in a burial vase, often with objects, creating a structured deposition. Although these instances are rare, there are examples of secondary manipulation of human remains after some decomposition, creating an entirely new deposit. An example of such manipulation was found in BB 7. A primary burial was deposited on the surface of the tomb and after some

primary and secondary interments, indicating that they were used must like the tomb floors and mark a continuation of earlier burial practices.

decomposition the cranium was detached from the jaw and placed near the legs of the individual. Two conical cups were moved or added to the deposition – one inverted and on top of the relocated cranium and one below the jaw, still *in situ*. The intentionality of this secondary treatment of the human remains suggests that, while some movement of skeletal material after decomposition may be functional, such as clearing space for a new interment, all primary and secondary depositions found in these tombs were part of an intentional and meaningful practice.

Secondary interaction and deposition took many forms and remains were placed in a number of locations, all meaningful and deliberate in some way. Secondary interments of skulls and bones were made in vessels, on the surface delineated by stones, in a pit, and in fissures. They are most often found with other secondary interments and a few objects, including imported beads and lithics, suggesting that, while not all burial goods moved with the human remains, some objects were redeposited with the skulls and bones. This implies that secondary interments were accompanied by grave gifts, but these were not necessarily the same objects that accompanied the primary burial, nor did they need to be complete. Rather, these objects were representative of a continued relationship between the living and the dead.

Materiality and Identity

Recent anthropological theories that seek to problematize the subject/object divide and offer more productive ways to conceptualize humans and objects present a useful apparatus for reconsidering Minoan tomb assemblages at Phourni. Theories about materiality provide a method for reconsidering the cemetery space as a space for interacting with the dead. Furthermore, anthropological approaches to dividuality,

partibility, and corporate identity are more applicable to Minoan communal tombs than strict conceptions of the individual.

We should not maintain a divide between humans and objects, subjects and agents, in a cemetery where human remains – once human/agent and now object/subject – are consistently deposited, manipulated, and moved, forming new assemblages and creating new meaning with each new position and association. These consistent and sustained interactions with the dead may suggest that the Minoans interring in the Phourni cemetery did not conceive of these remains as objects to be moved, but as something more human and more agentive, and able to remain a member of the community through sustained interaction.

People and objects were deposited, depleted and manipulated, moved and redeposited for many generations. As a skeleton was moved and depleted so were objects. In the example from BB 7 given above, cups were moved along with the cranium, suggesting that objects were part of the interment process beyond their initial deposition with the primary burial. The quantity of single or small groups of beads found with bones indicate that necklaces were deposited and then depleted alongside the human remains, with some beads removed as the bones were removed. Secondary deposits are often found with a few beads of various shapes and materials. One larnax from BB 5 holds 10 skulls with a few beads and a seal of lapis lazuli, the rarest and most exotic stone in the cemetery, signifying that objects were gathered from the tombs as secondary remains were collected. Both were deposited together to create wholly new groups, reassembled from multiple interments and objects. These activities cannot be interpreted with traditional methods of cemetery analysis that consider the individual and the

individual's role during life and the lives of the living. Not only are these complex and communal tomb assemblages not suited to studies of individual identity, they do not reflect a practice that prioritizes the individual. These assemblages of primary and secondary remains were crowded together in small spaces and moved from vessel to floor, from room to room, from tomb to tomb, and from tomb to natural rock formations, continuously combined and recombined with other human remains and objects. Such elaborate processes suggest a dividual and corporate identity. This is not to say that individuals did not exist or were not prioritized in the Minoan conception of identity, but that multiple and more permeable types of identity that are not fixed or permanent within a single person are more relevant and illustrative when considering a Minoan cemetery like Phourni.

Time

Time Collapse

Time collapse is a fundamental issue with the analysis of long-lived burial structures filled with generations of human remains. The tendency to overlook instances of iterative action and conflate variability and change over time into conceptually simpler and more comparable terms is problematic. With this approach, we run the risk of overlooking functional changes in a burial structure or misinterpreting the introduction of new elements into interment practices, such as burial vases. As the two previous chapters make clear, however, contextual analysis of a tomb with the goal of understanding funerary practice can reveal many depositional and interactive moments, illuminating a complex history of consistent and intensive interaction with the dead. A combination of methodologies like archaeothanatology and structured deposition with alternative

theoretical conceptions of time that consider multiple time-scales and non-linear time has the potential to produce a more complete comprehension of Minoan burial practices.

Annales and Time Scale

The *Annales* School advocates for attention to multiple time-scales when interpreting the past. Archaeological inquiries into the long and complex use-lives of Minoan communal tombs have focused on social practice, reducing analysis to a single chronological scale. Scholars have concentrated on the most visible aspects of interment methods, citing a long-term tradition of primary burial followed by secondary interment. While archaeologists have produced detailed lists of the secondary treatments used by the Minoans (Branigan 1987a, 1993, 124–27), there has been little attempt to ground these secondary actions in context or in time. A consideration of at least two time-scales consistently at work within Minoan tombs allows for an archaeological consideration of multiple burial practices visible in the funerary record. Perhaps more importantly, we also have an opportunity to consider the Minoan perception of time through the multi-generational use of burial space, in which ancestral remains are encountered with each new interment.

Moyenne Durée

The *Moyenne Durée*, or "middle duration" time-scale, considers the social practice of burial and other cemetery rituals. Beginning in EM II, the Minoans of Archanes were already using a long-standing practice of primary burial followed by secondary interaction(s), either in the same space, in a different room of the same tomb, or outside of the tomb. With some spatial and chronological variations, this burial method was maintained for hundreds of years, over many generations, and often in the same

space. The Phourni cemetery is a palimpsest of burial action, with early tombs functioning alongside tombs of later construction and new tombs built over earlier ones, sometimes using the earlier walls for the pavement below. Some earlier tomb assemblages were partially cleared and redeposited elsewhere in the cemetery, such as the EM II levels of Tholos Γ and Tholos E, or were left as the foundations for later interments. By design, the communal nature of the tombs brings together the living, the dead, and ancestral bones with every new burial or secondary ritual. The physical remains of earlier generations are present throughout the cemetery and at each spatial scale. The cemetery began in EM II and grew as new tombs were added further and further north. Some tombs were agglomerative, with rooms added as needed, and rooms were used and reused with successive layers of human remains in almost every space. The cemetery and the tombs within it were not passive or static sites for the veneration of previous ancestors now at a distance, like the Grave Circles at Mycenae. At Phourni and other Minoan cemeteries, previous generations were present and accessible through the long-term dynamic of interactive burial practices. We must consider this *moyenne durée* practice of interaction between the living and the dead and the consistent presence previous generations to understand change, but more importantly, to understand how change and continuity interact in the burial space to create something specifically Minoan.

Evénéments

A second, smaller time-scale – that of events, or *evénéments* – complements the *moyenne durée* analysis of Minoan burial practices and deters us from certain misinterpretations of the archaeological record found in long-lived tombs. Specific

instances of burial, interaction, and secondary deposition are often unconsidered and under-interpreted out of preference for *moyenne durée* analyses of social practice or based on a dismissal of tomb contents as too disturbed for detailed analysis. Using archaeothanatological and taphonomic methods of analysis that consider natural formation processes, such as decomposition, and human interactions, physical anthropologists have shown that it is sometime possible to reconstruct burial events. Interpretive priorities for large-scale change over time and regional differentiation have also led to a dearth of smaller-scale analyses (Schoep 2009; Murphy 2011c; Knappett 2012; Legarra Herrero 2014). Regional approaches to Minoan cemeteries offer much-needed reconsiderations of social structures and burial practices throughout Crete but have resulted in the homogenization of intra-site cemetery data.

Careful attention to interment events and an explicit focus on multiple time-scales indicate a variety of synchronous and chronologically distinct practices in use at Archanes-Phourni. The redating and reinterpretation of Tholos Γ, for example, illustrates the deficiencies of single time-scale analyses. Tholos Γ was originally published as a single period, EM III tomb (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 182). Based on large quantities of gold, the tholos was believed to have been used by a wealthy and high-status kinship group. Papadatos' reanalysis of the tomb found two burial strata, marking two distinct periods of use – one in EM IIA followed by a significant break in use, and one dating to EM III or MM IA (Papadatos 2005). The use, abandonment, clearance, and reuse of the tomb offer an opportunity to consider time and time-scale in a single

space.[228] Analyzing the clearance of the tomb in EM III/MM IA as a single event, we find evidence of burial practice marked by both continuity and change and a Minoan approach to interments that were then 200+ years old. Most of the human remains and some of the objects were removed and redeposited in the South Section of the Area of the Rocks, while many of the objects and possibly a single skull remained in the tomb and were used to level the surface for new depositions. The presence of large quantities of gold in the Lower Burial Layer and some in the Area of the Rocks, suggests that the EM III/MM IA group using Tholos Γ did not remove objects for reuse, even those made of precious materials like gold. This clearance event appears functional but organized; neither a mark of veneration nor disregard for the dead, as skeletal material and objects were moved but reinterred. Attention to specific events in the burial record provides unique interpretative instances that might be missed with a focus on long-term social practices.

Time-scale and burial events can also be fruitfully analyzed at even smaller scales. For example, it is possible to recreate a minimum number of interactions for the assemblage in a single burial vase. Using such an approach, I analyzed a pithos from BB 19 that held multiple individuals at various stages of decay – ranging from primary burial to secondary interment – and found that between nine and 13 events were needed to create this single burial vessel assemblage. Such an analysis is theoretically possible for almost all interments, allowing for a deeper, more precise comprehension of duration and iteration in Minoan funerary practice. It is clear that Minoan burial methods did not involve one, two, or even three stages of interment, but rather dozens, with human

[228] This also problematizes evolutionary models of social stratification, as the earlier assemblage is significantly wealthier than the later, Protopalatial assemblage.

remains constantly in flux, as they were buried, depleted, moved, redeposited, and reinterred with the remains of other individuals and objects. A tomb was not a place to be avoided or feared but an active space for continual and intensive interaction with the dead.

Non-Linear Time

Lucas offers another reconceptualization of time that is useful for comprehending Minoan funerary interments. Linear models of time use a structural system for understanding the past. Events are plotted along a single axis and considered representative of either continuity or change in practice. Non-linear models reject the hypothesis that time is an independent dimension and consider time to be inextricably linked to events. With this model, we avoid misinterpreting change as simply a result of time. As with analyses of multiple time-scales, non-linear time considers what came before in relation to an event. This model uses the concept of time-depth, or 'echo', to consider how much a previous event(s) affects another event (Lucas 2005, 21–28). For the analysis of Minoan cemeteries, the concept of time-depth provides a structure for nuanced interpretations of changes in burial practice. With linear models of time, the burial practices are sorted into one of two categories – continuations of earlier practices or radical changes – and become laden with meaning. Using a non-linear model of time, the introduction of new elements into a long-standing mortuary tradition can be studied more precisely, as a mark of change *and* continuity.

Time and the Introduction of Burial Vases

The benefits of both non-linear time and multiple time-scales over a traditional linear conception of time is best illustrated with an example. The introduction and use of

burial vessels, such as larnakes and pithoi, is often considered a significant alteration in practice, marking a shift from communal interment to individual burial, and associated with intense social change.[229] Before the appearance of burial vessels around EM III, interments were made only on the surface of the tomb, and while their appearance adds a new element to funerary practice, it does not mark a radical change. Analysis that considers multiple time-scales guards against such misinterpretations. The Minoan burial cycle remained the same, with primary burial followed by secondary interactions and deposition, whether on the floor or in a vessel. Interments in vessels remained part of the long-term *mentalité* of Minoan funerary customs, and burials continued to be made on the surface of the tomb alongside these new ceramic vessels.[230] The use of burial vessels does highlight the first stage of the interment process, primary interment, and might seem logically associated with individuals based on the modern use of burial vessels, such as coffins. This interpretation, however, is not supported by an analysis of burial vessel assemblages or the continued practice of secondary interaction and deposition. Interment methods remained consistent, with primary and secondary interments of individuals and groups in most contexts at Archanes-Phourni. The introduction of larnakes was a significant event but did not mark a radical change in the long-term burial tradition.

[229] Burial vessels have been misinterpreted as indicating a change in Minoan burial practice, namely from a communal focus to an individual one, with the assumption that a vessel was created and used for the interment of a single individual. This assumption has been criticized and disproven but it remains prominent in many analyses of burial practices and those searching for evidence of increasing complexity and social stratification before the appearance of the palaces (Legarra Herrero 2014, 56).

[230] For more on this see the analysis chapter, which will show that directly following the introduction of burial vessels in EM III/MM IA, larnakes and burial pithoi are used in much the same way as the floor of the tombs- a place for primary interment and then characterized by diverse secondary interaction with the human remains.

Similarly, by rejecting a linear model of time we can analyze long-term burial traditions, not as a series of events marked either by change or continuity, but as a contextually specific set of practices, simultaneously grounded in deep history and continually changing. The appearance of burial vessels does not indicate an abandonment of previous practices but, in many ways, is marked by continuity. While the introduction of larnakes and burial pithoi does represent a new burial method, the time-depth created by the deep 'echo' of communal interment practices greatly affects the use of these burial vessels. Far from representing comprehensive and radical change, these burial vessels are merely a new element in long and deeply-embedded social tradition.

I suggest that in the EM III/MM IA period, the use of burial vessels, much like the use of multiple rooms in a burial building or ossuaries within a cemetery, corresponds to a new method of organizing human remains at various stages of interment. Burial practice followed the same pattern of primary burial, secondary treatments, and secondary deposition, but was now structured spatially at multiple scales. In the cemetery, ossuaries functioned to house secondary remains, while within a single tomb some rooms could be used for secondary deposition and others for primary burials. Burial vessels served these same functions at an even smaller scale, within a single room. At all scales, these functions were subject to change and a burial vessel or room could be repurposed for primary burials or secondary interments depending on need.

Value and Gifts

Most analyses of Minoan cemeteries, and of Archanes-Phourni in particular, do not explicitly consider or define value but offer interpretations of Minoan material based on a careless application of modern concepts of value (Soles 1988; Sakellarakis and

Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997; Maggidis 2000). Drawing on the work of Graeber, this analysis highlights the issues with irresponsibly assigning value to objects, tombs structures, and communal mortuary assemblages without a thorough consideration of value in a Minoan context. Variability in tomb size, numbers of objects, and the presence of imported materials like gold, are inaccurate measures of wealth and status. A Spearmans Rank test indicates that tomb size is not correlated with the number of objects found in the tomb. These variables are more likely related to tomb function and change over time than with the social status of the group using the tomb. Furthermore, there is no major difference between the use of the tholoi and the rectangular burial buildings in the cemetery.

Numbers of objects are also a poor marker of wealth as they have a strong correlation with the number of individuals in the tomb, suggesting that similar numbers of objects were interred, depleted, and moved with each individual burial and interment. Finally, large quantities of gold were found in earlier contexts and may indicate the importance of this metal in the EM IIA period. This is consistent in some ways with potlatch-style depositions that are intended to dispose of usable wealth as gifts, displaying the giver's wealth and status. Later tombs have a more symmetrical distribution of wealth, with relatively even amounts of gold present in most of the tombs, suggesting that gold did not function as a status marker. Furthermore, it is suggested that the deposition of large quantities of gold and imported metals in one of the early tombs does not necessarily indicate a higher status as the other tomb held significantly more seals and rings, but perhaps indicates differential access to imports and various social roles.

Large quantities of gold in a context that was cleared during the later use of the tomb, indicates that gold was not actively removed from the earlier context for reuse but rather left *in situ* or moved to the Area of the Rocks. In the later tombs, small quantities of precious metals suggest that burials were not accompanied by significant amounts of reusable wealth intended to create or reify social status. Instead, clusters of small numbers of imported, semi-precious stones, mainly from Egypt, along with unique objects of local materials, indicate that burial goods were small gifts given by the living to the dead. They were meaningful in their presence rather than their volume. The deposition of small numbers of necklaces, beads, pendants, clothing ornaments, and seals, along with lithics and ceramics, demonstrate that objects were not interred as large displays of wealth or agonistic exchange, as in the potlatch described by Mauss, but as another form of gift giving referred to as open or total prestation.

Total prestation, as opposed to forms of agonistic exchange, is a form of gift exchange that characterizes relationships based on individual communism, or open-ended obligation (Mauss 2007, 102). In such cases, A owes everything to B, who owes everything to C. Mauss uses the example of the Australian Kurnai man who owes all of his game to his parents-in-law, and, in turn, is owed game from his son-in-law. If applied to burials gifts, it might follow that while A expects nothing in return for the gift given to B (the dead) in an act of open reciprocity, A does expect that C will give gifts to A at the time of death. Such relationships are therefore maintained over many generations; giving gifts to the dead is a mechanism for maintaining a connection to both the recent and the long deceased.

The theory of open reciprocity for Minoan burials offers a more well-rounded method of analysis that allows for both a structural consideration of Minoan funerary ritual and the deposition of grave goods, as well as a more individualistic approach. It is clear from the long use-lives of Minoan tombs and the amount of material within the burial buildings that giving gifts to the dead was a social obligation and far from spontaneous. The types of objects given as gifts, however, might be specific to the individual buried or to those burying. If viewed as an expression of agonistic giving and display, the only variable of interest would be the amount of usable material effectively "destroyed" though deposition in the grave. While Minoan tombs are not impoverished, they are not filled with vast quantities of usable materials like metals, such as we find in the individual burials of later periods.[231] They are, instead, characterized by small quantities of personal objects, such as jewelry (mostly beads), pottery, and a few metal objects like weapons and toiletries. Rather than attempting to find quantitative differences among the burial objects in the tombs, this method of inquiry allows for a qualitative investigation of the types of objects interred.

If we reconsider grave goods to be a mechanism for social interaction, in which the living create and maintain a relationship with the dead through open reciprocity, analysis of tomb assemblages provides useful information regarding Minoan approaches to death and the dead. Some relationship between the living and dead has been posited by scholars working on Minoan cemeteries. Objects, mostly drinking equipment, found outside the tombs have rightly been considered evidence of intermittent rituals in honor

[231] The Mycenaean grave circles or the later Mycenaean tholoi found on the mainland and Crete, for example (Hood and De Jong 1952; Mee and Cavanagh 1984; Graziadio 1991; Preston 1999, 2000, 2001, 2004a; Alberti 2004).

of the dead. The movement and manipulation of objects, alongside human remains, suggests that ritual and interaction did not only take place at a distance, outside the tombs, but directly with the remains of the dead. While we cannot account for the removal of objects from tombs, we can begin to come to terms with the movement of objects.

Partible, dividual, and permeable conceptions of identity offer alternative philosophies of personhood that problematize modern ideas of bounded individuals and strict separations between people and things for interpretations of past societies (Fowler 2004, 96–97; Davies 2017, 74–76). The consistent and sustained interaction with tomb deposits that involved depositing, dividing, depleting, and relocating human remains and objects suggests that Minoan burial practice did not distance or separate the dead from the living, but maintained the partible identity of the dead through acts fragmentation and dispersal. Following on the work of Strathern in Melanesia, who argues that gifts always retain something of the giver (the partible person), Gregory (1982) argues that within commodity driven economies objects are just objects, and such economies tend to objectify humans. However, within gift-giving economies, objects are anthropomorphized. Commodities create quantitative equivalencies while gifts create qualitative relations between people. An analysis of burial practices that considers objects as gifts that unite people offers a means of assessing the Minoan conceptions of identity and personhood.

Jewelry and seals found in tombs are often studied as material expressions of wealth and status that were worn in life and were deposited during the burial as a representation of the individual (Davaras 1975; Karytinos 1994, 1998, Sbonias 1999,

2012, Colburn 2008b, 2011, 2008a). Objects of personal adornment make up one of the largest categories of grave good found in Phourni, but these objects are only rarely found intact. Most are small beads and seals, likely divided from complete necklaces or bracelets. The few instances of complete or nearly complete necklaces found in the tombs, however, are often similar to the one or two other necklaces found in the same tomb, but quite distinct from those found in other tombs.[232] Rather than expressions of individual identity, this perhaps suggests that jewelry was a marker of group identity, expressed through unique assemblages of beads, pendants, and seals that were worn in life and served as gifts joining the living and the dead. This analysis of tomb objects resituates material studies in a funerary context and offers a method for assessing the role of burial objects in creating and maintaining human connections, rather than social and economic capital.

Potential Applications and Further Research

The approach that I have applied to Archanes-Phourni offers a context-driven methodology for reanalyzing complex, archaeological data. The combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses for comparing assemblages within a single site presents a new way to study old data. These techniques mitigate issues with legacy data by asking context-specific questions and using simple methods of analysis that highlight patterns and test correlations. Theoretical apparatuses, such as structured deposition, multi-scalar and non-linear time, and open prestation, offer alternative ways to interpret convoluted data sets and conceptualize burial assemblages. This intra-site comparative

[232] Complete necklaces were found in the Lower Burial Layer of Tholos Γ, BB 6, BB 18, BB 7, BB 9, and the Upper Burial Layer of Tholos E.

approach could be useful for other long-lived Minoan cemeteries with multiple contemporary burial structures, including those that were excavated previously, such as the cemeteries at Mochlos, Pachyammos, or Gournia, and recently excavated sites like the Petras cemetery in east Crete. These methods are also intended to be scalable, and could be applied to larger-scale analyses of tombs within a single region, such as the Mesara in south-central Crete. Furthermore, much of this context-driven methodology is not specific to cemetery studies and could be used to consider chronological and spatial variability among other contexts. This could potentially include variability among domestic sites like the LM IA villas, differences between palatial and non-palatial production centers, or variability in ritual practice over time and space through an analysis of peak sanctuary assemblages.

CONCLUSIONS

A reanalysis of the Minoan cemetery of Archanes-Phourni that considers multiple time scales and alternative conceptions of value, materiality, and identity, indicates that cemeteries played an important but currently underappreciated role in the lived experience of Minoan communities. Tomb assemblages attest to varied group identities expressed through unique object assemblages, suggesting differential access to imported objects and chronologically distinct material preferences and burial methods. Long-lived burial traditions created continuity with previous generations of Minoans at Archanes-Phourni and changes in interment practice and variation among synchronous contexts indicate that burial practice was neither static nor homogenous, but active and dynamic.

The reuse of tombs, consistent and intensive interactions with human remains and objects, as well as gift giving in the form of open reciprocity, suggests that those living at

Archanes viewed the cemetery and the dead as members of their community. The cemetery was not a space for forgetting or even just for remembering. It was a space for communicating and interacting with the dead and the living. Objects and human remains were deposited, depleted, and relocated, moving from burial vessels to tomb floors, from room to room, or from tomb to exterior space. These interactions were infinitely varied across contexts and through time, but were also organized and meaningful. Far from a cold and calculating view of Minoan mortuary practices that interprets cemetery space as a one-dimensional platform for the display of wealth and power, or claims of ancestral ties to strengthen personal and group status during the rise of the palaces, this analysis suggests that those participating in burial practices at Phourni considered the cemetery an extension of their living community.

APPENDIX I: GAZETTEER OF THE EM II-MM II TOMBS AT ARCHANES-PHOURNI

What follows is a summary of each context considered in this analysis. The information was taken from five types of sources:

1. the final publication of the site of the Archanes-Phouni by the excavators, Yiannis and Efi Sakellarakis in 1997
2. the original, yearly excavation reports published mainly in the *Praktika* but also in *Ergon* and *Archaeologiki Ephemeris* from 1965 to 1991
3. and the published reanalyses of several burial buildings, including Tholos Γ, Tholos E, and BB 19
4. other reviews of Minoan cemeteries, including Soles 1992 and more recently, Legarra Hererro 2014
5. and publications of object types that make mention of material from Archanes-Phourni, specifically regarding the larnakes, seals, and rhyta

There are 23 contexts presented here (Figs. 3, 4, 10-29): three tholos tombs, 16 burial buildings, three areas between buildings, and the Area of the Rocks.[233] The level of detail provided is based on the quality of preservation and publication. Tholos B, Tholos Γ, and Tholos E are well preserved and well published. Tholos Γ and Tholos E, two of the earliest structures in the cemetery, were built in EM II and were used through the MM II period. Tholos B was constructed in MM IA and used continually through LM IIIA, providing little information regarding MM burial practices. Of the 16 burial buildings considered here: five (BBs 22-26) are very poorly preserved, either from later disturbances such as cultivation or from the construction of later buildings over top of the structures, four (BBs 7, 12, 13, and 16) are partially preserved, and seven (BBs 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 18, and 19) are well preserved. The seven well-preserved structures were built between EM III and MM IA and went out of use before the Neopalatial period with the exception of BB 3, which remained in use until LM IA and provides little information about the MM period use of the tomb.

There were also several areas in Phourni that were used for ritual. Large numbers of drinking vessels were discovered on and around paved areas in the cemetery, including the Area between Tholos B and BB 6, and around BB 12. A few open-air spaces were also used for primary burial and the reinterment of material removed from other burial

[233] There are several other structures within the Phourni cemetery that are not considered based on the late date of their construction. These include Tholos A, Tholos Δ, BB 4, BB 17, BB 20, and the Mycenaean Grave Enclosure.

context. These include including the Area of the Rocks, located along the southwest side of the cemetery, and the Area between BB 18 and BB 19. Unlike these spaces, the Area between BB 8 and BB 9 seems to have functioned like the other enclosed burial contexts.

The contexts are organized alphabetically and numerically. Basic information is provided for each context, including date of use, number of rooms, preservation, dimensions, years excavated, and a list of archaeological reports and other relevant publications. Summative information for each context is given followed by a detailed, contextual treatment for each room and stratum, if applicable. When possible, organizational methods follow that of the most up-to-date publication in order to avoid double numbering and inconsistent contextual information. Numbering systems for strata and larnakes from Tholos Γ, for example, follow the most recent analysis by Papadatos, rather than the original publications. Room numbers are taken from the original and final reports if published and are otherwise assigned based on chronological appearance in the publications. Numbers for burial vessels (larnakes, pithoi, and other vessels) are taken from publications when available and are otherwise assigned following the same strategy as the room numbers. Larnakes are assigned an L-number, pithoi a P-number, and any other vessel used for interment a V-number. Any exceptions to these rules or other issues, such as inconsistencies between publications, are given in footnotes.[234]

Each funerary building and area is given as much contextual information as could be gleaned from the various publications. Interpretation is limited to basic information regarding building phases, dates of construction, and ceramic dates provided by the excavator. Little to no information exists regarding the human remains discovered in the cemetery. Any data regarding age and sex for human bones is based on excavator's interpretation with one exception. A sample of the human remains from Tholos Γ were collected and analyzed by Sevi Triantaphyllou (2005).

THOLOS B AND ANNEX

Date: MM IA – LM IIIA
Number of Rooms: 11
Preservation: Good
Dimensions: Complex: ca. 16 by 15.40m; Tholos Diam.: 4.80m
Years Excavated: 1966-1967, 1971-1973, 1986
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1966b, 175–80, 1966c, 413, 1966d, 135–37, 1967b, 151–56, 1967c, 97–100, 1971a, 277–81, 1971b, 239–49; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1972; Sakellarakis 1973a, 171–74, 1975, 319–20; Sakellarakis and

[234] This is most problematic for terminology such as "layer" and "stratum". I have chosen to use the terminology used by the most up-to-date publications.

Sakellaraki 1986, 134–38; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 90–96; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 171–78; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 169–80)
Other Discussions: (Pelon 1976b, 14–15; Hiller 1977, 102–4; Walberg 1983, 106; Karagianni 1984, 85–86; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 186; Soles 1992, 132–35; Ben-Tor 2006; J. S. Phillips 2008, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, ns. 162 and 163)
Figure: 221

Tholos B and the associated Annex is the largest structure within the cemetery of Archanes-Phouni. This complex burial building was constructed over top of BB 7 beginning sometime in MM IA, with alterations and additions over time. The building in its entirety is rectangular, ca. 16 by 15.40m, with the circular tholos housed within and a second story existed over several areas. Five or six building phases have been identified, mostly dating to MM IA but also LM IB and LM IIIA. The building was in use for several hundred years and is therefore of interest architecturally but provides limited information about burial practices in the Pre- and Proto-Palatial periods.[235]

During the first building phase, the circular tholos (Area 2) was constructed with a post and lintel entrance and a dromos (Area 1) at the southeast side of the building.[236] The dromos was later extended to the southeast. In the LM IIIA period, several changes were made to this central structure. The floor level was raised substantially, the original entrance was sealed and a new entrance was added at the northeast side of the tholos, an interior bench was added around the entire building, and plaster was added to the floor, walls, and bench. Several objects dating to the MM IA period were discovered beneath the bench, which covered the original entrance. These include a few human bones and teeth, a gold band, a nest-shaped steatite bowl, part of a large steatite jar, an obsidian blade, an MM IA bell-shaped object, and a small tripod vessel fragment, as well as a boar's tusk and a few animal bones.

Several other rooms, which are part of the larger Annex, possibly date to the MM IA, including Area 3 to the northeast and Area 4 to the northwest, but these do not contain any MM material. The Pillar Room (Area 6), named for the central pillar, was added to the south as an annex during the second building phase in MM IA. It is roughly 3.50m square and was continually used through the LM IIIA period. Many small fragments of plaster were found through the Pillar Room, suggesting that the room was once adorned

[235] Information about the finds will only be given if it relates to the periods of interest or serves to the date the structure.
[236] These area are described in (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 169–80).

with wall paintings, though they likely date to a later period. A second story above the Pillar Room was likely used for burials as scatters of human remains and objects were found distributed around the upper level of the Pillar Room, having fallen from above.

A corridor and staircase (Areas 7 and 8) were found to the south of the Pillar Room and gave access to the second story. This part of the structure was built directly over BB 7 and is difficult to interpret but has been dated to the fourth phase of the complex, later in MM IA. The southwest side room (Area 9) and the northwest side room (Area 10) both contained burials with objects, dated to a later period. Two burial layers were identified in the north side room (Area 11). The upper layer held a box-shaped larnax in the southwest corner, within which were discovered two individuals, again likely later in date. Within the lower level, however, were found interments made on the surface of the room with accompanying objects, including an ivory seal and MM IA cups.

THOLOS Γ

Date: EM IIA; EM III/MM IA-MM IB/II
Number of Rooms: 1
Preservation: Good
Dimensions: Diam. 3.50m
Years Excavated: 1972-1973
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1972, 327–51, 1973a, 179–81, 1980, Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1977, 1980, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 114–18, 1997, 182; Petrakos 2003)
Other Discussions: (Pelon 1976b, 16, n. 5B; Stucynski 1982, 57; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 186, n. 11; J. S. Phillips 1991, 404–6; Branigan 1993, 147, no. 79; Karytinos 1994; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Sbonias 1995, 84–85, 87, 90–91, 99; Karantzali 1996, 68–69; Zois 1997; Karytinos 1998; Pieler 2004, 112–13, 116; Goodison and Guarita 2005; Papadatos 2005; Sbonias 2007; C. Papadopoulos 2010; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 165)
Figures: 23

Tholos Γ was first excavated in 1972 with continued excavations in the dromos of Tholos Γ in 1973.[237] It was thoroughly restudied by Yannis Papadatos and published in 2005. It was constructed directly on bedrock and has an internal diameter of 3.50m. The walls of the tomb are made of large, irregular, unworked stones and are preserved to a height of 2-

[237] Also called "Tholos Tomb C".

2.20m. The small entrance to Tholos Γ consists of three large stones (two door posts and one lintel) and faces east.[238] South of the entrance, Tholos Γ has an unusual, small window of unknown function but contemporaneous with the original construction. Papadatos suggests that the large, flat stones preserved in the upper courses of the walls, as well as the decrease in diameter from 3.50m at the base to 3m at the highest preserved part of the wall, indicate that the roof was corbelled.[239]

Tholos Tomb Γ was constructed in EM IIA and is one of the earliest structures in the Phourni Cemetery, with Tholos E, BBs 25, 26, and possibly 24. It was in use during EM IIA with a break during EM IIB period and was cleared of much of its material before renewed use in EM III/MM IA. The tomb went out of use later in the MM IA period, though the dromos remained open and in use for burials. After its abandonment, the tomb was destroyed by the collapse of the roof, which likely took place around the end of the Protopalatial Period, in the MM IIB-IIIA period.[240] In 2002, the excavators revisited the area to the west of Tholos Γ in an attempt to further clarify the foundation date of the tomb, where they discovered a thick, double wall running north-south, likely built to protect the tholos.[241]

The original excavators suggested that Tholos Γ contained a single burial layer dating to the EM III period (Sakellarakis 1972; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997).[242] Papadatos distinguished multiple burial layers, identified by soil differentiations, and redated the two phases of use as well as the destruction of the tholos.[243] He identified three separate burial strata within Tholos Γ. Stratum I, the upper level, is associated with the collapse of Tholos Γ's roof, and Papadatos further divides this stratum into three layers based on variations in the soil and the collection of stones from the roof. Strata II

[238] Similarly oriented to most tholoi in the Mesara (Papadatos 2005; Branigan 1998c).
[239] Papadopoulos has published several possible reconstructions for the roof (2010).
[240] Sakellarakis originally argued a LM III date for the collapse based on pottery discovered in this layer but Papadatos argues convincingly for the earlier date. See the discussion of Stratum I below for more information.
[241] In the area between the tomb and the double wall were several layers of pottery and a burial with a kernos. No new date was offered as a result of the excavations (Petrakos 2003).
[242] Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki believed that the structure was first built in EM III but Papadatos has argued persuasively for the earlier date and multiple phases of use. The excavators also attributed all of the objects found under the larnakes to the burials within the vessels. Along with his restudy, Papadatos disproved this conclusion by drawing attention to the fragmentary and dispersed nature of the finds below the larnakes as well as the secondary nature of the burials within the larnakes (Sakellarakis 1972; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997; Papadatos 2005).
[243] This alternative stratigraphic interpretation was offered previously by Zois, though Papadatos seems to have come to the same conclusion independently (Zois 1997, 113–16; Sbonias 2007).

and I represent the two phases of burial depositions, with a clear break in the tomb's use in between. Stratum II, the upper burial level, contains the vast majority of the human remains and objects recovered from Tholos Γ. Select human remains from this level were retained and were studied by Sevi Triantaphyllou during this reanalysis of Tholos Γ. It was preserved under a thick layer of destruction debris from the building's collapse, and is datable to EM III or MM IA at the latest.[244] Stratum III, the lower burial layer, dates to EM IIA and is contemporary with the construction of the tomb. At some point after the use in EM IIA, most of the remains were cleared from the tomb, making way for new interments.[245] Stratum III is, therefore, not well represented in terms of human remains but objects and bone scatters attest to an earlier use of Tholos Γ.[246]

The later addition of the dromos, to the east of the entrance, is somewhat related to the interior stratigraphy of Tholos Γ. Papadatos divides the dromos into three strata. Stratum I is related to the destruction of the dromos and contained ceramics dating from EM IIB to MM II. Stratum II is subdivided into IIA and IIB. Stratum IIA begins at the same level as the foundation of the dromos walls and again contains pottery from EM IIB to MM II. Associated with this layer is a larnax spanning the width of the dromos, which blocked the entrance to the tomb, suggesting that the tomb had gone out of use before the placement of the larnax. Stratum IIB corresponds to Stratum II within the tholos and predates the construction of the dromos and the larnax above. Stratum III is at the same depth as Stratum III within the tholos and also likely dates to EM IIA.

Upper Burial Layer

Stratum I

Statum I, the uppermost stratum, is divided into three layers and begins above the rims of the larnakes and post-dates the abandonment of the tholos.[247] Layer 3 of Stratum I represents the roof collapse and contains stones from the center of the vaulted roof.

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[244] The pottery chronology for the region is not well enough refined to accurately distinguish EM III from MM IA and they are therefore considered a single period here (Legarra Herrero 2014, 73, 76).

[245] The similarity of the finds from the lowest level of Tholos Γ and the objects found in the Area of the Rocks, as well as the presence of two joining fragments of a gold band, one of which was in Tholos Γ and the other in the Area of the Rocks, have led Papadatos, and the original excavators to suggest that the material from the earliest use of Tholos Γ was moved to the Area of the Rocks. Specifically, the excavators suggest that the material from Tholos Γ was moved to the South Section of the Area of the Rocks, to the west of BB 18 and BB 19.

[246] This is similar to the use-life of Tholos E, which was also constructed in the EM IIA, went out of use, and was subsequently cleared to make room for new burials in the EM III/MM IA.

[247] See Papadatos for more thorough descriptions of these layers (Papadatos 2005, 4, 7–8).

Papadatos suggests that destruction of the larnakes- especially the lids, which were found occasionally at great distances from the lower part of the vessel- indicate a violent collapse (Papadatos 2005).

Evidence for the destruction of the tomb is found in Stratum I, and especially in Layer 3, in which were found sherds from EM III-MM II Red/Black Slip Ware scattered throughout the tomb as well as many sherds of LM IIIA:2-B date. These are concentrated in the western, more disturbed half of the tomb along with fragments of a Geometric pithos and a modern teacup. These fragments, some of which come from the same vessel as sherds found in layers above, led Papadatos to conclude that all the pottery from Layer 3 (including the EM III-MM II fragments) is related to Layers 1 and 2 above and therefore have no relationship with the burials in Stratum II below.

He dates the destruction of the tholos to MM IIB-IIIA based on a cup found intact in Layer 3, in an open space just below the lintel of the entrance, which he believes must have been deliberately placed there after the collapse as it is both intact and stratigraphically post-dates the period that the entrance was filled with stones and soil. Sakellarakis had originally interpreted the LM III material discovered in this layer as later deposits of ritual offerings made through the window of the tomb but Papadatos suggests that these are later intrusions based on his ante-dating of the roof collapse and the fragmentation of the later material (Sakellarakis 1973a; Papadatos 2005, 7–8, 49–50).

Other than the fragments of larnakes and some fragmentary ceramics, this stratum contained a single skull, which was deposited with the MM IIB/MM IIIA cup discovered beneath the lintel.

Stratum II

Stratum II dates to the EM III-MM IA and begins roughly 0.20m below the rims of the associated larnakes and ends at the bases of the larnakes. All of finds in association with this stratum were discovered beneath the stones of the later roof collapse and slightly above the larnax bases. The larnakes are in no identifiable arrangement but seem to cluster in the southeast part of the tomb, closer to the entrance, along with the surface burials and objects.[248]

[248] Papadatos notes that the western half of the tomb was the most disturbed and it seems likely that this half of the tomb was in greater use than the archaeological remains evince (Papadatos 2005).

This upper burial stratum contains burials on the surface and in 11 larnakes and one pithos used for interment. Triantaphyllou's restudy of the skeletal material identified 44 individuals within Tholos Γ, 20 inside the vessels and 24 deposited on the surface (Papadatos 2005).[249] Her study only considers the remains that were retained, however, and several bags holding human remains were not found at the time of analysis. Working from the notebooks, Papadatos includes the numbers and tentative assignments of age and gender for more individuals than were recoverable for the 2005 publication, bringing the MNI up to 52 (Papadatos 2005).

Most of the burials were disturbed although there is one, possibly two, primary burial(s) in this stratum. Papadatos notes that most of the burial vessels contained more than one individual, although no objects accompanied the burials in the vessels. The burial goods that were discovered in Stratum II were all found on the surface of the tomb. These consist of six seals, three pendants, three bronze objects, one lead object, a bone object, one obsidian flake, and only two intact vessels.[250]

Sector A- Northwest

Burials in the northwest part of the tomb (Papadatos' Sector A) were restricted to those in the larnakes in this area (L1, L2, L5, L11). Although no human remains were found on the surface in this area, there were a few finds, including an ivory cylindrical seal with two sealing surfaces, a prismatic seal of bone, a fragment of bronze, and an obsidian flake.

L1: Box-shaped. Length: 0.90m Width: 0.42m. Lid is vaulted and complete. Located in the central and western part of the tomb and oriented roughly northeast to southwest. Two individuals were found within L1. It held a partly *in situ* burial of a prime adult of unknown sex. The skull was discovered in the northeast corner of the larnax oriented southeast and several long bones were found in the west part of the vessel. Five teeth from a young adult (unknown sex) were also discovered in the larnax.[251]

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[249] The original excavations reported the discovery of only 43 individuals, 18 within the burial containers and 25 outside (Papadatos 2005).

[250] Two notes on terminology. I use the term "pendant" for any object called "pendant", "amulet", or "φυλακτό" as these terms appear to be used interchangeably and to avoid applying a functional interpretation for the object. I use the term "bronze" throughout this chapter to mean any copper alloy. Papadatos uses the term "copper" while Sakellarakis uses χαλκός. It is assumed that these are all intended to represent "copper alloy" and I have chosen to use "bronze" for the sake of simplicity but this does not reflect any knowledge of the alloys used.

[251] Only one individual was identified during the excavation. The loose teeth were discovered during the analysis of the human remains.

L2: Box-shaped. Length: 1m Width: 0.42m. Fragments of the vaulted lid are preserved. Located to the east of L1 and parallel with it. L2 contained the remains of one, possibly two, individual(s). The secondary remains of a prime adult (sex unknown) were identified with the skull in the eastern part of the larnax and several long bones in the west. Some remains from a second individual may also have been present within L2.[252]

L5: Box-shaped. Length: 1m Width: 0.50m. Vaulted lid intact. Located in the northwest part of the tomb with the short side near the wall and oriented northwest to southeast. L5 contains what is perhaps a primary burial of a prime adult, possibly female, in a contracted position with head oriented north and facing east. The skull is in the northeast corner and several long bones are in the south part of the vessel.[253]

L11: Elliptical shape? Dimensions unknown. Very poorly preserved. No lid identified. Located in the far western area of the tomb, west of L1 and L2. No orientation can be discerned. No remains could be associated with the larnax.

Sector B- Northeast

Among the burial vessels in the northeast part (Sector B) of Tholos Γ (L3, L6, L10, P12) were seven depositions on the surface. One skull was found not far from the northernmost part of the wall, near the northeast corner of L5, and another was to the south, near the southeast corner of L5 with a few bones.[254] Among these skulls were a few bones, a button-shaped ivory seal, and a bronze rivet. Further to the south were three more interments, including two children and a prime adult, possibly female, with a cylindrical bone pendant among them. In the northeast corner, between the tholos wall and L3, were the remains of two adults, one of which was possibly male. There were also 26 unassociated teeth found in the northeast area.

L3: Box-shaped. Length: 0.85m Width: 0.38m. Well-preserved and slightly vaulted lid. Located in the northeast part of the tomb along the wall and oriented northwest to southeast. The remains of an adult, possibly male, were discovered in L3. The skull was found in the southwest corner and the long bones in the east part of the vessel.

[252] The human remains from L2 could not be discovered during analysis and the MNI is, therefore, based on Papadatos' interpretation. Triantaphyllou reports that the original excavation noted only one individual.
[253] It appears that only the skull was analyzed by Triantaphyllou and it is, therefore, unclear whether this was a primary burial (Triantaphyllou 2005, 72).
[254] These human remains were not recovered for analysis.

L6: Box-shaped. Length: 0.82m Width: 0.44m Height: 0.5cm. Slightly vaulted lid preserved almost intact. Located in the east part of Tholos Γ, just north of the dromos, and oriented roughly north-south. The remains of three individuals were found within L6, identified by three adult skulls and a few long bones. On the north side was the skull of an adult, possibly male. In the center along the west wall was the skull of a mature adult, possibly female. A third skull, belonging to a mature adult, possibly female, was in the south part of the larnax. The possible remains of the fourth individual were discovered; possibly belong to child's burial.[255]

L10: Box-shaped. Length: 0.85m Width: 0.38m. Well preserved lid. Located in the northeast area, west of L3 and L6, and oriented to northwest to southeast. L10 held cranial and post-cranial remains from three individuals. The skulls of a mature adult, possibly male, was found in the north part of the larnax. In the southeast area of the vessel were the skulls of an adult, possible female, and an adult of unknown sex. Some remains from a child burial were also noted in L10 but not considered in the MNI. Several long bones and 63 teeth were in the middle of the larnax between the adult skulls.[256]

P12[257]: Conical shape. Height: 0.385m Diameter (max): 0.46m. Intact and well preserved. Well-preserved discoid lid. Located in the central area of Tholos Γ, slightly to the northeast. At least four individuals were placed inside P12. The skulls of a mature adult, possibly female, a prime adult male, an adult, possibly male, and a child, with a few scattered bones, were identified.[258]

Sector C- Southwest

The southwest area of the tomb (Sector C) was the most disturbed. The larnakes in this part (L8 and L9) were badly damaged. The skull of a young adult, possibly female, was

[255] The child burial is noted by Papadatos but is not considered in the MNI and is mentioned (with the exception of one deciduous tooth found) in the osteological report (Triantaphyllou 2005, 73), and is not counted in the MNI here.

[256] The identification of the child burial was from the excavation and Papadatos. Triantaphyllou identified cranial fragments and teeth that were unassociated with the three adult skulls but does not identify them as those belonging to a child. She notes 47 permanent teeth, eight deciduous teeth, four incomplete permanent teeth, and four broken tooth roots as well as one hand phalanx (Triantaphyllou 2005, 73).

[257] Papadatos uses a running number system for all vessel burials. There is only one pithos burial but for the sake of consistency I use Papadatos' number.

[258] The original report recorded only two individuals but Triantaphyllou identified four, including the remains of a child among three adults and some unassociated cranial fragments.

found between L7 and L8 with a bronze object (perhaps a punch) and a single unassociated tooth.[259]

L8: Box-shaped. Length: 1m Width: 0.425m. Poorly preserved with fragments of a slightly vaulted lid. Located in the southern area of the tomb, south of L7 and northwest of L9, and oriented roughly northwest to southeast. Only fragments of a long bone and two teeth were discovered within L8.[260]

L9: Box-shaped. Length: 1.13m Width: 0.47m. Poorly preserved. Lid not identified. Located in the southernmost part of the tomb near the wall and oriented roughly east-west. Bone fragments and some teeth were the only remains inside the larnax.[261]

Sector D- Southeast

Most of the remains were discovered in the southeast section of Tholos Γ (Sector D), nearest to the entrance. In the southernmost space (Papadatos' Group 1), between the corners of L4 and L9 and the south wall of the tholos was one skull with a jug, a gable-shaped bone seal, and a cylindrical pendant of bone.[262] Five interments were discovered in the small space between L6 and the eastern tholos wall (Group 2), just north of the entrance, with no associated objects. The skulls of two individuals – a mature adult, possibly male, and another of unidentified sex and age[263] – were found at the north end of this grouping, and in the south end were the remains of three more individuals – an adult, possibly female, an adult of unknown sex, and a child (possibly an infant).

Four skulls were found in a pile near the southeast corner of L10 (Group 3). The skulls of an adult, possibly male, and a mature adult, possibly female, were on the surface of the pile. The two other skulls, the sex and age of which are unidentified, were below.[264] The only find nearby was a button-shaped seal of bone. To the southwest of the entrance, between the corners of L4, L7, and L8, were the heaped remains of five individuals (Group 4). At the top of this heap was an adult skull, possibly male. Just below was another skull belonging to an individual of unidentified sex and age.[265] At the lowest part

[259] The tooth was identified by Triantaphyllou who provides a MNI of two for the surface of Sector C. Papadatos does not include the tooth and gives a MNI of one, which will be followed here.
[260] The human remains were not recovered during the analysis of skeletal material.
[261] These human remains were not recovered for analysis.
[262] These human remains were not recovered for analysis.
[263] These human remains were not recovered for analysis.
[264] These human remains were not recovered for analysis.
[265] These human remains were not recovered for analysis.

of the pile were the remains of a prime adult, possibly female, and two neonates. A lead discoid object of unknown function was the only offering found among the interments. Just east of this grouping were five fragmentary skulls (Group 5), including two adults, possibly females, a prime adult male, and two adults of unidentified sex. Just in front of the entrance were three final interments (Group 6) – the skull of an adult, possibly male, and two more of unknown sex and age – with a jug, a cylindrical bone seal, a white paste pendant, and a pointed object made of bone.[266]

L4: Box-shaped. Length: 0.89m Width: 0.45m Height: 0.45m. No corresponding lid identified. Located in the southeast part of the tomb, just south of the entry from the dromos, along the wall and oriented roughly northeast to southwest. Two individuals were discovered in L4, one of which was mature/old adult, possibly male, and the other a prime adult, possibly female. Both skulls were found in the northwest corner with a few long bones in the west part.

L7: Box-shaped. Length: 0.94m Width: 0.475m Height: 0.425m. The vaulted lid was well preserved, but not intact. Located in the central part of the tomb, directly west of the dromos, oriented east-west. At least two burials were found within L7. A skull and two long bones, belonging to an adult, possibly female, were placed in the middle of the north side and in the southeast part of the larnax respectively. Fragments of another skull were also identified.[267]

Lower Burial Layer

Stratum III

Stratum III, the earliest level, contains many fragments of human remains – bones and teeth – throughout the layer, but no identifiable burials, perhaps with one exception. The vast majority of the pottery from Stratum III dates to EM IIA, with a few possibly from EM I, and several sherds that could be dated from EM IIB to MM II that Papadatos attributes to later disturbances.[268] Cycladic imports and objects with Cycladic comparanda dating to EC II also support the EM IIA date for Stratum III.

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[266] The remains of the last two individuals were not recovered during analysis.

[267] Several unassociated bones and teeth were discovered in the analysis of the human remains but neither Papadatos or Triantaphyllou include them in the MNI.

[268] There are 154 diagnostic sherds. 142 are given an EM IIA date, three are tentatively considered EM I, and nine are of EM IIB-MM II date (Papadatos 2005). One stamp cylinder seal (S4) that cannot be dated earlier than EM III should be included in this intrusive material (Papadatos 2005).

The fragmentary nature of many of the objects and the absence of obvious burial deposits in Stratum III has led to the conclusion that this layer was cleared of much of its soil and associated human remains and objects. The Area of the Rocks (specifically the South Section), ca. 10-15m southeast of Tholos Γ, which was likely used for the clearing of several tombs, almost certainly contains the remains that were removed from this stratum in Tholos Γ. This association between Tholos Γ and the Area of the Rocks is supported by the similarity of the finds, identical objects in both contexts, and by the presence of joining fragments from a single object within Tholos Γ and the Area of the Rocks.[269] Papadatos also notes that the clearing of this layer appears to have been random, in terms of what was removed and left behind. There is no obvious attempt to retain or remove any specific type of object or material – there are many gold and silver objects, for example, that could have been recycled during this process but are still in the tomb – rather, it seems that the focus was simply the removal of soil. Areas with the deepest depressions in the bedrock contained the most soil and held the least disturbed burial depositions, such as 29 gold beads beneath L10, suggesting that the removal of soil was done with the express purpose of leveling the surface, likely for the placement of burial vessels.

Although there are few or no burials remaining in Stratum III, it does contain the majority of the objects from Tholos Γ. The objects cluster heavily toward the east part of the tomb and many were found beneath the later burial vessels in Stratum II, but they were found throughout the layer, especially within divots in the bedrock. From this stratum were recovered 16 bronze objects, 10 figurines, 42 gold beads, a serpentinite bead[270], two rock crystal beads, a bone bead, five gold bands, six gold decorative bosses, five pieces of gold sheet, four silver awls, a silver pin, a silver scraper, 1 gold pendant, one malachite pendant, 15 pendants of bone, four ivory handles, three ivory seals, an ivory figurine head, one other ivory object, four bone pins, a marble bowl, three stone objects, 45 pieces of obsidian, and two chert objects.[271]

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[269] For the similarity of the finds, see the large presence of obsidian, EM IIA Dark Grey Burnished Ware, and Cycladic figurines, which were mostly found in these two contexts within the Phourni cemetery. A gold tubular bead was discovered in the Area of the Rocks that is identical to 14 such beads within Stratum III of Tholos Γ. And, most convincingly, a fragment of a gold band likely fits with a fragment from the Area of the Rocks, and similarly a headless figurine from Γ likely matches with a Cycladic head found in the Area of the Rocks (Papadatos 2005, 52).

[270] I use both "serpentine" and serpentinite" throughout the chapter. Because I cannot determine the stone I use whichever term is published.

[271] Papadatos notes 16 bronze objects within Stratum III but only 15 are given find-spots. Papadatos' B16 is not given a provenance in the text or on the plan but is listed within Stratum III and is in the catalog (Papadatos 2005, 10, 34). He also notes 45 pieces of obsidian but does not

Sector A- Northwest

The northwest part of the tomb (Sector A) contained the only burial that might be associated with Stratum III. Part of skull of a young adult, possibly female, was discovered in the westernmost part of Tholos Γ, near the wall of the tomb. Near the burial were a marble bowl, likely of Cycladic origin, two complete Cycladic marble figurines (of the Koumasa type but larger and more detailed), a fish-shaped pendant of bone, and a chert core.[272]

Sector B- Northeast

In the northeast area (Sector B) were a grooved biconical gold bead, a solid-cast gold pendant in the shape of a vase, a ring-shaped malachite pendant, three bronze rivets, a marble Cycladic-type figurine missing its head, and a fragment of another marble object.

Sector C- Southwest

In the southwest of Tholos Γ (Sector C) were a gold band, three silver awls, a fish-shaped pendant of bone, a stone (perhaps black serpentine) pyramidal object of unknown function, and three obsidian blades.

Sector D- Southeast

The area near the entrance, the southeast part of the tomb (Sector D), contained the largest number of objects. In the area between L4, L7, and L8 were three tubular gold beads, six gold decorative bosses, two gold sheets, two bronze rivets, fragments from two or three Cycladic marble figurines, and three obsidian blades.[273] In the area between L6, L7, and L10 were a gold bead, a gold band, a bronze fragment, an ivory handle, a forked bone pendant, and a Cycladic marble figurine leg. A gold ring-shaped bead, a serpentinite discoid bead, a cylindrical bone bead, a bone drop-shaped pendant, and a Cycladic marble figurine leg were found in the space between L4, L6, and L7. In the area near the entrance were an ivory object, possibly a handle, a cylindrical bone pendant, a bone pin, a bone bird-shaped pendant, and two fragments of obsidian blades.

Beneath Burial Vessels

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provide find-spots for nine of the pieces (Papadatos' O4, O6, O18-O19, O43, O45, O46a, O46b, O47).

[272] The marble figurines were discovered during the conservation of the wall during the 1980 season, not during the excavation.

[273] Regarding the bosses, Papadatos only notes "…a gold shield-shaped object" but in the catalog reports six bosses (Papadatos 2005, 11, 41). As these do not appear in any other context within the tomb, it is most likely that all six were discovered here.

Below L1 was a fragment of a green chlorite schist object with semicircular relief decorations. A gold band and a drop-shaped pendant of bone were discovered beneath L3. The area below L4 was filled with objects, including 76 ceramic fragments of EM IIA date and two gold beads. Under the center of L4 were a gold bead, three ivory objects – the head of a figurine[274], a handle, and an object of unknown form and function– a bone drop-shaped pendant, three bronze objects – a dagger, a rivet, and a fragment of an unknown object– a Cycladic marble figurine head, nine obsidian blades, a chert flake, fragments of a jug, and two pebbles.[275] Under the southwest corner of L4 were a bronze dagger, a bronze rivet, and 16 obsidian blade fragments. The area below L5 held a gold band, a silver scraper, a bronze rivet, and a triangular ivory seal.

Beneath L6 were two gold beads, one tubular bead and one biconical, two fragments of gold sheet, an ivory hemispherical seal, an ivory handle, three bone pins, three drop-shaped pendants of bone, a forked pendant of bone, a small schist figurine, the leg of a Cycladic marble figurine, an obsidian blade, and a cylindrical stone object. Underneath L7 a gold tubular bead, a bronze dagger, a bone figurine, a drop-shaped pendant of bone, and two obsidian blades were found. Below L8 were a bronze pin and a cylindrical ivory seal. The area beneath L9 contained a gold band, a gold sheet, a silver awl, and an obsidian blade. Under the north part of L10 were 12 gold beads of various shapes and a silver pin, while in the southern area were 16 gold beads of various shapes, two rock crystal beads, two drop-shaped pendants of bone, and a Cycladic marble figurine head. It is likely that the gold beads, rock crystal beads, and possibly the bone pendants were part of a single necklace (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 618–19 Fig. 656; Papadatos 2005, 11, 39).[276] Beneath P12 were two gold beads, a bronze scraper, and a ceramic vessel.

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[274] Called an "acrolithon" by Papadatos (2005, 31). The Palaikastro figurine is a likely parallel.
[275] Papadatos reports both 10 pebbles and two pebbles (2005, 11, 46). I use the lower number.
[276] Papadatos describes that the beads in the north and south parts were tubular, barrel, ring, and biconical shaped and the bone pendants are drop-shaped. He agrees with Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki that these assemblages constitute a single necklace. The necklace is shown in Sakellarakis and Sakellarki 1997 with two other pendants (one gold and one malachite) that were found elsewhere in the tomb and likely not associated. Papadatos does not address this or whether the bone pendants were part of the necklace. Although Papadatos lists 28 gold beads under L10, he only describes 27. Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki have suggested that other beads in the tomb, including seven of the same tubular beads found beneath L10, were part of a smaller necklace with several other beads in the tomb, including bone pendants (which they label ivory). As the beads were found throughout the tomb, such a recreation is merely speculative. Another tubular bead of almost identical manufacture was discovered in the Area of the Rocks (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 618–19 Fig. 656 (upper); Papadatos 2005, 39).

DROMOS

Stratum I of the dromos is associated with the destruction of this area. It was filled with large stones from the collapsed walls, as well as 32 pottery sherds of various dates but mostly within EM III-MM II.[277] Stratum IIA, which is at the same level as the foundation of the dromos walls, contained a single larnax, which was partly destroyed during the wall collapse. Inside the larnax was a single long bone with a gold ring, six sherds of various dates ranging from EM IIA to MM II, small animal bones, and a fragment of a modern bottle.

Stratum IIB is contemporaneous with Stratum II within the tholos. In the east part of the dromos were 14 sherds ranging in date from EM III to MM II, and below the larnax were fragments of human bones and some seashells. In the west part, near the entrance where the young adult female skull and the EM III vase were discovered, was a sherd of EM III-MM II date. Below the foundation level of the north wall of the dromos was part of an inverted double vase dating to EM III-MM IA, and below were 80 seashells.

In Stratum III, which corresponds to the lowest level of the tholos, near the entrance in the west part of the dromos, were three fragments of gold bands, eight fragments of obsidian blades, and a chert flake. These predate the construction of the dromos and may be associated with the clearance of the tomb.

THOLOS E

Date: EM IIA; MM IA-MM IIB
Number of Rooms: 1
Preservation: Good
Dimensions: Outer Diam: 6.80-7m; Inner Diam: 4.30-4.65m
Years Excavated: 1975
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1975, 268–307; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 126–27, 1997, 187–88)
Other Discussions: (Papadatos 1977; Sakellarakis 1980; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 187–88; Branigan 1993, 147, no. 80; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Karantzali 1996, 69; Panagiotopoulos 2002; J. S. Phillips 2008, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, 72–73, n. 166)
Figure: 16

[277] Papadatos dates this layer first to EM III-MM II and later to EM IIB-MM II (2005, 12, 53).

Tholos E was excavated in 1975 and later restudied and published by Diamantis Panagiotopoulos in 2002.[278] It is an above ground tholos tomb, located in the southernmost part of the Phourni Cemetery.[279] The tombs in this area are not well preserved due to the cultivation that took place in this part of the cemetery. Directly over the south part was a wall, into which some of the tholos roof had been built. The tholos was built directly on the bedrock, which is uneven and slopes down to the south and southwest. The walls are preserved all around the circular tholos but only in the lowest courses, ca. 0.40-0.75m high, and 1.25-1.40m thick. Tholos E is not a perfect circle but has an outer diameter of 6.80-7m and an inner diameter of 4.30-4.65m. The entrance to the tomb is located on the east side and two monolithic posts are still *in situ*. A large flat stone, discovered a few meters to the east, could be the lintel for the entrance or could be a stone used to close the entrance.[280]

Like Tholos Γ, the tomb was constructed in EM IIA and was heavily used in that period. There is a substantial gap (ca. 200 years) in the history of its use during the EM IIB-EM III periods.[281] It was reused beginning in the MM IA period, after being cleared. Again, like Tholos Γ, it seems certain that there were many burials made within Tholos E in the EM IIA period, judging from the substantial number of burial offerings and bone fragments. It appears that burials were made on the surface of the tomb, although larnax lids were discovered in this layer. Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki have interpreted these findings as evidence that larnakes were used in this early period (1997, 248). Panagiotopoulos, on the other hand, considers these larnax pieces to be intrusive (2002, 16).[282] In the second phase of use in the MM IA period, burials were again made on the surface and in 32 larnakes and two pithoi. The tomb was then destroyed in the MM IIB

[278] Panagiotopoulos remarks that his reanalysis is based mostly on the original report by Sakellarakis (1975) and only minor changes have been made to that based on information from the original excavation journal (Panagiotopoulos 2002, 6).
[279] According to Panagiotopoulos, there are remains of walls to the west, north, and northeast of the tholos but their function, whether as annexes, freestanding house tombs, or possibly retaining walls, cannot be determined (2002, 8).
[280] The former interpretation was given by Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki and the latter proposed by Panagiotopoulos (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997; Panagiotopoulos 2002, 11).
[281] Panagiotopoulos also sees a comparison with the Tholos tombs at Vorou I and Drakones A, in which the earlier burial layers are characterized by surface interments, while in the later layers burials are also made in larnakes and pithoi.
[282] If the larnakes do represent the use of such burial vessels in the EM IIA period, they would represent the earliest larnax burials in the cemetery. This and the small number of fragments lead me to agree with Panagiotopoulos that these are intrusive elements of the later burial level into the lower burial stratum.

period, providing a clear *terminus ante quem* for all of the finds within the tomb. Panagiotopoulos remarks that no systematic study of the human remains and, therefore, the burial practices was possible due to the poorly preserved state of the skeletal material (Panagiotopoulos 2001b, 173).

The collapse of the tomb's roof severely damaged the interior deposits within the tholos, destroying much of the main burial layer and the burial vessels. It is impossible to recreate the contents of several of the larnakes but the number of skulls in the same context can provide some information. The numbers of individuals interred within the tomb and the number of burial vessels should be regarded as a minimum number, however, due to the destruction of this area by erosion and cultivation.

The tomb fill is divided into four strata, with Strata I-III representing Upper Burial Layer of the tomb, dated to MM IA-MM II, and Stratum IV, the Lower Burial Layer, containing the remains of the earliest EM IIA use.[283] Stratum I is the layer directly below the surface of the excavated area and contains the remains of the roof collapse. The layers characterized by interments within larnakes and pithoi constitute Strata II and III, and the thin layer beneath the burial vessels, corresponding to the earliest use of Tholos E, is Stratum IV. The finds from the entrance are listed separately. The earlier burial layer was also sealed with clean fill (as in the case with Vorou I and Platanos A, but not with Tholos Γ).[284]

Stratum I

Stratum I is roughly 0.40m thick. Many fallen stones from the roof were found within the layer, especially in the north section, along with fragments of larnakes, bones, some ceramics, and a few objects. The objects found within this layer were considered part of a single assemblage because of their disturbed nature (Fundcomplex 100). An obsidian blade was found near the northeast tholos wall and Larnax A1 and an obsidian core was recovered from the west part of the tomb. A bovine tooth fragment came from the southwest part of the tholos and small animal bones were found in the southeast area. A shell was also found within the entrance.

Upper Burial Layer

[283] Panagiotopoulos uses Arabic numerals 1-4 instead of Roman numerals I-IV for the strata.
[284] Panagiotopoulos also compares the stratigraphy of Tholos E with the Lenda-Tholoi, which were only partially published by (Hood 1959, 20).

Interments in the upper burial layer were made in burial vessels – larnakes and pithoi – and also, perhaps, in the spaces between them. This layer is considered in two separate strata although there is no contextual or chronological distinction between the two layers. Stratum II is made up of those larnakes that were originally stacked onto larnakes below, in Stratum III. Because of the fragmentary state of many of the larnakes, it is difficult to distinguish between the two contexts. Furthermore, establishing precise find-spots of the human remains and the objects is complicated by the destruction from the roof collapse. It is difficult to determine if bones and objects were originally placed within burial vessels or on the surface in between the vessels. Panagiotopoulos recognized 74 assemblages (Fundcomplexe) in the upper burial layer –within the 32 larnakes and two pithoi, and in the areas outside the vessels.[285]

A few objects were found while dry sieving the soil from Strata II and III and therefore cannot be firmly placed in either layer. These include a shell bead from the southeast part of the tomb, a cylindrical bone pendant, a perforated snail shell (possibly a pendant), an obsidian blade fragment, and a spindle-shaped object, possibly of gypsum, found in the southwest area of the tholos, and a shell in the northwest section.

Stratum II

Beneath Stratum I is a 0.20m thick layer containing the remains of at least nine larnakes. From the fragments of the larnakes, it appears that they were placed both on the floor and on top of one another, due to lack of space within the tholos. Human remains and objects were also found on the surface of the tomb. The remains are organized by sector.

Several objects from Stratum II do not have a precise provenience. These objects include a handle from a MM II spouted skyphos, part of a hemispherical cup, a fragment of a MM IB/II carinated cup, part of a ceramic lamp, a fragment of a MM IA conical footed cup, part of the shoulder of another ceramic vessel, and a ceramic coil-shaped object.

<u>Northwest Sector</u>

Along the northwest tholos wall and near Larnax A3 (Fundcomplex 91) were a gable-shaped seal of boar's tooth and two shells, which possibly belong to the burial within Larnax A23.[286] A foot from a tripod vessel was discovered nearby and along the

[285] I will use Panagiotopoulos' organizational method by referring to the find-spots of objects and human remains by assemblages or groupings (Fundcomplexe) as they relate to the burials vessels, and their location within the Tholos.

[286] To avoid unnecessary confusion, I have retained Panagiotopoulos' numbering system for the larnakes. His catalog is organized alphanumerically. Larnakes are treated first so each larnax is

northwest wall (Fundcomplex 92) and in the center of the tholos, between Larnakes A3 and A6 (Fundcomplex 93), was a skull with a clay discoid object, a rounded piece of steatite, an obsidian blade fragment, a piece of charcoal, a shell, and an animal bone just to the south and another piece of charcoal northeast of the skull. These remains possibly originate from Larnax A3. Small animal bones were found just above the south side of Larnax A14 (Fundcomplex 94). A bell idol was found near the center of the tomb just outside the northwest corner of Larnax A10 (Fundcomplex 97) and animal jaw fragments were discovered among the remains of Larnax A7 (Fundcomplex 98).

Southwest Sector

An MM IB/II hemispherical cup was above the southwest part of Larnax A5 (Fundcomplex 95). Among the fragments of Larnakes A7, A9, and A10 in the southwest part of Tholos E (Fundcomplex 96) were a bone with signs of working at one end, animal jaw fragments, and other animal bones. Finally, in the south part the tholos, near Larnakes A18 and A19 (Fundcomplex 99) were a skull, an obsidian blade, a grinding stone of limestone, and fragments of an animal jaw and tooth.

Stratum II-III

Many of these assemblages consist of fractured larnakes that were found within other larnakes or near the rims of lower burial vessels. It is likely that they were placed on top of the lower larnakes but they do not necessarily represent a chronologically distinct period of use. They are therefore considered part of both Stratum 2 and Stratum 3.[287]

Northeast Sector

Fragments of a larnax (unnumbered, Fundcomplex 48) were found within Larnax A2. Part of a small box-shaped larnax (Larnax A28, Fundcomplex 49) was found above

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assigned a running number following an A. This running number will appear out of order as Panagiotopoulos uses a different organizational system – first listing the assemblages from the burial vessels, organized by those around the sides of the tholos and then in the center of the tomb, and then providing the remains and objects from outside the vessels, organized by sector (counter-clockwise northeast to southeast). I have employed an organizational method based on sector to 1. maintain whatever consistency is possible among tomb descriptions and 2. to retain as much contextual information as possible by placing burial vessels and surface burials in the same description.

[287] In the description of the strata within the upper burial level, Panagiotopoulos explains that these assemblages are part of Stratum 3 (III) but in the list of assemblages he labels them as Stratum 2 (II) (2002, 14–15, 23). In the surface plans of the strata, Fundkomplexe 49-53 appear within the plan labeled "Strata 2-3", while 48, 55, and 56 are shown within "Stratum 3". Fundcomplex 54 does not appear within any of the plans (2002, pl. 4).

Larnakes A5 and A6 oriented east-west and other fragments of Larnax A28 were found below Larnax A16.

Northwest Sector

Larnax A3 (Fundcomplex 50): Box-shaped. Poorly preserved. Larnax A3 was discovered in the northwest area of the tomb and was apparently placed on top of Larnakes A14 and A23, oriented northeast to southeast. Remains from a single burial were discovered inside the larnax with a fragment of a ceramic lamp, a shell, and some animal bones. The skull was on the southeast side of the vessel with fragments of femurs on both the southeast and southwest sides, and small bone fragments scattered throughout. A shell and several small animal bones were near the skull. Below the skull was part of a ceramic lamp, another fragment of which was discovered in the west part of the tomb, outside the larnax. A gable-shaped seal made of boar's tooth (mentioned in the discussion of Stratum II) may also have once been within this larnax.

Larnax A10 (Fundcomplex 53): Box-shaped. Poorly preserved. Located in the west sector of the tholos interior and likely stacked on top of Larnax A12, A13, or A17. The east wall of the vessel has a painted Linear A inscription. The number of individuals within the larnax is unclear but small cranial fragments were found in the south half of the vessel with other bones and some animal bones, including jaw fragments from two animals, a flint flake, and a small perforated ceramic object.

Near the west wall of the tholos were fragments of a box-shaped larnax (Larnax A7, Fundcomplex 51) with no discernable associated remains or objects. Just east of these were parts of bathtub-shaped Larnax A9 (Fundcomplex 52), which was likely stacked on other larnakes.

Southeast Sector

Larnax A16 (Fundcomplex 56): Box-shaped. Poorly preserved. Located in the east part of Tholos E, between Larnax A4 and A11, and oriented northwest to southeast, but likely not *in situ*. A skull and several bones were inside the fragmentary remains of the larnax.

Larnax A24 (Fundcomplex 55): Bathtub-shaped. Poorly preserved. Larnax A24 was likely placed on top of Larnax A4, and possibly Larnakes A17 and A19, as fragments of Larnax A24 were found to the E of and within Larnax A4. Among the remains of Larnax A24 were an obsidian blade and fragments of two ceramic cups, which were likely originally located inside the larnax.

Fragments of a bathtub-shaped larnax (Larnax A22, Fundcomplex 54) were discovered in the south part of the tholos between Larnakes A14, A17, A19, A20, and A21 and inside Larnax A17.

Stratum III

Stratum III, ca. 0.40m thick, is also filled with burial vessels and is marked by the bottoms of the larnakes that were found on the surface of the tomb. There were fewer stones in this layer and there were, at minimum, 32 larnakes and two pithoi found mostly *in situ*. The burial vessels were closely spaced but the area between the vessels and between the vessels and the walls also contained the remains of burials. It is uncertain whether these deposits were intentionally made on the surface, if they were deliberately relocated from burials within vessels, or if they were redeposited in these spaces as part of the fragmentation that took place during the collapse of the roof. In some cases, the excavators have suggested one of these options but for most it remains unclear. The burial vessels and depositions from the surface of the tomb are organized below by location within the tomb based on sectors and proceeding counter-clockwise from northeast to southeast.

Northeast Sector

Pithos B2 (Fundcomplex 26): Pithoid vessel. Height: 0.33m Max Diameter: 0.565m. Poorly preserved. Located just north of the entrance to Tholos E and near Larnax A1. The remains of one disturbed burial were discovered inside the pithos, along with half of larnax lid, which likely caused the collapse of the pithos. Fragments of the skull were found in the northeast area of the fragmentary pithos while parts of femurs, fragments of a MM I conical footed cup, a MM II cylindrical cup, and animal teeth were discovered to the south of Pithos B2, just east of Larnax A11.

Larnax A1 (Fundcomplex 27): Box-shaped. Length: 1.06m Width: 0.43m Preserved Height: 0.18m. Located on the northeast tholos wall, between Pithos B2 and Larnax A2, and oriented north-south. The lid was found nearby between Larnakes A1 and A11. Inside the larnax were two skulls and many bones. One skull was found in the southwest corner and the other, poorly preserved, was along the north side of the vessel. Near the bottom of the larnax were many fragments of femurs and a ceramic ring-shaped object. Animal bones and antlers from caprines were found in the fill of the larnax.

Larnax A2 (Fundcomplex 28): Box-shaped. Length: 0.98m Width: 0.43m Preserved Height: 0.18m. Located along the north wall of the tholos between Larnakes A1 and A15 and oriented north-south. Fragments of another larnax, which must have been placed on

top of Larnax A2, were discovered near the top of the vessel. Below these fragments were parts of the lid of Larnax A2 as well as skeletal remains from one individual and some objects. Parts of a skull were found in the southern end and most of the bones were found in the center of the vessel. Fragments of animal bones were discovered in the southeast corner with ca. 10 fragments of ceramics, mostly cups, but also an open vessel, and a jug.

Larnax A5 (Fundcomplex 41): Box-shaped. Length: 0.85m Width: 0.42m Preserved Height: 0.15m. Located in the center of the tomb and oriented east-west. The remains of a single individual were discovered with a few objects below the fragmentary remains of the larnax lid. The skull was badly damaged with fragments found at both ends of the vessel. Along the west side were some scattered animal bones and a bronze seal ring was discovered nearby among some fragments of finger-bones. The partial remains of a tripod vessel (two feet) were also discovered.

Larnax A6 (Fundcomplex 40): Box-shaped. Length: 0.76m Width: 0.38m Height: 0.46m. Located in the north part of the central area and oriented east-west. Although the larnax is small it contained four skulls and many other bones. In the higher level of the larnax fill were two skulls, with one in the northwest corner and another near the northeast corner, long bones from two individuals, and several fragments of the larnax lid. Below the remains were two other skulls, one along the east side of the vessel and the other along the north. Bones, including the lower jaw of a small animal, were also found within the larnax and, according to the notebook, fragments of a cup were also present.

Larnax A11 (Fundcomplex 39): Box-shaped. Length: 0.95m Width: 0.48m Preserved Height: 0.28m. Located in the east part of the center of the tholos, directly west of the entrance, suggesting that it was one of the last burial vessels added to the tomb. Larnax A11 was oriented north-south. In addition to the remains of one individual, the larnax held several objects beneath fragments of the lid. Most of the human remains were located in the southeast corner with some teeth along the west wall and in the north part of the vessel along with some long bones. Near the skull was a fragment of an obsidian blade and a shell was found along the west side. In the fill of the vessel were also a faience button-shaped seal, a cylindrical shell bead, and some fragments of a MM IA rounded cup and a MM II carinated cup, as well as three pebbles and some small bone fragments with marks from burning. Near the top of the larnax, in the northwest corner, were a fragment of rock crystal and an animal tooth, though it is unclear whether they were originally part of the larnax assemblage.

Larnax A15 (Fundcomplex 29): Box-shaped. Length: 0.93m Width: 0.48m Height: 0.40m. Located along the north wall of the tholos near Larnakes A2, A6, and A23, oriented north-south. A flat stone was used to level the uneven bedrock beneath the larnax. Fragments of the lid were discovered inside the vessel, beneath which were the remains of a single burial, fragments of ceramic vessels some animal bones, and a seashell. Parts of the skull were found along the east wall of larnax as well as in the northwest and southwest corners, while the fragmentary bones were discovered mostly in the middle. In the southeast corner were several animal bones and the shell was recovered from the northeast corner. According to the notebooks, a fragment from a conical cup and the foot of a tripod were found within Larnax A15.

Small animal bones were found just northwest of the entrance between the east tholos wall and Pithos B2 (Fundcomplex 58) and further west, along the northeast wall and near Larnax A1 (Fundcomplex 59), was a skull and some fragments of femurs. Between Larnakes A1 and A2 and the north wall of the tomb (Fundcomplex 60) were a skull and a cylindrical bone pendant, which likely came from one of the nearby larnakes. Two fragments of a single skull and some femur fragments were discovered in the area around Larnakes A2, A15 and the north tholos wall (Fundcomplex 61) and between Larnakes A6 and A15 (Fundcomplex 62) were a few unattributable fragments of larnakes. Toward the center of the tomb and west of the entrance, near Larnakes A5, A6, and A11 (Fundcomplex 63), were a complete ceramic platter, part of a small conical cup, some fragments of long bones, as well as some pieces of a small larnax (Larnax A28). Animal bones and some larnax fragments were discovered between Larnakes A6 and A5 (Fundcomplex 64) and in the area around Larnakes A5 and A11 (Fundcomplex 65) were a few more animal bones.

Northwest Sector

Larnax A13 (Fundcomplex 43): Box-shaped. Preserved Length: 0.92m Width: 0.48m Preserved Height: 0.29m. Located in the northeast area in the middle of Tholos E and oriented northeast to southwest. The interior of the larnax was disturbed but two skulls and several bones were discovered. One skull was found in southwest corner and the other, which was fragmentary, was found in the northwest corner. Antlers of caprines were found in the southeast corner, and among the remains were small fragments of bird bones.

Larnax A14 (Fundcomplex 31): Box-shaped. Preserved Length: 1.11m Width: 0.42m Preserved Height: 0.10m. Located along the northwest tholos wall, near Larnakes A8, A13, and A23, and oriented northeast to southwest. Larnax A3 was likely on top of

Larnax A14 and Larnax A23. Human remains were found within the vessel but the number of interments is unknown. Fragments of a skull were discovered in the southwest corner near the top of the larnax, while parts of vertebra and femurs were in the center and the northwest side. Near the bottom of the larnax were parts of the walls and the lid with more skeletal fragments. Several objects were also found within the vessel including a conical steatite seal near the southwest side, a spherical steatite bead, and a conical silver bead were found in the south part of the larnax, and small animal bones and tooth fragments were along the west side.

Larnax A23 (Fundcomplex 30): Box-shaped. Poorly preserved. Located near the north wall of the tholos, between Larnakes A14 and A15, and oriented southwest to northeast. Larnax A3 was likely stacked on top of Larnax A23 and Larnax A14. A skull was found just above the bottom of the vessel and likely belongs to this context. Fragments of several bones were also discovered within the larnax but no other objects are associated.

Larnax A31 (Fundcomplex 42): Bathtub-shaped. Poorly preserved. Located in the north part of the central area and oriented north-south. MNI and find-spots are unclear given the fragmentary nature of the larnax and its contents, but a steatite discoid seal and a miniature bronze scraper were discovered in the southwest corner. Small bone fragments were found throughout the fill of the vessel.

An animal tooth and a complete MM II jug were found along the west side of Larnax A15 (Fundcomplex 66). Two steatite beads and some larnax fragments were revealed in the area around Larnakes A3, A6 and A13 (Fundcomplex 67) and in the space between Larnakes A14 and A23 (Fundcomplex 68) were a complete skull and fragments of a second skull among other pieces of human bone and some larnax fragments.

Southwest Sector

Larnax A8 (Fundcomplex 32): Box-shaped. Length: 1.03m Width: 0.50m Preserved Height: 0.13m. Located along the west wall of Tholos E, near Larnakes A12, A13, and A14, as well as Pithos B1. Oriented northwest to southeast. Fragments of the lid and several flat stones from the collapsed roof were discovered inside the vessel. Beneath these were the remains of a single disturbed interment as well as some animal bones. It is likely that the skull was originally placed in the north side as a large number of fragments were discovered there with some fragmentary long bones, leading Panagiotopoulos to suggest that the burial was contracted. The animal bones were mostly found along the west side of the larnax.

Pithos B1 (Fundcomplex 33): Pithoid vessel. Height: 0.405-0.41m Max Diameter: 0.42m. Located along the southwest wall of the tomb, near Larnakes A8, A12, and A18. Inside the pithos were the skeletal remains of an adult burial and some animal bones, mostly near the bottom of the vessel. Pithos B1 was placed on a pedestal-like structure, which contained three skulls (discussed below).

Larnax A12 (Fundcomplex 44): Box-shaped. Poorly preserved. Located in the southwest part of the tomb's center and oriented northwest to southeast. It appears that Larnax A10 was likely stacked on the east part of Larnax A12. Two individuals were discovered within the larnax. One skull was found in the southwest corner and the second, more fragmentary, was in the northeast. Fragments of the lid and many human bones were found near the bottom of the vessel and a faience cylinder seal was found along the west side along with some animal bones. A piece of obsidian was also discovered inside the larnax.

Larnax A17 (Fundcomplex 45): Box-shaped. Length: 0.90m Width: 0.46m Height: 0.44m. Located in the middle of Tholos E and oriented northwest to southeast. A single individual with some burial goods were recovered from the larnax. Stones from the roof collapse, fragments of the lid, and parts of other burial vessels, including those from a bathtub-shaped larnax (Larnax A22) and another box-shaped burial vessel, were found within A17. The skull was in the south part and scattered bones were found throughout. Small animal bones, including a jaw, were in the north part and a pillow-shaped seal of serpentine was found within the fill of the larnax.

Larnax A18 (Fundcomplex 34): Bathtub-shaped. Length: 0.90m Width: 0.46m Height: 0.44m. Located near the southwest wall of the tholos interior, near Pithos B1 and Larnakes A12 and A19, and oriented northwest to southeast. The lid of Larnax A29 and a large stone were placed beneath Larnax A18, perhaps for balance. The remains of three individuals were discovered within the larnax along with vessel fragments and some animal bones. The remains of the lid, which was almost complete, was found near the top of the larnax. All three skulls were discovered in the north half of the larnax. Several unrelated skull fragments were found in the south part of the vessel. Postcranial elements, including several femurs, were found scattered around the bottom of the larnax. Animal bones and teeth from rabbits, caprines, and pigs were found throughout the interior fill. According to the notebook, sherds of a hemispherical cup and a carinated cup were also discovered.

Larnax A19 (Fundcomplex 35): Box-shaped. Length: 1.11m Width: 0.45m Height: 0.35m. Located on the south wall of the tholos, near Larnakes A18 and A20, and oriented north-south. Seven skulls were found within the larnax as well as other postcranial remains and some animal bones. Fragments of the lid were discovered near the top of the larnax and one skull was found at the northeast corner. Below this layer were the other six skulls, all located in the south part of the Larnax A19. Animal bones were found throughout the fill of the larnax.

Two fragmentary skulls were found in the area between Larnakes A12 and A13 near the west wall of the tholos (Fundcomplex 69) and just to the east of these, near the northeast corner of Larnax A12 (Fundcomplex 70) was a small steatite bowl, found in an inverted position, as well as some small animal bones and fragments of bathtub- and box-shaped larnakes. Part of the rim of a MM II spouted skyphos was discovered near the southwest tholos wall, Pithos B1, and Larnax A8 (Fundcomplex 71). Below Pithos B1, which was placed on a low pedestal (Fundcomplex 72), were three skulls, beneath one of which were 10 small, rounded pieces of friable stone. To the northeast, near the west side of Larnax A12 (Fundcomplex 73), were larnax fragments and parts of a skull that likely belonged to one of the nearby burial vessels. Two skulls and several piled bones were found in the area between the southwest tholos wall and Larnax A18 (Fundcomplex 74) and were perhaps moved from one nearby burial vessels. Among the skulls were also fragments of caprine antlers, animal bones, and two shells. More animal bones were discovered near the southwest wall of Tholos E and Larnakes A18 and A19 (Fundcomplex 75), and between Larnakes A12 and A19 (Fundcomplex 76) was the lid of an alabaster vessel, fragments of which were discovered nearby. Many large fragments of a larnax were found with pieces of long bones and other skeletal remains, as well as a cushion-shaped seal of steatite, all of which may be part of a surface burial or may have originated in the fragmentary larnax located toward the center of the room, off the south tholos wall and among Larnakes A4, A12, A17, and A19-A21 (Fundcomplex 77). Finally, another small animal bone was found near the center of tholos, on the east side of Larnax A17 (Fundcomplex 78).

Southeast Sector

Larnax A4 (Fundcomplex 46): Box-shaped. Preserved Length: 0.82m Width: 0.47m Preserved Height: 0.23m. Located west of the entrance, to the southwest of Larnax A11 and A16, and oriented northwest to southeast. Fragments of Larnax A24 were found within Larnax A4 and it is likely that A24 had been placed on top of the vessel. The remains of a single burial, including the skull and vertebra, were found in the southwest corner and it is likely that the individual was originally placed in a contracted position

with head oriented to the west. A fish bone was found just above the skull and several ceramic fragments were found in the fill of the larnax. These include a foot from a tripod vessel, a fragment of a MM I carinated cup, and neck fragments from a jug.

Larnax A20 (Fundcomplex 36): Box-shaped. Length: 0.77m Width: 0.395m Height: 0.38m. Located on the south wall of the tomb and oriented north-south. A flat stone was placed beneath the larnax for balance on the uneven surface of the bedrock. The remains of a single burial were discovered along with many objects. It has been suggested that the small size of the larnax indicates that it was intended for a child's interment. Stones and fragments of the lid were found near the top of the larnax and the skull was found among these remains in the north part. Several associated bones were found near the bottom of the vessel. Directly below the skull was the remains of a beaded necklace (54 beads total) consisting of 47 spherical beads – 42 of amethyst, three of sard, one faience, and one steatite. Seven more beads of amethyst were discovered nearby – four in the fill, one from the east side of the larnax, and two others just outside the larnax between Larnakes A20 and A21. In the center of the vessel were 14 more faience spherical beads, as well as some fragments, likely belonging to a second necklace (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 619–20 Fig. 660). Two fragmentary bronze needles were found near the base of the larnax. Throughout the fill were animal bones and teeth as well as an obsidian blade. According to the notebook, fragments from a few vessels, including the foot of a tripod vessel, were discovered within Larnax A20.

Larnax A21 (Fundcomplex 37): Box-shaped. Length: 1.05m Width: 0.45m Preserved Height: 0.35m. Located near the south wall of Tholos E, just east of Larnax A20, and similarly oriented north-south. Skeletal material from a single individual as well as some pottery fragments, a seashell, and some animal bones were discovered within the vessel. Fragments of a skull were found interspersed with parts of the larnax lid in the south half of the vessel. Other bones were found throughout the fill. Along the west side was a single seashell, and some animal bones were found in the southwest corner. A few ceramic pieces were mentioned in the notebook, including part of the base and foot of a MM I handleless jug.

Larnax A25 (Fundcomplex 38): Bathtub-shaped. Poorly preserved. Located south of entrance along the southeast wall of the tholos, oriented northeast to southwest. The larnax held the remains of one individual with skull fragments concentrating mostly in the northwest corner along with fragments of the broken larnax and its lid. Other postcranial remains, including fragments of the pelvis, were discovered near the base of the vessel. In the southwest part of the larnax, femur fragments were discovered with

animal bones and antlers in the southwest corner. In the center were a cylinder seal of hard, black stone, possibly hematite, and a discoid rock crystal seal.

Larnax A27 (Fundcomplex 47): Box-shaped. Partially preserved. Located in the east part of the center of the tholos, near the entrance and Larnakes A4 and A11, and oriented northwest to southeast. Likely one of the last burial vessels added to Tholos E based on its proximity to the entrance. Due to its fragmentary state, no human remains or objects could be associated with the larnax.

Many bones and objects were discovered in the area around Larnakes A4 and A5 in the central part of Tholos E (Fundcomplex 79), including two fragmentary skulls, a cylindrical seal of ivory, part of a MM I jug, and some animal bones. Panagiotopoulos suggests that the fragmentary nature of the remains indicates that they fell from one of the nearby larnakes. A skull and parts of long bones came to light beneath the long side Larnax A16 and near Larnakes A4, A5, and A11 (Fundcomplex 80). Larnax fragments were found near Larnakes A4 and A16 (Fundcomplex 81) and a fragment of an animal tooth was found near Larnax A11 (Fundcomplex 82). Two pieces of an ivory cylindrical seal were found far from one another among fragments of larnakes and some skeletal remains in the area southwest of the entrance among Larnakes A4, A11, and A16 (Fundcomplex 83); these perhaps originated in Larnax A16. Antler fragments were recovered from the space between the east tholos wall and Larnax A25 (Fundcomplex 84) and parts of an alabaster vessel in the shape of a bird were found in the spaces around Larnakes A21 and A25 and the southeast wall of the tomb, between the south wall and Larnax A20, as well as near Larnakes A12 and A19 (Fundcomplex 85). The various findspots have lead Panagiotoloulos to suggest that the vessel fell from one of the higher larnakes. Part of an obsidian blade and a grinding stone, possibly sandstone, were found nearby. Animal bones and caprine antlers were discovered between the south tomb wall and Larnax A21 (Fundcomplex 86) and nearby, between Larnax A 20 and the tholos wall (Fundcomplex 87), were more fragments of the alabaster vase mentioned above and an obsidian blade.

Area in Front of the Entrance

A human tooth and part of an animal tooth were discovered along the east side of Larnax A11 (Fundcomplex 88) and in the area southwest and west of the entrance (Fundcomplex 89) were several objects including a fragment of a marble vessel, an obsidian scraper, and a cylindrical bone pendant.

LOWER BURIAL LAYER- STRATUM IV

Stratum IV constitutes the thin layer beneath the burial vessels and the spaces in between. The thickness of the layer varies from 0.03 to 0.10m based on the height of the bedrock, which slopes from the highest point in the north and northwest area down to the south and southeast part of the tomb. It appears that, like Tholos Γ, the layer was cleared and then leveled before the introduction of the later burials, likely for balance. Although the layer is quite thin, it is filled with bone fragments and objects. Because of the nature of the clearing and leveling, there are no primary burials and the layout of the tomb cannot be determined. Although the layer was cleared, it appears to be undisturbed (with some exceptions) after the sealing of the layer in MM IA.

Based on the pottery from this layer, its use is dated to EM IIA. During this period, it appears that burials were made on the floor of the tomb. Many of the objects and skeletal remains were found beneath the pithoi and larnakes but they were also found in the small spaces between. In addition, the objects with secure find-spots listed below, four fragments of vessels were discovered in the fill of the layer.

Northeast Sector

The soil was thin in this area due to the sloping bedrock and there are correspondingly few finds. Beneath burial Pithos B2 (Fundcomplex 1) was a flint core, and the fragmentary lid from Larnax A30 was discovered below Larnakes A1 and A2 (Fundcomplex 2). Beneath the center of Larnax A15 (Fundcomplex 3) was a flat stone used to level the floor. To the north of the stone were some scattered skeletal remains and to the south were animal bones and a marble fragment under the southwest corner. A few scatters of bones and a conical steatite bead were found below Larnax A6 (Fundcomplex 4) and underneath Larnax A5 (Fundcomplex 5) were more small bone pieces, including three cranial fragments and part of a femur, as well as a gold bead and a flint flake. Finally, small larnax fragments and an ivory seal shaped like a hammer were discovered below Larnax A11 (Fundcomplex 6). Two bone pendants, one semi-cylindrical and one cylindrical, and three obsidian blade fragments were discovered in the fill of the northeast sector.

Northwest Sector

The soil layer was also thin in this area but there were more objects in the northwest section than in the northeast. A small double vase, part of a small, open vessel of white marble, the upper half of a Cycladic marble figurine, and a conical steatite bead were recovered from the area below Larnax A31 (Fundcomplex 7). Beneath Larnax A14 (Fundcomplex 8) were a few bones, a pyramidal steatite pendant, and an obsidian blade.

Several skeletal remains and objects were discovered in the space between the northwest tholos wall, Larnax A14, and Larnax A8 (Fundcomplex 9) where the soil was slightly thicker (ca. 8cm). Two skulls were found in this area – one near the southeast side of Larnax A14 and the other just south of the first. Among these skulls were a cylindrical bone pendant, a wedge-shaped serpentine seal, an annular steatite bead, a miniature steatite vessel, an obsidian blade fragment, and five sherds from a rounded, triangularly shaped ceramic vessel. Finally, a pyramidal steatite seal and an obsidian blade were found with a skull under Larnax A13 (Fundcomplex 10).

Southwest Sector

The soil in this area was of varying thicknesses ranging from ca. 0.04 to 0.08m. Below Larnax A8 (Fundcomplex 11) was a ring-shaped steatite bead, and beneath Pithos B1 (Fundcomplex 12) were several bones, a cylindrical bone pendant, part of an obsidian blade, and part of an askos. Many bones and objects were discovered in the space between Larnakes A8, A12, A13, A18, and Pithos B1 (Fundcomplex 13), including a small piece of gold sheet and two bone seals – one theriomorphic and one knob-shaped and in poor condition – as well as one almost complete obsidian blade and three other fragments of obsidian blades. Beneath Larnax A12 (Fundcomplex 14) were the remains of fragmentary surface interments, including parts of a skull, and fragments of a (possibly intrusive) larnax lid.[288] Another larnax lid (A29) was discovered below Larnax A18 (Fundcomplex 15) along with several human bones, including a skull, a cylindrical bone pendant, and a partially worked piece of animal bone. A skull surrounded by 29 small rounded stones and poorly preserved skeletal remains were underneath Larnax A29 (Fundcomplex 16).

Many objects with bones were discovered below Larnax A19 and in the area between Larnakes A19 and A20 (Fundcomplex 17). These include three skulls with associated bones, a conical seal of ivory, a tongue-shaped seal of chlorite shale, a bronze ring, two cylindrical bone pendants, a spool-shaped steatite bead, a knife handle made of bone, five fragments of obsidian blades, a shale disk-shaped object, a similar oval object of stone, and some animal bones. A skull, a fragment of gold sheet, an obsidian blade, and a flint flake were found below Larnax A19 (Fundcomplex 18). Under Larnax A17 (Fundcomplex 19) were six obsidian blades and two fragments of wheel-made MM cups.[289] Finally, a skull and three obsidian blades were found in the area between

[288] Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki have interpreted the larnax lid as belong in this layer, which they date to EM III, while Panagiotopoulos sees the lid as intrusive (Panagiotopoulos 2002, 16).
[289] Panagiotopoulos considers these MM cup fragments intrusive and this area to be somewhat disturbed (2002, 17).

Larnakes A4 and A17 (Fundcomplex 20). A cylindrical bone pendant was also found in the fill from the southwest sector.

Southeast Sector

The soil was thickest in the southeast sector and the few assemblages in this area contained many finds. Small cranial fragments, a cylindrical steatite seal with two sealing surfaces, and a cylindrical bone pendant were discovered below the north half Larnax A4 (Fundcomplex 21), and a mostly complete skull with another cylindrical bone pendant were found underneath the southeast side of Larnax A4 (Fundcomplex 22). Perhaps the largest group of objects in this layer was discovered below Larnax A20 (Fundcomplex 23). These include five cylindrical bone pendants, two boar's tooth pendants, one of which is semi-cylindrical, a lentoid shaped object possibly of ivory, a steatite discoid bead, a triangular object made of antler, and a white marble plate. Below Larnax A21 (Fundcomplex 24) were many bones, fragments of a skull, a cylindrical bone pendant, and a worked bone fragment. Poorly preserved skeletal remains, including skull and tooth fragments were found below Larnax A25 (Fundcomplex 25) with a part of a bronze double ring.

Between the Upper and Lower Burial Layers

A complete obsidian scraper and a trapezoidal steatite bead were discovered between the upper and lower burial levels and cannot be assigned to either context. The obsidian scraper was found near the southwest tholos wall near Larnax A8 and Pithos B1, and the steatite bead was found near the north tomb wall near Larnax A15.

Entrance

The entrance and the area to the southwest were the most disturbed by cultivation, and have little in the way of preserved stratigraphy. There were, however, small stones and some objects near bedrock, as well as a fragmentarily preserved larnax.

Larnax A26 (Fundcomplex 57): Shape unclear. Poorly preserved. Located within the mouth of the entrance and oriented east-west. A skull was found nearby and likely belonged to the original content of the larnax.

Among the fragments of Larnax A26 in the entrance (Fundcomplex 90) were also an undecorated MM II cylindrical cup and some animal bones.

Outside the Tomb

An obsidian blade fragment was found just outside the southwest section of Tholos E.

BURIAL BUILDING 3

Date: MM IA-MM III/LM IA
Number of Rooms: 5
Preservation: Good
Dimensions: 6.50 by 7.90m
Years Excavated: 1966, 1973
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1966b, 180–84, 1967b, 157–60, 1971a, 281, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 106–12, 1997, 194–98)
Other Discussions: (Soles 1992, 136–39; Sbonias 1995, 107; J. S. Phillips 2008, 32; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 167)
Figure: 160

BB 3 was constructed in the MM IA period to the south of Tholos B.[290] Like Tholos B, it is almost square, ca. 6.50 by 7.90m, and had a second story. The excavators have identified six rooms within BB 3 and five separate building phases. Also like Tholos B, BB 3 remained in use into the LM period and therefore provides limited information about late Pre- and Protopalatial burial practices at Archanes-Phourni.

The two parallel west rooms were constructed first, one to the north and one to the south, both with east-facing entryways and both with sockets preserved to hold wooden posts for the upper floor. Transverse walls were later added, perhaps to separate older burials. The four east rooms were added at some point later, and in the final alterations to the building a stone staircase was added at the southeast corner of the structure.[291] Fragments of larnakes, human remains, and fine objects were found scattered around the upper burial layers in the north and west rooms, likely fallen from later burials on the upper floor.

Four larnakes were discovered in the two north rooms, placed on an artificial earthen mound. The two in the Northwest Room contained the remains of child burials with fine objects, dating to the later use of the building. The two south rooms contained the remains of earlier surface burials, which date to the MM IA period. Although these

[290] BB 3 is also called Building Γ in the earlier publications (Sakellarakis 1966b, 180–84, 1967b, 157–60).
[291] Soles suggests that BB 5 is actually a series of additions to BB 3. For more information see the detailed note below concerning BB 5 and (Soles 1992, 136–39).

burials are poorly preserved, there were at least two burials in the Southwest Room and one in the smaller South-Central Room.

Southwest Room
A few burial objects accompanied the two preserved surface burials in the Southwest Room. Among the human remains were discovered an ivory comb, an ivory hieroglyphic seal, some fragments of an obsidian blade, as well as one animal tooth and a few seashells.

South-Central Room
The single burial discovered in the South-Central Room had several associated burial objects. These were similar to the objects found in the Southwest Room and include two ivory seals, one of which depicts hieroglyphic signs, an ivory pendant, an obsidian blade, and a few seashells.

BURIAL BUILDING 5

Date: EM III – MM IA
Number of Rooms: 10
Preservation: Good
Years Excavated: 1967, 1971-1972, 1978, 1982-1983
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1967b, 159–61, 1971a, 281, 1972, 319–27, Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1978, 320, 1982, 501, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 104–6, 1997, 199–201)
Other Discussions: (E. B. Miller 1984, 32–33; Soles 1992, 136–39; Sbonias 1995, 90; Karantzali 1996, 69; Koehl 2006, 73; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 168)
Figure: 72

BB 5 was built over top of an earlier structure, BB 25, and was excavated over many years.[292] It is a large, agglomerative structure with around 10 rooms, which were in use at various times during the EM III – MM IA periods. The phases of construction and use are not always clear, and the relationship between BB 5 and BB 3, which lies to the northeast, is also ambiguous. The excavator has argued that BB 5 predates BB 3, the construction of which cut into several of the rooms belonging to BB 5. Alternatively,

[292] In 1967 the building is called Burial Building E, but is called Burial Building 5 beginning in 1971.

Soles has argued, based on a reanalysis of the architecture, that BB 5 is actually a series of additions to the earlier structure, BB 3.[293]

According to the excavator, the original building appears to have been made up of six, parallel rooms, which the he calls the Central Wing, divided into an east and west part.[294] The west part of the central wing is made up of three narrow rooms – Rooms 1, 2, and 3. The east part is made up of Room 5 to the north, and Room 6 to the south. The sixth room of the central wing is not clear but it appears that either Room 5 or Room 6 was divided into two rooms.[295] Beneath Rooms 5 and 6 an earlier, slightly curving wall, running roughly north-south was identified and likely belongs to the earlier burial structure, BB 25, on which BB 5 is constructed. This wall divides the lowest stratum of

[293] The excavator suggests that the configuration of BB 5 and BB 3, in which BB 3 nestles snuggly into the northeast corner of BB 5, was created when BB 5 was partially destroyed in this area by the construction of BB 3. He notes the thin north wall of Room 7, which he says appears to have been cut at the west side of the wall to make room for the south wall of BB 3 (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 106–8, 1997, 196). Soles, on the other hand, argues convincingly that BB 5 is actually a series of three additions to BB 3. First, the addition of three rooms to the south (Rooms 7, 8a, and 8b), which close the gap between the south wall of BB 3 and Tholos Γ. Next an addition made to the west (Rooms 5 and 6), followed by two more to the west (Rooms 1, 2, and 3 and then Room 4). He notes that the north wall of Room 5 carefully abuts the west wall of BB 3 and the other east-west cross walls of these rooms, which do not meet the west wall, were deliberately constructed after the west to leave entryways to these rooms (Soles 1992, 136–39). The chronology of BB 3, however, makes any interpretation of the structure very difficult. Even if BB 3 was built prior to BB 5, perhaps in the EM III period, the majority of the finds from BB 3 are of LM date. It appears that the structure was cleared of the majority of its earlier remains at some point before its reuse in the Neopalatial period. Whether BB 5 was constructed first and intended as its own building, or an addition to BB 3, is therefore irrelevant for the purposes of this study as all of the depositions which date between EM III and MM II are located within the 10 rooms of BB 5.

[294] The six rooms are not entirely clear from the publications or plans. In the final publication, the excavators report that there are six rooms in the central wing "in two parallel rows" (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 199). Rooms 1, 2, and 3 in the west part are clear. Room 6 is certainly the southernmost room of the east part of the central wing, identified by the excavators as being shaped like a Γ. The architectural layout of Room 5 is less clear. It was identified in 1967 as the east Room, and excavated in 1971. The plan published in 1971 shows a single room but in the text, the excavator mentions that there were traces of an earlier, curving wall running below Room 5 (and 6), which likely belongs to the earlier building, BB 25. There is also an image of the room from 1971 clearly showing an east-west wall within Room 5 at a lower depth, with the curving wall even further below. The east-west wall is not mentioned in the text. The plan in 1972, however, now shows Room 5 divided by an east-west cross wall but the discovery of this wall is not mentioned and spaces are not discussed as separate contexts. Within Room 6, however, two spaces, separated by the earlier wall mentioned above, are discussed as discrete contexts. What the excavator intends as the sixth room of the central wing, a divided Room 5 or a divided Room 6, is not clear.

[295] See note above.

Room 6 into two, distinct context, which is perhaps the sixth room of the central wing. In addition to this earlier wall, Room 5 is shown in the later published plans with an east-west cross wall dividing it into two rooms.

Room 4, a large, orthogonal room with a north-south axis, was later added to the west of the central wing. Three more rooms, Rooms 7, 8a, and 8b, were added to the east. Room 7 is a small, square room directly east of Room 6 with a false door. Room 8 is located east of Room 7 and south of BB 3. It was divided into two rooms, Rooms 8a and 8b, by a short, north-south cross wall, in an early phase of use.

Room 1 (North Room of Central Wing)
Room 1 is the north room of what was called the Central Wing in the first excavations of this structure in 1967. There is no mention of human remains found in this space. It was filled with fallen stones and many animal bones were discovered in the fill. There were also two fragments of obsidian blades, one seashell, and fragments from a ceramic channel.

Room 2 (Central Room of Central Wing)
Located south of Room 1 in the Central Wing. Room 2 was excavated in 1967 and again in 1978. In 1967, excavators discovered fragments of bones and teeth, as well as two obsidian blade fragments, parts of larnakes, and more of the ceramic channel discovered in Room 1. In 1978, they found several more human and animal teeth, as well as a few sherds from a vessel with added plastic decoration.

Below some stones placed along the east wall, a burial was discovered. At this same level throughout the rest of the room were several more fragmentary depositions including some bones, parts of a skull, an obsidian blade, sherds from a pithos and a larnax, fragments of conical cups, and sherds of barbotine ware.

Room 3 (South Room of Central Wing)
Room 3 is the southernmost room of the Central Wing and contained even fewer remains than Rooms 1 and 2 as the surface was close to bedrock. Some fragments of bones and teeth were recovered.

Room 4 (West Room)

Room 4 is a large, north-south room that was added to the west of the Central Wing, at the beginning of the Protopalatial period.[296] Unlike the earlier rooms, Room 4 was full of deposits of human remains, which were placed in burial vessels. Two larnakes and 20 pithoi were discovered in Room 4.[297] Precise numbers of individuals found in each vessel have not been published but the excavator notes that between one and four skulls were found in each of the pithoi.

L1: Shape not given. Dimensions not given. Located in the northwest corner of Room 4. Inside the larnax were 10 skulls. In the northwest part of the larnax were five beads of gold, amethyst, and sard.

In the southeast corner of the room, several objects were found, including a bronze pin, a small fragment of bronze, three obsidian blade fragments, part of the rim of an incised stone vessel, a pendant made of animal tooth, and more than 20 seashells. Finally, Room 4 also held a lapis lazuli cylinder seal, possibly Syrian, depicting a man in a short garment with a staff in his right hand and a curved rod in this left hand.

Room 5 (East Room)

Room 5 was discovered in 1967 and excavated in 1971. It is the north room of the east part of the Central Wing and has a complex architectural history. Room 5 is roughly square and sits to the east of Rooms 1 and 2. At a lower level, an east-west cross wall was discovered that appears to cut the room into two parts – one north and one south – but these spaces are treated as a single context by the excavator. Further below this cross wall is an even earlier wall that runs roughly north-south and continues below the south wall of Room 5 into Room 6 and likely belongs to the earlier burial structure, BB 25.

The excavator notes that depositions were made in more than one burial layer within Room 5 but details about the number or depth of these strata is not provided. In an upper level, there was at least one larnax in the northeast corner of the room. Below this level, burial deposits, including a four-sided ivory seal and an ivory pendant in the shape of a two-headed bird, were found beneath the larnax and in the southwest corner of Room 5. In a lower level associated with the earlier north-south wall, were a few bell-shaped idols in the southwest corner.

[296] Room 4 is also called the West Wing.

[297] No information is provided for the second larnax, therefore, only the first larnax (L1) will be discussed here. Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis report 20 pithoi in the original report and 21 pithoi in the final report (1967b, 160; 1997, 199). I will use the lower number.

Room 6

Room 6 was discovered to the south of Room 5 in 1972 and is Γ-shaped. There are two burial layers within Room 6. The floor of the upper level is covered with large slate-like stones and burials were made on this surface and in one larnax.

L2: Box-shaped. Dimensions not given. Located near Room 7 and oriented north-south. L2 contained a single individual in a contracted position with the head in the north. Near the feet of the individual was an obsidian core.

Surface depositions were made to the west of L2, and the dead were also placed in contracted positions. A bronze scraper was also found in the north part of the room.

In the lower level the room is divided into an east and a west part by the earlier north-south wall. The west part was filled with small stones and contained a few animal teeth. In the east section were animal teeth as well as a conical cup. In the north, near the entrance to Room 5, part of an animal figurine was also discovered.

Room 7

Room 7 is a small, square room that was added to the southeast of Room 6, with a post and lintel doorway in the east. The excavator calls it a false door due to the small size of the doorway and the fact that depositions were made up to the height of lintel, suggesting that deposits were made from above. The small space was filled with human remains – mostly skulls but also long bones – deposited on the surface and in burial vessels.[298] A total of 37 skulls were discovered, many of which were poorly preserved. Some skulls were placed on flat stones while others were in vessels, including perhaps four or five vessels containing child burials. Altogether 19 vases were found in a variety of shapes including jugs, bridge-spouted vases, a lopas, an amphora, and conical cups. Several objects were also found in the fill of the room, including a flattened, cylindrical rock crystal bead, an obsidian flake, and 31 seashells, two of which were perforated, and two of which were found within vases.

Room 8

Room 8 is a long, east-west room located to the east of Room 7. The south wall of BB 3 is also the north extent of Room 8. Room 8 had two phases. In the later phase, it was one large room and burial deposits were made both on the surface and in larnakes and pithoi.

[298] In the final report the excavators mention two burial layers but do not specify which of the objects and human remains were found in which layer (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 200).

In an earlier phase, Room 8 was divided into two smaller rooms by a short, north-south cross wall, which does not reach the south wall of BB 3. Room 8a, located in the west part of the room and the larger of the two earlier rooms, contained only surface burials. Room 8b, located in the east area, is very small. Depositions in this room were made both on the surface and in larnakes. All of the spaces within Room 8 were rich in objects and held many burials.

Because there was no break in the use of this space, some finds were not clearly within either the earlier and later burial layers. Five skulls were discovered above the level of Room 8a and it is unclear if they belong in the earlier room or were part of the later depositions of Room 8.

Room 8 – Newer Burial Layer

This layer of Room 8, which was disturbed by agricultural practices in the area, held burials made on the surface of the tomb and within vessels, including two pithoi and at least five larnakes. Due to the disturbance of this layer, the orientation of the vessels, the number of interments, and associated objects are unclear. A total of 31 poorly preserved skulls were discovered, though it is unclear if they were on the surface or within burial vessels. Two ivory pendants, one discoid and one cylindrical, were discovered within a jar placed in the southeast corner of the room. Many objects were discovered throughout the fill of the room as well including a three-sided seal of green steatite, an ivory hilt from a dagger, a fragment from the base of a stone vessel, the foot of an animal figurine, two obsidian cores and four obsidian flakes, a schist grinding stone, a mortar with traces of white and other pigments, as well as a few ceramic vessels.[299] These include two jugs, a conical vessel with a ring base, and a discoid vessel lid. There were also 25 seashells, some of which were perforated, and some animal teeth found in the fill.

Room 8a – Older Burial Layer

Room 8a is the west of the two earlier rooms discovered beneath Room 8 of BB 5. This room held only surface burials with only a few fragments of larnakes, which are likely intrusive. More than 70 vessels were discovered in a large triangular space in the southwest corner of Room 8a, including lopades, bridge-spouted jars, beaked jugs, one jug, and conical cups. There were no complete skeletons among the ceramics but 11 skulls and some long bones were found. A conical cup was placed on one of the skulls and a black steatite bead was found beneath another.

[299] A similar ivory hilt was discovered in the Mesara (Xanthoudides 1924, 224–26).

The excavator notes that some skull and bone fragments were discovered within the large vessels and suggests that these might be the remains of child burials. Seashells and some fragments of what are likely animal bones, accompany the human remains. Among the bones and ceramics were two seashells, as well as a fragment of bronze sheet, within which was a bronze nail, and an obsidian flake. An assemblage of 24 obsidian blade fragments was found at a slightly lower depth, along with a two-sided ivory seal and a unique cylindrical seal made of lead. Four more seashells were found along the east wall.

In the small space between the west wall, which divides Room 8a and Room 8b, and the south wall of BB 3, were more deposits. A poorly preserved skull was placed between two stones with three beads around it and a fourth found below it. Two of the beads were discoid, one of which was made of greenish black steatite and the other of an unidentified black stone. The third bead was amygdaloidal of some unidentified stone and the fourth was a cylindrical bead made of ivory. Among these were also four square-shaped stones. Near the skull was found an ivory pendant in the shape of a bull and two stone vessels. Two obsidian blades and a small, bull-shaped, ceramic figurine were found to the east of the skull.

Room 8b

Room 8b is the small room to the east of the dividing wall discovered within Room 8. Depositions were made on the surface of the room and within two larnakes and a pithos.

L3: Box-shaped. Length: 1m Width: 0.43m Height: 0.36m. Located along the east wall of the room and in the southeast corner. Oriented north-south. The remains of two individuals and a single sherd were discovered within L3.

L4: Box-shaped. No dimensions given, as the north side was cut by the south wall of BB 3. Located on the west wall and in the northwest corner. Oriented north-south and parallel with L3. The remains of two individuals were discovered within L4.

P1: Located in the southwest corner of the room at a higher level than the larnakes. No finds mentioned.

One skull was found in the northeast corner of the room, near L3. Three others were placed in the space between the larnakes and the southwest corner of the room. A jug, a bridge-spouted vase, and a conical cup were discovered beneath them. A spool-shaped ivory seal with two sealing surfaces was discovered in the southwest corner of the room during conservation of the walls in 1982.

Beneath the larnakes and among some stones a small ceramic cup and an open stone vessel were discovered along with many seashells. A ceramic rhyton in the shape of a bull was also found under the northeast corner of L3.

A few other small finds were discovered in the fill of the room including a discoid bead of steatite and two ivory seals. One of the seals is only partially preserved so its precise shape is known, but the other is a cylindrical seal with two sealing surfaces.

BURIAL BUILDING 6

Date: EM III-MM IB

Other Dates Given: EM II (1965); MM IA (most early publications)

Number of Rooms: 6

Preservation: Good

Years Excavated: 1965-1966, 1973

Publications

Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1965a, 177–80, 1966c, 411–12, 1966a, 1966e, 32–33, 1967a, 276–77, 1973a, 167–71, 1973b, 111–13; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 202–5)

Other Discussions: (Grumach and Sakellarakis 1966, 109–14; Platon 1969, 1:443–68; Hiller 1977, 108; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 186; Petit 1990, 49; J. S. Phillips 1991, 397–99, nos. 40-41; Soles 1992, 142–43; Sbonias 1995, 90–91, 107; Karytinos 2000b, 39; J. S. Phillips 2008, 33–34; Legarra Herrero 2014, nn. 169, 73–85, 102, 126, 151, 219)

Figure: 96

BB 6 is located in the northwest part of the cemetery, directly west of Tholos B. This is the highest part of the cemetery and BB 6 was built directly onto the bedrock. It was discovered early on in the exploration of the cemetery and was excavated from 1965-1966 and again in 1973. This building was in use from EM III to MM IB and consists of six rooms.[300] The earlier excavations uncovered three long, parallel rooms running roughly north-south. Rooms 1 and 3 contained significant deposits of human remains and some objects, and Room 2 was empty, "as if it had never been used" (Sakellarakis 1965a, 178).[301] Three more rooms were discovered and excavated in 1973. These appear to have

[300] The dates given in the final report are EM III-MM IB but in the preliminary reports it is often given as EM III-MM IA or even as EM II-MM IA, although this seems to be corrected later.
[301] Room numbers are taken from Sakellarakis' introduction to the publication of the seals in the CMS (Platon 1969).

been added organically but the walls follow the same alignment as the original structure and are clearly part of the same building. Rooms 4, 5, and 6 are at a higher elevation and have been greatly disturbed by cultivation.

In the final publication Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki report ca. 30 seashells and more than 70 ceramic vessels altogether from BB 6. Two bronze scrapers and an ivory plaque with an engraved image of a griffin, as well as a few larnakes with incised Linear A signs are reported here but not published previously.[302]

Rooms 1 and 3

Rooms 1 and 3 (along with Room 2), discovered early on, were called "The Ossuary" as most of the human remains consisted of skulls, though scatters of bones were discovered as well. The rooms are long and run parallel to one another roughly north-south. The nature of the publications does not allow for the contextual differentiation of the two rooms and they will be considered together. The deposits were well preserved with 196 skulls discovered on the floor and within vases, pithoi, and larnakes, along with some burial goods. The excavator remarks that the rooms were so full that later deposits must have been made from the roof.

In addition to the human remains, the rooms held ceramic and stone vases, two bell-shaped ceramic votives, bronze objects, several pieces of ivory that may belong to a necklace.[303] The two rooms also contained 17 seals – 14 of ivory, two of steatite, and one faience scarab. The ivory seals have received a great deal of attention due to both their imported material and the unique shapes and engravings present. Four of the seals have hieroglyphic signs known as the Archanes Script, another is shaped like stepped pyramid, another like a fly, and yet another is a unique 14-sided seal. In Room 1 were two complete necklaces of discoid steatite beads – one with 134 beads and the other with 133. A bronze ring was likely suspended from the first necklace (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 619 Fig. 658).

Room 2

Room 2 lies to the west of Rooms 1 and 3 and is parallel with them. It was completely empty.

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[302] Specific room numbers are not given in the final report.

[303] The excavator reports "bronze objects" but specifies only one bronze object (Sakellarakis 1965a). It is possible that this is the same ring that he later calls "χαλκοῦ κρίκου" and considers part of the necklace of discoid steatite beads (Sakellarakis 1966c, 412). He also notes that some of the ivory pieces appear to be from unusual seal shapes, one of which is in the shape of a woman.

Room 4
Room 4 is the westernmost room of BB 6. It was badly preserved with only the east parts of the north and south walls remaining, but it is clear that it was used for burials from the presence of a tooth and a few fragments of larnakes.

Room 5
Room 5 was constructed to the north of Rooms 4 and 2 and was likely the last room added. Excavations revealed fragments of two larnakes with some traces of bones. In the southeast corner of Room 5 there were 25 teeth and a triangular sheet of gold with a suspension loop.

Room 6
Room 6 runs east-west and lies to the north of Rooms 1 and 3. In addition to scatters of bones found throughout, five skulls were found in the east part of the room- three along the south wall, one along the north wall, and one in the center- and three lower jaws, likely belonging to the skulls found along the south wall, were found in the west half of the room. Small pieces of plaster were found within and around one of the skulls. One spherical vessel with a bridge spout was discovered with the skulls along the south wall. In the northwest part of the room, the excavators found three vessels placed on large, flat stones, two of which were deposited upside down, and the third is similar to the two bell-shaped idols discovered in the earlier rooms. Two seashells were found with the vessels and scatters of animal bones were found throughout the deposits. In the center of the room were several pieces of a cylindrical object of worked bone.

Area Between BB 6 and Tholos B

Date: MM IA-MM II
Number of Rooms: 0
Preservation: Good
Years Excavated: 1971-1973
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1971a, 279–80; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1972; Sakellarakis 1973a, 171–74, 1973b, 113; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 202–5)
Other Discussions: (Walberg 1983, 106; Legarra Herrero 2014, nn. 170, 81–89, 155, 219)
Figure: 151

This area contained a retaining wall, a paved area, and a ramp and staircase leading from E to Burial Building 6. It also contained a significant pottery deposit of 980 ceramic vases, as well as some larnax fragments (no human remains), a stone vase, a bead, three figurines, four fragments of obsidian, and some animal bones. The paving and large number of drinking vessels has led the excavators to interpret this area as one for ritual activity.

BURIAL BUILDING 7

Date: MM IA
Number of Rooms: 6+
Preservation: Poor
Years Excavated: 1967, 1971
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1967b, 153–57, 1971a, 278, 1971b, 239–43, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 96–97, 1997, 206–8)
Other Discussions: (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 186, n. 9; J. S. Phillips 1991, 400, n. 42; Soles 1992, 143–44; Müller and Pini 1999, 164, n. 151; J. S. Phillips 2008, 34–35, n. 52)
Figure: 173

BB 7 is at the center of the Phourni cemetery and no long visible. The excavators note a minimum of six rooms making up BB 7, but most are badly preserved due to the construction of Tholos B directly over top.[304] The rooms concentrate in the southern area of the Tholos B complex.

Room 1

Room 1 lies underneath the southeastern area of the "Pillar Crypt" (Area 6) of Tholos B and is poorly preserved. The room was paved and contained the remains of one primary burial in a contracted position with a poorly preserved steatite seal.

Room 2

[304] Room numbers were not given in the original reports and have been assigned based on chronological appearance in the publications. Soles suggests that BB 7 consisted of only three narrow, rectangular rooms, similar to BB 6, two of which lie under the Pillar Room (north and south), and one of which lies to the south of the Pillar Room in the area of the later stairs (1992, 143–44). While the precise layout of this burial structure is unclear from the later disturbance, such an interpretation ignores the findings of the 1971 excavations. Barring further clarification, the interpretation of the excavator will be accepted for the purposes of this dissertation.

Room 2 lies underneath the northeastern area of the "Pillar Crypt" (Area 6) of Tholos B and is poorly preserved. It contained scatters of bones, part of a faience/'white piece' scarab, a stone kernos fragment, part of another stone vase, a ceramic bowl, two obsidian blades, one obsidian blade fragment, a piece of an ivory cylindrical attachment, two pieces of gold sheet, and a few seashells.[305]

Room 3 (East)

Room 3 is the southeast room of BB 7 and lies to the east of Room 4 and the Tholos B staircase (Area 7), and southeast of the Tholos B dromos (Area 1). The room was paved and held six larnakes as well as surface interments. A total of 14 skulls were found within the larnakes.

L1: Box-shaped. Length: 0.96m Width: 0.50m. Located in the southwest corner of Room 3 on the south wall. The larnax held bones and four skulls, one in each corner of the vessel. A miniature jug was discovered near the skull in the southwest corner, and a fragment of an obsidian blade was found on the bottom on the west side of the larnax.

L2: Elliptical shape. Length: 0.57m Width: 0.58m. Located in the northwest corner of Room 3, parallel to L1. The exterior of the larnax was decorated with molded bands. No objects or human remains mentioned.

L3: Box-shaped. Length: 1m Width: 0.41m. Located east of L2 on the north wall. The north side of the vessel was badly damaged, likely in the construction of the dromos for Tholos B, directly to the north. Fragments of bones were discovered within the larnax.

L4: Box-shaped. Parts of the lid preserved. Length: 0.80m Width: 0.34m. Located south of and parallel with L3. L4 held four skulls, one in each of the corners, and a single high-footed cup, which is likely the LM IIIA kylix mentioned in the later publications.

L5: Compressed elliptical shape. Some of the lid preserved. Length: 0.99m Width: 0.32m. L5 is located east of L4 and is the only larnax oriented north-south. The larnax held some bones and two skulls.

[305] The excavators name the material of the scarab as faience, as does Lambrou-Phillipson (Sakellarakis 1967b, 154; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 96; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 186, n. 9). Phillips gives the material as 'white piece' and notes that it is misidentified as faience in both the original report and the final report, as well as by Lambrou-Phillipson. Phillips dates the scarab to Late Dynasty XI (J. S. Phillips 1991, 400, n. 42, 2008, 34–35, n. 52).

L6: Box-shaped. Some of the lid preserved. Length: 1.19m Width: 0.48m. Located in the southeast corner of Room 3. Inside the larnax were four skulls but their location is not provided.

A skeleton, lying in a contracted position with head to the east, was discovered under L1. The other five larnakes were seated directly on the paved floor and surface deposits were made in the areas between the burial vessels. These were especially thick in the northeast part of the room, in the area between the northeast corner of the room and larnakes L5 and L6. A total of 15 skulls were discovered in the room, most of which were found in the northeast area.

Excavations in the northeast area of Room 3 produced several objects including a necklace of six rock crystal beads and four sard beads, as well as 70 seashells and four ivory seals. Two of the seals are cylindrical with two sealing surfaces, one is conical, and the fourth is zoomorphic in the shape a seated animal, possibly a dog. In the northwest corner of Room 3, a one-handled phiale and a bronze dagger were discovered.

Room 4 (West)

Located directly east of the staircase in Tholos B (Area 7). Depositions were made on the surface and were thickest in the center and western parts of the room. Six skulls were found on the floor of the room along with two miniature pithoi, four obsidian blades, eight seashells, and some fragments of plaster.

Near the entryway to the Pillar Room of Tholos B were discovered fragments from one large vessel and one conical cup. In the center of the room a steatite figurine of a standing man, a pair of bronze tweezers, a small fragment of gold sheet, and a sealing, likely from a three-sided prism seal, were found. In the east part of Room 4 were discovered a fragment of gold sheet, a necklace (possibly two necklaces) composed of 11 faience and 50 steatite discoid beads. A fragment of the same stone kernos that was discovered in Room 2 was also in found in Room 4. In this area were also three badly damaged seals of unknown material, one of which is theriomorphic, possibly a frog.

Room 5

Discovered in the 1971 excavations to the east of the later dromos of Tholos B. [306] Room 5 has an exterior wall running north-south in the same orientation as the walls of Rooms

[306] Most room numbers were not provided but the excavators call this “the fifth room” in the guide book and the final report (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 97, 1997, 208).

1-4, discovered earlier, and shares a doorway with Room 3, directly to the south. The room was paved and a contained the remains of two individuals. One deposition was made in the doorway between Rooms 5 and 3. The other was found in a contracted position, directly on the paved surface, along the east wall toward the southern end and indicates deliberate secondary interaction with the remains. The lower jaw was *in situ* with a conical cup placed beneath while the upper cranium had been removed and placed in an inverted position near the legs of the skeleton with a second conical cup placed on top. Near the skeleton was the bottom of a large vessel with the remains of plaster found on the interior and exterior as well as an anthropomorphic bronze figurine of unknown sex. The figure is standing with hands at the chest and is wearing a hat. Three small, round, gold sheets were discovered to the north of the cranium and along the east wall. These apparently were used for gilding, though the objects no longer survive. Six conical cups were discovered in various places and at various levels around the room.

Room 6

Room 6 was paved and was located under the northwest part of the Pillar Crypt and Area 5, known as the Southwest Side Chamber, of Tholos B.[307] A skull was discovered on the floor with two fragments of gold sheet. Other objects discovered in Room 6 include a thin gold band, a seashell, and an ivory pyramidal seal.

Other Areas Possibly Associated with BB 7

The excavator notes that the remains discovered below the southwest part of the later Tholos B complex and its stairway (Areas 7 and 8) probably belong to BB 7. These depositions were discovered directly on the bedrock and consist of 15 skulls, scatters of bones, a disk-shaped spindle whorl of unspecified material, four spherical amethyst beads, a conical cup, a boar's tusk, and 16 seashells, two of which were perforated for suspension.

BURIAL BUILDING 8

Date: MM IA
Number of Rooms: 2
Preservation: Good

[307] I have assigned the room numbers but the excavators call this "the sixth room" in the guide book and the final report (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 97, 1997, 208). The original publications do not mention this room and it is unclear if this is a later interpretation of what was originally thought to be part of Tholos B, if this area of the excavation was simply not discussed in the yearly reports and only later published, or if the reference to this report is unknown.

Years Excavated: 1971 (discovered), 1972 and 1982 (excavated)
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1971a, 281–82, 1973a, 177–78, 1973b, 113–14, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1982, 54, 1991, 112–14, 1997, 209)
Other Discussions: (Hiller 1977, 108; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992, 144–45; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 172)
Figure: 164

Located south of BB 7 and the Tholos B complex, BB 8 was constructed in MM IA on top of the earlier BB 26, the walls of which remain below "like a pavement" (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 209). During the excavation of the area to the south (between BB 8 and BB 9) a low wall was discovered to the east and the south, suggesting to the excavator that BB 8 had an earlier architectural phase.

BB 8 is relatively well preserved, except for the east wall, which was destroyed. It is roughly 5m square and made up of two rooms separated by a transverse wall, which originally had a doorway in the southern end that allowed communication between the rooms but was later walled off. A unique gold ear pick was found under the stones used to block this doorway.[308] A second wall was added to the exterior of the west wall as well. Access to the building is unclear and the excavator suggests that deposits were made either from the roof or from an entrance in the poorly preserved east wall.

Room 1 (West Room)
The west room is well preserved with two identifiable burial strata. In the upper stratum were discovered four small fragments of bronze sheet, one of which came from the tip of a knife, a fragment of a white stone vessel decorated with vertical grooves, fragments of orange plaster, and one shell. In the southwest corner, slightly lower, there was one burial surrounded by stones. One shell and one inverted conical cup were discovered with this burial.

In the lower burial stratum were 14 burials. Along the north wall were 12 individuals with skulls placed on or near a high bench. The MM IA fruit stand that dates the building was found inverted among these interments. In the southern part of the room was one skull, found near the doorway, and a burial in the contracted position that appears to have been encircled by stones at the center of the south wall of Room 1. With this burial was

[308] A similar ear pick, made of silver, was discovered in Tomb XX at Mochlos (Seager 1912, fig. 36).

an obsidian blade fragment and an inverted conical cup on the upper part of the cranium. A fragment of bronze sheet, fragments of white and orange plaster, one perforated shell, four pieces of animal bones and teeth, as well as five small clay objects of uncertain shape were discovered in the fill of this lower layer.

Room 2 (East Room)
The east room is not as well preserved but seems to have functioned as a burial space. A lentoid seal of green steatite depicting an agrimi and a small clay sphere were found on the surface. Along the south wall, and at a lower level, at least two inverted conical cups were found along with some bones, fragments of orange plaster, and a seashell. In the north part of the room were fragments from two skulls.

Area to the North (Between Tholos B and BB 8)
In the area to the north (between Tholos B and BB 8) were discovered a small animal figurine and eight vessels- four conical cups, two hemispherical cups, one small tripod cup, and one double-handled cup.

Area Between BB 8 and BB 9

Date: MM IA (Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113)
Number of Areas: 2
Preservation: Good
Years Excavated: 1971 and 1982
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1971a, 281–82; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1982, 54; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 495–99; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 232)
Other Discussions: (Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; J. S. Phillips 2008, 37; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 173; Soles 1992, 145)
Figure: 151

The area consists of a corridor between the south wall of BB 8 and the north wall of BB 9. It was closed on the east side by a later wall, which was demolished during the excavations, and subdivided by a cross wall, discovered 0.25m below the surface during the 1982 excavation season.

West Area

In 1971, excavations took place in the west part of the corridor. Two layers of deposits were discovered with six larnakes, placed closely together, along with deposits made in the spaces in between the larnakes. A total of 42 skulls were found, 23 of which were discovered outside the burial vessels and 17 of which were found inside the larnakes.[309] One larnax had eight skulls, another held six, and a third one contained five. Among the burials were some stone and bronze beads, a comb made from bone, two ivory ellipsoid pendants, one bird-shaped ivory pendant, and six seals. Three of these seals – two of ivory and one white steatite – were found in one larnax. In another larnax was a faience seal and in a third was an ivory button-shaped seal. One ivory hemispherical seal was discovered outside of the larnakes. The lid of a stone vessel with a knob handle was also found in this area.

East Area

In 1982 excavations took place in the east part of the area between BB 8 and BB 9, demarcated on the east and west by low walls and roughly 2m long and 0.60m wide. Excavators found three architectural phases. The earlier layer was at a depth of 0.50m. Paving stones were added in the second phase, raising the surface level to 0.30m. This phase is associated with the earlier wall that demarcates the east extent of this area and continues north to the east and beneath BB 8. In the third phase, a small wall was added to the south, reducing the length of the room to 1.35m. Two burial layers were found in the east area, the lower of which is associated with the paving of the second architectural phase.

Burial Layer I

Burials in the upper layer were found in larnakes, which covered the floor space of the area, and in the areas between these burial vessels. The excavator notes that the burials of this layer must post date the construction of the south wall of BB 8 as they were at a slightly higher level than the base of the wall. The deposits were not well preserved, but from the fragments discovered, there appear to have been five or six larnakes and at least 17 burials, made both inside and outside the vessels.[310] Three larnakes were discovered *in situ*, another is mostly intact, and fragments of another were found dispersed throughout the area.

[309] The excavator says 40 skulls before reporting the 23 on the surface and 19 found in three larnakes, equaling 42 (Sakellarakis 1971a, 282).

[310] The excavators report that there were at least 15 burials, based on the number of skulls, but the numbers given for each context amount to 17 burials (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 497–99).

L1: Rectangular with rounded corners. Length: 0.88m Width: 0.56m. Located in the northeast area. The larnax held two burials in contracted positions. The skull of one individual was placed in the southwest corner and the other in the northwest corner. A small spherical jug and a conical cup were also found in the larnax.

L2: Unknown shape. No dimensions given. Located to the south of L1 and in an east-west orientation. Three burials were discovered in unknown orientations. No objects are mentioned.

L3: Bathtub-shaped. No dimensions given. Located west of L1 in a north-south orientation. The larnax contained three burials and a cylindrical ivory seal.

Fragments of two or three more larnakes, as well as the remains of nine more interments were discovered in the fill of the room along with three oyster shells, two obsidian blades, an animal tooth, and a shark tooth.

Burial Layer II

The older layer lies on the paving from the second architectural phase. Three poorly preserved burials were found in this layer. One relatively well-preserved burial was discovered in the north in a contracted position with a north-south orientation. It was perhaps associated with a larnax, of which some fragments were discovered, along with an obsidian blade and a small jug. To the south of this was a second interment, of which only part of the jaw and a few bones were preserved. Some bones and fragments of a larnax were found in the south part of the area and make up the third burial. Near this burial was a shark tooth. Several sherds from small and medium sized vessels were discovered scattered throughout the layer.

Burial Building 9

Date: MM IA-IB
Number of Rooms: 3+
Preservation: Good
Years Excavated: 1971 (Discovered); 1972-1973; 1982; 1987
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1971a, 281–82, 1972, 351–53, 1973a, 181–86, 1973b, 116–17; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 499–501; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987, 127–29; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 180–92; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 210–12)

Other Discussions: (E. B. Miller 1984, 33; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 87, 99, 103–4; Karytinos 2000b, 38–39; Koehl 2006, 72–73; J. S. Phillips 2008, 35; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 174)
Figure: 194

Discovered in 1971 and located south of BB 8 and directly east of Tholos Γ. BB 9 was built over the remains of an earlier burial building called BB 13. The precise area encompassed by this building is not clear but the excavator notes three rooms – Rooms 1 and 2 just northeast of Tholos Γ and Room 3 at the southeast of the Tholos – and two "Areas", one to the south of Room 2 and one to the southeast of Room 2, which will be considered part of BB 9.[311] The north part of the west wall of BB 9 is attached to BB 5 at the northwest and this west wall is cut by Tholos Γ further to the south. The excavator notes that the north wall of BB 9 is very close to BB 3, and a short wall was added to connect them, cutting off the narrow space in between (Sakellarakis 1972, 351–52).

Room 1
Room 1 was excavated in 1972 and 1973. It is located in the northwest part of BB 9 with a possible entrance in the south wall. Three burial layers were identified.

Burial Layer I
Within this layer were two larnakes and two pithoi with burials as well as secondary deposits of human remains and objects on the surface and in the fill of the layer. Fragments of other larnakes and scatters of bones were discovered throughout the layer. Four skulls were discovered outside of vessels and are likely the remains of surface burials. One skull was discovered in the north part of the room between P1 and L1, along with a conical cup. South of this, also between P1 and L1, were two more skulls. The fourth skull, along with some scattered bones that likely belong to the same burial, was found near the southwest corner of L1. In the fill of this layer were also discovered a round piece of sheet gold with circular repoussé decorations, likely belonging to a gilded object now lost, a fragment of an obsidian core, and a small fragment of white plaster.

[311] In the 1973 excavations reported in *Ergon*, Sakellarakis reports that there are four rooms that make up BB 9. This is before the discovery of Room 3 – an independent room located to the southeast of Tholos Γ – and it is therefore likely that he is referring to the spaces south and southeast of Room 2 for the third and fourth room. He does not label these as rooms in either the *Praktika* publication in 1973 or in the final report. Here, they will be labeled "Area South of Room 2" and "Area Southeast of Room 2" as he refers to them in the original report from 1973 (Sakellarakis 1973a, 186, 1973b, 116–17).

P1: Located in the northwest corner of the room.[312] The pithos contained two burials and a few sherds.

P2: Large tripod shaped vessel, likely a burial pithos. Badly damaged with only the base preserved. Located to the southeast of L2.

L1: Box-shaped. Fragments of the lid found on the surface. Length: 0.40m Width: 0.33m. Located east of P1 and oriented north-south. The north side was placed on a large paving stone for balance. No deposits were discovered in the larnax.

L2: Box-shaped. Poorly preserved. No dimensions given. Located south of P1 in the western part of the room and oriented north-south. Among the poorly preserved remains was a skull in the southern end of the larnax, and it likely contained a single burial.

Burial Layer II

This layer was discovered in the 1973 excavations and is roughly 0.35m thick. Within the layer was a loosely constructed dividing wall, roughly 1.50m south of the north wall, which separated the room into a north part and a south part.

North Part

In the north area were the remains of three disturbed burials, of which mostly the skulls survive, as well as one fragment of an obsidian blade and one obsidian core. One conical cup was discovered during the removal of the loose barrier wall.

South Part

The remains of three individuals were discovered here, mostly preserved by the skulls. These were discovered on the floor but were likely located in a larnax, which was badly damaged but was likely oriented east-west, running parallel with the dividing wall. No objects are mentioned.

Burial Layer III

This layer was about 1.10m thick. Just below the loosely constructed dividing wall was another thin wall dividing the north and south parts of Room 1. For this lower stratum, the excavator has labeled these areas Room 1a, for the north, and Room 1b, for the south.

[312] The excavator states that the pithos was in the southwest corner of Room 1 but it seems more likely that he meant the northwest corner based on the find spots of the other objects, which he says were located further to the south of this (Sakellarakis 1972, 352).

Room 1a- North

The excavator labels this area an ossuary, as there were 49 well-preserved skulls discovered here, along with some scatters of bones. He also notes that the skulls were carefully covered with a thin layer of earth, which likely helped with the preservation. Several objects, mostly vessels, were found associated with various groups of skulls. Three small vessels – one tripod-like cup, one pithoid vessel, and one spherical cup – were discovered with one group of skulls. Near another group, at a slightly deeper level, were another three vessels – one trefoil-lipped jug, one conical cup, and one tripod cup. Several bull-shaped objects were also found in Room 1a, including four bull figurines, and two bull-shaped rhyta.

Room 1b- South

This room is bounded on the north by the dividing wall and on the south by the north wall of the dromos for Tholos Γ. An entrance to this room is preserved in the southeast corner. Depositions were made on the surface of the room, as well as in one pithos and one larnax, which were found mostly empty. Outside of the vessels, and near the top of the layer, were found three skulls - one in the north, one east of P3, and one southwest of L3. Among these skulls was the body of a female figurine with her hands on her chest.

P3: Fragments of the lid are preserved. Located in the northeast corner of the room. Inside the pithos were two human teeth, one seashell, a sherd, and some pebbles.

L3: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located along the west wall of the room. Some scatters of bones were discovered inside.

Room 2

Room 2 is located to the east of Room 1 and contained three successive burial layers. The south side of the room was open during the earliest use of the room, but was later closed off by a poorly preserved wall built at the south end of the east and west walls.

<u>Burial Layer I</u>

This layer was not well preserved but appears to have held three burial larnakes, all of which are poorly preserved. The fragmentary larnakes were discovered in the northeast, northwest, and southwest corners. Among the fragments of the larnax in the northeast corner of the room were found four skulls. Within the fill of this layer were one ivory pendant in the shape of a duck, some seashells, and fragments of white plaster.

<u>Burial Layer II</u>

Within this layer were two pithoi and one larnax. One skull and some bones were found beneath P4, and an unpainted lekane and one pierced, flat, ivory object were found southeast of these remains. Beneath L4 was a fragment of an obsidian blade. A jaw was found south of P5. Within the fill of the room were one fragment of an obsidian blade and some fragments of white plaster.

L4: Poorly preserved. No dimensions given. Located in the northeast corner of the room. No human remains or objects were discovered.

P4: Poorly preserved. Located south of L4. No human remains or objects discovered.

P5: Discovered *in situ* and nearly intact. Located east of P4 and set within stones. Inside the pithos were one skull, and one animal bone, perhaps belonging to a bird.

Burial Layer III

This lower burial layer included burials on the surface as well as four larnakes, all discovered *in situ* with fragmentary lids in place. Surface deposits were discovered between the larnakes. Five skulls and some bones were found in the narrow space between L5 and the north wall, along with a few seashells and some plaster fragments. In the southwest corner of the room were one skull and one extended burial. Several objects accompanied these interments, including an ivory theriomorphic seal, a parallelepiped steatite bead, an obsidian flake, and two seashells. Part of the foot of an animal figurine was found on the east wall and to the south of this was a steatite pendant in the shape of a foot.[313]

L5: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located along the length of the north wall. Inside were three contracted burials. One of the skulls was placed in the southeast corner, a second in the northwest, and a third in the northeast.

L6: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located southwest of L5 and oriented parallel to the long walls of the room and L7. A skull was found on top of the broken lid. Inside were three teeth and a small fragment of bone. Directly beneath the larnax was an animal bone.

[313] The precise location of the animal figurine fragment is unclear as the excavator reports that this group was found at the east termination of the east wall (Sakellarakis 1973a, 185).

L7: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located southeast of L5 and oriented parallel to the long walls of the room and L6. Two contracted burials were found in L7, one of which was placed with its head at the south and facing east, with hands on the chest. The orientation of the second burial is not given. Three sea pebbles accompanied the burials.

L8: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located south of L6 and L7 and perpendicular to them. No human remains were discovered but there were some seashells and sea pebbles.

Area South of Room 2

An open area lies to the south of Room 2, bounded on the southern end by the south wall of Tholos Γ's dromos. Paving stones line the surface of the north and east sections of this area. There is a small niche in the south dromos wall, in front of which is a small orthogonal pit that held nine complete skulls, some long bones, one miniature pithoid vessel, and 12 seashells.

Area Southeast of Room 2

This area was bounded on the west by a loosely built dividing wall that was removed during excavation. The pavement continued at the northeast and was at a slight incline, on which were scatters of bones, sea pebbles, and a miniature bull figurine. Further east, a disturbed burial in a contracted position was discovered with three seashells.

In the southern area were more deposits.[314] Depositions were made in larnakes – one well preserved (L9) and one fragmentary – and on the surface. Parts of this area were paved.

L9: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located in the southwest corner and oriented north-south. L9 held the remains of two individuals with one skull placed in the southwest corner and the other in the northeast corner. Seashells accompanied the burials.

The northwest area was lined with pavement, which continued further to the west. In this area was a pile of bones consisting of six individuals, one of which was in a contracted position within a poorly preserved larnax. A miniature spherical jug was found among these burials.

[314] Sakellarakis calls this the south room but it is not clear what room this is or if it is just the south part of the area to the southeast of Room 2.

Further to the northwest were fragments from a shallow basin. Animal teeth were discovered in the southwest corner. Throughout the fill of the room were scatters of bones and some seashells.

Room 3

Room 3 was excavated in 1987. It is a large room that is relatively independent from the other rooms of BB 9. It was added onto the southeast side of Tholos Γ, with two of its walls serving as support for the Tholos. Room 3 had seven burial layers and notably contained several infant and child interments.[315] There were at least 13 child interments in various burial vessels, including small burial pithoi, pithoid jars, bucket-shaped vessels, and one child's larnax.[316]

Altogether Room 3 held the remains of 172 individuals as well as 155 complete vessels of various forms – two-handled jars, lopades, fruit stands, conical cups, two-handled cups, cooking pots, amphoriskoi, tripod vessels, and two bell-shaped vessels. Among these finds were also thin bands of sheet gold, ivory pendants, and steatite pendants, one of which is in the shape of a squatting monkey.

Burial Layer I

The first burial layer (0.10m to 0.42-0.55m from the surface) held nine burials, two of which were within vessels. Of the nine individuals, three were child burials. The majority of the finds were ceramics but general fill of the layer also included an obsidian blade and some animal bones. There were 47 vessels discovered, many of which were likely placed upon flat stones found throughout the room. Specifically, 24 bucket-shaped vessels, seven fruitstands, four two-handled bridge-spouted vessels, two two-handled vessels, and one teapot were discovered, as well as nine vessels of unspecified shape.[317] In some cases, objects could be associated with a burial.[318]

A burial in the northwest corner of the room was discovered with five ivory seals, three bucket-shaped vessels, and one fruitstand. One of the seals is a unique plastic,

[315] In the 1987 publication the excavators report only five burial layers while they report seven in the 1991 report. Much of the information is the same, with some variations in the layers reported for certain burials, but there is more detail in the 1991 publication. This section therefore reflects the contextual information and layer identification given in the 1991 publication.
[316] For clarity and organizational purposes, vessels used for burial that are not larnakes (L) or pithoi (P) are assigned a V number for vessel.
[317] The excavators report 47 vases but provide the shapes of 38. Nine other vessels are assumed.
[318] Detail is provided for only one burial (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 183).

anthropomorphic form of a standing woman with a long skirt, two are pyramidal, and two are bead-shaped.[319]

Burial Layer II

The second burial layer, 0.42-0.55 to 0.90m deep, and is likely dated to the same period as the layer above based on the ceramics. Like the other burial layers in this room, deposits were made on the surface and in burial vessels. There were 23 burials discovered, four of which were children. Two of the children were within vessels.[320]

Several objects were discovered with the surface burials in the second layer, including an ivory seal, an ivory pendant, six obsidian blades, and 12 oyster shells. There were also 55 vessels, including 22 bucket-shaped vessels, 11 fruitstands, nine conical cups, four black painted bridge-mouthed vessels, two one-handled cups, a two-handled cup, a teapot, and a spherical vessel, as well as four other vessels of unspecified shape.[321] Like the first burial layer, it is likely that these vases were placed on paving stones, which were found dispersed throughout the layer.

V1: Fruitstand. No location provided. V1 held an infant burial with a pebble placed above the skull.

Burial Layer III

The third burial layer is at a depth of 0.90 to 1-1.07m below the surface. There were 32 burials identified, three were children, and they concentrate in the east and west parts of the room, leaving the center relatively clear. There were 31 vessels discovered, including three pithoid vessels, three bucket-shaped vessels, three fruitstands, seven bridge-mouthed vases, four conical cups, five hemispherical one-handled cups, three juglets, and an amphoriskos.[322] The excavator notes that some objects were able to be associated with individual burials.

A few burials were discovered in the northeast recess of the room. One interment was associated with an ivory core from an unidentified object, a necklace made up of seven pierced clam shells that were likely strung with a biconical bead of meteorite, and many

[319] The excavators suggest that the consistent seal engraving technique possibly indicates that they were all made by the same artisan (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987, 127).
[320] The other burials are not provided with any details.
[321] The excavators report 55 vessels but provide the shapes of only 51. Four vessels of unspecified shape are assumed.
[322] The excavators report 31 vessels but provide the shapes of only 30. One vessel of unspecified shape is assumed.

pebbles. There were also two vessel burials. A clay sistrum was discovered just west of V3. It is painted red and was found with three pierced clay disks, which were likely joined by wooden dowels, now lost. Among the other burials in this layer were an ivory seal, a steatite seal, two ivory pendants, one steatite pendant, obsidian blades, a vessel carved into a triangular shape, and a few oyster shells.

V2: Pithoid vessel. Located in the northeast recess. V2 held a single child burial. No objects were discovered within the vessel but a jug with plastic decoration was found nearby.

V3: Pithoid vessel. Located near the north wall, seated upon a flat stone. V3 held one child burial along with four vessels – three one-handled hemispherical cups and one amphoriskos – and a necklace of 12 pierced oyster shells.[323]

Burial Layer IV

The fourth burial layer, at a depth of 1-1.07 to 1.40-1.50m, held many burials in the northeast recess and the northwest corner of Room 3. Altogether, there were 16 vessels discovered, including four jugs, three lopades, two double-handled bridge-mouthed vessels, two bucket-shaped vessels, two conical cups, one one-handled cylindrical cup, a fruitstand, and a small tripodic bridge-mouthed vessel.[324] Also in the layer were 16 fragments of obsidian, 21 seashells, and many pebbles. There were 60 interments identified, three of these were children. Two of the burials were within vessels.[325]

Several interments were discovered in the southeast corner. Associated with one burial were an ivory parallellepid seal with three sealing surfaces and a conical ivory pendant. Two other ivory pendants – one theriomorphic, possibly in the shape of a bull, and one cylindrical – were likely associated. A second burial in that area was discovered with an ivory theriomorphic seal in the form of a squatting monkey. With another burial, in an unspecified location, were a small bronze bead, a necklace of 22 discoid steatite beads, and a small jug. A fruitstand, a cylindrical cup, and a jug accompanied another burial. In the west part of the room were several skulls with no associated objects.

[323] The excavators report 12 oyster shells in the original report from 1987 and 13 in the jewelry chapter of the final report (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987, 1997, 628). The lower number is used here.
[324] The excavators report 15 vessels total but there are 16 vessels if the fruitstand (associated with a surface burial) is considered.
[325] Only one vessel burial is provided with any details.

Many objects were found with burials in the center of the room. These objects include a gold ring shaped object with three bands of repoussé decoration, an ivory seal in the shape of two animals, likely birds, an ivory pendant in the shape of a woman, a steatite pendant, beads of rock crystal, steatite, and white faience, a stone vessel lid of schist, two obsidian blades, two conch shells, four clam shells, and many other seashells, some of which were pierced.

V4: Bucket-shaped vessel with a spout. No location provided. One burial was discovered within V4, with the skull found just outside the vessel, having been place above or nearby, or possibly having rolled out.

Burial Layer V

The fifth burial layer is at a depth of 1.50 to 1.53-1.70m, with the deepest areas in the east part of the room. There were 38 skulls found in this layer with many skulls in the center and eastern parts and a dense assemblage of bones in the west. Very few objects were discovered with the interments. The objects include two bell-shaped idols in the center of the room, as well as a pierced clam shell, two conical cups, a small two-handled vessel with a pipe mouth, and three sherds with incised decoration.

Burial Layer VI

The sixth burial is at a depth of 1.53-1.58 to 2.03-2.08m in the western and central parts of the room, and from 1.70 to 1.84m in the east part with variable soil between the two areas. The central and west parts held several burials and many objects. The excavators specifically mention a primary burial in the west part of the room where the left arm of the interred individual was found above the skull, indicating that it was, at least partially, in a primary position. At the center was a single surface burial discovered with three small stones beneath the pelvis. A piece of gold sheet, an ivory pendant in the shape of a monkey, a cylindrical ivory pendant, a steatite discoid bead, and a conch shell were discovered with the burial.

There was a large accumulation of long bones near the north wall, which appear to have been found with several objects, including two ivory pendants, fragments of ceramic cups and other small vessels. Three other skulls were discovered in the central and west part, along with part of an obsidian blade, sherds, and some pebbles.

The east part of the room held one burial and some secondary deposits. The single burial was associated with a small gold bead and 20 fragments of gold bands. Three skulls and several long bones were also discovered with a conical cup. Below the remains in this

area were some architectural remains of an earlier structure. At a depth of 1.84m in this area, many fragments of obsidian blades were found.

Burial Layer VII

Bedrock appeared in the sixth burial layer in the western and central parts of the room, but was found at a lower depth in the east. The seventh burial layer, at a depth of 1.84 to 2.05m at bedrock, is only found in the northern part of the east side of the room. Two perpendicular walls, perhaps of an earlier structure, were discovered in the area.

One interment, likely an adolescent, was discovered at a depth of 1.85-1.89m, below the foundations of the earlier walls, and therefore of an earlier date. Two obsidian blades, some sherds, and two conch shells were associated with the burial. The excavators note that the area had been leveled for the burial by filling the crevices in the bedrock.

Area South and Southeast of BB 9

A corridor was discovered between BB 9, Tholos Γ, and BB 18. A few obsidian blades, some fragments of vessels, and some seashells were found above the surface of the corridor and perhaps derive from Room 3. Two obsidian blades and a clay discoid object with a cylindrical handle and a false mouth were discovered within the upper surface of the corridor.

Area West of BB 9

A double retaining wall, likely for the support of the corbelled roof of Tholos Γ, was discovered to the west of BB 9. A few finds were associated with the walls, including some obsidian blades, fragments of a cylindrical cup and two spherical, spouted vessels, fragments of plaster and pigments, a pebble, and some seashells. Toward the Area of the Rocks three pieces of obsidian and a few sherds were discovered with a small deposit of bones.

Burial Building 12

Date: EM III-MM IA, IB?
Number of Areas: 3
Preservation: Poor
Years Excavated: 1973
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1973a, 174–77, 1973b, 113; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 179; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 104, 1997, 212–13)

Other Discussions: (Hiller 1977, 109; Soles 1992, 145; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 175)
Figure: 86

BB 12 was excavated for a single season in 1973. It is located in the west part of the Phourni, between BB 5 and BB 6, where the bedrock is closest to the surface and the cemetery is most disturbed by erosion and agriculture. The burial structure is not well preserved with only a few damaged walls with unclear articulation among them. The west wall, which is clearly related to BB 12, attaches to the northwest corner of BB 5 and continues north at a slight angle toward to the west. A second wall, which is possibly associated, is very badly damaged but runs roughly perpendicular to the first, just south of BB 6 and north of the preserved north termination of the first wall. Three more walls, two of which are parallel, located northeast of the original wall and just south of BB 6, are perhaps the remains of another room within BB 12 but it is unclear how they relate.

The area east of what remains of BB 12 is paved, and appears to be the southern continuation of the paving between BB 6 and Tholos B. This paving continues south to BB 5 and runs the length of its northernmost wall. Deposits of many drinking vessels were found on this area of the pavement. Based on the ceramics, the excavator dates this structure to EM III - MM IA but states that based on the architectural remains, it must post-date both BB 5 and BB 6.

The north-south wall was likely a cross wall for the burial building as depositions were made both to the east and west of the wall. Above these remains, just on the surface, were discovered fragments of larnakes, which were perhaps used for later burials that are no longer preserved. The northeast area, marked by the three walls, also contained some deposits, but it is unclear how these relate to the depositions in the east area. In the final report the excavator states that there are two rooms, one to the west, which is oriented north-south, and one in the north that is oriented east-west.[326] The west room will be

[326] The precise area and layout of BB 12 is unclear, both from the poor preservation and the disparities in the description and plan of the structure in the early reports and the final report. In the original report the excavator notes that there are depositions to the east of the north-south running wall and in the northeast area marked by the presence of three walls, which are not shown on the plan. How these areas articulate is not made clear. Although there is no documented evidence of continued excavation in this area, the plan was altered to represent these walls (now four in number and clearly demarcating a room) in the northeast area, in the plan from the 1987 report. In the final report, there are two long narrow rooms, one in the west running southeast, and one in the north running east-west, which is apparently the room in the 1987 plan and likely that described as relating to the three walls in the northeast area (Sakellarakis 1973a, 174–77; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987, fig. 149, 1997, 212–13).

considered Room 1, and the northeast room will be considered Room 2. The area east of the cross wall will be considered its own context though still part of BB 12.

Room 1 (West Area)
The remains in this area were preserved under a more recent wall made of cut stone blocks. In the south part, just northwest of BB 5, were the badly damaged remains of an extended surface burial. Accompanying this burial were a three-sided ivory prismatic seal, one cylindrical steatite bead and one discoid steatite bead, a few bone pendants with three sides, and three vessels – two tripod cups and one conical cup.

Room 2 (Northeast Area)
Three poorly preserved walls located south of BB 6 demarcate this room. It is not clear from the reports what was discovered strictly within the walls of the room and the finds from this area, therefore, may also encompass those among the paving stones to the east. In this northeast area were a fragment of a strip of gold sheet, part of an obsidian blade, an obsidian core, several vessels – two cups, a lopus, a small pithoid vessel, and one vessel lid – small fragments of orange plaster, and six animal teeth. Directly south of BB 6 and among some bones, a spherical vessel and large bridge-spouted jug were found.

East Area
Two distinct groups of burial remains were discovered in this area, made up mostly of skulls, found just below the surface.

In the northwest corner were 15 skulls placed directly on the surface. Among these remains were a single cylindrical cup made of alabaster, fragments of a green steatite vessel, a fragment of an obsidian blade, two animal teeth, and a thin, triangular stone plaque, which was found just below one of the skulls. In the southeast corner were 20 skulls, again placed directly on the surface. Among this group of skulls were discovered a fragment of a band of gold sheet, three fragments of obsidian blades, one animal tooth, and one seashell, as well as sherds from carinated vessels and conical cups.

Paved Area North of BB 5
This paved area is a continuation to the south and west of the pavement discovered east of BB 6 and it appears to have three phases. The paving was first added in the EM III period and was later covered with yellow earth in the MM IA, after which another layer

of pavement was added.[327] Below the paving were noted several burials dating the EM III period (1991, 179).

On this pavement and along the northernmost wall of BB 5 were roughly 20 vessels placed on the paving stones and one top of one another. Most were handleless cups, but there were also two one-handled conical cups, a carinated cup, one lopus, two jugs, and one cylindrical vessel with horn-like attachments. Among the ceramics were also found a fragment of a gold band decorated with repoussé dots near the edges, two fragments of obsidian blades, one obsidian flake, six animal teeth, and one seashell. There were also the poorly preserved remains of a skull and some teeth.

Burial Building 13

Date: EM III
Number of Areas: 2
Preservation: Poor
Years Excavated: 1973
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1973a, 186–87; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 122, 1997, 213)
Other Discussions: (Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 177)
Figure: 63

BB 13 is located directly beneath Rooms 1 and 2 of BB 9 and is in very poor condition, with only traces of walls on the surface of the bedrock. Some remains of a north-south running wall were discovered partly beneath the western wall of Room 1 of BB 9, while a second, perpendicular wall runs roughly east-west, passing beneath the dividing wall between Rooms 1 and 2 of BB 9 and continuing across the northern part of Room 2. The excavator notes the presence of a pebble layer in BB 13, on which depositions were made, similar to that of Tholos Γ. This burial structure clearly predates BB 9, constructed over top of BB 13, and likely dates to the EM III period. Depositions relating to BB 13 were discovered to the north and south of the east-west wall of BB 13, which will be treated as separate contexts, and in both Rooms 1 and 2 of the later BB 9.

North Area

[327] The date of the third layer is given as early MM so it is unclear if it was added later in MM IA or early in MM IB (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 104, 1997, 212).

Several objects were found in the small area between the north wall of BB 9 and the east-west wall of BB 13, all within Room 1 of BB 9. These objects include a fragment of a ceramic figurine, eight fragments of obsidian blades, one obsidian flake, fragments of a bone pendant, and a piece of an animal horn.

South Area
In the west part (beneath Room 1 of BB 9) of the area south of the east-west wall was one teardrop shaped ivory pendant, similar to those discovered in Tholos Γ. In the east part (beneath Room 2 of BB 9) of the area south of the wall were several small bones, which are perhaps the remains of a child burial. Accompanying this burial were eight seashells and a piece of gold sheet in the shape of a bird, decorated with repoussé dots. Part of an obsidian blade and an obsidian flake were found to the east of the burial.

Burial Building 16

Date: MM IA
Number of Areas: 3 Rooms
Preservation: Poor
Years Excavated: 1975-1976, 1980
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis 1975, 307–10; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1980, 392–98; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 127–28, 1997, 214)
Other Discussions: (Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 89–91, 103; Karytinos 2000b, 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 178)
Figure: 184

BB 16 is located just south of Tholos E with its westernmost wall attached to the southern exterior wall of the Tholos. It is poorly preserved due to the heavy agricultural use of this area. BB 16 was excavated over several seasons beginning in 1975. Several walls were discovered that year that revealed the rough plan of the building, which include three rooms separated into two wings.

Room 1 is a large room that runs north-south and makes up the west wing of the structure. The south wall of this room is no longer extant and the area of the room, therefore, cannot be determined. The west and east wings share the north wall but a narrow corridor separates the east wall of the west wing and the west wall of the east wing. Rooms 2 (north) and 3 (south) are in the east wing, the east wall of which is no

longer extant. Many ceramic fragments, including several larnakes and pithoi, were discovered on the surface of the burial structure.

Room 1- West Wing

Room 1 is orthogonal but lacking its south wall. The natural incline in the bedrock has left the burial stratum thin in the north part of the room. On the surface was a fragment of an obsidian blade, as well as several sherds from a number of vessels, including an unknown closed shape, a lopas, and several cups.

Beneath the surface, and mostly in the southeastern part of the room where the fill was thickest, were the fragmentary remains of burials, such as broken long bones and teeth. One skull was found mostly preserved and fragments of at least two others were discovered. A box-shaped larnax was found to the south of the skulls. Among the human remains were also fragments of flint stone, two seashells, two fragments of obsidian blades, as well as fragments of a cup, and two lopades.

Rooms 2 and 3- East Wing

The eastern extent of this area is unknown as the east wall is no longer extant. On the surface of the east wing were discovered one fragment of an obsidian blade, as well as parts of larnakes and some scatters of bones. An east-west cross wall cuts the wing into two rooms – Room 2 in the north and Room 3 in the south.

<u>Room 2</u>

Room 2 contains a single burial layer with interments made on the surface of the room and in six larnakes – two in the west, one in the center, and three in the east.

L1: Box-shaped. Length: None provided Width: 0.45m. Parts of the lid remain. Located in the northwest corner of the room oriented southeast to northwest. Five skulls, one of which was resting on the bottom, were discovered in the larnax, along with fragments of small and large bones. Small pebbles and some animal bones were also found.

L2: Box-shaped. Length: None provided Width: 0.50m. Parts of the lid discovered. Located east of L1 and parallel with the north wall. Two skulls – one in the east and the other in the northwest corner – were in the larnax, along with some bones, including fragments of vertebra, and part of a lekane.

L3: Box-shaped. Length: None provided Width: 0.50m. Located in the southwest corner of the room and oriented southeast to northwest. It held three skulls – one in northeast

corner, one on the north wall, and the third in the west part of the larnax. In the southeast corner a black steatite pendant, a bronze cutter, and three seals were discovered. One of the seals is button shaped and made of green steatite, the second is faience and in the shape of a crouching animal, and the third is ivory in the shape of a stepped pyramid. On the east side of the larnax was a cylindrical ivory seal with two sealing surfaces. In the northeast corner was a carinated steatite vessel. Throughout the larnax and among the human remains were also fragments of a lekane, a worked bone well as a fragment of another worked bone that had been burned, a small fragment of an ivory plaque, small pebbles, and some animal teeth.

L4: Box-shaped. Length: 0.92m Width: 0.39m. Located in the center of the room between L2 and L6 and oriented north-south. One skull was found in the southwest corner of the larnax. In addition to the skull, other bones, teeth, and small pebbles were discovered. The small size of the larnax and a single small tooth led the excavator to suggest that the vessel was used for a child's burial.

L5: Box-shaped. Length: None provided Width: 0.43m. Located southeast of L2 and parallel to L2 and the north wall of the room. Only a few fragments of bones and teeth were discovered inside the larnax.

L6: Box-shaped. Length: 1.08m Width: None provided. Located southeast of L4 and southwest of L5 along the length of the south wall of Room 2. Fragments of a skull and a few bones were the only finds within L6.

Depositions of human remains and burial goods were also discovered in the spaces between the larnakes. In the small space between the northwest corner of Room 2 and the long side of L1, a skull was discovered with a bronze earring seemingly *in situ* at the area of the earlobe. Two sard beads were discovered nearby and appear to be related. Three other skulls were discovered. One was in the northwest corner, another near the north wall of L3, and the third in the southwest corner of the room. In addition to the skeletal remains, there were many objects found on the surface of the room. A fragment of an obsidian blade and an obsidian core were found in the area of L2. In the southeast corner of the room, above L6 was another obsidian blade fragment. And a third one was discovered between L1 and L2. Small pebbles were also found throughout the room.

Beneath the larnakes and in the natural hollows of the bedrock, several fragments of long bones, jaws, and other bones were unearthed. One skull was found in the center of the room and another on the south wall between L2 and L3. South of L2 were part of jaw and

some teeth from the burial of a youth. The excavator estimates that the bones in this layer belong to between six and eight interments. Beneath L2 was a fragment of green steatite, a juglet, and a few pebbles. Below L4 were a flint fragment, two obsidian blade fragments, and some animal bones.

Room 3

On the surface of Room 3 were many fragments of larnakes, many of which were piled in the northeast part of the room. Burials were made on the floor of the room, in pithoi, and in larnakes. The excavator suggests that there were three phases of burials in Room 3. Based on their arrangement, the excavator argues that the burials in the pithoi post-date those on the surface and in the larnakes. He suggests that the those on the surface and in the larnakes are the second phase, and that the earliest use of the room is represented by the remains discovered in the hollows of the bedrock, beneath the burial vessels. Surface depositions were especially prominent in the western part of the room. Altogether 22 skulls were discovered with six in burial vessels, 15 on the surface, and one beneath the vessels.[328]

L7: Bathtub-shaped. No dimensions provided. Located in the east part of the room and oriented north-south. One skull, with a fragment of white plaster found within it, was found in the southwest corner of the larnax.

L8: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located in the south-central area of the room and oriented north-south with the southeast corner touching L7. Three skulls were found in the larnax. One skull was in the northwest corner with a green steatite seal perhaps associated. The second skull was in the southwest corner and the third in the southeast.

P1: Located in the west part of the room near the north wall. One skull, as well as some teeth and fragments of bone were discovered inside.

P2: Poorly preserved. Located in the center of the room. Inside were fragments of bones and fragments of the pithos itself.

P3: Located in the east area of the room near the north wall. Bones were discovered outside of the pithos but were perhaps associated with the vessel.

[328] The excavator states that there were 23 skulls found in the room but there appear to be only 22. He states that seven skulls were found in the larnakes and pithoi but from the notes there appear to be only six. (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1980, 396–97).

P4: Located in the southwest corner of Room 3. One skull was discovered.

Surface burials were found mostly in the western part of Room 3 and 15 skulls were discovered. Along the west wall was a row of five skulls, with one in the southwest corner discovered with a cylindrical cup. Among the five skulls were fragments of bones, especially femurs. Further to the east, just east of P1 were two other skulls. Below one of these skulls was a conical cup, and near these was a small jug. Three skulls were placed between P1 and L8. Three ivory pendants, perhaps related to these skulls, were discovered nearby. Four more skulls were found between the south wall of Room 3 and P4 and L8. One other skull was discovered on the east side of the room, just northeast of L7. In this area were also four fragments of jaws. Finally, a pile of long bones was found south of P4.

There are also several objects that are not clearly associated with any of the interments. East of P3 was an ivory cylindrical seal. Another cylindrical ivory seal, which was hollow with a cap on one end, was found west of P3. Part of a clay basin was discovered northeast of P4.

After the removal of the burial vessels, the remains of earlier burials were discovered in the hollows of the bedrock. Beneath L7 and L8 another skull was found, as well as fragments of seven femurs, and two obsidian blade fragments. A piece of rock crystal was found beneath P1. Bones and objects were also discovered in the fill of room, including fragments of jaws, femurs and smaller bones, as well as animal bones, and sherds from a spherical cup.

Burial Building 18

Date: EM III-MM II
Number of Areas: 10 Rooms
Preservation: Good
Years Excavated: 1976, 1987
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1976a, 344–51; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987, 124–27; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 192–204; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 122–23, 1997, 215–16)
Other Discussions: (Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992, 146–47; Sbonias 1995, 91; Müller and Pini 1999, 163, n. 150; Karytinos 2000b, 39; Petrakos 2003; J. S. Phillips 2008, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 179)

Figure: 119

BB 18 is located in the southern part of Phourni, between Tholos Γ and Tholos E, where the surface strongly declines toward to the south and southeast. With 10 rooms, BB 18 is one of the largest burial buildings. It also has one of the longest use-lives of those building considered for this study, functioning from EM III to MM II. It was constructed over time with rooms added in an agglomerative manner. BB 18 was also built over the remains of an earlier burial building, BB 24, which lies mostly in the center of BB 18. Accordingly, it is also one of the most complex structures within the cemetery. Only one room was excavated in 1976, and the other nine rooms, and one area, were discovered and excavated in 1987 and published in 1991.

There are three rooms in the south (Rooms 1-3), one of which was excavated in 1976. These rooms have no visible access and contain depositions dating to the EM III/MM IA period. The seven northern rooms (Rooms 4-10) are well constructed and were used until MM II. They have entrances in the east and some of the rooms were paved. Several burial layers were discovered in each room, most of which contain burials that were made on the surface of the rooms, in burial pithoi, and larnakes.

Room 1

Room 1 is oriented east-west, with interior dimensions of ca. 1.10-1.15 x 1.90m. The south wall is the least well preserved due to the sloping ground level and agricultural practices in the area. Bedrock is close to the surface in the western part of the room. There is no clear entrance to Room 1, but the presence of small stones in the east wall, near the northeast corner, may suggest that the entrance was blocked at some point. Burials were made on the floor and in three larnakes in what appears to be four burial layers.[329] At least 95 skulls were discovered in the room altogether. This large number and the lack of many ceramics, led the excavator to suggest that the room was used as an ossuary.

Burial Layer I

On the surface and in the upper, most disturbed burial layer were many scatters of bones, teeth, and fragments of skulls. Fragments of larnakes and other vessels, part of a stone tool, a piece of burnt wood, part of an obsidian blade, and a small spherical object of clay were also discovered.

[329] The excavators did not specify the number of burial layers but based on the 1976 report, there appear to be four burial layers, which is consistent with the number of burial layers in the other rooms so this organization will be used for consistency.

Burial Layer II

In the second burial layer, above the tops of the larnakes, were the remains of many interments in no obvious orientation. At least 37 skulls were discovered, though these were in poor condition. Among them were also scatters of teeth and bones, particularly long bones, and a fragment of animal tooth, perhaps from a bull.

Burial Layer III

In the third burial layer interments were made in three larnakes and in the spaces between them. Two of the larnakes were in the western part of the room and well preserved while the other was in the east and was badly damaged.

L1: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located in the east part of the room, near the proposed entrance, oriented north-south and perpendicular to L2 and L3. Badly preserved with only the northwest corner *in situ*. Fragments of the lid were discovered nearby. The poor preservation of L1 does not allow for a recreation of the contents but the finds in the area consist of 17 skulls, and it is likely that some of these belong to L1. Also in this area were an ivory cylindrical seal with two sealing surfaces, and a cylindrical object also made of ivory.

L2: Box-shaped. Length: 1m Width: 0.43m Height: 0.40m. Located in the northwest corner of the room with its long side along the north wall and seemingly *in situ*. Fragments of the lid were discovered nearby. A paving stone was placed under the east side of the larnax, apparently to help even the ground level. Inside the larnax were five skulls, and some small scatters of bones. Two of the skulls were on the floor of the larnax with several more bones. They are in the same orientation, with skulls in the north, and likely belong to primary burials. Of the three skulls found in the upper part of the larnax, two were in the west at slightly different depths. An obsidian blade fragment and a very burned piece of bone were also found within L2.

L3: Bathtub-shaped. Length: 1.03m Width: 0.45-0.23m. Located in the southwestern part of the room, south and parallel to L2. A jumble of long bones and three poorly preserved skulls were in the upper layer of the larnax, two of which were in the east part and near the north wall while the third was in the center of the larnax. Near the skull in the center was an ivory cylindrical seal. In a lower level, roughly 0.10m below the surface, fragments of the lid and sides of the larnax were discovered, clearly delineating separate layers of use. Near the bottom, on the western side, a fragmentary skull was found. Bones, including long bones and fragments of vertebra and hand bones, were placed

along the length of the larnax. This has led the excavator to conclude that these are the remains of a contracted, primary burial. Small bones, perhaps from a bird, were found in the southern part of the larnax, and a few small sherds were discovered throughout.

Further depositions were found in the spaces between the larnakes including the 17 skulls in the eastern part of the room, reported with L1, and another 22 skulls – nine along the north wall in the northeast corner, six in the southwest corner, three along the south wall, four in the southeast corner.[330] A few objects were also found in this layer. A spherical cup and an obsidian blade fragment were discovered between L3 and the south wall. Near the east side of L3 was a marble object of unknown function. Between L2 and L3 were an obsidian blade and part of a burned bone.

Burial Layer IV

The fourth burial layer, considered by the excavators to be of an earlier date, lies beneath the larnakes. Nine skulls in total were discovered on the surface of the room. In the center of the western area were seven poorly preserved skulls, two obsidian blade fragments, a cylindrical ivory pendant, and a juglet. In the northwest corner was another skull and in the east part of the room, near the north wall, was a skull and an inverted juglet. In the hollows of the bedrock were five obsidian blade fragments and a flint flake.

Room 2

Room 2 is located in the center of the southern part of BB 18 and is roughly 1x 0.80m. Two burial layers were identified with another layer, devoid of human remains, found below.

Burial Layer I

Within the upper burial layer was only a pithos. No objects or human remains are reported from the layer.

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[330] There is some confusion about the precise locations of the 22 skulls, mostly because of the language used in the description. The difficulty stems from the description of the six skulls in the southwest corner. He states that "…ἕξι στὴ ΝΔ γωνία τοῦ δοματίου, τρία ἀνάμεσα στὶς σαρκοφάγους 2 καὶ 3, τρία στὸ Ν τμῆμα τοῦ δωματίου καὶ ἀνάμεσα στὴ σαρκοφάγο 3 καὶ τὸν Ν τοῖχο…" (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1976a, 346). If the three skulls between L2 and L3 and the three skulls between L3 and the south wall are seen as description of the six skulls in the southwest corner, only 19 skulls are mention. If, on the other hand, they are read as separate from the six in the southwest corner, 25 skulls are now described. It is possible that three skulls are simply not mentioned but it seems likely that the three skulls between the vessels describe part of the six in the southwest corner, while the three along the south wall are considered separately, which is how it has been reported here.

P1: Pithos. Unknown location. No human remains or objects are reported.

Burial Layer II
A larnax was discovered in the lower burial layer.

L4: No shape, dimensions, or location are reported. The larnax contained a single burial with a pendant of animal tooth found beneath the skull.

Burial Layer III
Below the burial layers were finds dating to the EM period but no human remains. Two grinding stones, an unknown number of obsidian blades, and some pebbles were discovered in the fill of this layer.

Room 3
Room 3 is narrow space, ca. 2.50-2.57 x 0.50-0.75m, located in the southeast corner of the building. Four successive burial layers were identified with 18 burials in all. Unlike other rooms within BB 18, no burial vessels were found within Room 3 and all interments were made on the floor.

Burial Layer I
Four burials were discovered in the uppermost layer. Two ivory pendants and a clay sealing were associated with one of the interments. A second burial was accompanied by a cylindrical ivory seal and two ivory beads, while a third was found with eight clam shells with holes for suspension, likely belonging to a necklace. No objects are reported for the fourth interment.

Burial Layer II
The second layer held five burials. Three small vessels – a pithos and two jugs – accompanied one of the individuals and no other objects are reported from the layer.

Burial Layer III
The third layer also contained five interments with no associated objects recorded.

Burial Layer IV
The fourth and final burial layer had four burials. At the feet of these interments were discovered three necklaces made of various materials. One is composed of four shells, four ivory pendants, and one ivory seal. The second necklace is of similar composition

with six shells, eight ivory pendants, and one ivory seal. The third necklace differs slightly from the other two and is made up of four steatite pendants, two of which are foot shaped, five steatite beads, three faience beads, and one steatite seal. Beneath the burial layers were an unknown number of grinding stones, fragments of a globular vessel, pieces of pigments, and some pebbles.

Room 4

Room 4 is at the interior of the building and communicates with Room 7. It is roughly 1.45 x 0.80-0.90m. Only two interments, including one in a larnax, took place in Room 4. A single skull was found near the north wall and just to the south of this were an obsidian blade, a conch shell, and some clam shells. Below the larnax was an ivory object, part of grinding stone, a conch shell, and some pebbles.

L5: Box-shaped. Length: 0.65m Width: 0.40m. No location provided. L5 held the remains of a child burial, which was accompanied by a few pebbles.

Room 5

Room 5 is also at the interior of the building, just south of Room 4, with which it communicates.[331] Two burial layers were identified.

Burial Layer I

The upper layer held two burial pithoi, which contained the remains of three individuals. In the fill of the layer were a bone pendant, a ceramic animal figurine head, and another clay object.

P2: Pithos. Unknown location. Held one or two primary burials. No objects were reported.

P3: Pithos. Unknown location. Held one or two primary burials. No objects were reported.

Burial Layer II

Fragments of a small larnax were discovered in the second burial layer with parts of a skull. In addition, there were some fragments of marble, pigments, a clam shell, and a

[331] The definitions of Rooms 4 and 5 are convoluted. It appears from the plan in the 1991 publication that it is actually one room, shaped like a Γ. The dimensions of Room 4 also do not align with the shape of the room in the plan but from the description of the rooms, this appears to reflect the excavators numbering system (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 181, Fig. 12).

few pebbles. At the center of the room and in the southeast, were four black painted vessels – a cup, a one-handled skyphos, and two jugs – set near one another.

Room 6

Room 6 is located at the north of BB 18, north of Room 4, and is paved. It is ca. 2.50 x 1.05m and communicates with Room 7 to the west and Room 10 to the east. A number of flat stones were discovered within the room, suggesting that it was roofed. Three burial layers were identified.

Burial Layer I

The remains of the first burial layer were disturbed and included dispersed bones and fragments of two larnakes. These were found with a bronze object, fragments of fine ware black painted vessels, pigments, two animal teeth, and some clam shells.

Burial Layer II

In the second burial layer, north of the dividing wall between Room 6 and Room 10, were two burials with a stone kernos, a stone bird's nest bowl, a ceramic conical rhyton, and four black painted cups.

Burial Layer III

At the center of Room 6, in the third burial layer, was a contracted burial lying directly on the pavement. A four-sided agate seal, three obsidian blades, a bridge-mouthed vessel, and a large animal tooth were discovered with the interment. A burial pithos was found in the opening to Room 7, sitting upon a row of pavement.

P4: Pithos. Located at the entrance to Room 7 upon paving stone. The pithos held a single burial in a contracted position as well as a jug, a lopas, and a triangular marble object.

Room 7

Room 7 is a long, thin room, ca. 2.75 x 0.90m, between the northwest and northeast parts of the burial structure, and communicates with Room 8 to the west and Room 6 to the east. The room appears to have been roofed and two burial layers were discovered.

Burial Layer I

In the first burial layer was a single larnax burial and surface burial near the door in the west wall. Below the larnax were an obsidian blade, fragments of plaster and pigments, some sherds, and some pebbles.

L6: Bathtub-shaped. No dimensions provided. No location provided. L6 contained a single interment. No objects were found within the larnax.

Burial Layer II

The second layer contained more burials. Five surface burials were discovered as well as a burial pithos and a larnax. An ivory theriomorphic seal of two birds and two ivory pendants were discovered with the surface burials. One pendant is cylindrical and the other conical.

L7: Shaped unknown. No dimensions given. No location provided. L7 held a single burial with fragments of plaster, shells, and some pebbles.

P5: Pithos with plastic and impressed decoration. No location given. A single contracted burial was within the pithos, accompanied by a bronze pin, a clay triangular object, shells, and a few pebbles.

Room 8

Room 8 is located in the northwest corner of BB 18 and communicates with Room 7 through a door in the east wall. It is 1.86-1.90 x 1.12-1.35m and was likely roofed. Five burial layers were identified within Room 8, and held both interments within burial vessels and surface burials.

Burial Layer I

Within the first burial layer were two surface burials, a larnax, and a burial pithos. No objects were discovered with the surface burials.

L8: Bathtub-shaped larnax. No dimensions given. No location provided. The excavator reports that L8 likely held two child burials, which were accompanied by fragments of pigments and a few pebbles.

P6: Pithos. No location provided. P3 contained a single burial in a contracted position with fragments of plaster and some pebbles.

Burial Layer II

The second burial layer had two surface burials, two larnakes, and a burial pithos. Fragments of plaster, shells, and pebbles were discovered with the surface burials.

L9: Bathtub-shaped with gabled lid. No dimensions given. Located along the south wall. L8 had a single burial with a cylindrical seal of unspecified material.

L10: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located along the north wall. L10 held a single burial with one obsidian blade.

P7: Pithos. Decorated. No location provided. Two burials were found within P4, along with one obsidian blade.

Burial Layer III

In the third burial layer were one surface burial and one larnax. The surface burial was placed in the northeast corner of the room with no associated objects. A few objects were found in the fill of this layer, including an ivory seal in the shape of a pyramid, a grinding stone, fragments of plaster, and some pebbles.

L11: Box-shaped. No dimension given. Located in the west part of Room 8. L11 held a single burial with no associated objects.

Burial Layer IV

A burial pithos, three larnakes, and two surface burials were discovered within the fourth burial layer. One surface burial and an ivory seal were placed in the northwest corner of Room 8. The other was discovered in the northeast corner.

L12: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located on the west wall of the room. A few bones and some pebbles were found within L12.

L13: Bathtub-shaped. No dimensions given. Located along the west wall. A single contracted burial was found within the larnax.

L14: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located on the south wall. The larnax contained only a few bones. No objects were reported.

P8: Pithos. Located in the southeast corner of Room 8. P5 held a single burial in a contracted position. No objects were reported.

Burial Layer V

The fifth burial layer revealed many disintegrated bones, suggesting that the layer original held several surface burials. Below the foundation level of the walls was a single

surface burial, which the excavator dates to an earlier phase and should possibly be considered part of BB 24.

Room 9

Room 9 is located in the western part of BB 18, to the south of Room 8 and north of Room 1 and has access to the central rooms (Rooms 4, 5, and 7). It is 1.90 x 1.30m and was roofed. Four burial layers were identified with surface burials and interments in burial pithoi and larnakes but very few burial goods.

Burial Layer I

The upper burial layer was heavily disturbed by agriculture. The layer held burials in pithoi and larnakes and surface depositions but only two individuals could be identified.

Burial Layer II

A burial pithos and surface interments were found better preserved in the second burial layer. Surface burials and secondary depositions were discovered on top of flat surfaces created by the larnax lids in the lower layer. The number of surface burials is not reported but they were found with shells and pebbles. Other finds within the layer include a second pithos, though not used for burial, and a large tripod vessel containing some bones and a few sherds.

P9: Four-handled pithos with plastic decoration. Located in the center of the room, apparently haven fallen from its original standing position. P6 held a single burial of unknown position. No objects were discovered within the pithos.

Burial Layer III

Three larnakes holding multiple primary burials and one secondary deposition were discovered in the third burial layer.

L15: Bathtub-shaped. No dimensions given. No location provided. L15 held two burials and one secondary deposition.[332] No objects were found within the larnax.

[332] The excavators distinguish here between burials and depositions. The report states that in the larnax were "…δύο ταφὲς καὶ μία ἀπόθεση…" (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 201). The precise meaning of ἀπόθεση (deposit) is unknown, but it is clear that the remains were not primary, likely deposited secondarily. It seems probably that this is an individual skull or a skull with some long bones.

L16: Bathtub-shaped. No dimensions given. No location provided. Two burials, with no accompanying objects, were discovered within L16.

L17: Bathtub-shaped. Preserved impression of a mat reed on the base of the larnax. No dimensions given. No location provided. This larnax held three burials. A large (3.30 x 2cm) ivory cylindrical seal was found among the interments.

Burial Layer IV

At least 27 surface interments were discovered in the fourth burial layer of Room 9.[333] Among the human bones were a few obsidian blades, some pigments, and parts of ceramic vessels. The excavator remarks that the skulls were found dispersed through the room, especially along the walls. The center of the room and the doorway were relatively clear, suggesting that the bones had been moved to the sides in order to make way for later interments.

Room 10

Room 10 is located in the northeast corner of BB 18, to the east of Room 6. It is a narrow space, 2.40 x 0.85m, and is completely paved. The south part of the room was poorly preserved because of the height of the bedrock and disturbance from modern agriculture. The north part of the room is better preserved and three burial layers have been identified there, while the lowest layer is preserved throughout the room.

Burial Layer I

The first burial layer held a few human bones and several vessels, including fine, Kamares style vases. Specifically, five vessels were found – a lopas, two bridge-mouthed vases, two spherical cups, one black painted and one red painted.

Burial Layer II

A single burial pithos was discovered in the second burial layer, placed upon four flat stones and bounded by a stone construction. A bird's nest bowl found just to the north of the vessel and is possibly associated.

[333] Although the excavators call these ταφή (burials) it is clear from the description that these were not primary interments (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 201). Based on the description, it is likely that these are heavily disturbed burials, possibly indicating some depletion, as only the skulls are counted.

P10: Pithos. Located in the north part of the room. P7 held a single contracted burial. No objects were found within the pithos but the bird's nest bowl, mentioned above, is possibly associated.

Burial Layer III

The third burial layer is better preserved throughout the room. Beneath the stone construction for the pithos in the north part of the room was a larnax. Three surface burials were discovered in the southern part with stones delimiting the area of the burials to the north and the east. Among the remains were three ivory seals – one hemicylindrical, one cylindrical, and one three-sided – and a black painted, Kamares style cup.

L18: Unknown shape. No dimensions given. Located in the north part of the room, beneath the burial pithos in the second burial layer. No human remains were discovered, though a black painted, Kamares style vessel was found within L18.

Area 11

Area 11 is located to the east of Room 10 with a communicating door between the two spaces. Only the north and west walls have been identified though the finds suggest that it was used in a similar capacity to the other rooms with BB 18. A larnax was discovered to the south of the preserved northern wall.

L19: Box-shaped. No dimensions given. Located to the south of the north wall of Area of 11. L19 held a single burial in an unknown position with four obsidian blades and some fragments of ceramic vessels.

Some stone constructions were discovered in the area but the nature of these is not clear. The excavators have identified a small wall in the southwestern part of Area of 11 and they have suggested that it represents part of an earlier structure, likely BB 24. A few bones and a part of a ceramic figurine were discovered in association with this wall.[334]

East of BB 18

Beneath a modern burial, to the east of Room 3 of BB 18, a ceramic deposit was discovered. Within the deposit were nine vessels – a two-handled, black painted spouted vessel, two cups with ring bases, part of a ritual vessel with a false neck, part of a bucket-

[334] These are considered part of BB 24, discussed below.

shaped vessel, part of a black painted vessel with a spout, and fragments of two globular vessels.

Area Between BB 18 and BB 19

Date: EM IIA, EM IIB, EM III-MM IB?
Number of Areas: 1
Preservation: Good
Years Excavated: 1976-1977
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1976a, 385–90, 1976b, 174–75; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 379, 383–84, 474, 513, 814)
Other Discussions: (Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 180)

During the excavation of the south area of the Phourni cemetery in 1976, BB 18 and BB 19 were discovered and the area in between them was excavated. On the surface were many stones and fragments of ceramic vessels and larnakes. Stones were also placed there seemingly for the purpose of leveling the area for burials. The Area of the Rocks serves as the western extent of this area and many fragments of obsidian were found there. The excavators suggest that the vessels and larger finds were placed in this area purposefully but that many of the small finds likely came from the clearing of BB 18 and perhaps even from the Area of the Rocks to the west. Small numbers of bone fragments and seven teeth were discovered here, concentrating to the north, near and on the south wall of BB 18. The lack of human remains has led the excavators to suggest that no primary interments occurred in this space.

A few objects were discovered in the area, including nine ceramic vessels of various date – a fruitstand, a jug, three kalathoi, two conical cups, one lopas, one skyphos, and one Ayios Onouphrios style jug in the lower layer. The heads of two figurines were also discovered. One is of a Minoan type in ceramic and the other is of Cycladic marble. Additionally, there were two ivory seals, one cylindrical and one prismatic, a rock crystal bead, four ivory pendants, with fragments of a fifth, and one stone pendant, 40 obsidian blade fragments, a piece of worked bone, a fragment of rock crystal, a piece of shale, and a piece of flint, two animal teeth, and 59 seashells.

Burial Building 19

Date: EM III/MM IA - MM II/MM IIB
Number of Areas: 1 Room

Preservation: Good
Years Excavated: 1976-1977
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1976a, 351–85, 1977, 481, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 123–26, 1997, 152)
Other Discussions: (Karagianni 1984, 93; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992, 147–48; Karytinos 1994; Maggidis 1994, 1997, 347–48; Karytinos 1998; Maggidis 1998; Sbonias 1995, 89–91, 99; C. Papadopoulos 2010; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 181)
Figure: 130

BB 19 was excavated in 1976 and 1977 and was thoroughly restudied by Maggidis in the 1990s. This unique building, located in the southern part of the Phourni cemetery, was constructed in EM III or MM IA and was in use until MM IIA/B, roughly 450 years. BB 19 is a single room structure with an unusual plan. The exterior is rectangular in shape (2.80 x 3.40m), but the interior of BB 19 is apsidal (max. 1.85 x 1.95m) with the apse on the east side. Three of its walls are very thick (0.95 – 1.05m) with the exception of a thinner west wall (0.35 – 0.65m). There was likely an entrance (0.80m wide) at the northwest corner that appears to have been blocked by a poorly constructed rubble wall. It also seems that the structure had a corbelled "semi-vault" coming from the north, south, and east walls (Maggidis 1994, 17).

A large stone slab was found at the northernmost part of the east exterior wall, which Maggidis suggests was used as an altar for the deposition of offerings to the dead within BB 19. He further suggests that a number of aligned stones, discovered from the north wall toward the northeast, are the remains of a precinct wall for this area, within which were several objects that may have been offerings.

The interior space of BB 19 was filled with human remains and objects, on top of which were many flat stones that likely fell inside the space when the roof collapsed. Two burial strata were discerned during the excavation and confirmed in the reanalysis by Maggidis. These two strata are distinguished through "stratigraphical criteria" and by the methods of interment, though Sakellarakis notes that there is no obvious chronological distinction between the two (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 218; Maggidis 1994, 29). Maggidis subdivides the strata into two layers each and into sections based on visible patterns of use. He suggests a tripartite division of the interments, in which the earliest burials are placed up against the walls (Section A), subsequent interments were found at

the center of the space (Section B), and the latest burials can be found at the entrance (Section C).[335]

Stratum II- Upper Stratum

The upper stratum of BB 19 is roughly 0.70m thick and is subdivided into Layers III and IV. Altogether Stratum II contained the remains of 75 individuals, which is significantly fewer than the lower stratum, but held twice as many vessels, with 136 complete vases present. Eight of the individuals were in primary contexts but most of the remains were in secondary positions with mainly skulls and some long bones present, many of which were found within burial vessels such as larnakes, pithoi, and other vases.

Burial Layer IV

Layer IV is the uppermost layer within BB 19 and is dated by Maggidis, based on the ceramics, to the later MM IB – early MM IIA periods. A slab, which defines the lowest level of Layer IV, was added in the doorway at a depth of 0.50m. The final two burials within BB 19 were placed on this slab. There is no clear break, however, between Layers III and IV, as there are between the other layers.

The collapse of the tomb's roof, which Maggidis suggests took place in the MM IIA period, left the depositions within Layer IV disturbed and fragmentary. Stones from the roof collapse were found on top of and among the depositions, heaped mainly in the center of the tomb. It is difficult, therefore, to recreate the precise layout of the tomb at this layer and to determine if the skeletal remains were in primary or secondary positions.

There are at least 32 burials within Layer IV, and Maggidis suggests that there are three primary burials among them. Four of the individuals were likely children or infants. Although very disturbed from the collapse of the roof, there appear to be 14 burial vessels – one pithos, and 13 larnakes, three of which are relatively complete while the other 10 are represented only by fragments. In this layer are also four stone vessels, three beads, three earrings and one ring, two bronze bosses, fragments of a gold band, 13 obsidian blades, two pieces of burned wood, pigment, and many animal bones and teeth.[336]

[335] For clarity and continuity, the same organization will be kept for this treatment of BB 19. For more detail see Maggidis 1994.

[336] The pigment is described by Maggidis as a "coloring substance" (1994, 63). He also reports five rings, theoretically including earrings but details only three earrings and one bronze ring that was likely part of a necklace.

For this layer, Maggidis records a slightly altered plan, in which only the west, south and east walls (including the northeast corner) are considered within Section A. Section B consists of the material from the center part of the tomb, which appears to continue uninterrupted up to the north wall.

Section A

The human remains found along the walls within Layer IV, characterized mostly by skulls with some long bones present, are almost entirely secondary with two possible primary burials. All interments within this section were found on the surface of the tomb.

Three skulls were placed up against the western wall of BB 19 with a few objects including an obsidian blade and a spouted jar. Another skull was discovered in this area with many long bones and other small bones, which Maggidis suggests is an articulated primary burial of a child in a contracted position with head oriented to the south. Around this burial were a silver earring, two two-handled spouted jars, a conical bowl, and some animal bones including, a cow bone and some bird bones.

One skull was discovered in the southwest corner of BB 19 with an inverted miniature cup and one two-handled spouted jar, which held some bird bones. Along the south wall was a single skull with many objects nearby, such as a lead earring, two two-handled spouted jars, a goblet with a burned piece of wood, and several animal remains, including cows teeth, the mandible of a small carnivore, and some small bird bones.

The southeast corner held another burial deposit consisting of two skulls with a one-handled cup and some bird bones. Nearby was an inverted two-handled spouted jar, beneath which were some bones from a possible infant burial and some bird bones.

The largest collection of depositions was found within the apse, along the east wall. Along the south part of the east wall were two skulls with four vessels – a handleless cup and three two-handled spouted jar – and some bird bones scattered among them. Just to the north, at the middle of the east wall, was a disturbed, possibly primary, burial with a twisted bronze earring, a stone bowl of grey-greenish steatite, a miniature jug, a small one-handled bowl, two conical cups, a two-handled spouted jar, and a cow mandible.

At the north part of the east wall, within the apse, were two more skulls with several vessels – a jug, a miniature bowl, a small bowl, three two-handled spouted jars, and a circular offering table – and some bird bones and a cow tooth. In the northeast corner of

the tomb was a dense deposit of four skulls with a juglet and a conical bowl holding a large animal's mandible, along with another smaller mandible nearby.

Section B

The central area for Layer IV consists of the depositions discovered in the center of the tomb up to the north wall, between which there is no break, as there appears to be in lower layers. The central part the tomb was a dense collection of eight secondary burials, two of which may have been associated with long bones, as well as burial vessels, and objects.

The two burials with associated long bones were at the southernmost end of the central deposit with a grey-greenish steatite bowl, another vase of grey-greenish steatite containing some bird bones, a chlorite phiale, two obsidian blades, two one-handled cups, four two-handled spouted jars in a range of sizes, a jar, and a one-handled lid, as well as several animal bones and teeth, including sheep/goat teeth, cow teeth, more bird bones, chicken bones, and bones from another small animal.[337]

To the northwest of these remains was a small larnax (L3), near which were discovered a bronze bead of cylindrical shape and a small animal bone.

L3[338]: Box-shaped. Small. No dimensions given. Located in the central part of the room, west of the entryway and oriented roughly northeast to southwest. A few small cranial fragments were discovered inside, possibly belonging to the burial of an infant. The larnax also contained a ceramic vessel lid and a small bronze boss (to the west of the deposit).

Further to the north, near the north wall, were several more depositions including two skulls placed on the surface of the tomb and a child's skull within a burial vessel (V143). Among these burials were an obsidian blade, seven ceramic vessels – a small conical bowl, a one-handled cup found within a two-handled spouted jar, and four more two-handled spouted jars, including a miniature one – as well as a fragment of pigment, and several animal bones, some of which were burned, including bird bones, a mandible from a small carnivore, teeth from a sheep/goat and a cow, and more small animal bones.

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[337] Maggidis makes more explicit associations between the objects and each of the burials (1994, 58–59).

[338] For the sake of simplicity, I use Maggidis' numbering system. I have, however, inverted Maggidis' order of occurrence for the strata for consistency.

V143[339]: Two-handled spouted jar. Located at the northwest corner of L3, near the northwest corner of BB 19, on its side with mouth oriented to the northwest. The vessel contains one child skull and no burial goods.

East of these remains, at the east side of Section B, were two more skulls, one on top of the other, with a third further north, along the north wall. On one of the skulls was placed a juglet. Among the three skulls were three obsidian blades, five two-handled spouted jars, with a spouted vase inside one of the jars, and several animal remains including a pig maxilla, a small mammal or bird rib, and teeth from a sheet/goat and a cow.

On top of these deposits in the central area of BB 19 were three more burial vessels, including two larnakes and a pithos, which were badly damaged in the roof collapse. Among these vessels were fragments from at least 10 other larnakes and four larnax lids.

L2: Square shaped. Small. No dimensions given. Badly preserved. Located roughly at the center of the tomb. No human remains or finds were able to be associated with this larnax.

L4: Box-shaped. Large. No dimensions given. Badly preserved. Located in the northwest corner of BB 19 and seemingly oriented northeast to southwest. No bones or objects were associated.

P3: Pithos. Only the upper part is preserved. Located between L4 and L1, west of the entryway. No skeletal remains or objects were found in association with the pithos.

Several objects were discovered while sifting the fill from this layer. The objects include a globular sard bead, a discoid faience bead, a bronze ring with a hole, around which were traces of white faience, a small bronze boss, a fragment of burned wood, and several animal bones and the tooth of a small mammal.

Section C

The interments in the area around the entrance in Layer IV are considered the latest burials within BB 19. Three skulls in secondary positions were found just to the southeast of the entrance. Two of the skulls were found on the surface and one was placed in a

[339] Maggidis uses a continual numbering system for all vessels (excluding larnakes and pithoi). Burial vessels that are not larnakes or pithoi, therefore, are part of the same sequence as all other vessels found within the tomb.

vessel (V157). Among them were a large one-handled cup, and two two-handled jars, one of which was spouted.

V157: Two-handled circular tray. Located just east of the west wall, to the south of L3. Inside was a single skull with some bird bones.

A skull and what appears to be a disturbed but intact primary burial in a contacted position on its right side were discovered immediately east of the entryway. Beneath the skull associated with the primary burial, which was oriented to the south and facing east, was a triangular stone slab. Near the skulls were a small gold band, four obsidian blades, two-handled spouted jar, and a small bowl.

Layer III

The bottom of Layer III was identified by the pressed earth floor created by the clean fill added on top of Layer II and defined by the bottom course of the rubble wall added at the doorway, and the bottoms of several burial vessels, which rested on the level floor. From the ceramic evidence, Maggidis dates Layer III to the early and middle MM IB period.

Layer III held the remains of 41 individuals. Most of the remains were found in secondary positions, but eight interments – six children and two adults – were possibly primary burials. Many of the deposits were made within burials vessels, including one larnax, two pithoi, and 19 jars, two of which were nested within larger burial vessels. Other objects within Layer III include a ceramic female figurine, 26 beads of faience, a silver earring, six obsidian blades, 35 vessels of various shapes, animal bones, and seashells.

Section A

The remains of 28 individuals, one of which was an articulated primary burial, were found along the walls of BB 19 within Layer III. Most of the human remains were found in burials containers. In addition to the burial vessels themselves, there were many objects discovered in this section including a figurine, 26 beads, a silver earring, six obsidian blades, several ceramic vessels, four seashells, and animal bones and teeth.

At the southern end of the west wall were two skulls and some long bones. On top of these skulls was a “rectangular portable offering table” placed up against the west wall with the jaw of one of the skulls placed upon it (Maggidis 1994, 48). Among these remains were also a ceramic lid, a two-handled spouted jar, and a sheep/goat tooth.

To the southeast of these remains was an inverted larnax and directly south, in the southwest corner of BB 19, was a pithos.

L1: Box-shaped larnax. Small. Dimensions not given. Located east of the rectangular table and northeast of P1 near the southwest corner of BB 19 in an inverted position, with the long axis oriented northeast to southwest. Inside L1 was a skull and several small bones, which are possibly the remains of a primary infant burial. Two bronze beads – one cylindrical, the other globular – and some animal bones were also discovered.

P1: Pithos. Located in the southwest corner of BB 19 and on its side with mouth oriented to the east. There were six skulls within the pithos. Four of the skulls were discovered nested inside a large spouted jar. Three of the four skulls belonged to adults and the fourth to a child. A bowl and some animal bones were also discovered inside the jar.

Just east of the mouth of the P1 were a child's skull, with a goblet and a tripod cooking-pot, which contained animal bones and teeth (juvenile pig mandible and a sheep/goat metatarsal), and an adult skull with a spouted jar and an animal bone (cow tibia).

To the east of these skulls and along the south wall were several more burial vessels and objects.

V79: Cylindrical, tripodic spouted jar. Located east of L1 and P1, on its side with mouth oriented to the northwest. V79 held the remains of a primary child interment in a contracted position. Accompanying the burial were three globular beads – two of faience and one of bronze – as well as a side-handled cup and a few small animal bones.

V60: Two-handled spouted jar. Located along the south wall, south of V79, on its side with mouth oriented to the north. A skull and some small bones, which are possibly the remains of a primary infant burial, were discovered inside the vessel along with some bird bones and a spouted jar partially inside the mouth of V60.[340]

V65: Two-handled spouted jar. Located east of V79 and northeast of V60, on its side with mouth oriented to the south, facing V60. This vessel also held the remains of what is perhaps a primary infant burial, as well as a silver earring, a one-handled cup, some fish and bird bones, and a cow tooth.[341]

[340] See note above regarding the uncertain identification of the burial.
[341] See note above regarding the uncertain identification of the burial.

Among these three burial vessels were a small bowl, a cylindrical tripodic jar, a two-handled spouted jar, and some animal bones.

The secondary remains of five individuals, three of which were placed in burial containers, were discovered in the southeast corner of BB 19 along with several objects. Two skulls were found on the surface with a tripod cooking-pot containing small animal bones, three one-handled cups, a goblet, and some bird bones and a seashell. Three more vessels in this area were used for interments.

V70: Two-handled spouted jar. Located in the southeast corner on its side with mouth oriented to the southeast. Contained a child's skull.

V72: Two-handled spouted jar. Located directly north of V70 on its side with mouth oriented to the southeast. Inside V72 were a child's skull, some animal bones, and a fragment of burned wood.

V74: Two-handled spouted jar. Located north of V72 in an inverted position. V74 held a single adult skull.

South of V74 was an obsidian blade found inside a bowl, and to the east was part of a large circular ceramic object. North of this group, along the east wall, were three more skulls, deposited on the surface. Near one of the skulls were found a miniature conical cup and 19 faience beads, likely a single necklace, which were "found in situ around the skull" along with several bones, which may suggest that this was a primary burial (Maggidis 1994, 50).[342]

Three more burial vessels were discovered in the northeast corner of BB 19.

P2: Spouted pithos. Located in the northeast corner of BB 19 and standing *in situ*. The two-handled lid was in place but shifted slightly to the east, exposing the interior of the vessel. Inside the pithos were four skulls, including one child's skull, which was found inside a two-handled spouted jar with animal bones from a small mammal and a bird. Some long bones were found with the three adult skulls inside the pithos. The interments

[342] Maggidis suggests that the other two skulls in this group predate the one possibly *in situ*, and were pushed against the wall to make room for the primary burial.

were accompanied by a white faience globular bead, a ceramic figurine in the shape of a woman, some animal bones, a seashell, and a fragment of burned wood.

V81: Cylindrical tripodic spouted jar. Located south of P2 on its side with mouth oriented to the north. A small skull and some bones, possibly belonging to a primary infant burial, were discovered inside V81 along with a few bird bones.

V76: Small jar. Located in the northeast corner of BB 19, along the north wall and directly north of P2, in an inverted position. V76 held the remains of what was possibly a primary infant burial and some bird bones.

Section B

Within Layer III, deposits in the central part of the tomb concentrate in the north. Secondary remains from 13 interments were discovered in nine burial vessels or deposited on the surface. Among the human remains were six child burials placed in burial vessels. Of the seven adult skulls discovered in this area, four were in burial vessels and three were deposited on the surface of the tomb.

V100: Two-handled spouted jar. Located in the southernmost part of Section B, directly north of L1, on its side with mouth oriented northwest. Two skulls, one adult and one child, were discovered in V100 along with some animal bones.

V95: Two-handled spouted jar. Located north of V100 on its side with mouth oriented to the northwest. One adult skull and some bird bones were within V95.

V96: Two-handled spouted jar. Located east of V95, on its side with mouth oriented to the north. V96 held one child skull as well as two teeth from a goat/sheep, a juglet, a conical cup, a bowl, and an unidentified clay object.

V88: Two-handled spouted jar. Located in the western part of Section B, northeast of V100 and west of V95, on its side with mouth oriented north. V88 held a child skull and a bone from a small mammal and some other animal bones.

V87: Two-handled spouted jar. Located directly east of V88 on its side with mouth oriented northwest. V87 held only a child's skull, with no accompanying objects.

V84: Two-handled spouted jar. Located south of the north wall, to the north V88 and V87, on its side with mouth oriented to the north. One adult skull was discovered in the vessel with no accompanying objects.

V85: Two-handled spouted jar. Located southeast of V84 and east of V87 on its side with mouth oriented north. V85 held one child skull with no accompanying offerings.

V86: Two-handled spouted jar. Located to the east of V85 and south of V82 and V76, on its side with mouth oriented north, facing the north wall. One adult skull and some bird bones were found within V86.

V82: Two-handled spouted jar. Located along the north wall, near the northeast corner of BB 19 and directly east of V76, on its side with mouth oriented north, facing the north wall. Within V82 was a child skull and no accompanying objects.

Three adult skulls were found on the floor among the burial vessels. One was found to the north of V100 with two two-handled spouted jars and two conical bowls. Just to the north of this was a second skull with several ceramic vessels including a spouted vase, a two-handled spouted jar with a one-handled cup inside, and one other vessel, possibly a cooking-pot. The third skull was found between the north wall and the mouth of V84 with a jug, a small two-handled spouted jar, a larger spouted jar with an obsidian blade inside, and some animal bones. At least four other spouted jars of various sizes were discovered among these remains. Near one of the larger jars were large animal bones, a bird bone, two obsidian blades, and a ceramic lid, all of which may have originally been within the vessel.

Section C

The remains of two surface burials were found near the entryway to BB 19 within Layer III. One interment appears to be the secondary remains of juvenile burial, which was brushed aside into the doorway. The other appears to be a disturbed primary burial of an adult, possibly in an extended position. Among these remains were a goblet, two obsidian blades, and some bird bones.

Stratum I- Lower Stratum

The lower burial stratum, Stratum I, is further subdivided into Layers I and II and is approximately 0.30m thick. In addition to many long bones there were 122 skulls recovered from Stratum I, with at least three primary interments intact. Most interments were made on the surface of the tomb but four burial pithoi were discovered. There were

also a few child burials in this stratum. Maggidis notes that there were only 56 vases discovered, which he considers disproportionate with the number of individuals present and suggests that this is "consistent with extensive periodic cleaning operations and looting" (Maggidis 1994, 30). Based on the fact that BB 19 is both the smallest burial structure and contains the largest number of skulls, Papadopoulos has suggested that this structure served as an ossuary (C. Papadopoulos 2010, 6).

Layer II

Layer II sits 0.12m above the top of Layer I with a new floor of pressed earth. From the ceramics, Maggidis dates this layer to the middle and late part of MM IA. There are 106 burials within Layer II, along with four seals, two figurines, nine beads, seven pendants, a pestle, a flint core, 21 obsidian blades, 44 ceramic vessels, many seashells, and animal bones. At the end of its use-life the layer was filled with soil to make room for more interments.

Section A

Skeletal remains were found piled against the walls, especially in the southwest, and were almost entirely secondary with a few exceptions. In addition to the human remains, many objects were discovered near the walls including four seals, three beads, six pendants, 11 obsidian blades, one flint core, one pestle, 18 ceramic vessels, 68 seashells, and some animal bones.

In the southwest corner were 19 skulls along with some bones, a ceramic zoomorphic figurine, two jars, one one-handled cup with an obsidian blade found inside, 19 shells, and some animal bones. Four of these skulls, along the west wall, were divided from the rest by some stones. They were found with a pestle and a one-handled cup.[343] Among the secondary remains, along the west wall, was an articulated primary burial of a juvenile, slightly disturbed, in a contracted position with head oriented south and facing east.

In the southeast corner was a horizontal flagstone, on and around which were 24 skulls and many objects such as an ivory cylindrical seal with two sealing surfaces, a grey-greenish steatite cylindrical seal, a black steatite discoid bead, a conical pendant of ivory, and three black steatite pendants – one schematic anthropomorphic, one drop-shaped, and one trapezoidal. In addition, there were four obsidian blades, a ceramic schematic

[343] Maggidis states that the skulls were "…isolated from the rest by a crudely built stone compartment, which is perhaps an early sign of an upcoming burial individualism" (1994, 35).

anthropomorphic figurine, a double vase, three goblets, a one-handled cup, and 16 seashells, three or four of which were perforated.[344]

To the north, along the east wall, 11 more skulls were found along with a few long bones. Among the bones were two ivory seals – one cylindrical and one conical – a prismatic pendant of black steatite, a cuboid pendant of meteorite, a rock crystal globular bead. A double vase, identical to the one found in the southeast corner, was found with five other vases including a jug, a juglet, a necked jar, a large one-handled cup, and a conical cup, as well as four obsidian blades, and 63 seashells.

Along the north wall were another 15 skulls with some long bones and offerings of a steatite bead in a globular shape, a flint core, two obsidian blades, a goblet and two jugs.

Section B
There were 25 skulls and some long bones in the central area of the tomb, as well as 19 vases, five beads, seven obsidian blades, some animal bones and a shell.

Six of the skulls were placed directly northwest of the flagstone in the southeast corner of BB 19. Among the skulls were five obsidian blades, a seashell, and seven vessels – three one-handled cups, a juglet, a neckless jar, and two jugs, one of which contained some animal bones.

To the west of this group, in the southwest part of the central area, was a dense accumulation of 11 skulls, some long bones, and eight ceramic vessels, including a miniature conical bowl, a conical cup, a jug, a goblet, a kalathos, a large spouted jar, and a small spouted jar with a smaller jar found inside and a few animal bones.

Another eight skulls were found to the north of these groups. These were found with a few long bones, a globular ivory bead, three tubular shells that were likely part of a necklace, two obsidian blades, a jug, a one-handled cup, a conical bowl, and a juglet. A black steatite cylindrical bead was discovered in the fill from Section B, along with some animal bones.

Section C

[344] Maggidis interprets this flagstone as a place "…to receive ritual offerings and libations in honor of the dead…" (1994, 36).

In the area around the entrance, the remains of seven individuals, mostly secondary, were found along with several objects. One skull, along with a large, cylindrical jar with four handles, a conical bowl, and an obsidian blade, was found just east of the doorway. North of the entrance, in the northwest area of BB 19, were another five skulls with a cylindrical ivory pendant, an obsidian blade, a one-handled cup, a small amphora, and an animal tooth. A neat pile of long bones, which likely belong with these skulls, were found further north with a small, four-handled jar, a wide-mouth jug, and a clay mass of unknown function.

Directly on the threshold of BB 19 was a primary burial in a contracted position with head oriented to the north and facing west. A cylindrical steatite bead, an obsidian blade, and a goblet were placed near the skull, while at the feet were two conical cups, two jugs, and a fish bone.

Rock Cavity

In a man-made cavity, just northwest of the tomb's entrance was a large burial pithos. This area was later sealed with a rubble wall, overlaying the bones and objects just outside the pithos.

P4: Large pithos. Located in the northwest part of the tomb, just outside, and on its side with the mouth facing south into the tomb. The pithos held the remains of four individuals, one of which appears to be a primary burial from the presence of a pelvis, small bones, and several teeth. Within the pithos and just outside, likely fallen onto the floor, were five obsidian blades, a jug containing some bird bones, and a spouted vase, as well as a burned animal bone and two animal teeth.

<u>Layer I</u>

Layer I is the lowest layer within BB 19 at 1m below the surface. It has a pressed earth floor, deliberately leveled with stones, and contained 16 burials. This layer held seven ceramic vessels, one stone vase, three ivory pendants, one steatite pendant, another pendant of unknown material, nine obsidian blades, and 18 shells.

Section A

The remains of nine individuals were discovered around the walls, including one child interment. All human remains are in secondary positions with mainly skulls and some long bones present. Maggidis notes that the skulls were often found in couples.

In the southwest corner were two skulls as well as two ivory pendants, two obsidian blades, and a one-handled cup. Just east of these, along the south wall, was a third skull with three vases – a one-handled cup, a goblet, and a jug. In the southeast corner were two more skulls with a three-sided ivory prismatic pendant, an obsidian blade, and three shells. To the north, in the area of the apse, were 10 more shells. In the northwest corner was a child skull and west of this, along the north wall, were three more skulls, two obsidian blades, and a miniature alabaster cup.

Section B
There were seven skulls, all clearly secondary as there were no other bones discovered, found in the center of the room. One of the skulls belonged to a child. At the south end of this group were a three-sided prismatic pendant of ivory, an obsidian blade, and a greenish steatite pendant. A goblet was found beneath one of the skulls at the center, and to the north were three obsidian blades. Another vase is recorded from this area but the shape find spot are not provided.

Section C
There were no human remains at the entrance to BB 19 at this level, but a juglet was found at the doorway.

Area of the Rocks

Date: EM IIA, EM III-MM IB
Number of Areas: Open Area
Preservation: Unknown
Years Excavated: 1976-1982; Conservation 1983
Publications
Archaeological Reports**:** (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1976a, 391–95, 1978, 320–21, 1980, 388–90, 398–400, 1981, 427–48, 1982, 480–95; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1983, 53–54; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 179; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 134–35, 1997, 232–36)
Other Discussions: (Papadatos 1977; Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 187; Karantzali 1996, 69–70; Pieler 2004, 110–13; Koehl 2006, 76–77; Papadatos 2005, 52–53)

The Area of the Rocks is a long narrow located in the southwest part of the cemetery and made up of large, flat sections of bedrock with narrow fissures in between them. On top of the stones and within these fissures were secondary human remains and objects likely removed from the nearby burial structures as well as some burials that may be primary.

The precise dates of use for this area are unclear but there is pottery from the EM IIA, EM III, and MM I phases. The poorly preserved remains of two rounded burial buildings, BB 22 and BB 23, are also located in this area and are discussed in more detail below.

Parts of this area were excavated over several seasons, beginning in 1976 and finishing in 1982. For the final publication, excavators divided the Area of the Rocks into four parts – the North, North-Central, South-Central, and South sections. The North Section is the area located to the west of BBs 6, 12, and 5, and including BB 23. The North-Central Section is the area west of Tholos Γ and the South-Central Section is located southwest of BB 22 and Tholos Γ and northwest of BB 18. Finally, the area west of BBs 18 and 19 is considered the South Section (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 232–36). The South Section is of particular interest, as this area appears to have been used primarily for the reinterment of the material removed from the lower stratum of Tholos Γ.

Due to the complexity of this area of the cemetery and the various methods of excavation and publication, the precise alignment of the four sections of the Area of the Rocks is not entirely clear. The organization of the following section attempts to place the contextual information in the original archaeological reports within the framework given in the final report. For clarity, however, this material is further broken down by year of excavation to retain whatever contextual information is available. Most sections were excavated in two layers – a surface layer, and the burial layer, consisting of the deposits found within the fissures – when possible, that information has been provided.

The South Section

The southernmost end of the Area of the Rocks, located to the west of BBs 18 and 19 was excavated first. Work in the South Section of the Area of the Rocks occurred in 1976 and 1978-1980. The pottery in the area dates from the EM II to the MMIA periods. The excavators estimate that more that 1000 pieces of obsidian were discovered in this area and it also held the largest number of Cycladic marble figurines. The similarity to the finds from the lower stratum of Tholos Γ, has led the excavators and Papadatos to suggest that the material cleared from Tholos Γ was reinterred in the South Section of the Area of the Rocks. This is supported by the presence of identical gold cylindrical beads in both contexts and two fragments of a gold band, one of which was found in Tholos Γ and the other in the South Section.

The first excavation within the Area of the Rocks took place in 1976 and concentrated on the area to the west of BBs 18 and 19 (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1976a, 391–95). The area aligns with the section called the South Section in the final publication, which the

excavators report was the only area that was certainly not used for primary burials (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 236). Bones and objects were found dispersed and in obviously secondary contexts, leading the excavators to suggests that material was removed from a nearby burial structure, most likely the lower burial layer of Tholos Γ but also including later burial structures.

In the northern area of the South Section was part of a Cycladic marble figurine, a spherical bead of gold sheet, a piece of rock crystal, 180 obsidian blades and fragments of blades and at least one core, a core and part of a blade of brown flint, fragments of a ceramic jug, fragments of a pithoid vessel, and two oyster shells. In the western area, the head of a second Cycladic marble figurine was found. Below the figurine was a fragmentary skull, crushed by a large stone, along with seven obsidian blade fragments. Further below was another fragmentary skull with pieces of bones and teeth, as well as 40 fragments of obsidian blades and four flakes. In the center of the area was a complete but fragmentary bridge-spouted vessel. This vessel and most of the pottery is dated to the end of the Prepalatial Period, with most dating to MM IA but with many earlier examples.

Although there were limited numbers of human remains found within the fill, there were some deposits of skulls and bones made in the fissures between the rocks. Four skulls were found in a narrow strip of soil between the rock, with some bones below, including two femurs. Only the lower parts of the skulls are preserved, likely because the upper parts were destroyed as rocks were placed over the narrow fissure. Around these were 40 fragments of obsidian blades and nearby were an intact gold band, two small cranial fragments and four teeth.

Many more fragments of obsidian were discovered throughout the area. The excavator reports that 939 fragments of obsidian blades and ten obsidian flakes, concentrating in the fissures between the rocks, were discovered during this excavation. Fragments of larnakes and pithoi were also discovered throughout the area, as well as fragments of a small spherical vessel of green steatite and four oyster shells, one of which was pierced.

In 1978 the area to the west of BB 18 was further explored (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1978, 320–21). Included among the finds from this area are another 78 fragments of obsidian blades and several more Cycladic figurines. In the northeast part, among some human bones and teeth, were fragments of three more Cycladic marble figurines, as well as some sherds, including part of spherical, ampharoid vessel, a fragment of a tripod vessel, the spout of a bridge-spouted vessel, and part of a pithos dating to EM II. At the center of the area were another fragment of a Cycladic marble figurine and a ribbed,

cylindrical gold bead, which appears to match those found in Tholos Γ. There were also fragments of blue-violet pigment, sherds from small vessels and handmade plastic vessels. In the southeast area were many bones and a human jaw, the foot of a ceramic vessel, and some sea pebbles.

The area west of BB 18 and BB 19 was revisited in 1979 and published in 1980 (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1980, 388–90). The 1979 excavation took place specifically between the large rocks and the modern ditch at the western side of the cemetery, and to the north of the previously explored area (1976 and 1978). There were no interments but many bones and sherds were discovered and these showed some evidence of burning. They also found the head and torso of a Cycladic marble figurine, one bronze pin, one small rounded stone object, one foot of a ceramic figurine, 28 obsidian blades, four obsidian flakes, one small clam shell, two small pieces of bones, small fragments of charcoal, and one small pebble.

In 1980 the Area of the Rocks was excavated again, specifically in the section northwest of BB 18, southwest of Tholos Γ, southwest of BB 22, and north of the 1979 excavations. The shape of this area is trapezoidal with the west side longer than the east. Among many fragments of bones were the head and body of a Cycladic marble figurine, four small fragments of bronze, one small piece of lead, three pieces of worked stone, one small ceramic sphere, 13 obsidian blades, two obsidian flakes, and one obsidian core. There were also 12 complete vessels, including two small jugs, seven cups, and a trephoil thymiaterion, along with fragments of a conical cup, a pithos or larnax, and an amphora. Finally, there were two small fragments of charcoal, one oyster shell, and a few pebbles. A piece of modern glass was discovered near the surface, suggesting that this area was somewhat disturbed.

The South-Central Section

The South-Central Section, located at and to the southwest and west of BB 22, was several disturbed. It was excavated in 1981 as part of a large-scale exploration of the central section of the Area of the Rocks. The 1981 excavation included the area south of BB 5, west of Tholos Γ and the imaginary line running north-south between Tholos Γ and BB 18, east of the ditch at the western extent of the cemetery, and north of BB 18 and the area excavated in previous seasons. This area was separated into a southern section and a northern section (later called the South-Central Section and the North-Central Section), divided arbitrarily by an imaginary line running east-west through the center of the vault of Tholos Γ.

The southern area (Τομέας Α) is defined to the north by an imaginary line running east-west though the center of Tholos Γ (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1981, 427–36). The east edge of this area is the western extent of Tholos Γ and an imaginary line running to the north corner of BB 18. To the south, it is defined by the edge of the excavations that took place in previous seasons, and to the west by the boundary of the cemetery. Two strata were identified – a surface layer, and the material discovered in the fissures between the large rocks.

Surface Layer

Within the surface layer were discovered scattered bones and teeth as well as several fragments of larnakes and vessels, including two small jugs, a broken beaked jug, the base of a larnax, part of a bull head rhyton, two vessel lids, fragments of a footed cup, two bases of a closed vessels, part of a double vase, the bases of two cups, part of a shallow ceramic plate, several feet from cooking pots, and two spouts from vessels. The other finds in this area include a bell idol, nine obsidian blades, an obsidian flake, a conical stone object, and a few fragments of charcoal.[345]

At the center of Area A was one burial. A jug was found directly on top a human skull and the remainder of the skeleton was found to the west. In this area was also revealed several scattered bones and teeth, which likely belonged to the burial. There were also animal teeth and a pierced oyster shell.[346] The finds near the burial include an iron hook and sherds from larnakes and vessels, including the rim and sherds of a pithos and part of a plate, as well as animal bones and teeth. BB 22 was discovered at the northeast part of Area A (see below for more on BB 22), and just south of this was an iron object and a Byzantine glazed sherd.

Between the Rocks

Once the surfaces of the rocks were exposed, excavation continued in the fissures between the rocks. The excavator further divided this area into contexts based on the six large rocks in the area. Rock 1 (βράχος 1) is located at the southernmost part of the area, and north of Rock 1 lies Rock 2 (βράχος 2). Rock 3 (βράχος 3) is within the interior of BB 22, and to the southeast of this is Rock 4 (βράχος 4). Rock 5 (βράχος 5) is west of BB 22, and Rock 6 (βράχος 6) is west of Rock 5 and in the northwest part of the area.

[345] The final report mentions that beads of steatite and sard were discovered in this area. It seems likely that the conical stone object is one of these beads (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 237).

[346] The excavator notes that this burial was found between Areas A and B and should likely be considered within Area B (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1981, 430).

Around Rock 1 were discovered five obsidian blades, a hemispherical cup, and a few sherds. To the north of Rock 2 were two obsidian blades and some sherds, and to the northeast, between Rock 2 and Rock 3, were another obsidian blade and some sherds. Between Rock 3 and Rock 5 were many scattered human bones and teeth as well as several objects, including two small obsidian blades and a small jug, part of a fruitstand, a hemispherical cup, a small bridge-spouted jug, a strainer, a disk with holes, a beaked jug, a vessel lid, and a handle from a brazier. Among these were also many animal teeth and bones. To the west and northwest of Rock 3 were some human bones, small vessel sherds, and fragments of larnakes. Southeast of Rock 3 were bones, an obsidian flake, a conical cup, a jug, and sherds, including the foot of a tripod vessel and a base of a conical cup. To the north and northwest of Rock 3 were one obsidian blade and a few sherds.

No human remains were reported in the space to the north and northwest of Rock 4, but vessels and several fragments of ceramics were discovered, including a cup, fragments of a conical cup, parts of a bell-shaped vessel, a teapot, the rim of a disk, a spherical clay object, and fragments of larnakes, as well as some animal bones. Between Rock 2 and Rock 5 were a few bones, as well as an obsidian blade, a ceramic vessel with plastic decoration, and a ceramic figurine, likely female. To the west and northwest of Rock 6 were three fragments of skulls, some teeth and several larnax fragments, as well as many objects, including a piece of bronze sheet, part of a hemispherical cup of a conglomerate stone, part of a ceramic zoomorphic rhyton, fragments of a bell-shaped vessel, the foot of a teapot, fragments of cups, and many sherds. An elliptical piece of worked stone, a vessel lid, a jug, part of a larnax with some plastic decoration, part of a bell-shaped vessel and fragments of a jug, two cups, and a disk were discovered to the southwest of Rock 6.[347] Along the southern edge to the southeast of Rock 6 were some bones, two hemispherical cups, and more fragments of cups, disks, and larnakes. To the southeast and east of Rock 6 were more larnax fragments, an obsidian blade, and the base of a lopas.

The North-Central Section

The North-Central Section was first excavated as part of the large-scale excavation of the central section of the Area of the Rocks in 1981, described above, and work continued in 1982. The North-Central Section is considered the area to the west of Tholos Γ. The excavator reports that this area received primary interments, rather than functioning as a

[347] The final report mentions that beads of steatite and sard were discovered in this area. It seems likely that the elliptical piece of stone is one of these beads (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 237).

space for the reinterment of material from other burial structures (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 234–35). A total of 166 vessels of various shapes were discovered in the area and he also notes that the majority of the pottery is of EM III date. The presence of a Roman glass fragment, however, suggests that the area has been disturbed.

In 1981, this North Section (Τομέας Β) is defined to the north by the south wall of Room 4, the west and south walls of Room 3, and the south walls of Rooms 6 and 7 of BB 5. It is defined to the east by the west wall of Tholos Γ, and to the south by an imaginary line running east-west though the center of the vault of Tholos Γ. The western edge of the area is the ditch at the western extent of the site that defines that boundary of the Phourni cemetery (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1981, 436–48).

Two layers were identified. The first is the surface layer, which is only 0.22m deep, and revealed a series of a bedrock slabs to the east and the west. And the second is the main burial stratum, between the fissures in the rocks.[348] Due to the propensity for objects to be found with human remains, this area has been interpreted as a place for interment, rather than as a space for the clearance of material from the nearby tombs. The excavator notes that all burials were made on the surface, with the possible exception of the pithos.

Surface Layer

The surface layer was quite disturbed, as is evidenced by the recovery of the base of a glass vessel. The layer was filled with scatters of human and animal remains, including bones and teeth, two skulls, fragments of two skulls and parts of two jaws, as well as a small larnax. The finds in this area include an ivory prismatic pendant or seal, a prismatic seal of greenish steatite, a steatite bead, part of a schematic rock crystal figurine, as well as two obsidian blades, one obsidian core, a piece of worked stone, and ca. 22 vessels. These vessels include 16 cups, a lopas, a tripod vessel, a jug with barbotine decoration, a small jug, a fragment of a jar, and part of a ceramic disc. Among these remains were also the jaw of a large animal, seven animal teeth, an oyster shell, a clam shell, and a piece of flint.

Between the Rocks

The burial layer consists of those remains discovered in the fissures between the large, exposed pieces of bedrock. A fragment of Roman glass, discovered in this layer, suggests

[348] What follows in an abbreviated version of the finds published in the 1981 report. For more detail see (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1981, 436–48).

some disturbance. Most of the stratum was filled with bones, teeth, and fragments of vessels. In the northern part of the burial layer, just east of the west wall of Room 3 of BB 5, were the fragmentary remains of a pithos. Just below, and possibly originally belonging to the pithos, was a schematic anthropomorphic figurine of rock crystal, a gold clothing ornament, three small fragments of gold leaf, ten animal teeth, one obsidian blade, and one clam shell.

Ten complete skulls were discovered in the northern area along with fragments of at least six others and a large grouping of teeth, as well as several long bones. Many small finds were discovered in the North-Central area, including two gold beads, one cylindrical and the other unknown, a spherical amethyst bead, a stepped rock crystal bead, a steatite bead, a stone bead, five ivory pendants, one cylindrical, one prismatic, one pyramidal, one hollow, the other unknown, a boar's tooth pendant, an ivory seal, a Cycladic marble figurine and the head and neck of a second, a worked bronze blade, an elliptical piece of rock crystal (possibly part of a figurine) and three fragments of unworked rock crystal, a long, thin piece of bone with a hole in one end (possibly an imitation dagger), a small ceramic animal figurine, the foot of a another ceramic figurine, one miniature lopas of green steatite, fragments of another steatite lopas, two parts of a cylindrical green steatite vessel, part of another steatite vessel, part of a stone vase, a small cylindrical stone object, a piece of green steatite, a piece of worked stone, 26 obsidian blades and a fragment of another, two obsidian cores, two obsidian flakes, two flint flakes, and a piece of white flint.[349]

Several vessels were also discovered, including a small jug with three miniature plastic animals in various positions, a one-handled hemispherical cup with five plastic horns along the rim, an open vessel with a plastically rendered animal, three jugs, one with plastic decoration, and fragments of another vessel with such decoration. The other vessels include part of a anthropomorphic rhyton in the shape of a woman, a bell-shaped idol, 47 cups of various shapes, two vessel lids, a bell-shaped vase, two small lopades, a bridge-spouted vase, the spout of a teapot, a hemispherical vessel and the spout from another, part of a double vase, a spherical jug and another spherical vessel, a small vase, a piece of a ceramic disc, part of a terracotta channel, fragments of three pithoi, sherds of

[349] In later publications (1983 and 1997) one complete and two fragments of schematic, baetyl-like, rock crystal figurines are reported as coming from the area to the south of Room 4 and west of Room 3 so it is likely that the elliptical piece of rock crystal was later determined to be part of a figurine. The excavators cite comparanda from Agia Triada, Trapezas, and Porti, dating from EM II to MM I (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1983, 53).

two larnakes, and sherds of large vessels, cups, and jugs of various sizes. There were also at least 10 animal teeth, a large triton shell, four clam shells, four oyster shells, as well as some pieces of burned bone, a fragment of red plaster, and some pebbles.

Near the arbitrary line through Tholos Γ, where the North Section meets the South Section, a gold bead, a lead object, and a flint flake were found. Within a narrow fissure were one skull and some teeth, as well as a folded sheet of gold, an ivory pendant, and sherds of large and medium vases.

Excavation of the North-Central Section continued in 1982. This excavated area is described as the section located south of BB 5, west of Tholos Γ, north of BB 22, and east of three large fissures in the bedrock in the west part of the cemetery. The area was explored thoroughly and contained evidence of several burials and many accompanying objects. Additionally, at the east side of this area, part of a north-south running wall was discovered but this was not thoroughly explored.

About 40 burials were discovered with many objects. Based on the ceramics, these assemblages date to the end of the Prepalatial period. Among the human remains were a gold bead, a piece of gold leaf, a Cycladic marble figurine, an ivory pendant, a steatite pendant, an anthropomorphic vessel, part of a chlorite pyxis lid, a small bronze piece, part of a zoomorphic rhyton, seven bell-shaped idols, seven small animal figurines – including one shaped like a bird, and another shaped like a seated animal, likely a dog – parts of two stone vessels, a steatite triangular object that is likely an inlay, 17 obsidian blades and three obsidian flakes, a small cylindrical tripteras, and part of another larger one. There were 59 complete vases and 26 other vessels were identified after reassembling fragments. Finally, there were two animal skulls, two large horns, some animal bones, and eight animal teeth, as well as 19 seashells, and some pebbles.

The North Section

The Area of the Rocks was again excavated in 1986, concentrating on the northernmost part lying to the west of BBs 5, 12, and 6, and including the partially preserved structure BB 23, discussed further below (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1986, 132–33, 1991, 179). Many objects were discovered in the area though their precise context (whether as part of BB 23 or the Area of the Rocks) is not clear. Scattered bones and fragments of pithoi and larnakes, as well as other vessel fragments are reported throughout the North Section. The area to the south of BB 23 was better preserved and a total of 21 skulls were discovered (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 233). The finds were all discovered within the crevices between the large rocks and include an ivory cylindrical

seal, a small schematic anthropomorphic figurine of ivory, the head of a ceramic male figurine, and a small steatite footed cup. Other finds include gold clothing ornaments and bands, amethyst beads, nine ivory pendants of various shapes that likely belong to a necklace, a lenticular steatite seal depicting a female figure, bell-shaped figurines, a few obsidian blades, and ceramics dating to MM IA.

Burial Building 22

Date: Unknown
Number of Areas: 1
Preservation: Very Poor
Years Excavated: 1981
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1981, 430–31; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 134–35, 1997, 222)
Other Discussions: (Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 182)
Figure: 222

Discovered in 1981 during the excavation of the southern half of the western extent of the cemetery. Among many stones of various sizes and in no apparent articulation, part of a structure was found to the southwest of Tholos Γ. Two walls were revealed, one curving to the south and one to the west that seems to form a corner. Because of the disturbed and fragmentary nature of BB 22 it is impossible to determine the date of construction or use.

Within the interior space were many stones that appear to have fallen from the walls or roof of a building. Among these stones were many bones, a piece of modern glass, a bronze cross bearing an inscription "ΒΑΠΤΙΣΙΣ", a piece of bronze sheet, an obsidian blade, fragments of stone vessels, a gun cartridge, and fragments of ceramic vessels and larnakes. Very few stones are found below the level of the tomb-collapse. A few sherds, bones, and teeth were discovered in the excavation of the lower stone layer, as well as a carved stone piece. Below the stone layer, in the center of the tomb, was a schematic bull head rhyton.[350]

[350] Because of the disturbed nature of the Area of the Rocks and the fragmentary tombs found in this area (BB 22 and BB 23) it is not clear if objects originated within the tombs or were simply among the remains found in the crevices of the Area of the Rocks. From the original report, it seems likely, however, that this rhyton was found in the context of the tomb but is reported as coming from the Area of the Rocks in the 1997 final report (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 542).

Burial Building 23

Date: MM I
Number of Areas: 1
Preservation: Very Poor
Years Excavated: 1986
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1986, 133, 1991, 179, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 134–35, 1997, 222)
Other Discussions: (Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 183)
Figure: 146

BB 23 is located in the northwest part of the cemetery, directly west of BB 12. The partially preserved curving wall at the north side of the tomb connects to Room 1 of BB 12. It was excavated in 1986 and is very poorly preserved. During the excavation of this fragmentary structure, many burned bones, a round piece of gold sheet, likely sewn onto a garment, and several early MM sherds of fruitstands, cups, and small jugs were discovered. Because of the poor preservation, it is difficult to determine which finds are associated with BB 23 and which are part of the Area of the Rocks.

Burial Building 24

Date: EM II or III
Number of Areas: 6
Preservation: Very Poor
Years Excavated: 1987
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987, 124; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 204; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 122, 1997, 222)
Other Discussions: (Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 184)
Figure: 58

The remains of BB 24 were discovered in 1987 below Rooms 4, 6, 8, 9, and likely Area 11, of BB 18 and are very poorly preserved. Six walls and six rooms were identified, suggesting that BB 24 was once a relatively large structure. The dating for the building is unclear but it certainly predates the construction of BB 18, likely in EM III. Most of the rooms had a pressed earth floor but according to the excavator, one of the rooms was furnished with a paved floor that might be related to the paving found in Room 6 of BB 18. A surface burial was discovered below the foundation walls of Room 8 of BB 18 and

likely belongs to the BB 24. Along with some bones, a few objects were discovered in relation to BB 24, including two fragments of stone vessels, obsidian blades, fragments of pigments, some pebbles, and shells (1991). According to the final report, a steatite prism seal was found during the excavation of the area to the south of BB 18 and is likely related to the destruction of BB 24 (1997, 672). Part of a ceramic figurine, which is likely associated with BB 24, was discovered near a small wall in the southwest part of Area 11 of BB 18.[351]

BURIAL BUILDING 25

Date: EM II
Number of Areas: 1+
Preservation: Very Poor
Years Excavated: 1978
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1978, 320; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 222)
Other Discussions: (Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 185)
Figure: 53

The remains of BB 25 consist of a single north-south wall below the east wing of BB 5. BB 25 was likely one of the earliest structures in the cemetery dating EM II. It appears that the structure was completely destroyed with the construction of BB 3 in MM IA. Bones and ceramics were found in association with BB 25, as well as a small ceramic animal figurine, a few bell-shaped objects, and some animal teeth.

BURIAL BUILDING 26

Date: EM II
Number of Areas: 1+
Preservation: Very Poor
Years Excavated: 1982
Publications
Archaeological Reports: (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 496–97; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1982, 54, 1991, 112, 1997, 222)

[351] Legarra Herrero lists a gold ornament among the finds but I have found no reference to this object and have not included it among the objects associated with BB 24 (Legarra Herrero 2014, 233, n. 184).

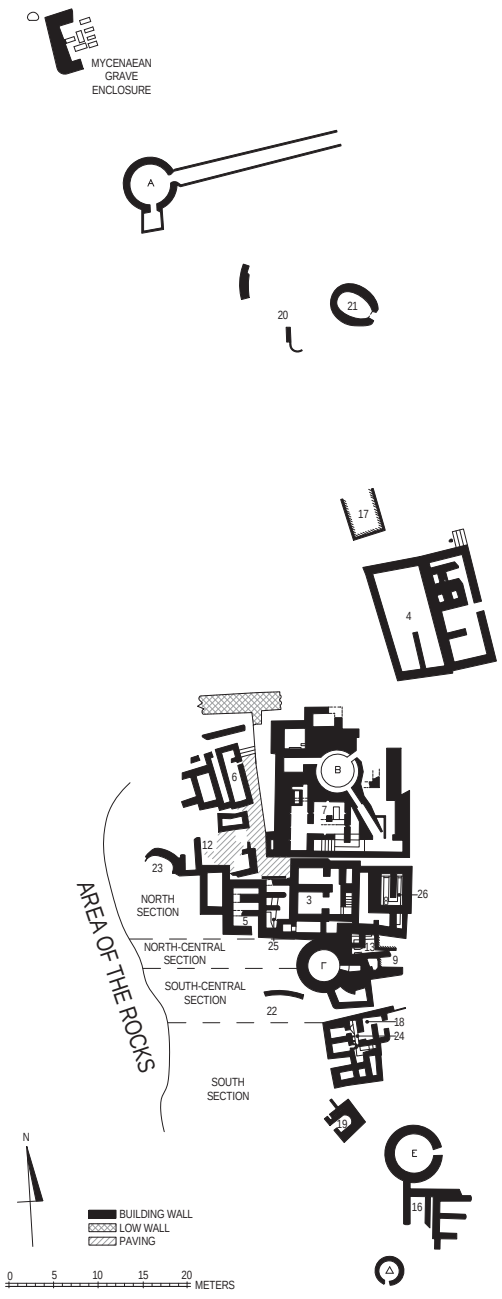
Other Discussions: (Legarra Herrero 2014, n. 186)
Figure: 57

BB 26 was the last burial structure to be discovered within the cemetery of Phourni. It is very poorly preserved as it was mostly destroyed when BB 8 was built in MM IA. The construction of BB 8, therefore, serves as the *terminus ante quem* for BB 26, which was likely one of the earliest buildings within the cemetery, dating to EM II. This earlier phase was discovered in 1982 during the excavation of the area between BB 8 and BB 9, when the lower parts of two walls were found beneath the later walls. Two parallel north-south walls are all that remains of BB 26 and these served as part of the paving for the floor of BB 8.

FIGURES

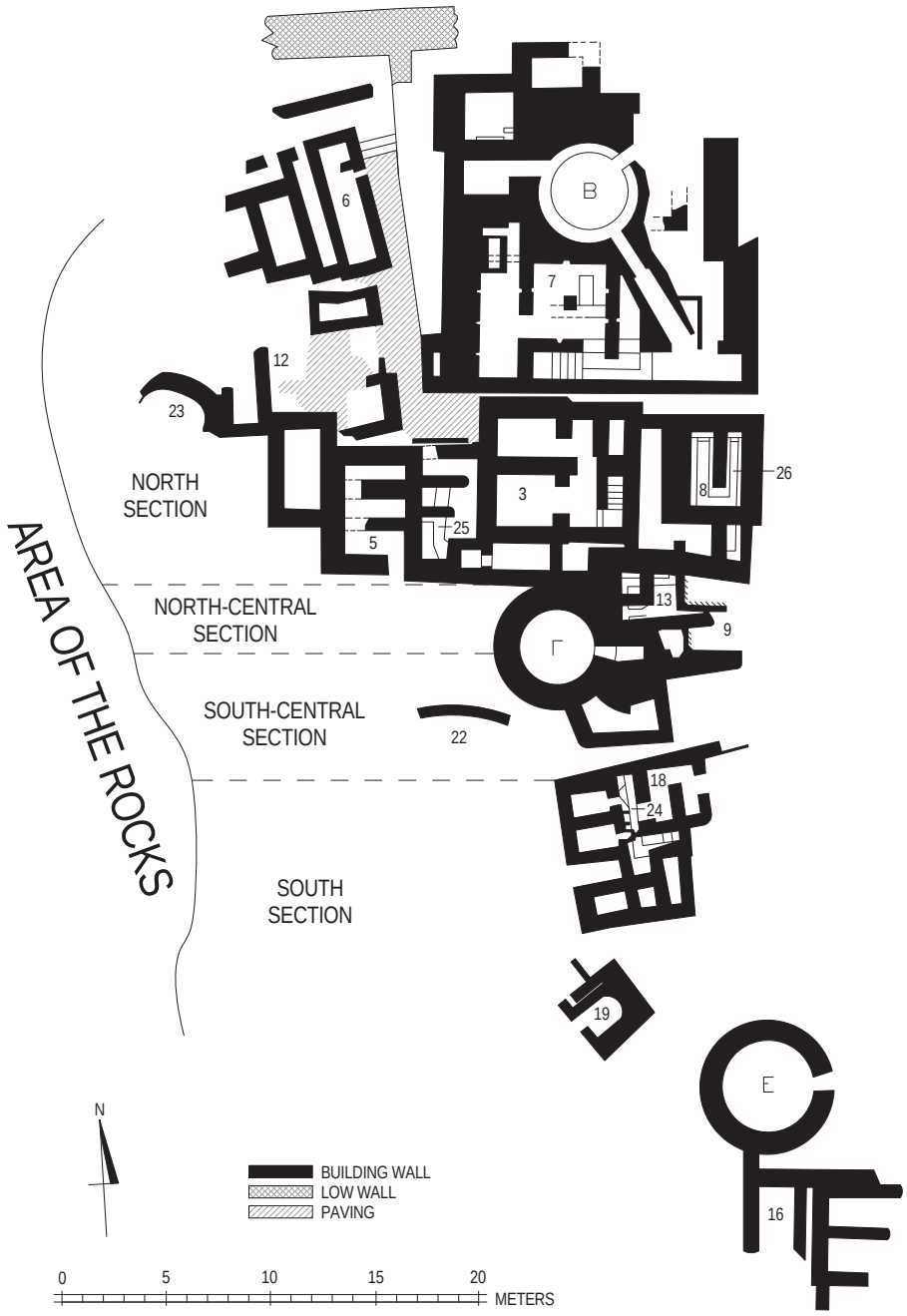
All data taken from the excavation reports and final publication as cited in the text and bibliography.

Figure 1: Map of Crete



OVERALL SITE PLAN

Figure 2: Archanes-Phourni Overall Site Plan, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)



SITE PLAN - EM II-MM II

Figure 3: Archanes-Phourni Site Plan - EMII-MMII, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

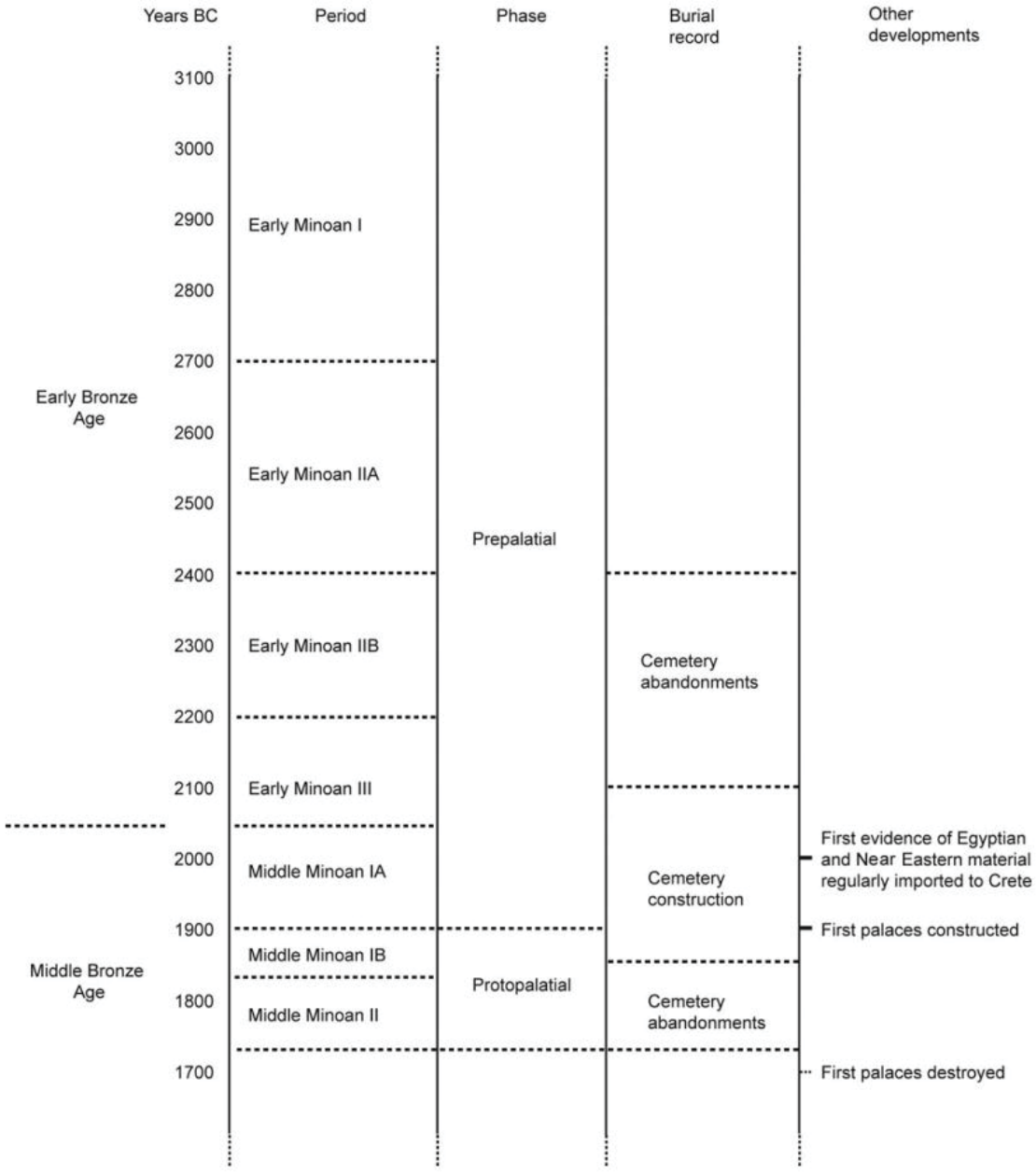
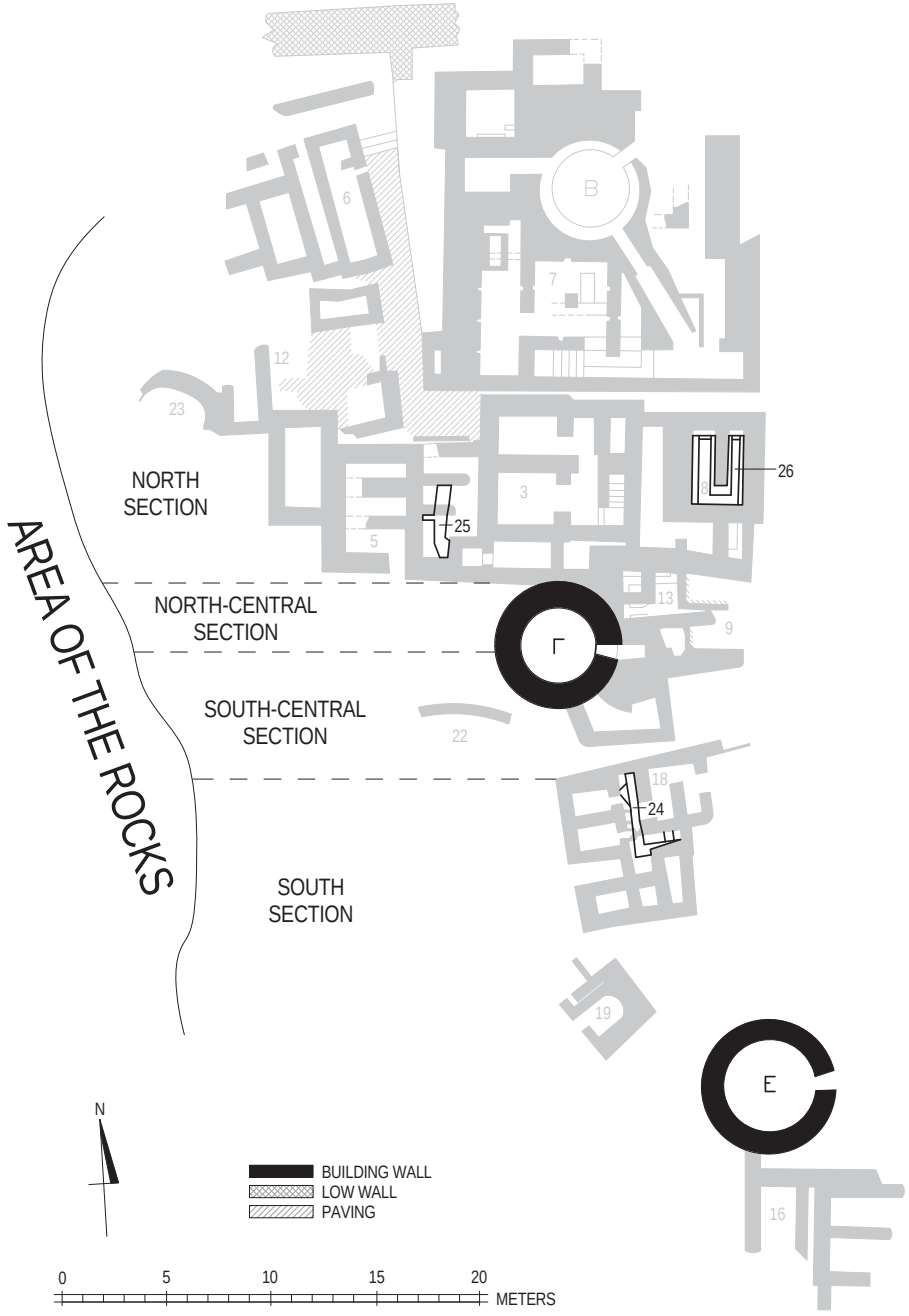
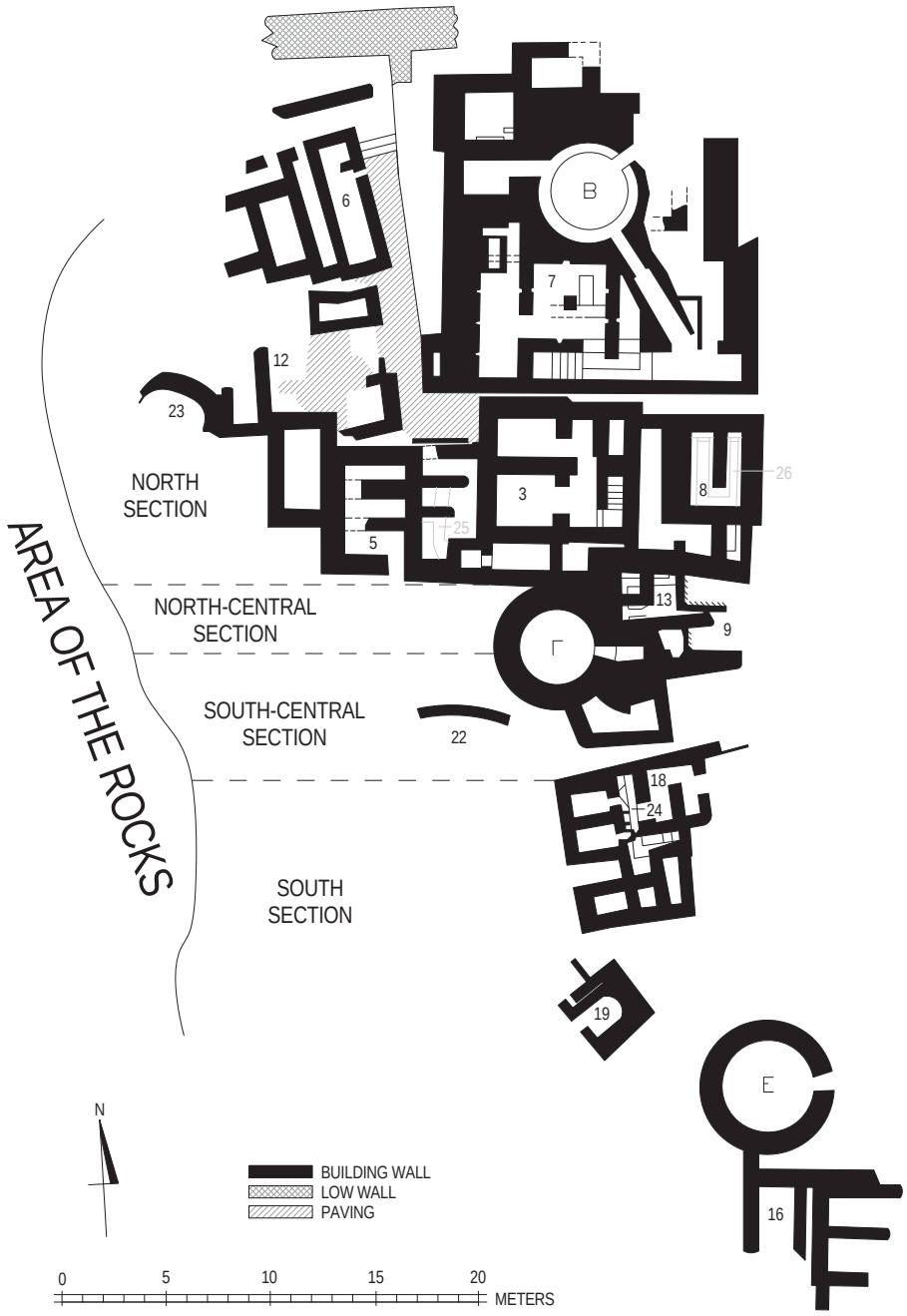


Figure 4: Pre- and Protopalatial Chronology for Cemeteries
(After Legarra Herraro 2016, Figure 2)



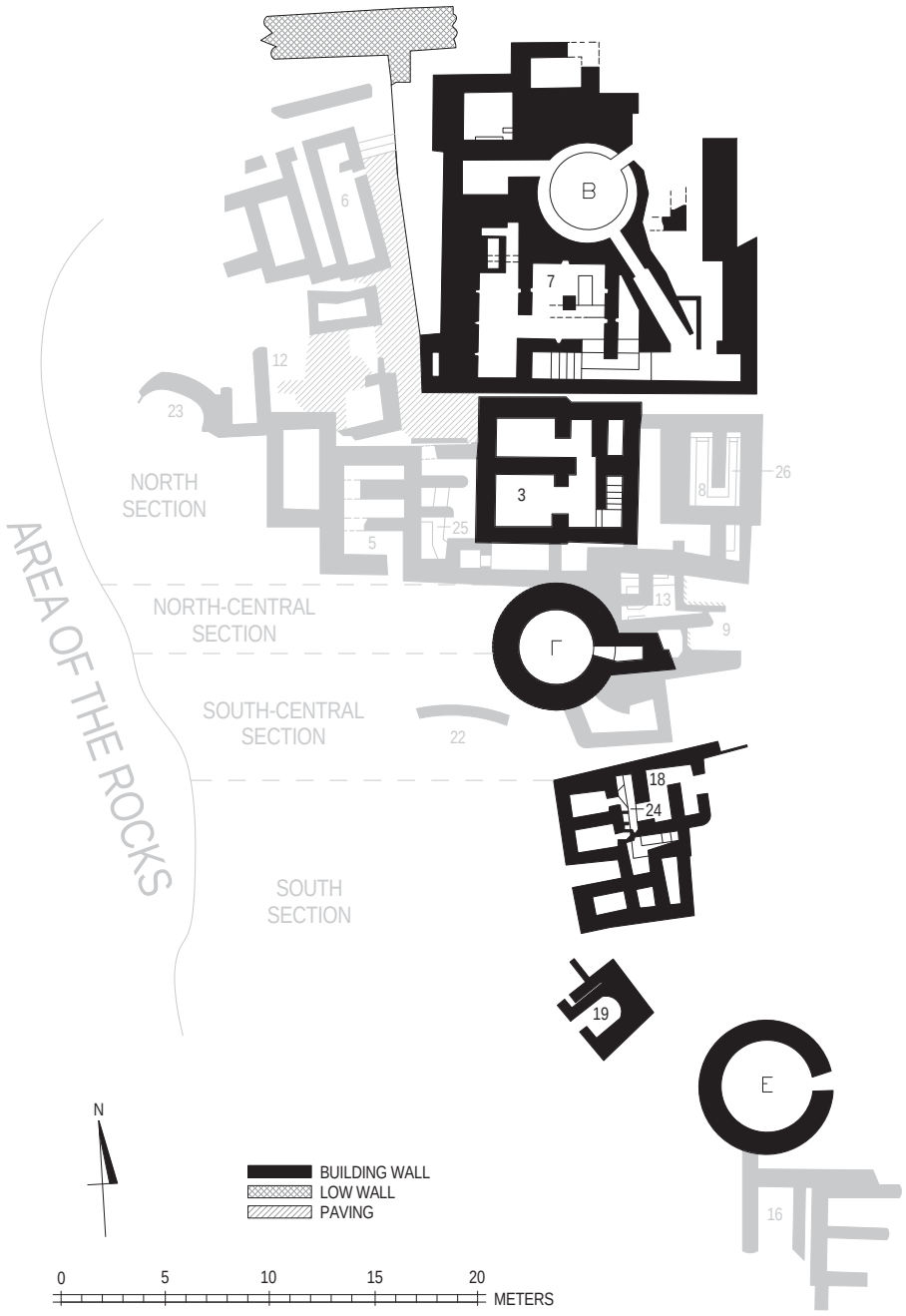
SITE PLAN - EM II

Figure 5: Archanes-Phourni Site Plan - EM II, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)



SITE PLAN - EM III-MM I

Figure 6: Site Plan - EMIII-MMI, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)



SITE PLAN - MM II

Figure 7: Site Plan - MMII, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

Terminology for Minoan Burial Practices	
Term	**Definition**
Primary Burial	Undisturbed and complete
Secondary Deposition/Interment	Reinterment of select bones, usually skulls and long bones
Manipulation	Intentional rearrangement of human remains
Disturbance	Rearrangement of human remains, unknown intentionality
Reduction	Gathering and rearrangement of bones in the same context as primary burial
Depletion	Removal of some bones to another location, often unknown
Secondary Burial	Reinterment of select bones with known intentionality at primary burial

Figure 8: Terminology for Minoan Burial Practices

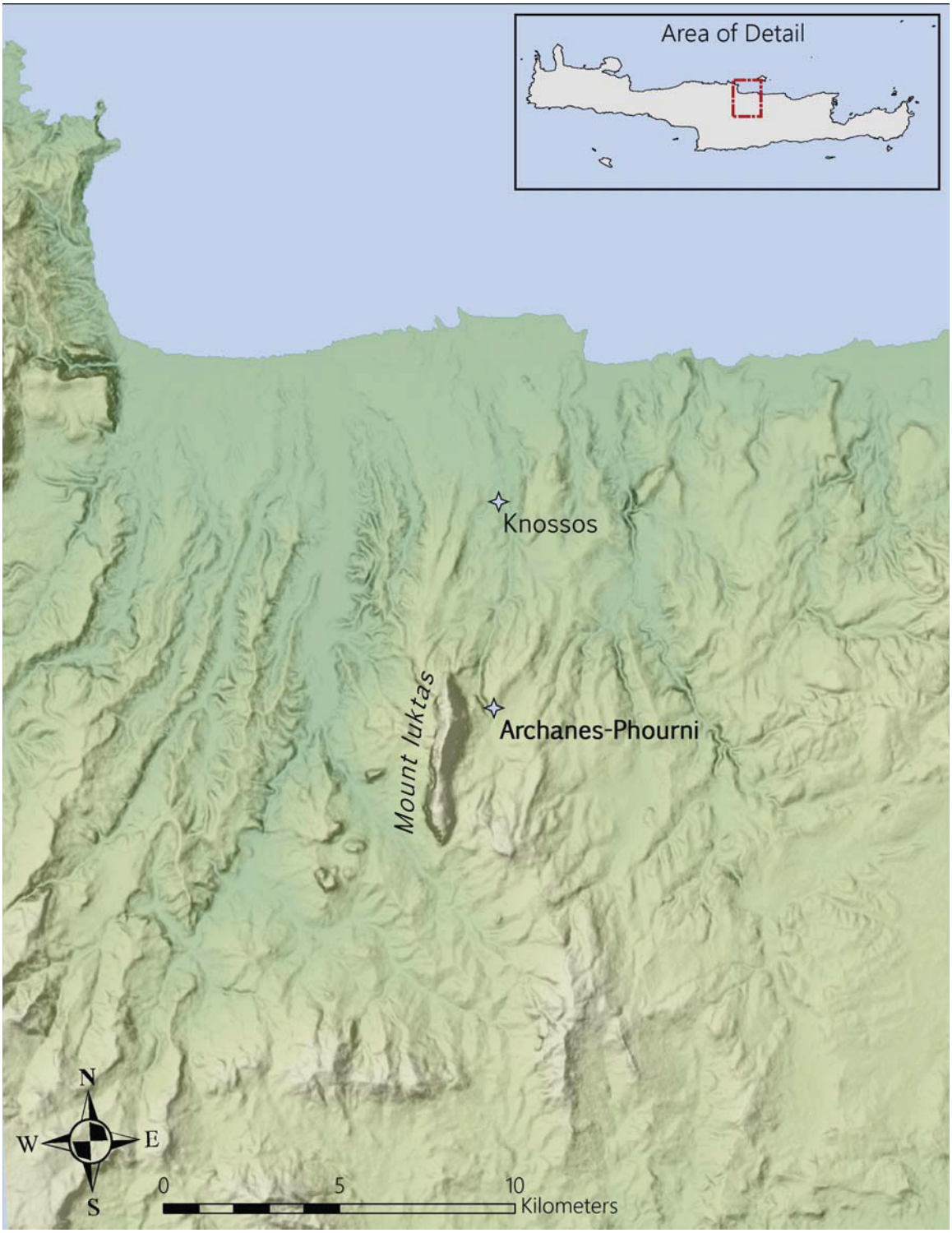


Figure 9: Map of North-Central Crete (Courtesy of Dr. Lucas Stephens)

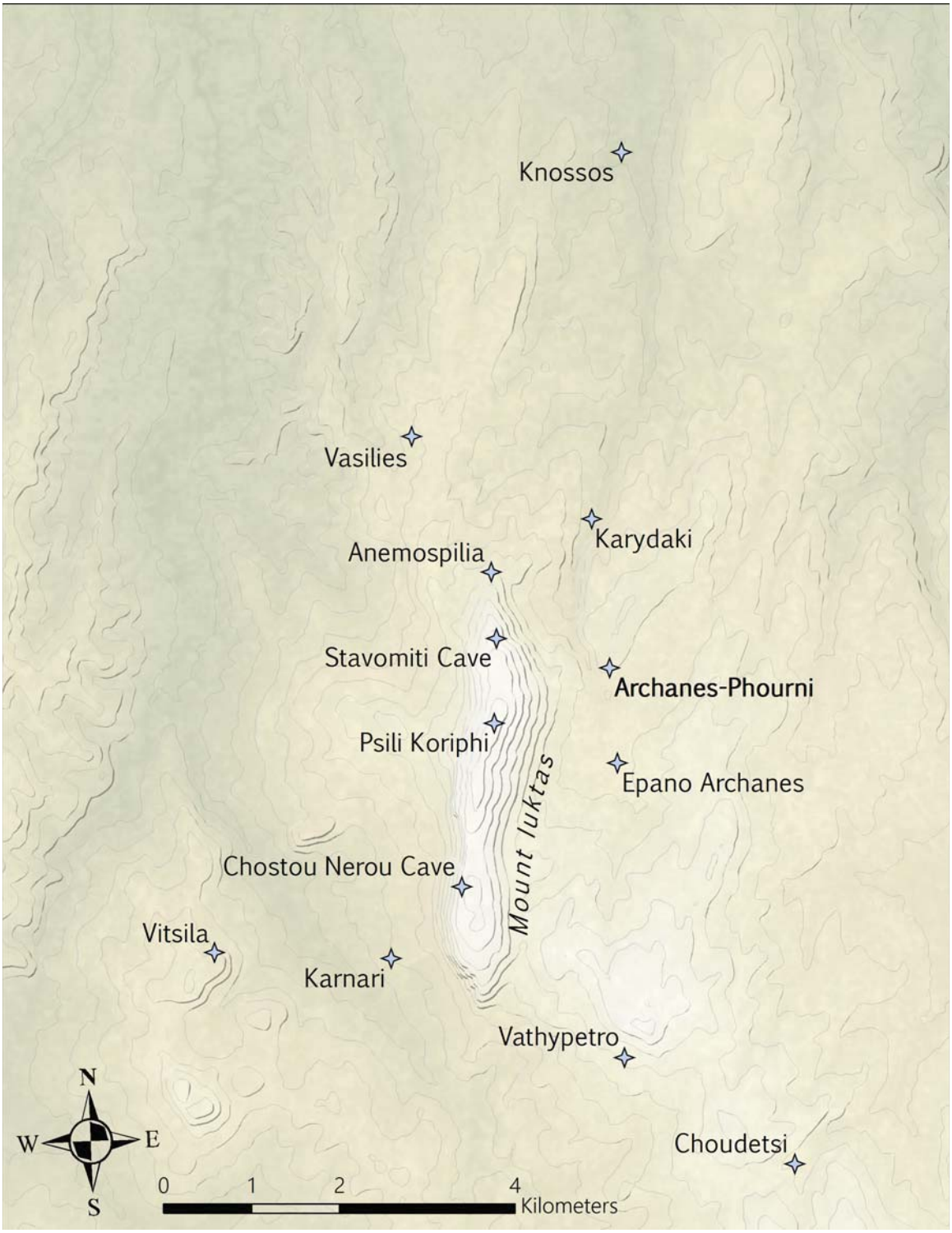


Figure 10: Map of the Area around Archanes (Courtesy of Dr. Lucas Stephens)

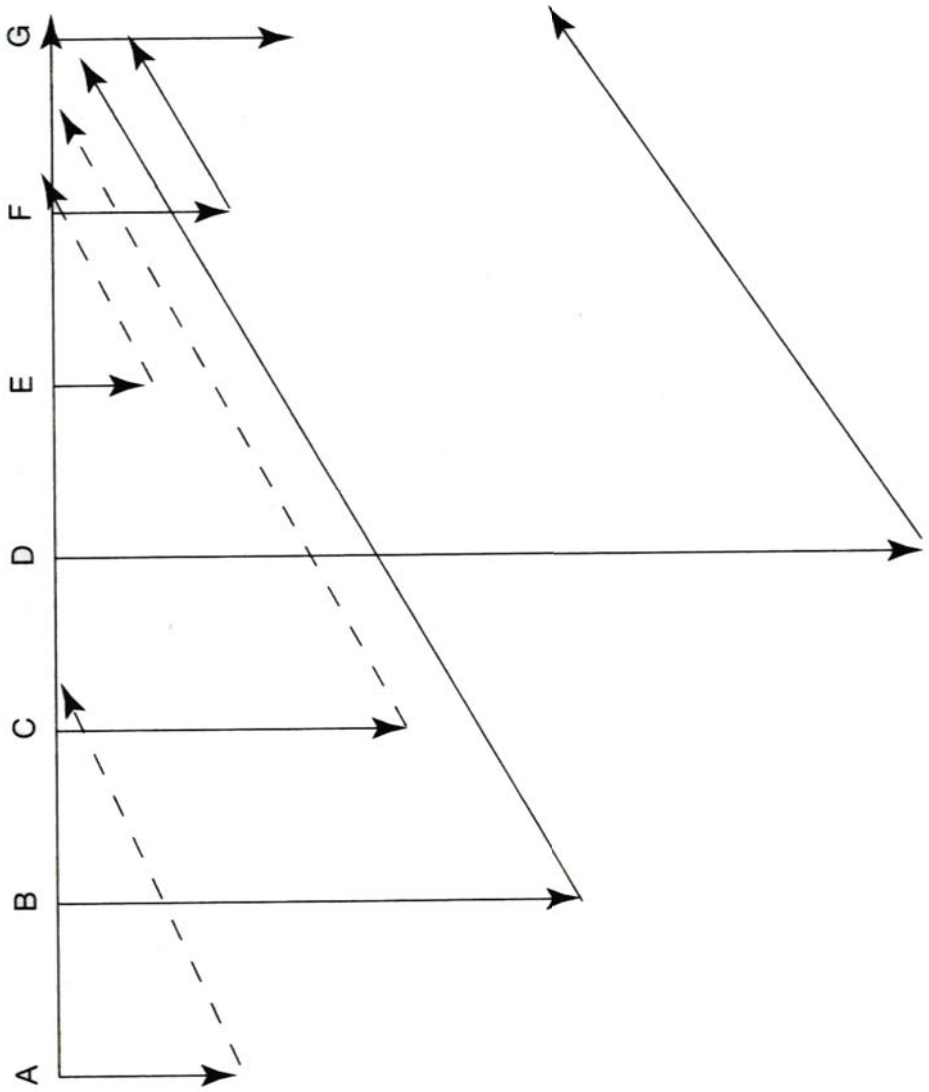


Figure 11: Husserl's Diagram of Time Depth Applied to Non-Linear Models of Archaeological Change (After Lucas 2005, 1.6)

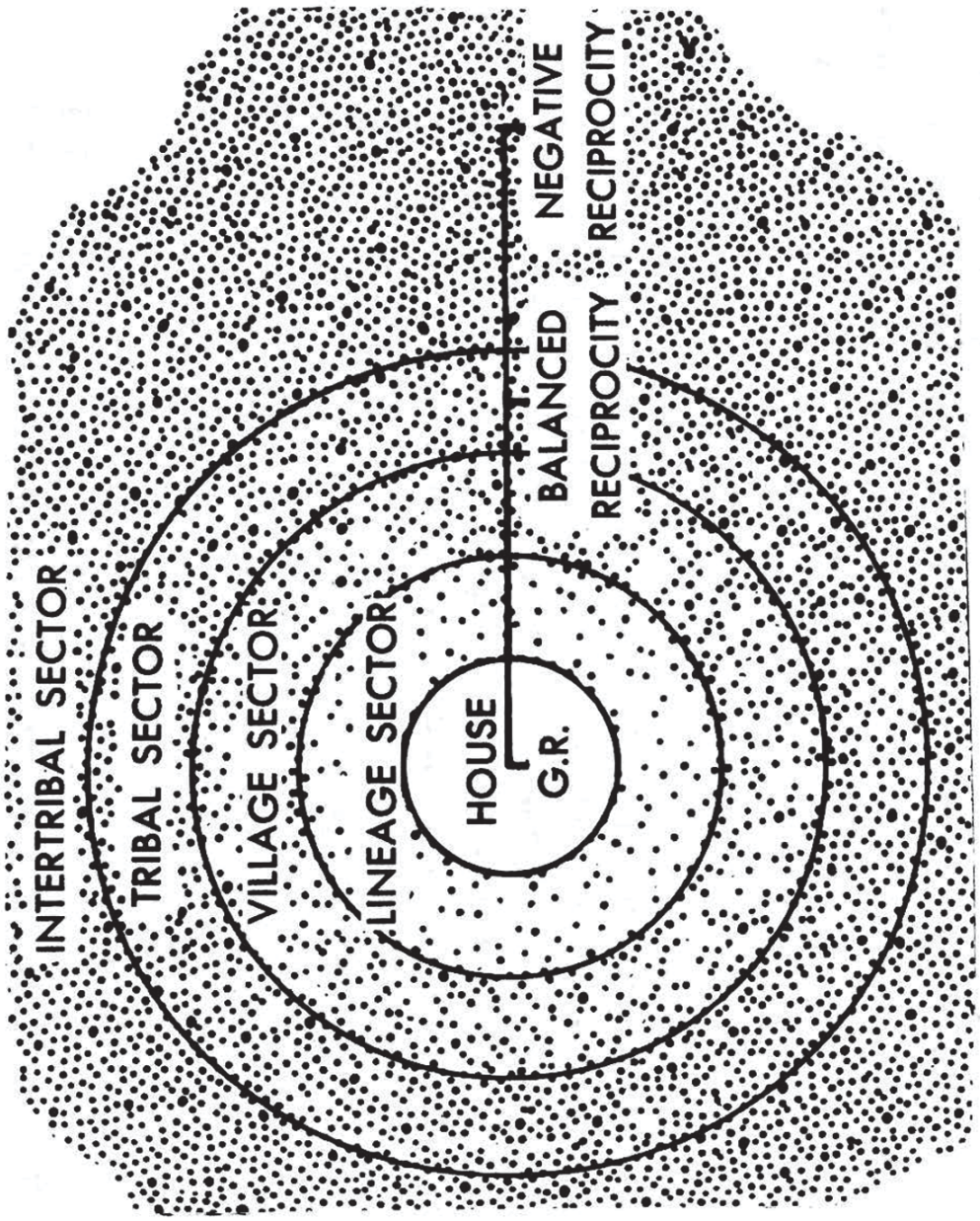


Figure 12: Diagram of Kinship Distance and Reciprocity (After Sahlins 1972, Fig. 5.1)

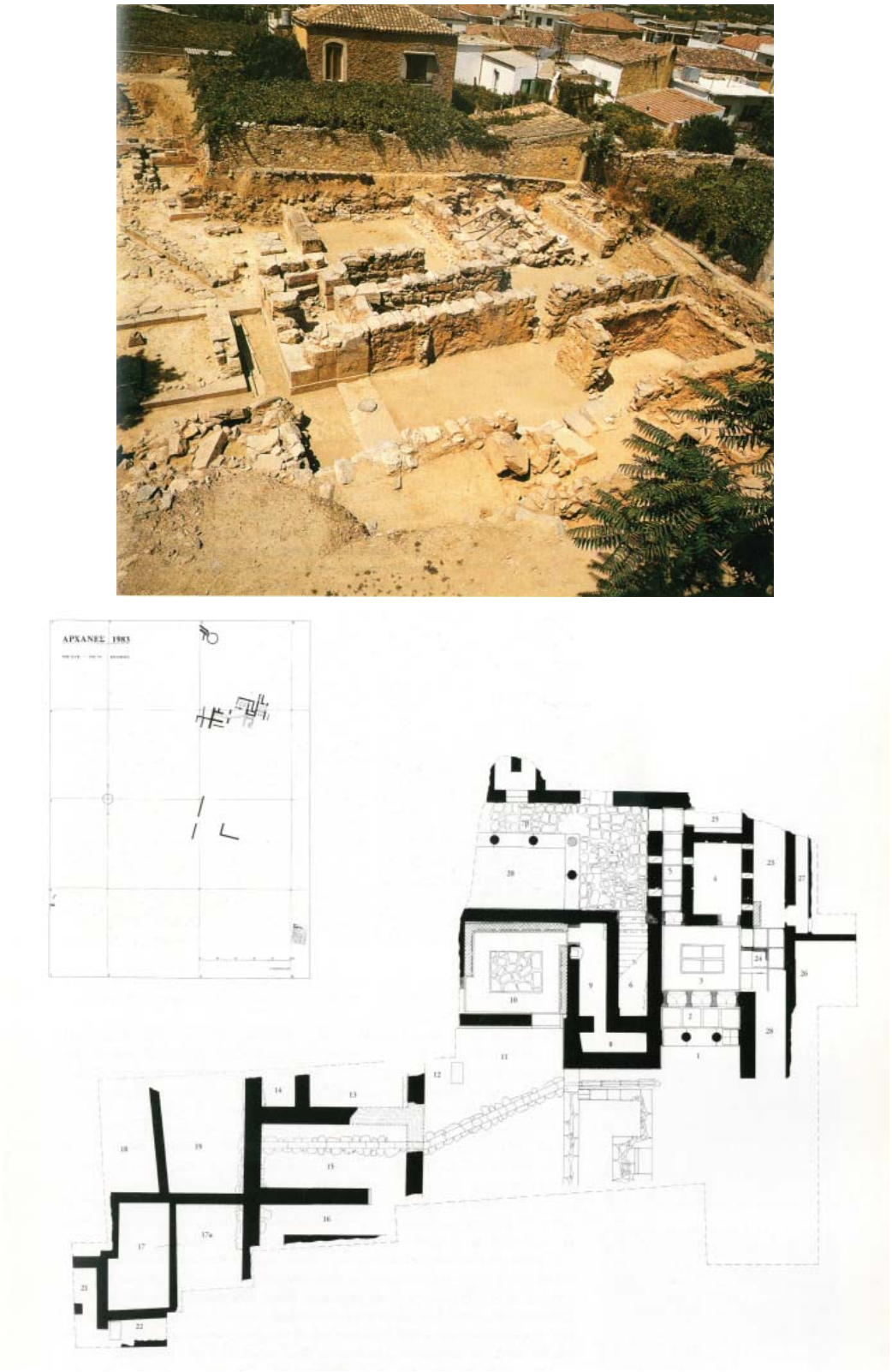


Figure 13: Palace Building (After Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Figure 61, Drawings 5 and 6)

Phourni- Burial Data Table

		Larnax			Pithos		Vessel		Surface				Pit/Fissure	Unspecfied			Bone			
		Primary	Disturbed	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Disturbed	Secondary	Unspecified	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Unspecified	Scatters	Teeth	MNI	Total MNI
Tholos E- Lower Layer											15						X	X	15	15
Tholos Gamma- Lower Layer											1						X		1	1
Area Between BB 18 and BB 19																	X	X	0	0
Area of the Rocks	South Part										2		4				X	X	6	
	South-Central Part								1				1				X	X	2	
	North-Central Part								40		6		17				X	X	63	
	North Part										21						X		21	92
BB 25																	X		0	0
BB 24									1								X		1	1
BB 13									1										1	1
BB 5	Room 1																		0	
	Room 2								1								X	X	1	
	Room 3																X	X	0	
	Room 4			10		23													33	
	Room 5																		0	
	Room 6	1							2										3	
	Room 7						4								33				37	
	Room 8														31				31	
	Room 8 (Unclear)														5				5	
	Room 8a										12						X		12	
	Room 8b	4									4								8	130
BB 12									1		35								36	36
BB 6	Rooms 1 and 3														196				196	
	Room 2																		0	
	Room 4																	X	0	
	Room 5																X	X	0	
	Room 6										5						X		5	201
Tholos Gamma- Upper Layer		1	1	16		4					32								54	54
BB 18	Room 1	3		6							85						X	X	94	
	Room 2	1																	1	
	Room 3										18								18	
	Room 4	1									1								2	
	Room 5				3						1								4	
	Room 6				1				3								X	X	4	
	Room 7	2			1				6										9	
	Room 8	6			4				7								X	X	17	
	Room 9	7		1	1				1	27	1						X	X	40	
	Room 10				1				3								X		4	
	Area 11	1																	1	194
BB 19	Layer IV			1			1	2	1	2	25								32	
	Layer III	1				5	5	18		2	12						X		43	
	Layer II				1	3			1	1	100						X		106	
	Layer I										16						X		16	197
BB 23											1						X		1	1
Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	West Area			19							23								42	
	East Area Layer I	8							9										17	
	East Area Layer II								1		2								3	62
BB 3	Southwest Room								2										2	
	South-Central Room								1										1	3
BB 8	Room 1								14		1								15	
	Room 2										2						X		2	17
BB 7	Room 1								1										1	
	Room 2																X	X	0	
	Room 3			14					1		15						X	X	30	
	Room 4										6								6	
	Room 5								1	1									2	
	Room 6										1								1	
	Area Below Beta Staircase										15						X		15	55
BB 16	Room 1										3						X	X	3	
	Room 2			12							10						X	X	22	
	Room 3			4		2					16						X	X	22	47
BB 9	Room 1		4		2					7	52						X	X	65	
	Room 2	5		5		1			1		8						X	X	20	
	Area South of Room 2												9				X		9	
	Area Southeast of Room 2	3								1	5						X		9	
	Room 3						8		11		44	58		51			X		172	275
Tholos E- Upper Layer		21		12	2						11			1	7		X	X	54	54
BB 22																	X	X	0	0

Total MNI	1436

Figure 14: Phourni- Burial Data Table

Phourni- Burial Type and Burial Status Table

	Interment Type						Interment Status				
	Larnax	Pithos	Vessel	Surface	Pit/Fissures	Unspecified	Primary	Disturbed	Secondary	Unspecified	MNI
Tholos E- Lower Layer				15					15		15
Tholos Gamma- Lower Layer				1					1		1
Area Between BB 18 and BB 19											0
Area of the Rocks				70	22		41		51		92
BB 25											0
BB 24				1			1				1
BB 13				1			1				1
BB 5	15	23	4	19		69	12		118		130
BB 12				36			1		35		36
BB 6				5		196			201		201
Tholos Gamma- Upper Layer	18	4		32			1	1	52		54
BB 18	28	11		153		2	52	27	113	2	194
BB 19	2	9	26	160			10	5	182		197
BB 23				1					1		1
Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	27			35			18		44		62
BB 3				3			3				3
BB 8				17			14		3		17
BB 7	14			41			3	1	51		55
BB 16	16	2		29					47		47
BB 9	17	3	8	187	9	51	81	12	124	58	275
Tholos E- Upper Layer	33	2		11		8	24	30			54
BB 22											0

Total MNI	1436

Figure 15: Phourni- Burial Type and Burial Status Table

Figure 16: Tholos E, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

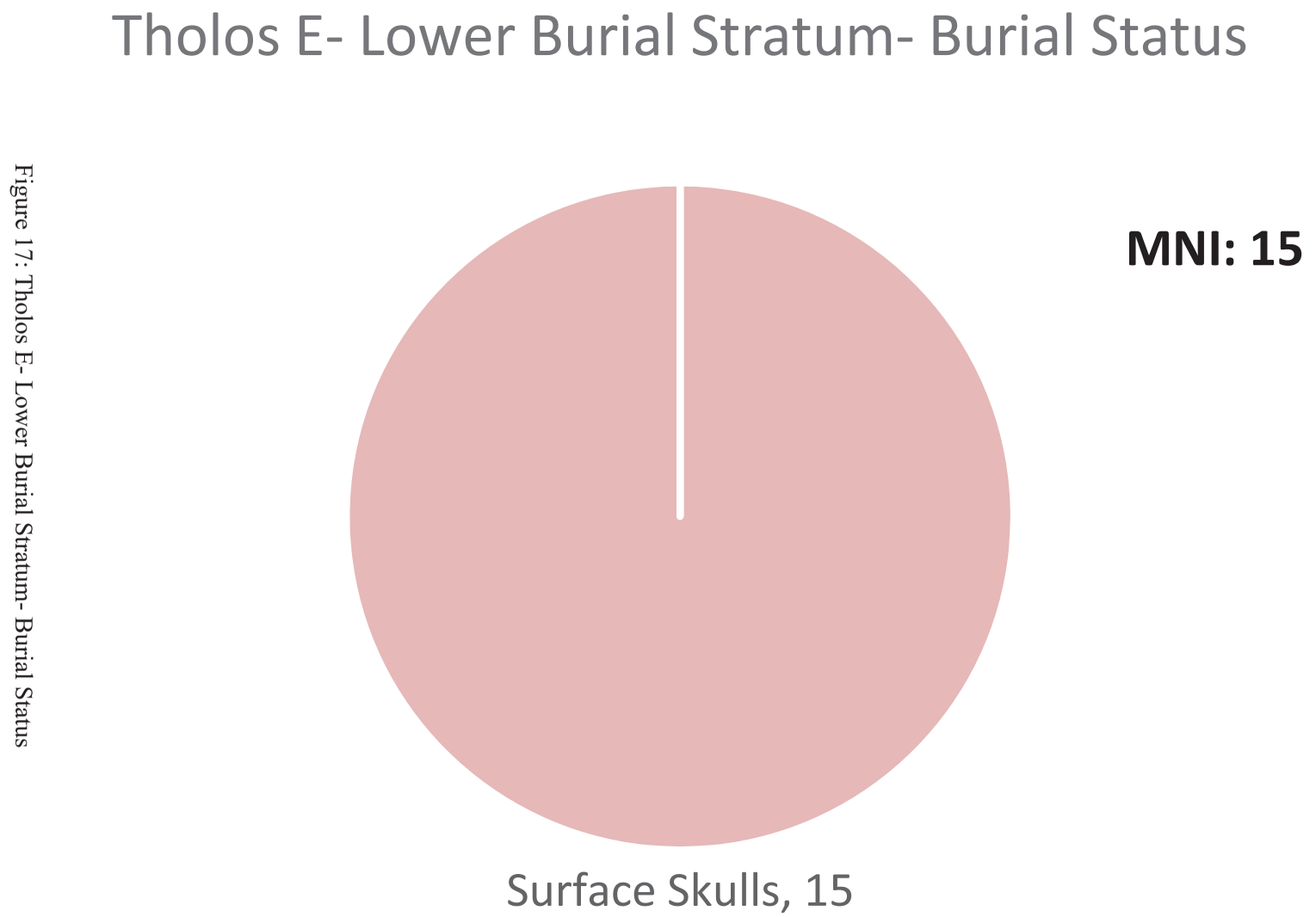


Figure 17: Tholos E- Lower Burial Stratum- Burial Status

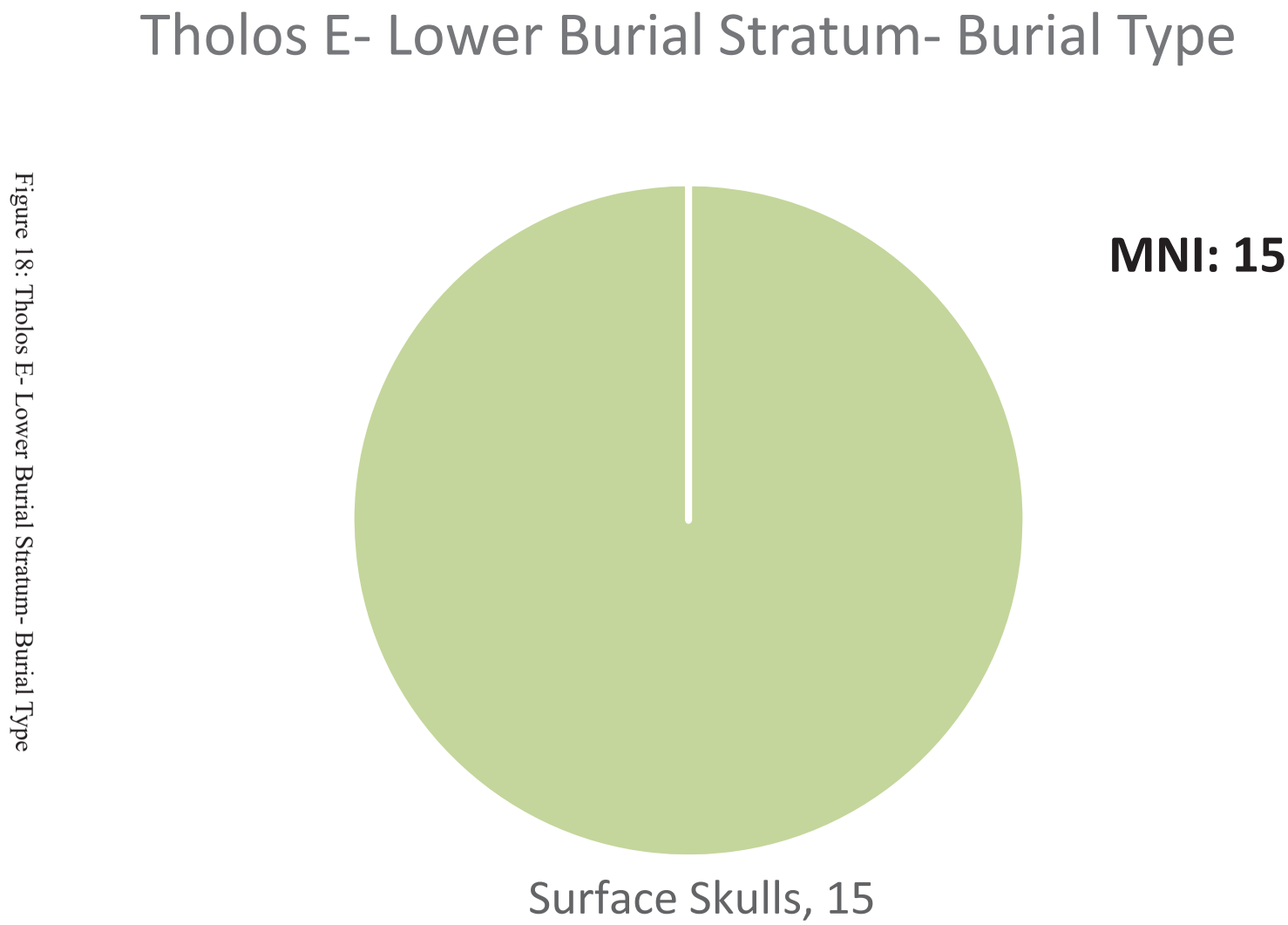


Figure 18: Tholos E- Lower Burial Stratum- Burial Type

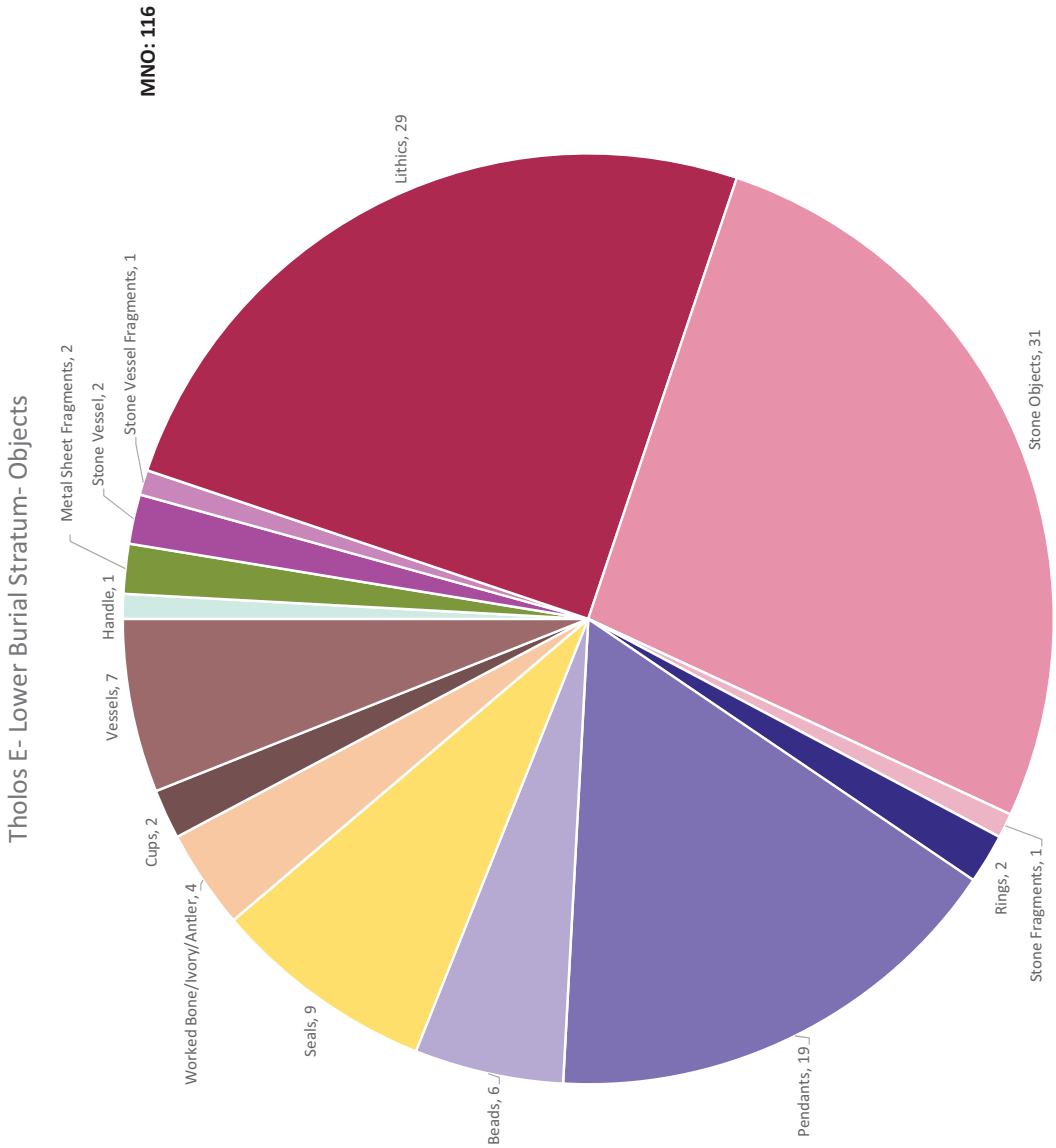


Figure 19: Tholos E- Lower Burial Stratum- Objects

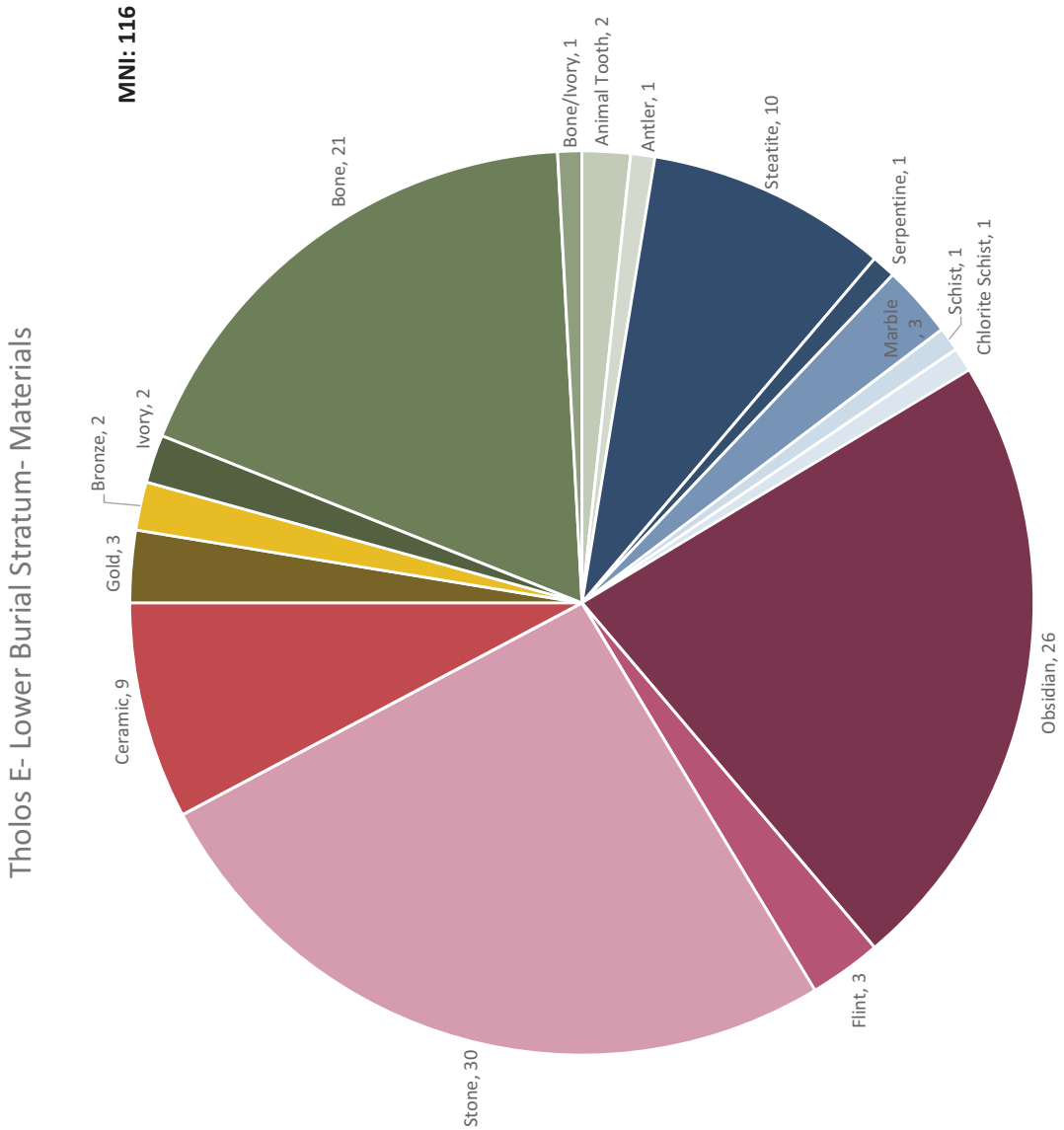


Figure 20: Tholos E- Lower Burial Stratum- Materials

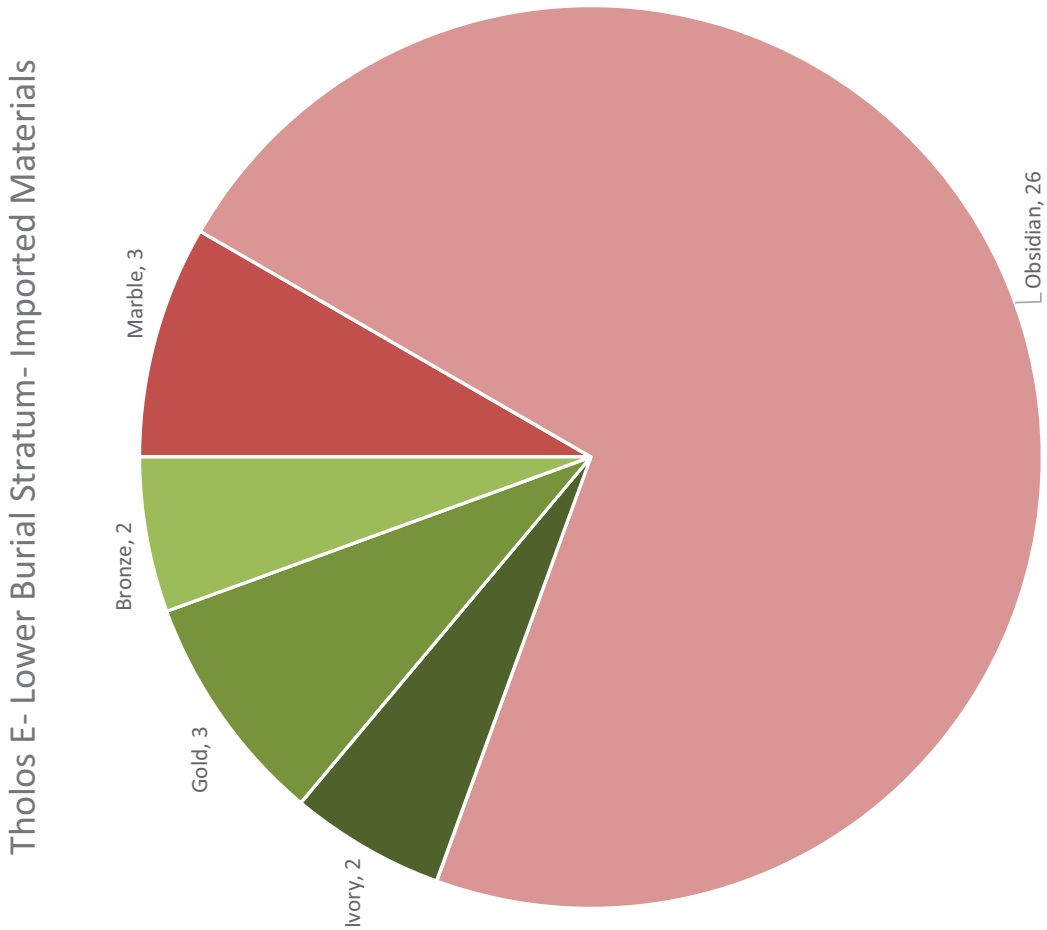


Figure 21: Tholos E- Lower Burial Stratum- Imported Materials

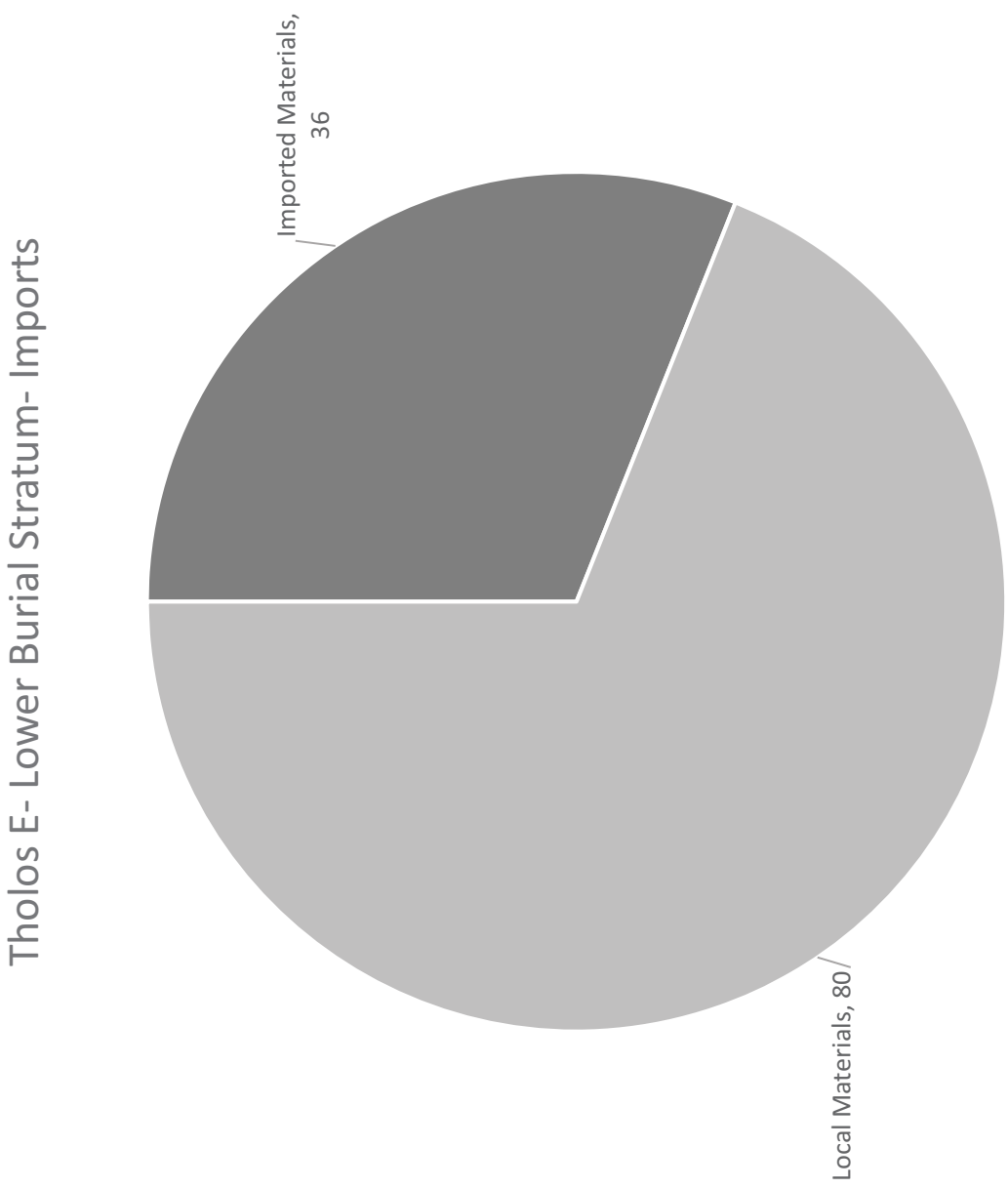


Figure 22: Tholos E- Lower Burial Stratum- Imports

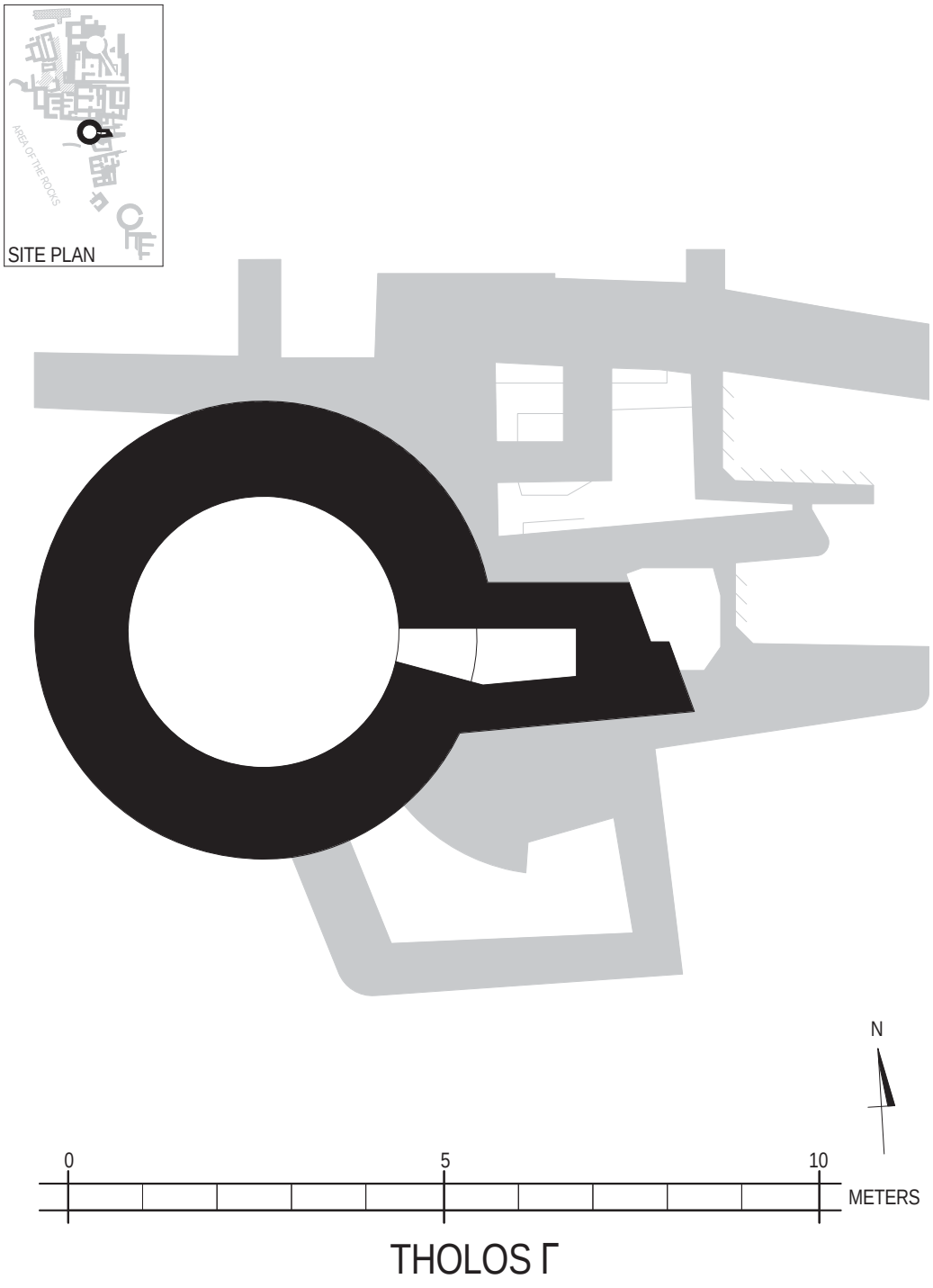


Figure 23: Tholos Γ, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

Figure 24: Tholos Γ- Lower Burial Stratum- Burial Status

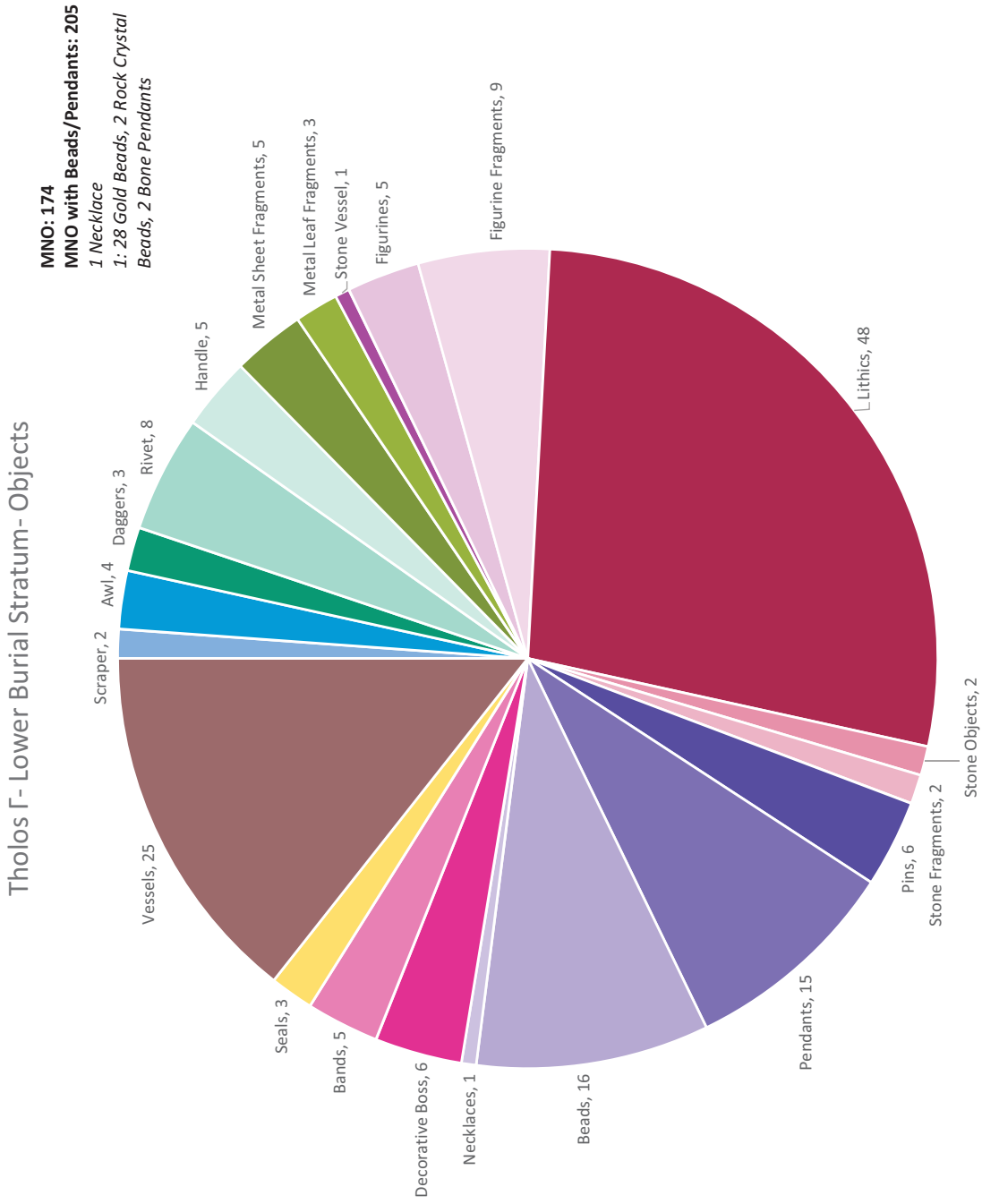


Figure 25: Tholos Γ- Lower Burial Stratum- Objects

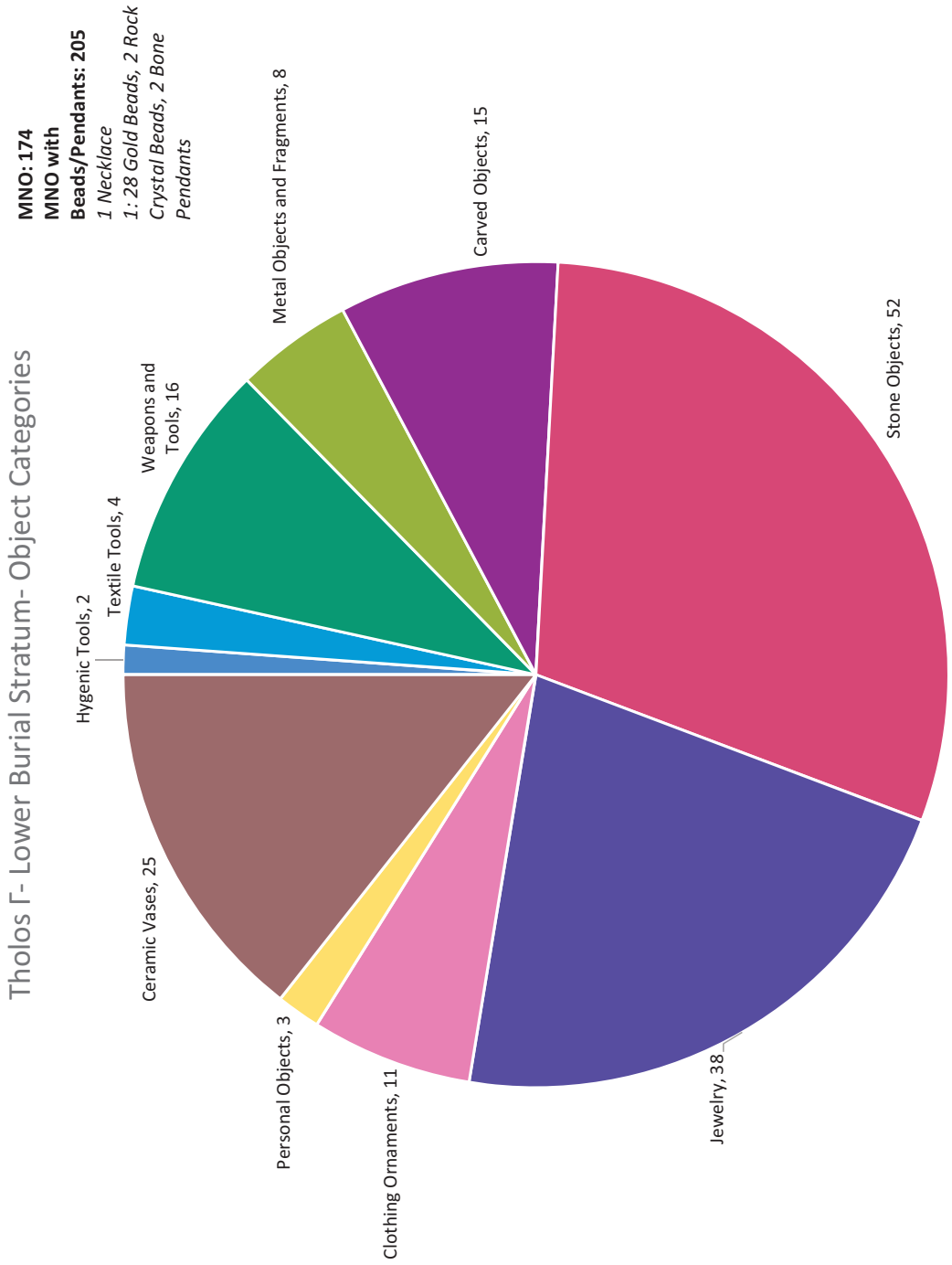


Figure 26: Tholos Γ- Lower Burial Stratum- Object Categories

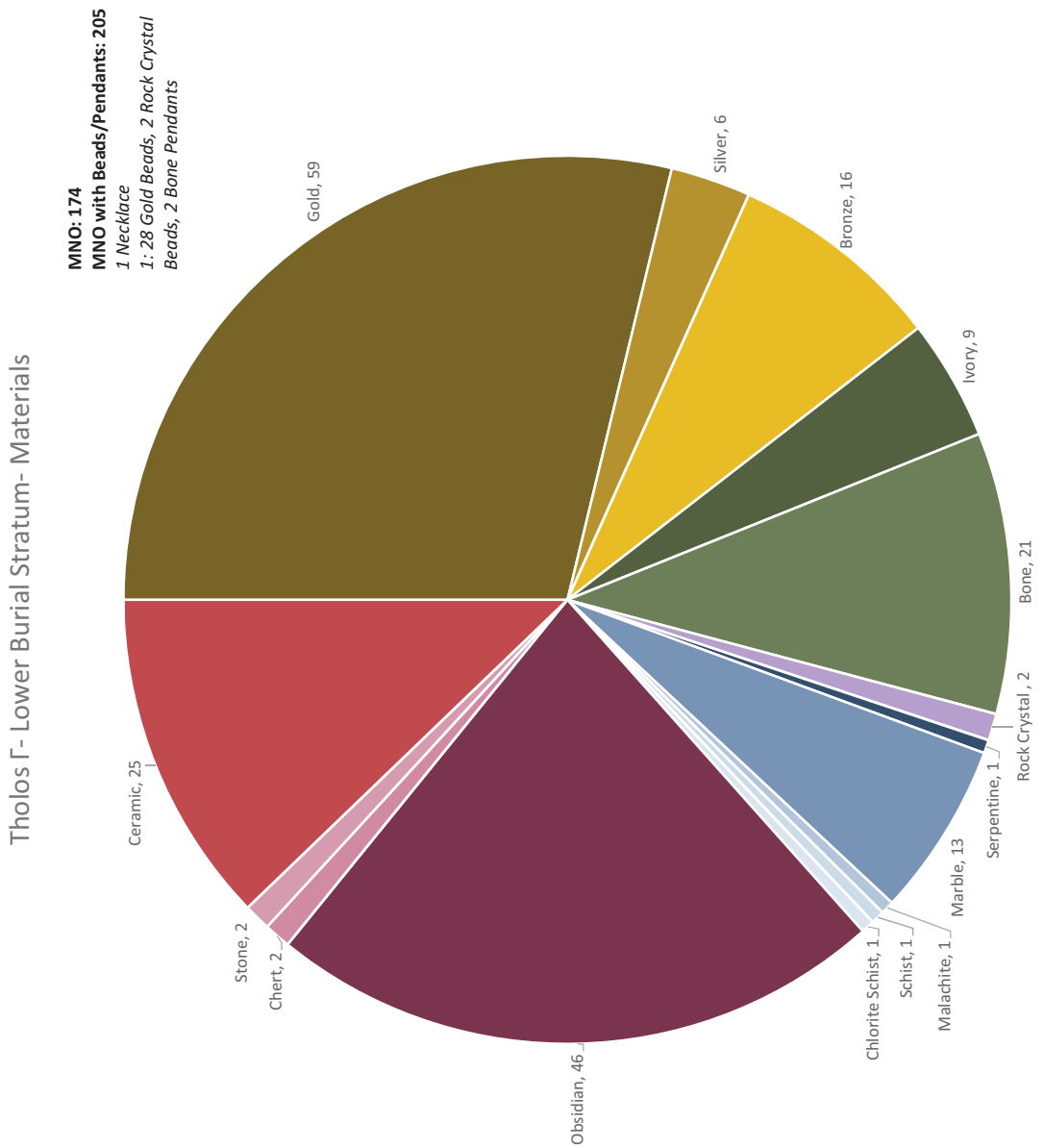


Figure 27 Tholos Γ- Lower Burial Stratum- Materials

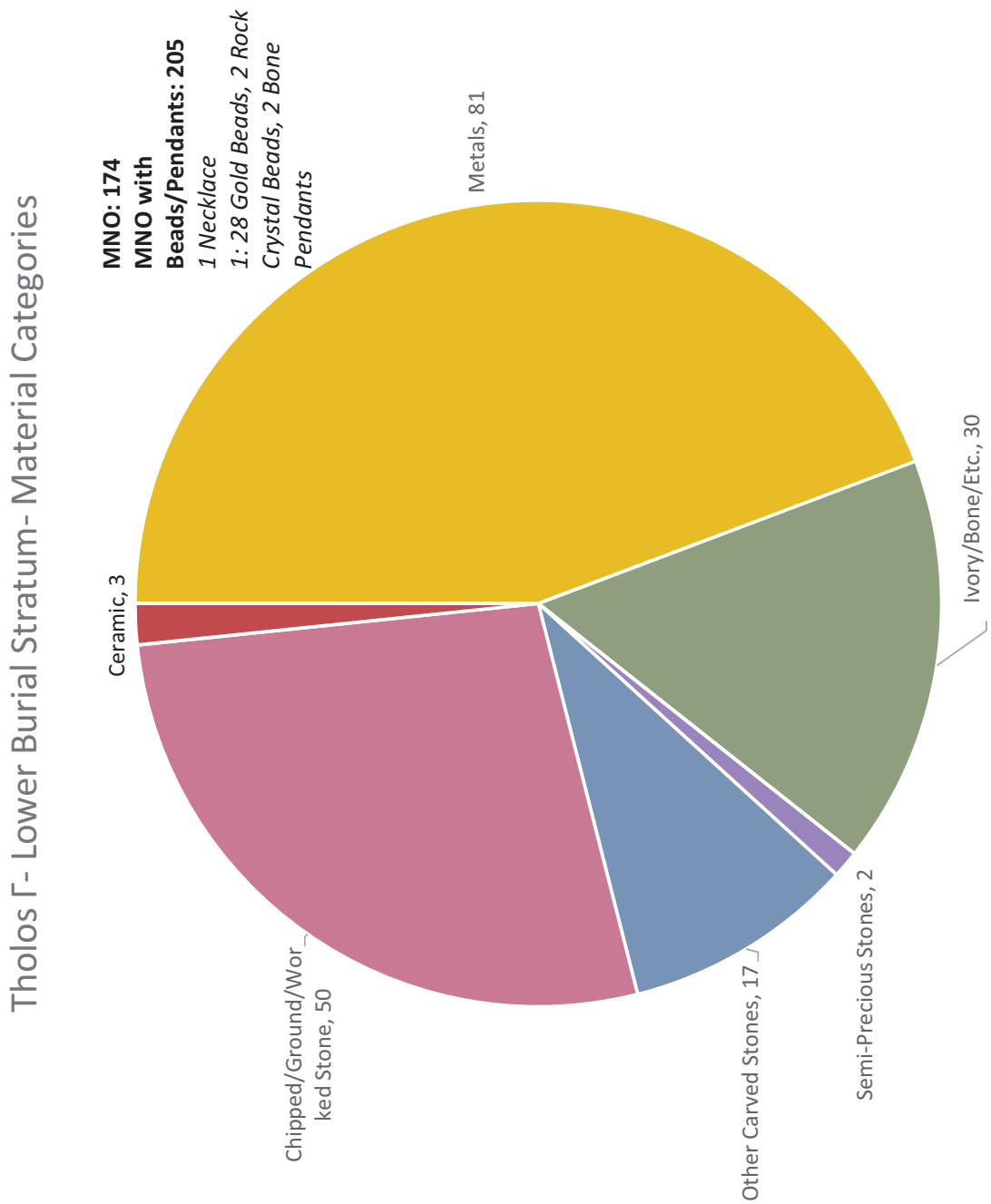


Figure 28: Tholos Γ- Lower Burial Stratum- Material Categories

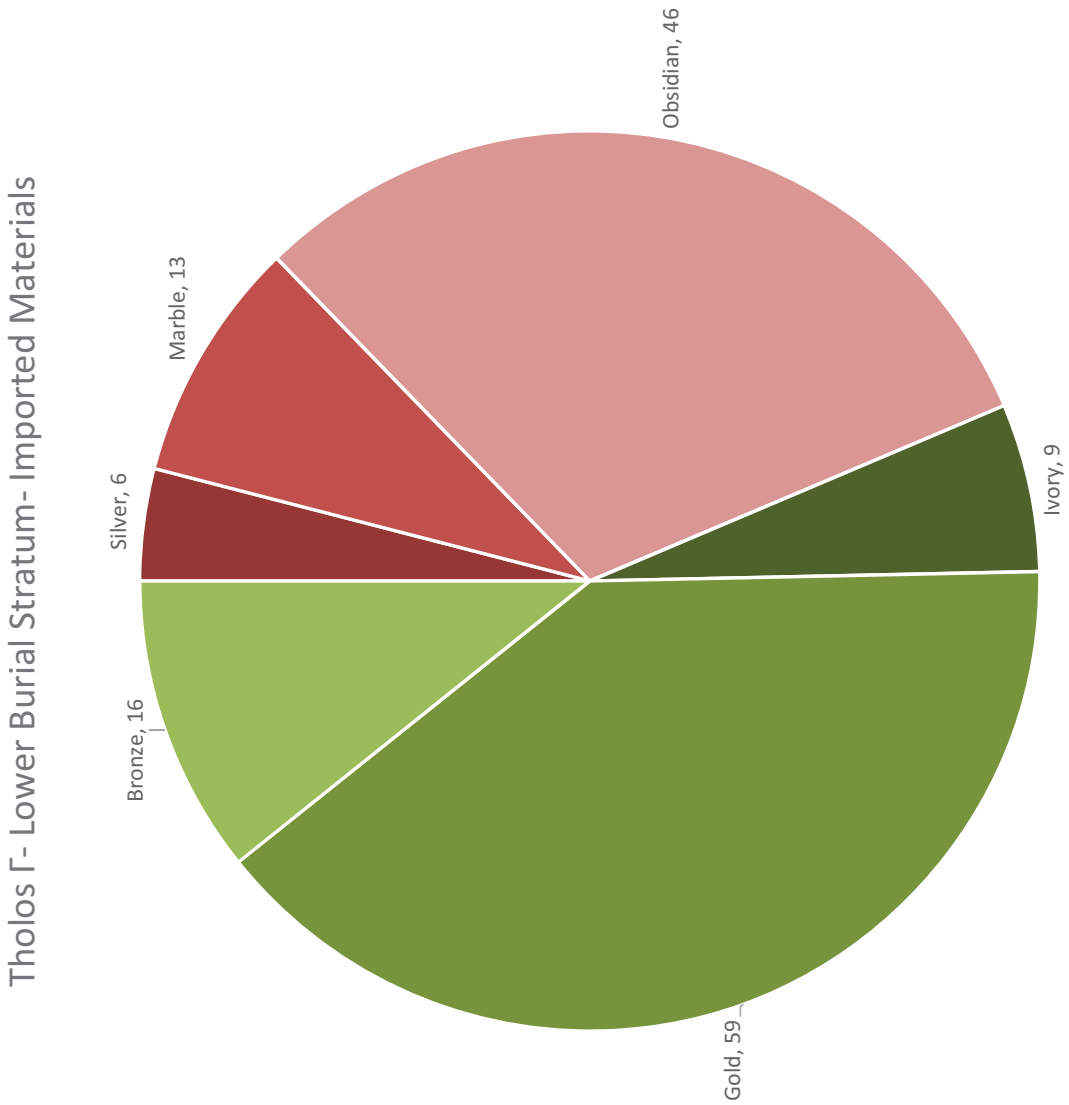


Figure 29: Tholos Γ- Lower Burial Stratum- Imported Materials

Figure 30: Tholos Γ- Lower Burial Stratum- Imports

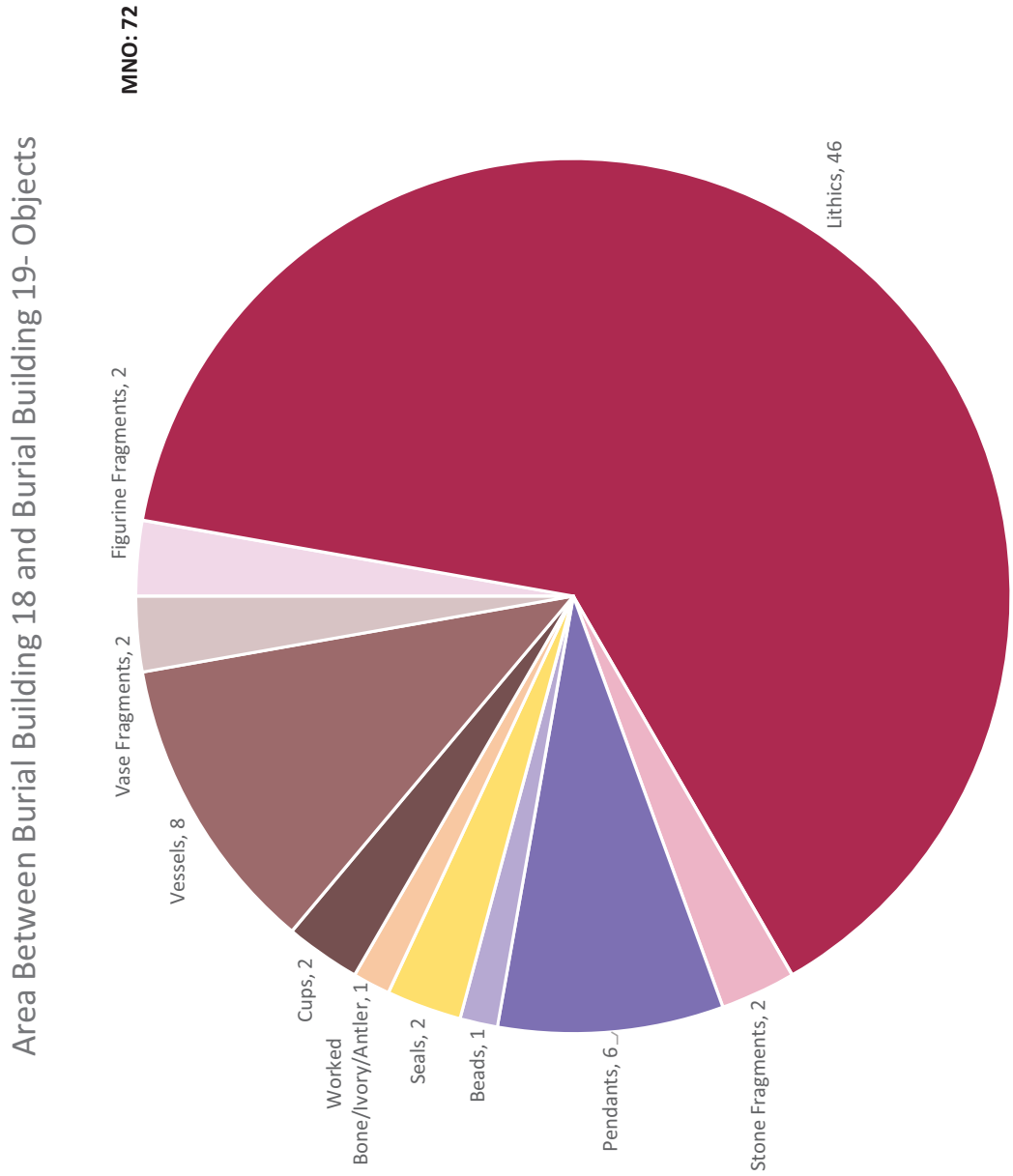


Figure 31: Area Between Burial Building 18 and Burial Building 19- Objects

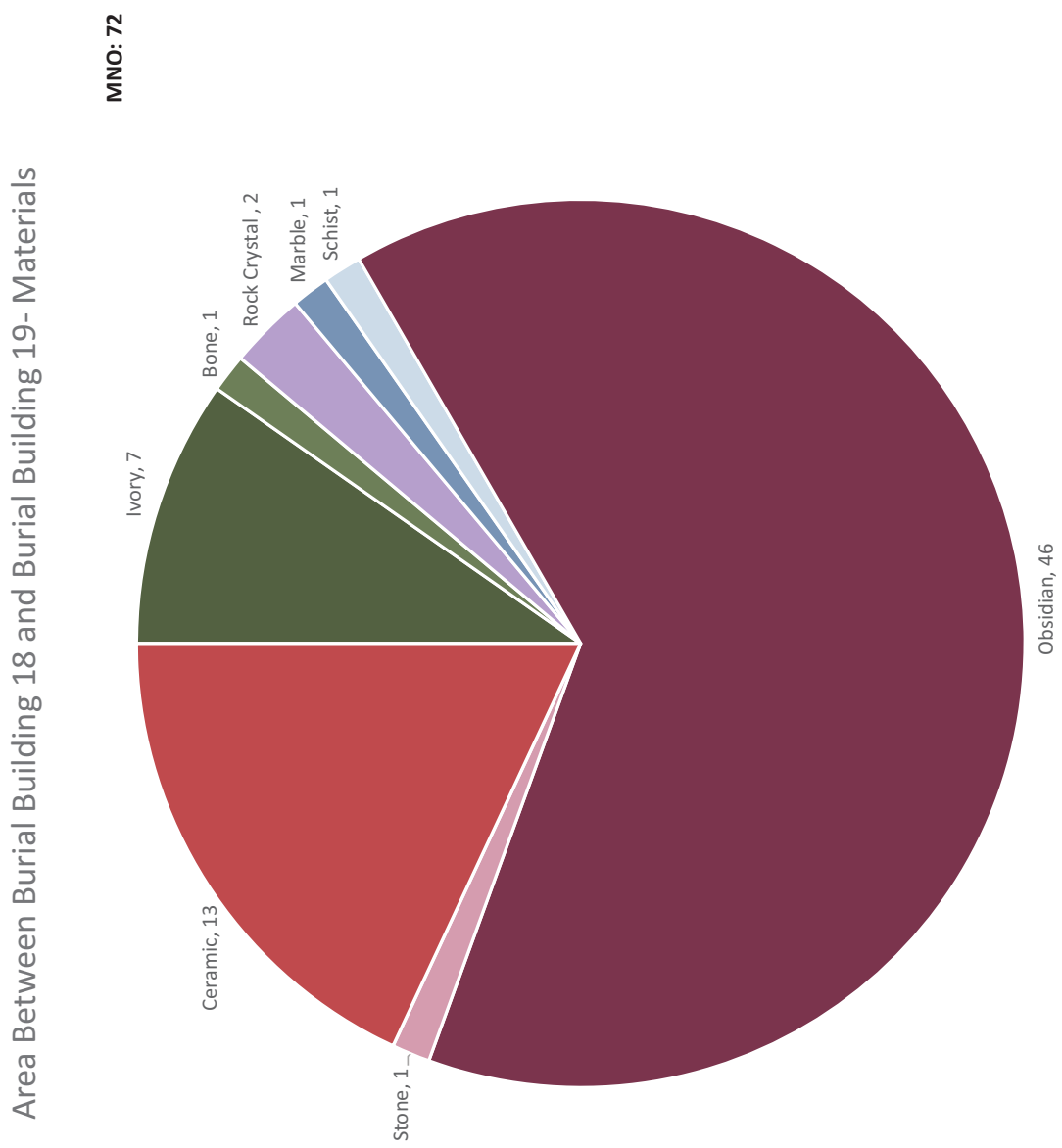


Figure 32: Area Between Burial Building 18 and Burial Building 19- Materials

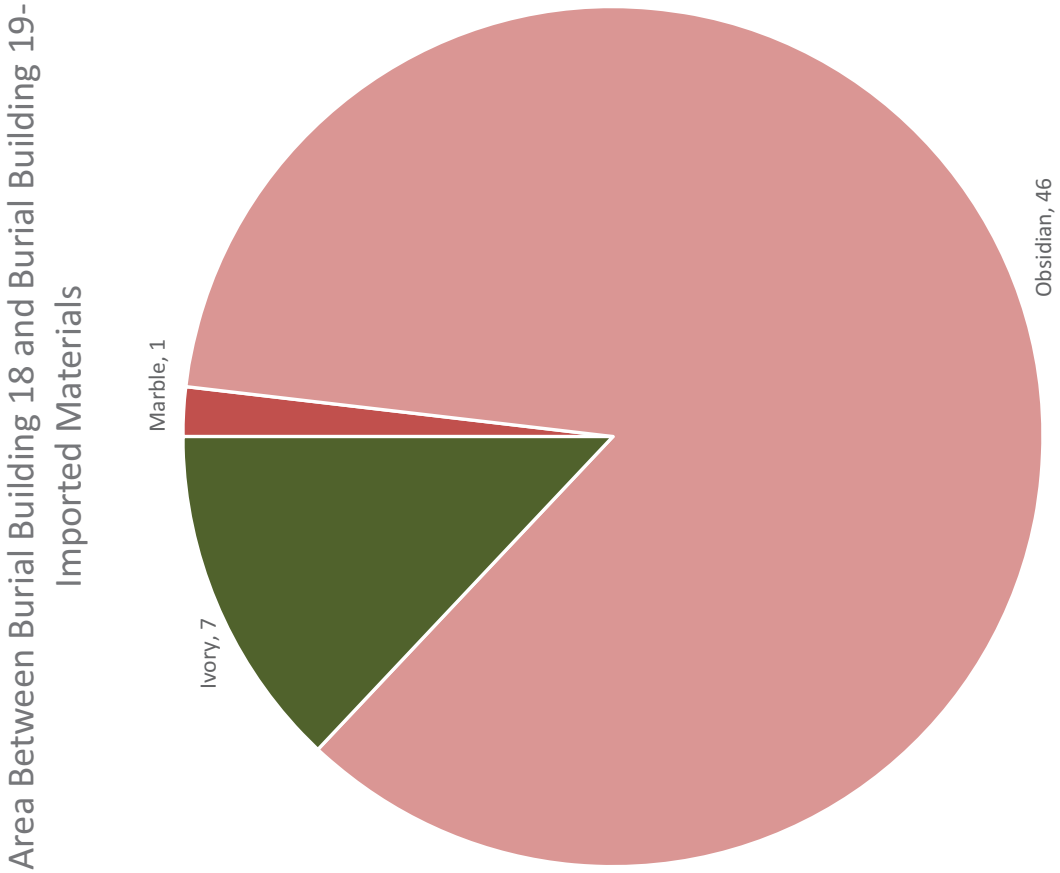


Figure 33: Area Between Burial Building 18 and Burial Building 19- Imported Materials

Figure 34: Area Between Burial Building 18 and Burial Building 19- Imports

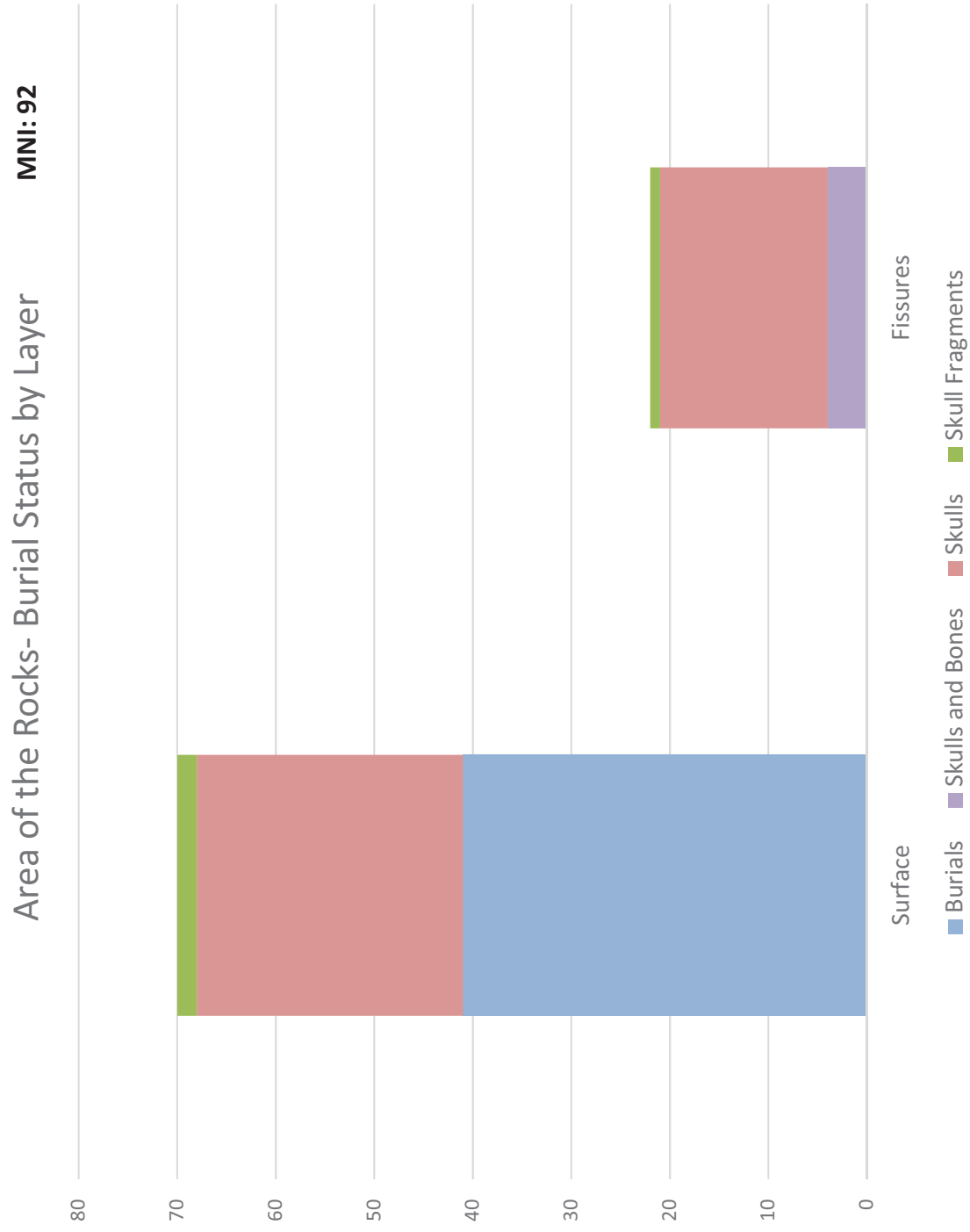


Figure 35: Area of the Rocks- Burial Status by Layer

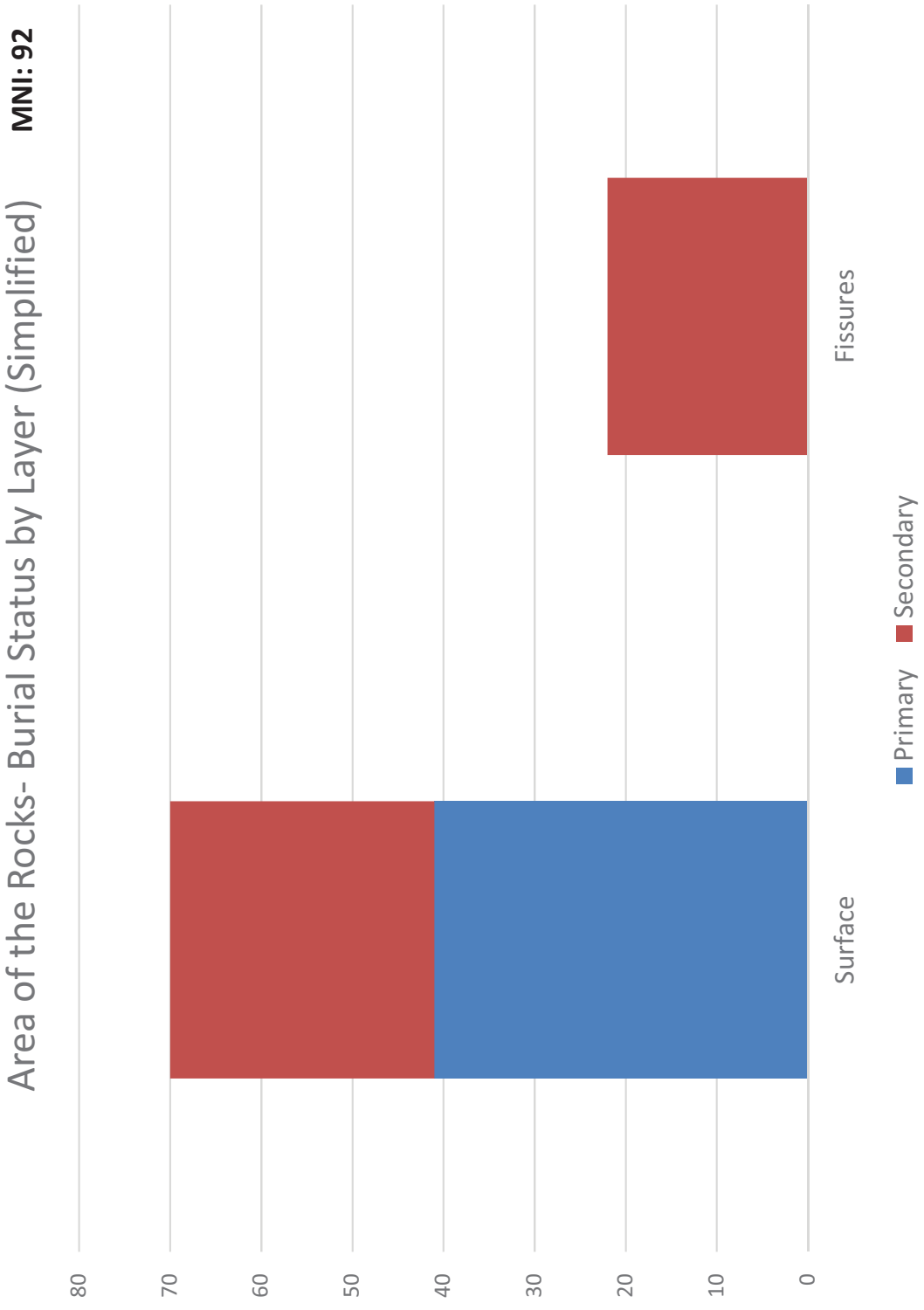


Figure 36: Area of the Rocks- Burial Status by Layer (Simplified)

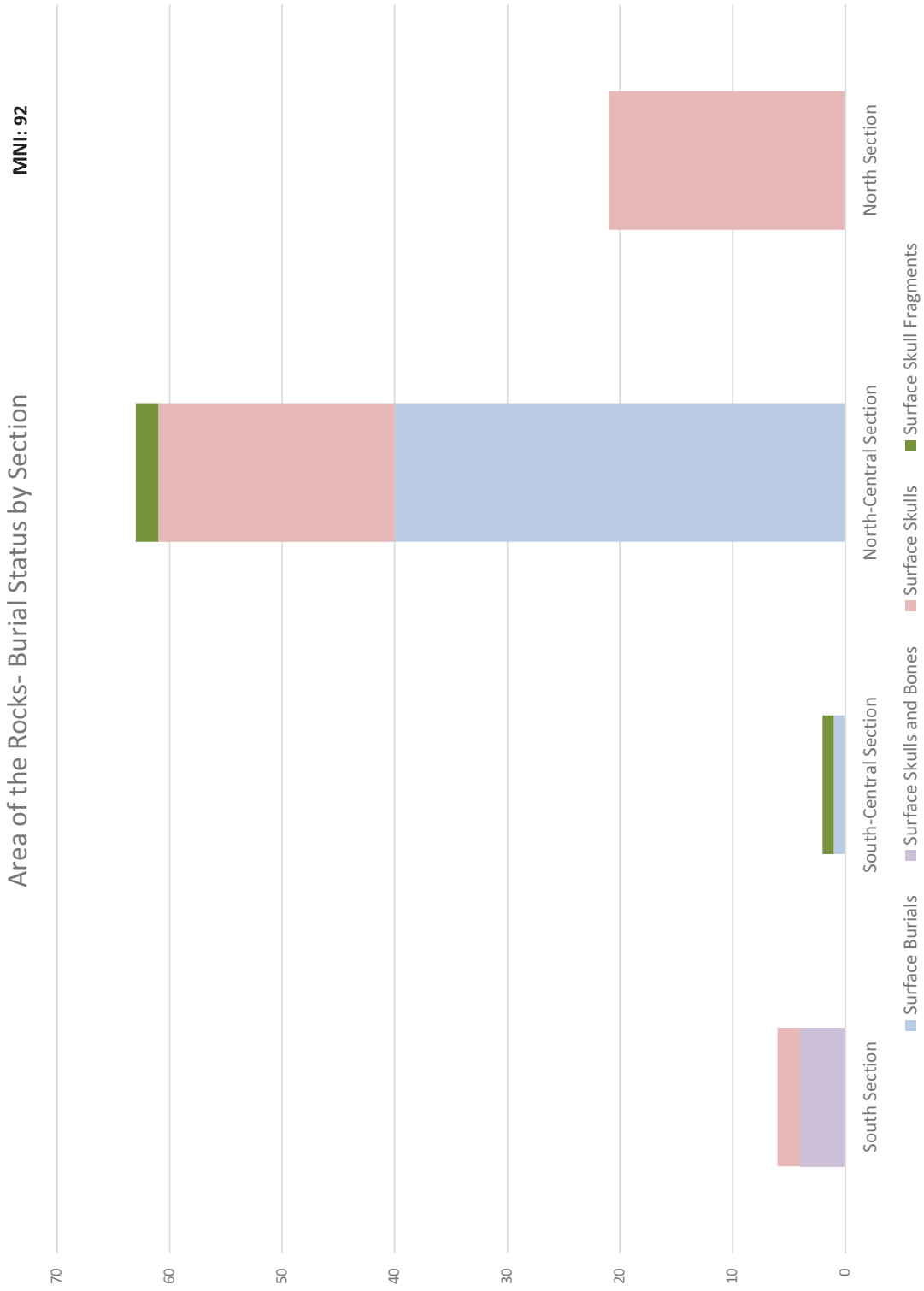


Figure 37: Area of the Rocks- Burial Status by Section

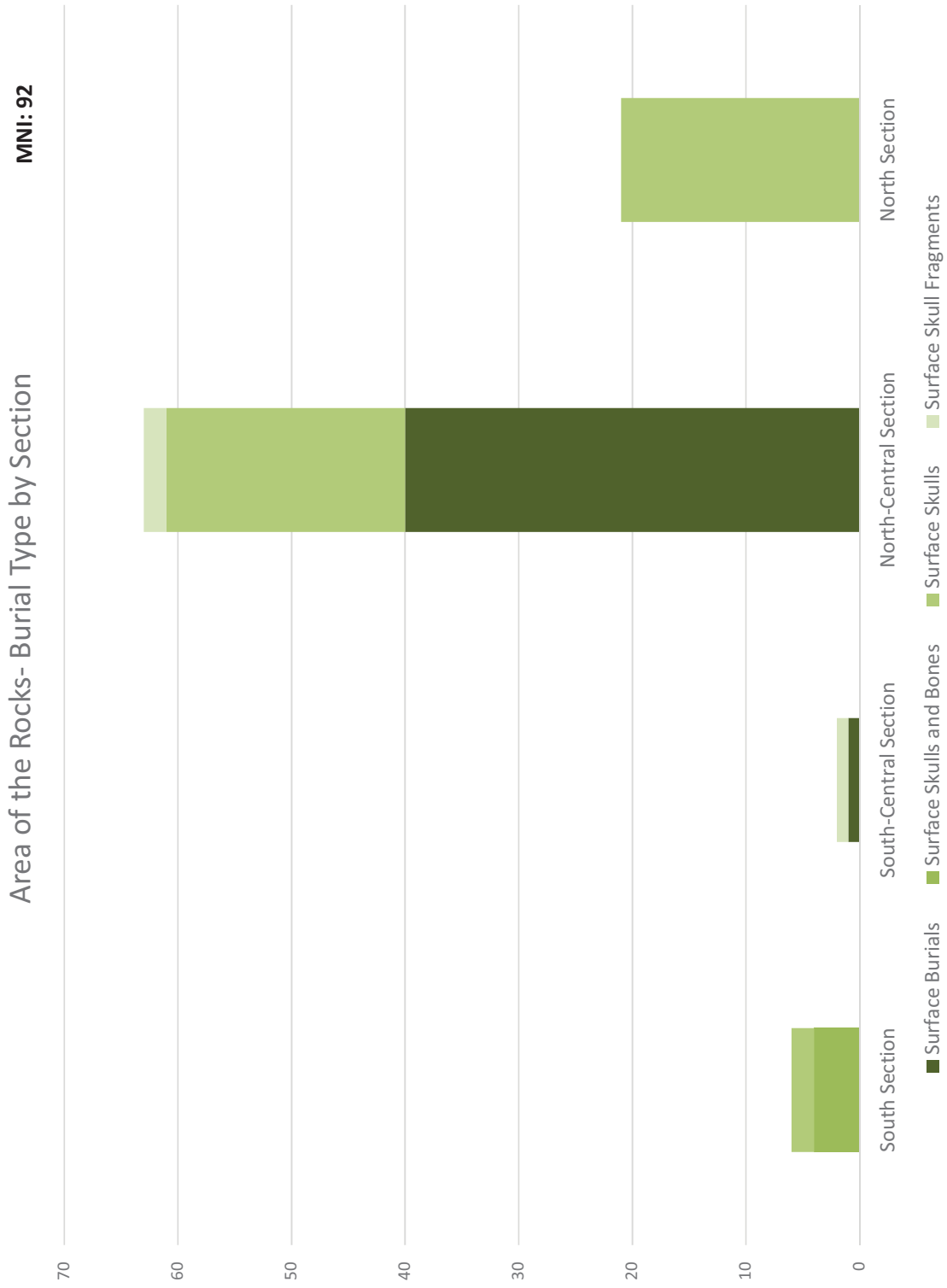


Figure 38: Area of the Rocks- Burial Type by Section

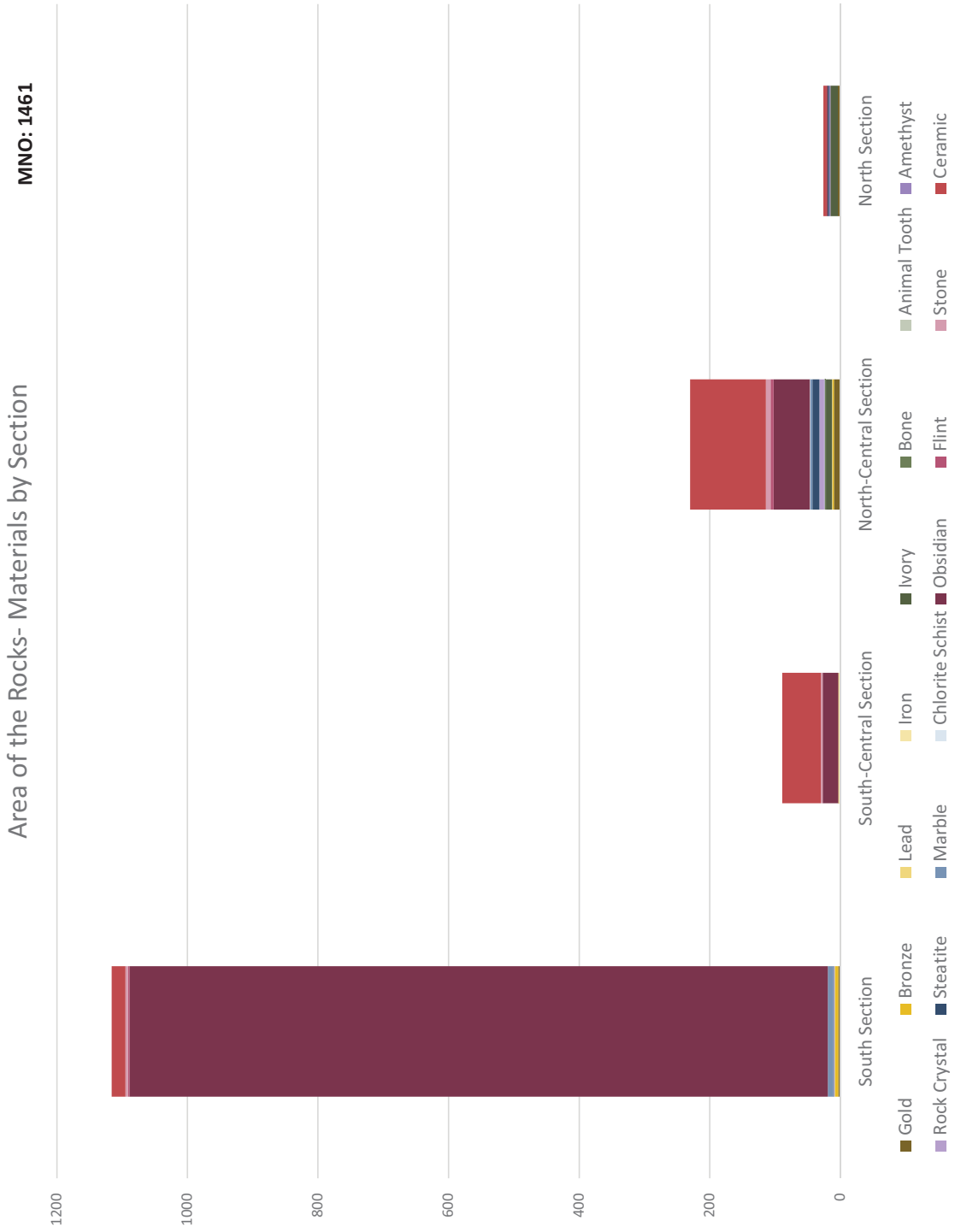


Figure 39: Area of the Rocks- Materials by Section

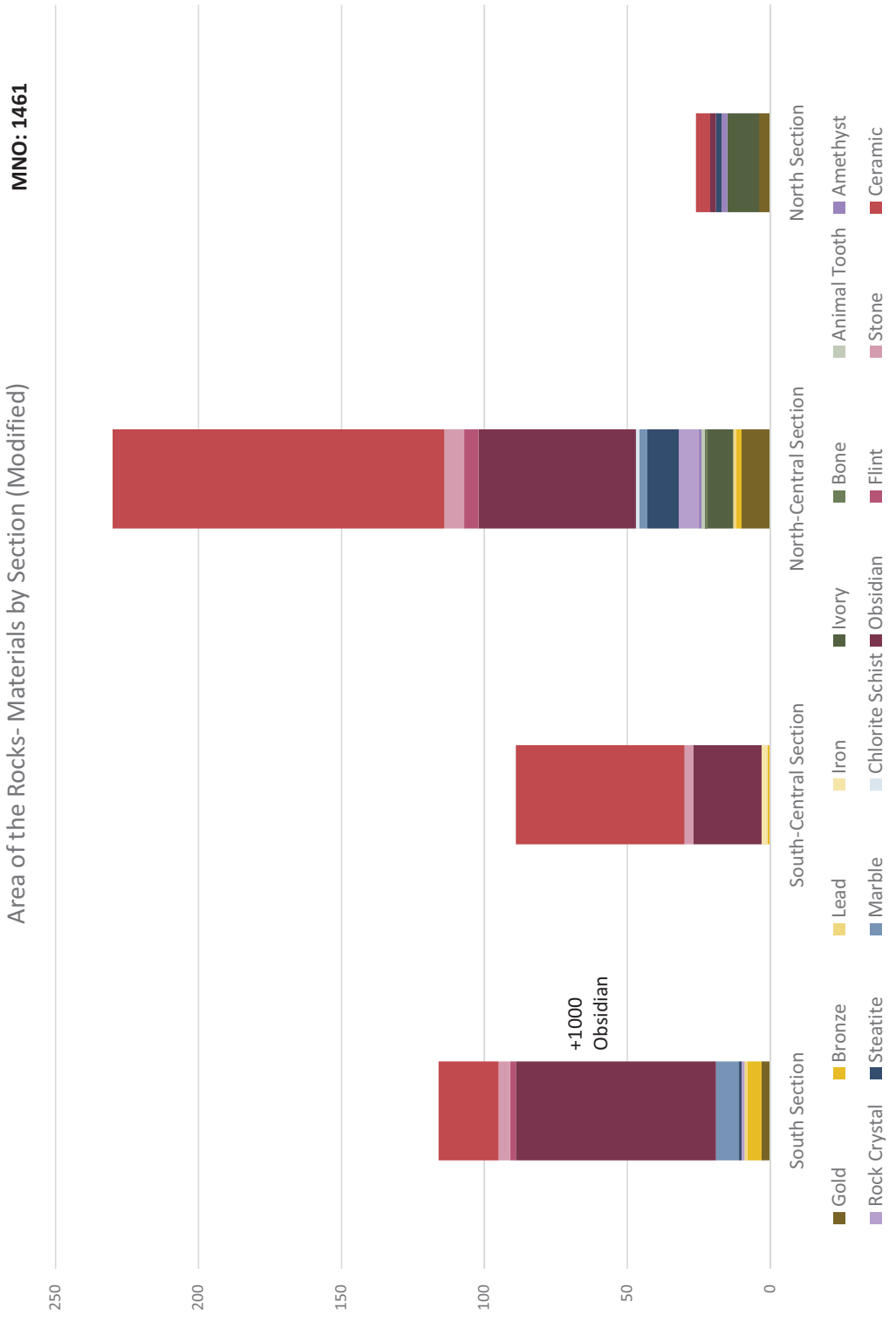


Figure 40: Area of the Rocks- Materials by Section (Modified)

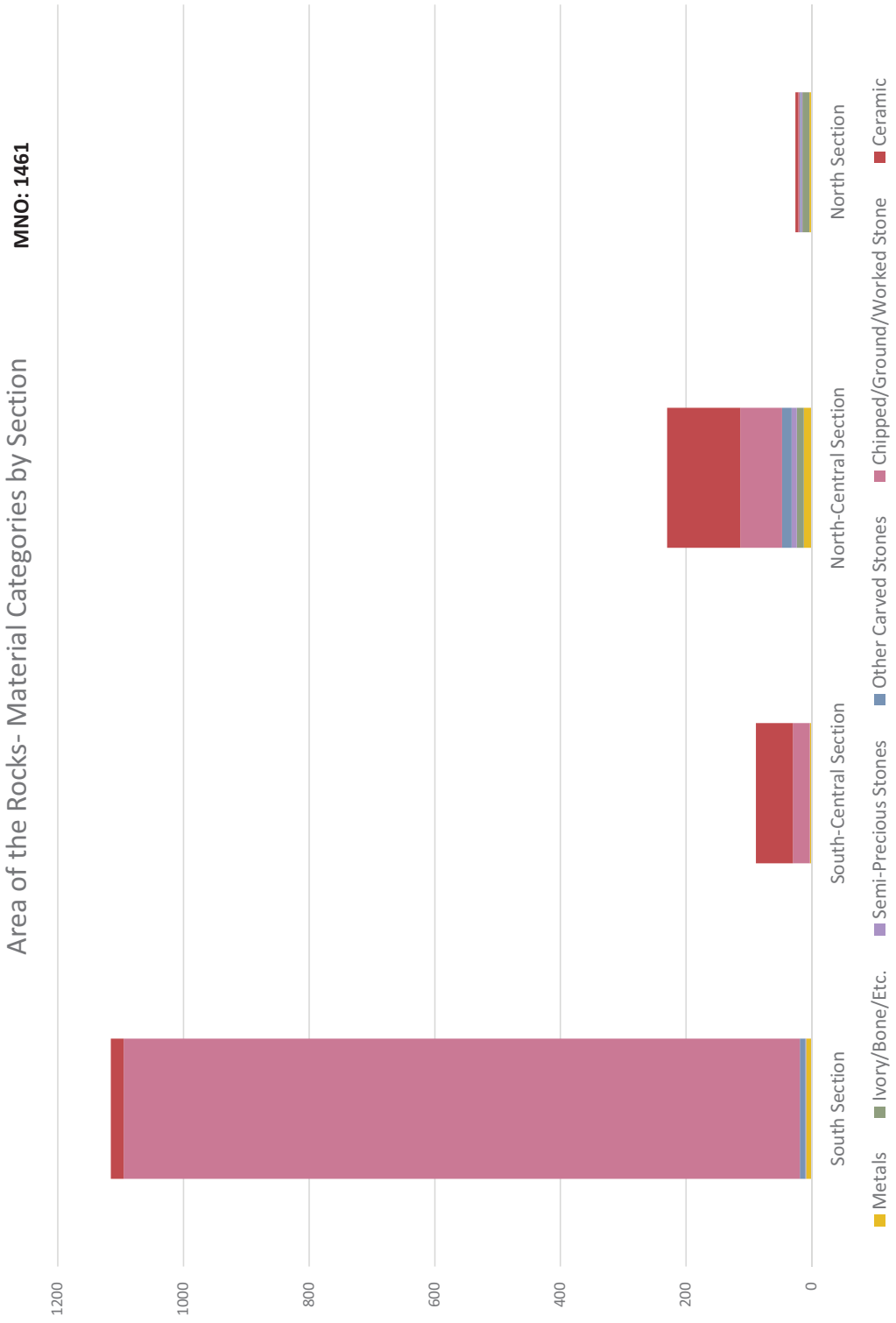


Figure 41: Area of the Rocks- Material Categories by Section

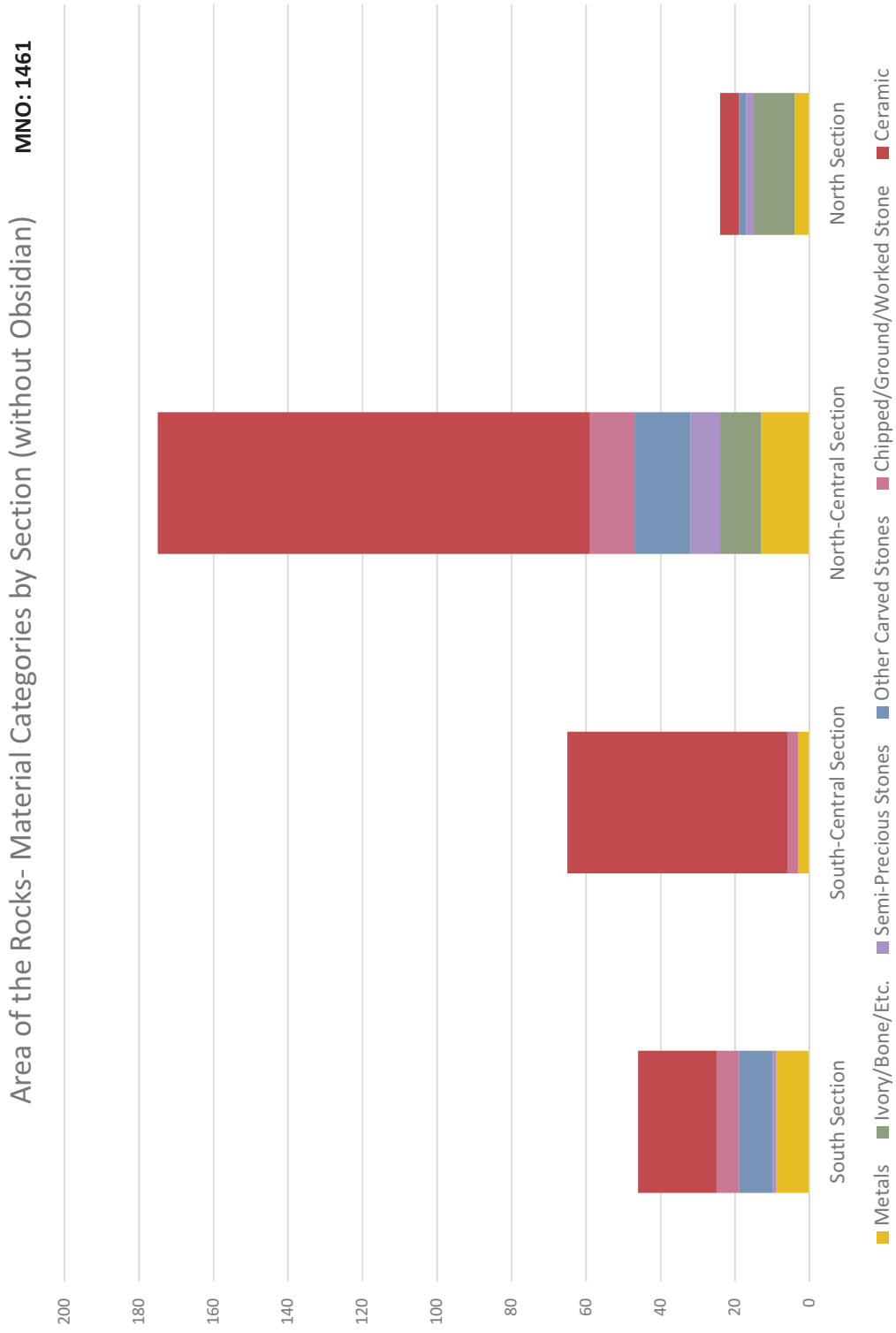


Figure 42: Area of the Rocks- Material Categories by Section (without Obsidian)

Figure 43: Area of the Rocks- Imported Materials by Section

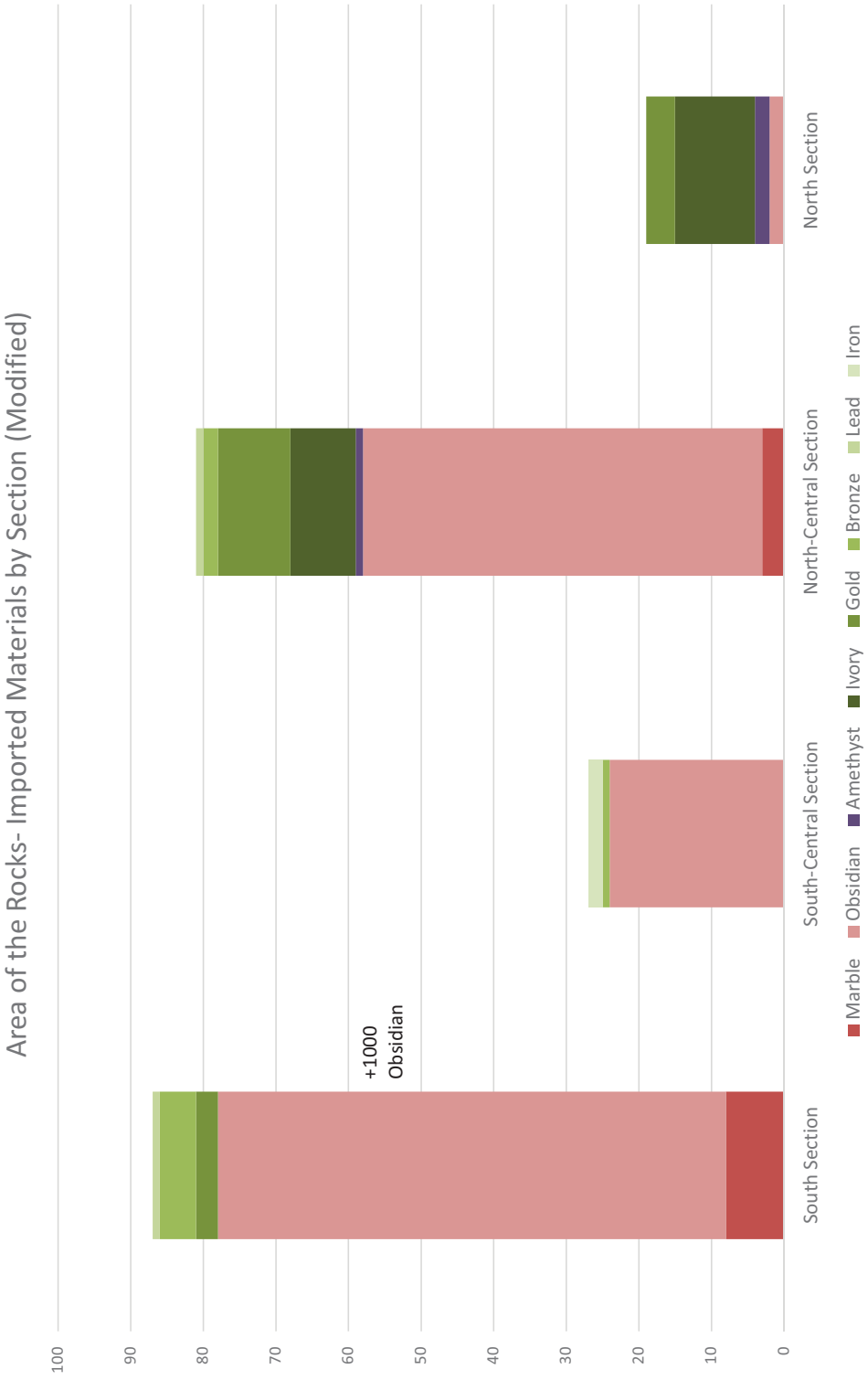


Figure 44: Area of the Rocks- Imported Materials by Section (Modified)

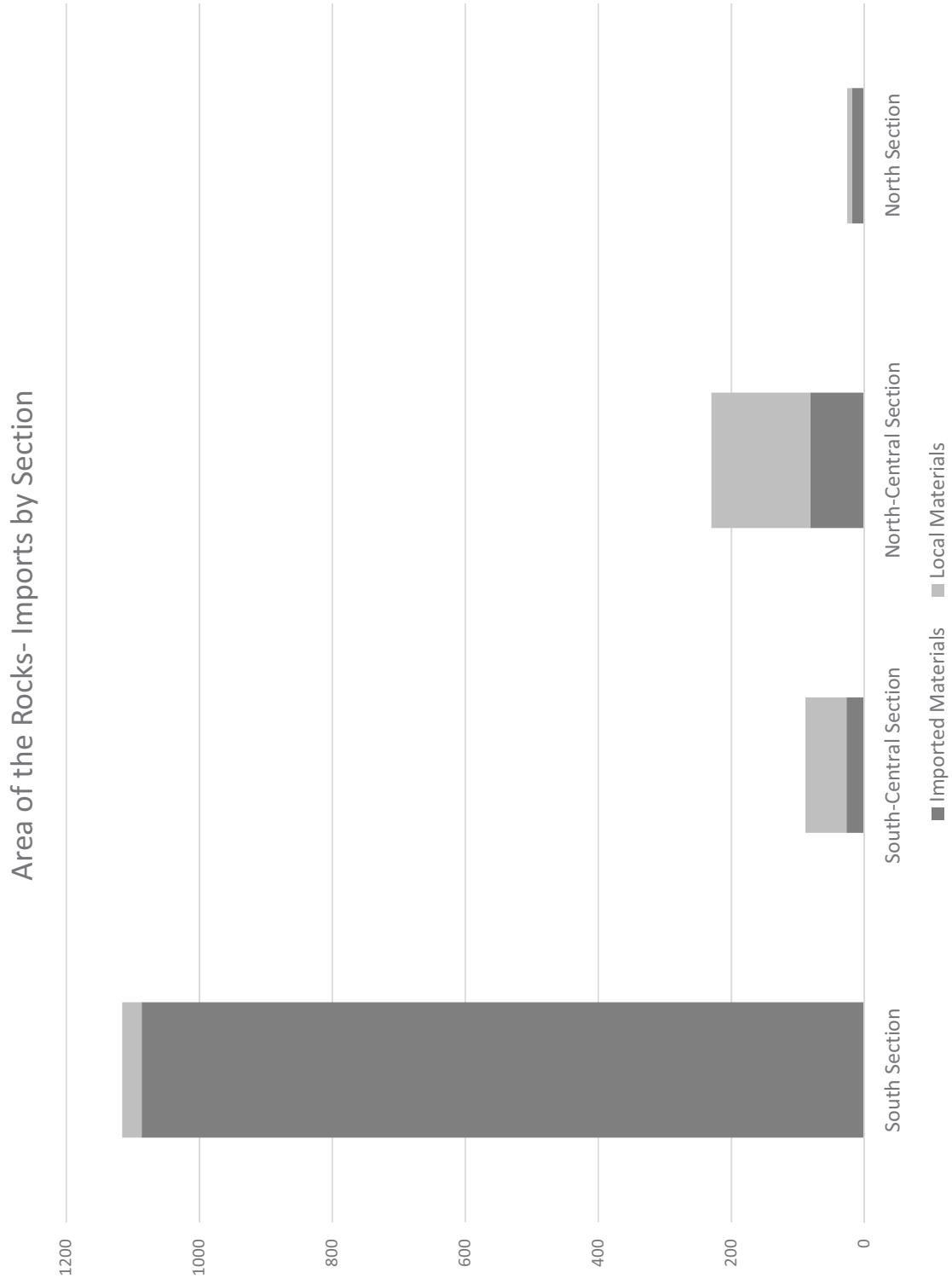


Figure 45: Area of the Rocks- Imports by Section

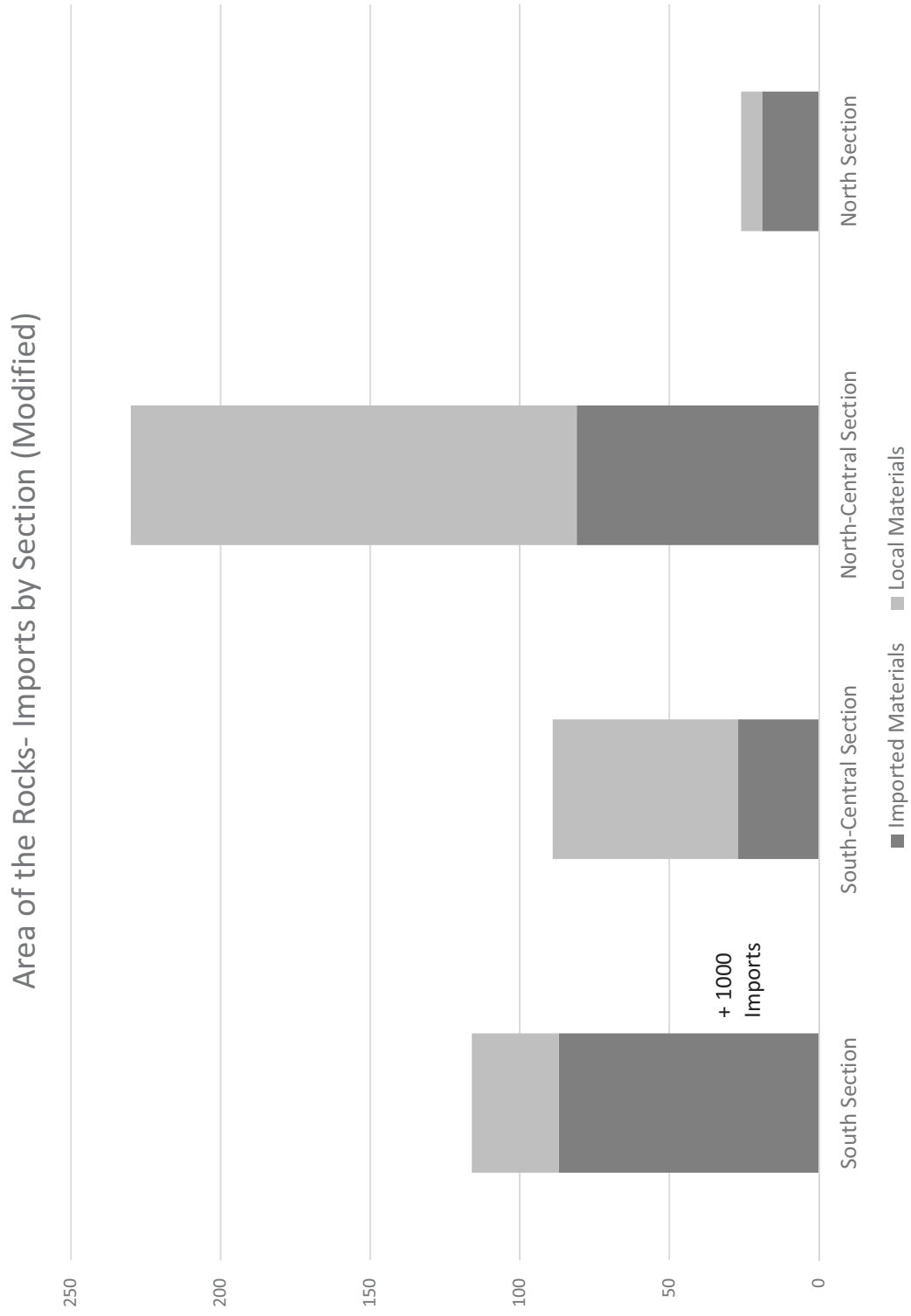


Figure 46: Area of the Rocks- Imports by Section (Modified)

Figure 47: Area of the Rocks- Objects by Section

Figure 48: Area of the Rocks- Object Categories by Section

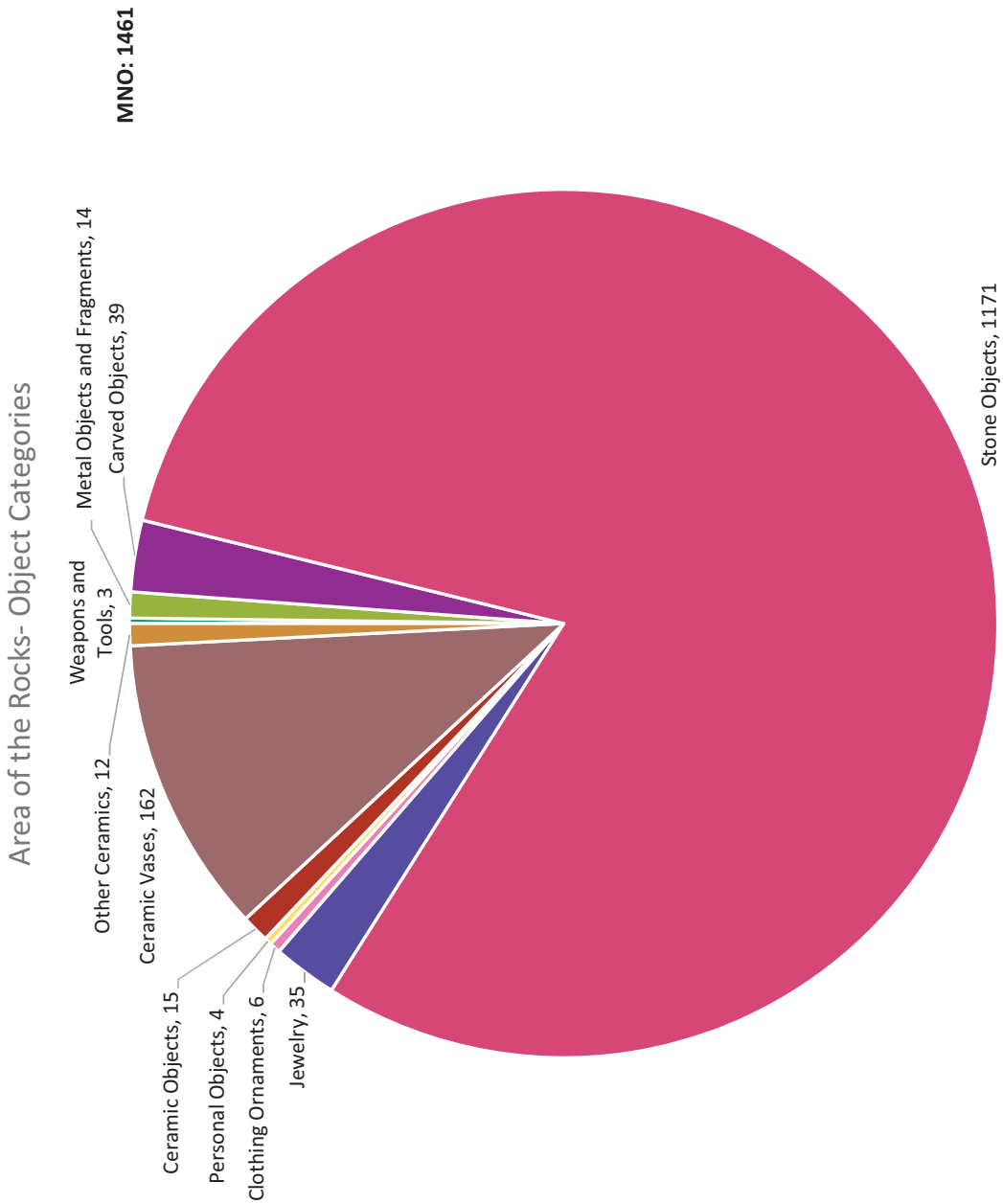


Figure 49: Area of the Rocks- Object Categories

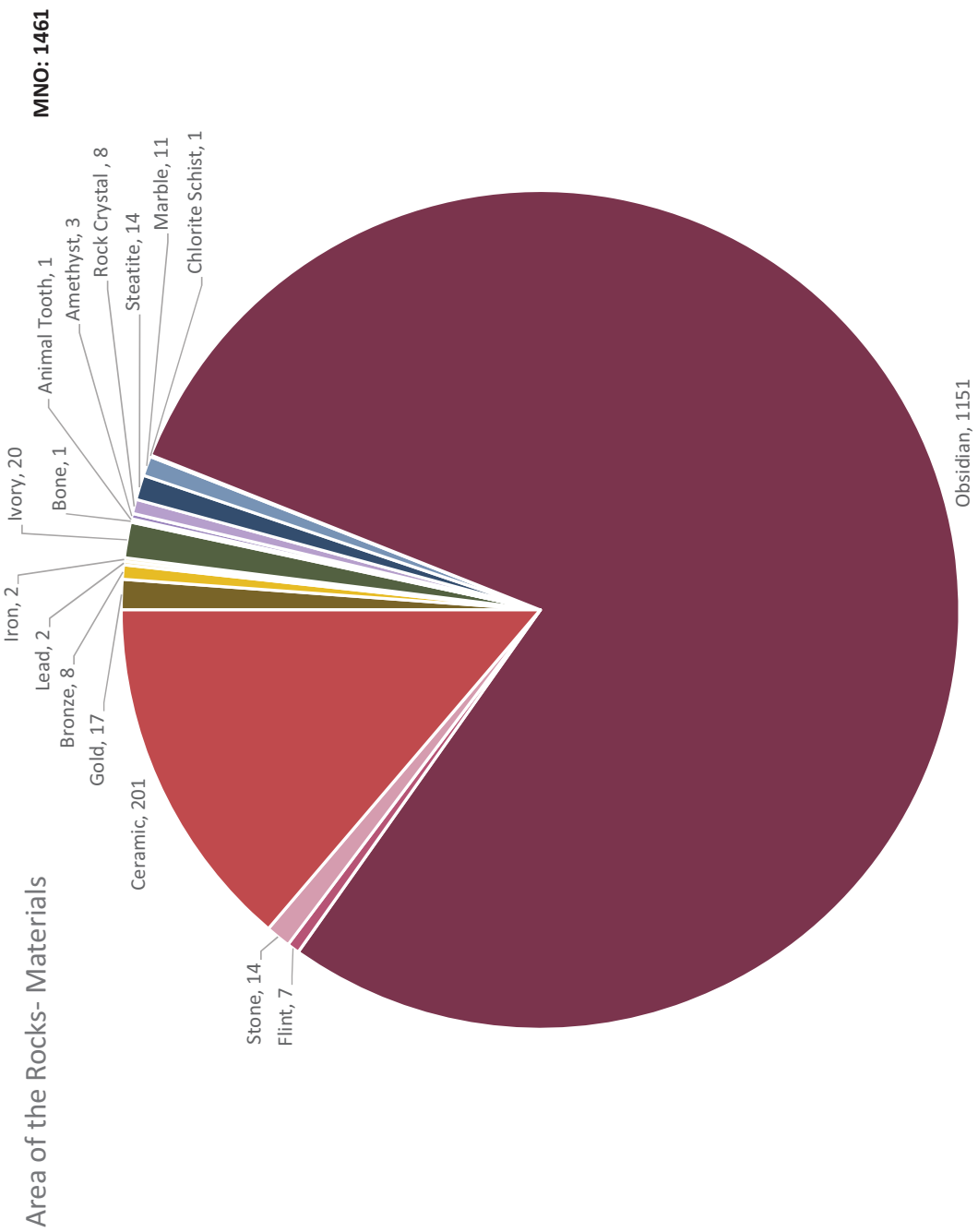


Figure 50: Area of the Rocks- Materials

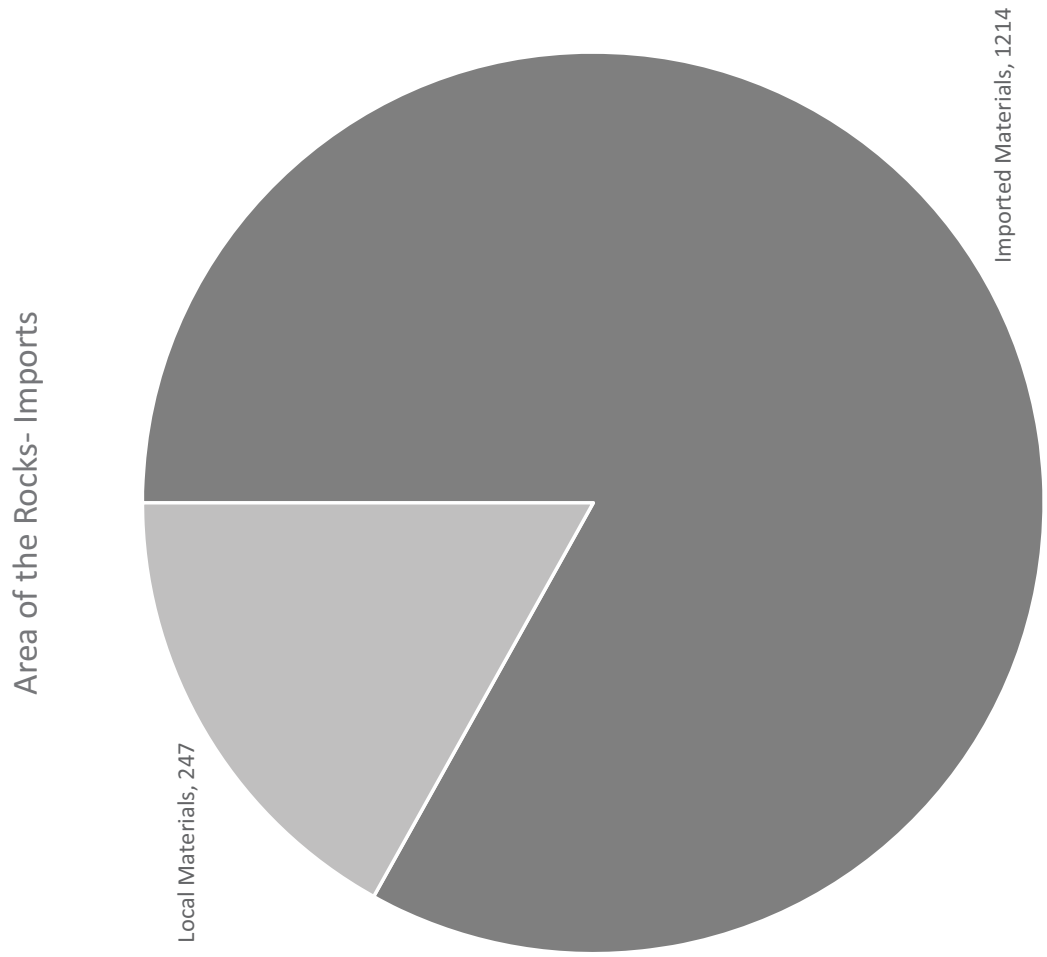


Figure 51: Area of the Rocks- Imports

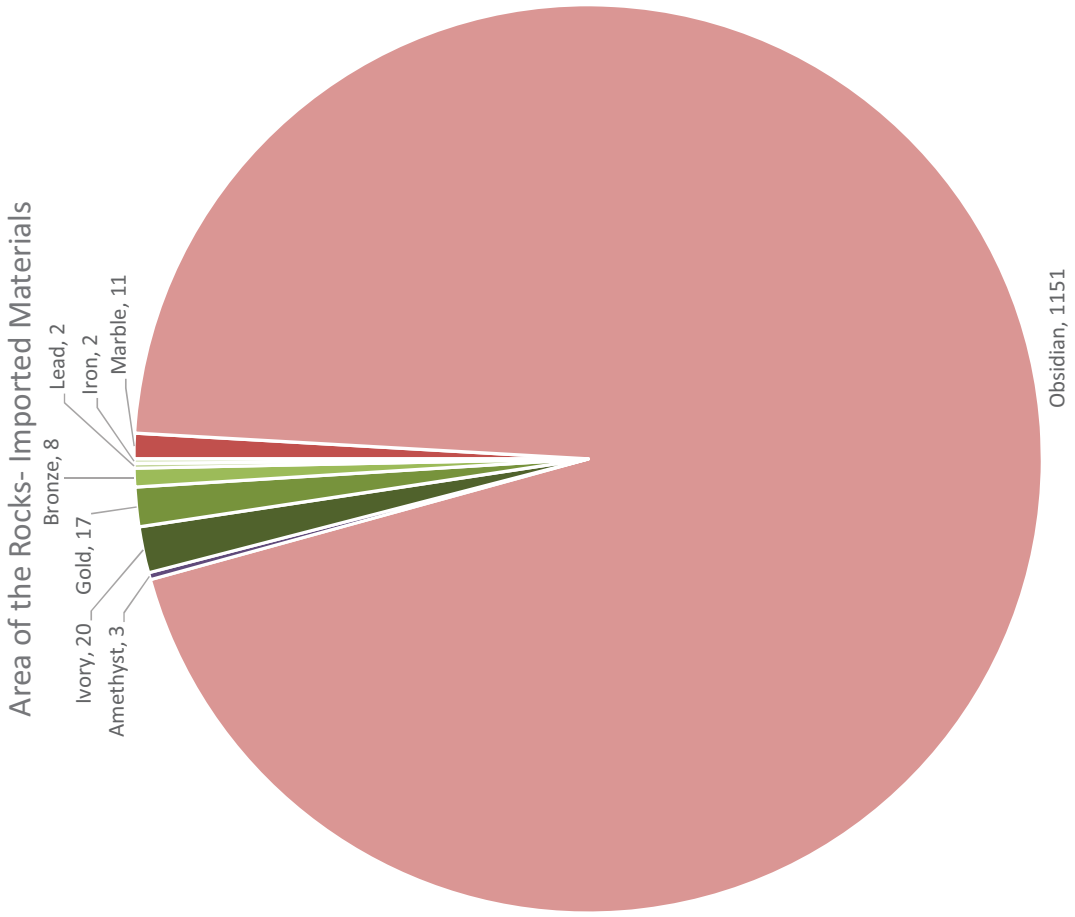


Figure 52: Area of the Rocks- Imported Materials

Figure 53: Burial Building 25, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

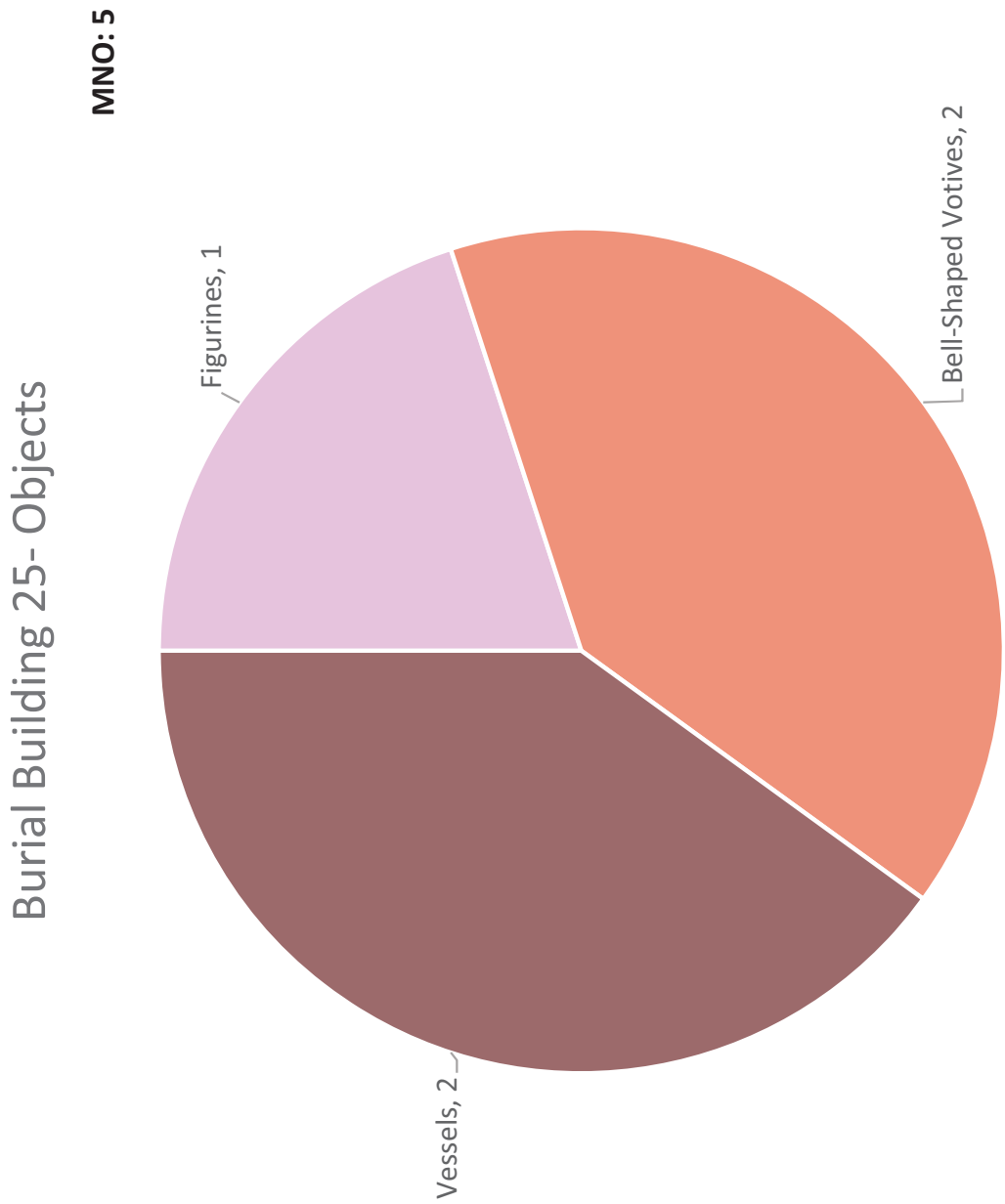


Figure 54: Burial Building 25- Objects

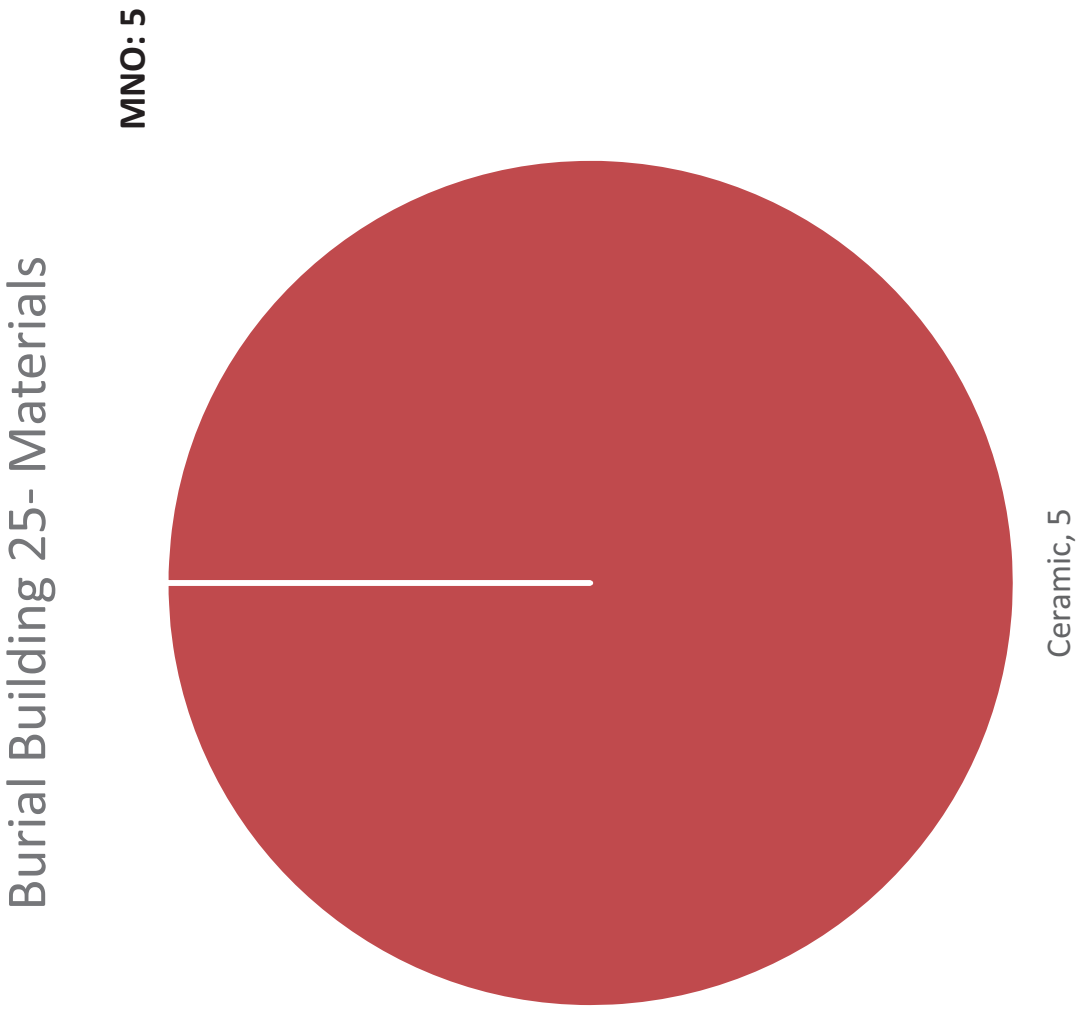


Figure 55: Burial Building 25- Materials

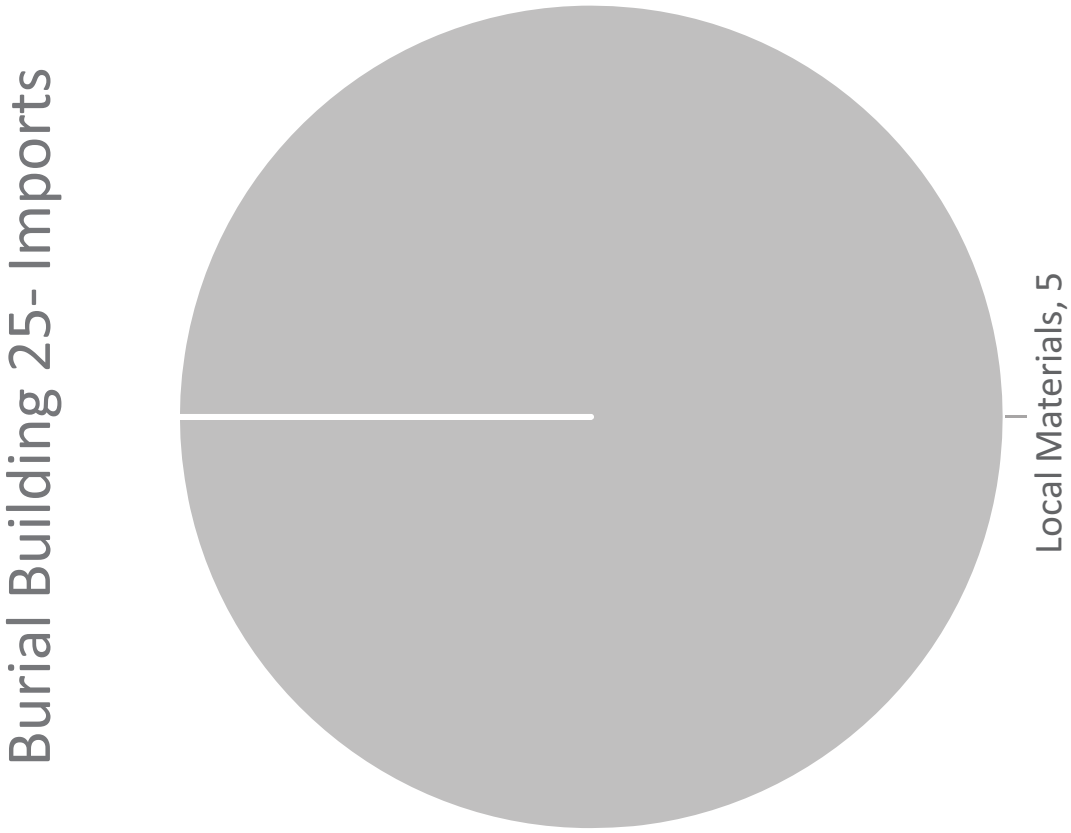


Figure 56: Burial Building 25- Imports

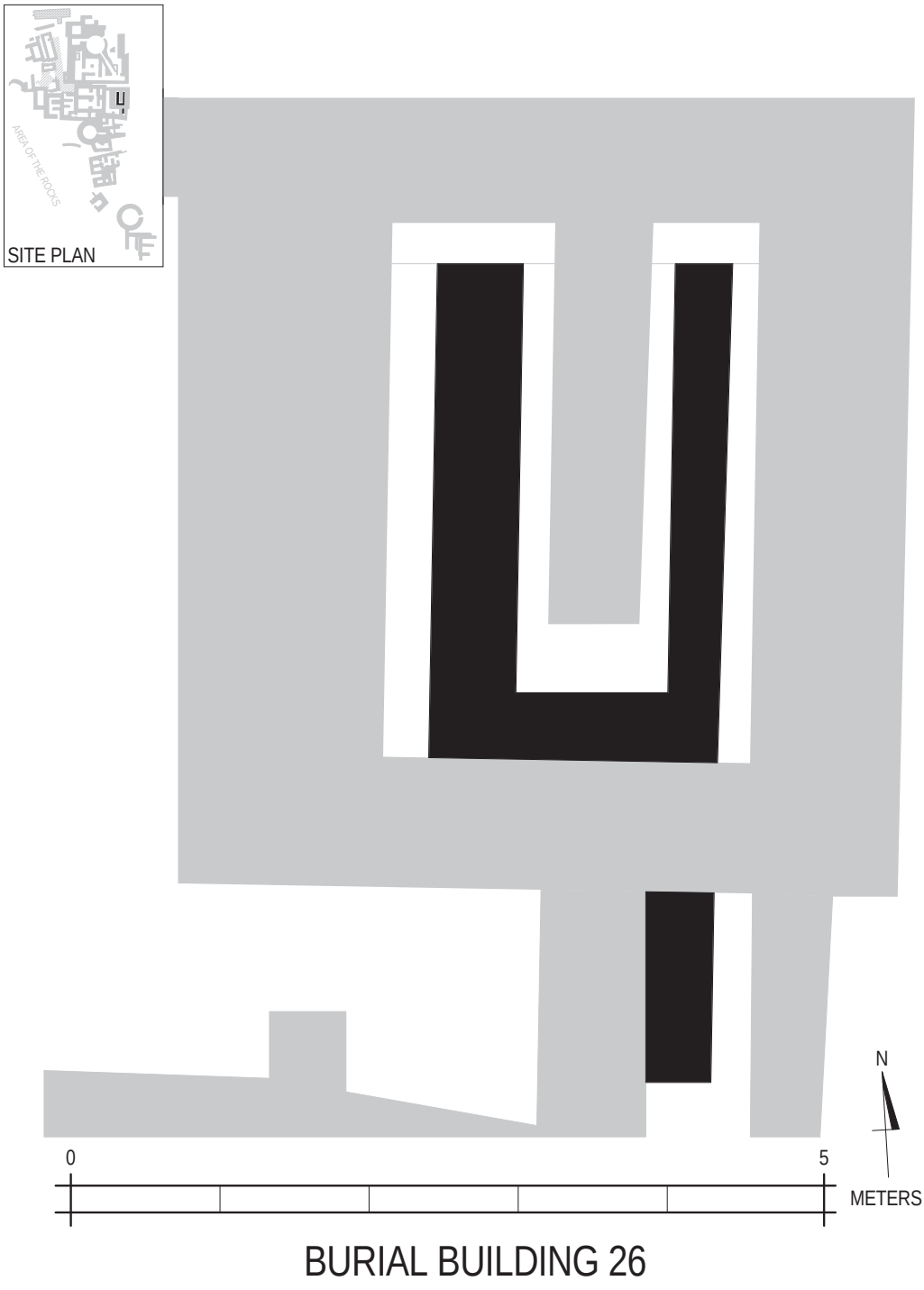


Figure 57: Burial Building 26, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

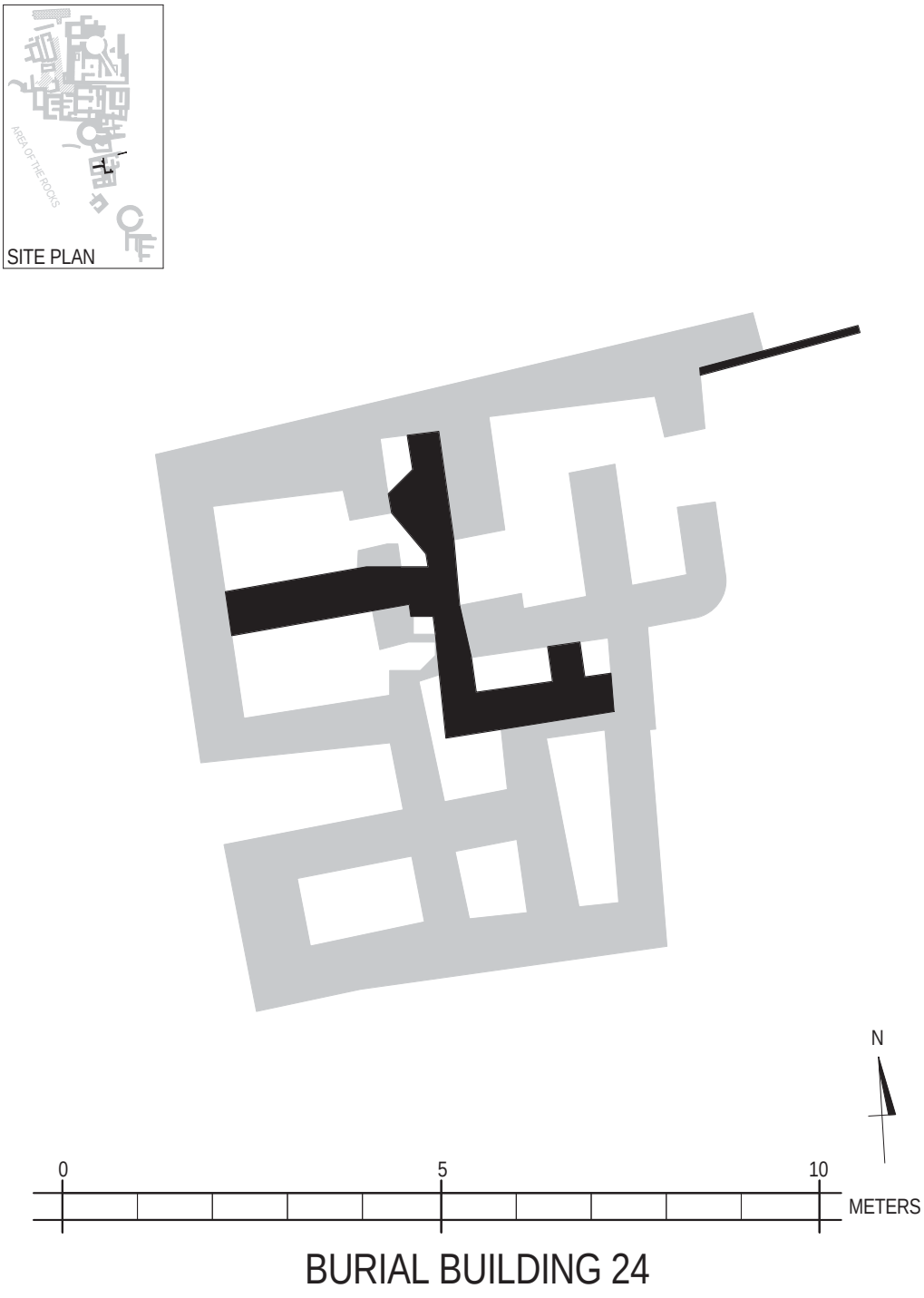


Figure 58: Burial Building 24, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

Figure 59: Burial Building 24- Burial Status

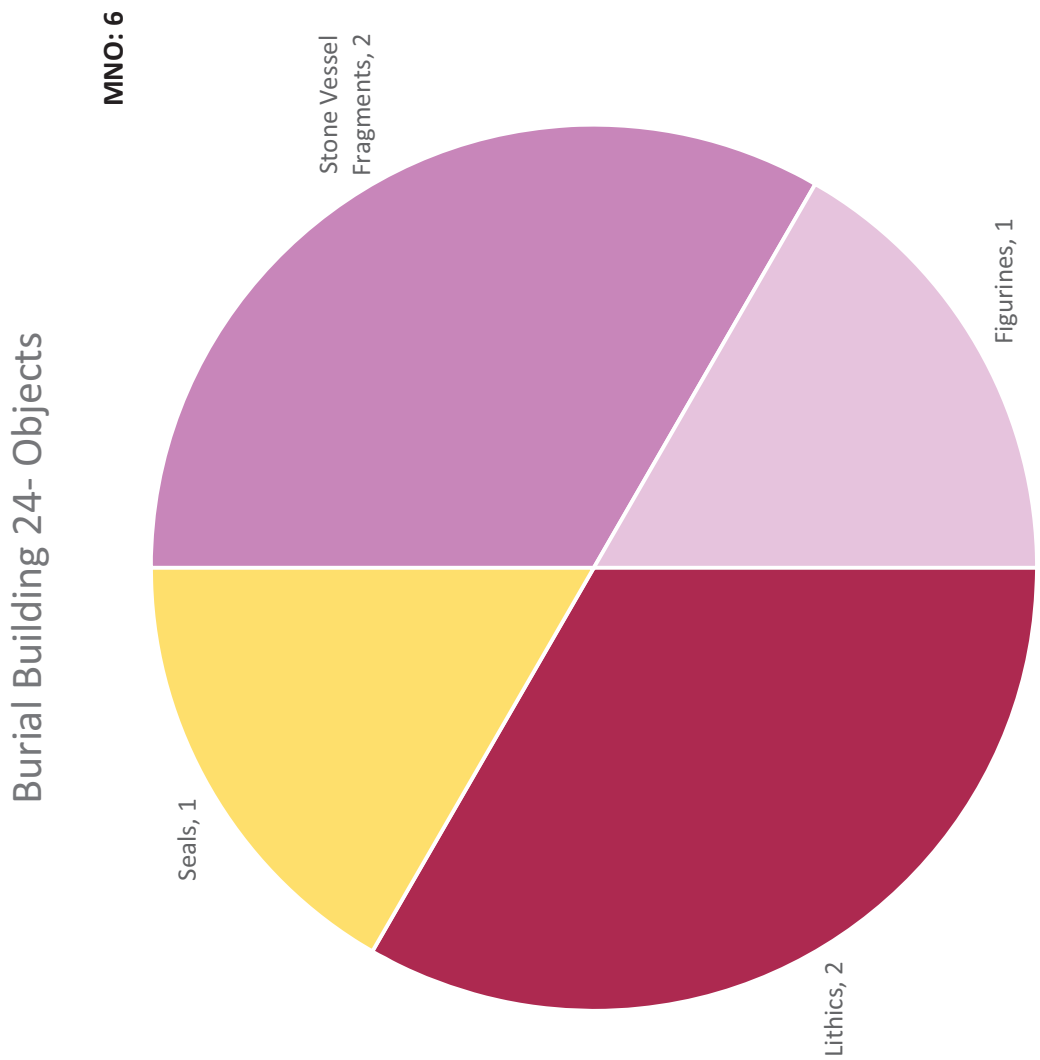


Figure 60: Burial Building 24- Objects

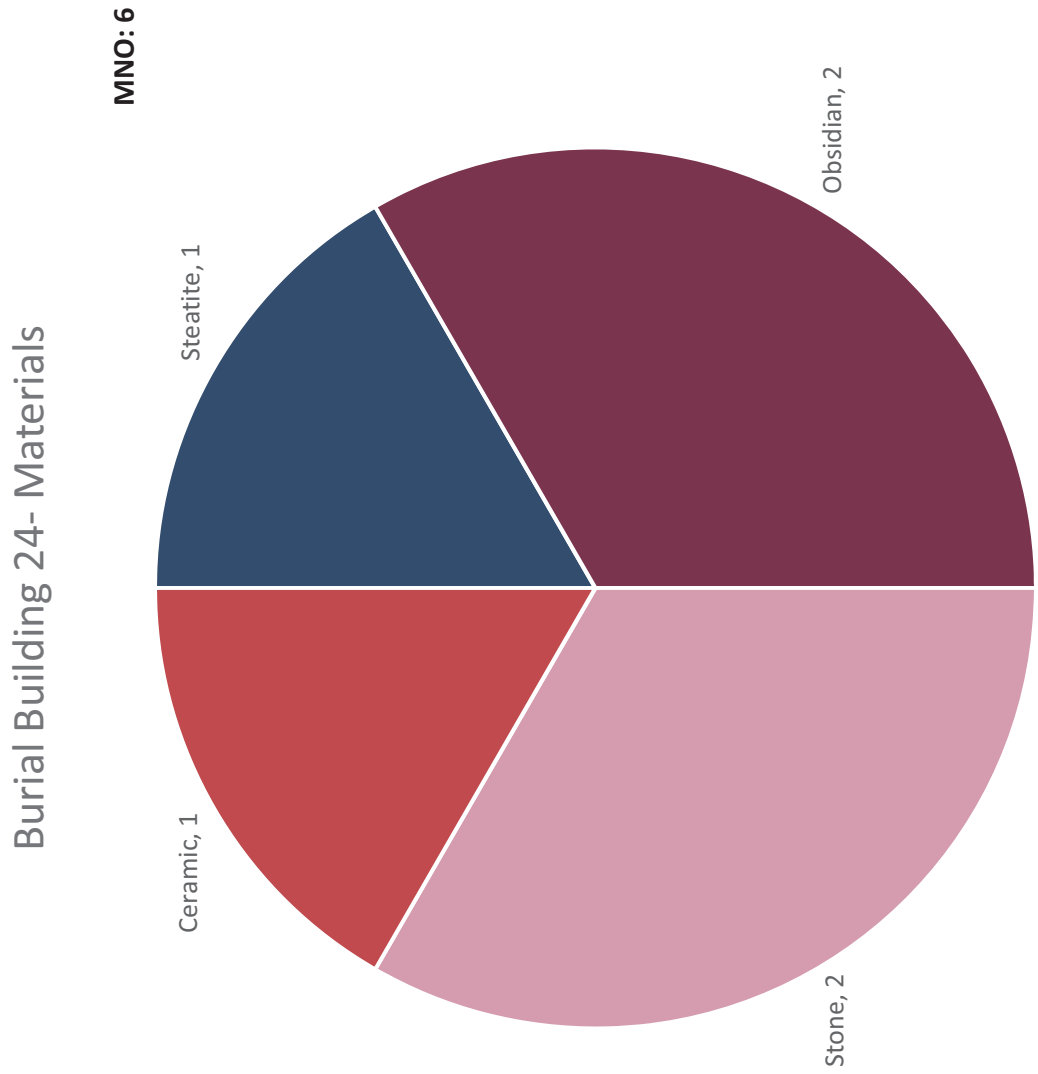


Figure 61: Burial Building 24- Materials

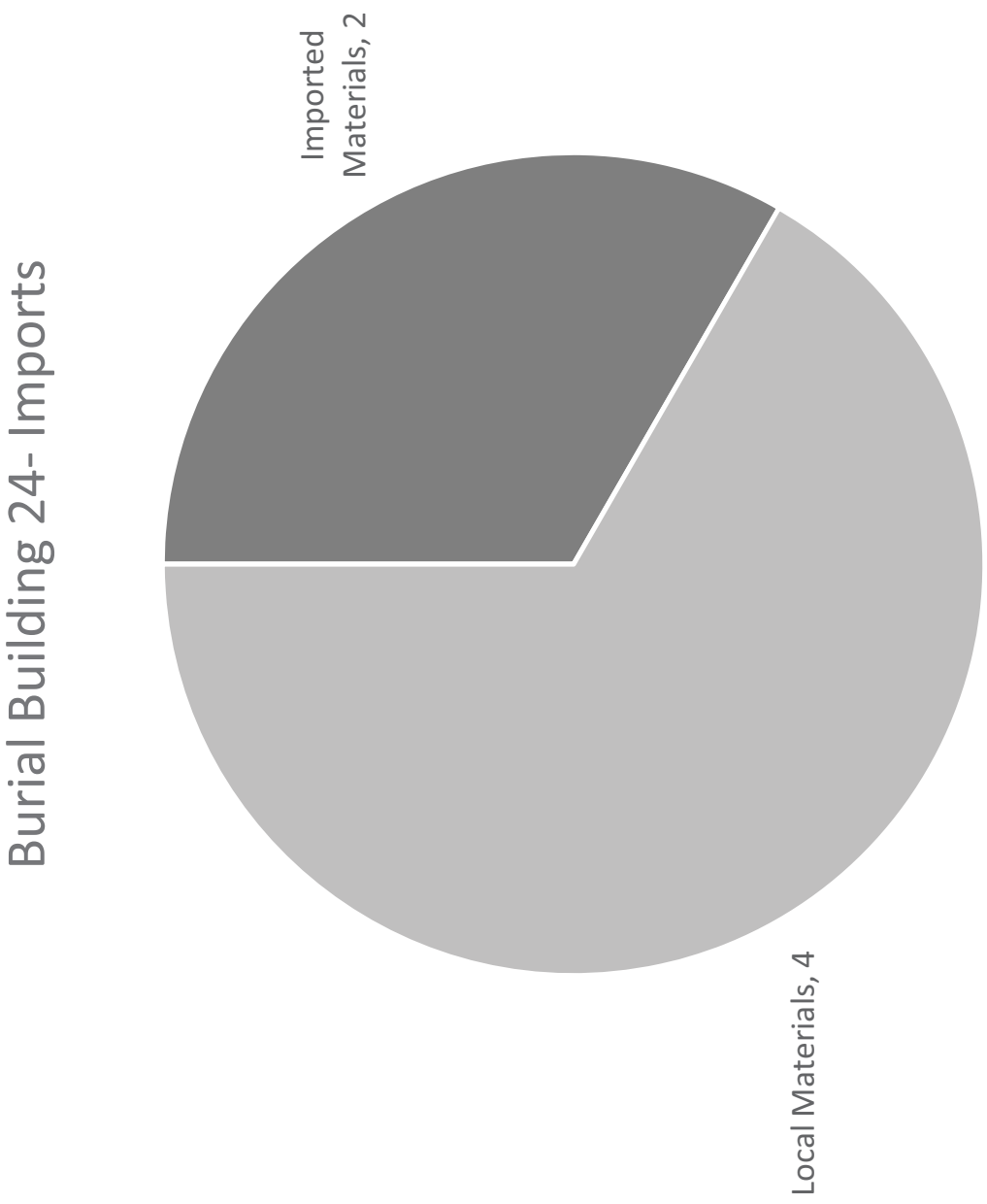


Figure 62: Burial Building 24- Imports

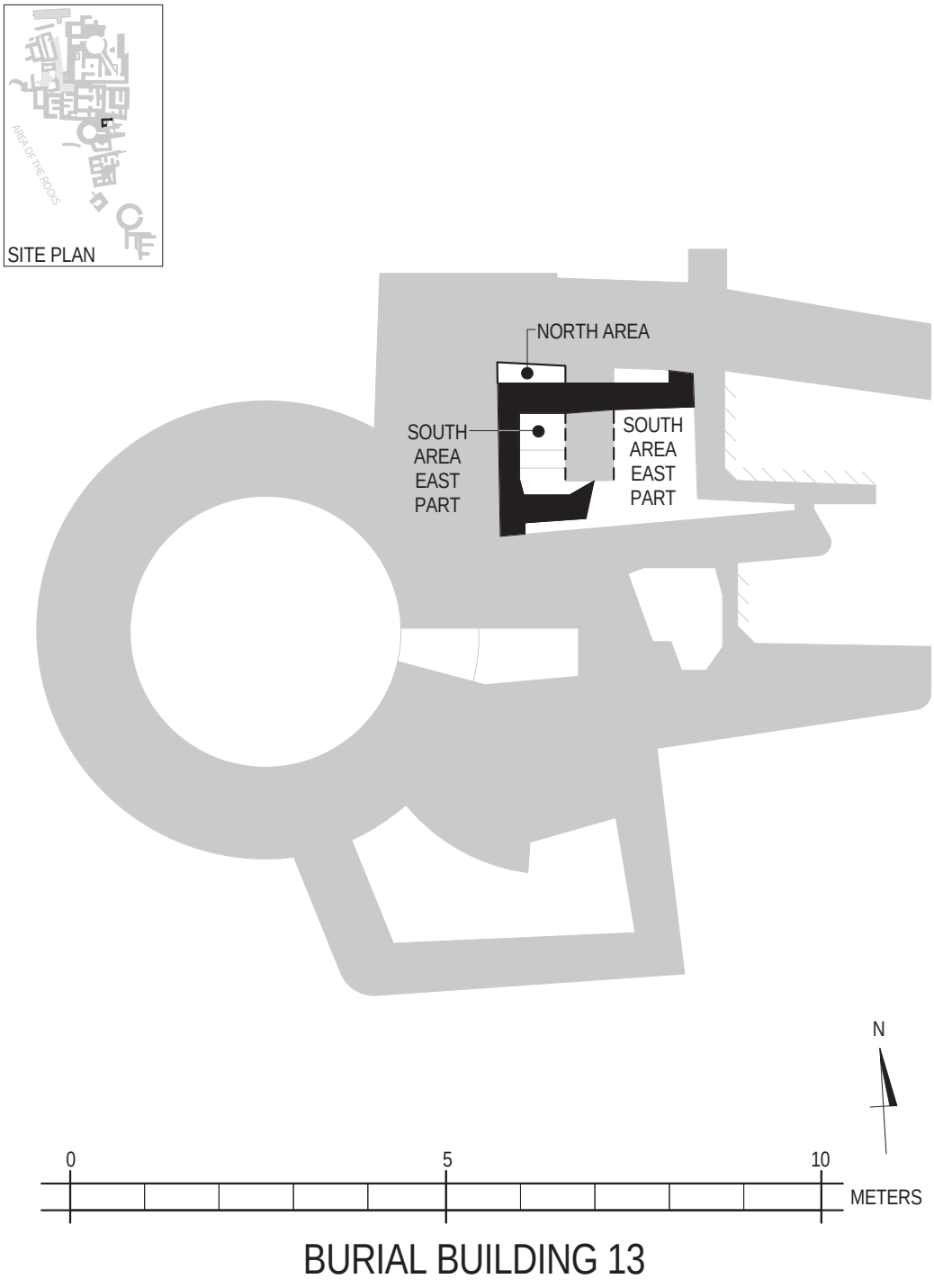


Figure 63: Burial Building 13, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

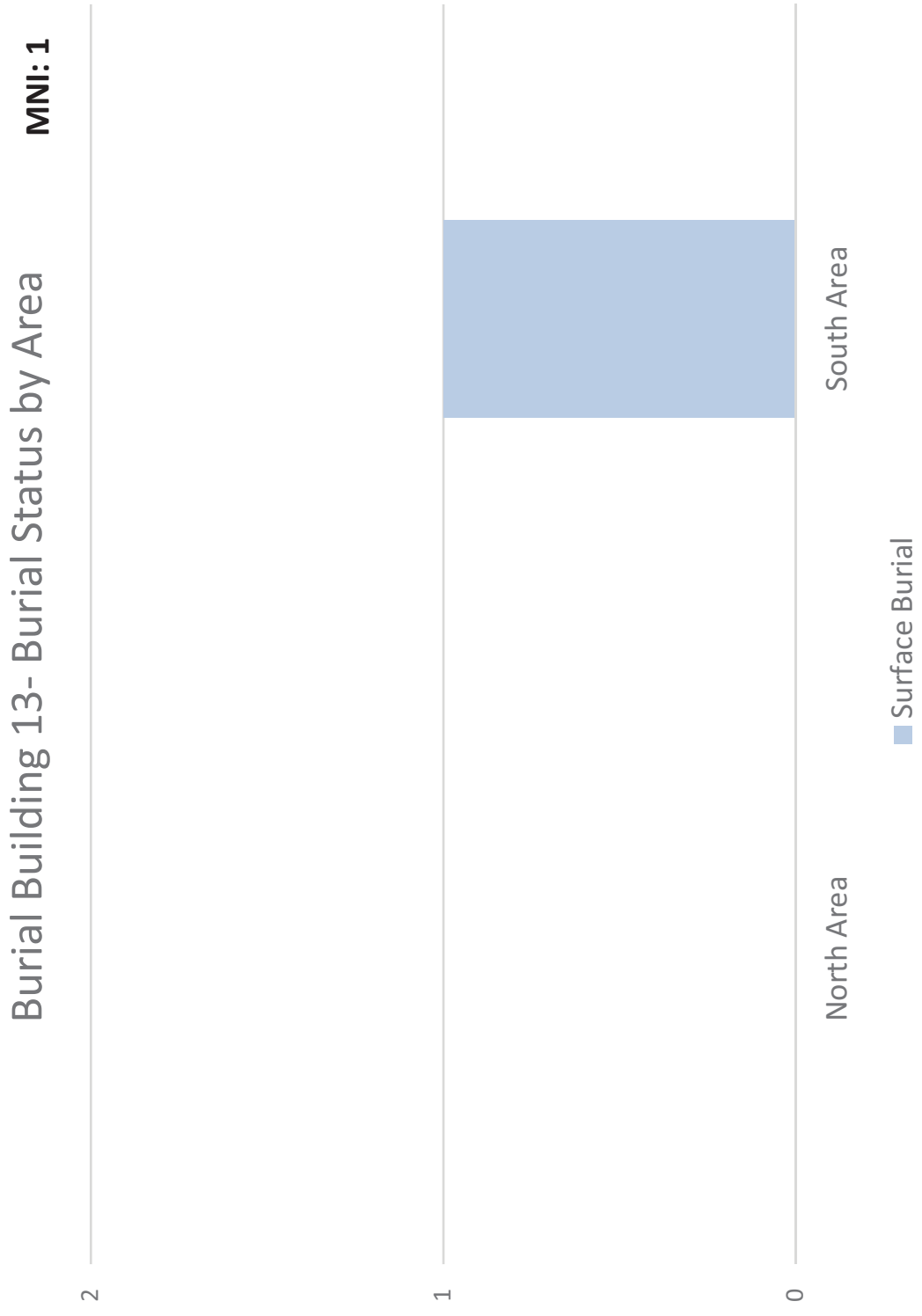


Figure 64: Burial Building 13- Burial Status by Area

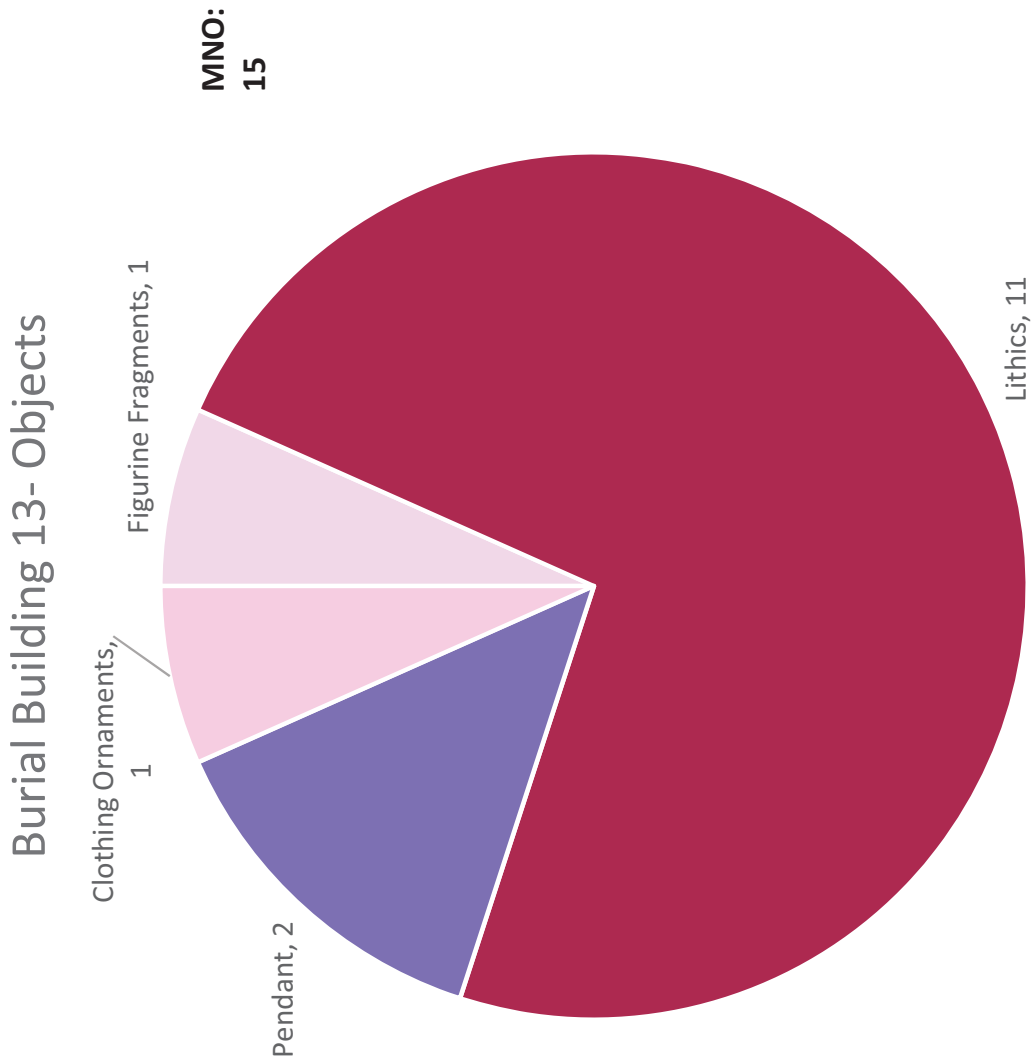


Figure 65: Burial Building 13- Objects

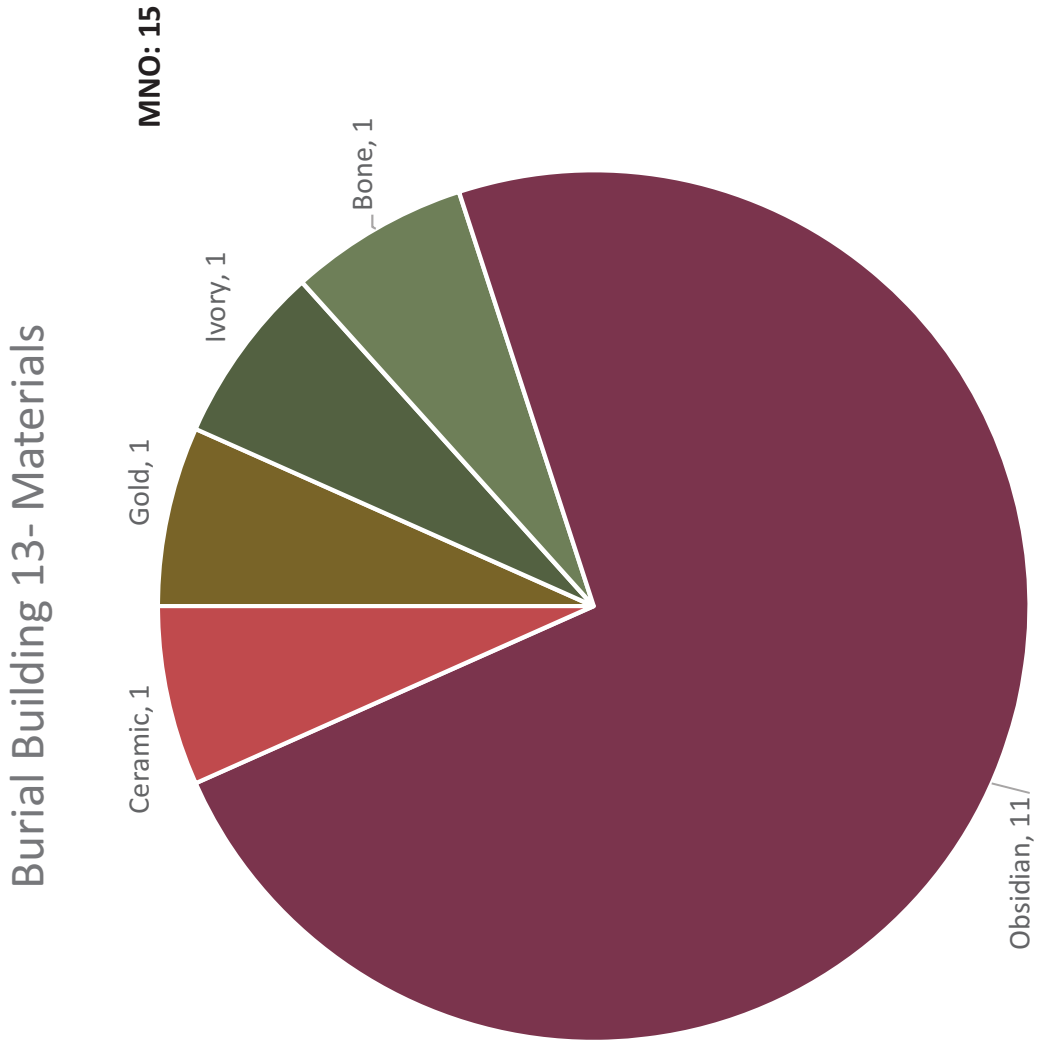


Figure 66: Burial Building 13- Materials

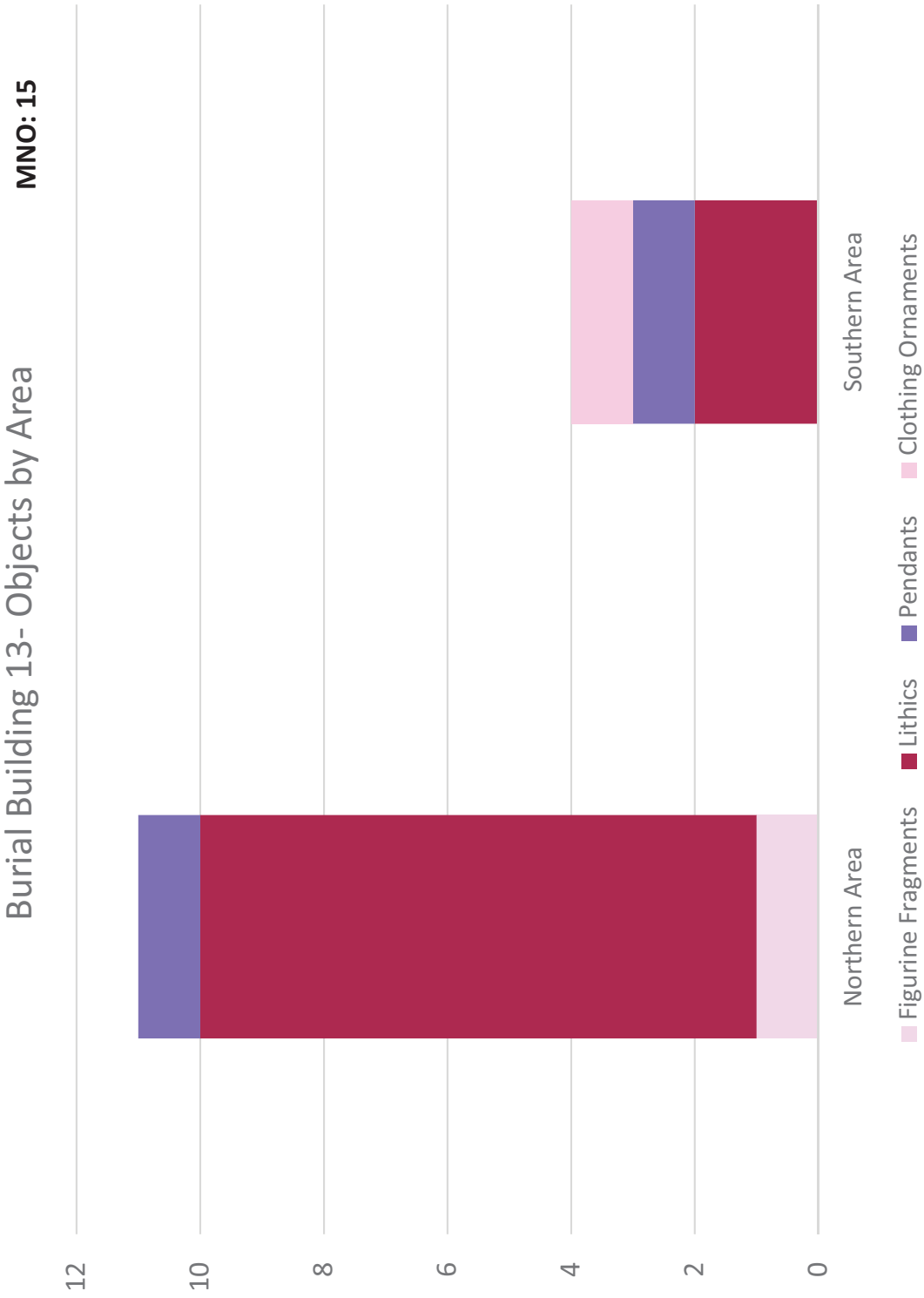


Figure 67: Burial Building 13- Objects by Area

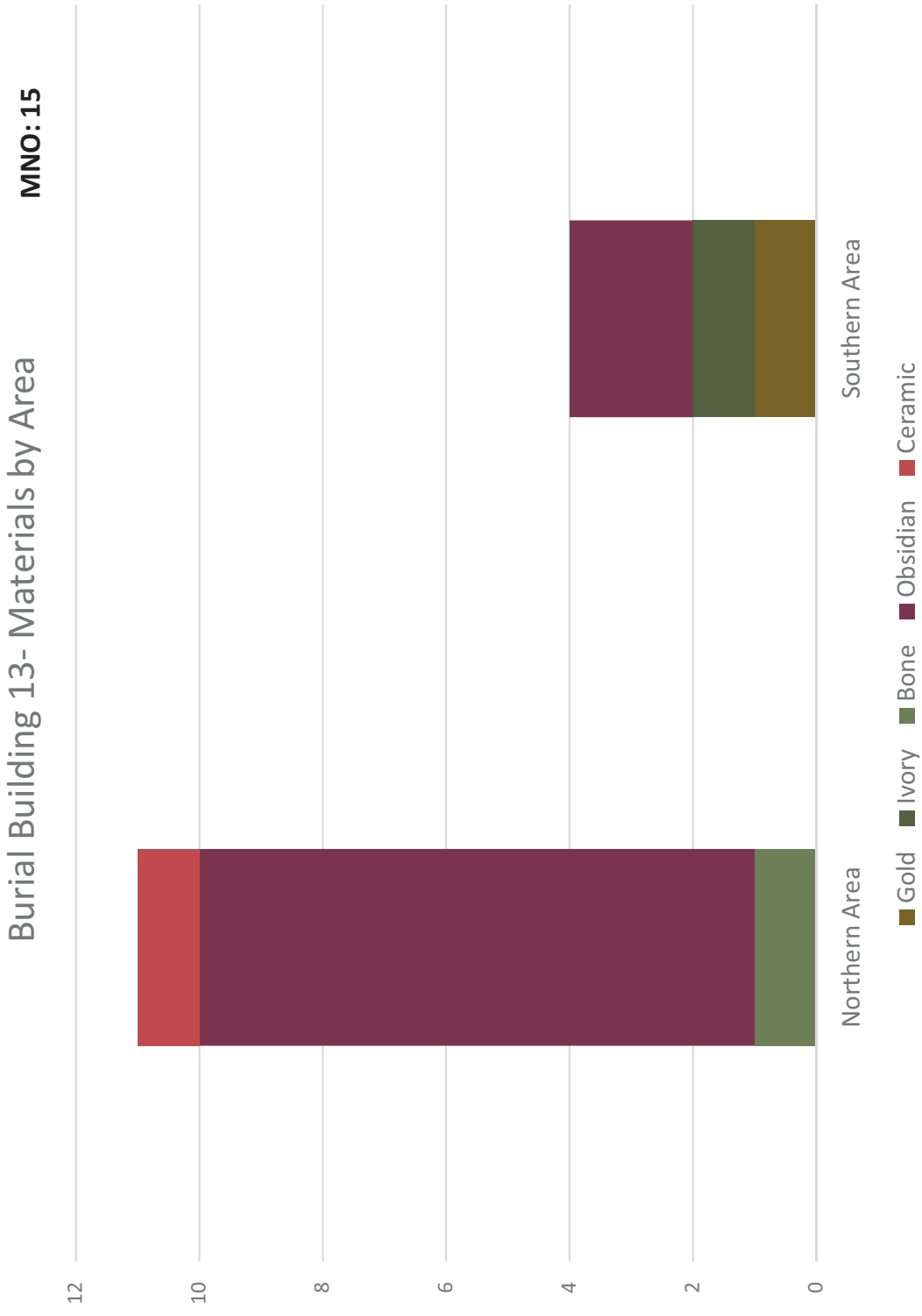


Figure 68: Burial Building 13- Materials by Area

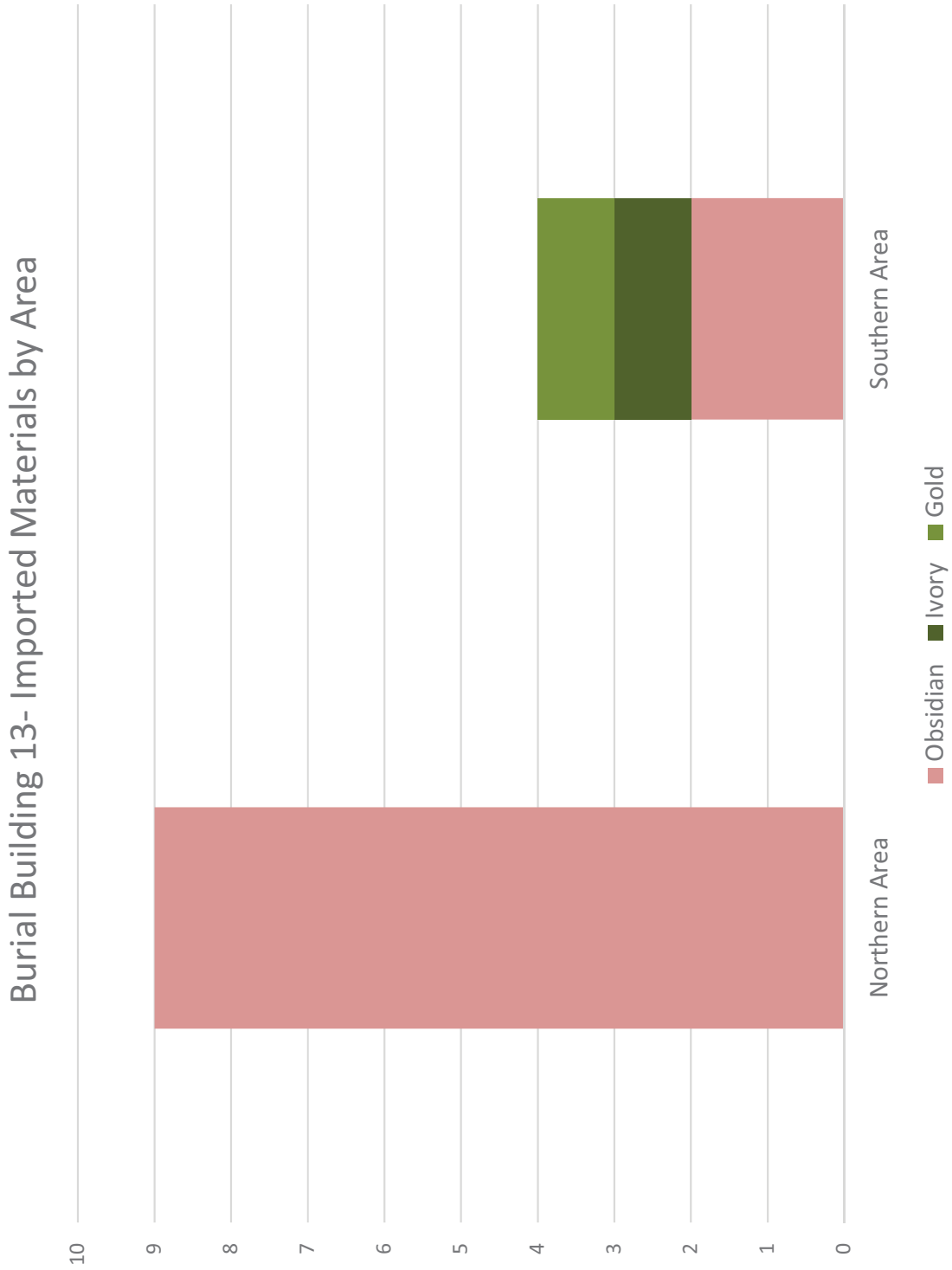


Figure 69: Burial Building 13- Imported Materials by Area

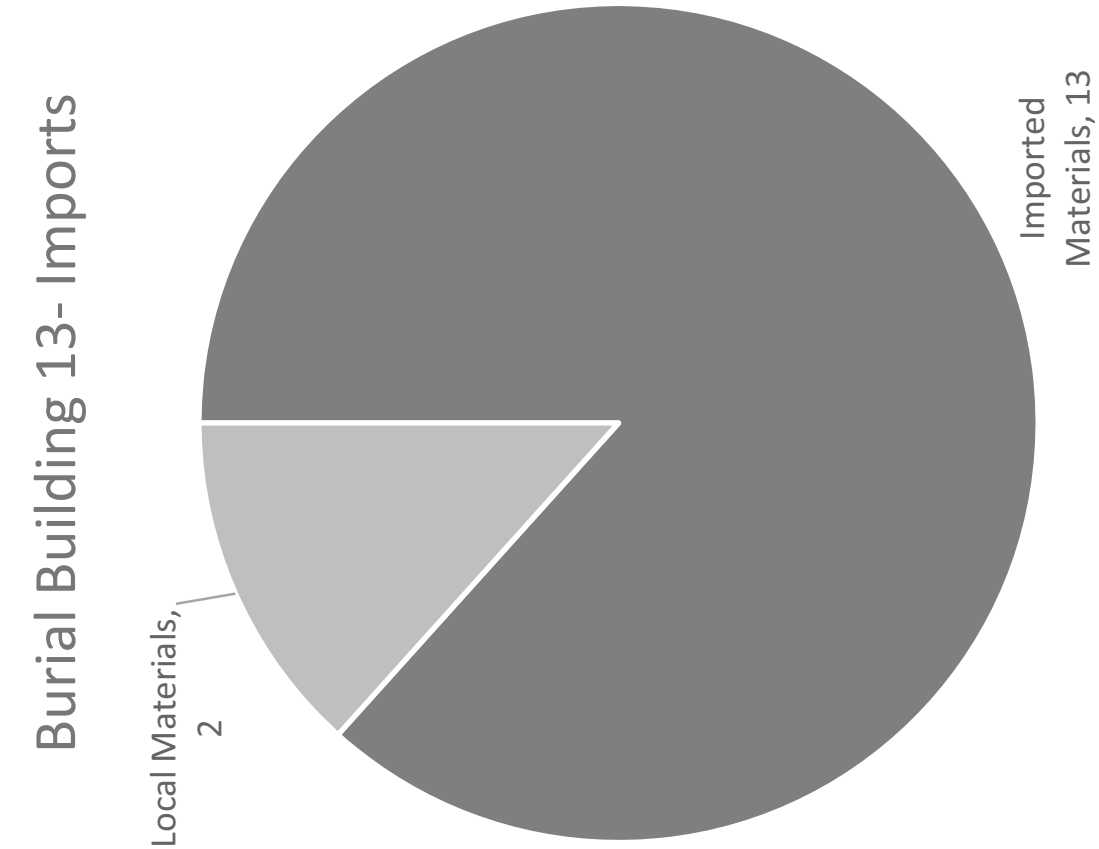


Figure 70: Burial Building 13- Imports

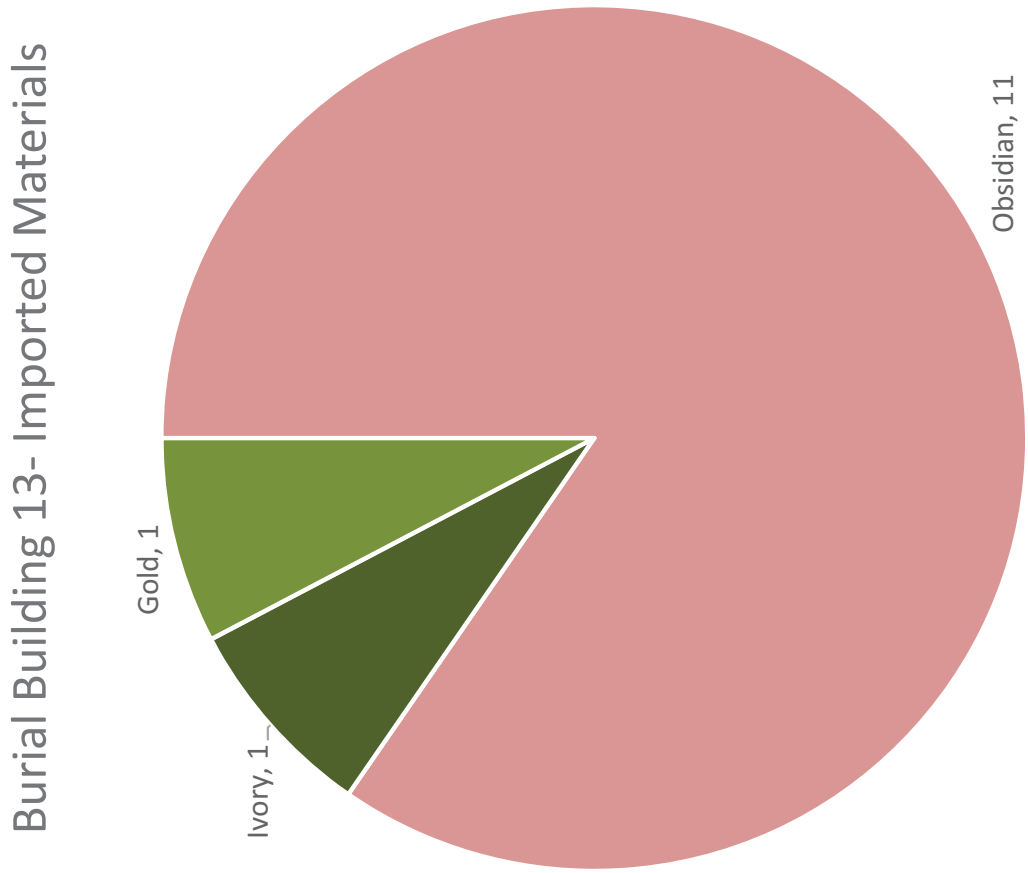


Figure 71: Burial Building 13- Imported Materials

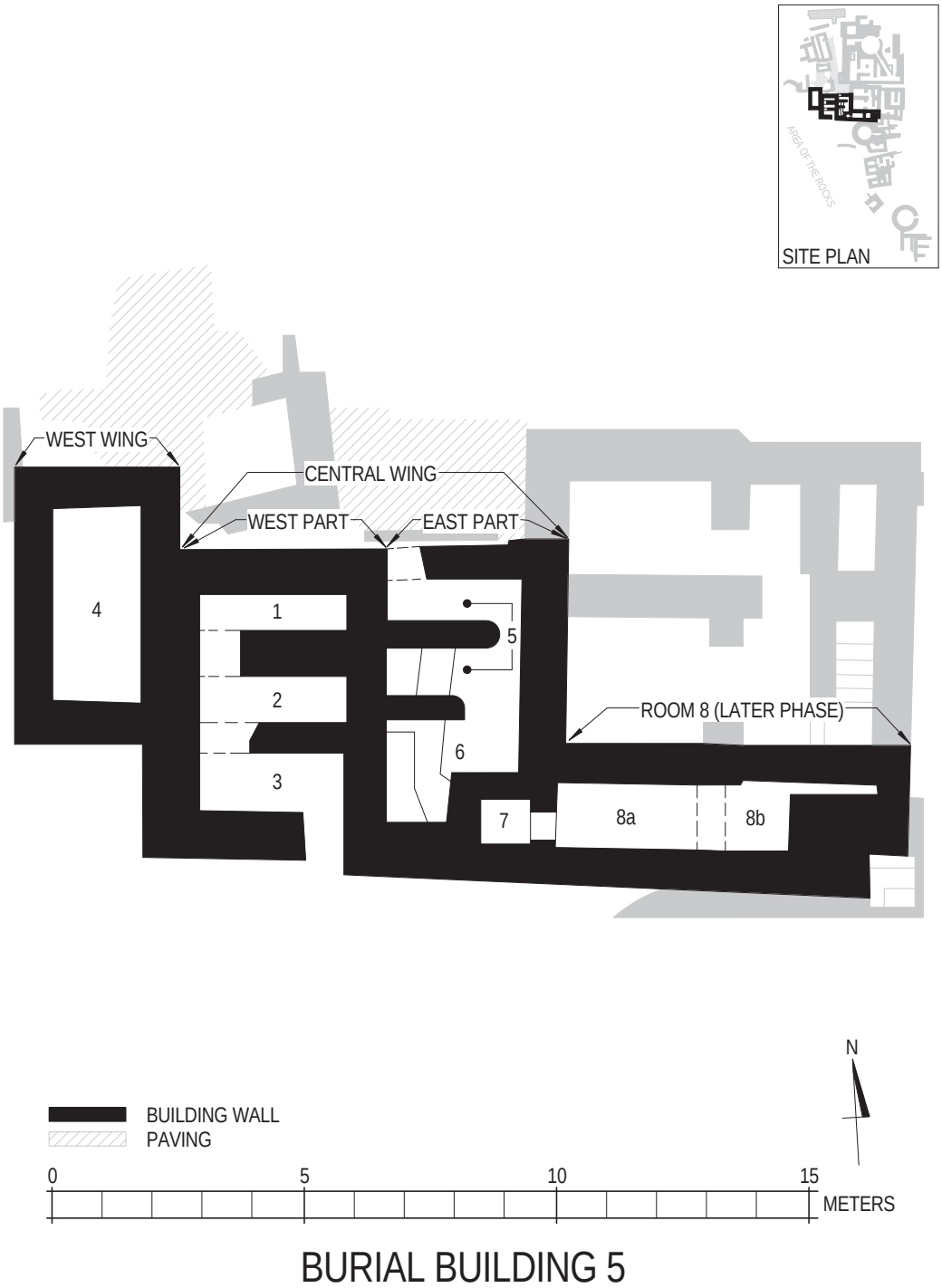


Figure 72: Burial Building 5, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

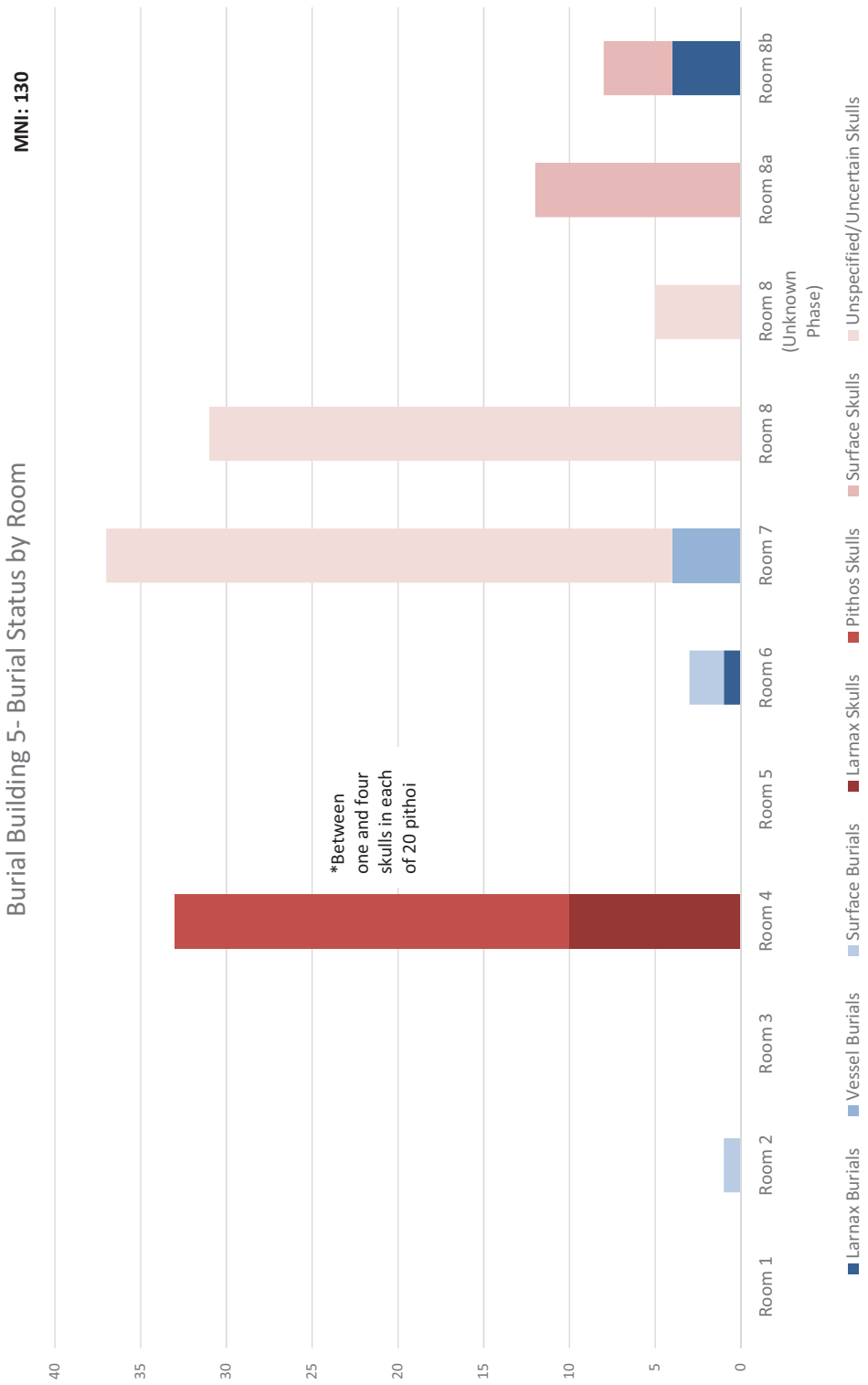


Figure 73: Burial Building 5- Burial Status by Room

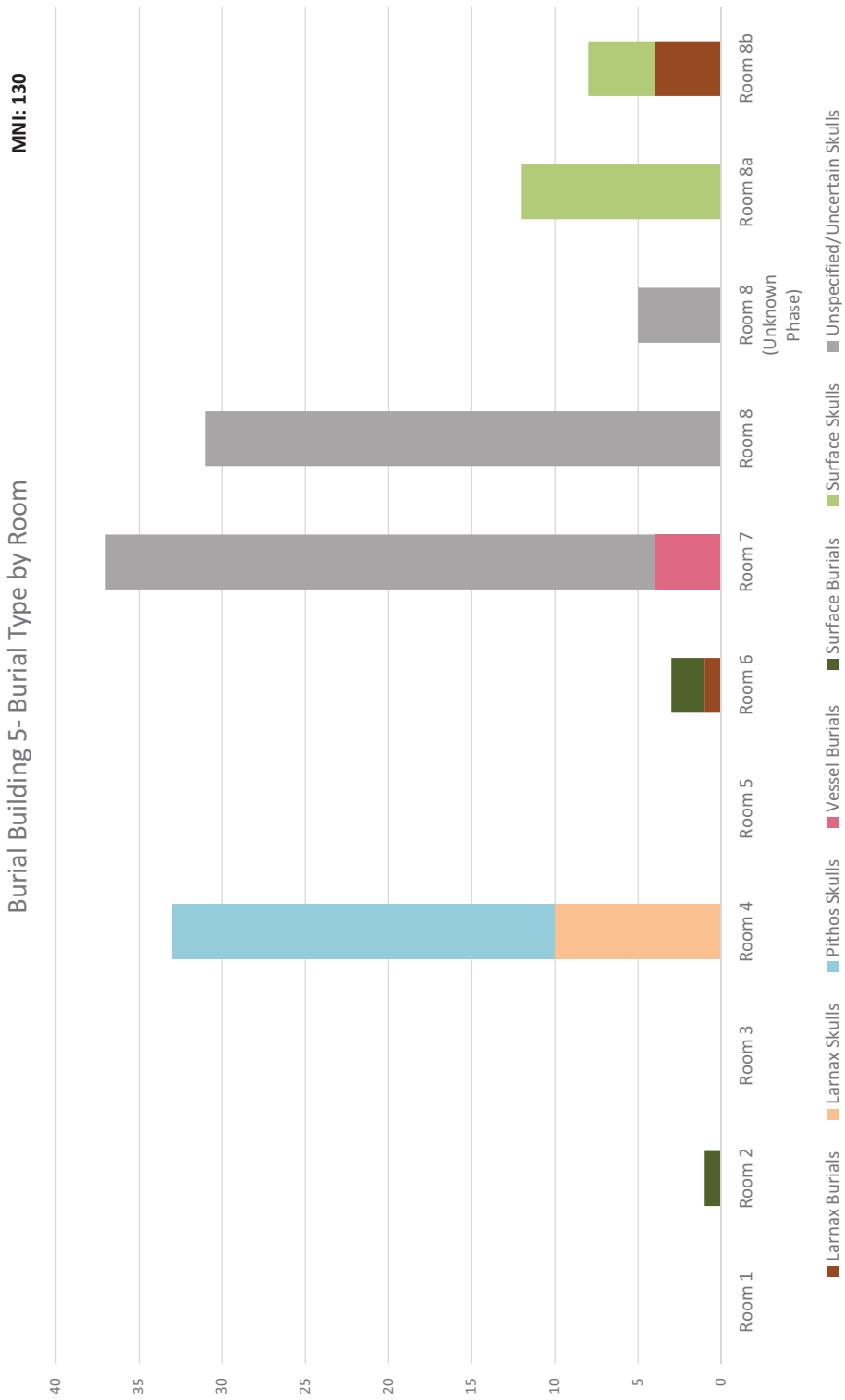


Figure 74: Burial Building 5- Burial Type by Room

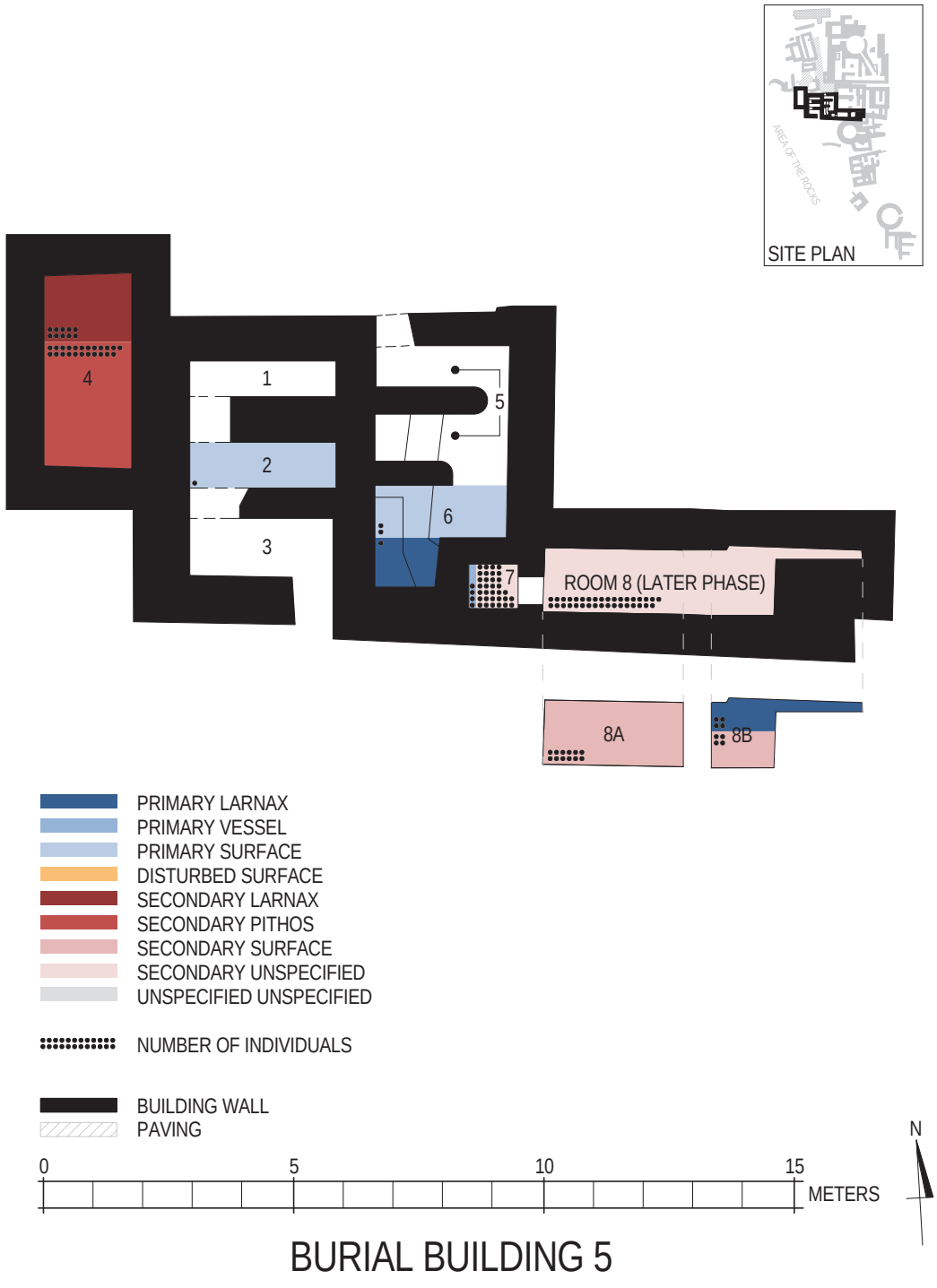


Figure 75: Burial Building 5- Spatial Distribution of Burial Status

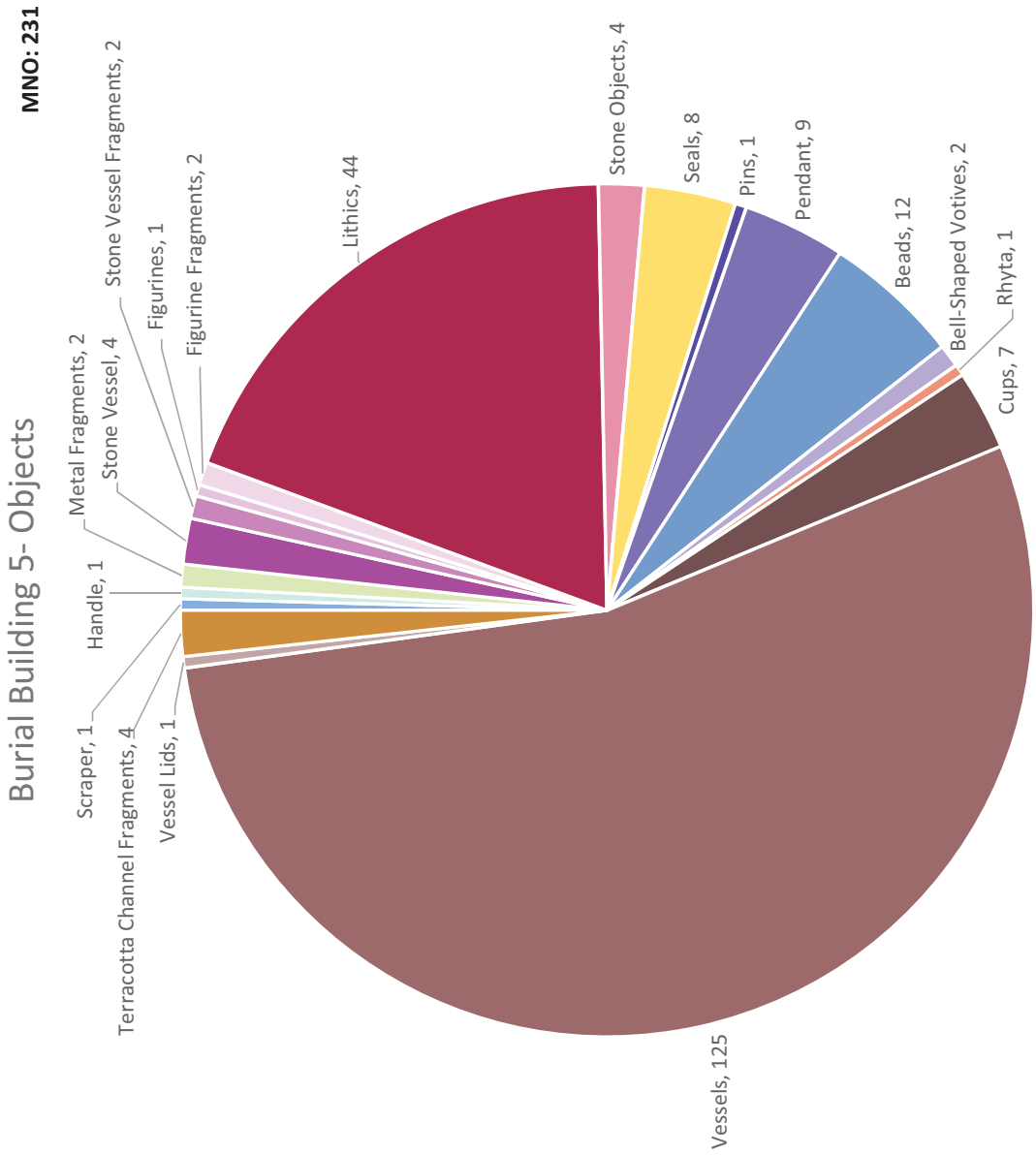


Figure 76: Burial Building 5- Objects

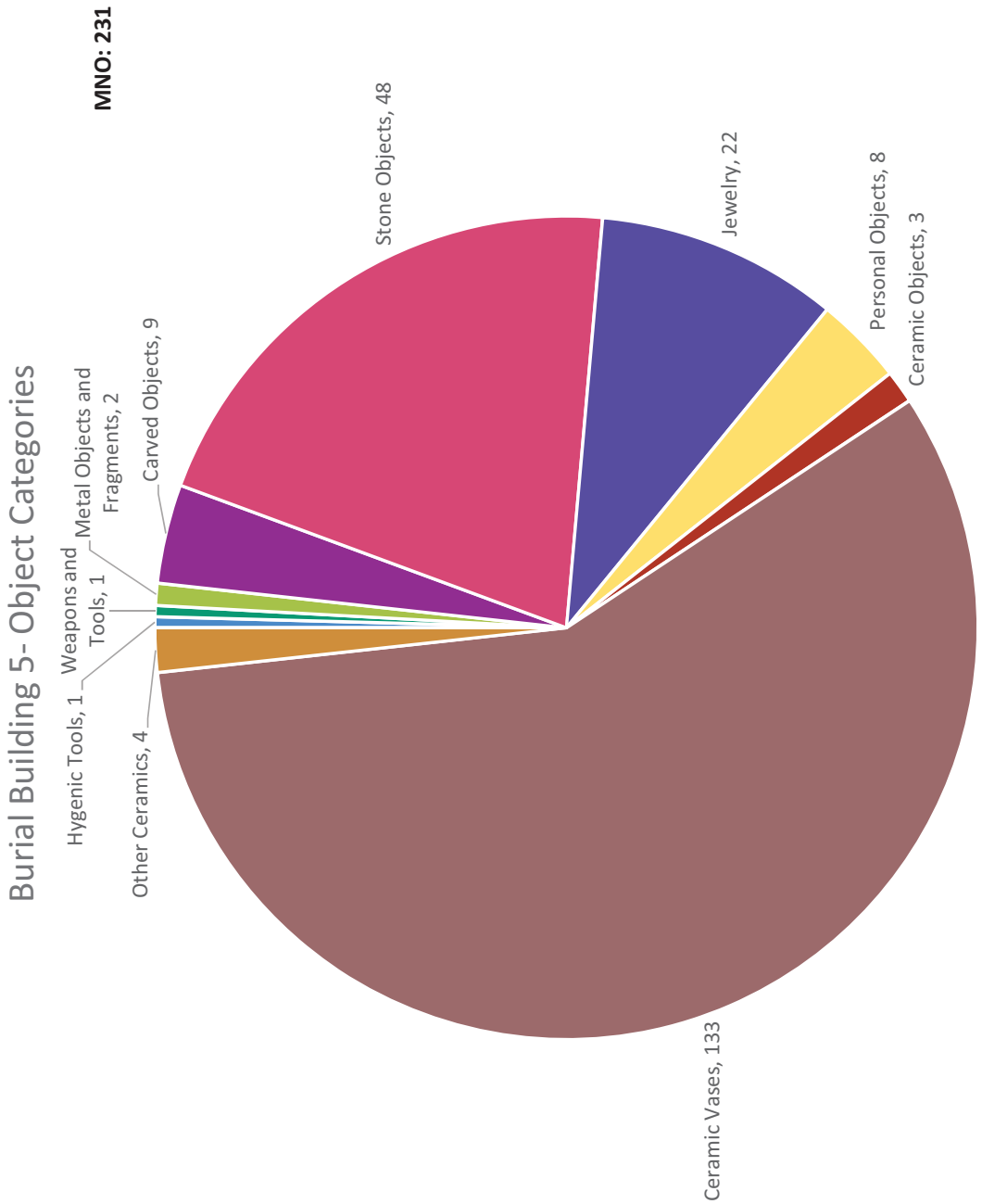


Figure 77: Burial Building 5- Object Categories

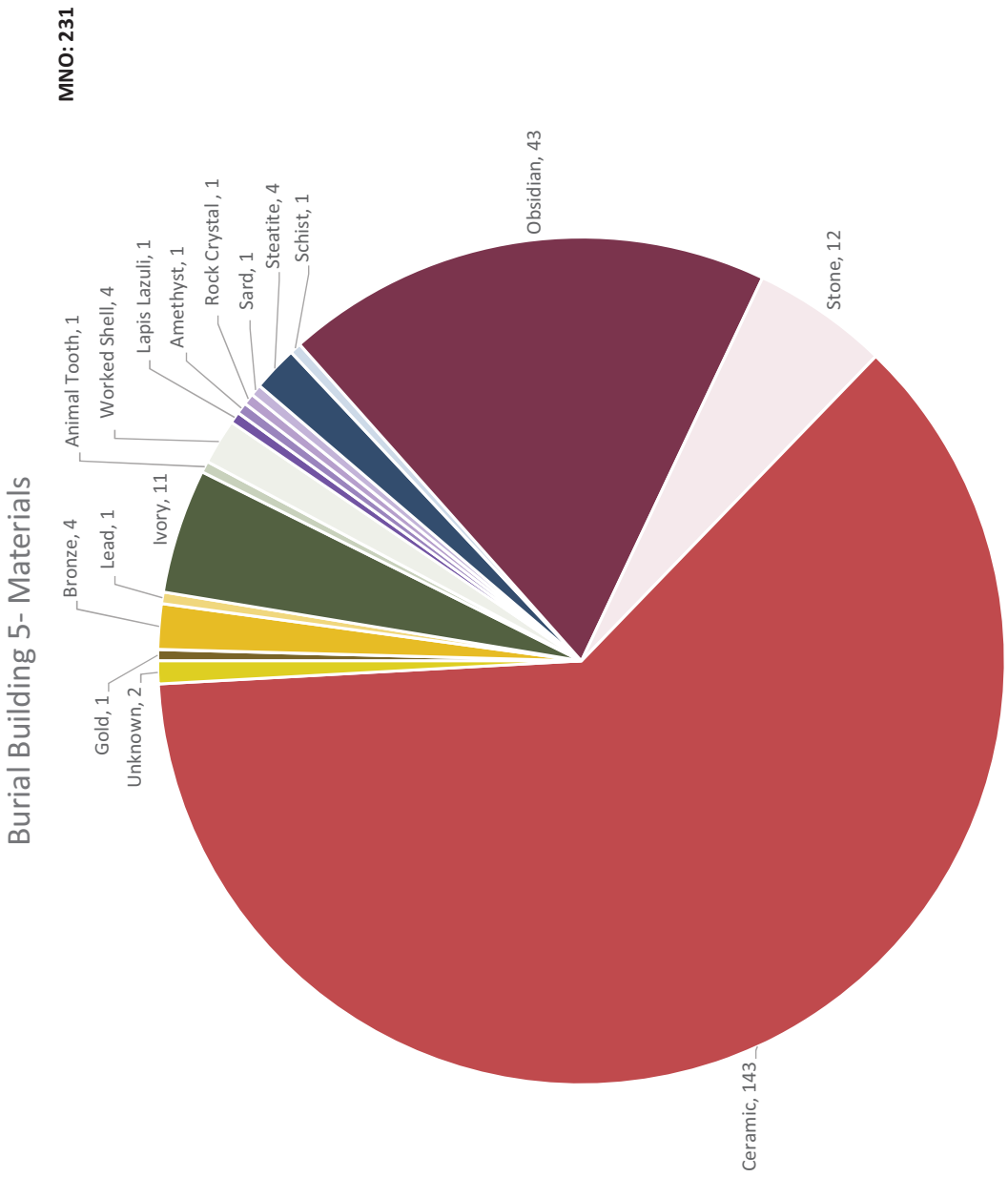


Figure 78: Burial Building 5- Materials

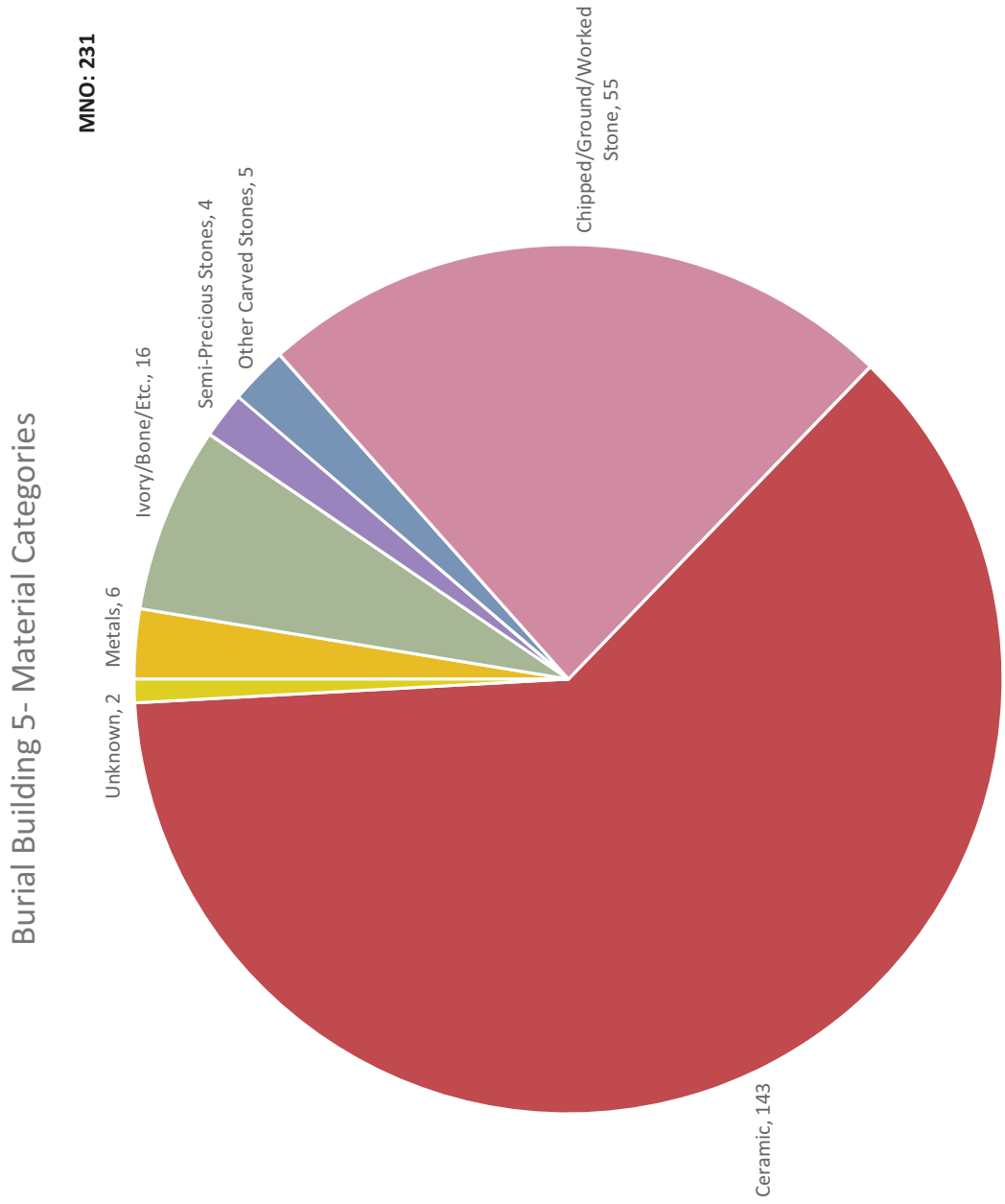


Figure 79: Burial Building 5- Material Categories

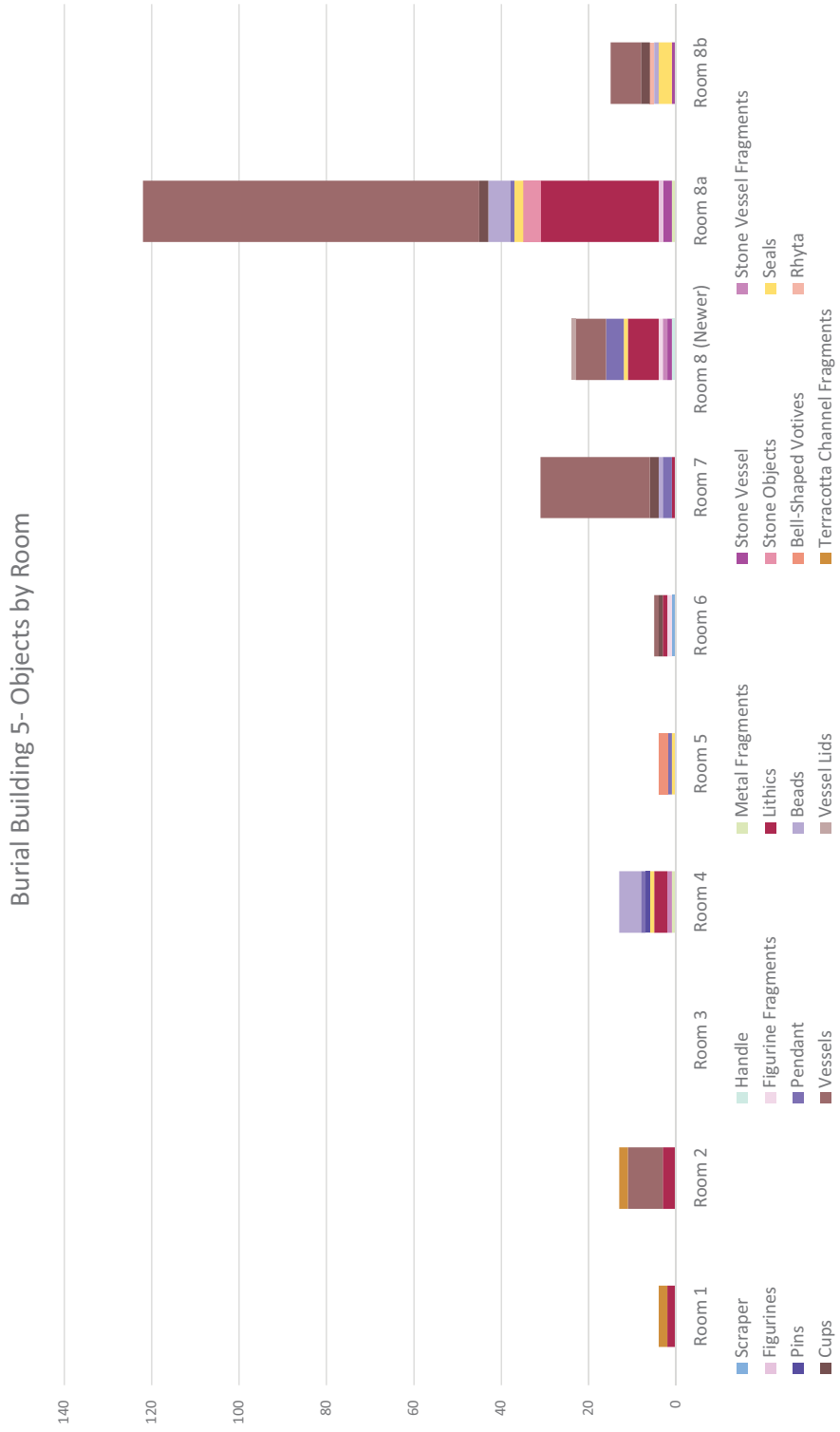


Figure 80: Burial Building 5- Objects by Room

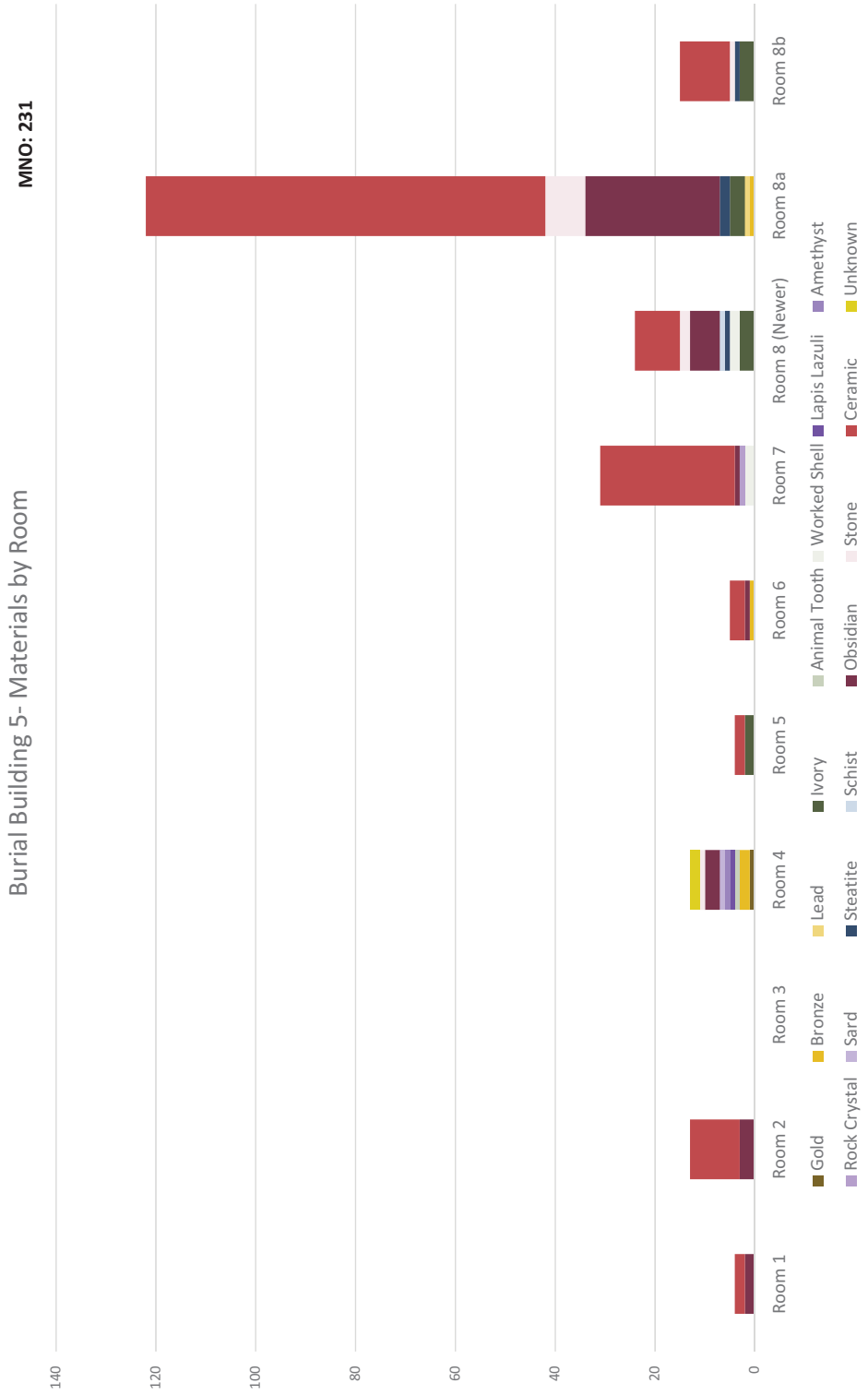


Figure 81: Burial Building 5- Materials by Room

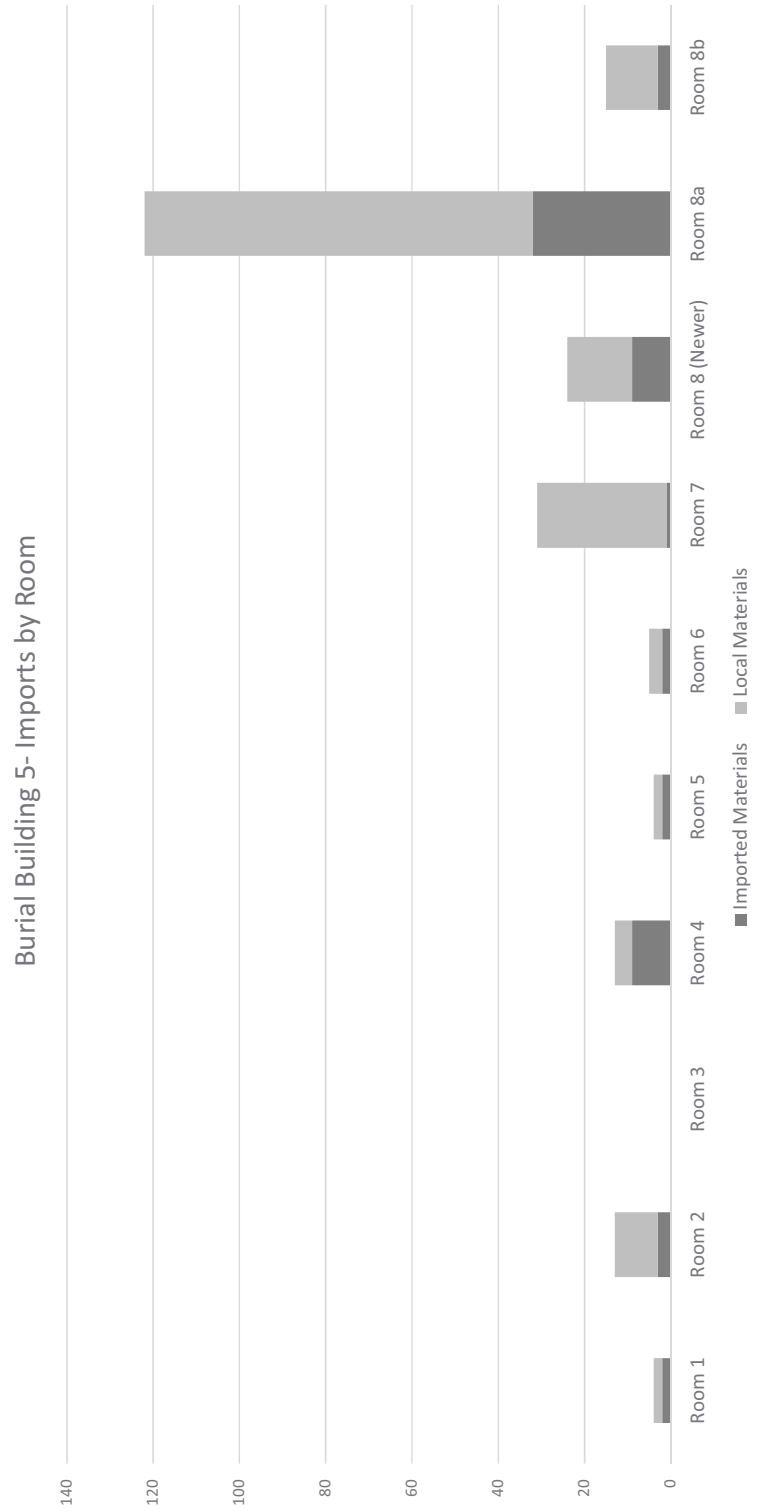


Figure 82: Burial Building 5- Imports by Room

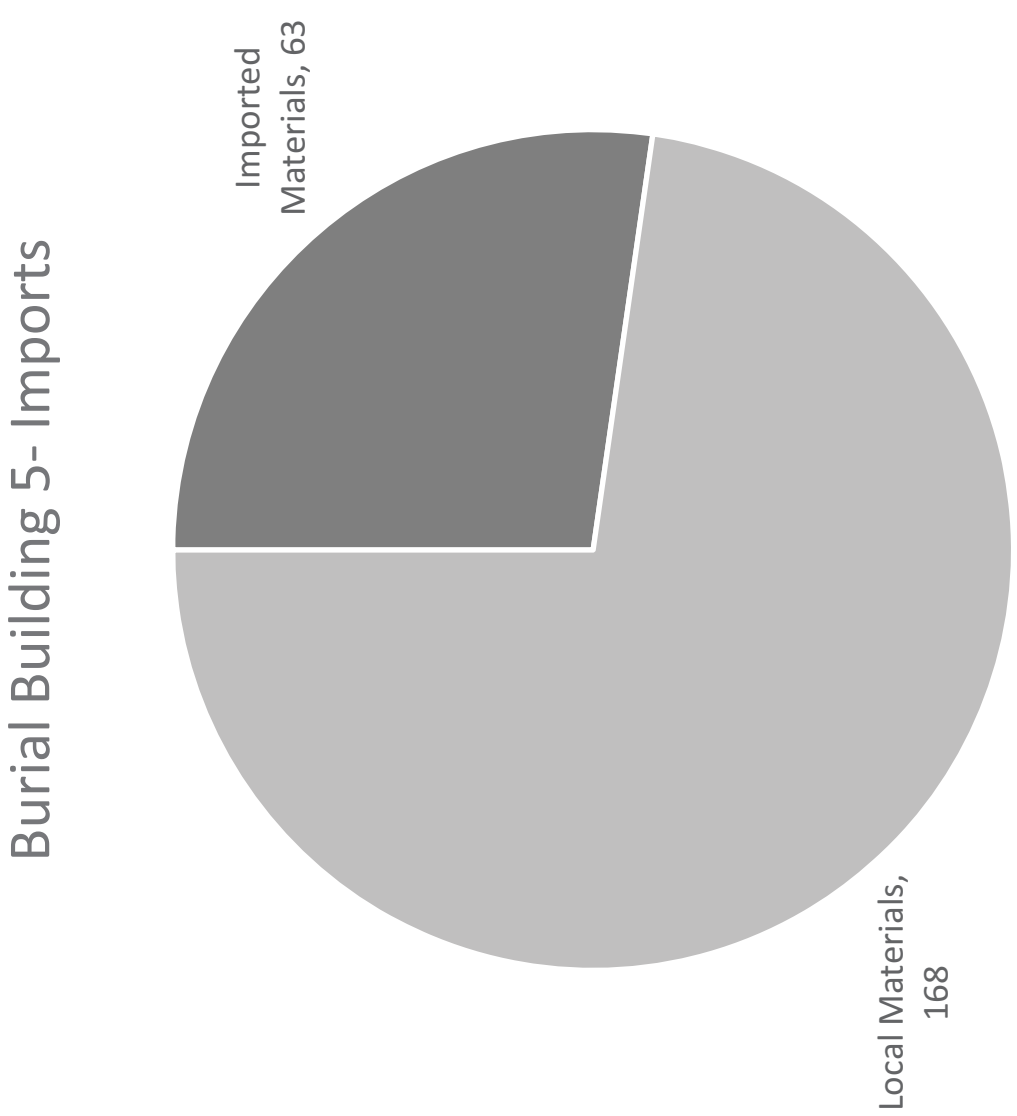


Figure 83: Burial Building 5- Imports

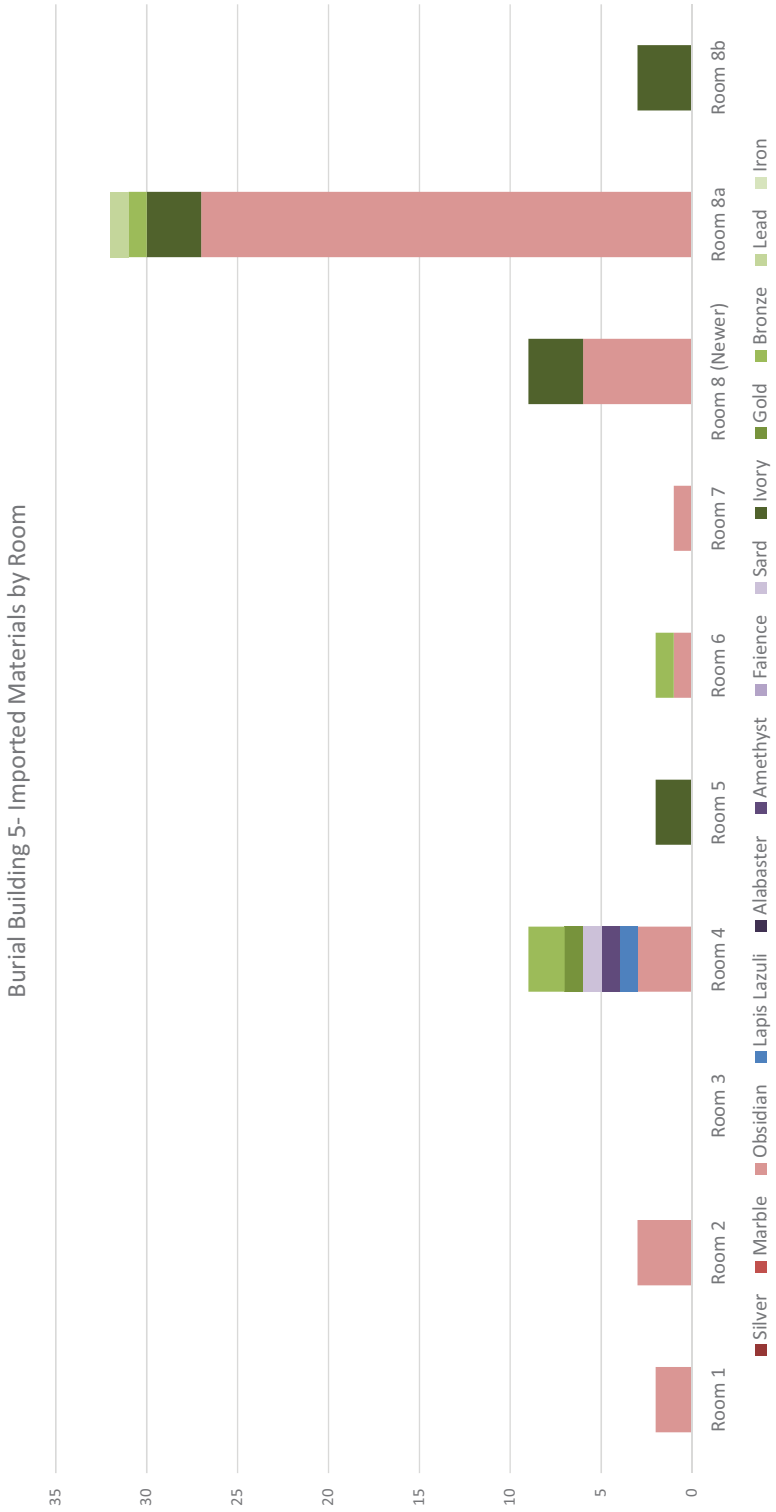


Figure 84: Burial Building 5- Imported Materials by Room

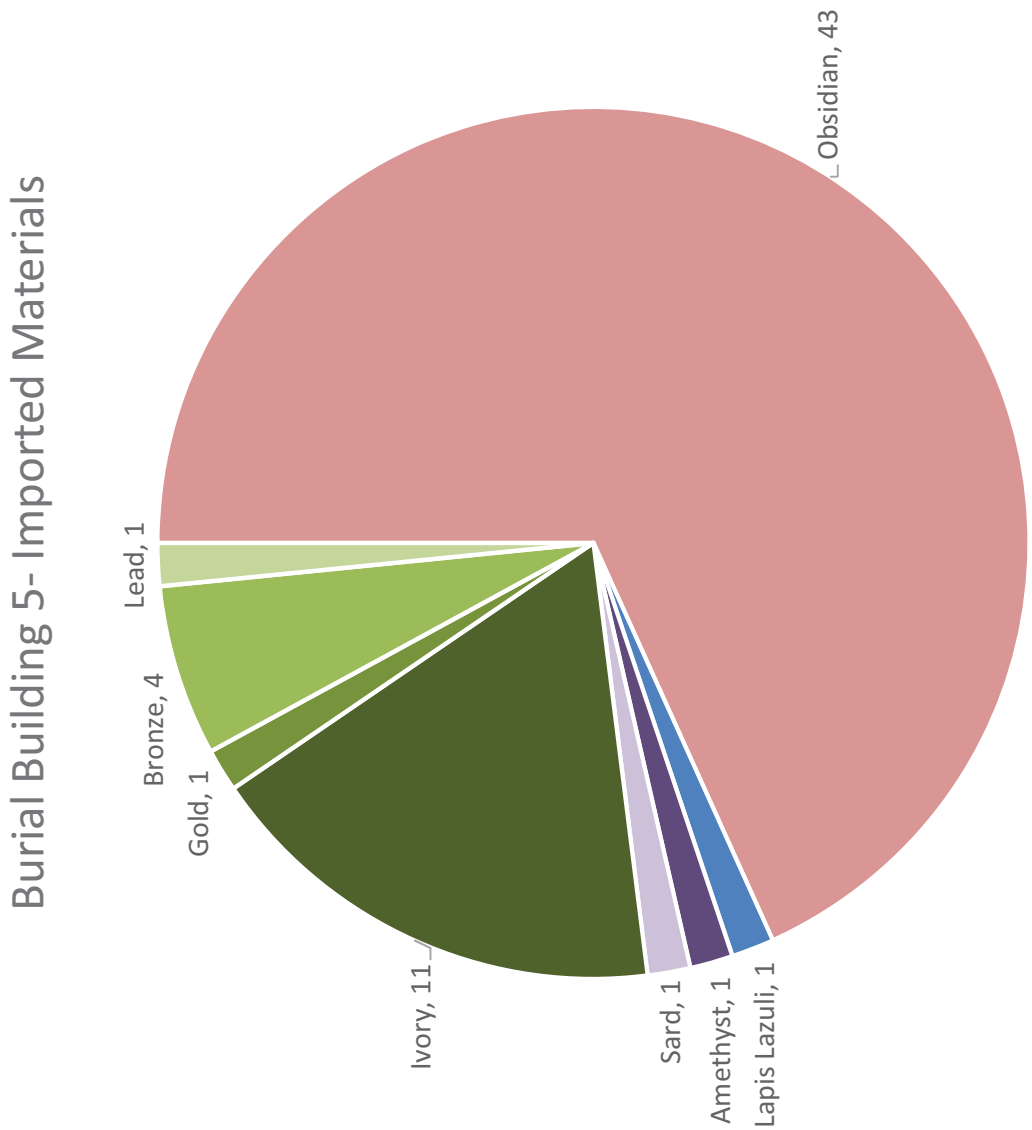


Figure 85: Burial Building 5- Imported Materials

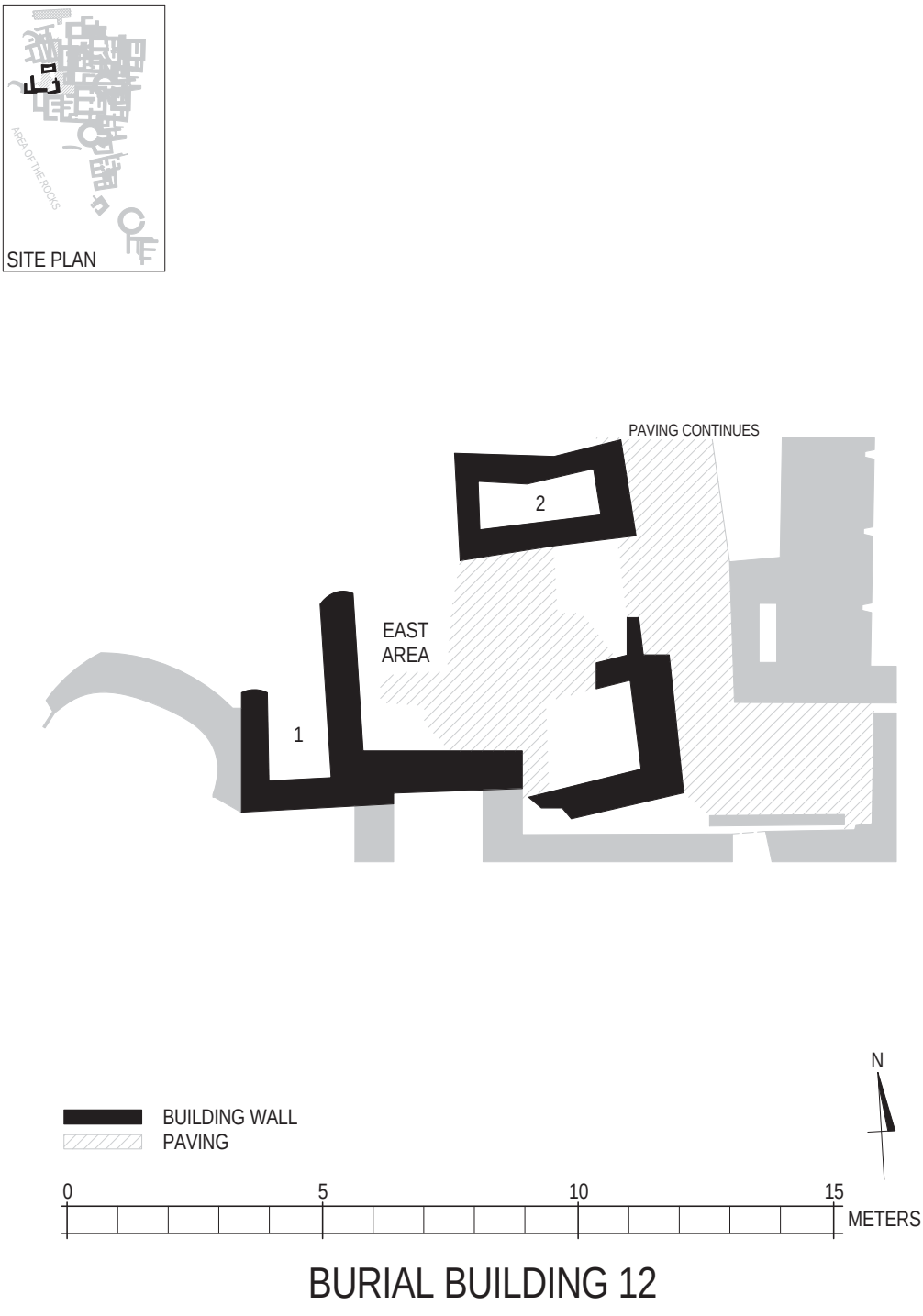


Figure 86: Burial Building 12, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

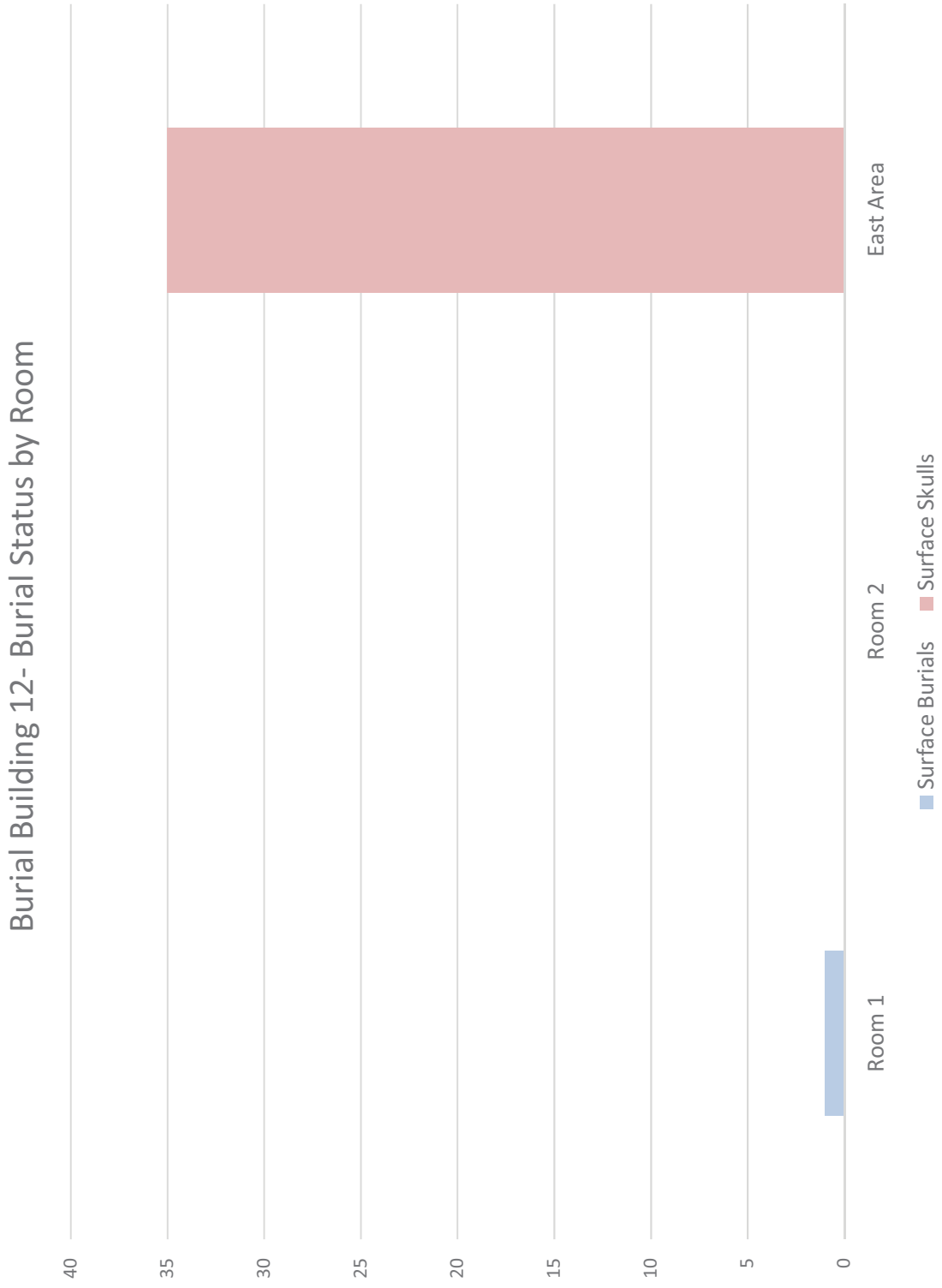


Figure 87: Burial Building 12- Burial Status by Room

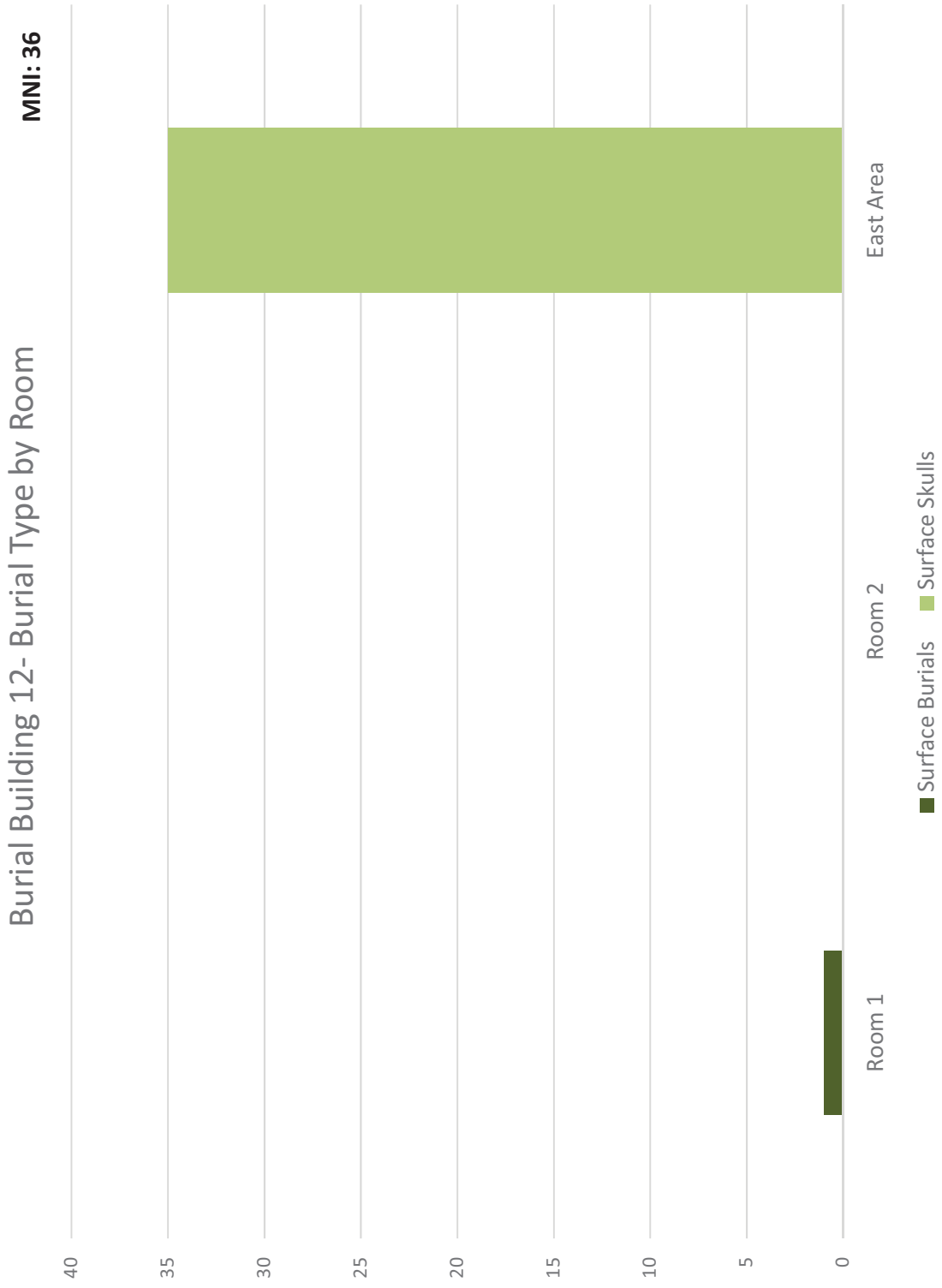


Figure 88: Burial Building 12- Burial Type by Room

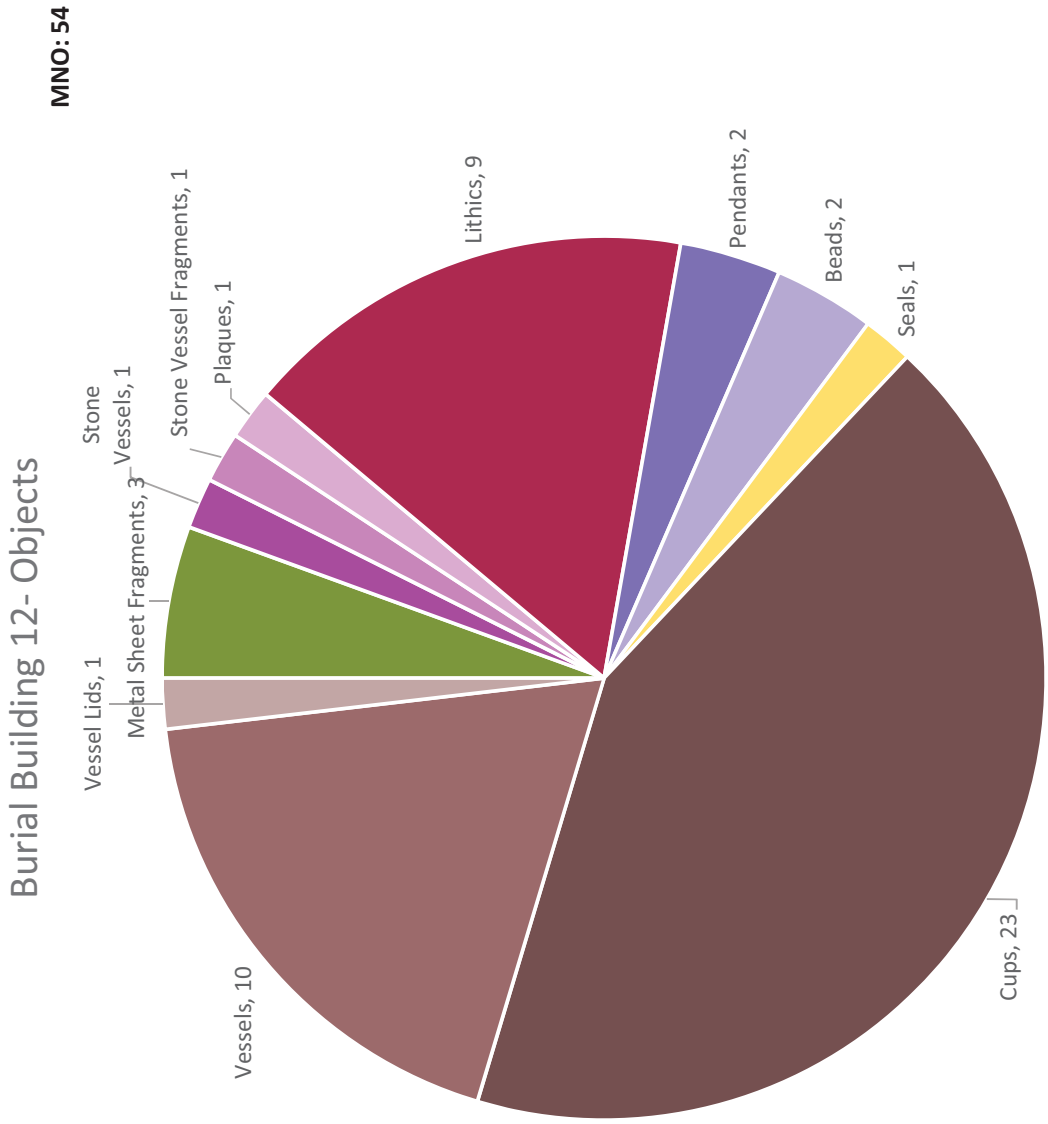


Figure 89: Burial Building 12- Objects

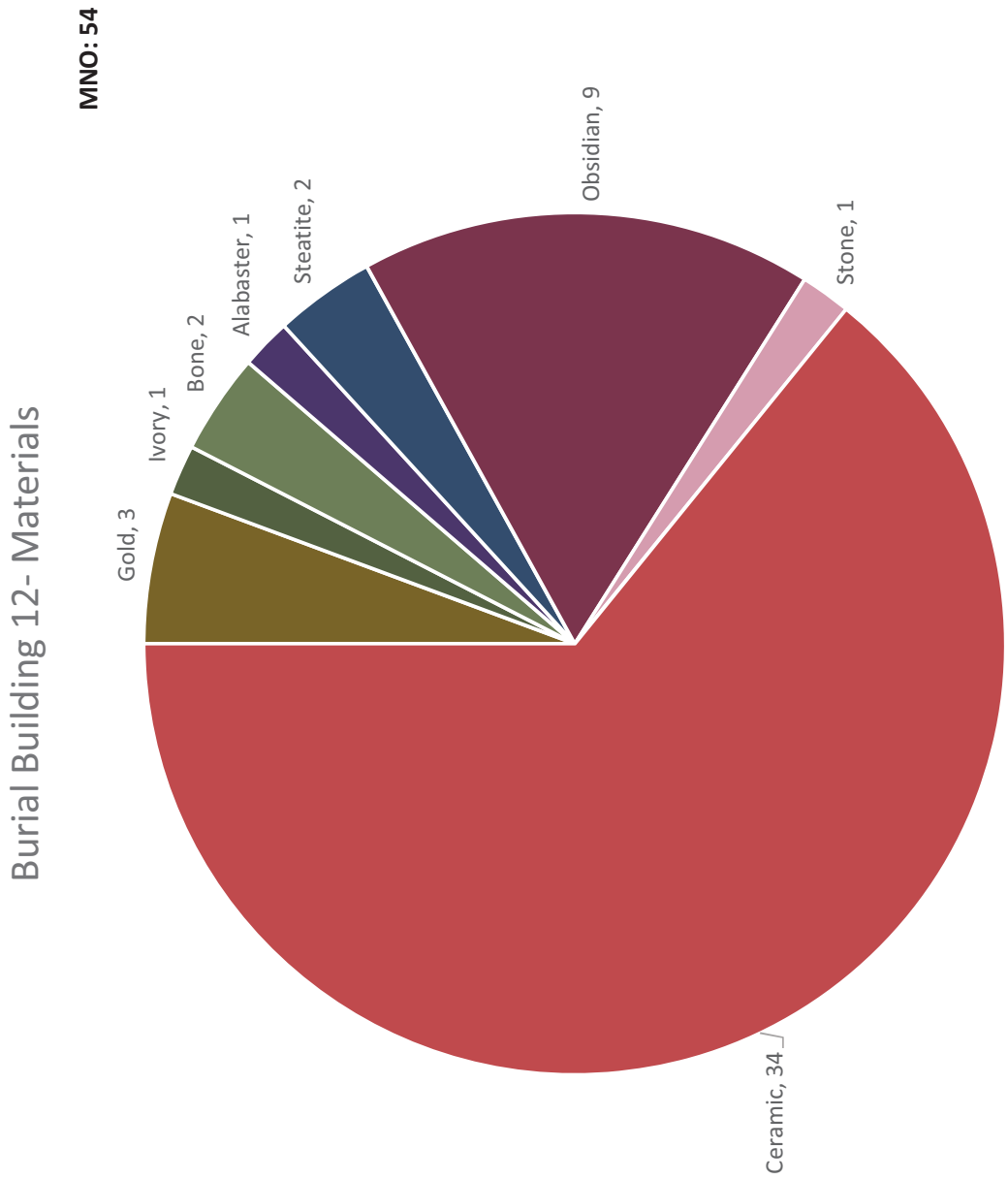


Figure 90: Burial Building 12- Materials

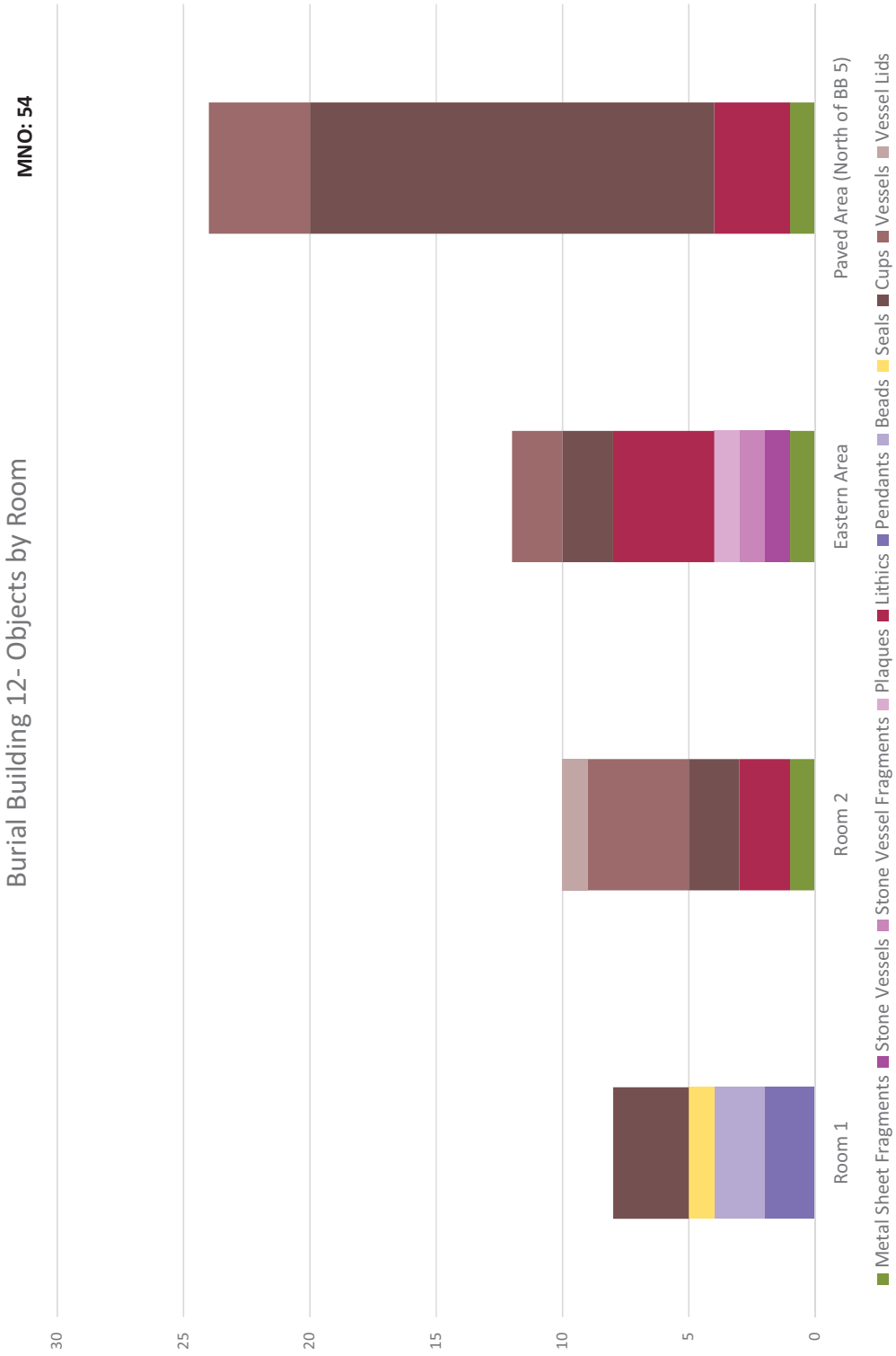


Figure 91: Burial Building 12- Objects by Room

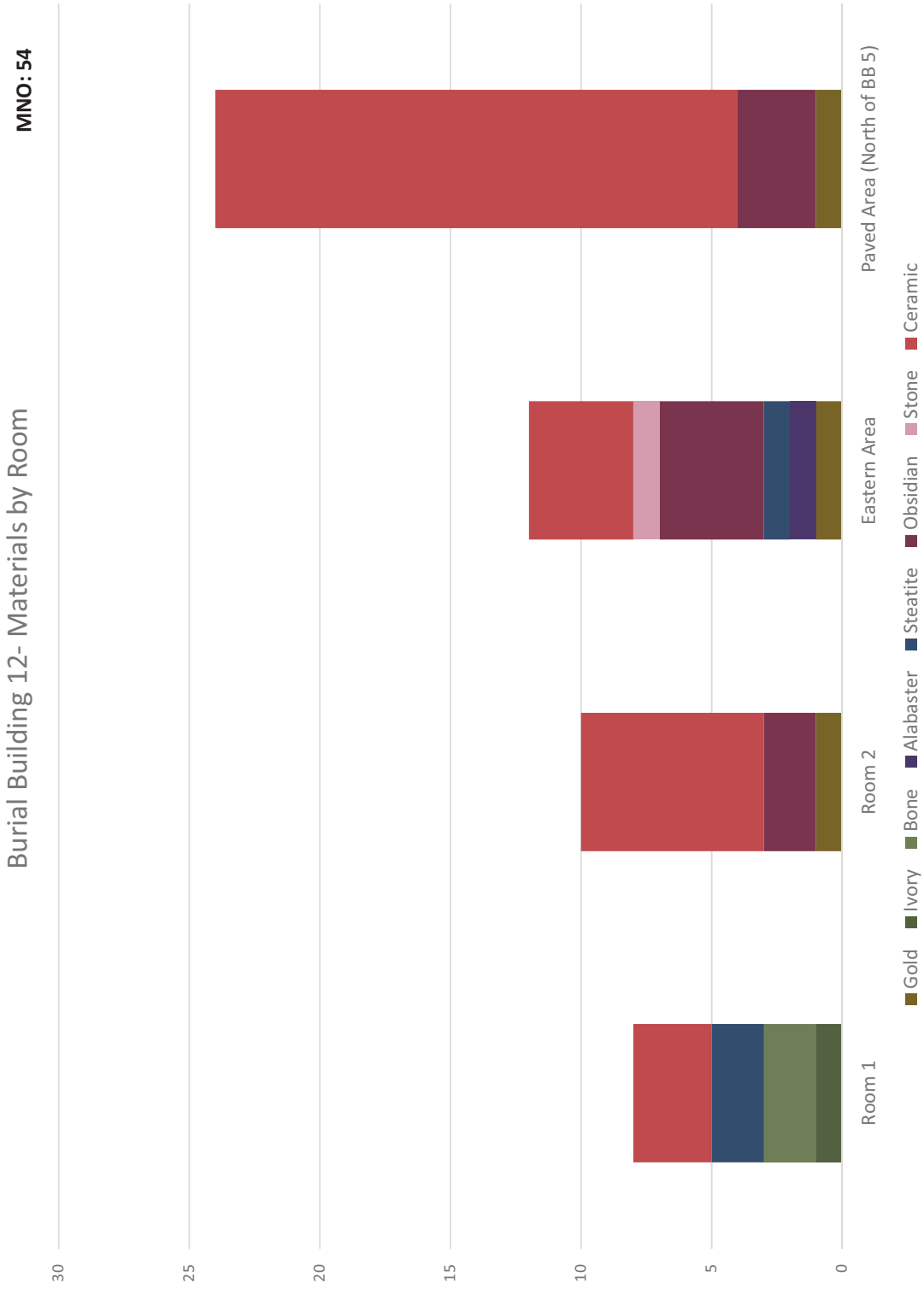


Figure 92: Burial Building 12- Materials by Room

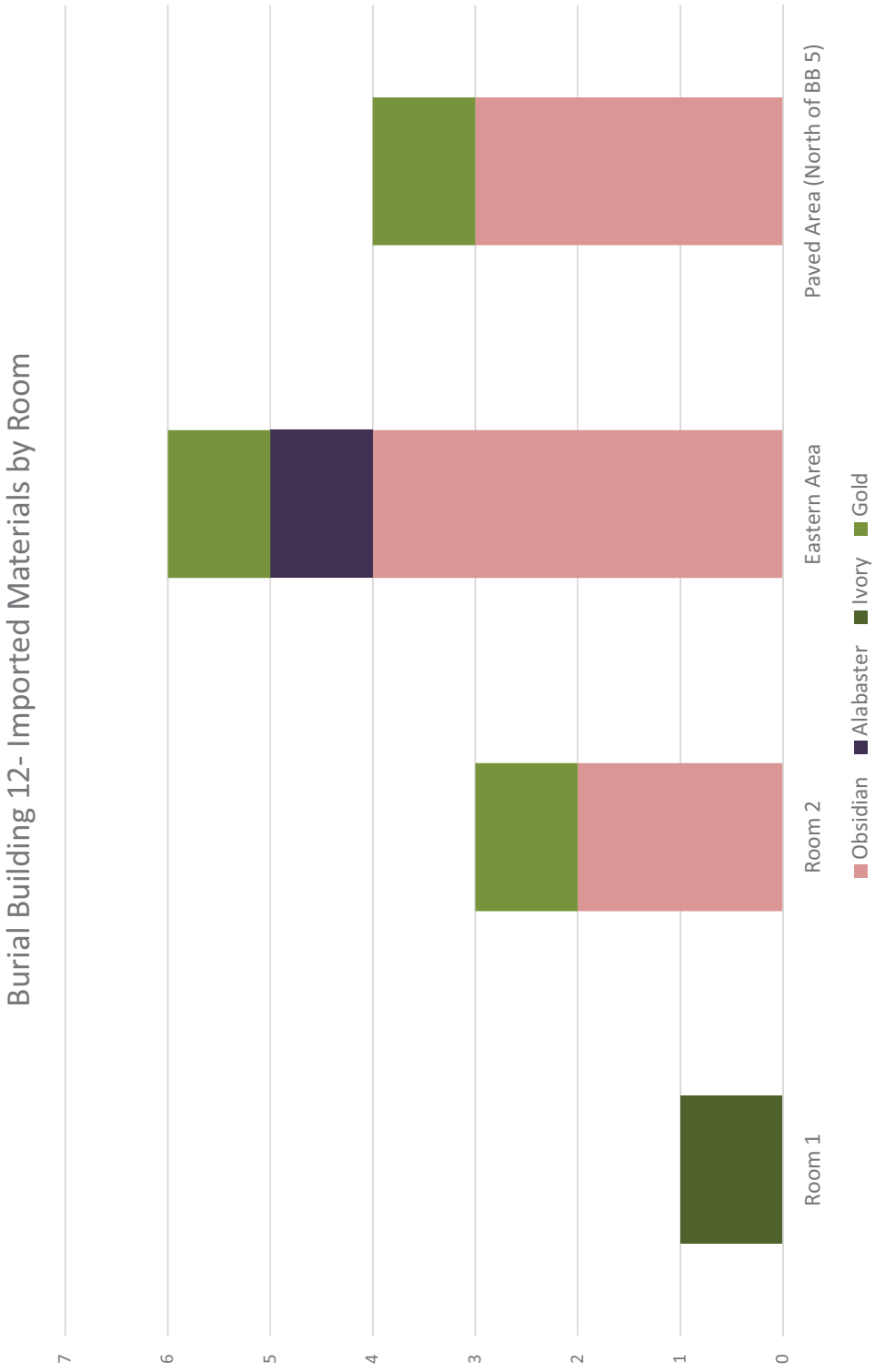


Figure 93: Burial Building 12- Imported Materials by Room

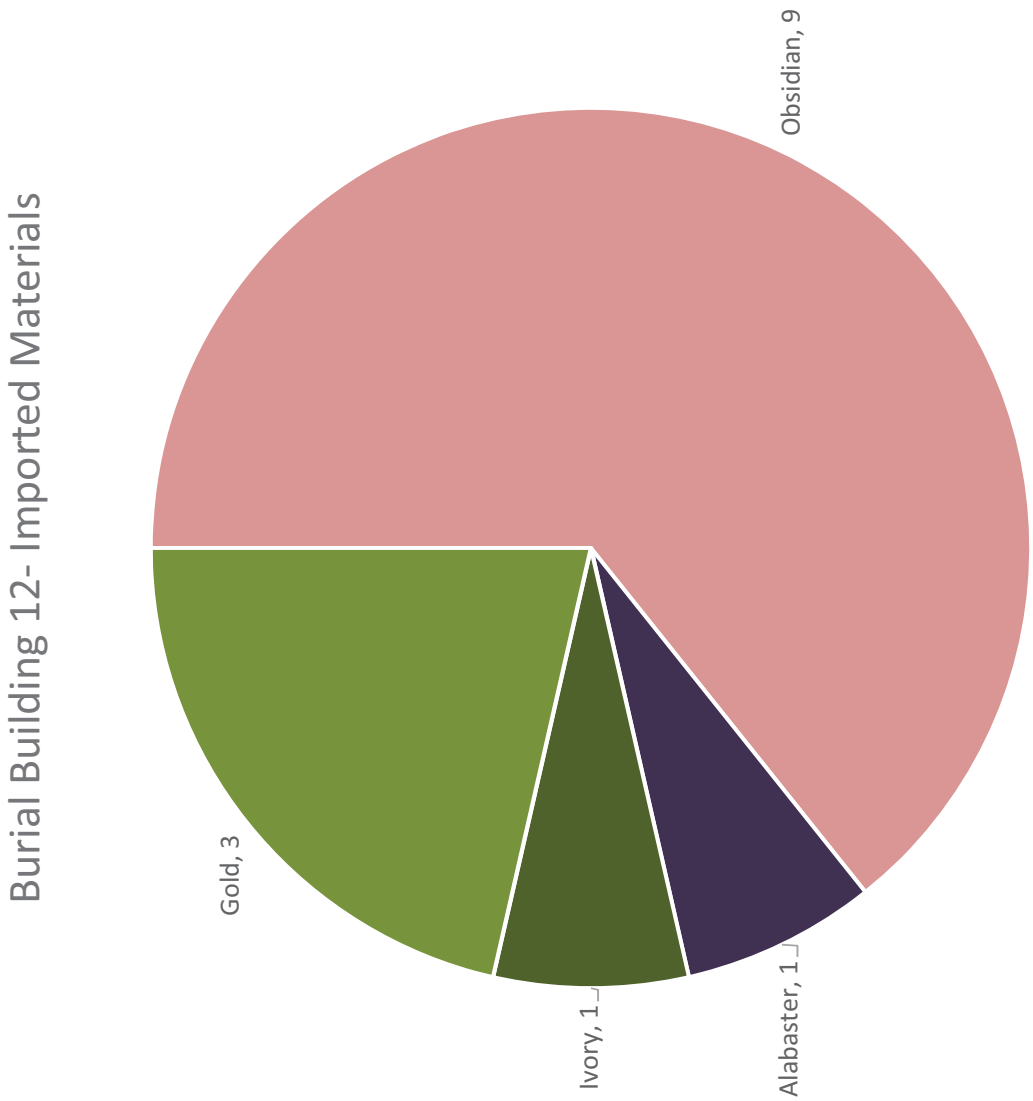


Figure 94: Burial Building 12- Imported Materials

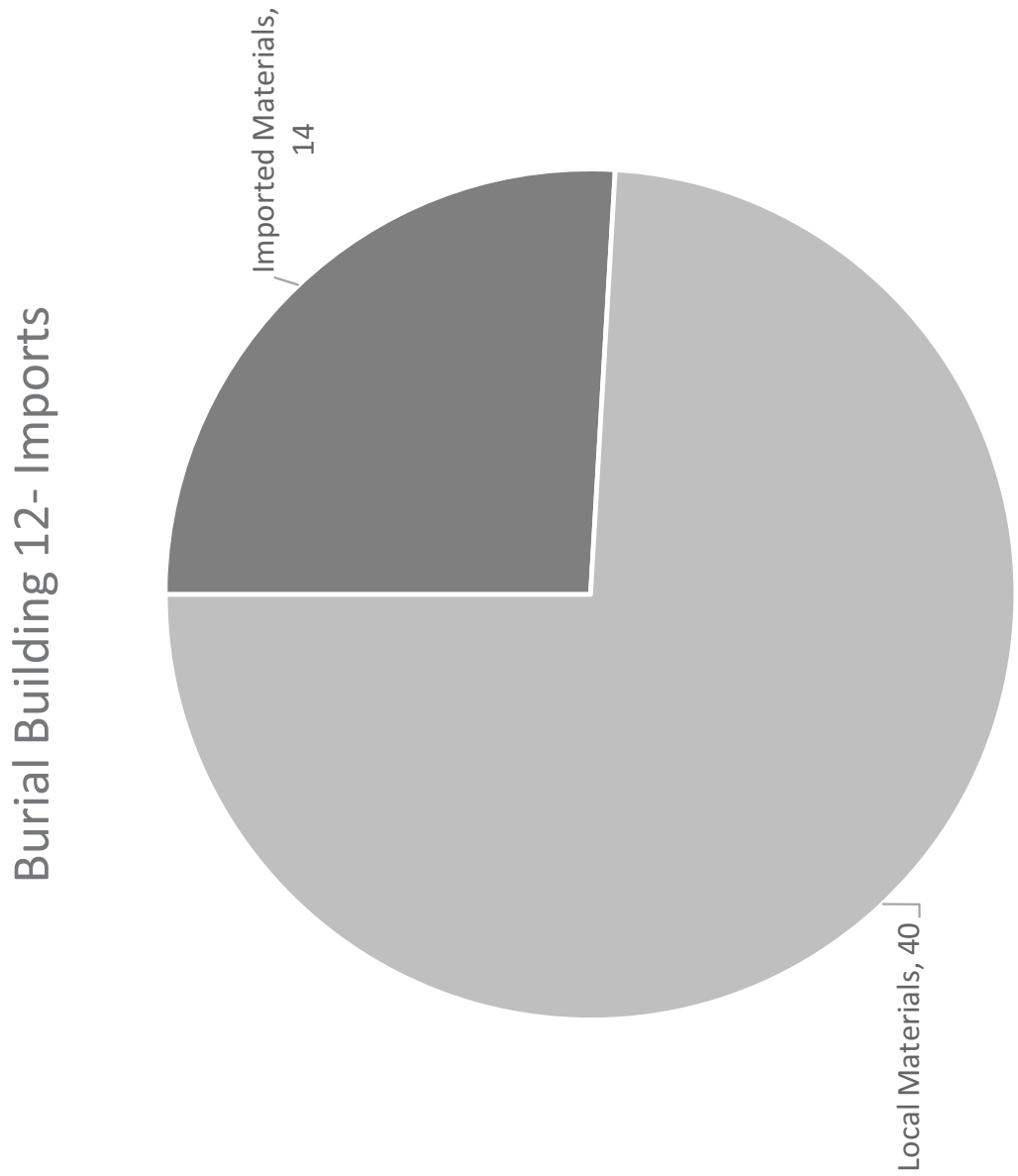


Figure 95: Burial Building 12- Imports

Figure 96: Burial Building 6, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

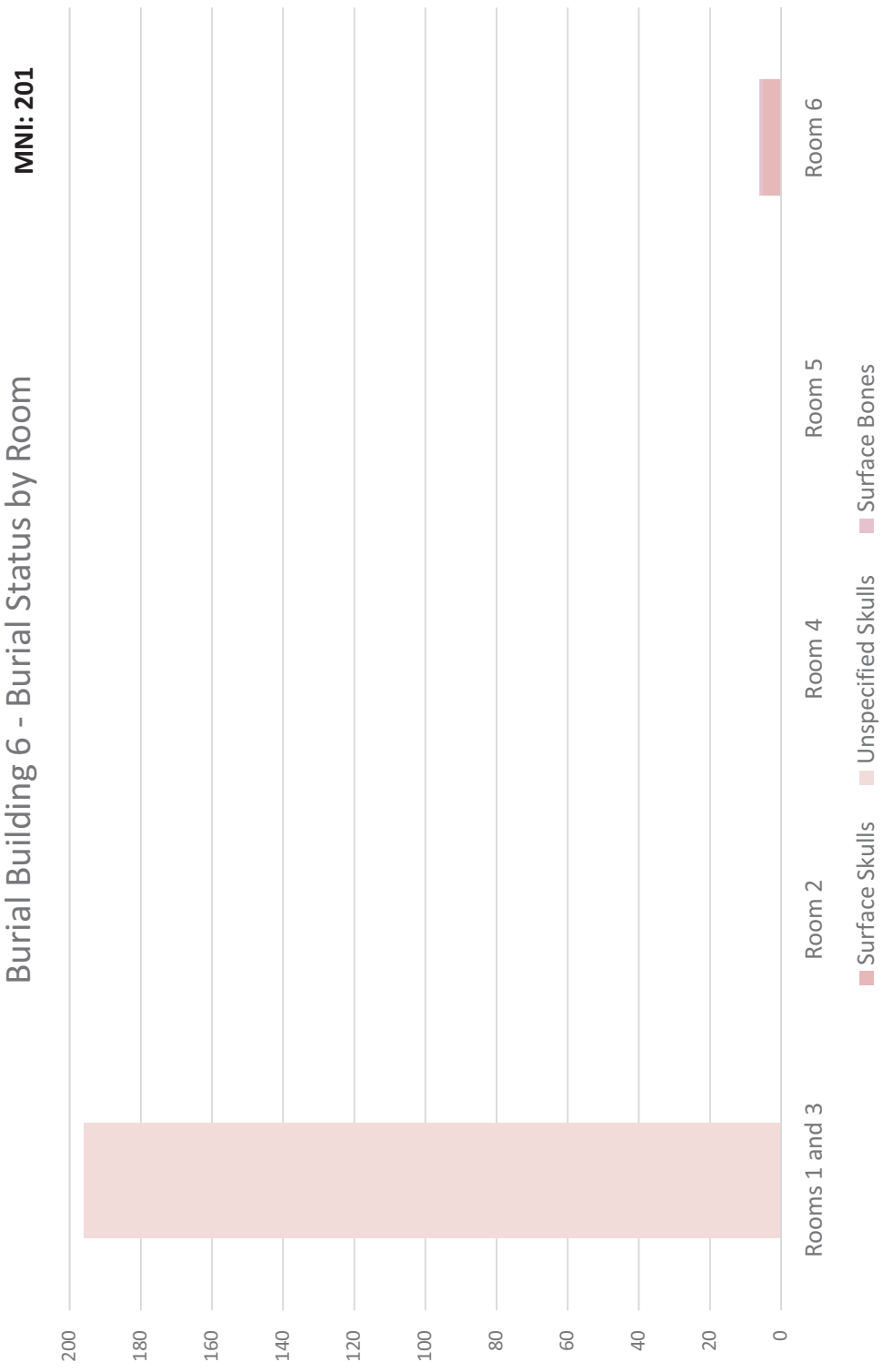


Figure 97: Burial Building 6- Burial Status by Room

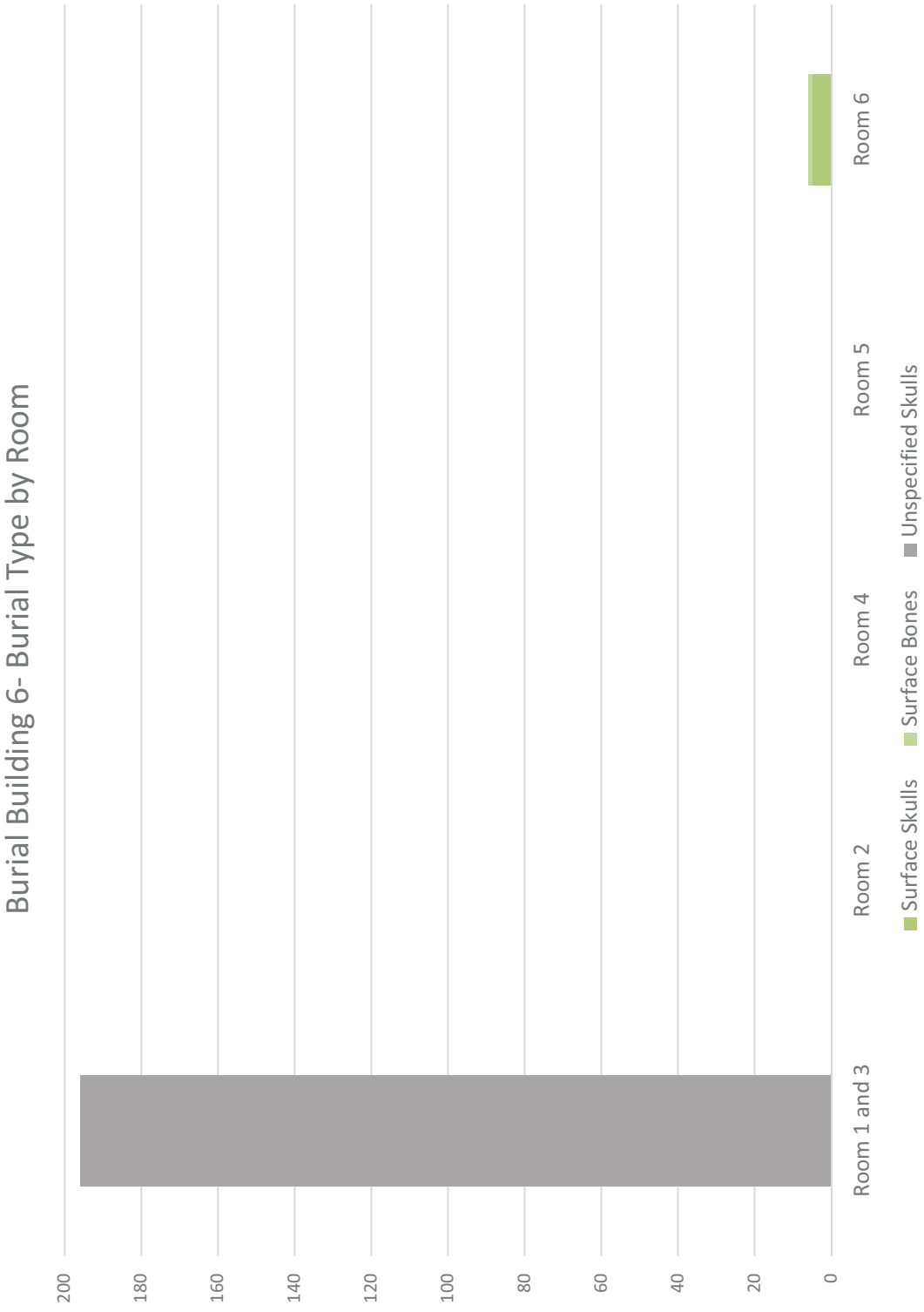


Figure 98: Burial Building 6- Burial Type by Room

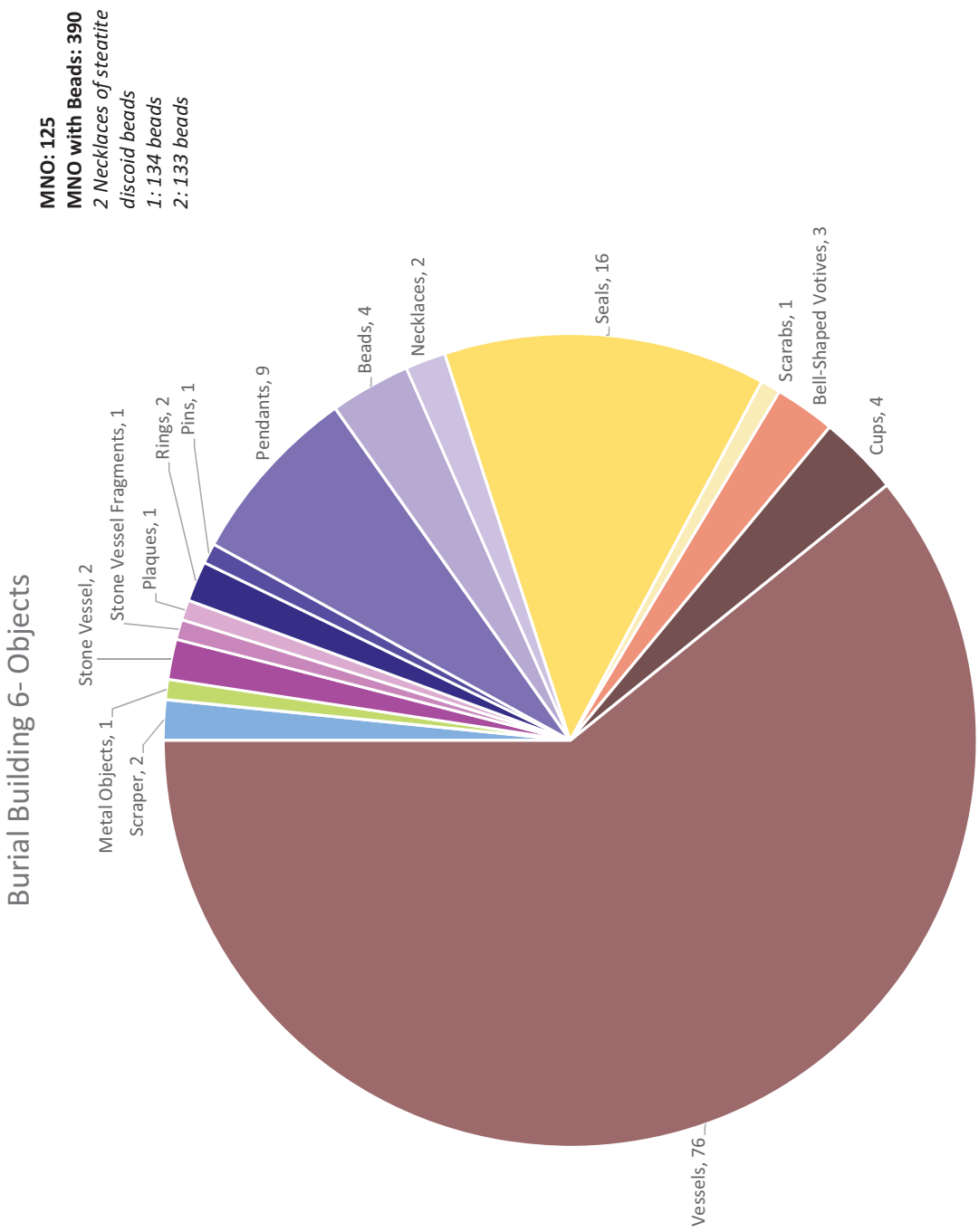


Figure 99: Burial Building 6- Objects

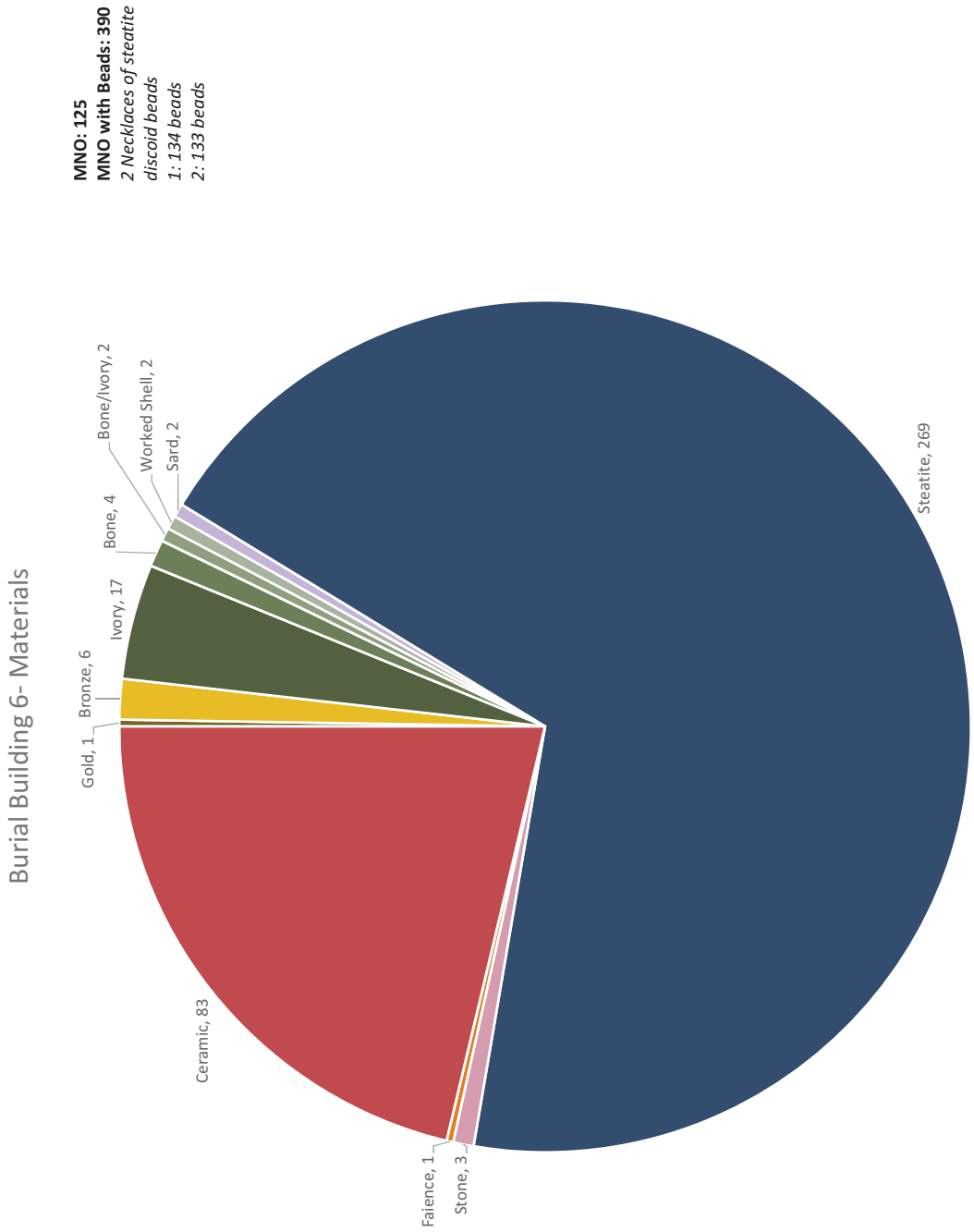


Figure 100: Burial Building 6- Materials

Figure 101: Burial Building 6- Objects by Room

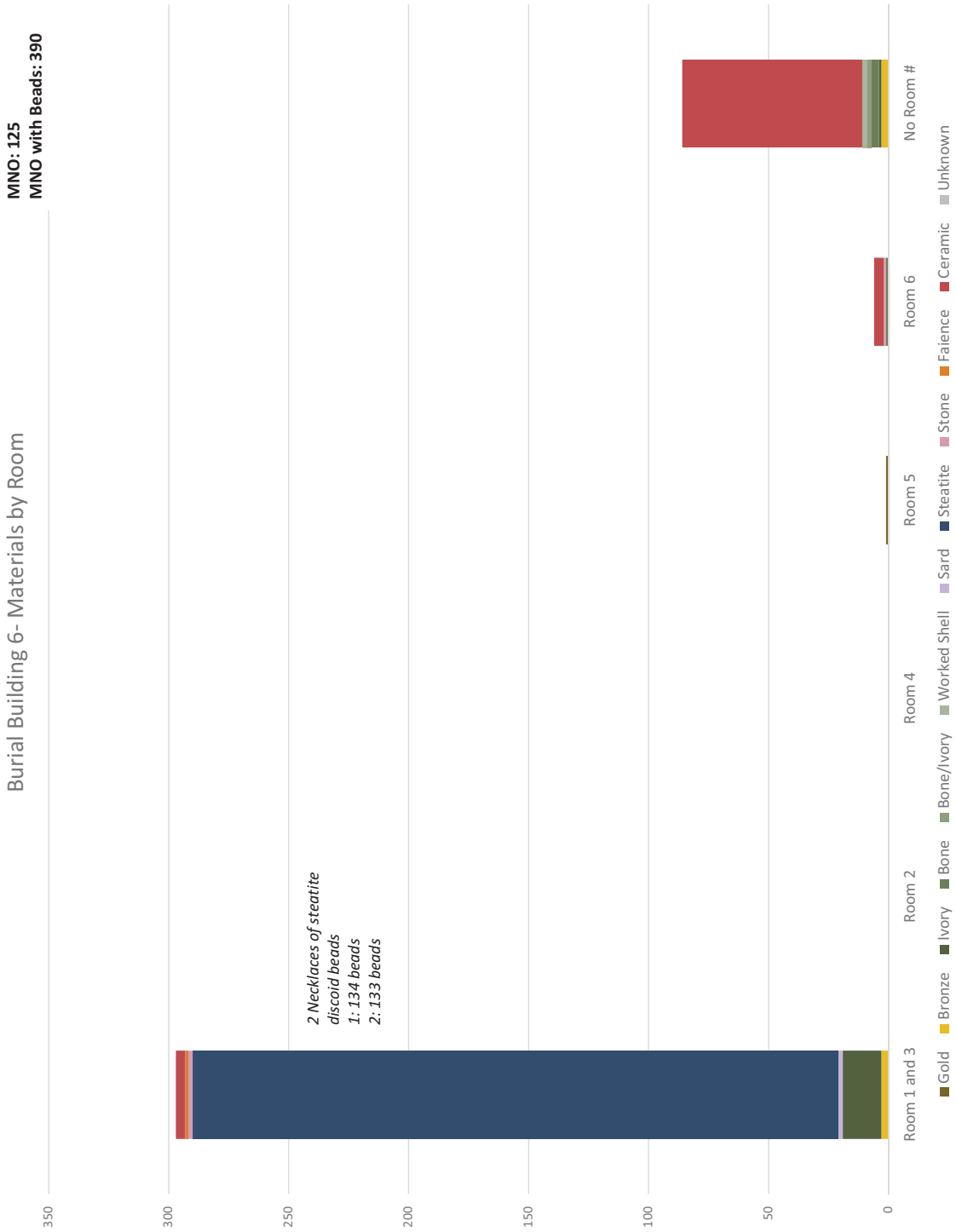


Figure 102: Burial Building 6- Materials by Room

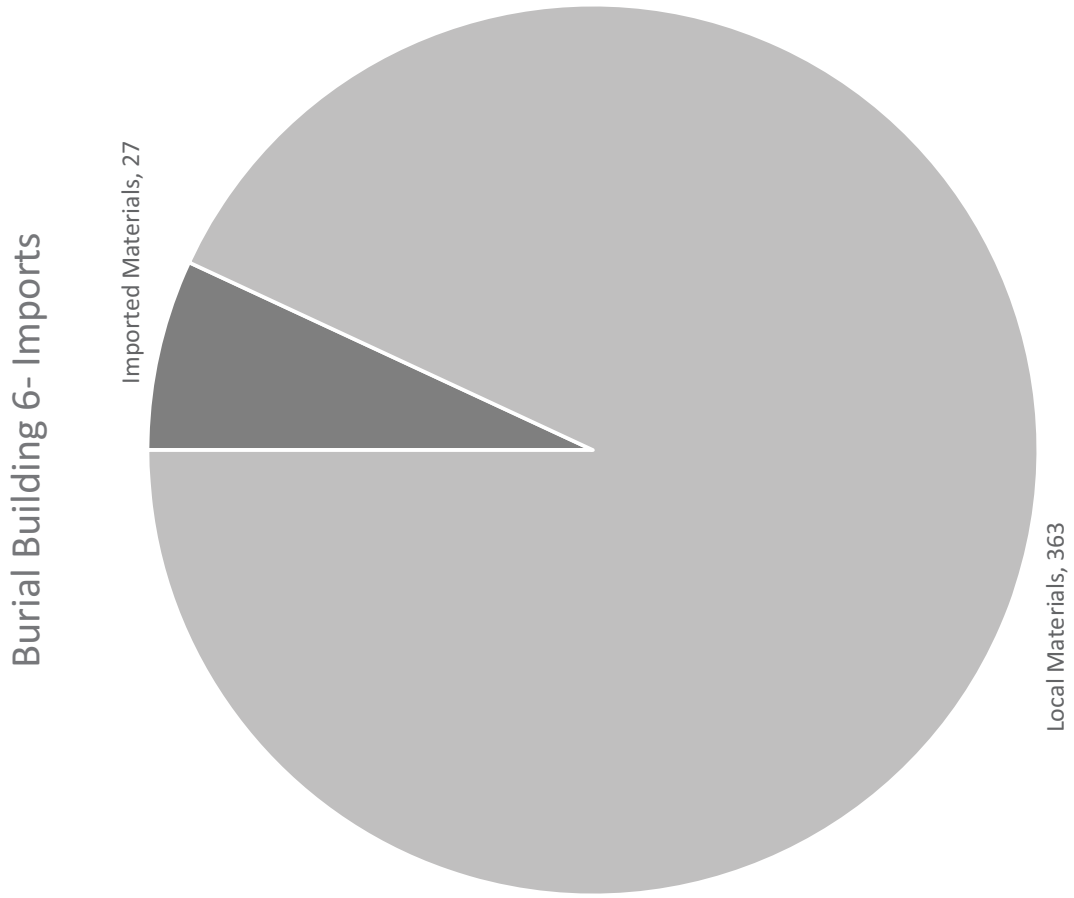


Figure 103: Burial Building 6- Imports

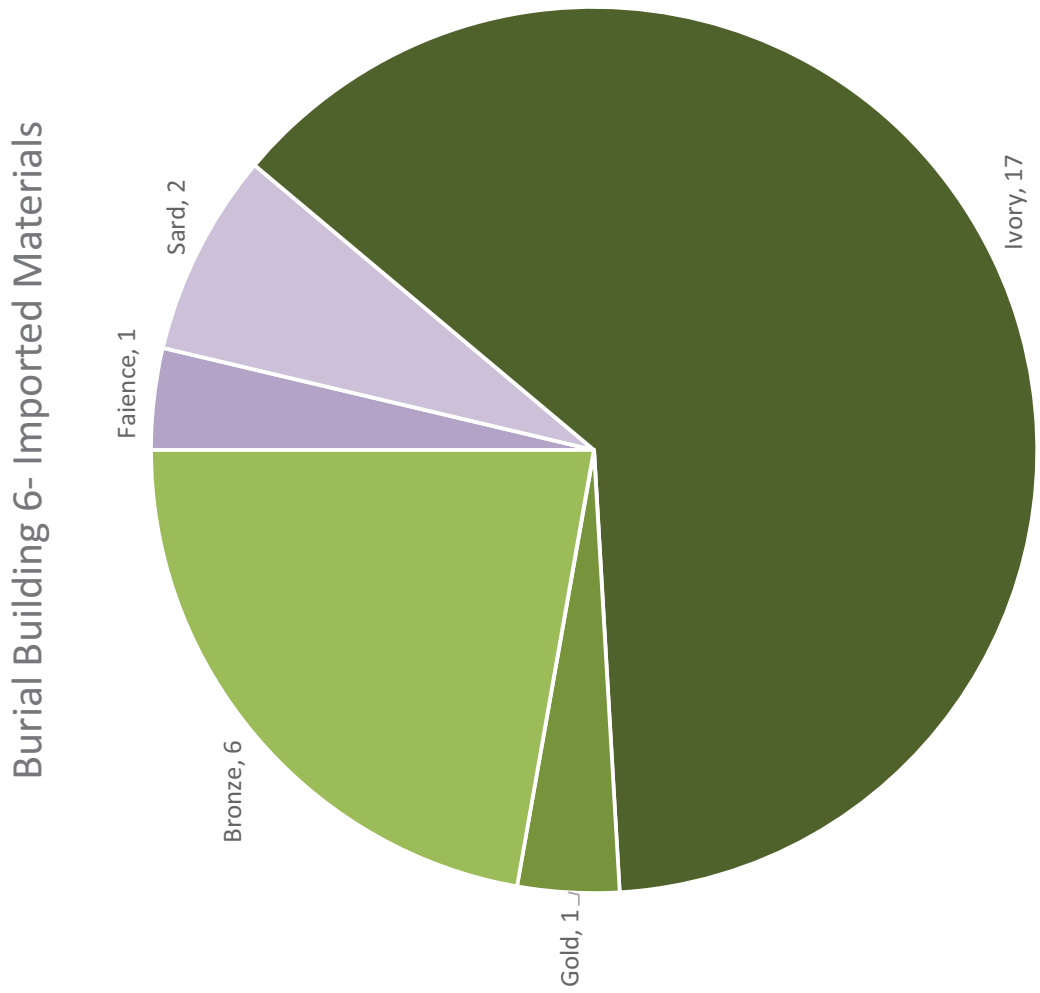


Figure 104: Burial Building 6- Imported Materials

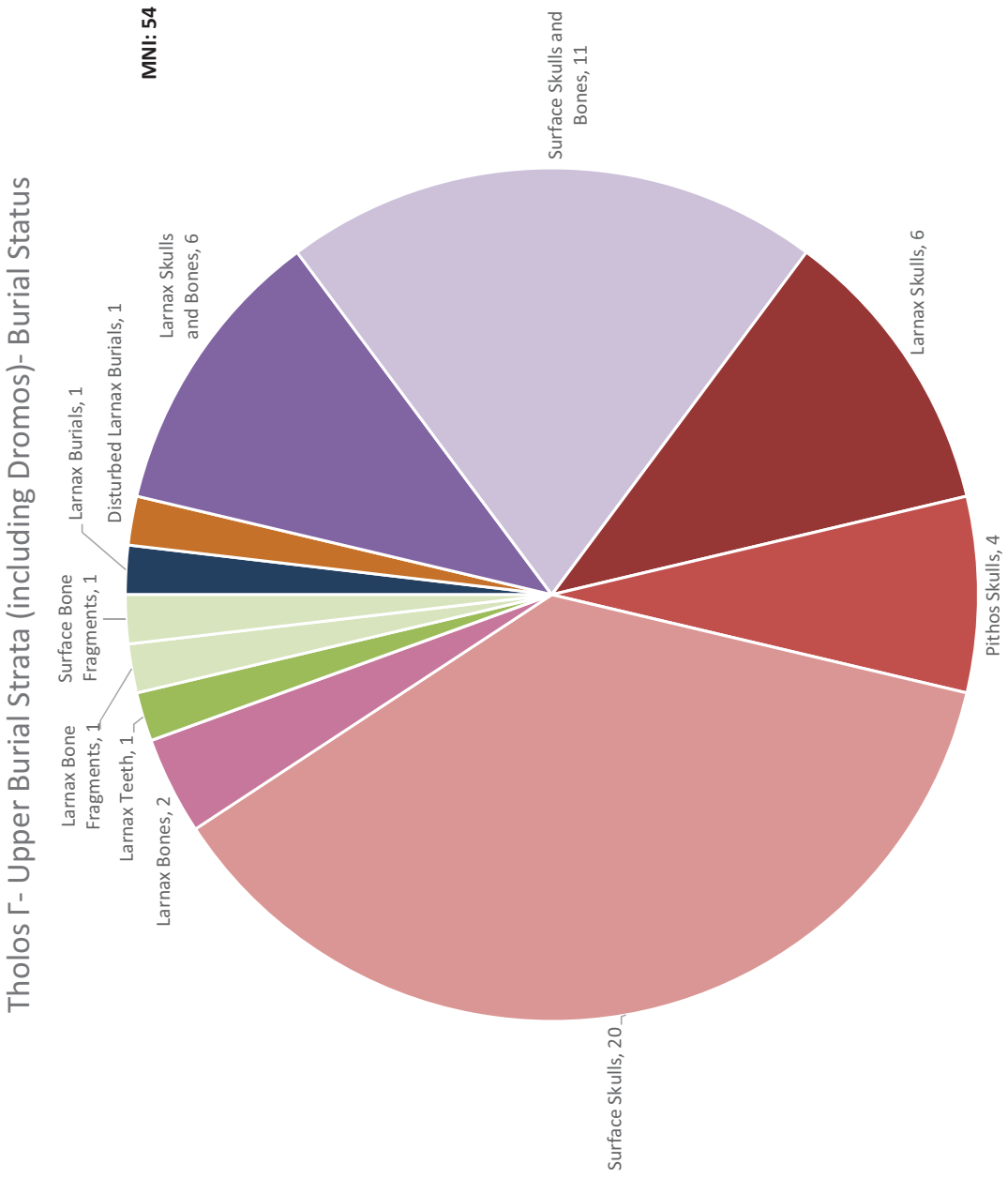


Figure 105: Tholos Γ- Upper Burial Strata and Dromos- Burial Status

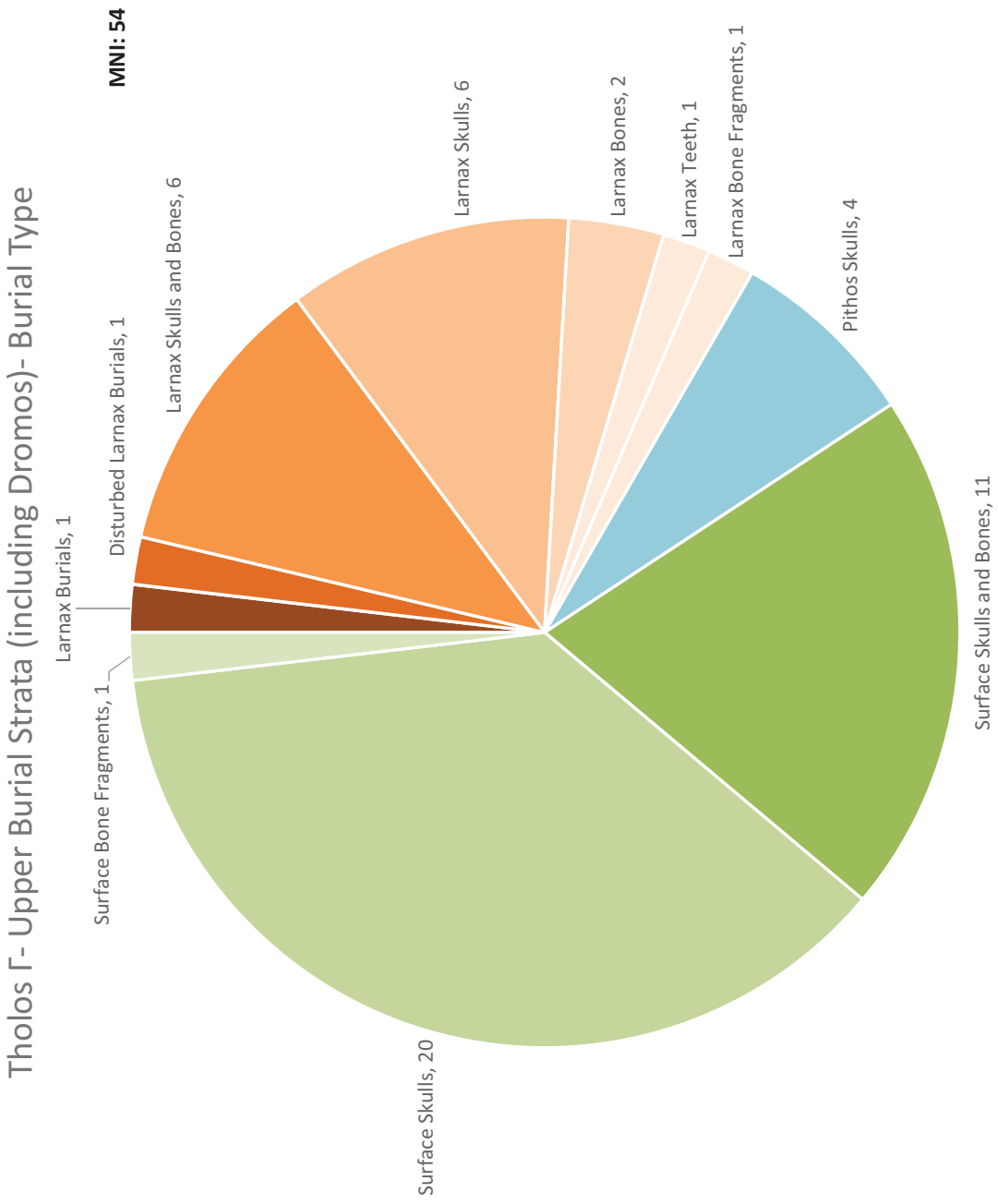


Figure 106: Tholos Γ- Upper Burial Strata and Dromos- Burial Type

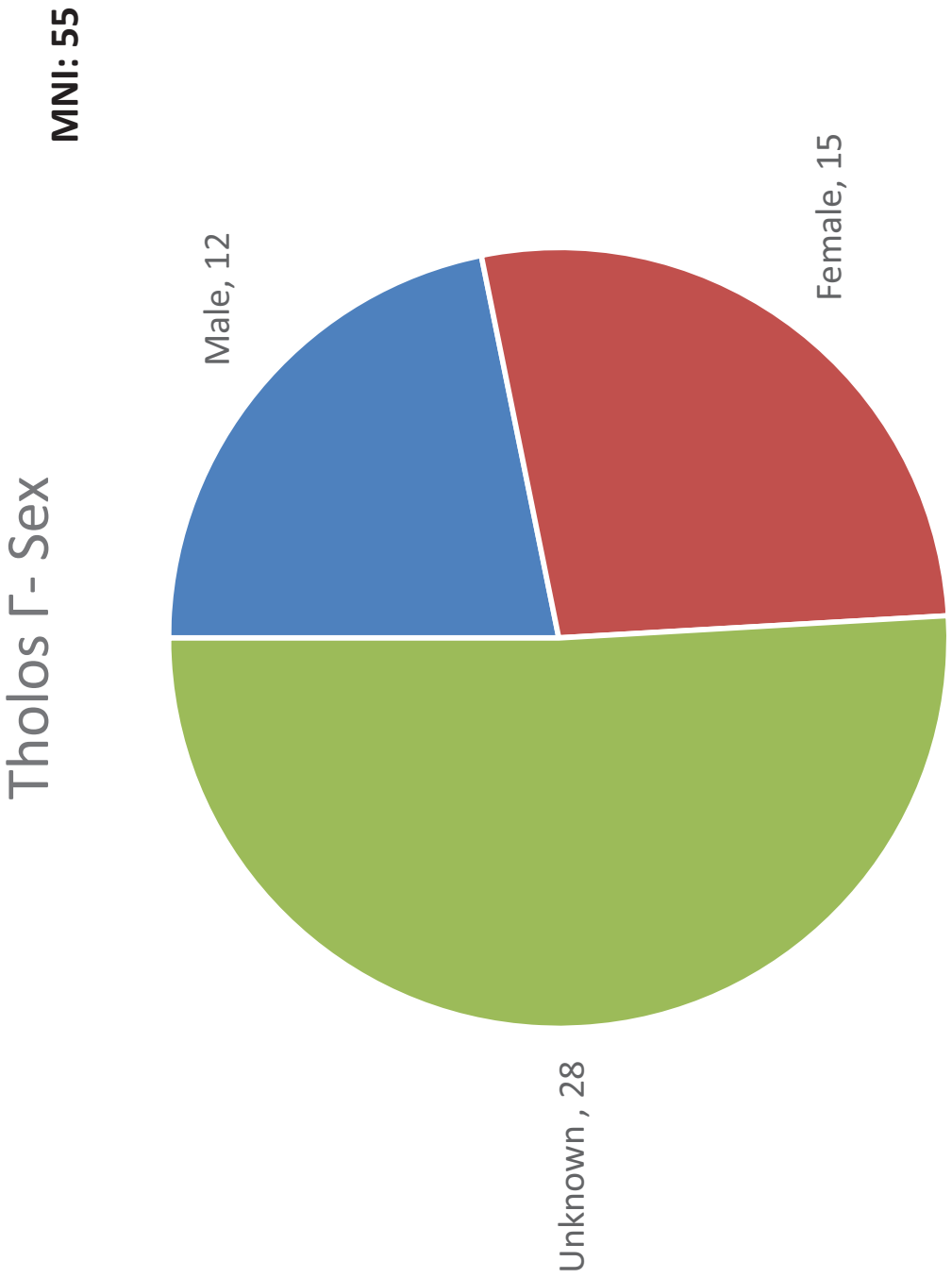


Figure 107: Tholos Γ- Sex

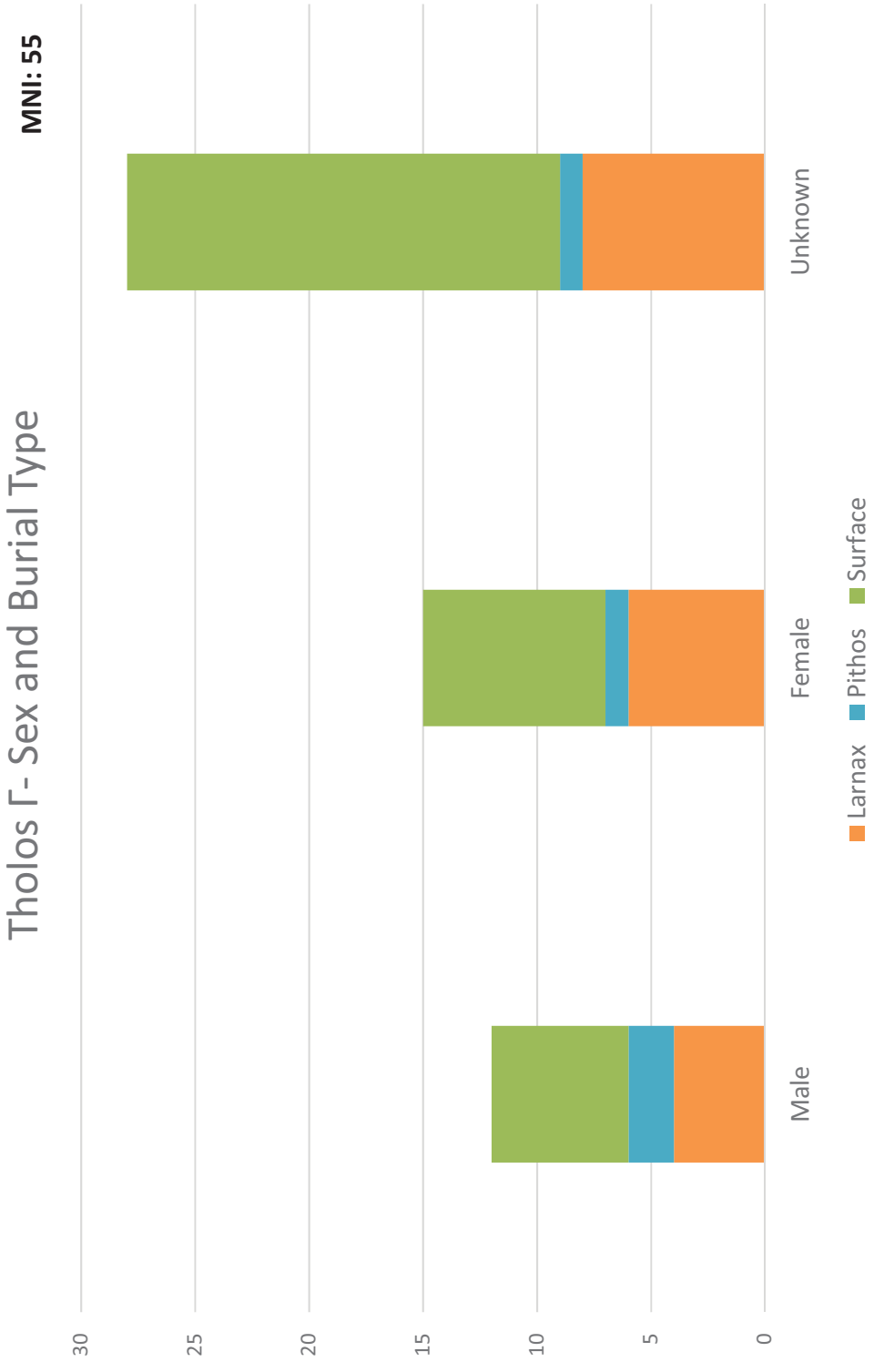


Figure 108: Tholos Γ- Sex and Burial Type

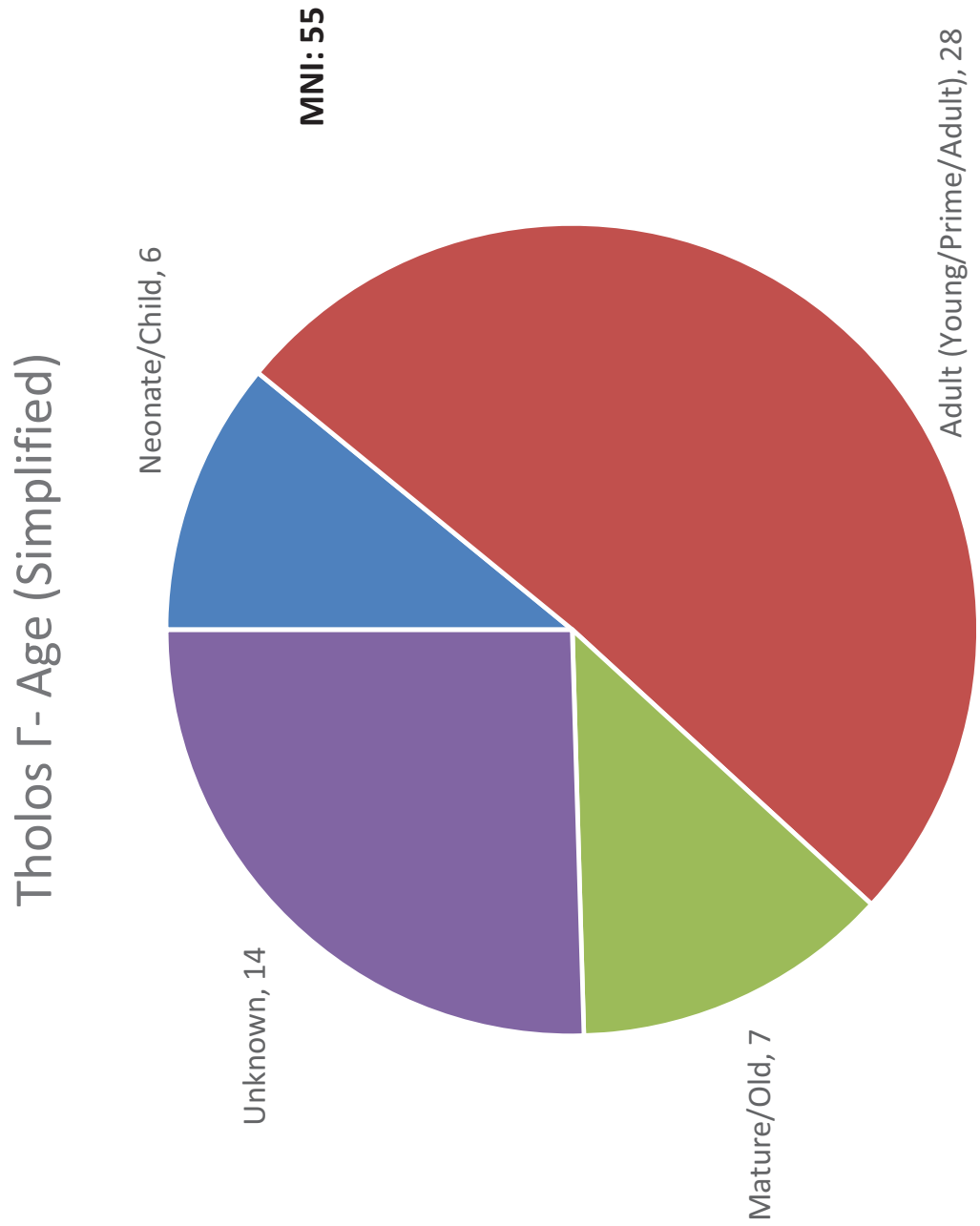


Figure 109: Tholos Γ- Age

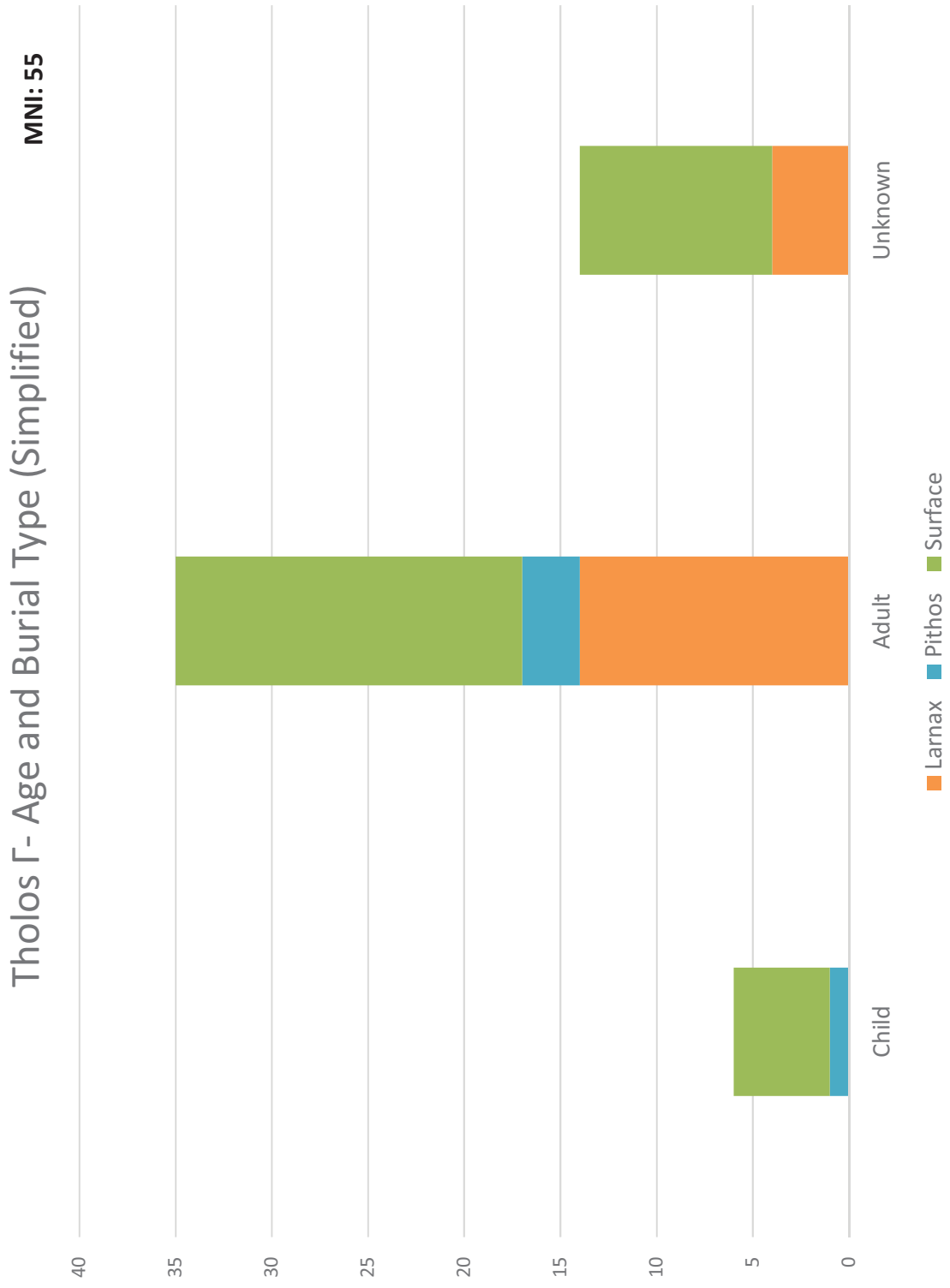


Figure 110: Tholos Γ- Age and Burial Type

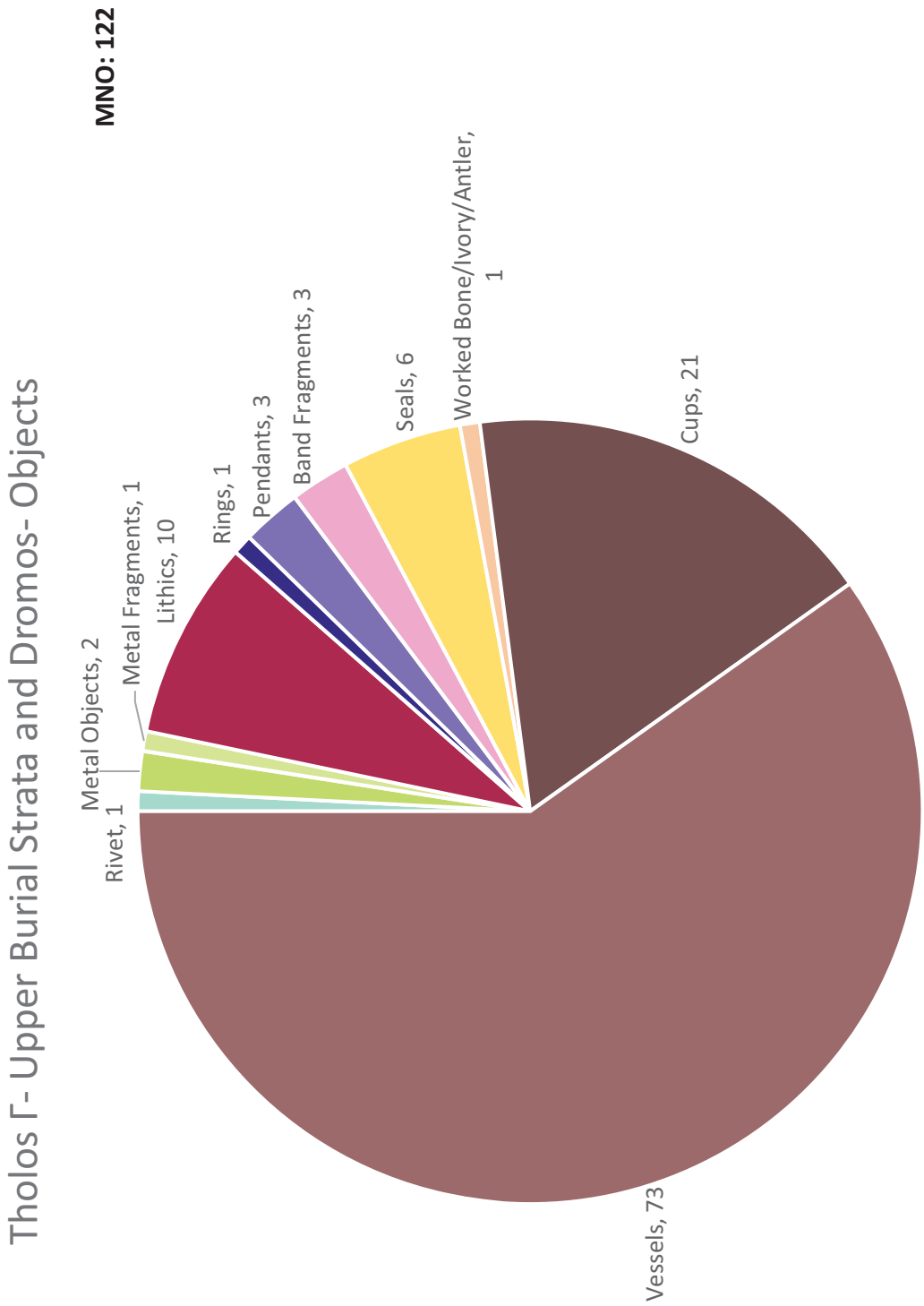


Figure 111: Tholos Γ- Upper Burial Strata and Dromos- Objects

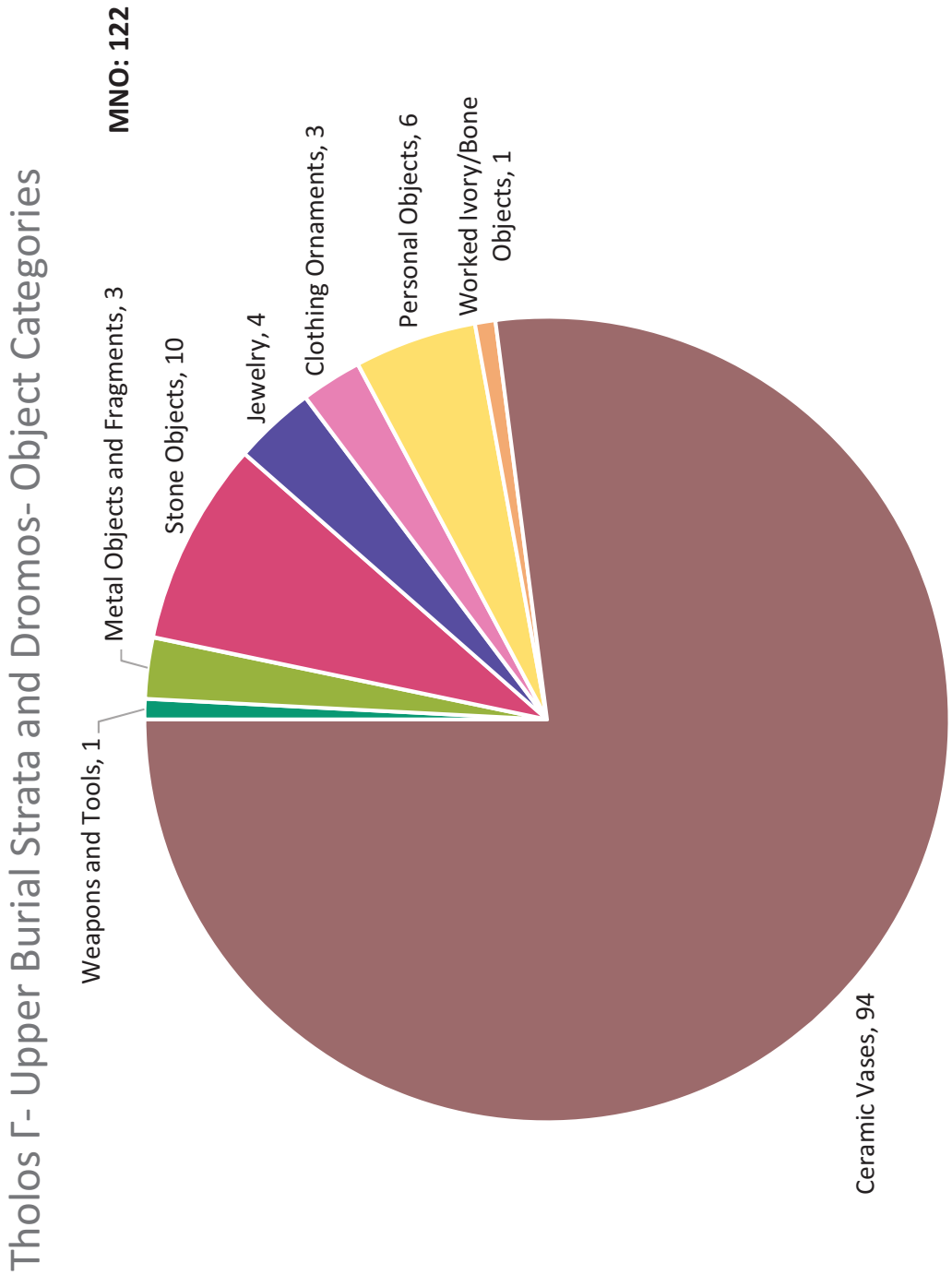


Figure 112: Tholos Γ- Upper Burial Strata and Dromos- Object Categories

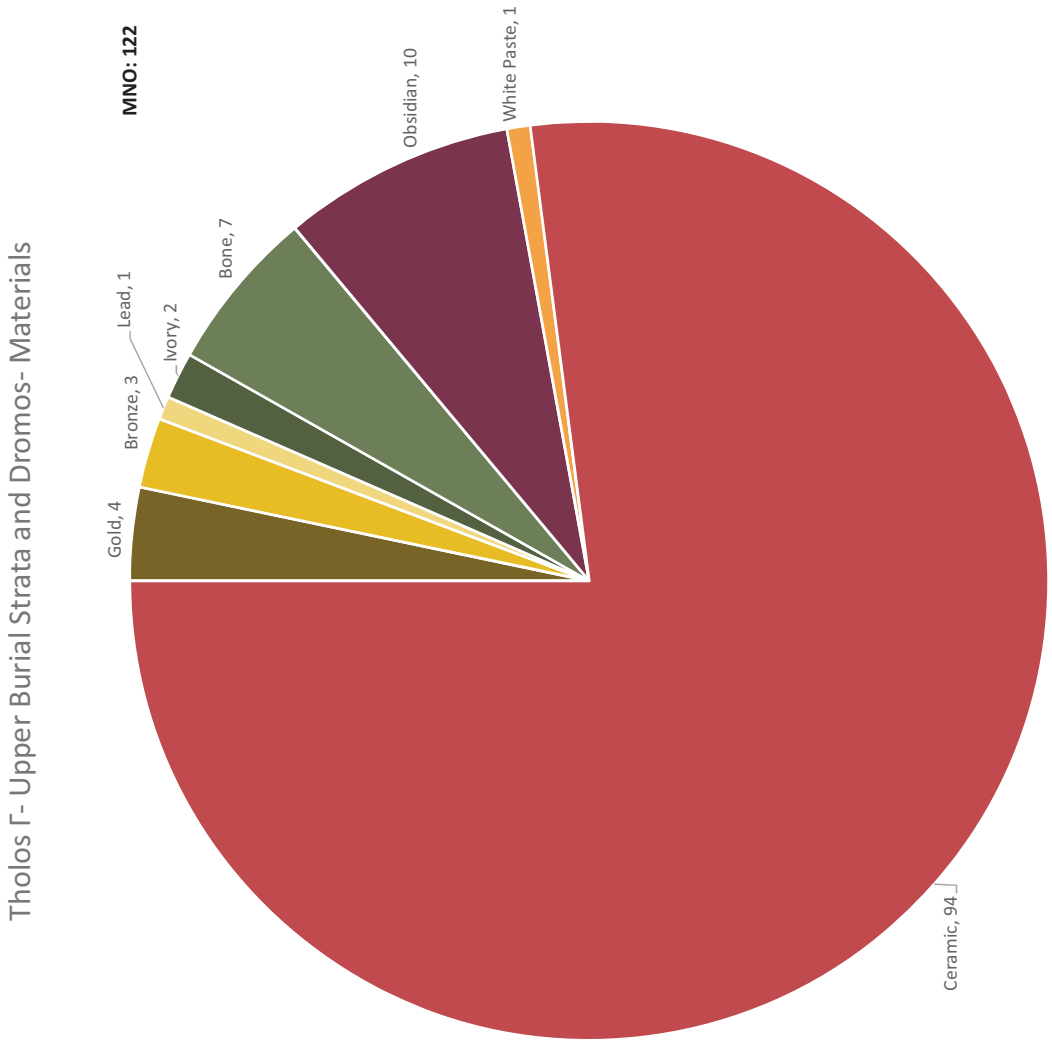


Figure 113: Tholos Γ- Upper Burial Strata and Dromos- Materials

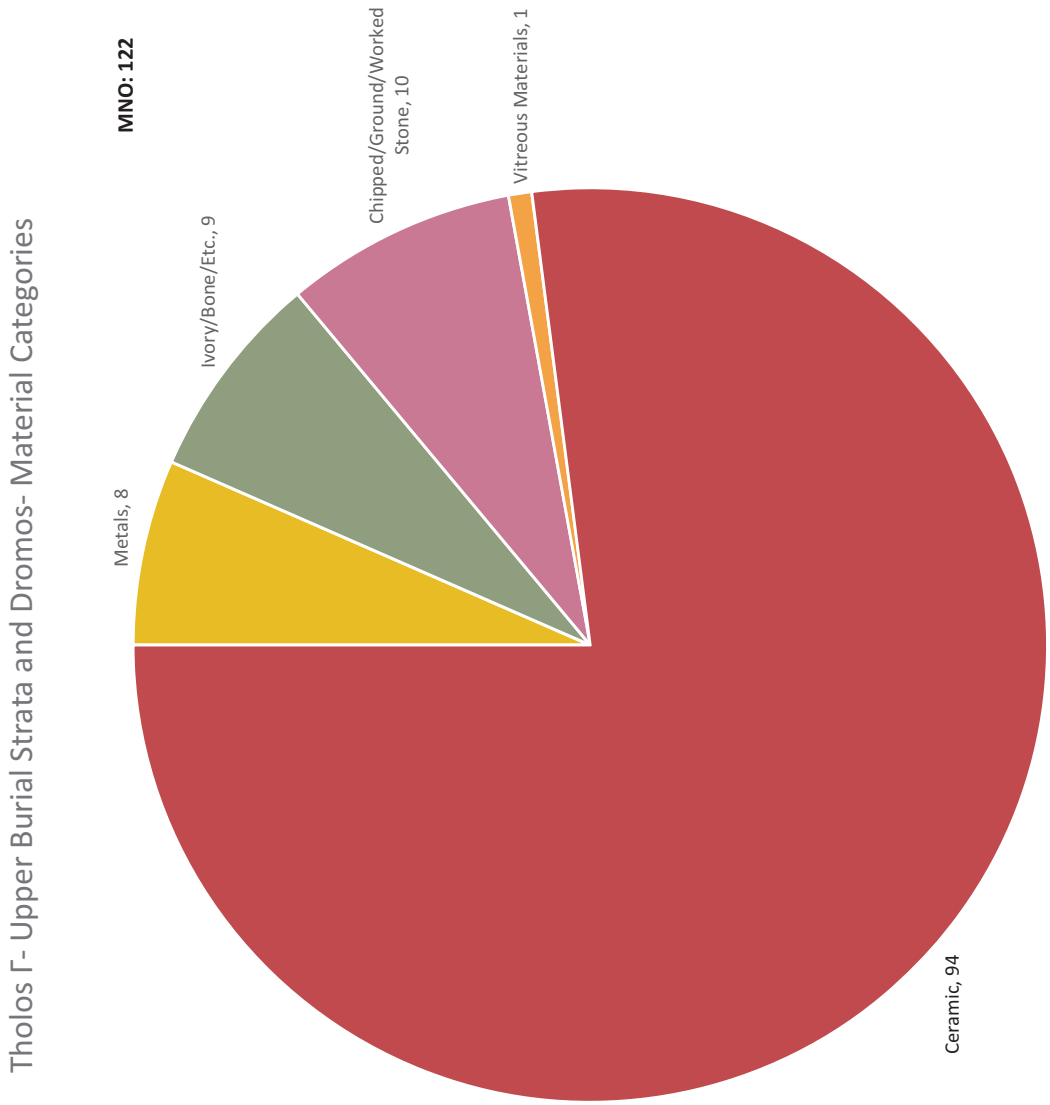


Figure 114: Tholos Γ- Upper Burial Strata and Dromos- Material Categories

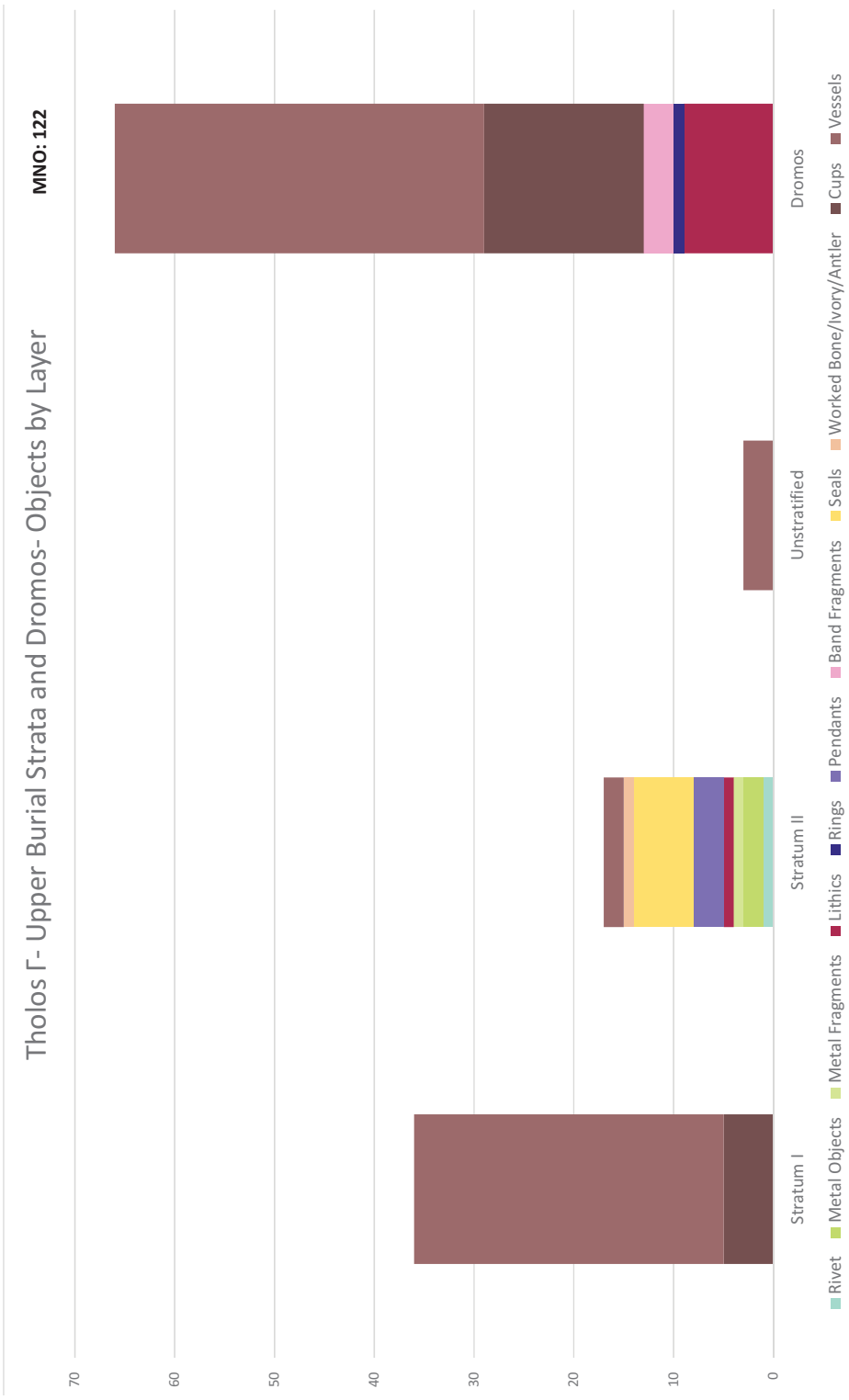


Figure 115: Tholos Γ- Upper Burial Strata and Dromos- Objects by Layer

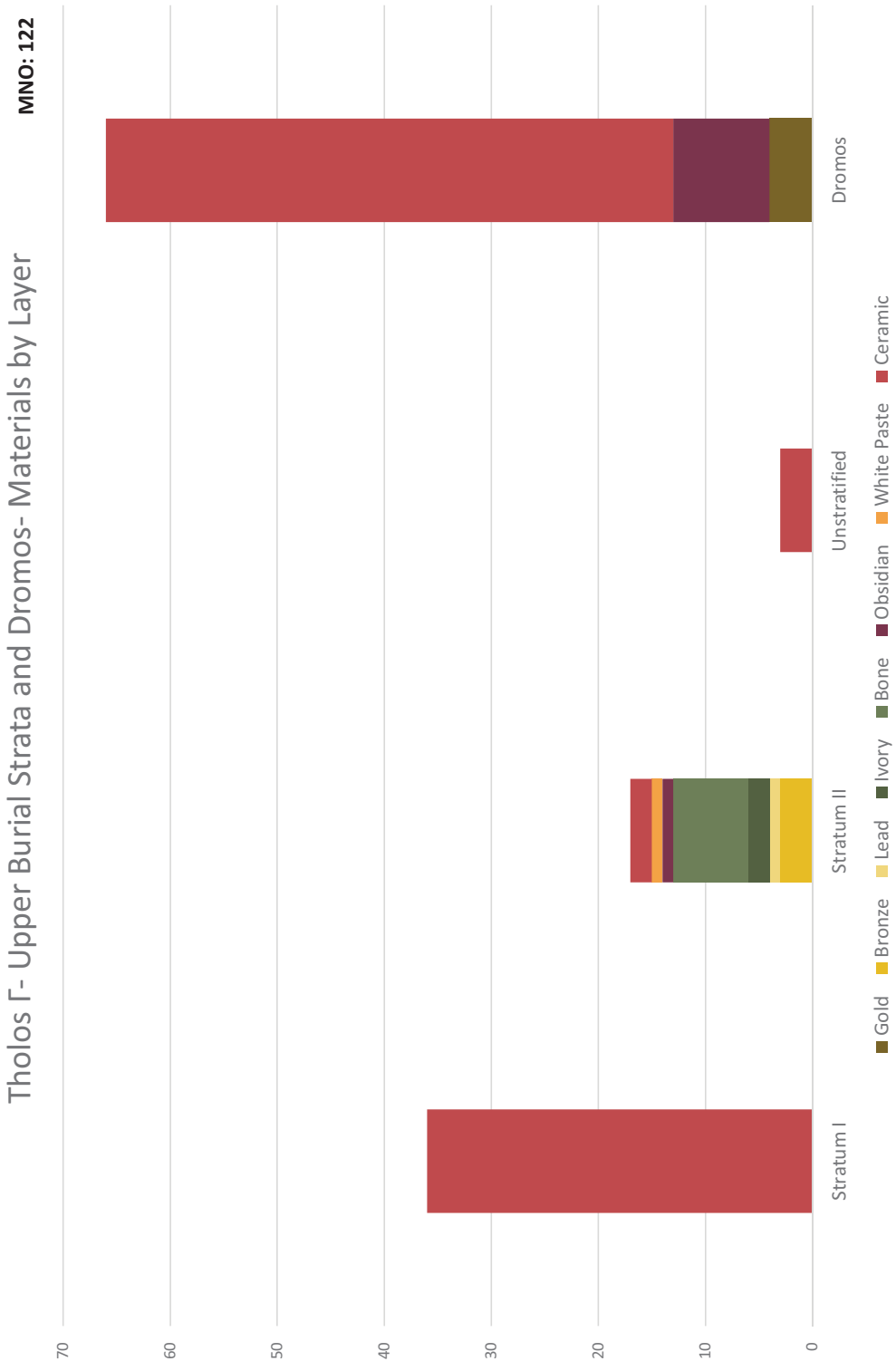


Figure 116: Tholos Γ- Upper Burial Strata and Dromos- Materials by Layer

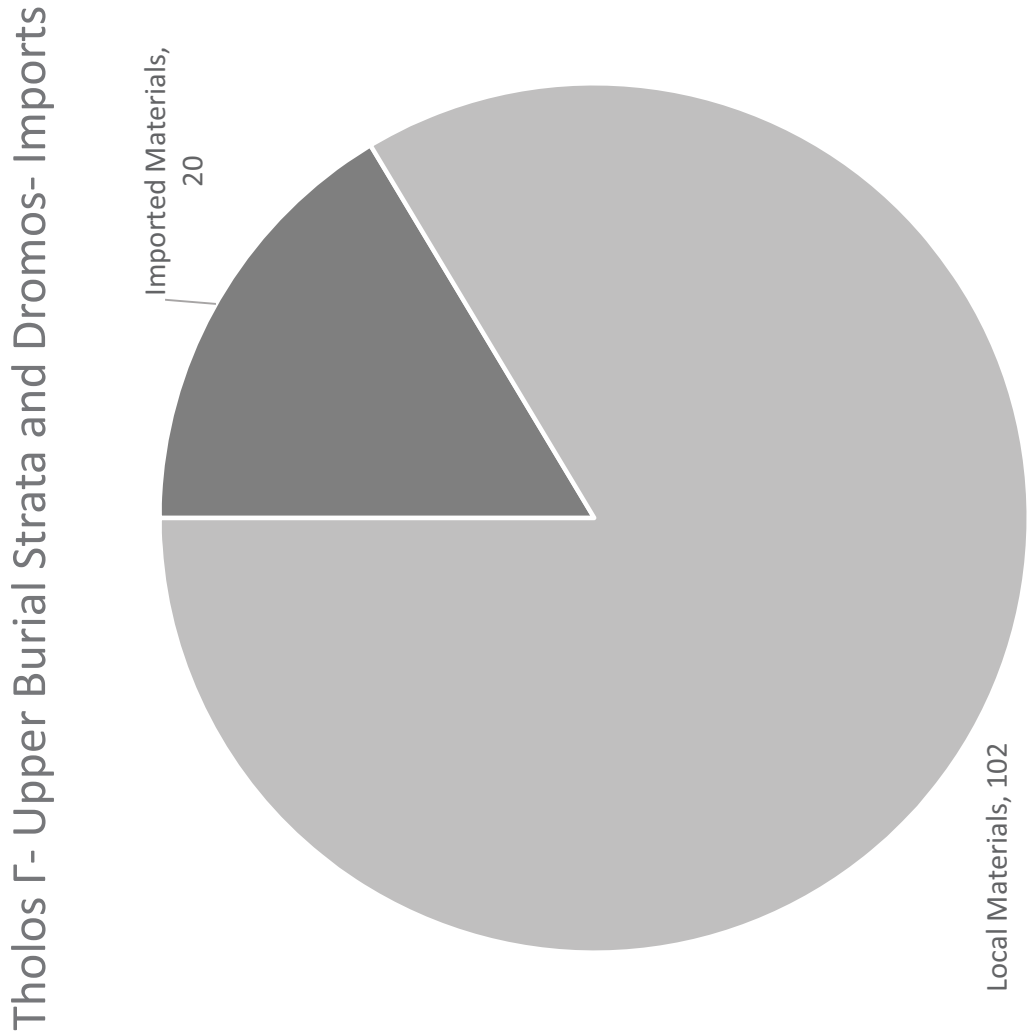


Figure 117: Tholos Γ- Upper Burial Strata and Dromos- Imports

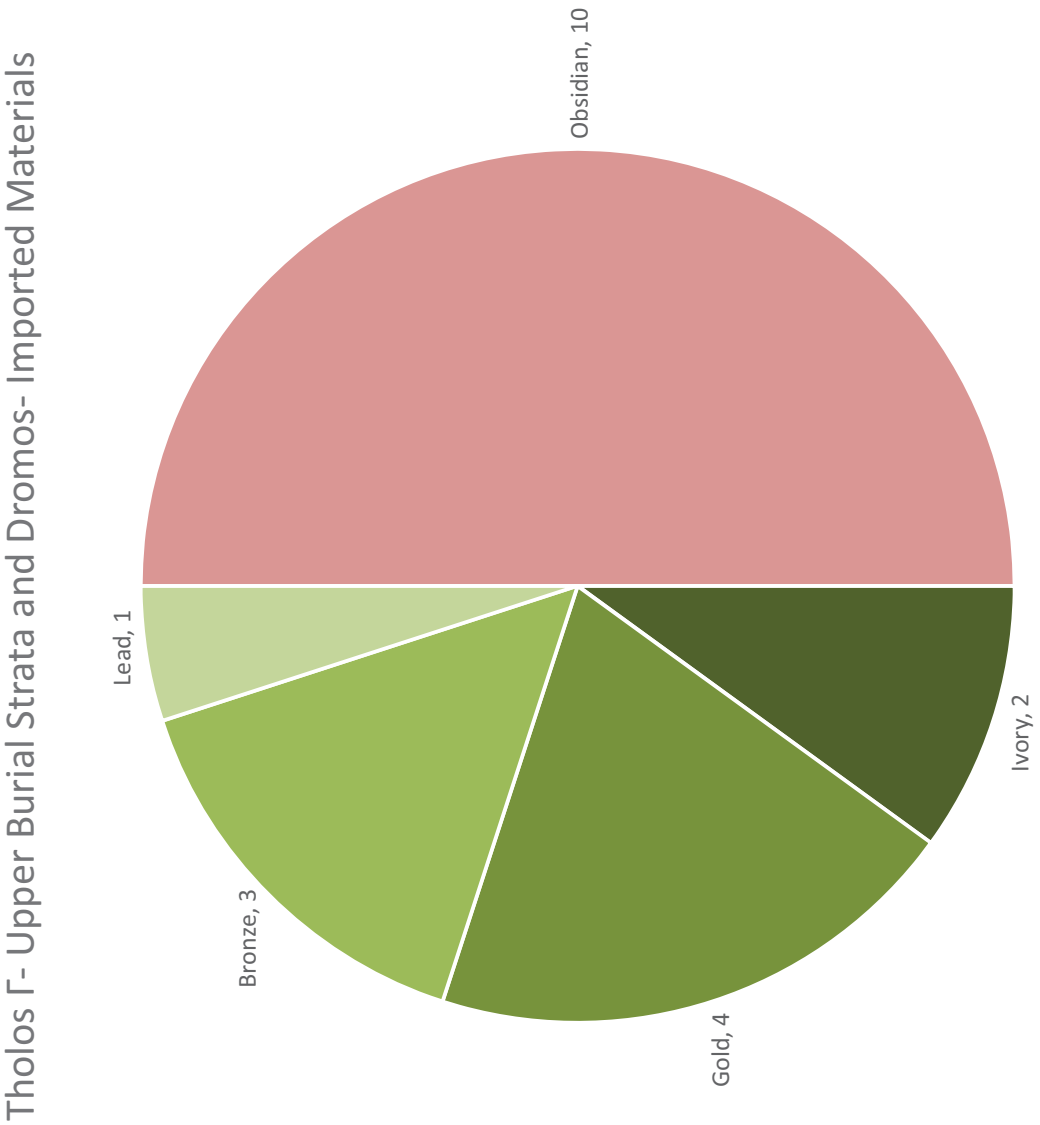


Figure 118: Tholos Γ- Upper Burial Strata and Dromos- Imported Materials

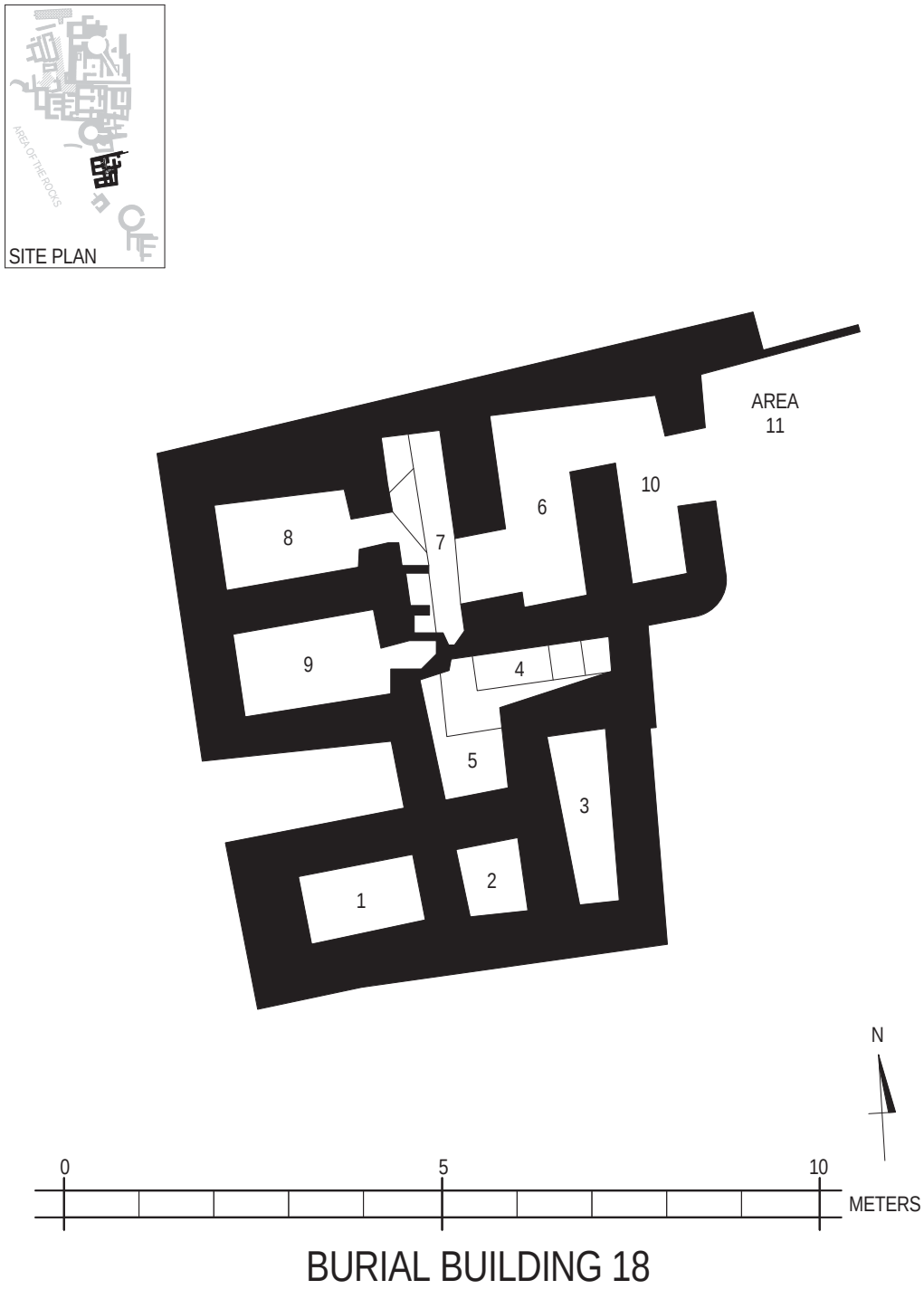


Figure 119: Burial Building 18, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

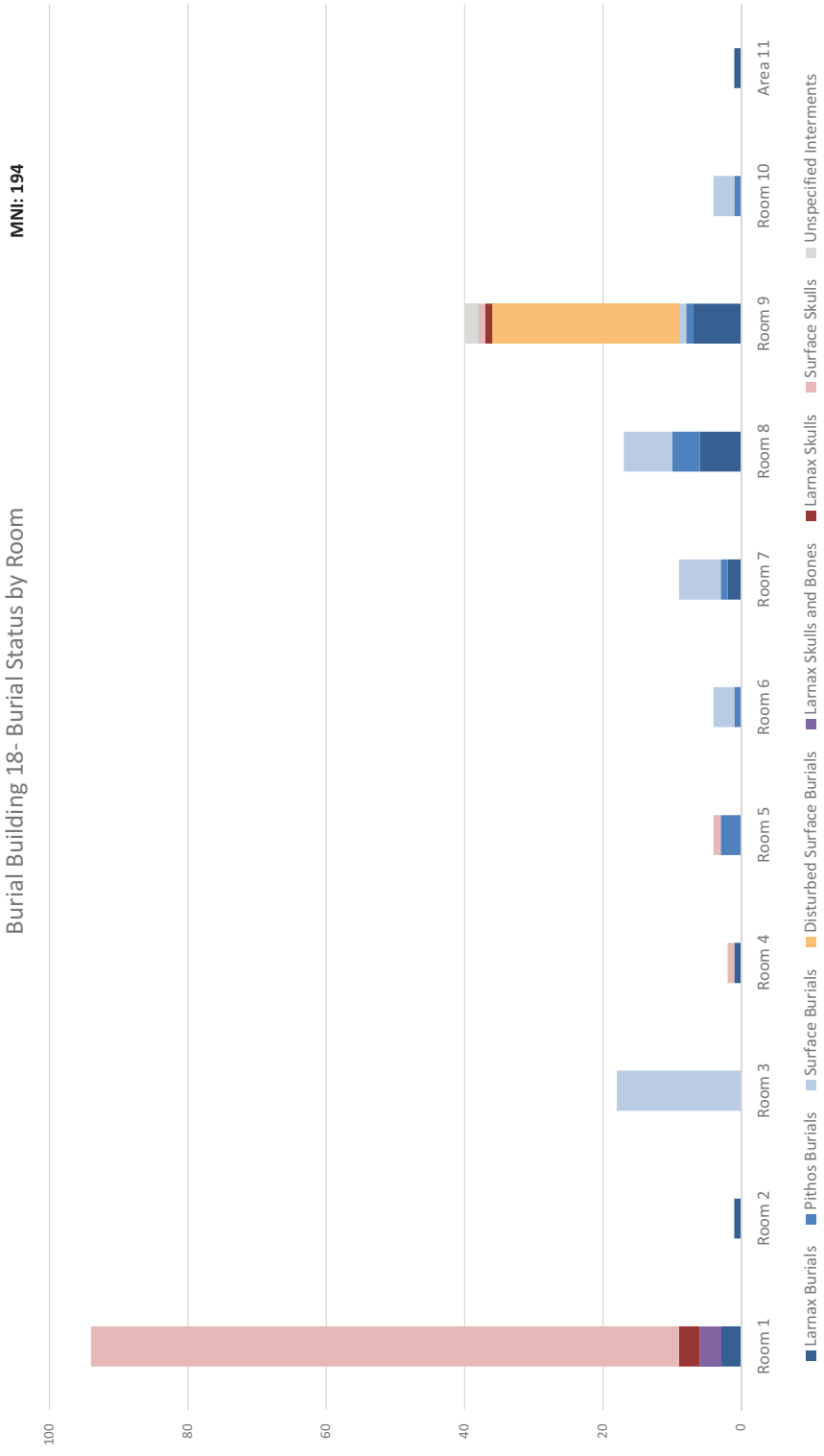


Figure 120: Burial Building 18- Burial Status by Room

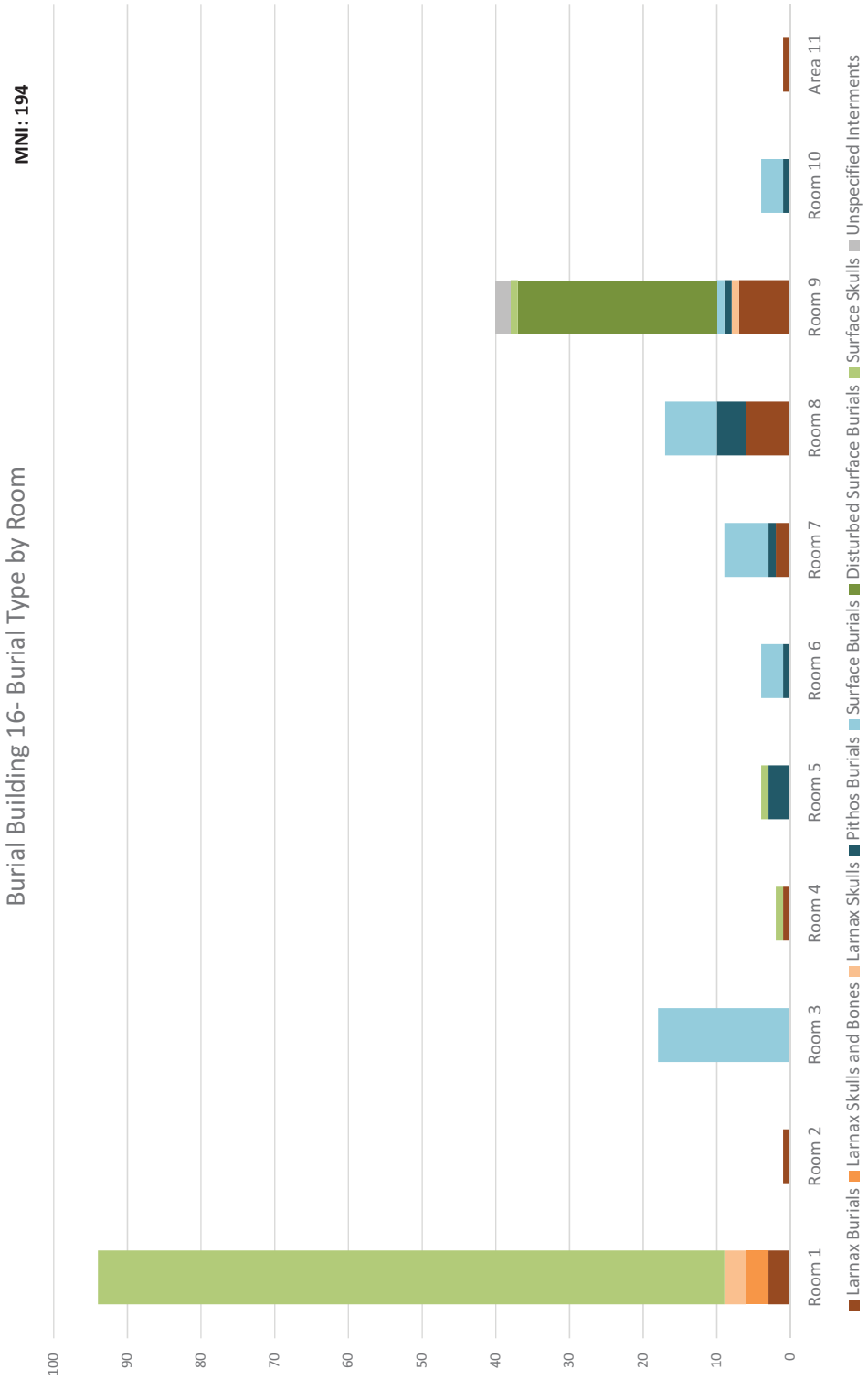


Figure 121: Burial Building 18- Burial Type by Room

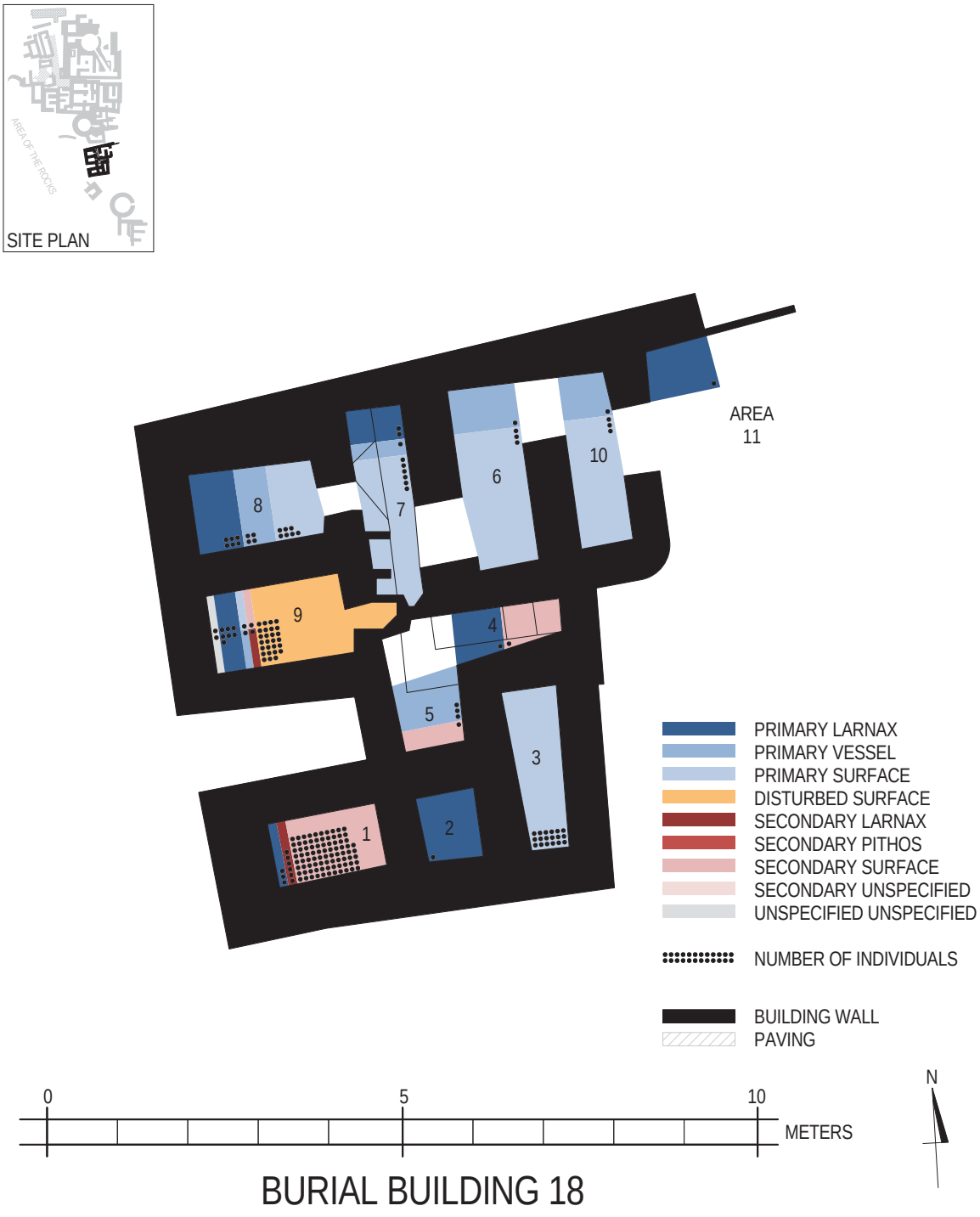


Figure 122: Burial Building 18- Spatial Distribution of Burial Status

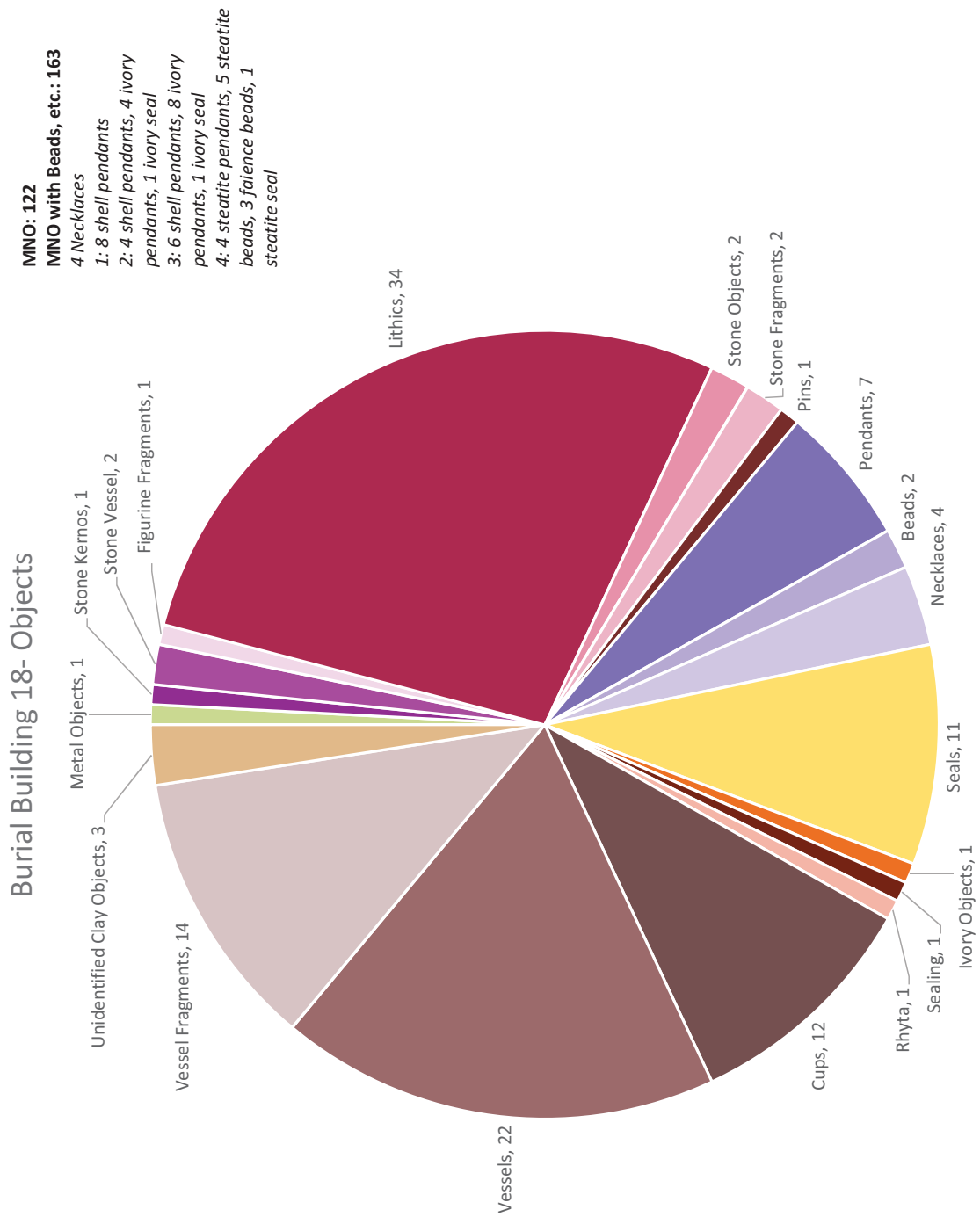


Figure 123: Burial Building 18- Objects

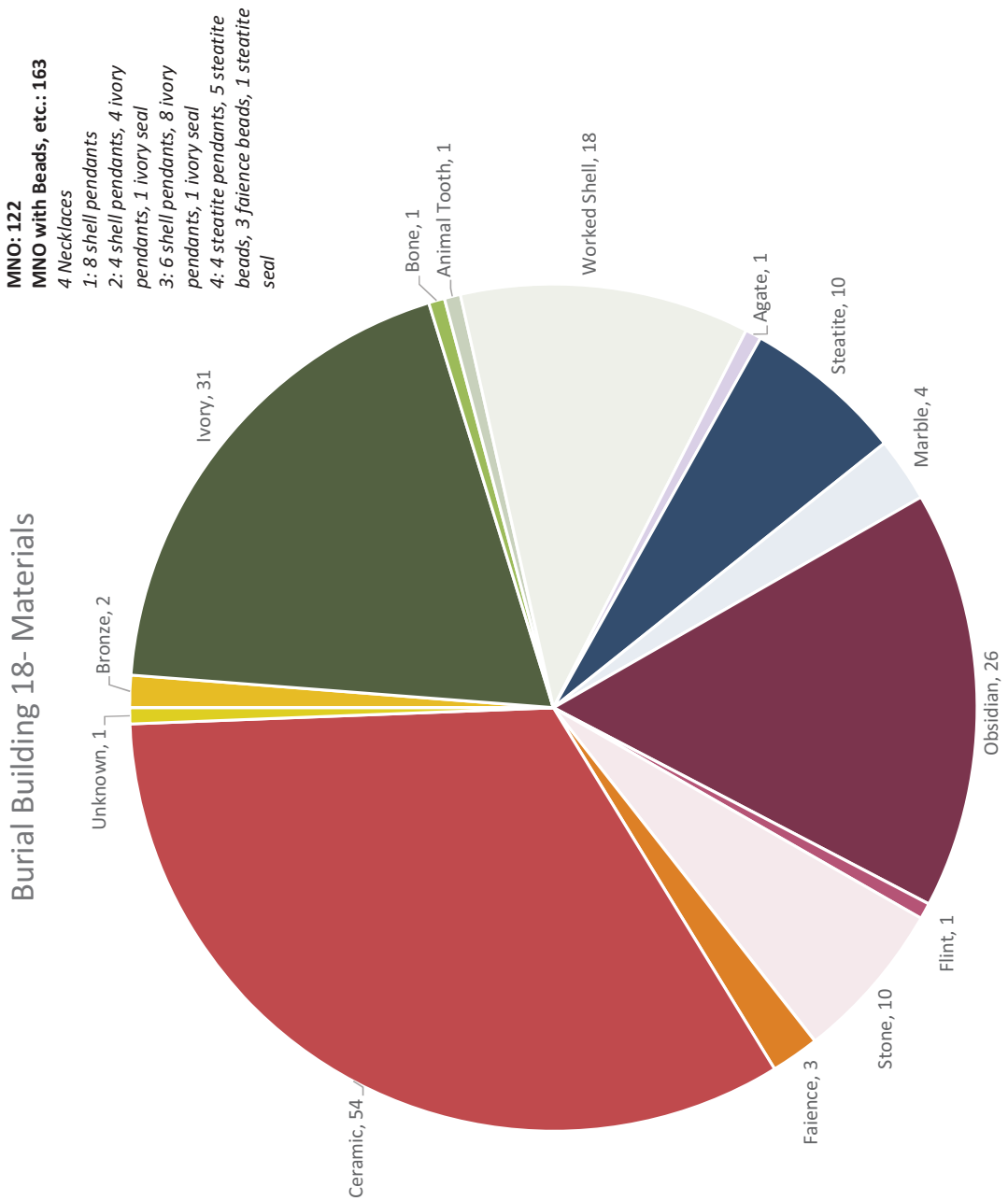


Figure 124: Burial Building 18- Materials

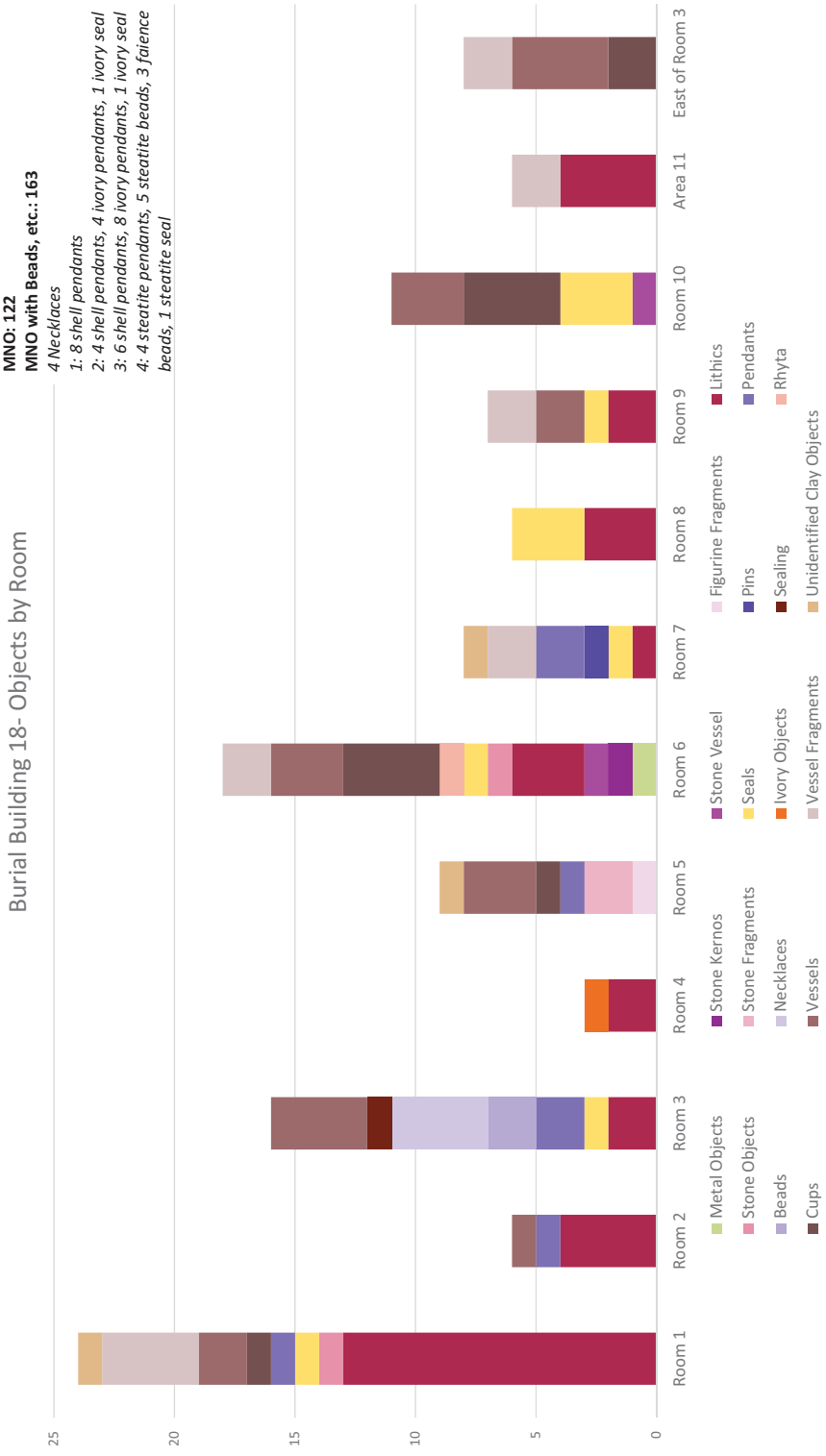


Figure 125: Burial Building 18- Objects by Room

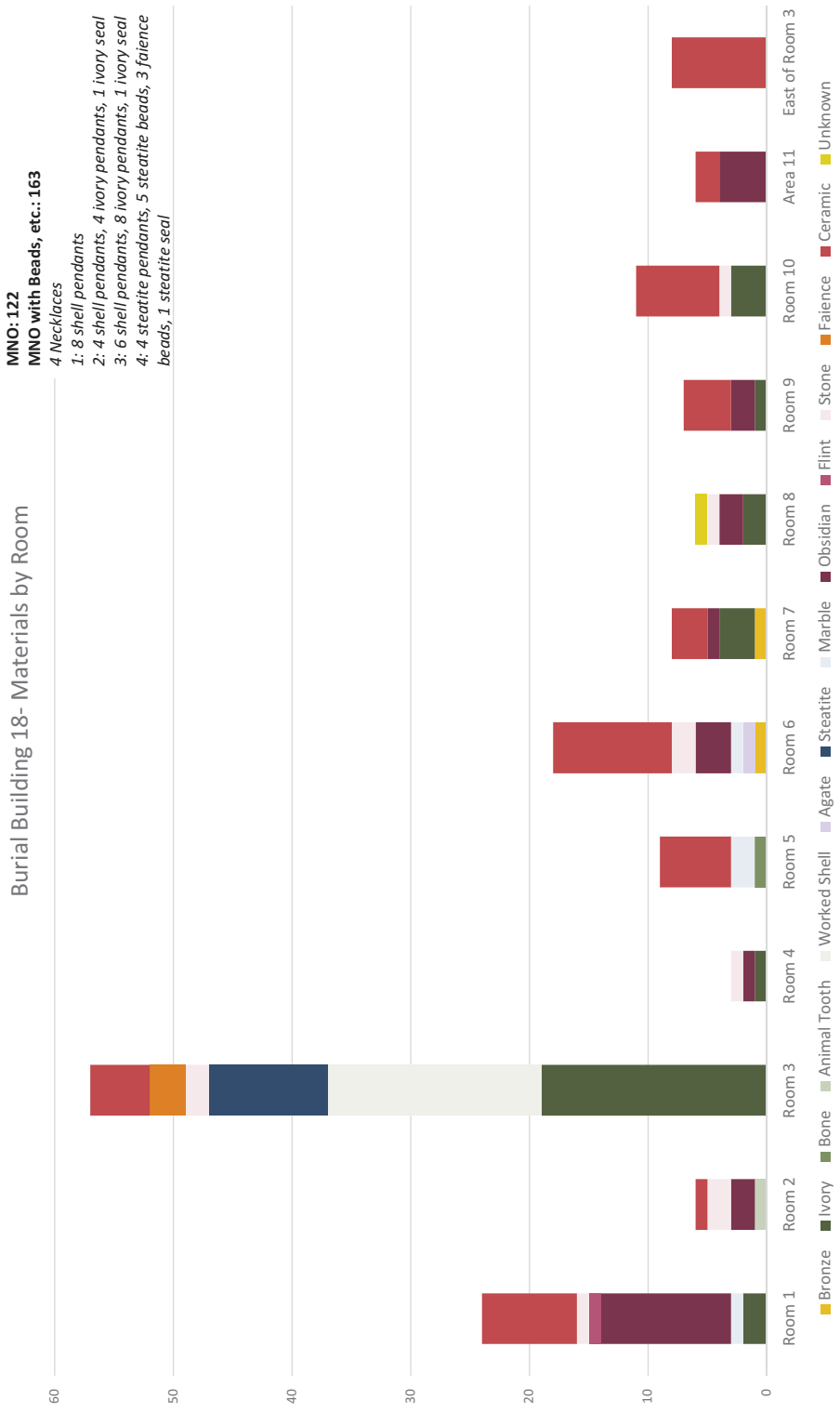


Figure 126: Burial Building 18- Materials by Room

Figure 127: Burial Building 18- Imports

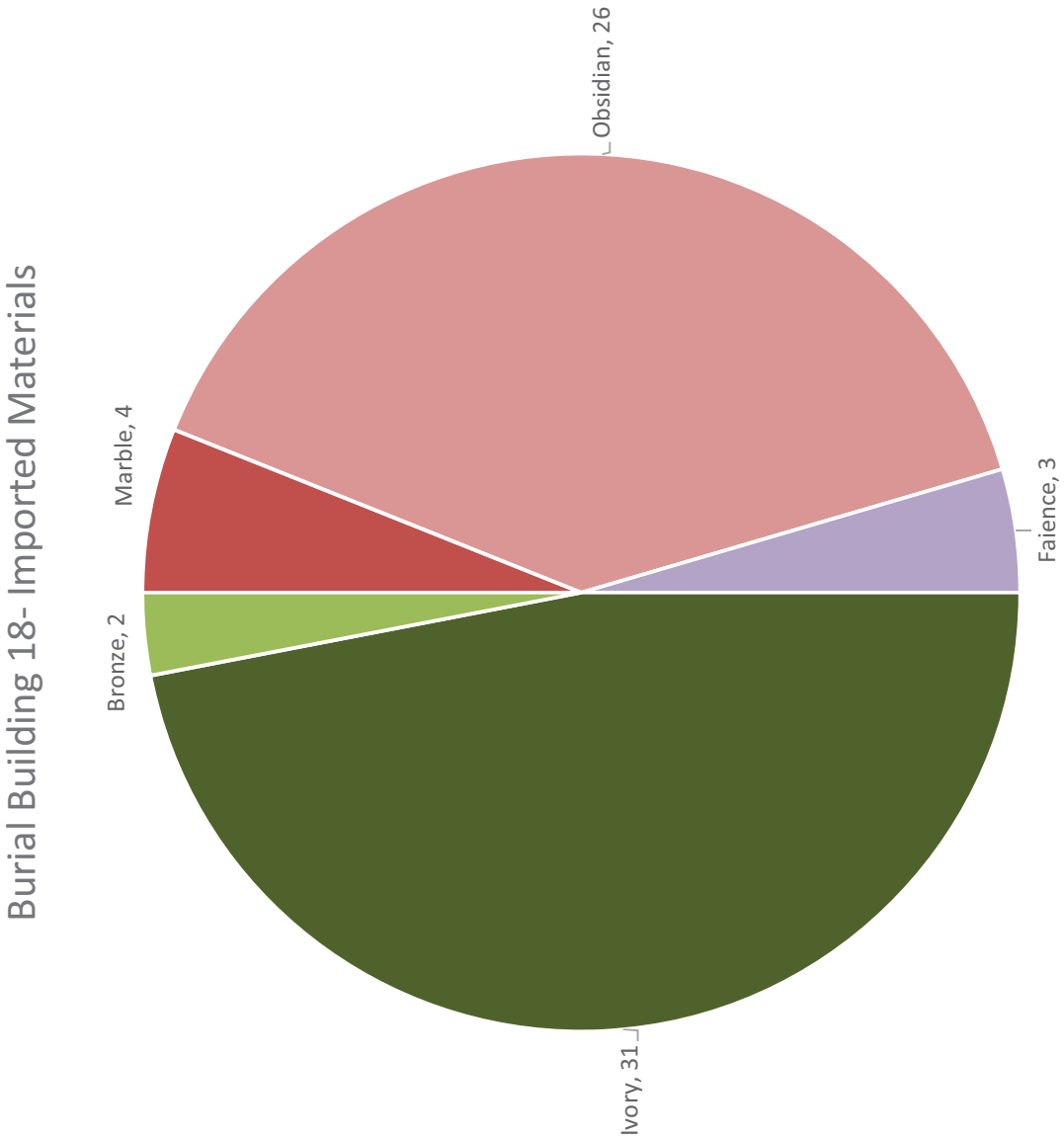


Figure 128: Burial Building 18- Imported Materials

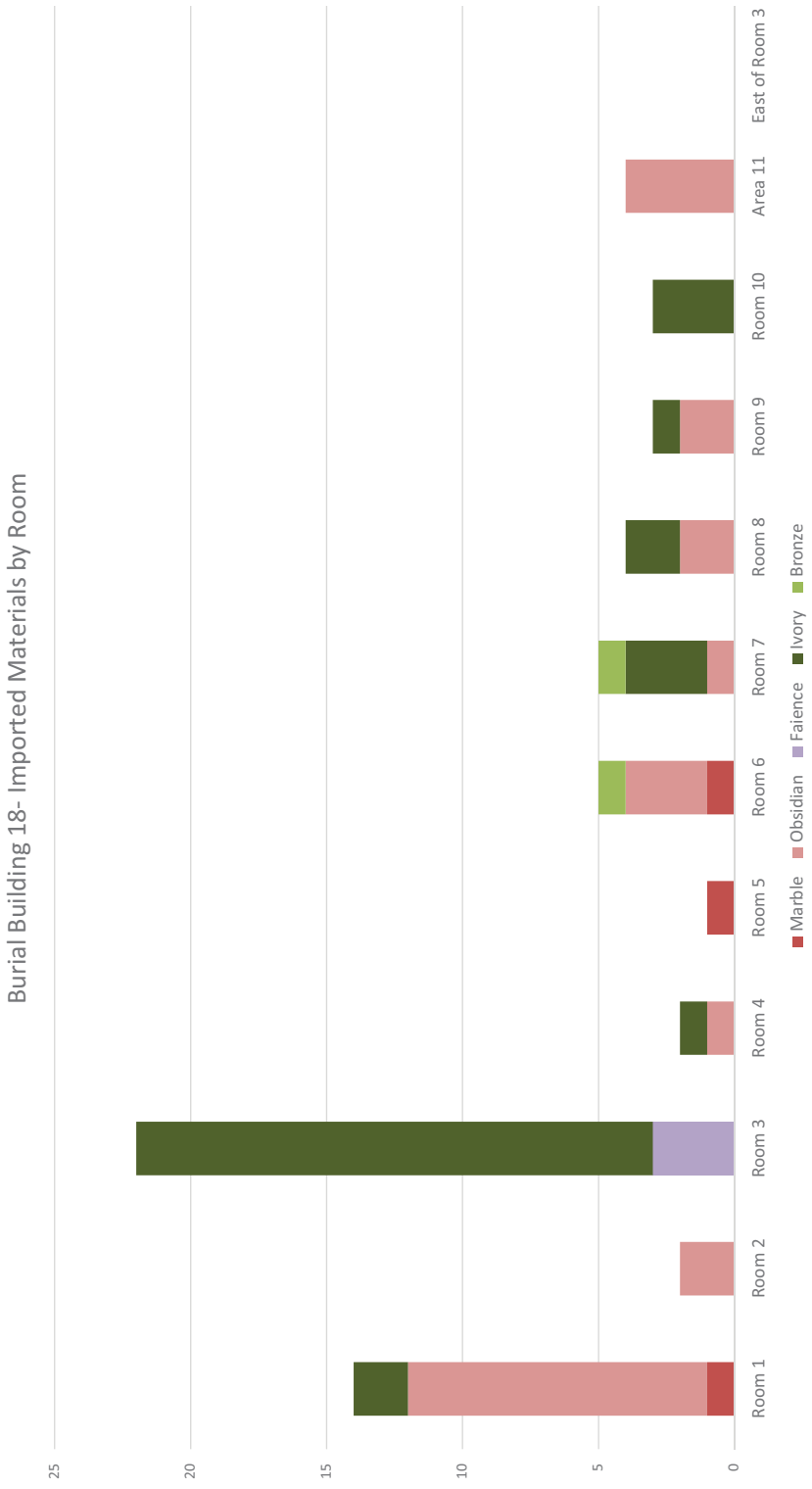


Figure 129: Burial Building 18- Imported Materials by Room

Figure 130: Burial Building 19, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

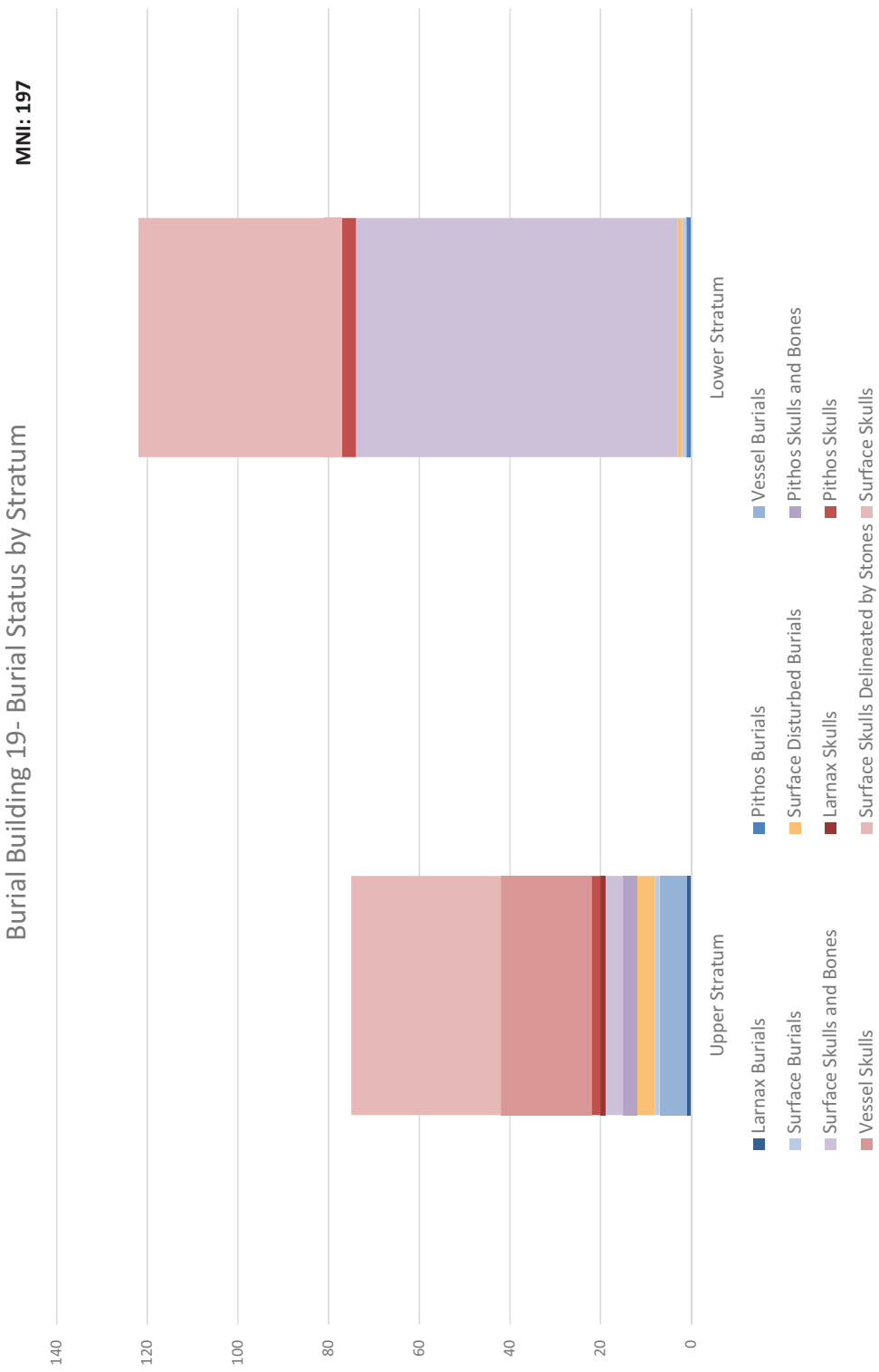


Figure 131: Burial Building 19- Burial Status by Stratum

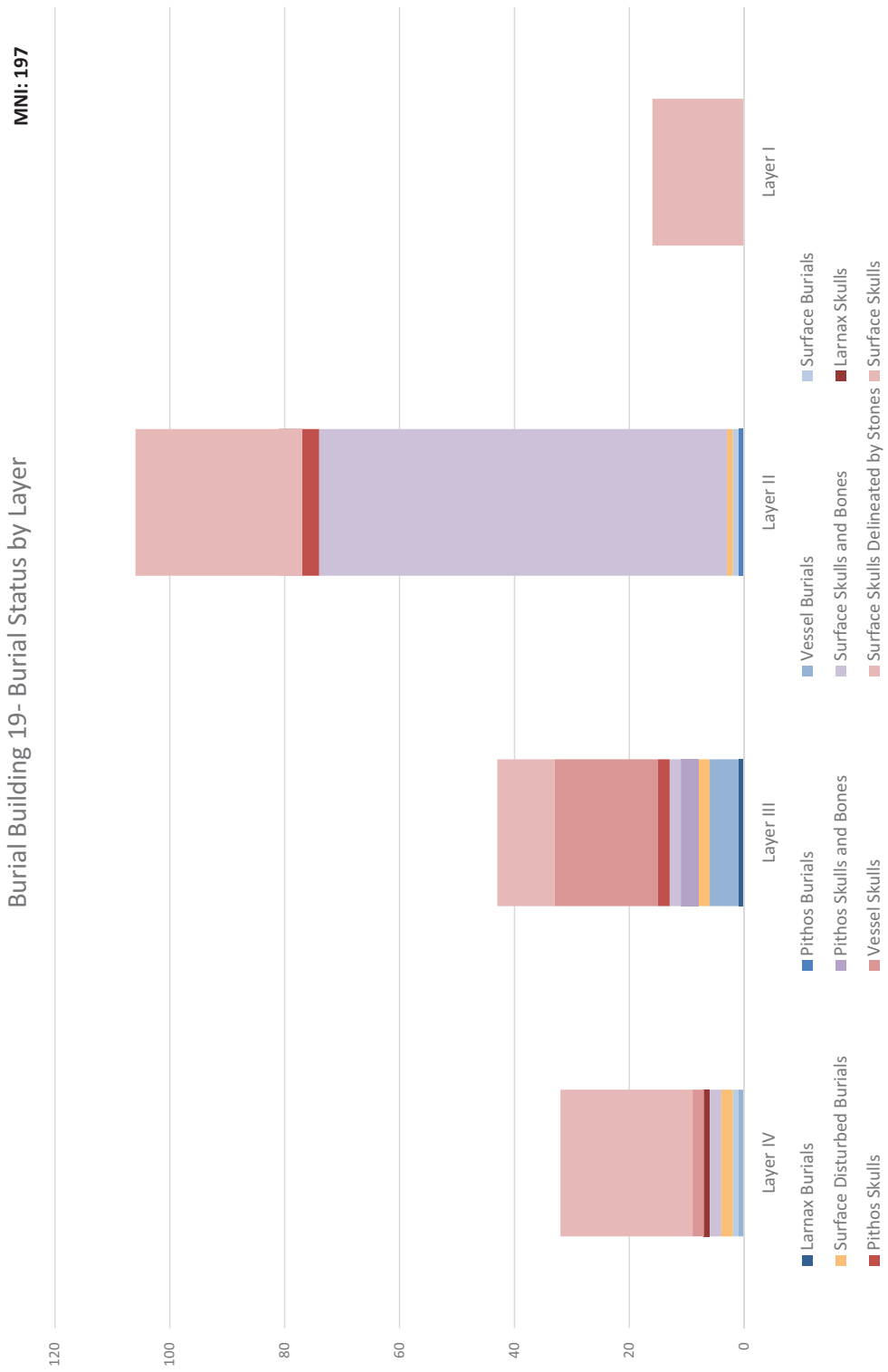


Figure 132: Burial Building 19- Burial Status by Layer

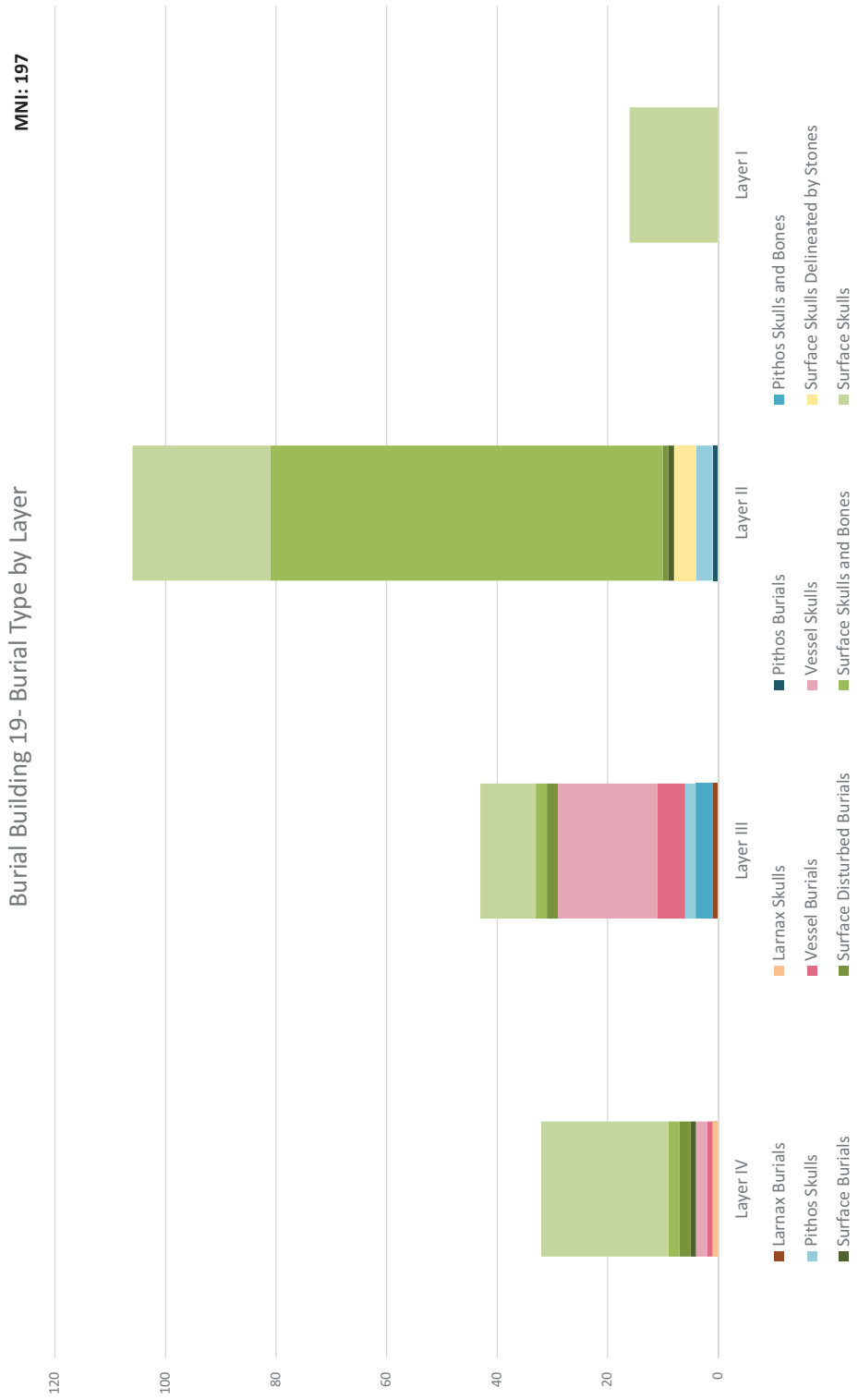


Figure 133: Burial Building 19- Burial Type by Layer

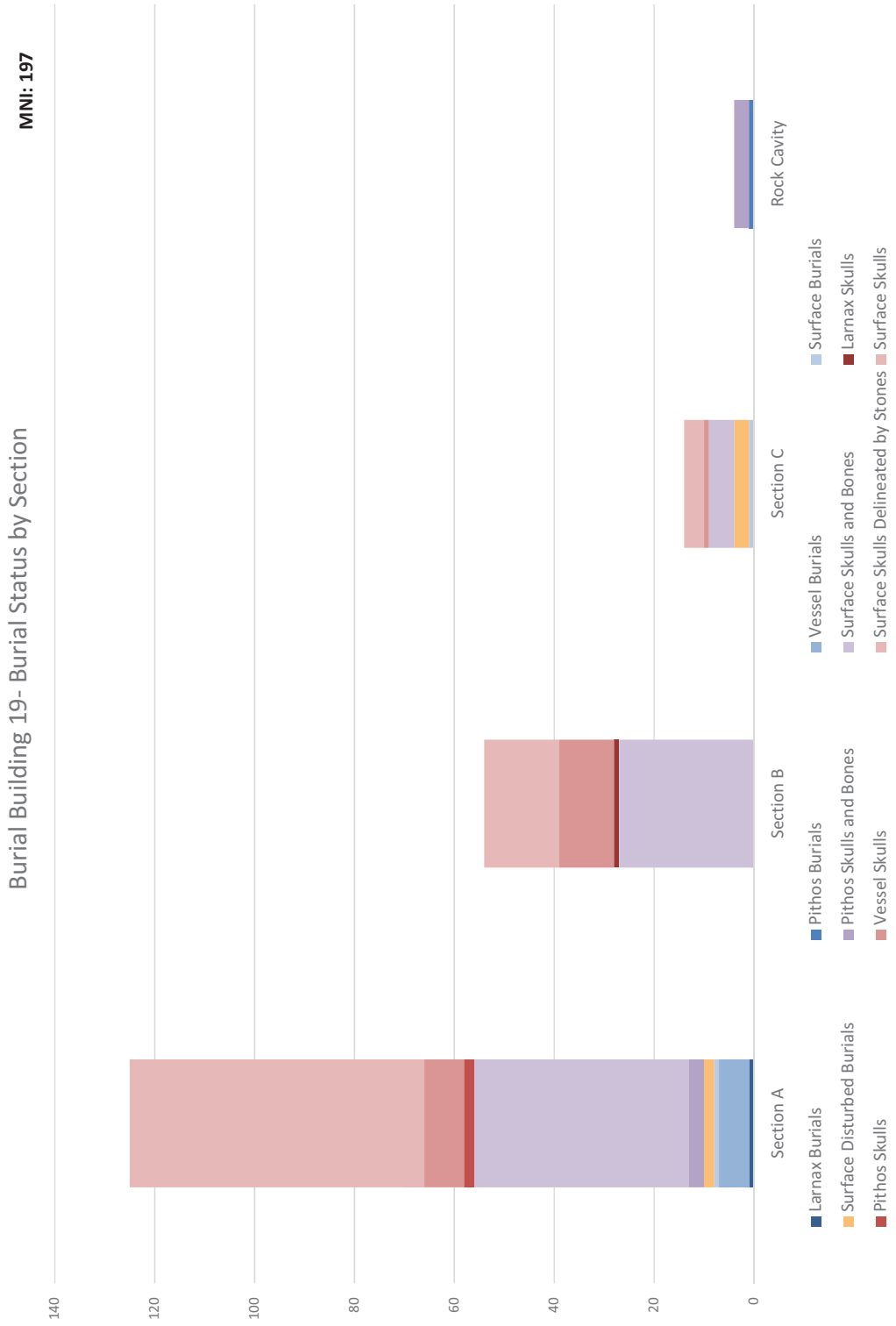


Figure 134: Burial Building 19- Burial Status by Section

Figure 135: Burial Building 19- Burial Type by Section

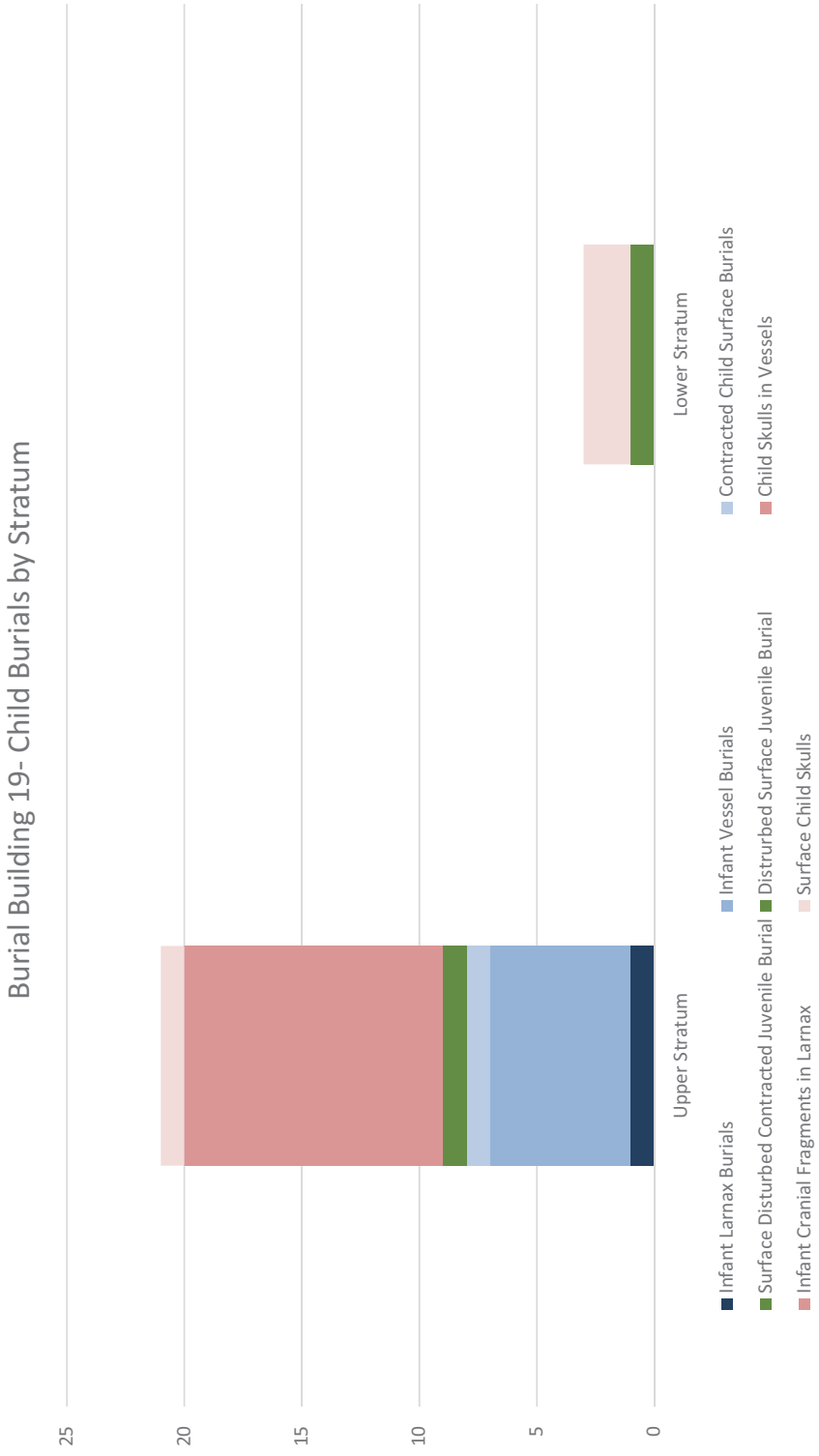


Figure 136: Burial Building 19- Child Burial Type by Stratum

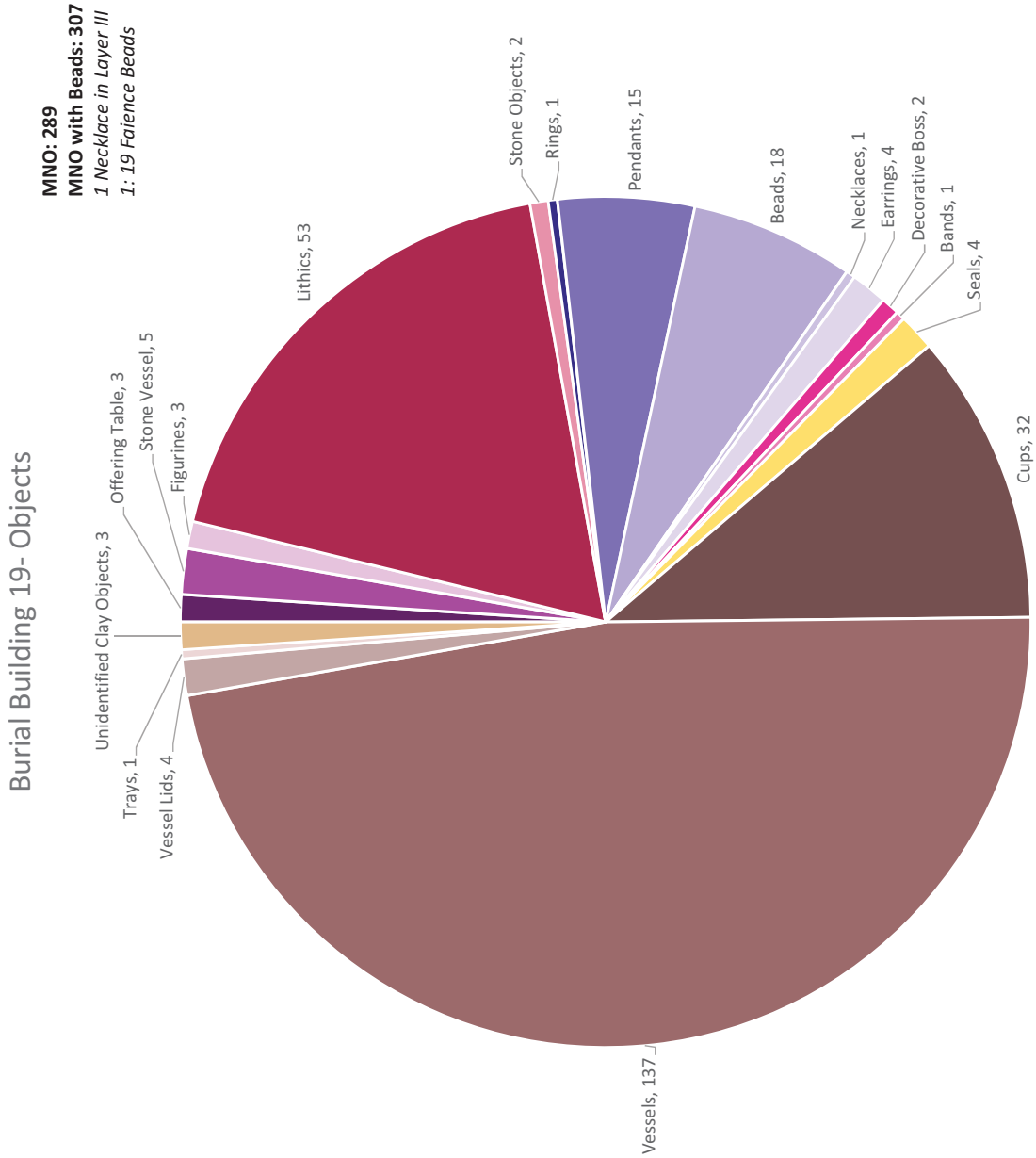


Figure 137: Burial Building 19- Objects

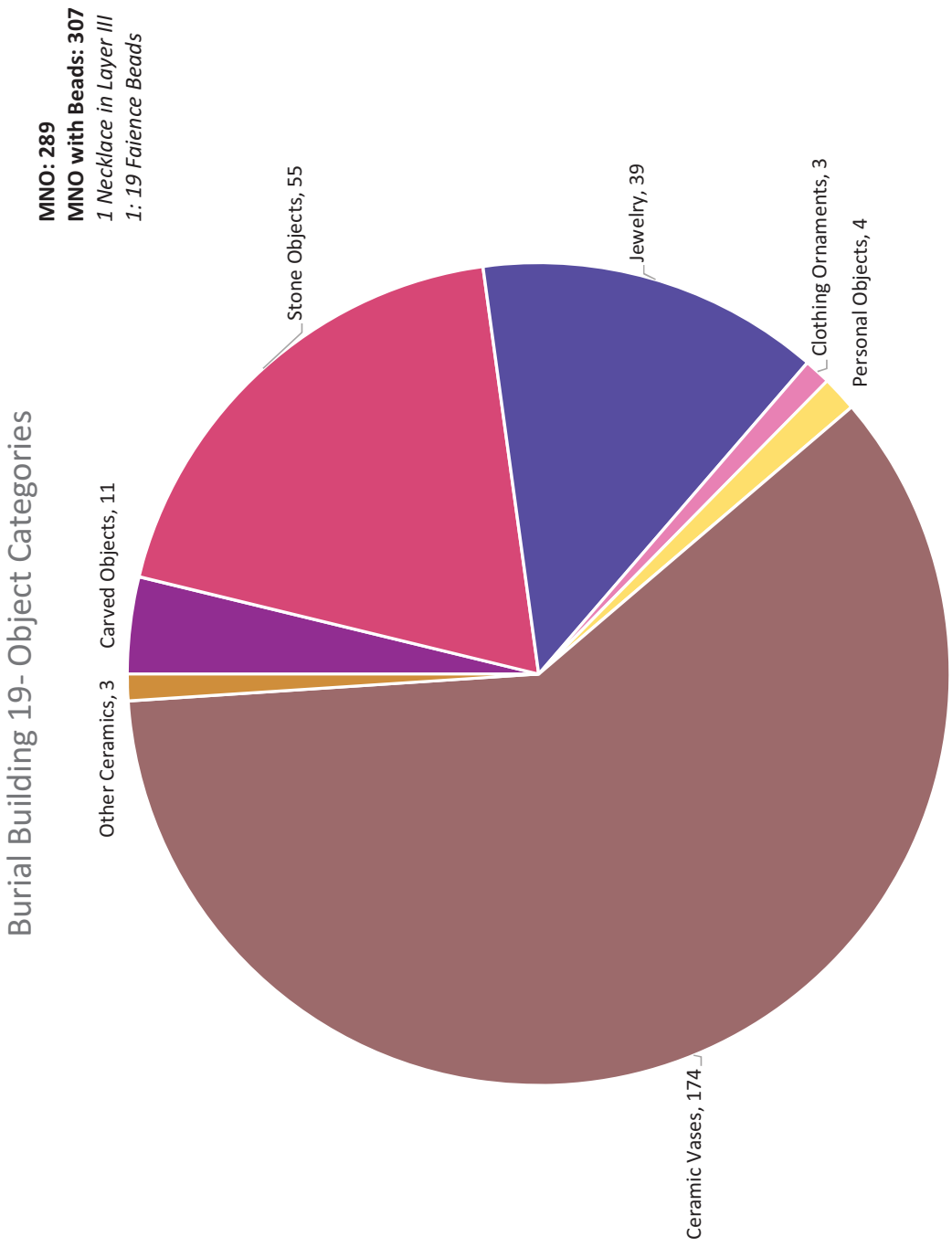


Figure 138: Burial Building 19- Object Categories

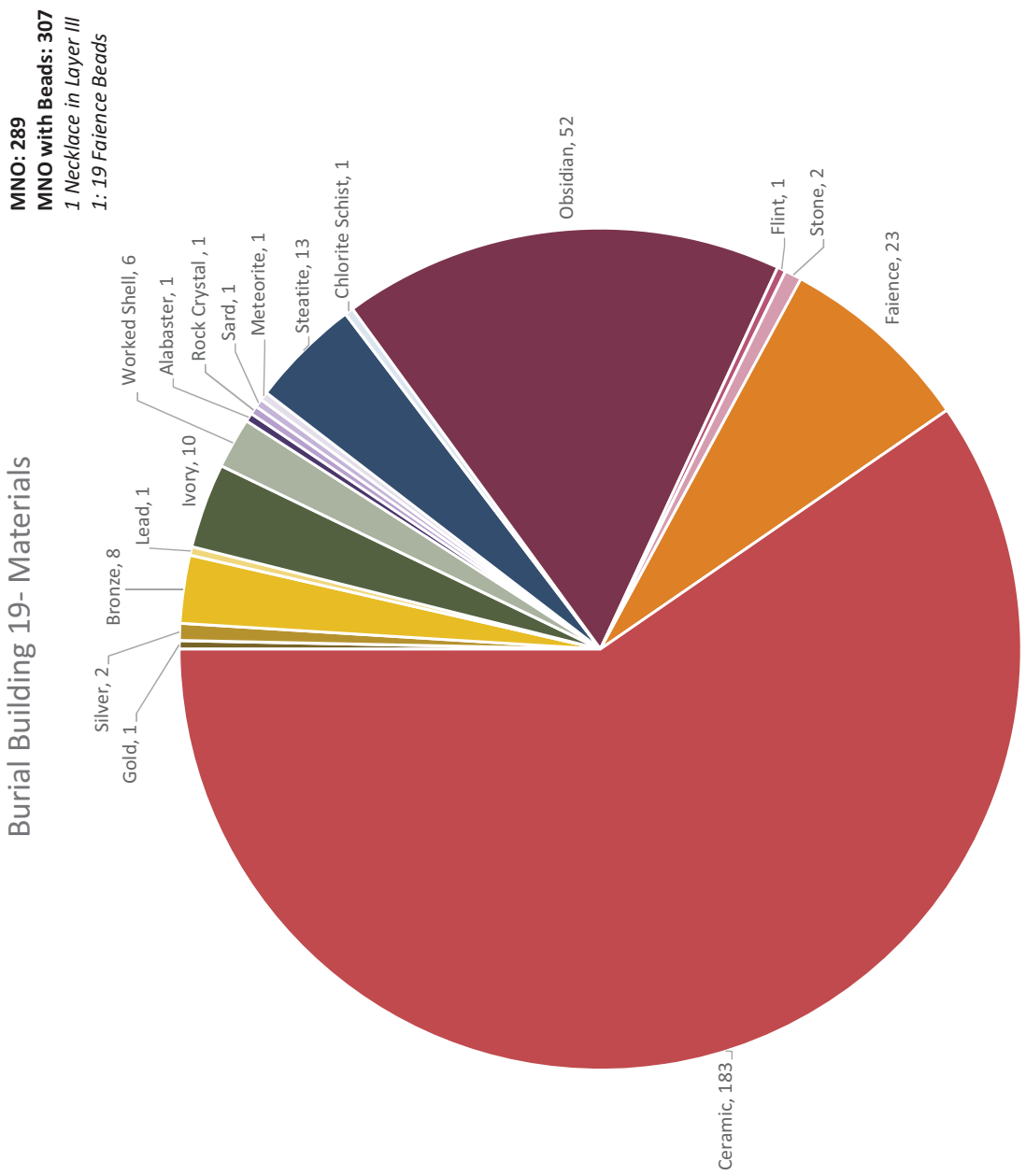


Figure 139: Burial Building 19- Materials

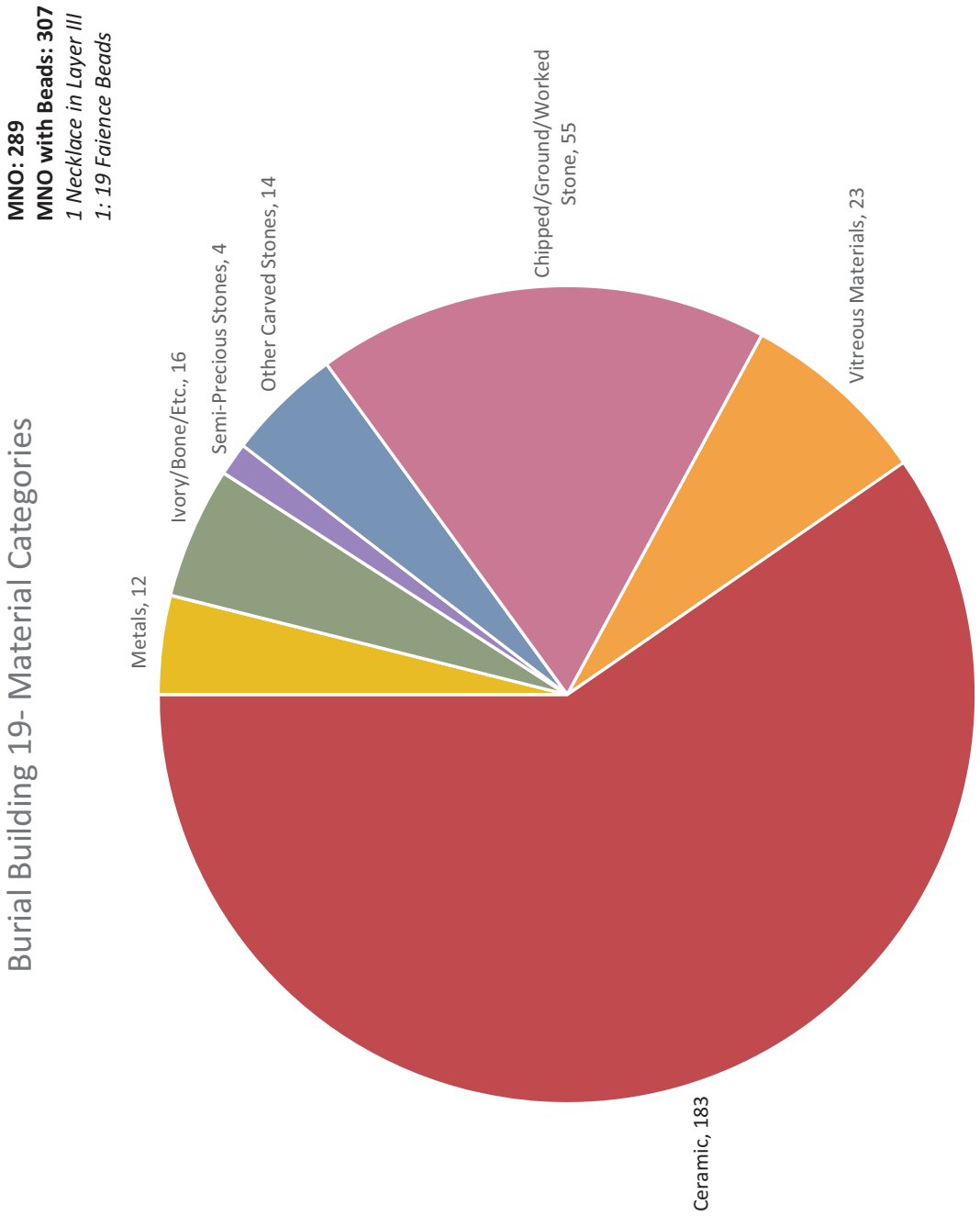


Figure 140: Burial Building 19- Material Categories

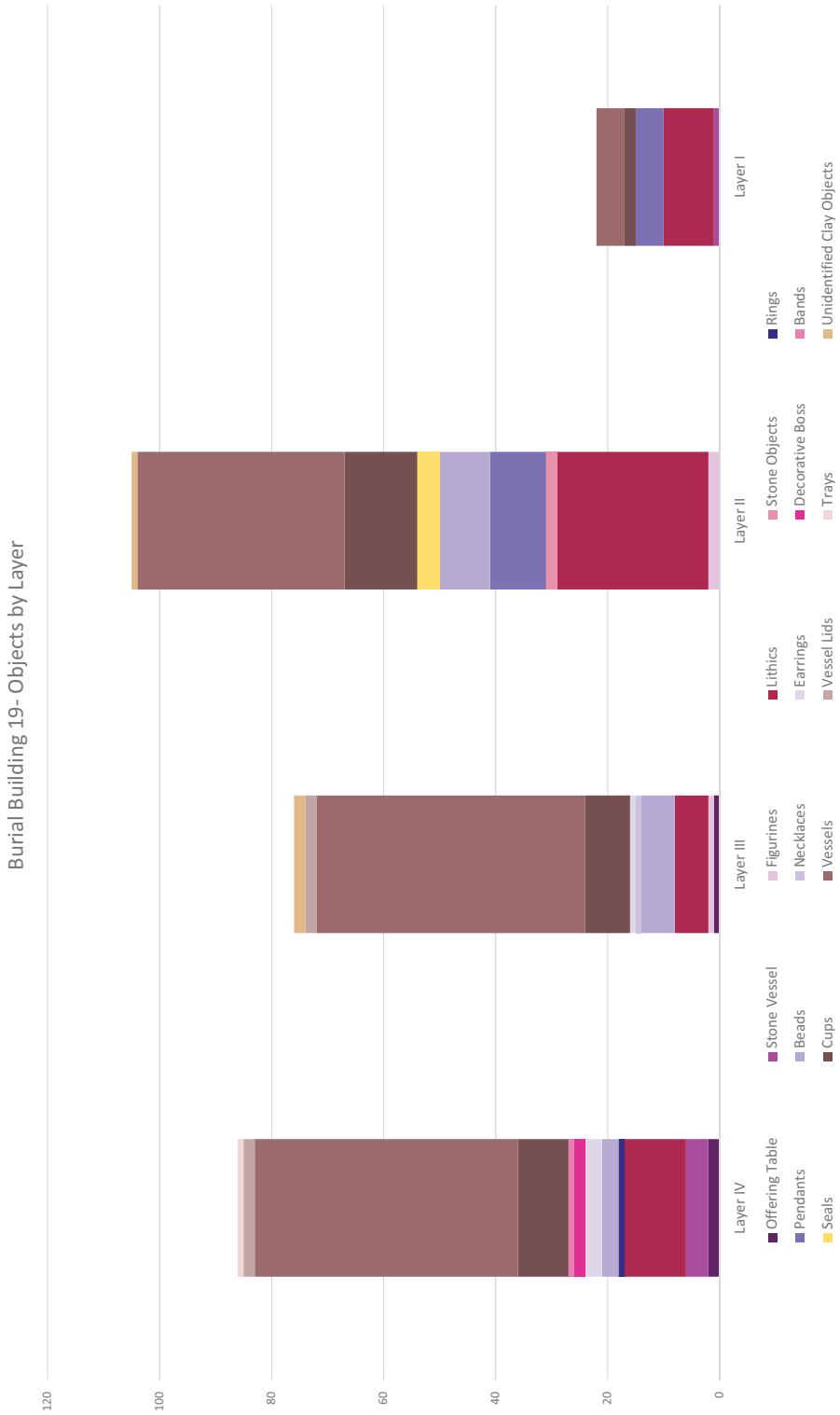


Figure 141: Burial Building 19- Objects by Layer

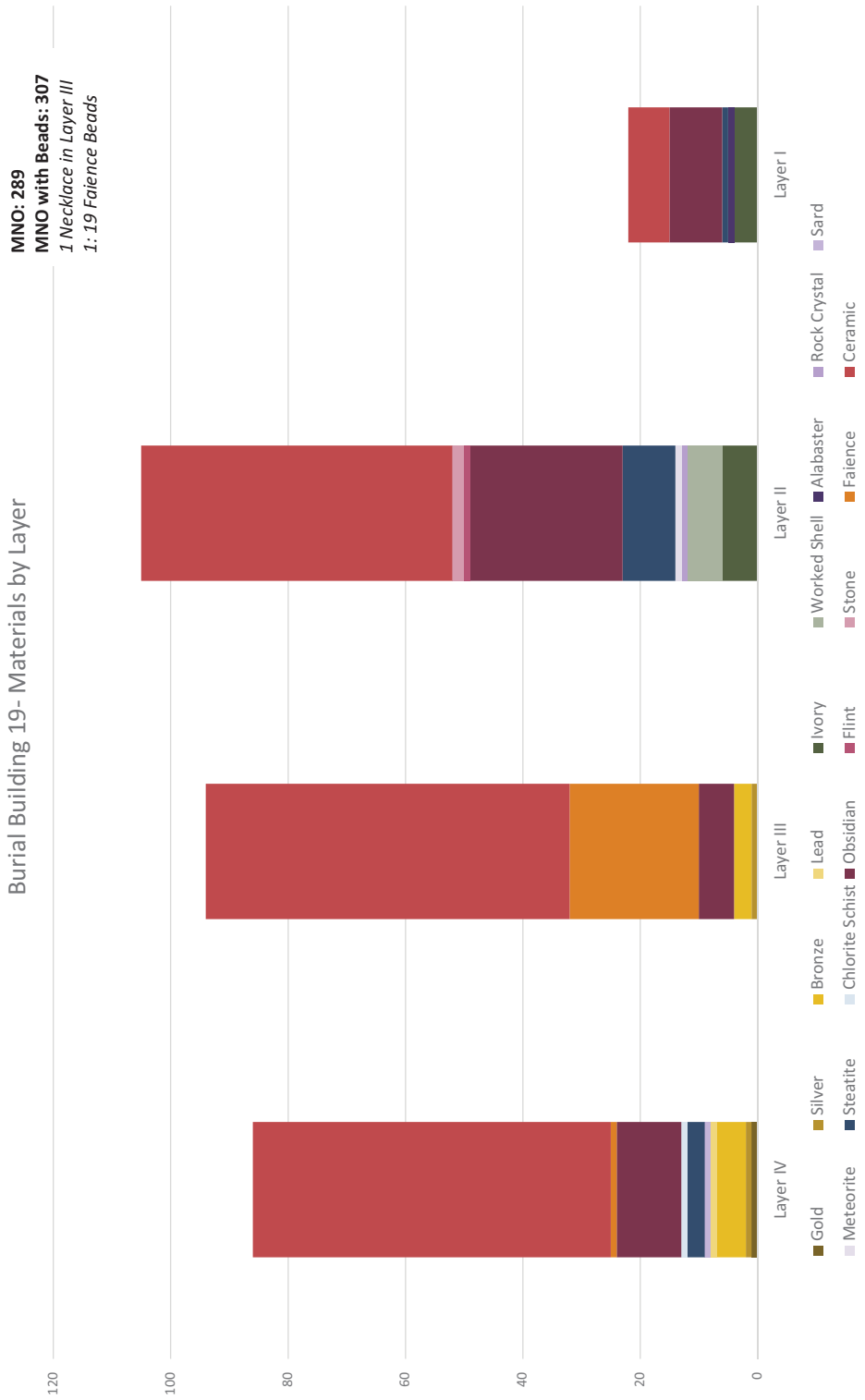


Figure 142: Burial Building 19- Materials by Layer

Figure 143: Burial Building 19- Imports

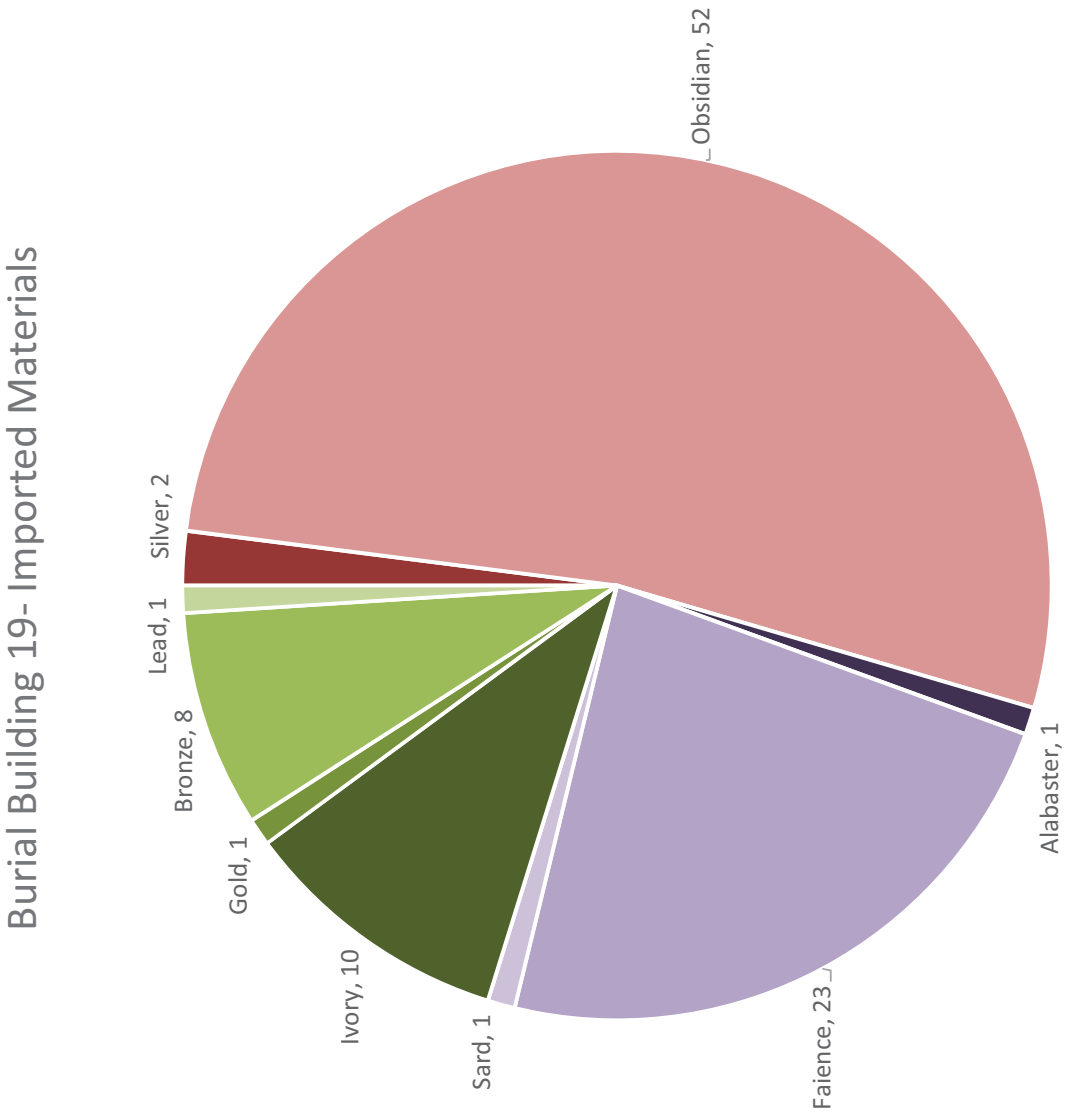


Figure 144: Burial Building 19- Imported Materials

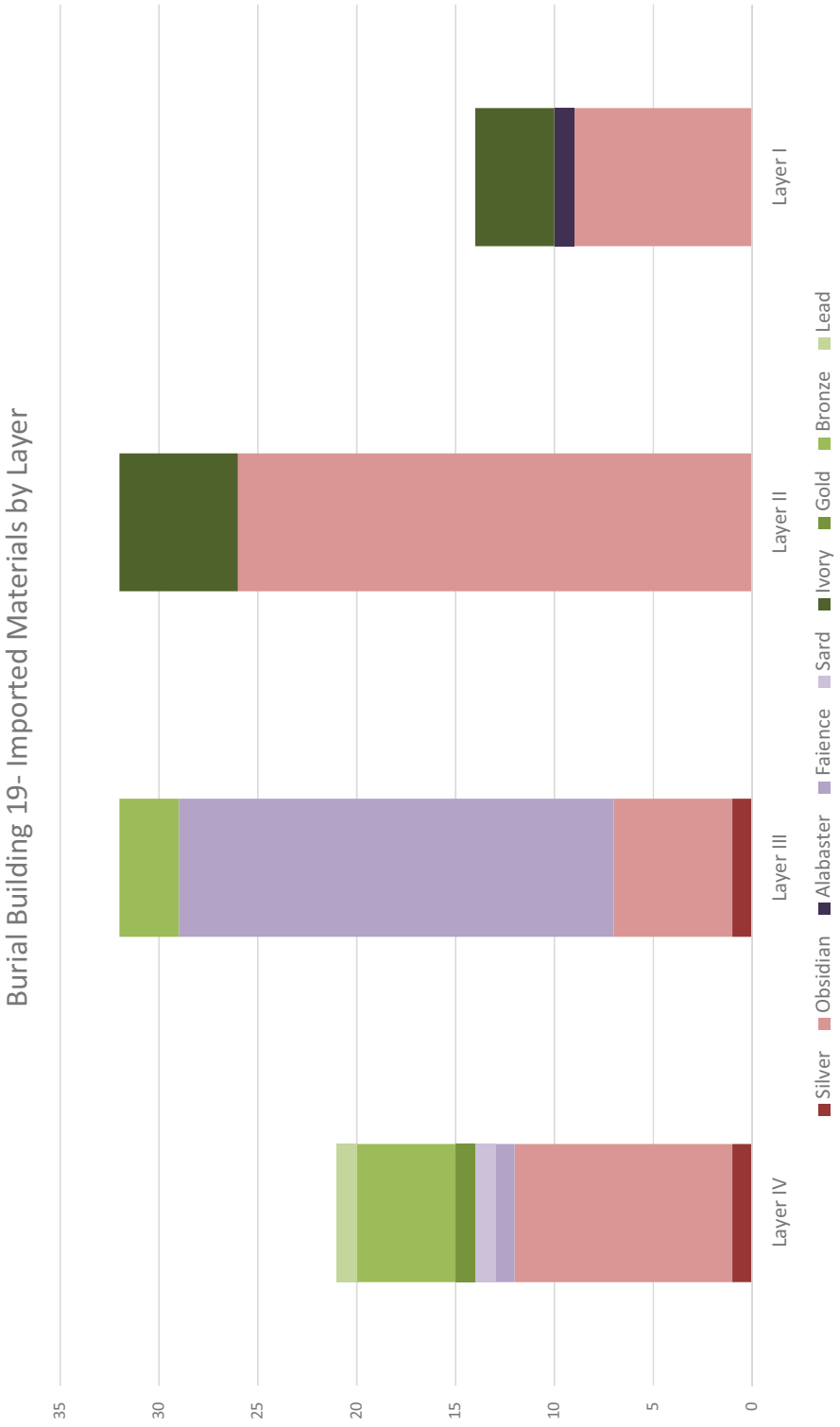


Figure 145: Burial Building 19- Imported Materials by Layer

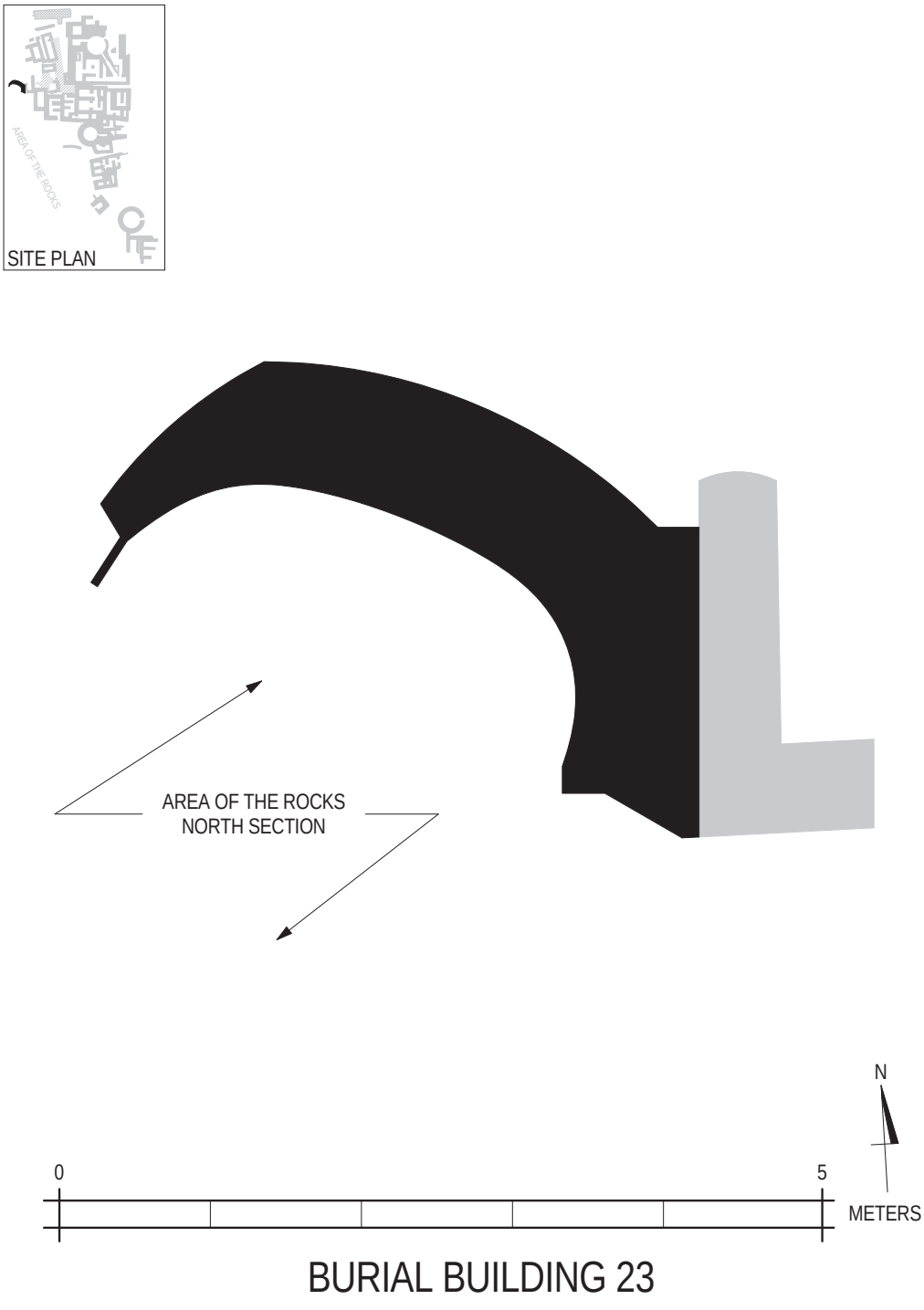


Figure 146: Burial Building 23, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

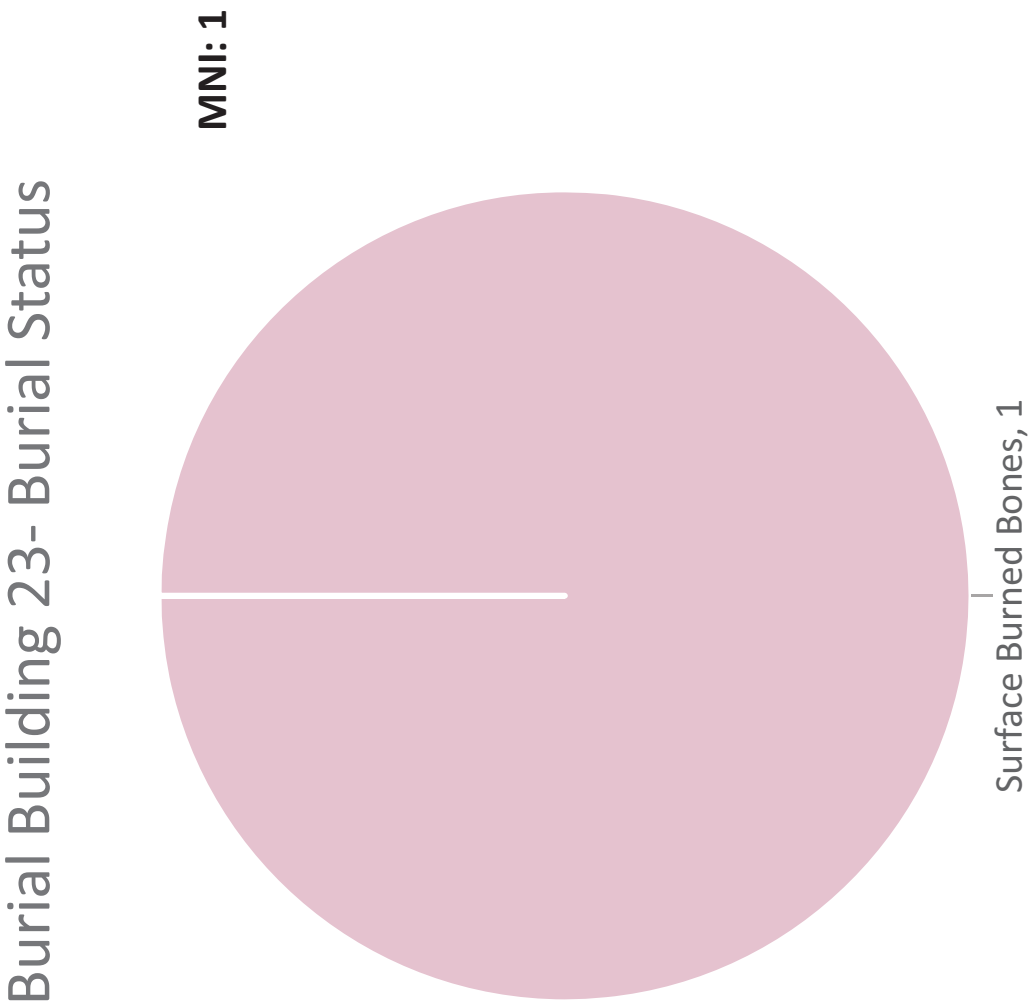


Figure 147: Burial Building 23- Burial Status

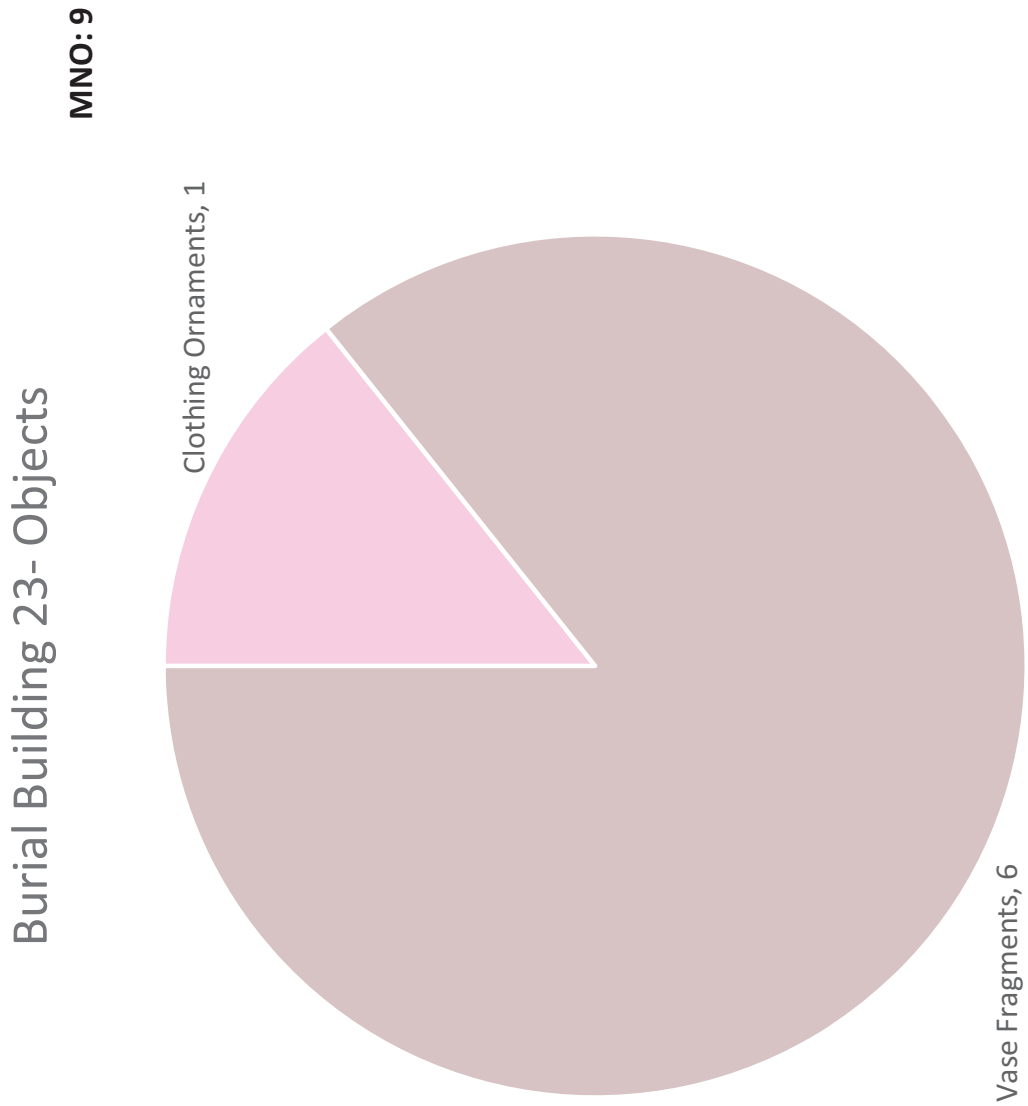


Figure 148: Burial Building 23- Objects

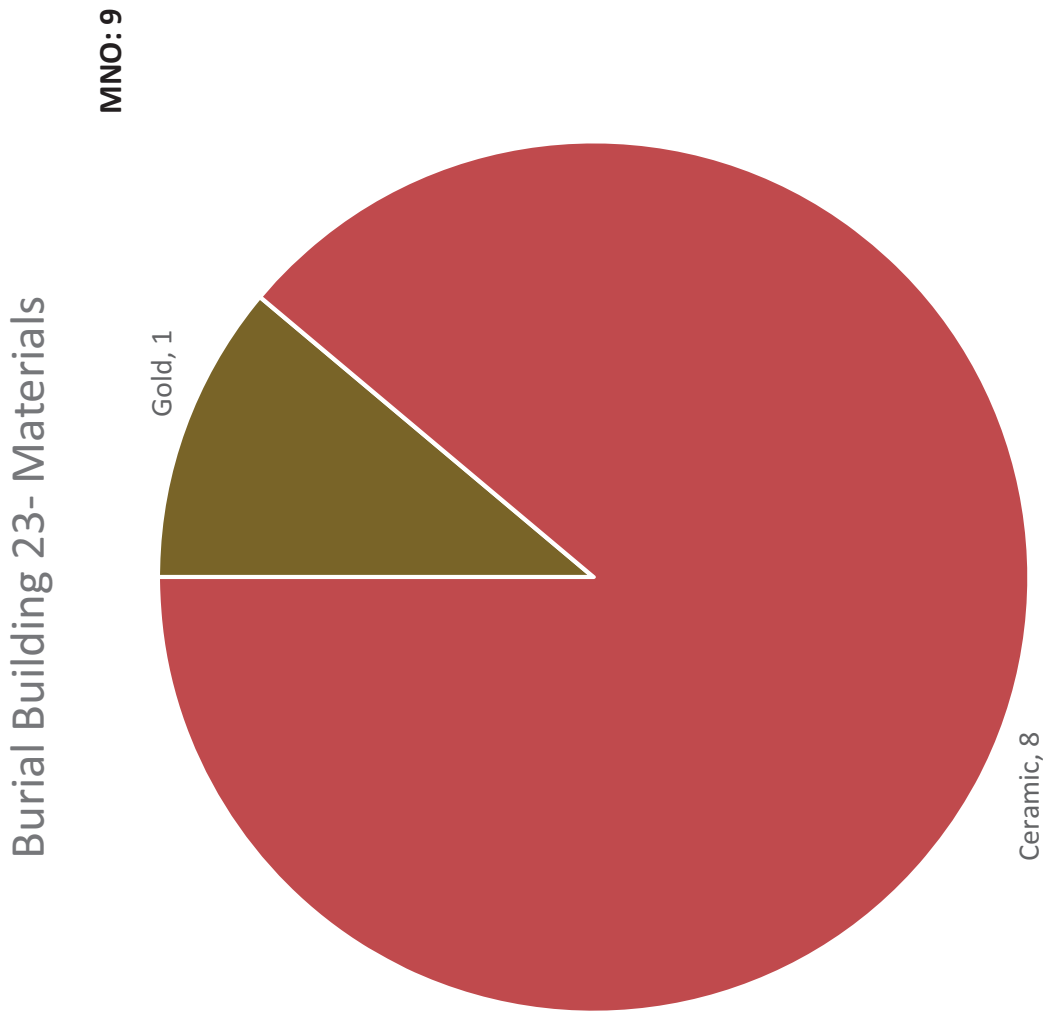


Figure 149: Burial Building 23- Materials

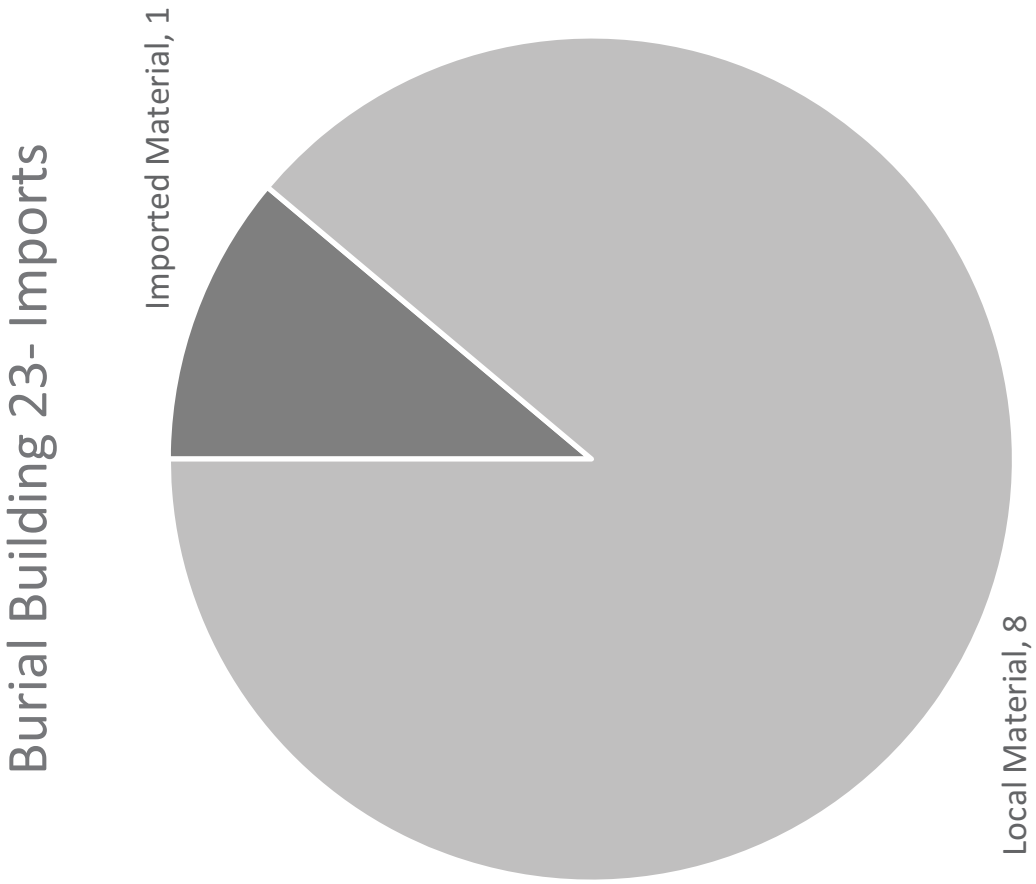


Figure 150: Burial Building 23- Imports

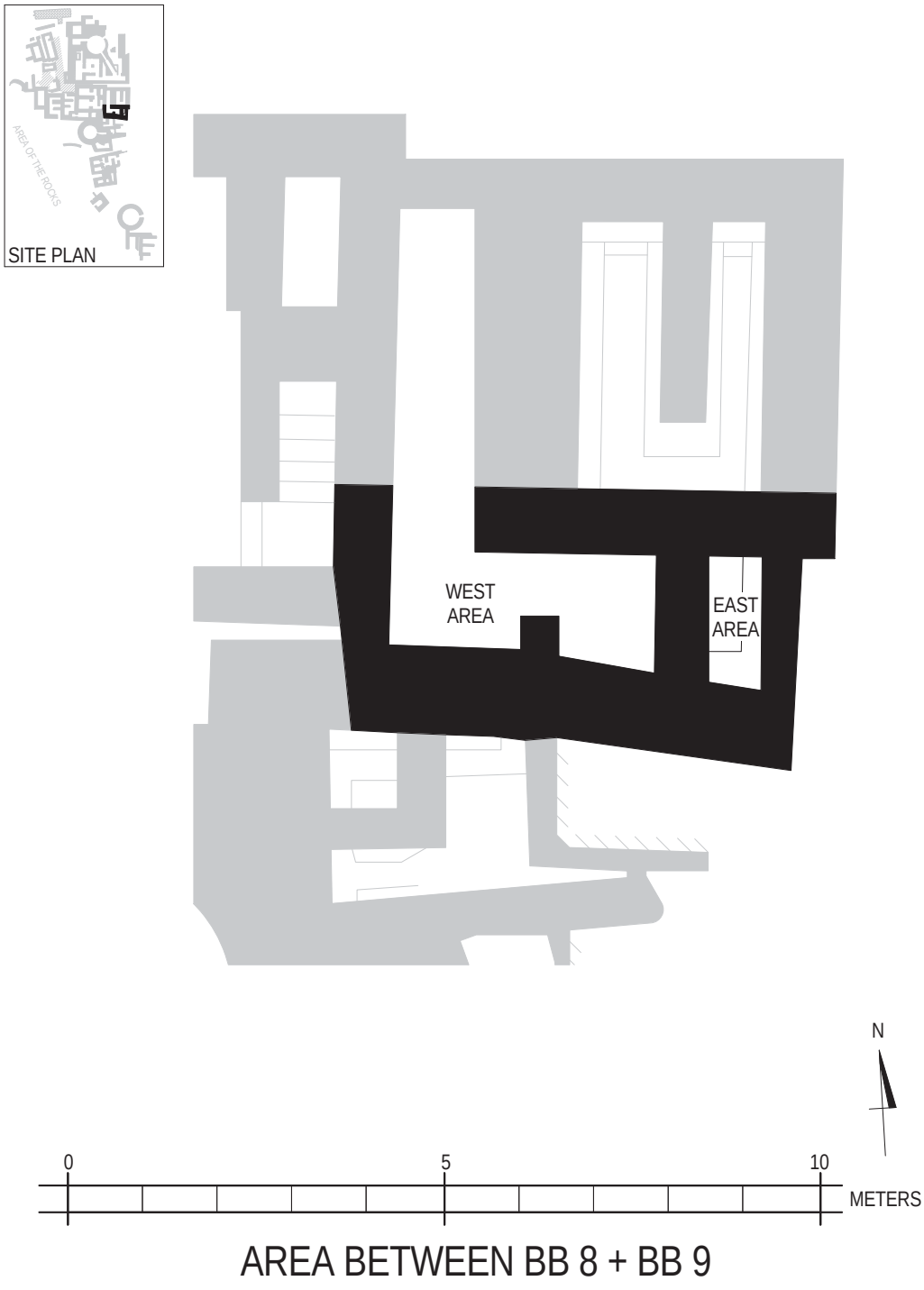


Figure 151: Area Between Burial Building 8 + Burial Building 9, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

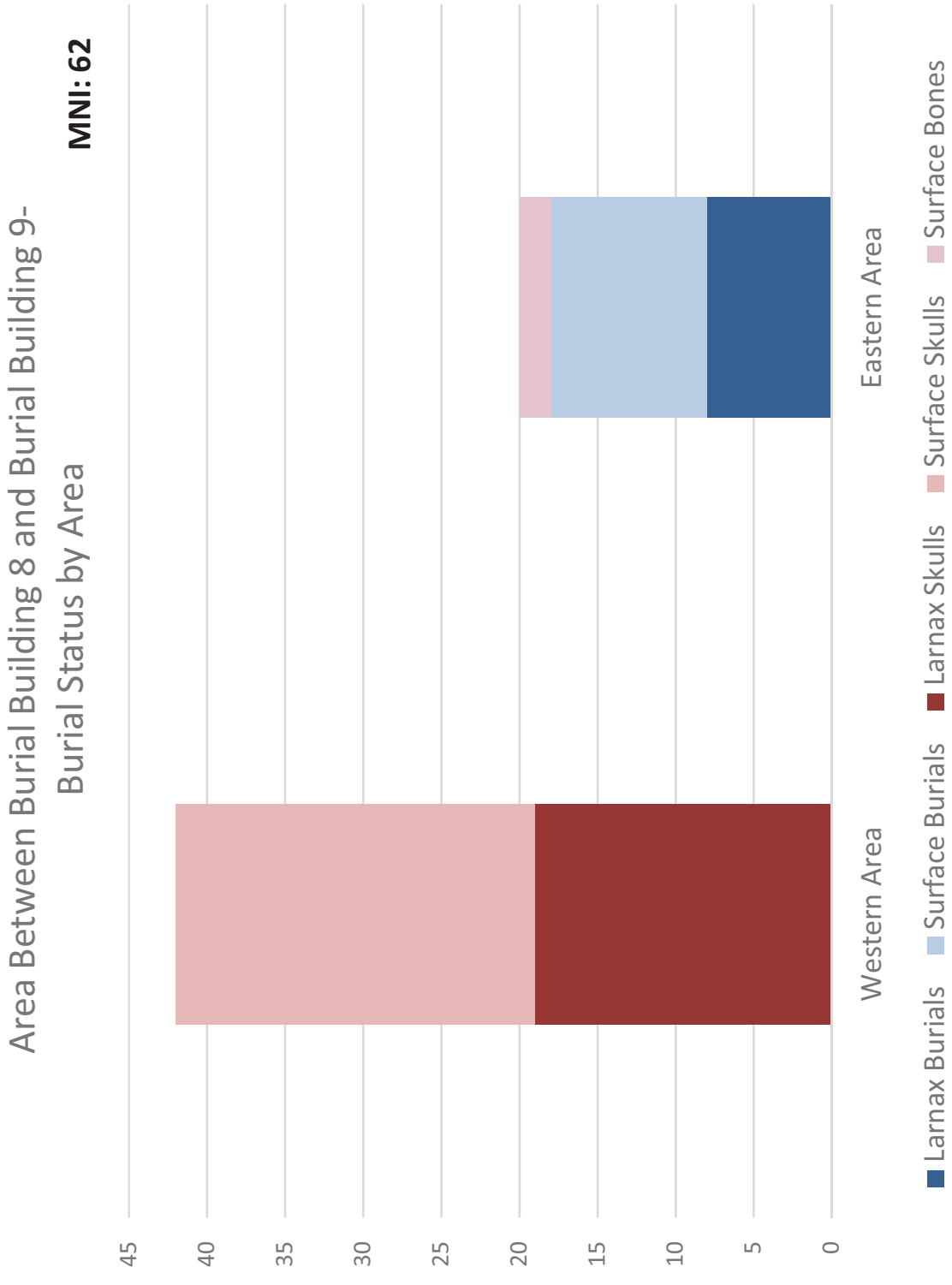


Figure 152: Area between Burial Building 8 and Burial Building 9- Burial Status by Area

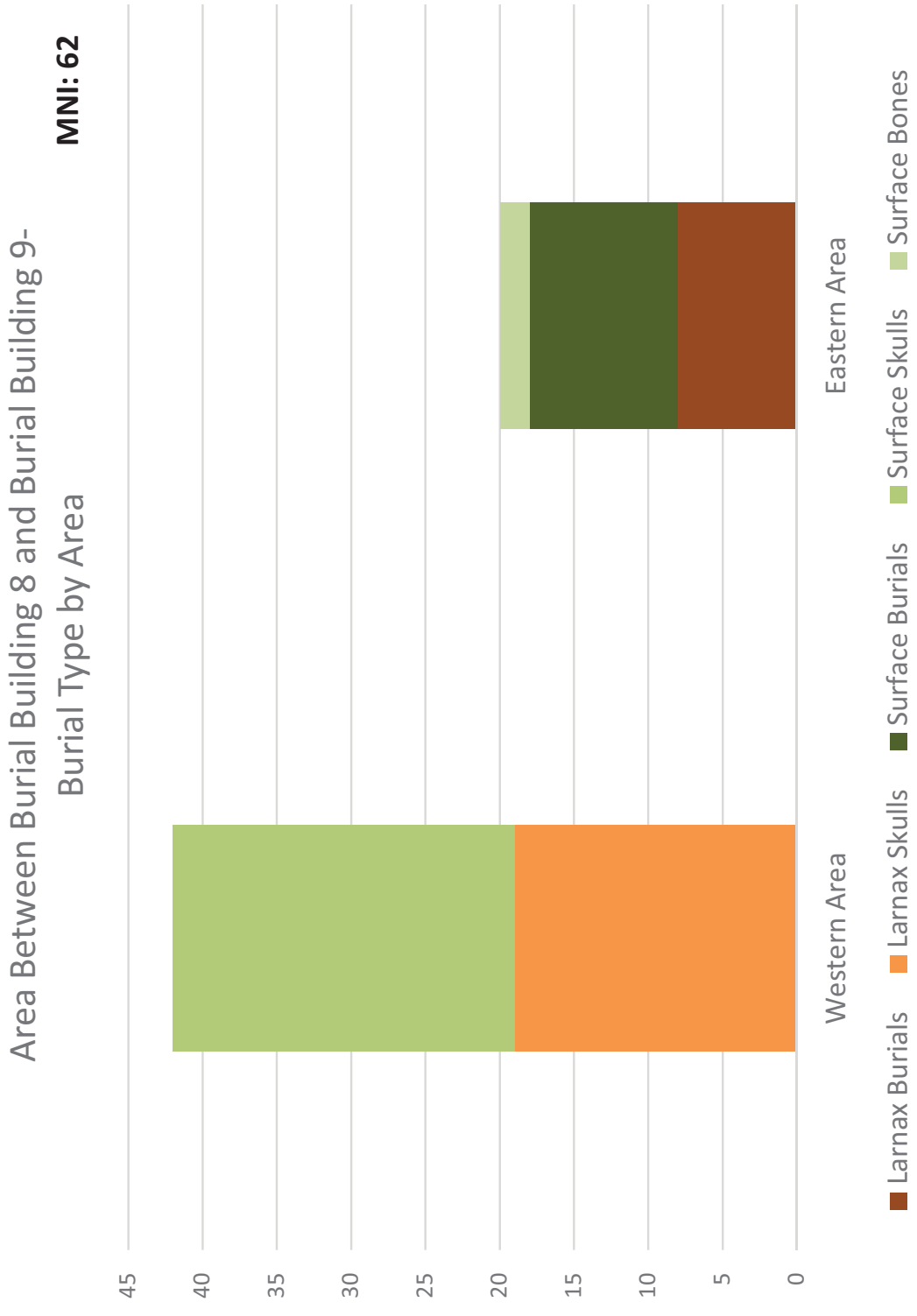


Figure 153: Area between Burial Building 8 and Burial Building 9- Burial Type by Area

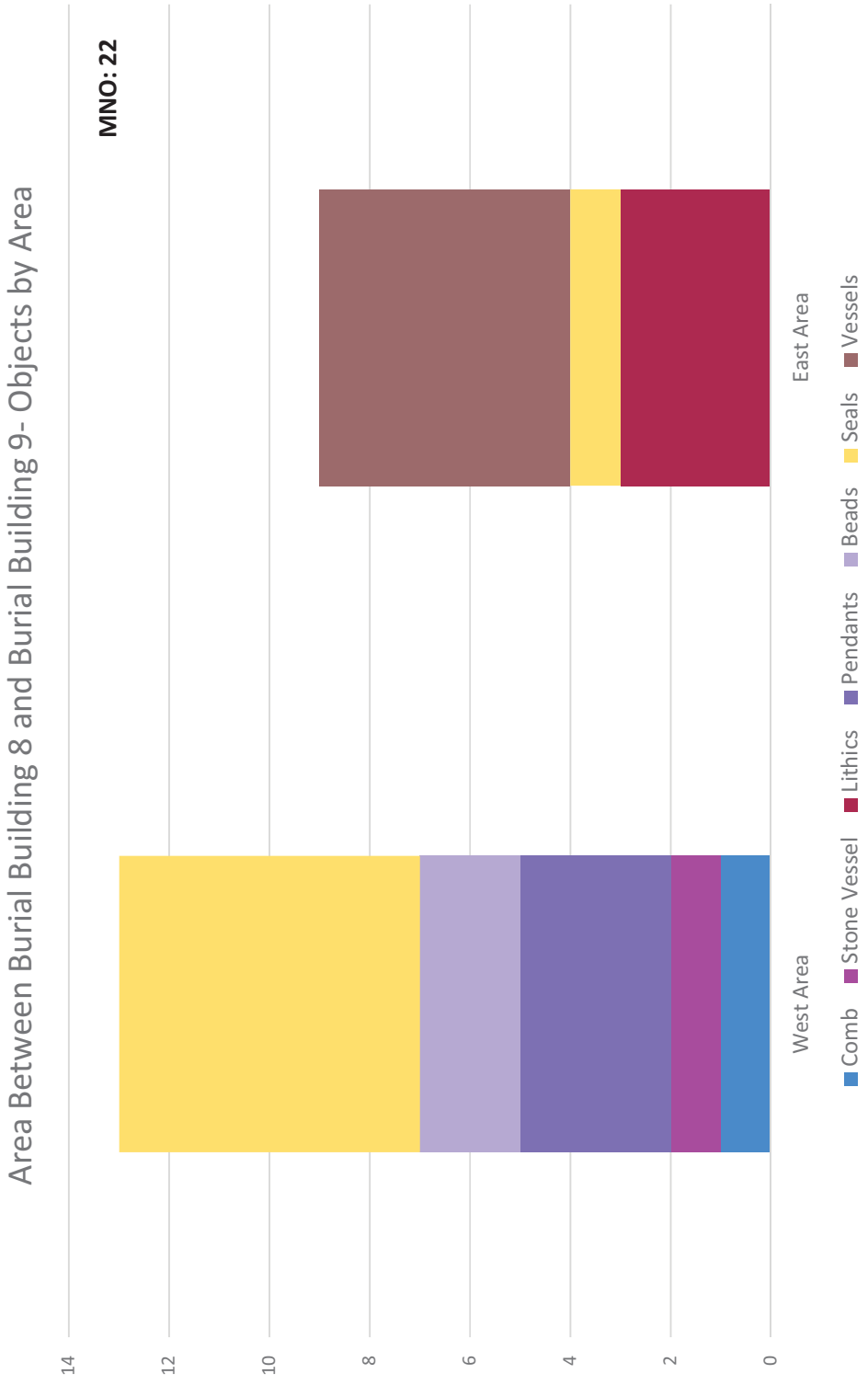


Figure 154: Area between Burial Building 8 and Burial Building 9- Objects by Area

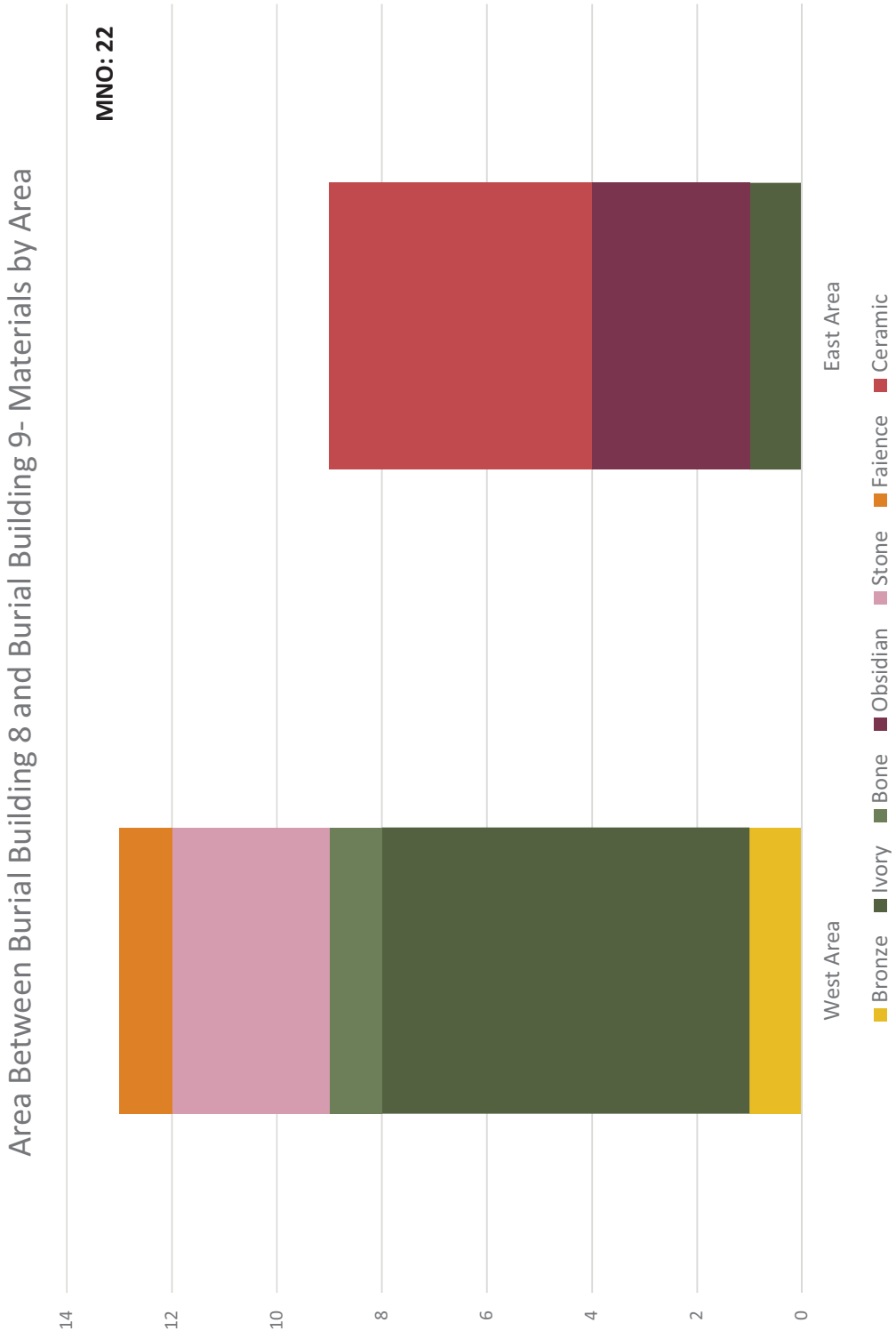


Figure 155: Area between Burial Building 8 and Burial Building 9- Materials by Area

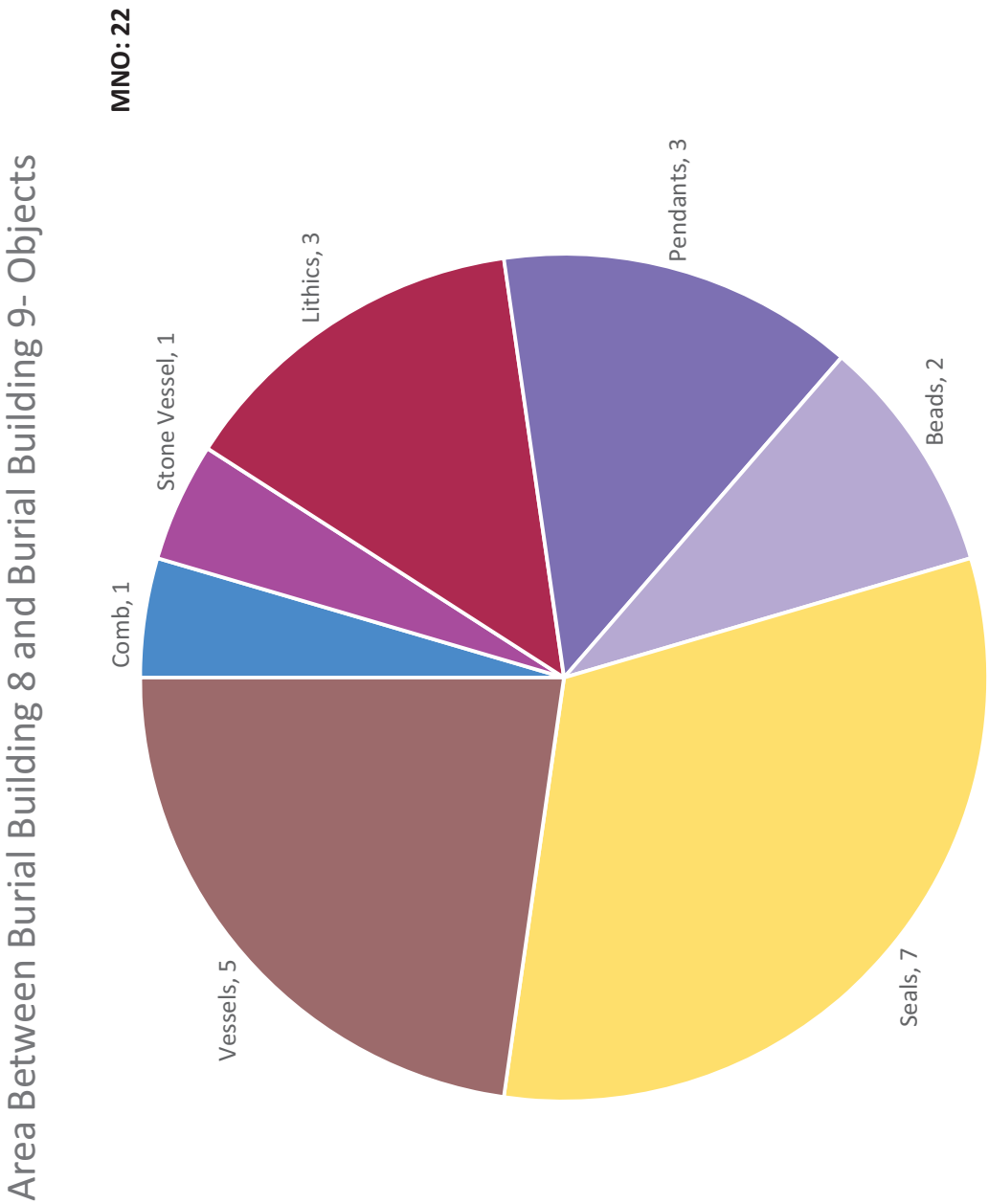


Figure 156: Area between Burial Building 8 and Burial Building 9- Objects

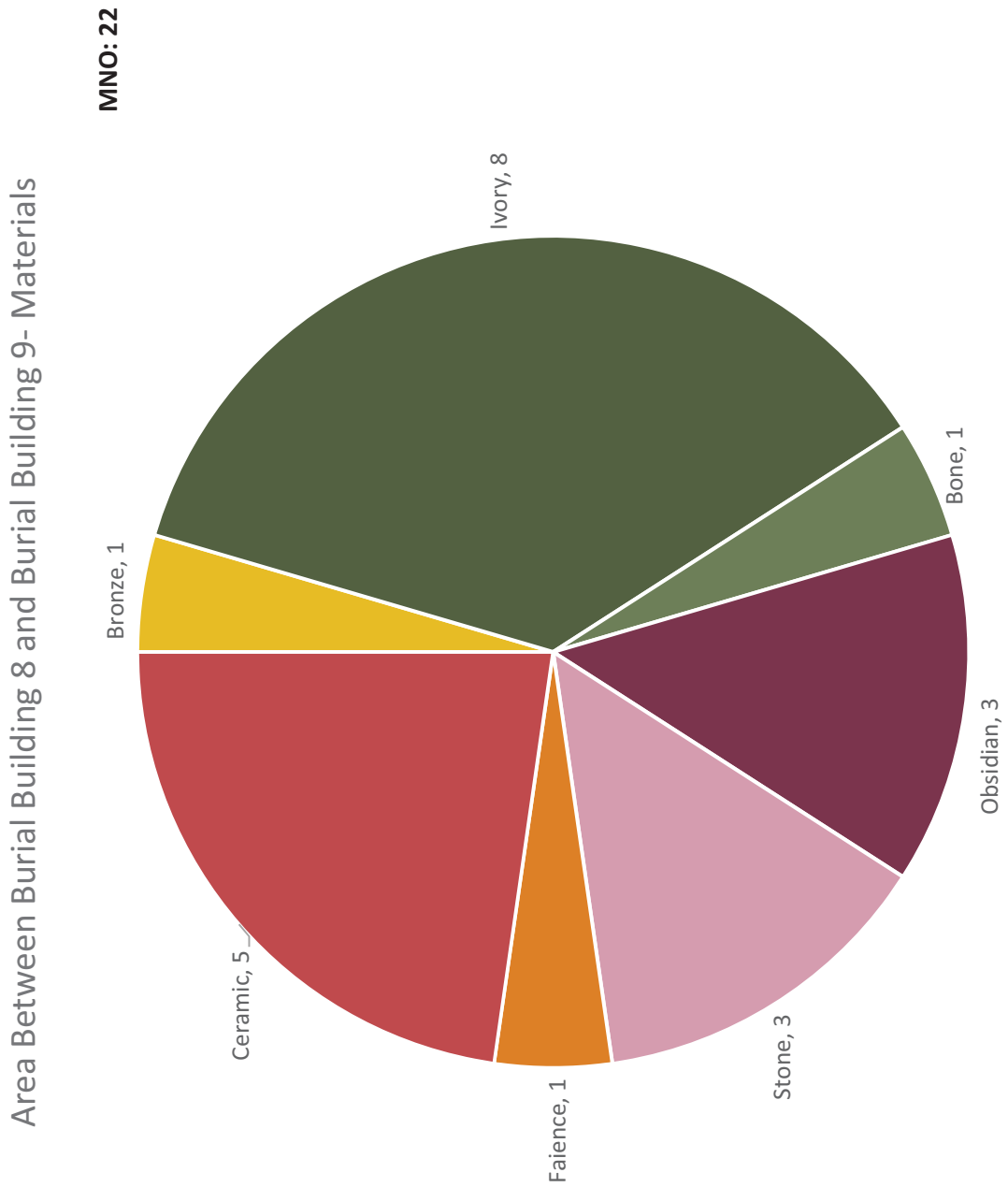


Figure 157: Area between Burial Building 8 and Burial Building 9- Materials

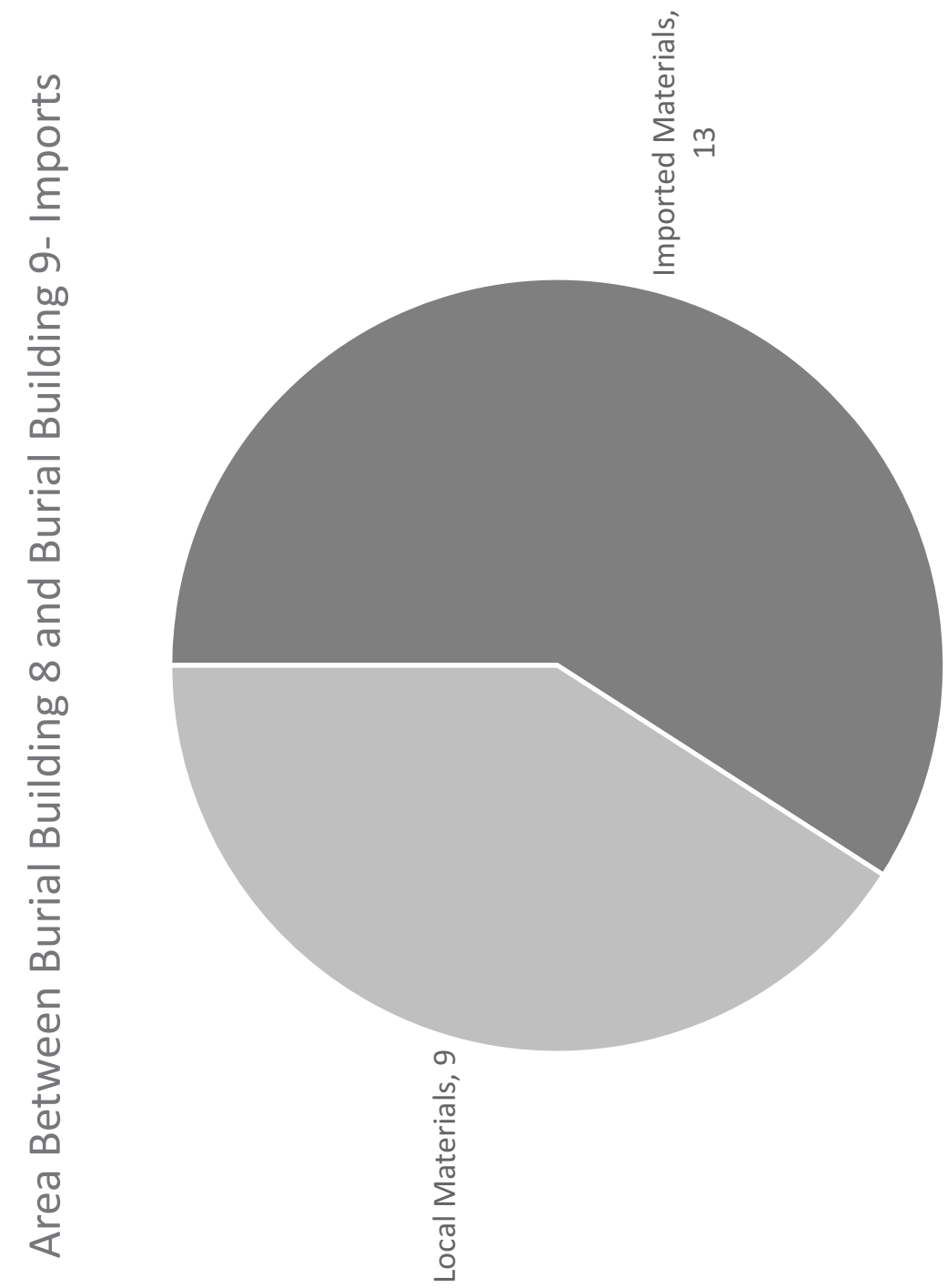


Figure 158: Area between Burial Building 8 and Burial Building 9- Imports

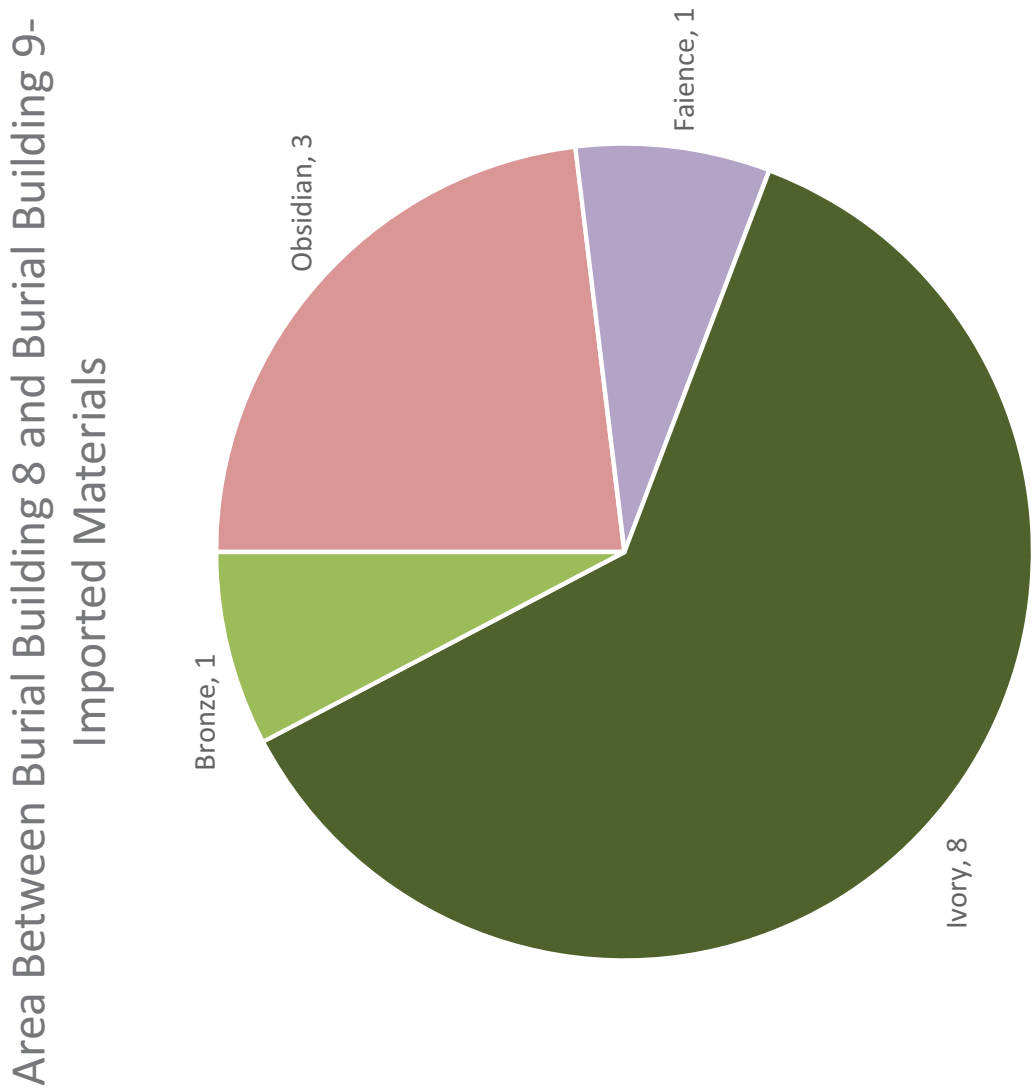


Figure 159: Area between Burial Building 8 and Burial Building 9- Imported Materials

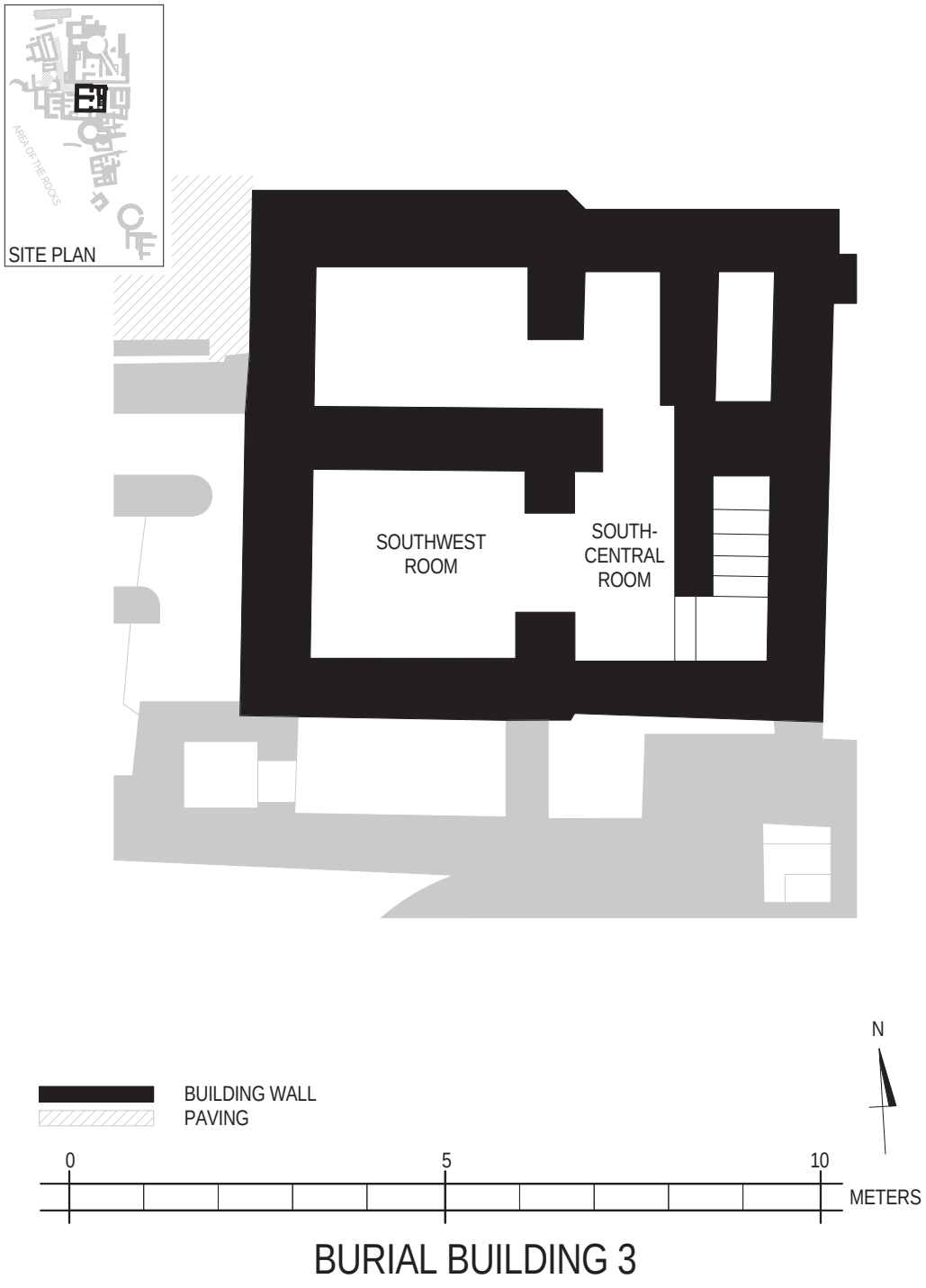


Figure 160: Burial Building 3, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

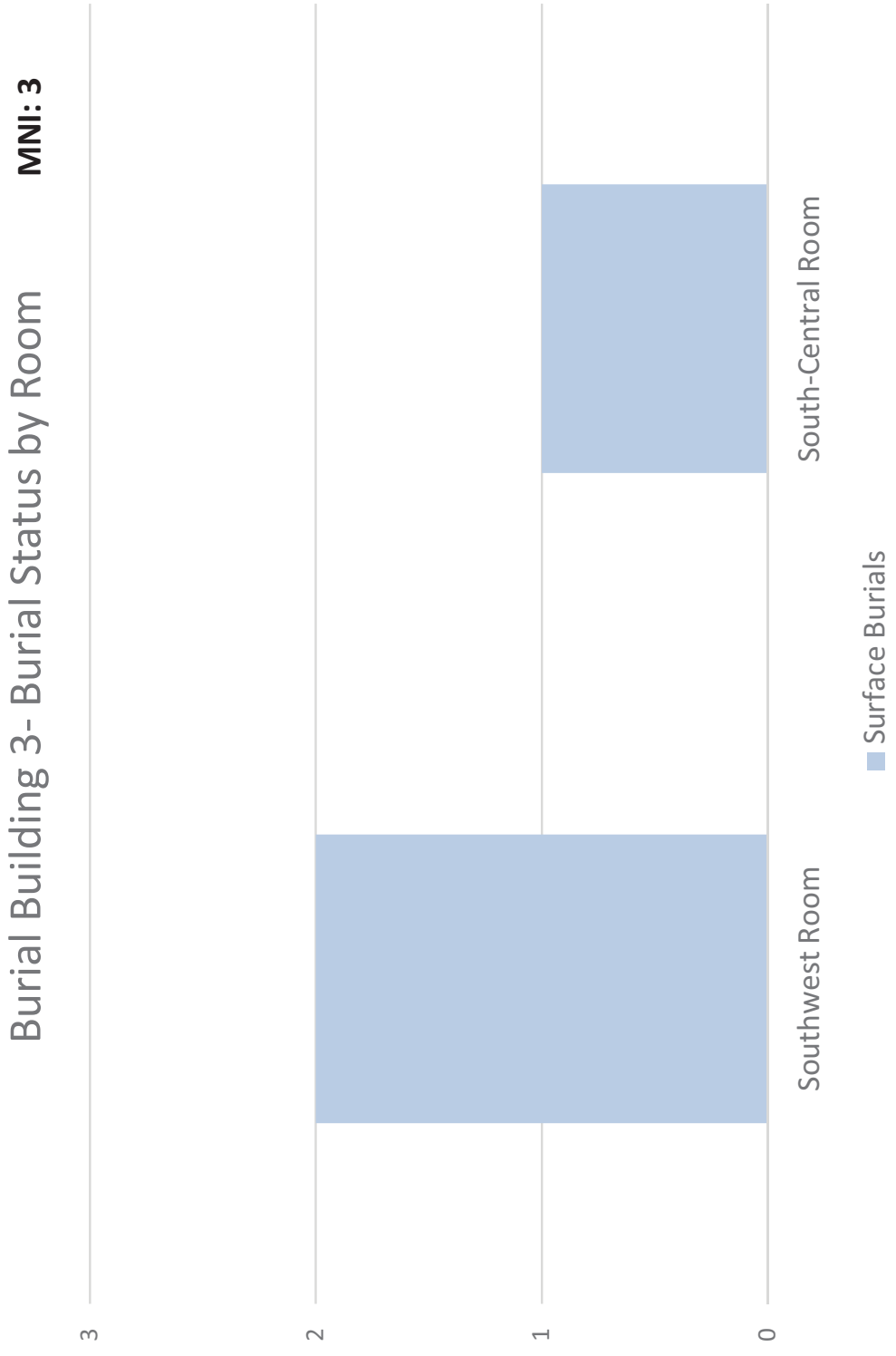


Figure 161: Burial Building 3- Burial Status by Room

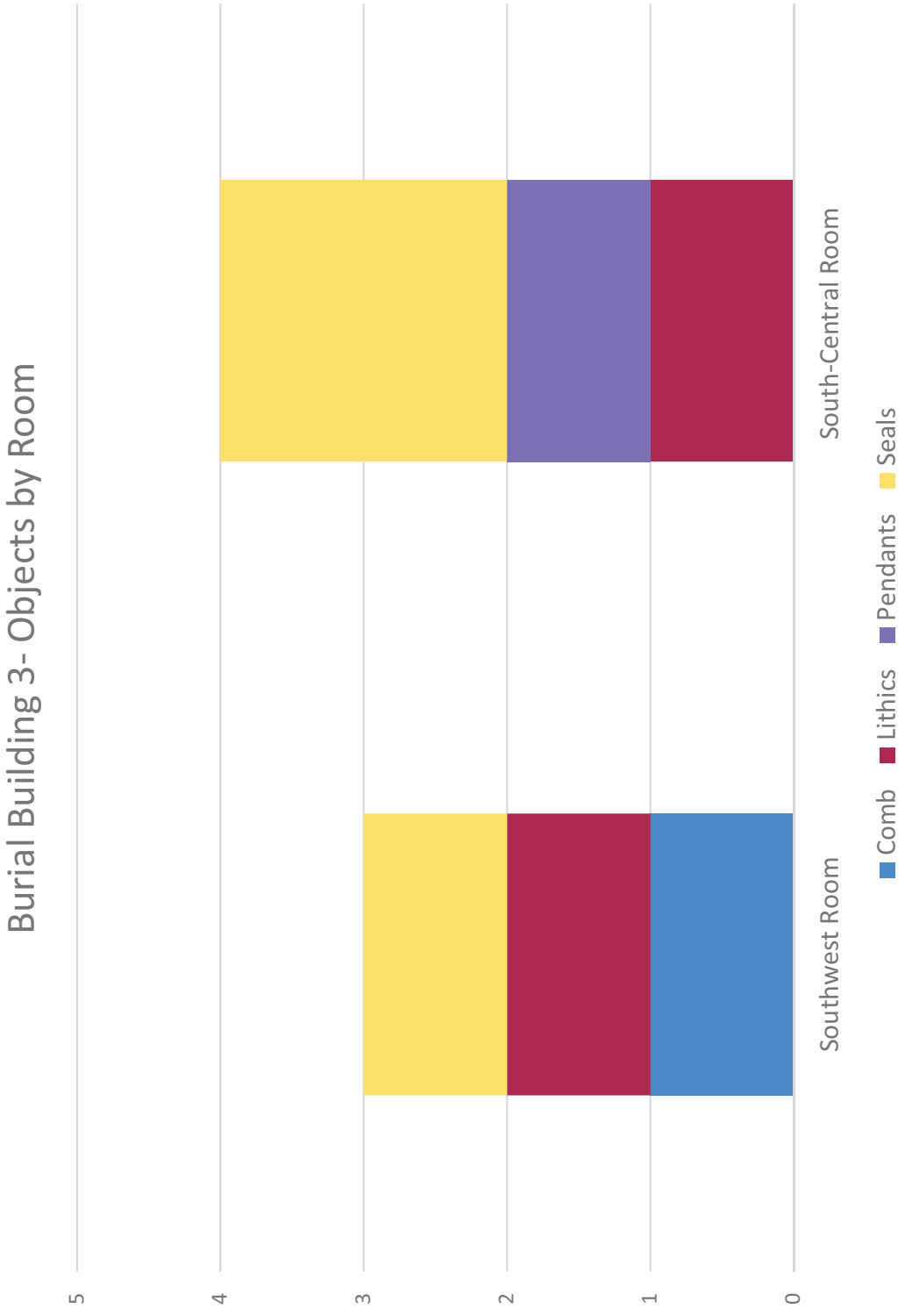


Figure 162: Burial Building 3- Objects by Room

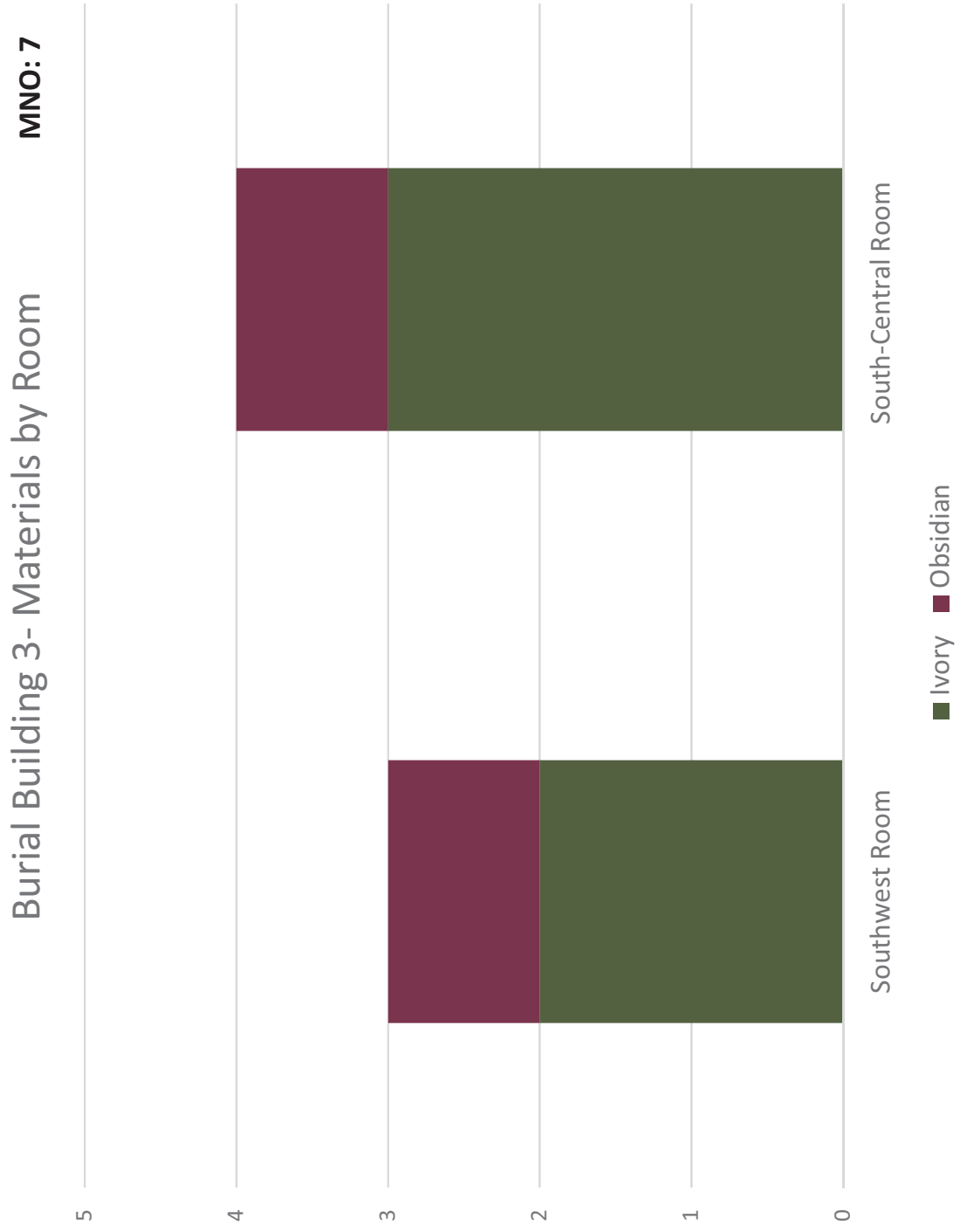


Figure 163: Burial Building 3- Materials by Room

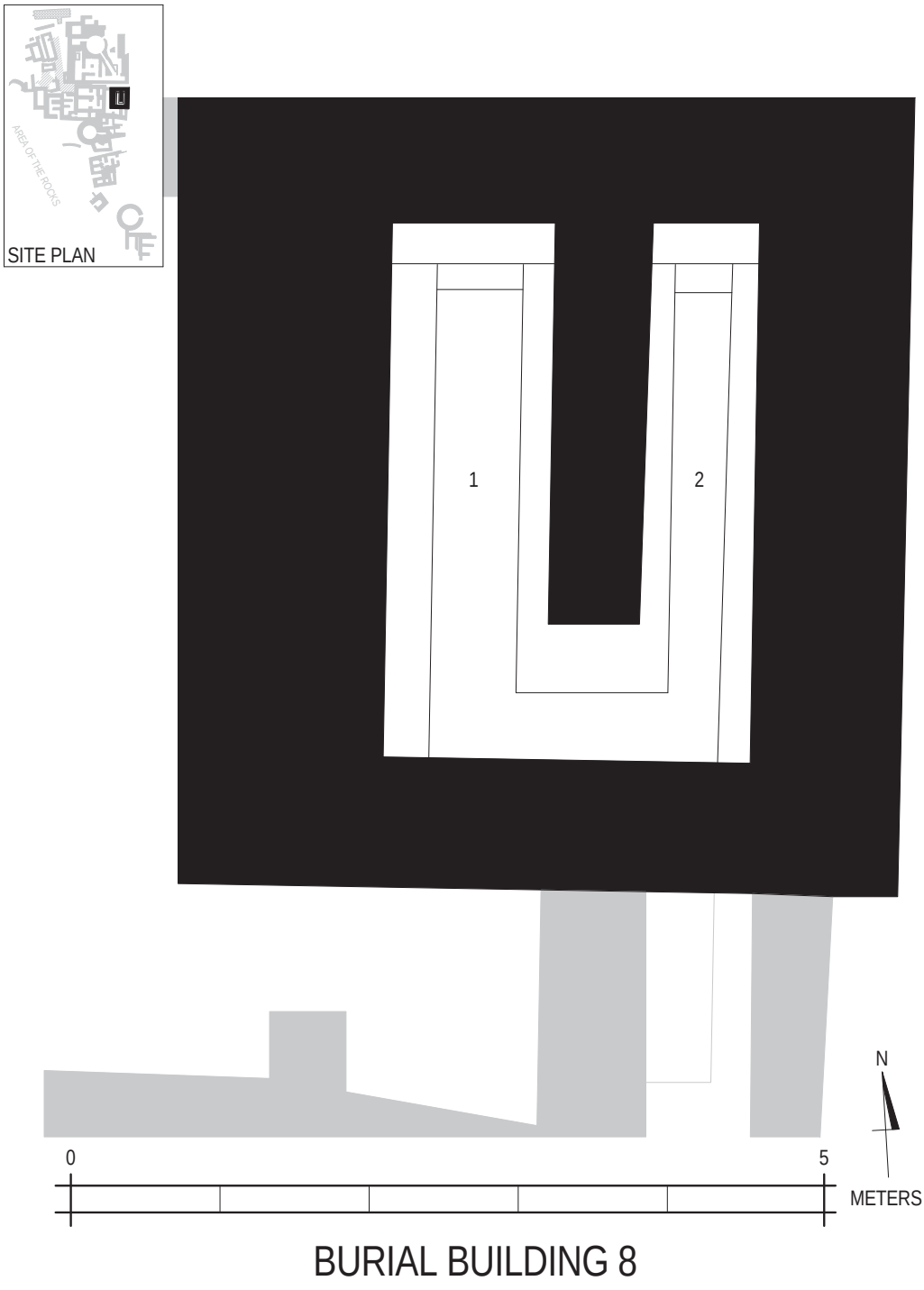


Figure 164: Burial Building 8, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

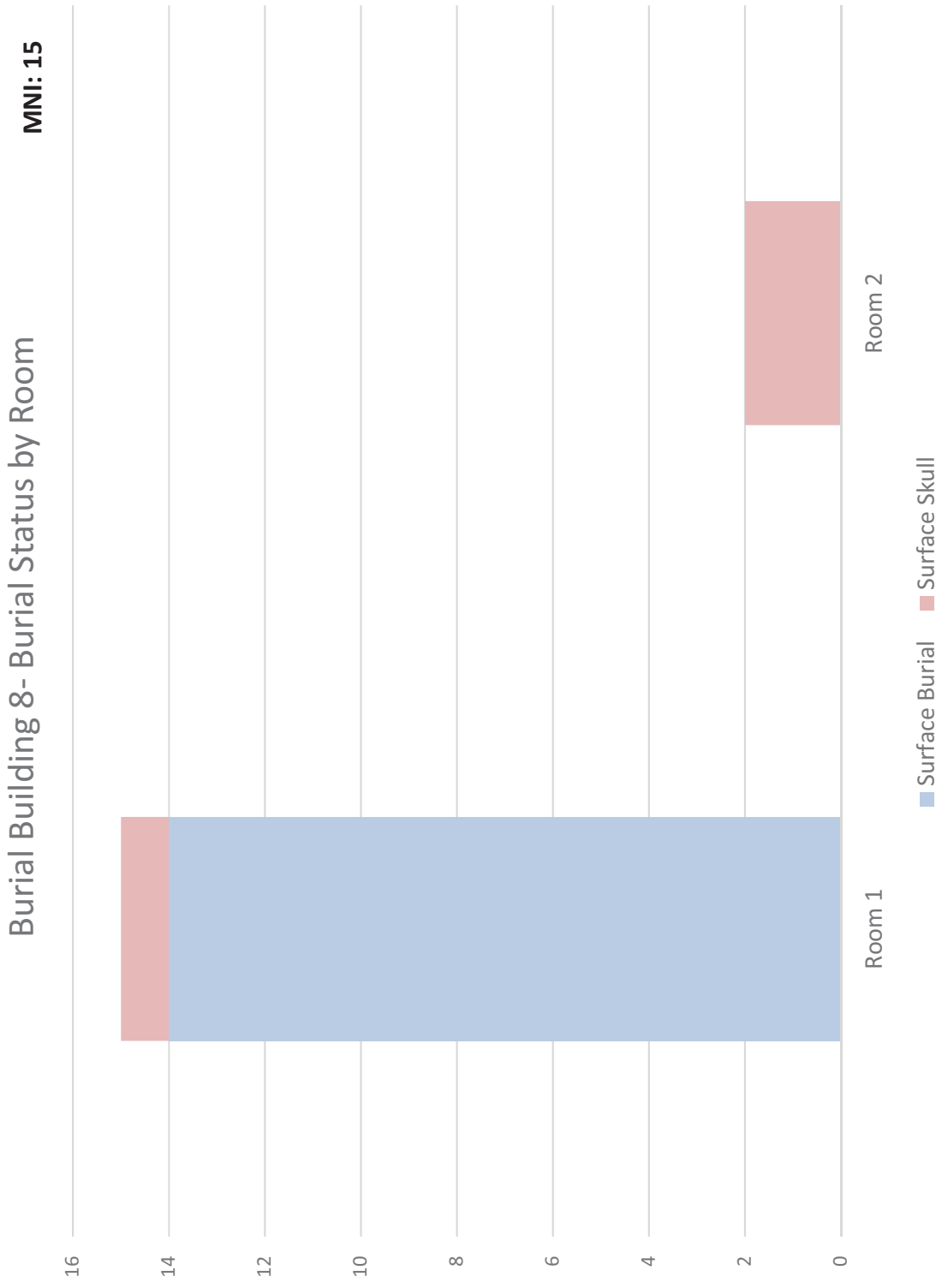


Figure 165: Burial Building 8- Burial Status by Room

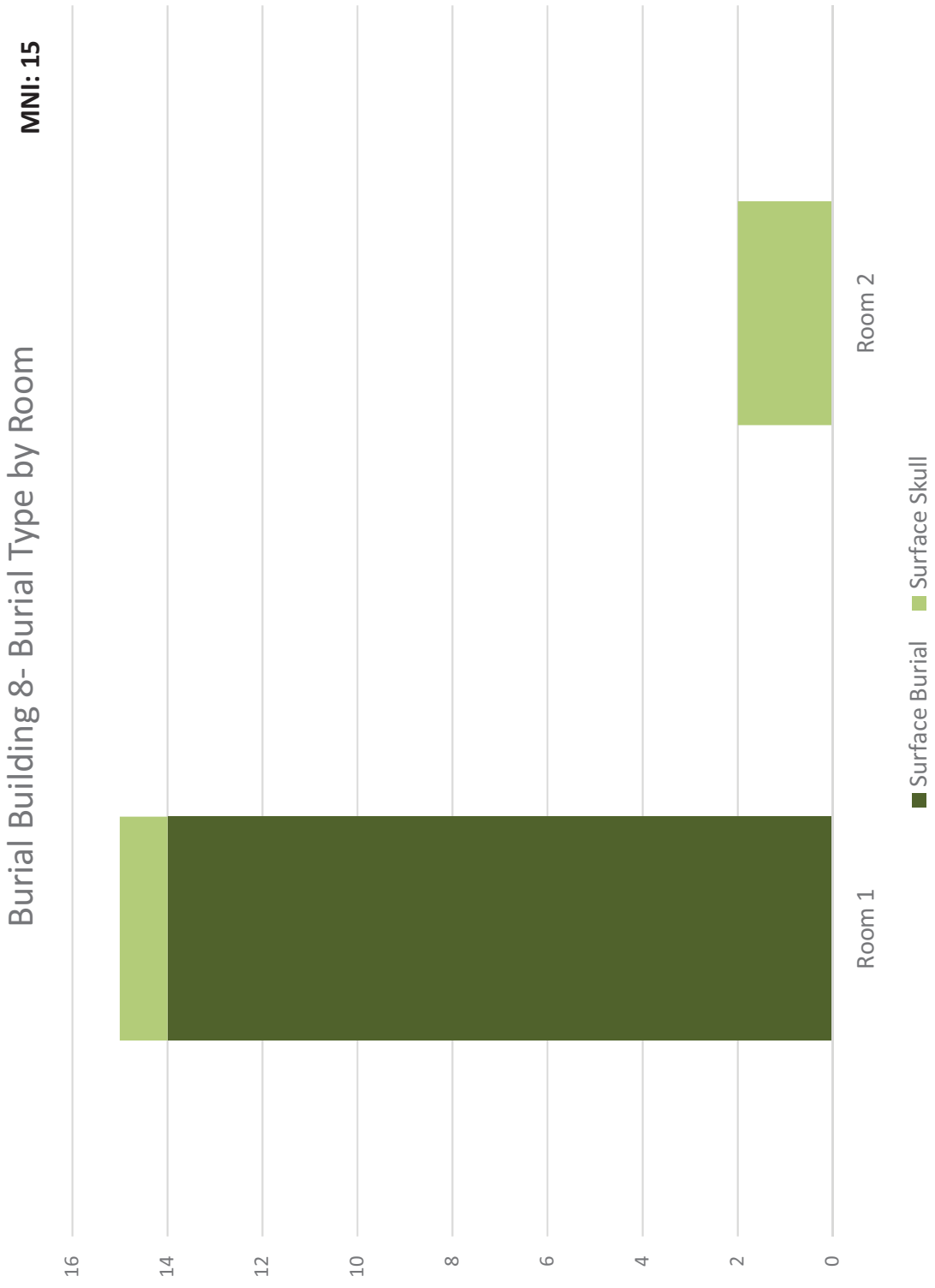


Figure 166: Burial Building 8- Burial Type by Room

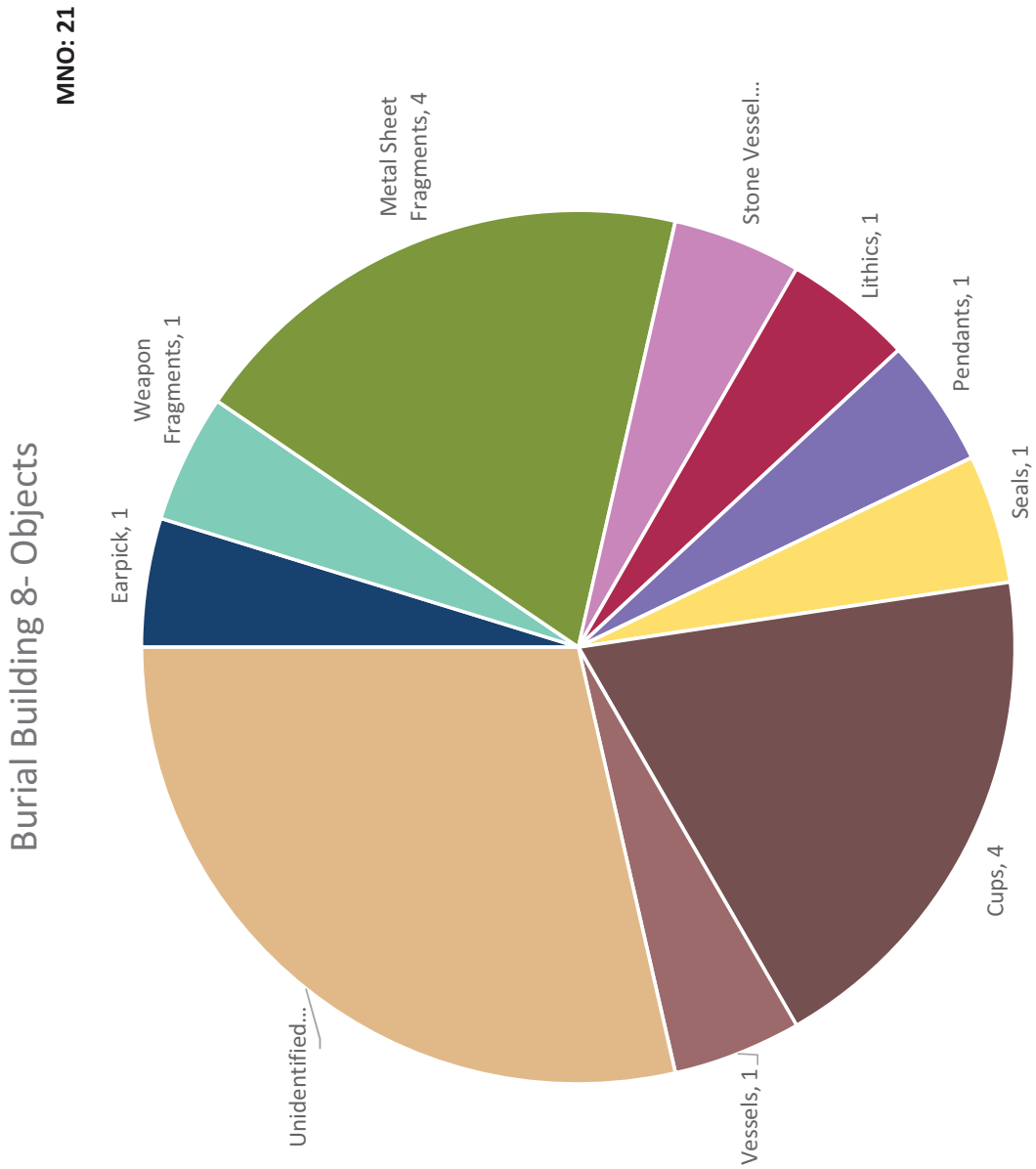


Figure 167: Burial Building 8- Objects

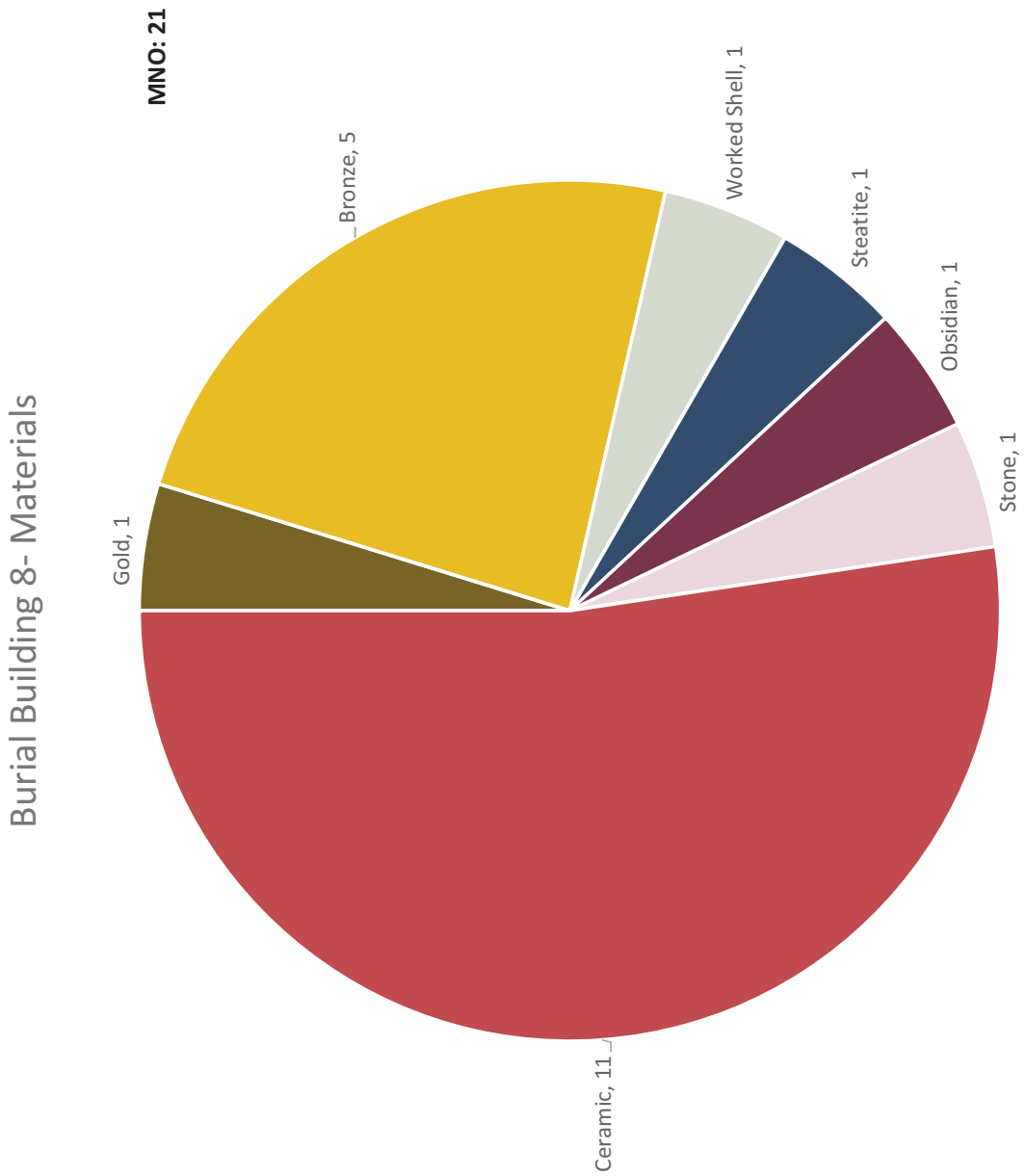


Figure 168: Burial Building 8- Materials

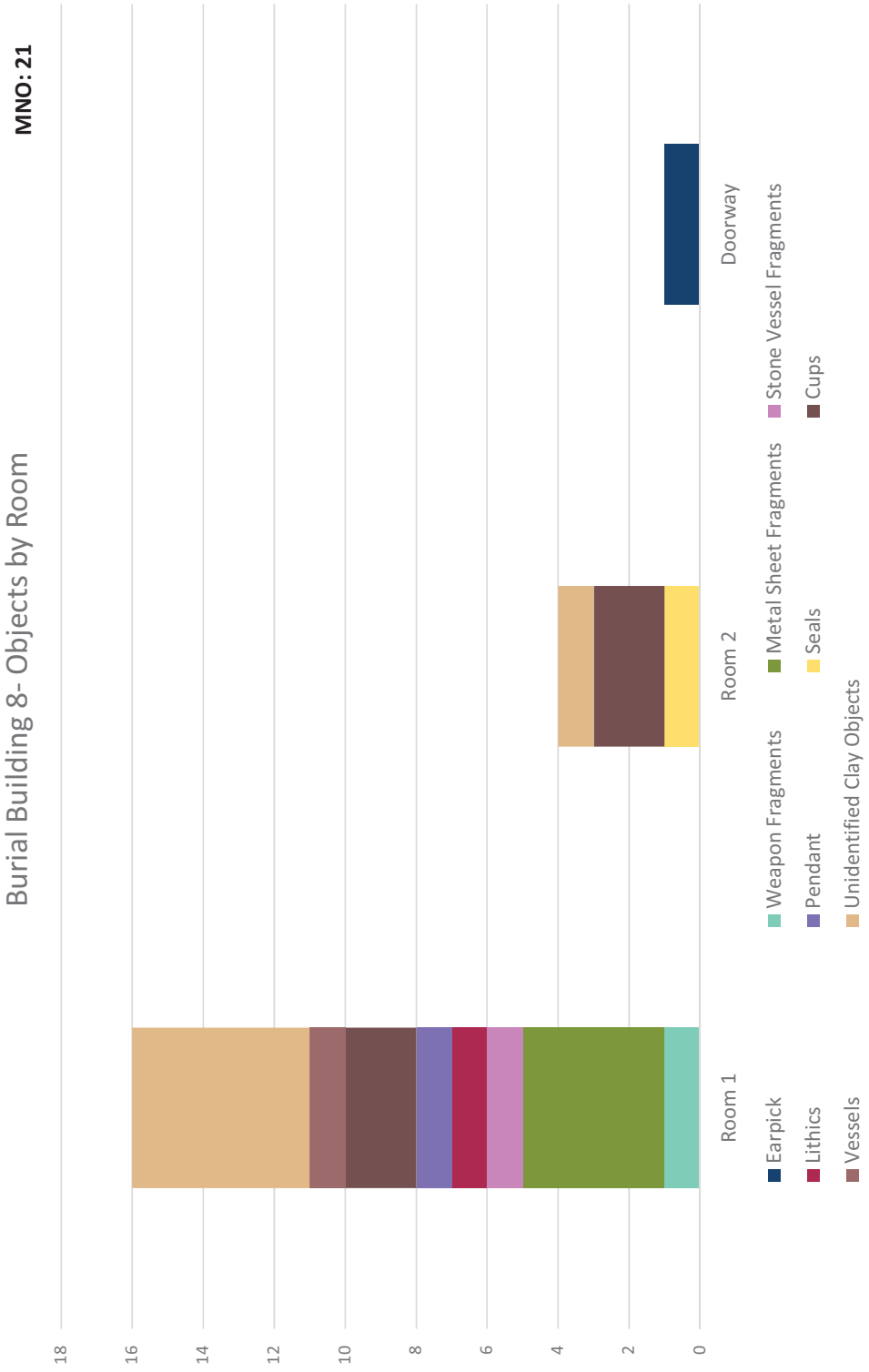


Figure 169: Burial Building 8- Objects by Room

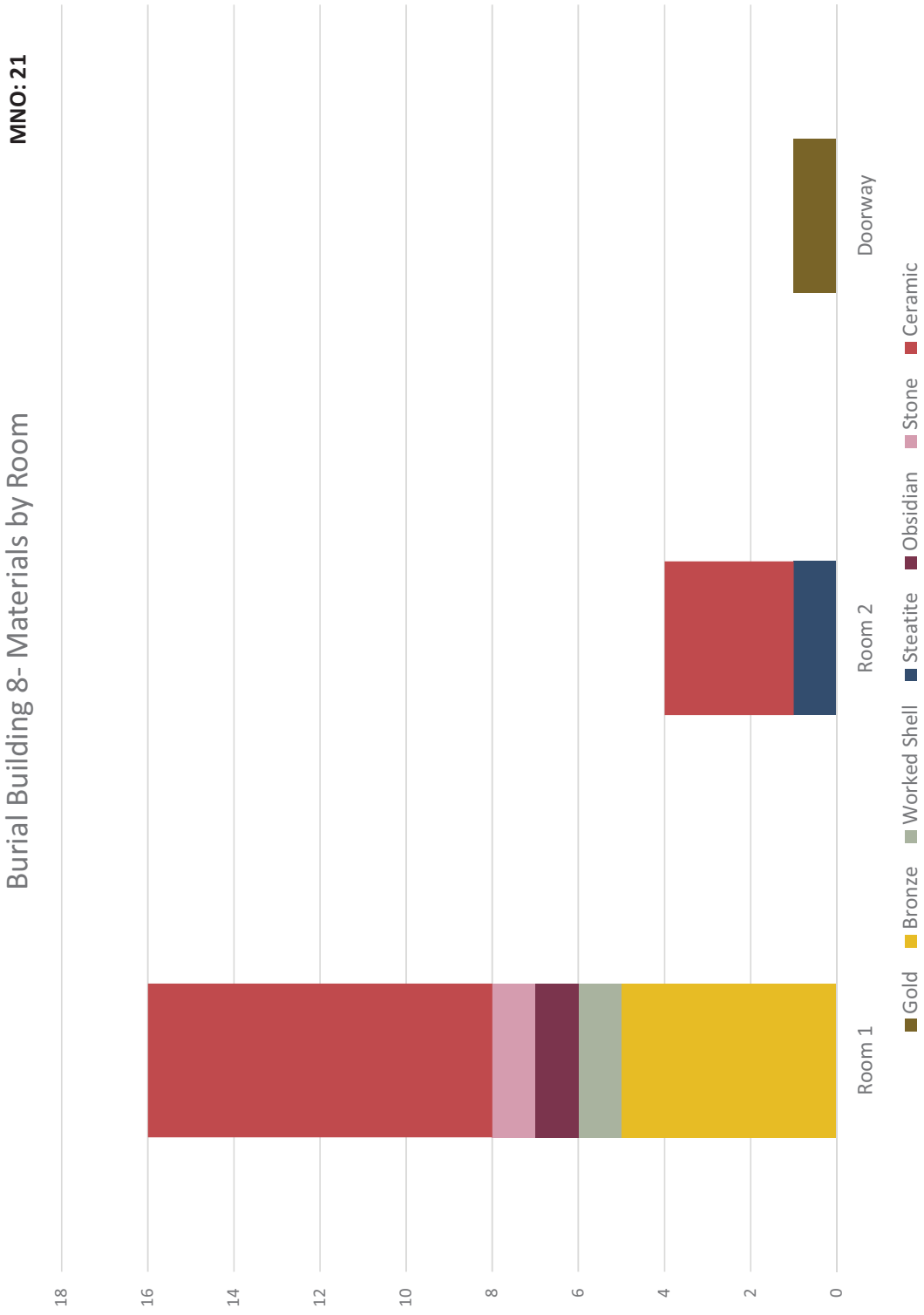


Figure 170: Burial Building 8- Materials by Room

Figure 171: Burial Building 8- Imports

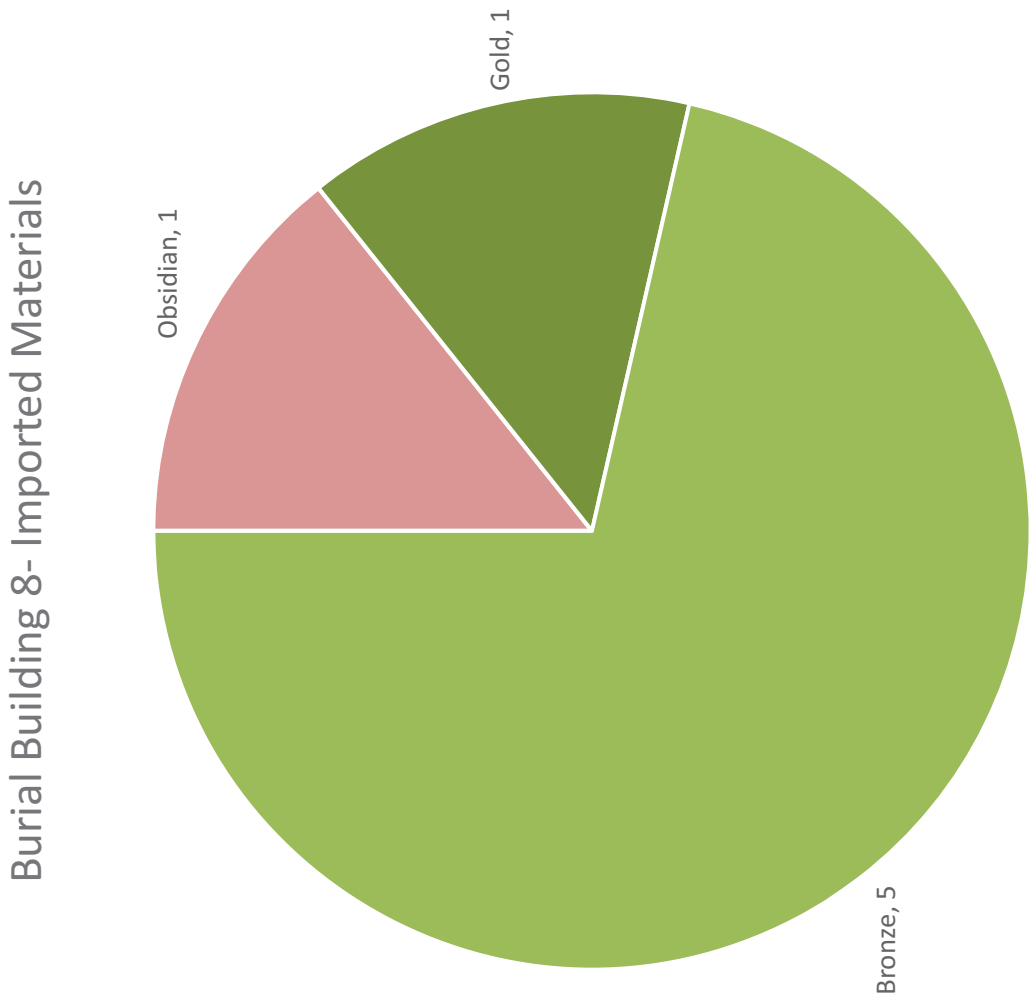


Figure 172: Burial Building 8- Imported Materials

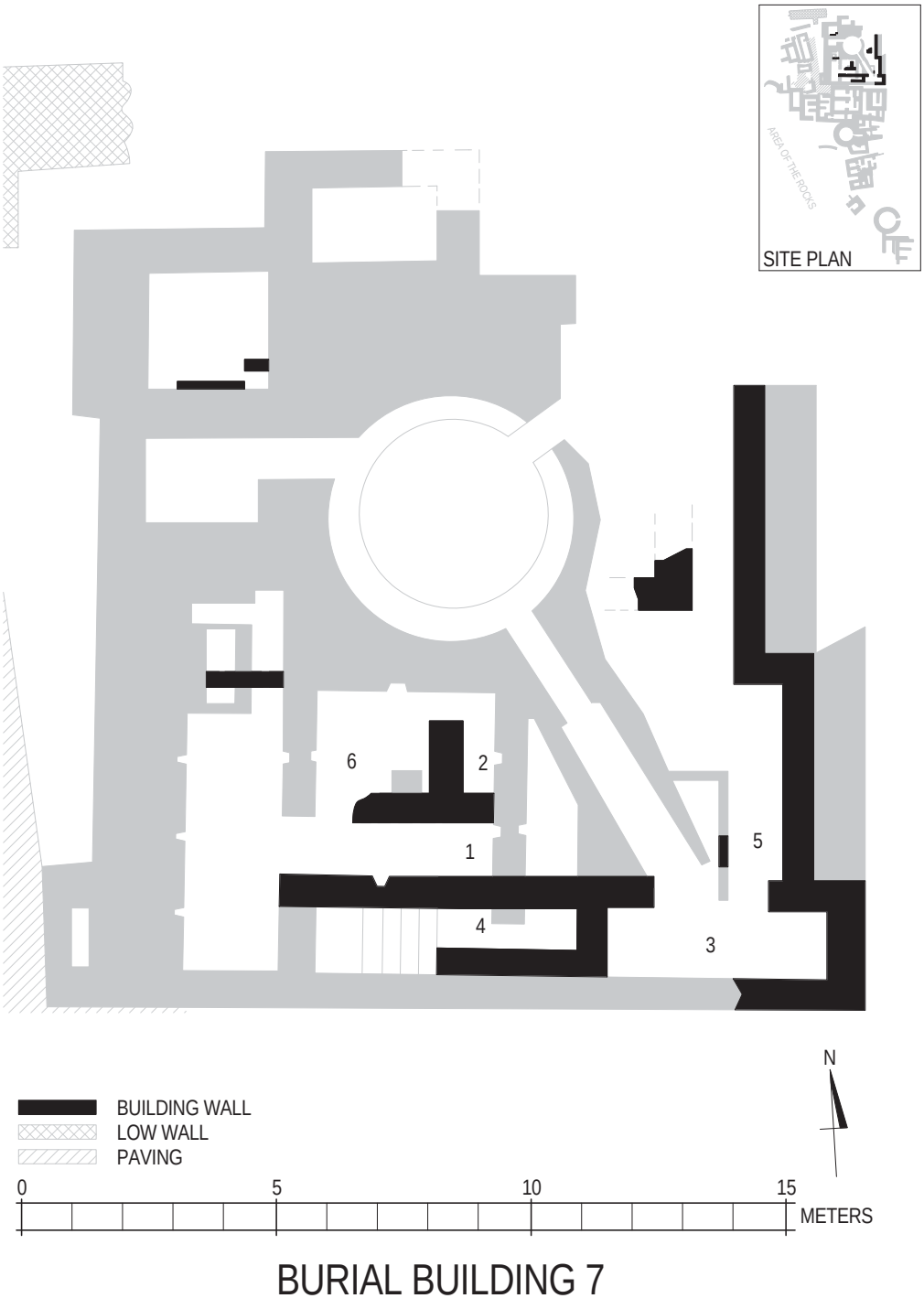


Figure 173: Burial Building 7, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

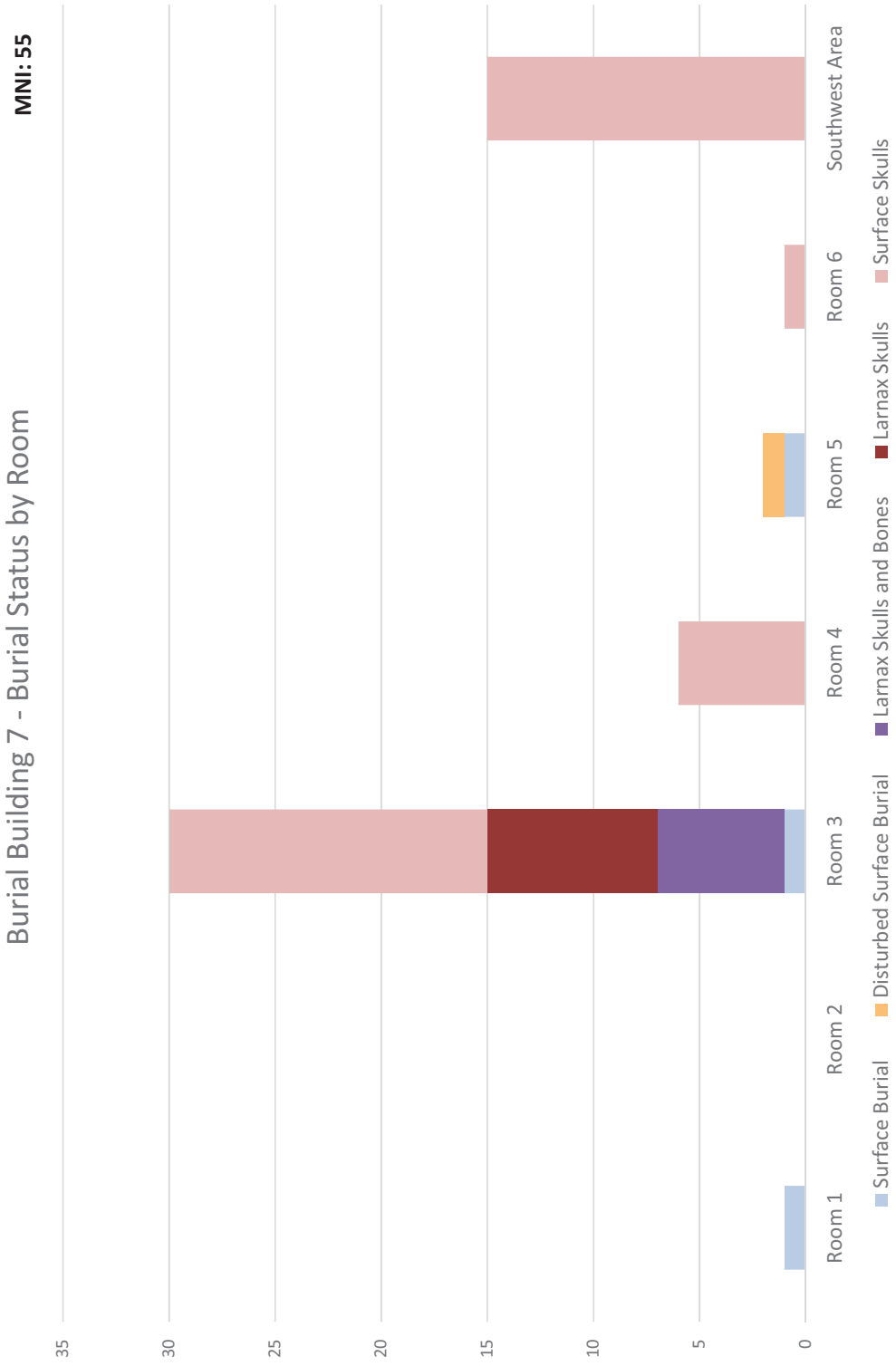


Figure 174: Burial Building 7- Burial Status by Room

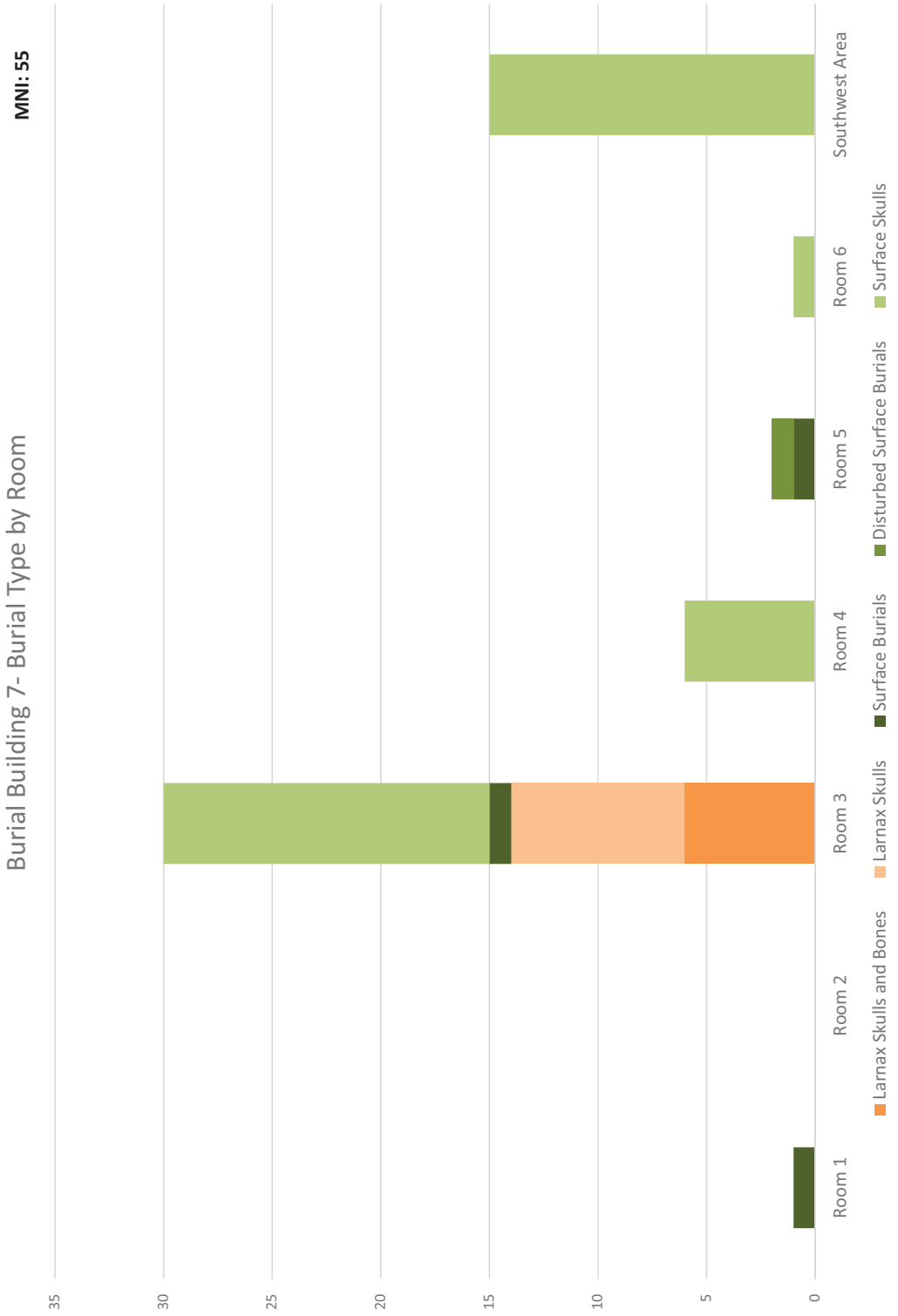


Figure 175: Burial Building 7- Burial Type by Room

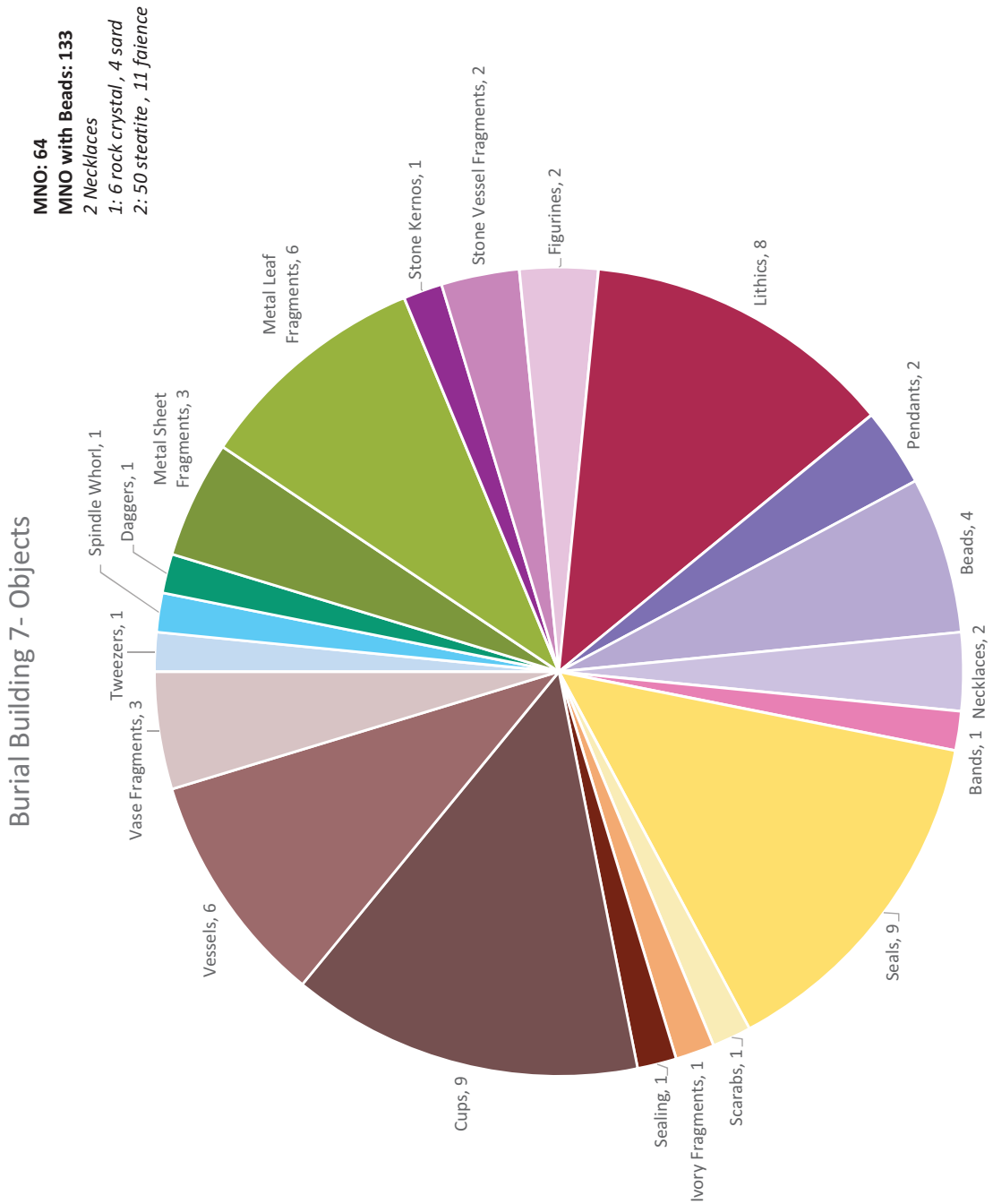


Figure 176: Burial Building 7- Objects

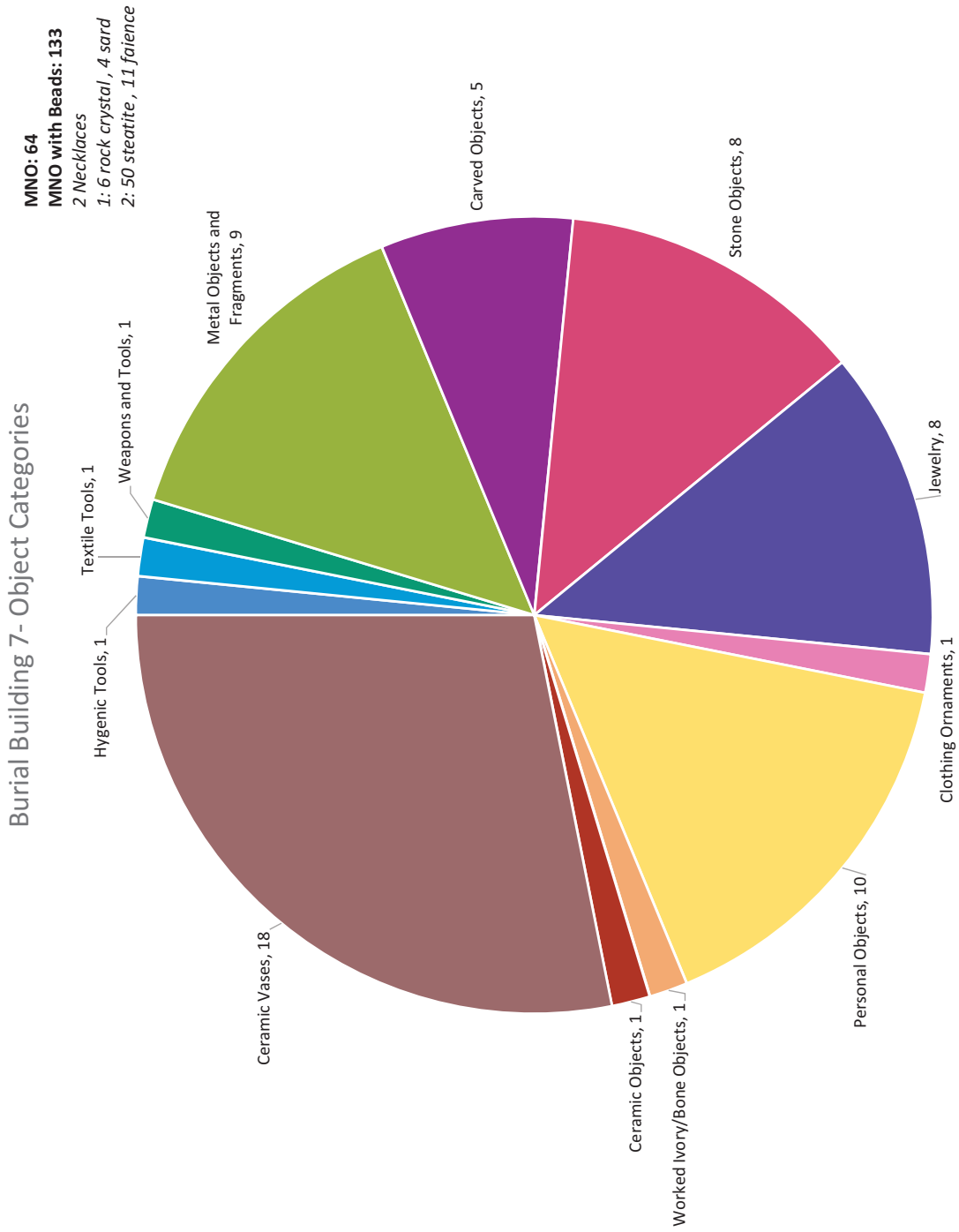


Figure 177: Burial Building 7- Object Categories

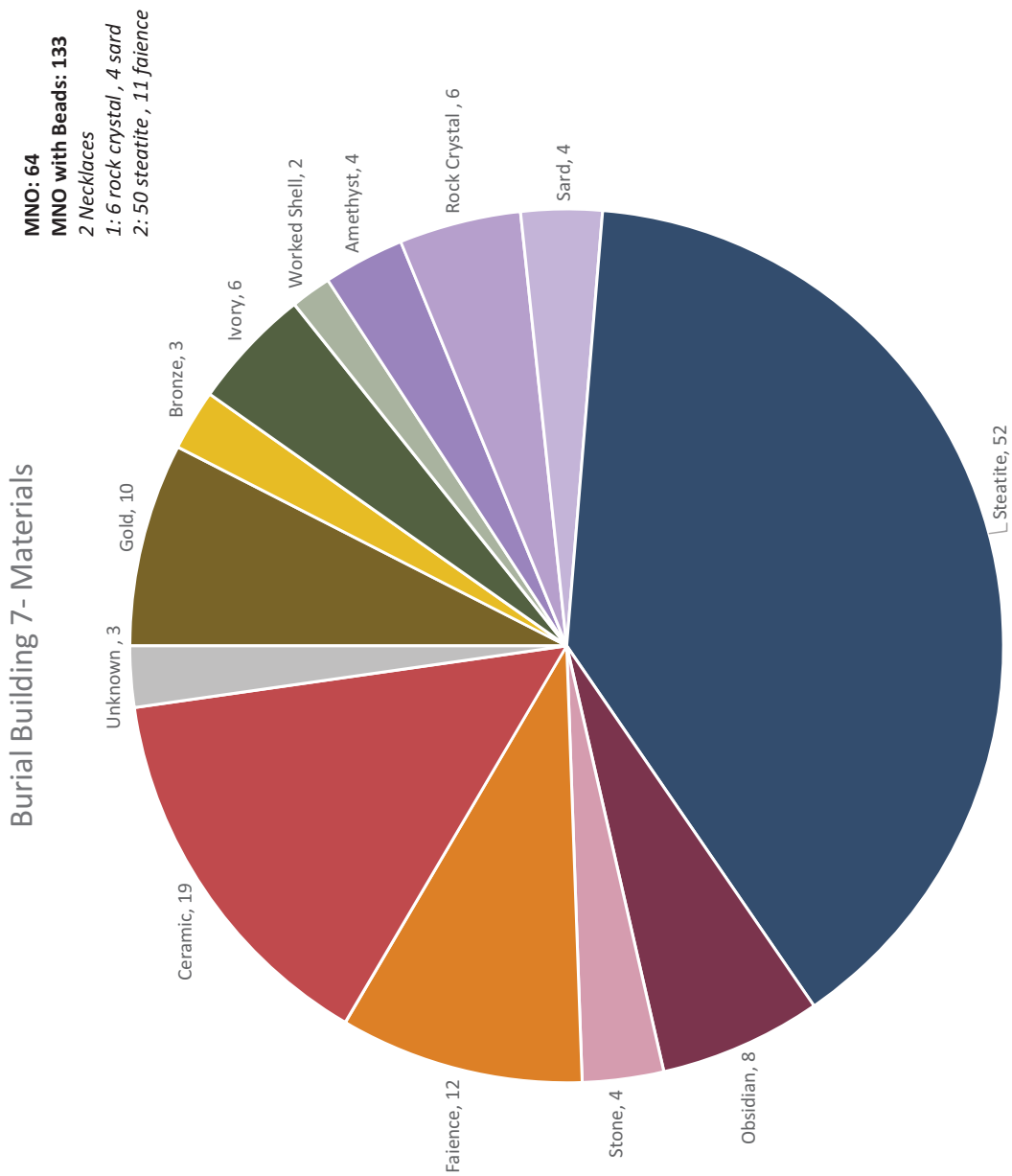


Figure 178: Burial Building 7- Materials

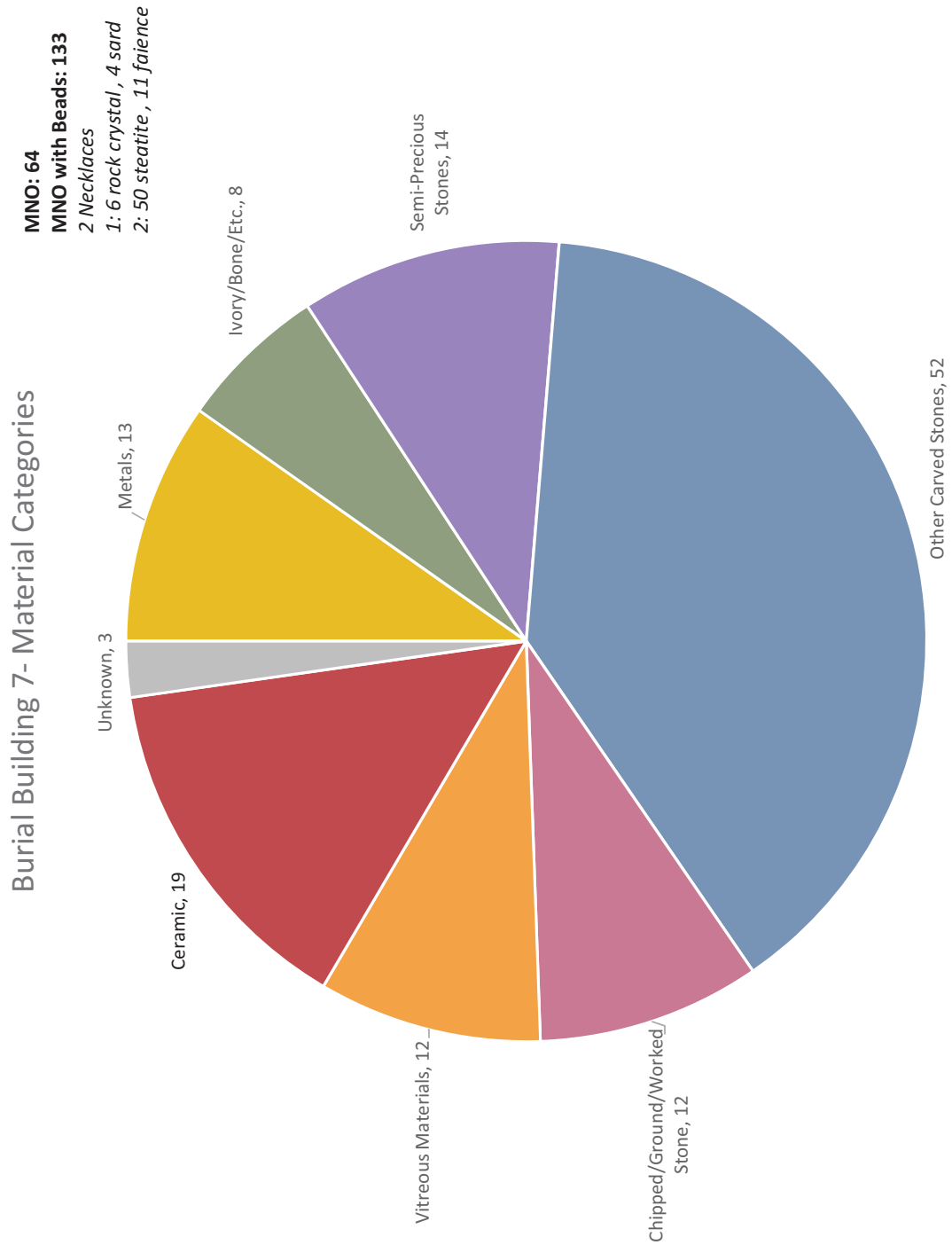


Figure 179: Burial Building 7- Material Categories

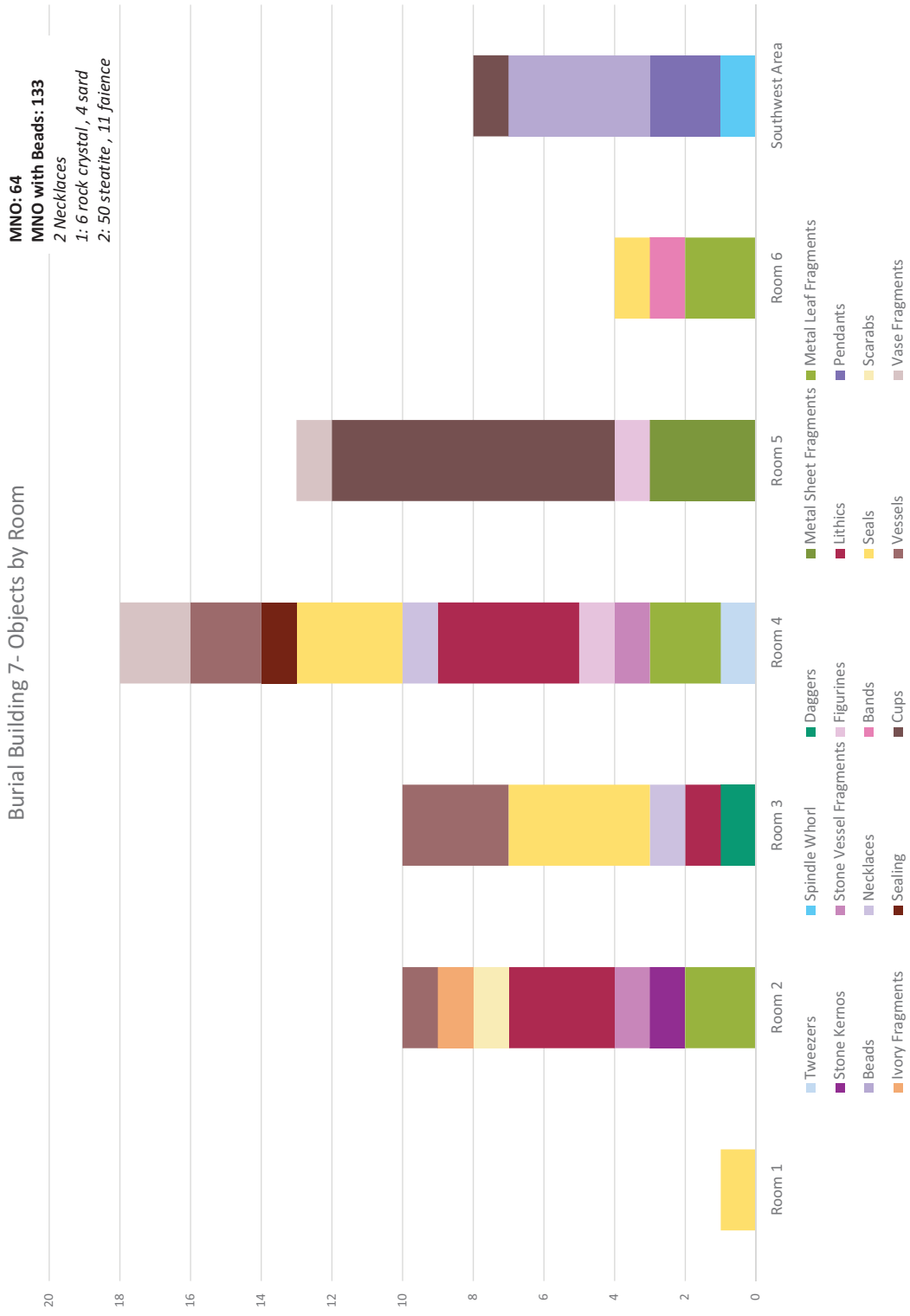


Figure 180: Burial Building 7- Objects by Room

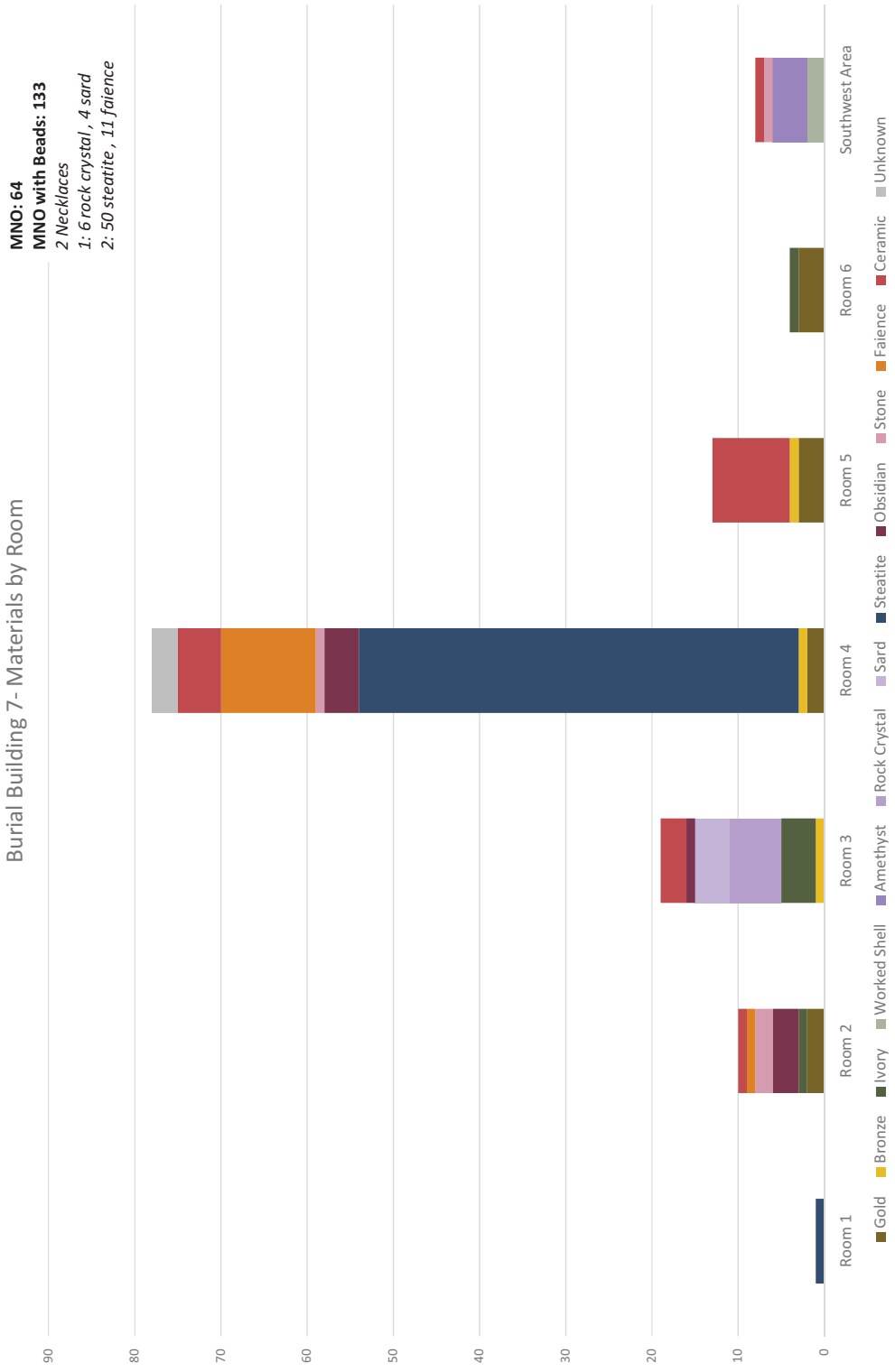


Figure 181: Burial Building 7- Materials by Room

Figure 182: Burial Building 7- Imports

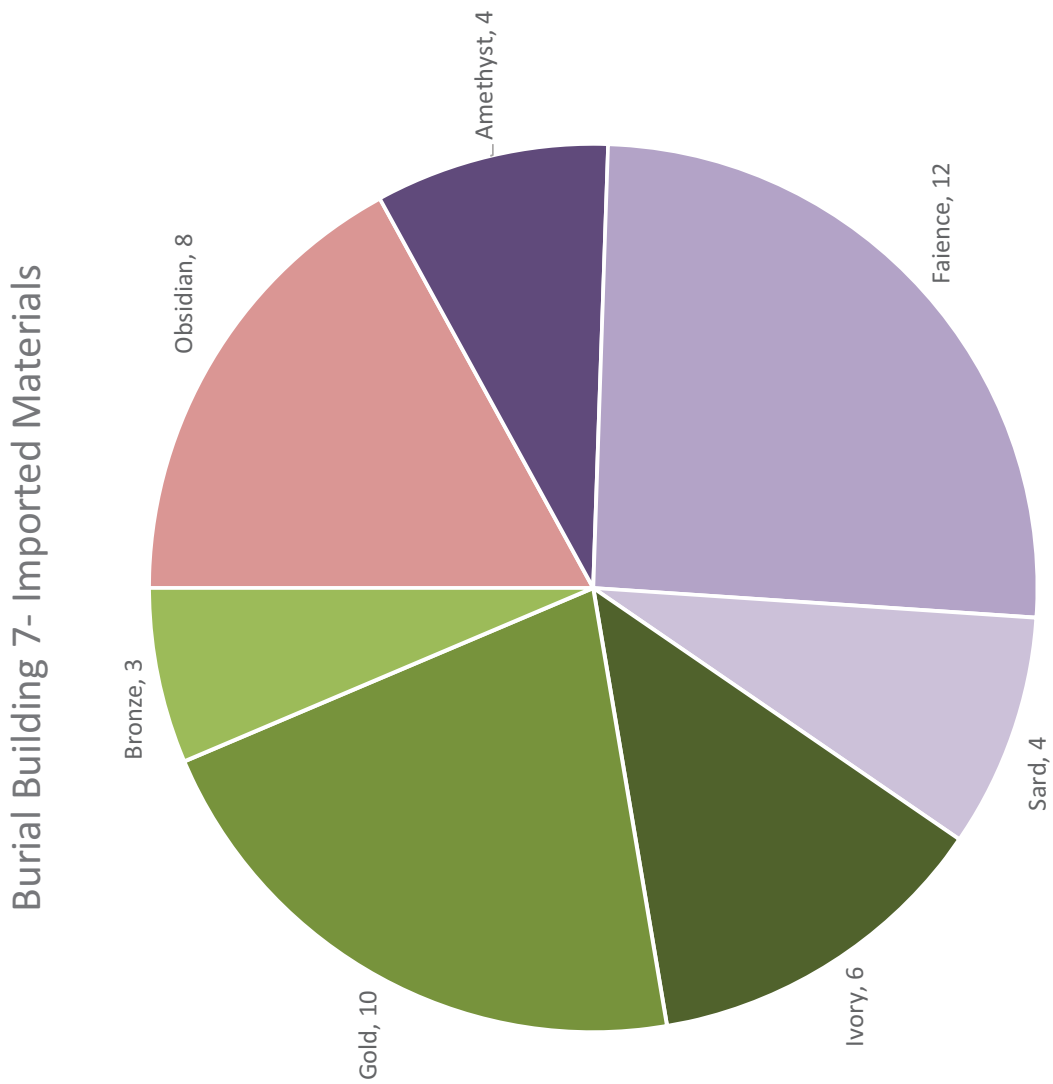


Figure 183: Burial Building 7- Imported Materials

Figure 184: Burial Building 16, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

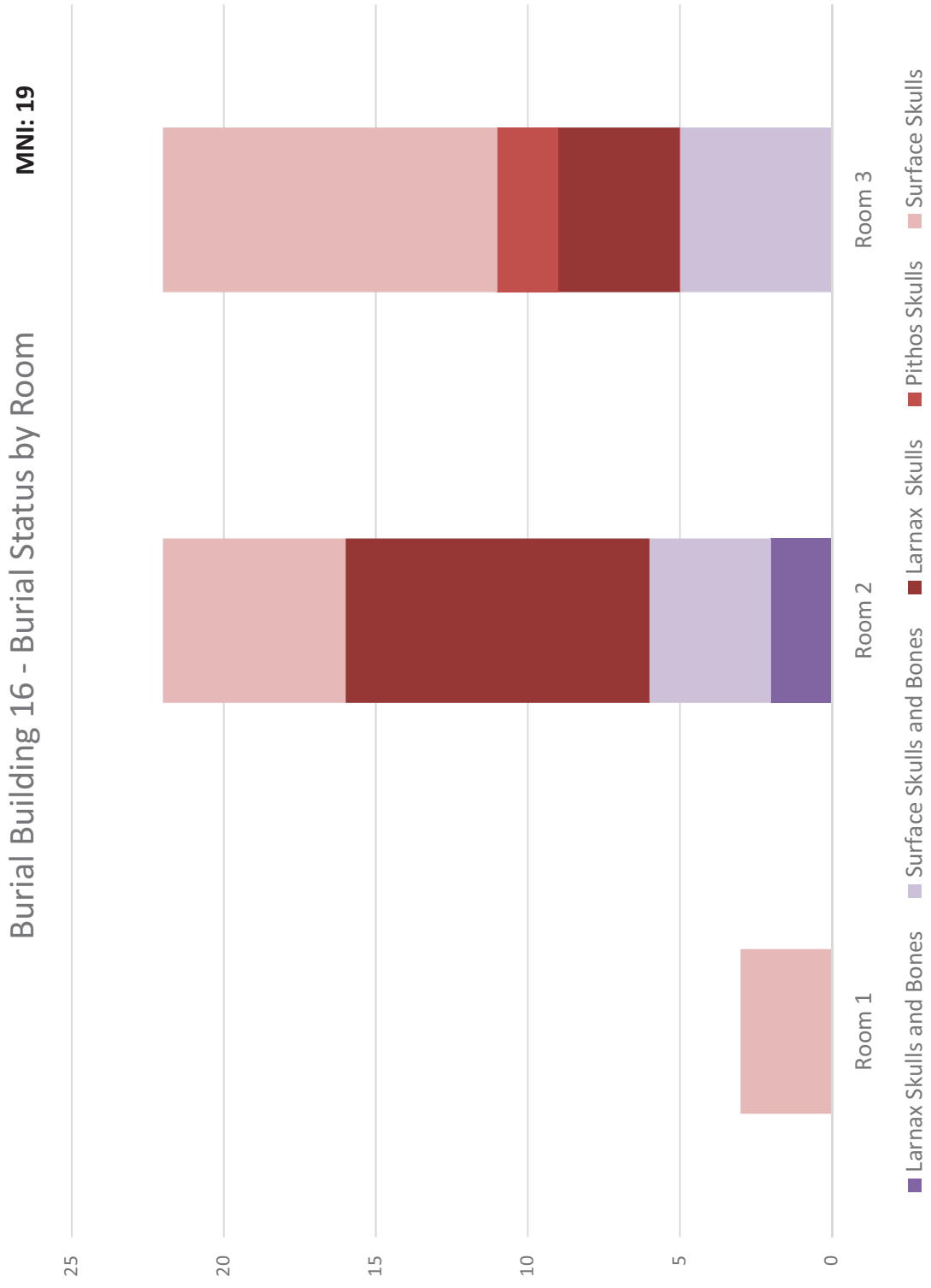


Figure 185: Burial Building 16- Burial Status by Room

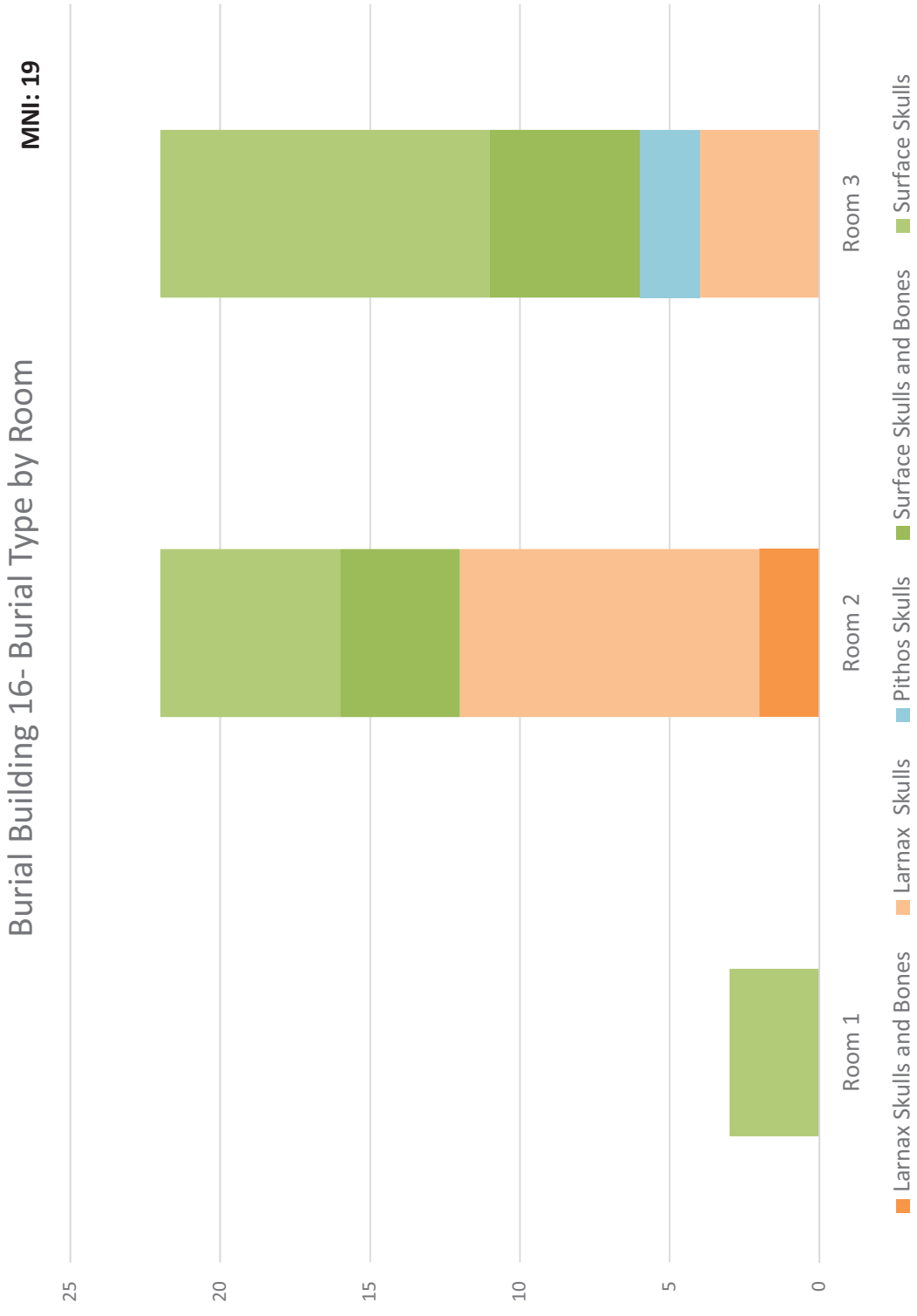


Figure 186: Burial Building 16- Burial Type by Room

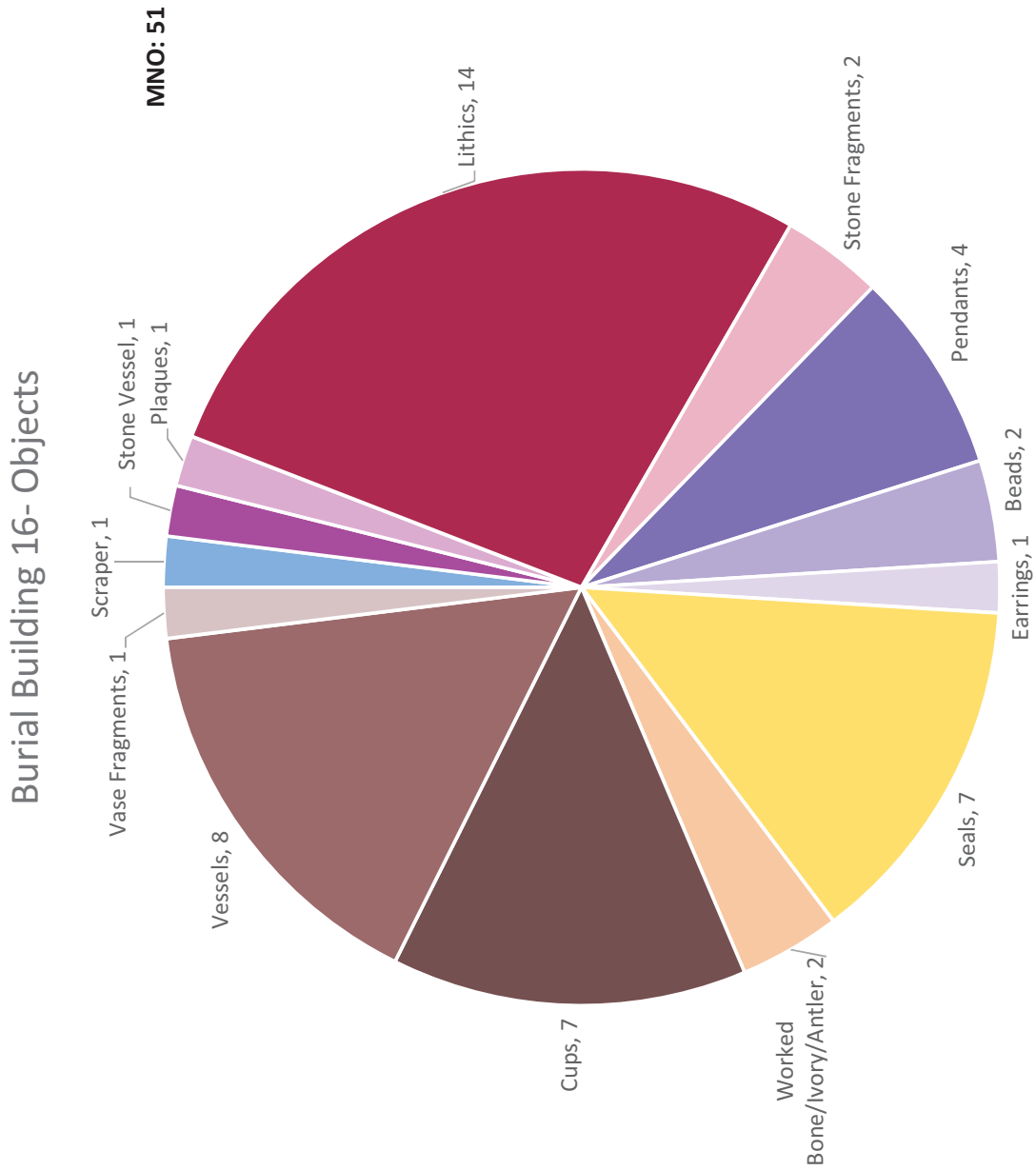


Figure 187: Burial Building 16- Objects

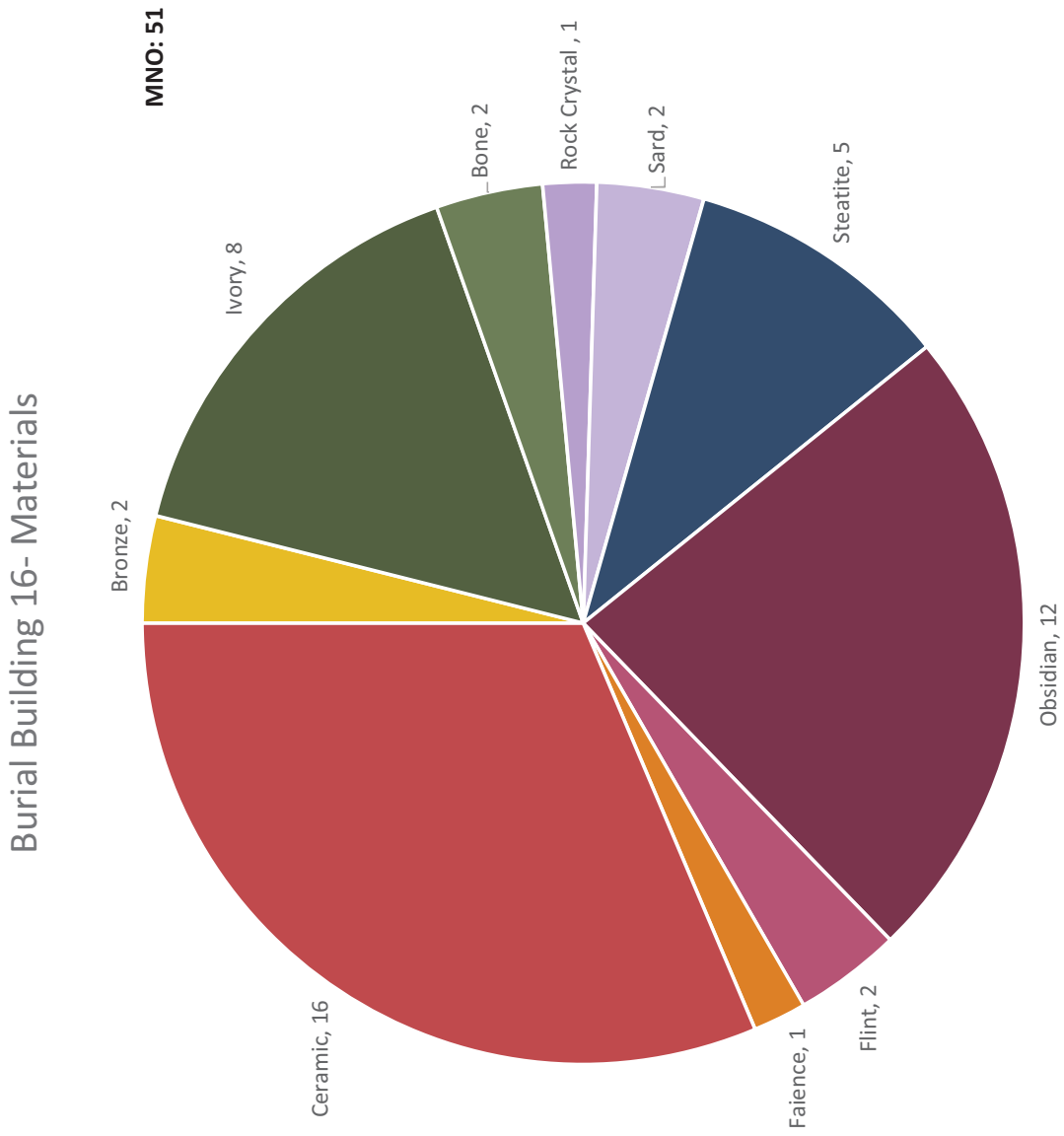


Figure 188: Burial Building 16- Materials

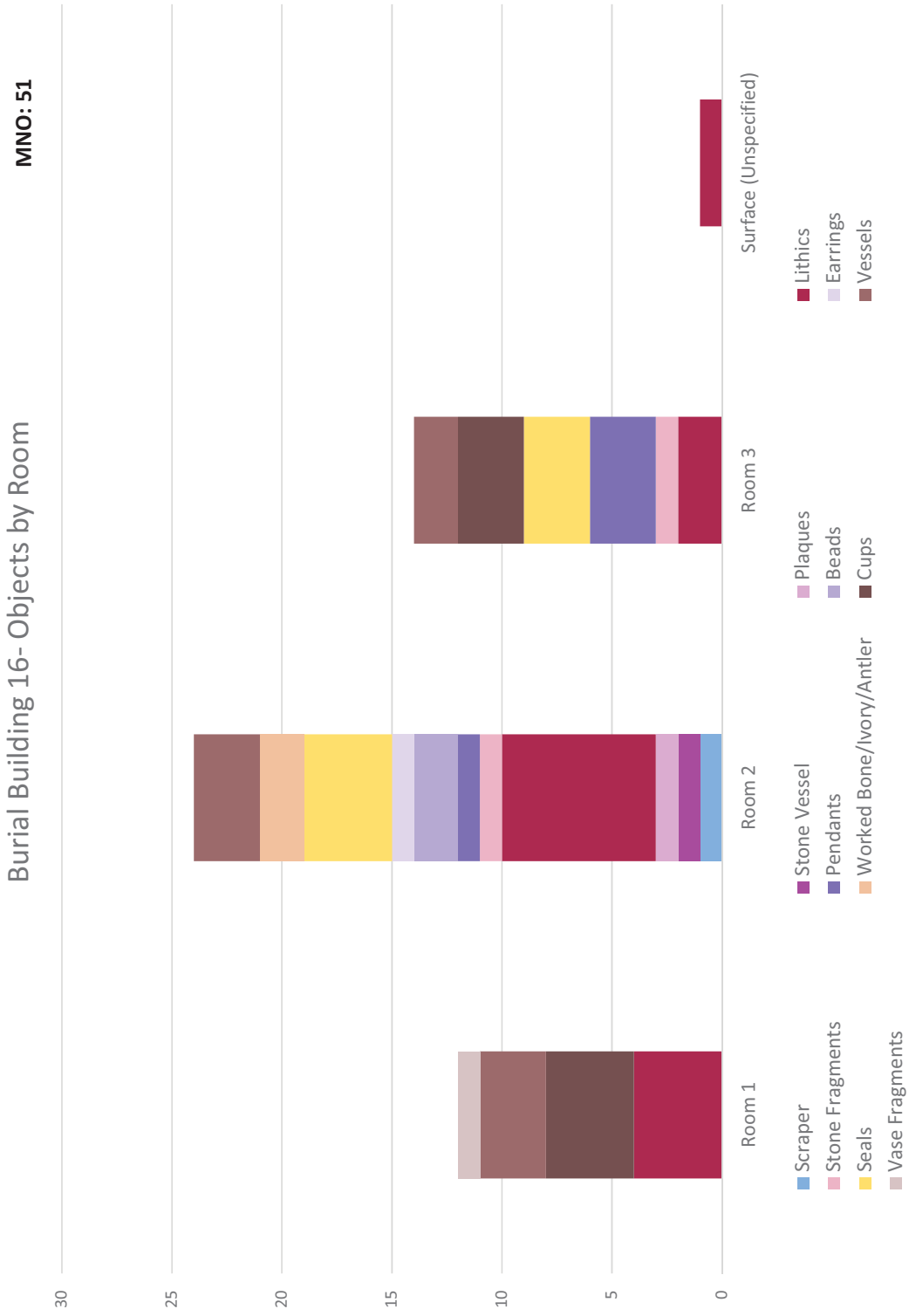


Figure 189: Burial Building 16- Objects by Room

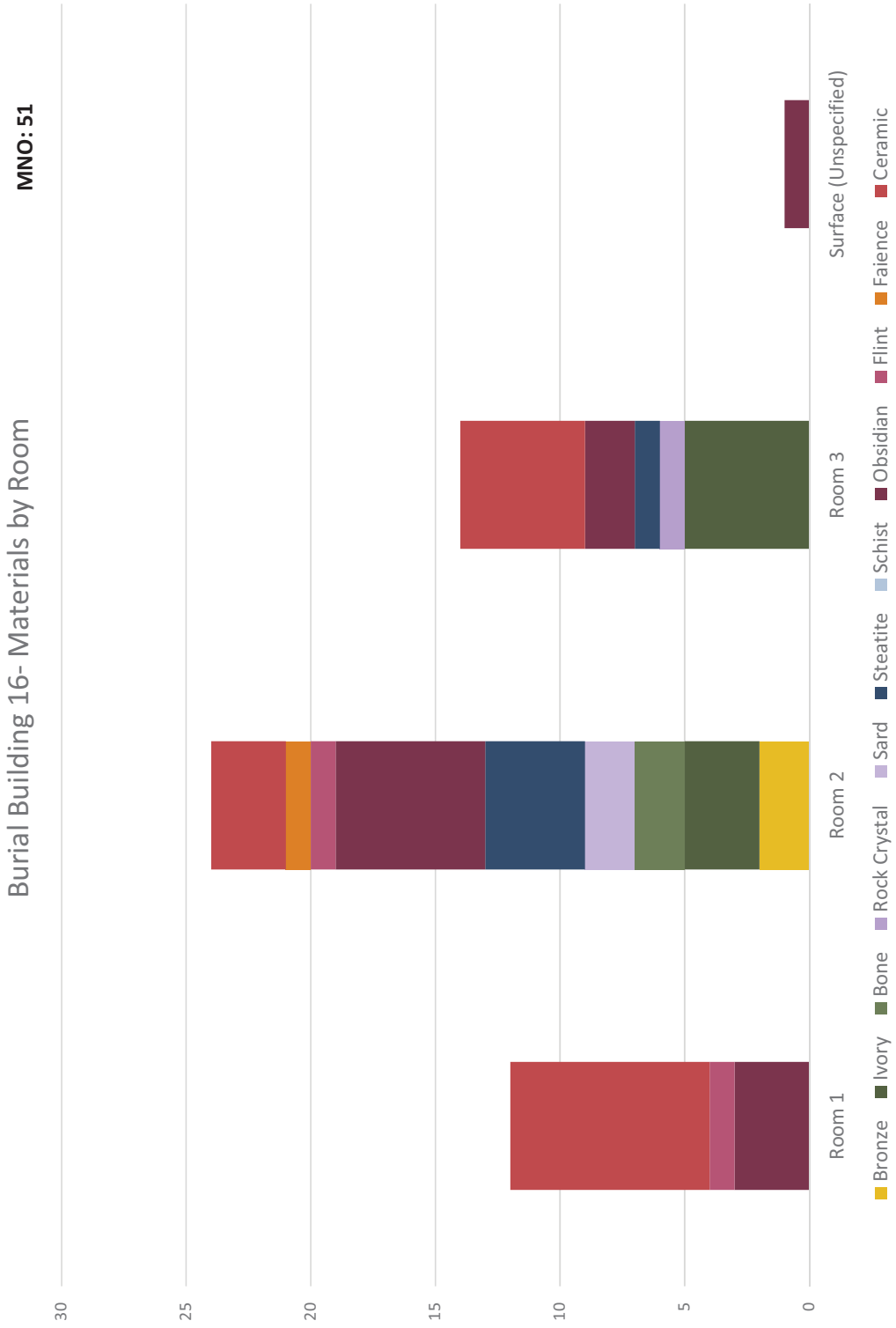


Figure 190: Burial Building 16- Materials by Room

Figure 191: Burial Building 16- Imports

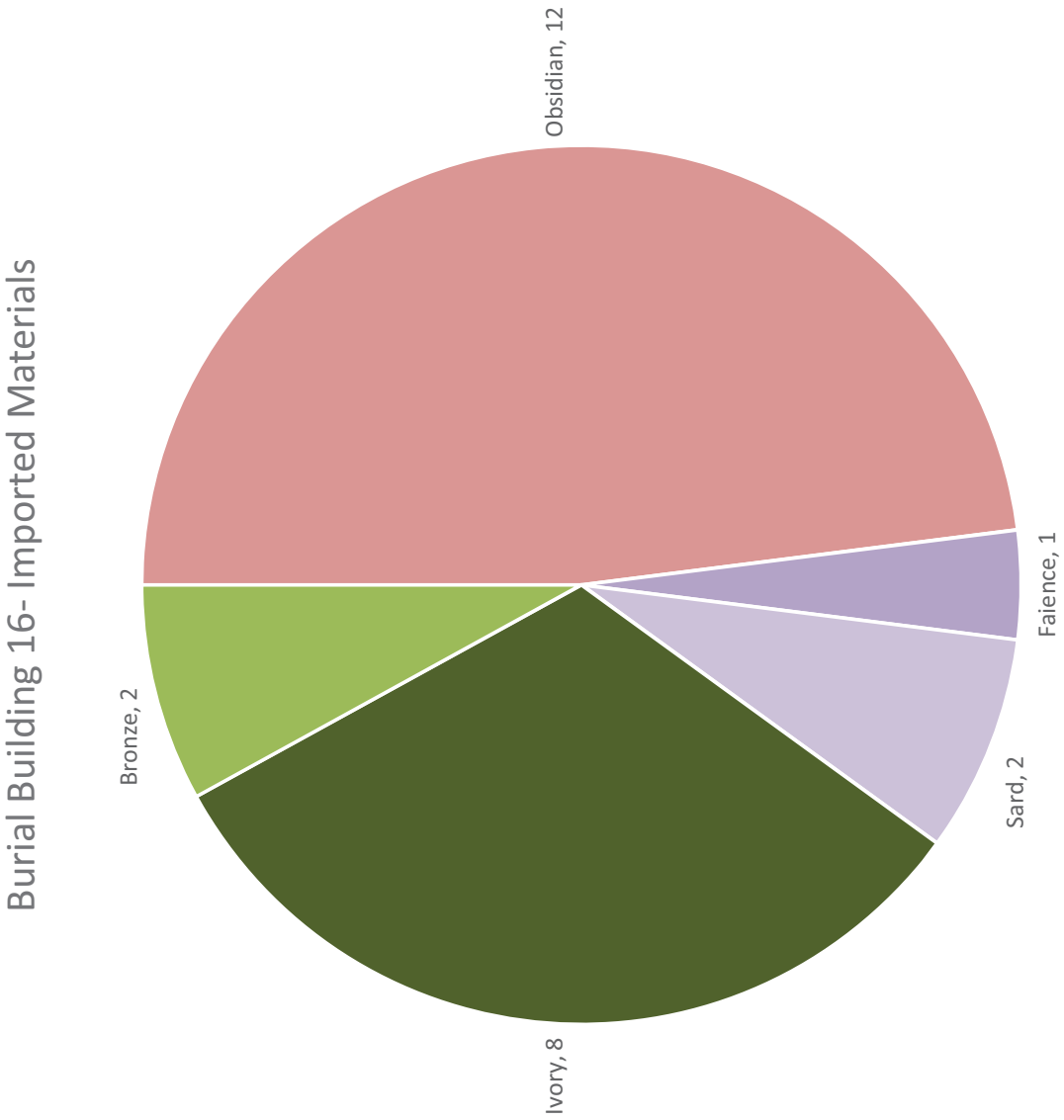


Figure 192: Burial Building 16- Imported Materials

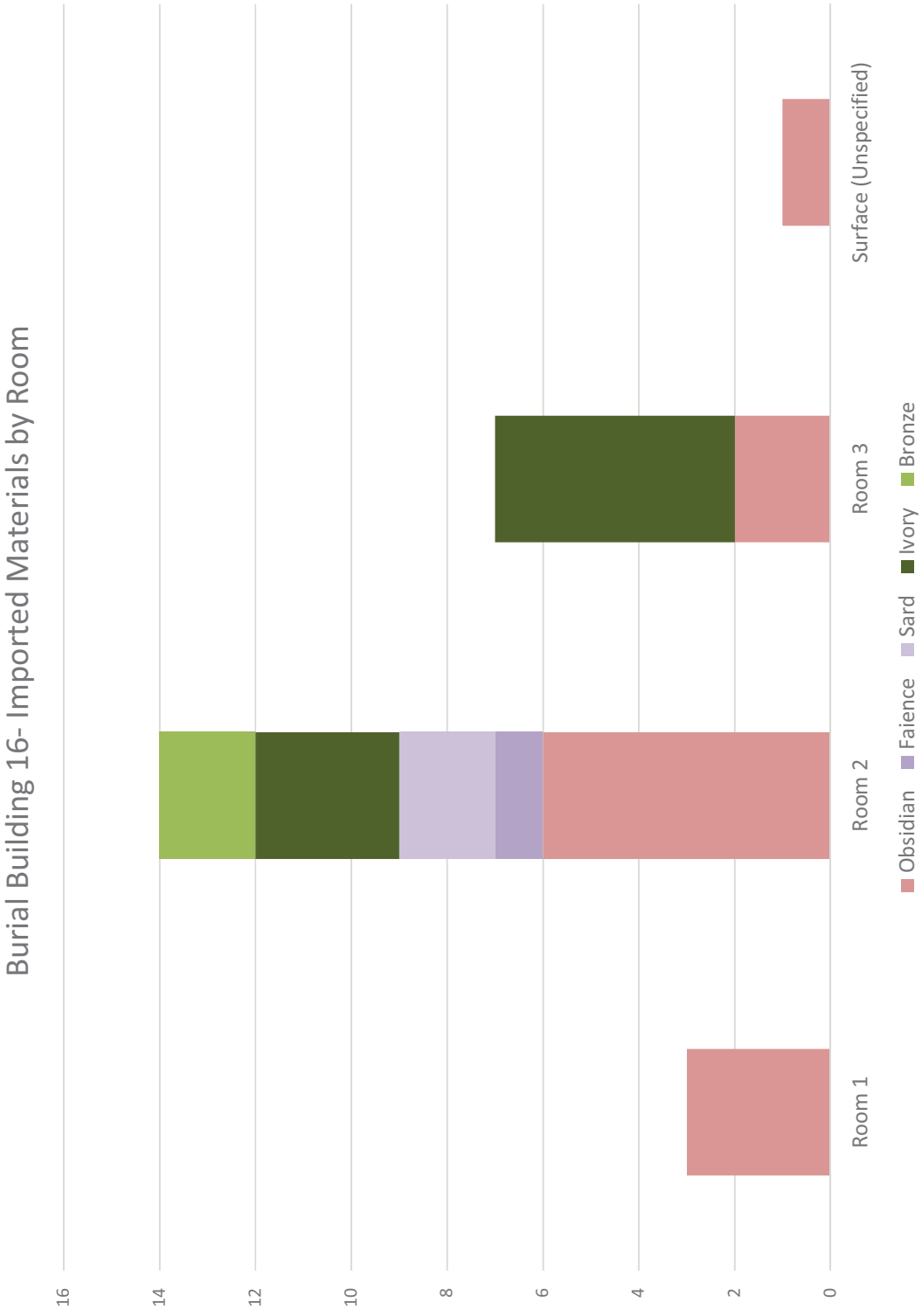


Figure 193: Burial Building 16- Imported Materials by Room

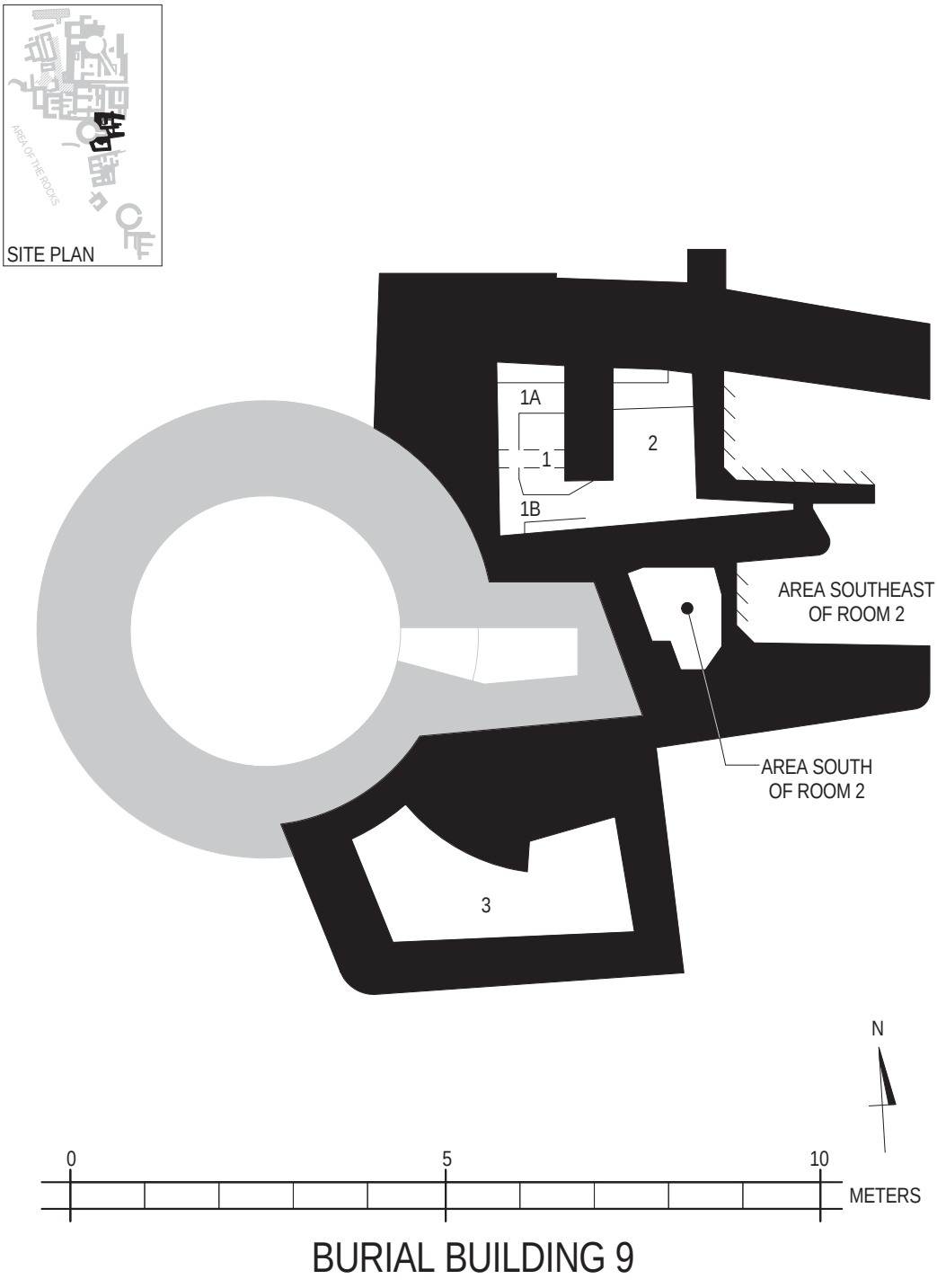


Figure 194: Burial Building 9, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

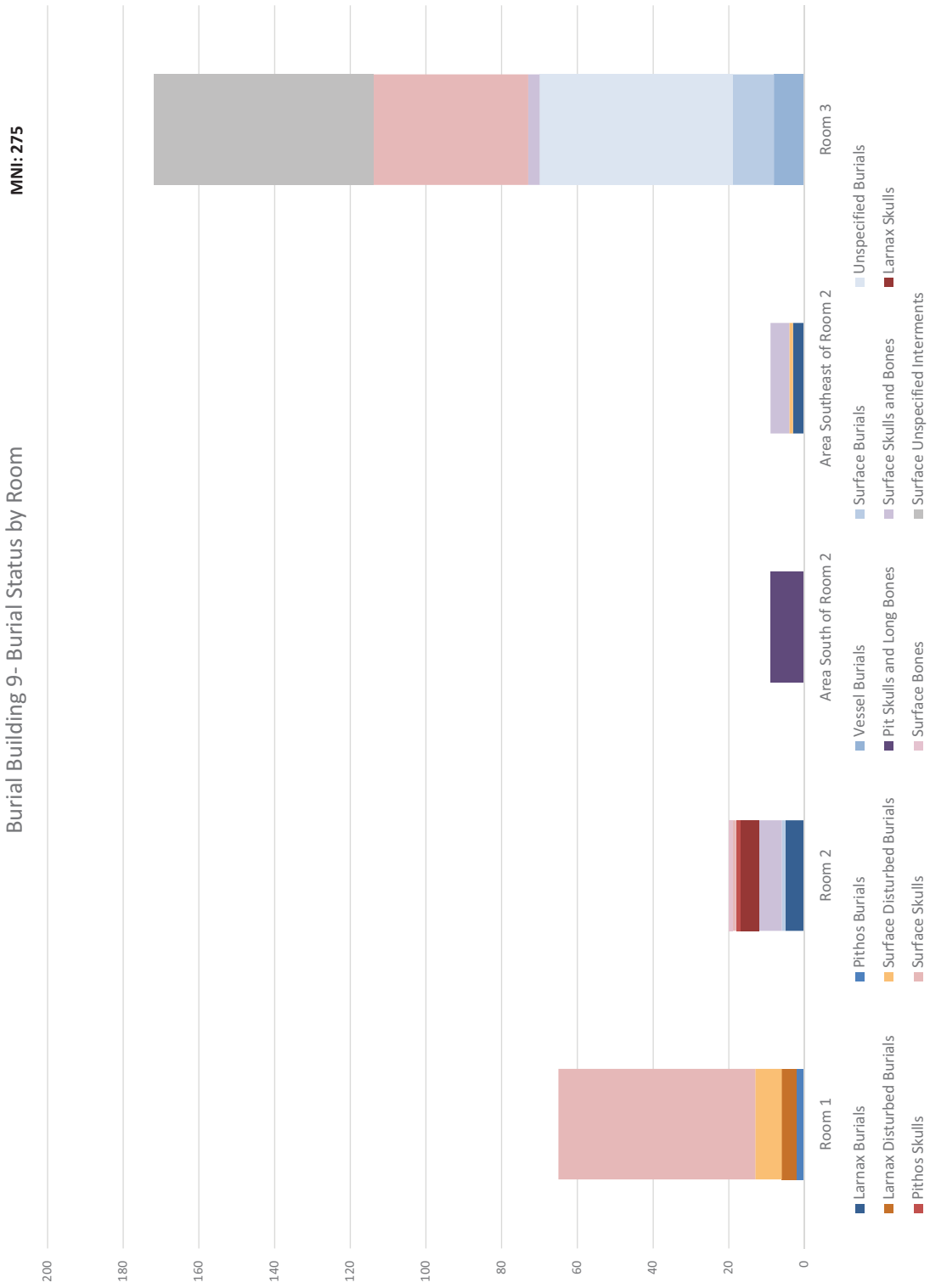


Figure 195: Burial Building 9- Burial Status by Room

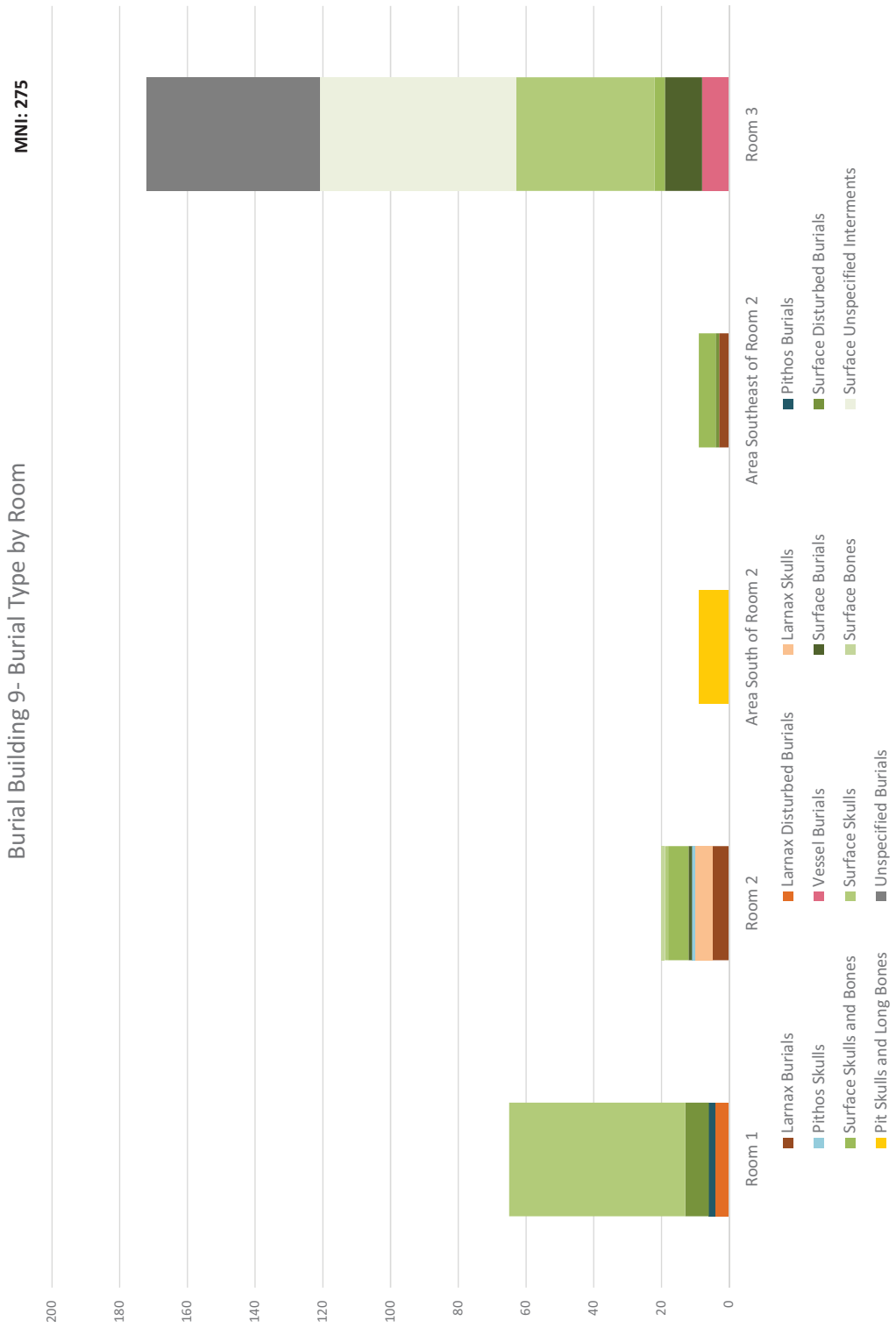


Figure 196: Burial Building 9- Burial Type by Room

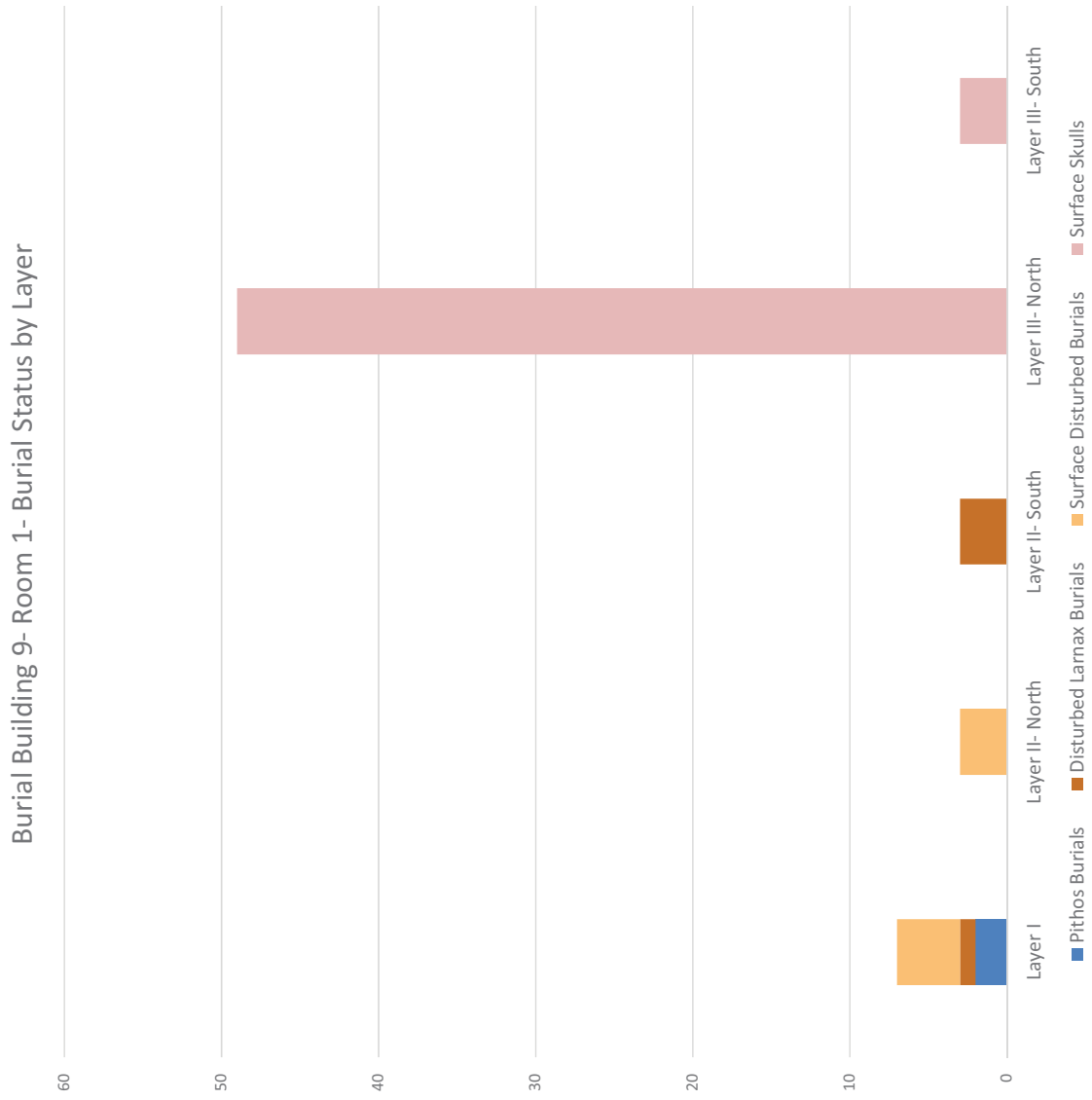


Figure 197: Burial Building 9- Room 1- Burial Status by Layer

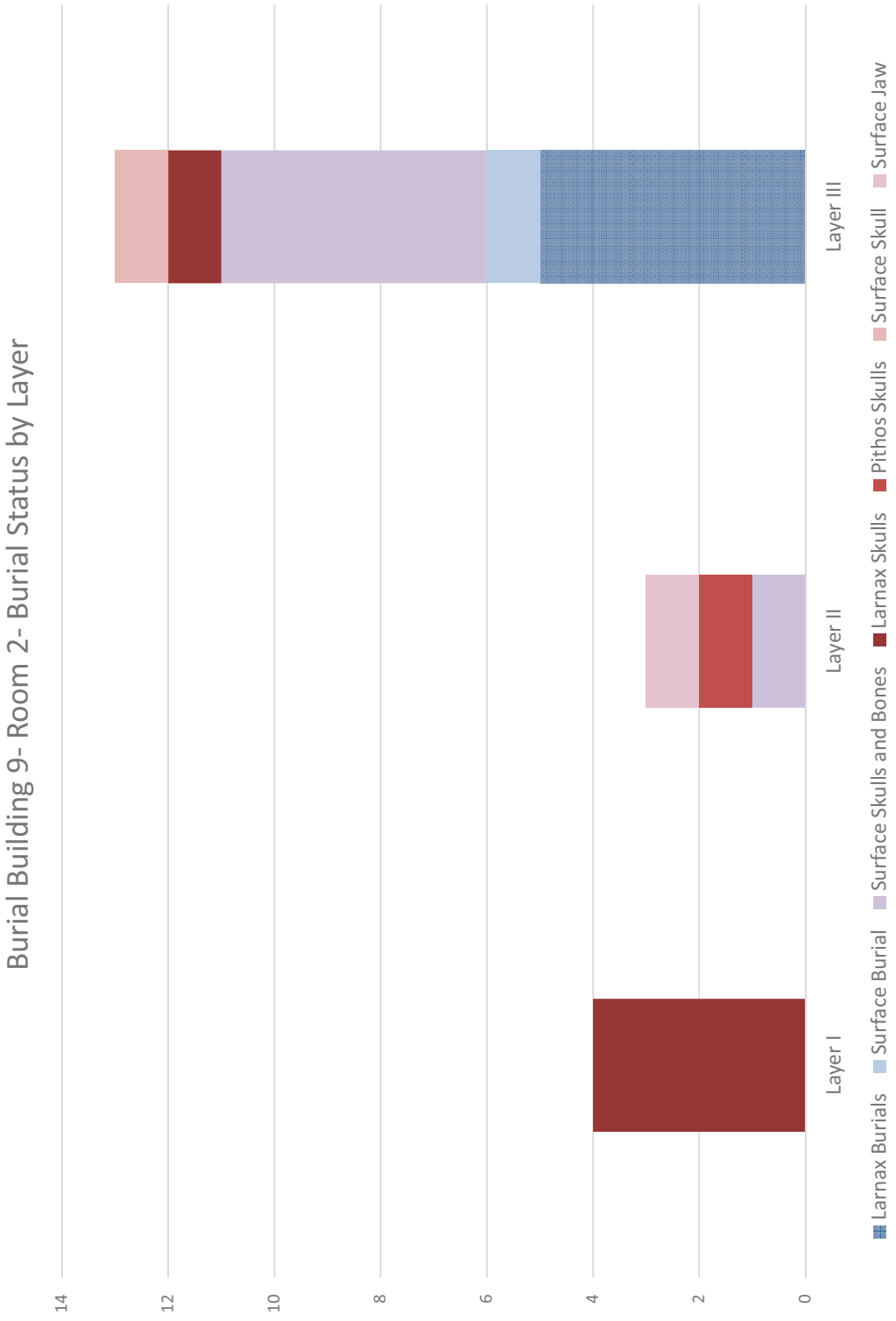


Figure 198: Burial Building 9- Room 2- Burial Status by Layer

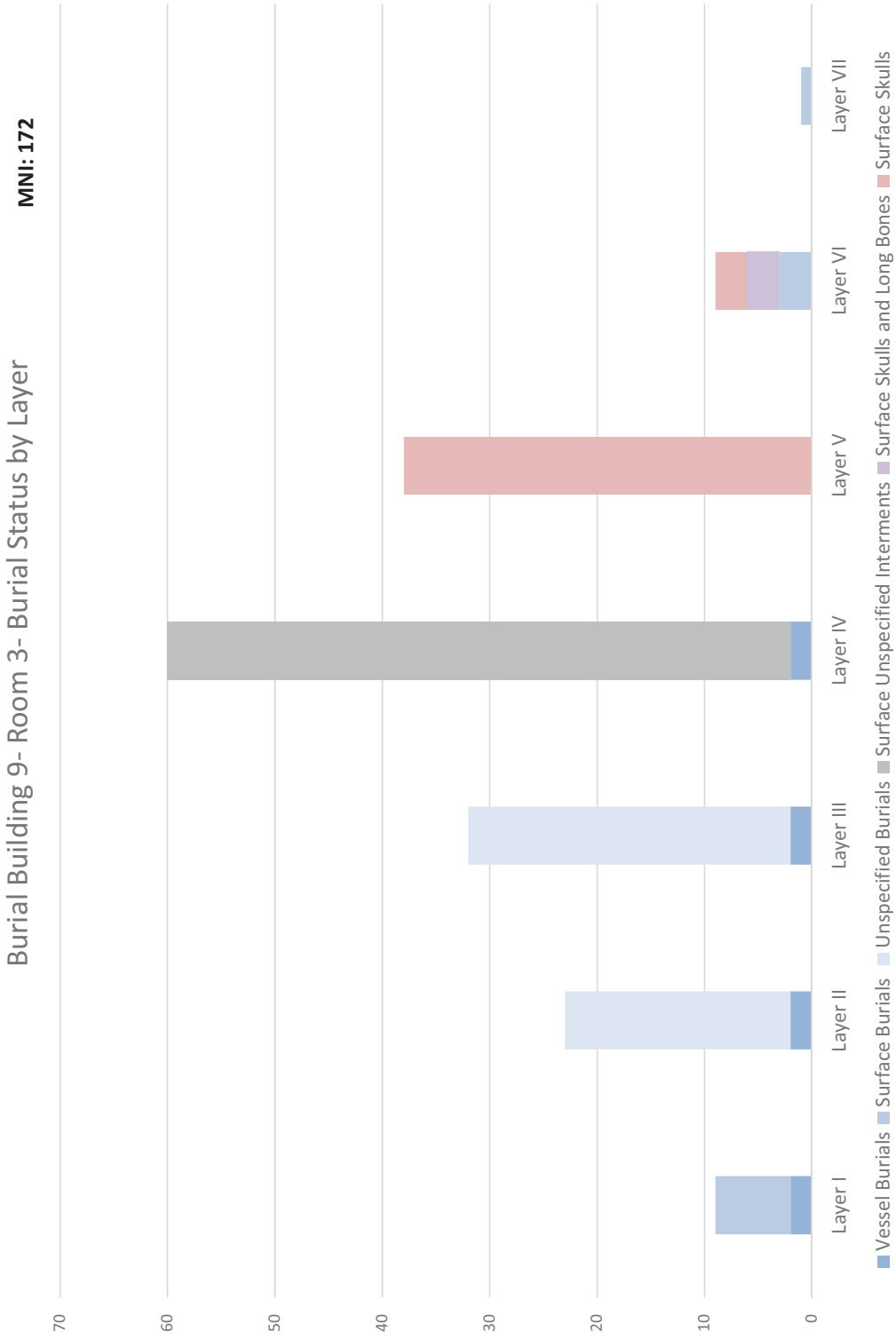


Figure 199: Burial Building 9- Room 3- Burial Status by Layer

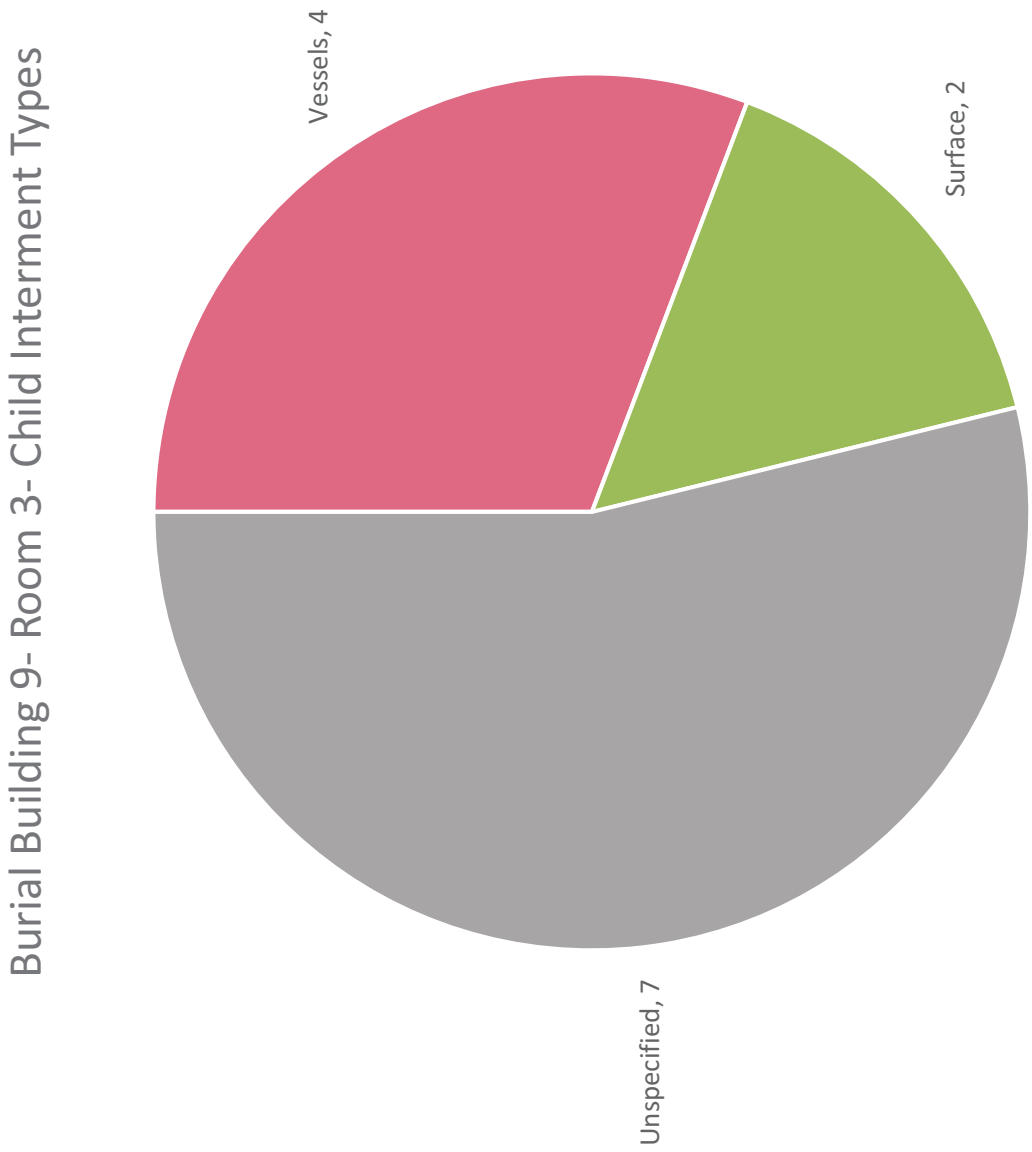


Figure 200: Burial Building 9- Room 3- Child Internment Types

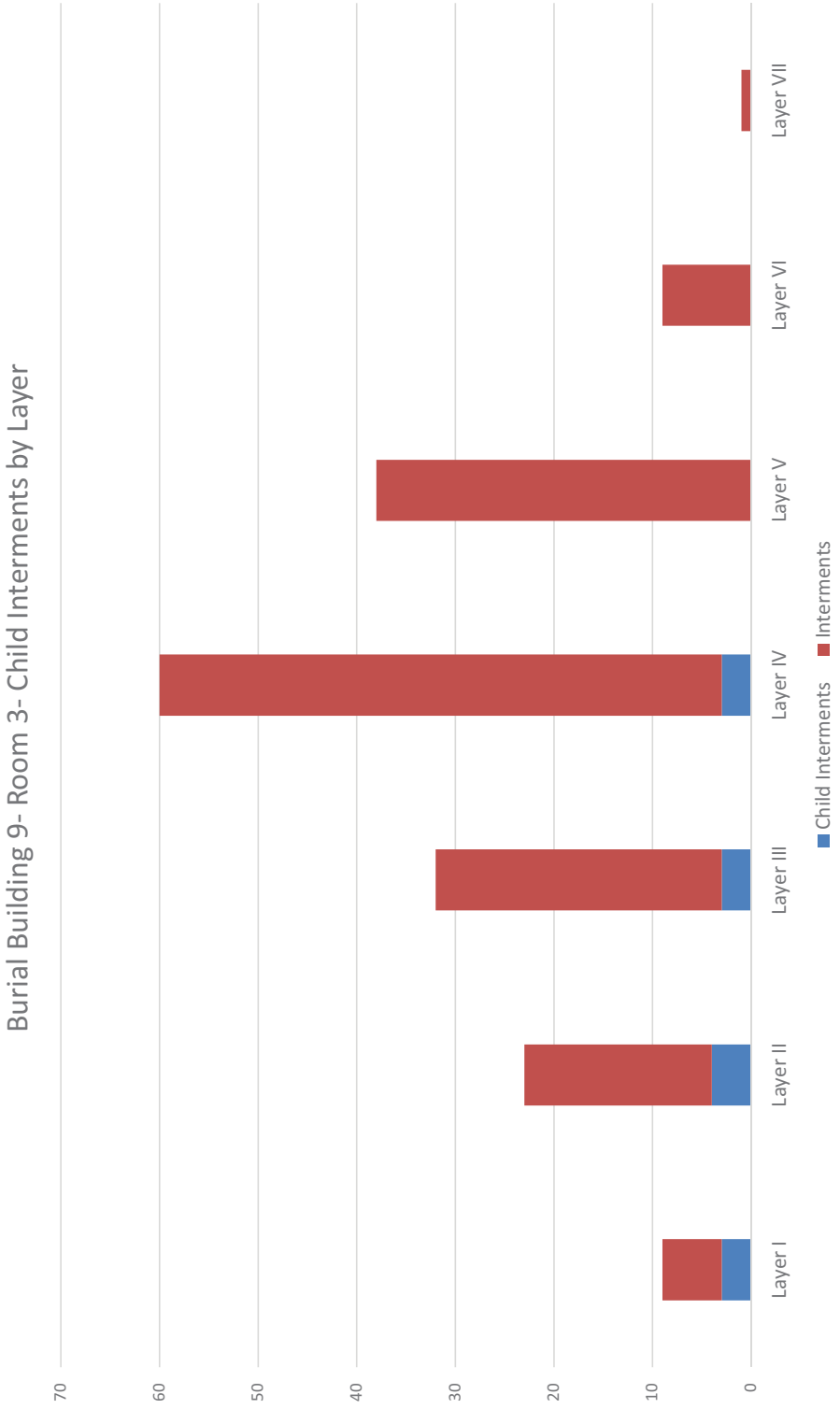


Figure 201: Burial Building 9- Room 3- Child Internments by Layer

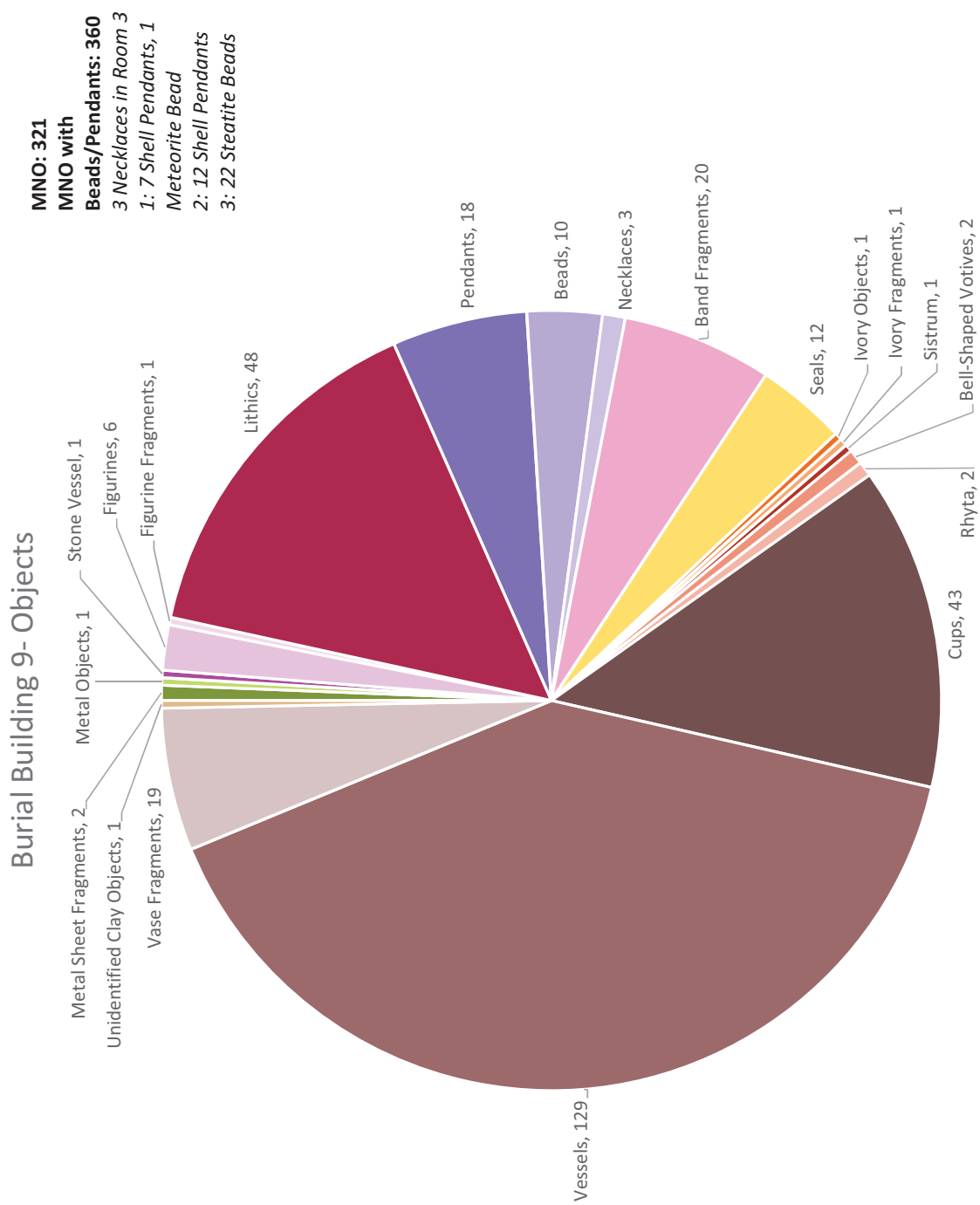


Figure 202: Burial Building 9- Objects

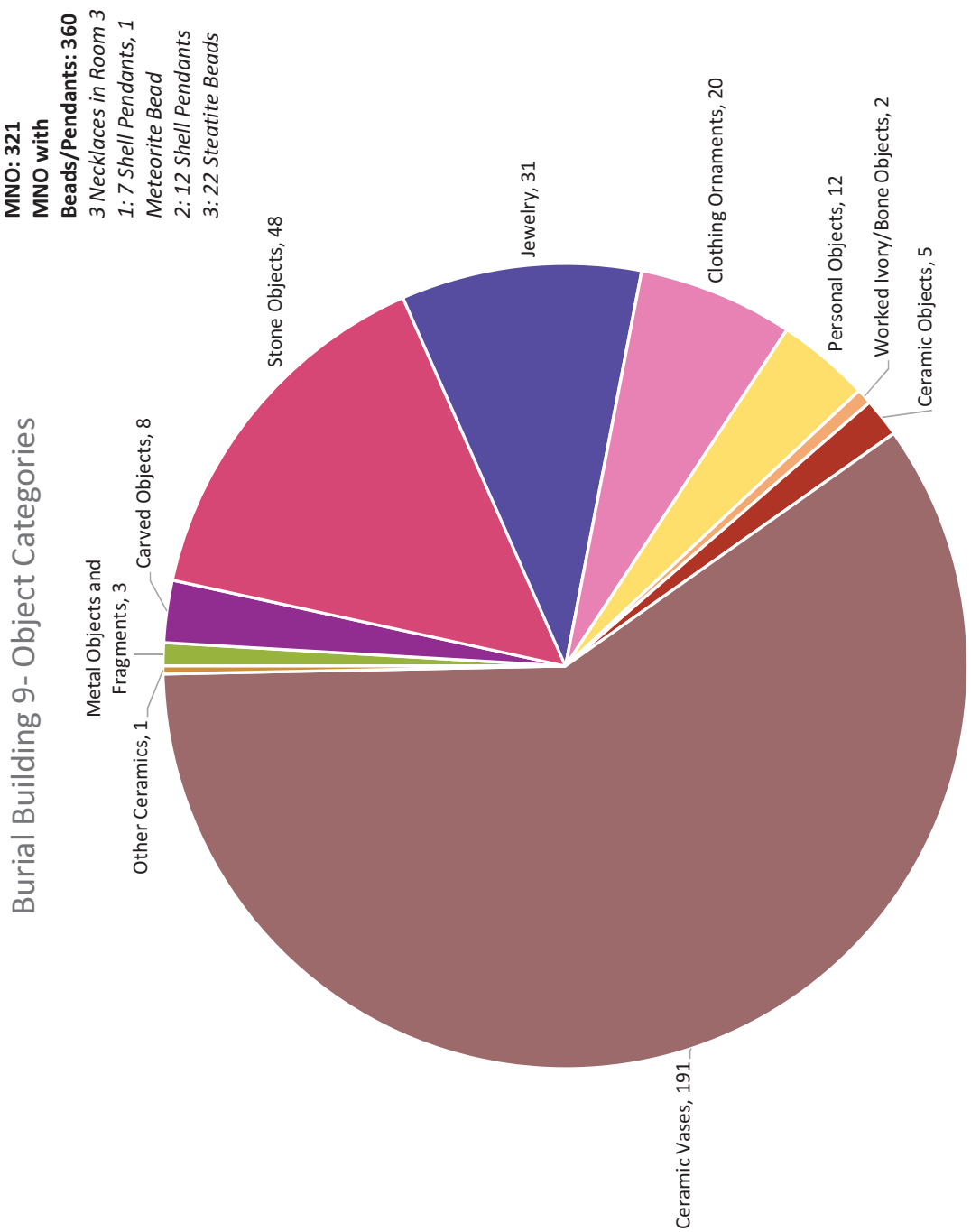


Figure 203: Burial Building 9- Object Categories

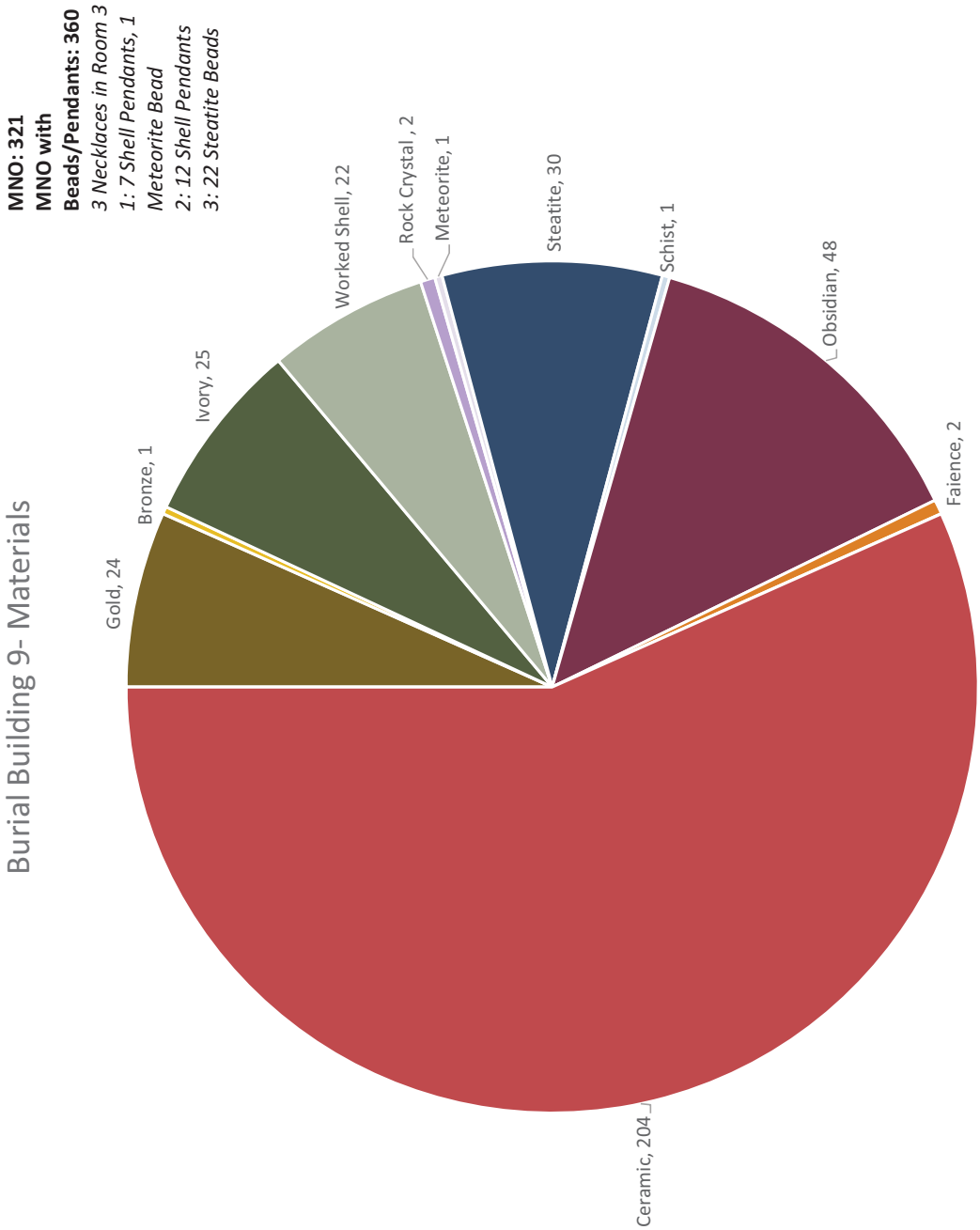


Figure 204: Burial Building 9- Materials

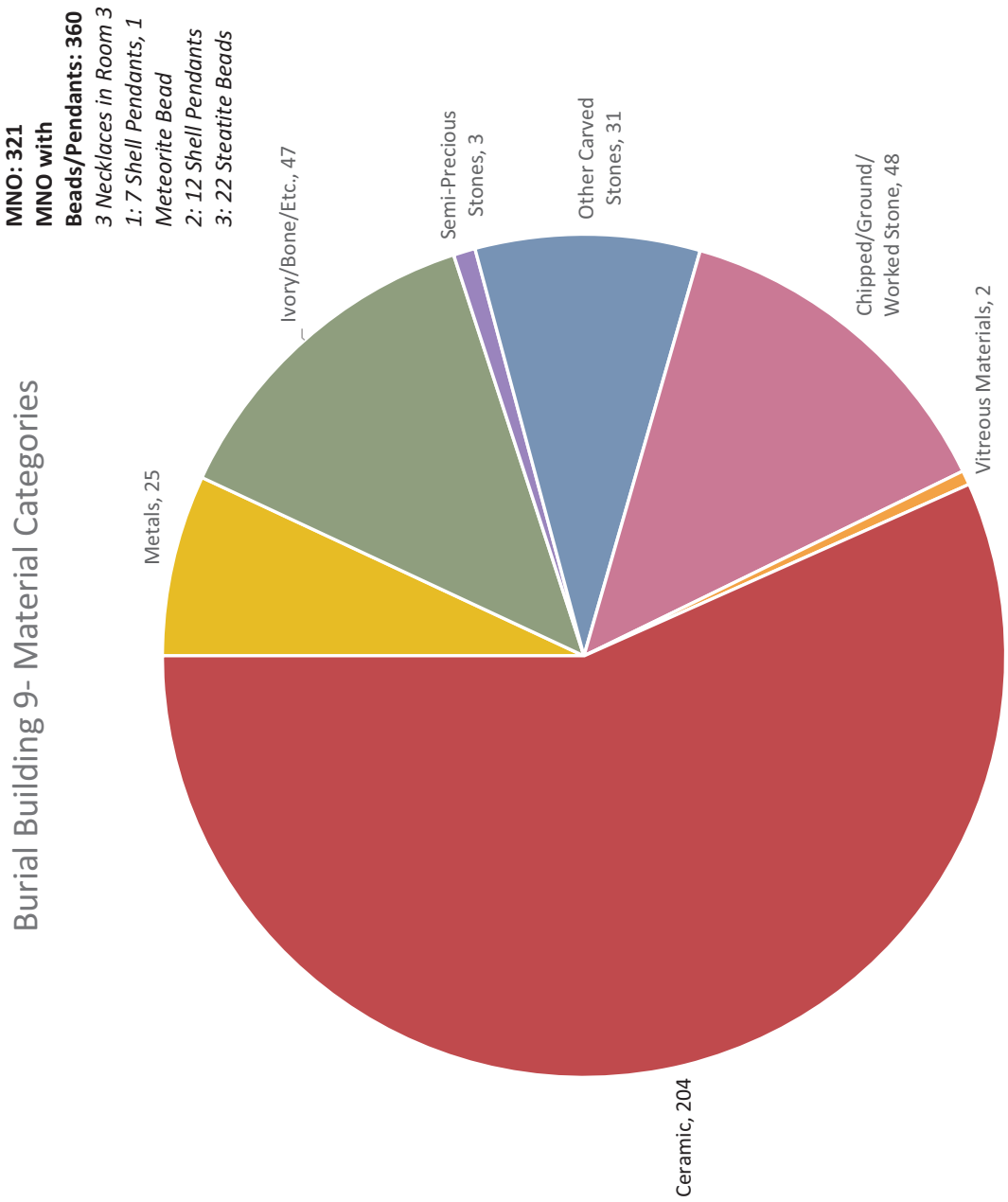


Figure 205: Burial Building 9- Material Categories

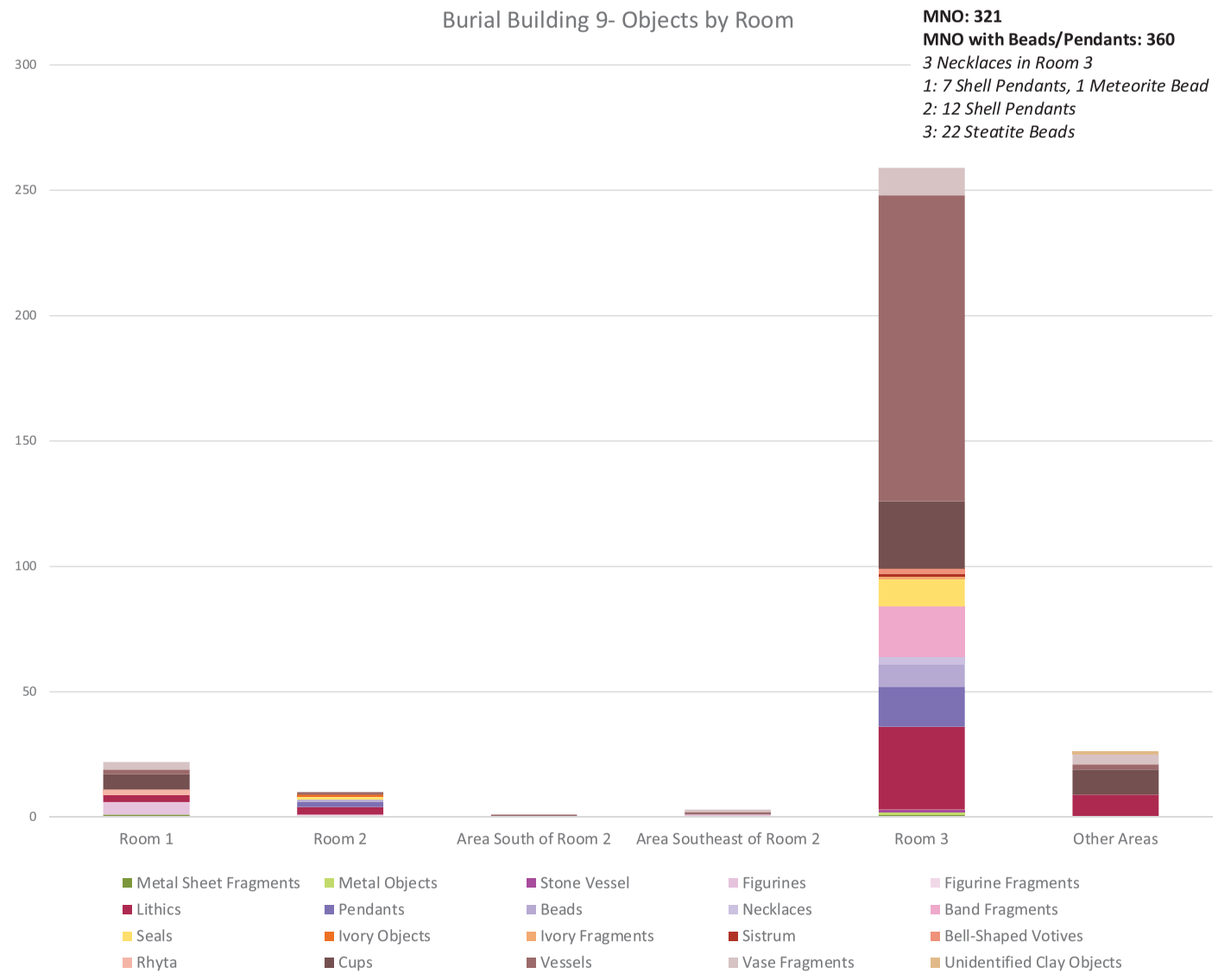


Figure 206: Burial Building 9- Objects by Room

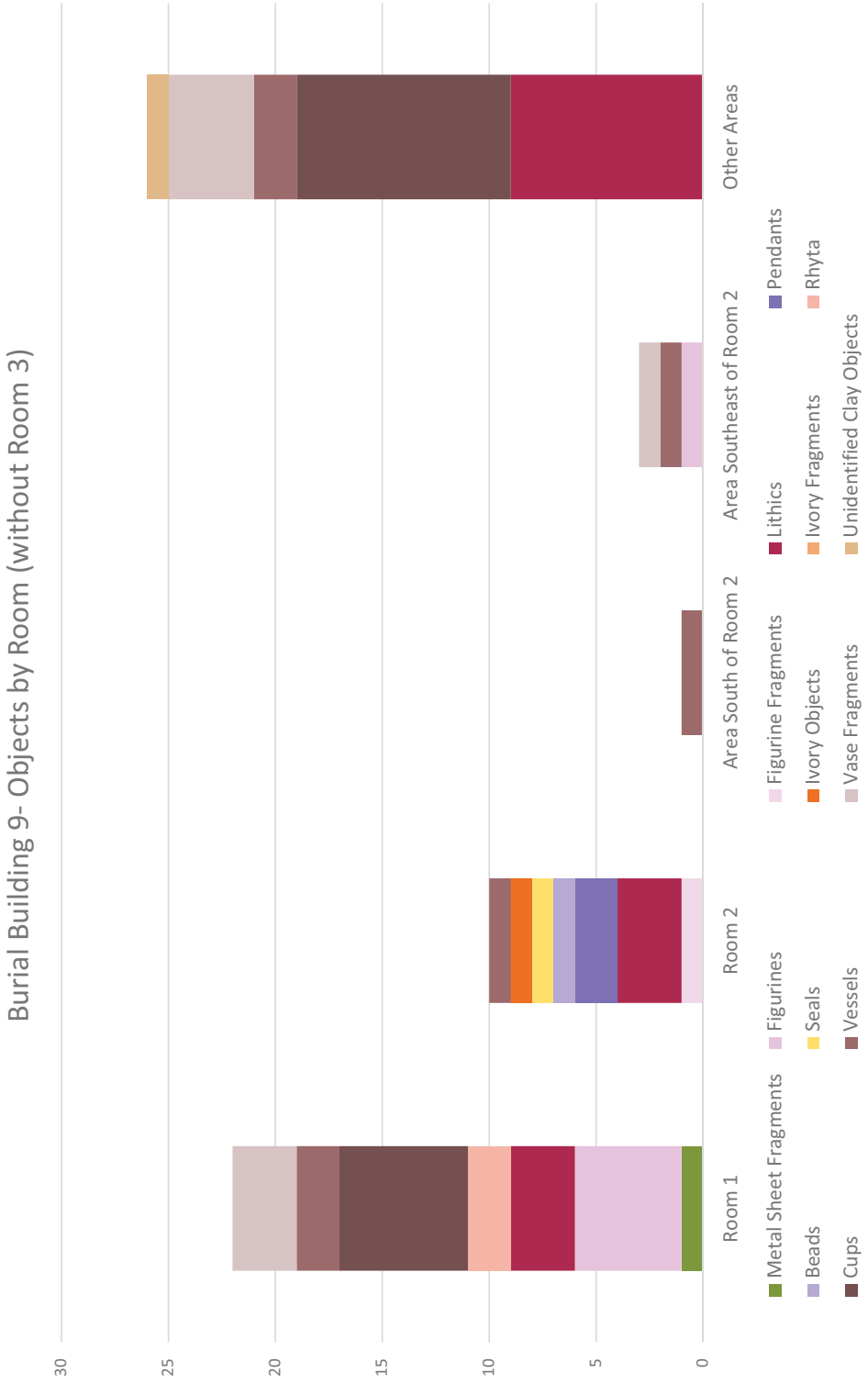


Figure 207: Burial Building 9- Objects by Room (without Room 3)

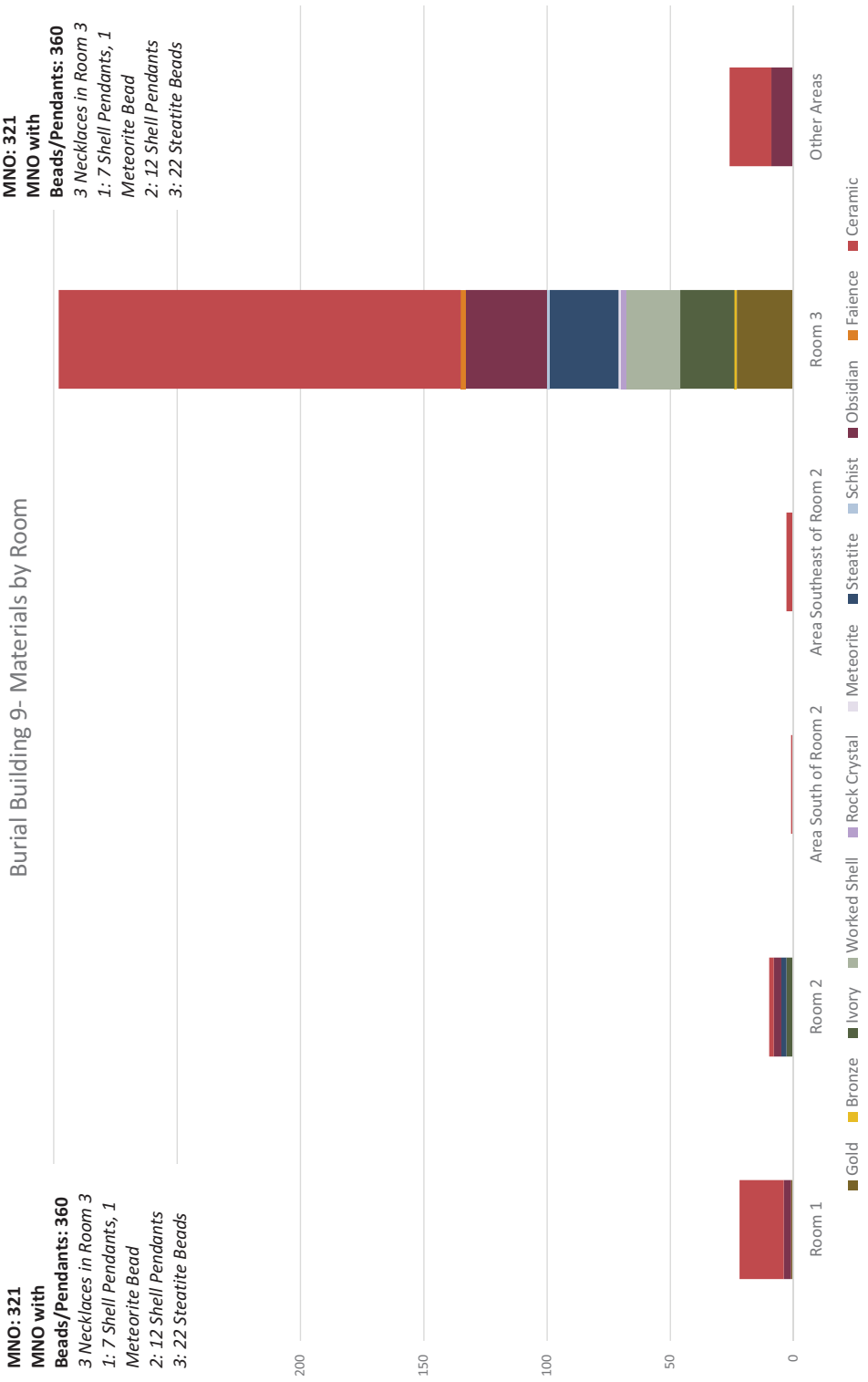


Figure 208: Burial Building 9- Materials by Room

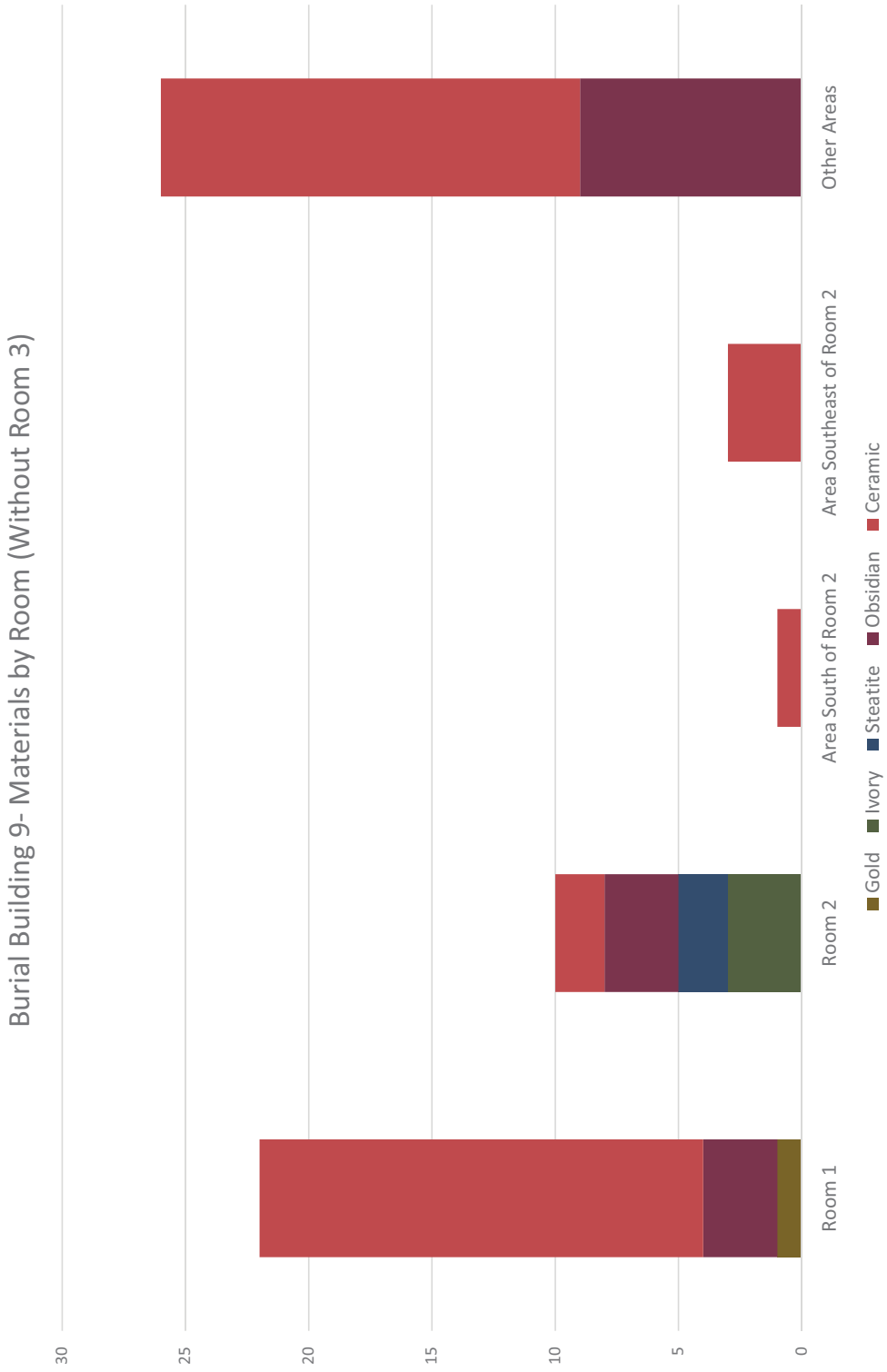


Figure 209: Burial Building 9- Materials by Room (without Room 3)

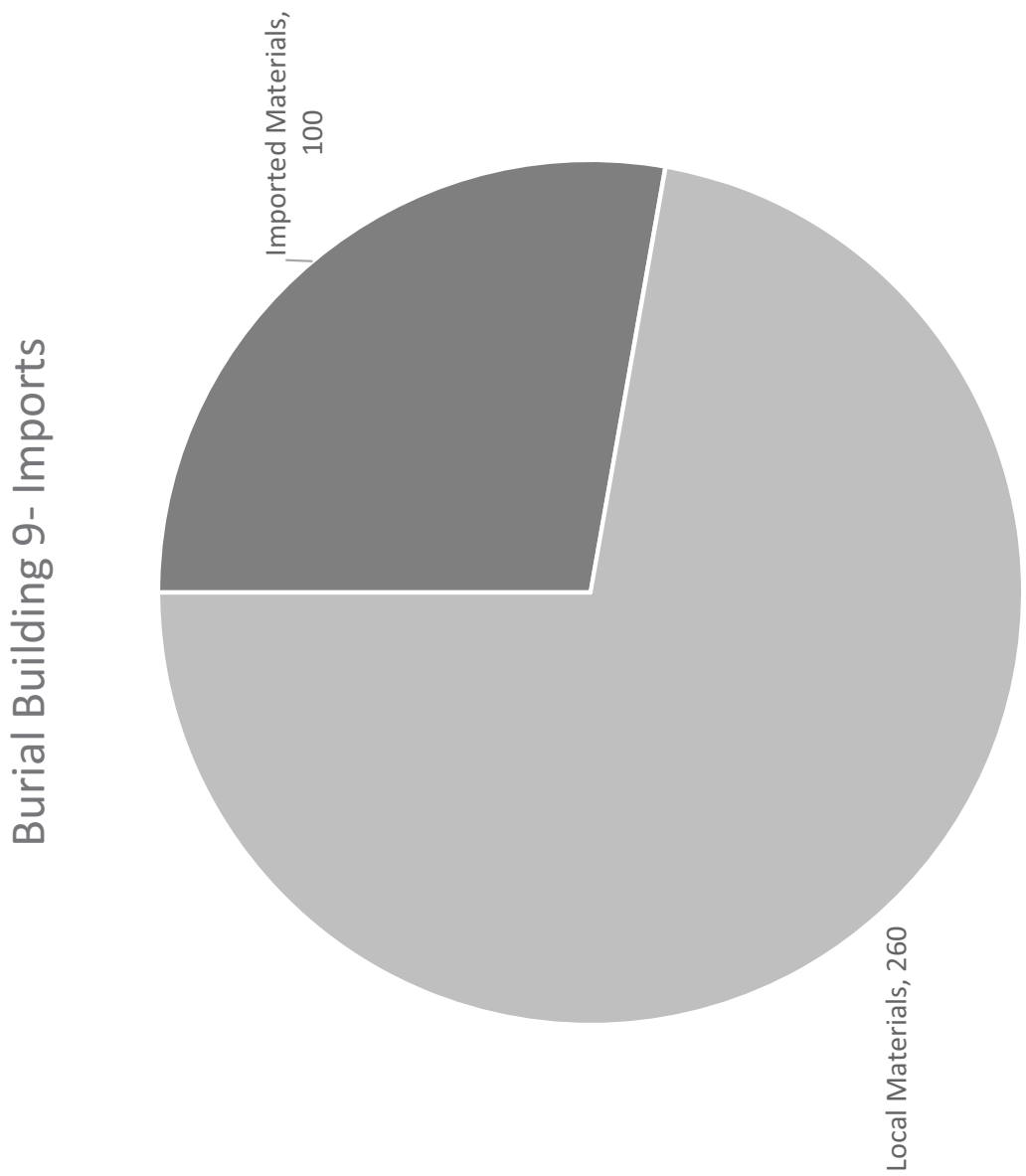


Figure 210: Burial Building 9- Imports

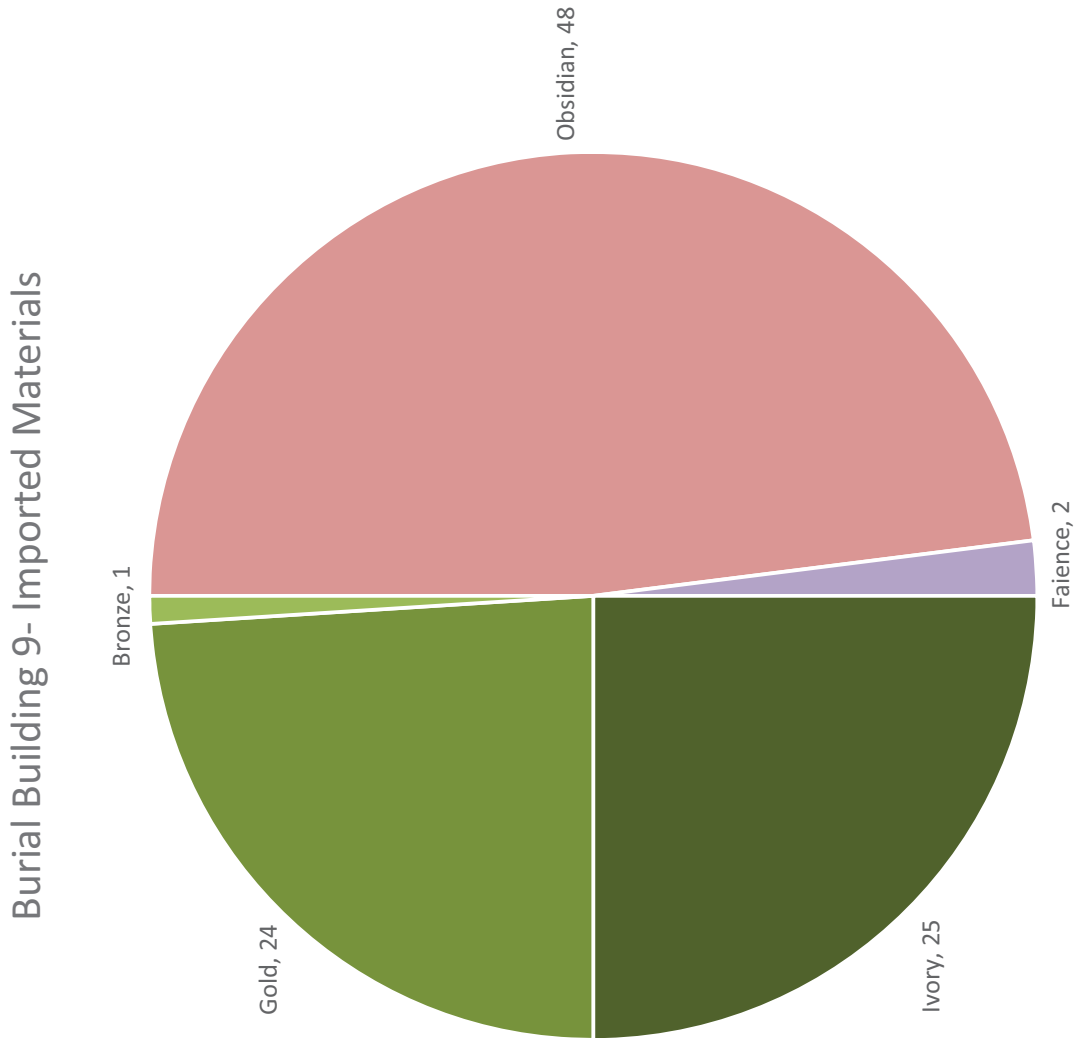


Figure 211: Burial Building 9- Imported Materials

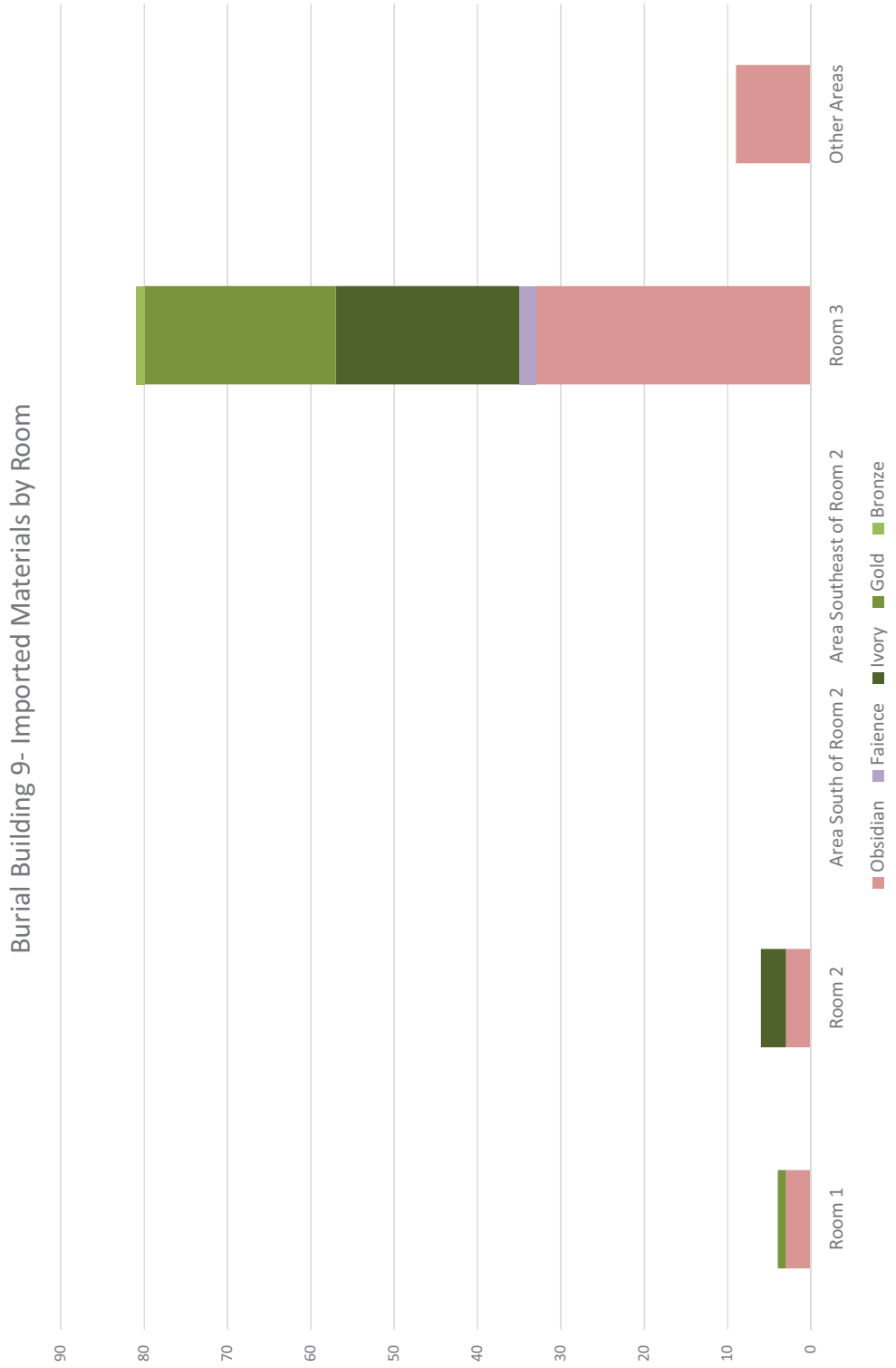


Figure 212: Burial Building 9- Imported Materials by Room

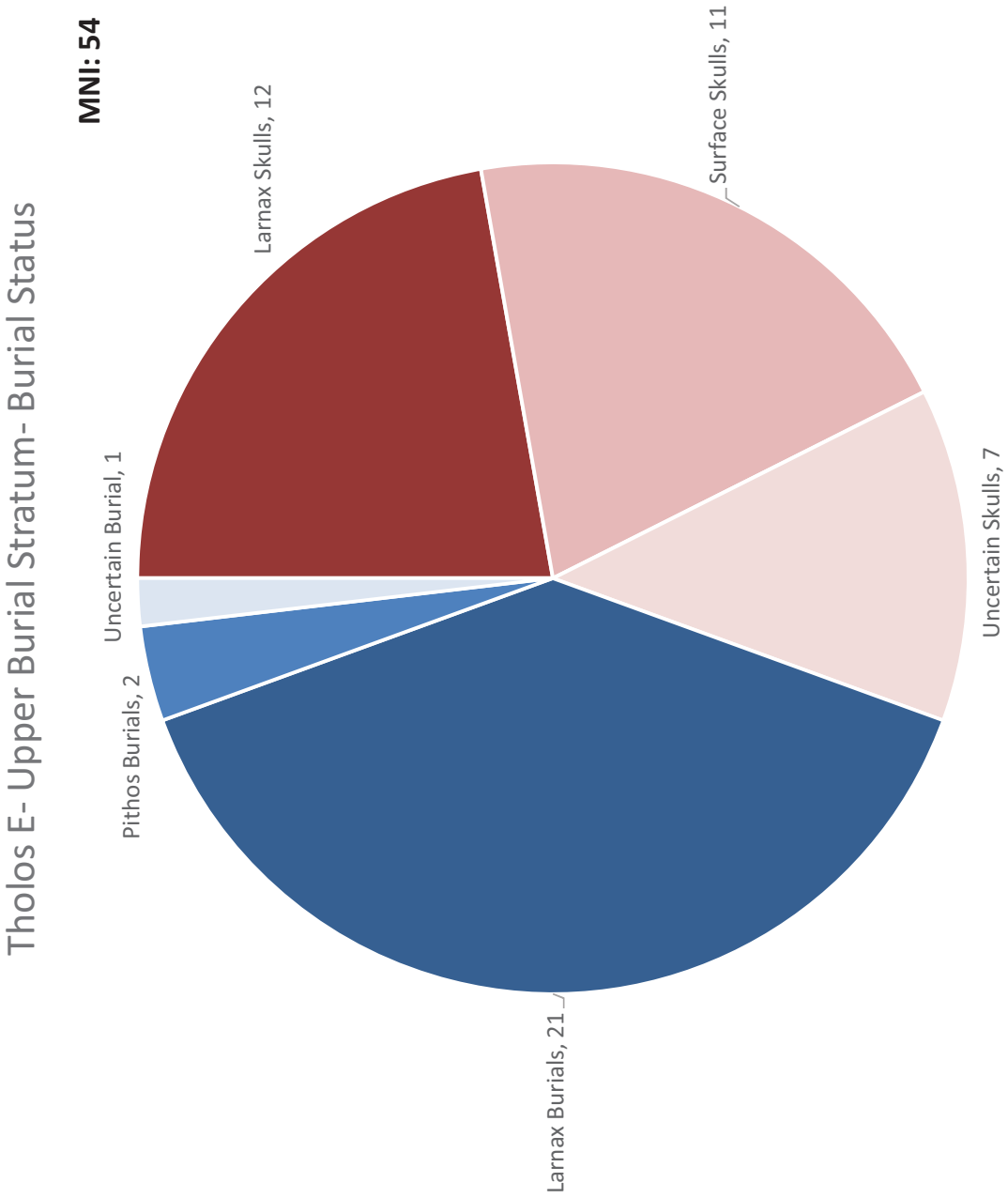


Figure 213: Tholos E- Upper Burial Stratum- Burial Status

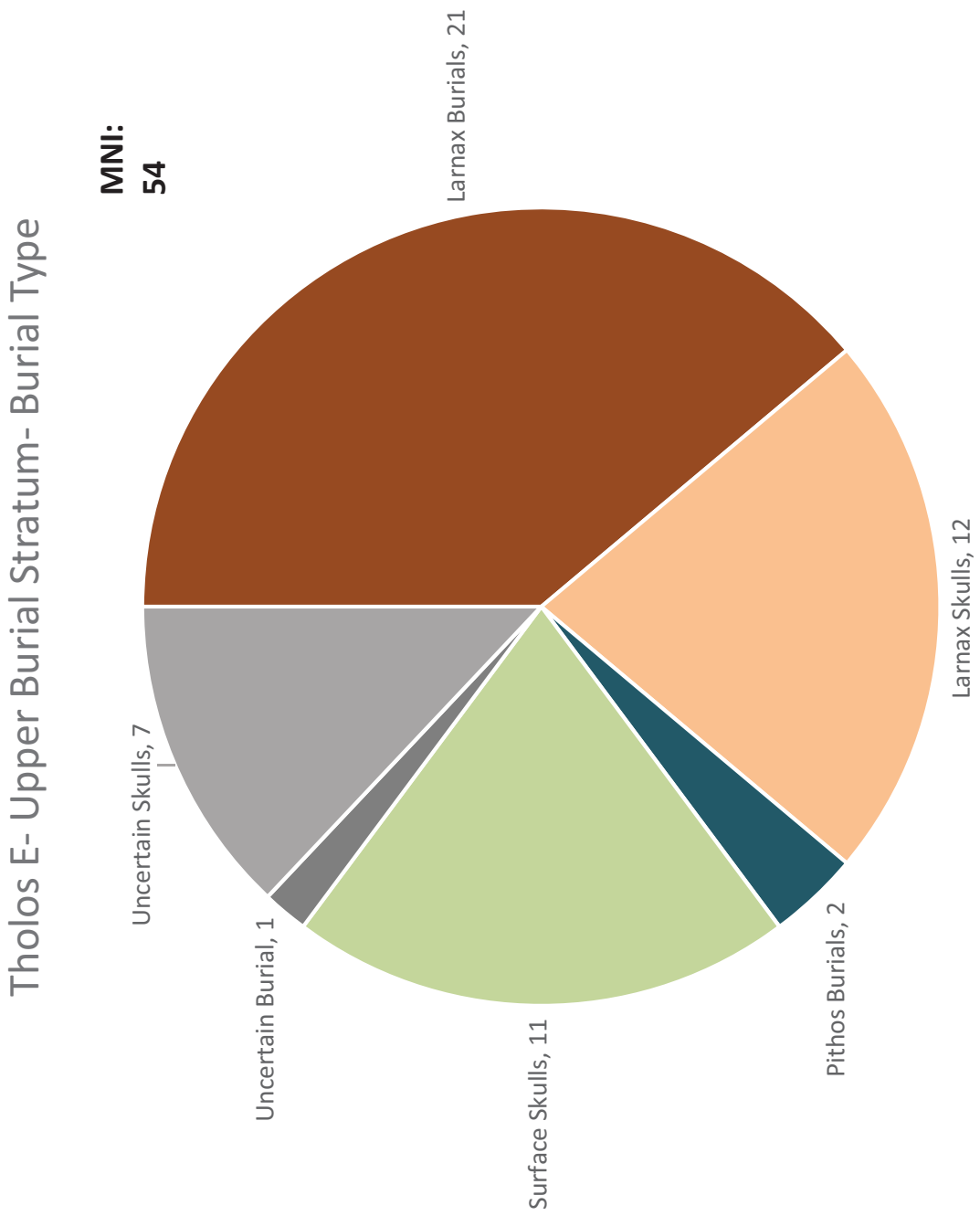


Figure 214: Tholos E- Upper Burial Stratum- Burial Type

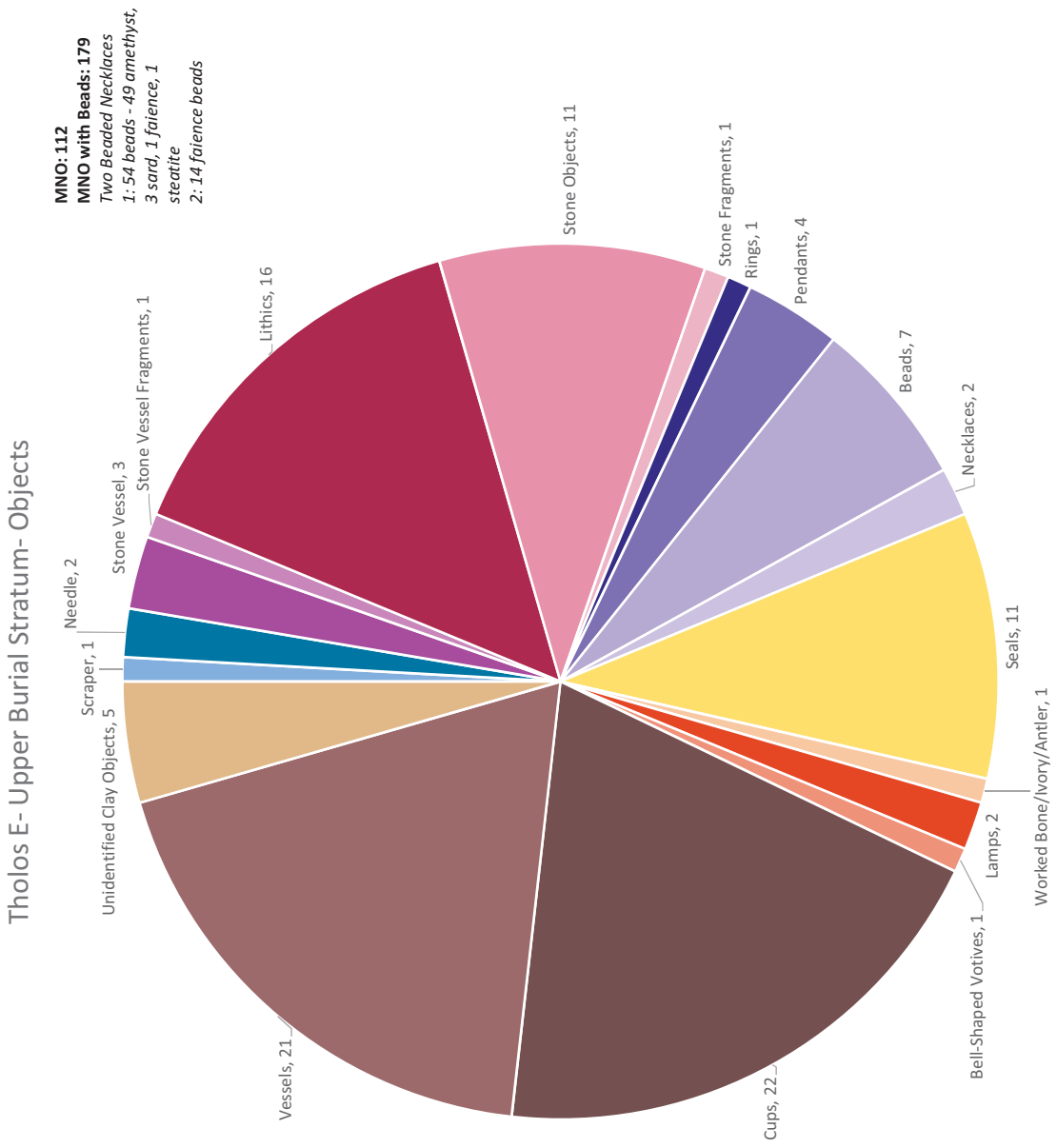


Figure 215: Tholos E- Upper Burial Stratum- Objects

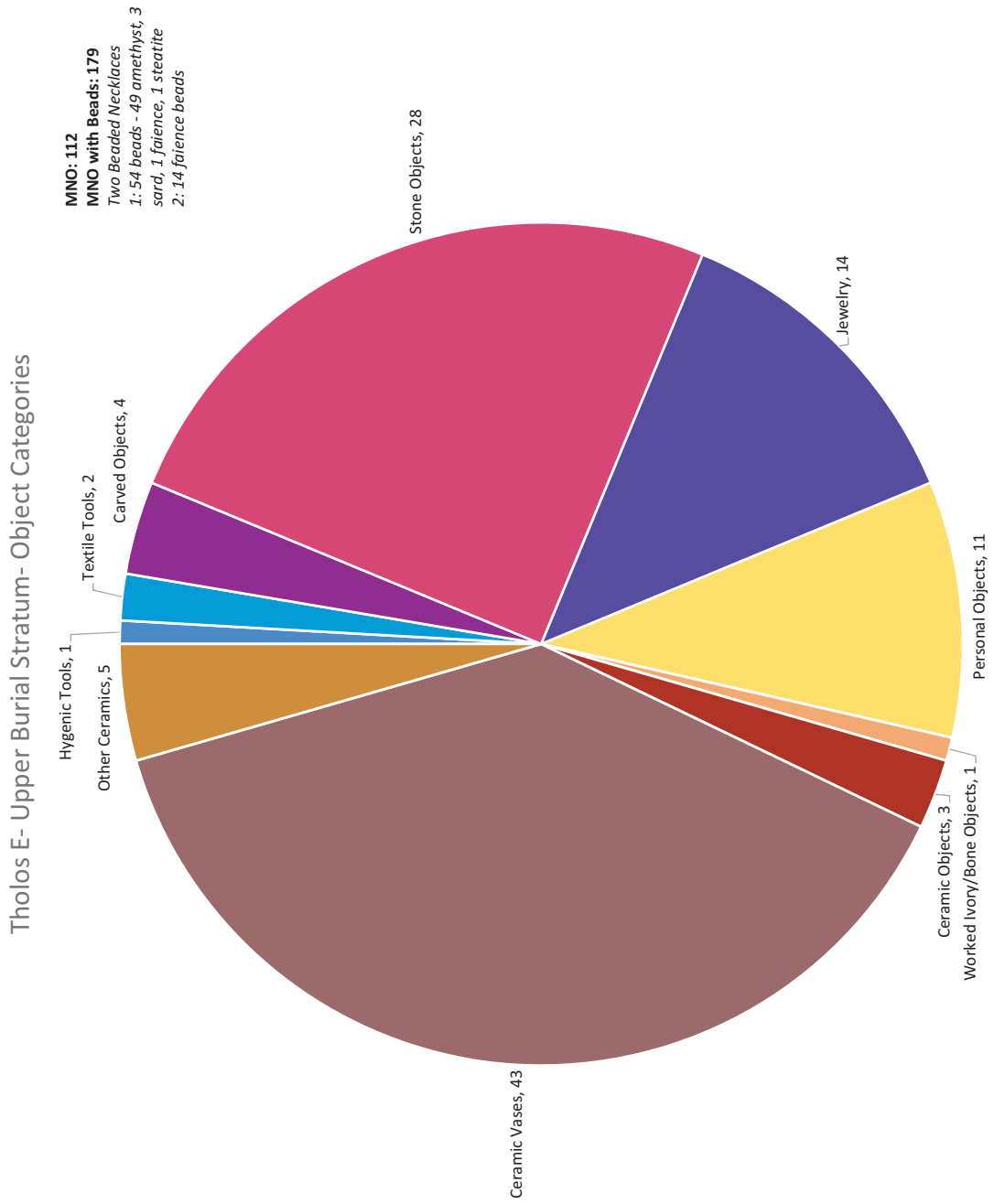


Figure 216: Tholos E- Upper Burial Stratum- Object Categories

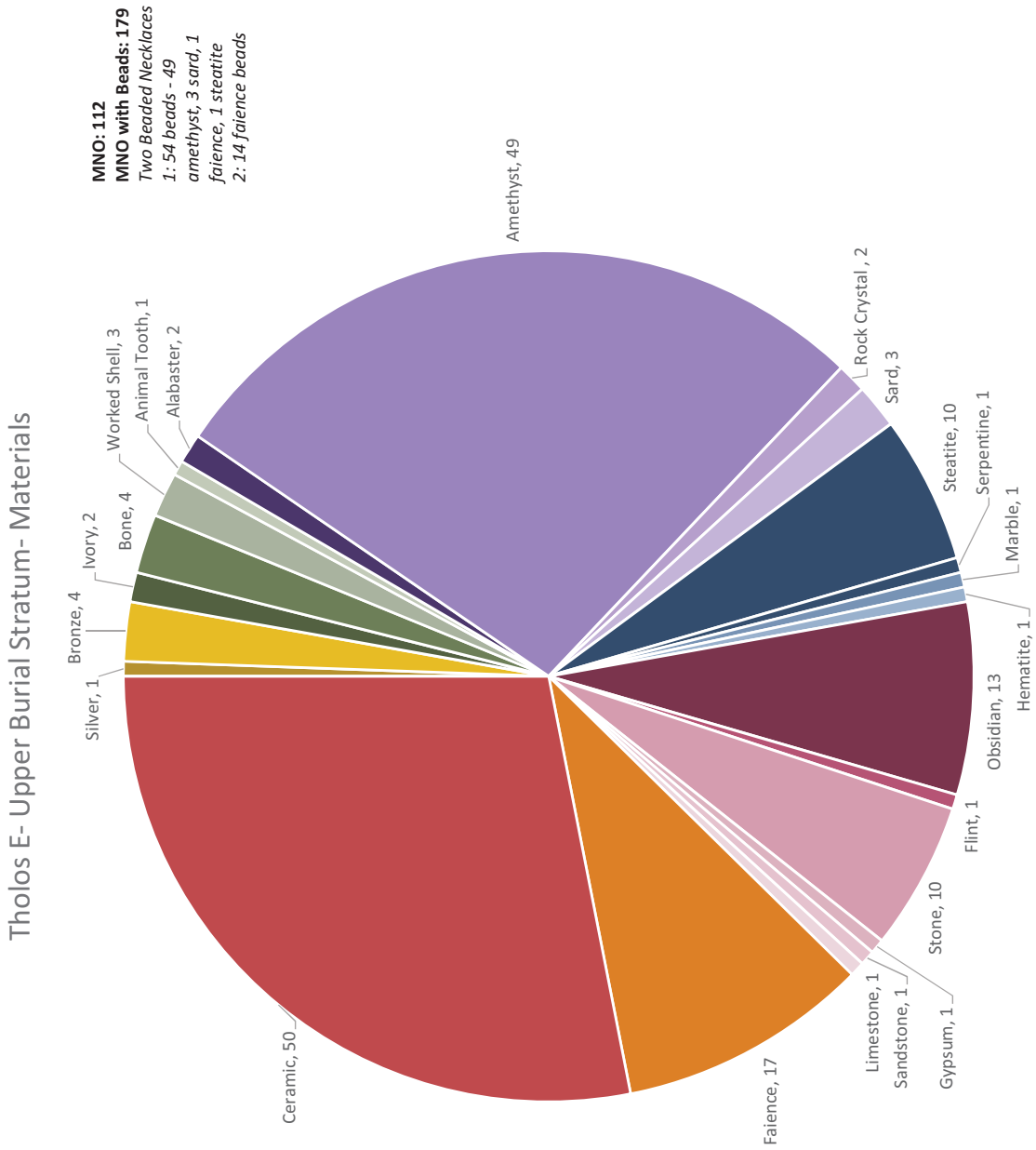


Figure 217: Tholos E- Upper Burial Stratum- Materials

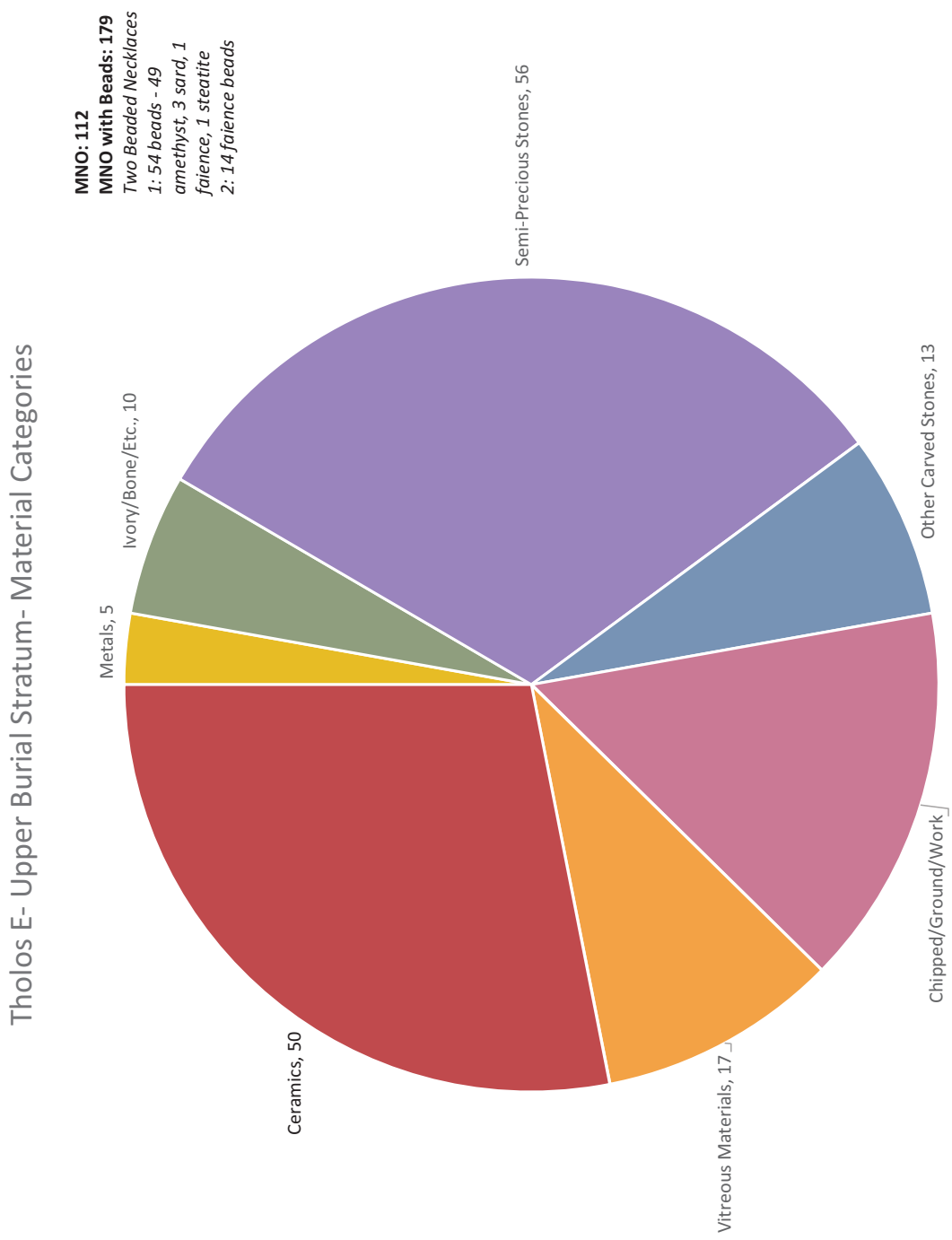


Figure 218: Tholos E- Upper Burial Stratum- Material Categories

Figure 219: Tholos E- Upper Burial Stratum- Imports

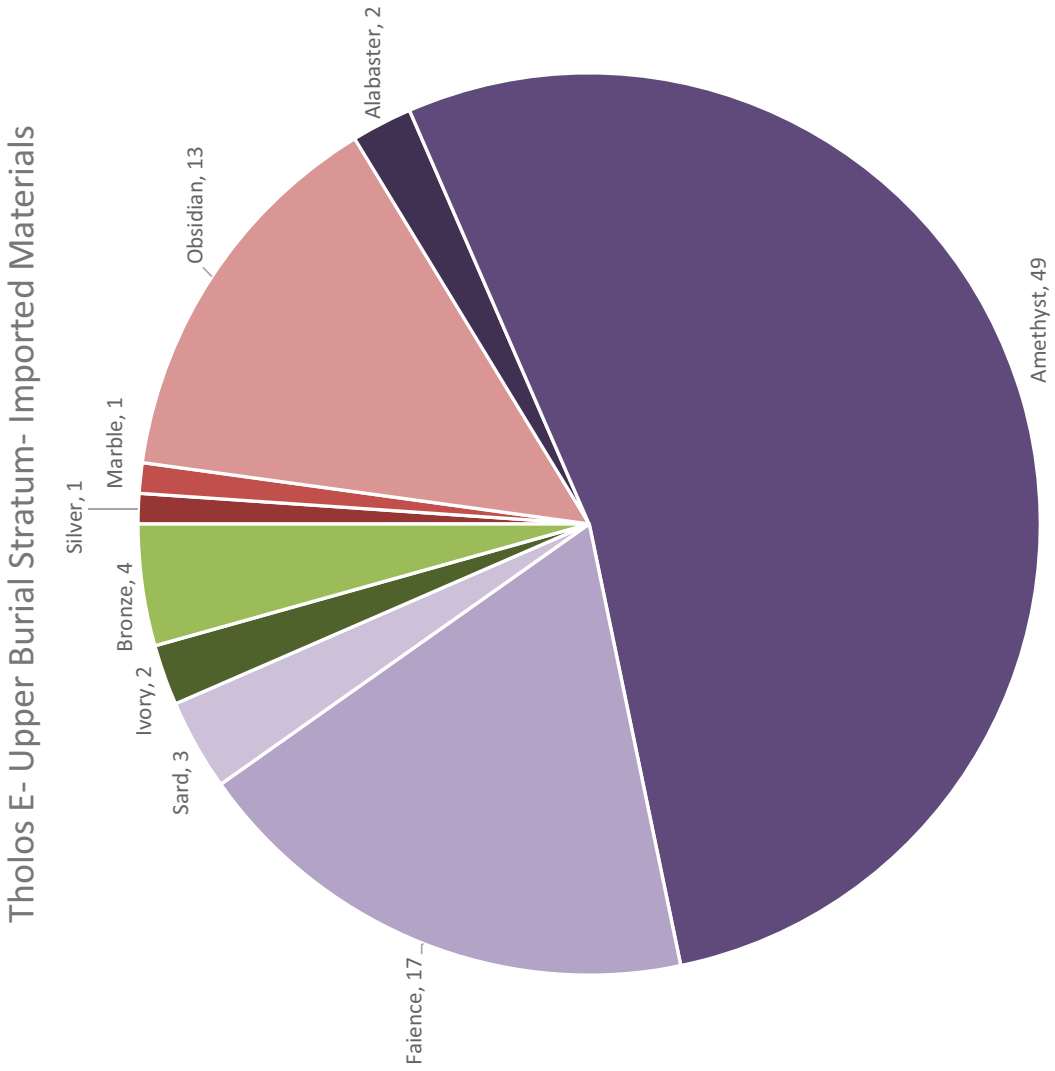


Figure 220: Tholos E- Upper Burial Stratum- Imported Materials

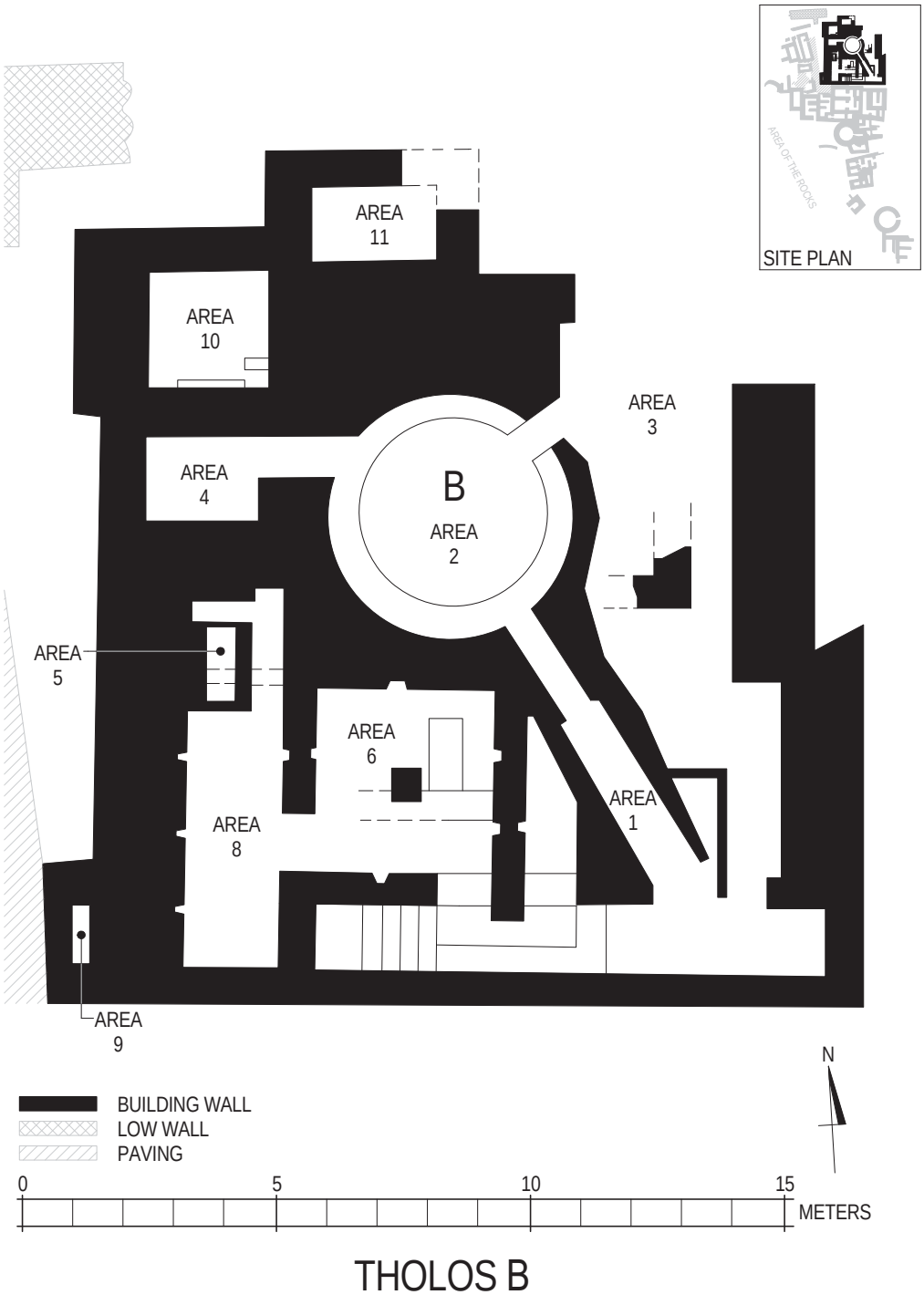
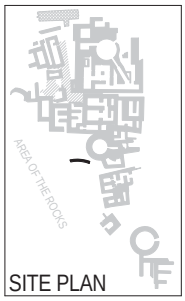


Figure 221: Tholos B, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)



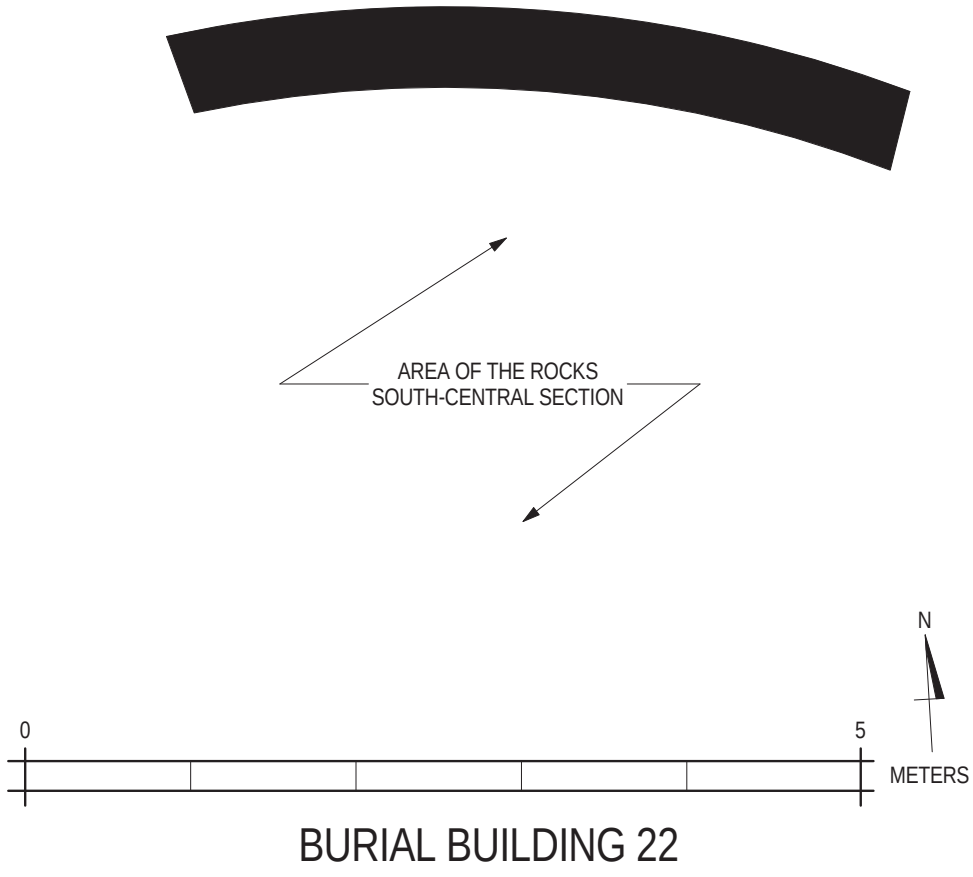


Figure 222: Burial Building 22, modified from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Drawing 35 (Courtesy of Eli Storch)

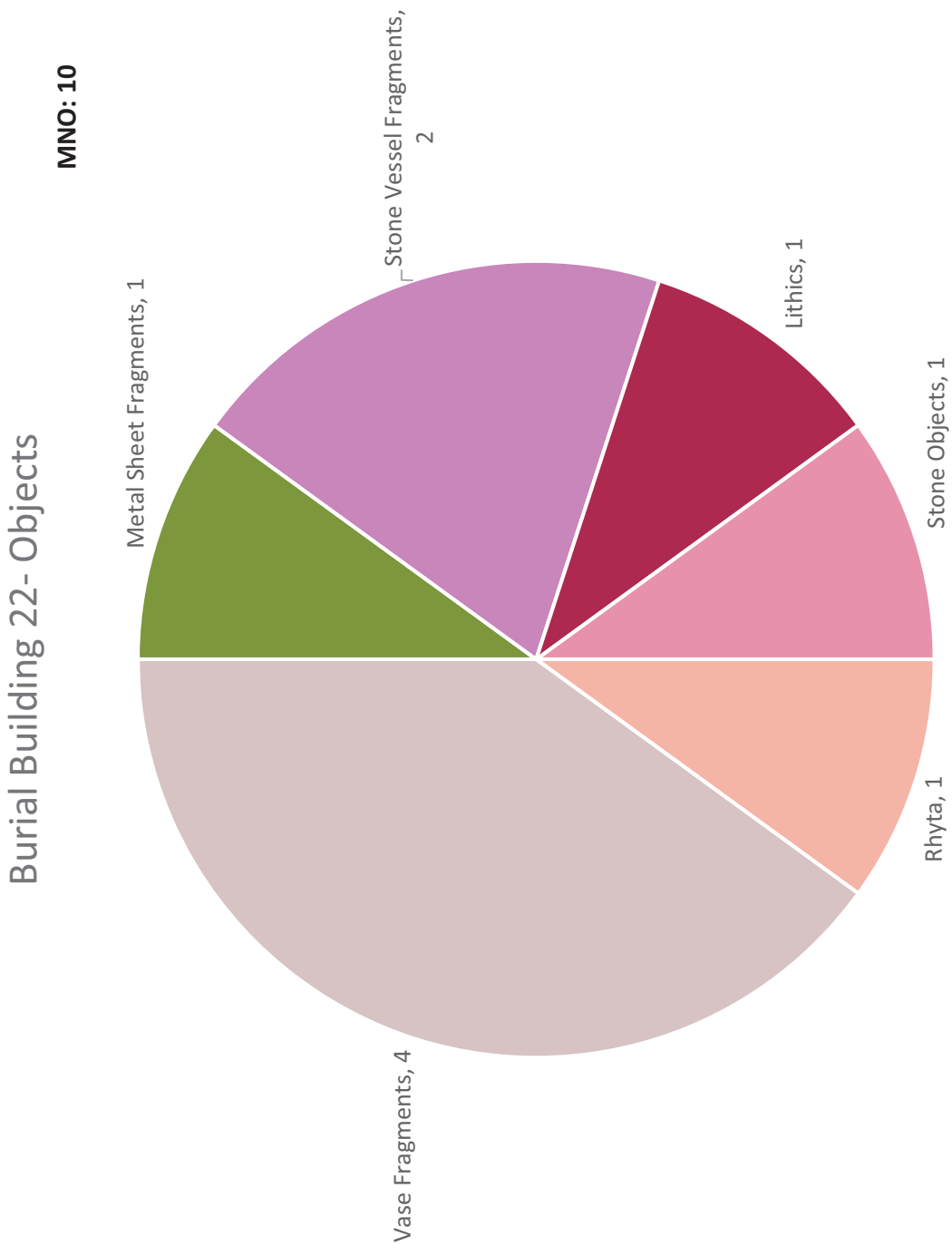


Figure 223: Burial Building 22- Objects

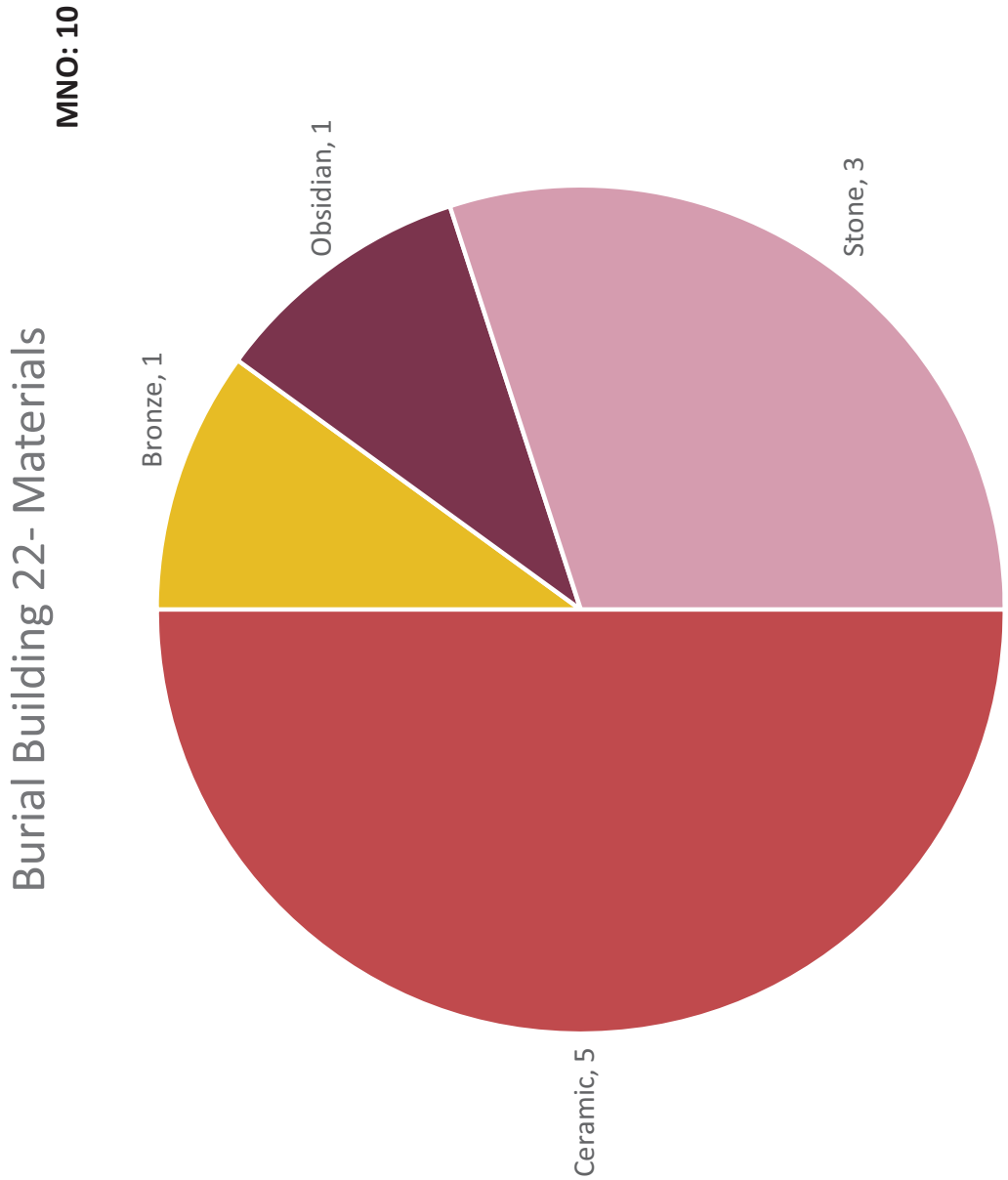


Figure 224: Burial Building 22- Materials

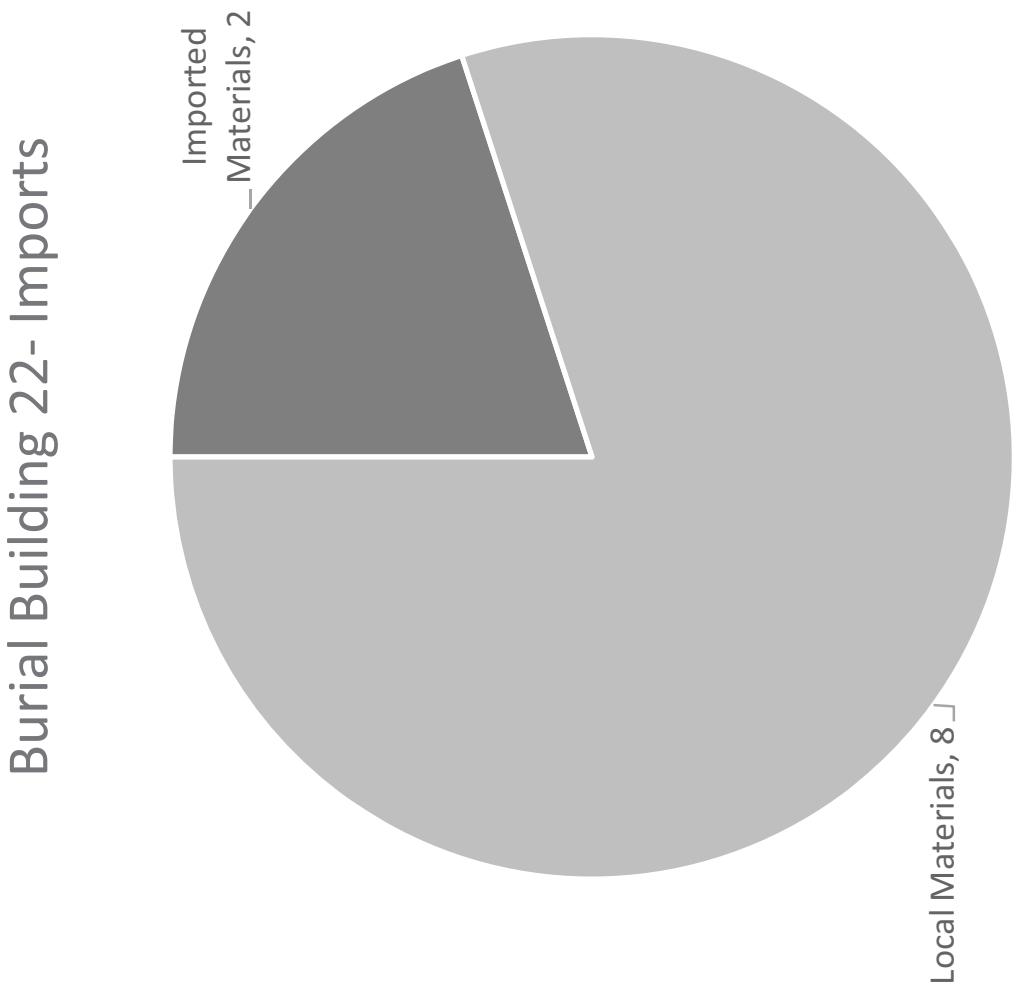


Figure 225: Burial Building 22- Imports

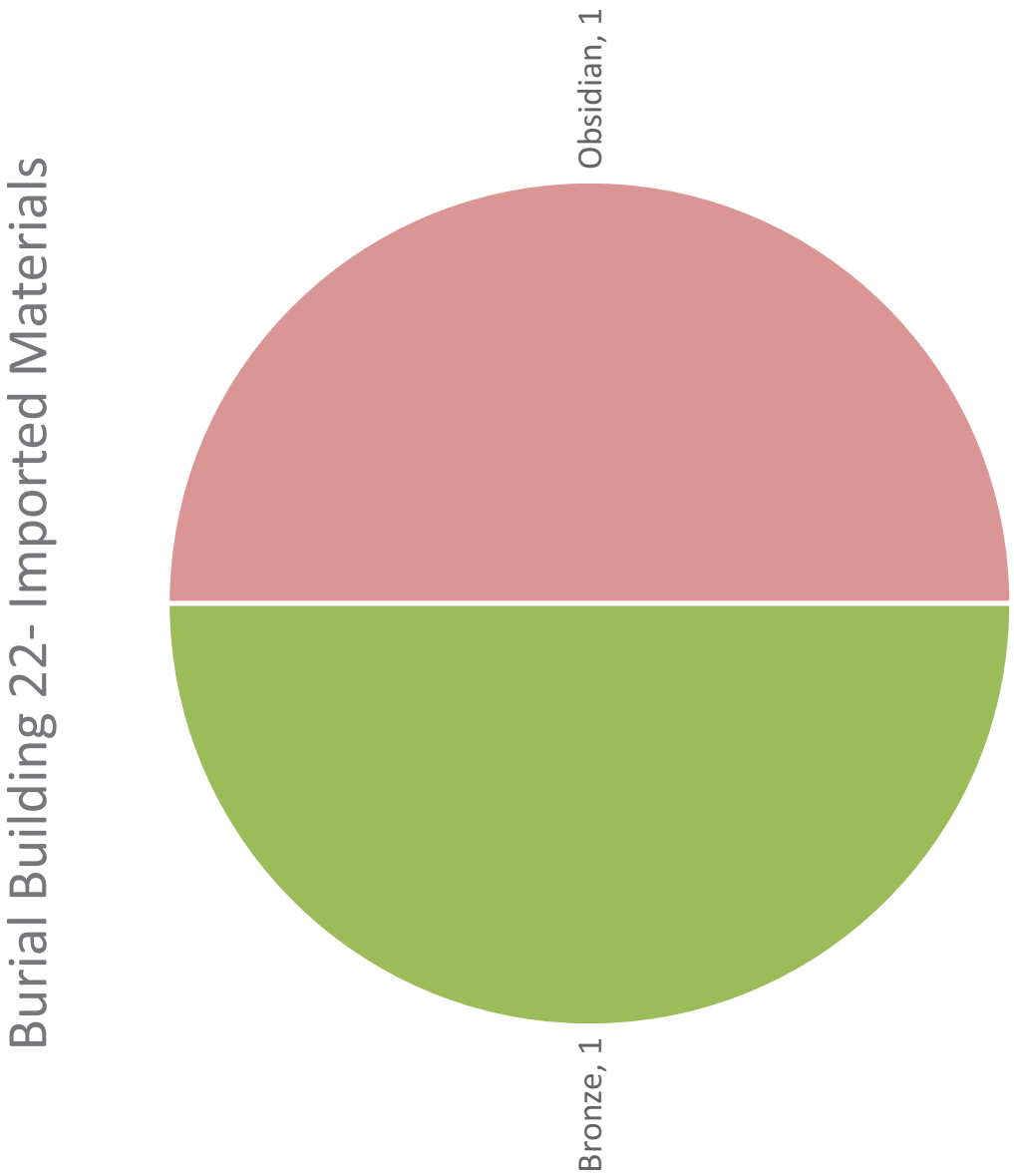


Figure 226: Burial Building 22- Imported Materials

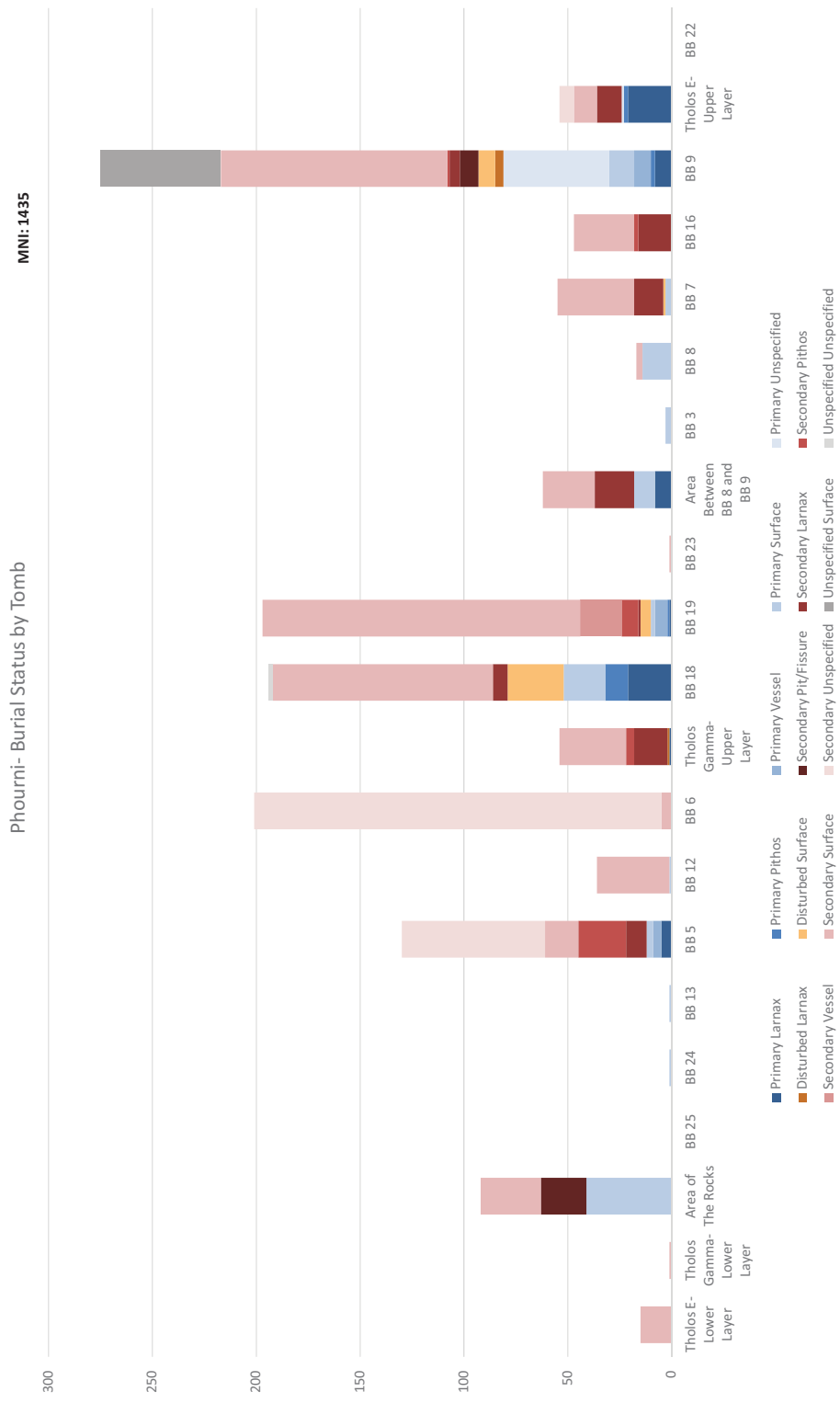


Figure 227: Phourni- Burial Status by Tomb

Figure 228: Phourni- Burial Type by Tomb

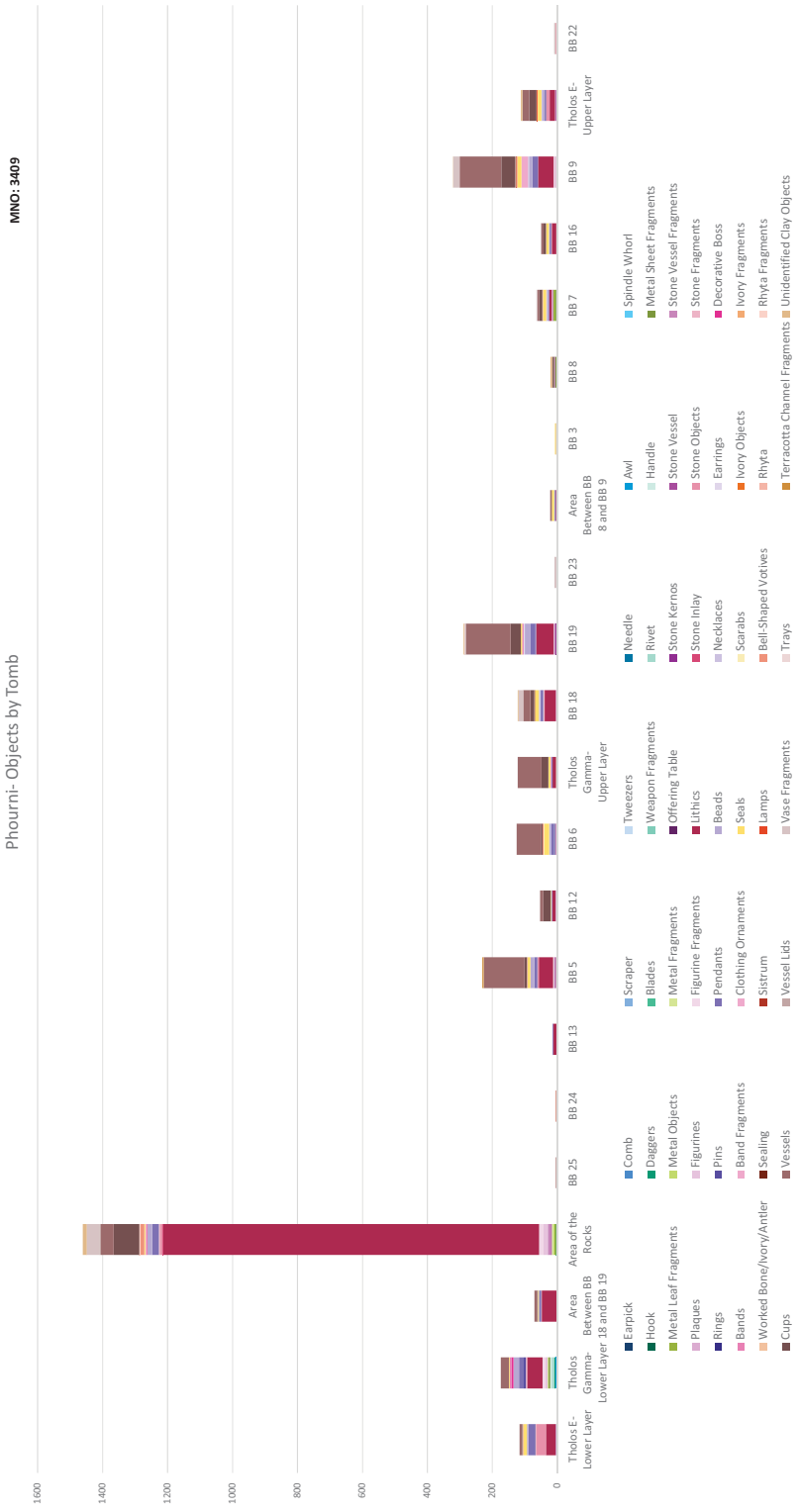


Figure 229: Phourni- Objects by Tomb

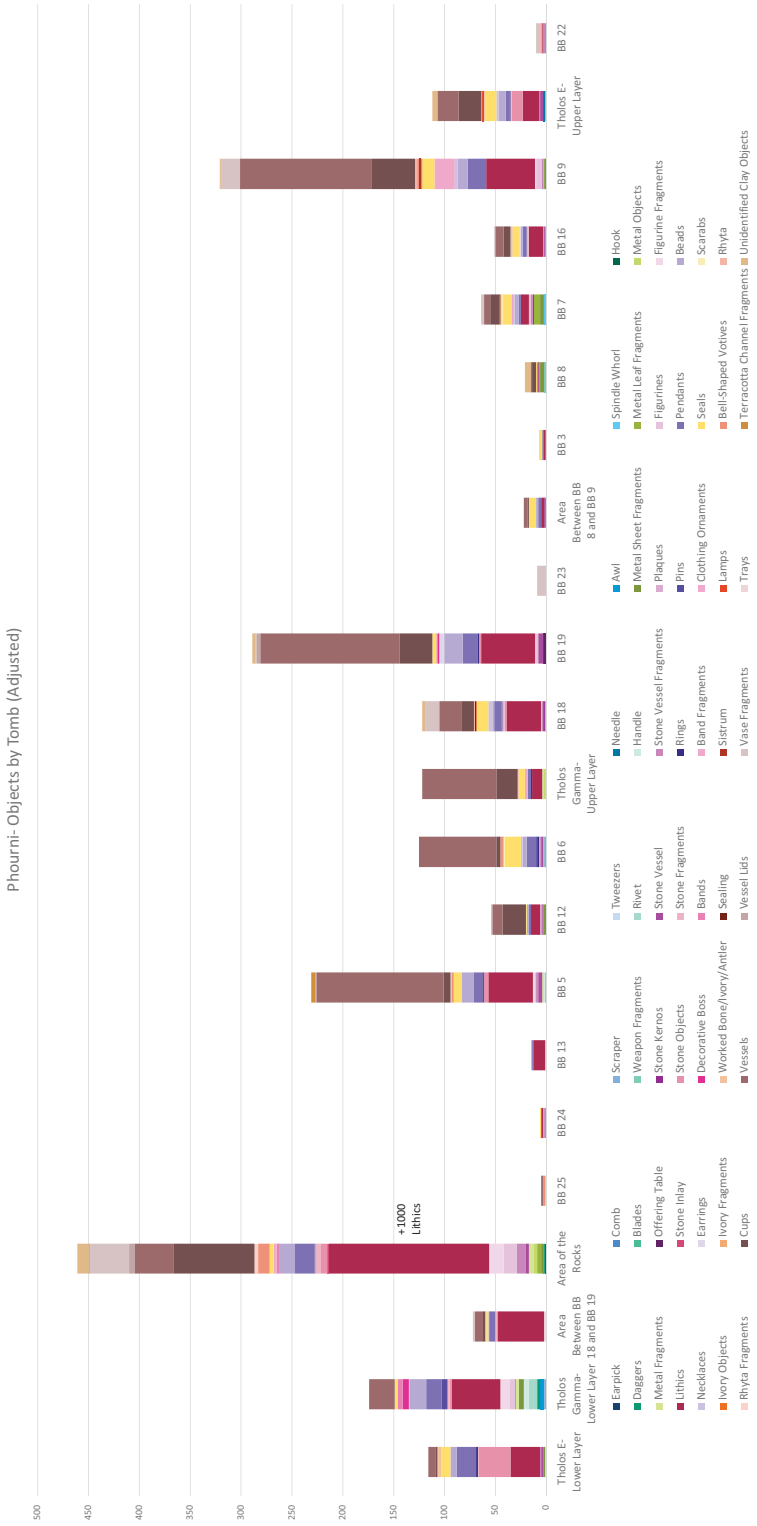


Figure 230: Phourni- Objects by Tomb (Adjusted)

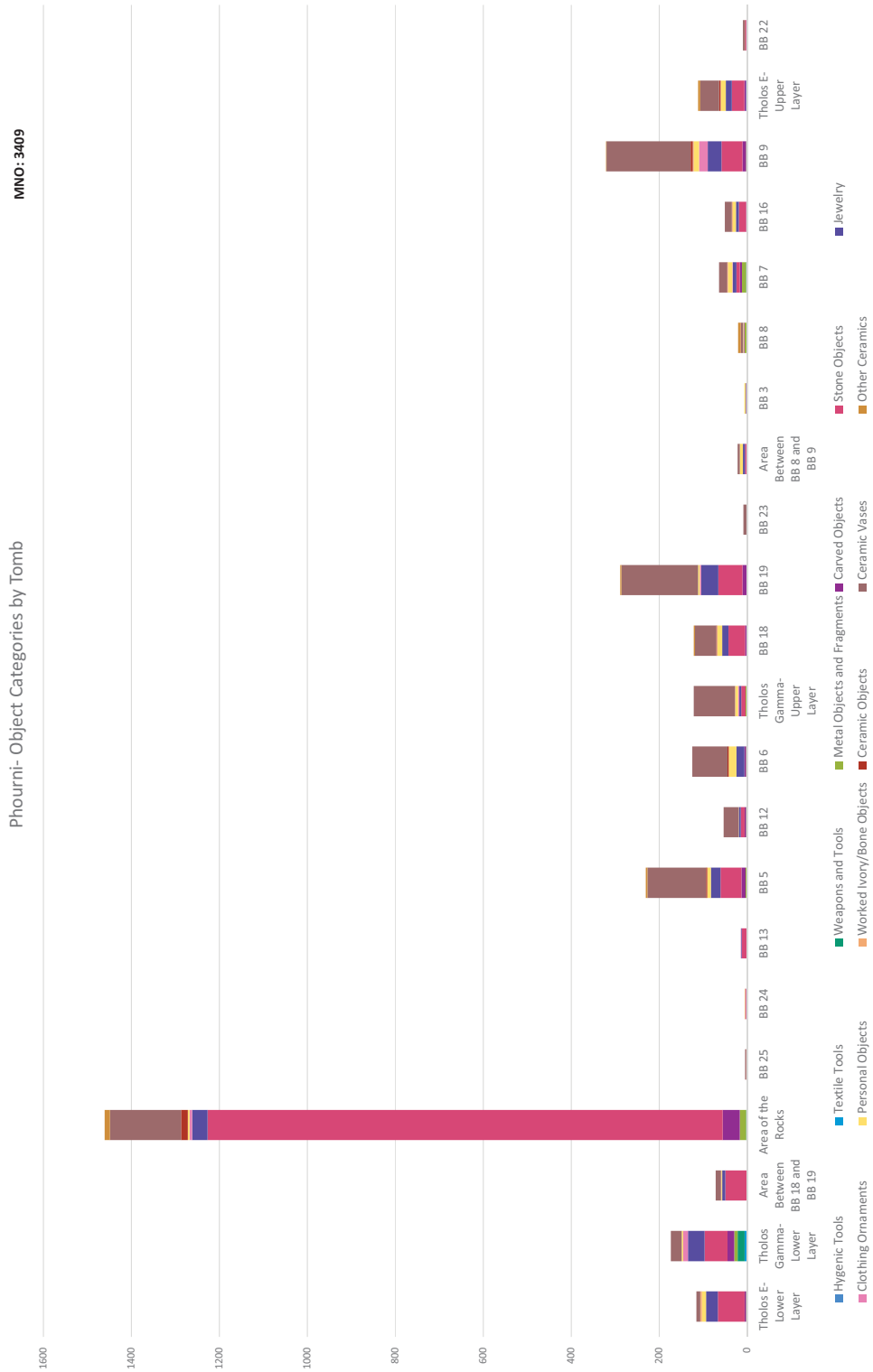


Figure 231: Phourni- Object Categories by Tomb

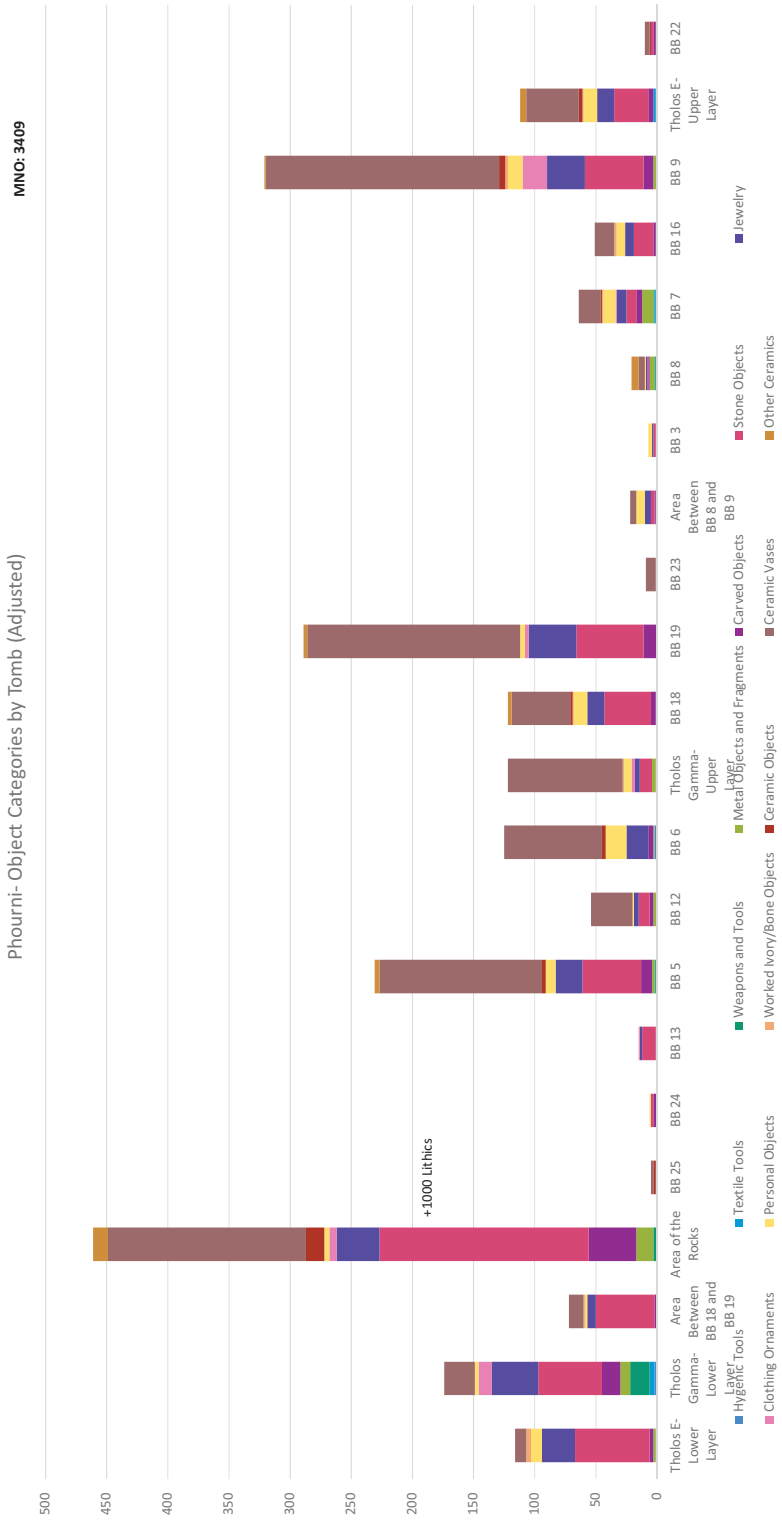


Figure 232: Phourni- Object Categories by Tomb (Adjusted)

Figure 233: Phourni- Materials by Tomb

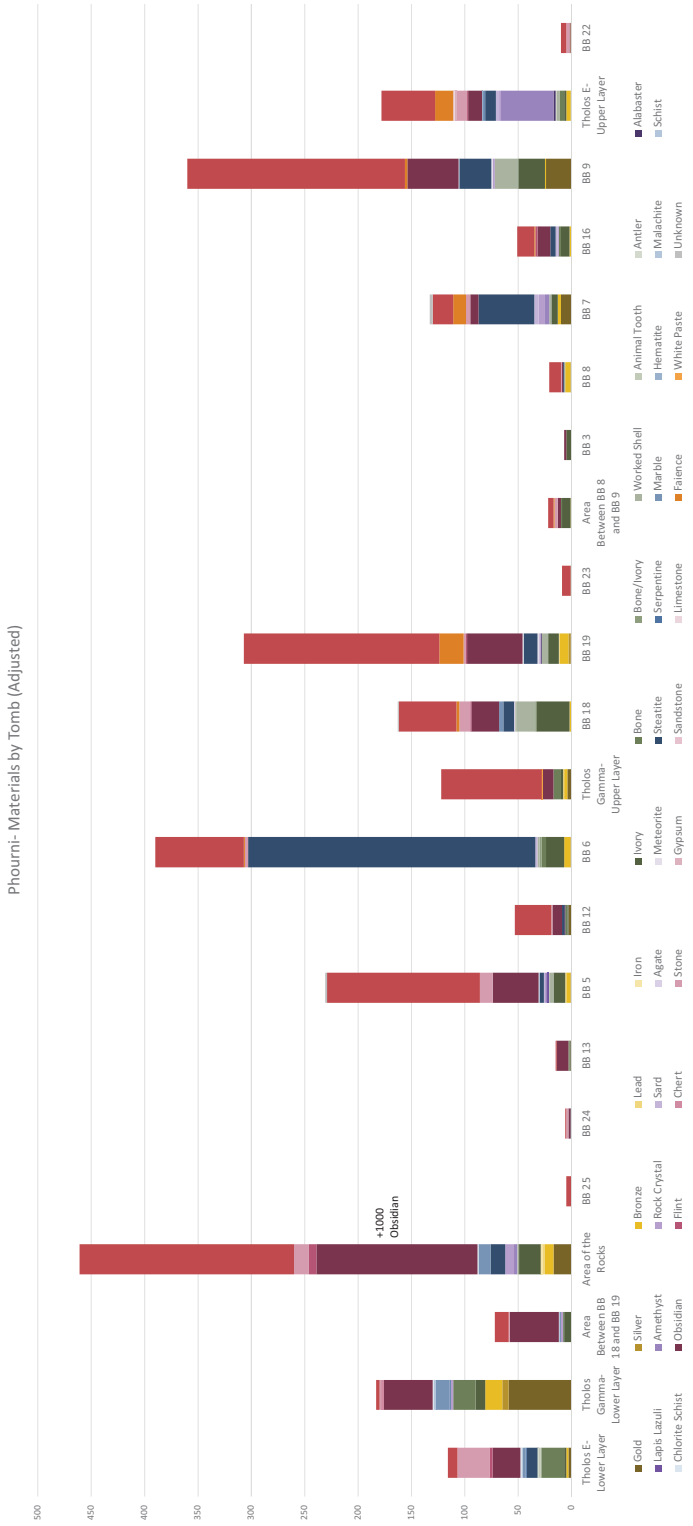


Figure 234: Phourni- Materials by Tomb (Adjusted)

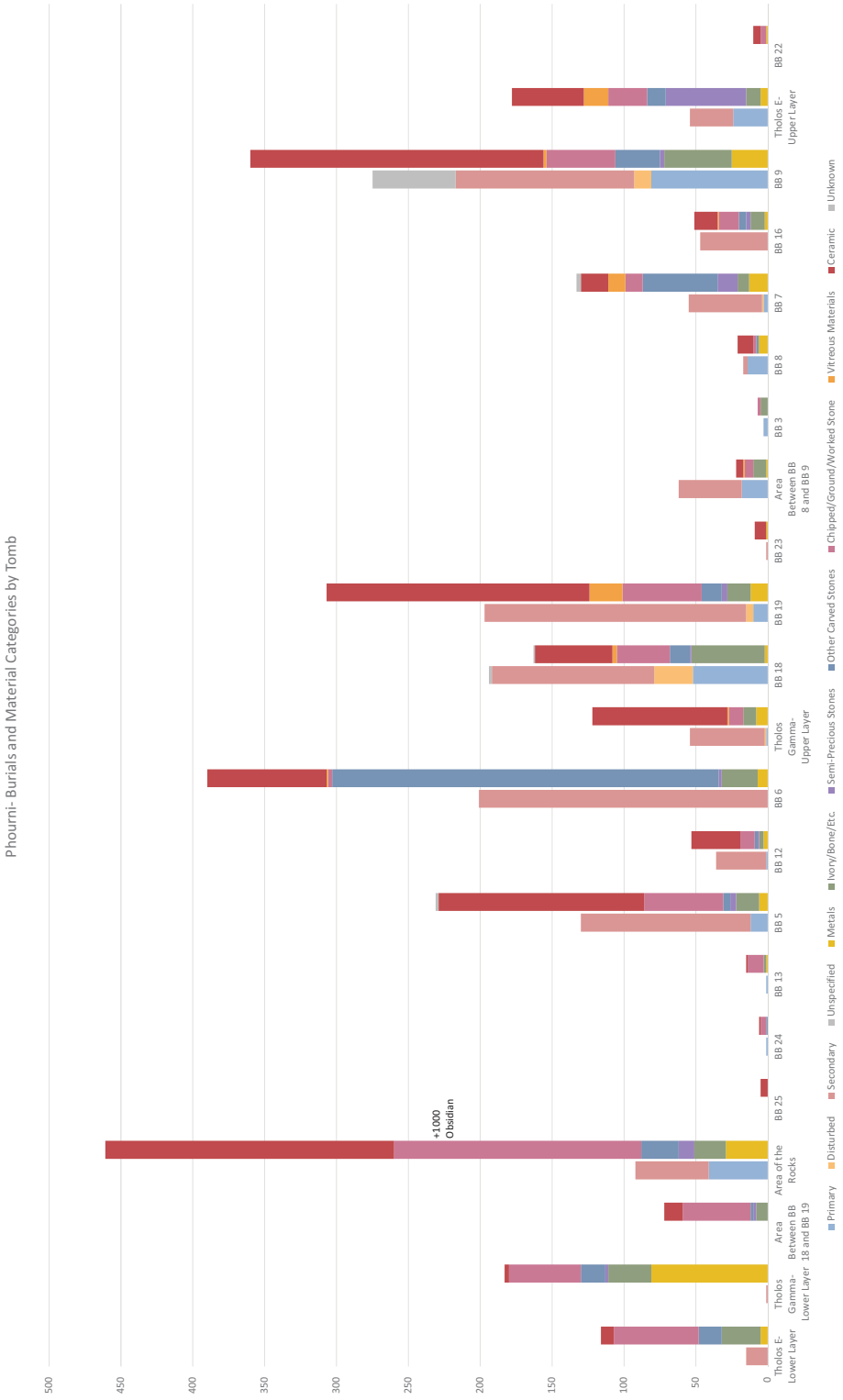


Figure 235: Phourni- Burials and Material Categories by Tomb

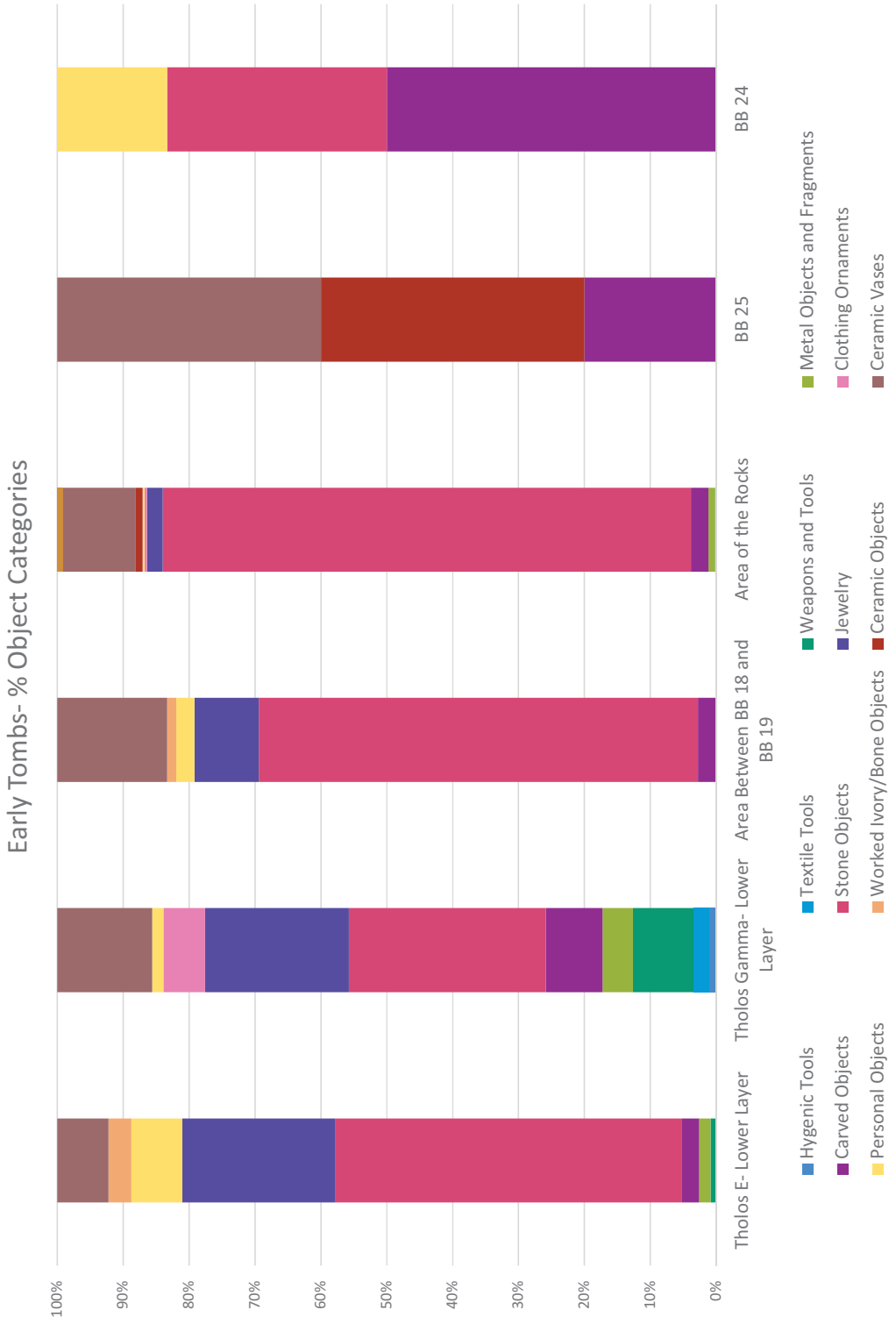


Figure 236: Phourni- % Object Categories

Figure 237: Phourni- Single vs Multiple Interments in Larnakes

Figure 238: Phourni- Larnax Burial Status

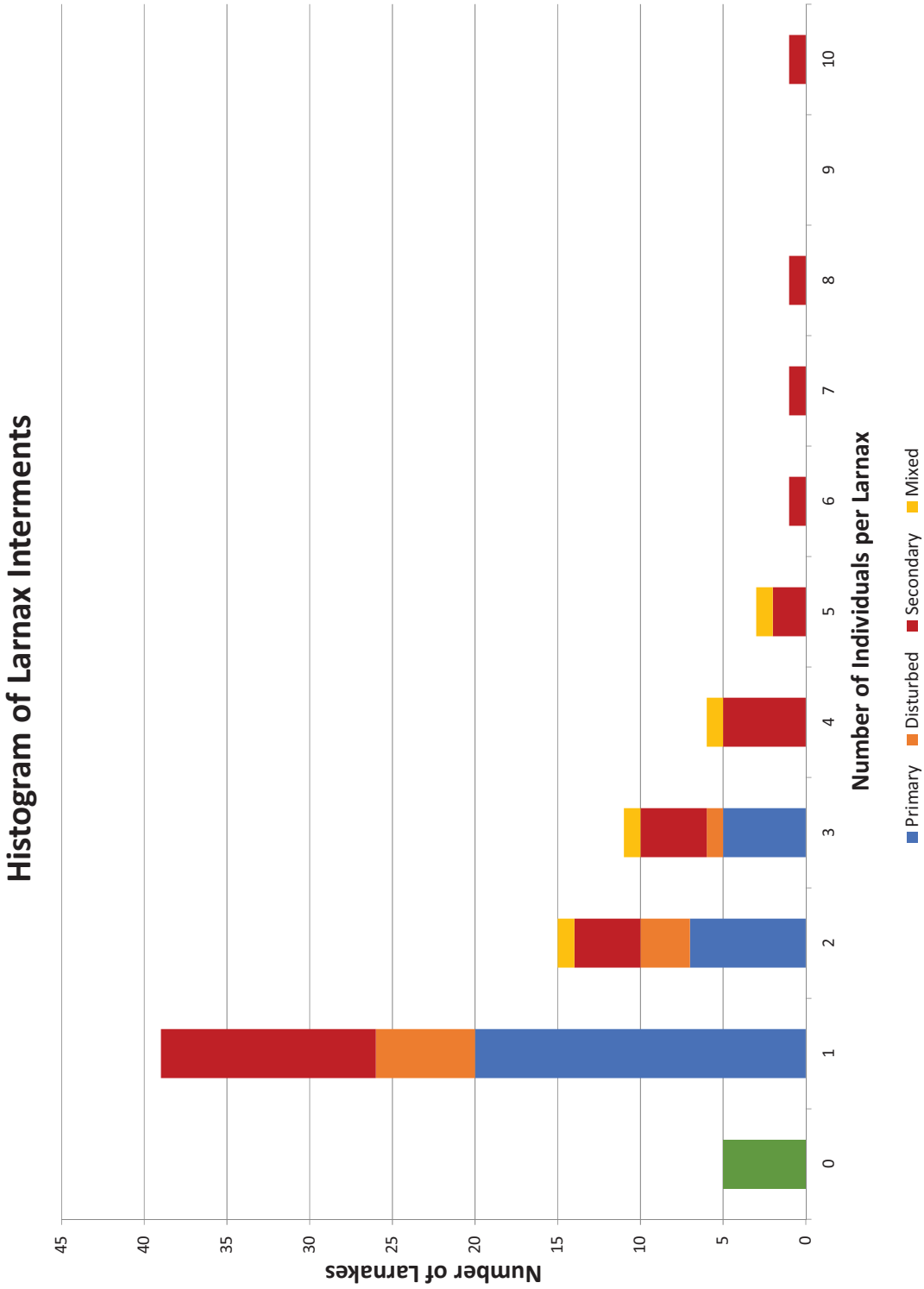


Figure 239: Phourni- Histogram of Larnax Interments

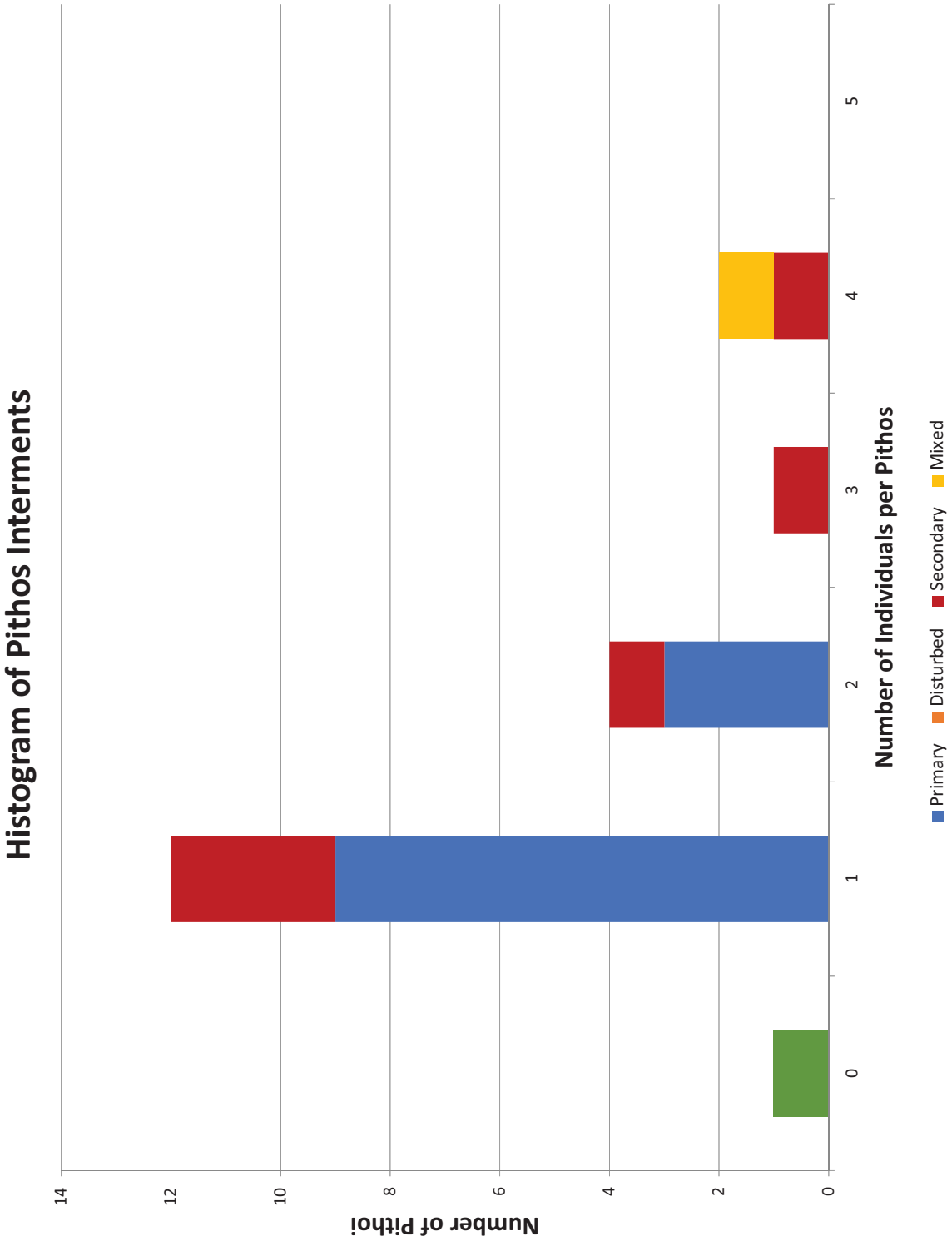


Figure 240: Phourni- Histogram of Pithos Interments

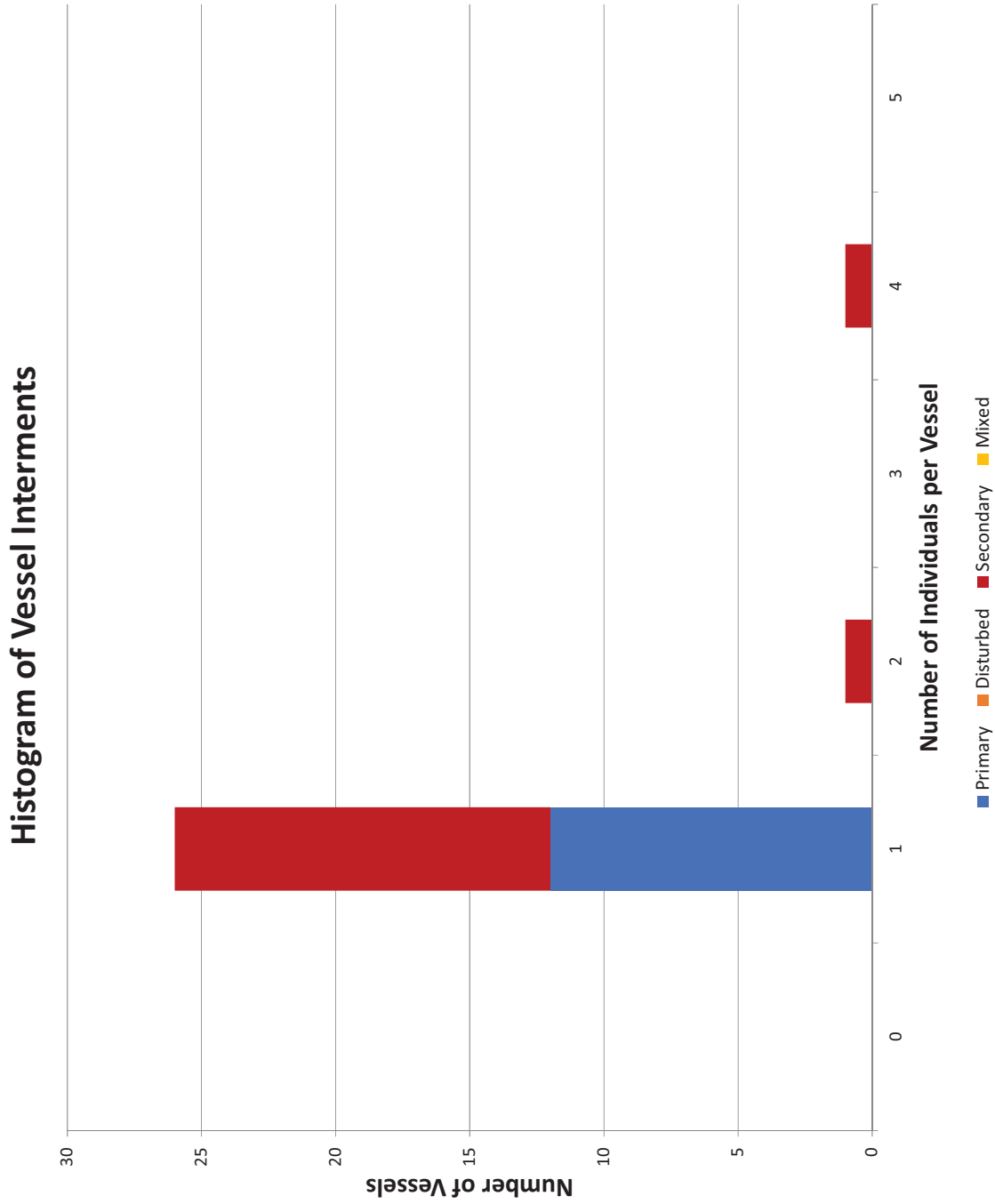


Figure 241: Phourni- Histogram of Vessel Interments

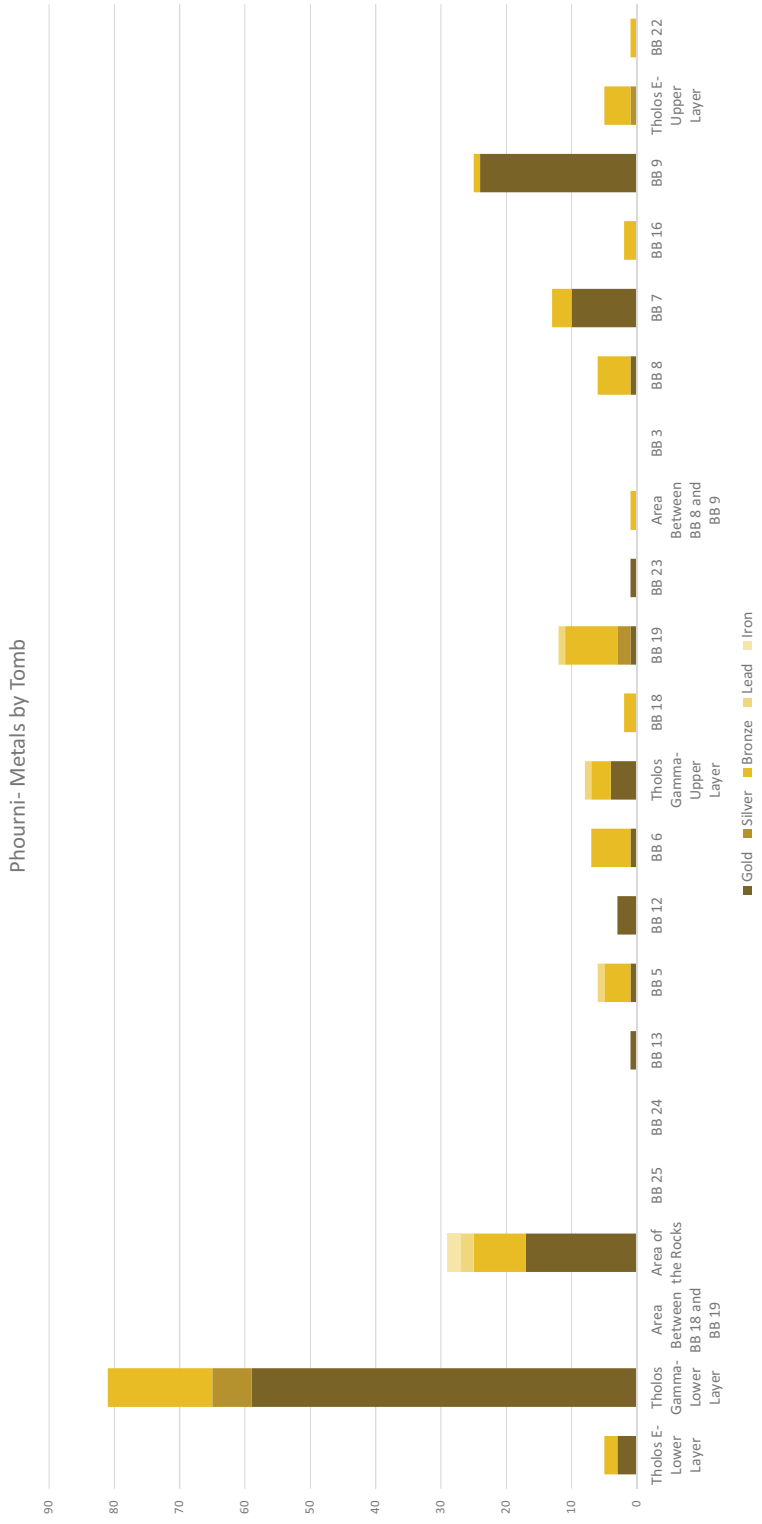


Figure 242: Phourni- Metals by Tomb

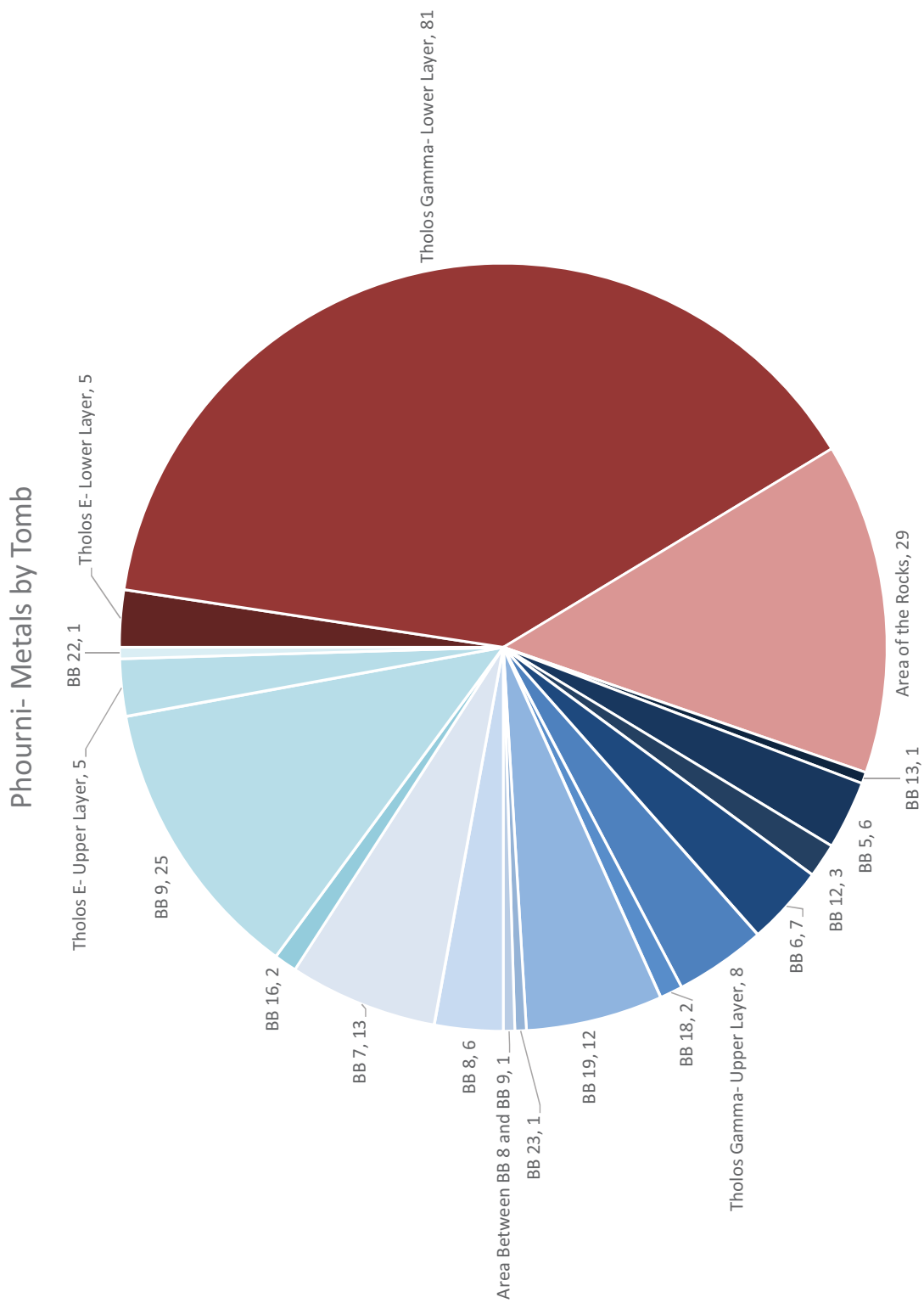


Figure 243: Phourni- Metals by Tomb

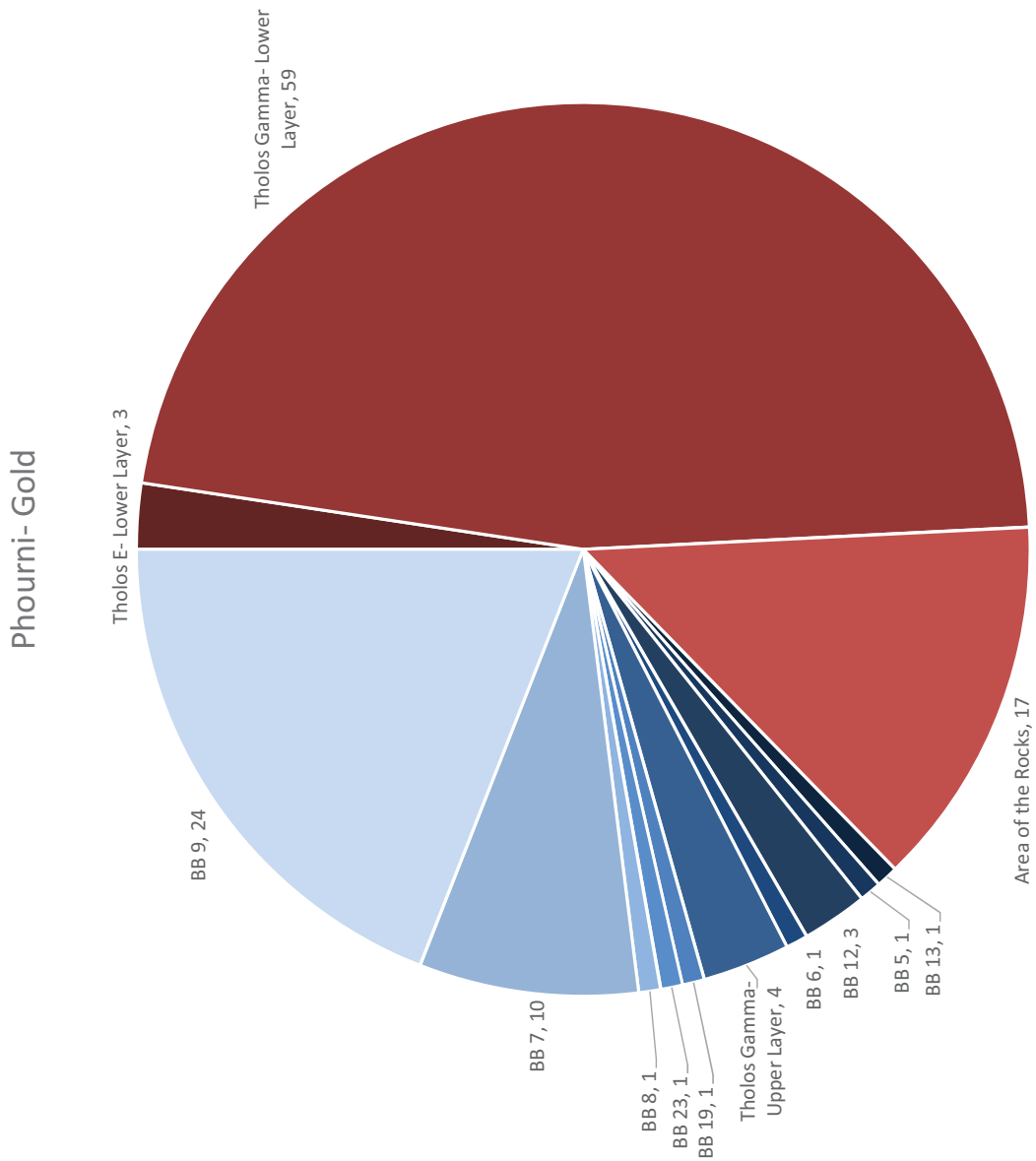


Figure 244: Phourni- Gold

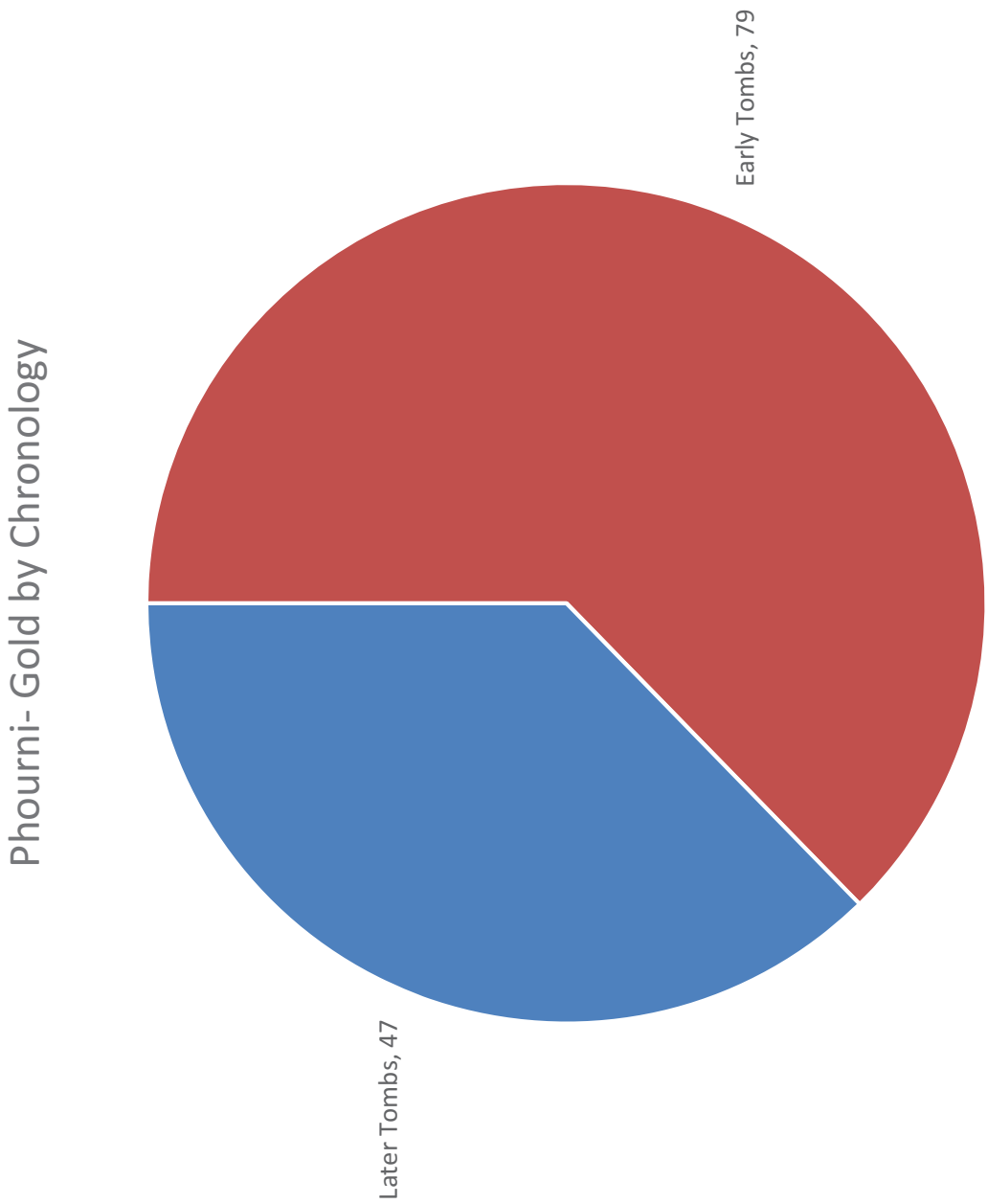


Figure 245: Phourni- Gold by Chronology

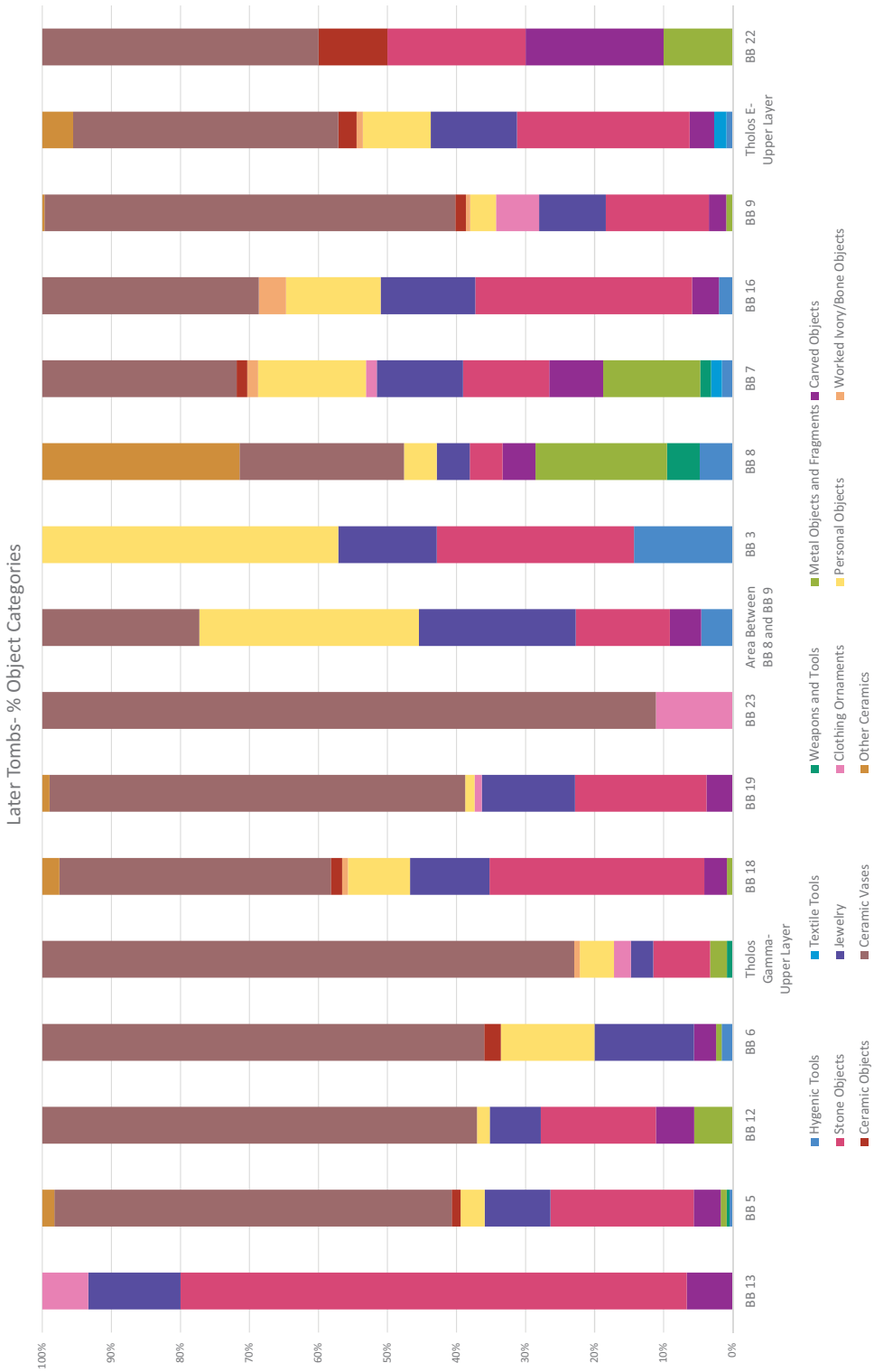


Figure 246: Phourni- % Object Categories

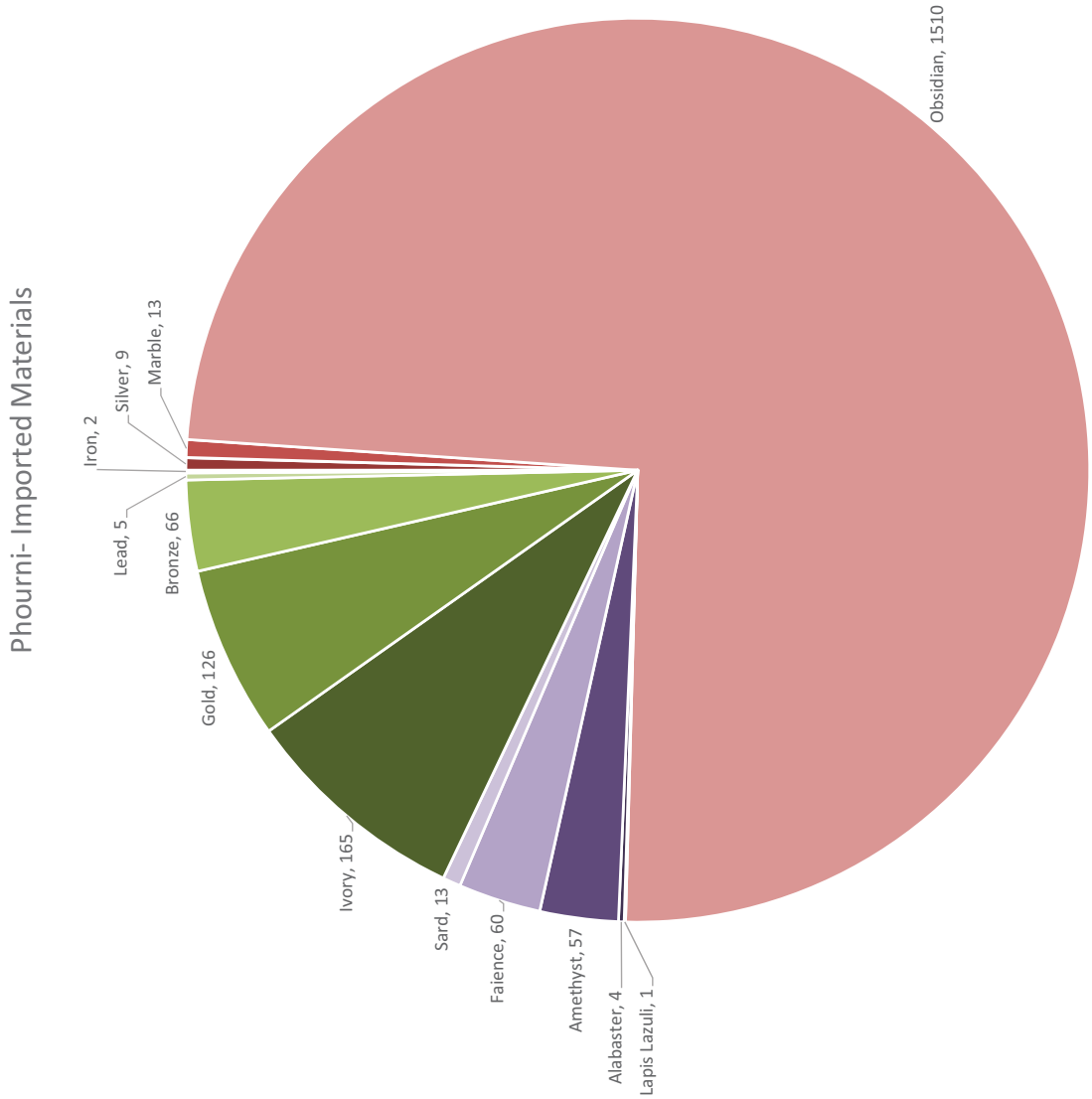


Figure 247: Phourni- Imported Materials

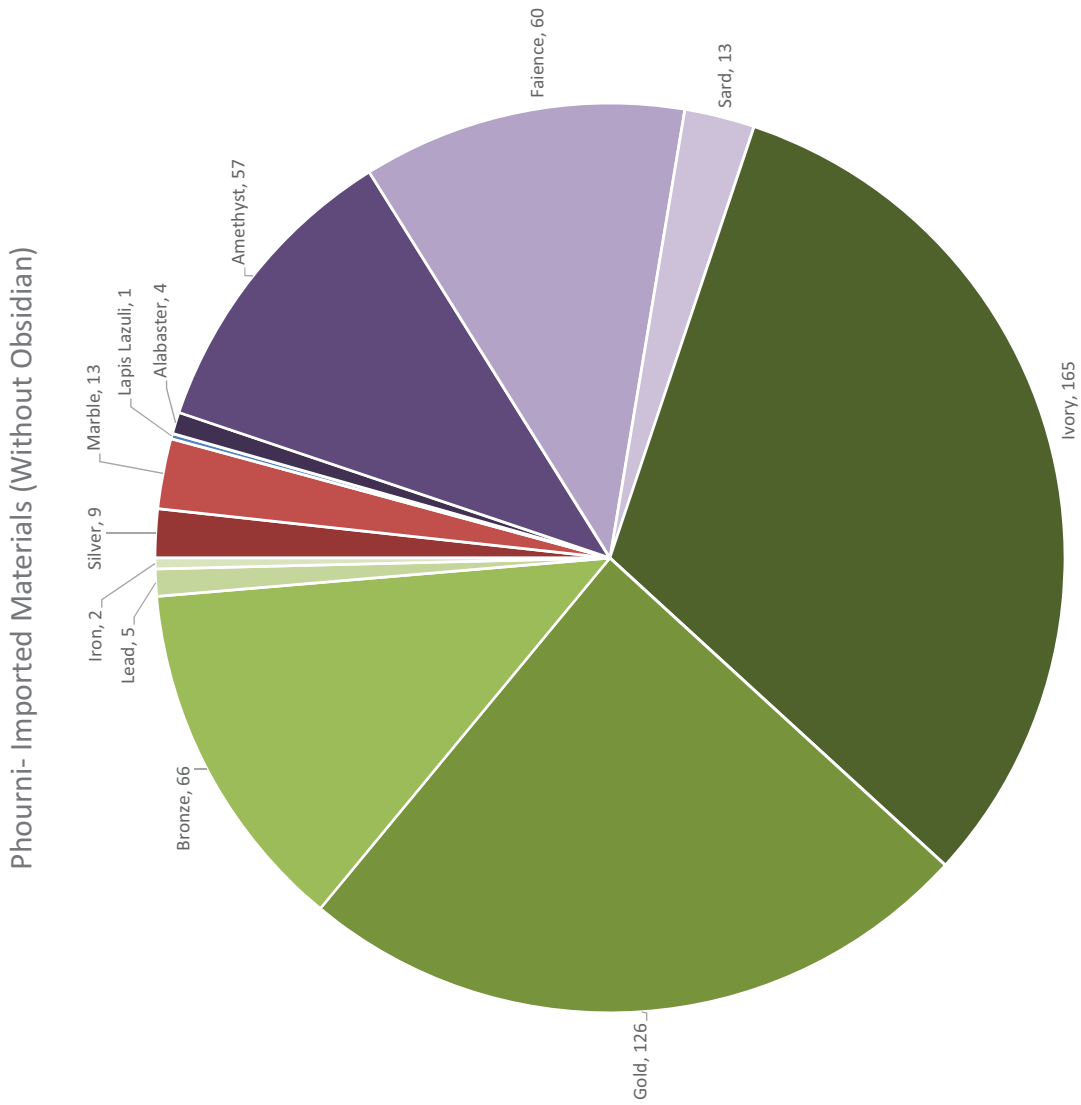


Figure 248: Phourni- Imported Materials (without Obsidian)

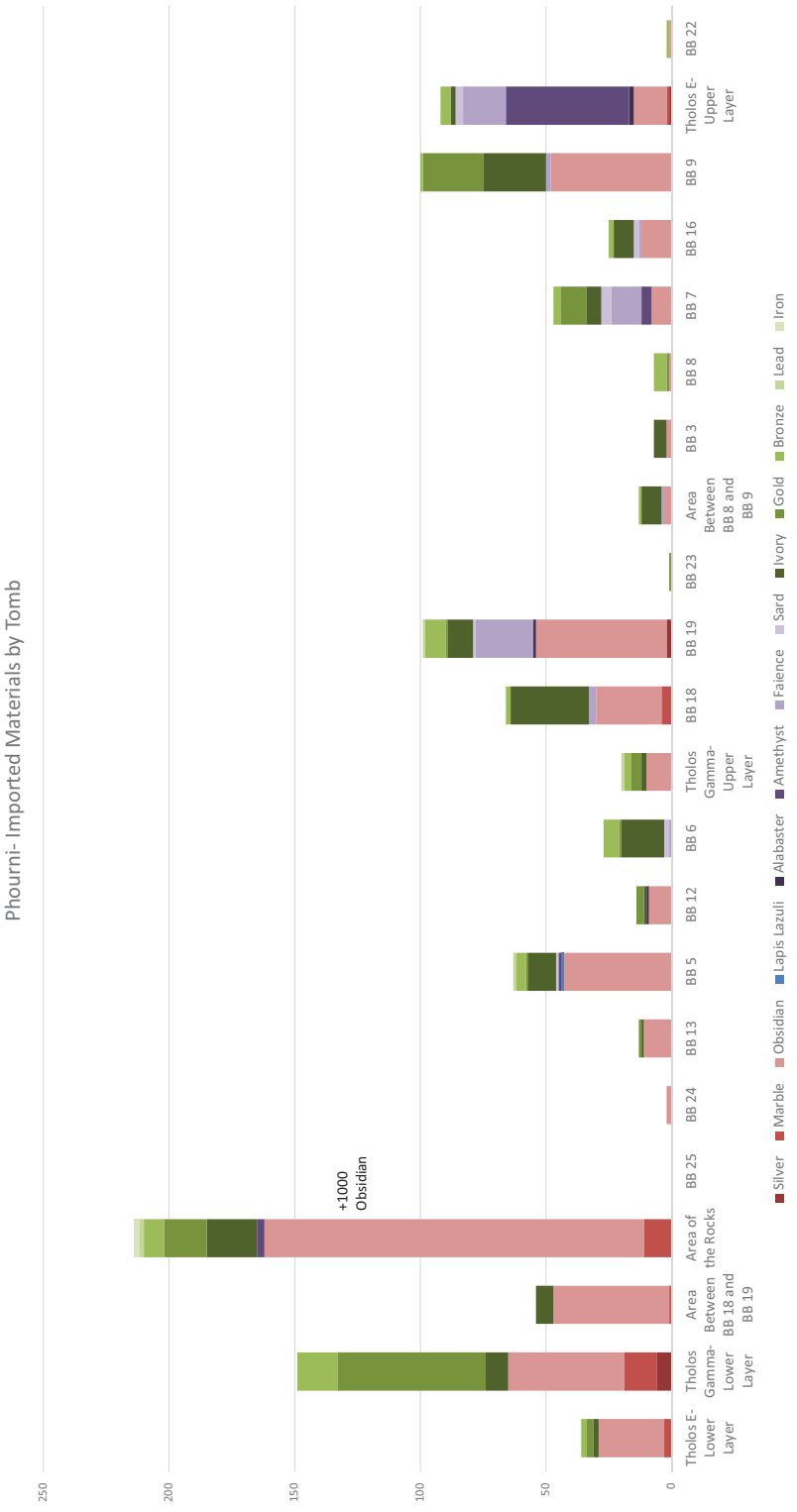


Figure 249: Phourni- Imported Materials by Tomb

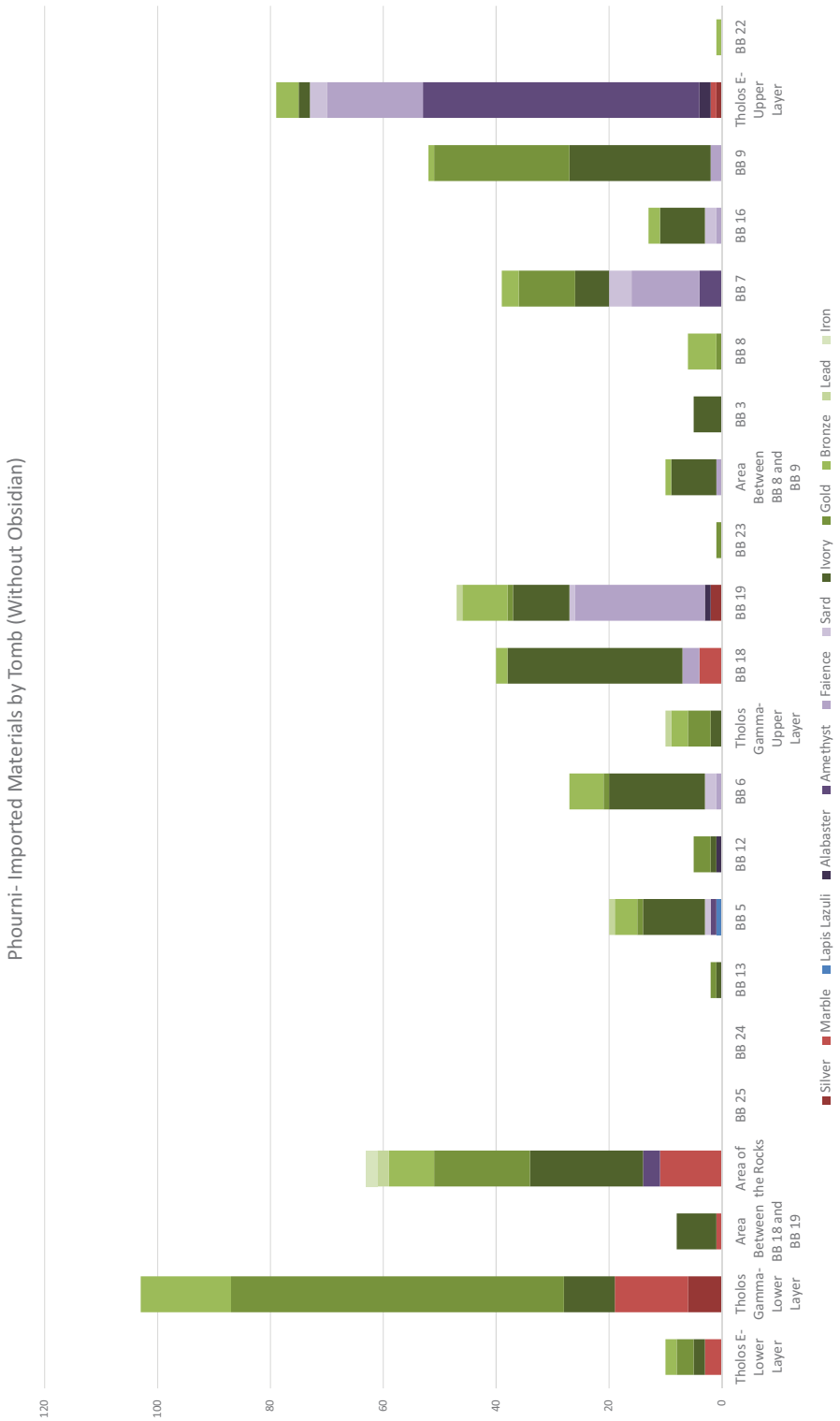


Figure 250: Phourni- Imported Materials by Tomb (without Obsidian)

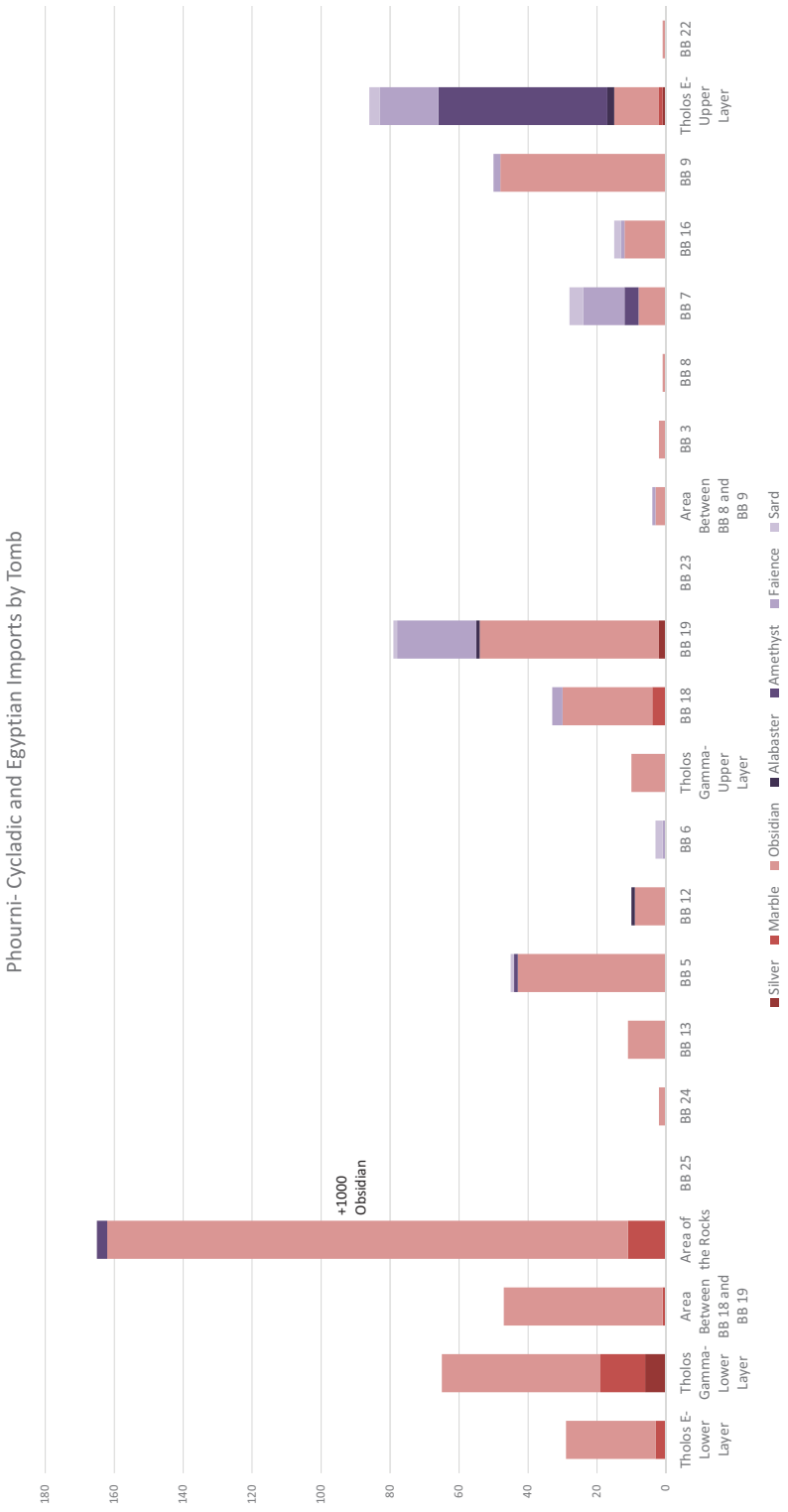


Figure 251: Phourni- Cycladic and Egyptian Imports by Tomb

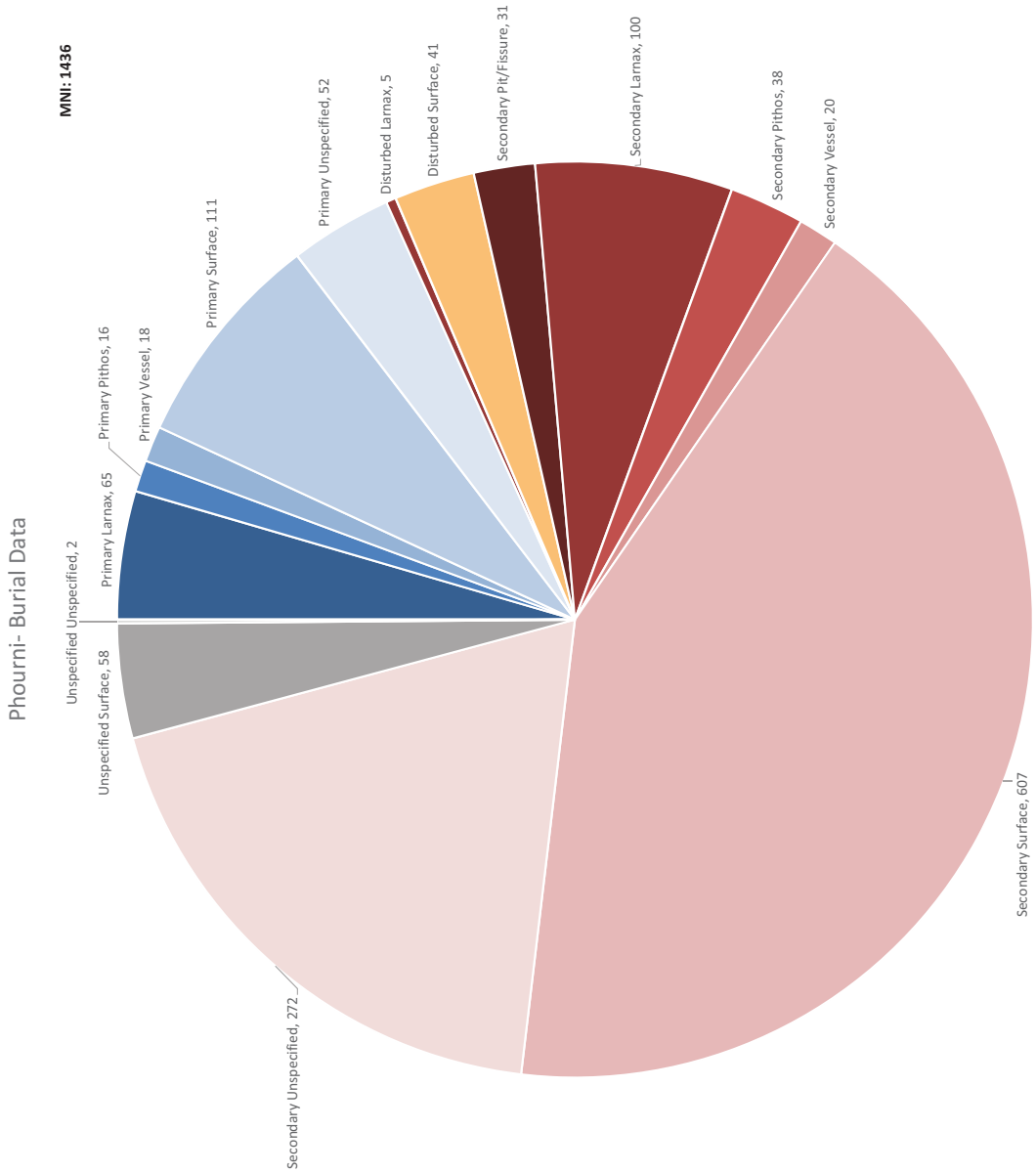


Figure 252: Phourni- Burial Data

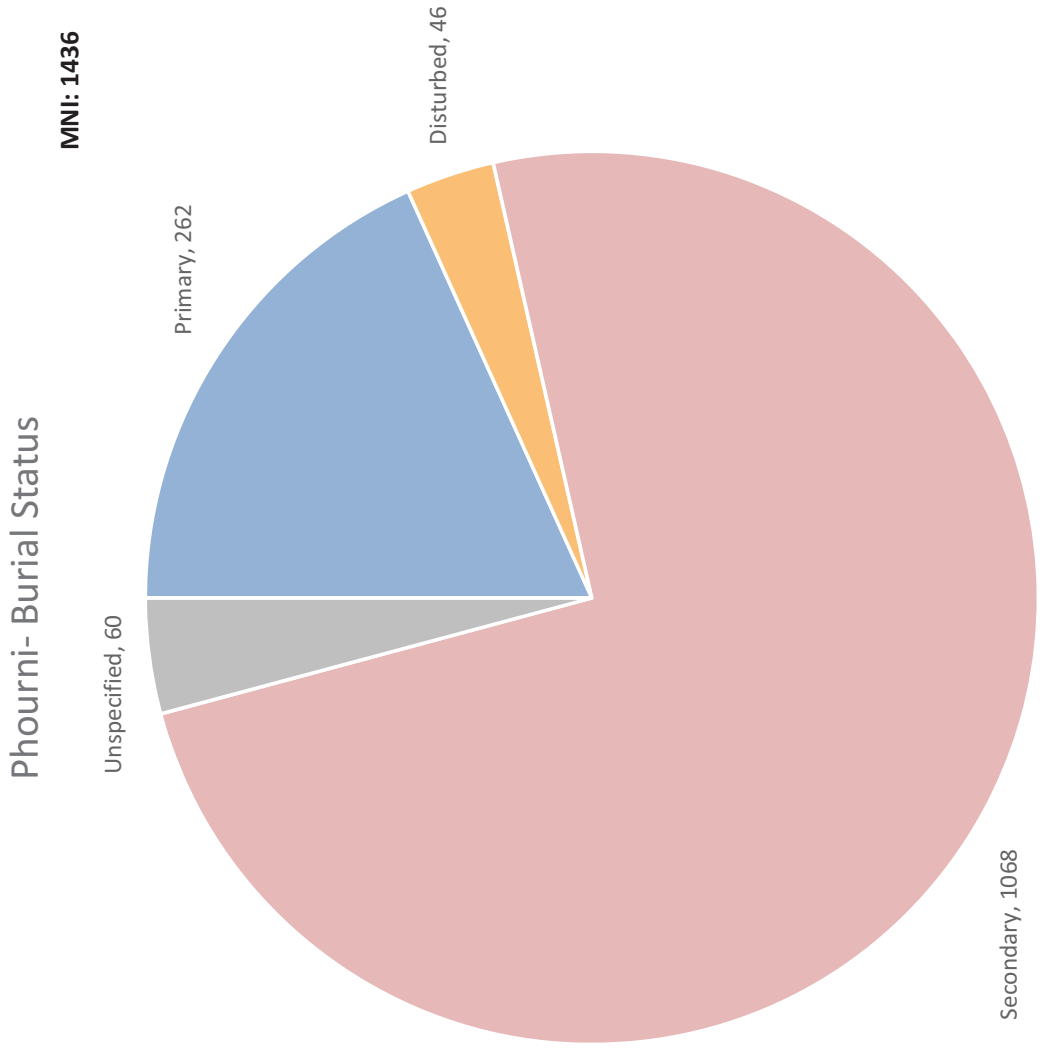


Figure 253: Phourni- Burial Status

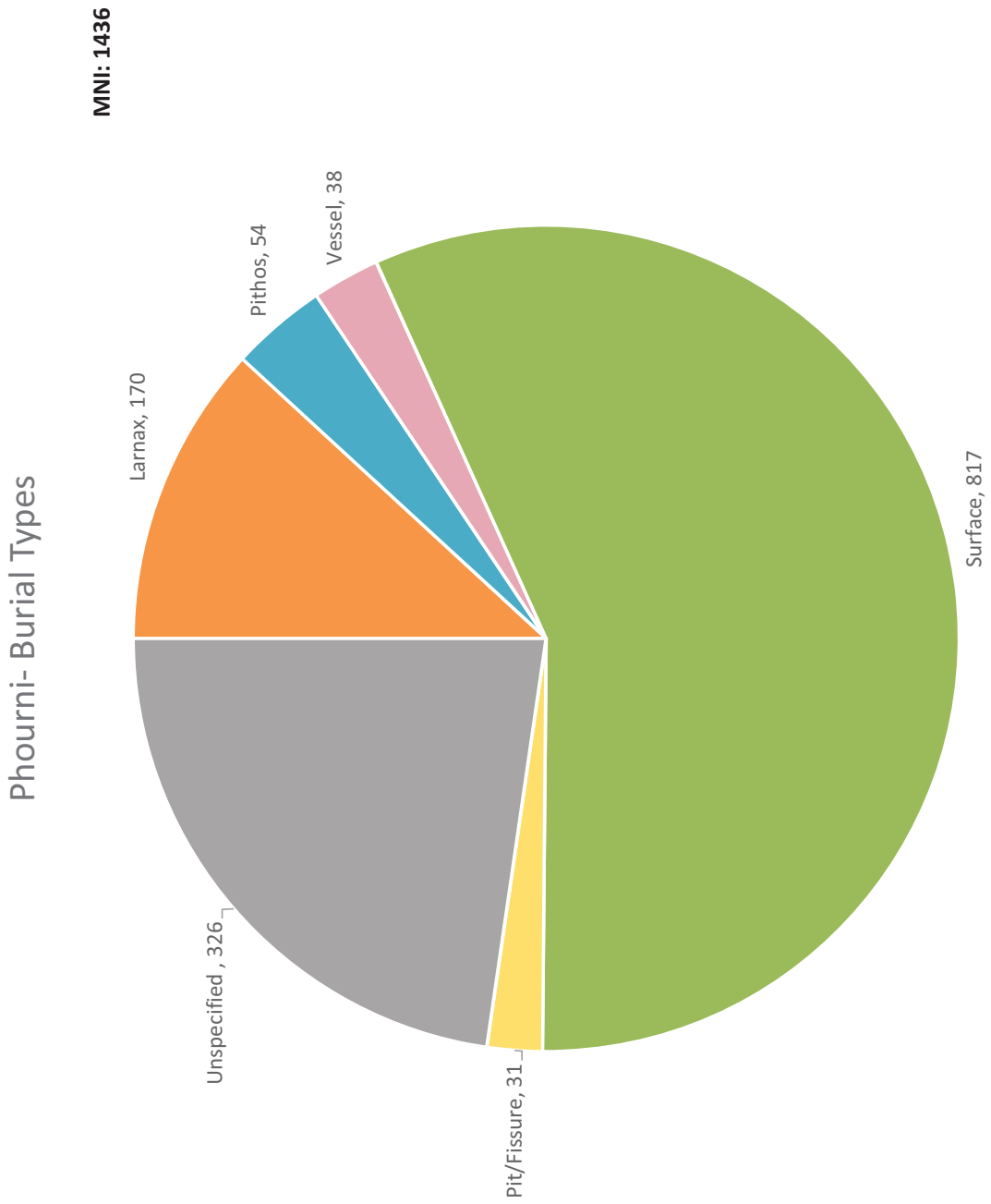


Figure 254: Phourni- Burial Types

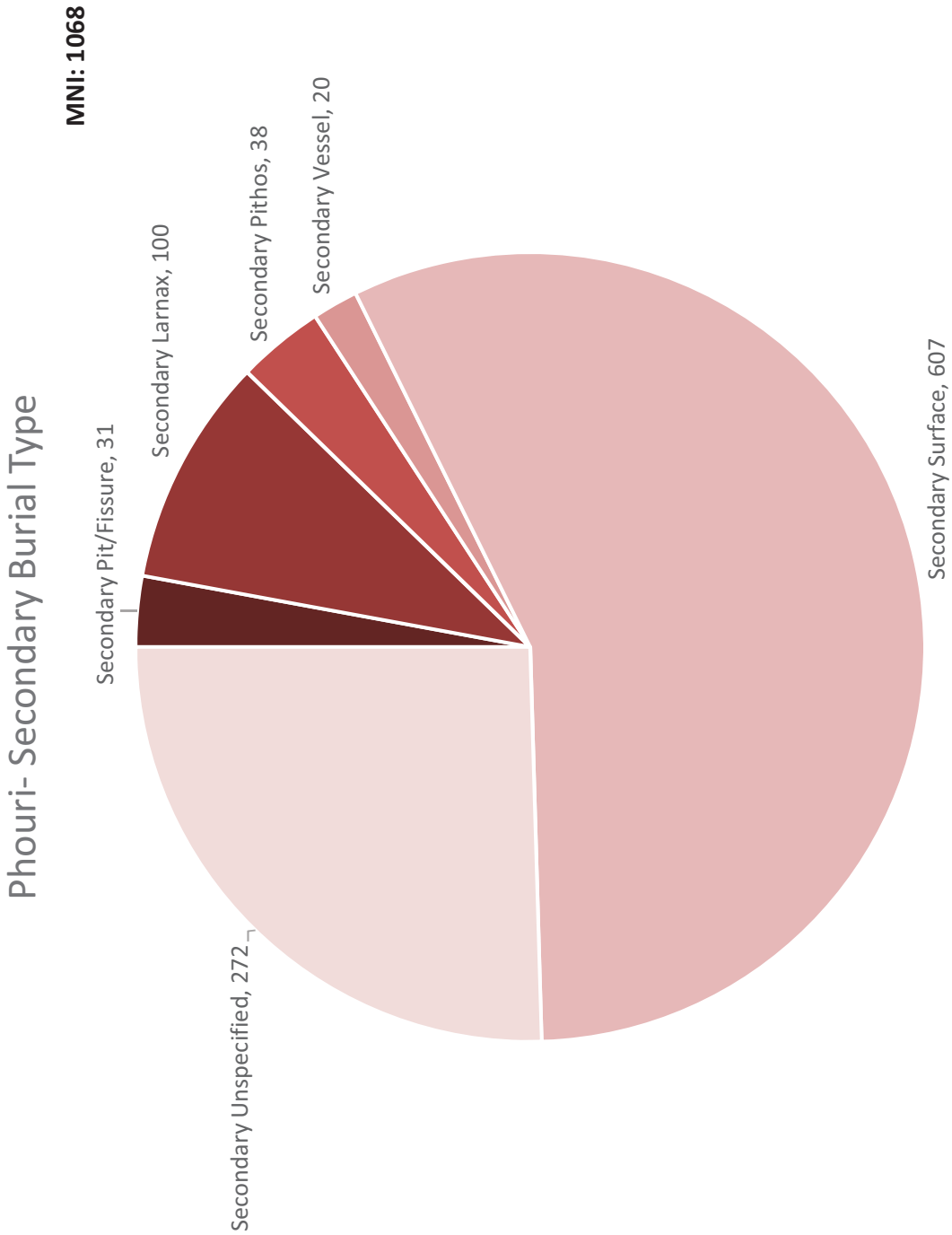


Figure 255: Phourni- Secondary Burial Type

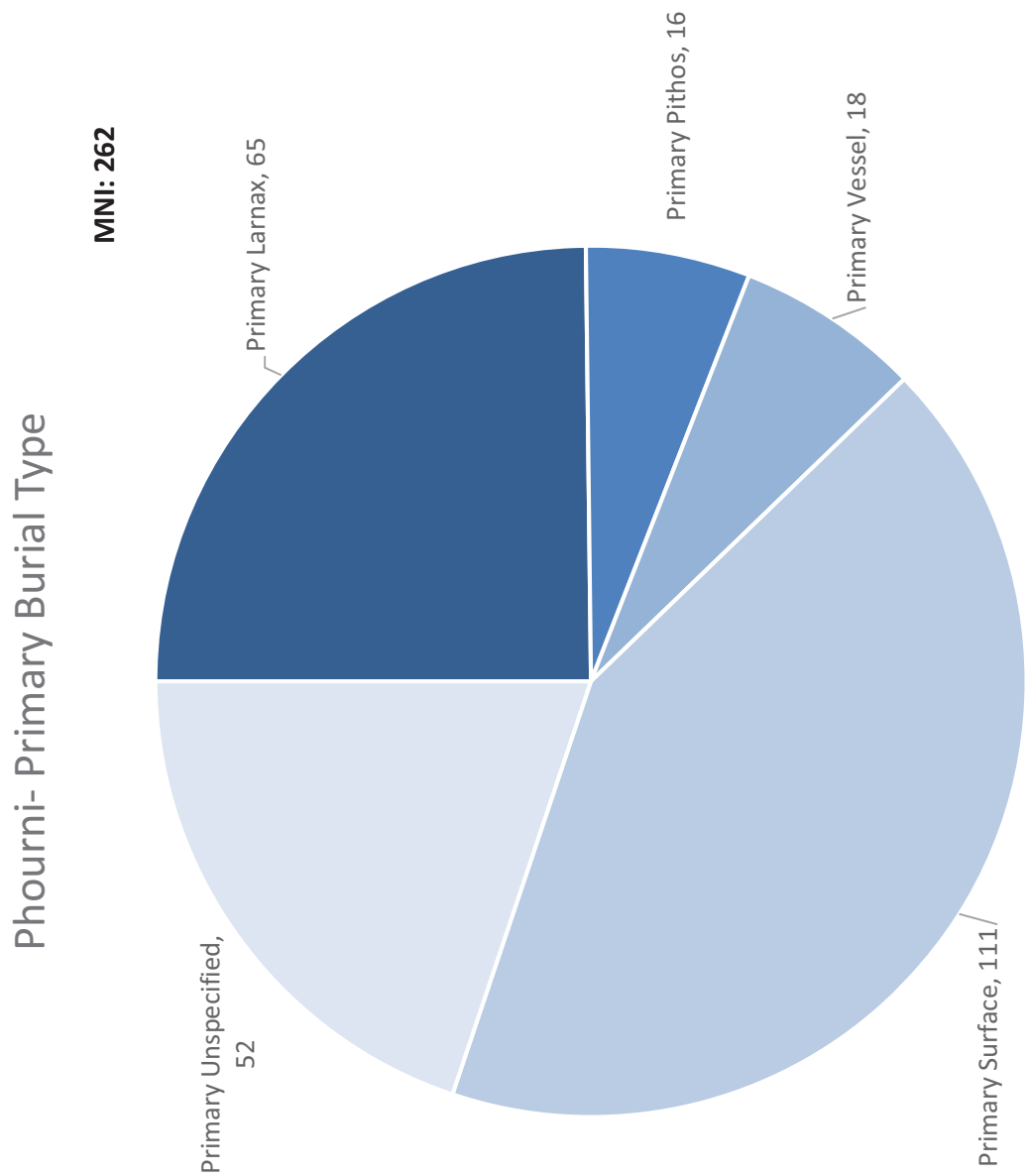


Figure 256: Phourni- Primary Burial Type

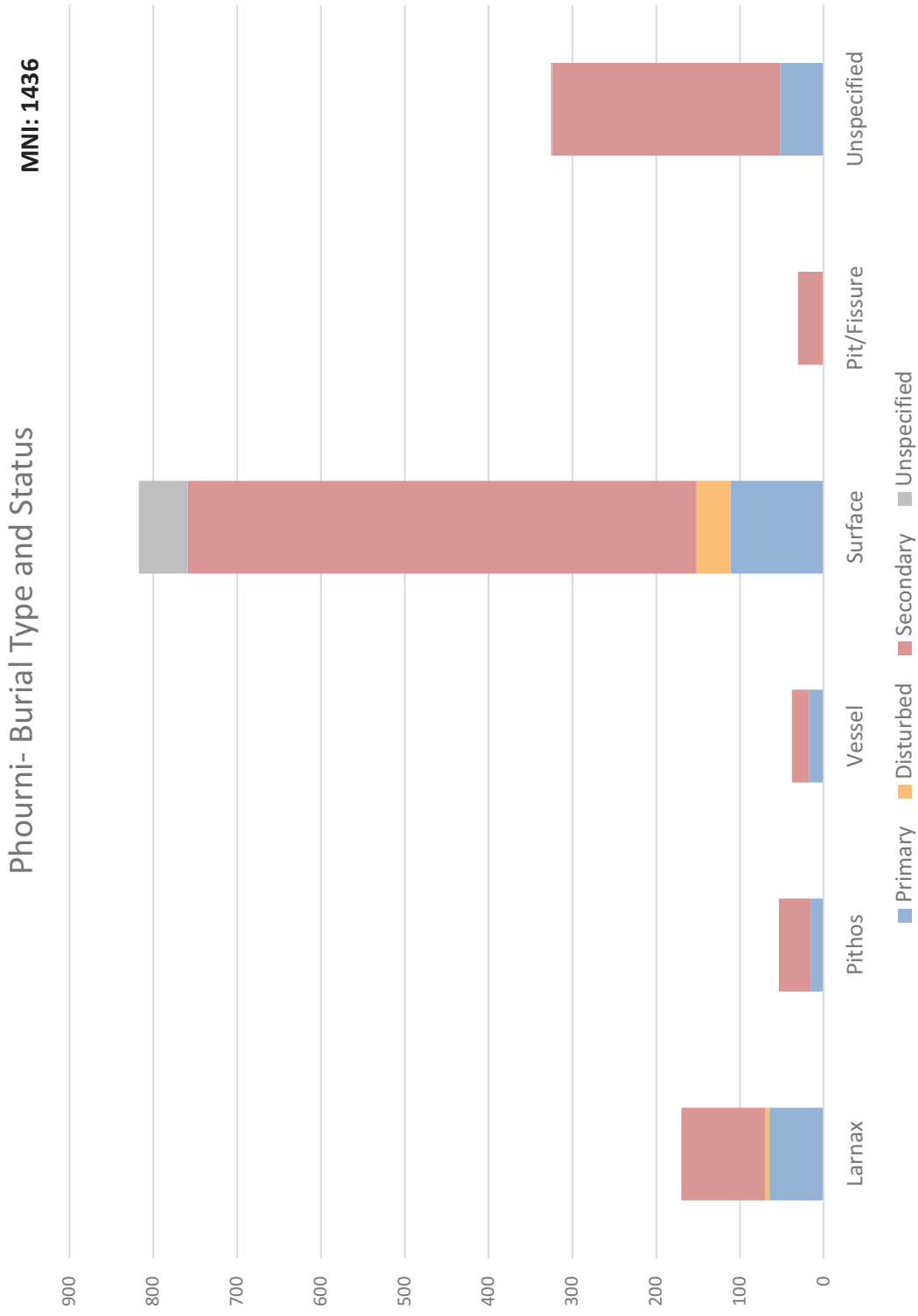


Figure 257: Phourni- Burial Type and Status

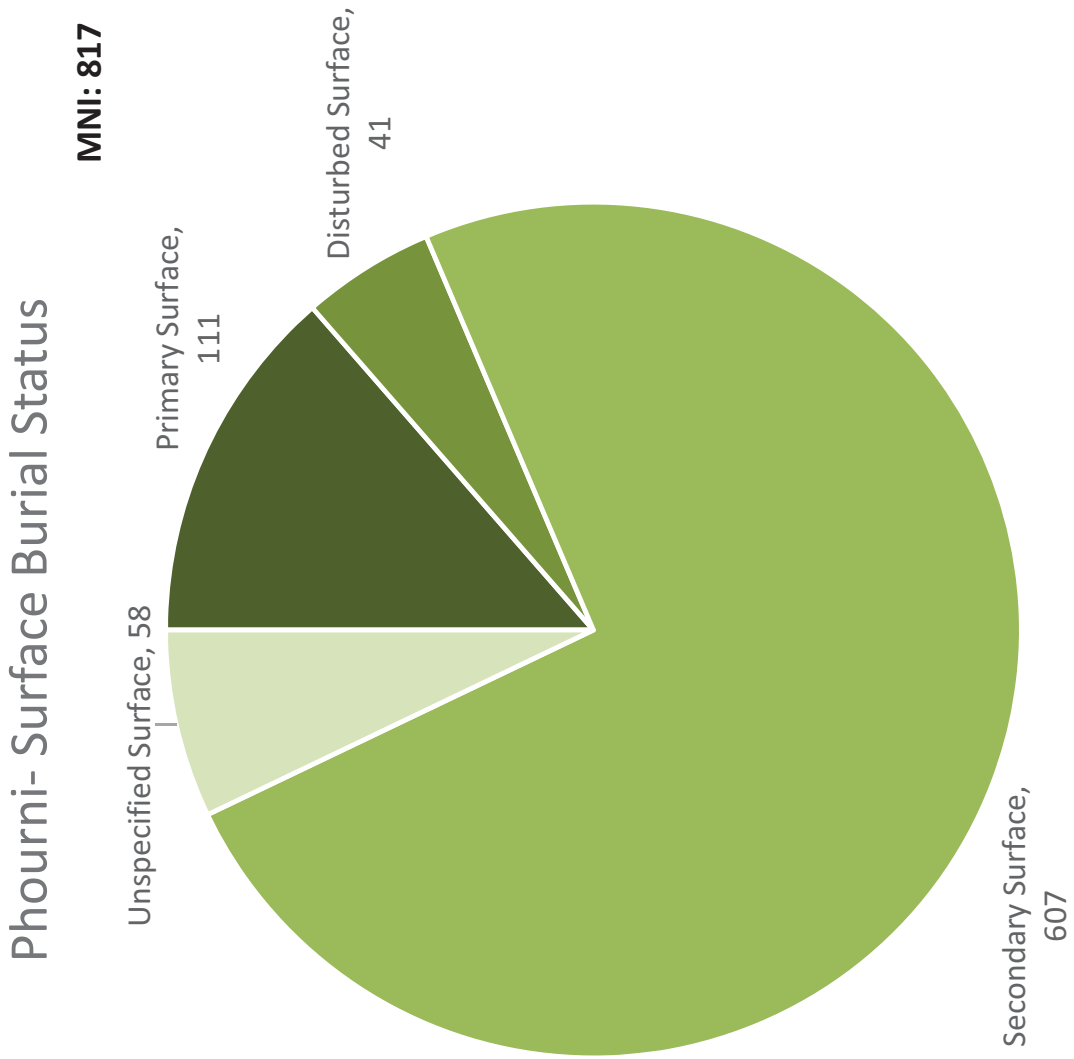


Figure 258: Phourni- Surface Burial Status

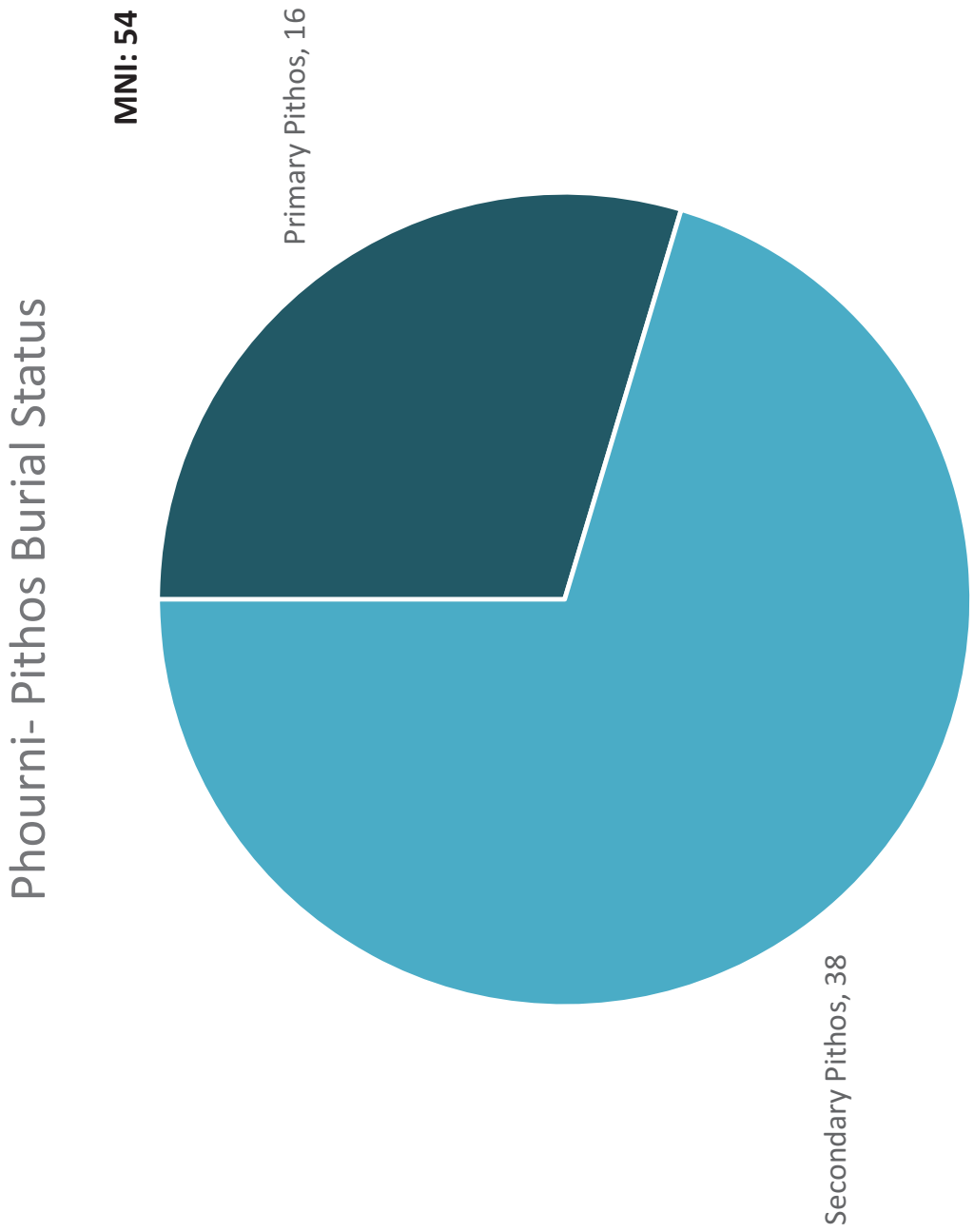


Figure 259: Phourni- Pithos Burial Status

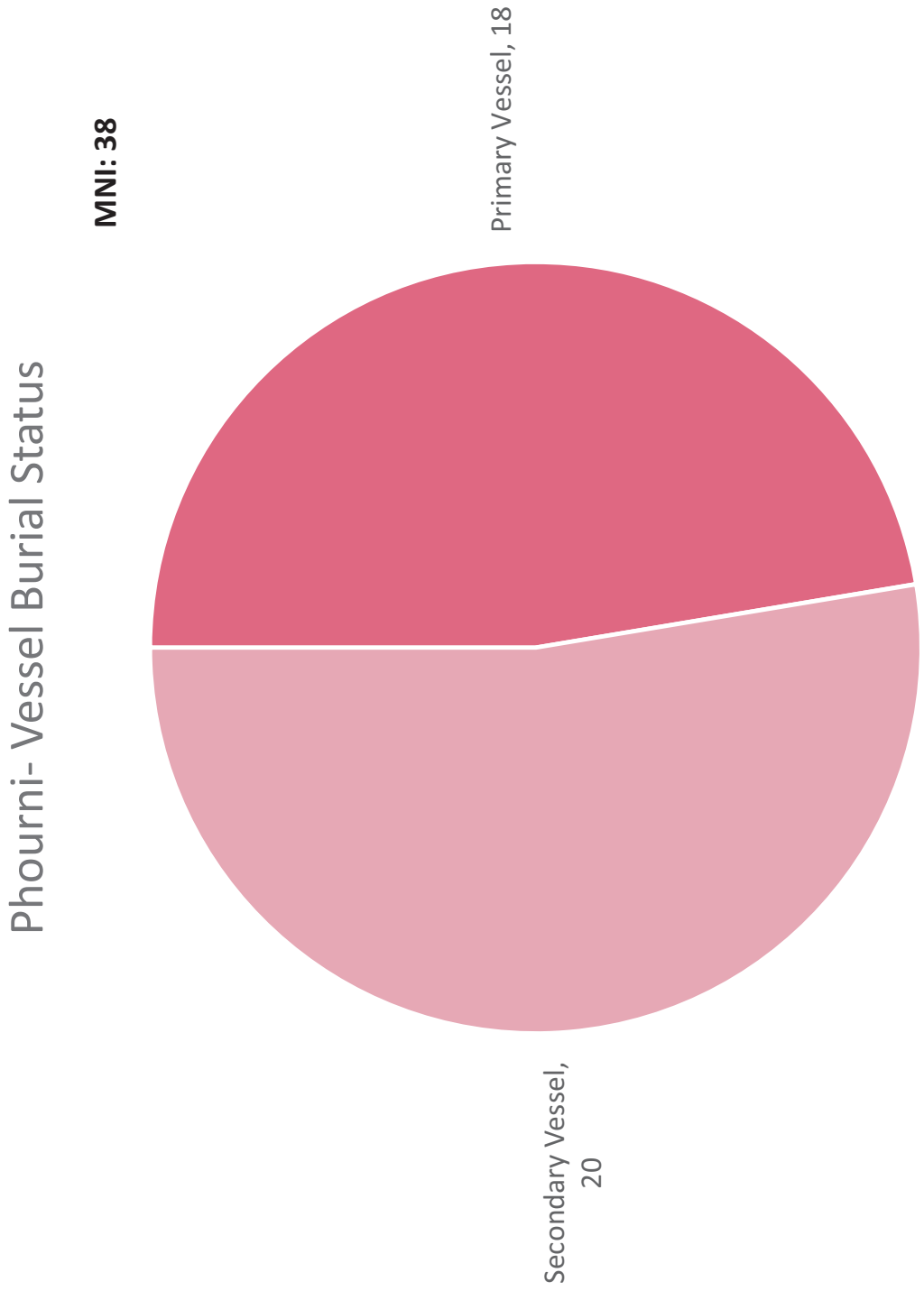


Figure 260: Phourni- Vessel Burial Status

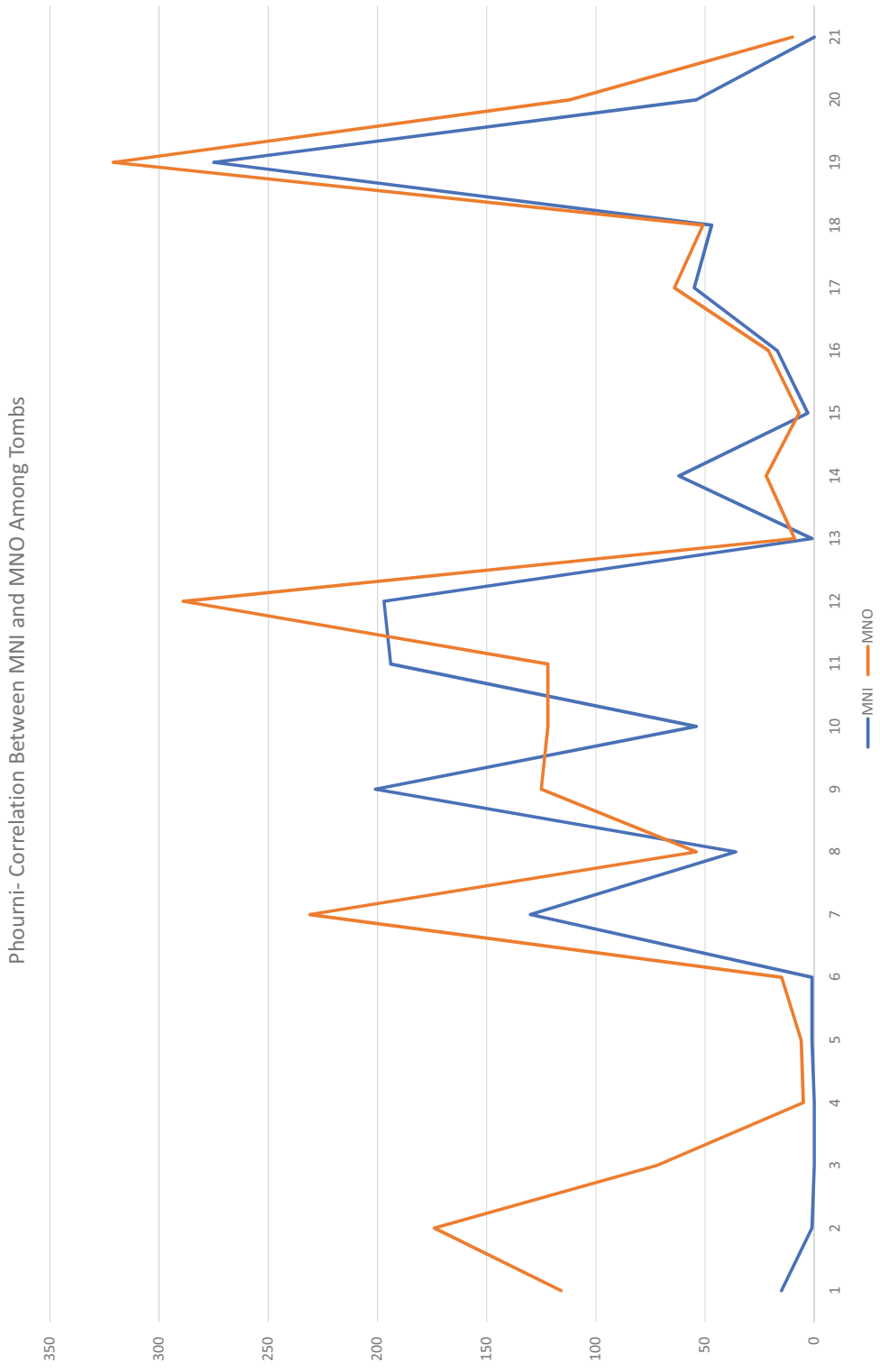


Figure 261: Phourni- Correlation Between MNI and MNO Among Tombs

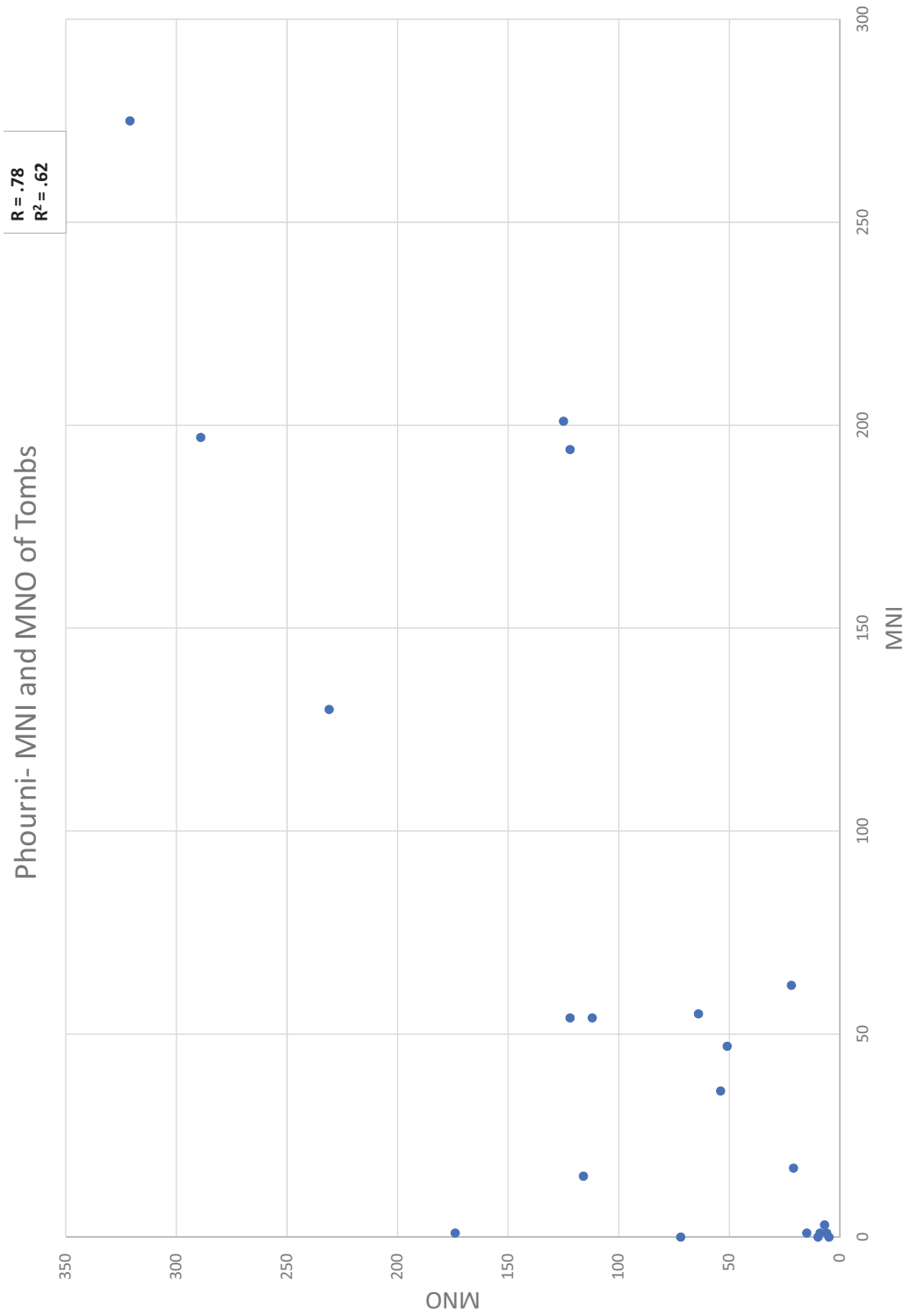


Figure 262: Phourni- MNI and MNO of Tombs

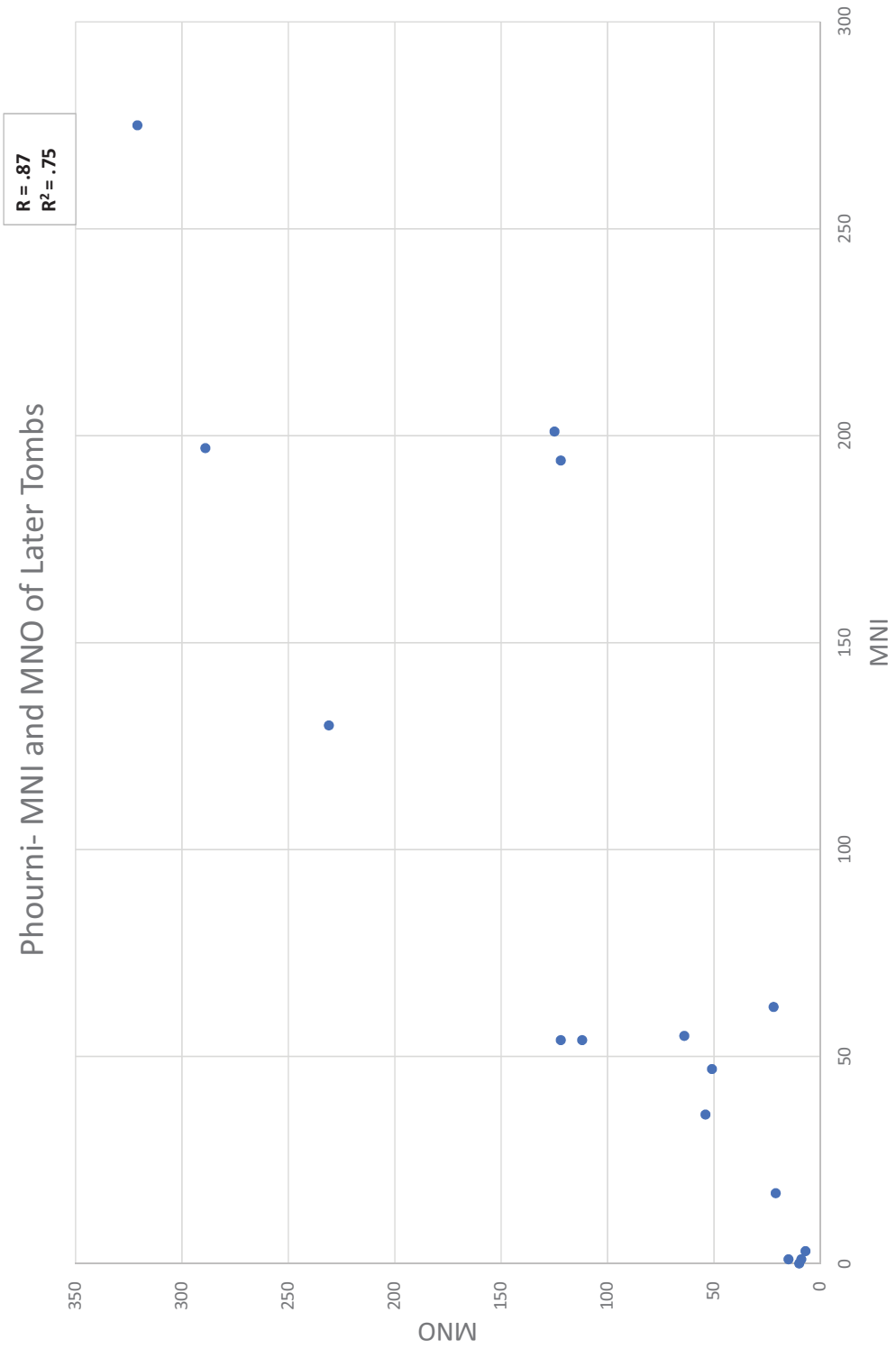


Figure 263: Phourni- MNI and MNO of Later Tombs

	Area of the Rocks	BB 5	BB 9	BB 18	Tholos E-Upper Layer	Tholos E-Lower Layer	BB 19	BB 7	Tholos Gamma-Lower Layer	BB 16	BB 12	BB 6	Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	BB 8	Tholos Gamma-Upper Layer	BB 3	BB 24	BB 13	BB 22	BB 25	BB 23	Total
Area of the Rocks		17	15	15	13	12	13	14	15	10	11	11	10	8	9	8	4	5	5	5	4	2	206
BB 5	17		12	12	12	11	11	9	13	9	10	11	8	8	7	7	4	5	4	4	4	0	178
BB 9	15	12		15	11	9	11	12	10	9	9	10	9	8	8	8	4	4	4	4	4	1	177
BB 18	15	12	15		12	10	11	11	11	10	8	10	10	8	7	7	4	3	4	4	2	1	175
Tholos E-Upper Layer	13	12	11	12		13	12	9	10	11	9	12	9	8	8	8	4	4	3	3	3	0	174
Tholos E-Lower Layer	12	11	9	10	13		10	9	10	10	10	9	9	8	8	8	4	4	3	4	2	0	163
BB 19	13	11	11	11	12	10		10	11	9	9	9	7	8	7	7	4	4	3	2	3	0	161
BB 7	14	9	12	11	9	9	10		10	8	9	9	8	7	8	6	4	5	3	4	3	1	159
Tholos Gamma-Lower Layer	15	13	10	11	10	10	11	10		8	7	8	7	6	5	6	3	3	3	3	2	0	151
BB 16	10	9	9	10	11	10	9	8	8		9	9	10	8	6	7	4	3	3	2	2	1	148
BB 12	11	10	9	8	9	10	9	9	7	9		9	7	8	8	6	4	4	3	3	2	0	145
BB 6	11	11	10	10	12	9	9	9	8	9	9		6	7	6	7	3	3	2	1	3	0	145
Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	10	8	9	10	9	9	7	8	7	10	7	6		7	6	7	4	3	4	2	2	1	136
Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	7	6	8	8	7	7		6	6	5	3	3	1	2	0	125
BB 8	9	7	8	7	8	8	7	8	5	6	8	6	6	6		6	4	4	3	3	2	0	121
Tholos Gamma-Upper Layer	8	7	8	7	8	8	7	6	6	7	6	7	7	6	6		4	3	3	1	2	0	117
BB 3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	3	4	5	4	4		3	3	1	1	0	71
BB 24	5	5	4	3	4	4	4	5	3	3	4	3	3	3	4	3	3		2	2	2	0	69
BB 13	5	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	4	3	3	3	3	2		1	1	1	61
BB 22	5	4	4	4	3	4	2	4	3	2	3	1	2	1	3	1	1	2	1		0	1	51
BB 25	4	4	4	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	0		0	46
BB 23	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		9

Figure 264: Similarity Matrix- Present/Absent Object Types

Similarity Matrix- Number of Shared Object Types

	BB 9	BB 19	Area of the Rocks	BB 5	BB 18	Tholos Gamma-Lower Layer	Tholos E-Upper Layer	Tholos Gamma-Upper Layer	BB 6	Tholos E-Lower Layer	Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	BB 16	BB 7	BB 12	Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	BB 13	BB 8	BB 3	BB 24	BB 22	BB 25	BB 23	Total
BB 9		245	196	210	112	111	87	118	112	75	69	45	49	51	22	15	12	7	5	7	6	8	**1562**
BB 19	245		175	210	90	117	85	113	102	69	66	42	38	50	19	14	12	7	5	2	4	0	**1465**
Area of the Rocks	196	175		135	108	135	93	81	69	81	72	44	49	53	19	16	18	7	7	9	6	9	**1382**
BB 5	210	210	135		88	104	74	101	109	70	66	45	39	35	22	15	10	7	7	5	6	0	**1358**
BB 18	112	90	108	88		76	77	55	53	62	59	47	44	38	22	15	12	7	4	7	3	8	**987**
Tholos Gamma- Lower Layer	111	117	135	104	76		57	43	46	67	67	35	31	28	16	14	8	6	4	3	3	0	**971**
Tholos E- Upper Layer	87	85	93	74	77	57		64	53	62	36	47	42	49	22	14	15	7	5	3	4	0	**896**
Tholos Gamma- Upper Layer	118	113	81	101	55	43	64		89	31	27	36	32	44	18	13	9	7	4	1	3	0	**889**
BB 6	112	102	69	109	53	46	53	89		37	20	29	30	23	19	3	9	5	3	1	5	0	**817**
Tholos E- Lower Layer	75	69	81	70	62	67	62	31	37		50	41	35	28	22	14	10	7	5	4	3	0	**773**
Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	69	66	72	66	59	67	36	27	20	50		36	24	24	15	15	7	6	4	3	3	2	**671**
BB 16	45	42	44	45	47	35	47	36	29	41	36		34	32	22	14	9	7	4	2	3	1	**575**
BB 7	49	38	49	39	44	31	42	32	30	35	24	34		33	20	11	13	7	7	7	4	3	**552**
BB 12	51	50	53	35	38	28	49	44	23	28	24	32	33		15	12	13	5	5	3	3	0	**544**
Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	22	19	19	22	22	16	22	18	19	22	15	22	20	15		6	6	8	4	1	3	0	**301**
BB 13	15	14	16	15	15	14	14	13	3	14	15	14	11	12	6		3	4	3	1	1	1	**204**
BB 8	12	12	18	10	12	8	15	9	9	10	7	9	13	13	6	3		4	4	3	2	0	**179**
BB 3	7	7	7	7	7	6	7	7	5	7	6	7	7	5	8	4	4		4	1	1	0	**114**
BB 24	5	5	7	7	4	4	5	4	3	5	4	4	7	5	4	3	4	4		3	2	0	**89**
BB 22	7	2	9	5	7	3	3	1	1	4	3	2	7	3	1	1	3	1	3		0	4	**70**
BB 25	6	4	6	6	3	3	4	3	5	3	3	3	4	3	3	1	2	1	2	0		0	**65**
BB 23	8	0	9	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0		**36**

Figure 265: Similarity Matrix- Number of Shared Object Types

	Area of the Rocks	BB 9	BB 5	BB 19	BB 18	Tholos F-Upper Layer	Tholos F-Lower Layer	Tholos Gamma-Lower Layer	BB 7	BB 16	BB 6	Tholos Gamma-Upper Layer	BB 12	Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	BB 8	BB 13	BB 3	BB 24	BB 22	BB 25	BB 23	Total
Area of the Rocks		28.92	26.91	26.58	24.21	22.39	19.49	26.32	19.13	14.48	16.08	14.66	14.64	14.87	9.17	8.81	5.66	3.87	4.28	4.79	3.58	2.89	**311.73**
BB 9	28.92		22.18	23.19	23.87	19.10	16.26	18.68	17.52	13.85	16.71	15.90	13.25	13.37	9.64	6.87	4.97	3.87	3.18	3.69	3.58	2.20	**280.80**
BB 5	26.91	22.18		21.99	19.12	19.66	17.81	20.08	13.61	13.85	17.03	13.50	12.44	12.63	9.64	5.77	4.97	3.87	4.28	3.18	3.58	-	**266.10**
BB 19	26.58	23.19	21.99		19.01	20.31	16.49	19.80	13.94	13.38	14.65	14.18	12.85	11.58	9.17	6.46	4.28	3.87	3.18	1.39	2.48	-	**258.79**
BB 18	24.21	23.87	19.12	19.01		19.75	15.64	16.23	15.51	14.95	14.68	12.82	11.54	14.17	9.64	6.46	4.97	3.87	2.48	3.69	1.79	2.20	**256.60**
Tholos F- Upper Layer	22.39	19.10	19.66	20.31	19.75		18.92	14.87	13.94	15.24	16.07	13.99	12.81	11.61	9.64	7.56	4.28	3.87	3.18	2.08	2.48	-	**251.74**
Tholos F- Lower Layer	19.49	16.26	17.81	16.49	15.64	18.92		15.86	12.74	13.85	12.98	10.99	11.55	12.40	9.64	6.36	4.28	3.87	3.18	2.77	1.79	-	**226.85**
Tholos Gamma- Lower Layer	26.32	18.68	20.08	19.80	16.23	14.87	15.86		12.80	11.48	11.73	9.81	9.67	11.98	7.56	4.38	4.28	3.18	2.48	2.08	1.79	-	**225.08**
BB 7	19.13	17.52	13.61	13.94	15.51	13.94	12.74	12.80		11.89	11.74	10.18	12.11	9.92	8.66	7.15	3.99	3.87	4.28	3.87	2.48	1.39	**210.74**
BB 16	14.48	13.85	13.85	13.38	14.95	15.24	13.85	11.48	11.89		11.37	11.39	11.55	12.58	9.64	5.08	4.28	3.87	2.48	1.39	1.79	0.69	**199.09**
BB 6	16.08	16.71	17.09	14.65	14.68	16.07	12.98	11.73	11.74	11.37		11.33	9.67	7.73	8.25	5.08	1.79	2.77	2.08	0.69	2.89	-	**195.32**
Tholos Gamma- Upper Layer	14.66	15.90	13.50	14.18	12.82	13.99	10.99	9.81	10.18	11.39	11.33		10.28	9.56	7.71	5.08	4.19	3.87	2.48	0.69	1.79	-	**184.41**
BB 12	14.64	13.25	12.44	12.85	11.54	12.81	11.55	9.67	12.11	11.55	9.67	10.28		8.78	7.97	7.15	4.09	3.18	3.18	2.08	1.79	-	**180.58**
Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	14.87	13.37	12.63	11.58	14.17	11.61	12.40	11.98	9.92	12.58	7.73	9.56	8.78		7.56	4.56	4.97	3.58	2.48	1.79	1.79	1.10	**179.03**
Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	9.17	9.64	9.64	9.17	9.64	9.64	9.64	7.56	8.66	9.64	8.25	7.71	7.97	7.56		4.16	3.18	4.56	2.48	0.69	1.79	-	**140.76**
BB 8	8.81	6.87	5.77	6.46	6.46	7.56	6.36	4.38	7.15	5.08	5.08	5.08	7.15	4.56	4.16		2.08	2.77	2.77	2.08	1.39	-	**102.02**
BB 13	5.66	4.97	4.97	4.28	4.97	4.28	4.28	4.28	3.99	4.28	1.79	4.19	4.09	4.97	3.18	2.08		2.48	1.79	0.69	0.69	0.69	**72.60**
BB 3	3.87	3.87	3.87	3.87	3.87	3.87	3.87	3.18	3.87	3.87	2.77	3.87	3.18	3.58	4.56	2.77	2.48		2.48	0.69	0.69	-	**65.12**
BB 24	4.28	3.18	4.28	3.18	2.48	3.18	2.77	2.08	4.28	2.48	2.08	2.48	3.18	2.48	2.48	2.77	1.79	2.48		1.79	1.39	-	**55.94**
BB 22	4.79	3.69	3.18	1.39	3.69	2.08	2.77	2.08	3.87	1.39	0.69	0.69	2.08	1.79	2.08	2.77	1.79	2.48	1.79		-	1.61	**41.74**
BB 25	3.58	3.58	3.58	2.48	1.79	2.48	1.79	1.79	2.48	1.79	2.89	1.79	1.79	1.79	1.79	1.39	0.69	0.69	1.39	-		-	**39.59**
BB 23	2.89	2.20	-	-	2.20	-	-	-	1.39	0.69	-	-	-	1.10	-	-	0.69	-	-	1.61	-		**12.77**

Figure 266: Similarity Matrix- Number of Shared Object Types- Logarithmically Adjusted

Similarity Matrix - Object Types- Tomb Rank

	Present/Absent	Number of Shared Objects	Number of Shared Objects- Log Adjusted	Mean Rank	Rank StDev
Tholos E- Lower Layer	6	10	7	7.67	2.08
Tholos Gamma- Lower Layer	9	6	8	7.67	1.53
Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	13	11	14	12.67	1.53
Area of the Rocks	1	3	1	1.67	1.15
BB 25	21	21	21	21.00	0.00
BB 24	18	19	19	18.67	0.58
BB 13	19	16	17	17.33	1.53
BB 5	2	4	3	3.00	1.00
BB 12	11	14	13	12.67	1.53
BB 6	11	9	11	10.33	1.15
Tholos Gamma- Upper Layer	16	8	12	12.00	4.00
BB 18	4	5	5	4.67	0.58
BB 19	7	2	4	4.33	2.52
BB 23	22	22	22	22.00	0.00
Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	14	15	15	14.67	0.58
BB 3	17	18	18	17.67	0.58
BB 8	15	17	16	16.00	1.00
BB 7	8	13	9	10.00	2.65
BB 16	10	12	10	10.67	1.15
BB 9	3	1	2	2.00	1.00
Tholos E- Upper Layer	5	7	6	6.00	1.00
BB 22	20	20	20	20.00	0.00

Figure 267: Similarity Matrix- Object Types- Tomb Rank

Similarity Matrix- Present/Absent Materials

	Tholos E-Upper Layer	BB 19	Area of the Rocks	BB 5	BB 7	BB 18	Tholos E-Lower Layer	BB 9	BB 6	BB 16	BB 12	Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	BB 8	Tholos Gamma-Lower Layer	Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	Tholos Gamma-Upper Layer	BB 13	BB 24	BB 3	BB 22	BB 25	BB 23	Total
Tholos E- Upper Layer		15	14	13	13	14	12	10	11	12	9	9	8	10	9	7	6	5	4	4	2	1	188
BB 19	15		13	13	13	11	10	12	11	11	9	8	9	9	7	8	6	5	4	4	2	2	182
Area of the Rocks	14	13		13	11	12	13	9	9	10	9	8	8	10	9	9	7	5	4	4	2	2	181
BB 5	13	13	13		13	10	10	11	10	9	8	7	9	8	8	8	6	5	4	4	2	2	173
BB 7	13	13	11	13		10	8	11	11	10	8	8	9	7	7	7	6	5	4	4	2	2	169
BB 18	14	11	12	10	10		11	9	10	10	8	9	8	7	8	7	6	5	4	4	2	1	166
Tholos E- Lower Layer	12	10	13	10	8	11		8	8	8	8	7	7	11	8	7	6	4	3	4	2	2	157
BB 9	10	12	9	11	11	9	8		9	9	7	7	8	7	7	7	6	4	4	3	2	2	152
BB 6	11	11	9	10	11	10	8	9		9	8	8	8	6	6	7	6	4	3	3	2	2	151
BB 16	12	11	10	9	10	10	8	9	9		7	8	6	6	7	7	6	4	4	3	2	1	149
BB 12	9	9	9	8	8	8	8	7	8	7		7	7	6	7	7	7	5	4	3	2	2	138
Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	9	8	8	7	8	9	7	7	8	8	7		6	6	7	7	6	4	4	4	2	1	133
BB 8	8	9	8	9	9	8	7	8	8	6	7	6		5	5	6	5	5	3	4	2	2	130
Tholos Gamma- Lower Layer	10	9	10	8	7	7	11	7	6	6	6	6	5		8	6	5	3	2	4	1	2	129
Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	9	7	9	8	7	8	8	7	6	7	7	7	5	8		6	6	4	4	3	2	1	129
Tholos Gamma- Upper Layer	7	8	9	8	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	6	6	6		7	3	4	3	2	2	127
BB 13	6	6	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	6	6	5	5	6	7		3	4	2	2	2	110
BB 24	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	5	3	4	3	3		2	3	1	1	80
BB 3	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	4	4	4	3	2	4	4	4	2		1	1	0	67
BB 22	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	3	3	2	3	1		1	1	66
BB 25	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1		1	37
BB 23	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	0	1	1		32

Figure 268: Similarity Matrix- Present/Absent Materials

Similarity Matrix- Number of Shared Materials

	Area of the Rocks	BB 9	BB 19	BB 5	BB 18	BB 6	Tholos E-Upper Layer	Tholos Gamma-Upper Layer	BB 7	Tholos Gamma-Lower Layer	Tholos E-Lower Layer	Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	BB 12	BB 16	Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	BB 8	BB 13	BB 22	BB 23	BB 3	BB 25	BB 24	Total
Area of the Rocks		305	275	224	131	127	100	117	75	100	76	73	53	49	23	22	17	10	9	9	6	7	**1808**
BB 9	305		268	211	138	137	85	113	82	86	53	71	51	46	20	18	16	7	9	9	6	5	**1736**
BB 19	275	268		216	116	121	108	113	70	73	55	70	51	49	22	23	16	9	9	9	6	7	**1686**
BB 5	224	211	216		114	111	92	113	52	64	59	68	50	46	22	22	16	10	9	9	6	7	**1521**
BB 18	131	138	116	114		92	99	71	56	47	66	51	50	48	24	19	16	10	8	9	6	7	**1178**
BB 6	127	137	121	111	92		80	95	91	25	32	24	43	38	21	22	6	9	9	7	6	5	**1101**
Tholos E- Upper Layer	100	85	108	92	99	80		71	71	33	55	35	52	46	18	21	16	10	8	6	6	7	**1019**
Tholos Gamma- Upper Layer	117	113	113	113	71	95	71		38	29	34	28	51	34	14	18	16	7	9	6	6	4	**987**
BB 7	75	82	70	52	56	91	71	38		34	39	32	36	43	21	21	13	10	9	9	6	7	**815**
Tholos Gamma- Lower Layer	100	86	73	64	47	25	33	29	34		65	62	19	28	18	11	15	7	4	7	3	5	**735**
Tholos E- Lower Layer	76	53	55	59	66	32	55	34	39	65		42	28	35	16	16	16	10	9	5	6	6	**723**
Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	73	71	70	68	51	24	35	28	32	62	42		27	36	19	15	16	7	8	9	6	5	**704**
BB 12	53	51	51	50	50	43	52	51	36	19	28	27		32	13	17	15	7	9	5	6	6	**621**
BB 16	49	46	49	46	48	38	46	34	43	28	35	36	32		21	17	16	7	8	9	6	5	**619**
Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	23	20	22	22	24	21	18	14	21	18	16	19	13	21		10	8	10	5	9	6	6	**326**
BB 8	22	18	23	22	19	22	21	18	21	11	16	15	17	17	10		5	8	9	3	6	5	**308**
BB 13	17	16	16	16	16	6	16	16	13	15	16	16	15	16	8	5		2	2	5	2	4	**238**
BB 22	10	7	9	10	10	9	10	7	10	7	10	7	7	7	10	8	2		5	1	5	4	**155**
BB 23	9	9	9	9	8	9	8	9	9	4	9	8	9	8	5	9	2	5		0	5	1	**144**
BB 3	9	9	9	9	9	7	6	6	9	7	5	9	5	9	9	3	5	1	0		1	3	**130**
BB 25	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	3	6	6	6	6	6	6	2	5	5	1		1	**107**
BB 24	7	5	7	7	7	5	7	4	7	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	4	4	1	3	1		**107**

Figure 269: Similarity Matrix- Number of Shared Materials

Similarity Matrix- Number of Shared Materials- Logarithmically Adjusted

	Area of the Rocks	BB 19	Tholos E-Upper Layer	BB 5	BB 18	BB 7	BB 9	Tholos E-Lower Layer	BB 6	BB 16	Tholos Gamma-Lower Layer	Tholos Gamma-Upper Layer	Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	BB 12	Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	BB 8	BB 13	BB 22	BB 24	BB 3	BB 23	BB 25	Total
Area of the Rocks		22.37	20.72	21.87	21.32	19.96	21.02	19.83	16.13	14.36	18.70	13.82	13.13	11.81	9.53	8.44	6.64	4.56	4.28	4.28	2.89	2.48	**278.15**
BB 19	22.37		21.90	21.24	19.71	19.39	21.35	14.06	17.08	14.64	14.01	12.21	11.34	11.12	9.25	9.13	5.95	4.28	4.28	4.28	2.89	2.48	**262.95**
Tholos E- Upper Layer	20.72	21.90		18.83	20.50	20.83	15.73	17.01	16.31	15.05	12.62	11.81	10.94	11.52	9.13	8.25	5.95	4.56	4.28	3.58	2.20	2.48	**254.21**
BB 5	21.87	21.24	18.83		18.58	17.00	18.62	14.74	15.39	13.08	12.26	12.21	11.97	10.42	8.84	8.95	5.95	4.56	4.28	4.28	2.89	2.48	**248.45**
BB 18	21.32	19.71	20.50	18.58		16.12	19.08	16.75	15.65	13.95	11.48	10.68	11.48	10.42	10.23	7.74	5.95	4.56	4.28	4.28	2.20	2.48	**247.44**
BB 7	19.96	19.39	20.83	17.00	16.12		18.35	12.78	16.65	13.74	11.51	10.67	9.96	10.45	9.28	8.72	5.66	4.56	4.28	4.28	2.89	2.48	**239.58**
BB 9	21.02	21.35	15.73	18.62	19.08	18.35		12.56	15.32	12.85	13.24	11.74	11.75	10.42	8.15	7.34	5.95	3.18	3.18	4.28	2.89	2.48	**239.47**
Tholos E- Lower Layer	19.83	14.06	17.01	14.74	16.75	12.78	12.56		11.28	11.75	15.92	11.06	10.16	10.27	7.74	6.87	5.95	4.56	3.58	2.89	2.89	2.48	**215.15**
BB 6	16.13	17.08	16.31	15.39	15.65	16.65	15.32	11.28		12.20	9.04	10.60	7.49	9.22	8.84	8.44	4.16	3.87	3.18	3.18	2.89	2.48	**209.40**
BB 16	14.36	14.64	15.05	13.08	13.95	13.74	12.85	11.75	12.20		9.04	9.91	10.06	9.41	8.84	6.36	5.95	3.18	3.18	4.28	2.20	2.48	**196.50**
Tholos Gamma- Lower Layer	18.70	14.01	12.62	12.26	11.48	11.51	13.24	15.92	9.04	9.04		9.96	11.19	7.56	7.45	5.26	5.26	3.87	2.89	2.89	2.08	1.39	**187.61**
Tholos Gamma- Upper Layer	13.82	12.21	11.81	12.21	10.68	10.67	11.74	11.06	10.60	9.91	9.96		8.22	10.42	7.05	6.64	6.56	3.18	2.48	3.58	2.89	2.48	**178.18**
Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	13.13	11.34	10.94	11.97	11.48	9.96	11.75	10.16	7.49	10.06	11.19	8.22		8.41	8.03	5.26	5.95	3.18	3.18	4.28	2.20	2.48	**170.64**
BB 12	11.81	11.12	11.52	10.42	10.42	10.45	10.42	10.27	9.22	9.41	7.56	10.42	8.41		6.64	6.64	6.46	3.18	3.87	3.18	2.89	2.48	**166.80**
Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	9.53	9.25	9.13	8.84	10.23	9.28	8.15	7.74	8.84	8.84	7.45	7.05	8.03	6.64		5.26	4.85	4.56	3.58	4.28	1.79	2.48	**145.82**
BB 8	8.44	9.13	8.25	8.95	7.74	8.72	7.34	6.87	8.44	6.36	5.26	6.64	5.26	6.64	5.26		3.47	3.87	3.47	2.08	2.89	2.48	**127.54**
BB 13	6.64	5.95	5.95	5.95	5.95	5.66	5.95	5.95	4.16	5.95	5.26	6.56	5.95	6.46	4.85	3.47		1.39	2.48	3.18	1.39	1.39	**100.49**
BB 22	4.56	4.28	4.56	4.56	4.56	4.56	3.18	4.56	3.87	3.18	3.87	3.18	3.18	3.18	4.56	3.87	1.39		2.48	0.69	1.79	1.79	**71.88**
BB 24	4.28	4.28	4.28	4.28	4.28	4.28	3.18	3.58	3.18	3.18	2.89	2.48	3.18	3.87	3.58	3.47	2.48	2.48		1.79	0.69	0.69	**66.40**
BB 3	4.28	4.28	3.58	4.28	4.28	4.28	4.28	2.89	3.18	4.28	2.89	3.58	4.28	3.18	4.28	2.08	3.18	0.69	1.79		-	0.69	**66.23**
BB 23	2.89	2.89	2.20	2.89	2.20	2.89	2.89	2.89	2.89	2.20	2.08	2.89	2.20	2.89	1.79	2.89	1.39	1.79	0.69	-		1.79	**47.23**
BB 25	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.48	1.39	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.48	2.48	1.39	1.79	0.69	0.69	1.79		**45.02**

Figure 270: Similarity Matrix- Number of Shared Materials- Logarithmically Adjusted

Similarity Matrix- Materials- Tomb Rank

	Present/Absent	Number of Shared Objects	Number of Shared Objects- Log Adjusted	Mean Rank	Rank StDev
Tholos E- Lower Layer	7	11	8	8.67	2.08
Tholos Gamma- Lower Layer	14	10	11	11.67	2.08
Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	14	12	13	13.00	1.00
Area of the Rocks	3	1	1	1.67	1.15
BB 25	21	21	22	21.33	0.58
BB 24	18	21	19	19.33	1.53
BB 13	17	17	17	17.00	0.00
BB 5	4	4	4	4.00	0.00
BB 12	11	13	14	12.67	1.53
BB 6	9	6	9	8.00	1.73
Tholos Gamma- Upper Layer	16	8	12	12.00	4.00
BB 18	6	5	5	5.33	0.58
BB 19	2	3	2	2.33	0.58
BB 23	22	19	21	20.67	1.53
Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	12	15	15	14.00	1.73
BB 3	19	20	20	19.67	0.58
BB 8	13	16	16	15.00	1.73
BB 7	5	9	6	6.67	2.08
BB 16	10	14	10	11.33	2.31
BB 9	8	2	7	5.67	3.21
Tholos E- Upper Layer	1	7	3	3.67	3.06
BB 22	20	18	18	18.67	1.15

Figure 271: Similarity Matrix- Materials- Tomb Rank

Similarity Matrix- Overall Tomb Rank

Similarity Rank	Materials	Object Types
1	Area of the Rocks	Area of the Rocks
2	BB 19	BB 9
3	Tholos E- Upper Layer	BB 5
4	BB 5	BB 19
5	BB 18	BB 18
6	BB 9	Tholos E- Upper Layer
7	BB 7	Tholos E- Lower Layer
8	BB 6	Tholos Gamma- Lower Layer
9	Tholos E- Lower Layer	BB 7
10	BB 16	BB 6
11	Tholos Gamma- Lower Layer	BB 16
12	Tholos Gamma- Upper Layer	Tholos Gamma- Upper Layer
13	BB 12	Area Between BB 18 and BB 19
14	Area Between BB 18 and BB 19	BB 12
15	Area Between BB 8 and BB 9	Area Between BB 8 and BB 9
16	BB 8	BB 8
17	BB 13	BB 13
18	BB 22	BB 3
19	BB 24	BB 24
20	BB 3	BB 22
21	BB 23	BB 25
22	BB 25	BB 23

Figure 272: Similarity Matrix- Overall Tomb Rank

Spearman's Rank- MNO and Tomb Area

	Tholos E-Lower Burial Layer	Tholos E-Upper Burial Layer	Tholos F-Lower Burial Layer	Tholos F-Upper Burial Layer	BB 5	BB 6	BB 8	BB 9	BB 16	BB 18	BB 19	
MNO	116	112	174	122	231	125	21	321	51	122		289
Area	32.7	32.7	33.45	33.45	88.54	53.61	25.55	41.62	37.72	47.94		11.8

Ranks for MNO	4	3	8	5.5	9	7	1	11	2	5.5		10
Ranks for Area	3.5	3.5	5.5	5.5	11	10	2	8	7	9		1

R	0.130
R^2	0.017

Spearman's Rho	0.32

Figure 273: Spearman's Rank- MNO and Tomb Area

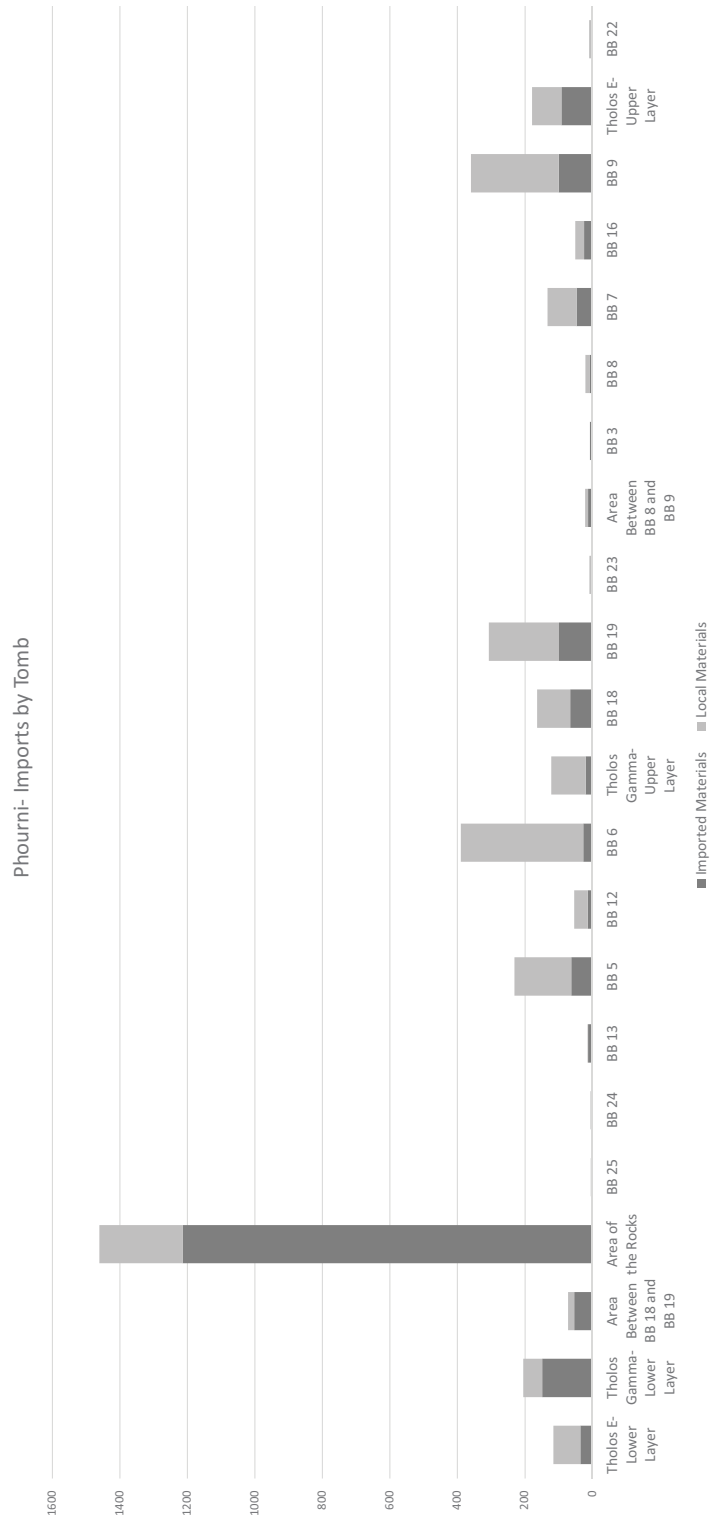


Figure 274: Phourni- Imports by Tomb

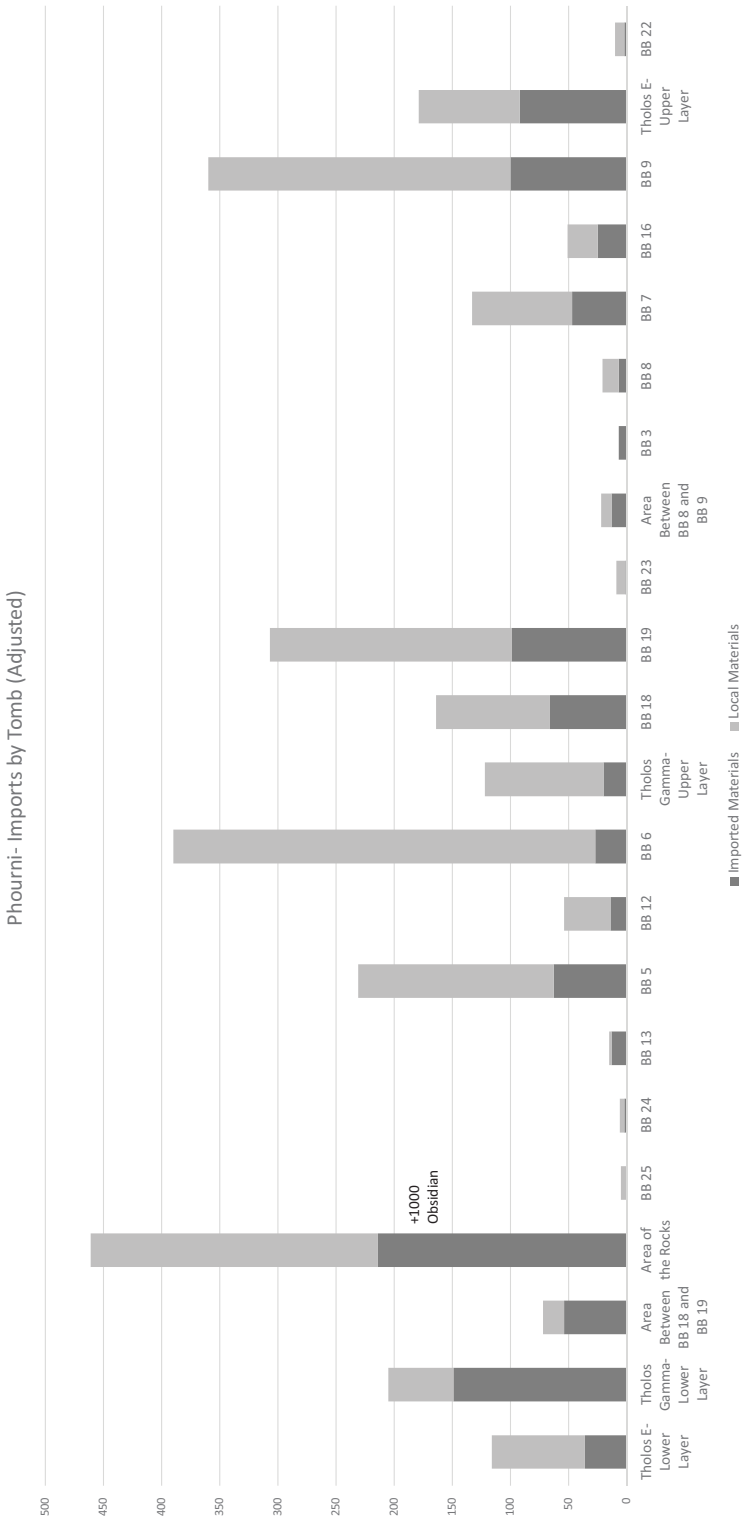


Figure 275: Phourni- Imports by Tomb (Adjusted)

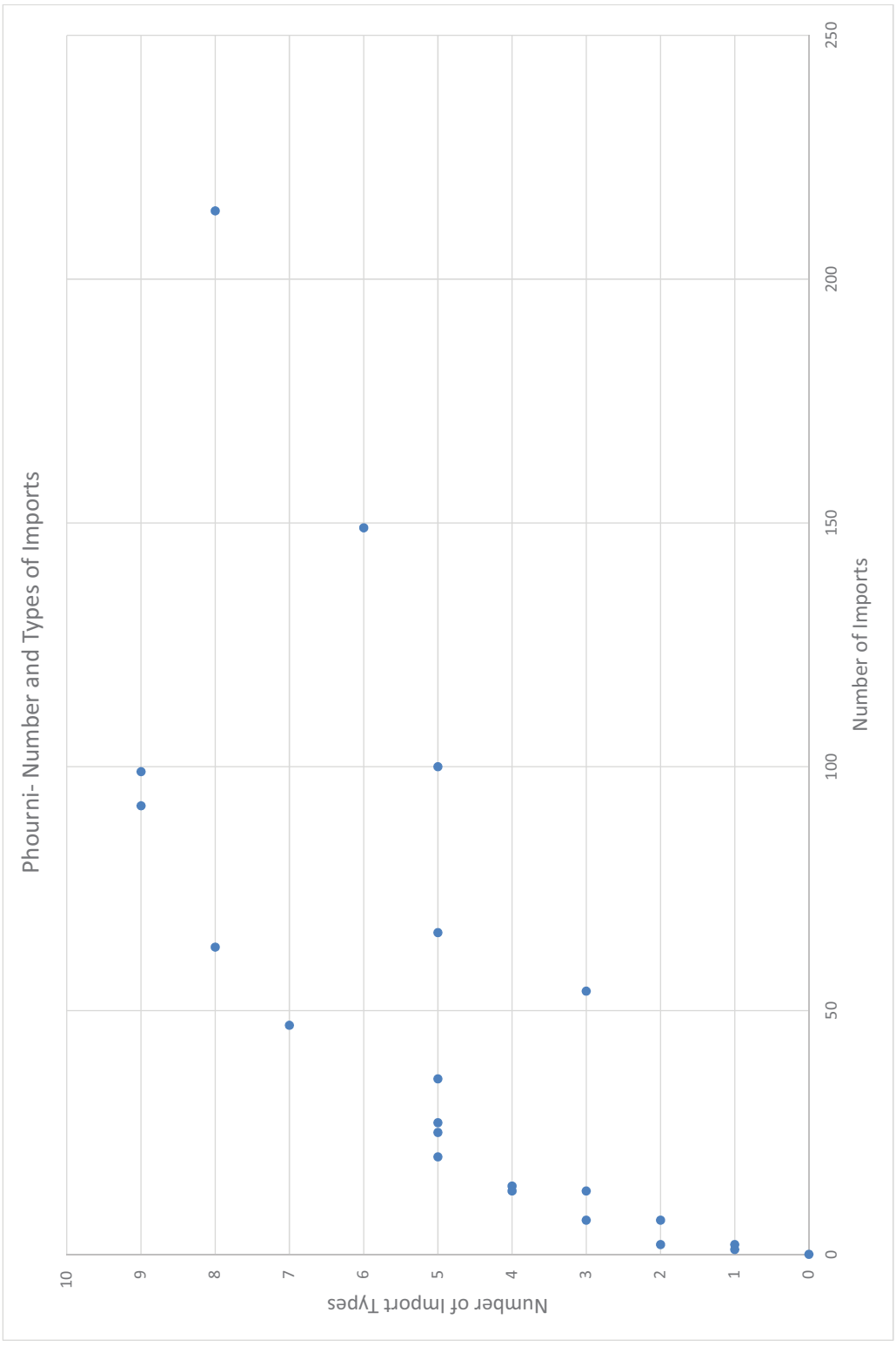


Figure 276: Phourni- Number and Types of Imports

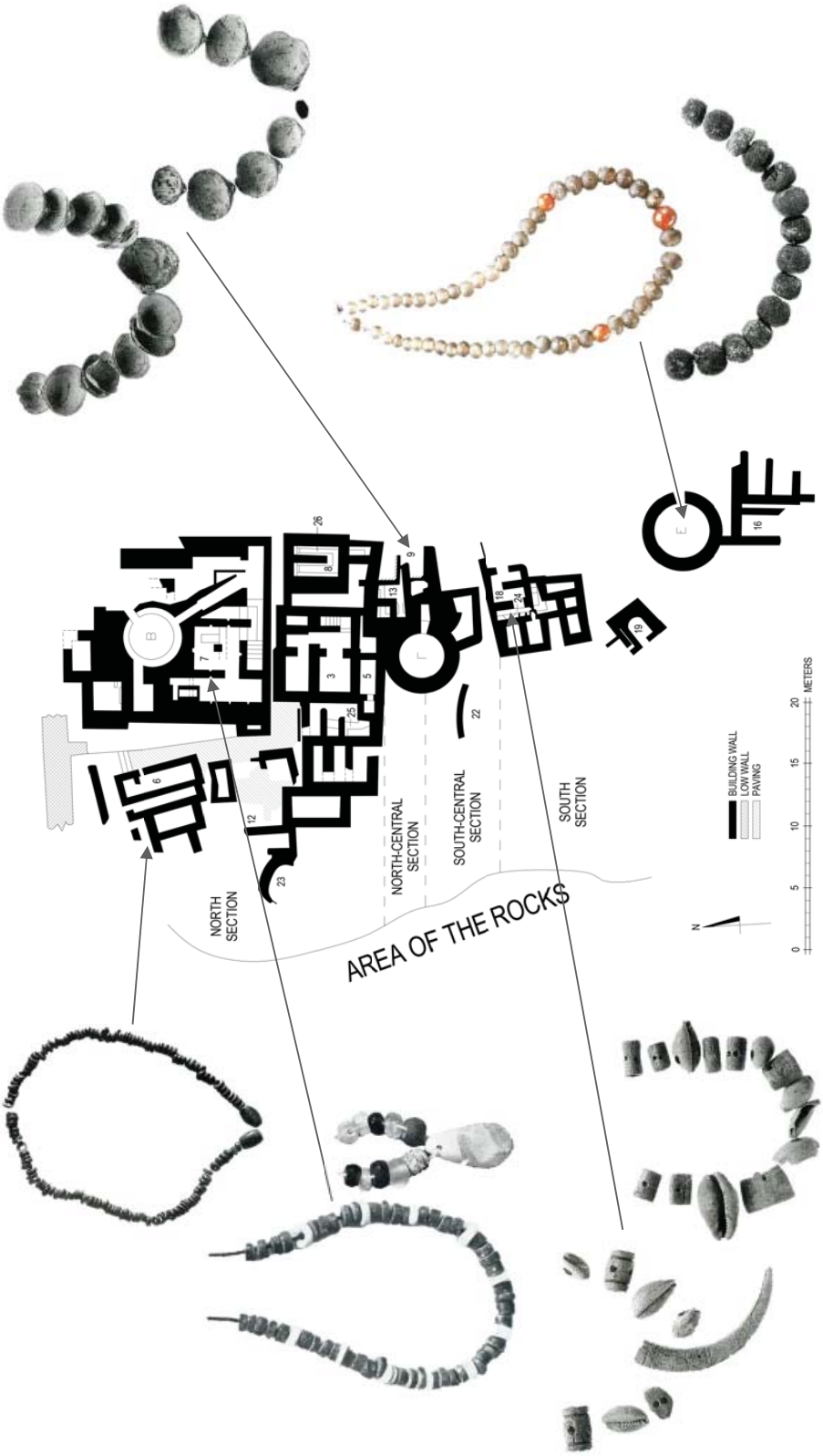


Figure 277: Beaded Necklaces from Tholos E, Burial Building 6, Burial Building 7, Burial Building 9, and Burial Building 18

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