

The Pre- and Protopalatial Minoan Larnax: Individual vs Collective Identity in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete

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Doctor of Philosophy

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined
the dissertation entitled

The Pre- and Protopalatial Minoan Larnax: Individual vs Collective Identity in Pre- and
Protopalatial Crete

presented by Laura S. Ursprung

a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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*To my mother and best friend whose love, support, encouragement, and friendship have
been the foundation and core of my life.
And to my husband, I could not have done this without you.*

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ABSTRACT

The Pre- and Protopalatial Minoan Larnax: Individual vs Collective Identity in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete

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Prepalatial and Protopalatial larnakes offer a corpus of material with their own biography which has long been ignored, passed over, or forgotten. They represent the beginning of a mortuary tradition of burials in ceramic containers that spans a millennium and eventually crosses the Aegean, appearing at select locations on mainland Greece. Their appearance at the EM III – MM IA transition — a crucial moment in Minoan history — has provided fodder for interpretations of nascent individualism on Crete, thus replacing the communal ideology so prevalent in the earlier Minoan mortuary landscapes and built urban environments. This study provides an overview of Prepalatial and Protopalatial larnakes, their contexts, the associated funerary assemblages, and the regional implications made apparent throughout the course of research. The results of this study conclude that the larnax operated within an interwoven communal tradition that embodied not a single or elite individual, but the collective as a whole.

Keywords: Minoan, Larnakes, Burial practices, Identity, Personhood, Individualism

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

The Pre-classical cultures of Greece have long served as an area of interest to scholars due in large part to references that appeared in ancient texts, such as those of Homer's *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the late 19th and early 20th century, this attention translated to a growth in archaeology and in the number of scholars who sought the physical remains of the fabled Bronze Age cities – like Troy, Mycenae, and Knossos. The subsequent launch of archaeological excavations on Crete in the early 20th century meant the discovery, not just of habitation sites, most notably palaces, but also funerary sites, including group cemeteries and, on occasion, isolated/individual tombs.

Mortuary sites, in particular, supply us with a vast array of accumulated data concerning many aspects of the third and second millennium B.C.E. on Crete, also known as the Pre- and Protopalatial periods (EM I–MM IIB; see Table 1 for a chronological framework). During the early phases of the Early Minoan period, there was a rise in the overall number of tombs on Crete, with a pronounced shift appearing in the archaeological record between the EM III and MM IA periods.¹ The funerary sites of the Pre- and Protopalatial periods possess some unique attributes that set them apart from those of later periods, including a regional preference for specific tomb types (such as tholos tombs, rock-cut tombs, cemeteries, and house tombs) and the introduction of larnakes (or Minoan vessels/sarcophagi used for inhumations). Many early mortuary traditions underwent a dramatic change in the MM IIB and MM III periods, only to gradually reacquire some of the earlier traits during the much later LM III period.

¹ Legarra Herrero 2014, 148-151.

Previous studies focusing on mortuary traditions of the Minoan world have approached the funerary landscape of Crete in the Pre- and Protopalatial periods either by examining the different tomb types² or by focusing on the perspective of more “precious” materials (namely, figurines, fine ware pottery, jewelry, and seal stones).³ These customs have subsequently been studied from a wide variety of perspectives and have thus yielded a number of tentative conclusions concerning the socio-political organization, most notably the rise of the individual alongside the palace at the Pre- and Protopalatial transition. In contrast, one aspect of Minoan mortuary tradition that has not been studied in detail is the larnax (or Minoan sarcophagus). Of those studies that mention the larnax, the prevailing view in the early part of the 20th century was that they began as domestic vessels only to adopt a secondary function later and that this introduction as a funerary tradition coincides with the rise of the individual.⁴

The Larnax

Larnakes, as a subset of Minoan material culture, appear on Crete from the end of the Early Minoan period (EM III) and persist well into the Postpalatial period (LM III) – defined as the period after the “fall” of the Minoan culture. The presence of larnakes, however, did not diminish with the “fall” of the Minoans; instead, they persisted into the

² The mortuary tradition on Crete in the Pre- and Protopalatial periods is well studied, with many monographs focusing on the various tomb types and the social-political structure connected to the Cretan landscape (Branigan 1970b, 1984, 1993, 1998; Soles 1992; Papadatos 1999; Legarra Herrero 2005; Driessen 2010; and Murphy 2011 to name but a few).

³ More specific studies have been performed on individual objects including figurines (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1983); pottery (Watrous 1994; Betancourt 2014); seal stones (Yule 1980, Sbonias 2011); and jewelry (Branigan 1983).

⁴ Chapter 2 explores this idea more thoroughly with a more complete review of where and how the term “larnax” came to mean funerary container or bathtub. For further reference on the bathtub see Rutkowski 1967, 219 for a synthesis. Rutkowski suggests that it was first suggested by Evans 1897, 270–372 and Bosanquet 1901, 299. Further references to the larnax as a bathtub have been discussed by Xanthoudides 1904, 12; Pendlebury 1939, 256; Hood 1956, 86.

Final Palatial period (i.e., up to LM IIIA, and become more widespread during the Postpalatial period (LM IIIB–C), when they also spread to the mainland (essentially occupying the same period)⁵ providing a form of continuity throughout the remainder of the Bronze Age on both Crete and the Mainland. Due to its overwhelming prevalence on Crete and its lasting effect, the larnax provides us with significant clues about the traditions, culture, and complexity of the Minoans.⁶

Larnakes served as burial vessels for inhabitants on Crete from the Prepalatial period through the Early Iron Age. Therefore, it represents one aspect of funerary practice on the island that continued for over a millennium. In the most general sense, the larnax is a large ceramic receptacle that takes either a rectangular or elliptical shape.⁷ Each form, respectively, is quite often referred to as chest or louter in scholarship (with various other names, such as sarcophagus and *casella*, also appearing in excavation reports).⁸ Its long life as an important funerary object on Crete means that it provides insight into many questions about Pre- and Protopalatial funerary practices, social-political structures, and beliefs.

Asking pertinent questions about the life of these objects and the culture that used them means that we can begin to evaluate their significance, impact, and role and perhaps

⁵ Mainland examples are primarily isolated in small numbers, with the exception of Tanagra. It is likely that even on the mainland it still represented a largely Minoan tradition.

⁶ The author is aware of the controversy concerning the term “Minoan” in application to the culture that lived on Crete during the Bronze Age (3200–1200 BCE). It is not the aim of this dissertation to address or approach the term and so for the purposes of continuity in the field and understanding, this dissertation will continue to utilize the term even amidst its debatable application. For more information and a broader conversation about the use of this term, see Karadimas and Momigliano 2004.

⁷ This dissertation focuses on ceramic vessels because, to the author’s knowledge, only ceramic examples of Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes exist. Later examples (such as the Hagia Triada Sarcophagus, made from limestone and decorated with painted plaster) can be found in alternative mediums such as wood and plaster. These examples, however, are rare and one should suppose that the majority were ceramic in origin.

⁸ The majority of uses of *casella* are found in Boyd Hawes 1904. The term sarcophagus can be found throughout scholarship, but especially in Xanthoudides 1924.

begin to approach a deeper understanding of the society that utilized them, questions such as, Where did this form originate?, Who was buried in them?, Was there a distinction between those buried in larnakes and those buried in other receptacles?, Do some geographic locations favor larnakes more than others? And if so which? And why?, Is there a difference in typology regionally or diachronically?, Are most larnax burials primary or secondary?, Do the majority contain one burial, two, or more?, What about the objects associated with deposition?, Can the bones tell us anything about the specific individuals? Age? Gender? Status? While the answers to these questions can provide us invaluable information about the socio-cultural-political world that existed in the Bronze Age, the current project aims toward a narrower focus on specific issues related to individuals and identity with the remainder set aside as questions for future research.

Accordingly, this study focuses on questions related to regional production (specifically, typological categorization of larnakes by region, tomb-type, and time-period) and questions related to broader topics of socio-political and cultural organization during the Pre- and Protopalatial periods. Additionally, part of this analysis also aims to refute the claim made by early 20th century archaeologists that these objects served first a domestic function (a bathtub) and were merely re-used as convenient funerary vessels later.⁹ The present study will argue that larnakes, once detached from any “domestic function,” tell a story of communal funerary tradition rather than individual interments. Thus, their appearance at the end of the Early Minoan period does not suggest the rise of

⁹ See note. 4 (this chapter) or chapter 2 for a further discussion on the “larnax” and its connection to a bathtub.

the individual¹⁰ and, as a corollary, the rise of palatial structure, but rather a continuity of tradition of social relationships from the previous periods.

Parameters of Study

As discussed above, the Minoan larnax remained in use for over a millennium, a vast period of time that is far too broad to be dealt with comprehensively here. Similarly, larnakes from Mainland Greece are beyond the scope of this study. While current scholarship suggests that the presence of larnakes on Crete can be continuously attested from the Prepalatial period (EM III but potentially as early as EM II) into the Postpalatial period (LM IIIA2–LM IIIB) and beyond (LM IIIC), this study evaluates only larnakes from Crete falling within the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods (extending only into the MM IIB period), for the following reasons. First, the number of late Protopalatial, Neopalatial, and Postpalatial examples more than quadruples those currently attested from the Pre- and early Protopalatial periods. Therefore, it was not viable to tackle the entirety of a typology related to the study of larnakes across the entire span of Cretan archaeology.¹¹ Secondly, the major questions posed in this dissertation deal with notions of individualism, personhood, identity, and communal identity as part of contemplating state-formation on Crete, which is believed to have been coterminous with the advent of the palaces. Many scholars have used the development of palatial architecture, pottery, and other technological innovations in order to claim that a centralized power structure became dominant at Knossos and eventually controlled the redistributive wealth of Crete

¹⁰ The rise of the individual was first introduced by Rutkowski 1966, 222; then again in the following order Branigan 1970, 127; 1993, 65-67 and 141. It was later discussed by Maggidis 1998, 95-100; Relaki 2004; McEnroe 2010, 32; Hamilakis 2018, 314-328. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 2 and 6, it refers to the hypothesis that larnakes emerged at a time when hierarchical palatial structure was emerging and connected to the presence of hierarchical individuals.

¹¹ However, a typology for the entire corpus of larnakes by region and chronology would be beneficial and provides an opportunity for future research.

to all other outlying regions.¹² Traditionally, it has been suggested that the growth of these palatial centers coincides with the EM III – MM IA (Prepalatial) and the MM IB – MM IIB (Protopalatial) periods.¹³ These Minoan palatial centers continue to offer scholars an arena for contentious debates concerning the development of the socio-political¹⁴ world on Crete in the Early and Middle Bronze Age.

Part of the goal of this dissertation is to examine how these societal shifts, such as those observed from EM II to EM III and EM III to the MM IA, were expressed in the funerary system. Moreover, because most scholars see the change between the Prepalatial and the Protopalatial periods as intense (marked by dramatic alterations in architecture and art), it would follow that the funerary customs would change in accordance with dramatic changes in social, administrative, and political structures. This is attested in other chronological periods, for example on mainland Greece (e.g., from the Early Iron Age to Geometric and the Geometric to the Archaic, which respectively change from cremation to inhumation and, generally, from amphora grave markers to statues/stelae.)¹⁵ Thus, because the EM and the MM periods offer the most significant shifts, they may provide the best data,¹⁶ and as a result, the study of the earliest larnakes may furnish an instructive test group.

¹² Renfrew 1972; Halstead and O'Shea 1982, 92-9; Branigan 1987, 245-49.

¹³ Schoep 2006.

¹⁴ The idea of the palace and its ramifications for our understanding of the socio-political culture that existed on Crete is further explored in Chapter 2. For more on the topic see Glotz 1925, 131–137; Wiesner 1938, 104–108; Pini 1968 34; Renfrew 1972; Warren 1985; Cherry 1986; Watrous 1987; Cadogan 1987; Manning 1994; Parkinson and Galatay 2007; Sbonias 2012.

¹⁵ Snodgrass 1982, 1988; Morris 1987.

¹⁶ A thorough study on the Postpalatial and Mycenaean larnakes on Crete would be very useful, since these are also sadly unstudied and could provide substantial information about the changing practices between the Postpalatial and Final Palatial and the Final palatial into the Mycenaean periods. To this author's knowledge, several current and recent dissertations are underway to evaluate the Neopalatial and Postpalatial larnakes, including those by Alexia Spiliotopoulou (University of Athens), Angelia Catania (University of Sheffield), Jacob Heywood (University of Melbourne), and Sarah Georgel-Debedde (University of Paris).

Geographically, this study further separates larnakes according to large topographical regions. Mainland examples, because they are chronologically later and geographically distant, were removed from the dataset. Instead, the focus rests on the island of Crete and for reasons to be discussed below, predominately the central and eastern portions of the island. Moreover, because so many scholars have concluded that the palatial centers possessed regional control eventually converging in some form (on the most generalized level) of centralized control at Knossos, the differences and similarities between various tombs is important and it may suggest an alternate form of organization. Knossos, Malia, Phaistos, Kato Zakros and their surrounding areas provide the most abundant data. Moreover, it is possible that larnakes can also shed some light on how previously termed “secondary” centers participated in this network, such as Sissi, Mochlos, Archanes, Gournia, as well as other, smaller, mountainous hamlets.

Terminology

With the geographical and chronological parameters laid out, it is also necessary to address the major terminology that will be used throughout this dissertation. The term “larnax” (λάρναξ) appears in Greek texts beginning in the *Iliad*.¹⁷ It should be noted here that a distinction is made in Homer between the larnax (λάρναξ) and the *asaminthos* (ἀσάμινθος). Where *larnax* refers to the burial container, the *asaminthos* refers to a bathing container. This distinction is important given the later attribution of the larnax at Knossos in the Queen’s megaron.¹⁸ More on this debate is presented in the ensuing chapters.

¹⁷ For λάρναξ see *Il* 18.413 and 24.795 For ἀσάμινθος see *Il* 10.576, *Od* 3.468, 4.48, 4.128, 8.450 and 8.456, 10.361, 17.87 and 17.90, 23.163, 24.370.

¹⁸ Evans 1921, 35. Evans calls it a bathtub and compares it to a vessel found by Dawkins.

Additionally, this dissertation uses the term “palace” despite the ongoing debate concerning the precise nature and function of these complexes (a discussion that is also addressed in Chapter 5 below). It is a controversial and much deliberated term throughout the Bronze Age community and the goal here is not to redefine the term, but rather to examine how these centers may or may not have changed alongside their funerary landscapes. While the main goal of this dissertation is not to evaluate the semantics involved in the use of the word “palace,” its use and meaning play a significant role in understanding the geographical distribution of urban centers and their connection to burial locations.

The term Minoan is also problematic (perhaps more so than palace) because it suggests the presence of a homogenous culture residing on Crete throughout the entirety of the Bronze Age.¹⁹ As this study will reveal, the presence of customs practiced across a wide geographical range does not mean that a homogenous culture existed. It is possible that the various population groups occupying Crete during the Bronze Age shared many beliefs and yet did not consider themselves to be a cohesive society. However, the term Minoan and Cretan will be used interchangeably throughout this project in order to demonstrate that while Minoan may have been applied by 20th century archaeologists, it is by no means accepted that the term denotes the civilization which occupied the island of Crete.

¹⁹ The term “Minoan” has been controversial since its wide-scale introduction by Evans in 1900. While Evans first used it as early as 1901, it did not become popularized until his publications of the Palace at Knossos, beginning in 1921 (Evans, 1921). The term saw criticism within its earliest application (Ridgeway 1931, 317). For more on the introduction of the term and the history of its contentious use see Papadopoulos 2005, 95-99 and Karadimas and Momigliano 2004.

Another concept fundamental to this dissertation is that of “community.”

Community represents a largely abstract notion that can vary depending on the criteria used to define it. Moreover, communities can change socially and spatially on a constant basis, with their actual geographical location morphing alongside any other changes.²⁰ While this dissertation examines the mortuary record—and by extension the community—through a restricted group of objects, it does not suggest that these objects must serve as material markers indicative of a homogenous community simply because many people within a certain geographic region used them. Rather, they indicate the mortuary behaviors and thus potential culturally community-oriented practices of any given group of people.

In close association, “mortuary behavior” as defined by Legarra Herrero means an “in-depth and comprehensive way in which [communities] actually did things, including the ideological and ritual aspects connected to their mortuary practices.”²¹ Therefore, it is the study of how larnakes were used – both their similarities and differences – within multiple communities that may help determine their traditions and how that links different customs on Crete. Because the behavior of a community at a moment of loss represents a significantly charged moment, both socially and culturally, the larnax — and, in general, other burial vessels — are connected to other social customs. Moreover, this study and future studies must approach larnakes and the mortuary arena on Crete with the understanding that the items usually associated with status and rank (such as

²⁰ Kramer 1994, Chapman 1996, Mathieu and Scott 2004.

²¹ Legarra Herrero 2010, 5.

jewelry, precious metals, and weapons) may not be the tools used on Crete to express or determine the economic or political status of an individual or group.²²

Additionally, mortuary behavior frequently pertains to the habits and rituals associated with a single tomb or cemetery. Materially, these can be identified by examining the remnants (usually in the form of pottery and sometimes seal stones, jewelry, or objects of stone) from these locations. Thus, as stated by Legarra Legarra Herrero, “Mortuary behavior refers to all evidence recovered from a tomb and to the activities of which the evidence speaks.”²³ According to Legarra Herrero, it is the “comprehensive understanding” of the objects found in the tomb, the built environment used to contain the dead and their objects, and the ways in which these objects were deposited that allow us to reconstruct some of the social choices made by the people that occupied Crete.²⁴ The present study endeavors to take this methodology one step further and examine not only the small objects found with the larnakes, but also, specifically, the architectural environments that contained larnakes and how these elements can be related ideologically to the Minoan socio-political climate.

Limitations of Study

Many studies have mentioned and utilized larnakes as part of their dataset for analysis, but larnakes have not yet served as a core piece of evidence despite their vast numbers (223 are known from the Pre- and Protopalatial periods, while substantially more are documented from the Neopalatial and Postpalatial periods) and the overall body

²² For further discussion on alternate avenues to display wealth see Pader 1982, O’Shea 1984, Carr 1995.

²³ Legarra Herrero 2014, 17.

²⁴ Legarra Herrero 2014, 17.

of evidence available from funerary contexts (over 170 tombs). There are likely various reasons for their neglect, which include the following.

1. Chronological problems serve as the first barrier, particularly because most of the tombs were continuously utilized for extended periods of time. This continuous occupation lead to problems with dating and confusion in the analyses that can cause misunderstandings within the assessment and dating of the tombs. Additionally, as with pithoi, larnakes seem to have been re-used continuously throughout a tomb's duration; thus, they can be found in contexts later than their manufacture and first use. This situation also presents serious problems with precise dating. Furthermore, because larnakes and tombs were often used for centuries, the continuous occupation meant that many clearings of tomb contents occurred both in the tomb and often within the larnakes themselves, creating a mixture of contexts. A complex and often convoluted picture emerges that can make placing the larnax in its correct chronological setting difficult.
2. In close connection to point number one, much of the fabric used to produce larnakes is coarse and highly included. Since this type of clay was also used continuously from the Prepalatial period into the Neopalatial period and later, it is hard to establish precise dates for either larnakes or pithoi (which were also occasionally used for burials) on the type of clay employed for production.
3. Additionally, many tombs on Crete lack a stratigraphic or well-published excavation record, further obfuscating the complex nature of the Cretan mortuary tradition; while we know many tombs exist, we do not possess the proper data

with which to fully evaluate the tomb assemblages.²⁵ Many of the tombs from the Prepalatial and Protopalatial period continue to be unpublished and access to the larnakes and other material remains is limited. Furthermore, published data on several of the tombs frequently double reference larnakes. As such, some larnakes are referenced on multiple occasions but without clear indication as to which one is actually being discussed, where they are currently housed, and or their provenience. This creates a significant barrier and diminishes the effectiveness of such vast material remains. In addition, it makes distinguishing specific larnakes and/or their current location problematic.

4. In close connection to point three, looting and poor archaeological practice have also led to disturbed stratigraphy and inaccurate records throughout Crete, especially in excavations prior to the 1970s. As such, there are often gaps in our understanding regarding a single tomb or larnax and those gaps cause a ripple effect when attempting to look at a broader overview of the landscape.
5. As a result, scholars relied on earlier assumptions generated in the beginning of the 20th century and thus have never sought to ask some critical questions. Instead, they perpetuated previously determined explanations and maintained the status quo. Larnakes, for example, are still sometimes used as evidence that Crete in the Protopalatial period made a move towards individualization and hierarchies, but as will become apparent (see Chapter 4), the data does not support such a straightforward interpretation.

²⁵ With the exception of some more recent excavations – namely Moni Odigitria, Hagios Charalambos, and to a certain extent Archanes – very few tombs on Crete have been subject to an all-encompassing or complete study that is both stratigraphic and incorporates the majority of finds into a comprehensive publication with accompanying catalogue.

6. Additionally, the lack of details provided by excavation reports, as well as the lack of preserved remains (such as the presence of absence of human remains and the specific relationship between a larnax and other grave goods from the tomb), has made forming new theories difficult.
7. Lastly, there is a lack of excavation material from the west of the island, which very likely skews some of the archaeological evidence and suggests that the east was significantly different from the west. On the other hand, perhaps the west was similar to the east, but because we do not have the same amount of data it is impossible to determine this.

Therefore, while the presence of larnakes has been noted by archaeologists across the island ranging both chronologically (EM III – LM IIIC periods) and in find contexts (tholoi, chamber tombs, rock tombs, caves, pit graves, and cist graves), the lack of a comprehensive compendium of larnakes and of a complete data set represents a gap in Minoan funerary archaeology. In order to make progress, research must begin in some facet, however small; even with the problems stated above, it may be possible to begin moving forward by looking at one of the largest corpora of material, terracotta larnakes of the Pre- and Protopalatial periods.

Methodology

This dissertation, like many other studies, recognizes that no society (even the earliest ones) existed in a simple form. Regardless of the level of organization (political or social), each society (or community) operated under some form of complexity. Likely, a number of layers exist in both the social and the political sphere that may never be truly understood by an outsider and especially not by an outsider separated in time by over

four thousand years. Thus, one approach in this dissertation involves attempting to understand – through the burial containers – the types of relationships that occurred within the myriad communities on Crete. An important aspect of this rests with understanding what “community” may have meant to the residents of Crete and acknowledging that each community operated within its own complexity and that that complexity probably changed and grew over time.

In order to understand these communities and social connections more fully, this dissertation seeks to evaluate Crete as encompassing many horizontal relationships rather than searching for remnants and evidence of vertical organization. In most cases, vertical relationships imply a hierarchical society, one characterized by the presence of an unequal distribution of resources and a bottom-heavy, socially stratified pyramid. It implies the presence of a privileged few, or even a privileged single entity such as a king and his ruling elites.²⁶ This single person is often identified by some form of attribute that separates him/her from everyone else.²⁷ This type of socio-political organization is so recognizable in the modern era that it often leads archaeologists and scholars to seek out any evidence of a single entity residing at the top of the pyramid, rather than assessing the evidence with an unbiased eye. The argument that serves as the core of this study indicates that the evidence for such a hierarchy is currently missing from the Minoan

²⁶ In general, this model can be seen in Baines and Yoffee 1998, 205; Specific to Crete, this is still an ongoing debate which has been summarized by Driessen and Macdonald 1997; Hamilakis 2002; Driessen 2002. Those who have suggested a kingship, chieftain, or priest/priestess structure, all of which operate on a similarly pyramidal social structure include, Wiener 1987, 261-266, 1990, 145-146; Melas 1995; Marinatos 1995; Rehak 1995, 97-99; Warren 2002, 203. However, several scholars have begun suggesting the presence of a heterarchical political structure. For general references to heterarchy, see Crumley 1979, 1995, 2001, 2003; Levy 1999. For arguments specific to Crete, see 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.

²⁷ Such distinctions should bring to mind the power dynamics often suggested by early theoreticians, such as Foucault.

landscape, not because we have yet to locate the evidence, but because it simply does not exist.

Therefore, this project proceeds with four main goals: 1) To catalogue and classify the vast collection of Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes according to their chronological origin, geographical location, and tomb type; 2) To analyze each example within these groupings in order to explain the regional variations in Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes as substantive evidence that Crete, during these periods, operated much more locally and independently than suggested by others who argue for broader regionalism and emerging central control; 3) To address the concepts of individualism and personhood²⁸ during the Bronze Age and their impact on our understanding of Minoan culture; 4) And finally, to debunk the perception that was popular in the early 20th century that the larnax served first a domestic function (i.e. a bathtub) and then came into its secondary life as a funerary object.

How then can we approach the study of larnakes in a way that assesses the information we do have, deals with the aforementioned problems, and also achieves the above goals? The following methodology will be employed that seeks to combine Processual and Post-Processual methods in order to process the overwhelming data presented by larnakes.

1. First, this study will present a catalogue of Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes from Crete by region and date that excludes examples currently believed to originate in the later periods. Amassing this catalogue first necessitated

²⁸ Personhood here is defined by the human nature, the agency, the self-awareness of the individual or community, as well as the notions of the past and the future that may be exhibited within the funerary record, Fowler 2004.

locating and examining all of the Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes found on Crete – this was accomplished by systematically searching through the *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*, the *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, *The Annual of the British School of Athens*, *Hesperia*, *The American Journal of Archaeology*, and the *Annuario del Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* for all references to larnakes.

2. Then, each entry in the catalogue will be classified according to the tomb type in which it was found, the tomb contents or associated objects, and – where applicable – the nature of the skeletal remains.
3. Individually, this study analyzes each larnax’s fabric composition (color, hardness, and rock and mineral inclusions),²⁹ decoration, size, shape, thickness, number of handles, position of handles, and presence or absence of holes and their location (lid, base, side). Data for this analysis was collected via physical examination (where possible and permitted), from published data - where available, or through the examination of photographs in the absence of either written data or in the case of permit denials.
4. Once the data collection has been completed, the larnakes will be evaluated and assessed based on the criteria listed in no. 3. Kostis Christakis utilized a similar assessment in his 2005 study of Minoan pithoi, which was based upon the classification system used by Adams and Adams 1991.³⁰

²⁹ Fabric analysis will result from a visual assessment without the aid of either petrography – or in cases where access was not granted – a dino-light (a small, personal handheld microscope).

³⁰ Adams and Adams 1991; Christakis 2005.

By looking at the results regionally and within their own contexts (rather than as part of “Minoan culture” as a whole), this study seeks to ascertain differences in the socio-political environments and relationships of different regions on the island. Furthermore, these differences will help to determine whether certain communal rituals were practiced across all geographic regions on Crete, whether production techniques remain consistent, and perhaps to explain how larnakes spread throughout the island. Detailed categorization of these attributes will then be used to look at potential socio-political demarcations. In order to achieve this, several approaches will be utilized combining methods of analysis from a variety of disciplines (art history, archaeology, and anthropology). These methods, however, merely serve as an essential framework to approach the larger questions regarding Pre- and Protopalatial identity, regionalism, socio-political relationships, and community. It is these concepts that form the primary questions and thus the core of this dissertation, all of which can aid in creating a broader and more comprehensive picture of Minoan funerary customs.

Theoretical Approaches

The above methodology utilizes various approaches and theories, including Post-Processual and Identity theories.³¹ This dissertation seeks to move away from traditional discussions regarding the “external origin” and “development” of material culture – as so often employed by Processual archaeologists – and instead assigns the agency for Minoan funerary rituals to the ancient population of Crete. The application of Parker Pearson’s approach in the *Archaeology of Death*,³² and the idea that information about social

³¹ Pearson 1982, 1999; Morris 1992; Preston 2000, 2001; Legarra Herrero 2007, 2012, 2014; Hamilakis 2011, 2013, 2014, 2018.

³² Pearson 1999. Where Pearson claims that social order cannot necessarily be perceived by evaluating mortuary data, this study adopts a broader approach and instead believes that a more nuanced

relationships, philosophical beliefs, and cultural groupings can be determined by the remains of given groupings, provides the most effective framework by which to evaluate larnakes.³³ In effect, the present dissertation follows a Post-Processual framework by arguing that mortuary practices can be a demonstration of the social organization, but that they do not necessarily mirror (at least on Crete) the social structure of Cretan society in the Pre- and Protopalatial period. Instead, these material remains do afford us the opportunity to discern variations in the funerary data that may reflect sub-groups amongst the larger population of Cretan society.

It is important to note, however, that while there is an emphasis on examining the regionalism employed in the production of larnakes, this dissertation moved away from the traditional definitions of “region” as defined for the Cretan landscape.³⁴ Rather than suggesting that each smaller hamlet (Vasiliki, Archanes, etc) may have been subject to a single “palatial” center (such as Malia, Phaistos, or Knossos), it examined how each community may have been interconnected in a smaller network.³⁵ Therefore, even though a regional analysis was necessary, this portion of the investigation still moves away from

understanding of both the social order and social relationships may be determined by examining the material remains of interments.

³³ The scholarship associated with Processual and Post-Processual archaeology will be discussed in-depth in Chapter 2. For social hierarchy as visible in funerary assemblages see Childe 1945b, 85, 87–88, 92, 1945a; Whitelaw 1983; Soles 1988, 1992; Branigan 1991b; Watrous 1994, 2001a; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997; Maggidis 1998. For opposing views, see Ucko 1969; Binford 1972, 383–89; Hodder 1980, 1982a; Pader 1980; Pearson 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1982; Legarra Herrero 2005, 2007, 2014; Schoep 2010a, 2012. Further on hierarchy and heterarchy, see note 21 this chapter.

³⁴ At present, these regions include the West, Central, East, Mirabello, South central, and the Mesara. Each is based on the idea that a major center dominated each region. For example, central may have been controlled by Knossos; South Central possibly by Phaistos; the west by Chania; the Mesara is unclear though potentially also connected to Phaistos or eventually Kommos; the east by Malia; and the Mirabello perhaps by Gournia. These regional definitions are not definitive. However past scholarship, including Georgoulaki 1996 and Legarra Herrero 2005, 2014 have often divided these regions based on stylistic preferences and natural geographic barriers. For a very detailed list or further arguments about “regions” on Crete see Warren 2002, 202; Relaki 2004, 170-188.

³⁵ This statement does not refer to the idea of network theory, while it may certainly be applicable here, that is not the intention of this specific phrase.

the traditional understanding of “regionalism” often employed by those studying Cretan Prehistory.³⁶

Instead, this study adopts a more heterarchical approach to understanding the Pre- and Protopalatial periods on Crete, rather than assuming that the communities on Crete operated within a clear vertical distribution. Heterarchy approaches societies with the view that myriad complex ranked relationships – either amongst individuals or communities – cannot necessarily be understood as indicative of hierarchical relationships.³⁷ This concept does not, however, imply that heterarchy denotes the presence of an egalitarian society similar to the one originally proposed by Evans in the early 20th century. Instead, while it can be assumed that some level of inequality existed on Crete during these periods, but that that inequality may not have functioned in a hierarchical political system with a king, chieftain, or priest/priestess residing at the top. That does not mean that these communities could not have functioned hierarchically in relation to each other and then operated heterarchically as an island-wide network. This paper seeks to begin at the bottom and work upwards, rather than looking for the top (the king) and working its way toward the bottom.

Dissertation Structure

Chapter 2 presents a comprehensive study of larnakes that includes a detailed literature review and discussion of past scholarship concerning all four major aspects

³⁶ The traditional view of regionalism has changed within the last couple of decades with many scholars seeking not to look specifically at geographical spatial distribution, but instead to also evaluate the myriad other ways in which community and “region” can be defined. For a more in-depth discussion on spatially defined regions see Sbonias 1995, Whitelaw et al 1997, Knappett 1999, Haggis 2002, Relaki 2004, Legarra Herrero 2009 and 2010.

³⁷ Heterarchy, as a concept in anthropology, was first proposed in 1979, but has been re-explored and applied by multiple anthropologists and archaeologists. See Crumley 1979, 1987, 1995, 2001, 2003, 2007; Falconer 1994; Stein 1998; Pauketat 2000b; Osborne 2007.

related to this dissertation: larnakes, mortuary studies, socio-political development of Bronze Age Crete, and the theoretical background of personhood and individualism. Chapter 2 also provides a critique of these methods and outlines the alternate methodological and theoretical models that are utilized here. Chapter 3 examines in detail the larnax from a physical standpoint and evaluates the current understanding of its origin, literary background, and function. Chapter 4 provides an analysis of each larnax inside its own tomb and associated contextual information. This chapter is presented in conjunction with the catalogue. Chapter 5 considers both the current and alternative socio-political structures on Crete during the Pre and Protopalatial periods and seeks to place the larnax within these contexts in order to understand the presence of individuals as a concept. This is done in conjunction with the application of theoretical models of personhood, individualism, and identity theory. Chapter 6 offers a summary, conclusion, and a new perspective on the presence of larnakes in the Pre- and Protopalatial periods. The Appendices offer detailed comparisons of larnakes against all other factors including accompanying grave assemblages, tomb types, skeletal information, and specific production techniques related to fabric, handles, and decoration.

Chapter 2: Background and Theoretical Framework

Review of the Evidence

Before we can begin to examine larnakes and the Minoan funerary landscape from a new perspective, it is necessary to understand how the scholarship on the larnax developed. As a material class, the study of larnakes has been largely overlooked in all periods of Bronze Age archaeology and art history until very recently.³⁸ While individual types of material remains from Pre- and Protopalatial tombs have each received their own dedicated studies – such as architecture, pottery, sculpture, and seal stones – larnakes, as a separate category of material remains have not yet been treated systematically. This oversight is troubling given the quantity of Minoan larnakes, but perhaps especially perplexing because of their early appearance and long career on the island.

Certainly, larnakes have never been downright ignored; they often factored into site-specific studies at various locations, such as Pacheia Ammos, Archanes, and Knossos.³⁹ Sometimes they were included in the archaeological evidence of pottery specialists;⁴⁰ but as an individual subset of Minoan art and material culture, they remain overlooked. The omission of such a vast quantity of material culture, which originated during a significant transitional period between the end of Early Minoan and beginning of Middle Minoan and concerns objects of funerary importance seems incomprehensible given that sarcophagi of other time periods (e.g., Etruscan, Roman, and Late Antique)⁴¹

³⁸ For the most pertinent studies that include theoretical concepts in addition to numerical data within the last twenty years see Papadatos 1999; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1999; Preston 2004; and Vavouranakis 2007.

³⁹ Seager 1916 (Pacheia Ammos); Papadatos 1999 and Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997 (Archanes); Preston 2004 (Knossos)

⁴⁰ For examples see Walberg 1983, 4 and 1992, 133–135 and Betancourt 2014, 33–39.

⁴¹ Bouke van der Meer 2004 (Etruscan); Zanker 2012 (Roman); Elsner 2011 (Late Antique).

have received much more thorough expert attention. That is not to say that the current study is without precedent, as previous scholars have set the groundwork for this study. This chapter seeks to understand the current state of scholarship on Minoan larnakes as well as offer critiques into previous methods and approaches.

As this dissertation approaches larnakes from multiple perspectives, it is necessary to understand more than just the larnax scholarship. Part I of this chapter reviews the limited scholarship that concentrates solely on the larnax and their specific archaeological locations. Part III draws on studies related to Minoan mortuary tradition and the available site-specific studies. Part IV and V examine theory-based models that have influenced our thoughts on Minoan mortuary tradition and other theories related to death. Part VII explores the current scholarship related to the individual, personhood, identity, and community. This chapter concludes (Part VIII) by examining the interplay of each research segment listed above, their impact on each other, and how they have melded together to form this current project.

Minoan Larnakes: A Literature Review

Over the past 60 years, only a handful of research has addressed larnakes whether by examining them as an individual corpus of material (Rutkowski and Mavriyannaki),⁴² or seeking the origin of the vessels (Rutkowski and Watrous),⁴³ and to a small extent examining larnakes as part of the Minoan funerary landscape by examining specific tombs or tomb types (Papadatos, Vavouranakis, Tsipopoulou, Joubin, Orsi, Xanthoudides).⁴⁴ Most references to larnakes can only be found in archaeological reports,

⁴² Rutkowski 1966; Mavriyannaki 1971.

⁴³ Rutkowski 1967; Watrous 1991.

⁴⁴ Orsi 1890; Joubin 1892, 295; Xanthoudides 1904, 8; Papadatos 1999; Tsipopoulou 1999, 123–143; Vavouranakis 2012.

where they receive a cursory overview at best (Xanthoudides, Alexiou, Marinatos, Platon),⁴⁵ while others factor more prominently in the site-specific catalogue but lack any detailed discussion (Panagiotopoulos, Papadatos, Seager).⁴⁶ Broadly, the predominant theoretical lenses have approached these vessels from three different major perspectives; as secondary objects (bathtubs to funerary vessels), as vessels that indicate the rise of individual status, and as signifying an ideological connection to Egypt (due to formal similarities). This portion of the literature review traces the history of larnax scholarship from the late 1800s to the present noting the dearth of comprehensive monographs and the growth of shorter articles and growing interest by recent and current PhD students (and others) despite the limited context and published information.

While some of the first references to larnakes can be found in early archaeological reports (e.g., Joubin, Orsi, and Xanthoudides),⁴⁷ it was not until the 1960s that an attempt was made to create a typology or catalogue of these vessels. Bogdan Rutkowski's catalogue, *Larnaksy Egejskie*, published in 1966 provides the first comprehensive examination of the larnax form, the origin of the term larnax, and some rather generalized assumptions about their function.⁴⁸ While his work certainly forms part of the foundation for this study, it presents two rather large problems. Firstly, it is now largely out of date. Since the time of his publication, more funerary sites, more tombs, and more larnakes have been discovered on Crete. Even at the original time of publication, Rutkowski discounted the majority of early larnax examples; instead, his focus rested primarily on

⁴⁵ Xanthoudides 1906, 1918a, 1918b; Marinatos 1925, 1930, 1949, 1950, 1956; Alexiou 1951, 1953, 1963a, 1963b, 1966, 1967; N. Platon 1951, 1953, 1956, 1958, 1959.

⁴⁶ Seager 1916; Papadatos 1999; Panagiotopoulos 2002.

⁴⁷ Joubin 1892, 295; Orsi 1890; Xanthoudides 1904, 8.

⁴⁸ Rutkowski 1966.

the LM I and ensuing periods with brief references to the earlier models – such as those from Vorou and Pyrgos. This leads directly to the second major issue, comprehensiveness. While his book represents one of the only (and certainly the first) attempts to study larnakes, so many samples were omitted, and their contexts ignored, that an overall understanding of the larnax’s value to Minoan culture cannot be gleaned. Regardless of these significant issues, the book provides detailed drawings and an early typology of larnakes, which is still used by scholars and archaeologists today (e.g., Walberg and Betancourt) and offers an extremely valuable initial attempt.⁴⁹

The origin of the larnax provides a potentially more intriguing topic and so several have tackled the question of “Where did the Minoan larnax originate?” One year after Rutkowski published his book, he wrote an article entitled “The Origin of the Minoan Coffin.”⁵⁰ In this article, he reviews various theories proposed by archaeologists upon encountering larnakes during their excavations. These hypotheses range from a borrowed cultural phenomenon, to a copy of a Cretan house, to a domestic vessel (bathtub) conveniently repurposed at the time of death.⁵¹ On the whole, this article is a shortened English reiteration of the 1966 book published in Polish. It is one of the most subsequently referenced works on larnakes and can be found in the majority of site-

⁴⁹ Walberg 1983, 4 and 1992, 133– 135 and Betancourt 2014, 33 – 39.

⁵⁰ Rutkowski 1967.

⁵¹ See Rutkowski 1967, 219, for a synthesis. A basic synopsis of Rutkowski’s overview indicates that Evans and Bosanquet both suggested the larnax was a borrowed phenomenon; see Evans 1904, 126 and 586; Bosanquet 1901, 299. Rutkowski provides significant more details in his footnote about those that disagree with this hypothesis, but as a “borrowed” phenomenon, he states it was originally introduced by Orsi 1890, 209. For the bathtub theory there are far more scholarly references. Rutkowski suggests that it was first suggested by Evans 1897, 270–372 and Bosanquet (see above). Further references to the larnax as a bathtub were discussed by Xanthoudides 1904, 12; Pendlebury 1939, 256; Hood 1956, 86.

specific funerary studies (including those by Sakellarakis [Archanes]; Betancourt [Hagios Charalambos]; Vavouranakis [Apesokari]).⁵²

The only other monograph to concentrate on larnakes emerged about a decade later in the early 1970s. Caterina Mavriyannaki attempted to compile a catalogue of all larnakes found in Cretan museums. Due to this focus on museum examples (all of which tend to be complete and decorated), her catalogue – like that of Rutkowski – focused on the later periods but lacks in-depth information. Additionally, because most of these vessels reached these museums from earlier excavations the majority of examples in Mavriyannaki’s study lack provenance. The omission of such information from the publication of early archaeological excavations represents one of the many problems when dealing with the study of larnakes. The corpus of larnakes from secure context has grown both from the early periods and the later ones.⁵³ Moreover, both Mavriyannaki and Rutkowski neglected to evaluate larnakes within any form of theoretical framework. Again, given the nature of both works, this is not surprising.

Aside from these seminal works, recent large-scale examinations of larnakes have focused more on theoretical frameworks that reflect 21st-century research developments. New interest has emerged just in the last several years among several PhD and MA students. In 2010, Alexia Spiliotopoulou wrote her MA thesis on the larnakes from Armenoi in Western Crete. This work is unpublished and is currently available only from the University of Rethymnon. Her thesis focused again on the Postpalatial larnakes on Crete, but added a significant amount of information and data, particularly the previously unpublished examples from Armenoi. By including significant amounts of new data, her

⁵² Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997; Vavourankis 2012; Betancourt 2014.

⁵³ Mavriyannaki 1972.

thesis serves as a step toward understanding and evaluating larnakes but does not address the earlier models.

Three other recent or current dissertations on larnakes indicate an increase in academic interest and new directions for the study of Minoan larnakes.⁵⁴ These include Angelia Catania (University of Sheffield), Jacob Heywood (University of Melbourne), and Sarah Georgel-Debedde (University of Paris). In each of these studies, the focus resides with the Neopalatial examples, iconography, and/or production techniques. On the whole, the earlier examples are still untouched and unstudied. Each of these studies has vast potential to bring even more information to light, particularly in the case of Georgel-Debedde, who has proposed an experimental production of larnakes. In other cases (Angela Catania), attempts at understanding the vessel's function and adaptation as burial containers, and what their visual iconography may indicate, serve as the primary research component. On the whole, however, the Pre- and Protopalatial examples are still unstudied.

Aside from these books and dissertations and several shorter articles, however, there remains a significant lack of scholarship on the larnakes dating to the EM III through LM IA periods likely due to the lack of exterior decoration on the earlier models. On the other hand, many have focused on the Haghia Traidia sarcophagus because its unique decoration and manufacture set it apart from all other known larnakes (the works of Jean Porter Nauert, Nanno Marinatos, Paula Martino, and Brendan Burke are just a

⁵⁴ To the author's knowledge none of these dissertations are at present completed save for Dr. Spiliotopoulou. All information gleaned about their projects originated with personal correspondence, for which I am very grateful.

few).⁵⁵ Those articles with a broader focus still concentrate on the LM III Minoan larnakes or later Mycenaean and Post-palatial samples due to their elaborate decoration (Emily Vermeule (iconography) and Margaretha Kramer-Hajos (gender)).⁵⁶

In 1991 L. Vance Watrous attempted a reimagined version of Rutkowski's origin theories in "The Origin and Iconography of the Late Minoan Painted Larnax."⁵⁷ Watrous examined the later larnakes (as we have seen with the majority of references by scholars like Rutkowski, Mavriyannaki, Spiliotopoulou, and Catania). He focused on the iconography and its relationship to the funerary rituals of the Minoans. His conclusion stressed a connection between the Minoan sarcophagus and a hypothetical Egyptian origin. This hypothesis is based on ideology (references to sea life) and a similarity in form (square boxes). The article referenced multiple larnakes that coincide with several from Rutkowski's and Mavriyannaki's books, and like Mavriyannaki most lack detailed provenance. Moreover, Watrous' analysis focused on the cultic and ritual activity that may be involved and ignored the larger archaeological picture.⁵⁸

More recent articles attempt to understand the broader implications of the larnax's emergence, and the funerary rituals associated with burial containers. In 2014, Vavouranakis published an article in the *American Journal of Archaeology* that focused on the changing funerary practices that emerged in the EM III period on Crete.⁵⁹ His

⁵⁵ Again, however, the Hagia Triada sarcophagus presents its own varied problems. But for the purposes of this study, the sarcophagus also falls into the later periods and therefore does not provide much data for the understanding of Early Minoan burial practices and or the social organization of the early palaces. But for further discussion on the vessel itself see Nauert 1965; Vermeule 1965; Long 1974; Marinatos 1997; Burke 2005; Further discussion can be found in the initial publication Paribeni 1904. For more information on the restoration of the sarcophagus see Levi 1956.

⁵⁶ Vermeule 1965; Kramer-Hajos 2015.

⁵⁷ Watrous 1991.

⁵⁸ For the entire article see Watrous 1991, for specifics on the Egyptian origin see 287– 288.

⁵⁹ Vavouranakis 2014.

article sought to examine the increased prevalence of both pithoi and larnakes, with a preference paid to pithoi. In this article, Vavouranakis provided a background of the scholarship, a typology of the pithoi, and several interpretations of the changes that occur from the EM III to the MM IA periods. Moreover, his focus on burial pithoi brought forward questions regarding Minoan burial vessels that have been previously ignored. His conclusions suggested that the changing funerary rituals and the inclusion of more vessels related to the funerary assemblages were a response to the changing social conditions between the EM III and the MM IA periods.⁶⁰ This is markedly different from the previous assumptions which connected the larnax to Egyptian influence and presence on the island (Watrous)⁶¹ or the rise of individual kings (Rutkowski and Branigan).⁶²

In sharp contrast to the treatment that Minoan burial vessels have received, sarcophagi from other periods have received individual attention. For example, Jas Elsner examines the Late Roman sarcophagi in *Life, Death, and Representation*. Similarly, Eleni Papagianni evaluated Attic sarcophagi and Janet Huskinson looked at Roman sarcophagi and their impact and meaning as interpreted by Roman elite. The scholarship on how Romans (and Etruscans) utilized and promoted themselves through funerary art is quite extensive.⁶³ What is noteworthy, however, is that proportionally the numbers of Roman sarcophagi are equivalent to those of Minoan, yet the latter have received only the attention listed above by a handful of scholars. While there are many reasons for Roman studies to be ahead, the study of Roman sarcophagi suggests the need for similar studies to be addressed in Minoan studies.

⁶⁰ Vavouranakis 2014.

⁶¹ Watrous 1991, 287–288.

⁶² Rutkowski 1966 and Branigan 1970.

⁶³ Huskinson 1996 and 2015; Papagianni 2008 and 2011; Elsner 2011.

Archaeological Reports with Larnakes

If a compendium of Minoan larnakes has never been fully addressed, then we must rely on individual studies in order to examine such a vast scope of objects. Many Minoan larnakes are tackled individually within archaeological reports or publications from specific archaeological projects. For example, the larnakes from Tholos G at Archanes receive especially thorough attention by Papadatos. Similarly, the larnakes from the cemetery at Pacheia Ammos were examined by Seager (though that publication and study were cut short due to escalating political difficulties on Crete prior to World War I).⁶⁴ As a result of external factors, the vast number of objects (Larnakes, pithoi, and grave goods) from the Pacheia Ammos cemetery is only incompletely published.⁶⁵ Later excavations, such as the Hagios Charalambos Cave on Crete, also provide a more detailed publication of larnakes. Betancourt's edited book devotes an entire chapter to them including photographs and illustrations.⁶⁶ It provides a visually more comprehensive picture of early larnakes from an individual site than anyone else has yet to produce. While each of these archaeological reports is integral to understanding the development of funerary rituals on Crete and makes available pertinent information about individual larnakes, they do not provide a typology or classification of larnakes. In fact, each study relies on Rutkowski's 1966 typology.

⁶⁴ Seager 1914, 30.

⁶⁵ Over 280 vessels were discovered by Seager on the beaches of Pacheia Ammos (more were to be discovered during rescue excavations when the village was expanded later, these are currently unpublished and in the museum of Hagios Nikolaos). Of these 280 vessels less than 25 were illustrated in his volume, *PachyAmmos*. To his credit, he states at the end of the book (30) that the political situation had become so poor he was lucky to be able to publish the small amount that appears in the book. It would provide valuable information to the rest of the academic community should the entirety of this assemblage be published properly in the future.

⁶⁶ Betancourt 2014, 33–39.

Archanes, in central Crete, produced the largest concentration of early larnakes. Thus, for the purposes of this dissertation, the excavation reports of Papadatos, Panagiotopoulos, and Sakellarakis provide a critical foundation.⁶⁷ The cemetery was founded in the EM IIA period and continued in use until the LM period. Papadatos (Tholos G) and Panagiotopoulos (Tholos E) both supply thorough excavation reports and publications, which offer researchers a unique opportunity to understand each tomb. Their dissertations provide larnax details that are lacking from most of the other excavated tombs at Archanes. Importantly, both excavators followed modern archaeological methods allowing for a better stratigraphical analysis of an EM and MM cemetery along with other finds. The larnakes from the site can thus be used to verify similar discoveries at other, older excavations. Additionally, it was unlooted at the time of excavation. Thus, a wealth of information emerged from the tombs – such as bones and burial assemblages – that can be used to improve our understanding of larnakes.

Older excavation reports, by contrast, often provide relatively incomplete data. The cemetery at Pacheia Ammos in East Crete, for example, was excavated by Seager between 1914 and 1915.⁶⁸ It provides some of the earliest Prepalatial material and occupies a distinctly unique type of cemetery (located in the sand on a beach). Like Archanes, it appears that the cemetery was in use into the LM period and presents one of the first sites to yield Minoan larnakes. Unlike Archanes, the excavation record at Pacheia Ammos is less straightforward and relies on earlier archaeological practices that

⁶⁷ Sakellarakis 1997, Papadatos 1999, Panagiotopoulos 2005; Papadatos and Sofianou 2015; Unfortunately, the remainder of larnakes from Archanes are unpublished.

⁶⁸ Seager 1916; Some references are also available in Rutkowski 1966, 24–25 and cat. 8.

were not necessarily stratigraphically based.⁶⁹ The information from Pacheia Ammos, while vital because of the intact nature of the larnakes, is thus more difficult to understand when placed against sites such as Archanes.

Other excavations lack published data either because they are still too recent or because the excavators never proceeded to official excavation. In some cases, the larnakes were discovered during rescue excavation and so never received proper analysis. These sites include Vorou, Apesokari, Trapeza, Malia, Zakros, and Myrsini.⁷⁰ More recent surveys have exposed, or attempted to study, several new possible tombs at Moni Odhiyitrias, Hagia Kyriaki, Hagios Charamlambos, and Kalo Chorio.⁷¹ Some of these sites have been excavated but the majority remain untouched and unpublished save for a few short pages in the original survey documentation. Other sites are currently under study and may eventually present more detailed information (Zakros and Apesokari both spring to mind).⁷² Thus, the modern scholar possesses a large quantity of data to muddle through with the understanding that there will be much left to synthesize in the future.

Mortuary Theory

As discussed above, early larnax studies focused on compiling data rather than applying a specific theoretical framework (e.g. Rutkowski, Mavriyannaki); but on a

⁶⁹ Seager's publication in 1916 was based on the excavation of "groups" rather than a systematic excavation, this is largely due to the fledgling nature of the discipline during his excavations 1913–1914. Seager 1907 and 1916.

⁷⁰ See original reports, for Vorou see Marinatos 1930–31, 146–7: For Apesokari see Alexiou 1963b, 405: For Trapeza see Pendlebury 1935–6, 13–23, 101, 103, 107–08: For Zakros see Orlandou 1967a, 113–115 and N. Platon 1967, 190–194: For Malia see H. van Effenterre 1963, 72–75: For Myrsini see N. Platon 1959, 373–74.

⁷¹ See original reports, for Mono Odigitria see A. Vasilakis 1989–90, 36: For Hagia Kyriaki see Sakellarakis 1965b; Alexiou 1971, 307; and Blackman and Branigan 1977, 56: For Hagia Charalambos see Betancourt 2014: For Kalo Chorio see Haggis et al 1993 and Haggis 1996.

⁷² Current studies are underway by L. Platon 2012 (and additional data unpublished); Flouda 2011 (the pottery is still under study at the Herakleion Museum), and Vavouranakis 2012 (the rest of the pottery is also still under study in the Herakleion museum).

broader discipline-related level, the funerary record in archaeology (and anthropology) received more nuanced and varied approaches. These included exploring the links between death and social status and broadening perspectives to allow for increased object agency. In essence, these studies initiated a conversation concerning social structure and death, funerary objects, and their agency in mortuary rituals. They also served to create a foundation that would influence the study of Cretan mortuary tradition. In this way, the following studies are vital because they help to explain the link (or possible links) between social structure and funerary vessels, and also because they helped to mold the theoretical frame of Cretan mortuary tradition.

The sociological view of cemetery rituals may have been pioneered at the turn of the century with Hertz and van Gennep (1907 and 1909 respectively); but scholars from the 1960s and 1970s (Goody, Turner, Bloch, Metcalf, and Huntington) further emphasized the link between a socio-cultural structure and mortuary rituals.⁷³ At the same time, others highlighted the role that cemeteries could play in solidifying social standing of the dead (Saxe and Goldstein).⁷⁴ Processualist approaches in the 1970s (as exemplified by the works of Binford, Ucko, Renfrew) sought to move away from broad, sweeping generalizations grounded in what they called supposition, and focus more on scientific (and ethnographic) approaches to the study of funerary ritual.⁷⁵ By the 1980s, these scientific analyses were considered too systematic and rigid and thus detracted from the human nature that must be present in funerary ritual. Post-Processual approaches (e.g., as seen in the work by Pader, Pearson, Morris, Shanks and Tilley) asserted that the

⁷³ Hertz 1907; Van Gennep, 1909; Goody 1962; Turner 1969; Bloch 1971; Huntington and Metcalf 1972.

⁷⁴ Saxe 1970; Goldstein 1981; for a synthesis see Morris 1991.

⁷⁵ Ucko 1969, 262–265; Binford 1972; Renfrew 1972 and 1982.

mortuary tradition of any one society was too complex to be boiled down to mere science.⁷⁶ Instead, the Post-Processualists asserted that objects, individuals, rituals (such as feasting), symbols, and the physical landscape all possess more active roles in both creating the funerary space and contributing to the social structure.⁷⁷ Many of these broad disciplinary studies contributed to setting up the framework Cretan mortuary studies (see Part IV and V).

Both Hertz and Van Gennep pioneered the general perception that death rituals are linked with the societal and ideological beliefs of a given society. To Hertz, death is irrevocably associated with the idea of resurrection, thus the individual must first be excluded from society in order to enter the new phase.⁷⁸ Similarly, van Gennep suggested the idea of a tripartite procession,⁷⁹ which he believed individuals experience as they move through the process of death. In his view (later picked up by Turner)⁸⁰ all major events in a person's life go through a staged process: preliminal rites, liminal or threshold rites, and finally, postliminal rites. These rites, in ancient cultures, followed a typical pattern of separation, transitional phases, and ceremonies that solidified the individual's position in the new world (regardless of stage).⁸¹ This specific approach to death has been applied on numerous occasions to the mortuary record on Crete. For the purposes of this dissertation, it is important to acknowledge that the original propagators of such socio-cultural mortuary theories believed primarily in the role of the individual in such

⁷⁶ Pader 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1982; Morris 1992; Pearson 1999.

⁷⁷ For further discussions on the theories associated with feasting see Hamilakis 1998; Relaki 2003; Catapoti 2005; Branigan 2008.

⁷⁸ Hertz 1907. For further review of Hertz' theory see Huntington and Metcalf 1979, 1–20 and Murphy 2011c, 4–5.

⁷⁹ Van Gennep 1909 and 1960.

⁸⁰ Turner 1969.

⁸¹ Van Gennep 1909 and 1960. For synthesis of this study see Branigan 1993, 119–27; Murphy 1998, 32–35.

transitions and seemingly looked at death rituals as operating outside of the social-hierarchical perspective of society.

Along similar theoretical veins, the philosophies of Goody, Metcalf, Bloch, and Huntington all emphasized the relationship between how individuals lived and how their souls crossed into the afterlife. Goody followed a more anthropological approach and noted that the transmission of property was not just about the individual, but also about the social grouping as a whole (one could easily see this concept applied to the Prepalatial culture on Crete).⁸² Metcalf and Huntington were more skeptical stating that many times even the grandest of tombs turn out not to be personages of notable ranks.⁸³ These theories all met with criticism by the 1980s when the works of Post-Processualists took hold and the emphasis moved from objects to relationships the active roles which all participants may play in the funerary record.⁸⁴

Also, in the 1960s and 1970s, the Processualists sought to demonstrate that the social complexities of any given culture can be identified once an understanding of the material remains within a tomb have been reached; this would then result in a reconstruction of the hierarchy within any given culture. Both Saxe and Goldstein developed their ancestor hypothesis within this processual framework.⁸⁵ Their complex theory that disposal areas for the dead, which were then maintained by a single corporate group for the specific purpose of legitimizing that corporate group via their ancestors,

⁸² Goody 1962. Goody's theories were based largely on the idea of ancestor connections and worship. For specific details see 235– 238 and 384.

⁸³ Huntington and Metcalf 1979, 6– 16.

⁸⁴ New approaches sought to expand what they believed to be simplistic interpretations of the material and instead include more nuances, approaching groups, symbols, rituals, material culture, individuals, and physical locations to occupy more active roles. These included Parker Pearson 1982, 1999; Cannon 1989, and Morris 1992.

⁸⁵ Saxe 1970; Goldstein 1981; And for synthesis and analysis see Morris 1991.

will subsequently lead to their domination over crucial resources. A large group of scholars agreed with these ideas (Halstead, O'Shea, Whitley, Bonney).⁸⁶ The general consensus of the Processualists was that through the connection of mortuary practices and societal organization, it was possible to archaeologically reconstruct social organization of ancient cultures. As a result, those that followed the Processualists used these theories to explore relationships between cemetery organization and socio-political organization, a concept applied by later Cretan scholars who used this to legitimize the idea of palatial control in connection to the presence of large-community tholoi tombs.⁸⁷

Most of the Processual archaeological theories focused on individuals or groups and how they performed rituals during the burial process rather than why they performed specific rites. In reaction to these ideas, many criticisms arose that were meant to combat such broad themes. Many felt that the individual and material culture had been subsumed by the study of large-scale palatial sites (such as Troy, Babylon, etc), as a result of these criticisms (from scholars such as Morris, Carr, and Hodder),⁸⁸ 'Post-Processual' archaeology emerged. The Post-Processuals (Morris, Shanks and Tilley, Hodder, Pearson, and Pader) all suggested that meaning can be imbued into the cemetery by the group utilizing it,⁸⁹ but that the ideology (or meaning) must come from the social realm of the living. The ritual character of funerary rites is then probably distorted by the idealistic desires that the living feel for the dead. Because death rituals are often used by the current population or group in order to legitimize, obscure, change, morph, and

⁸⁶ Halstead 1981; Halstead and O'Shea 1982; Whitley 2002, 121; Bonney 2014.

⁸⁷ While early, one can see this emerging in Xanthoudides 1924, but certainly in Branigan 1970, 1985, 1987, Renfrew 1972, Halstead 1981, Cherry 1983, White 1983, Cadogan 1986, and Warren 1987.

⁸⁸ Hodder 1980; Morris 1992; Carr 1995.

⁸⁹ For those that look at those roles see Binford 1971; Saxe 1971; Pader 1980; Hodder 1980 and 1989; For those that follow or discuss further see Pearson 1982 and 1999; Shanks and Tilley 1982; Morris 1992.

idealize the dead, they may only be apparitions of the social order, structure, and or meaning as opposed to a true likeness. Their ability to tell us about the living must therefore be taken with a grain of salt. These observations stood in stark contrast to the importance that Saxe and Goldstein placed on the role of the dead.

The Post-Processualists also argued against the idea that “role theory” can be applied to the cemetery.⁹⁰ In this view, “social systems are not constituted of roles but by recurrent social practices.”⁹¹ There are issues with this understanding since it appears to contradict other Post-Processualist statements that social practices would have served to legitimize the roles of individuals within any given society. One of the strongest criticisms by the Post-Processualists against previous anthropological methods was that rituals can vary greatly across chronological and geographical barriers and the application of one set of rituals in one location does not mean the same set of ritual will apply elsewhere.

Each of these approaches outlines a different way of examining the mortuary tradition in any culture. With these foundational and theoretical models in place, it is also important to look at how they have been applied to the Pre- and Protopalatial record on Crete, each with their own agenda, chronological, or geographical role in mind. Although these theoretical approaches serve as foundational models across the broad field of archaeology, the following section looks specifically at how these models have been applied in relation to Crete.

⁹⁰ “Role-Theory” in archaeology suggests that certain roles take precedence, like social identity or social persona. Saxe 1970 and Pearson 1982, 7.

⁹¹ Parker Pearson 1982, 100.

Cretan Mortuary Tradition

Many of the anthropological and archaeological methods discussed above were subsequently employed by Minoan archaeologists. Though the earliest archaeologists to look at the funerary record (Evans, Dawkins, Boyd-Hawes, Xanthoudides)⁹² focused on gathering material rather than applying a specific theoretical framework, their work allowed future scholars of the Processual and Post-Processualist movements (Branigan, Vavouranakis, Georgoulaki, Whitelaw, Murphy)⁹³ to apply new methodological approaches and thus shape a more comprehensive picture of the Minoan funerary landscape. The application of differing anthropological and archaeological theoretical approaches meant that two camps of thought emerged concerning the developments of the Minoan funerary system and the Minoan socio-political system. Both the funerary system (as examined by Legarra Herrero, Branigan, Soles, Murphy, Schoep, and Georgoulaki)⁹⁴ and the socio-political system (further outlined by Cherry, Renfrew, Whitelaw, Branigan, Cadogan, Warren)⁹⁵ can be interpreted as either sudden development or a gradual evolution of ideology.

The earliest studies to attempt an understanding of Crete's mortuary tradition can, like most other foundational studies in Cretan archaeology, be laid at the feet of Arthur Evans. While his first examination of Minoan funerary practices came in the form of an article published in 1895, "Cretan Pictographs and Pre-Phoenician Scripts with an

⁹² This is not a criticism of the early archaeologists as the methods often used today had not yet been developed; and without the earliest archaeologists, we would not have access to the wealth of material today. See bibliography for list of early excavation publications spanning from Evans 1901 to Xanthoudides in the 1930s.

⁹³ Branigan 1987a, 1993; Georgoulaki 1996; Murphy 1998; Whitelaw 2004; Vavouranakis 2014.

⁹⁴ Branigan 1970b, 1984, 1987a, 1987c, 1993, 1998; Soles 1992; Georgoulaki 1996; Schoep 2009, 2012; Murphy 2011; Legarra Herrero 2014, 2016.

⁹⁵ Renfrew 1972 and 1982; Cherry 1983; Whitelaw 1983, 1987b, 1988b, 1988c, 1990; Branigan 1983 and 1985; Cadogan 1986; Warren 1987.

account of the sepulcher deposit at Hagios Onouphrios”,⁹⁶ the subsequent book (1906)⁹⁷ about the tombs surrounding Knossos provided a much more thorough investigation of Minoan funerary practices. These earliest assertions about Crete’s funerary record stressed a connection between Crete and Egypt (a concept later maintained by Soles, Watrous, and others).⁹⁸ Overall, Evans’ thoughts (and those of his earliest peers) focused on the connection between the Minoan civilization and their potential artistic forefathers – in this case Egypt, though the Near East also sometimes appeared as a predecessor. This mind-set permeated scholarship for decades and still has not been fully expunged from Cretan research methodologies, even with the introduction of hybridity theory in the late 20th and early 21st century.⁹⁹

While Evans may have been the beginning, subsequent funerary studies of mountain tomb sites provide some of the earliest insights into the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods. In 1924, Stephanos Xanthoudides wrote *The Vaulted Tombs of the Mesara*. This work, still consulted today (often referred to merely as *VTM*), provides some of the most detailed descriptions of the tholos tombs found in the Mesara.¹⁰⁰ Xanthoudides, like Evans, paid close attention to the possible origins of the Minoan mortuary tradition; and like Evans, he believed that the external influence could be attributed to the Egyptians. Unlike Evans, he sought to understand the rituals and beliefs associated with the Mesara tholoi and the motivation for specific burial choices. Among these explanations, we find some of the first references to the function of the larnax.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Arthur Evans 1897, 270– 372.

⁹⁷ Arthur Evans 1906.

⁹⁸ Soles 1992; Watrous 1999, 287– 288.

⁹⁹ See Bhabha 2007, Stockhammer 2012.

¹⁰⁰ Xanthoudides 1924.

¹⁰¹ Xanthoudides 1924.

In 1970, almost fifty years after Xanthoudides, Keith Branigan published the *Tombs of the Mesara*, which continued the study both of Minoan mortuary practices and the tholoi in the Mesara.¹⁰² This came after the influential writings of several European scholars (Saxe, Goldstein, and Binford) who had begun to ask new questions about the role of mortuary studies – the majority of which were discussed above.¹⁰³ Branigan was the first to demonstrate connections between Minoan tombs and their socio-political counterpart. Rather than simply looking for and viewing the Minoan tholos tomb as a means to connect Crete to Egypt, Branigan saw the opportunity to utilize the cemeteries as a way to recover information about the socioeconomic and political environment of early Crete.¹⁰⁴ It was Branigan, who, justifiably, connected the introduction of the larnax with the emergence of individuals.¹⁰⁵

What followed Branigan's assessment of the tombs in the Mesara was a flurry of interest in Minoan cemeteries as critical links to the communities that inhabited Crete and the changes may have led to a palatial system. Scholars jumped into a pool of enquiries about landscapes and cemeteries, cemeteries and towns, cemeteries and individualism, funerary customs and rituals, social hierarchies and funerary grave goods, and the performative nature of built tombs. These questions led scholars down two different alternate pathways; those who focused on communities and societal structures and the Post-Processualists who concentrated on returning the human spirit to mortuary studies by focusing on ritual and community performance rather than community structure.

¹⁰² Branigan 1970.

¹⁰³ Saxe 1970; Binford, 1971 and 1978; Goldstein 1981; Morris, 1991.

¹⁰⁴ Branigan 1970.

¹⁰⁵ Rutkowski 1966, 222; See also Branigan 1970, 127; 1993, 65– 67 and 141.

Generally, archaeological camps are based upon the foundation of their questions, and many (like Branigan) employed methodological procedures and mortuary data to ask new questions about Cretan communities (in a similar way that this dissertation intends to employ). Many of these (Branigan included) utilized mortuary tradition to discuss the “early” palatial societies and their political-cultural structure. This included scholars such as Whitelaw (1983), Branigan (1970), Renfrew (1972), Cherry (1983), Cadogan (1986), and Warren (1987).¹⁰⁶ Additionally, several of the same scholars utilized the data and the questions about the palaces to further promote their ideas about a hierarchically ranked political system, including Whitelaw, Soles, Watrous, Murphy, and Schoep and Knappett.¹⁰⁷

In response to many of the above scholars, others (namely Hamilakis, Haggis, Knappett, and Vavouranakis) have looked at the various performative, ritualistic, and symbolic means of funerary customs rather than the structural components. Their studies have focused aspects such as feasting, drinking, and other avenues of social, personal, and community interactions.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, many of the same scholars have also utilized the funerary record to evaluate the community as a larger entity, including Branigan, Murphy, and Vavouranakis; the continuity of communities, their interactions and homogeneity also serve as a core interest of this dissertation. Only more recently has the topic of how these communities interacted with each other and what that relationship actually suggests for the broader landscape of Crete come to the forefront.¹⁰⁹ In addition,

¹⁰⁶ Branigan 1970; Renfrew 1972; Cherry 1983; Whitelaw 1983; Cadogan 1986; Warren 1987.

¹⁰⁷ Whitelaw 1983; Soles 1988 and 1992; Watrous 1994 and 2001; Murphy 1998; Schoep and Knappett 2004.

¹⁰⁸ La Rosa 2001; See Hamilakis 1998; Panagiotopoulos 2001; Day and Wilson 2004; Day, Relaki, and Faber 2006; Haggis 2007; Macdonald and Knappett 2007; Vavouranakis 2007; Branigan 2008; Betancourt 2011.

¹⁰⁹ Legarra Herrero 2007, 2009, 2014; Vavouranakis 2007.

some have begun to utilize that data in order to investigate how such relationships (between cemetery and village, for example) may indicate a horizontal social relationship within the Crete landscape. It is these scholars (Haggis, Papadatos, Legarra Herrero) that have paved the road for the intellectual model of this dissertation.¹¹⁰

Certainly, a broad overview of the cemetery landscape on Crete has already been written, and again the geographical accumulation of data by these authors (Murphy and Legarra Herrero) is indispensable to this project.¹¹¹ In 2011, Joanne Murphy edited a volume, *Prehistoric Crete: Regional and Diachronic Studies on Mortuary Systems*, that looked at early Minoan tombs regionally and diachronically.¹¹² The papers addressed many of the new perspectives being approached by mortuary specialists at the time. The geographical breadth of papers is remarkable and offers a more modern perspective on Cretan mortuary archaeology. Of particular note is the paper by Papadatos, who focuses on the interactions between cemeteries and their nearby towns, and the grave goods discovered within the tombs.¹¹³

Another contributor to Murphy's volume Giorgos Vavouranakis also focused on the early funerary record on Crete. Vavouranakis not only looked at the social implications of grave goods, but he also evaluated the pithoi found at various cemeteries. His analysis provides an interesting theoretical baseline for this dissertation. While Vavouranakis did not include the larnakes, he did examine the individualized aspects of the pithoi and how those might be used to interpret the palatial system.¹¹⁴ This alternate

¹¹⁰ Haggis 2002, Papadatos 2007; Legarra Herrero 2009 and 2011.

¹¹¹ Georgoulaki 1996; Murphy 2011b, 2011c; Legarra Herrero 2014.

¹¹² Murphy 2011.

¹¹³ Legarra Herrero 2011, 49–84.

¹¹⁴ Vavouranakis 2014.

perspective, along with the dissertation and recent publication by Kostis Christakis on the history of Minoan pithoi, provides both a theoretical framework and a scientific analysis of coarse-ware vessels akin to the direction of this study.¹¹⁵ In contrast to the direction of this dissertation, Vavouranakis analysis does not attempt to divorce burial containers from individualism.¹¹⁶

Perhaps two of the most influential and significant contributions come from Borja Legarra Herrero and Eleni Georgoulaki. Both have catalogued and examined Pre- and Protopalatial tombs on Crete. Georgoulaki's dissertation on *Burial Evidence in Prepalatial and Old Palace Minoan Crete* compiles a vast amount of data ranging from objects to specific geographic information from tombs across Crete.¹¹⁷ Not only does she provide information that may not be accessible from other sources, she also cross-lists the sites in her appendix for clarification (since many of the sites have multiple names). Similarly, Legarra Herrero's various articles and books focus on the cemeteries of Pre- and Protopalatial Crete include *Mortuary Behavior and Social trajectories in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete*.¹¹⁸ This book, which evolved out of his dissertation, provides an invaluable catalogue of information including site names (and alternate site names), distances from local towns, along with details about the excavation validity (dubious or non-dubious excavation practices).¹¹⁹ This appendix consolidates much of the information from early excavations on Crete (including those by Xanthoudides, Marinatos, and Platon). Legarra Herrero's research over the last decade critically analyzes

¹¹⁵ For Minoan pithoi see Christakis 2005.

¹¹⁶ Vavouranakis 2014.

¹¹⁷ Georgoulaki 1996.

¹¹⁸ Legarra Herrero 2014

¹¹⁹ For dissertation see Legarra Herrero 2007. For the book see Legarra Herrero 2014.

and evaluates the role the mortuary tradition plays on Pre- and Protopalatial Crete and the ways in which we can understand Cretan communities as a result.¹²⁰ Both Georgoulaki and Legarra Herrero, their associated studies, their catalogues, and research methodology provide examples for the structure of this dissertation. Both were also necessary in order to begin compiling a comprehensive list of larnax locations upon which to base further research.

Other early archaeologists such as Boyd-Hawes, Paribeni, Xanthoudides, Dawkins, Hall, and Hazzidakis, all of whom focused on the possible origins of the Minoan funerary customs, outlined some of the earliest connections between palatial and tomb sites.¹²¹ These early excavated tombs (such as Gournia, Pacheia Ammos, Sphoungaras, and Hagia Triada) provide some of the first insights into the Pre- and Protopalatial Minoan states because the tombs, unlike the palatial sites, did not possess the upper layers of Neopalatial material. The Pre- and Protopalatial material, while present at sites like Gournia and Phaistos in the early 1900s, only came to light when archaeologists returned in the later part of the 20th century to conduct more scientific excavations (most notably, Gournia, which now clearly demonstrates habitation in the Early Minoan period).¹²² As a result, large Neopalatial sites with adjacent early cemeteries presented a rather confusing problem for many early archaeologists. The restudy of early excavations allows present-day scholars to gather a more holistic picture.

¹²⁰ Additional articles by Legarra Herrero focus on evaluating the socio-political and cultural organization of the Pre- and Protopalatial periods on Crete. For specifics see Legarra Herrero 2009, 2011, 2012, 2016.

¹²¹ Boyd-Hawes 1904, 1905, 1908; Hall 1912a; Xanthoudides 1906, 1915, 1918a and 1918b; Dawkins 1905 and 1908; Paribeni 1904; Alexiou 1958, 1960, 1967.

¹²² Buell 2014a, 2014b, 2015; Buell and McEnroe 2017; and Gournia volumes, *in process*.

Palatial Control/Early Minoan Question

The topic of palatial control on Crete has also been a longstanding issue; and because this dissertation suggests a connection between mortuary practices, the rise of the palace, and the rise of the individual, it is important to understand how current palatial viewpoints developed. The palatial debate is crucial to understanding one of the aims of this dissertation: what the larnakes can tell us about the social and cultural systems in play in the Prepalatial period. Thus, to understand the development of Minoan mortuary practices, it is equally essential to look at the theoretical development surrounding Minoan socio-political organization. Like mortuary scholarship, palatial scholarship (which developed alongside and in connection to Minoan socio-political structure) began with Evans and quickly diverged into two separate strains of thought: Evans vs. Childe.

Arthur Evans promoted, perhaps with preconceived notions, a specific notion of the emergence of the Minoan civilization on Crete. He relied heavily on an evolutionary idea wherein the Early Bronze Age – with its small “primitive” villages – developed into centralized palatial centers in the MM I period. Gordon Childe, on the other hand, challenged Evans’s assessment of the palatial system Minoan civilization did not evolve gradually but experienced a swift and widescale shift between the Pre- and Protopalatial periods. From 1914 onward scholars saw the Minoan political system from two emerging perspectives.¹²³ Following the initial dispute between Evans and Childe, scholars tended to gravitate to one of two sides: those that believed in a sudden appearance of the palatial system (some of which believed in external influence) versus those that saw the Early Minoan period as a gradual evolution of all facets of civilized society. This debate was

¹²³ Arthur Evans 1895 and 1906; Gordon Childe 1925, 1950, 1958.

further provoked by the divergent views of Keith Branigan, Colin Renfrew, and John Cherry in the later 1970s and 1980s.¹²⁴

In 1970, Branigan's *The Foundations of Palatial Crete* attempted to clarify the argument concerning the origins of Crete's palatial civilization. Seeking to explore the Early Minoan period through myriad aspects of civilization — “Architecture,” “Economy,” “Religion and Ritual,” “Society and Organization,” “The Art,” “The Funerary Architecture,” and “Trade and Communication” — Branigan argued that these foundations for Minoan “civilization” were all in existence prior to the rise of the palatial system.¹²⁵ The aim, of course, was to suggest that the Middle Minoan Period (and, in fact, the palaces themselves) owed their very existence to the developing socio-cultural world of the Early Minoan period. Branigan's hypothesis reaffirmed the views set down by Evans and broke away from the Childean view of a rapid, sudden, and nearly miraculous emergence of the palaces at the beginning of the Middle Minoan period.¹²⁶

On the other hand, Colin Renfrew's 1972 *The Emergence of Civilization* sought a Childean revolution. While Renfrew concentrated on the Aegean as an entire geographic entity, the chapter titled “Crete in the Third Millennium BC” examines specifically the emergence of Minoan society. While the rest of the book approaches the Aegean as a mass region of “hybridization,” Renfrew perpetuates a theory of a sudden rise and development of palatial systems in the Middle Minoan period.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Branigan certainly factored into the overall debate Branigan 1970a and 1970b; however, the two camps emerged largely under two separate scholars, Cherry 1983 and Renfrew 1972.

¹²⁵ Branigan 1970.

¹²⁶ For a thorough discussion of Branigan's contribution to the field of Early Minoan Archaeology and the debate concerning the palaces, see *From the Foundations to the Legacy of Minoan Archaeology*, Chapter 2 “Inspecting the Foundations.” Peter Tomkins 2018. For a detailed discussion on the various architectural attributes that are later designated as necessary for a palace to be named a palace see Graham 1962.

¹²⁷ Renfrew 1972. See also Glotz 1925, 131–137; Wiesner 1938, 104–108; Pini 1968, 34 for the introduction and perpetuation of the rise of the palace as an indication of the rise of a hierarchy.

The debate has continued throughout the ensuing decades. In 1987, Peter Warren examined the “Genesis of the Minoan Palace” and the ways in which the social hierarchical sphere can correlate with the emergence of monumentality.¹²⁸ Warren concluded that the genesis of the Minoan palace could serve as an indicator of an early state society that orbited around some form of social hierarchical structure. This study appeared in *The Function of the Minoan Palace*, edited by Robin Hägg and Marinatos. The aim of the volume was to examine the Minoan palatial system within the socio-political environment on Crete. While its theoretical and methodological approaches still promoted the “rise of the palace,” the “rise of the individual,” and “palatially-centralized control,” the vast array of information and papers provided a detailed and in-depth understanding of the views of many scholars in the late 1980s.

Since the 1980s, more geographically-focused scholarship has emerged that demonstrate habitation and construction of early (Pre- and Protopalatial) large-scale towns and palatial structures on well-known Neopalatial sites.¹²⁹ Additionally, architectural scholars have moved toward consensus on what a Minoan Palace must actually possess in order to receive such a designation.¹³⁰ These large-scale Neopalatial sites are widely acknowledged to have already been important centers with their foundations in MM IB period. These new edifices are assumed to be accompanied by the rise of a new form of social and political complexity. Moreover, many of these scholars

¹²⁸ Warren 1987.

¹²⁹ Renfrew 1972; Warren 1985; Cherry 1986; Watrous 1987; Cadogan 1987; Manning 1994; Parkinson and Galatay 2007.

¹³⁰ The term palace also presents several issues in the academic community, none of which this dissertation intends to tackle. What defines a palace in terms of its architectural characteristics is debated across the field of Aegean archaeology and for a thorough understanding please see Parkinson and Galatay 2007. In more generalized terms, this dissertation follows the parameters as elucidated by Jan Driessen, John McEnroe, and David Buell in that sites such as Sissi and Gournia reflect the necessary attributes to be considered early palatial/urbanized structures.

(Driessen, Schoep, Knappett, Renfrew, Parkinson) have also suggested various new forms of hierarchy from chiefdoms to minor-states and from principalities to some form of larger village system.¹³¹ New data from various sites suggests that the palatial debate needs reevaluation. The conflicting views of the emergence of the palaces have expanded and much ink has been spilled discussing the various ways in which architecture, art, and international connections demonstrate the socio-political organization of Crete. And while this dissertation does not argue the importance of the shift (nor for that matter that there was a shift) between the EM III – MM IA period, it does maintain that evidence for individualization and/or the rise of a single hierarchical individual does not exist in the Pre- or Protopalatial periods. Likewise, it upholds (as did Branigan, Evans, and Warren) that the elements – social, political, technological (architecture and craft production) – were all present in the Early Minoan period.

Isle Schoep, Peter Tomkins, Carl Knappett, Jan Driessen, John McEnroe, and D. Matthew Buell have brought new data to the question of whether an explosion of complex organizational patterns appeared suddenly in the MMI period and rapidly advanced the rise of the palace.¹³² Other sites, such as Petras (Tsipopoulou), suggest that their palatial complexes did not emerge until MM IIA, indicating that there was no island-wide palatial or hierarchical emergence either suddenly or gradually.¹³³ This observation serves as a critical question for this study because, while this project does not seek to participate in an architectural analysis regarding the “rise of the palace,” it

¹³¹ Renfrew 1972, 367 (Chiefdoms); Knappett 1999 (Segmentary States); Parkinson and Galaty 2007 (Secondary States).

¹³² Driessen, Schoep, and Laffineur 2002; Schoep and Knappett 2004; Schoep 2006; 2010a, 2002c; McEnroe 2010; Schoep and Tompkins 2012; Buell and McEnroe 2017.

¹³³ For a broad discussion on the rise and the role of the Minoan palace see Driessen, Schoep, and Laffineur 2002, 404. For specifics regarding Petras see Tsipopoulou 2012a and Tsipopoulou 2012b.

recognizes the inconsistencies of palatial foundation dates and differing political systems across the island. Both inconsistencies suggest that there was no cohesive moment marking the “emergence of the individual.”

Individualism and Personhood

Palatial control has in the past been closely associated with the rise of the individual — the onset of a kingly figure as the head of state. Only very recently have scholars (Hamilakis and Legarra Herrero) really begun to question the meaning of such a concept in relation to mortuary tradition on Crete.¹³⁴ Certainly, the role of an individual as a political entity has entered many of the debates about Minoan palaces, but as a theoretical enquiry, individual hierarchy has been assumed to exist without ever being extensively addressed. As discussed above, the idea of the larnax in connection with individual identity was first promoted by Rutkowski in 1966, expanded upon quickly by Branigan in 1970, and since then has never truly exited the mainstream. The contribution by Yiannis Hamilakis to Keith Branigan’s festschrift draws attention to the lack of evidence for the long-standing “rise of the individual” trope.¹³⁵ In Branigan’s festschrift, Hamilakis acknowledged the myriad issues in Minoan archaeology that make studying the bone assemblages (and as a result individualism) difficult and suggested that a re-evaluation of the role of “the individual” was necessary for future work and understanding in the field. This chapter by Hamilakis serves as a central piece in developing questions about individualism that operate at the core of this dissertation.

The application of individualism and personhood as singular identities are relatively new concepts within the field of archaeology. Other concepts of identity have

¹³⁴ Hamilakis 2006, 2011, 2014, 2018; Legarra Herrero 2009, 2011, 2012, 2016.

¹³⁵ Relaki 2012; Legarra Herrero 2015, 6–9; Hamilakis 2018.

been present within the field of archaeology for longer, including group identity (which can be cultural, geographic, or ethnic)¹³⁶ and slightly more recently, smaller ideas of “togetherness” that operate on a mid-range scale between large group (palaces) and individuals.¹³⁷ While community identity factors into this dissertation as an understanding of the group of people utilizing larnakes, such an analysis of the Minoan community may also lead to a more nuanced understanding of communal identity over that of individual identity.

The groundwork for theoretical models of personhood, individualism, and agency can be traced back to the writings of philosophers such as Foucault and Heidegger.¹³⁸ And while those models have been circulating in academia since at least the 1970s, scholars in archaeology have largely used the concepts of individualism, personhood, and self relatively interchangeably until recently.¹³⁹ In the late 90s and the early 2000s, more theoretical approaches sought to deal with the body, gendered discourse, queer theory, and feminist studies. New ways of thinking encouraged scholars to engage with individualism and personhood as theoretical approaches; and subsequently, they applied such thoughts to archaeology and art history.¹⁴⁰

Part of this new interest in the body emerged from the socio-cultural mores of the 90s; but in archaeology, it was arguably in response to the overly scientific direction from the 80s (the course of archaeology was also discussed above). In fact, various scholars saw the need for the return of humanism to archaeology rather than pure focus on

¹³⁶ Tilley 1994b; Jones 1997; Dobres and Robb 2000; Insoll 2006; Dommelen 2008.

¹³⁷ MacSweeney 2009, 105.

¹³⁸ Heidegger 1962, 1972; Mauss 1979, 90; Foucault 1982a, 1982b, 1984.

¹³⁹ Goodenough 1969; Saxe 1970; Tainter 1978; Shanks and Tilley 1982; Thomas 1991; Yates 1993; Cohen 1994.

¹⁴⁰ Hebdige 1979; Hodder 1982, 1986; Miller 1987; Shanks and Tilley 1987a, 1987b; Tilley 1990; Gero and Conkey 1991; Barrett 1994.

numbers and stratigraphy.¹⁴¹ They endeavored to address the people of the past as entities that possessed their own biography. A biography that was separate from the predilection to seek out great, named individuals who appear in literature (such as those from Homeric Epic). The outcome was that many Post-Processualists employed ideas connected to the Humanist movement of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, and as a result, new discussions and theories became connected to the advent of individualism.¹⁴²

In particular, the Post-Processualists (such as Morris, Shanks, and Robb) sought to deviate from a formulaic structure built on binary social systems.¹⁴³ Such systems followed the patterns established by Foucault, and in archaeological terms situated a single individual (or group) as the holder and maintainer of power against all those that had no power and had been largely overlooked.¹⁴⁴ This binary system can, at its root, be considered fundamental in the construction of later hypotheses, such as redistributive centers, that to this day, dominate the thinking as regards Minoan socio-political ideology (i.e. the elite vs. everyone else). Moreover, because emphasis on the individual tends to be situated at the forefront of research, the resulting “archaeological imagination” has been inclined to center on a search for individuals in the historical record. The outcome is a modernization, prioritization, and westernization of ancient persons at the cost of understanding and recognizing the evidence for what it is.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Hodder 1982 and 1986; Morris, 2000.

¹⁴² Morris 2000, 210; Babić 2005, 67.

¹⁴³ Morris 1992; Shanks 2000; Hodder 2000; Robb 2001; Fowler 2001.

¹⁴⁴ Foucault 1977 and 1987 see, believed that those in power would constantly seek to maintain their level of power and exert whatever means necessary in order to preserve the status quo that sustained a binary system of those that have (power, money, influence) and those that do not possess these things. This hypothesis certainly manifests in the field of archaeology where society constantly seek a structure with a head and a pyramid of underlings that exist as subservient to the top of the pyramid. For relationship to archaeology see Babić 2005, 75.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas 1996, 63–4 and Fowler 2004, 3.

Unfortunately, the mere presence of both burial pithoi and larnakes is still considered to be proof of an individualized society, or at least of a society that was undergoing a transition from a communal state to one more centered on individualization. Additional discoveries on the mainland and from the Postpalatial period on Crete have prompted (with supporting evidence) many to continue to believe in a “rise of the individual” at the end of the EM period. At least two scholars of Cretan studies have supported this stance in the last ten years, Vavouranakis in 2007 and Tsipopoulou in 2008.¹⁴⁶

An examination of the larnax and the concept of individualism in Minoan Crete creates alternate ways of viewing how individuals and the community may have performed funerary rites. Accordingly, not only do the physical remains of the once living body provide information, but also often the remnants of their life as they appear in the funerary record aid in an understanding of the socio-cultural roles. Tilley and Shanks conceived of the “Body as Artefact” (Barrett, Shanks and Tilley, Douglas all discuss).¹⁴⁷ By this, Shanks and Tilley explained that the body serves as a mini-mirror that displays and explains a culture’s large-scale social processes, cultural beliefs, political structure, and their overall cultural mores (a process that almost completely ignores the existence of the individual);¹⁴⁸ others (like Barrett) saw the body as an integral actor upon the world where they lived and died.¹⁴⁹ Regardless, in both instances, the body is merely a player in a larger community, not an individual; and the body does not just accede to the social,

¹⁴⁶ Vavouranakis 2007, 24, 32 on the other hand offers a summary of past scholarship on the idea of individualization and the presence of a hierarchically based social pyramid which is continued on 54. Tsipopoulou 2008, 133.

¹⁴⁷ See Douglas 1966 and 1975; Shanks and Tilley 1982; Meskell 1996, 7; Barret 1994.

¹⁴⁸ Shanks and Tilley 1982.

¹⁴⁹ Barrett 1994.

cultural, and political world in which it occupies, it also contributes to its environment by constantly changing, adapting, and transforming. Such an integrated evolution creates a level of agency that can change the rituals and the culture. When looking at the larnax under this microscope, its placement, and the objects placed with it create, change, and become part of the community, the ritual, and the process.

Nevertheless, when looking at larnakes, the body should not be forced into a box or a singular resting space. Perhaps the body does not represent a canvas meant to display costumes, jewelry, or other identifiers as Meskell suggests. Often in the past when evaluating the body in death, archaeologists obsessed over the material objects in relationship to the body.¹⁵⁰ By focusing so much on the items of wealth, a sort of agency was created for the dead (whether such an agency was ever imbued in life or death became irrelevant). It might be better to understand these ornaments (seal stones, jewelry, pottery, etc.) as markers of an individual's personhood, and that person and their associated artefacts may represent aspects of the community rather than individualism.¹⁵¹ In serving the community, rather than the individual, the accompanying objects may be part of a performative ritual or signify markers of communal relationships. Similarly, the larnax, like the objects, may not need to be the marker of a sole individual but rather another feature of these communal relationships.

Many of the scholars who explore personhood and individualism have applied their studies to the mortuary landscape.¹⁵² As we will see, the concepts of personhood and

¹⁵⁰ Meskell 1996, 11.

¹⁵¹ Meskell 1996, For more on the decorative aspects of the body see also Owens 1994 and Anderson 1995.

¹⁵² Such a list could be almost endless but certainly within Minoan studies Branigan 1970a, 1970b, 1993; Hamilakis 1998b, 2011, 2013b, 2018; Hamilakis and Momigliano 2006; Legarra Herrero 2009, 2011, 2012; Vavouranakis 2006, 2012, 2014; Vavouranakis and Bourbou 2015.

individualism frequently play against one another, often creating a circular and interconnected argument. Death, as part of this exploration, marks an important transition not just in the cessation of life for the deceased, but also for the living because the ontological status of human beings in life and death that is addressed at the funerary setting or ritual serves as a possible symbol for some of the vital issues found within the community. Regardless of the belief of any given culture, death, dying, and the funerary rites that occur afterwards must have formed and originated from some aspect of their own cultural and political setting. Personhood must be present, it is how that personhood is presented, passed on, maintained, or celebrated that indicates the agency.

The theorization from the above paragraphs provides a glimpse into some of the ways that scholars have approached the body, personhood, and identity in Minoan Crete. In order to look at the larnax in a wholistic fashion, it is beneficial to breakdown the different methods by which the deceased body has been evaluated by scholars: A) Those that see it merely as a representation of the socio-cultural world in which the deceased person once inhabited. In death, they continue to portray their customs and beliefs through the presentation of their body in funerary ritual;¹⁵³ B) Those that see the body as constantly changing, adapting, and transforming the rituals and beliefs of cultures both in life and in death through their agency and action;¹⁵⁴ and finally C) Those that view the body as a constant dichotomous battlefield that is forever playing out a game of power and control.¹⁵⁵ The views expressed in this dissertation aim to call attention to some of the discrepancies presented by the application of individualism to the Minoan ideology.

¹⁵³ Bourdieu 1977, 85; Anderson 1995; Meskell 1996, 8.

¹⁵⁴ Tarlow 1992.

¹⁵⁵ Foucault 1977, 1982, 1986; Giddens 1984, 1992; Braidotti 1989, 1994; Butler 1990, 1994; Shilling 1993; Grosz 1994; For a discussion (not necessarily a proponent) Meskell 1996.

Instead, this study and its data see the funerary landscape on Crete as a jumble of collectivity.

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

The aim of this dissertation is to evaluate the roles of both the community and the individual within the funerary practices of Crete. The application of theories in this dissertation (Processualism, Post-Processualism, Mortuary theory, Identity theory, and Personhood) allows us to reconstruct and examine the idea that a hierarchical social order may not be reflected in the cemetery remains on Crete. On the other hand, information about Minoan social relationships, philosophical beliefs, and cultural groupings may be determined by the remains of given groupings. The presence of so many individuals within a single tomb (regardless of exact placement), the length of usage of any given site, the lack of “high-status” material remains (or any standardization thereof), suggest that the remains may offer us an interesting insight to recognizing potential groupings geographically. Such an analysis may lead to a more nuanced understanding of communal identity rather than individual identity.

Chapter 3: The Larnax as a Cultural Object

Part 1: Overview of the Larnax

The goal of this chapter is to understand the origin and the function of the larnax within the confines of the Early and Middle Minoan periods. Specifically, this chapter examines the object's biography (whether it could have experienced a conversion from household object to a funerary item), what can be said about its origin (whether its attribution belongs to another culture or geographic region both in terms of its physical and etymological onset), what is known about the various tombs and contexts associated with its final resting place, and finally, what types of burial practices can be seen associated with the larnax (whether these are primary or secondary burials).

Within each of the sections listed above, various hypotheses have been suggested in order to explain the sudden appearance of the larnax, its placement within specific tomb types, the burial practices that took place inside the tomb and within the larnax itself. Each factor contributes to our understanding of the larnax's biography and aids in the final analysis. As the previous chapter examined the overall trajectory of Minoan scholarship and determined a lacuna existed in terms of studying burial vessels, this chapter proceeds by looking specifically at the development of the larnax as an individual object. Major questions posed within this chapter include: Where did the first written reference to the larnax as a bathing instrument originate? Does this association between a domestic utensil and a funerary object hold any weight? What are some potential predecessors for the larnax (baskets? Wooden coffins? Wooden chests?)? Do we need to understand the precedent in order to comprehend its funerary meaning? What types of tombs are primarily associated with the larnax? Which tombs have no association with

the early larnax? What types of burials do we find associated with the larnax: multiple? articulated? singular? primary? secondary? Each question and its subsequent explanation impart valuable information, which contributes to our understanding of larnakes and the Minoan mortuary tradition.

Part 2: The Origin of the Larnax

General Overview

Larnakes, or Minoan sarcophagi, served as burial vessels for inhabitants on Crete from the Prepalatial period through the Iron age. Its presence marks a continuous funerary practice on the island for over a millennium. The most basic definition of a larnax indicates that it is a receptacle of rectangular or elliptical shape.¹⁵⁶ In older scholarship, larnakes were referred to by a variety of names including chest, louter, sarcophagus, and *casella*. Typically, there are multiple handles attached on the exterior in either a horizontal or vertical orientation and sometimes they can be found in both directions. In later periods, they have at least one or two holes located inside and, on the bottom, which may have allowed for the evacuation of liquids.¹⁵⁷ The exterior and the interior may be decorated or undecorated depending upon their date of production, though earlier examples tend to be completely plain or limited to linear and curvilinear decoration, a trend that we see paralleled in other forms of early Minoan pottery.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ This dissertation focuses on ceramic vessels because to the author's knowledge only ceramic examples of Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes exist. Later examples (such as the Hagia Triada Sarcophagus) can be found in alternative mediums such as wood and plaster. These examples, however, are rare and one should suppose that the majority were ceramic in origin due to the overwhelming majority that remain. For more information on the later examples found in wood see Preston 2004, note 11.

¹⁵⁷ More is discussed on the presence of holes in Chapter 4. Originally, it was thought that these holes were present in the majority of vessels. The data gathered by this dissertation, however, suggests that the introduction of holes in the base of the larnax was a later development. Though not yet published, the larnakes at the Sitia Museum on East Crete (the majority of which originate from MM III – LM II contexts) demonstrate this nicely.

¹⁵⁸ Betancourt 1985.

These designs include circular shapes, curvilinear lines, and straight solid bands that encircle the top, bottom or both. The later, Protopalatial and Neopalatial examples are often supported by four legs creating a chest-like¹⁵⁹ appearance and tend to exhibit a more complex visual vocabulary, including hunt scenes, marine-style creatures, and more intricate geometric forms within a crowded composition. Many larnakes, including the earliest ones, also incorporate a lid attachment, which may be decorated or undecorated. In terms of their construction and fabric, larnakes tend to be formed from coarse clay similar to the make-up of cookware. Typically, the fabric contains many inclusions and is rough or abrasive to the touch. From the above description, it is clear that larnakes possess several common characteristics. However, the one trait that clearly unites all larnakes is its function. It is the presence of bones and skulls in close association with all larnakes that provides us with the evidence of their primary purpose.

The shape, size, and decoration of the earliest examples can be found in both chest and elliptical forms. Of the 223 known Pre- and Protopalatial examples, 92 can be definitively identified as elliptical in form, while 80 are rectangular, and 48 are unclear/unknown.¹⁶⁰ The sizes of these early examples vary. At present the largest of the collection is 120 cm long by 38 cm wide (from Pyrgos, Cat. 142) while the smallest is 18

¹⁵⁹ It was a previous assumption that the elliptical (bathtub) form was primarily utilized in the earlier periods. This dissertation has demonstrated that such an assumption is now largely untrue. What does seem to hold true is that the elliptical form goes out of widespread use in the LMIIIC period (often considered to be the time of Mycenaean occupation on Crete). This can be demonstrated by examining later vessels from Armenoi and Knossos. For more information on Armenoi, see Tzedakis 1971 and 1980. For more information on Knossos see Preston 2004.

¹⁶⁰ For the most part this information has been compiled by either a physical inspection or by drawing upon pictures and comprehensive catalogue entries. There are still a number of vessels of which the form cannot be positively identified. This is due in large part to a lack of permissions to study. Shape was determined by the exterior form. In some instances, such as Tholos G at Archanes the exterior was rectangular while the interior corners were rounded.

cm long by 17 cm wide (from Archanes, Cat. 104).¹⁶¹ It is apparent just from these two examples that sizes have varied drastically. Regardless, if the later examples are any indication, as the number of fragment pieces attests, then most larnakes fall somewhere within a range of 88 cm in length and 45 cm in width – based upon a median of the current known examples.¹⁶² In other words, the mean vessel size may have been about three by one and a half feet, or roughly the perfect size to hold at least one contracted body or the pieces of multiple skeletons.

Production

Accordingly, the production of the largest of these objects (120 cm) would have required a kiln of extraordinary width. While we know that the early Minoans were able to fire such large objects as pithoi, the markings on the exterior of larnakes suggest that they were fired horizontally not vertically as the pithoi would have been.¹⁶³ At present, it is unclear whether any of the kilns currently excavated on Crete dating to this early period could have held an object of such considerable size.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, markings (generally taking the form of darkened circles or indented grooves on the underside of the larnax) indicate that it was supported underneath by either circular posts or vertical supports, some of which may have extended from one end to the other length-wise and aided in carrying the larnax from point a to point b – that is into the kiln for firing and

¹⁶¹ Again, this information could benefit from further clarification. Both examples originate from Archanes, but this is likely to do with the fact that more information has been provided on the larnakes from Archanes than the majority of other examples found throughout Crete. As a result, the data is skewed to display more information from Archanes.

¹⁶² This data was gathered by averaging the current known lengths and the current known widths.

¹⁶³ A gracious thank you is given to Spiliotopoulou for discussing the production techniques with me while I visited the Stratigraphic Museum on Crete November 2017. More information can be found in Spiliotopoulou 2010.

¹⁶⁴ At present there are no known EM or early MM kilns. The examples we do have of Minoan kilns originate in the later periods and include Kato Zakros, Gournia, and Kommos. Excavators from Phaistos also indicate the presence of a small kiln located on the southern extant of the court.

then out of the kiln. If this is the case, then the larnax must have been fired while sitting horizontally.¹⁶⁵ Such a complicated production processes implies at least two things: 1) The cost of these vessels – in terms of time and labor – must have been relatively high; 2) It, therefore, does not follow that if this vessel truly originated as a domestic vessel, that its possessors would be likely to dispose of such a costly object in the funerary process.¹⁶⁶

Introduction of the Larnax to the Archaeological Record

Current scholarship proposes that larnakes emerged in the EM III period just before the transition to the Middle Minoan period.¹⁶⁷ This conclusion was originally generated from the remains of multiple sites throughout the island such as Pacheia Ammos, Sphoungaras, Gournia, Archanes, and Pyrgos (note that these are primarily located to the east or the central of the island and are chiefly early excavations).¹⁶⁸ Scholars have argued for various interpretations to explain this shift in funerary practices, but most settled upon the hypothesis that the Minoans experienced a political transformation between these two periods, which facilitated an increased desire to display a sense of individualism.¹⁶⁹ This newfound enthusiasm for individualism challenged the previously dominant community-based burial practices (the concept of individualism and

¹⁶⁵ Personal communication with Spiliotopoulou on Crete in November 2017.

¹⁶⁶ While an argument could be made that Minoans reused pithoi in the burial process after they had served a domestic function, there is not much evidence for this. Current scholarship suggests that Minoans created different styles of Pithoi to be used for burial. In fact, personal correspondence with Dr. Christakis indicates that some of the burial pithoi found at Archanes were used only for burial based on their fabric and their shape and that those types do not appear in any domestic contexts. This hypothesis fits with what we currently know about the larnax and supports the data emerging out of this dissertation. For more information on pithoi studies see Christakis 2005 and Vavouranakis 2014.

¹⁶⁷ This date has been suggested by Rutkowski 1966, 21; Petit 1990, 33-34; Soles 1992, 255-256 suggests a date of EM IIAA at Hagios Myronas; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 248 also suggest a date of EM IIAA; Watrous 1994, 736 indicates that they originate in the MM IA period. For other scholars that state a date of EM III/MM IA see Maggidis 1994, 45; Tsipopoulou 2008, 133; Warren 2008, 24; Mee 2010, 281; Legarra Herrero 2014, 55–56.

¹⁶⁸ See excavation reports in order: Seager 1916; Hall 1912; Boyd-Hawes 1904.

¹⁶⁹ Pini 1968, 34; Branigan 1970b, 131; 1993, 140-141; Maggidis 1994, 45; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 249; Preston 2004, 179; Tsipopoulou 2008, 133.

personhood is further addressed in Chapter 5). This interpretation, of course, lends itself well to the rise of the elite and subsequently the development of hierarchical social stratification. These two components combined paved the way for hypotheses indicating the rise and domination of the Minoan Palaces.

The Larnax Now

As of the date of this dissertation, it certainly seems clear that in the Pre- and Protopalatial periods, the larnax is only present on the central and eastern portions of the island. Whether this disparity represents an accident of preservation and discovery is unclear. The largest quantity originates from Archanes, near Herakleion (and Knossos), though one can assume that this is partially to do with the systematic and well documented excavations that occurred there, the duration of the cemetery (over 400 years), and the overall size of the cemetery. The larnakes from Archanes are ascribed to both EM III and early MM contexts (as well as later periods depending on the tomb). Pyrgos – again close to Herakleion and Knossos – provides the second most populated site with over twenty examples.¹⁷⁰

The examples coming from EM III and MM stratigraphical sequences also appear in a range of tomb types including cemeteries (like the one found at Pacheia Ammos and Hagios Myronas), crevice burials (such as at Galana Charakia), cist burials and tholoi (like at Archanes), house tombs or rectangular buildings (like those at Gournia and Kato Zakros), and cave or rock shelters (such as at various sites including Kavousi, Malia, and Kokkini Chani at Pyrgos). Based on these observations, it appears as if larnax distribution is not isolated to a particular tomb type.

¹⁷⁰ None of the examples from Pyrgos have been published nor was the author granted permission to see them. The pottery is currently under study in the Herakleion museum by Irimi Gallini.

Additionally, many larnakes are assigned dates extending from EM III – MM IIB or another combination falling within that range. Such an expansive range allows for the possibility that any larnax could fall within the Pre- or the Protopalatial period. A closer analysis of certain features of the larnax, including the presence of holes, the overall shape, and handles assist in refining some of this chronology. The context of larnakes (both within the larnax, around the larnax, and the tomb) also can assist in narrowing the object's date. The observations of this dissertation, therefore, attempted to refine the dating of larnakes to within one to two periods. That was achieved first through context and original excavator date and then honed based on its physical characteristics. In the end, the data suggests that most larnakes from the Pre- and Protopalatial periods originate between the MM IA and MM IIB periods.

Origin of the Term Larnax

Part of understanding the origin of larnax includes divorcing its meaning from the bathtub and this includes understanding why and how larnax came to be the nomenclature provided for the first discovered vessels. At present, little to no information exists to indicate that references to larnakes in ancient sources ever served as bathtubs. Only two instances can actually be argued to provide any evidence of a connection to bathing: Pylos on the mainland and one example from Knossos.¹⁷¹ Yet, larnakes as a whole are often referred to as bathtubs or louters in scholarship and even today when pictured in museums.¹⁷² In order to place the larnax within its proper context, it is

¹⁷¹ The example discovered at Knossos can be dated to LM IIIA (for original publication see Evans 1935, 904 For most recent dating see Baxevani 1995, 21-22 period and therefore may actually possess more similarities with the vessel found at Pylos see Blegen and Rawson 1966, 187.

¹⁷² Various instances of this “bathtub” naming phenomenon can be pinpointed. This dissertation does not aim to call attention to these examples, but certainly they range across countries (including both the US and Greece) and can be found in various contexts (both general public museums and academic institutions).

necessary to distance it from early and inaccurate descriptions and attributions. Where did the association between the Minoan larnax and a bathtub originate? And does this connection hold any validity?

Evans first utilized the term larnax in his discussion on the prehistoric tombs at Knossos in 1906.¹⁷³ He continued its use in the *Palace of Minos* Volume I, where he states unequivocally, “Contact with primitive Nilotic elements also gives a suggestive interest to the appearance of clay burials cists and jars, both lidded, containing contracted skeletons. The clay cist or “larnax” has a very long history in Crete and specimens with rounded angles have now been found associated with Early Minoan pottery in the cave of Pyrgos (northeast of Knossos).”¹⁷⁴ He ends the paragraph by stating, “Clay burial cists, some of oval form, and pots placed bottom upwards, with contracted skeletons, are characteristic of prehistoric Egyptian tombs. Have we not here the source of a long Minoan line?”¹⁷⁵ In this instance, Evans clearly connects the larnax both to burial practices and, specifically, to a funerary tradition in Egypt. He does not connect the larnax to a bathing/domestic utensil. Even after the appearance of the “Queen’s Bath,” which he describes in Volume Three, Evans makes no connection between the term larnax and a bathtub, though the two objects do appear remarkably similar in form.¹⁷⁶ Evans posits, also in Volume Three, that Phylakopi offers the closest parallel to the bath found in the Queen’s megaron, but neither David Hogarth nor C.C. Edgar (pottery specialists at Phylakopi) compare their objects to the larnax nor do they suggest it had

¹⁷³ Evans 1906, 10. He uses the term multiple other times throughout this book, though in almost all instances the vessels he is referring to are from the LM III period and beyond. This is evident because the majority were found in chamber tombs (a type not used until the LM period on Crete) and in several instances LM III pottery, Mycenaean pottery, and Roman pottery were found alongside the vessels.

¹⁷⁴ Evans 1921, 126.

¹⁷⁵ Evans 1921, 126.

¹⁷⁶ Evans 1930, 385-6.

any sort of funerary association.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, an examination of both objects does not suggest many visual similarities, if any at all.¹⁷⁸ As Evans frequently set the stage for many of the assumptions and attributions we now associate with Minoans, it is necessary to look elsewhere for the original connection made between a Minoan larnax for funerary purposes and a bath.

In 1904, Stephanos Xanthoudides referred to these burial chests as larnakes in the *Αρχαιολογική Εφεμερίς* entitled “Εκ Κρητη”.¹⁷⁹ He is apparently the first person to suggest a connection between the earlier “tub-shaped” form and the later “chest-shaped” form. He also references Homer when defining his terminology. Certainly, there are problems with applying Homeric terms to objects that pre-date Homeric epic – and Xanthoudides has not been the only scholar to retrieve terminology from Homeric poems. Yet, while sometimes the term “larnax” may in fact apply – such as in Homer (Il. 24.795) where he states, “The bones they took and placed in a golden urn, covering them over with soft purple robes, and quickly laid the urn in a hollow grave, and covered it over with great close-set stones.” What is clear is that *λαρναξ* is never used in ancient literature to denote a bath. More often than not, it signifies a connection with the deceased.

Later scholars, such as Pini, in the 50s and 60s, stressed that the chest-shaped larnakes of the more recent periods belonged to a tradition separate from the earlier tub-shaped examples even though they note that the two forms fulfill the same function.¹⁸⁰ In

¹⁷⁷ See D. Hogarth and C.C. Edgar 1904, 140 for a discussion on the object from their excavation on Phylakopi that Evans mentions as a parallel.

¹⁷⁸ The Phylakopi object can be found in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (on display at least as of May 2019).

¹⁷⁹ Xanthoudides 1904, 25.

¹⁸⁰ Pini 1968, 11.

the *Archaeologikon Deltion* and other Greek sources (*Cretica Antica*, *Kretika Chronika*, *Kretike Estia* for example) Greek archaeologists use the terms “*larnaca*” and “*sarcophagus*” interchangeably making no clear distinction between the two objects, and in fact, frequently utilizing them alongside one another within the same text.

Watrous, however, restricts the term *larnax* to the Neopalatial chest-shaped boxes (despite their wide-ranging use in earlier archaeological reports),¹⁸¹ while Laura Preston and Costis Davaras use the term in a wide-range of contexts referring to both the elliptical -shaped coffins and the rectangular -shaped coffins.¹⁸² There are certainly similarities between the earlier *larnakes* and the bathtub form seen at Knossos; and as a result, many have advocated that the designs on these elliptical examples – fish, other marine animals, and wavy lines – must be indicative of a bathtub due to the aquatic iconography. Furthermore, previous arguments suggest that these vessels only came to serve as a funerary coffin at the end of their object biography, and that the iconography worked as a means of reinforcing messages about the deceased traveling across the water to the afterlife.¹⁸³ Yet, chest-shaped *larnakes* (and about half of all Minoan ceramics) portray images of marine-life and fish as well as wavy lines, all of which may be indicative of the sea. All of this visual imagery can be found on most Minoan vessels and marine iconography is common in Minoan art. Moreover, its meaning may have been multivalent, or it may just be a fish, which is a typical part of the environment in which the ancient Cretans lived. The prevalence of such decorative motifs on so many vessels

¹⁸¹ Watrous 1991, 294.

¹⁸² Davaras 1974, 1982; Preston 2004, 2013.

¹⁸³ For references to a connection between Cretan afterlife and the Egyptian one see Rutkowski 1968, 226; and Watrous 1991, 303-304. For references to these motifs as part of the bathtub see Watrous 1991, 301. For references to Cretans traveling across the sea to reach the afterlife and potential connections to marine life iconography see Davaras 1984, 55-95.

suggests that any argument for marine imagery as an escort into the afterlife does not hold up. Additionally, it should be acknowledged that the earliest examples of larnakes contain no imagery suggestive of the sea (aside from the random wavy line), and so no connection can be securely made between the iconography on larnakes and the afterlife during the Prepalatial period.

As the above paragraphs have demonstrated, it is of growing importance to evaluate the evidence from a holistic perspective, one that is divorced from the preconceptions of earlier archaeologists and their sometimes colonial or culturally biased perspective. This dissertation attempts just such a process, an exploration that pushes past the bounds of previous understandings. For example, as Ellen Pader suggests, “The presence of objects of high value does not necessarily equate to a hierarchical system, instead this previous and long-held assessment limits our capabilities of looking at these objects as part of a horizontal system.”¹⁸⁴ Similarly, we should look at larnakes not as indicative of the growing rise of elite culture or a need for individualistic burial practices but instead as part of a changing system that still focuses on the group - that is, a horizontal/heterarchical system instead of a vertical/hierarchical one. In fact, Legarra Herrero has even noted that there is never (at least not until the late LM period) a divergence from community burials on Crete, this runs contrary to most other regions and islands in Greece.¹⁸⁵ The larnakes attest to this continued tradition because their presence is almost always located near or in relation to larger collective tombs. Moreover, they are frequently found with multiple skulls or other bones that indicate more than one person was buried inside.

¹⁸⁴ Pader 1982, 61.

¹⁸⁵ Legarra Herrero 2014, 63.

Origin of the Object

There are various suggestions about the origin of the larnax, which vary by scholar and also based on the shape the object. Much of the current scholarship written on the topic focuses on the source of the Neopalatial coffins and seemingly ignores the origins of the Prepalatial examples.¹⁸⁶ However, it seems illogical to posit that the Early Minoan larnax did not serve as the ancestor (regardless of variations in shape) to its Late Minoan counterpart. Nevertheless, while most scholars concede that the Neopalatial chest-shaped larnax developed out of some form of wooden prototype that directly predated it (due to visual similarities in the paneling, gabled lid, and feet),¹⁸⁷ the earlier bathtub shaped larnax continues to elicit more controversial and undeveloped debates or simply remain in the background. The idea of utilizing the larnax as a burial vessel, regardless of its chronological period of implementation, must have begun from the same source especially considering the duration of its use.

Interestingly, the later chest-shaped larnakes seem to be far more regulated since they can be type-cast into two distinctive categories (the gabled chest and the tub).¹⁸⁸ Their prototype, on the other hand, the tub larnax, comes in a wide variety of shapes (see Table 4).¹⁸⁹ The suggestion that the later chest-shaped larnax developed directly out of the LM I and LM II periods from a wooden predecessor is problematic for several reasons: 1) Even if one assumes that such a hypothesis is correct, this does not account for the earlier clay versions with the same shape (see Rutkowski for examples); 2) The

¹⁸⁶ For the more thorough discussions of the origin of the larnax See Rutkowski 1966; Hägg and Sieurin 1982; Watrous 1991; Preston, 2004; and L. Platon 2012.

¹⁸⁷ Preston 2004, 184 see also L. Platon 2012.

¹⁸⁸ See Preston 2004, 183 and fig. 3.

¹⁸⁹ See also Rutkowski 1966, Tabl. XLIII.

continuity of the chest-shaped larnakes' design from the early Middle Minoan period to the Late Minoan period suggests that the tradition never fell into an extended disuse. If that is the case, then surely there was not a "new period" of innovation. The form may have altered due to stylistic preferences and trends of the population at the time, but the origin would remain fixed at another point in time. As such, we can determine that the larnax's point of origin was not on Crete during the Middle Minoan period. Instead, we must look earlier.

At least five major geographical predecessors have been claimed for the larnax; Crete, Egypt, the Cyclades, the Near East, and mainland Greece. Several scholars suggest that the larnax's shape and cultural tradition as a funerary object were brought to Crete via connections with Egypt.¹⁹⁰ Many scholars use examples of exotica found within larnakes or tombs associated with larnakes in order to verify this tradition (Watrous and Evans).¹⁹¹ However, this connection is problematic for several reasons. First, direct contact with Egypt has not been verified within the earliest periods of Crete's history and the amount of Egyptian exotica from the oldest tombs on Crete do not provide enough substantive evidence to support this theory. The Egyptian exotica present could have been brought via indirect routes from the Near East or from the Mainland. Secondly, the use of chests for domestic and funerary purposes was probably not restricted to Egypt, as such the concept could have come from multiple origins across the Aegean. There is, therefore, nothing to firmly place the origin of the Minoan larnax in Egypt.

¹⁹⁰ Evans 1906, 1921, 1930; Watrous 1991; Discussion also presented in Rutkowski 1966, though not necessarily an argument for or against.

¹⁹¹ Evans 1906, 1921, 1930; Watrous 1991.

The idea that the mainland somehow contributed to the introduction of the larnax on Crete has some merit; however, it is problematic in at least two ways. The tub-shaped larnax found on the mainland at Pylos dates to a later period than any of the earliest Minoan tub-shaped larnakes. Moreover, it was found *in situ* in a location that does in fact suggest its primary function was for bathing.¹⁹² None of the tub-shaped larnakes discovered on Crete have thus far implied a domestic function, with the exception of the one found in the “Queen’s Megaron” at Knossos.¹⁹³ However, the context of that larnax remains unclear as does the date. Secondly, while some may argue that the mainland chest-shaped larnax popularized the same form in the later periods, it is again important to note that the chest-shaped larnax existed prior to the Neopalatial period and based on the number of excavated examples was even relatively popular before the surge in Crete-Mainland cultural exchange. Lastly, the contacts between Egypt and Crete did not become solidified until the Middle Minoan period, by which point larnakes already held a place of prominence in Minoan mortuary tradition.

It is tempting to try and form a connection between the burial practices in the Cyclades and those discovered on Crete in the Early Minoan and Middle Minoan periods. In fact, several cemeteries suggest a relationship existed between the two cultures (the Early Minoan cemeteries at Pseira and Petras both display signs of interactions with the

¹⁹² For the original excavation reports from Pylos see Blegen and Rawson 1966, 187 fig. 422. For more information on the potential bathing tub and facility at Tiryns see Shaw 2012.

¹⁹³ Evans 1921, 386 – 388. The context of this object and the journals associated with its excavation are in fact highly suspect, it seems more and more likely that Evans moved this particular object to its present location. Moreover, the shape reveals more visual similarities to the tub found at Pylos and in fact may be Mycenaean (Late Neopalatial) in date.

Aside from the single example from Knossos, two examples were excavated at Gournia in recent years. Neither are directly associated with a cemetery. More information will be forthcoming on both in the final Gournia publication volumes. See Fig. 73 a and b and Fig. 74 a and b for photos and illustrations and Cat. entries # 199 and 200 for information.

Cyclades). Lined cist graves and pit graves were more common for the Cycladic regions and while these may show some similarities to the Cretan counterparts, the burial practices associated with them are vastly different.¹⁹⁴ For example, the majority of Cycladic burials are not only primary inhumations but also contain single individuals—this runs contrary to the majority of Minoan larnax burials. Furthermore, most Cycladic cemeteries contain a smaller number of graves and do not even come close to the hundreds of individuals found at cemeteries such as Archanes, Pyrgos, or Pacheia Ammos. While some Early Cycladic III burials have been found in jars on Melos, Paros, and Thera, they contain the bones of infants rather than adults.¹⁹⁵ The practice of placing infant burials in jars was relatively common throughout the majority of the Mediterranean at this point including the mainland and therefore cannot really attest to a singular connection between the Cyclades and Crete.¹⁹⁶ The practice of infant burials on Crete actually predates the examples on the Cycladic island,¹⁹⁷ so if any degree of influence existed between burial practices, it may be that the transmission traveled from Crete to the Cyclades rather than the other way around.

As for the Near Eastern counterparts, Rutkowski notes that similar vessels were discovered near Palestine in the earliest periods of history. He also suggests that similar shapes to the Cretan larnax could be found in Mesopotamia during the Bronze Age and even earlier.¹⁹⁸ Specific examples appear in Ur dating to the fourth and third

¹⁹⁴ For possible examples of Cycladic people living on Crete see Doulas 1977, 2010; Papadatos 2007; Renfrew 2010; Cherry 2010; Papadatos and Tomkins 2013; Brogan 2013. For possible funerary connections at sites like Petras see Tsipopoulou 2012.

¹⁹⁵ Barber and MacGillivray 1980, 152; Apostolakou et al 2007-2008.

¹⁹⁶ Sahoglu and Sotirakopoulou eds. 2011, 90. For more references to the number of infant burials found in jars on the islands in the Early Cycladic period see McGeorge 2013, 2-3 and notes 2 and 4.

¹⁹⁷ Doulas 1977, Apostolakou et al 2007-2008.

¹⁹⁸ Rutkowski 1968, 220; Watrous 1994, 296.

millenniums. These coffins, also made of clay and ovular in shape, create much more visually compelling evidence than Egypt's largely chest-like and anthropomorphic examples. Unfortunately, much of the dating from the Near Eastern examples remains unclear, but pottery contemporary to the coffins suggests a date closer to the ninth century BCE.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, as Rutkowski states, few connections have been found between the earliest phases of Crete and the Near East and those that do exist seem minimal.²⁰⁰ Rather, like the Mainland and Egypt, interactions between Crete and the Near East increase dramatically in the Neopalatial period. By this time the larnax has already been introduced on Crete and secured a position in funerary ritual.

In addition to foreign influence, Rutkowski suggested two alternate sources for the larnakes' background. First, he proposed that a domestic vessel served as a prototype for the elliptical larnax – a bathtub to be precise (the probability of the larnax's connection to a bathtub has already been discussed and discarded). Rutkowski's argument for a domestic vessel is twofold. First, he claimed that they must be domestic vessels because the “number of funeral jars and pithoi is much greater than the number of larnakes.”²⁰¹ This data, while perhaps true, does not subsequently imply that they must first have been used as a domestic object. Moreover, since the publication of Rutkowski's article the quantity of Early Minoan larnakes from eastern Crete has risen drastically and many of the dates have been solidified. This point is thus null. His second argument states that the “gradual decline in funeral pithoi is quite noticeable, until the

¹⁹⁹ For child burials in jars and pithoi see Wheeler 1974. For burials at UR see Woolley 1934, 135. For additional information on Near Eastern sarcophagus burials see Childe 1934; Albright 1960; Mellaart 1966.

²⁰⁰ Rutkowski 1968, 219-227.

²⁰¹ Rutkowski 1968, 222.

L.M. period they were seldom for burials.”²⁰² Again, it should be noted that this observation does not necessarily denote a connection to a domestic vessel (bathtub or otherwise). Moreover, as clarified above, more larnakes have been found and thus the overall number from the earliest periods on Crete has more than doubled since the 1960’s. Alternatively, Rutkowski suggested that the larnax may have been a copy of a Cretan house.²⁰³ There is little to no evidence that might be used to support this hypothesis, especially when related to the tub-shaped vessel.

Rutkowski observed that the emergence of the burial containers in the Near East and in Egypt coincided with upheavals or transitions in social stratification. In all cases (the Near East, Egypt, and Crete), Rutkowski explains that “the larnakes appeared at a stage of social development when a rapid differential in property holding and a growing trend towards individualism in human needs developed. Such phenomena usually follow the development of urban or palace-urban civilization”²⁰⁴ He believed that this particular trend mirrored what happened on Crete, where (at the time of Rutkowski’s writing) scholars were beginning to hypothesize that the Minoan civilization had just undergone a social transformation at the same time that the larnax was introduced.²⁰⁵

There does not appear to be a definitive answer to our question about the physical origin of the Cretan larnax; however, certain theories can be dismissed. Egypt, as the predecessor of the larnax, seems highly unlikely. A connection to the Near East seems more logical, but even that holds little probability. The Mainland exchange, similarly,

²⁰² Rutkowski 1968, 222.

²⁰³ Rutkowski 1968, 219-227.

²⁰⁴ Rutkowski 1968, 222.

²⁰⁵ Renfrew 1972 and 1982; Cherry 1983; Whitelaw 1983, 1987b, 1988b, 1988c, 1990; Branigan 1983 and 1985; Cadogan 1986; Warren 1987.

offers little validity until later periods (specifically the LM II period and beyond and even those may be Minoan in origin). The most likely forbearer then, is either the Cyclades or Crete itself. Regardless, the form of the larnax appears to epitomize a common design for the disposal of human remains (in most regions and time periods throughout history). Therefore, it seems reductive to assume that Crete must have required the assistance of another region in order to dispose of their dead in a box.

Part 3: Placement of the Larnax Discussion of Tomb Types

Scholarship has asserted that the larnax emerged at the end of the Early Minoan Period;²⁰⁶ yet, multiple tomb types yielded larnax fragments and larnakes. Part of this project seeks to identify the geographical variations of the larnax, and thankfully, prior scholars have already recognized a variation and partiality by region for certain tomb types (The tholos tombs of the Mesara, for example).²⁰⁷ The goal of this dissertation is not to evaluate tomb types found on Crete,²⁰⁸ however, it is necessary to understand the tomb types associated with the appearance and emergence of the larnax tradition. The larnax appears in a multitude of tomb-contexts including tholos tombs, pit graves, cemeteries, house tombs (sometimes also referred to as rectangular tombs), and caves,²⁰⁹ as such, the larnax spans a wider geographical expanse than any single tomb type alone.

²⁰⁶ Though recent excavations at Nopigeia Kissamou and Sissi originally pointed to potentially earlier burials dating to the EM II period. This may impact the chronological framework that scholarship currently accepts as the origin date. Further examination of the remains at Sissi suggest that child burials may have occurred within pithoi, but do not appear to have emerged within larnakes, which are all currently dated to the MM IA period and later. This supports Rutkowski's original theory that pithoi burials predate larnax burials. See Rutkowski 1968, 222.

²⁰⁷ For a regional distribution of tombs in the Pre and Protopalatial periods see Legarra Herrero 2015.

²⁰⁸ For a more thorough evaluation and study of Minoan tomb types see Branigan 1970b.

²⁰⁹ Larnakes were also frequently found within chamber tombs, however because chamber tombs appear to be a later addition to the mortuary tradition on Crete, and perhaps more in line with the Mycenaean tradition, they will be largely left out of this study.

Some tomb types appear to never have contained any larnax burials (such as cist graves). As cist graves were often lined with stones (thus presenting a tomb that already holds many similarities to the larnax) it would seem redundant to place a chest within a tomb already designed to mimic a chest.

Based on present data, tholos tombs represent the second most common tomb containing larnakes. Tholoi are concentrated throughout the central portion of the island, with the majority located near or in the Mesara Valley and the Asterousia Mountains on the southern coast of Crete. Tholoi have also been located closer to Herakleion (and thus Knossos), and potentially from early contexts on the Eastern edge of the island (near Gournia).²¹⁰ Multiple tholoi contained larnakes either within the main chamber, the entry chamber (the alley that approaches the entrance), the annexes, or were simply buried in the ground around the tholos. Examples of tholoi with larnakes include Hagia Kyriaki, Archanes, Hagia Triada, and several others (a more thorough discussion of each location will be discussed in Chapter 4). In terms of more specific context, the data does not at present suggest that any preference was given to a specific location within the tholos itself. Rather, the dromos, annexes, and central room have shared equal roles when receiving larnakes for deposition.

Rectangular or House tombs are built tombs that possess a rectangular shape in design and plan. The majority of larnakes are found within this context. Soles argued that the shape was reminiscent of early Cretan houses, and thus nicknamed them House

²¹⁰ There are at least three potential tholos tombs located on the Eastern portion of the island near Gournia; Myrsini, Siderokamino, and Hagia Photia Siteias, unfortunately the dates of both sites are disputed. For example, in the original excavation report, N. Platon claims that Myrsini is a Prepalatial tomb but during personal communication with L. Platon in July 2018, he stated that the tomb was actually Postpalatial. If this is the case, then the larnax found inside more than likely also belongs to the Postpalatial period.

tombs.²¹¹ This term has gained momentum and been applied to a large majority of built rectangular structures throughout Crete. However, as noted by Branigan in 1970, the major architectural components of the “house tomb” are such that devising any direct parallel between the plan of the funerary structure and the domestic structure is illogical.²¹² Rectangular tombs typically contain one to two rooms, are rectangular or square in shape, with a small doorway located in the dividing wall, examples can be seen at Gournia and Mochlos. The house plan is straightforward in form and requires no parallel for construction (similar to the design of the sarcophagus). As Vavouranakis points out “(Minoan) houses are usually multi-room complexes, while tombs usually have only one or two rooms each.”²¹³ Similarly, as many have attempted to draw a connection between the domestic use of the larnax and a funerary purpose, Soles and others have posited that there is a relationship between domestic architecture and funerary architecture (like the Etruscans or the Egyptians, both of which mimic domestic life in the after-life).²¹⁴ In this case, it seems probable that neither applies to the Minoan belief system.

The remaining forms of tomb types, crevice (also sometimes referred to as a rock shelter), cave, built-cist, built-pit, rock-cut, and natural pit graves all possess multiple similarities. The crevice-type tomb can be classified as a form of natural funerary

²¹¹ Soles 1992b, 202-272. This should also bring to mind the argument presented by Rutkowski suggesting that Minoan larnakes may have been adapted from Cretan house designs. While there is little evidence to support Rutkowski’s claim – especially given the elliptical nature of many larnakes – there is evidence to support the claim made by Soles. These Cretan house tombs tend to be primarily located on East Crete, specifically at Mochlos, Gournia, and Palaikastro. For a more thorough examination of Minoan house tombs see Soles 1992, 115 for a specific list of sites and number.

²¹² Branigan 1970b, 158.

²¹³ Vavouranakis 2007, 103.

²¹⁴ Soles 1992; Also see Hawes who first discusses house tombs in relation to her discoveries at Gournia Hawes 1942, 42; Seager 1912, 15; Evans 1921 (PM 1) 72-74; Pendelbury 1939, 63; Branigan 1970a, 154-158.

deposition. The crevice burial most often occurs within a natural location (such as a hollowed-out rock formation) and then stones cover the front of the crevice.²¹⁵ Some authors (such as Pini) make no distinction between cave burials and crevices. Thus caves, rock shelters, built pit graves, and crevices all form one category of burial type, all three show signs of human manipulation and typically incorporate both built features as well as natural features.²¹⁶ Built-pit graves deviate slightly in that they may be fully submerged in the ground rather than utilizing a cave or other form of natural backdrop; however, they can typically be found on the sides of hills thereby still utilizing part of the natural environment.²¹⁷ Examples can be found at Hagios Charlambos, Sphoungaras, Trapeza (near Herakleion), and Petras. Larnakes are frequently found in these types of tombs.

Built-Cist Graves are much less popular during the Pre- and Protopalatial periods (at this point, none of the larnakes originate from cist graves). These tombs resemble the chamber tombs, which are found in much greater frequency during the later periods on Crete and on the mainland (often found within larger built structures). Typically, they take the form of a rectangular or square subterranean pit, which is dug into the bedrock or soil. Often, they are lined with stone slabs or with stone walls. This type tends to be closer to Cycladic counterparts, though it can also be found on Pseira and at the “Maison des Morts” at Malia.²¹⁸ None of the larnakes associated with Pre- and Protopalatial tombs originate from built-cist graves.

²¹⁵ Georgoulaki 1996, 36.

²¹⁶ Pini 1968, 36-40; Georgoulaki 1996, 41-43; Legarra Herrero 2015, 22, 121, and 137.

²¹⁷ Georgoulaki 1996, 36–37; Legarra Herrero 2015, 22.

²¹⁸ Georgoulaki 1966, 41; Pini 1968, 9; Watrous claims these are Cycladic in origin and originate on the North eastern coast of Crete for further discussion see Watrous 1994, 728. For further information on the “Maison des Morts” see H. van Effenterre 1963, 86. For more information on Pseira see Davaras and Betancourt 1990, 29 and 32.

The Rock-Cut tomb consists of an underground chamber or rectangular, square, elliptical, or circular form. These tombs are comparable to the chamber tombs found on the mainland during much later periods and to the west of Herakleion (such as Armenoi).²¹⁹ Usually, they are dug into the bedrock or soil and would have been approached by an entrance, or a dromos. Most often, a large stone-slab would have been placed in front of the entrance. Until the later periods, no rock-cut tombs contained the remains of larnakes.

The cemetery represents one of the most significant burial types for this project, because at present there are only two cemeteries on Crete in total. The cemetery at Pacheia Ammos – located just to the east of Gournia – appears to be a multi-generational cemetery (spanning centuries) containing both pithoi and larnakes. The other cemetery found at Hagios Myronas displays similar characteristics (with the exceptions of its geographical proximity to the sea).²²⁰ Both locations contain larnakes and pithoi as well as multiple interments and suggest communal burial grounds.

Assessment of Tombs with Larnakes

Overall, larnakes appear in varied tomb contexts. In an overall assessment of the Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes, rectangular buildings housed the largest number of larnakes. It is likely that the house tombs may also fall into this category leading to a combined total of 87 larnakes present in rectangular structures. Fifty-eight larnakes emerged from tholos tombs, and 2 from the annexes surrounding tholoi. Another 37 larnakes were located in caves/rock shelters/ or crevices. In general, because these

²¹⁹ Pini 1968 36-40; Dickinson 1983, 57; Georgoulaki 1996, 41-42.

²²⁰ For more discussion on Hagios Myronas see Georgoulaki 1996, 44-45; For more on Pacheia Ammos see Seager 1916, 5-33.

cemeteries tend to be alone and difficult to find, it is likely that the archaeological record has hidden many of these naturally occurring instances. Open areas (like the one at Archanes) contained a total of 11 larnakes, and 16 emerged from in-ground cemeteries (like Pacheia Ammos and Hagios Myronas). Refer to Table 10 for a breakdown of the tomb type and larnax numbers. In general, while there seems to be a preference for larnakes to be placed in rectangular structures, it is not by an overwhelming number. This suggests that there may not have been a specific association between tomb type and the presence of absence of larnakes.

Part 4: Bodies

Skeletal Remains Overview

Skeletal remains provide one of the most crucial vestiges of evidence for understating Cretan funerary practices, and here, specifically, the relationship between a larnax and its occupant can indicate how the culture meant to deal with their dead. This section focuses on understanding the scientific relationship between the deceased and the burial container meant to confine them, or the communal environment created inside the larnax. While the larnax is important because it involves the placement of the dead, other factors such as the arrangement of the skeleton within the grave, the disturbance of the skeleton/s, the removal or relocation of skeletal pieces, and the articulation of the skeleton can also provide information about burial behavior, customs, and the ritual involved.

Earlier archaeological investigations into Minoan tombs frequently suffered from either inadequate excavation practices (i.e they were heedless of proper stratigraphy) or

from disturbed deposits.²²¹ As such, it is sometimes difficult to determine what level of external manipulation occurred on any given skeleton or on the contents of funerary containers as opposed to internal handling. Unfortunately, we know little or nothing about the majority of human remains found within the early excavated tombs (Apesokari, Pacheia Ammos, and Gournia) – with only recent studies beginning to approach the skeletal remains (Archanes, Mavro Spilio/Knossos, Petras).²²² Many of the earliest excavations paid little attention to human remains and so in many instances no data exists to identify a precise context. This oversight is unfortunate because much of the data cannot be recovered and so we may never fully understand the palaeodemography of many of the earliest tombs. Scholars are forced to rely on the information that can be reconstructed based on the remaining information.

Secondary vs. Primary Burials Definitions

The distinction between primary and secondary burials is critical not only for the archaeological community as a whole, but also for interpreting and understanding the mortuary practices of a culture. Very few scholars have approached the study of human remains during the early periods of Crete's history and the studies that do exist are relegated to specific sites. Archanes, Pseira, Kato Zakros, and Knossos currently make-up the majority of published information on human remains (Arnott, Becker, Carr, and Triantaphyllou).²²³ More wide-spread bone analysis from this time period focuses on

²²¹ This is not to say that the earliest archaeologists were neglectful, merely that the methods employed in modern and scientific archaeology had not yet developed.

²²² See notes in Triantaphyllou 2010 only 4 authors total have written on the human remains from Crete, including Triantaphyllou. The other authors include Becker, Carr, and Arnott.

²²³ For specific studies on bones from Crete see Carr 1960; Becker 1974, 1975a, 1975b; Arnott 2003; and Triantaphyllou 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2016, and 2018.

studies concerning the Minoan diet or the overall quality of life. As such, firm methodologies and comparative data within this topic remain limited.

According to Triantaphyllou, two different methodologies can be applied when defining the characteristics associated with primary and secondary burials. either a scientific or an ethnographic approach. When utilizing a scientific methodology, primary burials appear as entombments deposited in a location only to remain in that exact spot until discovery. In regard to larnakes, this type of burial is very rare (or indistinguishable alongside secondary interments) until the LM I period. Secondary burials consist of the removal or the alteration of bones from their original location.²²⁴ Most of the larnax burials appear to encompass this type of burial either by way of removing bones to make way for new interments, or by clearing the ground of burials and placing specified bones into the larnax.

Ethnographic studies, on the other hand, see primary and secondary burials as less rigid in their definitions. Instead, they associate the terminology with the rituals, rites, handling, and other performative aspects of the funeral. Within this method, primary burials are performed in cases where rituals or rites take place at the time of burial or shortly thereafter. Secondary rites, on the other hand, require a much longer ritualized process, wherein ceremonies and interactions with the deceased occur months to years after death and often memorialize, ritualize for social purposes, or affirm community bonds.²²⁵ Because the practice of primary or secondary burials provides evidence for the “rise of the individual,” it is necessary to attempt to define the type of burial typically

²²⁴ See Triantaphyllou 2018, 143.

²²⁵ Parker Pearson 1999, 50; See Triantaphyllou 2018, 143.

being employed in associated with larnakes. In terms of the ethnographic definitions, the manipulation of bones suggests that Cretans largely partook in secondary interments.

Problems defining Primary and Secondary Burials on Crete

Cretan mortuary studies require special attention when evaluating primary and secondary interments because: 1) Many depositions have been disturbed thus making it harder to determine whether the bones were moved in antiquity or later by looters; 2) Early excavations were not as careful when dealing with stratigraphical sequences (especially at the earliest part of the 20th century prior to the introduction of scientific archaeology), thus it may be unclear what the actual deposition of the remains looked like; 3) In terms of secondary burials, it is difficult to tell at what point the ritual activity took place. Even when considering these factors, however, there are certain key elements that indicate the occurrence of secondary burials. The presence of a large number of only the same bones – skulls and long bones in particular – suggests manipulation in antiquity, as looters would be unlikely to go to the trouble of collecting specific bones and then grouping them together.²²⁶ Secondly, the lack of articulated skeletons in a tomb not disturbed by looters also indicates that secondary rites took place. If no skeletons remain together or in a contracted position (in the form in which they would have decomposed), and the tomb shows no signs of looting then one can deduce that at some point in antiquity, either at the time of burial or thereafter, a secondary manipulation of the bones must have occurred.

Triantaphyllou suggests the following methods in order to distinguish between primary and secondary burials on Crete. First, examining photos (or notes) to determine

²²⁶ See Triantaphyllou 2018, 143. For further discussion specifically on the secondary vs primary interments at Archanes see Linn 2018, 289 – 290.

the original articulation of skeletal remains. Does the body present itself in way that indicates tendons and ligaments were still attached at the time of burial? Second, an analysis of the position and orientation of the skeleton, can the anatomical position of the bones be inferred? If not, then movement must have occurred after decomposition. Third, can the presence or absence of grave goods *in situ* be confirmed? In cases of articulation located alongside grave goods, it can be inferred that the skeleton represents a primary burial. The final category, examines the representation of bones, are only specific bones remaining? If multiple skulls are nearby or not enough large bones are present to complete a skeleton, then the likelihood of external/post-interment manipulation is high.²²⁷ As stated above, much of the information provided by the early excavations makes distinguishing primary and secondary burials difficult; but this dissertation attempts to follow Triantaphyllou's guidelines. Triantaphyllou suggests that based on her overview of old excavation photographs, many of the burials classified as primary interments in fact lack evidence to verify such an argument and instead, most images represent secondary burials.²²⁸ This in itself is important because it suggests that Minoans continue to interact in some way with the deceased.

Primary Burial Assessment

As a rule, Minoan bones in the Pre- and Protopalatial period were deposited on the floor and sometimes in burial containers.²²⁹ Rarely, like in pit-graves, they were placed on specially prepared floors (like a tomb lined with stone). Where primary burial evidence exists, the bodies appear to have been placed in a contracted position (Archanes,

²²⁷ See Triantaphyllou 2018, 143.

²²⁸ See Triantaphyllou 2018, 143.

²²⁹ Triantaphyllou 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2016, 2018.

Apesokari, and Mochlos all provide similar evidence).²³⁰ In pithos and larnax burials, contraction of the skeleton (or secondary interment) would be especially necessary since the shape of the vessels would not allow the bodies to fit in an extended position.

Additional evidence of contraction and purposeful breakage is present at Pacheia Ammos (as well as in the majority of pithos and larnax burials) where the bodies actually exhibit intentional bone destruction.²³¹ The deliberate bone breakage suggests the following possible conclusions 1) The funerary vessels were not made specifically for an individual, rather the bodies were manipulated to fit the vessel. Therefore, it is the vessel that is important and not the deceased; 2) They were not placed in the vessels while still decomposing; And 3) It leads to question of order, which was placed first the vessel in the tomb already containing the body? Or the placement of body inside the vessel and then within the tomb.

Georgoulaki suggests an interesting idea in relation to the articulation of skeletons and their placement within tombs. She posits, that if, as Branigan suggests – and this author does not necessarily argue – that most tombs were simply ossuaries or repositories for a mass of disarticulated bones post-decomposition, then each settlement may have possessed two cemeteries (a point which deserves further exploration). In this scenario, one cemetery housed the decomposing bodies, and another cemetery accommodated the bones post-decomposition.²³² It should be noted at this point, that the body decomposes at a faster rate when it is exposed to the elements. It is possible, therefore, that bodies were left to decompose in an open-air environment and then conveyed into closed spaces

²³⁰ For Archanes see Sakellarakis 1973, 186; For Pacheia Ammos see Seager 1916, 10-13; For Mochlos see Soles 1992, 243-244.

²³¹ Seager 1916, 10-13; Sakellarakis 1973, 186; Samson 1981, 21; Georgoulaki 1996, 119.

²³² Georgoulaki 1996, 120.

(such as larnakes or tholoi), while any bodies placed immediately within the confines of pithoi and larnakes would have decomposed at a much slower rate. As this dissertation has ascertained that holes in larnakes do not present themselves until at least the MM II periods, it is clear bodies were not decomposing inside the larnakes.

Secondary Burial Assessment

In terms of secondary burials in Minoan tombs, this suggests that a significant amount of time has occurred between death, decomposition, and post-funerary practice. At this juncture, the manipulation of remains is much more extensive and invasive than the original primary interment. According to Branigan and Georgoulaki, floors, vessels, and various tomb types contained secondary burials during the Pre- and Protopalatial periods.²³³ In fact, this dissertation argues that all larnakes of the early periods contained secondary burials as opposed to primary entombments, with very few exceptions thereby negating the element of “individualism.”

Moreover, we know that many larnakes received the remains of multiple secondary burials. At Vorou, at least one larnax contains the bones of multiple individuals. At Archanes, in space 19 several small vases and larnakes contained several burials. Other places are less clear, for example at Archanes, tomb 12 contained many bones, skulls, and fragments of larnakes.²³⁴ While the initial assumption may be that the larnakes were originally part of primary burials only to be cleared away, it is equally plausible that the larnakes contained multiple interments each.

²³³ Georgoulaki 1996, 124 -131; Branigan 1970b; Additional referenced to secondary treatment can be found throughout scholarship including but not limited to Sakellarakis 1966, 1967, 1973, 1999; Platon 1967; Davaras 1973; Soles 1992.

²³⁴ Georgoulaki 1996, 132.

The argument that larnakes possessed the remains of a single individual and thus allude to a practice of individualism often coincides with the idea that secondary remains found in larnakes were added as an afterthought.²³⁵ Even if this is the case, and this author does not suggest that it is, then the original individual buried within the larnax cannot have possessed any lasting significance beyond their own kinship-group or even beyond their own generation. In itself, the addition of more bones, the removal of bones, and the general lack of desire to keep an “individual’s” bones together negates any potential for “individualism.” Other scholars (such as Maggidis) would suggest that reinterment was only allotted to a very few individuals while the remainder were merely gathered up into mass piles and redistributed amongst the rocks or within burial containers.²³⁶ It is clear that some burials appear to have been accorded the rights to grave goods in accompaniment with their primary burial, but whether these were then redeposited with them during the secondary process remains unclear.

Bone Preferences

Recognizing the patterns associated with primary and secondary burial practices marks a difficult aspect of this project; but given the current data it is possible to say with certainty that the skull received markedly different attention than most other bones. Several examples are available, at Myrtos Pyrgos where a Prepalatial pithos was found full of bones with 44 skulls “packed tightly around it while other bones filled the space.”²³⁷ At Trapeza, skulls were embedded into stalactites, and at Archanes multiple

²³⁵ Maggidis 1994, 45; Sakellarakis 1997, 249; Tsipopoulou 2008, 133; Linn 2018, 169-170.

²³⁶ Maggidis 1994, 45.

²³⁷ Cadogan 1977-78, 70-74; Geourgoulaki 1996, 122 and 126; Triantaphyllou 2018, 143.

skulls were placed on a bench without any other associated bones.²³⁸ Whatever this practice may tell us about secondary and primary burials, it is clear that Minoans must have viewed the human skull as somehow more important, or at least somehow separate from the rest of the human body. It also alludes to the practice of gathering, collecting, and redepositing the skull in some form of ritualized ceremony and placing them into a group, or a community.

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

The present chapter evaluated several facets of Minoan larnakes, ranging from their philological origin and etymology, to the dominant tomb types, and finally, an appraisal of the human remains. Several key conclusions can be drawn from this chapter. First, the term may have some precedence in Homeric epic and mythology, however the stories and myths that relate bathing and death together (even if drawn from the Bronze Age) form a tenuous connection and present very little correlation to Crete (Even Agamemnon as a Bronze Age chieftain represents mainland traditions rather than Cretan ones).

Second, etymologically, the term appears to mean chest or box based on current translations and as such its application fits with the later Minoan larnakes, as well as a few examples from the Early and Middle Minoan periods that adopt the more rectangular shape (as opposed to the bathtub form). Two important themes stand out from these observations: 1) While the term may be applicable to the chest-shaped boxes or boxes that hold bones, it does not appear to connect itself to bathing; 2) Where the term may fit with bathing, there are no references to it either being a chest or a funerary vessel.

²³⁸ For Archanes see, Sakellarakis 1973, 177-78; For Trapeza see, H. Pendelbury, J Pendelbury, and M. Money-Coutts 1935-36, 17-18.

Etymologically there is little to no connection between the larnax and a bath. Thus, having evaluated both the mythological origin and the etymological one, it seems probable that statements found in ancient texts support a connection between the term, λαρναξ, and a vessel used for burial.

Third, if we remove the connection to the bathtub, then we can look at these objects solely as vessels used in funerary contexts and make some conclusions regarding the origin of the form. There is no reason to assume that the Minoans needed to look elsewhere in order to develop the use of a chest as a burial vessel. The use of pithoi as burial vessels already existed in the Early Minoan period. It seems equally likely that as pottery techniques advanced and kiln sizes grew, the ability to create larger, horizontal vessels probably became more accessible. It seems reductive to force the attribution of the larnax's form to a far-off culture.

Lastly, the advent of the larnax occurs more or less island-wide during the MM IA period on Crete. Its emergence does not occur at a single geographic point (such as near a sea) and then spread throughout the island. The fact that it materializes in various tomb types, tholoi, crevices, rectangular/house tombs, rock shelters, cists, and cemeteries imply that the tradition probably originated as an intra-island phenomenon. Moreover, in terms of the spatial distribution of larnakes, no tomb type holds special significance. This observation also contributes to a heterarchical social structure. Simply put, within a single region larnakes appear at various sites and within various tomb-type complexes. No singular tomb-type dominates the mortuary record. An example can be seen in the Mirabello region, on the Eastern side of Crete, larnakes are present in the cemetery of Pacheia Ammos, the house tombs of Gournia, and in crevice burials at Sphoungaras. Just

off the coast of the Pacheia Ammos cemetery lies the island of Pseira, which also contained Early Minoan burials in crevices and house tombs, yet no larnakes were discovered within the remains. This demonstrates that even within a very confined geographical region there were both differences in burial practices as well as homogenous customs.

This chapter has demonstrated that the Cretan larnax, while linked to various ancient myths, in most stories where the term *λαρανξ* is employed, there is an evident link to death. In contrast, there is not a significant number of examples to likewise form a connection with a meaning associated with bathing. As a funerary vessel, the larnax also exhibits more instances of secondary burial than primary interments. On a regional level, the larnax also appears in various tomb types. The information gleaned from this chapter suggests that the larnax served as a secondary funerary container. Alone, this information aids the overall aim of the dissertation by suggesting that those buried within larnakes do not represent a distinct clan, class, gender, or age group. It is necessary to look elsewhere for similarities that might shed light on the presence or absence of larnakes in the Cretan mortuary record. The ensuing chapter examines each larnax within its specific context, along with all pertinent catalogue information (handles, fabric, decoration).

Chapter 4: The Larnax in Context

Part 1: Funerary Sites and Larnakes

The previous chapter discussed prior methodological and theoretical approaches to examining Minoan tombs and larnakes. It also suggested that new approaches and viewpoints be applied as the discipline advances. Alternative views are further elucidated in Chapter 5. This chapter evaluates larnakes within their specific contexts to provide a solid and holistic foundation with which to evaluate the material. Such a complete representation of larnakes and their surrounding burial assemblage – which will be delineated in each section through grave goods and bones – can indicate the presence or absence of individual interments and the existence or absence of wealthy objects.

At present, larnakes can be found at twenty-nine different locations on Crete (Map 1). The majority of sites are within central and east Crete. As a result, the geographic distribution of larnakes is both restricted (due to its isolation in the center and the east) and also varied (in that they are scattered amongst most Pre- and Protopalatial tombs in the east and the central regions). Data specific to larnax contexts can provide concrete information concerning date, function, and identity of the inhabitants. Therefore, each tomb and larnax is evaluated along with its accompanying finds, its landscape, and the stratigraphy of the site. While it may not provide enough specifics to reveal the local inhabitant's belief-system, it can help identify the differing practices, regional variations, intellectual-trade patterns, and perhaps eventually road networks.

Thus, the chapter proceeds in a geographic and alphabetical manner. It begins with Central Crete, because the largest concentration of larnakes can be found within this region. It then moves to the south-central region (located around the Mesara and the

Asterousia Mountains). Greek Archaeological reports suggest that this region also possessed many larnakes, though the provenance from these sites is less secure). The chapter moves forward by examining the larnakes in the east, particularly the Mirabello Bay, and then concludes with the few examples from far eastern sites (Kato Zakros and the Gorge of the Dead). Each section is further subdivided alphabetically. In general, these geographical regions follow patterns set up by previous scholarship (such as Legarra Herrero, Murphy, Branigan).²³⁹ The analysis of each tomb proceeds by providing, first, an overview of the site, its date of use, and its stratigraphy. Then each section evaluates the presence of bones and their placement (primary or secondary) followed by an examination of the grave goods associated either specifically with the larnakes or the bones. If no material or bone data exists, then notes are provided about the objects found generally in the tomb to draw comparisons about funerary assemblages from across the island. Finally, each section evaluates the larnakes – their shape, handles, decoration, size, and fabric. In the cases where details about the larnakes were not available and a study permit was not granted, the details (shape, handles, decoration, and size) are combined into a single larnax overview.

Part 2: Central Crete

Archanes Phourni Overview

Archanes, located in the central region of Crete about 23 km south of Knossos, contains the largest number of Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes. The settlement and the

²³⁹ In general Crete is often subdivided into various geographical regions while there has been significant movement away from such designations (see Sbonias 1995, Whitelaw et al. 1997, Haggis 2002, Relaki 2004, and Legarra Herrero 2009), for the sake of organization this dissertation maintains labeling them within certain geographic boundaries for the sake of easy access to the material. Such designations of regional boundaries are based on previous scholarship (Legarra Herrero 2005, Murphy et al 2011) and are not meant to support the idea of “regional” control or “regionally-specific” customs.

cemetery are separated by low hills and a small valley. The cemetery sits on one of the low hills now called Phourni, whereas the settlement appears in the valley. While the site certainly contains many objects of significance and is interesting from an urban development standpoint, the cemetery represents one of the most important funerary sites on the island due to its duration of use, relative intactness, quantity of material, size, and quality of the objects. Each of these factors provide scholars with a vast array of information.²⁴⁰

The cemetery is large, with more than 26 buildings and 5 tholos tombs and represents a period of use from the EM II through the LM IIIC periods.²⁴¹ At present, a total of 116 (Cat. 8–123 and 220) larnakes with EM to MM (that is, Pre- and Protopalatial) dates originate from twelve different locations at the cemetery. Each tomb at Archanes possesses multiple interments (both in vessels and on the ground) as well as a variety of grave goods. This section will deal with each tomb that contained larnakes and each larnax's contextual relationship to the bones and grave goods. Tholos B, Tholos E, Tholos G, Tomb 5, Tomb 6, Tomb 7, Tomb 9, Tomb 16, Tomb 18 and Tomb 19, and the Area of the Rocks as well as some spaces between Tomb 8 and Tomb 9 produced the greatest quantity of larnakes. This section serves as an outlier in terms of its organization

²⁴⁰ Unfortunately, as with many other sites on Crete, there is a limited publication record for much of this material. The burial vessels, for example, have never been properly studied and still await final publication. There is likely to be a wealth of data present from these vessels alone and a thorough study of both the larnakes and the pithoi together could provide some long sought-after information regarding Minoan burial traditions. At this stage, however, no one who has been permitted access these items have subsequently published them. This lacuna in scholarship has been noted by many other scholars including Legarra Herrero, Georgoulaki, and Haggis. However, some of the tombs have been well-studied and well-published including Tholos G (Papadatos 2005), Tholos E (Panagiotopoulos 2002), and Tomb 19 (Maggidis 1994).

²⁴¹ For a thorough overview of the entire site see Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997. References to the number of buildings can be found on page 155. For a more recent assessment of the excavations and the site see Linn 2018. Sakellarakis also published each season individually in *Praktika tes Archaeologikes Hetaireas* (1965–68, 1971–73, 1975, and 1977).

due to the overwhelming size of the site and number of tombs. Thus, rather than each tomb receiving its own heading number, they are subdivided based on letter (A- K). Additionally, the end of this section (because of the number of tombs in one location) offers a comprehensive overview of the larnakes from Archanes. Because the remaining sites all include fewer than 2 individual tombs, the assumption is that the overview and summary is provided in Key Insights.

A. Tholos G
General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 9–20

Bones	15 total skulls 7 bags studied (only 4 of those bags were meant to contain a single individual): 2 larnakes contained multiple interments, 2 larnakes contained individual, 7 are unknown
Grave Goods	seal stones, copper sheet, obsidian blade, bone pendant, copper rivet, white paste pendant, jugs, lead discoid
Larnakes	11 Total

Tholos Gamma, originally excavated in 1972 under the direction of Sakellarakis and the Greek government, contained a total of eleven larnakes.²⁴² It is located in the center of the cemetery and according to Papadatos, because the central part of the tholos dates to the EM IIA period, it represents one of the first burial locations for the inhabitants of Archanes.²⁴³ An architectural analysis of the tholos indicates that additional rectangular structures (Buildings 5 and 9) were added as annexes later than the construction of the central dromos– most probably during the EM III period. However, while the origin of the tholos dates to the EM II period, no larnakes were present in the

²⁴² The original name given to this tholos was Tholos Tomb C, as discussed by Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 181.

²⁴³ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 182; Papadatos 2005, 4.

lowest levels of the tomb. Thus, the terminus post quem for the larnakes must be above the original construction layer and date to at least the EM III period. This chronology more accurately aligns with the subsequent building phases.

The excavator divided Tholos G in three excavation layers. Stratum III occupied the lowest level and consisted of only a thin layer of soil that barely covered the bedrock in some places.²⁴⁴ Stratum II contained all of the larnakes. The bottom of Stratum II coincides with the base of the larnakes and the upper most boundary rests just beneath the rubble/stone destruction layer that constituted Stratum I. Stratum I comprised the rubble/destruction layer just below the roof. The terminus ante quem of the rubble (roof) destruction layer was determined by the presence of an MM IIA–MM IIB intact cup found directly under the entrance stone.²⁴⁵ Thus the dating sequence of the Stratum II resides somewhere between EM III and MM II (though a more accurate date might be MM IA – MM IIA), suggesting that the larnakes (also located in Stratum II) must fall within a similar chronology.

None of the larnakes contained any directly associated material remains, with perhaps a few exceptions of pottery fragments. The majority of objects related to “status” were found in the layer below the larnakes (Stratum III) or somewhere around the larnakes in Stratum II. Papadatos has suggested that Stratum III (the layer below the larnakes) is not connected to Stratum II. Instead, he suggests that there was a clearing of the tholos, perhaps in the EM III period, and then the deposition of objects (including the

²⁴⁴ Papadatos 2005, 5.

²⁴⁵ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 181–182; Papadatos 2005, 8.

larnakes) in Stratum II occurred. His assessment indicates that the objects found within Stratum II correspond with a date range of EM III – MM IA.²⁴⁶

Bones and Tholos G

The bones discovered inside the larnakes in Tholos G provide the most extant and comprehensive data from any other tomb with larnakes on Crete.²⁴⁷ A total of fifteen skulls and other assorted bones of the studied individuals identify the skeletons as either mature or prime adults. Only one set of bones indicates a sub-adult, and three sets suggest the occurrence of child or infant burials. Of the bones that can be identified, six definitely belong to males and seven indicate female. Six additional burials remain unidentifiable in terms of sex. The implication of this data suggests that preference for burial inside a larnax is not related to age or sex. Instead, present data from Tholos G suggests that sex is almost equally distributed.²⁴⁸

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, evidence for primary and secondary burials presents an area of contention amongst scholars. The placement of bones within the larnakes alongside the occurrence of additional bones found outside of the larnakes suggests that primary burials accompany later additions of secondary burials or cleanings.²⁴⁹ These trends support this study's argument for rethinking the role of individualism in Minoan society.

²⁴⁶ Papadatos 2005, 4.

²⁴⁷ This is due in large part to the fact that they were excavated and labeled and then stored in the Museum to be studied later. While other tombs on Crete (Moni Odigitria) have also received detailed analysis of human remains (Triantaphyllou, 2010), to date, only Tholos G has published any human remains connected directly to Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes. However, Sissi (Dreissen et al. 2011), Petras (Tsipoupoulou 2012a and 2015), and Apesokari (Vavouranakis 2005, 2006, 2012) are likely to provide additional details and information in the future as they move forward in the publication process.

²⁴⁸ Triantaphyllou, 2005.

²⁴⁹ Georgoulaki 1996, 112; Papadatos 2005, 58–60; Linn 2018, 184.

Grave Goods and Tholos G

While no finds can be associated directly with the inner contents of the larnakes, many objects originate from outside the larnakes but within the confines of Stratum II, suggesting that an individual's status did not serve as the motivating factor for deposition in a larnax. In sector A, which contained larnakes 1, 2, and 5, (Cat. 9, 10, and 13) there were 2 seal stones, a copper sheet, and an obsidian blade. In an overlapping sector (B) that included larnakes 1, 5, and 10 (Cat.9, 13, and 18), there was 1 seal stone, a bone pendant, and a copper rivet. Sector C, associated with larnakes 8 and 9 (Cat.16 and 17) the poorest preserved of the larnakes, contained only a single copper object. The last sector (sector D) that included the largest number of larnakes (Cat.12, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18) included multiple objects including 2 bone pendants, a white paste pendant, 3 seal stones, 2 jugs, and 1 lead discoid.

The associated objects found directly below the larnakes are greater in number and variety and may indicate, as suggested in Chapter 3, societal or cultural beliefs about the inhabitants buried in Tholos G directly prior to the deposition of the larnakes. While at first it appears that many of the objects can be associated directly with a single larnax, the observations of Papadatos indicate that it is more likely that this association occurred merely by coincidence rather than being a deliberate choice of the living.²⁵⁰ At the very least these objects may be indicative of burial customs between EMII and EMIII prior to the advent of larnakes. Nevertheless, the proximity of the dates, stratigraphy, and location all indicate that these burial assemblages should at least be noted when discussing these larnakes.

²⁵⁰ Papadatos 2005, 52.

While their direct association with the larnakes is unclear, the objects provide an overview of material remains interred with EM and MM occupants.²⁵¹ Notably, none of the objects below the larnakes contained any bone fragments only objects. The following objects were found directly underneath Stratum II. Papadatos detailed these finds by sections (noted as sectors in the report), and this study will follow those delineations. The most abundant objects can be identified under larnax 10 and larnax 6, both of which are located in sector D (the southeast part of the tomb and the least disturbed by the collapse of the roof).²⁵² These include multiple pieces of jewelry (32 beads of various materials and 6 pendants of various materials), fragments of marble figurines, and additional pieces of metal. Only 2 seal stones were found in Stratum III, which is comparable to the uppermost layer (Stratum 1) where an additional 3 seals were located. However, in stark contrast to the upper layer, which contained only a single jug associated with the single pithos burial, the lower layer contained over 76 pieces of additional pottery, all of which were of EMIIA date.

The grave goods when placed alongside the larnakes suggest that the inhabitants of Crete did not place the significance on the larnax, but rather the focus rested on the act of interment (or the ritual of the funeral practice). The community act took precedence over the individual and the object/objects.

²⁵¹ Georgoulaki 1996, 162 here Georgoulaki suggests that the burial goods associated with the dead were often deposited below the actual larnax. “The accompanying goods were usually deposited beneath the containers (Archanes E).” This statement, which may serve as true for Archanes E and G, does not have any additional supporting information, and more importantly, there seems to be little data available across the island that may be used to positively identify this as a Minoan rite of passage.

²⁵² Papadatos 2005, 7.

Tholos G Larnakes

Shape

While the published study offered a substantial amount of information, a physical examination of these larnakes was not permitted. Therefore, details concerning size, shape, and dimensions were easily accessible; but more thorough data regarding decoration, fabric analysis, and additional details were limited.²⁵³

The larnakes found in Stratum II share some common characteristics. In almost all cases, the interior of the vessels were elliptical in shape featuring rounded interior edges (see Cat.8–12, 15–18). The single exception to this rule appears to be larnax 8 (see Cat.16), where the interior possesses squared-off edges, making the vessel completely rectangular. In almost all instances the exterior of the vessel is rectangular with angled corners. Two other exceptions (Cat.14 and 19) are fully elliptical. The lids, of which only five are semi-intact to intact, are mostly elliptical in shape and fit the interior lip of the vessel rather than the outer shell.

Decoration

The decoration on the exterior of the vessels and the lids appears to be congruous within the tomb. In the instances where details were provided for decoration, it is clear that the artists employed primarily linear decoration. For example, larnax 2 (Cat.10) and larnax 7 (Cat.15) both possess a single linear band around the rim of the vessel. There is only one instance where the artist opts for a curvilinear decoration (Cat.18) and this consists merely of a large black solid circle on the center of the body. According to

²⁵³ While the current dissertation attempts to fill a large gap in understanding larnakes, more detailed and tangible studies are needed in order to provide specific data. This study, therefore, serves as a foundation with which to gather more information later.

Papadatos, this was likely a repeated pattern, but the rest of the paint is too faded to know for certain.²⁵⁴

In addition to painted decoration, two larnakes indicate relief decoration. larnax 4 and larnax 7 (Cat. 12 and 15). The side of larnax 4 (Cat. 12) depicts two crisscrossed lines that form an X pattern. Similarly, larnax 7 (Cat. 15) possesses a rope-patterned band that wraps around the body of the vessel. This decorative pattern matches some of the larnakes found at Sissi as well as burial pithoi found at Archanes.²⁵⁵ The remainder of the larnakes exhibit little to no discernible decoration, which is more reminiscent of the larnakes found at both Vorou and Pyrgos (neither of which are known to possess external decoration).²⁵⁶

Fabric

The larnakes in Tholos G are composed primarily of red, coarse clay. Two exceptions are larnax 3 (Cat. 11) – which is described as brown and coarse – and pithos 12 – described as pink and coarse. Without further personal inspection and a Munsell reading, it is difficult to say whether the fabric is representative of nearby areas. The inclusions found within the red, coarse fabric appear to be primarily large and black. In many instances, these are interspersed with additional red inclusions. Similar inclusions occur in the other two fabrics (both the pale pink and the brown). A yellowish slip covers both the interior and the exterior of the majority of larnakes from Tholos G, with the

²⁵⁴ Papadatos 2005, 28.

²⁵⁵ For larnakes from Sissi, see Cat. 181–189 for decorative patterns. For pithoi from Archanes with matching decoration see Kostis Christakis, 2005.

²⁵⁶ Neither the larnakes from Pyrgos nor the larnakes from Vorou have been published. A minute amount of information was published on the examples from Vorou in 1931 by Marinatos, see *ArchDelt* 13, 131–170. All of the pottery from Pyrgos is currently under study by Irimi Gallini at the National Museum in Herakleion, but as of yet little information has been provided about the larnakes. The two examples referred to here are both on display at the Herakleion Museum currently in the Pre- and Protopalatial galleries, but it is not possible to discern their fabric composition.

exception of two larnakes: larnax 7 (Cat. 15) and larnax 11 (larnax 19) both of which are covered in a reddish slip. It is clear that the majority of fabrics originate from the same location. Additionally, because larnax 7 and 11 possess the same core fabric, but different slip, it is likely that they too originate from the same source but for some reason the external slip was altered. Larnax 3 and pithos 12 (Cat. 11), on the other hand, would need further study to verify their origin; but based on present data, it is likely that they originate from nearby Archanes but perhaps from a different clay source.

Without a physical inspection of these larnakes it is difficult to determine their exact manner of manufacture. Nevertheless, based on an overall assessment of most larnakes, it is probable that the vessels from Archanes were similarly produced via coil construction from the base upwards. What can be determined from Papadatos' catalogue information is that these vessels (as comparanda shows) all tend to have an ashen or gray core. The gray core may have been done purposefully, or it may suggest the presence of over-firing, or a lack of oxygen in the kiln.

Handles

All of the vessels from Tholos G possess exterior handles. Of the eleven vessels, eight possess vertical handles and eight possess horizontal handles. Many of the vessels from Archanes utilize both horizontal and vertical handles on the long side, meaning there are a total of eight handles present on a single vessel. Four of the vessels also present knob-projections on the short sides. Only four vessels contain a total of four handles, and only one exhibits a total of six handles. In most cases, the lids were likely also equipped with handles. It is probable that the goal was to secure the base of the vessel to the lid by tying string (or rope?) between the lid handles and the body handles.

In the case of 8 handles, this supposition makes particular sense as it would also provide additional handles with which to carry the vessel.

Size

In Papadatos' initial assessment of larnax sizes, he states, "they are characterized by great variation in almost every aspect of their morphology."²⁵⁷ In one way this is true, there does not appear to be a standardized decorative pattern nor, as noted above, is the fabric or the slip completely regular. Moreover, the dimensions vary widely. Therefore, no mold was utilized in the larnax's construction, nor did there seem to be a consistent size. Papadatos also notes that the lids vary in almost as much frequency as the bottoms. Based on his data, none of the larnakes possess the exact same dimensions; however, the majority fall within a strikingly similar range. For example, at least nine of the larnakes measure 81 to 105 cm in length. While an average difference of 23 cm is significant, when discussing such large vessels, 81 to 105 would still accommodate a contracted skeleton. The width of the vessels, on the other hand, provides a much closer parallel. In nine instances, the width ranges from 41 to 49 cm.²⁵⁸ This range represents only 8 cm difference in the most extreme case. Therefore, while there may not be a standardized size for the larnax, it is certainly clear that potters attempted to maintain a particular size and shape.

Key Insights and Other Data

The presence of relief decoration, as seen on larnax 4 (Cat. 12), as well as the red painted band, seen on larnax 7 (Cat. 15), both suggest that a date of MM IA should be

²⁵⁷ Papadatos 2005, 27.

²⁵⁸ The nine examples are used because they are the only larnakes provided from Tholos G with dimensions. The other examples are either too fragmentary to guess their approximate dimensions, or they simply were not provided in the final report.

considered.²⁵⁹ At the very least these particular innovations did not begin until the MM IA period. Moreover, there is no solid evidence to support a date of EM III for the larnakes from Tholos G. While many of the other grave goods and some of the pottery can be assigned to the EM III period, the majority of those originate within Stratum III. The larnakes all emerged from Stratum II. Moreover, the majority of vessels were concentrated in the center and close to the entrance of the tomb, which generally suggests later interments. A date of MM IA for the larnakes from Tholos G would correspond more closely to other locations at Archanes and across Crete.

B. Tholos Epsilon (B)
General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 21–51

Bones Total interments in larnakes: specifics	38 suggested individuals: 7 multiple interments, 5 suggested individual interments, 19 unknown or unclear
Grave Goods	amethyst beads, steatite bead, quartz bead , seal stones (of various materials), obsidian blade, pottery fragments
Larnakes	31 larnakes

Like Tholos Gamma, Tholos Epsilon was also excavated in 1972 by Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis. Similarly, where Tholos Gamma received extensive publication by Papadatos in his 2005 PhD dissertation, Tholos Epsilon received similar treatment by Panagiotopoulos in 2002. Tholos E contained more larnakes than Tholos G. However, their locations and stratigraphy within Tholos E were far more cluttered and disrupted. It is unclear whether the resulting sporadic placement and haphazard arrangement discovered by the excavator were the result of disturbance prior to excavation or whether they represent the original placement of the larnakes. The patchy

²⁵⁹ Philip P. Betancourt’s guidelines for Minoan Pottery (*Minoan Pottery* 1985, MM IA – MM IB) still remain the definitive standard.

and irregular placement is supported by the number of larnakes that were found mostly damaged and or destroyed (in particular larnakes 22, 23, 27, 29, 42, and 46), thus making analysis of these particular vessels and any associated finds difficult to examine.²⁶⁰

Unlike Tholos G, where a straightforward correlation was not always well-defined between a larnax and its funeral assemblage, Tholos E, in many cases, provides a clearer relationship. In Tholos E, the objects have been ascribed to a particular larnax due to its primary/original placement within the larnax or close by. In cases where the object was located nearby, it is logical to infer that it originally belonged inside the larnax, per Panagiotopoulos' findings. Thus, in the case of Tholos E, we should assume a different relationship must have existed between the deceased and the objects found inside the tomb.

Similar to Tholos G, Tholos E can also be divided by both sector and stratum. The uppermost stratum dates to a later period (with some vessels indicating a date range of MM III – LM II). Consequently, it is of little interest to this dissertation. The lower two strata (Stratum 2 and 3), on the other hand, suggest dates ranging from the MM I – MM II periods, thus falling within the late Prepalatial and early Protopalatial periods. Also similar to Tholos G, a concentration of larnakes was found just inside the tomb entrance, closest to the door. This proximity is likely the result of both space and access issues.²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ The most detailed description of this specific tholos tomb can be found in Panagiotopoulos 2002. For original publication from the excavation see Sakellarakis 1975, 268–307; 1977; and 1980 and Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997.

²⁶¹ There are discrepancies in the dating of Tholos E. Where Sakellarakis claims that the lowest level of Tholos E (which also contains the base of two larnakes) can be dated to the EM II period (see Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 474), Panagiotopoulos makes no such claim. His dates on the other hand place all of the larnakes within an EM III–MM I range. This dissertation asserts that the EM III date is irrelevant.

Like Tholos G, the bottommost layer of Tholos E (stratum 4) contained no larnakes, but a large amount of both skeletal material in addition to grave goods were present. This layer was also very thin (.03 – .10 m in thickness) and compact and could be found just below the layer of burial sarcophagi – the best parallel for this can also be seen in Tholos G and is akin to Stratum III. This thin, dark layer of compact soil, like Tholos G, represents the earliest burial layer in Tholos E and dates to the EM II–EM III phase. Both in Tholos G and Tholos E, this lowest layer was leveled with fill – thus generating the unevenness of the deposit – in order to create a flat surface for the placement of the larnakes.²⁶²

Stratum 3, on the other hand, produced several objects of note. This layer also contains more larnakes than Stratum 2 and represents the highest concentration of larnakes in a single location. Larnakes Cat. 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45, 51 all originate from this layer. These vessels produced far more information about both the skeletal remains and the funeral assemblage than the vessels from Stratum 2. Additionally, because they derive from an earlier layer, it is likely that their preservation is due to a general lack of disturbance.

Stratum 2 contained the following larnakes Cat. 23, 27, 29, 30, 36, 42, 44, and 48. There were very few objects associated with these vessels. Information concerning the skeletal remains is sparse for this layer and includes only 2 skulls and some femurs. Other objects associated with the funeral assemblage include 1 seal stone, a small, pierced object (clay and probably used as a talisman), 1 obsidian blade, and some cup fragments. Otherwise, the layer produced very few objects that could aid in understanding either the

²⁶² Panagiotopoulos 2002, 9; Papadatos 2005, 52.

inhabitants of Archanes, the social stratification of the local society, or the funerary customs. It is likely that more skeletal material would have been associated with specific larnakes, but the destruction of the dromos caused disarray thus making positive identification difficult.

Bones and Tholos E

The bones from Stratum 3 indicate the presence of multiple burials. At present, there is no information concerning the sex or maturity of the bones found within Stratum 3 – with the exception of larnax 20, where the size of the skull suggests a child. Regardless of a lack of data concerning age and sex, it is clear that most of the larnakes contained more than one burial. For example, larnax 19 (Cat. 39) contained 7 skulls, while larnax 14 (Cat. 34) contained 1 complete skull and multiple bone fragments suggesting the presence of at least 1 other person. (For more detailed information on the number of individuals vs. multiple burials within larnakes, see Table 2) Overall, there are a total of at least 38 burials in the 31 larnakes based solely on the presence of skull fragments. In many instances, multiple skull fragments were found alongside whole skulls, but without a thorough study of the additional fragments themselves it is impossible to state with certainty whether they belong to an alternate skull.

Grave Goods and Tholos E

In terms of the funerary assemblage, Tholos E supplied a number of objects considered to be “high” value. These included seal stones, beads, obsidian blades, pottery fragments, rings, and other metal objects. One of the most significant funerary assemblages emerged from larnax 20 (Cat. 40) (the probable child burial). This burial included 47 amethyst beads, one steatite bead, one quartz bead and multiple fragments

from a three-legged pottery vessel. In total, seven seal stones are attributed to Tholos E. Larnax 14 (Cat. 34) contained a steatite seal stone and two beads, one made from silver and one from steatite. Larnax 25 and 11 (Cat. 45 and 31) also contained seal stones. Larnax 25 (Cat. 45) included one made from black hematite and another of rock crystal, while the seal stone from A11 (Cat. 31) was manufactured from shell. Larnax 12, 17, and 31 (Cat. 32, 37, and 51) also held seal stones made from steatite and a dark-green stone.²⁶³ Certainly this represents a concentration of seal stones. However, it does not immediately follow that their presence must symbolize elite burials nor does it indicate that these seal stones denote a specific familial association (Particularly given that they were produced from different materials and do not exhibit the same iconography). Moreover, while there are multiple seal stones located within this single tomb, there are not enough to be evenly distributed to each larnax. Therefore, if seal stones do represent status burials, then there are not enough present in Tholos E to identify larnax burials as elite.

Larnax 20 represents the only entombment that suggests something out of the ordinary.²⁶⁴ This vessel contained the skull of a child alongside 47 beads of amethyst, steatite, and quartz. The vessel also held the remains of an obsidian blade, multiple pottery fragments, and fragments of a three-legged vessel. Part of this dissertation argues against the presence of “objects of high-value” as indicators for elite burials, in this instance the occupant of larnax 20 (Cat. 40) did receive a level of distinction. Such

²⁶³ For a more detailed description and explanation of the stratigraphy see Panagiotopoulos 2002, 138–141 and Linn 2018, 252–258. For more information on the tomb and its contents see Georgoulaki 1996, 110, 144 – 146, 157, 201, 219, 268, and 279.

²⁶⁴ See Cat. 40 and Fig. 32.

treatment serves as an outlier. When larnax 20 is placed against similar vessels located to the east of the island, it does not represent of an overarching custom.²⁶⁵

Tholos E Larnakes

Many of the larnakes from Tholos E share some commonalities with themselves and the vessels from Tholos G. The data from Tholos E, which was largely gathered from Panagiotopoulos' publication, provides an illuminating glimpse at these vessels. Most of the vessels also bear remarkable similarities not only to larnakes from Archanes but also to those from Vorou, and perhaps Pyrgos. On the other hand, a few of the larnakes stray from the standard design including Cat. 29, 38, 42, 44, 45, and 51.

Shape

The majority of larnakes from Tholos E are "box-shaped." A thorough examination of the 2002 catalogue alongside an appraisal of the images indicate that, like Tholos G, these vessels are rectangular on the exterior; but the interior corners are rounded creating an inner elliptical form. Overall, twenty-two of the larnakes are box-shaped sarcophagi while only Cat. 38 and 42 can be definitively described as elliptical. The remaining larnakes are fragmentary but based on rim fragments, Panagiotopoulos believes that Cat. 29, 44, 45, and 51 are also all elliptical in shape. In opposition to Tholos G, which housed only a single example of a tub-shaped larnax, Tholos E contains at least two if not six examples. The general consensus is that the tub-shaped larnax represents an earlier form of the larnax. In Tholos E, Cat. 29 was found in Stratum 3, the last layer of deposition that coincides with MM II. Most of the other elliptical larnakes

²⁶⁵ The latter part of this chapter will deal with the funerary objects from the Eastern portion of the island. And while accidents of preservation cannot be ruled out as an explanation for the lack of funerary objects, when it appears that almost all of the larnakes from the east lack objects of value associated with larnakes, it certainly deserves notation and may be indicative of opposing mortuary ideologies.

were found within the same stratum, thus suggesting that the period of deposition occurred around the same time. Therefore, if Cat. 29 belongs to the later period (as seems likely given the stratigraphical context suggests), then perhaps it is time to re-evaluate the use of shape as a determinate for period of production.

Decoration

The larnakes from Tholos E fall into three distinctive decorative categories. The first category is the most common (both in Tholos E as well as in Tholos G). It is represented by dark-painted linear bands that run horizontally around the larnakes. In most cases, the band appears either just above the base or just below the rim. In some instances (such as Cat. 31, 44, and 45), it appears both around the rim and the base. These patterns are reminiscent of similar themes represented in other forms of Minoan pottery.²⁶⁶ The second motif, that of solid black discoids found on the body of the vessel, can be seen in Cat.42 and 44. This motif, while it only appears in two cases, is similar to Cat. 18 from Tholos G. The final decorative pattern appears in Cat. 45. In this instance, a plastic-rope decoration has been added along with black linear bands. This pattern is similar both to the single example from Tholos G (Cat.15) and multiple examples from Sissi (Cat. 181, 182, 183, 184, and 186).²⁶⁷ The remaining vessels appear to be undecorated.

²⁶⁶ For more detailed information on the various chronological and geographical phases of Minoan pottery see Betancourt (especially for East Crete, 1984) and (Crete in general 1985). In both cases, solid, black painted linear bands around the base and the rim suggest an MM I date (though the motif is continuously used in earlier and later periods).

²⁶⁷ The larnakes from Sissi are as of yet unpublished, but some pictures have been included in the dissertation after the kind permission of Jan Dreissen and the Ephoreia of Lasithi.

Fabric

The fabric of Tholos E larnakes falls into three major groups. Like Tholos G, this information is based on already published reports, and a physical exam of the vessels would likely provide more precise results (such as a specific Munsell reading). Seventeen of the larnakes possess fabric described as reddish-brown – matching the description of those in Tholos G. Ten of the remaining larnakes exhibit a grey-to-pink fabric indicating that they may be derived from a similar clay as the reddish-brown, but perhaps from an alternate clay bed (again, like Cat. 19 from Tholos G). Only two examples suggest that they were made from only brown fabric. In the case of the two brown examples, it is possible that they, too actually originate from the same clay as the reddish-brown. Each of the vessels is covered in a pink slip on both the interior and the exterior – in most cases probably derived from the same clay as the fabric. In eight instances, the potter utilized an alternate slip. In these examples, the slip ranges from a light brown to a yellowish each of which can be associated with local clay.²⁶⁸ Based on the above information and a comparison to Tholos G – as well as assessing the pithoi found within the area – the larnakes found in Tholos E are of local manufacture.

Handles

Horizontal handles comprise the most popular handle type found in Tholos E. They are typically located on the elongated sides. The majority of vessels are symmetrical, with two handles on each side, combining for a total of 4. In two instances, three handles can be found on each of the elongated sides (Cat. 38 and 48); and in a single occurrence only one handle can be found on the long sides of the vessels (Cat. 44).

²⁶⁸ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 386–415.

In contrast, a total of seven larnakes exhibit vertical handles. In most of the vertical examples, symmetry is again maintained and both longitudinal sides possess a total of two handles. In two alternative vessels there are four vertical handles on each of the long sides (Cat. 24 and 25).

Three vessels (Cat. 22, 26, and 42) diverge from the standard above; in these three instances, the larnakes possess vertical and horizontal handles on each long side. In two of the objects (Cat. 22 and 26), the preservation suggests a total of eight handles, with two vertical and two horizontal handles on each side. Only one example displays one vertical and two horizontal handles for a total of three handles per side (Cat. 42). A total of six larnakes also contain button projections on the short sides of the vessels. Less common are horizontal and vertical handles on the short sides. Only one larnax has holes on the short sides instead of either handles or button projections. Such variation seen in the number of handles and their placement does not represent a divergence from the other larnakes at Archanes or within the same region. Based on a visual analysis of the single larnax from Pyrgos (at the Herakleion museum), Cat. 38 from Tholos E bears a striking resemblance in form as well as handle position (see Fig. 30 and 53).

Key Insights and Other Data

The data presented from Tholos E demonstrates that the majority of vessels either received multiple primary interments or an individual burial later disturbed by a secondary deposition. This type of post-manipulation does not coincide with an ideology of “individual” burial practices as will be further elucidated in Chapter 5. Furthermore, the lack of high-status objects associated with a specific larnax is minimal, which

provides further support that Tholos E larnakes did not serve as a burial location for elite individuals.

Due to the lack of published catalogues and data on the remaining tombs, the rest of the section on Archanes was more difficult to analyze without a hands-on examination. Thus, the following sections relied on assessments from more recently compiled publications including S. Linn and E. Georgoulaki's dissertations.

C. Burial Building 19
General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 90–94 (102–106)

Bones (Overall interments, larnax specifics)	51 Interments: 1 individual, 4 multiple
Grave Goods	Bronze boss, bronze bit, bronze beads, pottery fragments
Larnakes	5 (with possible additional fragments)

Tomb 19 at Archanes, a built rectangular structure rather than a tholos, contained a total of five larnakes.²⁶⁹ The suggested period of use spans from the EM III/MM IA to the MM IIB. The larnakes from Tomb 19 originated from the second (or upper) burial strata.²⁷⁰ Layers III and IV comprised the upper strata and likely they date to the later periods of use within the tomb, most likely MM IA to MM II. Maggidis has indicated an MM IA date for layer 3 and an MM IB late date for layer 4. This dating would firmly place the objects from this layer within the Protopalatial period.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ While the shape of the tomb is not the primary focus of this dissertation, the style of architecture has been noted in order to fully explain and understand the differences between the environments that housed larnakes. Tomb 19 presents a unique case because rather than being a fully rectangular structure or a tholos, the interior of the tomb is apsidal in nature while the exterior looks rectangular in form.

²⁷⁰ Maggidis 1994, 45–65; Georgoulaki 1996, 93, 109–112, 131, 144–145, and note 834; Linn 2018, 220.

²⁷¹ Maggidis 1994, Table L, and 144.

Bones

An analysis of bones from Burial Building 19 was never officially published, but some data can be reconstructed from both Maggidis' publication and also the re-compiled data provided by Linn and Geourgoulaki. Overall, the bones found within the upper strata represent largely secondary interments. According to Linn, only one larnax can positively be identified as containing a single primary interment (Cat.103).²⁷² The rest of the bones in the layer suggest secondary interments as well as multiple burials in one vessel. For example, the bones in Layer III and Layer IV indicate the presence of 51 individuals.²⁷³ Pithoi 1–3 all contained more than one interment and the remainder of the larnakes also indicate more than one interment. When evaluating Maggidis' numbers, it is clear that the majority of burials took place on the ground, and it was not until the MM IB period that burial container entombments began to match the number of skeletal remains found on the ground.²⁷⁴

Grave Goods and Status

The present data gathered from Maggidis' 1994 publication, and also from separate analyses performed by Geourgoulaki and Linn, indicate that only three of the larnakes contained associated grave goods (Cat. 102, 103, and 106). Alternatively, Maggidis suggests at the end of his own analysis that “the evidence from Burial Building 19 suggests that the majority of container burials were furnished with funerary gifts...”²⁷⁵ However, the only objects of considered “high value” related to a specific larnax are a bronze bead (found in Cat. 102), a bronze boss, a bronze bit, and two more bronze beads

²⁷² Linn 2018, 222.

²⁷³ Maggidis 1994, Table H, 144.

²⁷⁴ Maggidis 1994, Table K, 143.

²⁷⁵ Maggidis 1994, 102.

(found in Cat. 106). Otherwise, the larnakes appear to be devoid of assemblages. It is certainly possible that other material remains of “high-value” were present in the larnakes, but that destruction and time separated those objects from their original deposition. There is no solid evidence to support this theory. Therefore, it is impossible to indicate that the larnakes possessed individuals of high status.

Larnakes

The larnakes from Tomb 19 are somewhat more difficult to reconstruct. Maggidis states that there are a total of five larnakes from Tomb 19.²⁷⁶ Yet, he also described the upper layer as containing multiple fragments. This is supported by Linn, who indicates that the upper layer may contain at least 11 more larnakes.²⁷⁷ Later publications have attempted to give more details. C. Papadopoulos, for example, digitally reconstructed Tomb 19 from the original data. From his imagery, it is possible to ascertain some specific details, but not all of these details match Maggidis’ (or Georgoulaki’s) information.

The information provided for the five larnakes does not include details for fabric color or texture. One can assume based on other vessels from across the island that the fabric is coarse. Two of the vessels are decorated (Cat. 103 and 106), but details have not been reported. Maggidis does provide the dimensions of three vessels, though it is not clear whether these are the fragments or whole vessels.²⁷⁸ If these dimensions represent

²⁷⁶ Maggidis 1994.

²⁷⁷ These 11 additional larnakes have never been studied and are likely to be in a very fragmentary state. Their date is unclear, however, because they were found in the upper stratum and Archanes went out of use in the MM II period, they likely date to the early MM IIA phase.

²⁷⁸ From the information provided by Maggidis, it seems clear that most of the larnakes were badly damaged by collapse.

whole vessels, then the larnakes from Tomb 19 are outliers, as most are small and square as opposed to rectangular.

Key Insights and Other Data

Maggidis' interpretation of the larnakes in Tomb 19 is multifold. He posits that larnax use at Archanes dramatically increased between the MM IB and MM IIA periods. Certainly, this applies to Tomb 19.²⁷⁹ He suggests that similar patterns occurred at both Vorou and Tomb 9 at Archanes. This dissertation notes that such an increase is also probable at Tomb 18 and elsewhere on Crete, where larnakes dramatically increase during the MM IB periods (examples can be seen at Evraika, Gournia, and Kalo Chorio).

Maggidis also suggests that the presence of grave goods within Tomb 19 is indicative of a wealthy elite. However, no evidence links any of the precious objects specifically with larnakes.²⁸⁰ Georgoulaki notes in her catalogue that a bronze piece was found inside larnax 2 (Cat. 103) and two bronze beads were located in larnax 5 (Cat. 106), but that is the only specific information provided.²⁸¹ With such sparse information no definitive conclusions can be drawn about individualism or the status of the deceased discovered in the larnakes. Even from the details above, it is clear that there is not enough evidence to support the theory of larnakes and individualism. The lack of high-status objects associated directly with larnakes also suggests that a larnax was not used to denote a personage of high status.

²⁷⁹ Maggidis 1994, 98.

²⁸⁰ Unfortunately, no detailed information was provided about objects found inside larnakes. While there was certainly a large amount of precious material located within the tomb, Maggidis quite often notes that the objects were "in the vicinity of" a larnax. Without appropriate stratigraphy, however, it is impossible to determine whether these objects actually belonged to any of the individuals within larnakes. For Maggidis' discussion see 1994, 101– 102.

²⁸¹ Georgoulaki 1996, 63 cat. 363 and 366.

D. Burial Building 18 – (Sakellarakis, MM II)
General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 84–101

Bones	29 – 39 interments: 9 single interments, 10 multiple interments
Grave Goods	ivory seal, obsidian fragments, multiple pottery sherds, stone vases
Larnakes	11– 19 larnakes (with additional fragments)

Burial Building 18 presents a difficult case largely because it still remains to be comprehensively published. As a result, there are discrepancies among the reports. For example, Sakellarakis states that 14 larnakes emerged from Burial Building 18, whereas Linn suggests there are 19 larnakes in Burial Building 18, and Georgoulaki cites 11 larnakes. The general stratigraphy is also difficult to pin down. By evaluating Sakellarakis' *Archanes*; Georgoulaki's *Burial Evidence*; and Sarah Linn's 2018 dissertation, it is possible to provide a relative date of MM IA–MM II for Burial Building 18.²⁸² The building can be divided into multiple rooms and two sectors, the northern half and the southern half. The northern half dates to the MM II periods, while the southern contains material from the MM IA period.²⁸³

Larnakes are found in almost all successive layers of the tomb and in both the northern and southern sectors. Three larnakes were discovered in the southern section while eight came from the northern sector. All of the larnakes from the southern sector came from the upper stratum, suggesting slightly later interments (probably dating to MM IA). The larnakes from the northern sector originate within each layer (probably

²⁸² Sakellarakis 1976; 1991; Geourgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997; Linn 2018.

²⁸³ In 1976 Sakellarakis excavated Room 1. The remaining 9 rooms were not excavated until 1987. General overview of dates for the tomb can be found in Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1991, 192–204; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, 122–23, 1997, 215–16.

MMIB, MM IIA, MM IIB). Therefore, the lower level of the MM IA burial structure (Southern Rooms), where no larnakes are present, suggests that perhaps the larnax trend had not yet solidified, whereas, in the MM II rooms larnax traditions had mainstreamed.

Bones

The bones of Burial Building 18 are extremely difficult to understand, again largely due to lack of comprehensive publication and detailed excavation reports. However, present data suggests that the majority of burials were primary. Linn suggests that nine of these burials held a single individual, while the other ten held two to three individuals.²⁸⁴ It would appear as though fifty percent of the larnakes in Burial Building 18 held more than one individual. Should a scientific analysis of the bones occur, it may be that more than fifty-two percent of the bones represent multiple individuals (as was the case with Tholos G). While only a small percentage of the total, this data would further suggest that Cretans often utilized a single vessel for multiple burials.

Grave Goods

Tomb 18 overall represents the lowest ratio of interments to grave goods at Archanes. Even fewer grave goods can be positively associated with burials inside larnakes. The rooms were evenly divided between more burials than grave goods and those that contained more grave goods than burials.²⁸⁵ The three larnakes from the MM IA southern sector contain the remains of an ivory seal, some obsidian fragments, and multiple pottery sherds. The remaining larnakes from the northern MM II sector

²⁸⁴ Numbers were devised based on an assessment of the overall information provided related to Burial Building 18. See Linn 2018, 210–218. See also Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 327–356.

²⁸⁵ Linn 2018, 215.

contained less identifiable materials.²⁸⁶ Larnax Cat. 86 (from Stratum 3 in the North Sector) contained only an ivory seal.²⁸⁷ Though there were other precious objects found within the rooms (including more pottery and stone vases), none can be positively associated with specific larnakes.

Larnakes

Reports vary on the number of larnakes found in Tomb 18. According to Sakellarakis only four originate from MM IA–MM IB; otherwise they all fall within the MM II period.²⁸⁸ In general, the MM IA/IB larnakes from the southern sector are painted (though the style of decoration is currently unknown). At least one of the larnakes (Cat. 86) exhibits both plastic and painted decoration (likely similar to other examples from Tholos G and Tholos E see Cat. 15 and 45). One of the larnakes also showed impressed or incised decoration (Cat. 84). Overall, the sizes of larnax 2 and 3 (Cat. 85 and 86) are remarkably similar, both are between 100 and 105 cm in length and 43 to 45 cm in width. These dimensions appear to be relatively common across the island. The data from the larnakes in Tomb 18 suggests that larnakes do not originate from early contexts. Instead, as Lahanas notes, they are more likely to coincide with the Old Palace period. Despite the current dates assigned to the larnakes from Tholos G and Tholos E, the similarities presented in Tombs 18 and 19 suggest that the majority of larnakes from Archanes (including those at Tholos G and E) probably belong to the MM IA or even MM IB periods.

²⁸⁶ Linn 2018, 416–417. For additional information from the original excavation reports see Sakellarakis 1976a, 344–51; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987, 124–27; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 192–204; See also Herrero 2014, cat. 179.

²⁸⁷ Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 352.

²⁸⁸ Lahanas 2004, 185 note 841.

Key Insights and Other Data

Burial Building 18 further supports a humble use of the larnax as a burial vessel. The high percentage of multiple interments alongside the low occurrence of high-status objects suggests that no special designation was required in order to receive burial inside a larnax. Furthermore, the stratigraphy indicates that by the MM II period, the use of larnakes had become mainstream but the deposition of grave goods had not changed.

E. Burial Building 5 – (Sakellarakis MM IA–MM IB)

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 52–59

Bones	16 skulls total: 4 multiple interments, 2 individual interment, 2 unknown interments
Grave Goods	Beads, seal stones (various materials), pendant, ivory objects, lapis lazuli seal stone, obsidian blade, pottery fragments
Larnakes	8 – 9 vessels (with additional fragments)

Most sources agree that Burial Building 5 originated in the MM IA period and had gone out of use by the MM IB period, and at the latest by the MM II period (Sakellarakis, Georgoulaki).²⁸⁹ Soles and Linn have both tried to suggest a foundation date of EM III.²⁹⁰ The MM II date was ascribed after excavation due to the presence of a single barbotine ware cup found in the upper levels of deposition. Burial Building 5 was divided into multiple rooms with the earliest depositions originating in rooms 1–3 and 5–

²⁸⁹ 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. In the original reports (1967), Sakellarakis refers to the tomb as Burial Building E but is subsequently changed by the 1971 publications. The most commonly accepted dates range from EM III – MM IB (more likely are MM IA and MM IB) for these see Linn 2018 and Sakellarakis 1972. The presence of the Barbotine cup suggests use into the MM II see Lachanas 1994, 40; Georgoulaki 1996, 44.

²⁹⁰ Soles 1992, 200 and 202; Linn 2018, 194–198. See for original excavation reports and dates Sakellarakis 1967b, 159–61; 1971a, 281; 1972, 319–27, Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1978, 320; 1982, 501. In the 1967 report, Burial Building 5 is labeled as Burial Building E, but this changes by 1971 when it is labeled as Burial Building 5.

6. The later material comes from rooms 4 and 8. Some larnakes were discovered in the earlier rooms, namely room 5 and room 6, but the majority of fragments and whole vessels come from room 4 and 8. Rooms 4 and 8 were probably both additions to the original structure and likely constructed during the MM IB or very early MM II period.²⁹¹

According to Georgoulaki, there are a total of eight larnakes in Burial Building 5 (among all the rooms). In addition to these eight larnakes, there are several fragments in the upper layers that suggest more vessels (all of which probably date to the MM II or later). According to Linn, Burial Building 5 contained a total of nine larnakes. This tomb is perhaps one of the least well preserved and documented tombs as is evident by the lack of information concerning any of these vessels. At present, decoration and dimensions are recorded for only one larnax.

Bones

No scientific study has ever been done on the bones from Burial Building 5; however, Sakellarakis notes that multiple skulls were found within each larnax. In some instances, no mention is made regarding the number of bones in an individual larnax. In other instances, the excavator simply provides a generalized number for all larnakes. For example, larnax 1 (Cat. 52) from room 4 contained a total of 10 skulls, but the excavator also notes that within this room between 1 to 4 skulls were found within each of the burial pithoi.²⁹² In total, both Linn and Georgoulaki indicate the presence of 16 skulls in Burial Building 5. Of the eight larnakes positively identified in Burial Building 5, it is clear that at least four larnakes contained more than 1 skull. From the remaining four

²⁹¹ Soles 1992, 202–203 and 393–4; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 216 – 237; Linn 2018, 193–198 and 377–382.

²⁹² For generalized numbers see Sakellarakis 1967, 167 and 1997, 199. For larnax numbers see Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 221. And Linn 2018, 378.

vessels, only two indicate that one skull was present. The last two larnakes do not list the bone contents and so a definitive result is not possible.²⁹³ There is no information regarding the age or sex of the skeletons. Therefore, it cannot be determined whether any of the two skeletons inside a single larnax are related.

Grave Goods

Burial Building 5 boasts numerous objects of “high value”. Multiple seals made from various materials were found within the larnakes. In total, 2 seal stones, some beads, and a pendant can be positively identified as belonging to the larnakes from Burial Building 5. Larnax 1 (Cat. 52) from room 4 contained multiple beads along with 10 skulls.²⁹⁴ Whether the beads belonged to a necklace or other decorative object is unclear. Georgoulaki suggests only the presence of gold beads in her catalogue; but Linn indicates that the beads came from various materials and therefore, are not likely to belong to a single necklace.²⁹⁵ It seems plausible that this larnax contains multiple burials and that perhaps a bead from each was redeposited along with the secondary interments. Similarly, larnax 1 from Room. 5 (Cat. 220) contained two ivory objects, one a pendant and the other a seal stone. Larnax 4 (Cat. 57) was found above an MM IA vase, which may or may not have been directly associated with the larnax. Larnax 5 (Cat. 53) contained an obsidian core, while the remainder of the larnakes contained no grave goods.

Thus, the assemblages from the larnakes do not provide definitive information concerning status. This is especially clear because multiple other objects of value are

²⁹³ Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 221; Linn 2018, 378.

²⁹⁴ Linn 2018, 123.

²⁹⁵ Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 221 and Linn 2018, 198.

identified within Burial Building 5, but from outside the burial containers. In some instances, the exact stratigraphy of an object is unclear. For example, the only lapis lazuli object from this cemetery (which takes the form of a cylindrical seal stone with an anthropomorphic figure holding a curved rod) may have come from either the larnax in Room 4 or potentially just from Room 4. Georgoulaki does not specify its location in either her catalogue or overview. Linn states that it originated from the larnax in Room 4 in her analysis, but in the catalogue for Linn's research it only indicates that it came from the room not whether it originated within the larnax.²⁹⁶ Overall, the finds within the larnakes are not more significant than the burial assemblages located on the floor of the tomb or those found in pithoi. In fact, as with Tholos E and G, many of the burial objects outside of the larnakes are of equal or greater quality, such as the obsidian blade, seal stone, and pendant located in Room 8.

Larnakes

Detailed information concerning the larnakes from Burial Building 5 is extremely sparse – perhaps more so than many of the other locations at Archanes. Burial Building 5 is not preserved well, and this may also account for the poor preservation of the eight larnakes. The dimensions for sole larnax described (Cat. 57 from Room. 8b 100 x 43 x 36) are consistent with dimensions seen in Tholos G, E, and other buildings at Archanes. No additional information concerning either the fabric or the decoration has been reported.

²⁹⁶ Linn 2018, 311 for reference to the lapis object inside the larnax and 378 for reference to the lapis object simply being in room 4.

Key Insights and Other Data

Given the present extent and level of publication on Burial Building 5, the only definitive statement which can be made about the larnakes is that they likely contained more than one individual, and that the burial assemblages from the larnakes do not indicate status differentiation.

F. Burial Building 6 – (Sakellarakis MM IA–MM IB)

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 119–122

Bones	196 skulls overall; no specifics for larnakes
Grave Goods	Hieroglyphic script seal, Egyptian scarab
Larnakes	4–5 (plus fragments)

Like Burial Building 5, Burial Building 6 is also poorly preserved. The stratigraphy for Burial Building 6 suggests a date range from EM III – MM IA.²⁹⁷ Other arguments, including one by Watrous, suggest that the tomb was actually only in use from the MM IA–MM IB even though²⁹⁸ more recent publications suggest a range of EM III–MM IB.²⁹⁹ Due to the presence of an MM IA small jug found underneath several of the larnakes, the date must extend to at least the MM IB period. The excavator divided the tomb into six different rooms. Of those six rooms, larnax fragments were found in at least three, including rooms 3, 4, and 5. There appears to be no differentiation in stratigraphy and none of the rooms are currently suggested as additions. Thus, the stratigraphy in each room is the same.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Sakellarakis 1972, 326–7; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 104.

²⁹⁸ Watrous 1994, 12.

²⁹⁹ Sakellarakis 1965a, 177–80; 1966c, 411–12; 1966a, 1966e, 32–33; 1967a, 276–77; 1973a, 167–71; 1973b, 111–13; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 202–5; and Watrous 1994, 12; Legarra Herrero 2014, 126 and 151; Linn 2018, 200–203; Only Sakellarakis 1965 indicates a date of only EM II.

³⁰⁰ Burial Building 6 was excavated first in 1965–66 and then again in 1973. This tomb awaits a final publication though it was included in the 1997 *Archanes* volume.

Bones

As with the scarcity of material remains, little information has been provided concerning the bones discovered within Burial Building 6. In total, there were 196 skulls found throughout the six rooms. Interestingly, only three of the rooms contained the presence of human bones, rooms 1, 3 and 6. These do not correspond with the rooms that held larnax fragments, which included rooms 3, 4, and 5.³⁰¹ The presence of human teeth found in rooms 4 and 5 may, however, suggest that these rooms were either previously used for burial and the remainder of the bones had been moved, or perhaps they were somehow associated with a pre-burial ritual. No bones directly correspond to any of the larnakes.

Grave Goods

Despite the lack of bones from Burial Building 6, there is an abundance of objects associated with the rooms. Again, due to lack of information and probably preservation, it is not possible to associate any of the objects with a specific larnax. However, the presence of notable whole assemblages and seal stones suggests some level of importance must have been given to this tomb. In 1994, Watrous claimed that the presence of hieroglyphic script seal stones meant that the inhabitants of the tomb were related to a form of scribe class (similar to those in Egypt).³⁰² According to the data presented by Linn in the reanalysis of Burial Building 6, there was a low ratio of object to interment. This type of data, when compared to the number of larnakes present, suggests that the grave goods did not mark out a special burial practice.³⁰³

³⁰¹ Sakellarakis 1965a, 178; and Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 238 –247; Linn 2018, 99–201.

³⁰² Watrous 1994, 12.

³⁰³ Linn 2018, 202.

Larnakes

Even though initial reports provide little to no specific information regarding the larnakes (e.g., dimensions, fabric, or shape), the larnakes from Burial Building 6 attest the presence of Linear A script.³⁰⁴ It is possible that the script found on this vessel may be related or perhaps match the one larnax fragment from Tholos E (Cat. 30), but without further details it is too difficult to determine due to lack of publication.

Key Insights and Other Data

Similar to Burial Building 5, there is almost no information concerning individualization or status burials present in Burial building 6. The available data does follow patterns at Tholos G, Tholos E, and Tomb 19 which suggests that individualism and status did not provide the dominant catalyst for burial within a larnax. Further stratigraphical information also supports a date of MM IA or MM IB for the larnakes, thus strengthening the plausibility that larnakes originated post EM III.

G. Burial building 7 – (Sakellarakis MM IA–MM IB)

General Stratigraphy and Overview

**Cat. 60–65

Bones	30 total interments. 15 from Larnakes, 4 with multiple interments (2–4 individuals), 1 with a single interment, 1 indeterminate
Grave Goods	Vases, Beads (amethyst, rock-crystal, faience, and steatite beads), Figurines (bronze and stone), seal stones (ivory), a Scarab, necklaces (rock-crystal and sard), obsidian blade
Larnakes	6 (with additional fragments)

³⁰⁴ Sakellarakis 1965a, 177–80; 1966c, 411–12; 1966a; 1966e, 32–33; 1967a, 276–77; 1973a, 167–71; 1973b, 111–13; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169, 73–85, 102, 126, 151, 219; Linn 2018, 203–204. In all likelihood the Linear A script presented in Burial Building 6 is inscribed on the vessel.

Burial Building 7 was first excavated in 1967 and then again in 1971. It was discovered under Tholos B, which is currently dated between the MM IA – LM IIIA periods. However, the original date of Tholos B is still debated and as a result multiple dates have been ascribed to Burial Building 7. Sakellarakis initially proposed a date of EM III–MM IA.³⁰⁵ Other interpretations have been forthcoming, including that of Soles who suggested an earlier date of EM II –EM III.³⁰⁶ This earlier date is probably inaccurate, according to the presence of MM IA pottery as well as the Late Dynasty XI scarab found in room 2. On the opposite extreme, Warren and Hankey suggested a later date of MM IB–MM II while Watrous proposed a date of only MM IA. Linn’s more recent assessment of the tomb also ascribes a date of MM IA with no option (like Watrous) for a foundation in the EM III period.³⁰⁷ The mystery of this dating sequence is significant because it contributes to a discussion concerning the prevalence and emergence of larnakes as a burial practice.

In total, Burial Building 7 contains at least six rooms according to the original excavation information though most, like Burial Building 6, are poorly preserved. Furthermore, none of them survive due to the excavation of Tholos B. Later reports differ on the total number of rooms. Soles suggests that none of these rooms are associated with Burial Building 7, instead he they suggests that they are an extension of Burial Building 6 and should be considered an extension of that complex.³⁰⁸ Linn has divided the rooms into numbers assigning a total of six, if not, seven rooms. She notes that the seventh room is unclear based on the current records. This room represents a small section discovered

³⁰⁵ Sakellarakis 1967b, 153–7; Sakellarakis 1997, 206–8.

³⁰⁶ Warren–Hankey 1989, 51; Soles 1992, 143–44; Watrous 1994, 12.

³⁰⁷ Linn 2018, 385–387.

³⁰⁸ Soles 1992, 143–144.

during the excavation of Tholos B. It may or may not be connected to Burial Building 7 but was essentially connected to the staircase in Tholos B.³⁰⁹ None of these hypotheses can be proven nor disproven, however, the presence of the XI dynasty seal as well as other Egyptian imports and the current foundation date for Tholos B (MM IB/MM II) suggest that Burial Building 7 must have gone out of use by the MM IB period. Larnakes were discovered in Room 'a' and Room 'e'.³¹⁰ Only fragments of a single larnax emerged from Room 'a.' Room 'e,' on the other hand, contained a total of six larnakes. This distribution certainly sparks questions as to why only one room contained burial vessels even though the building seemingly dates to a single period of use. At the moment, this question is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Bones

There were a total of 30 identifiable individuals in Burial Building 7. Of these individuals, at least 15 must have come from the larnakes. This data excludes the single larnax found in 'Room a' because that larnax is fragmentary and the location of the skeletal remains is unclear. The other larnakes from 'Room e' contained anywhere from one to four individuals. At least four of the larnakes contained between two to four skulls. In one larnax only bone fragments of an indeterminate number of individuals were found, while the last larnax was completely empty.³¹¹ This distribution disparity suggests a couple of different interpretations. On the one hand, it seems likely that more than one individual was buried within a container in Burial Building 7. Only one larnax (Cat. 62)

³⁰⁹ Linn 2018, 388.

³¹⁰ This analysis will follow the room designations provided by the original excavator (Sakellarakis 1967b, 153–57; 1971a, 278; 1971b, 239–43), though in S. Linn's dissertation she has given the rooms numbers based on the excavation reports. Room 'e' matches her Room 3 and Room 'a' matches her Room 1.

³¹¹ Sakellarakis 1967b, 153–57; 1971a, 278; 1971b, 239–43, Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1991, 96–97; 1997, 206–8; Georgoulaki 1996, 125, 129, 131, and 167; Müller and Pini 1999, 164, n. 151; Linn 2018, 235–236.

may suggest otherwise. This data also seems to indicate that there may have been a process (or ritual) involved in the placement of bones because larnax 2 (Cat. 61) contained no human remains.³¹² In either case, Burial Building 7 supports the theory of this dissertation that individualism cannot be prescribed to the burial practices of larnakes.

Grave Goods

In total, Burial Building 7 contained 64 objects of various materials. According to Linn the addition of beads to this data brings the combined total objects to 133. The larnakes, however did not yield the highest percentage of these remains. Burial Building 7 yielded 18 vases; amethyst, rock-crystal, faience, and steatite beads; two figurines, one made of bronze and the other of stone; several seal stones; and a scarab. While there was a combined total of 1.16 objects per person in Burial Building 7, Room ‘e’ contained the least amount of burial goods and the largest portion of funerary interments.³¹³ Room ‘e’ where the larnakes were placed held only a few vases, a rock-crystal and sard necklace, an obsidian blade fragment, and four ivory seal stones. Nothing that was found in Room ‘e’ stands apart from the objects discovered in other rooms from the same Burial Building.

³¹² Three other larnakes are known to have contained zero human remains two were found at Gournia in what has currently been labeled “Potter’s Workshop” also known as Building EO. The other single example was found connected to the Sissi cemetery in space 1.30. Publication is *in process*.

³¹³ For additional data concerning interments vs. grave good proportions see Linn figs. 180–181 and 238 for her analysis. For most tombs at Archanes Linn has provided a complete mathematical breakdown of object per interment, which has been very useful for understanding the prevalence of objects per person. Her data further indicates that larnakes do not predicate a high social status. More data about the objects found within the tomb can be found in Geourgoulaki 1996, cat. 255–260. See also original publication reports Sakellarakis 1967b, 153–57.

Larnakes

The larnakes from Burial Building 7 provide more information than the previous two burial buildings. While there is no information regarding the single larnax from Room 'a,' not even its possible shape, the six larnakes from Room 'e' provide much more detailed information. Of the six larnakes, three are rectangular, two are elliptical, and one is unidentified. It is not clear whether the rectangular larnakes found in Burial Building 7 are similar to those found in Tholos G, with an angular exterior but a rounded interior form. The dimensions of the larnakes also fall into patterns similar to those found in Tholos G and E (and the rest of Archanes). The smallest of them (larnax 2, Cat. 61) measures 58 x 57 cm, making it almost square, while the largest measures 119 x 48 (larnax 6, Cat. 65). The remaining three are similar, anywhere between 80 cm and 90 cm in length and 32 cm and 50 cm in width.

Although there is no information concerning the fabric of these vessels, Sakellarakis does provide some decoration details. Perhaps the most important of which can be seen on the very small vessel (larnax 2, Cat. 61) that was decorated with paint and molded bands. This vessel is markedly similar to examples from Tholos E and G that were decorated with relief bands (including Cat. 11, 12, 13, 15). This particular larnax (Cat. 61) also contained the remains of no individuals.

Key Insights and Other Data

Without a physical examination of the objects not much can be said about the manufacture or the origin of the clay. However, based on the current data, it seems safe to assume that (like Tholos E and Tholos G), the materials for these larnakes probably originated from clay beds around Archanes. Moreover, their size, shape, and decoration

are consistent with those found Tholos E and Tholos G, thus it seems likely that they can be dated to the MM IA/MM IB period. This information also coincides with the dating proposed by Watrous, Linn, and Georgoulaki.

H. Between Building 8 and 9 – 10 (MM IA–MM IB)
General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 107–116

Bones	62 interments, 31 in larnakes (all vessels indicate multiple interments)
Grave Goods	Conical cups and a jug, seal stones (ivory, steatite, and faience)
Larnakes	10 (Plus additional fragments)

As with the other smaller buildings at Archanes, the space between Burial Building 8 and 9 has yet to receive a comprehensive publication. Currently, Sakellarakis dates the foundations to the EM IIA period, with primary depositions occurring between EM III–MM IB. The southern section seems to relate primarily to EM III–MM IB. He also divided the area between the east and the west based on the presence of a wall. Linn has given a modified date range extending only to MM IA, a date which is supported by evidence from both Legarra Herrero and Sbonias.³¹⁴ Based on the more recent information a date of MM IA seems the most plausible due to the presence of MM IA seal stones.

Bones

Between the two areas, a total of 62 individuals were found. The larnakes alone contained 31 individuals. Interestingly, the western larnakes held mainly skulls, each with anywhere from four to eight skulls and few additional bones. This type of segregation

³¹⁴ Original reports Sakellarakis 1971a, 281–82; Sakellarakis and Sapouna- Sakellaraki 1982, 54; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 495–99; For Legarra Herrero 2014, 220 and cat. 173; For Sbonias see 1995, 107 and 113, his dates are based on analysis of seal stones rather than pottery or other forms of chronological analysis. For additional dating see Linn 2018, 270.

suggests secondary deposition. On the eastern side, the larnakes held mainly contracted skeletons, which may indicate that primary burials were preferred here. The exact meaning of such divergent practices within a single tomb is quite unclear; however, in no instance did any of the larnakes contain only a singular burial.³¹⁵

Grave Goods

The burial assemblages of this area suggest similarities to the rest of Archanes. In total there were only 22 objects between both the east and west portions of the building. Of these 22 objects, at least eight of them were found within the larnakes. For example, larnax 3 (Cat. 110) contained one ivory pendant, and larnax 1 (Cat. 116) contained two conical cups and a jug. Other objects included two seals of ivory, one seal of steatite, and another faience seal stone. Three of these seal stones (steatite and the two ivory) were found in one larnax. The other faience seal was found alone, and a final ivory-button-shaped seal stone was also found alone in a larnax. All in all, none of the objects discovered between the two burial locations suggest a status that is markedly different from the majority of larnax burials at Archanes.³¹⁶

Larnakes

There were a substantial number of larnakes discovered between the two areas. The exact number of which varies among publications. Linn provides information for the three larnakes from the east area but suggests the presence of additional larnakes in the west. Georgoulaki indicates that there was a total of nine larnakes between the east and

³¹⁵ See original reports Sakellarakis 1971a, 281–82; Sakellarakis and Sapouna- Sakellaraki 1982, 54; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 495–99; Linn 2018, 230–231, 294.

³¹⁶ For additional information see Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 412– 421; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 173; Linn 2018, 390–391.

the west areas, while Legarra Herrero states that 10 larnakes were discovered between the two areas. From this information, the complete number of larnakes is is vastly unclear.

The detailed information from two larnakes indicates that they resemble the size and shape of the larnakes from Tholos E and Tholos G. At least one of the vessels from this area is rectangular with the rounded corners (very similar to many of the larnakes from Tholos G). This larnax (Cat. 116) was also decorated with a relief band around the exterior. Similar patterns are visible at other locations on the site and on pithoi. Likewise, Cat. 116’s measurements (88 by 56 cm) resemble others found across the site. The only other larnax that provides any pertinent details is larnax 3 (Cat. 110), which is elliptical in form.

Key Insights and Other Data

Individually, the area between Burial Building 8 and 9 does not shed any light on larnakes, the few examples that give specific data correspond with the rest of the Archanes cemetery. The re-dating of this area to MM IA does strengthen and support the idea that larnakes from Archanes appear in the MM IA period and later. Regardless of the preference shown for secondary or primary interments between Burial Building 8 and 9, individualism and or inclinations for persons of high status are not represented by these larnakes. This data coincides with the rest of Archanes in suggesting that larnakes did not serve as the burial containers to elite individuals.

I. Burial Building 9 – (Sakellarakis MM IA–MM IB)

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 66–75

Bones	59 Total: 3 multiple individuals, 11 unclear
Grave Goods	191 vessels, pebbles and seashells, ivory seal, obsidian, figurine (animal), pendant (ivory), bead (stone), gold

Larnakes	8–9 larnakes (possibly 14)
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Burial Building 9 occupies the space above Burial Building 13. According to Sakellarakis, its earliest documented use was in MM IA and it went out of use in the MM IB period.³¹⁷ Only one scholar, Robert Koehl, has proposed an alternate date that begins and ends in the MM IA period.³¹⁸ Of the four rooms, only two held larnakes, Room 1 and Room 2. Both rooms display complex stratigraphy and Sakellarakis identified three separate burial layers in each. Room 1 was subdivided into two different sections – Room 1a and 1b. In Room 1a, within the uppermost burial layer at least two larnakes were discovered; while in Room 1b, one larnax was found in the lowest burial strata. The larnakes from Room 2, on the other hand, were located in all three levels of the burial strata and are fragmentary.

Bones

In Room 1, at least two individuals were found in each burial layer associated with larnakes. A total of seven individuals were discovered in the first layer, three in the second layer, and layer three contained 49 skulls. At least one individual from Layer 1 and one individual from Layer 2 were associated with the larnakes; however, the preservation of both layers was scattered, making concrete numbers difficult to assign. In Layer 3, it is unclear how many of the skulls were associated with the larnax, but some additional human bones were also found near and within the larnax fragments.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ Sakellarakis 1971a, 281–82; 1972, 351–53; 1973a, 181–86; 1973b, 116–17; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1982, 499–501; Sakellarakis and Sapouna- Sakellarakis 1987, 127–29; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1991, 180–92; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 210–12; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 174; Linn 2018, 244. For further support of an MM IB date see Watrous 1994, 13.

³¹⁸ Koehl, 2006, 72–73. Dating is based on the presence of a Rhyton.

³¹⁹ For original reports see Sakellarakis 1971a, 281–82, 1972, 351–53, 1973a, 181–86, 1973b, 116–17; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1982, 499–501; Sakellarakis and Sapouna- Sakellarakis 1987, 127–29; For additional assessments See also Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 271 – 280; and Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 174; Linn 2018, 245.

In Room 2, the bones present a different picture. In layer 1, it appears as though four skulls were buried in one larnax – though the larnax was fragmented so it is hard to provide a definitive answer. No bones were found associated with larnakes in layer 2. Layer 3, on the other hand, contained the remains of four larnakes. Larnakes 2 and 3 (Cat. 73 and 74) provide unclear information. While bones were located around and near these vessels, the association between these bones and a specific larnax cannot be positively identified. Larnax 1 (Cat. 72), on the other hand, contained the bones of at least three different individuals. Three skulls were present – each in different locations inside the larnax – and these were accompanied by the remains of three contracted skeletons. In larnax 4 (Cat. 75), another two individuals were found, identifiable by the presence of both the skulls and the contracted skeletons.³²⁰

Grave Goods

Burial Building 9 provided a large burial assemblage. Overall, ceramics represent the largest category of finds (with a total of 191 vessels of various shapes and form). There was a total of only 22 objects located in Room 1, but none of these can be positively associated with larnakes. Room 2, which contained fewer objects (only 10), does provide a direct association between the objects and specific individuals within the larnakes. In the larnax examples from Room 2, the burial assemblages contained pebbles and seashells. This seems incongruous given the overall quantity of other vessels found within the tomb.

³²⁰ Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 271 – 280; for her discussion see 1996, note 776.

Larnakes

There are a total of eight larnakes associated with Burial Building 9 according to Georgoulaki, but based on the data provided by Linn there are nine larnakes.³²¹

Alternatively, Legarra Herrero suggests that there are a total of 14 larnakes in Burial Building 9.³²² The original reports clearly indicate the presence of nine vessels, however, it also states that many are fragmentary and that there were additional fragments.³²³ It is likely that there were more than nine vessels, and Legarra Herrero may be closer to the actual number.

Despite the overall presence of larnakes in Burial Building 9, and the lack of published details, at least two of the vessels were found *in situ* and largely in-tact. Larnax 1 (Cat. 66) was discovered in Room 1 in the upper stratum. This larnax is unusual partially because of its size but also because of its lack of interior contents. The excavator provided no additional details about the decoration of this larnax, but the dimensions are listed as .40 by .33 making it almost square. Two other larnakes were found in Room 1, another in the upper stratum and the last in the lowest stratum. Both are described as rectangular with no dimensions given. The third (Cat. 70 from Room 1b) is also described as exhibiting impressed decoration, though no additional details are provided as to what this may mean. Room 2 contained an additional five larnakes. None of these are described nor are any dimensions given. The only information gleaned from these vessels

³²¹ For Georgoulaki 1996, 51–54 and for Linn 2018, 393–397.

³²² See Legarra Herrero 2014, 221 and cat. 174.

³²³ Sakellarakis, 1971a, 281–2; 1972, 351–53; 1973a, 181–186 and 1973b, 116–117. Additional and supplementary information can be found in following publications that also discuss Burial Building 9 including the 1997 final publication 210–212 and 1991, 180–92.

is that they all seem to consistently exhibit a rectangular shape, which coincides with other vessels from the MM IA period.

Key Insights and Other Data

According to the data presented above, most larnax's burial assemblages contained pebbles and seashells. Such a modest assemblage does not suggest the presence of elite individuals nor does it match the quality of objects found in other tombs at Archanes. Likewise, the multiple skulls and skeletons from this location suggest that individualism did not serve as the primary motivator for burial with a larnax.

J. Burial Building 16 – (Sakellarakis MM IA–MM IB)

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 76–83

Bones	41 interments in vessels: In larnakes, 4 with multiple interments, 3 with individual interments, 1 unknown
Grave Goods	Pendants (steatite, ivory), seal stones (faience, steatite, ivory, green steatite), steatite cup, worked bone, fragments of an ivory plaque, pebbles, lekane, obsidian fragments, beads, pyrite blade
Larnakes	8 – 12 (With additional fragments)

Burial Building 16 was found next to Tholos E in 1975 and was subsequently excavated in 1975/6 and then again in 1980. The data from Burial Building 16 is unpublished except for early Archaeological Reports and some mentions in the 1997 final *Archanes* book. Sakellarakis dated the tomb to MM IA, but this is based only on the pottery from Room 1.³²⁴ The other rooms, Room 2 and Room 3, are both later buildings.

³²⁴ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 215–16.

Sakellarakis considered Room 2 to be an extension of Tholos E (possibly an annex). This has not yet been supported by any further evidence or publications.³²⁵

The entire structure was subdivided into two wings the West wing consists of Room 1, while the East wing comprises both Rooms 2 and 3. The majority of larnakes were discovered in Room 2 and 3. Room 1 was very badly damaged by agricultural plowing prior to excavations. As a result, there is very little information about the burial practices that occurred here.

Bones

The lack of preservation in Room 1 makes identifying burial practices difficult, however the presence of teeth, skulls and long bones suggest that this space was likely used for secondary interments. The other two rooms provide much more substantial information, with at least a total of 12 individuals associated with larnakes in Room 2. Larnax 1 (Cat. 76) contained five skulls and some additional bone fragments.³²⁶ Larnax 2 (Cat. 77) held two skulls and additional smaller bone fragments. Larnax 3 (Cat. 78) contained 3 skulls, but no other bones were present in or around the larnax. Larnax 4 (Cat. 79) contained a single skull and many bones. It is unclear whether the bones from larnax 4 originated from a single individual or multiple individuals. The excavator suggests, based on the size of the larnax and the size of the bones, that this represented a child burial.³²⁷ There is little information from larnax 5 (Cat. 80) and larnax 6 (Cat. 81), but Sakellarakis notes the presence of skull fragments in larnax 6 and additional bone fragments in larnax 5.

³²⁵ Sakellarakis 1975, 307–10; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1980, 392–98; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 127–28; 1997, 214; Legarra Herrero 2014, note. 178; Linn 2018, 406–408 and 240–262.

³²⁶ According to Georgoulaki there were a total of six skulls within the tomb 1996, cat. 56.

³²⁷ Sakellarakis 1980, 394.

Room 3 presented two larnakes with bones. The first, larnax 7 (Cat. 82) only contained one skull, and the second, larnax 8 (Cat. 83) contained a total of three skulls. The excavator suggests that these larnax burials predate the pithos burials, though he does not state by how much nor why.³²⁸ No additional date is provided for the second two phases of use. Therefore, the larnakes and the contents of the tomb must originate in MM IA or later because Sakellarakis does not give a date for phase three or for the pithos burials.³²⁹ From the above information, only three of the eight larnakes indicate a single individual. Conversely, four of them show multiple burials and only one is unknown (Larnax 5 contained only bone fragments and thus, it is too difficult to say whether these fragments come from a single individual or multiple). This data suggests at least a fifty percent rate of multiple burials within larnakes.

Grave Goods

Overall, there were fewer objects found in Burial Building 16 than in many of the other structures. Room 2 and Room 3 held a combined total of 38 objects, with the majority from Room 2. Of those objects, 11 are associated directly with the larnakes, whereas Room 3 only produced two objects in direct association with larnakes.³³⁰

Room 2 offers the most varied assemblage, including ceramic objects, seal stones, pendants, worked bone, and ivory. Larnax 3 (Cat. 78) produced the largest number of objects including a steatite pendant, a steatite button-seal, a faience seal stone, an ivory pendant seal in the shape of a pyramid, and another cylindrical ivory seal, in addition to

³²⁸ Sakellarakis 1980, 396–8 and Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 127.

³²⁹ For all archaeological reports concerning Tomb 16 see the following Sakellarakis 1975, 307–10; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1980, 392–98; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, 127–28; 1997, 214; For additional details on the objects found within Tomb 16 see Geourgoulaki 1996, cat. 307–312 and 315–16.

³³⁰ Data gathered from Sakellarakis 1980 and 1997; Geourgoulaki 1996; Linn 2018.

fragments of a lekane and a steatite cup. Sakellarakis also notes presence of worked bone and fragments of an ivory plaque. The other larnakes from the same room produced only minor and fragmentary objects, including some pebbles and more fragments of a lekane. Room 3, on the other hand, held a green steatite seal associated with larnax 8 (Cat. 83) and some fragments of white plaster associated with larnax 7 (Cat. 82).

Larnakes

According to both Linn and Georgoulaki, there were a total of eight larnakes from Burial Building 16. On the other hand, Legarra Herrero indicates the presence of 12 larnakes. As with Burial Building 9, a higher number is likely because the excavator notes the presence of multiple larnax fragments within the upper and middle layers; yet he does not indicate whether these fragments may be part of the identified eight vessels.³³¹

Of the eight identified larnakes, five of them are rectangular (as labeled by Sakellarakis). It is also likely that larnax 6 (Cat. 81) is rectangular because its length is 1.08 m. Larnax 7 (Cat. 82) is labeled as a “bathtub” and so we must assume that it is elliptical in form. Larnax 5 (Cat. 80) is almost square and therefore an anomaly.³³² The only other additional information provided about the larnakes from Burial Building 16 is that larnax 4 (Cat. 79) was painted on the exterior. There is no elaboration on what this decoration illustrates. Sakellarakis also states that the “small” size of this vessel may indicate it was used for the burial of a child.³³³ However, the dimensions are listed as 92

³³¹ Sakellarakis 1975, 307–10; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1980, 392–98; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 307–312, and 315–316; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 178.

³³² For Room 1 see Sakellarakis 1975, 307–10; For Room 2 and 3 see Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1980, 392–98; For overviews see Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 127–28; 1997, 214.

³³³ Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1980, 394.

cm by 39 cm. As such, this vessel mirrors the dimensions of many larnakes and therefore, the size cannot be used independently to suggest the presence of a youth interment.

Key Insights and Other Data

The funerary assemblage of Burial Building 16 demonstrates that only one larnax received any particular distinction, whereas the other burial vessels contained either sparse or no objects at all. As with Tholos G, it appears that the majority of objects (and bones) found in Room 3 were below the larnakes rather than inside or within the same layer as larnakes. Because equal numbers of precious objects were found outside of the larnakes (for example, room 2 contained obsidian fragments and blades, beads, and a pyrite blade outside of the larnax burials), this burial building suggests non-discriminatory practice of object placement. This lack of objects – and the presence of multiple bones – further indicates that the larnax did not serve as marker for elite status.

**K. Area of the Rocks
General Overview and Stratigraphy**

**Cat. 123

Bones	Many bone fragments, exact number unclear
Grave Goods	Gold cylindrical beads, two halves of a gold band, Cycladic figurines, obsidian blades, rock crystal, beaked jugs, conical cups, zoomorphic rhyton, bell-cups, beads of various materials (rock crystal and steatite).
Larnakes	Many fragments, exact number unclear

Unlike the previously discussed structures, the Area of the Rocks is not formed by any architectural features. Instead, it consists of burials located in crevices found among large, paved bedrock elements that lie in southwest of the cemetery. Due to the predominantly secondary nature of the burials, it is difficult to determine a precise stratigraphy for the area. The current data, based on pottery and objects, suggests a period

of use between EM IIA – EM III and some MM I remains. According to Sakellarakis, and Papadatos, many of the depositions may be remains from nearby burial structures – in particular Tholos G.³³⁴

Due to the similarity between many of the objects found in the area and those discovered in Tholos G, as well as its proximity to Tholos G, Papadatos and Sakellarakis have both hypothesized that at one point the lower levels of Tholos G were cleared and the remains were deposited in the fissures of the Area of the Rocks. Should this be the case, then it poses an interesting question because the majority of the pottery from the fissures date to the MM IA period. This data would indicate that the lower levels of Tholos G may also originate in the MM IA period rather than the EM III.³³⁵

Bones and Grave Goods

Some of the grave goods discovered in the Area of the Rocks match objects found in Tholos G, for example a matching set of gold cylindrical beads and two halves of a gold band. In addition to these objects, multiple other items were discovered in this area such as Cycladic figurines, multiple obsidian blades, and some rock crystal. Some fragmentary bones were found further supporting the hypothesis that this was redeposited material.³³⁶

Throughout the other areas, it is possible to see similar remains: in fact, in the spaces between the rocks, Sakellarakis notes a total of 939 obsidian fragments. Within the layers and among the fissures, other deposits in the Area of the Rocks included

³³⁴ Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1976a, 391–95; 1978, 320–21; 1980, 388–90, 398–400; 1981, 427–48; 1982, 480–95; Papadatos 2005, 52–53.

³³⁵ Legarra Herrero 2014, 224 and cat. 187; Linn 2018, 438.

³³⁶ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 232–36; Papadatos 2005, 52–53.

beaked jugs, conical cups, zoomorphic rhyton, bell-cups, other vessels with plastic decoration, and some beads of various materials (rock crystal and steatite).³³⁷

Additionally, the bones that were deposited ranged from long bones to all parts of the skull. Sometimes, the remains were haphazardly thrown in, resulting in breakage and fractures of skulls. At other times, it appears as though the bones were purposefully placed in the area resulting in carefully arranged depositions.³³⁸ The data from both the bones and the grave goods suggests that at least post primary deposition, bones (regardless of status or social position) may have been moved freely and without discrimination.

Larnakes

Unfortunately, not much can be gleaned from the larnakes within the Area of the Rocks. According to Sakellarakis, there were myriad fragments of larnakes present within all the sections. While this may not provide any specific information about the vessels themselves, it does suggest that the larnakes originated in the MM IA period and that they were also disposable along with many high-quality objects (such as gold beads, marble figurines, and many obsidian blades). This disregard of vessels and objects does not coincide with the ideology of a culture paying any particular degree of reverence to the deceased individuals found within the shattered larnakes.

Archanes Larnax Overview

Many of the larnakes from Archanes have not received a thorough or scientific analysis, as such this summary provides one of the first studies meant to evaluate those vessels within their context. While in many cases it may not be possible to recognize the

³³⁷ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997; Papadatos 2005; Linn 2018.

³³⁸ Linn 2018, 186 – 191, 441–444.

vessels' original location within the tomb, a detailed examination of the objects revealed noted about additional decoration, provided more information about structure and production (including additional details such as the presence of handles and holes), and supplied additional data about fabric. The above summaries have compiled as much information concerning these vessels as is possible without physical examination.

Fabric

Sakellarakis states in the *Archanes* volume that the reddish-brown fabric originates in the MM IA period. In the EM II period, he posits, that the clay ranged from brown to reddish-brown and in the EM III period it was orange.³³⁹ Overall, he suggests that during the EM III-MM I period the larnakes were all slipped with a pale-pink covering, but he does not explain the pale yellow or the pale brown slip that apply to several vessels found in Tholos E.³⁴⁰ He does not provide a catalogue along with the *Archanes* volumes that could provide specific information about any of the objects. As such, we are left with an overgeneralized summary of the entire corpus of larnakes at *Archanes*.³⁴¹ This current study forms the groundwork for future in-depth examinations of the *Archanes* larnakes.

In total, only 42 larnakes received detailed catalogue entries from Tholos G and Tholos E. Of these 42 vessels, fabric information was given for a total of 24 of them. Eleven of those vessels come from Tholos G and the remaining 13 came from Tholos E. In total, 20 of these vessels are composed of reddish-brown fabric. Seven of those possess

³³⁹ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 475.

³⁴⁰ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 476.

³⁴¹ Sakellarakis also notes the need for a more intense study of the larnakes, "for it should be observed that precisely because the material is not well preserved, sarcophagi form possibly the least studied group of objects on Minoan Crete," 1997, 473.

a grey core (this number may be skewed as it is unclear whether that information was included in the catalogue entries from Tholos E). The remaining vessels present pink (3) or brown (2) fabrics. Based on the information provided by Sakellarakis, it would appear that the fabrics of this sampling coincide with a date of MM IA rather than EM III and that all are of a local manufacture.

Similar in composition and style to larnakes, an overview of pithoi from across Crete provides the best parallel for evaluating the larnakes from Archanes. Christakis' assessment of pithoi fabric from Archanes indicates that the reddish-brown typical of the Archanes vessels coincides with the fabric seen at Knossos. The general assumption is that the same clay and perhaps production techniques were used both in the areas surrounding Knossos and at Archanes. Christakis also notes that the same fabric used in the larnax was frequently used later in the pithoi. Currently, his focus and analysis indicate that the pithoi were constructed primarily during the MM II period.³⁴²

Less information is provided about the slips that cover the interior and the exterior. As stated by Sakellarakis, most of the vessels are covered in a pale pink slip on the exterior and the interior. In Tholos G, for example, eight of the vessels are covered in a yellow slip. Papadatos tells us that only two are covered in a reddish slip (whether this is a dark red like the fabric or a pink like the slips in Tholos E is not explained). One vessel is unknown. Tholos E suggests similar colorings, the majority of vessels are also covered in a yellow slip. The remaining vessels are covered in a light brown slip. All in all, there are very few pink-slipped larnakes from Archanes. The slip does coincide with the clay colors found within the region and further supports local production.

³⁴² Christakis 2005, 20 form 120.

Handles

As with the fabric, only publications of Tholos G and Tholos E provide detailed information about the handles present on the vessels. Of the 42 vessels found in both tombs, six of them possessed both vertical and horizontal handles. Twenty-two of the vessels had horizontal handles (including the vessels with both horizontal and vertical handles). Twenty of the vessels had vertical handles (again, including those that contained both horizontal and vertical handles). This information suggests that both types of handles were utilized with relative equal distribution.

In addition to the handles, some of the vessels contain button-projections on the short sides. These are fewer in number at Archanes, but are also present at other sites to the South.³⁴³ In total, ten of the larnakes from Tholos G and Tholos E contain button-projections. Of these ten: three of them also had horizontal and vertical handles, four possessed only vertical handles, and three presented only horizontal handles. Based on these numbers, it appears as though there was no standardization regarding handle orientation in association with the presence of button-projections.

Decoration

Similar to the handles, little is known about the exterior decoration of the Archanes larnakes outside of Tholos G and Tholos E. Some information about decoration can be found in Georgoulaki, but these are relegated to statements such as “decorated” or “plastic decoration.”³⁴⁴ It is likely that larnakes follow the decorative trends seen on many of the other pottery vessels. Most of the vessels that are decorated are dominated by

³⁴³ This includes sites such as Vorou and Pyrgos, see below.

³⁴⁴ See catalogue at the end of Georgoulaki 1996 for specific information. Her numbers are linked to the catalogue numbers found in this dissertation.

dark paint that takes either the form of solid horizontal bands, solid curvilinear bands, solid dark circles, rope decoration, or in one instance impressed decoration. Only one larnax suggests the presence of Linear A (Cat. 30 and Fig.27).

Among the 114 larnakes from Archanes, approximately one-third received some manner of decorative treatment. Without detailed catalogue entries of the other tombs (all of which lack a catalogue similar to Tholos G and Tholos E), it is impossible to determine the total number of decorated vessels. Even within this subset, it is possible to distinguish some predominant patterns. Of the 36 vessels, 31 utilize black paint and only one exhibits red paint. Fourteen of those with black paint, possess horizontal bands either around the rim, the body, or the base. Four of the 31 are decorated with both black discs and horizontal bands. Plastic decoration, mostly in the form of a horizontal rope, can be found on four of the larnakes (2 of which also contain paint). Only one vessel exhibits impressed decoration.³⁴⁵

Shape

At present, no study has been performed on the meaning or function of the larnax's shape. The vessels at Archanes come in one of two forms, elliptical or rectangular. Two instances suggest a square-shaped box (labeled as rectangular by Sakellarakis) rather than the typical elliptical or rectangular shapes. In several cases, especially from Tholos G, Papadatos labeled the larnakes as rectangular. Yet, it should be noted that in these cases, while the outside form of the larnax does indeed indicate a rectangle, the interior form curves at each of the corners presenting an elliptical shape. Like many of the other details from Archanes, Sakellarakis does not note the shape of all

³⁴⁵ A visual analysis of larnax decoration can be seen in Table 11.

of the larnakes. Therefore, we are left with data from a random allotment of tombs, Tholos G, and Tholos E. Present data suggests that there are a total of 35 elliptical vessels and 24 rectangular (or rectangular with interior rounded edges).³⁴⁶

These forms seem to match the majority of vessels across the island. For instance, vessels from Pacheia Ammos (Cat. 206–209), as well as those from Vorou and other central sites, present primarily elliptical forms. While a thorough study of shape has not yet been performed on the larnax,³⁴⁷ similar studies on pithoi have recently been undertaken by Christakis. Christakis notes that it is clear some vessels had specific functions, including singling out several pithoi types that were only used for burial purposes at Archanes.³⁴⁸ Christakis notes that vessel forms 106, 108, 112–114, and 120 have all been found at Knossos, Ailias, Poros, Vorou, and Archanes. These forms have not been discovered in any domestic contexts and they do present a level of standardization. Moreover, because their fabric is local (as this dissertation demonstrates occurs for the larnax), the pithoi (and likely the larnakes) suggests a regional tradition. Lastly, these pithoi indicate that they were produced and used specifically for burial purposes. At present, larnakes have (with two exceptions)³⁴⁹ only been discovered in burial contexts and in most cases are associated either directly or within the same structure as human remains.

³⁴⁶ A visual analysis of larnax shape can be seen in Table 4.

³⁴⁷ Both Rutkowski and Watrous have suggested that the larnax takes the form of a chest, similar to a wooden chest or a boat, in the case of Watrous, he believes it symbolizes the sailing of the dead. Rutkowski 1968, 226; and Watrous 1991, 303–304.

³⁴⁸ Christakis 2005, 55–57.

³⁴⁹ The single exception occurs at Gournia. Where larnakes were found nearly in-tact in the northern sector (Building EO) of the town within the industrial quarter.

Date

The chronology of the above tombs may be questioned, not due to excavator inadequacy, but rather to a refinement of the chronology since the time of excavation (similar problems exist with many of the earliest excavations). However, the evidence overwhelmingly indicates that the burial vessels found within Tholos E and Burial buildings 5, 6, 9, 16, 18, and 19 all date at the earliest to the MM IA period. Only two potential locations (Tholos G and the Area of the Rocks) may provide us with EM III examples. Tholos G has been broken down above and the evidence suggests a date for the larnakes also no earlier than MM IA.³⁵⁰ The evidence from the Area of the Rocks is very fragmentary and when placed next to the above assessments it seems highly unlikely that any of the larnax fragments found within this area produced EM III vessels.

Hagios Myronas

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 172–179

Bones	7 unknown/unclear
Grave Goods	Ceramic and stone vessels
Larnakes	7 (possibly 8 or more with fragments)

Hagios Myronas was originally excavated under the aegis of the Greek Archaeological service in 1966 by Alexiou.³⁵¹ Further study of the material has not yet been completed, though several scholars have looked at individual remains from the deposit, including Walberg in her publication on Middle Minoan pottery (1983). No study of the larnakes has been performed, and a permit has not yet been granted, thus a close understanding of the Hagios Myronas larnakes remains underdeveloped.

³⁵⁰ This date of MM IA does not necessarily contradict the dates assigned by Papadatos because he provides a range of EM III/MM IA, but it does represent a divergence in the removal of EM III as a possibility.

³⁵¹ Alexiou 1967, 486; 1968, 403; 1969c, 210–211; 1969b, 413–414; 1970, 454–455; 1971b, 239.

Walberg dates the larnakes to the LM I period, but she ascribed a similar date to the larnakes from Pacheia Ammos, which has proven to be inaccurate when compared with additional comparanda.³⁵² The general overview of the site suggests that it operated between the EM II and LM I period. Though, most scholars (including Alexiou, Orlandou, and Chaniotis) suggest a chronological range between EM II and MM IB.³⁵³ The presence of larnakes from Hagios Myronas serves as the only comparanda for the cemetery from Pacheia Ammos due to the type of interments.

Bones and Grave Goods

The bones from Hagios Myronas were not saved for future study, and there are very few notations concerning skeletal remains, aside from a couple of instances where Alexiou notes that a skeleton was found inside the larnax. The information is scant and cannot confirm or deny the possibility of individual burials within a larnax. The only other significant information occurs Petit's short entry on Hagios. He states that the larnakes were surrounded by stones creating a sort of enclosure, and that the contents indicate "skulls accompanying bodies" along with nearby offerings dated to the MM I period.³⁵⁴

Like Pacheia Ammos, very few grave goods accompany these larnakes. Rather, only some ceramic and stone vessels were discovered among the larnakes at Hagios Myronas. Seal stones, tools, metals, and other ornaments were not recovered.³⁵⁵ In

³⁵² Walberg 1983, 105. Walberg provides only the briefest mention of the larnakes and provide no support for her date. She does suggest that the cups published from the site fit within her MM catalogue.

³⁵³ Each author ascribes their own date range. Alexiou suggests MM IA – MM IB (1967a, 486; 1967b, 210–211; 1968, 403; 1969a, 413–414; 1969b, 239; 1970), Orlandou suggests three separate timelines MM IA–MM IB and then EM II – MM IA (see 1967, 117–118; 1968, 140–141; 1969, 192–193), Chaniotis suggests EM II–MM IA (1989).

³⁵⁴ Petit 1990, 51.

³⁵⁵ Georgoulaki 1996, 49.

general, it would seem as though the funeral assemblages from Hagios Myronas are sparse especially when compared to Tholos G and Tholos E at Archanes.

Larnakes

Alexiou states that a total of seven larnakes emerged from the excavations at Hagios Myronas along with an additional 15 pithoi. Only one of these larnakes has been conserved and is largely complete.³⁵⁶ The remainder are all in pieces at the Herakleion Museum and have not been studied.³⁵⁷ Some information can be gleaned however from the *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, and *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Hetaireias*. Alexiou notes that the vessels were all undecorated, and this is supported by Georgoulaki's personal assessment.³⁵⁸ Further information can be gathered from Petit's *Les Jarres Funeraires du Minoen Ancien III au Minoen recent I*, but even his assessment mainly discusses their lack of decoration.³⁵⁹

Based on the original report by Alexiou, it is possible to discern that all of the larnakes are elliptical. Alexiou also provides the dimensions of two of the larnakes, one is 85 cm and the other is 90 cm in length. In width, they are also similar; one is 40 cm and the other is 55 cm in width. Both sets of dimensions align with other locations across Crete. There is, at present, no information concerning fabric from any of the authors. Alexiou makes a brief note, stating that one vessel is "almost fine ware."³⁶⁰ He also states that the exterior is brushed, probably indicating the presence of an exterior slip. The larnakes were found alongside pithoi, and Alexiou notes that on one pithos there were

³⁵⁶ Alexiou 1967, 210; 1969, 184; 1968, 314–5. HM 18834. While this vessel has a number, the author was not permitted to see it as it is unpublished. It is also not on display at the Museum.

³⁵⁷ See Georgoulaki 1996, note 250.

³⁵⁸ Alexiou 1967, 210 and 1969, 184; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 45–51 and 57.

³⁵⁹ For Petit's reference see 1990, 51.

³⁶⁰ Alexiou, 1968, 140.

traces of spirals or spiral-like decoration. It is unclear exactly what this means, but where Alexiou provides a date of MM IA or MM IB for similar patterns, Walberg suggests a date of MM III.³⁶¹ If we are to assume that these spirals are similar to those seen on larnakes from the east or those from Archanes, then a date of MM IA or MM IB seems the most plausible.

Georgoulaki indicates that larnax 4 (Cat. 175) possesses four horizontal handles. One might be able to assume that these are located on the long sides of the larnax but that cannot be confirmed, and neither is it clear whether there are four total or four on each side. The single image provided in the Arch Delt (32) displays a different larnax (Cat. 175) that possesses three horizontal handles on the long sides, one horizontal handle on the short sides, and also two vertical handles (on the short side). This last type is unknown but may be similar to the larnakes from Vorou and Archanes that contain small knobs on the short side in addition to handles on the long sides.

Key Insights and Other Data

It is difficult to date these larnakes without a physical inspection. However, the original classification by Alexiou is based on the presence of EM III pottery found in and around the larnakes. While much of the surrounding pottery can be dated to the EM III/MM IA period (including a birds-nest bowl, which was present in Cat. 172).³⁶² Georgoulaki, Legarra Herrero, and Alexiou all suggest that the larnakes must date to a later period, perhaps MM IA/MM IB.³⁶³ The small entry by Petit seems to confirm a date

³⁶¹ Alexiou 1967, 117–118; 1977, 314–315; Walberg 1983, 4, 21, 22.

³⁶² Alexiou 1967 117–118; 1977, 314–315 for the EM III/MM IA pottery date.

³⁶³ What exactly has led to this suggestion is unclear and not defined by any of the above authors. See Alexiou 1970; Georgoulaki 1996; and Legarra Herrero 2014, 74. Walberg also suggests that the larnakes were deposited in subsequent periods, but she places their deposition in the MM III/LM I period. This seems even harder to corroborate given the amount of material from the later periods. At this time, only Walberg suggests a date this late and given that she also suggested MM III for the larnakes from Pacheia

of MM IA/MM IB. Additionally, current research by this study suggests that elliptical larnakes serve as a segue between the earliest rectangular versions (MM IA) and the later rectangular versions (MM II). If all of the larnakes from Hagios Myronas are elliptical in form, then it is likely that they fall within later date classification.

5.2.3 Pyrgos

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 141–160

Bones	+/- 50 individuals
Grave Goods	Ceramic and stone vessels, figurines, beads, gold, diadems, bronze daggers, copper, and obsidian fragments
Larnakes	+/- 20 larnakes

The burial cave of Pyrgos was originally excavated by Xanthoudides in 1918 under the aegis of the Greek government. Only the EM I and II material have received any substantial publication; the rest of the material is currently under study at the Herakleion Museum.³⁶⁴ From Xanthoudides comments, it is clear that he found some architectural walls and features; however, the exact stratigraphy is unknown.

Xanthoudides does indicate in his notes that the larnakes were found above the EM II remains.³⁶⁵ While he published the EMI and IIA pottery, other scholars (including Lambrou–Phillipson and Walberg) have indicated that the cave saw continued use through the MM period.³⁶⁶

Amnos, which has been proven inaccurate, an MM III or later date seems very unlikely. For reference to her dating at Hagios Myronas see 1992, 105.

³⁶⁴ Xanthoudides 1918a, 170, EM I–II/III.

³⁶⁵ Xanthoudides 1918a.

³⁶⁶ Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247 who actually suggests that the larnakes originate in the LMIA period; Walberg 1992.

Grave Goods and Bones

Lack of published data makes understanding the bones and the remains difficult. Zois indicated that in addition to the notes from Xanthoudides, there may have been a total of 50 different individuals buried at the site.³⁶⁷ However, the location and context of those bones remains a mystery. As a result, this site cannot provide any additional information about individualization and larnakes. Nevertheless, the site can still provide data about the larnakes and the potential status of occupants based on the presence (or absence) or material remains.

As with the bones, it is impossible to say whether any of the material remains reported are directly associated with the larnakes. Xanthoudides notes the presence of ceramic and stone vessels, figurines, beads, gold, copper, and obsidian fragments. As in Tholos G and E, notes suggest that the majority of remains were located in the layers below the larnakes.³⁶⁸

Larnakes

Xanthoudides suggested that a total of 20 larnakes were found within the cave, but none of these have been published. He does, however, provide some information in the *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*. Xanthoudides does note that the vessels are elliptical. For two of the vessels, Geourgoulaki provides dimensions. These dimensions range from 118 to 120 cm in length; 37 to 38 cm in width; and 25 to 28 cm in height. In general, these dimensions correspond to the majority of larnakes discovered across the island.

³⁶⁷ Xanthoudides 1918a; Zois 1968.

³⁶⁸ Zois 1968a, 40–48.

Xanthoudides also notes the presence of “lugs,” which likely refer to the small knobs found on the short sides of vessels (such as those at Vorou and some from Archanes).³⁶⁹

The only additional information for these vessels can be seen in the original excavation photographs found in Xanthoudides *Αρχαιολογικόν δελτίον* report from 1918.³⁷⁰ At least one of the vessels pictured represents an unknown form (it is likely that this vessel is 118 cm long). The other vessels look similar to those found both at Vorou (Cat. 169–171). At present, these vessels, based on size and shape, seem to fall within the MM IB period. Based on the initial assessment of pottery remains, however, Xanthoudides suggests that they originate in the EM period. This dating seems highly unlikely given the information now gleaned through this dissertation and comparanda seen at Archanes and Vorou. It is more likely, that there was an early occupation of the site (in the EMI and EM II periods), but that the larnakes were distributed later perhaps in the MM IB period.

Key Insights and Other Data

Like many of the other sites analyzed thus far, Pyrgos cannot provide concrete information concerning single interments in larnakes. Nonetheless, based on the number provided by Zois, it is likely that this was a communal burial location (since there were upwards of 50 interments). This site presents the only difficulty in creating a typology and refining the chronology. However, scientific pottery analysis has changed drastically since the site’s original excavation, and this site has not yet received a full analysis or

³⁶⁹ Xanthoudides 1918a, and Georgoulaki 1996.

³⁷⁰ This author was meant to meet with Irimi Gallini in order to discuss and possibly look at the vessels in 2020. However, COVID-19 delayed the possibility of traveling overseas. As a result, the necessary information will not be gathered until after completion of this dissertation, at which time the information may be used to compile a monograph on larnakes.

republication since its original excavation date. It is likely that the larnakes originate from the MM IB or MM IIA period and not earlier irrespective of the presence of EM II pottery. One might note that similar occurrences are found at Tholos G, Tholos E, Area of the Rocks, and even to the East where EM II and EM III material are present, but the stratigraphy and other remains suggest a later date for the larnakes themselves.

5.2.4 Knossos

Several locations around Knossos and within the valleys provide evidence for the presence of larnakes. Unfortunately, the publication history and dating of many of these locations does not provide sufficient data to definitively date the larnakes. It is likely that early tombs existed around Knossos but whether those tombs contained Pre- or Protopalatial larnakes is unknown. The sites listed below may have contained early larnakes, but at present because there is disagreement about dating the tomb; it is unclear whether the larnakes originate in earlier or later periods. As such, each site will receive a brief discussion, but no assessment of the larnakes is possible.³⁷¹

Ailias (Undetermined)

General Overview and Key Insights

**Cat. 132–135

Bones	Present but unclear
Grave Goods	Present but unclear
Larnakes	Present but unclear (At least 4)

The Ailias cemetery located on the ridge above Knossos Tomb V, Tomb VII, and IX suggests a period of use between MM II and MM III. According to Hood, the larnakes

³⁷¹ In some instances, Legarra Herrero 2015, the data and catalogue indicate that the tombs in the hills surrounding Knossos may have contained early material. In other instances, Geourgoulaki 1996, these sites are left out of the catalogue with the assumption that they do not originate in the Pre- and Protopalatial period. As each site will be discussed, it will become apparent that the excavator's original dates are often re-evaluated to much later periods.

It is the hope of this author that following this dissertation permission to see these vessels may be obtained.

published in *Archaeology of Greece* all date to the MM III period. Herrero notes, very little remains from the MM II period that may be used to verify the tombs' use and assemblage.³⁷² The possibility exists that the Ailias larnakes could be connected to the MM II period but based on the notes from the above two authors, it seems unlikely. Thus, the Ailias larnakes fall outside the scope of this dissertation.

**Mavro Spilio (Undetermined)
General Overview and Key Insights**

**Cat. 136–137

Bones	Present but unclear
Grave Goods	Present but unclear
Larnakes	Present but unclear (At least 2)

According to information provided by both Hood and Herrero Tomb IX, XVII, and Site 250 all contained the remnants of larnakes. Like the Ailias cemetery, the earliest use was likely in the MM II period. The larnakes originate in the upper stratum and alongside both MM II and MM III material. As a result, they have been dated to MM III.³⁷³ As with Ailias, it is impossible to verify this information without a physical inspection.

**Hutchinson Tomb (Undetermined)³⁷⁴
General Overview and Key Insights**

**Cat. 224

Bones	Present but unclear
Grave Goods	Present but unclear
Larnakes	Present but unclear

In 1935, Hutchinson exposed a tomb near Knossos where he discovered four pithos burials in addition to some larnakes. The site was labeled as a MM tomb, though two strata existed. The upper strata has been described as MM III with at least four pithoi

³⁷² Legarra Herrero 2014, 85. See also Preston 2013, 42.

³⁷³ For MM III see Alberti 2001, 176–179. Otherwise see Legarra Herrero 2014, note 229 and 232. For more information on dating see Hood 1955, 32. See also Preston 2013, 42–43; Legarra Herrero 2014, 85.

³⁷⁴ Also known as Monasteriako Kephali and referred to as such by Preston 2004.

and bones. The lower strata seems to be represented by primarily MM II burials. The information about the site seems disputable because originally the vessels were assigned to the MM III period based on the presence of painted white rosettes on the exterior.³⁷⁵ However, in a study performed later by Hood and Smythe of the overall Knossos area, they labeled the majority of pottery from the tomb as MM IB or MM II.³⁷⁶ In neither instance are the bones or additional grave goods described. Moreover, none of the larnakes are described – rather they are merely mentioned in passing. Further study of these vessels is necessary in order to make an accurate conclusion.

Baira, Gazi³⁷⁷ (Undetermined)
General Overview and Key Insights

**Cat. 161–162

Bones	Present but unclear
Grave Goods	Present but unclear
Larnakes	Present but unclear (At least 1)

Buried within the rocks near Gazi were multiple burials in pithoi and two larnakes. The site was originally a rescue excavation, which N. Platon excavated in 1956. Very little has been published on the site aside from the original *Kretika Chronika* entry.³⁷⁸ N. Platon mentions the presence of two larnakes found alongside the two pithoi. The pithoi are noted as MM IIB and MM III due to the presence of painted leaf decoration, but the precise date of the larnakes is unclear. Platon only mentions that one larnax was rectangular and the other was elliptical, and that both were made from local reddish-clay. Platon does not mention the presence of bones, so no conclusion may be drawn regarding individual burials or otherwise. He does mention that the only

³⁷⁵ Karo 1934, 249.

³⁷⁶ Hood and Smythe 1982, 45 and no.140.

³⁷⁷ The site also goes by the name of Gasi Malevisiou near the village of Michanes.

³⁷⁸ Platon 1957.

accompanying grave good was a cup, but he does not provide any additional details about the cup.³⁷⁹ Based on the very brief description of leaf decoration alongside both elliptical and rectangular shapes, a date of MM III seems the most plausible. This would need additional verification through a formalized study.

Baira Gasi

General Overview and Key Insights

**Cat. 138–139

Bones	Present but unclear
Grave Goods	Present but unclear
Larnakes	Present but unclear (At least 1)

Located close to Gazi was a small rectangular tomb. This site was originally excavated by Rethemiotakis in 1983. Like many other rescue excavations, Gazi has not been published and very little information is available apart from the data provided in the initial report. No information is provided concerning the bones that may have been associated with this burial. Rethemiotakis does note the presence of one pithos, two larnakes, four obsidian blades, one sea-shell pendant, as well as 38 additional pottery fragments. He dates the majority of finds to the MM IA period. The only information provided concerning the larnakes is that they are both tub-shaped and also belong to the MM IA period. The images provided by Rethemiotakis in the *Αρχαιολογικόν δελτίον* do not provide any enlightening details.³⁸⁰ Given the location of the tomb (in the Knossos valley) and the shape of the vessels, a date of MM IB/MM IIA seems the most plausible. Again, however, without a formalized study of the vessels, it is impossible to definitively suggest such a date.

³⁷⁹ Platon 1957, 335; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 468–470.

³⁸⁰ Rethemiotakis 1984, 296, pl 151; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 463–467; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 195.

Malia, Maison des morts
General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 180

Bones	2 interments
Grave Goods	Pottery fragments
Larnakes	1 larnax

The tomb at Maison des morts was originally excavated in 1921 and 1928 as part of the larger project in the Malia necropolis, located near the beach on the northeastern outskirts of the palace. Only a single larnax of Prepalatial date was found throughout the cemetery. It was located in Tomb 8, referred to as a cist-type enclosure. This was one tomb of many cist-types that lay just outside the larger house tomb (so called *Maison des morts*). The cemetery appears to have been in use between EM II and MM III, with some evidence suggesting reuse in the LM I (cist 10 contained some LM pottery).³⁸¹

Additionally, Room IX suggests that it was reused during the early Mycenaean occupation, signifying that the site never quite went out of use.³⁸² It is Tomb 8 that concerns this project as it is the only location to produce a larnax of early origins.

Bones and Grave Goods

Very little is known about this cist as the tomb was destroyed during excavation. The excavator, Picard-Charbonneaux, notes the presence of bones belonging to a sub-adult and also to that of a child. He suggests that the skull represents a sub-adult burial while the bones indicate a child.³⁸³ No further study has been provided on the bones from this location. The burial assemblage that accompanied this deposit comprised some

³⁸¹ For an LM date see Walberg 1992 which all suggest similarities to the stirrup-jar found in Cist 10.

³⁸² van Effenterre 1963, 80–102 and 1980, 236–7; Walberg 1983, 116.

³⁸³ Originally published by van Effenterre 1963, 97–98. See also Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 611.

additional pottery fragments, none of which are illustrated or discussed. There are no grave goods of elite status included with the burials.

Larnax

The single larnax found in the cist is also not well described. However, Walberg notes that it possesses many similarities to jars found at Myrtos dating to the EM II period. More information is not provided concerning this vessel, other than that similar vessels from Gournia and Malia date instead to the MM IIB or MM IIIA periods.³⁸⁴ Without additional information, it is impossible to definitively date this vessel.

Key Insights and Other Data

The details from the Malia larnax further support the presence of multiple individuals interred in a single vessel even though the date cannot be confirmed. Additionally, the presence of primarily ceramic remains alongside the larnax coincides with the data seen at Kalo Chorio, Gournia, and Pacheia Ammos. The vessel does not indicate a connection between elite individual burials and larnakes.

Sissi

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 181–189

Bones	24 bodies; 6 individual interments, 2 multiple interments, 16 unclear
Grave Goods	gold jewelry, seal stones, cups, juglets, bowls, trays, straight-sided and carinated cups, jugs, and bridge-spouted jars
Larnakes	9?

The cemetery of Sissi lies to the north of the settlement located on a series of terraces close to the sea (similar to Sphoungaras near Gournia). As with Gournia and Mochlos, the architecture of the site suggests that the necropolis was largely composed of

³⁸⁴ The vessel number was provided for this object (HM8555), but this study was unable to secure examination. For reference to the type see Walberg 1983, type 116.

rectangular tombs (similar to house-tombs). Comparable structures are found at Archanes either as separate buildings or as rectangular additions to tholos tombs. Data from the cemetery indicates a period of use between EM IIA – MM IIB.³⁸⁵ A single stratified and undisturbed burial from the EM II period was identified in spaces 1.11 and 1.12 (found within Zone 1), but EM II material persists throughout the site. According to Schoep, the majority of activity at the site occurs in the MM IA period. The larnakes discussed below originate from Zone 1 and Zone 9, and primarily within spaces 1.15, 1.30, 9.1, and 9.2. Zone 1 can be found on the terrace located closest to the water, north of the site and just to the west of Zone 9. Zone 9 is also located on the lowest terrace closest to the water and just east of Zone 1.

Space 9.1 and 9.2 are located within Zone 9 and were excavated in 2010 with continued exploration in 2011. The excavators described the original period of occupation as MM I/MM II. The building comprises four separate spaces, each of which is divided by a wall. Though many of the remaining architectural courses are sparse, the partition wall between spaces 9.1 and 9.2 suggests that the walls were at least four courses high. Excavators note that there are no door partitions, and so the entry method is unclear.³⁸⁶

Zone 1 contained multiple different spaces located on multiple terraces. The most pertinent for this dissertation can be found in the lower terrace. Both spaces, 1.15 and 1.30 are described as open spaces. Space 1.15 existed as a narrow opening between one of the terrace walls of a different building. Space 1.30 is similar because it too, is an open

³⁸⁵ Driessen 2009; Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2009; Schoep 2009; Schoep, Schmitt, and Crevecoeur 2011; Legarra Herrero 2014, 75, 77–79, cat. 305.

³⁸⁶ Schoep, Schmitt, and Crevecoeur 2011, 65–67; Schoep et al. 2013, 41–50.

area primarily surrounded by rocky outcroppings. Further discussion of this space will occur below.

Grave Goods

Like the other areas discussed thus far (Archanes and Apesokari, for example), the earliest burial layers provide little to no exotic or expensive grave goods. The second burial layer in space 9.1, which contains the presence of an in-tact pithos and possibly larnax fragments, contained only the addition of commingled human bones and some pottery. The lower levels contained primarily only commingled bones.

Space 9.2, on the other hand, provided slightly more elaborate grave goods. Some gold jewelry was found at the lowest burial layer associated with the remains of several individuals, but not directly connected with any of the larnakes. This pattern is similar to the that seen at Archanes in both Tholos E and G.³⁸⁷ In addition, a seal stone was discovered in the doorway located between 9.2 and 9.4. It is unclear whether this seal stone can be connected to the compartment containing the larnax or to space 9.4, which does not contain any larnakes. The seal stone, however, does provide a probably date of MM IA,³⁸⁸ which would coincide with the dating of the larnax found in space 9.2.

Space 1.30 is distinct because it lacks any human or animal remains. Its location and the objects found within suggest that it may have been a storage location.³⁸⁹ The majority of the deposit comprises tableware including, cups, juglets, bowls, trays, and other odds and ends used for serving and consuming. A single larnax was also found

³⁸⁷ Schoep 2011, 20; Also Tomkins and Schoep 2016, 239.

³⁸⁸ Schoep 2011, 26.

³⁸⁹ The excavator provides this conclusion due to the abundance of in-tact pottery rather than broken pottery.

among the pottery. Most of the pottery dates to the EM III/MM IA and MM IIA periods, which probably coincides with the duration of cemetery occupation at Sissi.

Space I.16 is similar to space I.30 in that it likely represents a clearing or a storage space. Schoep indicates that this space may have been built specifically to house pottery that had been cleared from primary depositions. This hypothesis is based on the amount of broken pottery present, all of which suggest that they were broken prior to placement in space I.16.³⁹⁰ Like I.30 and I.15, skeletal material is mostly absent. No grave goods suggesting elite status (such as gold, seal stones, or other metals) were discovered. Instead, a large mass of various pottery fragments including straight-sided and carinated cups, jugs, juglets, bridge-spouted jars, cups, and bowls were all found. Based on this data, it cannot be assumed that the primary burial (which must have occurred within any one of the house tomb spaces) ever contained more elaborate grave goods. If items of value were ever originally interred with their respective owner, then the object and the owner occupy the status of prestige and the discarded larnax clearly possesses no significance. Instead, it is merely disposed of, while the body and the elite objects remain together.

Bones

Space 9.1 yielded a total of eight different individuals. According to Schoep et al, at least six of these interments represent primary burials and two were secondary interments. Similar to Archanes, the earliest burial layer appears to have contained

³⁹⁰ Tomkins and Schoep 2016, 242. Schoep also indicates that the vessels found within this space had been subjected to fire. It is unclear what this burning may have indicated, though Schoep suggests that perhaps ritual fumigation of the house tomb took place prior to a clearing of the structure.

commingled bones and smaller vessels. This space was then sealed and vessels (including an in-tact pithos and at least one in-tact larnax) were placed on top.³⁹¹

Space 9.2 provided many more individuals. The excavator suggests a total of 16 interments were present. The larnax from this zone indicates that a single individual was interred inside and then some of the bones (including the tibia) were removed and deposited elsewhere. The presence of a second individual on top of the larnax fragment may suggest a second burial was added to the larnax, or that the larnax had broken and the second individual was simply buried on top of the fragment. However, the excavator notes that this second individual probably “disturbed” the first interred person in the larnax.³⁹² Again, the deposition of the bones suggests that the importance may lie with the “ritual” of interment rather than with the object the person was interred in.

Larnakes

The larnakes which emerged from the Sissi cemetery originate entirely from Zones 1 and 9. In general, their fabric is representative of the typical clay used in ceramic vessels at Sissi (with a close relationship to those at Malia). This fabric is generally a 2.5 YR 5/6 to 6/8 ranging from red to light red. It is therefore possible to ascertain that most of the larnakes at Sissi were locally produced. This supposition coincides with the assessment from both east Cretan sites (like Gournia) and also central Crete sites (such as Archanes). From the remaining fragments (which include walls, bases, and rims), production techniques likely relied on a coil method; wherein, the base was formed as a flat slab and then individual coils were added in order to build-up the sides. This technique is still seen during the production of large pithoi on Crete.

³⁹¹ Schoep 2011, 18.

³⁹² Schoep, Schmitt, and Crevecoeur 2011, 65–67; Schoep et al. 2013, 41–50.

At least three of the larnakes possessed a plastic rope-like decoration (Cat. 182, 183, 186, 181). In each instance, the decoration was added to the vessel around the rim, the base, and often along the side of the body as in (Cat. 183). This style is not consistent with decorative forms seen at either Archanes or in the Mirabello bay. While many other vessels incorporate raised decoration around the rim and/or the base, none have added the decoration along the body. One other vessel applied rope decoration (Cat. 184), but it is very worn. It is unclear whether this rope was meant to be a solid plastic decoration or if time has merely eroded the impressions. In either case, it appears that Sissi adapted a tradition to suit its own regional style.

An equal number of vessels present remnants of dark slip (Cat. 186 and 187). These include at least one that also incorporates rope decoration (Cat. 186). The preservation of the current vessels does not allow for a definitive conclusion about the painted decoration, specifically whether circles, wavy lines, or other Cretan motifs were ever present. Instead, current evidence suggests that the primary visual stimuli was provided by the rope decoration and the dark slip was added all over the interior and exterior of the vessels.

Many of the vessels are fragmentary thus making determining handle orientation difficult. It is possible to ascertain that each vessel would have possessed handles on the exterior. Only three of them indicate vertical handles (Cat. nos. 184, 186, 181). Only one vessel possesses horizontal handles, 9502 (Cat. 184 – object no. OB0003 #2). Four of the larnakes have handle fragments, but because only a very small portion of the vessel remains, it is unclear whether these handles are horizontal or vertical.³⁹³

³⁹³ The information within these paragraphs concerning the specifics of the Sissi larnakes was kindly obtained through the permission of J. Dreissen who permitted the study of the Sissi larnakes in 2019.

Shape

The vessels from Sissi are representative of each shape, elliptical, rectangular, and rectangular with rounded interiors. This is not necessarily surprising given the date range of vessels that come from Sissi. As they originate from all periods, MMIA, MMIB, and MM II, it would be reasonable to assume that their shape would also be diverse.

Key Insights and Other Data/Sissi Assessment

The Sissi vessels, like those from Archanes, probably date at the earliest to the MM IA period. This coincides with the other early examples from Archanes. The plastic indented, roped decoration covering the entire vessel appears to be largely unique to Sissi. The fabric is consistent with other tableware, cookware, and courseware objects suggesting that the vessels were made locally and of coarse clay. The presence of the empty larnax in space 1.30 implies that these vessels may have been stored with other tableware objects and then used when necessary. There is no evidence at Sissi to suggest an ideology of individualism related to the larnax. Instead, primary burials with wealthy grave goods are found outside of the larnakes, while the larnax burials possess one or two individuals and some pottery fragments.

Elounda (Undetermined)

General Overview and Key Insights

**Cat. 191

Bones	Multiple interments
Grave Goods	Ceramic vases
Larnakes	3 (with additional fragments)

In 1947, van Effenterre published an article that described groups of pithoi and larnakes from the site of Elounda. He reports multiple larnakes found within the rocks of Olonte (Elounda). While no dates are provided for these objects and some of the descriptions indicate later vessels (due to the presence of holes and legs), the dates of all

are unclear. The elliptical, or bathtub shaped larnakes (as described in group 5, tombs 24 and 26) suggest earlier Protopalatial examples.³⁹⁴ The presence of multiple burials inside the three examples from Elounda, in addition to their size (85 cm by 40 cm) suggest similarities to earlier examples described in this dissertation. Two simple vases are found at either end of the larnax, which also resembles earlier interments. At this point in time, however, it is impossible to verify dates of manufacture without a physical examination. Moreover, no more details are provided, and it is unclear whether they fall within the bounds of this dissertation.

Southern Crete (Mesara)
Apesokari Tomb A
General Stratigraphy and Overview

**Cat. 5 and 6

Bones	Many skulls (Unclear connections)
Grave Goods	Figurine, cookware, drinking vessels, and some jugs
Larnakes	1 (possibly 2)

In 1942, Schörgendorfer began excavations at Apesokari in Tomb A, a tholos located in the Mesara region. All collected objects were deposited in the Herakleion Museum and remain largely unpublished. Recently, the material has undergone reanalysis and conservation by Georgia Flouda under the aegis of the Herakleion Museum. In her conclusions, she surmises that Apesokari A was built during the MM IA period. The inhabitants of the area then continued to use the tomb through MM IB. Based on the presence of MM II pottery within the tomb, she believes that the tomb received continued interments into the MM II period, after which time, the tomb itself went out of use. Further analysis indicates that the courtyard area may have received recurrent visits

³⁹⁴ van Effenterre 1947, 1–11.

during MM III, which is based on the presence of a MM III pithraki.³⁹⁵ The larnakes from this location, therefore, must originate within either the MM IA or the MM IB periods in accordance with the rest of the pottery.

Bones

Due to the fact that the tholos and its annex structures were continually reused, many of the burials were disturbed. Additionally, precise information regarding the original stratigraphy and excavation is limited. As a result, pinpointing the exact provenance of bones (including the bones related to larnakes) poses multiple problems. Flouda's conclusions follow those arising from the typical patterns seen at other tholos tombs in the Mesara. She maintains that primary inhumation was the dominant form of burial and that most of the bodies were probably laid directly on the floor. Lack of original excavation reports means that there is not sufficient evidence to confirm or deny the presence of larnakes within the main chamber, however based on Apesokari B and other tholoi in the Mesara, it seems likely that the larnakes originated in one of the annex chambers.³⁹⁶

In support of this assumption, Schörgendorfer noted a plethora of skulls and long bones in Room D. It is likely that this collection of bones represents secondary deposition where the largest bones are removed from the main chamber and then redeposited in one of the annex rooms. Based on the assemblage of vessels found in Room D, which show remarkable resemblance to those found in the main burial chamber, Flouda has concluded that Room D represents an ossuary-type space.³⁹⁷ Room D, like Space 2 at Apesokari B,

³⁹⁵ Schörgendorfer 1951b; Flouda 2011, 117.

³⁹⁶ See Flouda 2011; See also Pini 1968, 4, 10; Alexiou 1971; Hood 1971, 142–143; Pelon 1976, 12.

³⁹⁷ Flouda 2011, 115.

which will be discussed next, probably contained the larnax. Burials probably occurred first in the center of the tholos, and then the largest bones and skulls were removed and placed within burial containers in one of the annex chambers.

Grave Goods

Within the main chamber, none of the interments can be associated directly with any of the grave goods.³⁹⁸ In fact, according to Flouda, there were no additional finds which could denote status differentiation. Instead, the majority of remains were ceramic vessels of various types, all of which were typical for the MM IA – MM II periods. The tomb did yield some overall interesting finds including a small stone “idol located next to a limestone slab in Room K,” which was probably a figurine. On the whole, most objects consisted of cookware, drinking vessels, and some jugs.³⁹⁹ These types of vessels are consistent with ritual deposition and feasting practices.

Larnakes

In Flouda’s most recent publication which emphasizes a reanalysis of Tholos A, she identifies two larnakes from Apesokari A (Cat. 5 and 6). However, one of those vessels (Cat.5) actually belongs to the cemetery of Pacheia Ammos.⁴⁰⁰ Thus, it is now unclear whether Apesokari A yielded two larnakes or only one.

Flouda describes the second larnax as also possessing an oval shape (Cat.6). Not many additional features are defined; but it is clear from her report that the vessel lacked

³⁹⁸ Flouda 2011, 114.

³⁹⁹ Flouda 2011, 114.

⁴⁰⁰ This study was performed by the author. Dr. Flouda is now the curator of the Pre- and Protopalatial periods at the Herakleion Museum. When pictures were submitted with the permit application and Dr. Flouda went in search of the vessels, it became clear that a mix-up had occurred. The vessel published by Seager had been incorporated into Apesokari material and subsequently republished with material from Apesokari, Tholos A. During the study in the Herakleion Museum in the Summer of 2019, the vessel was reassigned to Pacheia Ammos. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Flouda for her time and expertise.

any form of decoration. She describes the fabric as coarse and similar to that used in cooking vessels. Unfortunately, no further information concerning handles or other additional features is provided. However, she does describe the vessel in her footnote as belonging to Rutkowski’s original typology in the form of Type 4. This representation also matches the overall shape seen in larnax 1 (which has been reassigned to Pacheia Ammos).⁴⁰¹ It is, therefore, too difficult to make any conclusions based on these vessels, other than that the dates likely coincide with the general use of the tomb and originate in either the MM IA or MM IB period.

Key Insights and Other Data

Apesokari A provides some pertinent information. It confirms that larnakes were not produced and distributed across the island. It also indicates that larnakes were not connected with high-status objects and instead confirms that the typical burial assemblage consisted of ceramic remains. On the other hand, it does not provide any details concerning individual or multiple interments within larnakes.

Apesokari Tomb B

General Stratigraphy and Overview⁴⁰²

**Cat. 2 – 4

Bones	1 individual
Grave Goods	Ceramic, Carinated Cup
Larnakes	2 larnakes (fragments of a possible third)

Tomb B was originally excavated by Kostis Davaras in 1963, but the site did not receive full publication at that time.⁴⁰³ In recent years, Dr. Georgios Vavouranakis has

⁴⁰¹ More information is needed on this particular larnax in order to determine whether its type is more typical of those seen within the region (including those from Vorou and Apesokari B) or whether the overall shape is more closely related to the one from Pacheia Ammos. Noted, Flouda also records the presence of a pithos burial.

⁴⁰² I am indebted to Dr. G. Vavouranakis for meeting with me in the Spring of 2019 to discuss both the site as a whole and the specific larnakes from Apesokari B.

⁴⁰³ Original reports found in Davaras 1964. For a history of the site and its excavation see Zois 1996, 162–169. First discovery and survey by Alexiou 1963b, 405; and again 1971, 307–308. Also discussed by Pini

begun to restudy the site as a whole in order to provide a comprehensive overview and analysis of both the architecture and the pottery. This examination has confirmed an initial construction date of EMI/EM IIA and a terminus post-quem of MM II, with some later – perhaps ancestral worship visits – in the Neopalatial period.⁴⁰⁴

Due to the height of the tholos (4 m), it is clear that at the time of its construction, the dome needed continued maintenance in order to maintain the stability of the external walls. In order to achieve this stability, the Minoans seem to have applied additions to the exterior of the tholos, which served as supportive features. It is not surprising, therefore, that additional structures (annexes) were added to the exterior. Moreover, annexes become typical extensions to tholoi beginning in the MM IA period (see for example Hagia Triada, Archanes, and Kamilari). Vavouranakis notes that additional construction most certainly occurred in the EM III/MM IA periods in order to strengthen the central tholos. During this same period, several of the annexes were added to the exterior including spaces 1–3, 5–6, and 8. Additional spaces (4,7, and 9) were added even later in the MM IB/MM II period.

Bones

As with many of the early excavations, human remains were often overlooked in search of the more prized antiquities. In the case of Apesokari B, the human remains were redeposited in Ossuary Pit 8 while the remainder of the artefacts were collected and stored in the apothiki and then at the Herakleion Museum. The pit (Ossuary Pit 8)

1968, 4; 1981, 427, no. 27.

⁴⁰⁴ Vavouranakis 2012, 149.

containing the bones was then completely backfilled.⁴⁰⁵ Thus, no information exists concerning the majority of the human remains.

Recent studies of the old material yielded new data from the bones inside a single intact larnax. The intact larnax originated in Space 2. It was found along with the remains of a non-adult (sub adult or child is not specified) and a carinated cup. The bones were studied by Chryssi Bourbou and identified as belonging to a single individual. Neither Vavouranakis nor Davaras note the presence of additional objects of status within the tomb.

Grave Goods

Likewise, much of the ceramic material lost its provenance. However, the ceramic (and other) objects can still provide some answers about what was buried at the site. Space 2 serves as the only space that exhibited a larnax. From the recent excavations and analysis, Vavouranakis notes that of the ceramic remains, 86 sherds can be firmly attributed to EM I–II. Of these 86 EM I–II sherds, only three of them originate from Space 2 (The rest belong either to the tholos, space 3, 4 and 10). The majority of fragments appear to have been broken prior to deposition within the tomb suggesting either a ritual ceremony or simply throw-away objects.⁴⁰⁶

In the MM IA/MM IB period, much appears to change. First, there is an increase in the number of pottery remains. Second, as opposed to the earlier period, the pottery is largely in-tact. Vavouranakis notes that this evidence suggests a “changed attitude toward

⁴⁰⁵ Davaras 1964, 441; Vavouranakis 2012.

⁴⁰⁶ Vavouranakis and Bourbou 2015, 181.

ceramic deposition.”⁴⁰⁷ There are a total of 467 vessels that originate from MM IA/MM IB, but it is unclear how many of these belong to Space 2.

The Protopalatial material (MM IB/MM II) dominates the site in overwhelming numbers. This is likely the reason for Davaras’ original identification of the tholos and surrounding areas as an MM site. Vavouranakis notes that at least 724 vessels (some intact and some not) originate from the MM IB/MM II period.⁴⁰⁸

The intact larnax originated in Space 2 and was found along with the remains of a sub-adult and a carinated cup. Neither Vavouranakis nor Davaras note the presence of additional objects of status located inside or near this larnax. In fact, for the tomb as a whole, Vavouranakis does not note any objects identifying social rank. Davaras does note that the tomb was looted. As a result, it is difficult to say with any certainty whether this site was devoid of seal stones, metal, or other high-status objects because of looting or because they were never included in the original interments. The undisturbed larnax burial does support a hypothesis of individualism, but does not represent a high-status burial.⁴⁰⁹

Larnakes

The site itself produced two (perhaps three based on the amount of evidence from the remaining fragments) larnakes. The two intact larnakes are oval (Cat. 2, 3 and 4). It is also likely that they originate from either the MM IA or the MM IB. Based on the fabric, a date of MM IB is more likely (due to the small number of inclusions).⁴¹⁰ The larnakes

⁴⁰⁷ Vavouranakis and Bourbou 2015, 184.

⁴⁰⁸ Alexiou 1963; Davaras 1964; Vavouranakis 2012.

⁴⁰⁹ Davaras 1964, 441; Vavouranakis 2007; 2012.

⁴¹⁰ Personal communication with Vavouranakis confirmed that the vessel was Mesara pink fabric, coarse and grainy, with about 35% mineral inclusions (Email Feb 20, 2019). Vavouranakis also ascribes a date of MM IB.

exhibit similar fabric components and similar cores, all of which are represented by typical buff, pink clay seen in other ceramic vessels of the Mesara.

No dimensions have been provided for the child larnax (Cat.2). The second larnax is 30 cm in height, 41 cm in width, and 83 cm in length (Cat. 3). These dimensions are very similar to those seen at other locations across the island, including Archanes and Gournia. All indications suggest that the child's larnax is smaller in all aspects except for its height.

The child larnax (Cat.2) possesses both vertical and horizontal handles. The vertical handles can be found on the short-side of the vessel, while the horizontal appear on the long-sides. The larger larnax (Cat.3) also has four handles, one on each side, and they are all vertical. Again, this corresponds with examples from Archanes (such as Cat. 28 from Tholos E). It also represents a general trend seen throughout Crete in the MM IA and MM IB periods.

Decoration on the vessels is sparse. Vavouranakis notes that both vessels are burnished on the interior and the exterior.⁴¹¹ The child larnax (Cat.2) does not exhibit any additional painted decoration or slip on the interior or exterior and the same can be said for the second larnax (Cat.3). Vavouranakis reports that there may be some additional fragments from a third larnax. This third vessel (Cat. 4) has not been mended and only three fragments exist, but Vavouranakis suggests that it possessed remnants of dark paint. There is no additional information concerning this final larnax because it has not been mended, studied, or published.

⁴¹¹ Personal communication in office University of Athens, Athens, Feb 20, 2019.

Key Insights and Other Data

The decorative and stylistic patterns seen in larnakes from Apesokari B match those displayed by vessels from other sites (in terms of fabric, shape, and size). The confined excavation of skeletal remains within the vessel does support an individual burial; however, the grave goods do not exhibit anything out of the ordinary. The high incidence of additional ceramic remains around the site supports a theory of ritual deposition along with the deceased. It is not clear whether these later depositions occur post interment or coincide with interment.

Hagia Triada, Tholos A General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 166

Bones	49 skulls present (association to larnax unclear)
Grave Goods	Figurines, seal stones, multiple bronze daggers, varied pottery remains, pendants (gold and silver), and imported goods (primarily from Egypt). Included amongst the gold and silver were attachments for diadems, pommels for daggers, and jewelry
Larnakes	1 (fragments of many others)

Hagia Triada is one of the few sites that offers a long and extensive excavation record, but very little information is provided concerning the single Pre- and Protopalatial larnax discovered here. It was originally excavated by the Italian School in 1904 directed by Halbherr. Initial publication of the material did not occur until the 1930s in the *Annuario*.⁴¹² While there are several tombs, two tholoi, and multiple annexes at Hagia Triada, Tholos A is the only one known to have early larnax fragments. Myriad dates have been provided for the pottery from the Tholos, all ranging between EM II to MM

⁴¹² Banti 1930–31, 147–196; Pini 1968, 17, 22–24, 27, 29; Walberg 1983, 92; Geourgoulaki 1996, 55, 61–63, cat. 4.

IIA. The majority of pottery fragments suggest MM IA (according to Walberg and based on a footnote from Georgoulaki).⁴¹³ Additional objects of value were also located inside the tholos and most of these belong to the EM III and MM I periods.

Bones

Excavators have not performed a detailed analysis of the bones. However, the notes suggest the presence of 49 skulls. There were also additional bones in two large heaps at the southern part of the tholos.⁴¹⁴ There is no information regarding any direct association between larnax fragments and placement of bones, thus we can draw no conclusions from Hagia Triada about individualism and larnakes. The presence, however, of so many bones in disorder resembles the majority of other sites in the Mesara and Central Crete, and suggests that Tholos A also functioned as a communal tomb and the annexes as an ossuary, similar to Space 2 at Apesokari B.

Grave Goods

The objects located inside the tomb suggest the interment of wealthier inhabitants when compared to those from other Mesara tholoi (such as Vorou or Drakones). While none of the objects can be directly associated with the larnax, items included figurines, seal stones, multiple bronze daggers, varied pottery remains, pendants, gold and silver, and imported goods (primarily from Egypt). Included amongst the gold and silver were attachments for diadems, pommels for daggers, and jewelry.⁴¹⁵ Like the pottery, these

⁴¹³ Georgoulaki 1996, 55, 61–63, cat. 4. Georgoulaki received the information via personal communication with C. Massimo.

⁴¹⁴ Banti 1930–31, 147–196; Georgoulaki 1996, 112 and 117.

⁴¹⁵ For seals see Sakellarakis 1983, 59; for figurines see Branigan 1971 and Pilali–Papasteriou 1992, 145; Also Banti 1930–31, 147–196.

remains appear to date between EM II and MM I, with some possible comparanda from the early MM II period.

Larnakes

No information is provided concerning the larnakes from Tholos A, apart from the fact that fragments were found in a great number. The only other mention to the larnax suggests that the disarray of the bones may be indicative of secondary treatment.⁴¹⁶ There is no evidence to suggest such treatment at Hagia Triada as it would require that larnakes also be found outside of Tholos A (at other burial tholoi or annexes). Such treatment and dispersal does not occur here until the later Neopalatial period.

Key Insights and Other Data

In general, the site of Hagia Triada possesses artifacts signifying greater wealth than other locations previously mentioned in this study. This trend is reflected in the tholoi located at the site and in particular Tholos A. However, there is no evidence that links any burial object directly with the larnax. Similarly, while no skeletal remains can be linked to the larnax, the presence of 49 skulls suggests that this location served as a communal location. The likelihood that the only larnax in the annex somehow served as a container for a single elite individual seems unlikely.

Drakones

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 164

Bones	Present but unclear
Grave Goods	seal stones and jewelry stone scarab, five stone vases, a bronze scraper, and an ivory seal stone
Larnakes	Present but unclear

⁴¹⁶ Halbherr, Stefani, Banti 1977, 150.

Two tholoi (Tholos D and Tholos Z) were discovered at Drakones by Xanthoudides in 1907. Both of them are small and located close to one another. Xanthoudides notes the presence of many larnax fragments in Tholos D. He also indicates that these fragments were found primarily in the upper layers and date later than the majority of other finds in the tomb. In Tholos Z, he does not report the presence of larnax fragments. Moreover, he suggests that the presence of Mycenaean pottery in Tholos Z (in addition to its height) indicate that the tomb was of a much later construction (probably LM III).⁴¹⁷ Thus, Tholos Z fall outside the scope of this dissertation.

Tholos D appears to have been excavated in two layers, a lower and an upper. The larnakes were discovered in the upper layers. There is little additional information concerning the upper layers, but the lower layers appear to contain mostly EM III/MM I material.⁴¹⁸ Though the larnakes have not been studied, scholars such as Branigan, Georgoulaki, and Legarra Herrero have suggested that the upper layer must date slightly later than the lower layers and thus are late MM I or MM II. Unfortunately, both tholoi were destroyed following the rescue excavation and nothing remains except some large stones. Any continued study or re-evaluation of the site is not possible.

Bones

Xanthoudides does not report much on the bones found in Tholos D. He states only that some appeared to be unburnt, but that others in the southern portion of the tomb

⁴¹⁷ Xanthoudides 1924, 76.

⁴¹⁸ Xanthoudides 1924, 76–80; Pendelbury 1932–33, 86; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Georgoulaki 1996, 77; For general information on the tholos see Pelon 1976, 17.

were seemingly black from fire and smoke.⁴¹⁹ He makes no other mention of the bones or the layers from which they originated. No further studies have been performed on any of the bones from Drakones.

Grave Goods

Based on the remains in the lower stratum, the tomb dates from EM III – MM II. The presence of a cup from the EM III/MM I period along with several seal stones also dated to EM III/MM I allow for a relatively secure date for the lowest layer.⁴²⁰ This is not unlike Archanes Tholos G, where the lowest layer lacked burial vessels but contained objects of higher value including seal stones and jewelry. The remains in the bottom layer include a stone scarab, five stone vases, a bronze scraper, and an ivory seal stone. Unfortunately, Xanthoudides does not note the date of any of the objects found in the same layer as the larnakes. Walberg concluded from this that the larnakes must be at least MM I if not later.⁴²¹

Larnakes

Almost nothing is known about the larnakes from Drakones. Tholos Z was apparently described as re-used in the early LM period, but Xanthoudides makes no such distinction for Tholos D. No additional details are provided in any of the Deltions or other publications that might indicate any distinctive characteristics for the larnakes from Drakones.

⁴¹⁹ There has been a rise in studies that evaluate the possibility of fumigating tholoi in the Mesara see Boness and Goren 2017.

⁴²⁰ For the cup see Xanthoudides 1924, 78 and Walberg 1992, type 213; For the seals see Yule 1980, 128–29 and 209.

⁴²¹ Walberg 1992, 133.

Key Insights and Other Data

Almost nothing can be gleaned about larnakes or their function from Drakones. While it is useful to document the presence of Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes on Crete, this particular site yields no concrete evidence to support or refute individualism or elite status in association with the larnax.

Hagia Kyriaki General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 1

Bones	Present but unclear
Grave Goods	Seal stones (one of ivory), jewelry, stone scarab, stone vases, and bronze scraper
Larnakes	Present but unclear

Hagia Kyriaki consists of three tholoi, an annex, and two rectangular tombs. The site was excavated in segments. Tholos A (including its annex) was first excavated by Sakellarakis in 1965, while the remaining tholoi and rectangular buildings were excavated by Branigan and Blackman in 1972 and 1982. In 1989, Vasilakis continued further excavations on the Tholos A (also termed Tomb 1).⁴²² Sakellarakis and Vasilakis only mention the presence of larnakes in Tholos A. Neither indicates that larnakes were present in the annex to Tholos A. Blackman and Branigan do not suggest the presence of larnakes in any of the remaining buildings.⁴²³ Thus, the focus resides on Tholos A.

Bones

No information is provided about the bones in Tholos A and as such nothing can be gleaned about the age, number, or sex of the interred individuals. Thus, like Drakones, no information from this site can be used as indicative or not indicative of individualism.

⁴²² Vasilakis 1989–90, 32–34. See also original reports from Sakellarakis 1965, 563.

⁴²³ See Sakellarakis 1965b and Blackman and Branigan 1977, 37–38 and 56–58.

Grave Goods

The grave goods suggest various styles from all over Crete including Vasiliki Ware, Pyrgos ware, Hagios Oniphouros ware, White-on-dark ware, and one vessel that exhibited barbotine decoration. Further flotation and sieving activities were carried out following excavation (though the bags may have been contaminated from the upper layers) that revealed a large presence of beads, many seal stones, and some pendants.⁴²⁴ There were also figurines and stone vases from the uppermost fill layers. The exact stratigraphy is unknown as is the exact location of the larnakes within the tomb. Yet, suppositions have been made based on the data presented by the original excavators that indicate the larnakes most likely originate in Stratas 1–3.⁴²⁵

Larnakes

No information is provided concerning the larnakes. They probably belong to either the MM I or MM II periods. This dating seems the most plausible based on other sites in the Mesara and also because the majority of vessels listed above belong to the EM III and MM I periods. If this site follows the trajectory of similar tholoi (like Apesokari of which we have much more information), the lowest layers likely contained the EM III and MM I pottery and the secondary and tertiary layers would have held the larnakes. Information from Blackman and Branigan confirm that the tomb was used during the EM III to MM IA periods and then again in MM II but not later.⁴²⁶ This data confirms the use of the larnakes in the MM IA – MM II periods.

⁴²⁴ See Vasilakis 1989–90, 38; Blackman and Branigan 1982, 50; Branigan 1993, 29.

⁴²⁵ Georgoulaki 1996, 129.

⁴²⁶ Blackman and Branigan 1982, 26.

Key Insights and Other Data

As with Drakones, Hagia Kyriaki also provides little information concerning specific larnax details. The information that is supplied does suggest burials of relatively high status – though likely the presence of many individuals interred in one tomb. The remains also suggest origination dates of MM I to MM II.

Aphrati

General Overview, Stratigraphy, Bones, and Larnax

**Cat. 7

Bones	Individual burial (child)
Grave Goods	conical cups, some jugs, and a bowl
Larnakes	1 larnax

Again, like many of the other early excavations in the Mesara, almost nothing can be said about Aphrati. Work was performed by Alexiou in 1963 as part of a rescue excavation for the Greek government. This small single burial produced the remains of a single larnax with a lid. The larnax was not published and no information exists to verify its date. The larnax was discovered alongside the remains of conical cups, some jugs, and a bowl. Though exact numbers of these objects are also not provided. No data is offered regarding any human remains found within or around the larnax. Alexiou notes the larnax and the burial assemblage as belonging to the Old Palace Period. He does not specify a particular date within the MM period.⁴²⁷ Without further physical analysis of the object and its fabric, confirmation of this larnax as Protopalatial is not possible.

Galana Charika

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 130–131

Bones	Present in “heaps” but unclear
Grave Goods	Seal stones, cups, jugs, vases, and daggers
Larnakes	2 larnakes

⁴²⁷ For references to Aphrati see Alexiou 1963c, 313; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 671.

In 1954, N. Platon excavated three tombs at Galana Charika, Tomb A, Tomb B, and a Mesara-type tomb located on the hill just above Tomb A and Tomb B. All tombs are east of an MM I house (and the remains of a potentially larger settlement). Neither Tomb A nor Tomb B contain the remains of larnakes; however, the small Mesara type tomb (as described by Platon) contained two larnakes.⁴²⁸ A wide range of dates can be ascribed to the site, stretching from EM III to LM I. These dates are based on the presence of EM III pottery and an LM I stirrup jar.⁴²⁹

Bones and Burial Assemblage

Nothing can be said about the bones found within the larnakes or those found in Tomb A or B. Platon only notes that there were “heaps” of them located throughout each layer. It is unclear whether “heaps” of bones can be applied to all of the tombs or only to Tomb A and B. No specifics are provided concerning the bones located in the additional Mesara-type tomb.

A greater amount of information is afforded for the burial objects located within the tombs. The objects found in Tomb A and Tomb B will only briefly be mentioned here in order to provide an overview, but none of them correspond directly to a larnax. Tomb A included seal stones, cups, jugs, vases, and daggers. Tomb B, on the other hand, only contained some courseware and monochrome cups along with a couple of jugs.

Inside the Mesara-type tomb and located along with the larnakes, Platon found a straight-lipped jug and a concave cup with a wide base. He does not indicate that any other objects were found along with the vessels. Both the jug and cup have been dated to

⁴²⁸ See Platon 1959, 373–4.

⁴²⁹ Both objects are discussed and can be found in Walberg 1983, 13–14 and 194 for the dagger and motif no. 26 for the stirrup jar.

MM IIA. Due to the presence of these objects, Platon ascribed a similar date to the larnakes.⁴³⁰

Larnakes

Platon indicated that in the Mesara-type tomb he discovered the remains of two elliptical larnakes. While there is not a tremendous amount of information about these two vessels, he does report them as “tub-shaped” with four handles. He does not specify whether the handles are vertical or horizontal. In terms of their decoration, he suggests that both vessels possess painted red strands. It is not clear what “red strands” actually entails (linear or curvilinear). He also does not describe the fabric of the larnakes.⁴³¹ The presence of painted decoration, alongside an elliptical shape, and handles suggests that these larnakes likely date between MM IB and MM II. The corresponding dates of the pottery and objects would support this.

Key Insights and Other Data

While not much information can be used from Galana Charika to prove or disprove individualism or elite status. The shapes of the larnakes (elliptical) alongside the dates of the pottery (primarily MM IB and MM II) support the typology defined by this dissertation.

Porti

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 140

Bones	Hundreds of bones (many burnt)
Grave Goods	Plain ordinary cups
Larnakes	Many fragments

⁴³⁰ Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 37. For specific information on the site see Platon 1956, 416.

⁴³¹ Platon 1956, 416–17; Petit 1990, 54; Branigan 1993, 148; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 33–38; Legarra Herrero 2015, cat. 198.

The site of Porti was originally excavated in 1906 by Xanthoudides under the authority of the Greek government. The site contained a Mesara-type tomb (Tomb II), a rectangular-style burial building (Tomb δ), and some various unstratified material in a pithos cemetery. The main tomb, similar to other tholoi found in the Mesara, revealed objects associated with EM III, MM IA, MM IB, and MM II periods. The majority originate in the EM III and MM I periods. The antechambers or annexes contain some later materials including both MM III and some LM I objects. Tomb δ was probably constructed at the beginning of the MM I period and likely went out of use by MM II. According to Xanthoudides, larnakes were discovered in the annex (space β) outside of Tholos II.⁴³² Alternatively, according to Georgoulaki, the larnakes were discovered in space γ .⁴³³ Their exact location is thus unclear.

Bones and Grave Goods

Xanthoudides does not provide specific information about the stratigraphy of the bones. He does report that there were many bones found throughout Tholos II and the remaining structures. He also indicates that many of the bones were burnt and must have numbered in the hundreds. He also claims that space β , which contained the larnakes, had many skeletons. He does not specify a number but indicates that they were not burnt like those found in Tholos II.⁴³⁴

Various objects were found throughout the Tholos and additional burial spaces, Xanthoudides noted the presence of various type of pottery (including Vasiliki ware,

⁴³² Xanthoudides 1924, 56. For other references see Zois 1965, 67; 1998, 170–176; Pini 1968, 12; Jungmans, Sangmeister, and Schröder 1968, 266–67.

⁴³³ Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 701–708. At present, it is impossible to determine which space actually contained the remains. This project will assume the information provided by the original excavator presents the most accurate data.

⁴³⁴ Xanthoudides 1924, 54–69.

some Karames ware, and barbotine ware), figurines, seal stones, and multiple stone vessels. On the whole, these objects have been dated to the EM III–MM II periods, with one exception from the LM period.⁴³⁵

Space β, which according to Xanthoudides, is the sole area that contained larnax fragments also included the addition of some “plain ordinary cups.”⁴³⁶ Xanthoudides does not provide in-depth descriptions of any ceramic objects from this space. Presumably, because they were so plain that description was thought to be unnecessary.⁴³⁷

Larnakes

Dating of the larnakes is almost impossible due to lack of any specific information. However, Xanthoudides suggests that Space β probably originated in the MM I period and went out of use by MM III. He provides no additional details about the larnakes found within the space. He does indicate the presence of multiple burial pithoi found throughout the plateau, but their dates are also circumspect. The presence of rhyton-type objects and other bull leaping figurines suggests a date of MM III for these vessels. This dating is corroborated by Walberg, who applies a similar date to the pithoi.⁴³⁸ However, without physical study of these objects or the larnax fragments, it is impossible to provide solid dates for any of the larnakes from Porti.

Key Insights and Other Data

Interestingly, the larnakes from Porti seem to suggest burials associated with low-status. The presence of high-status objects within the other spaces – but a complete lack

⁴³⁵ Xanthoudides 1924, 56. For specifics on the EM–MM III material see Xanthoudides 1924, 54–69; Walberg 1983; For LM date see the single stone seal see Petit 1987, 37, *CMSII 3 NR 122* also found in Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 701. For more information on seal stones from Porti see Yule 1983, 363; 1981, 44.

⁴³⁶ Xanthoudides 1924, 56.

⁴³⁷ Xanthoudides 1924, 56–57.

⁴³⁸ See Xanthoudides 1924, 54–57 pl XXXVII and Walberg 1983, type 278.

of objects in either room said to contain larnakes (Cat. 140) – suggests that elite-status burials are not associated with larnakes.

Siva

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 165

Bones	Present but unclear
Grave Goods	Cycladic figurine, two stone vases, two seal stones, barbotine vases, and bronze daggers and tweezers
Larnakes	Present but unclear

The site of Siva is located in the Mesara and was originally excavated by Levi de Sanctis in 1910 under the aegis of the Italian School. The site contains a total of two tholoi, Tomb S and Tomb N. Both tholoi also include connecting annexes. According to de Sanctis, only Tomb S contained the remains of larnakes. The site appears to originate in the Neolithic period with continued use into the MM IB period. While Tomb N suggests both an earlier period of occupation and decline, Tomb S was constructed in the EMI period and went out of use by MM IB. In all likelihood, the annexes to Tomb S were added during EM II and ceased use in MM IA.⁴³⁹ Most of the evidence for chronology is based on the presence of pottery and seal stones.⁴⁴⁰

Bones and Grave Goods

The only information provided regarding the bones found in Tomb S is that a grouping was found in disorder. No additional information can be gleaned to determine the incidence of individual or communal burials within a larnax. Nor can any data be parsed out concerning primary or secondary burials. The accompanying burial assemblage included an imitative Cycladic figurine, two stone vases, two seal stones,

⁴³⁹ See Paribeni 1913, 13–16 and 25–27; Branigan 1970b, 76 and 108 also Branigan 1971, 59 and 71–2.

⁴⁴⁰ For seal stones see Yule 1983, 209. For pottery see Paribeni 1913.

barbotine vases, and bronze daggers and tweezers.⁴⁴¹ The presence of the barbotine vessel supports the existence of MM I pottery.

Larnakes

Unfortunately, no information is provided regarding the larnakes from Siva. De Sanctis only mentions their presence in Tholos S and suggests that there are many fragments. He does indicate the presence of pithoi which have looped handles and painted decoration. No details are given regarding the form or color of the painted decoration. From the above, we can only guess and assume that the larnakes date to either the MM IA or the MM IB period. This estimation is based on the chronology of the pottery and the seal stones alongside the lack of evidence for later occupation.

Key Insights and Other Data

As with Drakones and Hagia Kyriaki, Siva offers little additional information concerning the presence of individualism or elite status. The site does add to the overall corpus of material and specifically contributes to the larger picture regarding the incidence rate of larnakes across the island – in particular in the Mesara.

Vorou

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 167–171

Bones	1–2 (exact number associated with larnakes unclear)
Grave Goods	Seal stones, stone vases, beads, ornaments, ceramic vessels
Larnakes	5–18 (exact number unknown)

Little information is known about the stratigraphy of the tholoi at Vorou.

However, Marinatos does provide a preliminary overview of data and suggests that

⁴⁴¹ For Barbotine vases see Paribeni 1913, col 22–24. For references to stone vases see Warren 1969, 24 and 27; For references to seal stones see above footnote 201. For reference to the Cycladic figurines see Pilali-Papasteriou 1992, 144.

larnakes were discovered in Tholos A and B as well as the associated annexes. Tholos A is the larger of the two tholoi and includes the addition of support structures on the exterior similar to Apesokari. Tholos A also includes annexes on the exterior that date slightly later than the central chamber. Marinatos reports that the annexes of Tholos A are not the result of a clearing but rather represent separate interments.⁴⁴² In contrast, Tholos B does not have any annex chambers.⁴⁴³

The larnakes were discovered in the annex rooms of Tholos A (specifically room 3, referred to as ΔΔ3 by Marinatos). In Tholos B, the larnax is from the central chamber.⁴⁴⁴ In general, the dates provided for the tomb vary. The majority of scholars seem to suggest that it was established during EM II with depositions continuing in the EM III and MM I periods.⁴⁴⁵ Only Walberg has suggested that the tomb was reused during the MM III or LM I periods.⁴⁴⁶

Bones and Grave Goods

Very little can be said about the bones and/or grave goods associated with the larnakes in Vorou. Marinatos does indicate the presence of seal stones, stone vases, beads and other ornaments (he does not specify the type of ornament) in addition to ceramic vessels. Moreover, he indicates that various materials were used including ivory and copper.⁴⁴⁷ From this, we can deduce that some objects of high prestige were present in the tomb.

⁴⁴² Legarra Herrero 2015, 53.

⁴⁴³ For information on all tombs excavated by N. Platon see N. Platon 1954b, 512 and 1956, 416. Branigan also mentions the larnakes and the tomb in 1970b.

⁴⁴⁴ See plans and references in Marinatos 1931, 139 and 142.

⁴⁴⁵ See Marinatos 1931b, 142– 155, for a range of dates from EM III–MM I and Branigan 1993, 147, for a date of MM I.

⁴⁴⁶ Walberg 1983, 103.

⁴⁴⁷ See Marinatos 1931b and Legarra Herrero 2015, cat. 148 – 152.

Only one vessel from Tholos A offers any specific information regarding additional grave goods. Larnax 1 (larnax 'a' according to Georgoulaki and Cat. 169) contained at least one skeleton and a small miniature vase. The vase was dated between MM IB and MM IIA. This information further cements a possible chronological date of MM IB/MM IIA for the larnakes from Vorou.⁴⁴⁸

Larnakes

There is no final publication of the Vorou cemetery, and thus the total number of vessels from the site is unclear. Georgoulaki does not indicate the presence of a specific number, merely that they existed. Marinatos does affirm that the annexes produced anywhere between 16–18 funerary vessels (he does not specify how many of these were pithoi and how many were larnakes),⁴⁴⁹ but he does provide pictures of at least five different larnakes in the original publication of 1931 from Tholos A and B. Because these vessels were not available for a physical study, the present analysis is solely based off of the photographs provided in the *Αρχαιολογικά Δελτία*.⁴⁵⁰

Shape

The pictures provided by Marinatos indicate that four larnakes emerged from Tholos A and one from Tholos B (see figures 55 – 59). The images suggest that the vessels from Tholos A are rectangular on the exterior with possibly rounded interiors. This form would resemble those found in Tholos G and Tholos E at Archanes. Moreover, though no sizes are provided, the vessels appear to all be relatively the same height, width, and length. One vessel (Cat. 167) appears to be slightly longer and taller. In

⁴⁴⁸ See Marinatos 1930, 155; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 729.

⁴⁴⁹ Marinatos 1931b, 152.

⁴⁵⁰ Marinatos 1931b, fig. 7, 8, 9, 10, and 17.

opposition, the single larnax from Tholos B (Cat. 171), is elliptical in form. Based on the scale provided by Marinatos in the picture, the size appears to be roughly equivalent to those from Tholos A.⁴⁵¹

At least three of the vessels from Tholos A are accompanied by lids. Based on the presence of other fragments within the tomb, it seems likely that all of the larnakes would have had accompanying lids. Although, the almost completely rectangular vessel (Cat. 169) from Tholos A and the elliptical vessel (Cat. 171.) from Tholos B both lack their cover counterparts; the general size of the fragments suggests that the lids follow the same form as their bases.

Handles

The patterning of handles varies amongst all of the examples. From Tholos A (and the annexes), the handles appear in both horizontal and vertical orientations. Larnax Cat. 168 appears to possess two vertical handles on both of the long sides for a total of four. Larnax 169, on the other hand, has three horizontal handles on both of the long sides and none on the short sides. Larnax 167 (the largest) appears to have 2 horizontal handles positioned near the rim along with a knob that can be found at the center. The lid of Larnax 167 has corresponding handles located just above the horizontal handles. Larnax 170 is perhaps the most elaborate. There are three vertical handles on each of the long sides, a knob on the short side, four handles on the lid, and a knob located on the center of the lid. For this, there are no parallels.

The single larnax example from Tholos B also demonstrates typical patterns. All the handles are horizontal, with two on the long sides and one on each of the short sides.

⁴⁵¹ Marinatos 1930–31, fig. 2–4.

All in all, the handle orientation does not seem to correspond to date, type, or shape. Instead, the handles seem to be placed at the discretion of the potter. The presence of knobs in these instances seems to be more comparable to the vessels found at Archanes rather than any other site (specifically, the east where no vessels have yet to be found with a knob).

Fabric and Decoration

Due to the quality of images in the Deltion and the lack of additional data, it is impossible to describe the decoration or the fabric of the vessels from Vorou. However, at least one picture suggests the presence of large dark circles painted on the exterior, which resembles examples seen at Archanes. Based on the trends and data collected from larnakes across the island, one may be able to assume that the fabric would match the local clay.

Key Insights and Other Data

Corroborated by the typology established through this dissertation, alongside the chronology established by Marinatos, the larnakes from Tholos A likely belong to the MM IB period. The single example from Tholos B is probably MM IB or MM II. Overall, not many grave goods (other than ceramics) were found in direct association with larnakes, and skeletal remains were not well-studied. However, the presence of a single skeleton within Cat. 169 suggests individual interment within a larnax, though not within the tomb as a whole.

East Crete
Kalo Chorio
General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 192–196

Bones	2 single interments, 3 multiples
Grave Goods	Cups (Conical, straight-sided, and tumbler), cooking ware, drain tiles, and jugs
Larnakes	5 larnakes

Kalo Chorio was originally excavated in 1993 by an American archaeologist, Donald Haggis with the cooperation of the Greek government. Due to onset of local construction in 1993, the site required a rescue excavation prior to the building's completion. Thus, some of the tomb (and surrounding buildings) may have been destroyed prior to the arrival of archaeologists.⁴⁵² It is located approximately a half of a mile from the coast, and such proximity to the water and the coastline is similar to many other East Cretan cemeteries, such as Sphoungaras, Gournia, and Petras. During excavation, six larnakes were discovered in House Tomb A and one pithos was found in House Tomb B. House Tomb A was better preserved than House Tomb B.⁴⁵³

The area around the excavation revealed remains that were consistent occupation from the Neolithic to Middle Minoan. The architectural structure located to the North of the burials indicates the presence of an EM I residential building; however, Haggis dates

⁴⁵² Haggis notes that the site was originally discovered in 1991 when local farmers removed part of a terrace wall and subsequently discovered several Minoan larnakes.

The author is indebted to Donald Haggis for not only granting permission to study the vessels but also for providing access to all notes by the excavators. The author is also indebted to Kathy Hall and the entire conservation team at INSTAP for cleaning, mending, and conserving the vessels more than 25 years after their excavation. Further thanks are due to Kleo Zervaki for her assistance in locating the vessels and their fragments in the Hagios Nikolaos warehouse during the summer and winter of 2019.

⁴⁵³ Defined by Georgoulaki as a simple structure meant to enclose the tombs 1996, 27. More descriptively explained by Alexiou 1977, 314–315 and Dawkins 196–197 and 202. It should also be noted that there is a difference between the types of house tombs that occur – such as between those at Mochlos, Gournia, Kato Zakros, and Archanes.

the tombs to MM I–MM II. An appraisal of both the larnakes and the pottery coincide with this dating.

Grave Goods

Material remains from the house tombs included pottery fragments composed of conical, straight sided, and tumbler cups. Additional ceramic remains consisted of cooking ware, some drain tiles, and jugs. The majority of the pottery dates to the MM I period. All in all, the majority of additional finds did not consist of high-status objects. This lack of prestige objects further supports the hypothesis of this dissertation that larnakes are not connected to high status burials, especially when noting the lack of burial assemblage in this location.

Bones

While none of the bones have received a thorough scientific study, Haggis suggests that two of the larnakes indicate the remains of only one individual. The other four larnakes suggest the presence of multiple individuals. In the two larnakes (Cat. 192 and 196) that indicate single individuals, both represent secondary interments. This pattern is clear because only select bones are present, including the skull, some long bones, and some rib pieces. It cannot be said definitively that these bones do not originate from multiple individuals, but it appears as though only selected bones were taken from the primary interment and then redistributed within this larnax 3 (Cat. 192). The other larnakes contain an indeterminate number of individuals. Haggis suggests that only larnax 3 and 5 deviate from what is considered the norm of a multi-person burials – such as those seen at Archanes and Zakros.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁴ Haggis 1996, 650; Additional information supplied via excavators' notes.

Larnakes

An evaluation of the larnakes original positions inside the tomb is not possible due to the disturbed nature of the site. Haggis suspects that there was no regular placement of any of the vessels within the tomb itself. He also posits that the tomb served as an ossuary because at least two of the larnakes held the remains of more than one individual. This evidence, alone, is not enough to suggest that the local population utilized larnakes as ossuaries – especially given that Haggis suggests one larnax held the remains of a single individual. Overall, the pottery resembles similar wares to those found at Malia, Gournia, and Pyrgos. None of the additional objects can be associated with a specific larnax and so gathering additional data on the mortuary tradition inside of a larnax in this region is not possible. However, based on the data, it would appear that there were no other objects, such as metal, jewelry, or seal stones, found with the larnakes. This sparsity of objects suggests a markedly different tradition from that seen at Archanes and the Mesara.⁴⁵⁵

Fabric

The fabric of the Kalo Chorio vessels is typical of the Mirabello fabric. According to the original excavation notes, larnakes 2 and 4 (Cat. 128 and 125) were composed of Fabric Type III,⁴⁵⁶ which is typical of the Mirabello region. The recent conservation project indicates that the fabric of all larnakes match, but interestingly the burial pithoi (also present with the larnax fragments) is composed of a different fabric.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁵ Haggis 1996 and notes.

⁴⁵⁶ Haggis, excavation notebooks “Kalo Chorio,” unpublished, 2.

⁴⁵⁷ A full study of these vessels is necessary in order to draw conclusions concerning the differences in burial vessels and fabric composition. This was meant to occur during the summer of 2020, but the onset of COVID-19 postponed travel plans until 2021. As such, this information did not make it into this dissertation but hopefully will receive more thorough attention in ensuing publications and studies.

Handles

Of the five larnakes, all of them possessed exterior handles on the long sides of the vessels. There is no indication of additional handles on the short sides of the objects. In three of the vessels (Cat. 192, 194, and 223), the handles are vertical in orientation. In one of the larnakes (Cat. 193) the handles are horizontal in orientation. The final vessel is undetermined as none of the handles remain. None of the larnakes from Kalo Chorio use alternating handle orientations of both vertical and horizontal and none of them exhibit holes in the base. Additionally, none appear to contain button projections on the short sides. This pattern matches the examples from Evraika and Gournia.

Decoration

Of the five vessels, four display external decoration. All of the decorative details are linear in design, encompassing the entire exterior of the vessel. In most cases, they appear to resemble a weaving pattern, with overlapping dark bands. This type of patterning is also seen at Gournia (Cat. 199) and at Evraika (Cat. 222) with slight variations. In general, the paint follows the dark on light design seen on most MM IA – MM II sites across Crete. Additionally, white paint was added on top of the dark decoration indicating that at least two of these vessels fall into the category of “light-on-Dark ware” (Cat. 192 and 194). This aids in dating the material.

Shape

All of the vessels from Kalo Chorio are elliptical in shape. None of them exhibit the external rectangular and interior elliptical structure that is present on the vessels from Archanes or the later examples from Hagios Charalambos. Of the four largely complete vessels, (Cat. 192, 193, 194, 196), the lengths – while varied – are all long enough to hold

the remains of a contracted individual. The lengths range from 68 cm in length to 90 cm. The widths are at present unknown until a physical examination of the conserved vessels is possible. These dimensions appear to be typical of the lengths seen from across the island.

Key Insights and Other Data

The larnakes from Kalo Chorio provide a wealth of information concerning the presence of multiple individuals and also lack of grave goods. Additionally, the shape, decoration, and size all coincide with the dating provided by Haggis and confirms an MM IB to MM IIA date. The presence of multiple individuals in at least half of the larnakes and the lack of a burial assemblage (aside from some pottery fragments) in all instances indicates that these vessels do not display a preference for individualism, nor do they suggest interments of high status. Rather, they provide evidence in favor of this dissertation.

Hagios Charalambos Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 125–129

Bones	Large amount, exact number unclear, no believed individual interments
Grave Goods	Pottery, bones, metal artefacts, jewelry, figurines
Larnakes	5 larnakes

Unlike the other tomb locations discussed thus far, Hagios Charalambos is located in the Lasithi plateau in a cave.⁴⁵⁸ As a cave burial, there is very sparse human architectural presence, it is more akin to the burials at Pyrgos than any other site. The site was originally excavated by Davaras in 1976 and later reopened and studied beginning in

⁴⁵⁸ Other references refer to the site by the village name known as Gerontomouri or Γεροντομουρι or the anglicized version, Yerontomouri.

2001 by Philip Betancourt, Costis Davaras, and other specialists. The tomb yielded an abundance of finds including pottery, bones, metal artefacts, and jewelry.⁴⁵⁹

The site, labeled as a cult location and ossuary, produced pottery beginning in the Neolithic and ending with some fragments dated to the Byzantine. For the sake of this study, it is the layers associated with the larnakes that are of the most interest. Only a total of five rooms (out of seven) were used for the placement of the deceased.⁴⁶⁰ The larnax fragments were concentrated in Rooms 3, 4, 5, and 7 with some additional pieces present in the doorway between Rooms 4 and 5.

Rooms 3 and 4 were both originally excavated in 1983 and then re-excavated in 2002. An accumulation of finds emerged from the two rooms and no specific date was provided due to the mixed context. The space between 4 and 5 was also of mixed contexts. However, based on the pottery assemblage, the deposit ranged from the Late Neolithic to MM IIB. Room 5 coincides with this dating since no pottery dates later than MM IIB. Room 7 was located below Room 5 and according to excavators held remains that likely washed down from Room 5, rather than being purposefully deposited there.⁴⁶¹ Therefore, most of the primary deposition described by the excavators suggests primary deposition occurred anywhere between EM III– MM IIB. The remaining pottery that dates either earlier or later represents outliers.

⁴⁵⁹ Davaras 1982, 387–388 for original survey report and also 1983, 375 for more details.

⁴⁶⁰ Betancourt 2014, 4.

⁴⁶¹ Betancourt 2014, 37.

Bones

The bones were originally cited and discussed by Tina McGeorge, and that study is ongoing.⁴⁶² Overall, Hagios Charalambos provides the largest in-tact collection of human bones from the Lasithi plain.⁴⁶³ The cave produced human remains ranging from child to adult and from both sexes. Moreover, McGeorge notes that the bones were clean and not articulated, indicating that the bones were buried in the cave following their decomposition. The fact that the bones are clean also suggests they were covered (and thus were free from any scavengers), but that they were also not covered in soil when placed in their primary resting place.

Due to the destruction of the deposits, it is too difficult to associate any of the human remains directly with a single larnax. However, even without this valuable piece of information, it is possible to conclude that by the time these bones and their larnakes were deposited within the cave, there was no longer any specific association between a single individual and a larnax. Like the larnakes (which will be discussed in more depth below), the skulls and other bones were distributed throughout the caves. While we cannot use this particular site to prove or disprove a theory of individualism, it does suggest that the disregard shown to both the bones and the larnakes at the end of the MM IIB period demonstrates a preference for communal re-disposal rather than an adherence to individualism.

⁴⁶² McGeorge 1987 and 2008. Volume 5, which will represent the entire study of human bones from the caves, has not yet been published. Thus, the majority of information is derived from the excavation reports and the brief synopsis provided by McGeorge in the excavation volume.

⁴⁶³ Betancourt notes that 40 skulls were found with a deposit of other bones, and that following a mending process, it became clear there were at least an additional 180 skulls from the cave. Betancourt 2014, 38.

Grave Goods

Like the bones, the scattered nature throughout rooms 3, 4, 5, the 4/5 entrance, and 7 makes it difficult to positively identify any of the corresponding funerary assemblages to a specific larnax. It is clear, however, from the broken assemblages that the remains were deposited second hand probably from another nearby location.⁴⁶⁴

Among the many objects found scattered throughout the rooms containing larnax fragments were seal stones, beads, gold beads, gold diadems (or sheets), figurines (of various materials), and worked bone. Few objects are associated directly with rooms 5–7; however, several were found in connection to Room 3, 4, 5, and 4/5.

Room 5, which contained fragments of larnakes (Cat. 125, 127–129), also contained three ivory female figurines and several pottery fragments dated to the MM IIB period. Room 4 contained the most objects of interest including animal bone figurines, gold diadems, gold beads, 3 seals with animals, prism seals, and multiple other seal stones. The entrance to room 4/5 also contained several interesting objects including stone figurines and multiple cushion seals.

At the MM IB/MM II period, there seems to be a significant shift in the use of seal stones. Where ivory stamp seals and other stamp seals go out of use and the cushion seals (associated with the entrance and later rooms) become more common. It is clear from the distribution in the rooms that the earlier seals occur in Rooms 1–3 and 4; while the cushion seals are more frequent at the entrance to 4/5, Room 5, and Room 7. This pattern corresponds to the presence of larnax fragments as well since very few fragments were found in Rooms 1–3. Betancourt notes that this change is related to a shift in seal

⁴⁶⁴ To this author's knowledge, the original location has not yet been determined.

usage. He suggests that the Mesara seals are replaced by the prism seals from Malia.⁴⁶⁵ This might suggest shifting regional preferences.

Larnakes

The larnakes from Hagios Charalambos were intensively studied by Philip Betancourt and well published. As demonstrated above, however, the stratigraphy does not provide an exact picture. It is possible to ascertain that they cannot be later than MM IIB and are unlikely to predate MM I. In total, four larnakes and a lid emerged from the various spaces of the cave. None of them were found in-tact and instead were scattered throughout the various rooms similar to most of the pottery and the human remains.

All of the larnakes were produced utilizing the same fabric, Lasithi-Pediada Red fabric group.⁴⁶⁶ This type of fabric is coarse, as seen in other larnakes (Archanes, Gournia, Kalo Chorio, and Sissi). Additionally, this fabric type did not emerge until the late EM II period; thus, it can be said with certainty that the larnakes from Hagios Charalambos cannot predate EM II. The latest pottery fragments found in the cave suggest a date of MM IIB, thus the larnakes also cannot post-date MM IIB.⁴⁶⁷

All four of the larnakes are elliptical in form, both on the exterior and the interior (Unlike many of the elliptical examples seen at Archanes that appeared rectangular on the exterior and elliptical on the interior). The full ellipticized form seen on these is more akin to the larnakes from Evraika, Gournia, and Sissi (See Cat. 212, 213, 199, 200, and 182). None of the larnakes contain any added decoration, and only three of them (See

⁴⁶⁵ Davaras 1983; Betancourt 2014, 103.

⁴⁶⁶ Davaras 1983; Betancourt 2014, 37.

⁴⁶⁷ Betancourt 2014, 37.

Cat. 125, 129, and 126) are covered in a dark-brown to reddish slip. Vessels 1 and 2 are not covered in an additional slip.

Three of the larnakes possess holes near the bottom but on the sides of the vessels. None of them appear to have had attached handles on any of the sides. Betancourt claims that the holes near the bottom would have been used to drain liquids from the decomposing bodies, an assertion which has been made by many scholars and is certainly likely to be true in the LM examples.⁴⁶⁸ In this instance, however, the holes are not properly placed in order to drain liquids effectively (nor are they likely to be large enough). Instead, when taken in combination with the lack of handles, these holes were probably used to attach rope, string, or some other perishable material. These ropes could then have been used either to transport the larnakes or to tie the lid.⁴⁶⁹ The last vessel (no. 2) does not contain holes, but the flattened rim suggests it may have once had a lid.

Of particular note is the presence of very short rectangular legs present on larnax 4 (See Cat.125). The only other known larnakes from the Middle Minoan period to contain legs were found at Kato Zakros in the Gorge of the Dead (see Cat. 215–219) and one vessel from Tomb 19.⁴⁷⁰ The presence of legs on larnakes tends to be associated not only with rectangular vessels but also with later examples.⁴⁷¹ This study confirms this hypothesis as none of the vessels in this catalogue (save the three exceptions) present legs of any variation. Thus, as none of the other Pre- or Protopalatial larnakes have

⁴⁶⁸ Betancourt 2014, 38 – Certainly there are holes present in the base of larnakes that may have been used to drain liquids. Generally, these are located in the actual base and not along the sides – even on the sides close to the base. Many examples are present in the Sitia Museum on Crete where numerous holes are centered in the base of the vessel.

⁴⁶⁹ In many other examples it has been noted that the handles actually served as a place where rope would have been used to attach the lid to the vessel.

⁴⁷⁰ L. Platon 2012.

⁴⁷¹ See Watrous 1994; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 26 (Archanes Tholos E, A6); Preston 2014.

demonstrated similar attributes, it is possible that this vessel originates from a slightly later tradition. The abundant presence of MM IIB pottery in the cave supports the dating of these larnakes to the MM IIA or MM IIB.

Key Insights and Other Data

The data from Hagios Charalambos provides several important pieces of evidence, including the presence of legs as indicative of later MM II transitional-period vessels and the use of local materials for production. Similar data can be seen from the vessels at Kato Zakros, which are also later and possess small legs. Thus, even though Hagios Charalambos does not contribute definitively to arguments about individualism or elite status, the lack of high-status objects in close association larnakes provides further support that these vessels did not operate as vehicles for elite individuals. Moreover, the abundance of human bones (even though they also cannot be directly associated with a specific larnax) does not support an ideology of individualism.

Evraika

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 212 – 214 and 221–222

Bones	Unclear, Likely multiple interments
Grave Goods	Two prismatic seal stones, a conical cup, a Chamaizi pot, additional pottery, stone vessels
Larnakes	3 larnakes

Evraika, like Hagios Charalambos, began as a rescue excavation in 1990. Metaxia Tsipopoulou investigated the rock chamber under the aegis of the Ephorea. Stratigraphy and an overall understanding of the site was hindered by disturbances, both in ancient and modern times. The majority of objects – including bones, grave goods, and larnax fragments – were found close to the entrance. The rock shelter measures 7.3 by 3.80 m and is only 1.60 m high. Due to the nature of disturbances, excavation proceeded based

on bone clusters rather than layers. Dr. Tsipopoulou notes that the majority of finds indicate a period of use between the MM IA and MM II.

Bones

The excavation report was divided based on clusters of bones. In most instances, it appears as though multiple individuals can be associated with the broken larnakes. However, according to the reports provided by Liston and Tsipopoulou, the former suggests that the larnakes originally housed only primary burials.⁴⁷² Then additional bones were added later. This later trend is evident because in most cases, there is one largely complete skeleton present and then incomplete remains of other individuals.

Liston notes that overall, the tomb contained the following: 4 males, 9 females, and 7 of unknown sex. None of the bones suggest the presence of either infants or children. Moreover, Tsipopoulou adds that the bones do not suggest familial relations, so the site does not imply a small nucleated family burial location. Its location also cannot be connected to a specific settlement site. Like Hagios Charalambos, this may have been a secondary disposal location.

Grave Goods

Many objects of note were found with the larnakes, including two prismatic seal stones, a conical cup, a Chamaizi pot,⁴⁷³ and a carinated cup. Multiple other objects (mostly pottery and stone vessels) were found inside the rock shelter but are not directly associated with the larnakes. Certainly, the presence of the two prismatic seals inside the larnakes is interesting and may suggest personages of higher status. No metal objects

⁴⁷² Tsipopoulou 2018, 130.

⁴⁷³ Named Chameizi pot for the site in which most are found. But as Tsipopoulou notes they are likely to be connected to Malia rather than specific to Chameizi. Tsipopoulou 2018, 121.

were found inside the tomb or around the entrance. The lack of metal remains could be for two reasons; none were buried with the individuals or modern looters removed all objects of metal. If the second (which seems the most likely because metal objects are often found in Minoan graves), then there may have been other additional objects of value and the looters simply missed the two prismatic seal stones.

Larnakes

At least three larnakes have been identified at the site. Two almost complete vessels that are accompanied by two lids and another fragmentary body with possible lid fragments. The third vessel (fragment pieces Cat. 212 and 214) are so small that it is difficult to discern much information. The other two provide much more detailed data including shape, size, fabric, and decoration.

Fabric

Of the three vessels, two of them (Cat. 213 and 212) were produced from coarse orange clay with grano-diorite inclusions (typical of the Mirabello region). The third appears to be a coarse brown clay, but also with grano-diorite inclusions. Thus, in all cases, the lids appear to be of local origin. The two almost complete larnax bodies also contain grano-diorite inclusions and the fabric variation matches the lids. Cat. 221 exhibits coarse pinkish-buff clay while the second larnax (Cat. 222) is also made from coarse fabric, but it is coarse orange clay – more akin to the lids. All of the lids and one of the larnakes (Cat. 221) are covered in a buff slip. Only Cat. 222 deviates and is, instead, covered in a brown-orange thick slip.⁴⁷⁴ Both vessels seem to indicate uneven

⁴⁷⁴ Tsipopoulou 2018, 119.

firing due to the grayness of the core. This gray core is a relatively common occurrence in most of the large east Cretan vessels.

Decoration

All of the lids and the bodies are painted. In the case of lid (Cat. 213), the potter has utilized a straightforward linear design in brown-orange paint, this style is unlike any other lid seen at Archanes or elsewhere in the east. The second lid (Cat. 214) is fragmentary, but the presence of a circular compass in a brown-reddish paint is clear.

The two bodies present more decorative details. Larnax 1 (Cat.221) depicts the relatively common linked-disc motif often seen in east Cretan ceramics.⁴⁷⁵ In fact, an almost identical vessel can be seen at Gournia (see Cat. 199 and 200), also dated to the MM IB/MM II period and to a second, smaller larnax from the Pacheia Ammos cemetery (see Cat. 210). The details are painted in a brown-orange paint that is very worn. The second larnax (Cat. 222), depicts an array of interconnecting cross-hatched lines that traverse the entire length of the vessel's body. The paint is a similar dark brown to reddish brown suggesting both larnakes were made in the same workshop.

Shape

Both of the complete larnakes are elliptical in form, which is common for the Mirabello area during this period. As seen in the vessels from Gournia and Pacheia Ammos. The two larnakes are similar in length Cat. 221 is 79 cm by 48 cm, whereas Cat. 222 is 83 cm by 39 cm. Both are between 46 cm to 48 cm high. This overall size and shape fit with other examples from the Mirabello region, including Gournia and Hagios Charalambos.

⁴⁷⁵ Seager 1916, 15–16; Betancourt 1977, 344 and 352.

Handles

The handles from the Evraika larnakes deviate from the examples seen at Hagios Charalambos. Whereas the Hagios Charalambos larnakes possessed no apparent handles, the other larnakes from both Kalo Chorio and Gournia exhibited multiple handles on the body. In the case of the Evraika larnakes, multiple handles are present on both the bodies and the lids. The bodies possess only vertical handles. Cat. 221 presents six vertical handles on each long side of the vessel. A total of four handles are close to the rim, while two are present closer to the base. Larnax Cat. 222, also possesses a total of six handles, all vertical. In this instance, however, the number is evenly distributed. Three of the handles are located close to the rim, and the other three are close to the base.

Only one of the lids is complete enough to clearly identify handle orientation. Larnax lid Cat. 213 possesses a total of three handles. They evenly span the top of the lid and alternate directions. The two closest to the short-side are horizontal and the central handle is vertical. Larnax lid Cat. 212 also possessed a handle; however, the handle was found next to the fragment. Due to the small size of the lid, it is impossible to tell the orientation of the handle itself.

Date

Tsipopoulou has dated the larnakes to MM IB/MM II or late in the Protopalatial period. Further analysis supports the earlier phase of this dating, the MM IB period for myriad reasons. First, the decorative details (the cross-hatched lines) and the interconnected discs are present in an almost identical pattern on larnakes from the Pacheia Ammos cemetery and from the town of Gournia. Additionally, the use of such decorative forms is present on smaller vessels – beginning in the MM IB. While they are

more prevalent in the MM II period, the securely dated context of House EO (space 101) at Gournia from which at least two almost identical larnakes (Cat. 199 and 200) emerged provides comparanda and the most solid date.

Key Insights and Other Data/Assessment

The larnakes from Evraika provide much valuable data and comparanda. The secure dating of the site provides additional comparanda for Kalo Chorio, Hagios Charalambos, and Gournia. Moreover, the dating supports part of this study’s assertion that elliptical larnakes served as a bridge between the earlier rectangular examples and the later rectangular examples with legs. The site also suggests that larnakes served as a vessel for storage of bones and were not vehicles into the afterlife that denoted personal or individual status. This use is evident by the lack of high-status objects and the secondary treatment of the deceased.

Gournia House Tombs Overview and General Stratigraphy

**Cat. 199–204

Bones	Present, unclear, 1 larnax suggests multiple
Grave Goods	Handle-less jar, bronze knife, gold piece, two gold “caps
Larnakes	6 larnakes

Two independent locations at Gournia produced larnakes from the Protopalatial period. The cemetery, located to the north and east of the palace, contained several house tombs and was originally excavated by Harriet Boyd-Hawes in 1901. The second location originates in urban contexts and was excavated in 2014 by Watrous et al.. Additional fragments were found to the north of the town, but they belong to a later tradition. This section will thus proceed by looking at the two areas separately.

The house tombs, also known as the North Cemetery, are located on a northern terrace of the Gournia hillside outside of the immediate town boundaries.⁴⁷⁶ The North Cemetery would have been located just across the ravine from Sphoungaras (which is discussed in a later section). According to Boyd-Hawes, Soles, Kunkel, and Fotou the tombs ceased being used at the end of the MM I period.⁴⁷⁷ Further evidence and discussion produced by Dr. Brian Kunkel suggests that the tombs were in use for a very short period of time. He suggests that while there is EM presence at the house tomb's location, the actual house structures were built in the MM IA period and probably went out of use by the end of the MM IB or early MM II period.⁴⁷⁸

The first mention of larnakes at Gournia comes from Boyd-Hawes, who reports discovering *casellas*⁴⁷⁹ – also known as larnakes – in the Tomb Suite and also possibly in two of the rock shelters.⁴⁸⁰ They are listed as fragments in her notebooks.⁴⁸¹ The present assumption by Soles and Kunkel is that these tombs served as elite deposits, while Sphoungaras across the ravine adopted the humbler burials. This supposition is based on the periods of use and the prevalence of funerary assemblages as well as proximity to the settlement. The House Tomb area appears to have had a break in use between the EM IIA and MM IA period. Then the house structures were built in the MM IA period.

Sphoungaras serves as a contrast to this, because it never stopped receiving burials even

⁴⁷⁶ These tombs have been termed the North Cemetery by Boyd-Hawes and also by Jeff Soles.

⁴⁷⁷ Boyd-Hawes 1905, 186–188; Boyd-Hawes 1908, 56; Davaras 1972, 5; Soles 1973, 3.

⁴⁷⁸ Kunkel 2017, 170–177.

⁴⁷⁹ As discussed in chapter 1, *casella* is the Italian word for chest.

⁴⁸⁰ Boyd-Hawes 1905, 42, and 187–88 and Boyd-Hawes 1908, 56. More importantly, see also Boyd-Hawes notebooks I, 30–32, 34, and 35 and Notebook II, 25.

⁴⁸¹ Boyd-Hawes, Notebook 1, 30–32, 34, and 35.

during the EM IIB to EM III periods.⁴⁸² In any case, there appears to be an accepted date of use for the House tombs beginning in the MM IA period but ceasing by MM II.

Bones

Not much can be said about the bones that emerged from the Gournia House tombs because they were never scientifically studied, and their current location is unknown. Boyd-Hawes notes that two heads (skulls) were found in Tomb 1 inside one of the *casella* A.⁴⁸³ *Casella* B also contained numerous bones, but they were too fragmentary for Boyd-Hawes to determine a possible number. The trial pit which also contained fragments of a *casella*, seemingly held no bones.⁴⁸⁴ The other tombs held similar remains, but all are poorly documented.

The presence of two skulls in one larnax certainly supports the idea that larnakes received multiple burials within the earlier periods of its use. However, such sparse evidence alone cannot serve as confirmation. Both Soles and Kunkel suggest that the house tombs held the bones of elite ancestors (or town leaders). This supposition cannot be wholly denied based on the bone assemblage, but it would seem as though the larnakes within the house tombs may also have been operating as a sort of ossuary (especially given the two skulls found within one larnax). This hypothesis is seconded by Kunkel, who also suggests that secondary burial practices occurred in the House tombs.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸² Kunkel 2017, 176.

⁴⁸³ Boyd-Hawes, notebooks 31.

⁴⁸⁴ For further discussion see Boyd-Hawes Notebooks 30–32, 34, and 35; Legarra Herrero 2015, cat. 319, 320 325, and 326; See Kunkel 2017, 170–174; Information about burial strata and bones from Soles 1973 is unclear due to a possible mix-up in tomb locations. See note 122 below.

⁴⁸⁵ Kunkel 2017, 174.

Grave Goods

Like the bones, there is little stratigraphic context concerning specific objects. Thus, dating based on excavation data is difficult. However, Boyd-Hawes did keep a detailed record of the objects found within each tomb. As such, we can gather some information about funerary assemblages even if we do not have more specific data. Boyd-Hawes notes specific larnakes with specific objects in three instances in Tomb 1 (known as Tomb suite to Boyd-Hawes, Tomb VII to Soles, and as Tombs (or Rooms) 1, 2, and 3 by Fotou).⁴⁸⁶

The three larnakes from Tomb I contained various objects.⁴⁸⁷ Boyd-Hawes indicates that *casella* A was found with a handle-less jar⁴⁸⁸ and a bronze knife with a flat blade. Her notes are difficult to decipher, but probably there was a second knife along with a gold piece located close to the vessel along with the fragments of a third *casella*. The second larnax (*casella* B) from this area also yielded a bronze knife with a flat blade and what appears to be two gold “caps.”⁴⁸⁹ All in all, none of the larnakes discovered by

⁴⁸⁶ Boyd-Hawes, notebooks 31 (labeled as 36 by copier). These are labeled in her notebook, but their current location is unknown. It is possible that they are located in the University of Pennsylvania Museum as there is no record of them being sent to the Herakleion Museum.

⁴⁸⁷ Confusingly, Soles refers to these tombs as Tomb VII and VIII and thus indicates that there is little to no information about them. Boyd-Hawes notebooks actually seem to suggest that “Tomb suite” refers to Tombs I and II, which she did leave detailed information about. Vasso Fotou has also come to a similar conclusion, stating that “Hall’s (referring to Edith Hall who co-excavated with Boyd-Hawes) note in relation to the measurements of N trench given in HB/NB II p.26 define this Tomb’s position at about 21 m NE from the corner of the wall XX.” Fotou 1993, 99. Such a supposition indicates that Tombs I, II, and III actually refer to the Tomb suite and not to the sectors that J. Soles defined them as in his *Prepalatial Tombs*, 1992.

⁴⁸⁸ The actual wording on this is very unclear due to her handwriting. Soles does not mention this object but does suggest that the description of “legs tripods” refers to the remnants of a tripod vessel. See Soles, 1992, 40. It is possible that Soles does not mention the “handles jar” because Boyd points out that there were “no good sherds,” notebooks, 31.

⁴⁸⁹ Boyd-Hawes, notebooks, 31 *verso* (labeled as 37 by copier). Boyd-Hawes refers to them as “gold caps for a scepter” see notebooks, 31 *verso*. Soles also discusses this object stating that it appears to be the same “gold wand of office” that Boyd-Hawes later refers to in her publication 1905, 33, fig. 12. But Soles notes that in this context she considers it to be LM I. See Soles 1992, 40, note 53.

Boyd-Hawes were accompanied by an excess of grave goods or even by particularly high-status objects.

Larnakes

Boyd-Hawes provides specific information about two of the larnakes that she discovered during her excavations. Both originate from Tomb I, also known as the Tomb suite by Boyd-Hawes. The tomb suite (Tomb 1) was divided by a wall, none of which remains, and a *casella*, which was found on each side of the wall (*casella* A and B, see Cat. 202 and 201, respectively). An additional *casella* (no.3, see Cat. 203) was located in the northwest corner in a pit and contained only additional fragments of a *casella*.⁴⁹⁰

According to Boyd-Hawes, *casella* A (see Cat. 202), as preserved, was 95 cm long and 10 cm high. She does not provide an approximate width. *Casella* B (see Cat. 201) was 110 cm long, 11 cm high (at preserved height), and 52 cm wide. In both cases, she indicates that the thickness was approximately 2 cm. There are no details concerning handles for *casella* A, but she asserts that the presence of 1 handle near *casella* B suggests that it probably had a total of four handles.⁴⁹¹ Boyd-Hawes does not provide many details concerning the decoration found on any of the larnakes. In reference to *casella* A, she notes that it had black paint on buff fabric.⁴⁹² No mention is made as to the possible decorative aspects. The black on buff fabric, however, matches the decorative trends seen in other larnakes dated to the MM IA/MM IB/MM II period in the Mirabello bay.

⁴⁹⁰ In her notebook I on page 31 *verso*, Boyd suggests that this *casella* was found without any bones. However, on the hand drawn plan of the tomb, she lists bones in the northwest corner. It is unclear which is correct.

⁴⁹¹ Boyd-Hawes, Notebook I, 31.

⁴⁹² Boyd-Hawes 1908, 56.

Boyd-Hawes also notes the presence of an additional larnax found in a test pit in Tomb 1, discussed above as *casella* 3. However, the description provides little information other than stating that the object was very badly broken and in many pieces. It does not appear that any attempt was made to conserve or reconstruct the object.⁴⁹³ Located among these many pieces was a thin layer of bronze and a small round jug with three blunt legs.

An additional larnax is drawn in Boyd-Hawes' notebook on page 35, but upon further discussion with Dr. D.M. Buell, it became apparent that this larnax was associated with Alatsamouri (See Cat. 211) and not with the North Cemetery.⁴⁹⁴ This is despite its location in her notes directly following the Tomb Suite. Soles notes that there were larnax fragments discovered in Tomb I and II, but with no significant joins; thus, they have not been illustrated nor documented.⁴⁹⁵ Upon further research, it is believed that he refers to the section in her UPTMA (Upenn transactions) publication where she states,

“Of tombs...but we have signs of intramural burial on the north spur of the acropolis, where within an enclosure resembling a house, we uncovered the bottoms of three *casellas* (average length 1 m) together with many human bones, three bronze knives, and a thin tip piece of beaten gold, without pattern, as large as the end of a thumb. Fragments of two other *casellas* were unearthed about 7 m. north of this point. But on this north spur of the acropolis the soil is never more than 30 cm deep, and this readily explains why of the *casellas* only the bottoms and 5 or 6 cm of the sides were preserved, why the bones were scattered, and why no more objects were found with them. Within the north room of House 6 on the west road, 1 m below the surface, we came upon a better preserved *casella* decorated with a link pattern of debased type and close to it a grotesque mourning female figure in course terra cotta similar to figures found in Cypriot tombs.”

⁴⁹³ Boyd-Hawes, Notebook I, 31.

⁴⁹⁴ Personal Communication with Dr. D.M. Buell in February 2020.

⁴⁹⁵ For reference to these fragments, see Soles 1993, 23. He states that her Upenn transactions notebook indicates the presence of larnakes on pages 186 and 187; however, upon further research I could not locate any such mention by Boyd-Hawes.

The description of the first three *casellas*, along with the objects, suggests that in fact these all belong to her “tomb suite” and not to Tomb VIII.

Building EO

General Stratigraphy and Overview

**Cat. 199–200

Bones	None
Grave Goods	None
Larnakes	2 larnakes

Beginning in 2010, L.V. Watrous began a reinvestigation of the Gournia settlement. The main goal was to reveal the early occupation of the site in order to confirm or deny early occupation in the Prepalatial period. Two complete larnakes were discovered in the building named EO (Space 101). Dr. John Younger also indicated the presence of multiple other larnax fragments within the same space.⁴⁹⁶

Younger suggests that the overall complex served as a pottery workshop within the main industrial area of the town. The surrounding spaces to the west and the east do provide evidence for a metal workshop, and 15 kiln channels are located just to the east (though the kiln channels date to a later period).⁴⁹⁷ Younger hypothesizes that the large open space of building EO served a warehouse for pottery. While this cannot be refuted here, the presence of two larnakes in a space that lacks any human remains (even within the nearby areas) does suggest production or storage.

The building, called the Early Building, seems to have had multiple periods of occupation. Younger posits that the structure was originally built in the EM III period, only to be destroyed in MM IA. The overall structure was then reconstructed, with the exception of the annex (the western space that contained the larnakes). The eastern half,

⁴⁹⁶ Younger, *Gournia Volume*, in process.

⁴⁹⁷ *Gournia Volume*, in process.

on the other hand, was rebuilt. It was then destroyed in the MM IB period.⁴⁹⁸ Younger adds that the building seems to go out of use at this point, save for the open courtyard, which he suggests may have been used as an open storage space.⁴⁹⁹ The possible use of this space is based on the presence of the larnakes, which he originally labeled as MM II.

The pottery located in the same stratigraphic layer as the larnakes indicates mixed dates ranging from MM IA to MM II. The largest majority, however, appear to originate in the MM IB period including multiple cups, bowls, and jugs. Only one object, (11.438), appears to date to the MM II period.⁵⁰⁰

Bones

No bones were found in any context related to the larnakes found in Building EO. This leads to several questions concerning the space and the function of the larnakes. The lack of bones – which was also seen at Sissi in space Cat. 183 – suggests that the open court may have been used as a storage space. Moreover, the fact that more than one larnax was present, indicates the possibility of potential production within the area. Lastly, if production occurred here, and the larnakes were being stored rather than used, it suggests that larnakes were functionally specific. In other words, they were produced for the purposes of burial, and these had not yet entered that object biography.

Grave Goods/Related Objects in Stratigraphy

As this was not a tomb, no funerary assemblage existed in connection with the larnakes. However, multiple other objects were located around the vessels. This included

⁴⁹⁸ Younger bases the first destruction on the presence of a buttress that was used to reinforce the structure, the second destruction he bases on the scattering of cups. See Younger “Early Building” draft 1, unpublished.

⁴⁹⁹ Younger indicates that this area is now open to the sky, but it is unclear what evidence has been used to support that hypothesis. See also draft 1, unpublished.

⁵⁰⁰ This object is not included in this dissertation as it remains unpublished.

the fragments of light-on-dark cups, some cookware, and a monochrome interior cup. The area lacks any of the other grave goods typically associated with a funerary assemblage including seal stones or knives of any kind. Moreover, the presence of so many monochrome interior cups suggests a date of MM IB. From this, we can assume that grave goods were specifically deposited at the tomb site either after initial primary burial or as part of a secondary ritual.

Larnakes

The two larnakes are well preserved at almost three-fourth to four-fifths complete. In addition to these two larnakes, another fragment (11.1407)⁵⁰¹ probably represents the lid to one of the two complete larnakes. Another fragment (11.918)⁵⁰² is also probably a lid fragment. There is another large base fragment, but due to the presence of holes on the bottom, the fabric mixture, and more importantly the context information, it is likely that this vessel originates in LMIA (as such it was not included in the catalogue).

Fabric

Four of the vessels (the two almost complete larnakes and the two lids that belong to them) present similar fabric types. Each (Cat. 199, 200, 11.918, 11.917, and 11.1407) was constructed utilizing local grano fabric (evident by the presence of both grano diorite and gold mica inclusions). All four also present fabric color consistent with a reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6). All four are also covered in a buff slip consistent with pink clay (5YR 8/3). This chromatic fabric distribution is consistent with Evraika and Kalo Chorio, yet it is not consistent with what we see at Sissi. The two almost complete larnakes (Cat. 199 and 200) both exhibit dark grey cores, probably due to firing techniques. This

⁵⁰¹ This object is not yet published, it does not appear in the catalogue.

⁵⁰² This object is not yet published, it does not appear in the catalogue.

characteristic is consistent across Sissi, Kalo Chorio, Evraiaika, Archanes, and Apesokari. It is likely due to production techniques in the early periods related to the size of the vessel.

Decoration

All of the vessels, with the exception of the possible LM example are decorated on the exterior. The entire exterior of larnax lid 1 (11.1407) is encircled by a reddish band that merges into the center of the vessel. Probably the flat lid was then decorated with a meandering curvilinear design that spanned the top. The second lid, 11.918, does not have a thick band encircling the exterior. However, it does present a similar cross-hatched or interconnected band that would have interwoven over the top.

The larnax bodies follow somewhat similar patterns to the lids. Larnax 1 (Cat. 199), has a thick dark-brown painted linear band at the base that encircles the entire vessel. A similar, though less thick, band encircles the vessel near the rim. The body displays vertical and horizontal linear bands that interconnect to form a checkered pattern covering the body of the vessel. The paint is applied in a dark-brown, or perhaps previously black slip that has faded over time. Though, fragmentary, the pieces from larnax 3 (14.3202) appear to depict similar cross-hatched linear bands (refer to Cat. 199). Unlike larnax 1, larnax 2 (Cat. 200) is covered in thick, curvilinear bands. The vessel is divided into three uneven registers. Each register is covered in concentric half circles, which are not standardized. Both the rim and the base are encircled by a thick, dark band. The decorative paint is dark-brown similar to larnax 1 (Cat. 199) and the vessels from Kalo Chorio and Evraika.

Shape

The two almost-complete larnakes are elliptical in form. Both lids are of a similar elliptical shape. The lids are also flat and would likely have been placed on top of their respective larnakes within the lip-groove or tied to the top of the vessel via rope or other perishable material.

In terms of size, larnax 1 (Cat. 199) is 93.6 cm in length, 42.8 cm wide (at the widest portion), and 38 cm in height. Larnax 2 (Cat. 200) exhibits almost identical measurements (see catalogue for specifics). These measurements, along with the form, resemble examples from Evraika, Hagios Charalambos, and Archanes. This construction suggests that while decoration and fabric were not standardized across the island, there was general unanimity concerning the sizes of the vessels.

Handles

Due to the fragmentary nature of the lids, it is impossible to state with any level of certainty whether they possessed handles. The two larnax bodies, on the other hand, either still have their handles attached or the break is apparent. In the case of larnax 1, five vertical handles are present on each of the long sides of the vessel. Three of these are located closer to the lip/rim of the vessel. These are smaller in size, about 3 cm in height. Two larger handles can be found on the central portion of the body, about 5 cm in height. Larnax 2 produced similar handle patterns, except utilizing only four handles as opposed to five. The same pattern applies, two smaller vertical handles are located near the rim, while the two on the body are thicker, and longer. This patterning shows a preference for vertical handles over horizontal ones, which is in stark contrast to Archanes where the handles alternate between vertical and horizontal.

Key Insights and Other Data/Assessment

The stratigraphy of House EO (Space 101) suggests a date of MM IB. The presence of so many MM IB cups, jugs, bowls, and other pottery are consistent with early Protopalatial periods over later Protopalatial periods. The fact that only one cup from the space indicates a date of MM II does not provide enough stratigraphical evidence to place the larnakes in the late Protopalatial period. Additionally, a date of MM IB coincides with Evraika and Kalo Chorio, both of which contained vessels that match in fabric, size, shape, and decoration.

Pacheia Ammos Cemetery Overview and General Stratigraphy

**Cat. 205–210

Bones	Only 4 skulls remaining/noted
Grave Goods	Small clay vessels
Larnakes	6 larnakes

The Pacheia Ammos cemetery was discovered and excavated by Richard B. Seager between 1913 and 1914. This site represents an entirely new method of community burial on Crete (both in this region and the rest of the island). Only two other sites display parallels, Hagios Myronas (near Herakleion) and Porti (in the Mesara), both are located some distance from Pacheia Ammos. Seager originally dated the use of the site between the EM III – LM I period. According to Seager, the cemetery produced an overwhelming number of funerary vessels; 213 pithoi and 6 larnakes.⁵⁰³ While stratigraphy at the site is nearly impossible, due to the conditions of the excavations and the site (early excavation techniques in the 1900's alongside sandy terrain, which would have caused considerable wash-out and shifting of material), a small restudy of the

⁵⁰³ Seager 1916, 9.

material done by Walberg suggests that there is little to no MM II material from the site.⁵⁰⁴ As such, the overall date of this site is still contentious.

Bones

Seager does not tell us much about the bones found at Pacheia Ammos nor has an intensive study been done on them at any point in the last 100 years. Moreover, it is unclear whether they were kept or discarded. Seager does report that – like Sphoungaras – the bodies were placed in a crouched or seated position. He adds a note, however, stating that the majority of the bones found at the site were extremely fragmentary.⁵⁰⁵ He also states that only a total of four skulls could be saved from the overall excavations.⁵⁰⁶ This information yields a very small data set and does not provide enough information to make even an educated assumption about individualism in the Pacheia Ammos larnakes.

Grave Goods

Again, little is known about the specific stratigraphy associated with the burials, thus we will rely on information concerning the other objects excavated by Seager to give us a broad picture. Seager notes that all of the vessels were found in groupings, often three to five would be found in a set. However, because they often represent jars or

⁵⁰⁴ Seager claims a date of EM III. He is seconded by Pini (see 1968, 12,14, 34), who follows Seager's initial assessment see 1916, 10 and 44. For alternate dates, see Walberg 1983, 125-6. This site is currently under restudy by the author of this dissertation in order to more accurately date and understand the vessels, the burial customs, and the potential changing socio-cultural environment. While Walberg has dated the majority of the site to the MM III – LMIB periods, this dating does not match earlier understandings of the site nor do her dates coincide with the larnakes and decorative patterns discovered at Gournia, Kalo Chorio, or Evraika. For a full discussion on her analysis and re-dating, see her 1983 volume on MM III pottery or her Kamares volume, 1992.

⁵⁰⁵ Seager 1916, 11.

⁵⁰⁶ Seager does provide some additional details that are included with some broad-sweeping generalizations. During the time of Seager's publication, the understanding was that the Minoans would have buried their dead directly after burial. As such, Seager hypothesizes that most of the jars must have contained the bones of children. More likely, following additional knowledge from many other Cretan sites, it is likely that these jars represent secondary interments thus making the placement of bones within the jars much easier.

vessels from varied periods, it is unlikely that they were deposited together.⁵⁰⁷ Seager makes no note of exceptional grave goods found alongside any of the other burial vessels, and certainly not alongside the larnakes. The only other vessels noted from the sites include only stone and other small clay vessels.⁵⁰⁸ It is possible that smaller objects of value – such as seal stones and metal objects – simply washed away as the beach eroded. The lack of any high status remains, however, is notable.

Larnakes

A total of six larnakes were discovered by Seager at Pacheia Ammos. At present, only three have been traced to the Herakleion Museum for study.⁵⁰⁹ The location of the other three are presently unknown. Of the three that remain, they are one-third complete to almost complete. In one case, this also includes the lid of the vessel (no.3).

Fabric

The fabric of all of the vessels suggests local Mirabello fabric. Each of the three larnakes possesses both gold mica as well as grano diorite inclusions. The interior core fabric ranges from yellowish-red to reddish-brown (all are 5YR 6/4 or 4/6). Due to mending, it is not possible to see the core of two of the larnakes. One vessel (Cat. 210) is accompanied by an additional bag of fragments. Thus, it is possible to see in this vessel that the core is a dark grey, similar to the ones from Evraika, Archanes, and Hagios Charalambos. This core coloring seems to be a typical trait of larnakes across Crete and is

⁵⁰⁷ Seager 1916, 13–14.

⁵⁰⁸ Georgoulaki 1996, 49. A specific example can be seen in a pithos at Pacheia Ammos, which contained only a stone bowl and two clay cups see Seager 1916, 18 and Georgoulaki 1996, 156.

⁵⁰⁹ One of the larnakes studied by the author was originally published and labeled as a larnax from Apesokari see Flouda 2011, see Tav XXXIX. This is likely due to the multiple moves and earthquakes that have occurred at the Herakleion Museum since 1920.

most likely related to production techniques (specifically oxidization within the kiln due to the size and shape of the vessel).

The exterior of the vessels is covered in a lighter slip. A light yellowish-red slip covers two vessels (See Cat. 207 and 210). This slip probably represents a watered-down version of the same clay used in manufacture. Over the slip, paint has been added in a reddish-brown color on all three vessels. The last vessel (Cat. 209) is also decorated with a dark-reddish brown paint. In some places it appears as though there may have been white paint added. Again, this style is similar to the vessels discovered from Kalo Chorio, see Cat. 192 – 196.

Decoration

All three vessels are decorated. One of the vessels (Cat. 207) is covered in a dark reddish-brown all-over-slip on the exterior and interior. Based on current preservation, it does not appear that any additional decoration was added. The other two vessels (Cat. 209 and 205) both display curvilinear and linear decorative elements. The composition is similar in each example, as both have solid dark circles located near the rim and the base, which are connected by curvilinear lines. The first (Cat. 209) is almost identical to the larnax from Evraika (Cat. 221). Both vessels (the one from Evraika and PA) depict filled-in circles near the rim and the base with connecting double-lines that sprout from three sides of each circle. The second vessel (Cat. 210) resembles both its sister vessel from PA and the one from Evraika as it also contains solid-dark circles near the rim and the base. Each circle is connected by a series of solid dark lines similar to Cat. 221 and Cat. 210, except that the connecting lines are also solid rather than doubled. Both 210 and 209 have solid bands around the rim and the base.

There are two other larnakes from Pacheia Ammos that were not available for study, which are pictured in the volume by Seager.⁵¹⁰ It is not entirely clear what their decoration style may be, though certainly larnax 4 (See Cat. 208) appears to be either completely undecorated or covered in all-over-slip like Cat. 207. The other larnax, larnax 5 (See Cat. 206), may also have a drip decoration on the sides but the photographs make it too difficult to discern this for certain.

Shape

Like Archanes, the shapes of the vessels vary from PA. In the original publication, Seager photographs at least two other larnakes, which are now missing. The photographs indicate that of the 6 larnakes found at Pacheia Ammos, four of them are elliptical, one is rectangular, and one is unknown (as there are no photographs and it is lost). It is also unclear what the size of these two additional vessels may be, though it appears as though larnax 5 (Cat. 206) may be very similar to the size and shape of 197370 (Cat. 209). larnax 4 (Cat. 208), on the other hand, is elongated and elliptical and looks much closer to examples seen at Pyrgos (see Cat. 142 and 144).

Larnax Cat. 207 and 210 are similar in their dimensions. Both are 72 cm in length, between 42 and 43 cm in width, and between 41–42 cm in height. These dimensions are also similar to those found at Evraika, Archanes, and Hagios Charalambos especially in width and height. In terms of length, it is similar to other vessels but does represent a deviation (72 cm here but ranging up to 86 cm at Evraika, for example). Larnax 3 (Cat. 209) is smaller in size, only 47 cm in length and 31 cm in width.

⁵¹⁰ See Seager 1916, plate XII.

Handles

Unlike many of the other sites we have looked at thus far, all of which have tended to show similarities in handle placement on the vessels; the larnakes from Pacheia Ammos are all different. Larnax 1 (Cat. 210), larnax 2 (Cat. 207), and larnax 4 (Cat. 208) all present vertical handles; whereas larnax 3 (Cat. 209) and larnax 5 (Cat. 206) both exhibit horizontal handles.

In terms of the vertical handles, larnax 1 (Cat. 210) and larnax 4 (Cat. 208) both have four vertical handles on the long-sides the vessels; however, they are placed differently. Where larnax 1 (Cat. 210) has two smaller handles located about 3 cm from the rim and two larger vertical handles about 3 cm from the base, larnax 4 (Cat. 208) has four vertical handles on the long-side, which are all located at the same level forming the equivalent of one level. Larnax 2 (Cat. 207) only possesses three vertical handles on both of the long-sides. While it has fewer handles, larnax 2 (Cat. 207) places these on two separate registers (similar to larnax 1, 210). Interestingly, there are two handles located close to the base and only one handle located close to the rim, but in the center of the longest side.

Larnax 3 (Cat. 209) and larnax 5 (Cat. 206) both utilized horizontal handles, but again in very different ways; Where larnax 3 (Cat. 209) places one smaller handle on each side (long-side and the short-side), larnax 5 (See Cat. 206 of a similar shape and size) places only a single horizontal handle on both of the long-sides. In all cases, these handles are found close to the rim. Additionally, while it is possible that the other three larnakes possessed a lid, those lids were not discovered with their vessel. In these two

instances, the larnax is both smaller and was directly associated with a matching, decorated lid.

Key Insights and Other Data/Assessment

While it is certainly clear that LM vessels (of all kinds) can be found at Gournia and is reason to argue that the larnakes are of a later date; it is also clear that there are objects from EM III (including some light on dark cups) that can suggest an equally early date. The lack of evidence for MM II would suggest an earlier date for the larnakes of MM IB, but without a full catalogue and study of the PA material, this is impossible.⁵¹¹ However, the similarities between these vessels and those found at Evraika provide supporting evidence for an MM IB date. It is likely, that the cemetery was then continuously used into the LM period.

Sphoungaras

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 197–198

Bones	Present but unclear
Grave Goods	Ceramic vessels of various forms
Larnakes	2 larnakes (Likely many more)

Sphoungaras, like Pacheia Ammos, lies outside of the town of Gournia.

Sphoungaras was discovered by Harriet Boyd-Hawes and Edith Hall in 1903 and was subsequently excavated in small patches over an extended time period. Boyd-Hawes and Hall excavated some of the rock-cut shelters in 1904 including those of Alatsomouri. These were originally ascribed as EM shelters (one of which contained a larnax).⁵¹² Thus, when Hall and Seager planned to excavate the remainder of the hill a general date of EM II – LM I was given to the entire cemetery. There is no architecture associated with the

⁵¹¹ Full study to be forthcoming by this author.

⁵¹² For Boyd-Hawes drawing of this larnax see Notebook I, 34.

site – like Pacheia Ammos – and most of the interments occurred in burial pithoi, which were deposited upside down. Similar to Pacheia Ammos, Sphoungaras produced more pithoi than larnakes; 150 pithoi and 1 larnax.⁵¹³ The burials were mostly poor, yielding only pottery, specifically conical cups found inside and around the pithoi.⁵¹⁴ Hall notes some observations about the bones discovered at Sphoungaras, but this is mostly related to their positioning within the pithoi and the orientation of the bodies as contracted to fit in upside down vessels. She does not make notations about the single larnax for which she provides a description.

Bones and Grave Goods

Hall notes that the majority of vessels from Sphoungaras did not yield any additional objects aside from pottery and perhaps stone vessels, and of these she only notes that 15 vessels possessed any additional objects. A similar trend can certainly be seen at Kalo Chorio and Evraika. It is relatively unclear whether the single possible larnax may have been one of these 15 vessels. A breccia bowl was found with the fragments of a larnax (but not the single larnax that Hall lists from the site). This suggests that there must have been at least two larnakes from Sphoungaras, but they are unstudied, and their location is unknown.

Larnakes

Hall notes the presence of a single larnax on her plan and in her publication on Sphoungaras. Though, as was noted above, she also suggests the presence of larnax fragments associated with a breccia bowl. From this we can gather that there may have

⁵¹³ Hall 1912a, 45–46. It is likely that there were many larnax fragments. This is further attested by Watrous during the Gournia survey.

⁵¹⁴ Hall 1912a, 66–67. For additional references to the pottery from this location see Soles 1979, 150, 151, 156; Walberg 1983, 124; Betancourt 1984, 17; 1985, 46, 56.

been more larnakes present at the site and it is likely that the site could use restudy and re excavation – which may possibly lead to the discovery of more larnax fragments.⁵¹⁵ The single larnax is noted on her plan in zone “H”.⁵¹⁶ Hall does not give any description about the shape of the vessel, and merely states that it was undecorated and measured 87 cm by 44 cm with a height of 54 cm.⁵¹⁷ These measurements align with the majority of larnakes that we have seen. She also suggests that the larnax is MM III, but she does not give any data to support her reasoning. From this data, we can deduce little about the larnax or larnakes from Sphoungaras. A restudy of the material and or a new excavation at the site might yield pertinent and new information.

Key Insights and Other Data

Sphoungaras, like many of the sites in the Mesara, lacks published details concerning the larnakes. It is clear that many of the burials were relatively poor and contained primarily ceramic remains as opposed to seal stones or jewelry. Additionally, the dating of the vessels is unclear, and their location is presently unknown.

Southeast Crete

Kato Zakros

General Overview and Stratigraphy

**Cat. 215–219

Bones	74 interments
Grave Goods	1 multiple interments, 1 unknown
Larnakes	5 (with additional fragments)

The primary tomb of interest from Kato Zakros is Pezoules Kephalas, which is located to the southwest of the settlement. Other possible tombs were found in the area but none with positively identified human remains. Additionally, it is unclear whether

⁵¹⁵ This was seconded by personal communication with L.V. Watrous who indicated that during the Gournia Survey many larnax fragments were found on the surface around Sphoungaras.

⁵¹⁶ See Hall 1912A, PLATE XV.

⁵¹⁷ Hall 1912a, 60.

any of the other potential tombs contained the remnants of larnakes. A lack of published data has hindered our ability to understand the full range of larnax presence in the area. Even if additional larnakes were found in the area but lacked human remains, it is possible that the vessels themselves would provide parallels to those found at Gournia or Sissi.

The tombs at Pezoules consisted of 2 burial enclosures, Tomb A and Tomb B. Tomb A is the largest of the two tombs and contains a total of three separate rooms, which have been named separately as A, B, Γ. The rooms inside Tomb A are separated by small walls consisting of only one to two courses of stones (this may be similar to what was seen both at Kalo Chorio and Gournia).⁵¹⁸ Both tombs are set on two small terraces utilizing the limestone bedrock. According to Platon, who continued an examination of the tombs, Tomb A was built first (possibly as a house tomb or covered tomb). This classification makes the most sense given the absence of an entrance. The lack of a doorway suggests that the entrance would have been from above. Tomb B, on the other hand, consists of only a single space.⁵¹⁹

Bones and Grave goods

Unlike many of the earlier excavations discussed thus far, the bones from Kato Zakros (specifically the Pezoules Kephala rock enclosure) received a preliminary study in the 1970's. Becker evaluated the remains of 62 separately bagged crania from the 1967 excavation season.⁵²⁰ In at least 12 of the bags an additional crania fragment was found.

⁵¹⁸ Bosanquet 1902, 292; Platon 1967, 190–194; L. Platon 2012, 162; Legarra Herrero 2015, 127; See also Soles 1973 166–170; 1992, 195–198.

⁵¹⁹ Platon 2012, 162–164. As regards the structures in general or as house tombs see Soles 1992, 200.

⁵²⁰ Becker, the author notes that they were able to find 62 bags from the 1967 excavation, but that Platon mentions a total of 69 crania bags. The location of the other 7 specimens is unknown. See Becker 1975a, 274.

This suggests that at least a total of 74 individuals were laid to rest in the Pezoules cemetery.⁵²¹ Little information is given about the exact location of the individuals' interment; though, Georgoulaki indicates that larnax 'a' (See Cat. 219) contained at least one contracted skeleton and two skulls.⁵²² The rest of the bones were scattered across the floors or concentrated in corners. This organization is not unlike other tombs found across Crete, especially Hagios Charalambos.

From the remaining bones, Becker indicates a very high ratio of adults and sub-adults. Only one child (aged 6–8) and three adolescents could be identified amongst the remains. The remainder were between the ages of 18 and 50.⁵²³ She also notes that the majority of identifiable remains appear to be female. The age distribution is not surprising and matches the majority of data present from other sites.⁵²⁴

According to L. Platon, larnax 'a' (Cat. 219) from Tomb A, Room B contained a primary burial in the form of a single contracted skeleton along with two additional skulls. These bones were found with a small clay jug.⁵²⁵ It is not certain which burial was associated with the jug nor at which periods the additional skulls were laid to rest inside the larnax. Regardless, it is clear that the culture saw the larnax – and the tomb – as a place for redeposition and did not associate the larnax with an “individualized” burial process. The room, and stratum, also contained the remains of about 45 additional skulls suggesting either a clearing and re-deposit in this location or the mark of secondary

⁵²¹ Becker 1975a, 274.

⁵²² Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 806.

⁵²³ Becker 1975a, 276.

⁵²⁴ Not many other scientific bones studies have been performed on tombs containing larnakes. Thus, there is not a lot of comparanda for this data. For more information see Papadatos 2005.

⁵²⁵ L. Platon 2012, 162–164.

interments. The rest of the stratum contained an assortment of pottery fragments but little other remains of note.

Room A contained additional remains of other larnax fragments (aside from ‘larnax ‘a’). However, they are only listed as fragments in the notes, and it is currently unknown whether they have been preserved or studied. Alongside these fragments, Room A also contained some bronze beads, a stone seal and stone beads, pottery fragments, and stone vases in addition to more skull and bone fragments.

Tomb B, on the other hand, appears to provide more material artefacts – even though it was the smaller of the two tombs. It is unclear whether any objects were found with the larnax in Tomb B; however, the tomb contained seal stones (dated to MM II), bronze tweezers, loomweights, one silver bead, and many fragments of pottery. These remains are similar to the burial assemblages found in Tomb A.

Larnakes

Though both tombs and each of the rooms contained fragments of larnakes, this study is forced to focus on the only published examples. Those include, a single in-tact example from Tomb A inside Room B (larnax a), and another in-tact example from Tomb B. N. Platon’s notes indicate that additional fragments of larnakes were found in Tomb A within Rooms A, B, and Γ and also in Tomb B. In total, he indicates the presence of 6 larnakes, which can be positively identified. Unfortunately, this author was not granted permission to study these vessels and only 2 of them have received any form of publication by L. Platon.

Shape

Of these six larnakes, five of them are rectangular in form, and all of them possess 6 short legs located at all four corners and in the center. One of the vessels is elliptical in form, rather than rectangular, but possesses similarly styled legs.⁵²⁶ Each larnax also ranges in length from 76–80 cm. In terms of width, they each range between 34.5 and 39 cm. L. Platon does not indicate their height. Both the length and width measurements parallel the majority of larnax measurements looked at thus far.

While this study has not focused on lids for the most part, it is clear from the remains found inside the tomb that the larnakes from Kato Zakros would have contained lids. The lids vary in shape between elliptical and domed vs rectangular and pyramidal. This deviates from previous examples found at Gournia and Hagios Charalambos, where the extant remains of the lids indicated that they are flat.

Fabric

L. Platon reveals that the vessels all share similar fabrics, ranging from brown to red and pink to orange. Each of the vessels are also covered in a thin slip, which ranges from pink to orange. Based on the description of the fabric and slip, it is impossible to ascertain whether these were locally produced. L. Platon does note that they all contain abundant dark inclusions, perhaps suggesting that similar clays are used in the production of all of them. The fabric colors certainly match other Cretan clays, and Platon makes no mention of these being transported to the area.

⁵²⁶ L. Platon 2012, 164.

Decoration

Larnax 'a' from Tomb A, Room B, does not present any painted decoration on the exterior or interior, nor does it show plastic decoration – like the vessels from Sissi. It does, however, possess a slightly protruding border, which frames the outline of the larnax. Similarly, larnax 2 (Cat. 215) from Tomb B also bears no decorative elements on the exterior.

Handles and Holes

None of the vessels possess handles on the sides. In both instances, however, located close to the rim there are pairs of holes. The placement of these holes is reminiscent of the location of handles seen on earlier vessels and vessels from the Mirabello and Central Crete regions. In the case of larnax 'a' (Cat. 219) there are a total of three pairs on each of the long sides. Larnax 2 (Cat. 215), from Tomb B, on the other hand only has two pairs on the long sides. These are especially reminiscent of the examples seen at Hagios Charalambos (see Cat. 125).

While neither of the vessels have handles on the body, L. Platon suggests that the elliptical lids contained a total of four handles. While only the horizontal handles on the short sides are preserved, he believes that there would also have been additional ones on the long sides of the vessels. In all probability, the lids would have been tied to the body by connecting the holes to the handles on the lid. The pyramidal lids possess different types of handles. In these instances, L. Platon indicates that there were probably two vertical handles on each of the long sides, and a horizontal handle on each of the short

sides.⁵²⁷ It is certainly possible that the flat lids seen at Gournia and elsewhere on the island possessed handles, but at present there is no physical evidence to support this.

Key Insights and Other Data/Assessment and Dating

Both the original reports and the summary provided by Georgoulaki indicate that both in-tact larnakes were found in the upper stratum.⁵²⁸ L. Platon suggests that no parallels exist for the larnakes, so the tomb cannot be dated based on a larnax typology. However, L. Platon suggests that the pottery remains indicate a date range of MM IIA to MM III, with the majority of pottery exhibiting characteristics more consistent with MM IIA and MM IIB.⁵²⁹ The vase that was found inside of larnax ‘a’ presents comparanda consistent with MM IB – MM II pottery. Dating will be further discussed in the overall assessment, but it is likely that these larnakes date to the MM II period based on shape and comparanda.

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

The data provided throughout this chapter — observations and analyses of larnakes, bones, and other grave goods — does not suggest that individualism served as a driving factor in Minoan burial practices. The sites that cannot be used as definitive evidence against individualism and high-status burials also cannot be used to conclusively indicate a practice of individualism or elite status burials. Moreover, it bears stating that in the cases where the parity of data does not definitively support this dissertation, those same examples also do not provide support for individualism.

⁵²⁷ L. Platon 2012, 164.

⁵²⁸ See Georgoulaki 1996, cat. nos. 806 and 810. Additional information can be supplied by the original excavation report Platon 1967; And the restudy of the bone material by Becker 1975a.

⁵²⁹ L. Platon 2012.

Examples from Evraika, Kalo Chorio, Tholos G, Tholos E, and Tomb 19 certainly suggest that individualism did not serve as the dominant catalyst for burial within a larnax, as each of these locations indicates that over fifty percent of the larnakes received more than one interment (whether primary or secondary). Regardless of whether interments occurred as primary or secondary, the funerary practices indicate that multiple individuals could eventually occupy the same tomb without distinction. This is based on the presence of comingled bones in almost all sites. If individualism, rather than community-based practices, served as the predominant ideological practice, then additional bones would not be added even in a haphazard secondary installment. Instead, they would be more akin to the single, individual interments more frequently associated with the Early Helladic mainland.

While there may not have been enough data to ultimately define practices of individual burials, there is certainly enough to refute any claim of larnakes as status markers. In the majority of cases discussed above, it is clear that objects of high value (defined generally as jewelry, objects of metal, seal stones, and high-quality pottery) are not generally associated with larnakes. In the cases where it is clear that objects of high-status are directly associated with larnakes, other high-status objects are found nearby often with other burials located on the floor. It cannot, therefore, be stated that larnakes served as a vessel meant to denote an elite individual burial. Furthermore, in many cases (including Evraika and Kalo Chorio mentioned above, as well as Hagios Myronas) the larnakes contain only small pottery pieces. Or as is the case at Hagia Triada, more illustrious burial assemblages are found outside of the larnakes, within the same tomb, while the larnax receives only small pottery vessels.

The combination of all data and evidence based on a holistic contextual analysis of Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes serves as support against larnakes as demarcations for high-status or individualistic burials. Rather, larnakes to contribute to an already entrenched tradition of burial practices associated with communal ritual rather than signifying an emerging emphasis on the individual. As a way of further demonstrating this distinction between individualism and community-based practices, the following chapter explores theories related to individualism in order to strengthen and clarify the Minoan preference for communal burial practices.

Chapter 5: The Larnax in its Socio-Political Context

Introduction to Individualism, Personhood, and Identity

The concept of individualism has often been linked with the emergence of the individual and in turn, the emergence of the individual has frequently been connected to the formation of hierarchical political structures and grand palatial structures. Grand monuments stand as visual testaments to the power and wealth of a king or chieftain and proclaim his (or her) ability to manipulate a variety of resources (both monetary and through economic energetics). In many cultures, this evidence presents itself in large funerary monuments such as the Great Pyramids at Giza, the tholos tombs of the Mycenaeans, the chamber tombs of the Macedonians, or if we look further West and South, the grand pyramids of the Aztecs. These monuments differentiate the ruling elite from everyone else, buried within containers (or tombs) that signal their elite status, social rank, and importance. These same individuals are frequently accompanied by grave goods of value, prestige, or rarity, that further indicate an ability to amass and control objects of significance or exchange.⁵³⁰ Furthermore, these individuals are often named or demarcated in some other fashion and thus receive a personhood (or individuality) wholly unto themselves. But on Crete, the great funerary architectural monuments appear as tholos tombs that contain many individuals and often very few

⁵³⁰ For the most part this is a well-established belief. However, to explore the theory behind its emergence see Saxe 1970; Binford 1972; Tainter 1977, 332; Coles and Harding 1979, 535; Renfrew 1982; Bourdieu 1984, 7; Miller and Tilley 1984; Moody 1987b, 235; Warren 1987; Miller 1995, 267; Biehl 2002; Babic 2005, 67. Each of the authors listed above provide their own theoretical or methodological approach to understanding social complexity and material remains in the ancient world. The common consensus (regardless of approach) exists around the central tenant that objects are somehow linked to social status, power, wealth, or another demonstration of social complexity.

grave goods. This markedly different funerary landscape speaks to a different type of social-political and cultural structure, one in which the larnax does not serve individuals.

Personhood, individualism, and identity are often used interchangeably because each word, in its own way, addresses how we view ourself, ourselves, or others in relation to the things/people around us. Relevant literature was briefly discussed in Chapter 2; but it behooves the reader to remember that the modern conception of the individual and an individual identity remains a modern construct that emerged during the Enlightenment.⁵³¹ It cannot be assumed that the Minoans thought of themselves as having an individual identity. In fact, the prevalence of multiple bones within a larnax (and tomb) all suggest that individual identity was not tied to a person or thing. In addition, the presence of burial goods with unclear connections to the deceased cannot be used as material evidence of individuality. Instead, the tomb (and larnax) were tied to the community and thus presented its identity through location rather than by thing.⁵³²

Moreover, because of our own socio-cultural heritage (and that of many well-published Classical scholars), it is frequently assumed that any individual occupying a great tomb or found with high-status objects must have held a distinctive status within any given society.⁵³³ An identity is often constructed for these individuals, created from various aspects of their personhood, including social rank, home, homeland, their clan (or family group), and sometimes the material remains or objects (such as seal stones). The objects that emerged within these contexts then lent themselves to a narrative of elite

⁵³¹ Fowler 2002, 2004; Hamilakis 2018 and also Chapter 2.

⁵³² Alternative perspectives have focused on the tomb not as a signifier of elite status but as familial/clan sites. These arguments are myriad and long standing. For more on this topic see 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; Cherry 1984, 31; Branigan 1993, 81–95.

⁵³³ See note 1 for additional sources. Specific references can also be found in Tilley 1982; Shanks and Thomas 1996, 63–64; Fowler 2004.

status. This bias maintains the intrigue of the individual increasing its irresistibility by creating a connection between the present and the past.⁵³⁴ Thus, unintentionally, many will seek out that specific named individual.

This chapter, therefore, deals with the theoretical use of the concepts of identity, individual, personhood, and agency in Bronze Age Crete and the extent to which the larnax may have played a role in creating, sustaining, and promoting the rise of individualized status. As the major goal of this chapter is to examine the larnax as a means of grappling with the presence or absence of elite individuals within the mortuary record (and subsequently the socio-political environment) on Crete, the abstract ideologies examined in this chapter gain a more nuanced context when read alongside the already well-established palatial debate. This debate offers a means to unpack – by way of analogy – whether the larnax fits within a hierarchical socio-political framework or whether the evidence presents us with a new picture. This chapter first defines the key terms related to individualism, personhood, identity, and agency as well as examines the relevant scholarship. There follows an examination of the traditional interpretation of the evidence - that the architecture and materials objects indicate elite individuals. This evidence is then set against concrete data from the larnakes described in Chapter 4. Without the assumption of individualism, it is possible to re-examine the hypothesis of “the rise of the individual” as a precursor, and indeed an enabler, of the colonialist belief of the “emergence of the individual” and its hierarchical administrative system. Finally, the chapter uses the theories of individualism, personhood, and identity to examine how

⁵³⁴ Examples of this abound throughout archaeological historiography. Schliemann sought the great tombs of Mycenaean Kings. Evans sought the palace of Minos. Many have sought the tomb of Alexander. These are just some examples where a written narrative has driven the archaeologist to seek a specified individual in order to provide a face to a historical narrative.

the larnax contributes to the greater palatial debate and our understanding of the socio-cultural and political world of the Early Bronze Age.

Once the idea of the individual is deconstructed, the larnax may be viewed as a funerary object with its own agency in Minoan traditions rather than as a tool of social hierarchy. This dissertation culminates by replacing the search for a hierarchy in the Minoan socio-political organization to a conceptualization based around the Minoan preference for communal activities. While the goal of this project is neither to redefine the term palace, nor to suggest that elite individuals existed, it does seek to demonstrate that the terminology and previous understanding of the Minoan social-political structure as a centrally-controlled and organized unit does not support either the rise of the individual nor the presence and utilization of larnakes as a funerary vessel for elite consumption.

Scholarship on Individualism and Personhood

Part of the narrative concerning Minoan palaces and the emergence of the individual included the age-old concept that for a palatial system to exist, there must also be a hierarchical structure in place to control, organize, and implement the construction of large-scale architecture. This tiered social system was usually considered to have been focused on a single individual who maintained, restricted, and allotted goods and services to the population – such as the popularized redistributive system developed by Cherry in the 1980s.⁵³⁵ That system and the narrative are all based on discourse that surrounds personhood, individualism, and identity.

⁵³⁵ Cherry 1983.

Past scholarship (which was discussed in-depth in Chapter 2) has also relied upon the palaces as definitive pieces of evidence that support the presence of king (or other elite figure). The notions of a king, royalty, and a palace go hand in hand and certainly would have been recognizable to a Victorian archaeologist excavating on Crete in the early 20th century (such as Evans) and would have been reinforced by other ancient models like those of Egypt or Sumer. Even for those not familiar with a royal system in their own country, most archaeologists in the 20th century would have recognized the terminology from Homer that placed the wanax or king above the rest of the populace. Certainly, the roots for this concept can be found in ancient societies (such as Linear B - wanax), but our modern predisposition to seek out a single ruler can be further evaluated by examining the writings of early 20th century thinkers, such as Foucault and others, that emphasize our desire to explain things in a binary system.⁵³⁶ In Bronze age Crete, this binary system emerges as the hierarchical individual set up in contrast to the masses. What then is the difference between individualism and personhood? Or Personhood and self? Or any of these terms and identity? And how does agency play a role with each mode of thought? Defining each concept and examining its application provides the best platform with which to evaluate the body in ancient Crete.

Theories and Definitions of Individualism, Identity, and Personhood

This study begins with an overview of key theories involving our bodies, individualism, identity (communal and singular), self, personhood, and agency. Individualism, as mentioned above, has contributed significantly to the palatial debate on Crete. It represents a concept developed more extensively during the Enlightenment

⁵³⁶ Foucault 1982a and 1982b.

rather than at any point in ancient history. Thomas sees the body in death not just as a waste of biological matter, but also as a person permanently linked to the physical, biological shell.⁵³⁷ Modern concepts of Individualism, unlike personhood, stress a persistent and consistent identity of self, which results in discarding all other relationships and any collective status when confronted with one's own desires and singularity.⁵³⁸ According to this distinction, the Early Minoans lacked the concept of individualism because they did not discard their communal associations upon interment. In fact, as James Whitley noted, it is highly unlikely that Bronze Age (or even Iron Age) peoples thought of themselves as individuals even in life. In Homer, for example, they never refer to "themselves" as themselves, rather they refer to an aspect of their person, their chest, their liver, their *kleos*, but never to their individualized being.⁵³⁹ Often these individual aspects (like the *kleos*) were meant to serve a greater whole – for example the family or the community.

Modern definitions of identity suggest that it can be perceived on at least three separate levels. Personal identity relates to ones' distinct-ness of self. Communal identity represents a group of individuals and their association with a common element (be it linguistic, geographical, ideological, or some mixture of the three). Object identity can be applied to an object that holds special significance or has an extensive object biography (The Benin masks from Benin, for example, possess an object identity as part of ancestor worship). Perhaps the most important distinction is that identity is constructed from

⁵³⁷ Thomas 1991 and 2000.

⁵³⁸ Fowler 2004, 4.

⁵³⁹ Whitley 2013, 398.

within, not outside, of ideas and is the product a specific historical moment. Often times, it forms a piece of how we view other things – such as agency.⁵⁴⁰

Agency refers to the actions that people (or objects) perpetuate on the external world thereby altering the course of events or the circumstances. Agency proposes that individuals do not passively follow, but rather they (or the things) play an active role in forming social systems and other worldly exchanges. With regards to objects, agency suggests that the object has taken on an identity of its own imbued by the actions of other things or people (generally communities).⁵⁴¹ The object has thus become a piece of a larger socio-political and cultural puzzle. Other pieces, such as personhood, self, community, and individual all must intertwine together to complete the picture, and each of these pieces can also make demarcating historical distinctions difficult. On ancient Crete, agency can be applied to the community, the objects in the tomb, or the person who occupies the larnax.

In contrast, personhood is broadly defined by Chris Fowler as the “state of being a person in life and in death.” Personhood is related to the greater identity of the community, which this study believes served as the paramount center in Minoan society. It is related to all aspects of life (or death) and is based on our relationships with all things, human or material.⁵⁴² Both personhood and community identity are central to adapting our understanding of Minoan culture and mortuary tradition. The premise rests on the idea that being a potter, farmer, administrator, or sailor in life meant serving an important role within the community, and in death those roles as part of the community

⁵⁴⁰ Fowler 2004.

⁵⁴¹ Fowler 2004, 77.

⁵⁴² Fowler 2004, 4.

trumped any individualized identity. Thus, it appears as though no person was singled out with a personhood of their own; instead, those buried in communal tombs, their deceased body became part of comingled bones within a community grave. These comingled bones served as part of the whole, just as the smaller buildings within the “palace” complexes intertwined to create whole urban centers. The palace debate is thus both crucial to evaluating the role of the individual and also serves as an ideal analogy for this study.

Personhood and the Palace Debate/The Presence or Absence of a King

For the last forty years the term “palace” and its inherent meanings have filled countless books, articles, and other manuscripts. This debate centered around whether the term palace was applicable to the large architectural urban centers on Crete (such as Knossos, Phaistos, Malia, Zakros, and Gournia to name a few). This project does not seek to engage directly with the debate about the term “palace” itself; but as a large portion of this dissertation considers ideas related to the development of the social, cultural, and political atmosphere on Crete during the Pre- and Protopalatial periods, and because many scholars hail these periods as the “advent of the palace,” the “emergence of civilization,” and the “rise of the individual” all of which are interconnected, it is necessary to see how the larnax fits within this larger framework of “palatial development,” and what exactly that may mean in terms of the rise of the individual.⁵⁴³

Unquestionably, the palatial debate is intricately linked with the presence of hierarchical individuals and subsequently with the presence of larnakes on Crete. The go-to narrative became the “rise of the individual” and the larnax fit perfectly within this

⁵⁴³ For more information on the palatial debate that is redolent in Bronze Age scholarship see a number of volumes including Hagg and Marinatos 1987; MacGillivray 1990; Manning 1995; Hamilakis 2002; Schoep and Knappett 2004. Catapoti 2005; Schoep, Tomkins, and Driessen 2012; Papadatos and Relaki 2018.

narrative.⁵⁴⁴ It marked the advent of elite culture overall and the presence of a developing civilization on Crete. The existing narrative supposed that the Minoan palace emerged in the MM IB period, though increasingly this date has become controversial due to continued excavations at sites like Petras and Gournia⁵⁴⁵ and re-examinations of older sites such as Knossos, Phaistos, and Malia.⁵⁴⁶ In the past, two separate models were used to explain the presence of palatial complexes that expanded in the MM IB period. The first model emphasized a sudden emergence of palatial control and monumental architecture.⁵⁴⁷ The second supported a gradual evolution of architectural forms, political organization, and overall socio-cultural shift that blossomed into the multi-level, central-court, redistributive palatial centers.⁵⁴⁸ Neither model makes clear which came first, the palace with its elite architecture and ruling hierarchy or the ruling-elite that desired the presence of palatial architecture. However, in either scenario, both the social structure and architecture were utilized to explain the appearance of the larnax in the late Prepalatial period; and in both cases, by the MM IB/MM II period, the palatial unit had emerged and become the central political and religious institution of an island-wide “Minoan” culture. The idea of the palace and the rise of elite culture during the MM IB

⁵⁴⁴ Branigan 1970, 127; 1993, 65–67 and 141. See also Rutkowski 1966, 222.

⁵⁴⁵ For Petras see Tsipopoulou and Rupp 2019; Tsipopoulou Tsipopoulou 2012b and 2016; Tsipopoulou ed. 2012. For Gournia see Buell 2017; McEnroe and Buell 2018.

⁵⁴⁶ For Knossos see MacGillivray 1994; Macdonald 2012; Tomkins 2012; For Malia see Niemeier 1987; Hue and Pelon 1992; Schoep 2004 and 2006; Pelon 2006; Driessen 2007; For Phaistos see Todaro 2012; Tomkins 2018.

⁵⁴⁷ For sudden emergence see Cherry 1983, 1984; Watrous 1987, 2001; For gradual emergence see Branigan 1970, Renfrew 1972, Warren 1975, 1987. For an overview see Schoep and Tomkins 2011.

⁵⁴⁸ Renfrew 1972 and 1982; See Cherry 1983, 1986; Whitelaw 1983, 1987b, 1988b, 1988c, 1990; Branigan 1983 and 1985; Cadogan 1986; Warren 1987.

period was subsequently applied universally to every “palatial” site on Crete spanning from east to west.⁵⁴⁹

Much of the terminology associated with the palace that is utilized today can be attributed to the work of Sir Arthur Evans, who, for multiple reasons, associated the structures he discovered with the royal terminology he was familiar with (Queen’s megaron, Throne Room, etc).⁵⁵⁰ As Hamilakis stated, “Evans *produced* a material record, he did not simply excavate one...he created a familiar world: a world of kings and queens, of palaces and summer residences.”⁵⁵¹ After Evans, and until recently, most early archaeologists followed his example, identifying their sites – Phaistos, Zakros, and Malia – as palaces.⁵⁵² This terminology prevailed until the 90s, at which point the revelations from new excavations (or re-examinations of old excavations) demonstrated problems with the term palace and the ideology elicited by such vocabulary. These palaces (or as recent scholarship has argued, better termed as centers), which had become the heart of the Minoan political, economic, administrative, and religious world, were synonymous with hierarchical structure, the mythical King Minos, and representative of a cohesive ideology that gave way to the “Minoan” culture and a web of centralized control that emanated from the first excavated (and easily the largest) site – Knossos.⁵⁵³

This argument was later strengthened by Cherry’s peer-polity hypothesis, which suggested that the palace served as the principal agent in disseminating goods throughout

⁵⁴⁹ This all-encompassing application is increasingly shifting through the efforts of scholars such as Todaro, Dreissen, McEnroe, and Buell. For specifics regarding the reference and application see Tomkins 2012, 33.

⁵⁵⁰ Perhaps for the best summary and biography of Evans’ life see MacGillivray 2000.

⁵⁵¹ Hamilakis 2006, 147 – 148.

⁵⁵² For Malia see Chapouthier 1926, 1928; Chapouthier and R. Joly 1936; Chapouthier and Demargne 1942; For Knossos see Evans 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1928, 1930, 1935; For Phaistos see Pernier 1935 and Pernier and Banti 1951; For Zakros see N. Platon 1956, 1959, 1971.

⁵⁵³ For detailed information on scholars who assume Knossian hegemony see Hood 1983, 130; Wiener 1990; Cadogan 1984, 13–15; Hallager and Hallager 1995, 547–56; La Rosa 2002, 81–92.

each regions' hinterlands. To him, and many that followed, this function of the palaces explained the similarities prevalent in architecture (such as lustral basins, large central courtyards, and labyrinthine organization) and other material artefacts present across the island. Cherry's explanation further strengthened the feasibility that a consolidation of power occurred on Crete leading to the presence of elite groups at each of the palatial sites.⁵⁵⁴ Other scholars (namely Todaro and Tomkins) have indicated – especially from recent excavations and re-evaluations of Phaistian material – that Phaistos as a “palatial control” center did not even exist in the Protopalatial period.⁵⁵⁵ It is probable that we would find similar data at Knossos but lack of Prepalatial material has left a gap in our understanding. Furthermore, some sites during the transitional period (Prepalatial) expanded, but during the Protopalatial period they nucleated. This pattern would not be consistent with island-wide development. From this diversity, we can see a constant ebb and flow of centers and none of these centers are necessarily linked to any particular palatial site.⁵⁵⁶

Many of the palaces of the Bronze Age appear to operate in accordance with the presence of a king because a part of their function was to direct visitors toward a centralized room, such as is the case at sites like Mycenae, Pylos, and Tiryns.⁵⁵⁷ The Minoan palace does not follow this same type of structure. Instead, visitors enter a

⁵⁵⁴ Specifically see Cherry, 1986. For additional arguments and more information on more regional center see Weingarten 1990, 105–20; Bennet 1990, 193–211. Additional theories developed similar to these that emphasized only ideological connections, for these see Soles 1995, 405–14; Cherry 1997, 74; Schoep and Knappett 2000, 365–371; and Driessen 2001, 51–71.

⁵⁵⁵ Todaro 2009, 2020; Tomkins 2018 and 2020.

⁵⁵⁶ For denucleation see Blackman and Branigan 1977, 68–69; For rise of the hamlet near Moni Odigitria see Branigan and Vasilakis 2010.

⁵⁵⁷ See Driessen 2002, 4 and note 26. For Mycenaean courts see Cavanagh 2001, 119–134. For oriental palace structures see Pelon 1990, 265–279. For arguments that the Minoan palaces derived from Near Eastern examples see Watrous 1987 and 1994.

labyrinth of rooms that twist and curve confusing the visitor, rather than leading them. Even those visitors that may be directed, such as at Knossos, would eventually arrive in the Central court – which served as a communal space not an audience chamber for a king.⁵⁵⁸

Indeed, the time for a re-evaluation of our understanding of the Pre- and Protopalatial palace structures and their integration within the urban landscape has already arrived. As both Palyvou and McEnroe note, it is not enough in the case of Minoan architecture – in all periods – to simply look at the palace as a separate entity from the rest of the town or urban landscape. Because the urban landscape incorporates so much of its construction into the overall palatial structure, the whole site must be taken as an interwoven entity. In fact, McEnroe states, “individual buildings interweave closed rooms with open light wells and courts, in the larger urban matrix Minoan builders similarly integrate the masses of buildings with significant open spaces.”⁵⁵⁹ The city – like the tombs – functioned in a communal capacity. Civic functions, storage, religion, administration all appear to have been spread throughout the entirety of the urban town and not centralized nor restricted within palatial walls.⁵⁶⁰ To disregard the spaces between the buildings and the interwoven nature of the cities ignores the architecturally symbiotic nature that connects and binds the city and suggests a dominant communal identity over an individual one.

⁵⁵⁸ See Palyvou, 2002, 197–98 and McEnroe 2010. Other spaces off of the Central court – such as the so-called “throne room” – probably were not functioning as audience chambers in the Pre- or the Protopalatial periods.

⁵⁵⁹ McEnroe 2010, 67.

⁵⁶⁰ Schoep 2002a and 2006; Palyvou 2004, 216; McEnroe 2010, 67.

Moreover, emphasis has tended to focus on the immense man-power necessary to construct the palaces, yet so much of the city often connects and builds off of each-other in phases and not necessarily in unified effort.⁵⁶¹ By focusing on the palace, we have lost the communal-orientated nature that exists in the urban landscape during the Pre- and Protopalatial periods, a communal aspect that is mirrored in the mortuary landscape not just in the multiple burials located within larnakes, but also in the multitude of persons buried at any one burial site. By re-examining the larnax within a more aptly applied communal identity and rather than thinking about individualism, it is possible to see that community identity and personhood – intimately connected via communal relationships— fits the narrative of the larnax far better than that of individualism.

Since elite individuals are believed to have occupied the larnakes, such a distinction of personages – or lack thereof – might help in understanding the socio-political environment of the early Minoan civilization. Evans’ justification for the existence of this individual (King Minos) came upon his discovery of the throne room.⁵⁶² Thus, where the above deconstructed the possibility of the emergence of the palace in the MM IB period, the following section seeks to examine the evidence for a King (Queen/Chieftain/Priest/Priestess/etc). The throne room, at Knossos, likely originates to the later Mycenaean occupation of the island rather than during the Pre- and Protopalatial periods. Evans also found other objects within the same context and so he immediately associated these with objects of “royal” make – this included pottery stores, figurines, and game boards.⁵⁶³ However, we do not know the exact stratigraphy related to most of

⁵⁶¹ McEnroe 2010 and Buell and McEnroe 2017.

⁵⁶² Evans 1921, 1928, 1930, 1935; See also Farnoux 1996 and Hamilakis 2006.

⁵⁶³ Evans 1930, Vol IV, 905–924.

these finds. In addition, the throne room at Knossos (and possibly the throne room located at Poros-Katsambas) are the only two throne room candidates, there are no similar rooms (with thrones) to be found at Phaistos, Malia, Gournia, or Zakros.⁵⁶⁴ Moreover, aside from the fact that the throne room dates to the MM III period, the throne itself appears to be an even later addition and perhaps related to the Mycenaean occupation of the palace.⁵⁶⁵ As such, this elevation of a single individual as dictated by Evans, and based on the above evidence, cannot be assumed to have existed in earlier Pre- and Protopalatial periods.

Elite Manufactured/Traded Goods

It is not just the architectural environment and/or the archaeological data that lacks evidence for the early presence of an elite ruler. Scholars that follow the peer-polity model also look to long-distance trade as an indicator of centralized palatial control. They argue that long-distance trade and exchange picks up in the MM IA period and that it must be a by-product of contact and merchantry between the elites on Crete and the elites in other parts of the Aegean.⁵⁶⁶ There are several problems with this hypothesis. First, there is no concrete evidence that the palatial elite controlled in a direct way international trade. Therefore, the presence of foreign goods cannot be used to denote palatial commerce with foreign powers. Second, the dispersal and accrual of metals from other Cycladic islands and the production and refinement of those metals on Crete cannot be firmly linked to any single palatial complex.⁵⁶⁷ Thus, again, we cannot assume that the

⁵⁶⁴ For the Knossian throne see Mirie 1979 and Goodison 2001, 77–88; MacDonald 2005, 113. For the Poros Katsambas throne see Platon 1951 and Driessen 2002, 3 note 16.

⁵⁶⁵ Driessen and Farnoux, eds., 1997.

⁵⁶⁶ Cherry 1986, 41; Branigan 1988b, 180; Schoep 2006, 48.

⁵⁶⁷ Evidence of production dating to the EM III and earlier periods can be found at Poros-Katsambas (EM I–IIA) see Day 2004, 177. It can also be found at Chrysokamino (EM III), which is not located near any palatial site see Betancourt et al. 1999, 343–70 and Haggis 1999, 53–58.

palace has any direct control over production, nor that there was centralized control of Mediterranean trade. By removing the connection between centralized palatial control, a hierarchical individual, and elite trade goods one can see that the presence of foreign items near larnakes cannot be used to signify any of the associated bones with an elite figure head.

In addition, some have argued that foreign imports indicate both the presence of elites and their ability to gain access to less readily available materials. (Aside from metals listed above, this also includes objects of uncommon occurrence like scarabs, Cycladic figurines, stone vases, and beads made from rare materials). However, there is no indication within the mortuary record that any one individual was singled out as the owner of many of these objects. Moreover, their presence at multiple tholoi and other mortuary sites throughout the island makes it particularly difficult to pinpoint the domination of any single “palatial” site on foreign trade (or for that matter any single individual within any tomb). Lastly, very few objects of foreign trade can be found at sites like Malia and Phaistos during the MM I–II periods; instead, they are found more frequently within funerary contexts.⁵⁶⁸ Such a random disbursement of foreign objects is not in-line with a consolidation and subsequent control of resources.

The manufacture of elite goods – like pottery (specifically Kamares ware) – also often served as an indicator of centralized control.⁵⁶⁹ Walberg argued that because Kamares Ware seemed to be limited to certain geographical areas it must have fallen under palatial production control, because only the elite would have had the capability to

⁵⁶⁸ For foreign objects in palatial contexts see Carinci 2001; Papadatos 2013, 353–381.

⁵⁶⁹ For craft specialization see Chery 1986 and Branigan 1987. For Kamares Ware specific studies see Walberg 1976; Halstead 1981; Betancourt 1985; and Cherry 1986.

distribute the vessels and oversee their production.⁵⁷⁰ However, Kamares Ware appears almost everywhere on Crete and can be found in a variety of contexts including court buildings, caves, tombs, and other settlements.⁵⁷¹ This evidence indicates that the palatial centers were not monopolizing Kamares Ware nor controlling its disbursement on Crete. Furthermore, petrographic analysis of the Kamares Ware found both around and at Knossos indicates that not all of it was locally produced.⁵⁷² The dispersal of Kamares ware throughout Crete and within various contexts suggests that much, if not most, of the population had access to the delicate, high-quality ware. As such, its presence in graves cannot be used to signify the “elite” status of any particular occupant (neither those in larnakes or outside of them). Instead, such wide dispersal indicates the opposite of the original elitist hypothesis – that the presence of Kamares Ware in so many different contexts demonstrates its commonality (regardless of the high level of specialization).

Other objects of elite value, such as seal stones, also suggest that multiple communities were connecting with one another and exchanging materials and objects.⁵⁷³ The pattern that emerges from the preceding information (foreign materials and Kamares Ware) also demonstrates that each region produced and consumed their own products

⁵⁷⁰ Walberg 1976, 126. Cherry and Halstead both made similar conclusions Halstead 1981 and Cherry 1986, 37.

⁵⁷¹ Day and Wilson 1998, 350–58; Van de Moortel 2002, 189–210.

⁵⁷² See Day and Wilson 1998, 355 and Schoep 2006, 43.

⁵⁷³ The idea that seal stones (or jewelry) could be deposited in a tomb as a memento of high-status has long existed in Minoan Scholarship. See Davaras 1975, Karytinos 1998, Sbonias 1999. But it is becoming increasingly apparent that seal stones, jewelry, and other objects of adornment can be found in myriad locations, and in fact, they are increasingly common and can be found throughout the island. Sbonias effectively argued in *Back to the Beginning* (2012) that seal stones, instead of supporting a nucleaization of power at Phaistos during the “rise of palatial culture,” suggest an increase in production in the smaller centers around larger sites. In fact, Sbonias states, “Thus, in spite of their simple character, seals during this period suggest a dispersed picture of craft production in the Asterousia, involving multiple localities of craft activity and many outlying, but economically thriving, local communities.” Sbonias 2012, 276. This argument is relevant until at least the end of the MMII period at which point there may be a shift in production.

rather than bowing to centralized production and control based at palatial sites. The composition of larnakes utilizing local clay further supports this claim. Each of these regions, or groups, thus produced and innovated in powerful new ways that filtered throughout the rest of Crete creating an island-wide exchange of ideas and production methods. This evidence indicates the presence of multiple communities who are not corporately tied to one another, but shared transportable objects and ideas. In the case of larnakes, local fabric and production were used but it is clear that the shape and ideology moved across the island through hamlets, villages, and urban centers.

Architecture and the Rise of Elite Culture

The fact that the architecture associated with “palaces” can be connected first to villages and hamlets located in the hinterland, even in the early part of the Protopalatial period, suggests that there was no rise of palatial identity as the dominant form of either social or political control.⁵⁷⁴ The other argument that seal stones somehow represent the rise of individual groups (or individuals) who then go on to construct the palaces and centrally control both administration and production also does not fit with any of the evidence offered above.⁵⁷⁵ Moreover, where the seal stones and the architecture seem to be largely dispersed throughout Crete in the Pre- and the early Protopalatial periods, likewise the larnakes are also scattered throughout the landscape and can be found in various funerary accommodations but also regionally produced and divided. All evidence suggests evenly scattered material, none of which is consistent with individual rulership, but is consistent with community activities.

⁵⁷⁴ The idea of hierarchy as part of the Minoan Pre- and Protopalatial tradition has lost traction within the last several decades. Scholars such as McEnroe, Buell, Driessen, Haggis, and Schoep all favor smaller, hamlet-type or regional centers not controlled directly or indirectly by large “palatial” centers.

⁵⁷⁵ See Sbonias 2012 and Vasilakis and Sbonias 2018.

The majority of past studies on palatial control have tended to focus on only one category of evidence thus reducing each into a vacuum which often ignores all other data. For example, Driessen has looked primarily at architectural development and environmental factors to indicate that palaces have much in common with the elite residences (notably named villas such as Hagia Triada and Houses Da and Ma at Malia) outside of the central urban environment.⁵⁷⁶ In another example, Sbonias looked only at the production and presence of seal stones in order to indicate a regional pattern of production and thus elite consumption at a regional level instead of a palatial one.⁵⁷⁷ Alternatively, an evaluation of several categories of evidence (such as bones, material goods, and architecture) would support a more holistic analysis and provide useful clues about the presence and development of elite culture and or palatial control. Looking at larnakes allows for just such an approach because it evaluates bones, material goods, pottery production, and spatial architecture (in some instances at least) of the tholos tomb.

On the basis of all of this evidence, it can be concluded that during the transitional period on Crete most local elites/families/groups were exercising their own independent economic, political, social, and cultural ideologies and customs regionally in order to legitimize their own status and identity. The advent of new styles (like regionally different larnakes) – even with the adoption of some similar ones – points to a maintenance of competitive hamlets rather than to some form of emerging mass-

⁵⁷⁶ For more on the origin of the Minoan palace see Graham 1962 who defines the relevant architectural and organizational patterns thought to define the Neopalatial palace. For more on the Minoan villa as precursor see Driessen 2007. Other villa examples can also be found throughout the landscape sometimes includes smaller urban sites like Vasiliki and Myrtos Pyrgos.

⁵⁷⁷ Sbonias 2010, 2011 and Vasilakis and Sbonias 2018.

collective regional centralization at a single site like Phaistos on the South Coast, Knossos on the North, or Malia to the East. Instead, the peer-polity type of regional domination at a palace location did not occur until the advanced stage of the Protopalatial period, probably more akin to the Neopalatial period than to any periods that came before.⁵⁷⁸ The socio-political hierarchy on Crete in the Neopalatial period that was used to argue for the presence of individualism, elite kingship, and status burials (further characterized by the presence of the larnax) did not truly exist at the larnax's inception. Instead, the architecture, craft production, and local variation all suggest a continuation of communal ideologies and regional competition left over from the Neolithic.

Personhood, Identity, and Minoans

How then can we differentiate, especially in the archaeological record, the difference between individualism, identity, and personhood? Personhood has often been neglected by archaeologists in the past, with some exceptions (Hamiliakis, Legarra Herrero, and outside of the Aegean, Fowler). Where individualism thrives on its persistent individualistic status of self and its alone-ness in the world, personhood depends on no such strict criteria. Personhood cannot exist merely on status, social identity, clan recognition, age, gender, or order. Instead, it often takes on a part of each of these aspects; a title, a name, an insignia (seal stone, if you will), clan name, crests, or office. In one example Le Fontaine in 1985 summed up personhood and individualism as follows, "If the self is an individual's awareness of a unique identity, the "person" is society's confirmation of that identity as of social significance."⁵⁷⁹ Thus, personhood

⁵⁷⁸ Todaro 2009; Todaro and Militello 2012; See Knappett and Schoep 2004, 28–30 to see similar evaluation of the East Cretan palatial development.

⁵⁷⁹ Le Fontaine 1985, 124.

changes and adapts to new people and those people take on those roles, but they also add new ones and shed others. Personhood submits more to a greater identity and serves not just the motivations of the individual, but also the motivations and expectations of those to which they are linked collectively, the collective being stressed in these instances. In the case of larnakes, this makes sense as even in the instances where one biological individual appears in a larnax multiple bones are present nearby.⁵⁸⁰

By contrast, individualism (and the emergence of the individual) presupposes that the greater interests of the individual were being served by attaining burial in a larnax or in a grand tomb. In this instance, it is a singular identity that is emphasized and held above all other relational factors. Personhood, on the other hand, sees death and the burial that follows as part of collective representation.⁵⁸¹ But it is the divergence from individualism and the preference for personhood that concerns Minoan funerary practice. Based on the funerary landscape of the Pre- and Protopalatial periods, it certainly seems that the community served a far greater role than the individual throughout the majority of both periods.

The hierarchical narrative, whether consciously or subconsciously, tends to seek out the presence of famed individuals as kings or queens of a palatial monument to evoke a narrative, and thus an understanding, of an ancient culture, to give it a name and a face. The search for the face of an empire (and the capital) can be seen in Evans' search for Minos at Knossos and Schliemann in his search for Agamemnon (and Mycenae). If then, we reject this notion of "individualism" in Minoan burial practices and look at the

⁵⁸⁰ There are two exceptions to this. However, in both of those instances no bones were found in the larnax or around. See Cat. 199 and 200 from Gournia and from Cat. 183 from Sissi.

⁵⁸¹ Bloch 1989, 15; Thomas 1999.

larnakes and their multiple occupants we see that, in fact, it is the collective (unbound to either a name or a location) that persisted in dominance both in life and again in death.

Personhood is relational and social, and it can be acted upon and change.

Larnakes possess a funerary identity. The individuals that occupy them form part of a communal identity. Their personhood is relational to that community and forms a part of that community, it is not separate. For this reason, this study adopts the use of the term individualism only as a marker of a biological entity – i.e all of those bones belong to one biological individual. Identity is that which makes you, someone else, a thing, or the community distinct.

Since the first discovery of larnakes in the early part of the 20th century, scholars such as Xanthoudides have generated theories about the individuals who might have deserved such individualized treatment. And so, they (Xanthoudides, Evans, and Marinatos – and many of the scholars of the early 20th century) conjectured that these vessels had to contain the remains of illustrious persons. Such an argument for individualism tied well with the formation of hierarchical political structures. The original rationale presumed, understandably, that these containers would have held the remains of a single individual based on size, shape, and the majority of later examples of sarcophagi that did in fact contain a single individual but belonged to a different tradition. It certainly seems logical to conclude that these individuals must have held special significance in order to explain their markedly different interments, and proponents of the Saxe-Binford ideology (such as Branigan) readily promoted this belief. The fact that scholars were simultaneously arguing for the emergence of large palatial administrative

centers, a concentration of individuals in more urban settings, and a centralized top-down control certainly fit the narrative of the “rise of the individual.”

Unfortunately, because many of the excavations that yielded intact and *in situ* larnakes occurred prior to the widespread use of scientific techniques, information about the human remains discovered within the earliest excavated larnakes remains sparse. For example, at Hagios Myronas (See Cat. 172–179), where at least six larnakes were discovered in 1966, Alexiou claims that two of them held one skeleton, but for others no information was listed about the contents. With the advent of more scientific approaches, Triantaphyllou attempted to rectify this gap through a reanalysis of the paleodemographic data for several older sites by looking at the original excavation photos, the original reports, and in some instances the physical remains. In her 2018 analysis of that data, she stated that “the vast majority of human skeletal material encountered in previous excavations show signs of intentional manipulation at some point after the initial placement of the body,” and in fact, “primary burials were very few and it is much more common to encounter articulated body parts.”⁵⁸² Schoep and Tomkins second this evaluation, also stating that “the manipulation of human bodies in Minoan funerary contexts was very common, the rule even.”⁵⁸³ Such a ritual of movement does not indicate a preference for individualism as modern scholars would view it.

While there may not yet be enough evidence to prove that larnakes were not used to inter single individuals, there is even less to support the ideology of their use for individualism. Some of our best evidence against individualism comes from Archanes (specifically Tholos G and E), which were well published with relevant data. Of the

⁵⁸² Triantaphyllou 2018, 143–144.

⁵⁸³ Schoep and Tomkins 2016, 234.

ninety-seven larnakes at Archanes, eleven were retrieved from Tholos Gamma and thirty-one from Tholos E. Therefore, we will use both tombs as case studies.

Of the eleven larnakes found in Tholos G, seven were said to have had single individuals. In her recent re-examination, Triantaphyllou studied five of nineteen bags of skeletal remains from inside the larnakes and ten of twenty-six bags from around the larnakes, leaving thirty bags from the tomb that were not available for study or had been lost. Thus, she was only able to study a total of seven larnakes from inside the tomb, four of which were originally identified as having a single individual. Triantaphyllou concluded that only two of these four larnakes actually contained a single individual, while the other two contained more than one person.⁵⁸⁴ While only one case study, the remains found in the larnakes in Tholos G do support the view that reuse of larnakes for several internments was a common practice. Triantaphyllou determined from the sampling that few long bones remain in any of the burials and she suspects that a large portion of bones were moved prior to complete decomposition of the body.⁵⁸⁵ This evidence indicates that the Minoans held no qualms about shifting still decomposing corpses in order to add additional members to the larnax or the tombs. The results of Triantaphyllou's study do not coincide with the traditional hypotheses for individualistic or hierarchical treatment of the deceased.

Tholos E and Tomb 19 demonstrate similar conclusions. An argument could be made that larnakes were indeed intended to be used for individual burials but that later inhabitants of the island, having forgotten who was buried in each larnax, merely pushed the bones to the side thus creating the appearance of secondary manipulation. This

⁵⁸⁴ Original reports see Triantaphyllou in Papadatos 2005. For second analysis see Triantaphyllou 2018.

⁵⁸⁵ Triantaphyllou 2018, 156–159.

scenario creates complications for studying the intent of manipulation (and secondary interments) – were they for ritual, necessity, or other reasons for disturbing the corpse; it does not negate the status of the individual. In fact, it further strengthens the idea that the Minoans did not see individuals as continuing after death. In the case of burials where we lack specifics – such as the Mesara - Marinatos, Platon, and Alexiou frequently noted the presence of multiple skulls and also recognized that enough bones were present to create two separate individuals. This evidence runs parallel to Triantiphllou’s conclusions from Tholos G at Archanes.

Similar data can be found from smaller sites located to the East. For example, a tomb at Kalo Chorio contained the remains of five larnakes.⁵⁸⁶ The average size of the vessels indicates that it would not have been feasible to place a complete articulated skeleton inside; therefore, even if they contained the bones of only one person (and no paleosteological study has been performed) the burial must have occurred after decomposition at which point placing select bones inside actually posed a possibility. Haggis, who excavated the tombs, believes that these vessels served as ossuaries for the dead, and that of the five vessels, only two possess the potential to have held one individual.⁵⁸⁷ The remaining three most certainly contained more than one individual. Moreover, Haggis notes that the “installation of larnakes two through five probably caused the displacement of burials one and seven”; and while this may not necessarily support the supposition that larnakes did not contain individual burials, it does indicate that no individual – in death at least – occupied a status above any other since the living

⁵⁸⁶ More information on the site itself can be found in Chapter 4 or Cat. 192–196 and 223. Also see Haggis 1996.

⁵⁸⁷ Haggis 1996, 650.

were quite happy to disturb the dead (of apparently any status) in order to bury the newly deceased.⁵⁸⁸

Likewise, of the 223 vessels (and fragments) which are mentioned throughout the archaeological reports, only twenty-six of them definitively state that they contained a single skeleton. Of those twenty-six, five come from excavations dated before 1950, which based on publication record and excavations likely throws their contents into doubt (with no offense meant to those scholars working in those periods). The other twenty-one come from Archanes, and it has already been demonstrated that with further study at least half of those single interments may actually belong to several individuals. With such a small number of larnakes containing verified individual interments, what can we actually say about the possibility of individualism and status in the burial practices of the Pre- and Protopalatial period on Crete? (See table 3 for an overview of the types of objects found with larnakes).

Based on the data that appears on Crete, it seems that these sites were not concerned with the expression of an individual identity but instead focused on the personhood of the community at large and the generation of experiences within that community. The post-mortem treatment of these remains over all the sites suggests that there was a communal view towards the treatment of the dead (in essence a Cretan view), and that in all likelihood the ritual of deposition (or the communal experience) served as the dominant ideologically motivating factor. Even if the larnakes were used for secondary burial, rather than primary (or vice versa), the presence of multiple individuals

⁵⁸⁸ Haggis 1996, 650–651.

and the lack of complete skeletal remains supports the view that the communal personhood was valued over that of any form of individualism.

Individualism, Larnakes, and Grave Goods

In close connection, followers of mortuary traditions that evaluate status burials have also pointed to grave goods found within tombs as indicators of the rank or status of those buried within. But, broadly speaking, none of the material remains found within or around larnakes seems markedly different or suggestive of a single individual possessing substantial wealth. Instead, the majority of material artifacts found within and associated with larnakes, consist of pottery fragments, sometimes full cups or jugs, rarely seal stones, very infrequently beads or other decorative objects, sometimes tweezers, stone bowls, figurines, and or seashells (See table 11). Foreign objects (from Egypt or the Cyclades) are also rare and seem to be concentrated at Archanes with some examples appearing in the Mesara; however, given that there is a higher occurrence of foreign material at Archanes and/or the South coast and in general a greater number of excavated tombs, this does not necessarily point to any special significance.

The following sample demonstrates the diversity and everyday status of grave goods from several different cemeteries that include larnakes. For example, two separate larnakes from Tomb 7 at Archanes contained the following: Larnax 1 (Cat. 60) contained 4 skulls, an obsidian piece, a miniature jug, a conical cup along with some small and minor finds including beads and a bone pendant. While Larnax 2 (Cat. 61), contained 3 burials, a stone vase, and some minor finds including a seal stone and some beads. In larnax 2 (Cat. 85), in Tomb 18, at Archanes, which contained both primary and secondary burials the interred was accompanied by obsidian and pottery (that appears to be

primarily MM IA in date). In Tomb 5 (Cat. 52), two separate larnakes each contained secondary burials (of multiple persons), one larnax (Cat. 54 –55) had two miniature vases, a zoomorphic vase, and some seashells, while the other larnax 1 (Cat. 56) located next to tomb 5 contained two burials, a cup and a jug.⁵⁸⁹ In Tholos G, where again we have the most evidence, the majority of “wealthy” finds – i.e the seal stones, pendants, beads, and figurines are all found in an earlier stratigraphic layer below the larnakes. Stratum II where the larnakes were discovered, on the other hand, presents us with a much smaller amount of “wealthy” finds. In other words, the grave goods that would generally indicate status burials are not associated with the larnakes.

Other tombs follow a similar pattern. At Vorou, a tholos tomb located in the Mesara, another larnax (Cat. 169), contained 1 burial accompanied by only a miniature vase. At Galana Charika, located on South-Central Crete, one of the larnakes (Cat. 130 or 131)⁵⁹⁰ in a tholos tomb held multiple bones (unclear about the number of individuals represented by the varied bones), a jug, and a bowl. At Hagios Myronas, a cemetery full of pithoi and larnakes, located inland and close to Archanes, larnax 4 (Cat. 175) contained multiple bones and only a single miniature stone vase. While at Pacheia Ammos, pithos 777 contained a stone bowl and two clay cups. At Kalo Chorio, the house tomb discussed above, the majority of finds were ceramic vessels of various forms – largely cups and jugs with no other remains such as seal stones, beads, or other objects of “value” present.

⁵⁸⁹ According to Sakellarakis and subsequent identifications, it was difficult to break this burial apart. In the catalogue they primarily contain the same information due to the inability to distinguish information from the original excavation reports.

⁵⁹⁰ Unfortunately, none of the information provided by any reports indicates which larnax possessed the material. Like many of the earlier, rescue excavations the data is merely coalesced into a single larnax.

On the other hand, burials found outside of larnakes, such as many of the burials found at Mochlos (a cemetery comprised primarily of house tombs and rock-cut tombs on the slopes just above the water) contain much richer burial assemblages. For example, outside of Room VI a deposit, also dated to the EM II/EM III period, was discovered that consisted of a Vasiliki jug, a marble bowl, a bronze dagger, a bronze scraper, a small hoard of gold jewelry and an ivory seal all inside a silver cup.⁵⁹¹

If we follow the Saxe-Bindford methodology, this data actually indicates the reverse of what the early excavators suggested. Instead of “individualization” and status being represented inside the larnakes, it appears that poorer burials containing fewer burial goods occupied larnakes; while wealthier ones, those containing more burials goods, occur sporadically throughout the landscape and are not contained within any specific funerary vessels (but are still located within communal environments).

In terms of ritual and perhaps ceremonial customs, the burial assemblages found across the island within larnakes demonstrate a level of homogeneity. Most larnakes contain varied assemblages such as those described above but are comprised largely of pottery, suggesting not elite status but rather an everyday communal ideology. Moreover, these assemblages do not point to any significant distinction between the individuals interred within the larnakes and those individuals placed on the ground. Rather, there are equally rich and poor burials found throughout various contexts. Interestingly, the common shape and use of larnakes does suggest a ritual ideology spread across the island, but one that is communally adapted in terms of production and style. Thus,

⁵⁹¹ Davaras 1975, 102 and Soles 1992.

larnakes do not appear to designate individuals of a particular status nor do they appear to have been used as containers to hold material objects of “wealth.”

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Based on the data that appears on Crete, it seems that the inhabitants of these sites were not concerned with the expression of individuality, but instead they focused on the personhood of the community at large and the generation of experiences within that community. There have already been a multitude of articles written on possible “feasting” and other communal activities which may have occurred at Minoan tombs. Scholars, such as, Branigan, Hatzaki, and Haggis have argued that the pottery found at tomb sites is indicative of communal drinking and or feasting based on the types of vessels and other remains.⁵⁹² The material remains of the larnakes seem to support such a ritual. Moreover, that ritual suggests favoring community activities rather than singular ones whether during primary or secondary deposition. Regardless of whether the larnakes were used for secondary burial, rather than primary, the presence of multiple individuals and the lack of complete skeletal remains supports the view that the communal personhood was valued over that of personal identity.

Therefore, the individualistic characteristics that we search for in the funerary record with the belief that they indicate the presence of a hierarchical individual simply do not present themselves in the early periods on Crete. No grave masks, no monumental tombs with only one individual and an adorned facade, no grave goods that distinguish any one person from another. Even of those graves that do contain precious objects (and

⁵⁹² The concept of communal feasting at funerary sites has been relatively widely studied. Many now accept that it is likely (due to the pottery remnants) that Minoans celebrated the deceased in some fashion through ritual feasting. For more on this topic see Walberg 1987; Branigan 1991, 1993; Hamilakis 1998.

certainly they exist) none have yielded such vast quantities of material to provide us with a ruling King/Queen/Priest/or Priestess. Nor are any of these objects concentrated within a single location in a tomb that might indicate the singling out of one individual.

In fact, the idea of individualism is in some ways dehumanizing, because it disregards the possibility of “contextual identities” and ignores the communal or social motivations that are often associated with choices. It is important then, to look not just at one person, but rather the group mentality, their motivations, how they move through and negotiate life, and the identities that formed through these social spheres and interactions.⁵⁹³

While this study has not yet come up with a definitive tradition for the Minoan culture, nor does it believe that one should be sought. It does suggest that the evidence from the larnakes demonstrates they were not meant to signify wealth and status for a single individual. The archaeology of mortuary contexts provides ample evidence that can reflect the choices of the living community. The lack of individual burials in larnakes, the lack of individual burials in any Cretan funerary context, and the community-oriented funerary design and practices during the Pre- and Protopalatial period all point to a political, social, and cultural structure that is very complex and perhaps not best understood by applying such terms as “redistributive center” or “hierarchy.” Especially in the Pre- and Protopalatial period there is little to no evidence to suggest the presence of a “ruling elite.” This is not to say that some manner of a ranked system did not exist in some form, but rather that individual communities may have dominated through special skill sets (trade, pottery, or manufacture of luxury items) or

⁵⁹³ Douglas and Ney 1998 and Fowler 2004, 3.

perhaps dominance shifted over time based on communal demands. It certainly appears (both in the living structures and the mortuary tradition) that the political and economic structures emphasize a communal element rather than an individual one.

Chapter 6: Concluding Remarks

Introduction

The above chapters presented an analysis of larnakes within their context, and it formed one of the first comprehensive studies of the larnax in its own right. Certainly, the way was paved by previous scholars including Rutkowski and Watrous,⁵⁹⁴ but where past scholarship primarily examined the Neopalatial larnakes and emphasized the iconography or the emergence of the individual. This dissertation sought to focus on the neglected, undecorated, and earlier objects that had previously been pushed to the side. The hope was to more accurately understanding the larnax's role in the Cretan mortuary tradition. The main goal was to provide a more nuanced understanding of these vessels at a pivotal moment of socio-political transition (the EM III to MM IA or the Prepalatial into the Protopalatial periods) and to suggest an alternate socio-political structure based on communal activities rather than a preference for the individual.

This chapter demonstrates that the socio-political environment of Crete in the Pre- and Protopalatial periods did not promote the rise of an individual in the mortuary record, but rather it maintains support for a community- oriented funerary practice with regional variations. A recap of this dissertation's argument followed by a synthesis of the information described throughout Chapter 4 is provided below. This chapter moves through each of the most relevant aspects of the larnax including size, shape, decoration, fabric, handle orientation, date, production, and regional consumption of style

⁵⁹⁴ It also relied heavily on information provided in site-wide mortuary analyses such as those from Georgoulaki and Legarra-Herrero in order to gather access to data that was not accessible due to government permission issues. Other difficulties also arose, namely the COVID-19 Pandemic of 2020/2021 that caused travel and study delays. These prevented any final analysis of vessels, which were originally scheduled for May 2020 by this author.

demonstrating both an island-wide cohesive ideology with some sprinkled-in regional preferences. The final section discusses how the larnax may be understood in the socio-political environment of Crete in the Pre- and Protopalatial periods, and what that might mean when placed within the theoretical frame of individualism, personhood, and identity (both within smaller urban settings and for the island as a whole). The take-away suggests that larnakes evoke a mortuary tradition that is communally based.

Importance of the larnax

The larnax, as a funerary object that endured for a millennium, offers insightful information regarding the traditions, ideology, regional preferences, and socio-political-cultural environment that occupied Crete. The fact that early larnakes have been largely ignored provided an ideal launch pad for this dissertation to evaluate each of the above aspects. Moreover, past attempts to situate a hierarchy on the island by proclaiming the rise of an individual in association with the larnax afforded this dissertation a conceptual framework within which to evaluate the larnax. The data, as synthesized below, provides further evidence for communally-oriented mortuary practices that did not differentiate based on sex, status, or individual identity. This lack of a dogma seems to apply island-wide with only minor regional distinctions.

Size

As discussed in Chapter 4, previous scholarship has claimed that no standardization exists for the size of the larnax. However, after a thorough examination of the available samples, it became clear that size was relatively standardized. Whether this was due to coincidence – in that the potter knew the contents needed to be roughly large enough to hold a skeleton – or because this particular size evolved out of the production

process is unclear. What is clear is that the majority of vessels that provided clear dimensions almost unanimously fell between 75 and 115 cm in length, with some outliers in either direction. Additionally, the majority of vessels also suggest widths between 40 and 55 cm, again with some outliers in either direction. In line with previous scholarship, height was more difficult to determine because so many of the vessels were fragmentary. Therefore, it is too difficult to ascertain any true regulation in height. Of those vessels where the height has been preserved (largely concentrated at Archanes, Kalo Chorio, and Hagios Charalambos), an average height of 45 cm is present. (For a detailed list of larnax measurements see table 9).

Of the larnakes that provide specific dimensions, it is clear that the potter meant for the vessel to hold contracted skeletons or to serve as a container for multiple bones or other objects. While this in itself does not confirm either individualism or a lack of individualism, it does suggest a level of regulation that is island-wide. As such, this evidence suggests a communal and island-wide standardization making the larnax a true symbol of the mortuary system that was applicable at various locations and in a multitude of tomb types.

Shape

Throughout the course of this research, observations on the shape of larnakes demonstrated that rectangular larnakes appeared first, followed by elliptical examples, and then finally a phase that commingled both forms. Past typologies of the larnax divided the vessels into date-ranges based on their shape: rectangular (chest-shaped in the later periods), elliptical (bathtub in the earlier periods), and rectangular with rounded interior corners (also in the earlier periods). In addition to these shapes, a few early

vessels also contained feet. This last foot-shaped vessel is rare in the Protopalatial period and in fact can only be seen in the Pre- and Protopalatial periods at Hagios Charalambos, Kato Zakros, and Archanes. Therefore, the majority of this synthesis focuses on the first three shapes.

The results of this dissertation demonstrate that: first, the majority of known shapes described by excavators are elliptical – with a total of 91 vessels; second, the second most popular form is rectangular, with 82 examples. Of those 82 examples, 20 are rectangular with rounded interior corners. The remainder of vessels are of unknown shape either because they are so fragmentary that it was impossible to determine or because the excavator has not made note of the shape. Overall, these findings contradict previous scholarship, as discussed in the review of literature and also in Chapter 4, that emphasized elliptical larnakes represented the oldest vessel shape and were therefore indicative of early periods.

The dates of the rectangular examples range from the MM IA into the MM II periods, with the majority occurring in the MM IA and then in the MM II periods. In contrast, the elliptical examples seem to truly begin in the MM IB period and then continue into the MM II periods falling out of use in the Neopalatial period. As such, it would appear as though the previous assumption that the elliptical shape suggests an earlier vessel is actually false. Instead, the larnax must have begun as a rectangular object (perhaps reminiscent of another domestic vessel made of wood or basketry) and then adapted into an elliptical form. These observations may not shed light on the overall cultural mortuary implications, but they do help to refine a larnax typology. Moreover,

they suggest a preference by region and an evolution that do not coincide with the rise of a state- associated individual.

Decoration

Like many other courseware vessels that were disregarded in the early days of archaeology, the undecorated larnax provides yet another example of a glossed over grouping. The dominant assumption has generally agreed that Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes were largely undecorated, while the later Neopalatial larnakes received detailed surface decoration making them attractive and iconographically interesting. In many cases the early examples do seem to lack external embellishment (including examples from Vorou, Pyrgos, Hagios Charalambos).⁵⁹⁵ However, in multiple other examples, early larnakes possess sophisticated decoration with weaving linear and curvilinear lines (Tholos G, Tholos E, Kalo Chorio, and Gournia). There does not appear to be a correlation between decorated/undecorated and date of production. The examples from Hagios Charalambos for example are later in date than many of the examples from Tholos G, yet they remain undecorated while many of the examples from Tholos G display linear and curvilinear decoration on the exterior.

In terms of the applied decoration, the majority of decorated examples across the island demonstrate similarities in design. Vessels from Tholos G, Tholos E, Pacheia Ammos, and Gournia all seem to favor a dark paint added to the exterior in linear and curvilinear fashion often appearing as thick bands around the lip and the base. Additional commonalities include wavy bands around the body or interconnected dark lines (in some instances mimicking basketry, like the example seen at Kalo Chorio). Much less common

⁵⁹⁵ This will provide an additional avenue of study as seeking out the potential visibility of the decorated vessels certainly would add to a more refined understanding.

is the presence of Linear A script (seen on 1 vessel from Tholos E and 1 vessel from Tholos G) and also the application of incised or plastic decoration (primarily seen at Sissi). As such, only plastic decoration seems to be relevant to regional delineations.

The presence of decorative elements – even in the early periods – suggests a level of refinement and regional preferences more akin to a heterarchy than to a centrally dominated hierarchy with the presence of an elite individual. The majority of sites across the island contain both decorated larnakes and undecorated larnakes. In some instances, the presence of both appears multiple times within the same tomb (Such as all tombs at Archanes). Such a variety of vessels in one location containing multiple bodies does not support the rise of nascent individualism.

Fabric

The petrography displayed by individual vessels demonstrates regional production and consumption. While none of the vessels were thin-sliced in order to diagnose the precise geological composition, many of the vessels fell within previously defined regional delineations.⁵⁹⁶ Examples include the vessels from Kalo Chorio, Gournia, Pacheia Ammos, and Evraika all of which clearly demonstrate the use of local Mirabello fabric. A visual analysis performed with a jeweler's loop allowed for the visual identification of Grano diorite and gold mica – both of which must be present to accurately identify clay from this region.

Similarly, the vessels from Archanes are also suggestive of local production. Within the 1997 *Archanes* volume, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis indicates that the coarse-ware pottery from the region in the EM III is dominated by reddish fabric that

⁵⁹⁶ As elucidated in the early chapters, these regional delineations primarily rely on the studies of Legarra Herrero and Murphy.

are included with schist and sand particles (i.e. beige to light beige and grey). This is often accompanied by a yellowish slip on the exterior.⁵⁹⁷ In contrast, the MM IA and later pottery – though also reddish in overall composition – tended to be covered in a lighter pink slip. Regardless, the overall fabric is suggestive of both Knossos, Hagios Myronas, Pyrgos, and the surrounding north central Crete area.⁵⁹⁸

Likewise, the remaining vessels from Malia and Sissi also present a dark red fabric that is consistent with the coarse ware found in that region. The same may also be said of the larnakes from Hagios Charalambos which Betancourt clearly states were produced utilizing clay typical of the Lasithi plateau.⁵⁹⁹ On the other hand, very little information was provided about the fabric from either the Mesara or Kato Zakros. Based on the location of Kato Zakros, it seems highly unlikely that the inhabitants were importing larnakes to this location given that other more accessible locations clearly preferred to produce their own. Likewise, the minute amount of information about fabric that can be confirmed from the Mesara (namely originating at Apesokari) also suggests local production. The single example that had previously been utilized to suggest inter-island larnax trade has been reassigned to its correct location at Pacheia Ammos. Therefore, all of the larnakes suggest local production with local clay sources marking the larnax as a definitive symbol of the mortuary system.

The fact that local clay was used to create each vessel regionally indicates that there was not a regional or centrally dictated distribution center. In other words, unlike other types of Cretan pottery, there was no island-wide trade of larnakes. Furthermore,

⁵⁹⁷ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 391.

⁵⁹⁸ This is also significant for understanding date because most vessels from Archanes – previously labeled EM III – are actually covered in the pink slip indicative of the MM IA.

⁵⁹⁹ Betancourt 2008, 38.

the fact that local clay was used for all vessels – decorated and undecorated as well as those with elite objects and those without - tells us that there was no distinct status provided for larnakes.

Handles

Unlike size, shape, and fabric – all of which seem to present a level of standardization – the placement and utilization of handles on these vessels does not demonstrate any level of cohesiveness. The only aspect that each of them shares is that handles seem to be present on the majority. However, despite this author’s best attempts to establish a pattern, it appears as though none exists. Archanes in itself did not display even a hint of standardization within a single tomb context, let alone within the site as a whole. While smaller sites, such as Evraika and Kalo Chorio, may present vessels with all the same handle placement, it is too difficult to determine that this is standardized due to the small number of vessels originating from each site. While the presence or absence of handles cannot be used to justify individualism, heterarchy, or a lack of hierarchy, a summary of their presence helps to identify some of the differences present. It is possible that future studies may be able to recognize patterns that this one could not.

Date

The emergence of the larnax has subsumed much of the scholarship written on larnakes within the last century. Part of that discussion is difficult due to the changing chronology associated with the EM III and MM IA periods. The issue is further complicated due to alternate characteristics and chronologies associated with Central Crete and Eastern Crete. Because there is not currently a consensus on how these two regions and periods interact/overlap, obvious flaws emerge in attempting to provide a

blanket larnax emergence date that might cover the entire island. This study, however, applies a date of no earlier than MM IA to any region on Crete. (It does not follow that they emerged across the island in the MM IA period, just that their first date of emergence does not arrive prior to MM IA).

A date of MM IA as the earliest appearance of the ceramic larnax fits with the chronology in the center of the island and to the east. It can also be applied to the examples emerging in the Mesara. The secure comparanda found on the east of the island at Kalo Chorio, Gournia, and Evraika (which can then be applied to Pacheia Ammos) demonstrates dates in accordance with the Protopalatial period (most notably, MM IB). Similarly, secure dating provided by Apesokari in the Mesara also suggests a date of no earlier than MM IA. Likewise, while the larnakes from Tholos G were previously assigned a date of EM III/MM IA, it is much more likely that they are MM IA/MM IB due to their location within the tomb, their stratification, and their ceramic composition. The majority of larnakes from Tholos E are also of MM IA/MM IB date. As such, a relative origin date of MM IA is the most fitting.⁶⁰⁰

The only exception to this hypothesis can be seen at Pyrgos, where Xanthoudides ascribed a date of EM II or EM III to the larnakes and the associated pottery. However, the lack of a comprehensive study suggests that this dating may be questionable. Moreover, while this author was not able to perform a physical inspection of these larnakes, the early photographs taken of them coincide with examples seen at Vorou, Hagios Myronas, and Archanes. The visual similarities seen in the early photographs

⁶⁰⁰ Watrous has also suggested that MM IA may be the earliest appearance for the ceramic larnax (Watrous 1994, 728).

suggest that a date of MM IA may be more appropriate. Such confirmation will need to wait until such time as the pottery from Pyrgos has been scientifically studied.⁶⁰¹

The accurate dating of larnakes across the island represents one of the most significant aspects of this dissertation for two reasons; first, if they emerged within the MM IA period then they did not occur at the crucial moment of palatial transition; secondly, more refined dating demonstrates that there was not an island-wide appearance at a single moment. If they appeared at different times across the island, then they cannot be linked to the transitional moment associated with the rise of the palace and subsequently with a specific socio-political ruling culture.

Production

The current study revealed that larnakes were produced regionally, and none suggest inter-island trade. However, they appear to have been produced via the same methods across the island. Larnax production will be further explored and explained through experimental archaeology in the dissertation by Sarah Debel-Georgia from the University of Paris. However, some observations are apparent even without specific production-oriented studies. Larnakes are likely produced in various stages. The presence of scoring and smoothing suggests that the sides were added to the base. Smoothing marks around the body also suggest that the base of the elliptical bodies was made via the coil method. This same production technique is certainly true for the vessels from Gournia, Pacheia Ammos, and Sissi.

Rectangular vessels appear to have been made in a similar fashion. Though, in rectangular examples, it is likely that the body of the vessel was created utilizing various

⁶⁰¹ Currently, the ceramic vessels – not larnakes – are under study in the Herakleion Museum.

slab pieces that were connected during the leather-hard stage. In the case of Tholos G and Tholos E, this slab method explains the rounded interior edges as additional clay was added and smoothed in order to fasten all sides together.

How these vessels were fired is still not certain, but it is most likely that they were dried on mats (of some perishable material) in the leather hard stage and then fired.⁶⁰² Marks present on the sarcophagi from Armenoi suggest that they may have been carried into the kiln via two supporting beams, but this cannot be verified for the earlier vessels. One common characteristic shared by the majority of larnakes is the grey core, which is present on the vessels from Central Crete and also from Eastern Crete. This grey core is likely not a result of overfiring, but rather a result of an inability to control the level of oxygen in the kiln resulting in excess oxygen and thus the grey core.

The fact that the vessels were produced via similar methods should not be surprising, given that we know pithoi were fired and manufactured similarly across the island.⁶⁰³ This trend cannot be used to suggest palatial control at any level, but does indicate that perhaps craftsman communicated as to the best methods. Such communication alongside so many similarities in design further supports a network of beliefs but not a network of control. As such, an ideology is present but not a centrally-controlled redistributive center.

Bodies and Grave Goods

This dissertation has demonstrated that burial goods of assumed elite status (seal stones, Kamares ware, foreign materials, and jewels) do not always accompany larnakes.

⁶⁰² A sarcophagus from Archanes attests to this fact as does a pithos from the Cave of Stravomytis. These are both mentioned by Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis in the *Archanes* volume 1997, 385 though he does not provide more details about which sarcophagus from Archanes.

⁶⁰³ Christakis 2005.

Moreover, the presence of multiple bodies within the majority of larnakes suggest communal burials and not a belief system centered around individualism. As one of the core parts of this dissertation sought to establish the presence or absence of individualism in larnakes and whether or not these individuals received elite status upon their burial, it did fulfill this goal because none of the data supports individualism. While there is a dearth of evidence regarding the specific nature of the bones found within many of the larnakes (Modern scientific anthropology and archaeology are still catching up to the excavations from the early 20th century), the presence of multiple bones within so many larnakes does not support the application of individualism to the larnax. Of the 223 Pre- and Protopalatial examples listed in this dissertation, only 46 indicate that they may have held a single individual. Of the 46 examples that indicate a single skeleton, all except 4, occurred within a multi-burial context (tholos, rectangular structure). Two of these examples, which occurred outside of these multi-burial chambers, come from Hagios Myronas, the cemetery that still held many additional and nondescript burials. The other two were located within an urban environment and do not indicate that anyone had yet been interred within. All in all, it is clear that individualism does not form a core ideology in relation to larnakes.

A secondary part of the individualism argument was based upon the assumption that elite burial goods were often associated with tombs containing larnakes. In fact, these remains are often found outside of the larnakes (as seen at Evraika) or in the layer below the larnakes (as seen in both Tholos G and Tholos E). In other locations (Kalo Chorio) the remains are relatively mundane and do not indicate status burials of any kind. As

such, there is no evidence to support burials of elite status based on the minute number of seal stones (or other materials) found in relation to larnakes.

The findings discussed in Chapter 4 detailing the observations of funerary assemblages and grave goods fulfills a crucial role in the development of this study because it clearly demonstrates that individual burials were not the central focus in Minoan mortuary practices. Moreover, the presence and the absence of objects of elite status further indicate that larnakes are not only connected to objects of high value; instead larnakes are found with both mundane objects, objects of elite status, and no objects at all. Therefore, they are not connected to individuals or elite status burials.

Location (Region/Tomb Type)

In terms of larnax placement within a specific type of tomb, the data does support a preference for built architectural environments (tholoi and rectangular tombs). At Archanes, where the highest number of larnakes are present, they occur in tholoi (43 larnakes), Rectangular buildings (44), and open areas (10). Disbursement does readily presents itself regionally. In the Mesara, more larnakes are found within tholoi, but this is not surprising because as Herrero, Pini, and Georgoulaki have all indicated the Mesara displays a preference for tholos tombs. Likewise, to the east, more larnakes are found within house tombs. Again, this is not surprising as there are more house tombs found at Gournia, Kalo Chorio, Kato Zakros, and even Mochlos. Therefore, it follows that larnakes occur frequently within these contexts. We can conclude from this that regionally, tombs appear in different shapes, but the use of the larnax remains steadfast.

For the larger picture of this dissertation, such similarities in the object class – yet differences in the tomb type – further promotes evidence that the larnax maintains a

stable function across the island. Additionally, its appearance within multiple tomb types suggests that it served a secondary role to the landscape and the regional burial preferences. Such a secondary role further establishes that individual status could not be recognized based on the presence of a larnax.

Theoretical implications

As previously stated, the larnax has frequently been associated theoretically with the rise of the individual, palatial hierarchy, centrally coordinated redistributive centers, and elite status. The data outlined in this dissertation has demonstrated a lack of individual status, no evidence for the larnax's participation in a broader network of palatial redistribution, and no evidence for elite status based on funerary assemblages. Each of these aspects further proves that the larnax – as part of a mortuary tradition – was not part of a palatial hierarchy.

The data from this dissertation does, however, provide the following evidence:

1. That larnakes were produced regionally – based on fabric.
2. That they contained objects of myriad values.
3. That the early examples do not contain the holes used to drain liquids seen in later examples.
4. That more frequently than not, they contained multiple individuals.
5. That their date of emergence did not occur at the crucial moment of transition between the EM III and MM IA periods – thereby, it cannot be linked to a rise of palatial hierarchy.
6. That its moment of introduction does not occur at the same time island-wide.
7. That they almost always occurred in communal funerary contexts and,

8. That they represent a level standardization (size, shape, production) occurring within varied landscapes.

Each piece of evidence listed above suggests that a new model of socio-political and cultural organization might be more applicable than any of the previously relied upon theories. This dissertation supports alternate structures such as those purported by other scholars including Dreissen, Schoep, Herrero, and Hamilakis. All of whom have suggested at one point that the Minoan culture operated under a communally-orientated belief system consistent with heterarchical organizational structures. In the case of the larnax, where the ideas of the community has been disregarded in favor of the traditional and well-known search for the individual, this dissertation argues that that simply cannot be applied when evaluating the early larnax.

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

The larnax still requires additional study to fully understand its object biography and the role that it plays within the Minoan mortuary tradition. This dissertation has answered some vital questions about production, date, variations, and shape. Based on the current evidence, Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes did not serve as vessels only for individual burials. They also do not contain burials of elite status based on both a lack of burial objects and a lack of directly associated high-status items. They are, however, frequently accompanied by relatively ceramic objects such as cooking pots, miniature vessels, bowls, jugs, and cups. They also represent an island-wide funerary ideology (At least in the Central, East, Mirabello, and Mesara); but they are not linked with a particular built environment. They are locally produced with some decorative patterns occurring

island-wide, while other patterns (plastic decoration) occur more frequently within specified regions (Sissi, for example).

The Minoan desire to utilize communal locations is present not just within the funerary record (tholoi, rectangular house tombs, cemeteries) but also in the urban centers themselves (large courtyards and interweaving architecture). The idea that the larnax somehow stands outside of such prevalent structures negates what appears to serve as one of the core values of the Minoan ideology, the communal environment. This communal environment is not a way of supporting the once-held belief of a Minoan Utopia, but rather a stark reminder to avoid the application of modern thoughts upon ancient cultures. In the Minoan past, all of the conclusions from this dissertation suggest that the Minoans did not seek to inter a specific individual within a larnax, nor did they intend for those interred within larnakes to possess a specified elite status. The larnax clearly operated within a larger communal fabric of mortuary tradition and served not a single individual but the grouping as a whole.

Catalogue

List of Currently Identified Larnakes Dating to Pre- and Protopalatial Crete

This catalogue below represents a compendium of Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes from across Crete. This catalogue was meant to add to, expand upon, and consolidate information from various sources including:

1. The original reports published in the *Ergon*, *Archaeologiki Ephemeris*, *Kretika Chronika*, and *Praktika*.
2. The Original publication on larnakes by Rutkowski 1966.
3. The two compendiums that focus on Pre- and Protopalatial tomb sites on Crete – Georgoulaki (1996) and Legarra Herrero (2014).
4. And where possible new studies and analyses of previously unpublished larnakes and those from recent excavations were performed.¹

In general, the catalogue is organized regionally (Mesara, Central Crete, Malia/Sissi, Mirabello, and Southeast Crete)² as laid out by Relaki, Murphy, and Legarra Herrero³ and then alphabetically. In some instances, such as Agia Kyriaki, the original publication name was utilized in order to maintain continuity with its earliest publication. In preparation for future publication, INSTAP guidelines were adopted post-catalogue completion, so the name appears first as Hagia Kyriaki with (Agia Kyriaki) next to it.⁴

The catalogue entries were then structured to provide all the basic information for each larnax that was available to the author, including dimensions, shape, handles, tomb type, context, lids, feet, fabric, decoration, finds, skeletons, and other comments. Any inconsistencies in the publications, the information, or additional pieces of information are included in “other comments.”

Where permits were granted, this study attempted a full analysis of each vessel. These (including Pacheia Ammos, Kalo Chorio, and Sissi) contain full Munsell entries for fabric. Where permits were not granted, this study relied on the most recent publications and catalogue entries where available. This means that sometimes only a description of fabric is provided as opposed to the full Munsell listing. For the even older reports (many of the Mesara tombs, for example) that did not contain catalogue entries nor descriptions, unknown is listed.

¹ The majority of larnakes actually remain unpublished. Even those that are listed in the *Ergon*, *Archaeologiki Ephemeris*, *Kretika Chronika*, and *Praktika* do not contain catalogue entries, drawings, or on the whole, individual photographs. Many of the others that have received a more thorough publication (Tholos E, for example) were catalogued but not photographed or drawn (or at least were not included in the publication as such).

² These designations are not marked throughout because, as part of the larger argument, this study meant to avoid pigeonholing the culture from Crete into modern regions, which is not to say that they did not exist, but merely that this catalogue provides an overview.

³ Relaki 2003, 2004; Murphy 2011; Legarra Herrero 2014.

⁴ This represents one aspect of the catalogue that will need further evaluation and adjustment prior to publication.

Cat. No: Name/Object Designation assigned by excavation (Fig. No.) HM vessel number for vessels with known Herakleion museum numbers.

Site Name: Tomb/Site name

Context: Specific context information is provided where known including stratum or layer. If not described, then unknown is listed.

Tomb Type: Tholos, rectangular tomb, rock-cut tomb, chamber tombs, pit, rock shelter, cave, cemetery, annex, open area or unknown.

Shape: Rectangular, Elliptical, or Rectangular with rounded interior

Dimensions: Provided where known. L. w. th. and h., if fragmentary then pr. l., pr. w., pr. th., and pr. h. All dimensions are provided in cm.

Handles: Total number per vessel or per side depending on available information (additional details regarding orientation and shape)

Lid: Presence, Yes or No. Description of shape, if known. (Dimensions, if known)

Feet: Number provided if present and known. None where none exist.

Fabric: Specific Munsell information is provided when a physical examination was allowed. When a physical study was not performed by me, then fabric is described based on publication and catalogue entries. If no information is known, then the entry simply states, unknown.

Decoration: Described if known. Unclear, if decoration is noted as present but not described. Unknown, if no information indicates its presence. None, if none exists.

Skeletons: Number provided where known. Unclear, if skeletons are noted as present but the exact number is unknown. Unknown, if no information indicates the presence of bones. None, if none exist.

Finds: Known associated finds are described. If additional finds are present, but their direct association with the larnax is unclear, then the finds are noted alongside with parentheses (direct association with larnax unclear). In some instances, finds from nearby are noted to indicate that items of rarity often do not accompany a larnax.

References: References refer to literature associated not only with the larnax, but also with the tomb. They are arranged by date in order to demonstrate the tomb/larnax within the chronology of scholarship.

Other Comment: Other comments include additional information that may be pertinent to the vessel or context.

Assigned Date by Excavator: This date may not necessarily refer directly to the larnax, but more broadly to the context.

Assigned Date: Date assigned by author not excavation.

Cat. 1: No Excavation Number Assigned

Site Name: Hagia Kyriaki (Agia Kyriaki)

Context: Tholos A

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1965b; Alexiou 1971a, 307; Pelon 1976, 461; 1994, 164–166;

Blackman and Branigan 1977, 56; 1982; Belli 1984, 98–99; Vasilakis 1990, 34–38; Branigan 1993, 17–32; Wilson and Day 1994, 12–13, 35–38; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 619-633; Tomkins 2007; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 22.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II- MM II

Assigned Date: MM IB

Cat. 2: B1 (Fig. 1)

Site Name: Apesokari

Context: Tholos B, Space 2

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: 4 per long side (2 vertical and 2 horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Coarse, Buff Pink (typical of the Mesara)

Decoration:

Skeletons: Sub Adult or Child

Finds: Carinated Cup.

References: Alexiou 1963b, 405; 1971, 307–308; Davaras 1964, 441; Pini 1968, 4; 1981, 427, no. 27; Pelon 1976, 12, no. 4B; Belli 1984, 105–106; Branigan 1993, 147, no. 62; Georgoulaki 1996, 73- 75; Vavouranakis 2002, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2011, 2012, 2014; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 5-7.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IA–MM IB

Assigned Date: MM IA–MM IB

Cat. 3: B2 (Fig. 2)

Site Name: Apesokari

Context: Tholos B, Space 2

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical.

Dimensions: L. 95 cm; w. 41 cm; ht. 30 cm

Handles: 4 total (all vertical)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Coarse, Buff Pink

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

References: Alexiou 1963b, 405; 1971, 307–308; Davaras 1964, 441; Pini 1968, 4; 1981, 427, no. 27; Pelon 1976, 12, no. 4B; Belli 1984, 105–106; Branigan 1993, 147, no. 62; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 73–75; Vavouranakis 2002, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2011, 2012, 2014; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 5-7.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IA–MM IB

Assigned Date: MM IB

Cat. 4: B3

Site Name: Apesokari

Context: Tholos B, Space 2

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical.

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Coarse, Buff Pink

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Alexiou 1963b, 405; 1971, 307–308; Davaras 1964, 441; Pini 1968, 4; 1981, 427, no. 27; Pelon 1976, 12, no. 4B; Belli 1984, 105–106; Branigan 1993, 147, no. 62; Georgoulaki 1996, 73–75; Vavouranakis 2002, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2011, 2012, 2014; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 5-7.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IA–MM II

Assigned Date: MM IB

Cat. 5: A1 (Fig. 3)

Site Name: Apesokari

Context: Tholos A, Room D

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Coarse, otherwise unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Schörgendorfer 1951b; Alexiou 1963, 405; Davaras 1964, 441; Pelon 1976, 64; Pini 1968, 7, 17, 19; Walberg 1983, 172–73; Belli 1984, 105–106; Petit 1987, 37, 40–41; Branigan 1993, 97–98, 172–173; Georgoulaki 1996, 62–71; Flouda 2011; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 2–4.
Other Comments: **During study of Pacheia Ammos material at the Herakleion Museum, it became apparent that this vessel had accidentally been placed with the Apesokari material. It has now been relabeled from Apesokari to Pacheia Ammos in 2019. The newly studied entry, photo, and drawing are now labeled as Cat. 209.**

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IA–MM IB

Assigned Date: MM IB

Cat. 6: A2

Site Name: Apesokari

Context: Tholos A, Room D

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical.

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Coarse, otherwise unknown, noted as lamp fabric

Decoration: Unpainted

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Schörgendorfer 1951b; Alexiou 1963, 405; Davaras 1964, 441; Pelon 1976, 64; Pini 1968, 7, 17, 19; Walberg 1983, 172–73; Belli 1984, 105–106; Petit 1987, 37, 40–41; Branigan 1993, 97–98, 172–173; Georgoulaki 1996, 62–71; Flouda 2011; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 2–4.

Other Comments: Noted as matching Rutkowski Vessel type 4.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IA–MM IB

Assigned Date: MM IB

Cat. 7: A1

Site Name: Aphrati

Context: Cemetery

Tomb Type: Cemetery

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Lid

Feet: None

Fabric: Coarse, otherwise unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeleton: Unknown

Finds: Conical cups, some jugs, and a bowl

References: Alexiou, 1963, 313; Georgoulaki 1996; Legarra Herrero 2014 no. 163.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I – MM II

Assigned Date: MMII

Cat. 8: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos B, Room 11, Upper strata

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeleton: 2 skeletons

Finds: Stone vases

References: Sakellarakis 1971, PL 353c, 354, 355a; Sakellarakis 1997, 96, fig. 66; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 89; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 164.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I – LM III

Assigned Date: MM IA

Cat. 9: L.1 (Fig. 4)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Sector A

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with curved interior

Dimensions: L. 109 cm; w. 42 cm; ht. 39 cm; th. 2.2 cm

Handles: 4 roll handles each long side (Vertical, 2.5 cm in diameter, 2 handles are square 1.7 by 1 cm thick)

Lid: Lid - 108 by 40 – vaulted

Feet: None

Fabric: Red coarse ware with yellow Slip

Decoration: None

Skeletons: Post bone study determined that there were 2 skeletons

Finds: Unknown or none

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 91; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IA

Cat. 10: L.2 (Fig. 5)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Sector A

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with curved interior

Dimensions: L. 100 cm; w. 42 cm; ht. 23 cm; th. 2.2 cm

Handles: 2 per long side (Handles are rolls, horizontal, 3.4 cm in diameter)

Lid: 106 by 44 – vaulted

Feet: None

Fabric: Red coarse ware with yellow Slip/ grey core

Decoration: Black Linear Paint

Skeletons: Individual bag of bones lost, unknown skeletons, suggested 2

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 92; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IA.

Cat. 11: L.3 (Fig. 6)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Sector B

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with curved interior

Dimensions: L. 108 cm; w. 38 cm; ht. 42 cm; th. 1.8 cm

Handles: 4 per long side (Roll handles; 2 vertical and 2 horizontal, 1.4 cm in diameter; Conical knobs on the short sides)

Lid: 108 cm by 34 cm – vaulted

Feet: None

Fabric: Brown coarse ware with yellow Slip/ grey core

Decoration: Covered in Black slip

Skeleton: 1 skeleton

Finds: No objects

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 93; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IA

Cat. 12: L.4 (Fig. 7)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Sector D

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with curved interior

Dimensions: L. 108 cm; w. 45 cm; ht.45 cm; th. 2.2 cm

Handles: 4 per long side (Roll handles, 2 horizontal and 2 vertical each side, ranging from 2.6 cm to 3.0 cm in diameter)

Lid: No lid

Feet: None

Fabric: Red coarse ware with yellow Slip/ grey core

Decoration: Relief Decoration (In form of two Xs on both long sides)

Skeletons: 2 individuals K 21 and K 22

Finds: no objects

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 94; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IA.

Cat. 13: L.5 (Fig. 8)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Sector A

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with curved interior

Dimensions: L. 100 cm; w. 50 cm; ht.42 cm; th. 1.4 cm

Handles: 2 per long side (Horizontal, 2 conical knobs on one short side)

Lid: 103 by 53 and has knob on one side – vaulted

Feet: None

Fabric: Red coarse ware with yellow Slip/ grey core

Decoration: None

Skeleton: Identified as 1 individual

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 95; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IA.

Cat. 14: L.6 (Fig. 9)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Sector B

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 108 cm; w. 44 cm; ht.51 cm; th. 1.8 cm

Handles: 4 per long side (2 vertical handles and 2 horizontal, 2.0 cm to 3.0 cm in diameter, 2 conical knobs on one short side)

Lid: Lid - 108 by 44 – vaulted

Feet: None

Fabric: Red coarse ware with yellow Slip

Decoration: None

Skeleton: 3 skeletons (maybe 4)

Finds: no grave goods

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki

1996, no. 96; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IB

Cat. 15: L.7 (Fig. 10)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Sector D

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with curved interior

Dimensions: L. 109 cm; w. 47 cm; ht.42 cm; th. 1.6 cm

Handles: 2 per side (Horizontal and rolled)

Lid - 108 by 42 – vaulted

Feet: None

Fabric: Red coarse ware with reddish slip/ grey core

Decoration: Relief Decoration/Red Linear Painted

Skeleton: 2 skeletons

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 97; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IA.

Cat. 16: L.8 (Fig. 11)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Sector C

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 100 cm; w. 42 cm; ht. 37 cm; th. 2.0 cm

Handles: 4 handles on each long side (2 horizontal and 2 vertical 2.0 cm to 2.4 cm in diameter)

Lid - 100 by est. 42 – vaulted

Feet: None

Fabric: Red coarse ware with yellow Slip/ grey core

Decoration: None

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: no finds

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 98; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IA

Cat. 17: L.9 (Fig. 12)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Sector C

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with curved interior

Dimensions: L. 113 cm; w. 42 cm; ht. ?; th. 1.9 cm

Handles: 4 per long side (2 vertical long side, 2 horizontal long side)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Red Coarse Ware

Decoration: Dark Slip/Not preserved

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 99; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IA.

Cat. 18: L.10 (Fig. 13)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Sector B

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 108 cm; w. 38 cm; ht.42 cm; th. 1.8 cm

Handles: 4 handles, additional knobs on long sides between handles, 1 knob on each short side

Lid: Lid - 108 by 34 –

Feet: None

Fabric: Red coarse ware/grey core

Decoration: Black solid discs in center of the body and traces of curvilinear painted motifs

Skeletons: 3 skulls (Listed as K 18, K 19, and K 20)

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 100; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IA.

Cat. 19: L.11 (Fig. 14)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Sector A

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 103 cm; w. ?; ht. ?; th. 1.3 cm

Handles: Only one handle preserved (Rolled handle)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Red coarse ware with reddish slip

Decoration: Red Slip

Skeletons: No bones remain from study, 1 skeleton?

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 101; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IA.

Cat. 20: Fragments (Fig. 15)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos G, Deposits on Pebbles

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Unknown, fragments, thought to be elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Red Coarse Ware with reddish slip

Decoration: Red Linear

Skeleton: Unknown

Finds: No grave goods (but gold located nearby)

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 330; 1975, 179–181; 1977b; 1980; Pelon 1976, 16; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1982, 400–401; Branigan 1993, 147; Watrous 1994, 725, n. 236; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 150; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 114; Papadatos 2005; Papadopoulos 2010; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 167; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned Date: MM IB?

Cat. 21: A.1 (Fig. 16)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E NE, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with curved interior

Dimensions: L. 106 cm; w. 48 cm; ht. 38 cm; th. 1.4- 2.0 cm

Handles: 4 per long side (Vertical, handle length 1.1 cm, on narrow sides two knob projections)

Lid: Vaulted lid

Feet: None

Fabric: Red, pink slip, grey core

Decoration: Traces of black colored decoration - three horizontally circulating bands scattered black paint on the interior surface; also incised decoration

Skeletons: 2 skeletons

Finds: ceramic ring-shaped object

References: Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 151; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Linn 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned Date: MM IA.

Cat. 22: A.2 (Fig. 17)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, N Wall, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 98 cm; w. 43 cm; ht. 18 cm; th. 1.6- 1.9 cm

Handles: 4 per long side (2 vertical and 2 horizontal, knob projections on either of the short ends though one is missing)

Lid: Lid present unclear of shape

Feet: None

Fabric: Reddish Brown Coarse ware, Pink slip, grey core

Decoration: Traces of black are present (possibly also relief decoration)

Skeletons: At least 1, likely 2

Finds: fragments of ceramics, mostly cups, but also an open vessel, and a jug

References: Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 152; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned Date: MM IA.

Cat. 23: A.3 (Fig. 18)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E; NW, Stratum II/III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 80 cm; w. 43 cm; pr. ht. 20.5 cm; th. 1.7- 1.9 cm

Handles: 2 handles per side (Vertical, cylindrical, th. 1.7 – 1.9 cm, knobs on each short side).

Lid: Lid missing

Feet: None

Fabric: Inner surface and outer surface pink, Reddish Brown Coarse ware

Decoration: Decorated on outer and inner surface with a black horizontal band

Skeleton: At least 2 skeletons

Finds: Fragment of a ceramic lamp, a shell, and some animal bones, a gable-shaped seal made of boar's tooth (mentioned in the discussion of Stratum II) may also have once been within this larnax

References: Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 153; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II
Assigned Date: MM IB.

Cat. 24: A.4 (Fig. 19)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E; SE, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 82 cm; w. 47 cm; pr. ht. 23 cm; th. 1.6- 1.9 cm

Handles: 4 handles one side (Vertical)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Reddish brown margins; Surface is soft pink, pink slip

Decoration: Traces of black paint

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: A 24 inside A4, fish bone, several ceramic fragments in the fill of the larnax (a foot from a tripod vessel, a fragment of a MM I carinated cup, and neck fragments from a jug)

References: Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 154 (larnax 3); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned Date: MM IB

Cat. 25: A.5 (Fig. 20) Herakleion Museum No: 21171

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, Center, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with rounded interior

Dimensions: L. 85 cm; w. 42 cm; pr. ht. 15 cm; th. 1.6- 1.9 cm

Handles: 4 handles per side (Vertical two just below the lip and two just above the base, knobs on short sides).

Lid: Domed lid present with two horizontal handles on the edge of the long sides; Incised sign on lid – X (L. 27; w. 20; th. 1.5 - 1.8)

Feet: None

Fabric: Clay ash colored with pink edges, surface pink inside and outside and easily scratchable

Decoration: Black linear paint near base and incised decoration on lid

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Bronze seal ring and tripod vessel

References: Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 156 (larnax 5); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned Date: MM IA

Cat. 26: A.6 (Fig. 21)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, North Section, Center, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with rounded interior corners

Dimensions: L. 76 cm; w. 38 cm; ht. 46 cm; th. ?

Handles: 4 handles per long side (2 horizontal and 2 vertical)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: Vessel has 4 feet, not described

Fabric: Reddish Brown, Grey Core

Decoration: Outer and inner are covered in black paint

Skeletons: 4 skulls

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 157; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 27: A.7

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, NW, Center, Stratum II-III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. ?; w. ?; pr. ht. 20 cm; th. 1.6-2.3 cm

Handles: 2 per long side (Vertical, L. of handle 1.4 cm)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Core and Fabric are pink, light pink slip

Decoration: Few surviving fragments are unpainted

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Animal bones

References: Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 177 (larnax 7 and 9); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 28: A.8 (Fig. 22)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, NW, Center, Stratum II-III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: L. 103 cm; w. 50 cm; pr. ht. 13 cm; th. ?

Handles: 3 per long side (1 vertical long side, 2 horizontal long side, L. der horizontal handle 1.5 cm, L. of the vertical handle 1.3 cm)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Pink fabric with ash colored core

Decoration: decorated in black band just below the lip

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Animal Bones

References: Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 185 (Iarnax 8); Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 29: A.9

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, NW, Center, Stratum II-III, B

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: pr. L. 31 cm; pr. w. 7 cm; pr. ht. 26 cm; th. ?

Handles: 2 per long side (Horizontal, L. of handles 1.7 cm, small holes on short sides)

Lid: Unknown, two drill holes before the edge in order to attach the lid

Feet: None

Fabric: Clay very dark on the exterior and a light, fine pink slip covering

Decoration: Slight traces of black paint found on the edge and the handle.

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 177 (Iarnax 7 and 9); Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 30: A.10 (Fig. 23 and 27) Herakleion Museum No: HM 21172

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E NW, Stratum II-III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with rounded interior

Dimensions: L. 86 cm; w. ?; ht. 54 cm; th. 2.3-2.5 cm

Handles: Exact number unknown (Notes suggest L. of handles, 1.2 cm; th. 1.7 – 1.8 cm)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Red to Orange, yellowish slip inside and outside

Decoration: Black band immediately below the edge of the rim, lower part of fragment has similar band. Between the handles are three painted linear A signs in black paint.

Skeletons: Probably 2

Finds: jaw fragments from two animals, a flint flake, and a small perforated ceramic object.

References: Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 178 (larnax 10); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 31: A.11 (Fig. 24)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, E. Center, Stratum

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with rounded interior

Dimensions: L. 95 cm; w. 48 cm; pr. ht. 28; th. 2.0-2.3 cm

Handles: 2 per long side (2 horizontal and cylindrical, L. of the handle 1.5 cm, width of the handle .5 to .7 cm)

Lid: Lost

Feet: None

Fabric: Reddish Brown, Yellowish slip outside (thick), grey core

Decoration: Traces of horizontal black bands around the edge and the bottom also possibly on the inside

Skeletons: 1 skeleton?

Finds: Faience button-shaped seal; Cylindrical shell bead; MM IA rounded cup; MMII carinated cup

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 158 (larnax 11); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Other Notes: Last Larnax to tomb

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 32: A.12 (Fig. 25)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, SW. Center, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: pr. L. ?; pr. w. ?; pr. ht. 20; th. 1.9-2.2

Handles: 2 per long side (Vertical, cylindrical, L of the handle 1.2 cm, w .45 cm, knob projections on the short sides)

Lid: Lost

Feet: None

Fabric: Soft and porous fabric that is lined with inclusion; fabric has pink edges; Surface inside and outside with a light pink slip; Covered with lime/calcium

Decoration: Linear black paint in bands

Skeletons: 2 skeletons

Finds: Faience Cylinder seal and obsidian inside

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980;

Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 159 (larnax 12); Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39;

Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 33: A.13 (Fig. 26)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, NW, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 98 cm; w. 42 cm; ht. 29 cm; th. 1.6 - 1.9 cm

Handles: 3 handles preserved (cylindrical, orientation unclear, th. 1.6 – 1.9 cm)

Lid: Lost

Feet: None

Fabric: Clay soft and porous and very badly burned with lots of inclusions, ash-colored and black with brown edges, surface inside and out appears to have thin pink slip

Decoration: Probably black paint

Skeletons: 2 skeletons

Finds: Faience Cylinder seal and obsidian inside

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980;

Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 160 (larnax 13); Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39;

Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 34: A.14 (See Fig. 26)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, NW, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 111 cm; w. 42 cm; pr. ht. 10 cm; th. 1.6 – 2.0 cm

Handles: None preserved

Lid: fragmentary

Feet: None

Fabric: Clay is soft and porous, badly burned, with many inclusions

Decoration: Black slip. There are traces of a .12 m wide black band which runs horizontally in the lowest part of the body. Additional traces on the other fragments.

Skeletons: 1 positive skeleton, but likely 2

Finds: Possible finds include steatite bead, steatite seal, conical silver bead, animal bones (unclear whether they belong to this larnax or A23)

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 161 (larnax 14); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 35: A.15 (Fig. 28)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, NE, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with curved interior

Dimensions: L. 93 cm; w. 48 cm; ht. 40 cm; th. 1.6 – 2.0 cm

Handles: 2 per long side (horizontal, knob projection on short sides)

Lid: fragmentary

Feet: None

Fabric: Hard fired clay with inclusions, Reddish Brown, light pink slip, Grey core

Decoration: Surface inside and outside are covered in black paint heavily rubbed paint; relief decoration

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Conical cup, Tripod leg, seashell

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 162 (larnax 15); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; 2018; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 36: A.16 (Fig. 29 a–b)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, SE, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with curved interior

Dimensions: pr. L. 17 cm; pr. w. ?; pr. ht. ?; th. 1.9- 2.3 cm

Handles: 2 per long side (Although orientation is not entirely clear, they were probably horizontal)

Lid: fragmentary

Feet: None

Fabric: Reddish Brown, light pink slip

Decoration: Inside and outside at the rim is a black horizontal band. Vertical Band is also present on either side of one edge

Skeletons: 1 skeleton (possibly 2)

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 163 (larnax 16); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 37: A.17

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, SW, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with curved interior

Dimensions: L. 90 cm; w. 46 cm; ht. 44 cm; th. ?

Handles: 2 per side (2 vertical)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Covered in Calcium/lime, appears to be reddish brown, with grey core

Decoration: None

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Pillow shaped seal made from Serpentine (A22 also located partially inside)

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980;

Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 164 (larnax 17); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 38: A.18 (Fig. 30a–b)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, SW, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 98 cm; w. 47 cm; ht. 26 cm; th. ?

Handles: 3 per long (3 cylindrical on each long side, orientation is not clear)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Hard fired clay, pink core, possibly pink slip?

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 3 skeletons

Finds: Sherds of hemispherical and carinated cup also found (Lid from A29 also located partially inside)

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980;

Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 165 (larnax 18); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 39: A.19 (Fig. 31)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, SW, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with rounded interior

Dimensions: L.111 cm; w. 45 cm; ht. 35 cm; th. 1.7-2.0 cm

Handles: 2 per long side (horizontal)

Lid: Lid is missing

Feet: None

Fabric: Hard-fired clay with inclusions, gray-brown core, and reddish pink slip?

Decoration: Traces of black bands

Skeletons: 7 skeletons

Finds: Possibly associated with Alabaster vessel and cushion shaped seal of steatite.

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 166 (larnax 19); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 40: A.20 (Fig. 32)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, SE, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with rounded interior

Dimensions: L.77 cm; w. 39 cm; ht. 38 cm; th. 1.8-2.0 cm

Handles: 2 per one side, 1 per short side (All vertical, L. 1.3 cm)

Lid: Lid is missing

Feet: None

Fabric: Hard-fired clay with inclusions, reddish brown, light brown core, light brown slip

Decoration: Painted decoration

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: 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) 14 more faience spherical beads, as well as some fragments, likely belonging to a second necklace; Two fragmentary bronze needles were found near the base of the larnax; Animal bones and teeth; obsidian blade; fragments from a few vessels, including the foot of a tripod vessel

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 167 (larnax 20); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 41: A.21 (Fig. 33)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, SE, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with rounded interior

Dimensions: L.105 cm; w. 45 cm; ht. 35 cm; th. 1.6- 1.8 cm

Handles: 2 per long side (Horizontal, L. 1.3 cm, knobs on the short sides)

Lid: Lid is missing

Feet: None

Fabric: Reddish brown coarse ware, grey core, light brown slip

Decoration: Horizontal black band

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: base and foot of a MM I handleless jug.

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 168 (larnax 21); Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 42: A.22 (Fig. 34)

Tomb Site: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, SE, Stratum II/III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L.98 cm; w. 53 cm; pr. ht. 16 cm; th. ?

Handles: 2 per long side, 1 per short side (Horizontal on long sides, vertical short side)

Lid: Arched lid with two horizontal handles on the long sides which turn upwards and with one handle on the narrow sides, the lid has a hole in the top

Feet: None

Fabric: Hard-fired clay with blueish inclusions, reddish brown with light brown slip

Decoration: Black painting on the body with a band running horizontally under the rim and discs of different sizes in irregular arrangement

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: None (This larnax was found within A17)

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 179 (larnax 22); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 43: A.23

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, NW, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular, broken

Dimensions: pr. L.29.5 cm; pr. w. 40 cm; pr. ht. ?; th. ? (very fragmentary)

Handles: Unclear

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Reddish brown Fabric, gray core, light pink slip

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 1 skeleton?

Finds: None (between A14 and A15)

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 169 (larnax 23); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 44: A.24 (Fig. 35a–b)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, SE, Stratum II/III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: pr. L.87-92 cm; pr. w. 60 cm; pr. ht.52 cm; th. 1.7-2.3 cm

Handles: 1 each long side, 1 each short side (All horizontal, cylindrical handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Hard fired clay, stone inclusions, Reddish brown, light pink slip

Decoration: Circular decoration on the long edges and horizontal black bands above the circular designs

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: An obsidian blade and fragments of two ceramic cups, found on top of A4

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 180 (larnax 24); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 45: A.25 (Fig. 36)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, Unknown sector ?

Tomb Type: Tholos
Shape: Elliptical, fragments
Dimensions: pr. L. ?; pr. w. ?; pr. ht. ?; th. 1.7 cm
Handles: 2 per long side (2 horizontal)
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Pink core, light pink slip
Decoration: Decoration partly preserved shows a combination of cord decoration with black painted horizontal and wavy strips
Skeletons: 1 skeleton
Finds: Cylinder seal of hard, black stone, possibly hematite, and a discoid rock crystal seal.
References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 170 (larnax 25); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II
Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 46: A.26 (Fig. 37)

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tholos E, SE, Stratum III
Tomb Type: Tholos
Shape: Elliptical ?
Dimensions: pr. L. 2.1-2.3 cm; pr. w. ?; pr. ht. ?; th. 1.7 cm (very fragmentary)
Handles: Unclear
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Pink fabric, grey core
Decoration: None
Skeletons: 1 skeleton
Finds: MM II cylindrical cup and some animal bones
References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 171 (larnax 26); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 47: A.27 (Fig. 38)

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tholos E, SE, Stratum III
Tomb Type: Tholos
Shape: Rectangular with curved interior
Dimensions: pr. L. 26 cm; pr. w. 43 cm; pr. ht. 13 cm; th. 1.8-2.2 cm (fragmentary)

Handles: Unclear (but notes suggest cylindrical handle, L. of handles 1.4 cm)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Hard fired clay, stone inclusions, reddish brown, light brown slip, grey core

Decoration: None

Skeletons: None (unclear, possibly due to very fragmentary nature)

Finds: No finds (unclear, possibly due to very fragmentary nature)

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980;

Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 172 (larnax 27); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Notes: Likely one of last added to tomb

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 48: A.28

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, SE, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular with rounded interior

Dimensions: pr. L. 60 cm; pr. w. 18 cm; ht. 37 cm; th. ?

Handles: 3 per side (horizontal on the long sides, knobs on the short sides)

Lid: Missing

Feet: None

Fabric: Pink fabric, light pink slip, grey core

Decoration: All four sides are framed in black bands that are .035 wide. Handle and inner surface are also painted black

Skeletons: None

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980;

Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 173 (larnax 28); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 49: A.29 (Fig. 39)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, Unknown

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions L. 100 cm, w. 42 cm, pr. ht. 18 cm

Handles: Unclear

Lid: Flat lid

Feet: None

Fabric: Grey core, light brown slip, coarse ware

Decoration: Relief decoration

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unclear

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 272 and 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 181-83 (larnax a,b,c); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 50: A30

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, Unknown

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Fragments of a lid, probably vaulted

Dimensions: pr. L. 34 cm, pr. w. 30 cm, pr. ht. 5.3 cm

Handles: 2 per long side (probably horizontal)

Lid: Is a lid

Feet: None

Fabric: Hard fired, probably with grey core, reddish brown, thick reddish slip

Decoration: Horizontal black band and possibly relief decoration

Skeletons: None

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 181-83 (larnax a,b,c); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 51: A.31

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tholos E, NW, Stratum III

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: pr. L. 49 cm; pr. w. ?; pr. ht. 18 cm; th. ?

Handles: 2 per long side (orientation unclear)

Lid: Missing

Feet: None

Fabric: Reddish Brown, light pink slip, grey core

Decoration: Decorated with a horizontal band that runs under the lip

Skeletons: None

Finds: Steatite discoid seal and a miniature bronze

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 276. PL239c; Sakellarakis 1977a, 268–307; 1977b; 1980; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 187–188; Branigan 1993, 147; Pelon 1994, 164; Sbonias 1995, 74, 79–80, 89; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 174 (larnax 31); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 619–20 fig. 660; Panagiotoupoulos 2002; Phillips 2008b, 39; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 169; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 52: L.1

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 5, Room 4, Fill

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 10 skeletons

Finds: In the northwest part of the larnax were five beads of gold, amethyst, and sard.

References: Sakellarakis 1967, 160 PL 150b; 1971a, 281, 1972, 319–27; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1978, 320, 1982, 501, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 104–6; 1997, 199–201; Soles 1992, 202-3; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 221 (larnax 1) Tomb 5/Room 4; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 170; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IB

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 53: L.2

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 5, Room 6, SW, Fill

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Obsidian Core – other finds nearby but cannot be verified to belong to this larnax (including: a bronze scraper)

References: Sakellarakis 1967, 160 PL, 150b; 1971a, 281, 1972, 319–27; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1978, 320, 1982, 501, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 104–6; 1997,

199–201; Soles 1992, 204; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 224 (larnax 2) Tomb 5/Room 4; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 170; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IB

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 54: L.3

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 5, Room 8, Upper layer, Fill

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Possibly 31 skeletons found within Cat. no. 54 - 56, but their placement within these three larnakes is unclear.

Finds: This layer also contained ivory pendants (one discoid and one cylindrical), 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 (two jugs, a conical vessel with a ring base, and a discoid vessel lid) 25 seashells. Their relationship with the larnakes in this layer is unclear.

References: Sakellarakis 1969, 159–161; 1973, 281; 1974, 319–327; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1980a, 320; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 53–54; Miller 1984, 32–33; Soles 1992b, 136–139; Sbonias 1995, 90; Karantzali 1996, 69; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 22 (larnax 227-8); Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 199–201; Koehl 2006, 73; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 170; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 55: L.4

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 5, Room 8, Upper layer, Fill

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown, except for ht. 36 cm

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Possibly 31 skeletons found within Cat. no. 54 - 56, but their placement within these three larnakes is unclear.

Finds: This layer also contained ivory pendants (one discoid and one cylindrical), 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 (two jugs, a conical vessel with a ring base, and a discoid vessel lid) 25 seashells. Their relationship with the larnakes in this layer is unclear.

References: Sakellarakis 1969, 159–161; 1973, 281; 1974, 319–327; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1980a, 320; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 53–54; Miller 1984, 32–33; Soles 1992b, 136–139; Sbonias 1995, 90; Karantzali 1996, 69; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 227-8 (larnax ?); Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 199–201; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 170; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 56: L.5

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 5, Room 8, Upper layer, Fill

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Possibly 31 skeletons found within Cat. no. 54 - 56, but their placement within these three larnakes is unclear.

Finds: This layer also contained ivory pendants (one discoid and one cylindrical), 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 (two jugs, a conical vessel with a ring base, and a discoid vessel lid) 25 seashells. Their relationship with the larnakes in this layer is unclear.

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 326-7 fig. 3, PL 276b, 274c; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 227-8 (larnax ?) Tomb 5/Room 8; Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1997, 104, 106; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 170; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 57: L. a

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 5, Room 8b, Fill

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 100 cm, w. 43 cm, the remainder unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Possibly 4? None directly inside but instead located next to the broken larnax

Finds: A jug, a bridge-spouted vase, and a conical cup

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 326-7 fig. 3, PL 276b, 274c; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 232 (larnax a) Tomb 5/Room 8b; Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1997, 104; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 170; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 58: L. b

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 5, Room 8b, Fill

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: At least 2

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 326-7 fig. 3, PL 276b, 274c; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 233 (larnax b) Tomb 5/Room 8b; Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1997, 104; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 170; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 59: fragments

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 5, Room 8b, Fill

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1972, 326-7 fig. 3, PL 276b, 274c; Georgoulaki 1996; Tomb 5/Room 8b; Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1997, 104; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 170; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IB
Assigned date: MM IA/MM IB

Cat. 60: L.1

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tomb 7, Room e, SW corner
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Unclear, elliptical by Soles, Rectangular by Linn, original source does not state;
Georgoulaki also rectangular
Dimensions: L. 96 cm, w. 50 cm, th. ?, ht. ?
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown
Skeletons: 4 skeletons
Finds: Miniature jug, obsidian blade
References: Sakellarakis 1969, 153–157; Pelon 1976, PL. VI; Soles 1973, 132-135 and 188-94;
1992, 143–144; Petit 1990, 49; Phillips 1991, 399–400; Sbonias 1995, 90–91; Georgoulaki 1996,
no. 255 (larnax 1) Tomb 7/Room e; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1997, 206–208;
Müller and Pini 1999, no. 151; Karytinis 2000b, 39–40; Phillips 2008b, 34–35; Legarra Herrero
2014, cat. 173; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIB
Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 61: L.2

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tomb 7, Room e, NW corner
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: elliptical
Dimensions: Pr. L. 58 cm, pr. w. 57 cm, th. ?, ht. ?
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Decorated with molded bands on the exterior
Skeletons: None or Unknown
Finds: None (Found in room but not associated with larnax -a necklace of 6 rock crystal beads
and four sard beads, one zoomorphic.)
References: Sakellarakis 1969, 153–157; Soles 1973, 132-135 and 188-94; 1992, 143–144;
Sbonias; Pelon 1976, PL. VI; Petit 1990, 49; Phillips 1991, 399–400; 1995, 90–91; Georgoulaki
1996, no. 256 (larnax 2) Tomb 7/Room e; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1997, 206–
208; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 151; Karytinis 2000b, 39–40; Phillips 2008b, 34–35; Legarra
Herrero 2014, cat. 173; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIB
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 62: L.3

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 7, Room e

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 100 cm, w. 41 cm, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: Fragments, unknown

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis Sakellarakis 1969, 153–157; Soles 1973, 132-135 and 188-94; 1992, 143–144; Pelon 1976, PL. VI; Petit 1990, 49; Phillips 1991, 399–400; Sbonias 1995, 90–91; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 257 (larnax 3) Tomb 7/Room e; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1997, 206–208; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 151; Karytinis 2000b, 39–40; Phillips 2008b, 34–35; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 173; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIB

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 63: L.4

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 7, Room e

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 80 cm, w. 34 cm, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Fragmentary

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: At least 4 skeletons

Finds: Single high-footed cup which was likely deposited later with the construction of Tholos B (dated to the LMIIIA) period. (Found in room but not associated with larnax were a necklace of 6 rock crystal beads and four sard beads, one zoomorphic.)

References: Sakellarakis 1969, 153–157; Soles 1973, 132-135 and 188-94; 1992, 143–144; Pelon 1976, PL. VI; Petit 1990, 49; Phillips 1991, 399–400; Sbonias 1995, 90–91; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 258 (larnax 4) Tomb 7/Room e; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1997, 206–208; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 151; Karytinis 2000b, 39–40; Phillips 2008b, 34–35; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 173; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIB

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 64: L.5

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 7, Room e, East of L.4

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 99 cm, w. 32 cm, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Fragmentary

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: At least 2 skeletons

Finds: (Found in room but not noted as associated directly with larnax -a necklace of 6 rock crystal beads and four sard beads, one zoomorphic.)

References: Sakellarakis 1969, 153–157; Pelon 1976, PL. VI; Soles 1973, 132-135 and 188-94; 1992, 143–144; Petit 1990, 49; Phillips 1991, 399–400; Sbonias 1995, 90–91; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 259 (larnax 5) Tomb 7/Room e; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1997, 206–208; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 151; Karytinos 2000b, 39–40; Phillips 2008b, 34–35; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 173; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 65: L.6

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 7, Room e, SE corner

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 119 cm, w. 48 cm, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Fragmentary

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: 4 skeletons

Finds: None (Found in room but not associated directly with the larnax were a necklace of 6 rock crystal beads and four sard beads, one zoomorphic.)

References: Sakellarakis 1969, 153–157; Soles 1973, 132-135 and 188-94; 1992, 143–144; Pelon 1976, PL. VI; Petit 1990, 49; Phillips 1991, 399–400; Sbonias 1995, 90–91; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 260 (larnax 6) Tomb 7/Room e; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1997, 206–208; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 151; Karytinos 2000b, 39–40; Phillips 2008b, 34–35; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 173; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 66: L.1

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 9, Room 1, Upper stratum

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: pr. L. 40 cm, pr. w. 33 cm, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: None listed

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1973, 182, 281–282; 1974, 351–353; 1975, 181–186; Miller 1984, 33; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 499–501; 1993, 180–192; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 87, 99, 103–104; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 273 (larnax 1) Tomb 9/Room 1; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 118, 210–212; Karytinis 2000b, 38–39; Koehl 2006, 72–73; Phillips 2008b, 35; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 176; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 67: L.2

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 9, Room 1, Upper stratum

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1973, 182, 281–282; 1974, 351–353; 1975, 181–186; Miller 1984, 33; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 499–501; 1993, 180–192; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 87, 99, 103–104; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 118, 210–212; Karytinis 2000b, 38–39; Koehl 2006, 72–73; Phillips 2008b, 35; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 274 (larnax 2) Tomb 9/Room 1; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 176; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 68: L.? Fragmentary

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 9, Room 2, Strata 1

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown (possibly more than 1 vessel)

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: At least 4 skeletons

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1973, 184-85 PL 183a; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 281 (larnax) Tomb 9/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 120; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 176; Linn 2018.

Other Comments: Much of the information in this entry is blank due to the incomplete nature of these fragments. Most sources suggest that there may be a total of 3 different larnakes present.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB

Assigned date: MM IA?

Cat. 69: L.3

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 9, Room 1, Middle Stratum

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: At least 3 skeletons

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1973, 182, 281–282; 1974, 351–353; 1975, 181–186; Miller 1984, 33; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 499–501; 1993, 180–192; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 87, 99, 103–104; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 277 (larnax) Tomb 9/Room 1; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 118, 210–212; Karytinos 2000b, 38–39; Koehl 2006, 72–73; Phillips 2008b, 35; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 176; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 70: L.4

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 9, Room 1b, Lower Stratum

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: impressed decoration

Skeletons: At least 2 skeletons

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1973, 183, PL181c, 281–282; 1974, 351–353; 1975, 181–186; Miller 1984, 33; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 499–501; 1993, 180–192; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 87, 99, 103–104; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 280 (larnax) Tomb 9/Room 1b; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 118, 120, 210–212; Karytinis 2000b, 38–39; Koehl 2006, 72–73; Phillips 2008b, 35; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 176; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 71: L.4?

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 9, Room 2, Burial Layer II

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown (Vessel noted as destroyed)

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1973, 184–85 PL 183a; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 282 (larnax) Tomb 9/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 120; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 176; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 72: L5

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 9, Room 2, Burial Layer III

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: 3 skeletons

Finds: Unknown

References: Sakellarakis 1973, 184–85 PL 184a; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 286 (larnax 1) Tomb 9/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 120; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 176; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 73: L6

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 9, Room 2, Burial Layer III

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: 1 skeleton?

Finds: Animal bones

References: Sakellarakis 1973, 185 PL 183B; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 287 (larnax 2) Tomb 9/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 120; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 176; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 74: L7

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 9, Room 2, Burial Layer III

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Seashells and pebbles

References: Sakellarakis 1973, 185 PL 183B; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 288 (larnax 3) Tomb 9/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 120; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 176; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 75: L8

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 9, Room 2, Burial Layer III

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: 2 skeletons

Finds: Pebbles and sea shells

References: Sakellarakis 1973, 185 PL 183B; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 289 (larnax 4) Tomb 9/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 120; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 176; Linn 2018.

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 76: L1

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 16, Room 2, NW corner

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: pr. L. ?, pr. w. 45 cm, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: At least 5 skeletons (Possibly 6, the number is unclear)

Finds: Small pebbles

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 307-311; 1977a, 307–310; 1980, 392-98, fig. 2, PL221-3; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 395–396; 1982, 392–398; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 89–91, 103; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 307 (larnax 1) Tomb 16/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 127, 214; Karytinis 2000b, 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 180; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 77: L2

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 16, Room 2, West

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: pr. L. ?, pr. w. 50 cm, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Fragmentary

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: At least 2 skeletons

Finds: Lekane

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 307-311; 1977a, 307–310; 1980, 392-98, fig. 2, PL221-3; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 395–396; 1982, 392–398; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 89–

91, 103; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 308 (larnax 2) Tomb 16/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 127, 214; Karytinis 2000b, 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 180; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: MM I
Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 78: L3

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tomb 16, Room 2, Southwest
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Rectangular
Dimensions: pr. L. ?, pr. w. 50 cm, th. ?, ht. ?
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown/None
Skeletons: At least 3 skeletons
Finds: 1 stone vessel, bronze cutter, black steatite pendant, 3 seals (1 button shape made of green steatite, second made of faience as a crouching animal, third is ivory of a stepped pyramid), ivory plaque, fragments of a lekane, small pebbles
References: Sakellarakis 1975, 307-311; 1977a, 307–310; 1980, 392-98, fig. 2, PL221-3; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 395–396; 1982, 392–398; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 89–91, 103; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 309 (larnax 3) Tomb 16/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 127, 214; Karytinis 2000b, 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 180; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: MM I
Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 79: L4

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tomb 16, Room 2, Central
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Rectangular
Dimensions: pr. L. 92 cm, pr. w. 39 cm, th. ?, ht. ?
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Painted, but no further information provided
Skeletons: At least 1 skeleton
Finds: small pebbles and a single tooth
References: Sakellarakis 1975, 307-311; 1977a, 307–310; 1980, 392-98, fig. 2, PL221-3; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 395–396; 1982, 392–398; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 89–91, 103; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 310 (larnax 4) Tomb 16/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 127, 214; Karytinis 2000b, 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 180; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: MM I
Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 80: L5

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 16, Room 2

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: pr. L. ?, pr. w. 43 cm, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: None

Finds: small bones and some teeth

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 307-311; 1977a, 307-310; 1980, 392-98, fig. 2, PL221-3; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 395-396; 1982, 392-398; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 89-91, 103; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 311 (larnax 5) Tomb 16/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 127, 214; Karytinios 2000b, 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 180; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 81: L6

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 16, Along South Wall

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 108 cm, pr. w. ?, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown/None

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Bronze earring, two sard beads (close by 3 skulls and obsidian blade)

References: Sakellarakis 1975, 307-311; 1977a, 307-310; 1980, 392-98, fig. 2, PL221-3; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 395-396; 1982, 392-398; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 89-91, 103; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 312 (larnax 6) Tomb 16/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 127, 214; Karytinios 2000b, 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 180; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 82: L7

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 16, Eastern half burial layer 2

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown/None
Skeletons: 1 skeleton
Finds: Plaster fragments
References: Sakellarakis 1975, 307-311; 1977a, 307–310; 1980, 392-98, fig. 2, PL221-3; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 395–396; 1982, 392–398; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 89–91, 103; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 315 (larnax 7) Tomb 16/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 127, 214; Karytinis 2000b, 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 180; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: MM I
Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 83: L8

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tomb 16, Room 3, Center, burial layer 2
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Rectangular
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown/None
Skeletons: 3 skeletons
Finds: Green steatite seal was present (Also in room 3, a cylindrical cup, conical cup, small jug, and three ivory pendants but not necessarily associated with larnax)
References: Sakellarakis 1975, 307-311; 1977a, 307–310; 1980, 392-98, fig. 2, PL221-3; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 395–396; 1982, 392–398; Petit 1990, 50; Sbonias 1995, 89–91, 103; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 316 (larnax 8) Tomb 16/Room 2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 127, 214; Karytinis 2000b, 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 180; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: MM I
Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 84: L1

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tomb 18, Room 1, Burial strata III
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Rectangular
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Fragmentary
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Impressed or incised decoration and painted

Skeletons: At least 17 skeletons

Finds: Unclear relationship with finds (In the area, the excavator notes an ivory cylindrical seal)

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344-351; 1993, 192-204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146-147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 327 (larnax 1); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 215-216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IA

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 85: L2

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 1, Burial strata III, Upper

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 100 cm, pr. w. 43 cm, th. ?, ht. 40 cm

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Fragmentary

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Relief decoration

Skeletons: 5 skeletons

Finds: Obsidian blade fragment

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344-351; 1993, 192-204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146-147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 328 (larnax 2); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 215-216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IA

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 86: L3

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 1, Burial strata III

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 103 cm, pr. w. 45 cm, th. ?, ht. 37 cm

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Fragmentary lid

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Relief decoration and painted

Skeletons: 4 skeletons

Finds: Ivory Cylindrical Seal

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344-351; 1993, 192-204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146-147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 330 (larnax 3); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 215-216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IA
Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 87: L4

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tomb 18, Room 1, Burial strata II
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Unknown
Dimensions: pr. L. ?, pr. w. ?, th. ?, h. ?
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown
Skeletons: 1 skeleton
Finds: Pendant of animal tooth beneath skull
References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344–351; 1993, 192–204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146–147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 342 (larnax ?); Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 215–216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: MM II
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 88: L5

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tomb 18, Room 4, Burial strata II
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Rectangular
Dimensions: pr. L. 65 cm, pr. w. 40 cm, th. ?, ht. ?
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown
Skeletons: 1 skeleton
Finds: Pebbles and ivory seal
References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344–351; 1993, 192–204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146–147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 352 (larnax ?); Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 215–216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: MM II
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 89: L6

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tomb 18, Room 7, Burial strata IV

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: No Objects

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344–351; 1993, 192–204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146–147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 215–216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Other Comments: It is possible that the fragments represent a total of 3 different larnakes

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 90: L7

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 7, Burial strata II

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Fragments of plaster, shell, and also pebbles

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344–351; 1993, 192–204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146–147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 215–216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Other Comments: Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 91: L8

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 8, Burial strata I

Tomb Type: Elliptical

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown
Skeletons: 2 skeletons
Finds: Fragments of plaster and pebbles
References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; 1987 124-5, fig. 154; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344–351; 1993, 192–204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146–147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 215–216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinos 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.
Other Comments: Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide
Excavator Assigned Date: MM II
Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 92: L9

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tomb 18, Room 8, Burial strata II
Tomb Type: Elliptical
Shape: Unknown
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Gabled lid
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown
Skeletons: 1 skeleton
Finds: Cylindrical seal, unspecified
References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; 1987 124-5, fig. 154; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344–351; 1993, 192–204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146–147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 215–216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinos 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.
Other Comments: Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide
Excavator Assigned Date: MM II
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 93: L10

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Tomb 18, Room 8, Burial strata II
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Unknown
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: 1 obsidian blade

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; 1987 124-5, fig. 154; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1979, 344-351; 1993, 192-204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146-147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 215-216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Other Comments: Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 94: L11

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 8, Burial strata III

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; 1987 124-5, fig. 154; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1979, 344-351; 1993, 192-204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146-147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 215-216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Other Comments: Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 95: L12

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 8, Burial strata IV

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Bones and pebbles

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; 1987 124-5, fig. 154; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1979, 344-351; 1993, 192-204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146-147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki

1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 215–216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.
Other Comments: Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 96: L13

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 8, Burial strata IV

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; 1987 124-5, fig. 154; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344–351; 1993, 192–204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146–147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 215–216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Other Comments: Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 97: L14

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 8, Burial strata IV

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Some bones

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; 1987 124-5, fig. 154; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344–351; 1993, 192–204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146–147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 215–216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Other Comments: Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 98: L. 15

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 9, Burial Strata III

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 3 skeletons

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; 1987 124-5, fig. 154; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344–351; 1993, 192–204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146–147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 215–216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Georgoulaki 1996; Linn 2018 (Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide).

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 99: L. 16

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 9, Burial Strata III

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 2 skeletons

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; 1987 124-5, fig. 154; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344–351; 1993, 192–204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146–147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 215–216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Other Comments: Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 100: L. 17

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 9, Burial Strata III

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 3 skeletons

Finds: Ivory Cylindrical Seal

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; 1987 124-5, fig. 154; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344-351; 1993, 192-204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146-147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 215-216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Other Comments: Larnax also has preserved mat impression on base; Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide on numbers.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 101: L. 18

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 18, Room 10, Burial Strata III

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: None

Finds: Remains of Kamares vessel

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 345-9; 1987 124-5, fig. 154; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 344-351; 1993, 192-204; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 146-147; Sbonias 1995, 91; Georgoulaki 1996; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 215-216; Müller and Pini 1999, no. 150; Karytinis 2000b, 39; Phillips 2008b, 36; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 181; Linn 2018.

Other Comments: Georgoulaki and Linn do not coincide.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 102: L. 1 (Fig. 40a-b)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 19, Layer 4, Section B

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: pr. L. 58 cm, pr. w. 26 cm, th. ?, ht. 20 cm

Handles: 3 per side (2 vertical, 1 horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: Four feet added close to corners

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Linear Painted band by base

Skeletons: cranial fragments

Finds: Small ceramic lid and bronze boss (Bronze bead of cylindrical shape found nearby, but association with larnax is unclear)

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 351-85 PL 215b; 1977, 481; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1979, 381-385; 1980b, 481; Karagianni 1984, 93; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 147-148, 202; Maggidis 1994; 1998; 2000; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 357 (larnax 1) Tomb 19; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, 123-125; Papadopoulos 2010; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 183; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB – MM IIA

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 103: L. 2 (Fig. 41)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 19, Layer 4, Section B, Central

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular/Square

Dimensions: pr. L. 18 cm, pr. w. 17 cm, th. ?, ht. 27 cm

Handles: 3 per side (2 vertical and 1 horizontal)

Lid: Fragments

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Curvilinear swirling painted bands

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Bronze Bit

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 351-85 PL 215b; 1977, 481; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1979, 381-385; 1980b, 481; Karagianni 1984, 93; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 147-148, 202;

Maggidis 1994; 1998; 2000; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 363 (larnax 2) Tomb 19; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, 123-125; Papadopoulos 2010; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 183; Linn 2018.

Other Comments: Vessel was inverted

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB – MM IIA

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 104: L. 3 (Fig. 42)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 19, Layer 4, Section B, NW

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular/Square

Dimensions: pr. L. 37 cm, pr. w. 23 cm, th. ?, pr. ht. 24 cm

Handles: 1 per each side (All horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: None

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 351-85 PL 215b; 1977, 481; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1979, 381–385; 1980b, 481; Karagianni 1984, 93; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 147–148, 202; Maggidis 1994; 1998; 2000; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 364 (larnax 3) Tomb 19; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, 123-125; Papadopoulos 2010; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 183; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB – MM IIA

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 105: L. 4 (Fig. 43)

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 19, Layer 3, Section A

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular/Square (in 2 fragments)

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: 2 per long side (Horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: None

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 351-85 PL 215b; 1977, 481; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1979, 381–385; 1980b, 481; Karagianni 1984, 93; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 147–148, 202; Maggidis 1994; 1998; 2000; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 365 (larnax 4) Tomb 19; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, 123-125; Papadopoulos 2010; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 183; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB – MM IIA

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 106: L. 5

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 19, Layer 3, Section A

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: pr. L. 36 cm, pr. w. 25 cm, th. ?, ht. 22 cm

Handles: 4 per long side (All vertical)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Painted, but more information is not provided and image is too poor to determine

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: 2 bronze beads

References: Sakellarakis 1976, 351-85 PL 215b; 1977, 481; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 381-385; 1980b, 481; Karagianni 1984, 93; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 147-148, 202; Maggidis 1994; 1998; 2000; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 366 (larnax 5) Tomb 19; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, 123-125; Papadopoulos 2010; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 183; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB – MM IIA

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 107: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Between Building 8 and 9, West

Tomb Type: Open Area

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 8 skeletons

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1971, 282 PL 362a; 1982, 495-9 fig. 21 PL 260a, 259c; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 496-499; Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 412 (larnax 1); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997; fig. 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 175; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MMI-MMII (Not enough information is provided to make a more educated guess as to the date).

Cat. 108: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Between Building 8 and 9

Tomb Type: Open Area

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 6 skeletons

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1971, 282 PL 362a; 1982, 495-9 fig. 21 PL 260a, 259c; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 496-499; Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 413 (larnax

2); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, fig. 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 175; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MMI-MMII (Not enough information is provided to make a more educated guess as to the date).

Cat. 109: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Between Building 8 and 9; East to Northeast

Tomb Type: Open Area

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 3 skeletons

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1971, 282 PL 362a; 1982, 495-9 fig. 21 PL 260a, 259c; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 496-499; Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 414 (larnax 3) Larnakes burials; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, fig. 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 175; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MMI-MMII (Not enough information is provided to make a more educated guess as to the date).

Cat. 110: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Between Building 8 and 9, East to Northeast

Tomb Type: Open Area

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 3 skeletons

Finds: Ivory Pendant Seal

References: Sakellarakis 1971, 282 PL 362a; 1982, 495-9 fig. 21 PL 260a, 259c; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 496-499; Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 415 (larnax 4) Larnakes burials; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, fig. 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 175; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MMI-MMII (Not enough information is provided to make a more educated guess as to the date).

Cat. 111: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes, Between Building 8 and 9

Tomb Type: Open Area

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 4 skeletons (but association between the three larnakes is unclear #111, 112, and 113)

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1971, 282 PL 362a; 1982, 495-9 fig. 21 PL 260a, 259c; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1984a, 496-499; Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 416 (larnax 5) Larnakes burials; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, fig. 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 175; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MMI-MMII (Not enough information is provided to make a more educated guess as to the date).

Cat. 112: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Between Building 8 and 9

Tomb Type: Open Area

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 4 skeletons (but association between the three larnakes is unclear #111, 112, and 115)

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1971, 282 PL 362a; 1982, 495-9 fig. 21 PL 260a, 259c; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1984a, 496-499; Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 417 (larnax 6) Larnakes burials. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki, fig. 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 175; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MMI-MMII (Not enough information is provided to make a more educated guess as to the date).

Cat. 113: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Between Building 8 and 9

Tomb Type: Open Area

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: L. 88 cm, w. 56 cm, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Relief decoration but not further described

Skeletons: 2 skeletons

Finds: 2 cups and a jug

References: Sakellarakis 1971, 282 PL 362a; 1982, 495-9 fig. 21 PL 260a, 259c; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 496-499; Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 418 (larnax 1) Larnakes burials; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, fig. 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 175; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MMI-MMII (Not enough information is provided to make a more educated guess as to the date).

Cat. 114: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Between Building 8 and 9, East to Northeast

Tomb Type: Open Area

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 3 skeletons

Finds: Possibly shark teeth

References: Sakellarakis 1971, 282 PL 362a; 1982, 495-9 fig. 21 PL 260a, 259c; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 496-499; Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 419 (larnax 2) Larnakes burials; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki, fig. 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 175; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MMI-MMII (Not enough information is provided to make a more educated guess as to the date).

Cat. 115: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Between Building 8 and 9, East to Northeast

Tomb Type: Open Area

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown
Skeletons: 3 skeletons
Finds: Ivory pendant seal
References: Sakellarakis 1971, 282 PL 362a; 1982, 495-9 fig. 21 PL 260a, 259c; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 496-499; Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 420 (Larnax 3); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, fig. 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 175; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear
Assigned date: MMI-MMII (Not enough information is provided to make a more educated guess as to the date).

Cat. 116: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Between Building 8 and 9, East to Northeast, upper
Tomb Type: Open Area
Shape: Unknown
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown
Skeletons: 7 skeletons
Finds: None
References: Sakellarakis 1971, 282 PL 362a; 1982, 495-9 fig. 21 PL 260a, 259c; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 496-499; Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 421; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, fig. 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 175; Linn 2018.
Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear
Assigned date: MMI-MMII (Not enough information is provided to make a more educated guess as to the date).

Cat. 117 and 118: No Excavation No. (at least +/- 2 larnakes because they are so fragmentary an exact number is hard to determine)

Site Name: Archanes
Context: Between Building 8 and 9
Tomb Type: Open Area
Shape: Unknown
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 7 skeletons (thought relationship between 116, 117 and 118 are unclear)

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1971, 282 PL 362a; 1982, 495-9 fig. 21 PL 260a, 259c; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1984a, 496-499; Sbonias 1995, 99, 107, 113; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 421 (+/- 2); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarki 1997, fig. 40; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 175; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MMI-MMII (Not enough information is provided to make a more educated guess as to the date).

Cat. 119: No Excavation No. (Fig. 44)

*Described based on photographs from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, but no distinction is made on which vessel corresponds to which context

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 6, Room 5, Upper.

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: 4 per long side (All vertical)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: Probably 2 (but this cannot be verified)

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1965a; 1966, 411-412; 1975, 167-171; Platon 1969a, nos. 379-395; Walberg 1983, 106; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 186-187; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 142-143; Sbonias 1995, 90-91, 107; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 244; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 202-205; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 171; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIB

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 120: No Excavation No. (Fig. 45)

*Described based on photographs from Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, but no distinction is made on which vessel corresponds to which context

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 6, Room 5, Upper

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: 4 per long side (All vertical)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1965a; 1966, 411–412; 1975, 167–171; Platon 1969a, nos. 379–395; Walberg 1983, 106; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 186–187; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1973, 131, 393; 1992b, 142–143; Sbonias 1995, 90–91, 107; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 244; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 98 and 202–205; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 171; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIB

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 121: No Excavation No. (Fig. 46)

*Described based on photographs from Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, but no distinction is made on which vessel corresponds to which context

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 6, Room 1 or 3, Upper

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: 2 per long side (All horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1965a; 1966, 411–412; 1975, 167–171; Platon 1969a, nos. 379–395; Walberg 1983, 106; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 186–187; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 142–143; Sbonias 1995, 90–91, 107; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 242; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 202–205; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 171; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIB

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 122: No Excavation No. (Fig. 47)

*Described based on photographs from Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, but no distinction is made on which vessel corresponds to which context

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 6, Room 4

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: 2 per long side (All horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Dark Circles around base and black linear band

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: None

References: Sakellarakis 1965a; 1966, 411–412; 1975, 167–171; Platon 1969a, nos. 379–395; Walberg 1983, 106; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 186–187; Petit 1990, 49; Soles 1992b, 142–143; Sbonias 1995, 90–91, 107; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 243; Sakellarakis and Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1997, 202–205; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 171; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIB

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 123: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Area of the Rocks, Surface

Tomb Type: Open Area

Shape: Unknown, fragments, many fragments were found in this area. Their association with other tombs is unclear.

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: None

References: 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; Karantzali 1996, 69–70; Georgoulaki 1996; Pieler 2004, 110–13; Papadatos 2005, 52–53; Koehl 2006, 76–77; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 187; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IA

Assigned date: MM IA- MM IB

Cat. 124: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Ierapetras

Context: S.W. of Tomb 1

Tomb Type: Crevice

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: None

References: Boyd-Hawes, 1905, 3, 185, fig. 4; 1908, 56; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 746 mentioned as casella; Zois 1997, 16 and 17.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II - MMIII

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 125: L.4. (Fig. 48 a–c) HNM 14, 280, HCH 10

Site Name: Hagios Charalambos

Context: Rooms 3,4, and 4/5

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 87 cm, w. 31.6 cm, th. 1.8 cm, h. 28.8 cm

Handles: Not present

Lid: Not present

Feet: Includes 4 feet on each of the four corners

Fabric: Lasithi/Pediada, Red (2.5 YR 5/2)

Decoration: None

Skeletons: Unknown, hundreds found within cave, but direct association is unclear.

Finds: None

References: Davaras and Papadakis 1976, 379–380; Davaras 1981; 1982; 1990; Pini 1992, nos. 34–47; Sbonias 1995, 91, 114; Betancourt 2002; 2005; Whitley 2005, 109; Betancourt and Muhly 2006; Ferrence 2007; Anglos et al. 2008; Betancourt et al. 2008; McGeorge 2008; Phillips 2008b, 44–45; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 206.

Other Comments: Betancourt notes the presence of holes just above feet. Betancourt labeled as drainage, but due to their location, it is more likely they were present for tying a lid to the vessel and not for drainage.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMII

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 126: L.5. HNM 6826 +13,887, HCH 9 *Vessel is a Lid

Site Name: Hagios Charalambos

Context: Room 4, Upper

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: combined. L. 96 cm, combined. w. 49.5 cm, th. 2.0 cm

Handles: Not present

Lid: Two halves of lid

Feet: None

Fabric: Lasithi/Pediada, Red (5 YR 5/2)/ surface 5 YR 6/6

Decoration: None

Skeletons: Unknown, hundreds found within cave, but direct association is unclear

Finds: None

References: Davaras and Papadakis 1976, 379–380; Davaras 1981; 1982; 1990; Pini 1992, nos. 34–47; Sbonias 1995, 91, 114; Betancourt 2002; 2005; Whitley 2005, 109; Betancourt and Muhly 2006; Ferrence 2007; Anglos et al. 2008; Betancourt et al. 2008; McGeorge 2008; Phillips 2008b, 44–45; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 206.

Other Comments: Vessel was noted as broken prior to firing, Lid may match either L.1 or L.3

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMII

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 127: L.1. (Fig. 49 a–c) HNM 14,279, HCH 02-32

Site Name: Hagios Charalambos

Context: Room 4, 4/5 and 5, Room 4, Upper

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 93 cm, w. 31.4 cm, th. 1.8, ht. 32 cm

Handles: Not present

Lid: May be Cat. 126 or Betancourt L.5

Feet: None

Fabric: Lasithi/Pediada, Red (2.5 YR 5/8) surface 5 YR 6/6

Decoration: None

Skeletons: Unknown, hundreds found within cave, but direct association is unclear

Finds: None

References: Davaras and Papadakis 1976, 379–380; Davaras 1981; 1982; 1990; Pini 1992, nos. 34–47; Sbonias 1995, 91, 114; Betancourt 2002; 2005; Whitley 2005, 109; Betancourt and Muhly 2006; Ferrence 2007; Anglos et al. 2008; Betancourt et al. 2008; McGeorge 2008; Phillips 2008b, 44–45; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 206.

Other Comments: Betancourt notes the presence of holes just above feet. Betancourt labeled as drainage, but due to their location, it is more likely they were present for tying a lid to the vessel and not for drainage.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMII

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 128: L.2. (Fig. 50 a –c) HNM 14,278, HCH 6

Site Name: Hagios Charalambos

Context: Room 3, 4 and 4/5

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 85.6 cm, w. 29.4 cm, th. ?, ht. 40.4 cm

Handles: Not present

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Lasithi/Pediada, Red (10 R 5/6)

Decoration: None

Skeletons: Unknown, hundreds found within cave, but direct association is unclear

Finds: None

References: Davaras and Papadakis 1976, 379–380; Davaras 1981; 1982; 1990; Pini 1992, nos. 34–47; Sbonias 1995, 91, 114; Betancourt 2002; 2005; Whitley 2005, 109; Betancourt and Muhly 2006; Ferrence 2007; Anglos et al. 2008; Betancourt et al. 2008; McGeorge 2008; Phillips 2008b, 44–45; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 206.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMII

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 129: L.3. (Fig. 51 a–c) HNM14,281, HCH 50

Site Name: Hagios Charalambos

Context: Room 3, 4 and 4/5

Tomb Type: Cave
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: L. 90.4 cm, w. 31.6 cm, th. 2.2 cm, ht. 33 cm
Handles: Not present
Lid: May be Cat. 126 or Betancourt L.5 or perhaps not present
Feet: None
Fabric: Lasithi/Pediada, Red (2.5 YR 5/6 to 6/6)
Decoration: Maybe. Covered in Dark Reddish Slip
Skeletons: Unknown, hundreds found within cave, but direct association is unclear
Finds: None
References: Davaras and Papadakis 1976, 379–380; Davaras 1981; 1982; 1990; Pini 1992, nos. 34–47; Sbonias 1995, 91, 114; Betancourt 2002; 2005; Whitley 2005, 109; Betancourt and Muhly 2006; Ferrence 2007; Anglos et al. 2008; Betancourt et al. 2008; McGeorge 2008; Phillips 2008b, 44–45; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 206.
Other Comments: Betancourt notes the presence of holes just above feet. Betancourt labeled as drainage, but due to their location, it is more likely they were present for tying a lid to the vessel and not for drainage.
Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMII
Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 130: No Excavation No. HM 11093

Site Name: Galana Charika
Context: Larnax located above the two crevice tombs next to an MM house
Tomb Type: Tholos
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: 4 handles (no further description)
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Painted with red bands
Skeletons: Unknown
Finds: Either Cat. no. 130 or 131 contained HM 11089 a MM IIA Straight lipped jug and also a concave sided cup with wide base
References: Platon 1956b, 416–417; 1969a, nos. 443–445; Rutkowski 1966, cat. 3; Pelon 1976, 461; Branigan 1993, 148; Petit 1990, 54, no. 18b; Georgoulaki 1996 cat. 37.
Excavator Assigned Date: MM IIA
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 131: No Excavation No. HM 11094

Site Name: Galana Charika
Context: Larnax located above the two crevice tombs next to an MM house
Tomb Type: Tholos
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: 4 handles (no further description)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Painted with red bands

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Either Cat. no. 130 or 131 contained HM 11089 a MM IIA Straight lipped jug and also a concave sided cup with wide base

References: Platon 1956b, 416–417; 1969a, nos. 443–445; Rutkowski 1966, cat. 3; Pelon 1976, 461; Petit 1990, 54, no. 18b; Branigan 1993, 148; Georgoulaki 1996 cat. 37.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IIA

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 132: No Excavation No. (Fig. 52)

Site Name: Knossos, Ailias

Context: Chamber; Tomb VIII

Tomb Type: Chamber

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Probably horizontal, other information unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: There was an MM III larnax placed inside based on decorative pattern; Total 18 larnakes Most of them are oval in shape but the dates are unclear.

References: Hood and Boardman 1956, 33-34; Charles 1965, 47-48; Rutkowski 1966, cat. 7a; Hood and Smyth 1981, 54, no 257; Georgoulaki 1996; Hood 2010.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMII

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 133: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Knossos, Ailias

Context: Chamber, Tomb V

Tomb Type: Chamber

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Probably horizontal

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Hood and Boardman 1956, 33–34; Charles 1965, 47–48; Rutkowski 1966, cat. 7a; 117. Hood and Smyth 1981, no. 257; Georgoulaki 1996; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 216.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMII
Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 134: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Knossos, MavroSpilio

Context: Chamber; Tomb VII

Tomb Type: Chamber

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Woodward 1926, 237; 1927, 244; Forsdyke 1927, 243; Cook and Boardman 1954, 166-67; Charles 1965, 85-90; Rutkowski 1966, cat. 7d; Hood and Smyth 1981, no. 251; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 238; Petit 1990, 50; MacGillivray 1998, 53; Alberti 2001; 2003; Hood 2010; Georgoulaki 1996.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMII

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 135: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Knossos, Ailias

Context: Chamber, Tomb VIX

Tomb Type: Chamber

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Probably horizontal

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Hood and Boardman 1956, 33-34; Charles 1965, 47-48; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 7a; Hood and Smyth 1981, 54, no 257; Hood 2010; Georgoulaki 1996.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMII

Assigned date: MM IIB (Site has gone out of use by the MM III period with a burnt layer on the upper most levels)

Cat. 136: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Knossos, Mavro Spilio

Context: Chamber, Site 249

Tomb Type: Chamber

Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unclear
Skeletons: Unknown
Finds: Unknown
References: Hood and Smyth 1981, no. 249; Forsdyke 1927, 243; Rutkowski 1966, cat. 7d; Georgoulaki 1996.
Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMII
Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 137: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Knossos, Mavro Spilio
Context: Chamber, Site 250
Tomb Type: Chamber
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unclear
Skeletons: Unknown
Finds: Unknown
References: Hood and Smyth 1981, no. 250; Georgoulaki 1996; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 232.
Excavator Assigned Date: MM IIB
Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 138: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Baira, Gasi Malevisiou
Context: None specified
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unclear
Skeletons: Unknown
Finds: Various finds associated with tomb, unclear of connection to larnax (stone vases, pottery, and shell pendant)

References: Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 31; Rethemiotakis 1984, 296 PL 151; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 463; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 195.

Other Comments: A second unexcavated tomb is listed as present, but never excavated

Excavator Assigned Date: MM

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 139: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Baira, Gasi Malevisiou

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Various finds associated with tomb, unclear of connection to larnax (stone vases, pottery, and shell pendant)

References: Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 31; Rethemiotakis 1989, 296 PL 151; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 464; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 195.

Other Comments: Second unexcavated tomb present Assigned date: MM IB

Excavator Assigned Date: MM

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 140: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Porti,

Context: Ante- Room α

Tomb Type: Tholos, Annex

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1924, 55; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 77; Platon 1969a, no. 368; Pelon 1976, 51; Petit 1987, 37; Yule, BSA 78 (1983), 363; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 703; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 127.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMIA

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 141: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 118 cm, w. 37 cm, th. ?, ht. 25 cm

Handles: None, but 4 knobs

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Georgoulaki says none for all based on Branigan and Walberg, but it is otherwise not described by Xanthoudides. It is likely that Branigan and Walberg base this on the visible larnakes (2). Both of which are undecorated. This note applies to each entry from Pyrgos.

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 505 (larnax 1); Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 142: No Excavation No. (Fig. 53)

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 120 cm, w. 38 cm, th. ?, ht. 28 cm

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 506 (larnax 2); Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 143: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 507 (Iarnax 3); Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 144: No Excavation No. (Fig. 54)

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (Iarnax +/- 17) no 2/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 145: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified
Tomb Type: Cave
Shape: Unknown
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images
Skeletons: Unclear
Finds: Unknown
References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 1/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.
Excavator Assigned Date: EM II
Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 146: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous
Context: None specified
Tomb Type: Cave
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images
Skeletons: Unclear
Finds: Unknown
References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Rutkowski 1968, 220; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 4/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.
Excavator Assigned Date: EM II
Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 147: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous
Context: None specified
Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images
Skeletons: Unclear
Finds: Unknown
References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 5/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.
Excavator Assigned Date: EM II
Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 148: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous
Context: None specified
Tomb Type: Cave
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images
Skeletons: Unclear
Finds: Unknown
References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 6/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.
Excavator Assigned Date: EM II
Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 149: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous
Context: None specified
Tomb Type: Cave
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 7/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 150: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 8/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 151: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 9/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56;; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 152: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 10/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 153: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 11/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 154: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 12/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 155: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 13/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 156: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 14/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 157: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 15/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 158: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 16/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 159: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellarakis 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987,

58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247;; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 17/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 160: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pyrgos, Kokkini Chani, Temenous

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest horizontal handles)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None/unclear/decoration is not visible in Deltion images

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Xanthoudides 1918a; 1925; Platon 1941, 270; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 9; 1968, 220; Zois 1968a, 40–48; 1998c, 55–68, 83–104; Renfrew 1969, 19; Branigan 1971, 60, 65; Warren 1977, 139; Sapouna–Sakellaraki 1983, 52–53; Wilson 1984, 236–245, 261–264; Walberg 1987, 58; 1992, 133; Lambrou–Phillipson 1990, 247; Petit 1990, 44; Wilson and Day 1994, 34; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 508 (larnax +/- 17) no 3/17; Karantzali 1996, 58–61; Day and Wilson 2000, 55–56; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 282.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 161: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Baira Gazi, Michanes

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Crevice

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Close by pithoi with leaf pattern

References: N. Platon 1957, 335; Rutkowski 1966, cat. 4; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 468.

Other Comments: These vessels have received no additional study and their location is unknown.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM

Assigned date: MM IIA - MM IIB

Cat. 162: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Baira Gazi, Michanes

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Crevice

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Close by pithoi with leaf pattern

References: N. Platon 1957, 335; Rutkowski 1966, cat. 4; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 468.

Other Comments: These vessels have received no additional study and their location is unknown.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM

Assigned date: MM IIA- MM IIB

Cat. 163: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Arkalies

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Crevice/Cemetery

Shape: Unknown (Vessel noted as similar to Seager, Pacheia Ammos, PL XI 5, no I-c)

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Found with HM 11096

References: Platon 1948, 589; 1956b, 417; Hood, Warren and Cadogan 1964, 81, fig. 15;

Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 20; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 455; Panagiotakis, 2006, 383; Legarra

Herrero 2014, cat. no. 190.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 164: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Drakones, λαγκαδα

Context: Upper Stratum

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Charred bones, number of individuals unclear

Finds: An EMIII vessel, 5 miniature stone vases, whetstone, grinder, scarab, bronze scraper, ivory pendant seal

References: Xanthoudides 1924, 76–80, and PLXLII-III; Pendlebury, Money–Coutts and Eccles 1934, 86; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 27; Platon 1969a, nos. 3–4; Pini 1968, 3 and 10; Branigan 1970b, 109, 170; 1993, 146; Pelon 1976, 17; Walberg 1983, 102; 1992, 102-3, type 213; Belli 1984, 111–112 and PL XXIVI; Petit 1987, 3; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 457 Tomb Δ; Zois 1998d, 196; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 133.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear, MM I?

Assigned date: MM IA-MM IB?

Cat. 165: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Siva

Context: Tomb S, Upper Stratum

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Unknown, fragments

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Various finds (ivory ring seal, ivory pendant seal, ivory figurine) though their association with larnax is extremely unclear

References: Paribeni 1915, 14–31; S. Xanthoudides 1916, 25; Platon 1969a, nos. 369–374; Pelon 1976, 35; Belli 1984, 114–115; Betancourt 1985, 32; Branigan 1993, 144; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 714; Davaras and Soles 1997; Zois 1998d, 133; Legarra Herrero 2014.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 166: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Hagia Triada

Context: Tholos A

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Unknown, fragments

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 49 skulls in chamber, number associated with larnax is unclear.

Finds: None directly associated, but finds are numerous and include figurines, seal stones, and a scarab, and various items of jewelry and pendants.

References: Halbherr 1905; Mosso 1906, 1908; Banti, 1933; Platon 1969, pp 13-17 (CMS II, 1, nos 6-10); Rutkowski 1966, 37; Zois 1967b, 70–75; Pelon 1976, 8-10; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1983, 48–49; Walberg 1983, 92; Branigan 1993, 144; Wilson and Day 1994, 13; Georgoulaki 1996a, 5 No's 5-17; La Rosa 1998, 1999b, 2001; Todaro 2001; 2004; Panagiotopoulos 2002, 92; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 29.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 167: L.3 (Fig. 55)

Site Name: Vorou

Context: Tholos A, Upper stratum

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (but images suggest horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: None directly associated

References: Marinatos 1931b, 146-7, fig. 10.1 and 18.1; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 14; Platon 1969a, nos. 377, 378; Pelon 1976, 36–37; Pini 1968, 10, 12; Walberg 1983, 107; 1992, 103; Belli 1984, 116; Branigan 1993, 147, no. 73,75; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 728-29, No. 729; Goodison and Guarita 2006, 207; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 148.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 168: (Fig. 56)

Site Name: Vorou

Context: Tholos A, Upper stratum

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (but images suggest vertical)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: None directly associated

References: Marinatos 1931b, 146-7, fig. 10.1 and 18.1; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 14; Pini 1968, 10, 12; Platon 1969a, nos. 377, 378; Pelon 1976, 36–37; Walberg 1983, 107; 1992, 103; Belli

1984, 116; Branigan 1993, 147, no. 73,75; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 728-29; Goodison and Guarita 2006, 207; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 148.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MM IB?

Cat. 169: L.1 (Fig. 57)

Site Name: Vorou

Context: Tholos A, Upper stratum

Tomb Type: Tholos

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (but images suggest horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: None directly associated

References: Marinatos 1931b, 146-7, fig. 10.1 and 18.1; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 14; Pini 1968, 10, 12; Platon 1969a, nos. 377, 378; Pelon 1976, 36-37; Walberg 1983, 107; 1992, 103; Belli 1984, 116; Branigan 1993, 147, no. 73,75; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 728-29, 728; Goodison and Guarita 2006, 207; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 148.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III/MM IB – MM IIA

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 170: L.2 (Fig. 58)

Site Name: Vorou

Context: Annex DD1, DD2, DD3, Upper stratum

Tomb Type: Tholos Annex

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: 5 per long side (3 vertical and 2 horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: None directly associated

References: Marinatos 1931b, 146-7, fig. 8.1, fig. 12-15; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 14; Petit 1987; Walberg 1992, 103; Georgoulaki 1996, No. 730-31, 731; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 151.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM?

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 171: L.1 (Fig. 59)

Site Name: Vorou

Context: Tomb B; Upper stratum

Tomb Type: Tholos
Shape: Rectangular
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unclear (but images suggest horizontal)
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unclear
Skeletons: Unclear
Finds: None directly associated
References: Marinatos 1931b 146-7; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 14; Pini 1968, 12; Warren 1972b, 240; Pelon 1976, 37; Walberg 1983, 107; 1992, 107; Branigan 1993, 147; Georgoulaki 1996, No. 730-31; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 152.
Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 172: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Hagios Myronas
Context: None specified
Tomb Type: Cemetery
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: L. 80 cm, w. 40 cm, th. ?, ht. ?
Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest vertical and horizontal)
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Unknown
Decoration: Unknown
Skeletons: Unclear
Finds: Found with primarily MM IIA pottery and a miniature vase; one larnax contained HM 11089 a MM IIA Straight lipped jug, but the exact larnax is not made clear.
References: Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 38; Alexiou 1967, 486, PL 360; 1969, 210-211 PL. 195b, 196b, 196c, 197a; 1970, 454-55; Orlandou 1968b, 117-118; 1969a, 140-141; 1970, 192-193; Warren 1977, 139; Walberg 1983, 105; Petit 1990, 39, 43, 51; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 45 Larnax 1; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 207.
Excavator Assigned Date: MM I
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 173: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Hagios Myronas
Context: None specified
Tomb Type: Cemetery
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest vertical and horizontal)
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Found with primarily MM IIA pottery; one larnax contained HM 11089 a MM IIA Straight lipped jug, but the exact larnax is not made clear.

References: Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 38; Alexiou 1967, 486, PL 360; 1969, 210-211 PL. 195b, 196b, 196c, 197a; 1970, 454-55; Orlandou 1968b, 117-118; 1969a, 140-141; 1970, 192-193; Warren 1977, 139; Walberg 1983, 105; Petit 1990, 39, 43, 51; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 46 Larnax 2; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 207.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 174: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Hagios Myronas

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cemetery

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 95 cm, w. 55 cm, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest vertical and horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Found with primarily MM IIA pottery; one larnax contained HM 11089 a MM IIA Straight lipped jug, but the exact larnax is not made clear.

References: Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 38; Alexiou 1967, 486, PL 360; 1969, 210-211 PL. 195b, 196b, 196c, 197a; 1970, 454-55; Orlandou 1968b, 117-118; 1969a, 140-141; 1970, 192-193; Warren 1977, 139; Walberg 1983, 105; Petit 1990, 39, 43, 51; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 47, Larnax 3; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 207.

Other Comments: Alexiou notes in the original publication that there are 3 larnakes from Hagios Myronas dating to the Neopalatial periods (p. 482); but later, he indicates that only one of them belongs to the MMIII period (the elliptical/tub one pp. 117-118) and the rest date to the Old Palace period. No further study has been performed.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM III

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 175: No Excavation No. (Fig. 60) HM18834

Site Name: Hagios Myronas

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cemetery

Shape: Elliptical (Also encircled by stones)

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: 3 handles per each side (3 horizontal per long sides, 2 vertical and 1 horizontal on the short sides)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Medium ware (washed to smooth surface)

Decoration: Undecorated

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 38; Alexiou 1967, 486, PL 360; 1969, 210-211 PL. 195b, 196b, 196c, 197a; 1970, 454-55; Orlandou 1968b, 117-118; 1969a, 140-141; 1970, 192-193; Warren 1977, 139; Walberg 1983, 105; Petit 1990, 39, 43, 51; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 48, Larnax 4; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 207.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 176: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Hagios Myronas

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cemetery

Shape: Elliptical, fragmentary (also encircled by stones)

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest vertical and horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 38; Alexiou 1967, 486, PL 360; 1969, 210-211 PL. 195b, 196b, 196c, 197a; 1970, 454-55; Orlandou 1968b, 117-118; 1969a, 140-141; 1970, 192-193; Warren 1977, 139; Walberg 1983, 105; Petit 1990, 39, 43, 51; Georgoulaki 1996, cat no. 49, Larnax 5; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 207.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 177: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Hagios Myronas

Context: Beneath preserved wall

Tomb Type: Cemetery

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest vertical and horizontal)

Lid: Described as slab

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Unknown

References: Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 38; Alexiou 1967, 486, PL 360; 1969, 210-211 PL. 195b, 196b, 196c, 197a; 1970, 454-55; Orlandou 1968b, 117-118; 1969a, 140-141; 1970, 192-193; Warren 1977, 139; Walberg 1983, 105; Petit 1990, 39, 43, 51; Georgoulaki 1996, cat. 50 Larnax 6; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 207.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 178: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Hagios Myronas

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cemetery

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest vertical and horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 38; Alexiou 1967, 486, PL 360; 1969, 210-211 PL. 195b, 196b, 196c, 197a; 1970, 454-55; Orlandou 1968b, 117-118; 1969a, 140-141; 1970, 192-193; Warren 1977, 139; Walberg 1983, 105; Petit 1990, 39, 43, 51; Georgoulaki 1996, Cat. no. 51; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 207.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 179: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Hagios Myronas

Context: Beneath pithos

Tomb Type: Cemetery

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear (Deltion images suggest vertical and horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unknown

References: Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 38; Alexiou 1977, 314-15 PL 187; Georgoulaki 1996, Cat. no. 57; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 207.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 180: No Excavation No. HM 8555

Site Name: Malia

Context: Maison des Morts, Tomb VIII (north of Room 9)

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: pr. L. <80 cm, pr. w. <50 cm, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unclear, probably 4 (Deltion images suggest vertical and horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: Unknown

References: Picard-Charbonneaux 1928, 503–504; Van Effenterre 1963, 72-75 fig. 3, Pl II, XXX; Walberg 1983, 116; 1992, type 52, 69; Petit 1990, 51; Soles 1992 173-6, 212;

Georgoulaki 1996, no. 611; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 254.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IIB – MM IIIA/EM II

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 181: 9527/1083

Site Name: Sissi

Context: Space 1

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Fragment 1 pr. L. 12.0 cm, pr. w. ?, th. 1.1 cm, h. 5.0 cm (17 fragments total)

Handles: At least 1, probably horizontal

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: 2.5 YR 5/8 Red, grey core

Decoration: Relief rope Decoration

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Schoep 2009, 50–51; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 291.

Other Comments: Not yet conserved or mended

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 182: 9862 (Fig. 61a–b)

Site Name: Sissi

Context: Space 9.2

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 83 cm, pr. w. 48 cm, th. 1.2 cm, pr. ht. 20 cm

Handles: 2 per long side, 1 per short side

Lid: Present (unstudied)

Feet: None

Fabric: 2.5 YR 6/8 light red (Slip is 2.5 YR 3/1 dark reddish grey) with grey core
Decoration: Relief rope decoration
Skeletons: The first skeleton represents a primary burial. A second was added later and on top of the first and the lid of the larnax
Finds: Unknown
References: Schoep, Schmitt and Crevecoeur 2011, 65-67; 2012; Schoep et al 2013, 41 – 50; Schoep 2016, 227-249; Schoep and Tomkins 2016, 234; Schoep 2018.
Other Comments: Separated from Pithos during study, Not yet conserved or mended
Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB – MM II
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 183: 9672 (Fig. 62)

Site Name: Sissi
Context: Space 1.30
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: 2 fragments: Fragment 1 pr. L. 30 cm, pr. w. 1 cm, th. 1.9 cm, ht. 10 cm; fragment 2 pr. L. 18 cm, pr. w. 30 cm
Handles: Present, but orientation and number are unclear
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Coarse red, 2.5 YR 5/6 red, grey core
Decoration: relief and impressed bands both vertical and horizontal
Skeletons: Empty
Finds: Empty
References: Schoep, Dreissen, Crevecoeur, Schmitt 2011 page 59 – 60 and 2012; Schoep 2009, Schoep 2016, 227-249; Schoep 2018.
Other Comments: Not yet conserved or mended
Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIA
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 184: 9502 (Fig. 63)

Site Name: Sissi
Context: Space 1.30
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Probably rectangular with curved interior.
Dimensions: 2 large fragments; together fragment 1 pr. L. 25 cm, pr. w. ?, th. 1.7 cm, ht. 22.5 cm
Handles: horizontal, but exact number unknown
Lid: Unknown (vessel was originally labeled as a lid, not a lid due to placement of handle attachment)
Feet: None
Fabric: 2.5 YR 5/6 – 5/8 Coarse Red ware, grey core
Decoration: Mottled? Too unclear
Skeletons: Currently believed to be a primary interment followed by multiple secondary
Finds: Unknown

References: Schoep 2009, 46, 55, fig. 3.2; Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2009, 78, 85, figs. 4.18 and 4.19, and 4.24; Schoep, Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2011 and 2012; Schoep 2016, 227-249; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 297-99; Schoep 2018.

Other Comments: Not yet conserved or mended

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIA

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 185: 1079 (Fig. 64)

Site Name: Sissi

Context: Space 1

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: fragments, pr. L. 21 cm, pr. w. ?, th. 1.7 cm; ht. 14 cm

Handles: At least 2 (which probably suggests at least 4 total, horizontal)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: 2.5 YR 5/6 red; Slip is 2.5 YR 3/1 dark reddish grey; core is grey

Decoration: Slip present

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Schoep 2009, 46, 55, and fig. 3.2; Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2009, 78, 85, figs. 4.18, 4.19, 4.24; Schoep, Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2011 and 2012; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 297-99; Schoep 2016, 227-249; Schoep 2018.

Other Comments: Not yet conserved or mended

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIB

Assigned date: MM IB – MMII

Cat. 186: 9701 (Fig. 65)

Site Name: Sissi

Context: Space 1.15

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: pr. L. ?, pr. w. 37 cm, th. 1.3-2.0 cm, ht. 23 cm

Handles: Probably 6 handles

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: 2.5 YR 5/6 - 5/8 Red, Slip is 2.5 YR 1/4 to 5/1,

Decoration: Relief rope decoration and black slip

Skeletons: Currently believed to be a primary interment followed by multiple secondary

Finds: Unknown

References: Schoep 2009, 46, 55, fig. 3.2; Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2009, 78, 85, figs. 4.18, 4.19, 4.24; Schoep, Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2011 and 2012; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 297-99; Schoep 2016, 227-249; Schoep 2018.

Other Comments: Not yet conserved or mended, May be a part of No. 9560 (Cat. no. 188)

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIB

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 187: 9286 (Fig. 66)

Site Name: Sissi

Context: Space 1.15/1.16

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: 8 total fragments, largest fragment: pr. L. 26 cm, pr. w. 15 cm, th. 1.4 cm, ht. 13 cm

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Probably covered in a dark slip, likely included plastic decoration around the rim, similar to Cat. no. 186, but none remains

Skeletons: Currently believed to be a primary interment followed by multiple secondary

Finds: Unknown

References: Schoep 2009, 46, 55, fig. 3.2; Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2009, 78, 85, figs. 4.18, 4.19, fig. 4.24; Schoep, Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2011 and 2012; Schoep 2016, 227-249; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 297-99; Schoep 2018.

Other Comments: Not yet conserved or mended

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 188: 9560 (Fig. 67)

Site Name: Sissi

Context: Space 1.30

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: pr. L. 44 cm, pr. w. 33 cm, th. 1.4-1.8 cm, ht. ?

Handles: at least 1 is present, probably horizontal

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: 2.5 YR 5/6 - 5/8 Red for core fabric; Burnt core is 2.5 YR 3/2 dusky red

Decoration: Unclear

Skeletons: Currently believed to be a primary interment followed by multiple secondary

Finds: Unknown

References: Schoep 2009, 46, 55, fig. 3.2; Schoep, Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2009, 78, 85, figs. 4.18, 4.19, 4.24; Schoep, Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2011 and 2012; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 297-99; Schoep 2016, 227-249; Schoep 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIA

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 189: 9506

Site Name: Sissi

Context: Space 1

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: 2 fragments (1 rim and 1 body) larger of the two pr. L. ?, pr. w. ?, th. 1.1 cm, ht. 11 cm

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: 2.5 YR 5/8 red

Decoration: Relief rope decoration

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Schoep 2009, 46, 55, fig. 3.2; Schoep, Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2009, 78, figs. 4.18 and 4.19, 85, fig. 4.24; Schoep, Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2011 and 2012; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 297-99; Schoep 2016, 227-249; Schoep 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IIB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 190: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Tzermiadon Trapesa

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Cave

Shape: Unknown (32 larnakes fragments)

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Pendlebury 1936, 13-23, 101, 103, 107-08; Pendlebury, Pendlebury and Money-Coutts 1939; 1940, 2; Pini 1968, 4; Platon 1969a, nos. 427-442; Branigan 1971, 60, 67-68, 70-71; Zois 1973, 118-123; 1998b, 242-245; Watrous 1982, 42, no. 11; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1983, 57-58; Walberg 1983, 121-122; Sbonias 1995, 74, 90; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 945; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 306.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM II – MM II

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 191: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Elounda

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Unknown

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Platon 1951, 444; Gallet de Santerre 1952, 242; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 5; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 338.

Other Comments: (Legarra Herrero has named it Hagios Nikolaos, but other references indicate Elounda. It is possible that two sites exist or that somehow it has been mixed up in scholarship as Rutkowski has two entries, one for Nikolaos and one later for Elounta Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 67).

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II – MM III

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 192: No. 3 (Fig. 68a –b)

Site Name: Kalo Chorio, Istron

Context: “House” Tomb A (2, 4, 5 later than 1, 3, 7)

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 90 cm, pr. w. ?, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: 2 per long side (Vertical)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Likely Type III Mirabello

Decoration: Dark Linear Bands encircle the body in at least 4 bands – additional band around base and rim. Some possible dripware.

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Haggis et al.1993; Haggis 1996; Georgoulaki 1996, no. Addenda no.3 Burial 3; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 339-340.

Other Comments: Needs final study – COVID interrupted analysis post cleaning and mending

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 193: No. 2 (Fig. 69a –b)

Site Name: Kalo Chorio, Istron

Context: “House” Tomb A, upper (2, 4, 5 later than 1, 3, 7)

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 80 cm, pr. w. ?, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: 2 per long side (Horizontal, low)

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Type III Mirabello

Decoration: Three dark slipped bands encircle the body (Rim not present, may be a fourth band)

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Haggis et al.1993; Haggis 1996; Georgoulaki 1996, no. Addenda no.2 Burial 2;
Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 339-340.
Other Comments: Needs final study – COVID interrupted analysis post cleaning and mending
Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB
Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 194: No. 4 (Fig. 70a –b)

Site Name: Kalo Chorio, Istron
Context: “House” Tomb A, upper (2, 4, 5 later than 1, 3, 7)
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: L. 65 cm, pr. w. ?, th. ?, ht. ?
Handles: 2 per long side (Vertical)
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Type III Mirabello
Decoration: Vertical and Horizontal intersecting bands encircle the entire body. White on dark paint appears on some of the bands (may be representative of basketry)
Skeletons: Unknown
Finds: Unknown
References: Haggis et al.1993; Haggis 1996; Georgoulaki 1996, no. Addenda no.4 Burial 4;
Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 339-340.
Other Comments: Needs final study – COVID interrupted analysis post cleaning and mending
Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB
Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 195: No. ? (Fig. 71 a –b)

Site Name: Kalo Chorio, Istron
Context: “House” Tomb A (2, 4, 5 later than 1, 3, 7)
Tomb Type: Rectangular
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: L. ?, pr. w. ?, th. ?, ht. ?
Handles: Unclear
Lid: Unknown
Feet: None
Fabric: Likely Type III Mirabello
Decoration: Dark linear bands
Skeletons: Unknown
Finds: Unknown
References: Haggis et al.1993; Haggis 1996; Georgoulaki 1996, no. Addenda no.7 Burial 7;
Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 339-340.
Other Comments: Needs final study – COVID interrupted analysis post cleaning and mending
Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB
Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 196: No. 5 (Fig. 72 a –b)

Site Name: Kalo Chorio, Istron

Context: “House” Tomb A, upper (2, 4, 5 later than 1, 3, 7)

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 78 cm, pr. w. ?, th. ?, ht. ?

Handles: Unclear

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Likely Type III Mirabello

Decoration: Dark linear bands

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Haggis et al.1993; Haggis 1996; Georgoulaki 1996, no. no.5 Burial 5; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 339-340.

Other Comments: Needs final study – COVID interrupted analysis post cleaning and mending

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 197: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Sphoungaras

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Rock Shelter/Crevise/Deposits

Shape: Rectangular, probably many fragments, location unknown, some at UPenn (those seen at UPenn are suggestive of MMIII)

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Hall 1912a, 46–53; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 11; Zois 1968a, 173–175; Platon 1969a, nos. 469, 470; Andreou 1978, 62; Betancourt 1983, 46–48; 1984, 17; Walberg 1983, 124; Fotou 1993, 98-99, PL VIII; Georgoulaki 1996; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 330-31 and 333; Kunkel 2019.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II - III

Assigned Date: Unknown, possibly MMII

Cat. 198: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Sphoungaras

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Rock Shelter/Crevise/Deposits

Shape: Rectangular, probably many fragments, location unknown, some at UPenn (those seen at UPenn are suggestive of MMIII)

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Hall 1912a, 46–53; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 11; Zois 1968a, 173–175; Platon 1969a, nos. 469, 470; Andreou 1978, 62; Betancourt 1983, 46–48; 1984, 17; Walberg 1983, 124; Fotou 1993, 98-99, PL VIII; Georgoulaki 1996; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 330-31 and 333; Kunkel 2019.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM II - III

Assigned date: Unknown, possibly MMIII

Cat. 199: 11.916 (Fig. 73a –b)

Site Name: Gournia

Context: Building EO, Settlement

Tomb Type: Not Applicable, Settlement Building

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 93.6 cm, pr. w. 42.8 cm, th. 1.3 cm, ht. 38 cm

Handles: 5 per long side (All vertical)

Lid: possibly 11.1407

Feet: None

Fabric: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow

Decoration: Buff Slipped with reddish bands at the edge on top and 2 thick bands across the top – probably a wavy line decoration.

Skeletons: None

Finds: Other pottery

References: No References, unpublished.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 200: 11.917 (Fig. 74a –b)

Site Name: Gournia

Context: Building EO, Settlement

Tomb Type: Not Applicable, Settlement Building

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 96 cm, w. 37 cm, th.1.1 cm, ht. 45 cm

Handles: 2 per long side (All vertical)

Lid: Possibly 11.918

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Buff-slipped ext w/ dark curvilinear motif (concentric 1/2 circles but not quite standardized) in 3 registers (top to bottom: 7 & 6 on long sides w/ 1 short & bottom curve; 5 or 6

& 6 or 7 on long side; 6 & 7 long sides w/ 2 & 2 short sides; 1 register missing from short side), 4 linear bands & drip all over. Dark rim band.

Skeletons: None

Finds: Other pottery

References: No References, unpublished.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 201: Casella B (Fig. 75)

Site Name: Gournia

Context: Tomb Suite, NW Corner, Tomb VII

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 110 cm, w. 52 cm, th. ?, pr. ht. 11 cm

Handles: Unclear

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown/probably 1, but bones noted as in disorder

Finds: 1 dagger and 1 sheet of gold

References: Boyd 1903 (notebooks), 28; 1904, 42; Boyd Hawes et al. 1908, 56; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 34; Soles 1979, 157 and 163; 1992b, 39–40; Fotou 1993, 99; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 768

Room b; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 325; Kunkel 2019.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 202: Casella A (Fig. 75)

Site Name: Gournia

Context: Tomb Suite, SE Corner, Tomb VII

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 95 cm, pr. w. ?, th. ?, pr. ht. 10 cm

Handles: Unclear

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: None

Finds: Dagger and cooking pots

References: Boyd 1903 (notebooks), 28; 1904, 42; Boyd Hawes et al. 1908, 56; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 34; Soles 1979, 157 and 163; 1992b, 39–40; Fotou 1993, 99; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 767

Room a; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 325; Kunkel 2019.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 203: Casella 3 (Fig. 76)

Site Name: Gournia

Context: Tomb 1

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unclear

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unclear, disordered bones

Finds: A silver lobed kantharos (HNM 202), fragments of a cup and bowl, and 2 birds nest - bowls

References: Boyd 1903 (notebooks), 28; 1904, 42; Boyd Hawes et al. 1908, 56; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 34; Soles 1979, 157 and 163; 1992b, 39–40; Davaras 1974, 48–49; 1973a, 588–589; Fotou 1993, 99-100; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 752 Room 1; Vavouranakis 2005; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 318; Kunkel 2019.

Other Comments: (Boyd's notebooks suggest a casella is present, but Georgoulaki does not list it among the finds).

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IIA

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 204: Casella ?

Site Name: Gournia

Context: Tomb 2

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unclear, disordered bones

Finds: Exact association unclear, tweezers, Cups +/- 5 and a miniature vase

References: Boyd-Hawes 1903 (notebooks p. 31-32 and 35); 1904, 42; Boyd Hawes et al. 1908, 56; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 34; Davaras 1974, 48–49; 1973a, 588–589; Soles 1979, 157 and 163; 1992b, 39–40; Fotou 1993, 99-100; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 756-60, Room 1; Vavouranakis 2005; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 318; Kunkel 2019.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III – MM IB

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 205: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Pacheia Ammos

Context: Open area on beach

Tomb Type: Cemetery
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: Unknown
Lid: Present, flat
Feet: None
Fabric: Mirabello Fabric is likely, Coarse Ware
Decoration: Dark band around shoulder with additional details (details are unclear, but appear to be vertical lines)
Skeletons: Unclear, disordered bones
Finds: Several finds are noted, but they are primarily ceramic in nature, and none can be directly associated with the larnakes.
References: Seager 1916, 6-29; Platon and Alexiou 1957, 339–340; Alexiou 1963c, 405; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 8; Zois 1968a, 167–168; Pini 1968, 12, 14, 34; Walberg 1983, 125–126; Petit 1990, 54–55; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 777-782; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 379.
Other Comments: Current location is unknown
Excavator Assigned Date: MM IIA
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 206: No Excavation No. (Fig. 77)

Site Name: Pacheia Ammos
Context: Group XVII
Tomb Type: Cemetery
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: 2 horizontal handles on long sides (Unclear whether additional handles were present on short sides)
Lid: Present, two upright handles attached at top
Feet: None
Fabric: Mirabello Fabric is likely, Coarse Ware
Decoration: Dark connected circular around shoulder, possible dripware?
Skeletons: Unclear, disordered bones
Finds: Several finds are noted, but they are primarily ceramic in nature, and none can be directly associated with the larnakes.
References: Seager 1916, 6-29; Platon and Alexiou 1957, 339–340; Alexiou 1963c, 405; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 8; Pini 1968, 12, 14, 34; Zois 1968a, 167–168; Walberg 1983, 125–126; Petit 1990, 54–55; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 777-782; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 379.
Other Comments: Current location is unknown
Excavator Assigned Date: MM I
Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 207: No Excavation No. (Fig. 78) HM 7366

Site Name: Pacheia Ammos
Context: Group X
Tomb Type: Cemetery
Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 73 cm, w. 41 cm, th. 1.2 cm, pr. ht. 42 cm
Handles: 4 per long side (All vertical)
Lid: Present, two upright handles attached at top
Feet: None
Fabric: Mirabello Fabric is likely, Coarse Ware
Decoration: Covered in a dark red slip
Skeletons: None, Teeth present
Finds: Several finds are noted, but they are primarily ceramic in nature, and none can be directly associated with the larnakes.
References: Seager 1916, 6-29; Platon and Alexiou 1957, 339–340; Alexiou 1963c, 405; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 8; Pini 1968, 12, 14, 34; Zois 1968a, 167–168; Walberg 1983, 125–126; Petit 1990, 54–55; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 777-782; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 379.
Excavator Assigned Date: MM I
Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 208: No Excavation No. (Fig. 79)

Site Name: Pacheia Ammos
Context: Group XVII
Tomb Type: Cemetery
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: Unknown
Handles: 4 per long side (All vertical)
Lid: Not present
Feet: None
Fabric: Mirabello Fabric is likely, Coarse Ware
Decoration: None
Skeletons: Unknown
Finds: Several finds are noted, but they are primarily ceramic in nature, and none can be directly associated with the larnakes.
References: Seager 1916, 6-29; Platon and Alexiou 1957, 339–340; Alexiou 1963c, 405; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 8; Pini 1968, 12, 14, 34; Zois 1968a, 167–168; Walberg 1983, 125–126; Petit 1990, 54–55; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 777-782; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 379.
Other Comments: Current location is unknown
Excavator Assigned Date: MM I
Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 209: No Excavation No. (Fig. 80a – c) HM 197370

Site Name: Pacheia Ammos
Context: Group XVII
Tomb Type: Cemetery
Shape: Elliptical
Dimensions: L. 55 cm, w. 40.5 cm, th. 1.1-2.0 cm, ht. 35 cm
Handles: 1 per each side (All horizontal)
Lid: present, flat, decorated, horizontal handles on each long side
Feet: None

Fabric: Mirabello Fabric is likely, Coarse Ware: Fabric 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown, Red paint is 2.5 YR 4/6, Dark paint could be either 2.5 YR or 5 YR 3/1

Decoration: Decorated in dark slip, dark circles connected via double lines around the entire body. Same design extends to the top of the lid.

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Several finds are noted, but they are primarily ceramic in nature, and none can be directly associated with the larnakes.

References: Seager 1916, 6-29; Platon and Alexiou 1957, 339–340; Alexiou 1963c, 405; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 8; Pini 1968, 12, 14, 34; Zois 1968a, 167–168; Walberg 1983, 125–126; Petit 1990, 54–55; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 777-782; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 379.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 210: No Excavation No. (Fig. 81a –b) HM 7367

Site Name: Pacheia Ammos

Context: Group XVII

Tomb Type: Cemetery

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 72 cm, w.43 cm, th. 2.25 cm, ht. 41 cm

Handles: 3 per long side (All vertical)

Lid: unclear

Feet: None

Fabric: Mirabello Fabric is likely, Coarse Ware: 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow, dark paint is 5YR between 3/2-3/3

Decoration: Painted decoration. Circles connected by lines that spread from one another with some attempts at perhaps early swirling pattern. They are even and methodical in their orientation - 4 lines extend from each circle. There are 4 circles at each orientation (4 on the long sides, 4 on the short sides)

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Several finds are noted, but they are primarily ceramic in nature, and none can be directly associated with the larnakes.

References: Seager 1916, 6-29; Platon and Alexiou 1957, 339–340; Alexiou 1963c, 405; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 8; Pini 1968, 12, 14, 34; Zois 1968a, 167–168; Walberg 1983, 125–126; Petit 1990, 54–55; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 777-782; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 379.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 211: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Ierapetra Isthmus, Pera Alatsomouri

Context: None specified

Tomb Type: Crevice

Shape: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown, likely Mirabello

Decoration: None

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unclear

References: Boyd 1904, 182; Boyd Hawes et al. 1908, 56 fig. 39; Rutkowski 1966, cat no. 68; Walberg 1992, type 238, motif 9; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 770; Kunkel 2019.

Excavator Assigned Date: Unclear

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 212: 12613 (Fig. 82)

Site Name: Evraika

Context: Room a ?

Tomb Type: Rock Shelter

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. ?, pr. w. ?, th. ?, pr. ht. 1.7 cm

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Catalogue Represents lid

Feet: None

Fabric: Coarse, red to orange clay (Mirabello Fabric)

Decoration: Orange to Red paint, thick bands around edge and possible linear decoration across top

Skeletons: None

Finds: None, or unclear

References: Pariente 1991, 940; Haggis 1992, 216–217; 2005, 141; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 818;

Tomb 3 rooms, a, b, c; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 316; Tsipopoulou, 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 213: 12614 (Fig. 83)

Site Name: Evraika

Context: Room a? Only described as belonging to 12616 (Cat. 221)

Tomb Type: Rock Shelter

Shape: Elliptical, lid

Dimensions: pr. L. 8.4 cm, pr. w. 4.8 cm, th. 1.5 – 2.0 cm

Handles: 2 handles present (probably a total of 3)

Lid: Catalogue represents lid possibly belonging to Cat. no. 221

Feet: None

Decoration: Thick dark bands around edge with linear dark bands crossing the surface

Skeletons: Broken and poorly preserved, number unclear (Bone Cluster 4)

Finds: Prismatic Seal (A. Nikolaos 12608), possible clay cup (association unclear, A. Nikolaos 12494)

References: Pariente 1991, 940; Haggis 1992, 216–217; 2005, 141; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 818;

Tomb 3 rooms, a, b, c; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 316; Tsipopoulou, 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 214: 12615 (Fig. 84)

Site Name: Evraika

Context: Room a, Bone Cluster 4, possibly belonging to 12617 (Cat. 222)

Tomb Type: Rock Shelter

Shape: Elliptical, lid

Dimensions: L. ?, pr. w. ?, th. 1.3 cm, pr. ht. ?

Handles: Single handle remains

Lid: Catalogue represents lid possibly to Cat. 222

Feet: None

Fabric: Coarse brown clay, Buff, Likely Mirabello fabric

Decoration: Circular designs – small fragment

Skeletons: Broken and poorly preserved, number unclear

Finds: None

References: Pariente 1991, 940; Haggis 1992, 216–217; 2005, 141; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 818;

Tomb 3 rooms, a, b, c; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 316; Tsipopoulou, 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 215: No Excavation No. (Fig. 85)

Site Name: Kato Zakros, Pesoules Kefalas

Context: Tomb B; Center of tomb, Upper stratum

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular/Elliptical?

Dimensions: pr. L. 76-80 cm, pr. w. 34-39 cm, th. ?, pr. ht. ?? (Publisher (L. Platon 2012) lists in text that all vessels range between 76 – 80 cm in length and 34-39 cm in width).

Handles: None present

Lid: Unclear, none mentioned

Feet: 6 small knob-like feet evenly dispersed across base

Fabric: Unknown, not described

Decoration: None

Skeletons: 1 skeleton

Finds: No information provided

References: Platon 1969b, 190–194, PL 166-70; Soles 1973, 173–176 and 388; 1992b, 198–201;

Becker, 1975, 273 fig. 2-4; Yule 1980, 16; Zois 1997b, 62–68; Platon 1999, 674, 676;

Georgoulaki 1996, no. 810; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 468.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IIB

Assigned date: MM IIB

Cat. 216: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Kato Zakros, Pesoules Kefalas

Context: Tomb A, Room Gamma, NW, Upper

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: pr. L. 76-80 cm, pr. w. 34-39 cm, th. ?, pr. ht. ? (Publisher (L. Platon 2012) lists in text that all vessels range between 76 – 80 cm in length and 34-39 cm in width).

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None

Skeletons: 3 skeletons

Finds: 3 cups

References: Platon 1969b, 190–194, PL 166-70; Soles 1973, 173–176 and 388; 1992b, 198–201; Becker, 1975, 273 fig. 2-4; Yule 1980, 16; Zois 1997b, 62–68; L. Platon 1999, 674, 676; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 802; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 467.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMI

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 217: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Kato Zakros, Pesoules Kefalas

Context: Tomb A, Room A, SW, Upper

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Rectangular

Dimensions: L. 76-80, pr. w. 34-39, th. ?, pr. ht. ? (Publisher (L.Platon 2012) lists in text that all vessels range between 76 – 80 cm in length and 34-39 cm in width).

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None

Skeletons: Bones in disorder, exact number of individuals unclear (+/- 45 skulls)

Finds: A seal stone, +/- 3 beads made of bronze, a stone vase, and lots of pottery fragments

References: Platon 1969b, 190–194, PL 166-70; Soles 1973, 173–176 and 388; 1992b, 198–201; Becker, 1975, 273 fig. 2-4; Yule 1980, 16; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 802; Zois 1997b, 62–68; Platon 1999, 674, 676; 2012 Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 467.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMI

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 218: No Excavation No.

Site Name: Kato Zakros, Pesoules Kefalas

Context: Tomb A, Room B, SW, Upper

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unclear

Dimensions: L. 76-80, pr. w. 34-39, th. ?, pr. ht. ? (Publisher (L.Platon 2012) lists in text that all vessels range between 76 – 80 cm in length and 34-39 cm in width).

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None

Skeletons: Unclear

Finds: Unclear

References: Platon 1969b, 190–194, PL 166-70; Soles 1973, 173–176 and 388; 1992b, 198–201; Becker, 1975, 273 fig. 2-4; Yule 1980, 16; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 807; Zois 1997b, 62–68; Platon 1999, 674, 676; 2012, Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 467.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMI

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 219: No Excavation No. (Fig. 86)

Site Name: Kato Zakros, Pesoules Kefalas

Context: Tomb A, Room B, SW, Upper

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unclear

Dimensions: L. 76-80, pr. w. 34-39, th. ?, pr. ht. ? (Publisher (L.Platon 2012) lists in text that all vessels range between 76 – 80 cm in length and 34-39 cm in width).

Handles: None

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: None

Skeletons: 2 skeletons

Finds: 1 jug

References: Platon 1969b, 190–194, PL 166-70; Soles 1973, 173–176 and 388; 1992b, 198–201; Becker, 1975, 273 fig. 2-4; Yule 1980, 16; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 806; Zois 1997b, 62–68; Platon 1999, 674, 676; 2012, Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 467.

Excavator Assigned Date: EM III - MMI

Assigned date: MM IIA

Cat. 220: L.1

Site Name: Archanes

Context: Tomb 5, Room 5, Lower stratum

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Unclear

Dimensions: Unknown

Handles: Unknown

Lid: Unknown

Feet: None

Fabric: Unknown

Decoration: Unknown

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Possibly 2 ivory seals and 1 zoomorphic ivory pendant

References: Sakellarakis 1967, 160 PL, 150b; 1971a, 281, 1972, 319–27; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1978, 320, 1982, 501, Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 104–6, 1997, 199–201; Soles 1992, 204; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 223 (larnax 1) Tomb 5/Room 4; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 170; Linn 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I - MMII

Assigned date: MM IA

Cat. 221: 12616 (Fig. 87a –b)

Site Name: Evraika

Context: Bone Cluster 4

Tomb Type: Rock Shelter

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 79.2 cm, w. 48.5 cm, th. 2.9-3.2 cm, ht. 46 cm

Handles: 6 handles per long sides (All vertical, 4 near rim and 2 near the base)

Lid: Flat with three handles, decorated (numbered 12614)

Feet: None

Fabric: Coarse, pinkish-buff clay, Mirabello fabric

Decoration: Dark brown paint, interconnected dark circles attached across the body via interconnecting double lines

Skeletons: Broken and poorly preserved, number unclear (Bone Cluster 4)

Finds: Prismatic Seal (A. Nikolaos 12608), possible clay cup (association unclear, A. Nikolaos 12494)

References: Pariente 1991, 940; Haggis 1992, 216–217; 2005, 141; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 818;

Tomb 3 rooms, a, b, c; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 316; Tsipopoulou, 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 222: 12617 (Fig. 88a –b)

Site Name: Evraika

Context: Bone Cluster 6

Tomb Type: Rock Shelter

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: L. 83.5 cm, w. 39.2 cm, th. at rim 3.1 cm, pr. ht. 48 cm

Handles: 6 per long side (All vertical)

Lid: Unclear (but could be either Cat. no. 212 or no. 214)

Feet: None

Fabric: Coarse orange clay with granite, Mirabello fabric

Decoration: Cross-hatch design like concentric Xs in dark paint

Skeletons: Bone Cluster 6, possibly 3 skeletons, due to fallen stones, number and association unclear

Finds: No directly associated finds

References: Pariente 1991, 940; Haggis 1992, 216–217; 2005, 141; Georgoulaki 1996, no. 818;

Tomb 3 rooms, a, b, c; Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 316; Tsipopoulou, 2018.

Excavator Assigned Date: MM I – MM II

Assigned date: MM IB

Cat. 223: No. 7 (Fig. 89a –b)

Site Name: Kalo Chorio

Context: “House” Tomb A (2, 4, 5 later than 1, 3, 7)

Tomb Type: Rectangular

Shape: Elliptical

Dimensions: Not yet studied.

Handles: At least 1 vertical near rim

Lid: missing

Feet: None

Fabric: Likely Type III Mirabello

Decoration: Thick dark linear bands around rim and vertical down body

Skeletons: Unknown

Finds: Unknown

References: Haggis et al.1993; Haggis 1996; Georgoulaki 1996, no. Addenda no.7 Burial 7;
Legarra Herrero 2014, cat. 339-340.

Other Comments: Needs final study – COVID interrupted analysis post cleaning and mending

Excavator Assigned Date: MM IB

Assigned date: MM IB

Figures

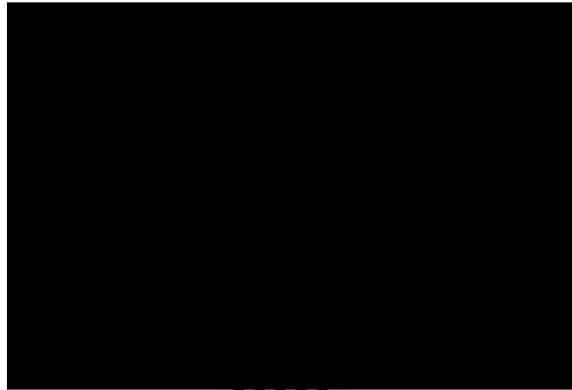


Fig 1: Apesokari, Tholos B (Vavouranakis 2015, fig. 12.19)
Corresponds to Cat. 2

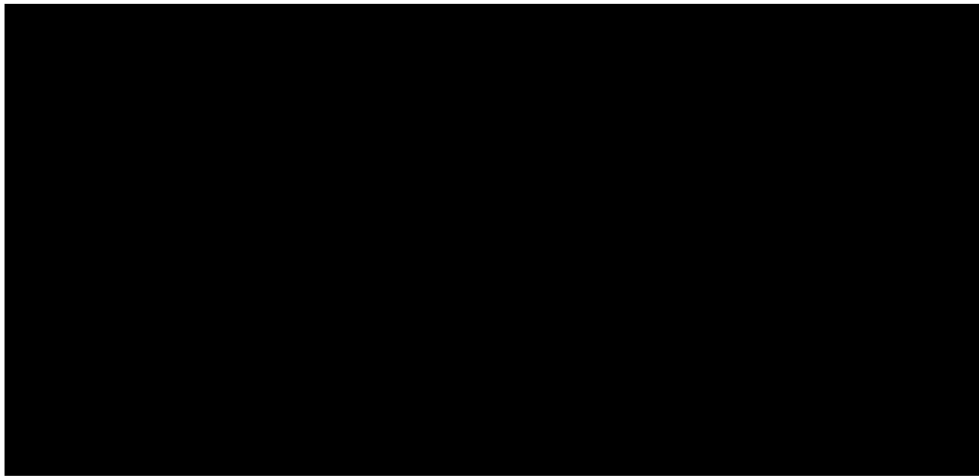


Fig 2: Apesokari, Tholos B (Vavouranakis, pers. comm.)
Corresponds to Cat. 3



Fig 3: Apesokari, Tholos A (Flouda 2011, XXXIXa)
Corresponds to Cat. 5 (Also corresponds to Fig. 80a)

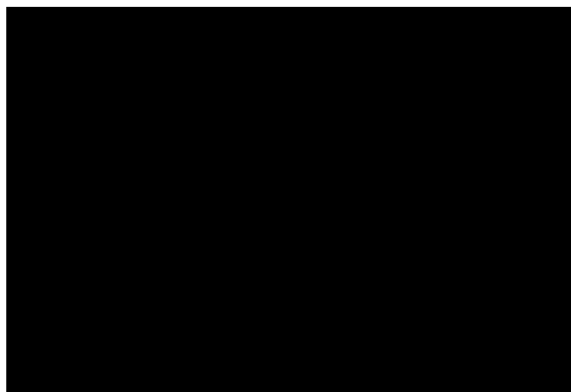


Fig 4: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 17)
Corresponds to Cat. 9

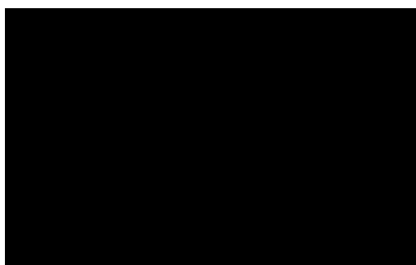


Fig 5: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 17)
Corresponds to Cat. 10

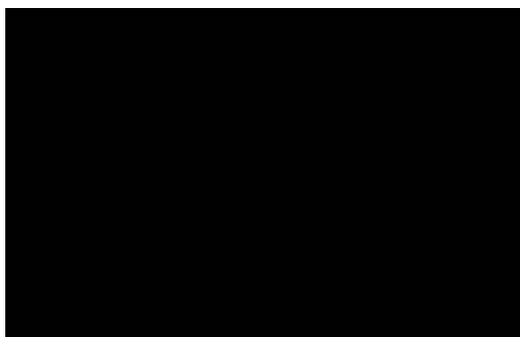


Fig 6: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 17)
Corresponds to Cat. 11

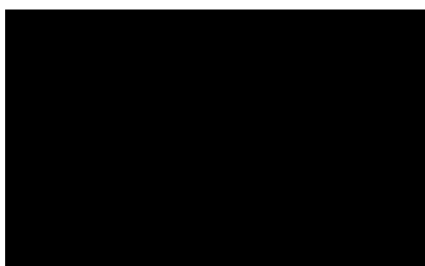


Fig 7: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 17)
Corresponds to Cat. 12



Fig 8: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 17)
Corresponds to Cat. 13



Fig 9: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 17)
Corresponds to Cat. 14

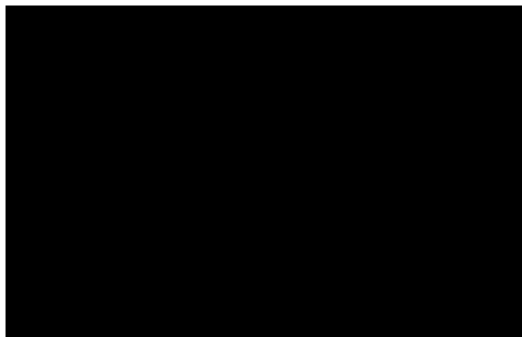


Fig 10: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 18)
Corresponds to Cat. 15

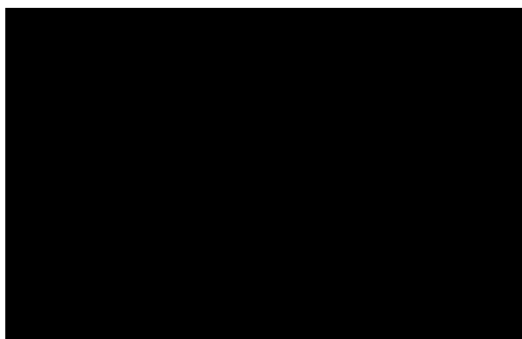


Fig 11: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 18)
Corresponds to Cat. 16

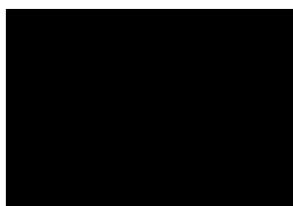


Fig 12: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 18)
Corresponds to Cat. 17

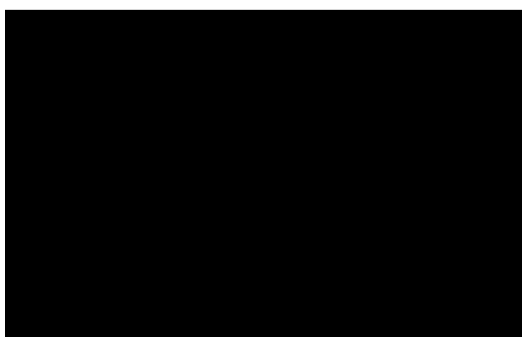


Fig 13: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 18)
Corresponds to Cat. 18

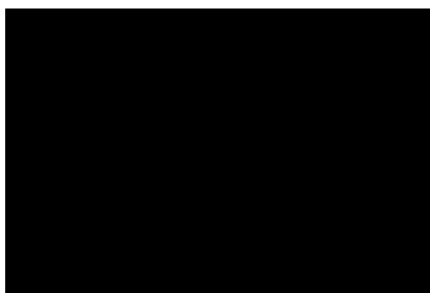


Fig 14: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 18)
Corresponds to Cat. 19

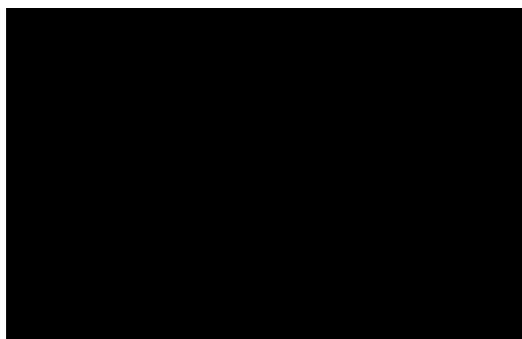


Fig 15: Archanes, Tholos G (Papadatos 2005, fig. 18)
Corresponds to Cat. 20

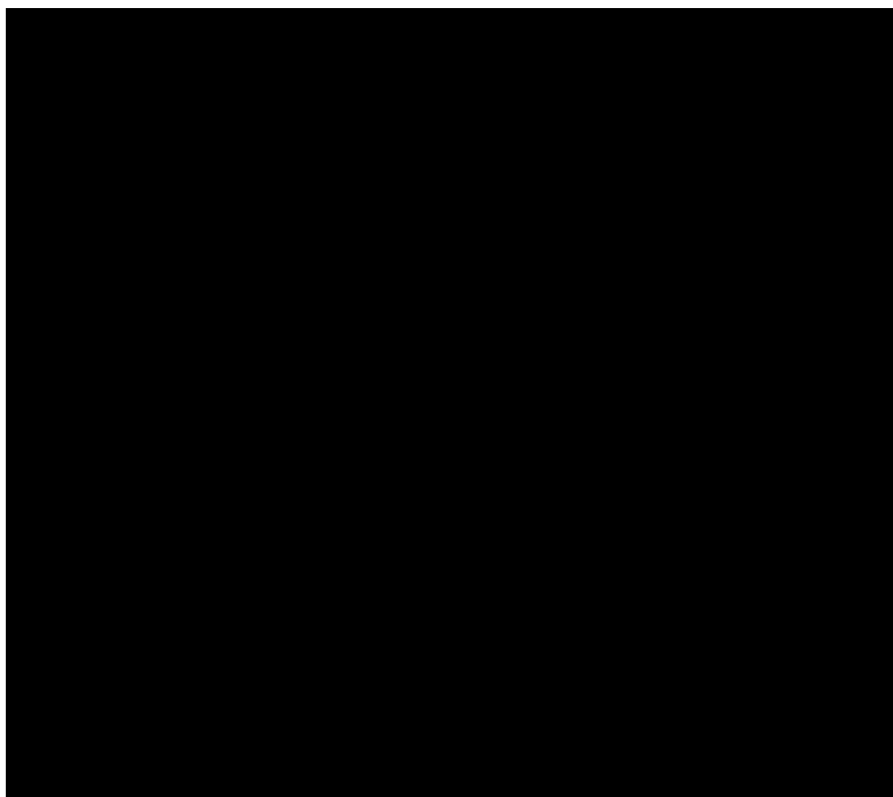


Fig 16: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 16)
Corresponds to Cat. 21

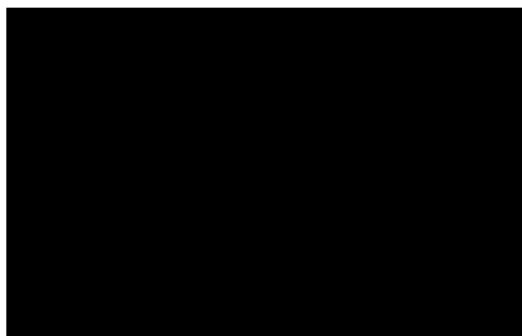


Fig 17: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 14)
Corresponds to Cat. 22

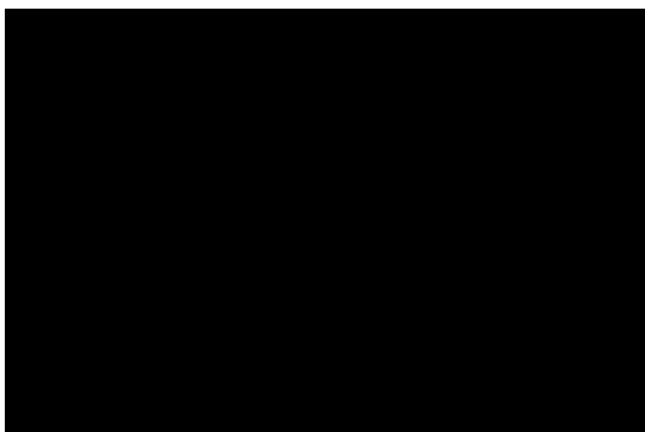


Fig 18: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 13)
Corresponds to Cat. 23



Fig 19: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 13)
Corresponds to Cat. 24



Fig 20: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 13)
Corresponds to Cat. 25



Fig 21: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 15)
Corresponds to Cat. 26

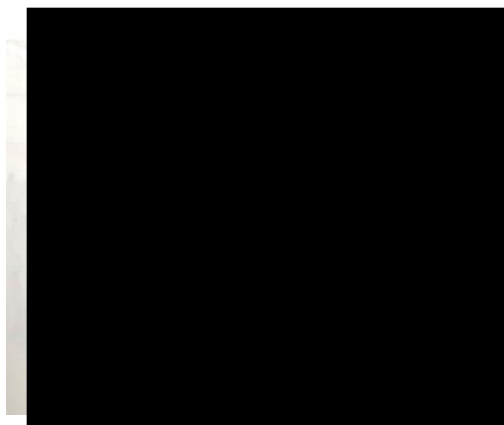


Fig 22: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 11)
Corresponds to Cat. 28

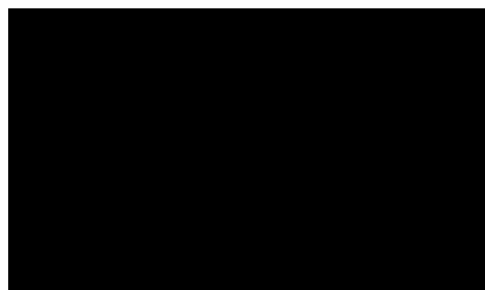


Fig 23: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 14)
Corresponds to Cat. 30

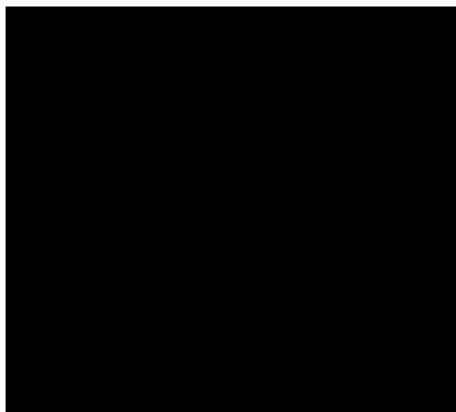


Fig 24: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 12)
Corresponds to Cat. 31

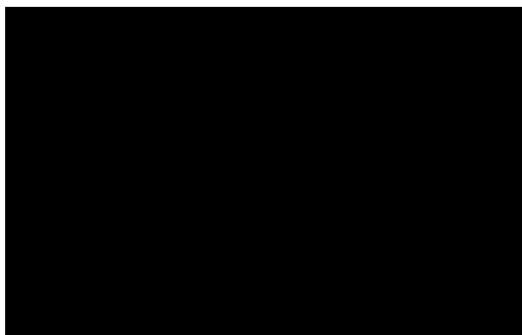


Fig 25: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 13)
Corresponds to Cat. 32

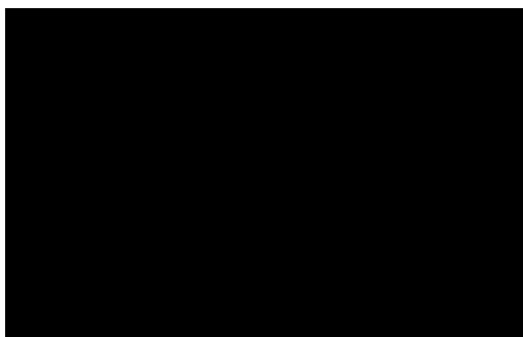


Fig 26: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 11)
Corresponds to Cat. 33 and Cat. 34

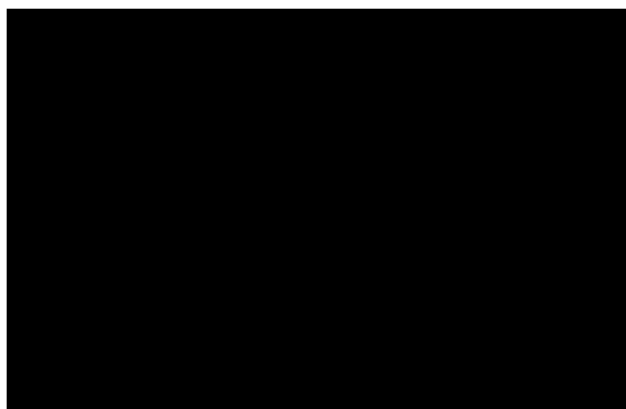


Fig 27: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 18)
Corresponds to Cat. 30



Fig 28: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 14)
Corresponds to Cat. 35

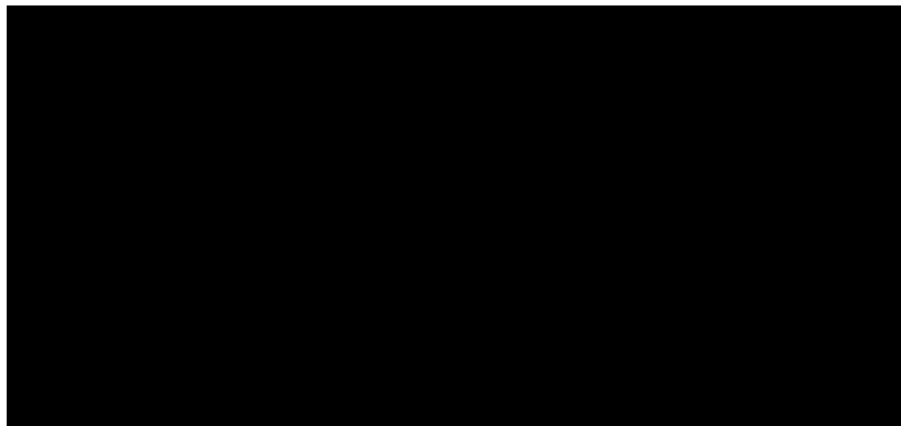


Fig 29a and b: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 13 and 14)
Corresponds to Cat. 36

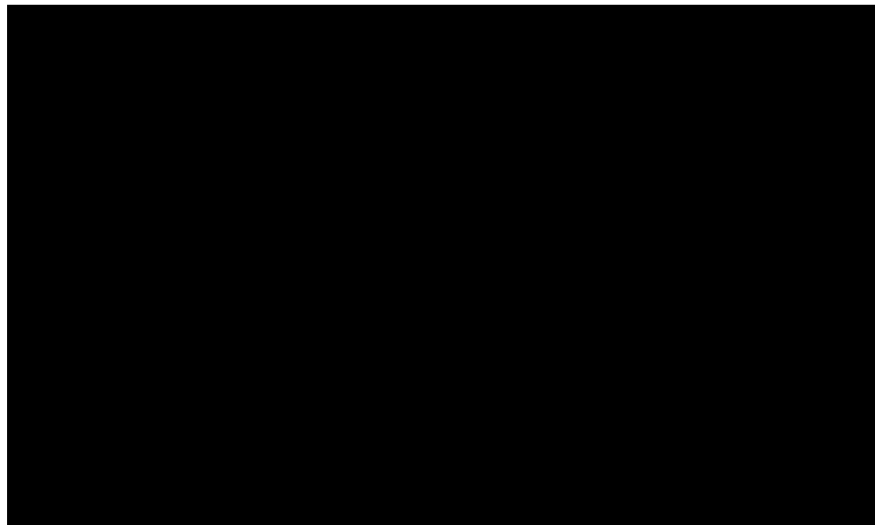


Fig 30a and b: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 16 and 12)
Corresponds to Cat. 38

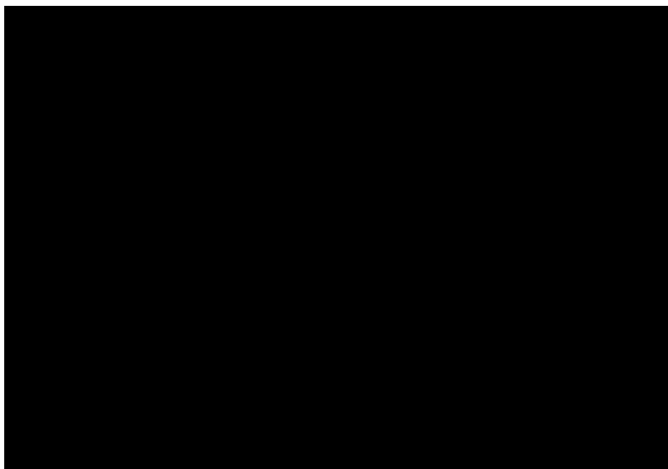


Fig 31: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 12)
Corresponds to Cat. 39

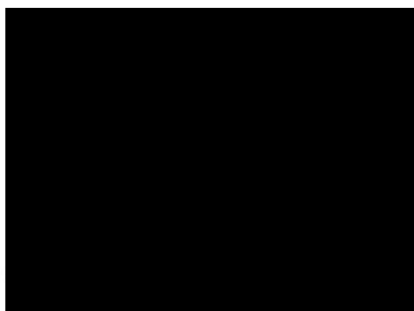


Fig 32: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 12)
Corresponds to Cat. 40

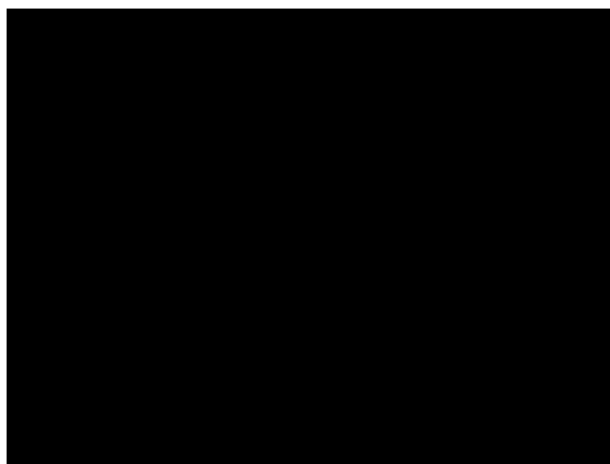


Fig 33: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 12)
Corresponds to Cat. 41

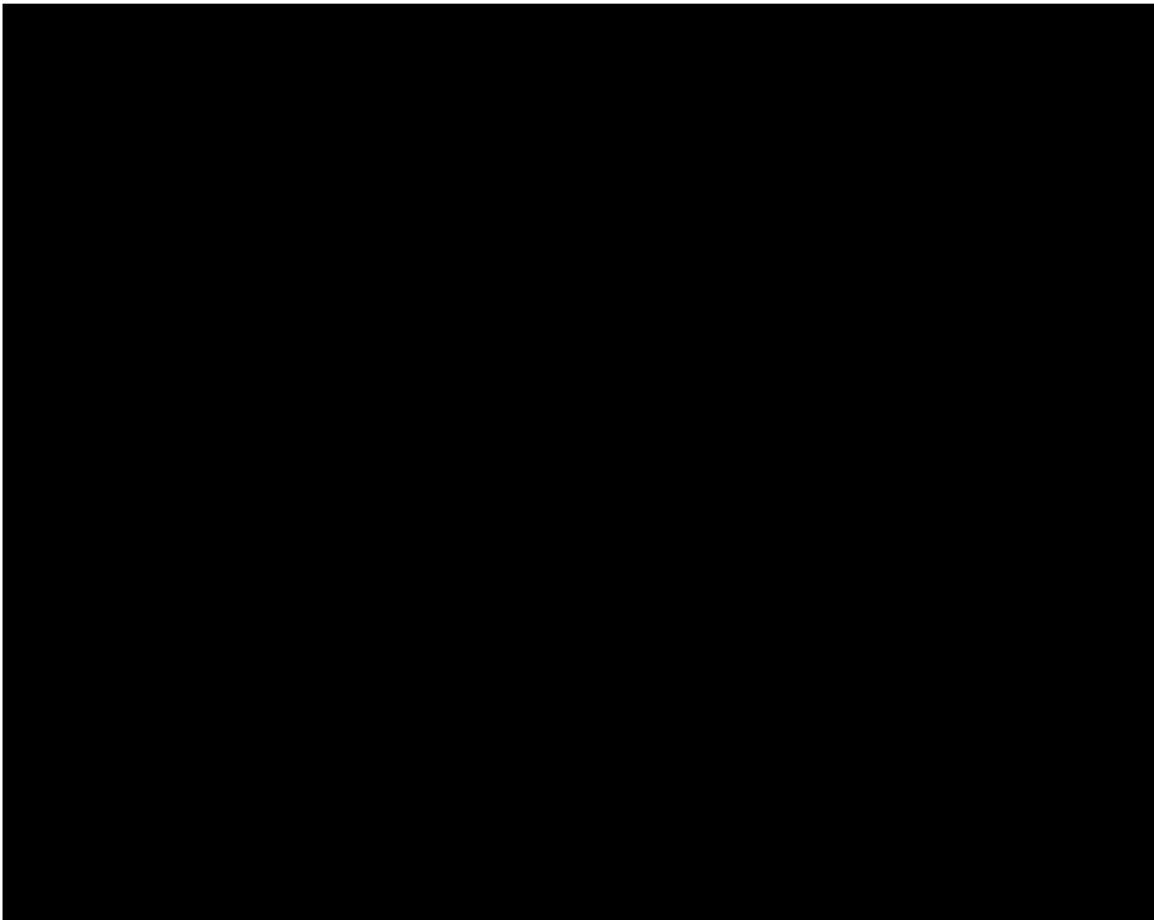


Fig 34: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 16)
Corresponds to Cat. 42

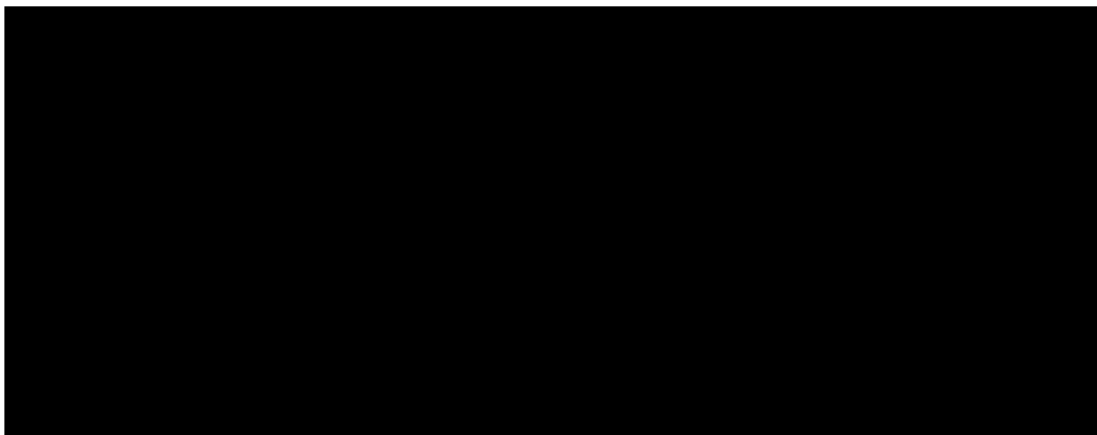


Fig 35a and b: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 17 and 13)
Corresponds to Cat. 44

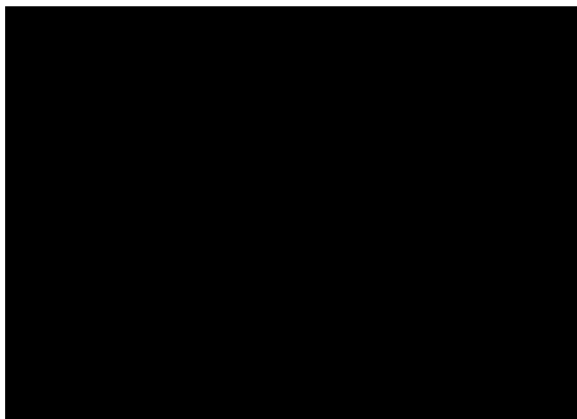


Fig 36: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 17)
Corresponds to Cat. 45

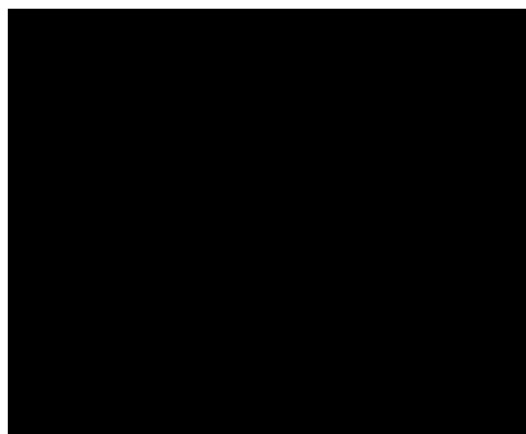


Fig 37: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 14)
Corresponds to Cat. 46



Fig 38: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 14)
Corresponds to Cat. 47

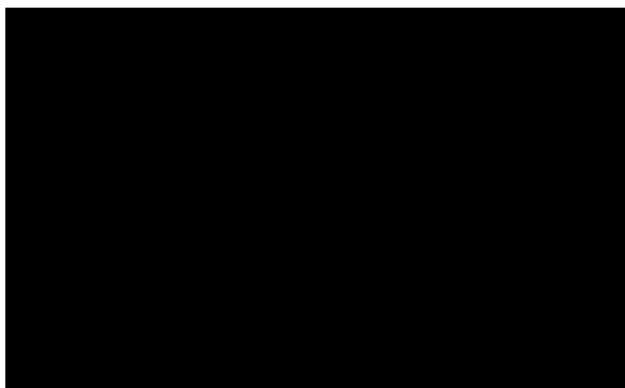


Fig 39: Archanes, Tholos E (Panagiotoupoulos 2002, Tafel 17)
Corresponds to Cat. 49

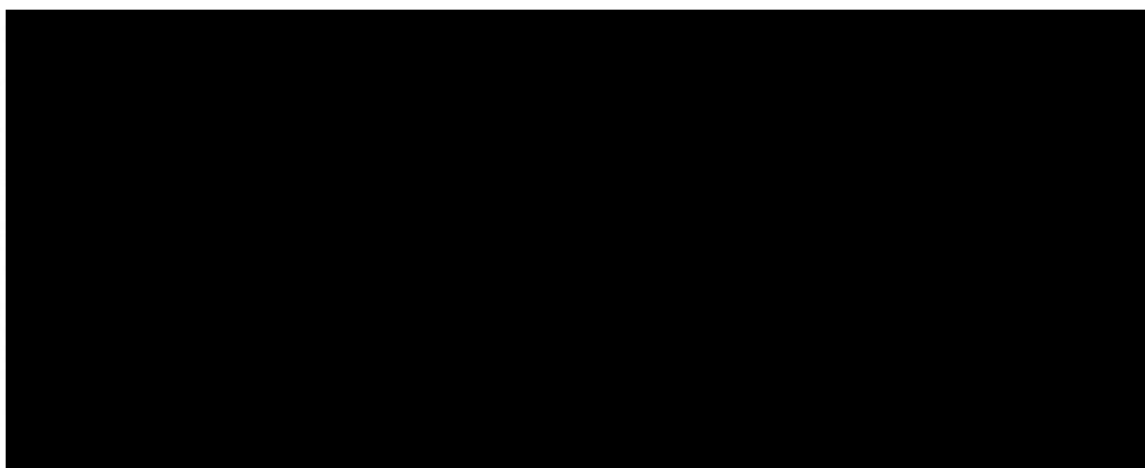


Fig 40a and b: Archanes, Tomb 19 (Sakellarkis 1997, fig. 461)
Corresponds to Cat. 102

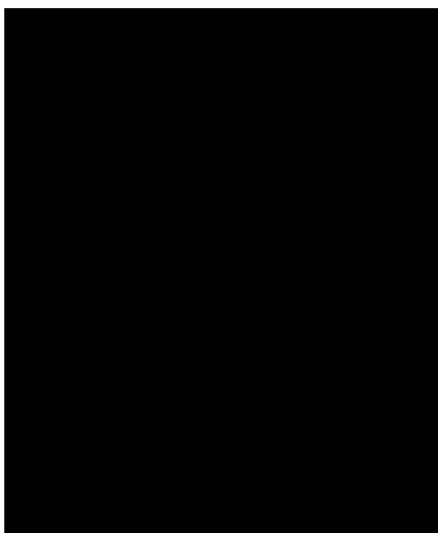


Fig 41: Archanes, Tomb 19 (Sakellarkis 1997, fig. 459)
Corresponds to Cat. 103



Fig 42: Archanes, Tomb 19 (Sakellarkis 1997, fig. 461)
Corresponds to Cat. 104



Fig 43: Archanes, Tomb 19 (Sakellarkis 1997, fig. 460)
Corresponds to Cat. 105

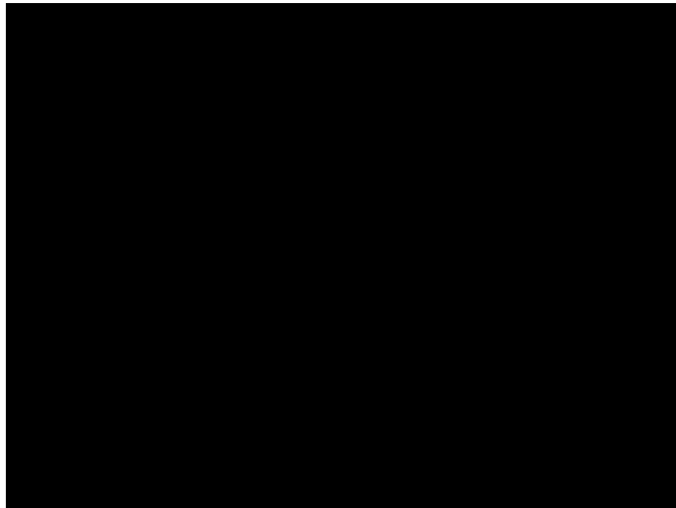


Fig 44: Archanes, Tomb 6 (Sakellarkis 1997, fig. 455)
Corresponds to Cat. 119

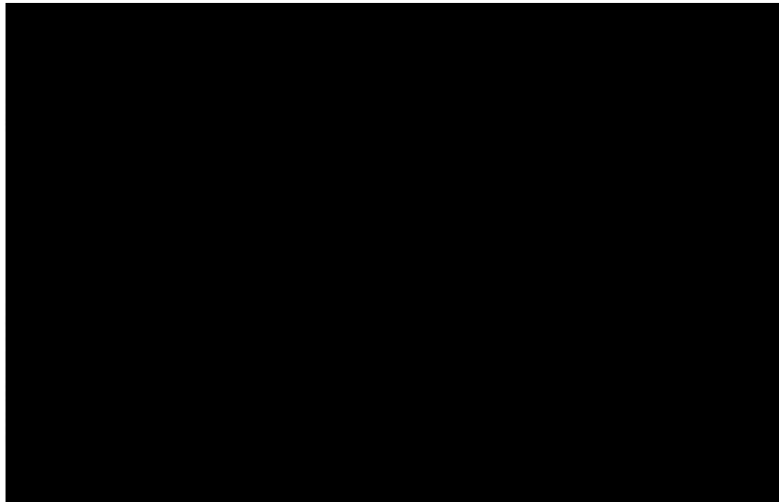


Fig 45: Archanes, Tomb 6 (Sakellarkis 1997, fig. 458)
Corresponds to Cat. 120

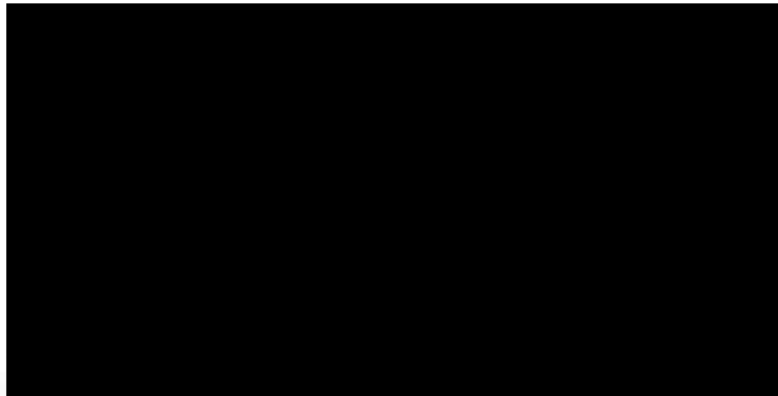


Fig 46: Archanes, Tomb 6 (Sakellarkis 1997, fig. 458)
Corresponds to Cat. 121

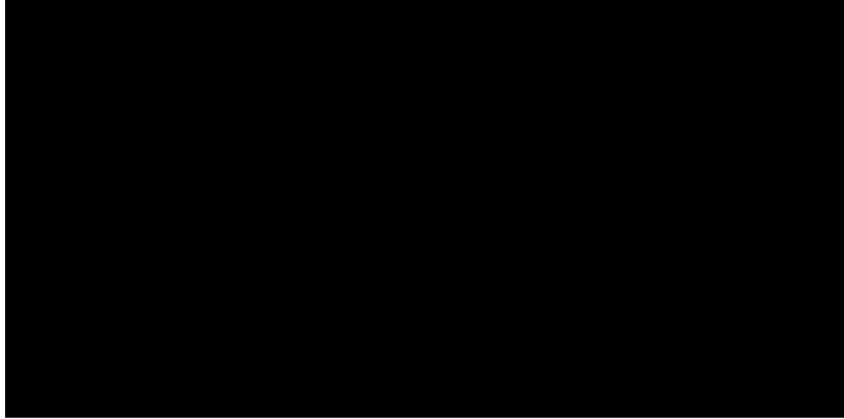


Fig 47: Archanes, Tomb 6 (Sakellarkis 1997, fig. 458)
Corresponds to Cat. 122

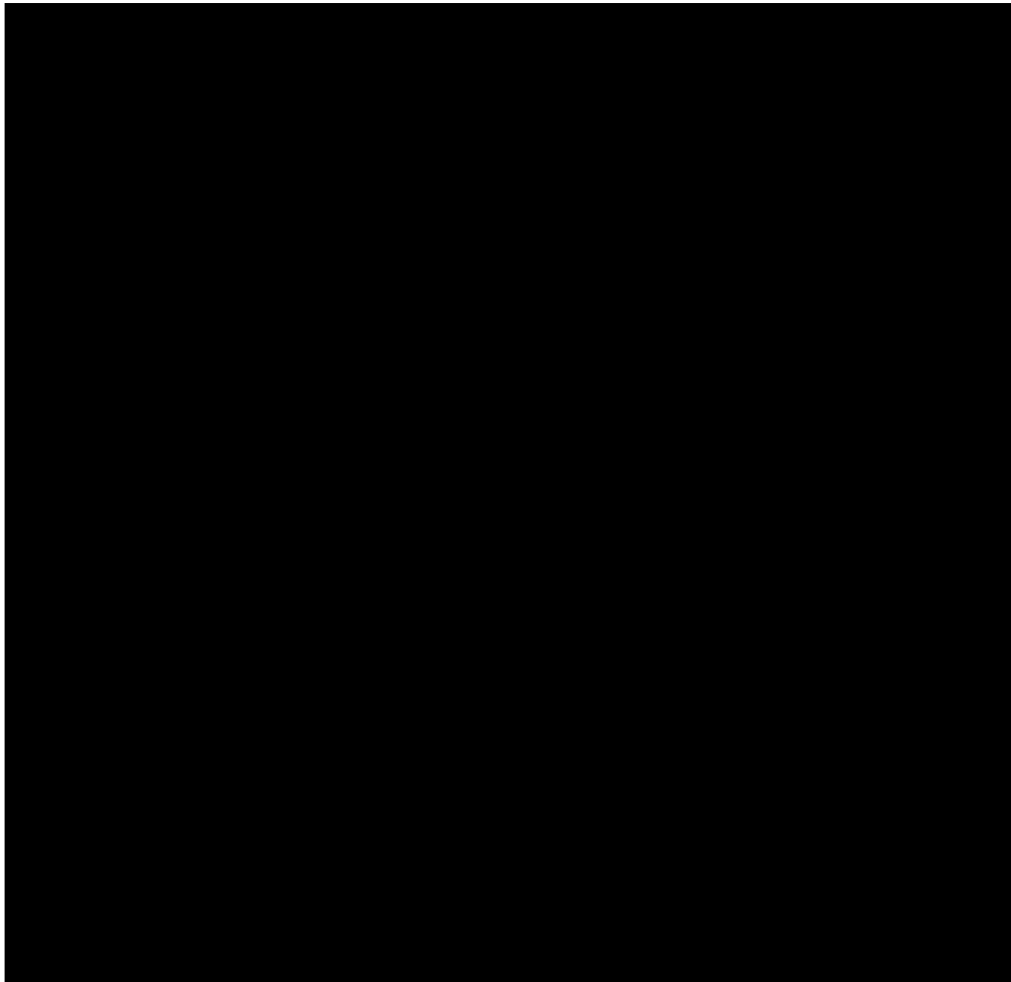


Fig 48 a, b and c: Hagios Charalambos (Betancourt 2014, 35)
Corresponds to Cat. 125

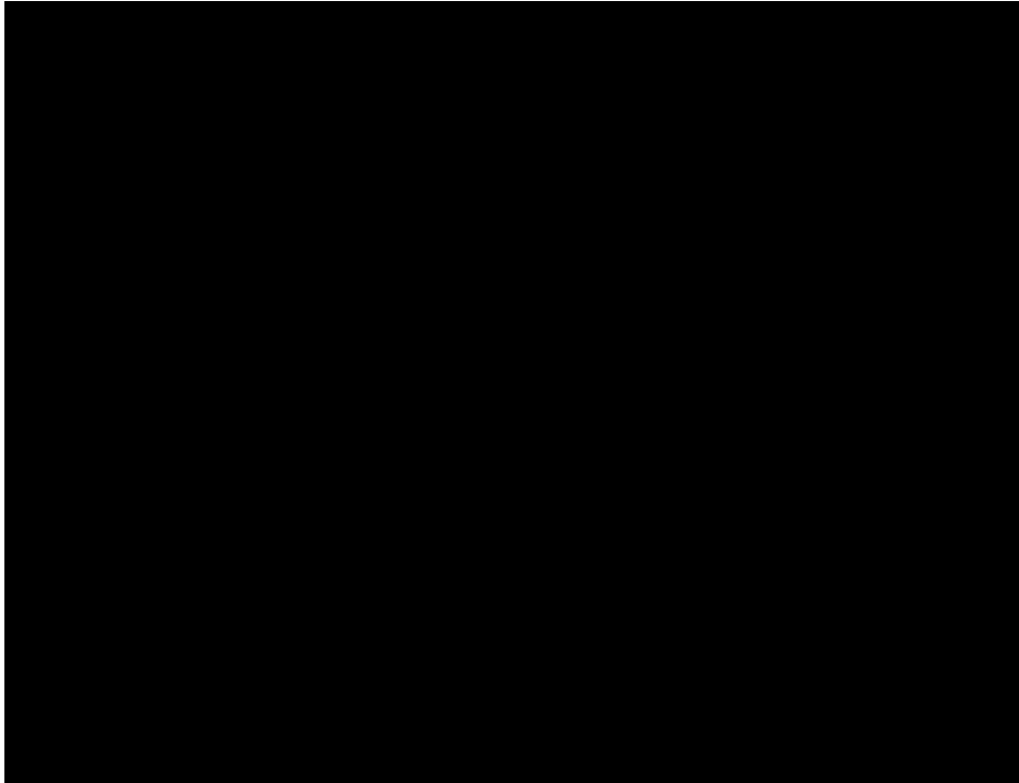


Fig 49 a, b and c: Hagios Charalambos (Betancourt 2014, 35)
Corresponds to Cat. 127

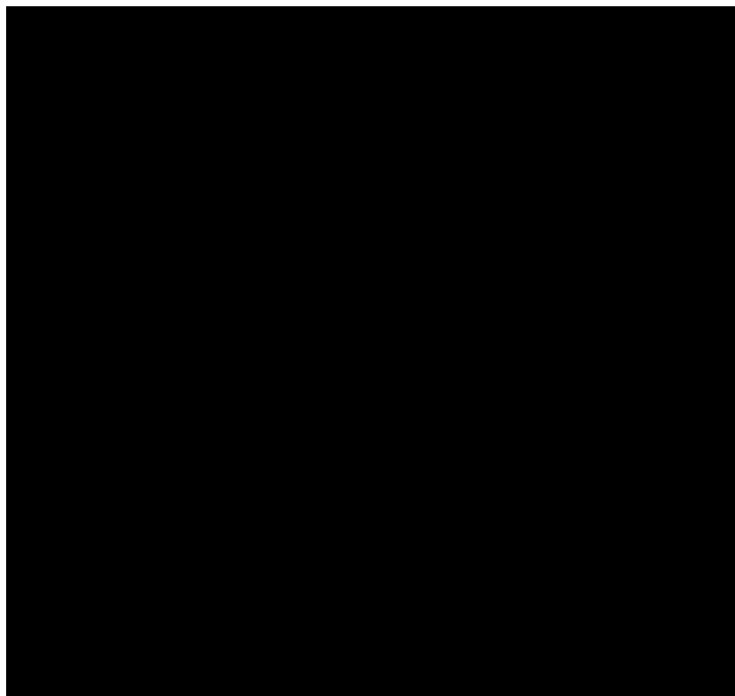


Fig 50 a, b and c: Hagios Charalambos (Betancourt 2014, 35)
Corresponds to Cat. 128

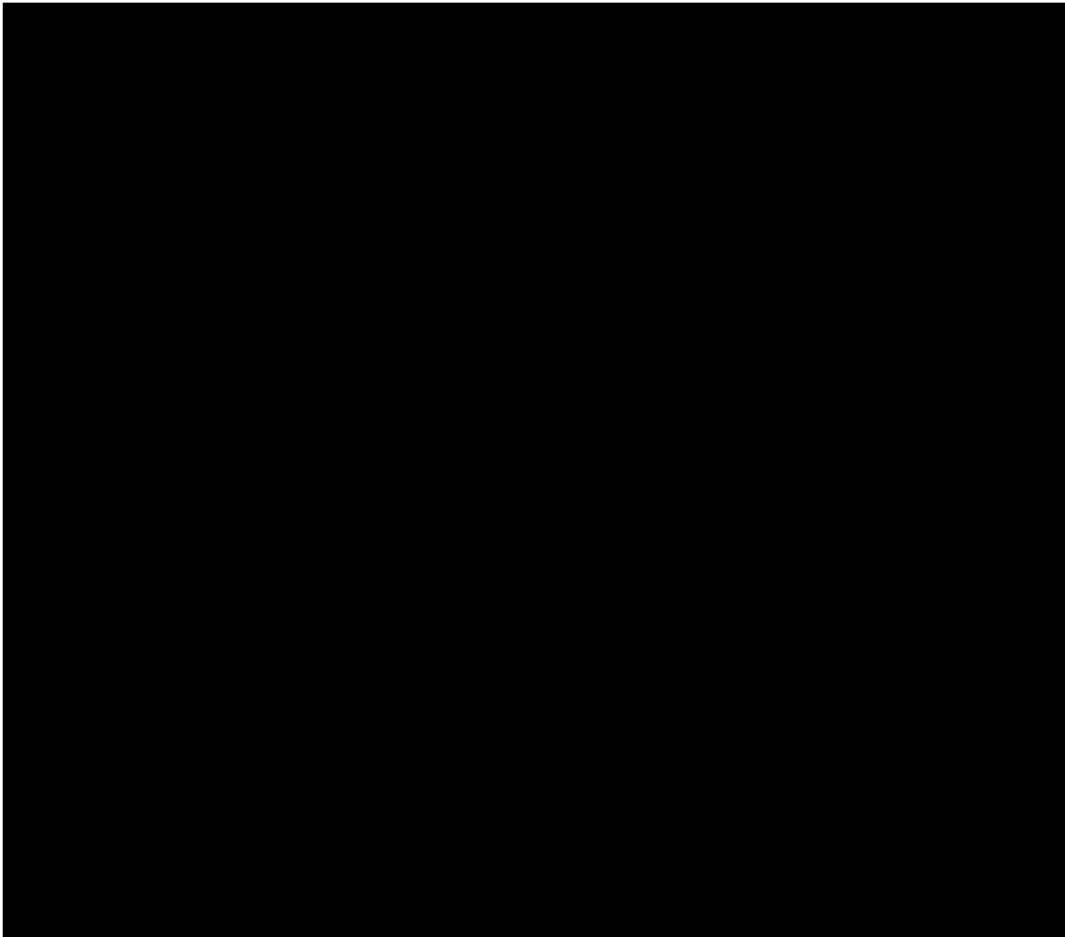


Fig 51 a, b, and c: Hagios Charalambos (Betancourt 2014, 35)
Corresponds to Cat. 129

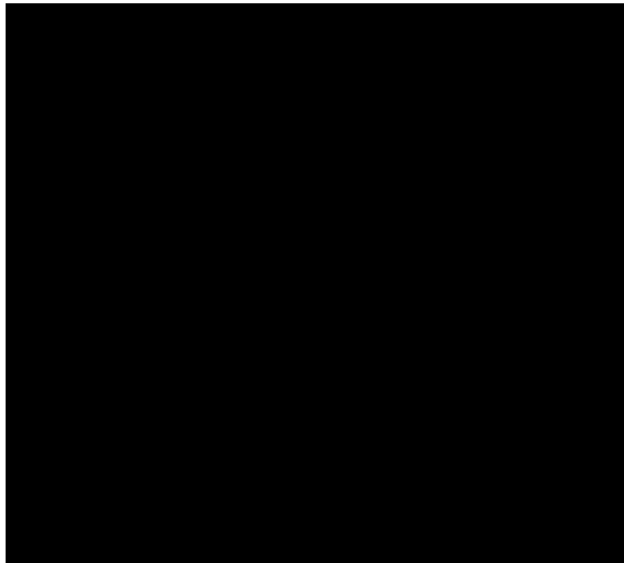


Fig 52: Knossos, Alias, Tomb VII (Hood and Smyth 1981, No. 249)
Corresponds to Cat. 132

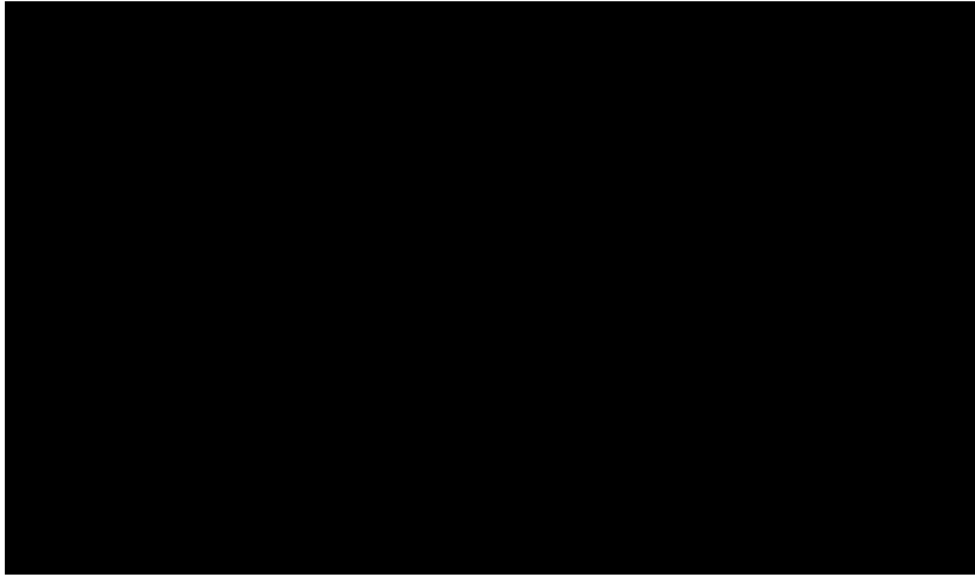


Fig 53: Knossos, Pyrgos (Xanthoudides 1918, p. 142 fig. 4)
Corresponds to Cat. 142

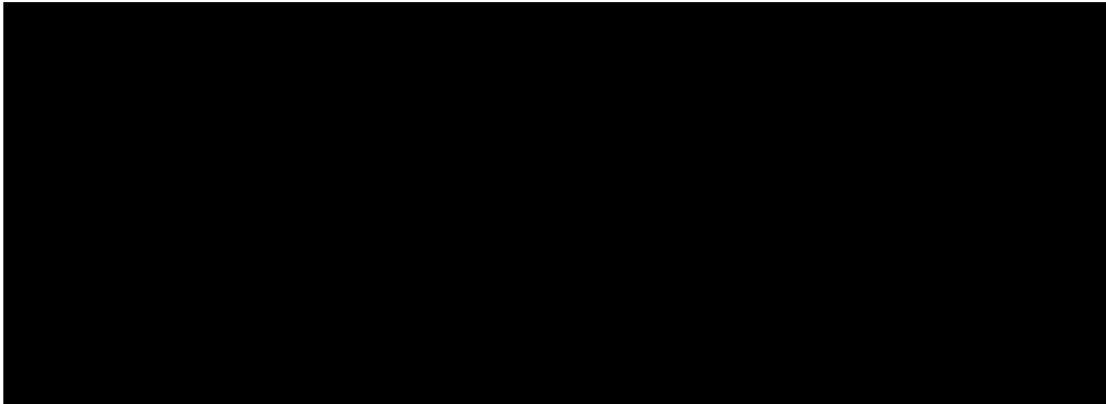


Fig 54: Pyrgos (Xanthoudides 1918, p. 141 fig. 3)
Corresponds to Cat. 144

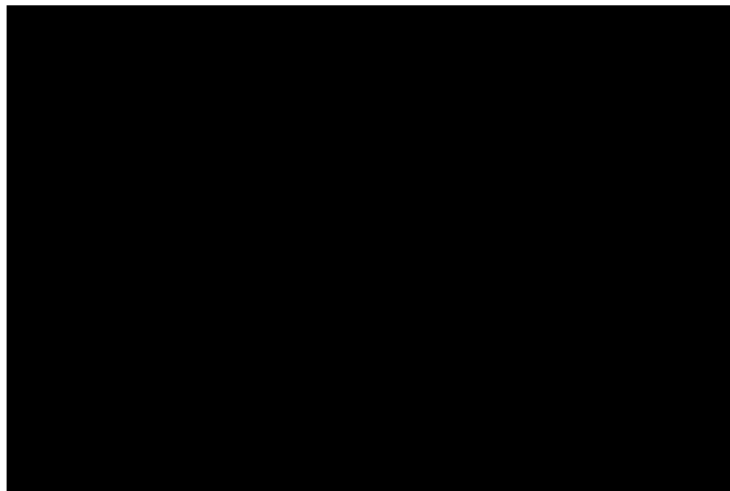


Fig 55: Vorou (Marinatos, ArchDelt 13, 1930, p. 147, fig. 10)
Corresponds to Cat. 167

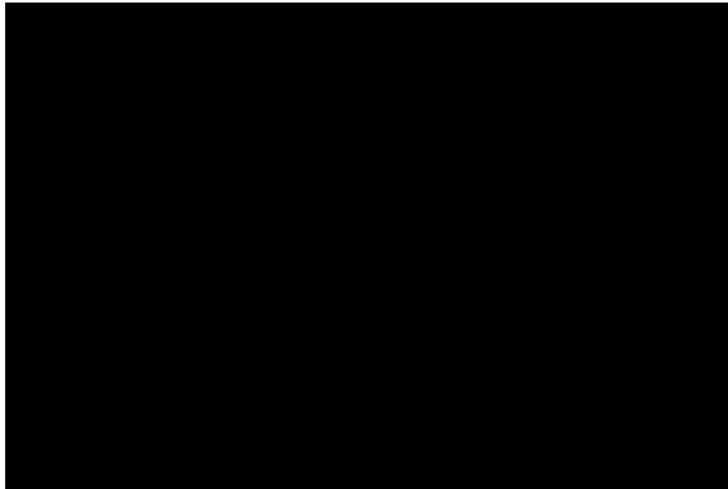


Fig 56: Vorou (Marinatos, ArchDelt 13, 1930, p. 147, fig. 10)
Corresponds to Cat. 168

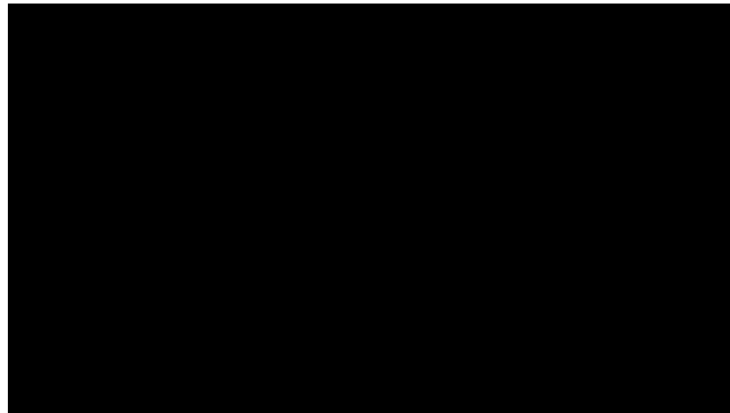


Fig 57: Vorou (Marinatos, ArchDelt 13, 1930, p. 147, fig. 10)
Corresponds to Cat. 169

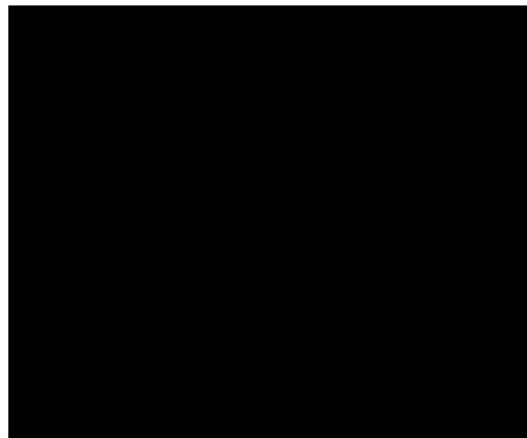


Fig 58: Vorou (Rutkowski 1966, Table 1, No. 3)
Corresponds to Cat. 170

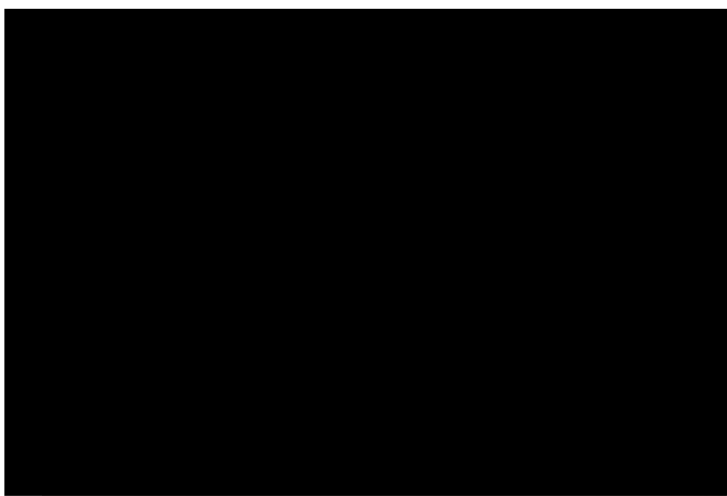


Fig 59: Vorou, Tholos B (Marinatos, ArchDelt 13, 1930, p. 147, fig. 10)
Corresponds to Cata. 171

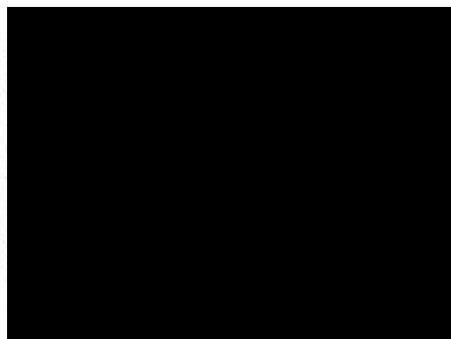


Fig 60: Hagios Myronas (Alexiou 1967, PL 360)
Corresponds to Cat. 175



Fig 61 a and b: Sissi, Larnax
Corresponds to Cat. 182

Photo by author during study – has not yet been conserved or mended



Fig 62: Sissi, Larnax
Corresponds to Cat. 183

Photo by author during study – has not yet been conserved or mended



Fig 63: Sissi, Larnax
Corresponds to Cat. 184

Photo by author during study – has not yet been conserved or mended



Fig 64: Sissi, Larnax
Corresponds to Cat. 185

Photo by author during study – has not yet been conserved or mended



Fig 65: Sissi, Larnax
Corresponds to Cat. 186

Photo by author during study – has not yet been conserved or mended



Fig 66: Sissi, Larnax
Corresponds to Cat. 187

Photo by author during study – has not yet been conserved or mended



Fig 67: Sissi, Larnax
Corresponds to Cat. 188
Photo by author during study – has not yet been conserved or mended



Fig 68 a and b: Kalo Chorio
Corresponds to Cat. 192
Photo Credit: Chronis Papanikolopoulos
Illustration: Gabrielle Lazoura



Fig 69 a and b: Kalo Chorio
 Corresponds to Cat. 193
 Photo Credit: Chronis Papanikolopoulos
 Illustration: Gabrielle Lazoura



Fig 70 a and b: Kalo Chorio
 Corresponds to Cat. 194
 Photo Credit: Chronis Papanikolopoulos
 Illustration: Gabrielle Lazoura



Fig 71 a and b: Kalo Chorio
Corresponds to Cat. 195
Photo Credit: Chronis Papanikolopoulos
Illustration: Gabrielle Lazoura

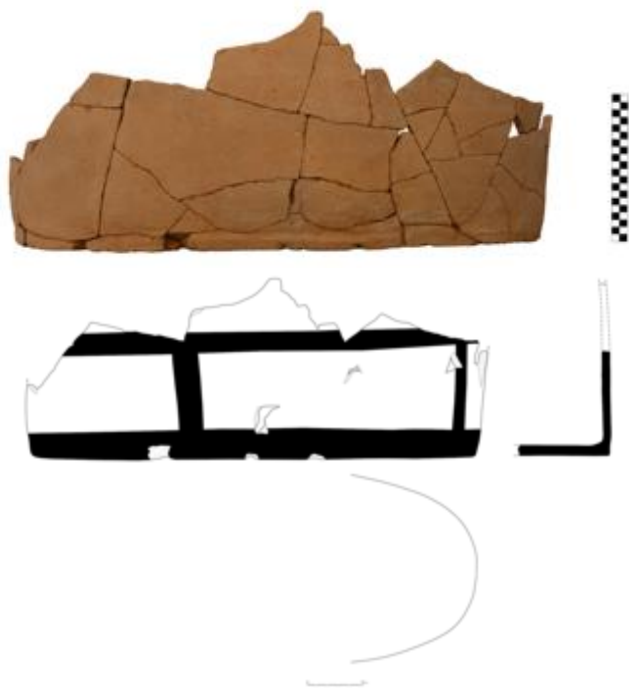


Fig 72 a and b: Kalo Chorio
Corresponds to Cat. 196
Photo Credit: Chronis Papanikolopoulos
Illustration: Gabrielle Lazoura



Fig 73 a and b: Gournia
Corresponds to Cat. 199
Photo Credit: Chronis Papanikolopoulos
Illustration: Doug Faulmann



Fig 74 a and b: Gournia
Corresponds to Cat. 200
Photo Credit: Chronis Papanikolopoulos
Illustration: Doug Faulmann

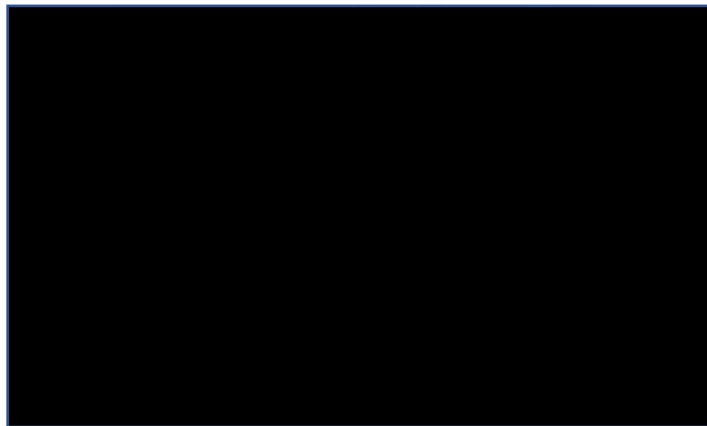


Fig 75: Gournia (Boyd-Hawes, Notebook 1, pg 31)
Corresponds to Cat. 201 and 202)



Fig 76: Gournia (Boyd-Hawes, Notebook 1, pg. 35)
Corresponds to Cat. 203)



Fig 77: Pacheia Ammos (Seager 1916, Pl. XII)
Corresponds to Cat. 206



a.

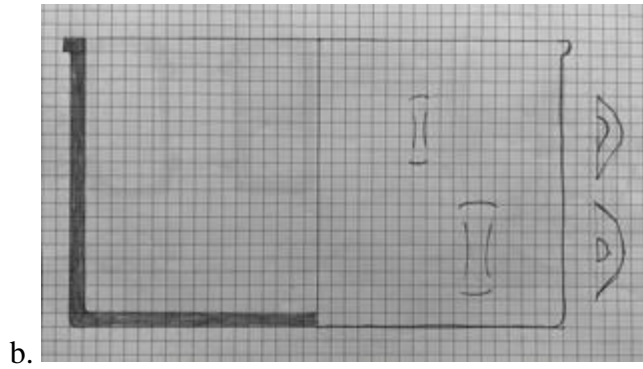


Fig 78 a and b: Pacheia Ammos
Corresponds to Cat. 207
Photo Credit & Illustration: By Author



Fig 79: Pacheia Ammos (Seager 1916, Pl. XII)
Corresponds to Cat. 208



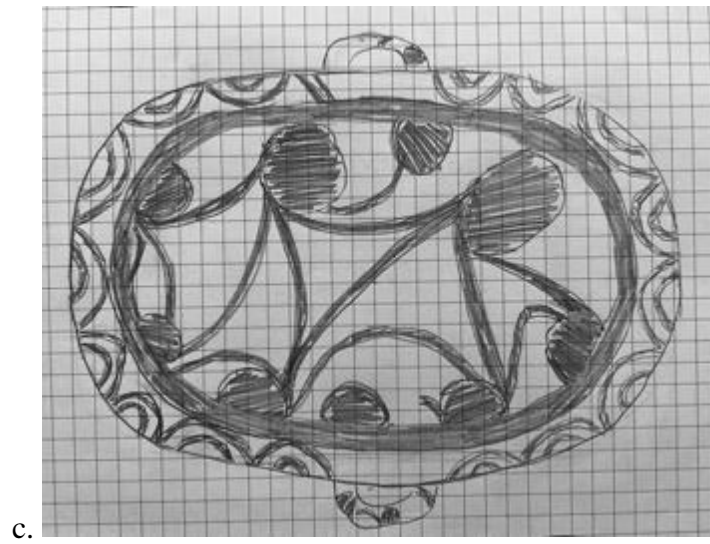
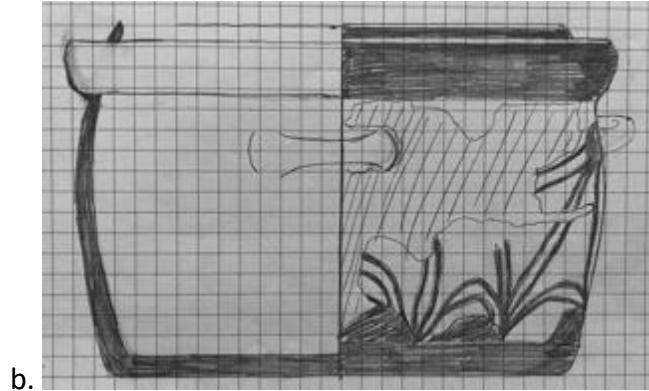
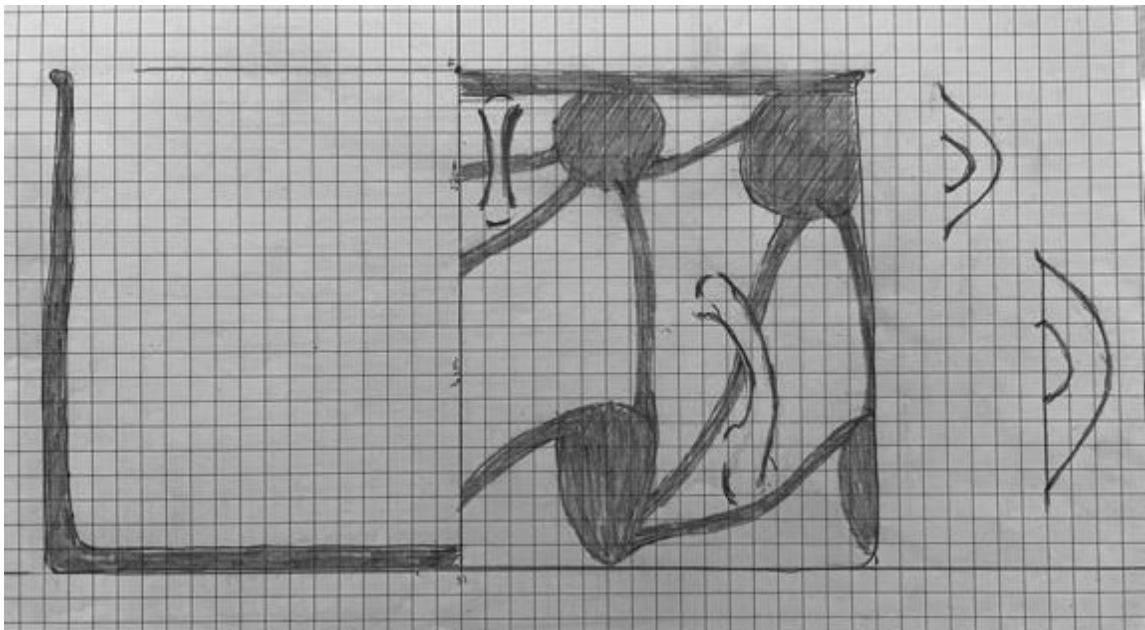


Fig 80 a, b, and c: Pacheia Ammos
Corresponds to Cat. 209
Photo Credit & Illustration: By Author



a.



b.

Fig 81 a and b: Pacheia Ammos
Corresponds to Cat. 210
Photo Credit & Illustration: By Author

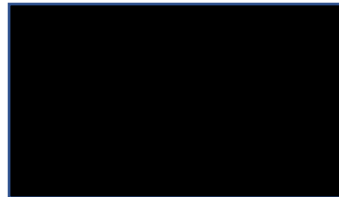


Fig 82: Evraika (Tsipopoulou 2018, fig. 3)
Corresponds to Cat. 212

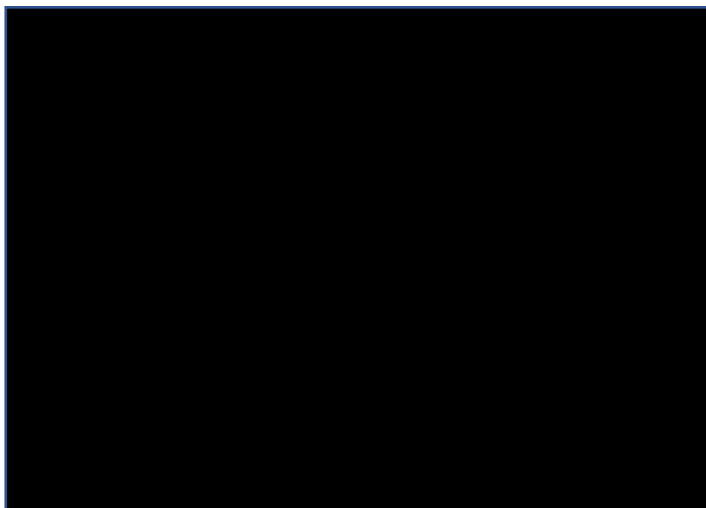


Fig 83: Evraika (Tsipopoulou 2018, fig. 3)
Corresponds to Cat. 213

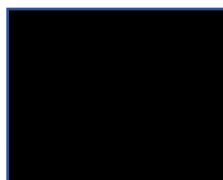


Fig 84: Evraika (Tsipopoulou 2018, fig. 3)
Corresponds to Cat. 214

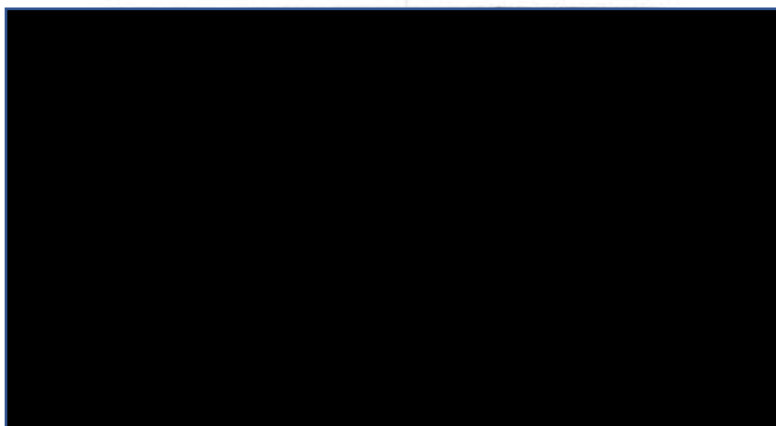


Fig 85: Kato Zakros (Platon 2012, fig. 18.5)
Corresponds to Cat. 215



Fig 86: Kato Zakros (Platon 2012, fig. 18.8)
Corresponds to Cat. 219



Fig 87 a and b: Evraika (Tsipopoulou 2018, fig. 3)
Corresponds to Cat. 221

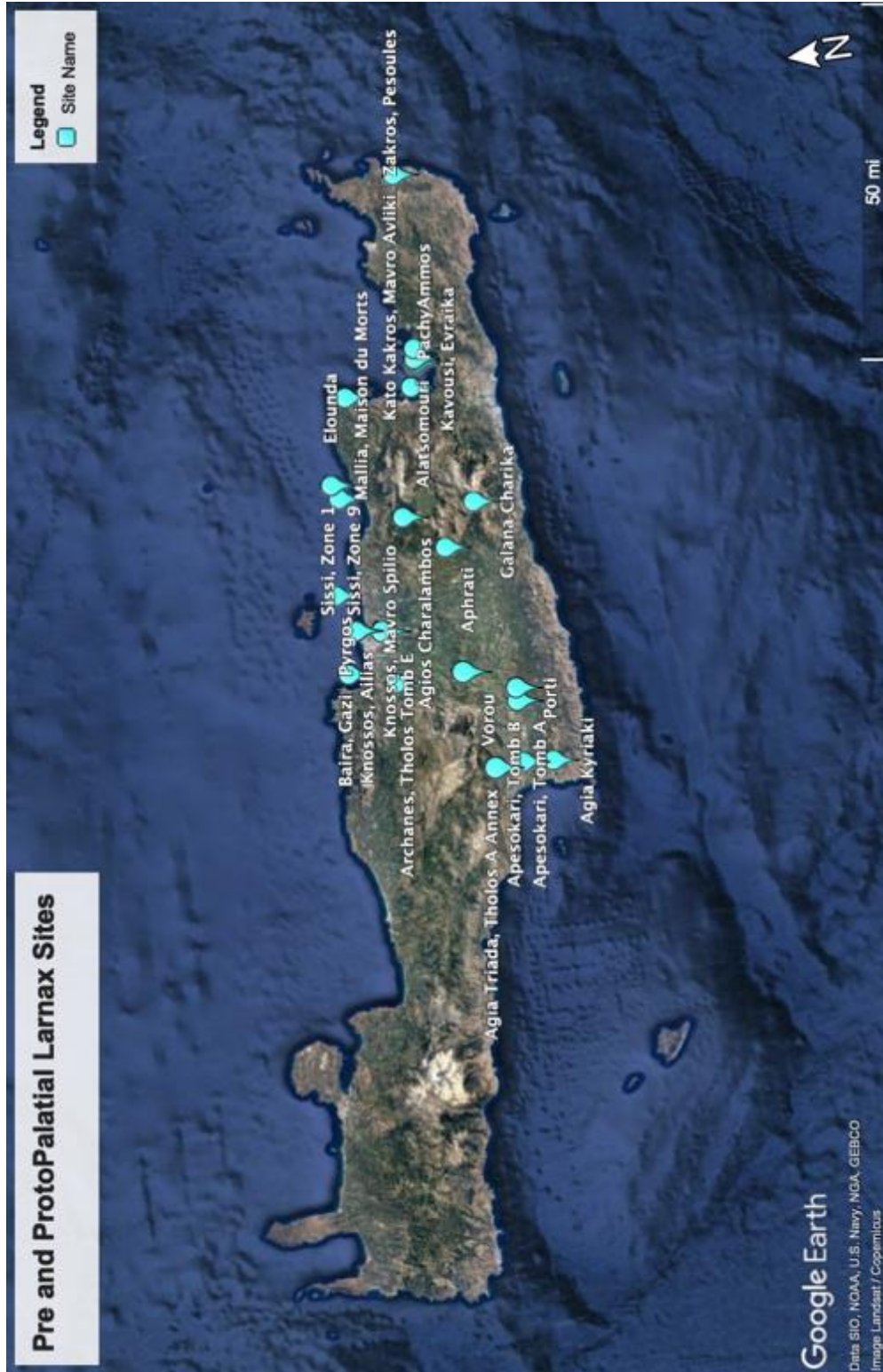


Fig 88 a and b: Evraika (Tsipopoulou 2018, fig. 3)
Corresponds to Cat. 222



Fig 89 a and b: Kalo Chorio
Corresponds to Cat. 223
Photo Credit: Chronis Papanikolopoulos

Maps and Tables



Map 1: Displaying Island of Crete with known sites containing Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes



Map 2: Displaying Island of Crete with known sites containing MM IA larnakes



Map 3: Displaying Island of Crete with known sites containing MM IB larnakes



Map 4: Displaying Island of Crete with known sites containing MM II Larnakes



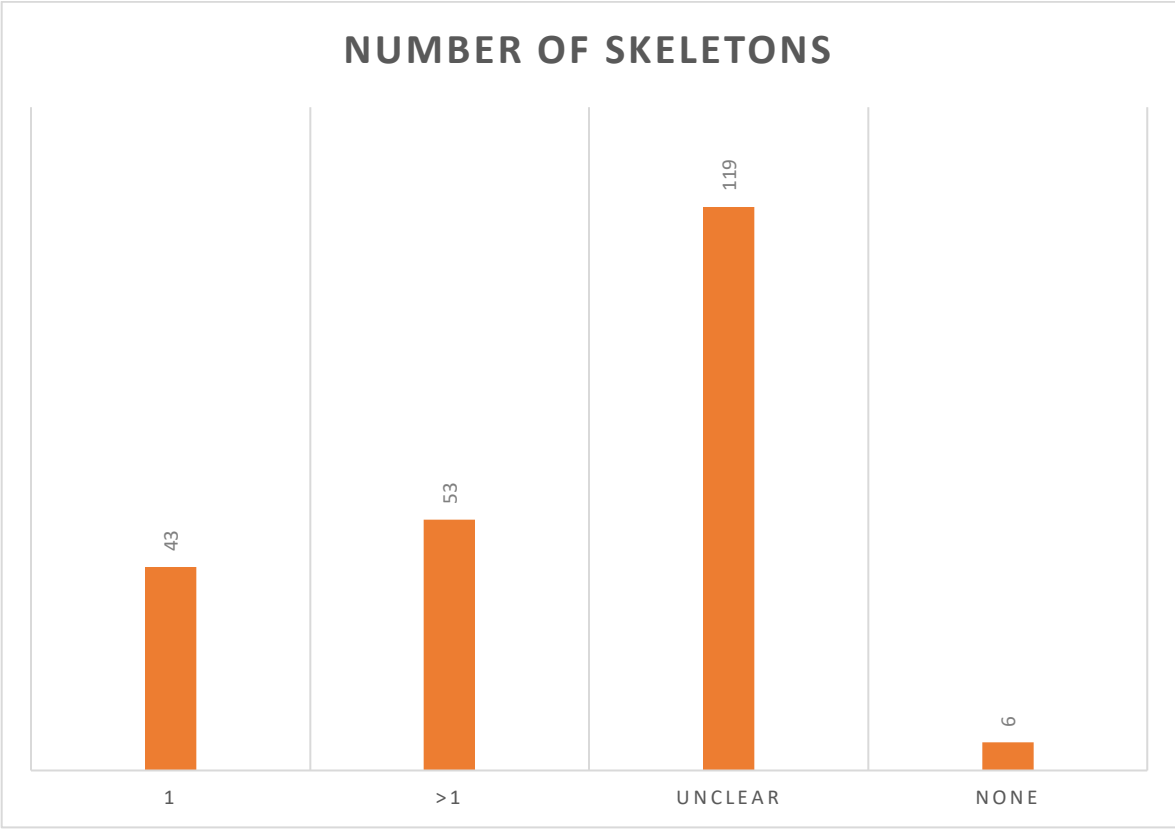
Map 5: Displaying Island of Crete with known sites containing rectangular larnakes



Map 6: Displaying Island of Crete with known sites containing elliptical larnakes

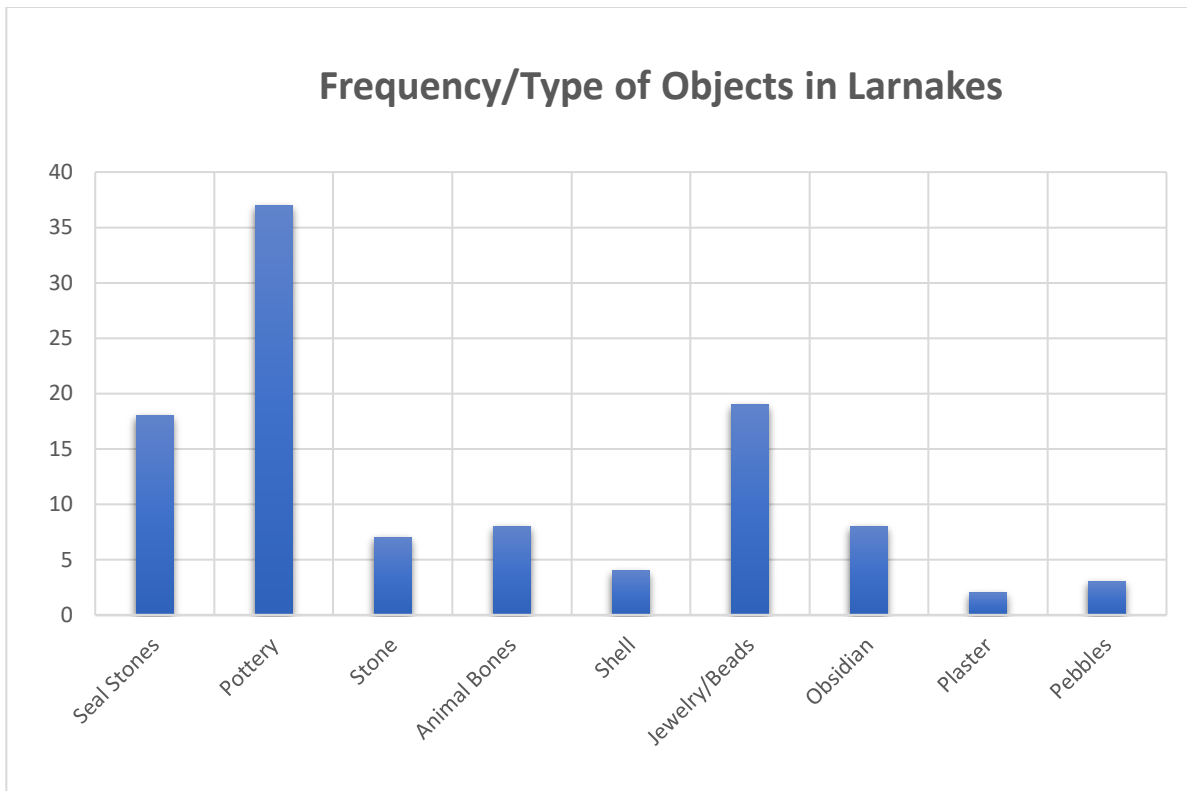
Phase	Period	Years (BCE)
PrePalatial	EM I	-3100
		-3000
		-2900
		-2800
		-2700
	EM IIA	-2600
	-2500	
	-2400	
	EM IIB	-2300
		-2200
	EM III	-2100
		-2000
	MM IA	-2000
ProtoPalatial	MM IB	-1900
	MM II	-1800
NeoPalatial	MM III	-1700
	LM IA	-1600
	LM IB	-1500
	LM II	-1400
PostPalatial	LM IIIA	-1400
	LM IIIB	-1200
	LM IIIC	-1100

Table 1: Minoan Chronology
(Adapted from Herrero 2016, fig 2 and Betancourt 2007, fig 1.2)



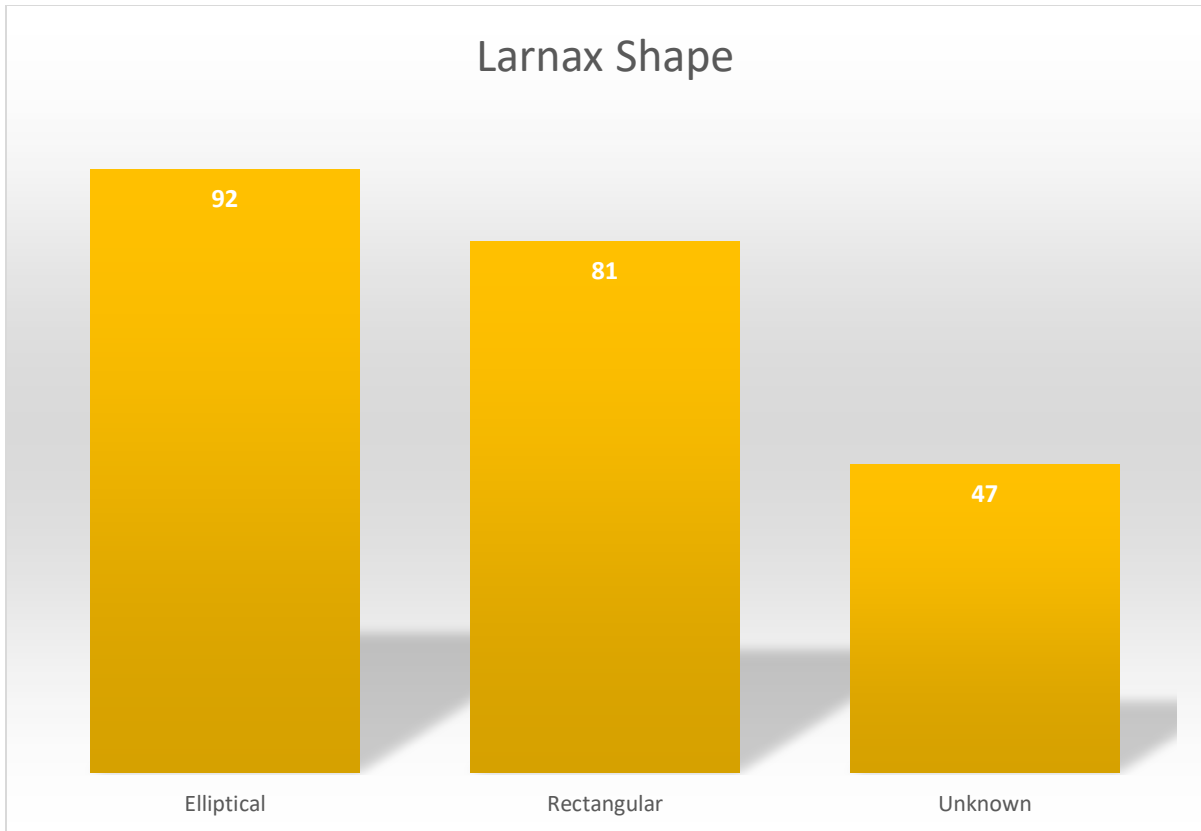
Number of skeletons	
1	43
>1	53
Unclear	119
None	6

Table 2:
 Number of skeletons per known Pre- and ProtoPalatial larnakes represented in graph and chart



Objects	Seal Stones	Pottery	Stone	Animal Bones	Shell	Jewelry/Beads	Obsidian	Plaster	Pebbles
Number	18	37	7	8	4	19	8	2	3

Table 3:
Funerary assemblages found with larnakes in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete in graph and chart



Shape	Number
Elliptical	92
Rectangular	81
Unknown	47

Table 4:
Common shapes adopted by larnakes during Pre- and Protopalatial Crete in graph and chart

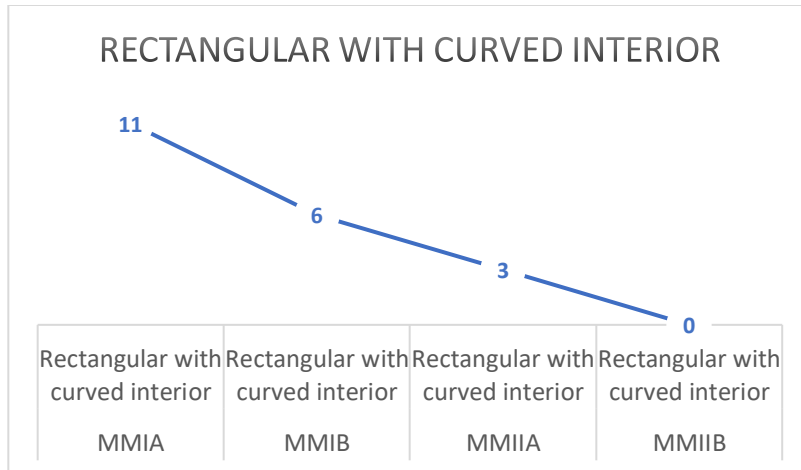


Table 5:
Frequency of rectangular larnakes with curved interior by period

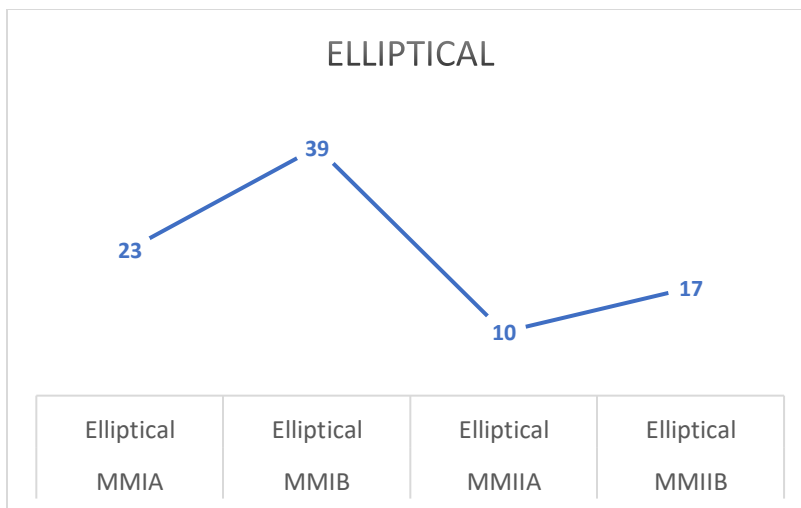


Table 6:
Frequency of elliptical larnakes by period
(Note: This data is partially skewed by the 20 larnakes from Pyrgos whose date cannot be verified. Without those, the original upswing of 23 to 39 would not exist.)

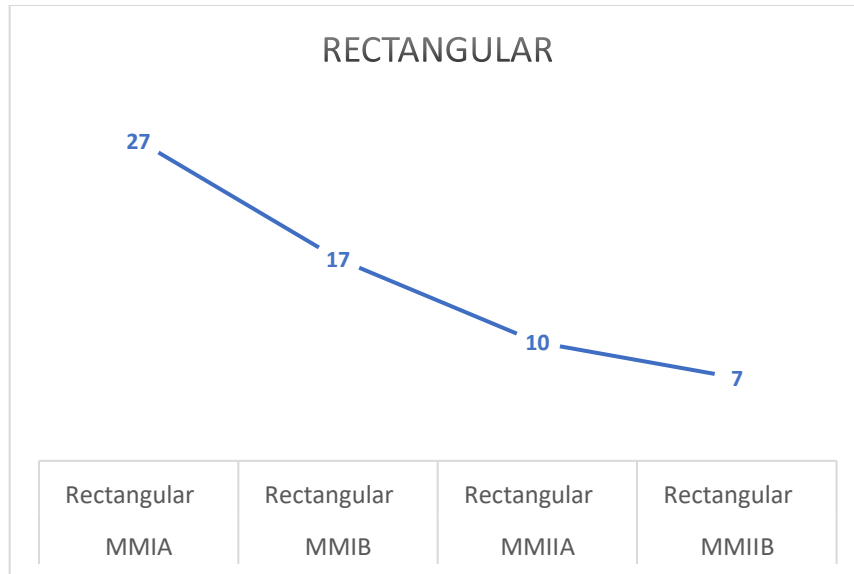


Table 7:

Frequency of rectangular larnakes by period

(Note: Because none of the data includes larnakes from the MM III period and beyond, it appears as though rectangular larnakes cease, but more than likely a complete data set of all periods would indicate an upswing in rectangular vessels in the MM III periods and beyond).

Date	Shape	Frequency
MMIA	Rectangular with curved interior	11
MMIB	Rectangular with curved interior	6
MMIIA	Rectangular with curved interior	3
MMIIB	Rectangular with curved interior	0
MMIA	Elliptical	23
MMIB	Elliptical	39
MMIIA	Elliptical	10
MMIIB	Elliptical	17
MMIA	Rectangular	27
MMIB	Rectangular	17
MMIIA	Rectangular	10
MMIIB	Rectangular	7
MMIA	Unknown	12
MMIB	Unknown	12
MMIIA	Unknown	5
MMIIB	Unknown	5

Table 8:

Breakdown of Tables 3-6 in chart format

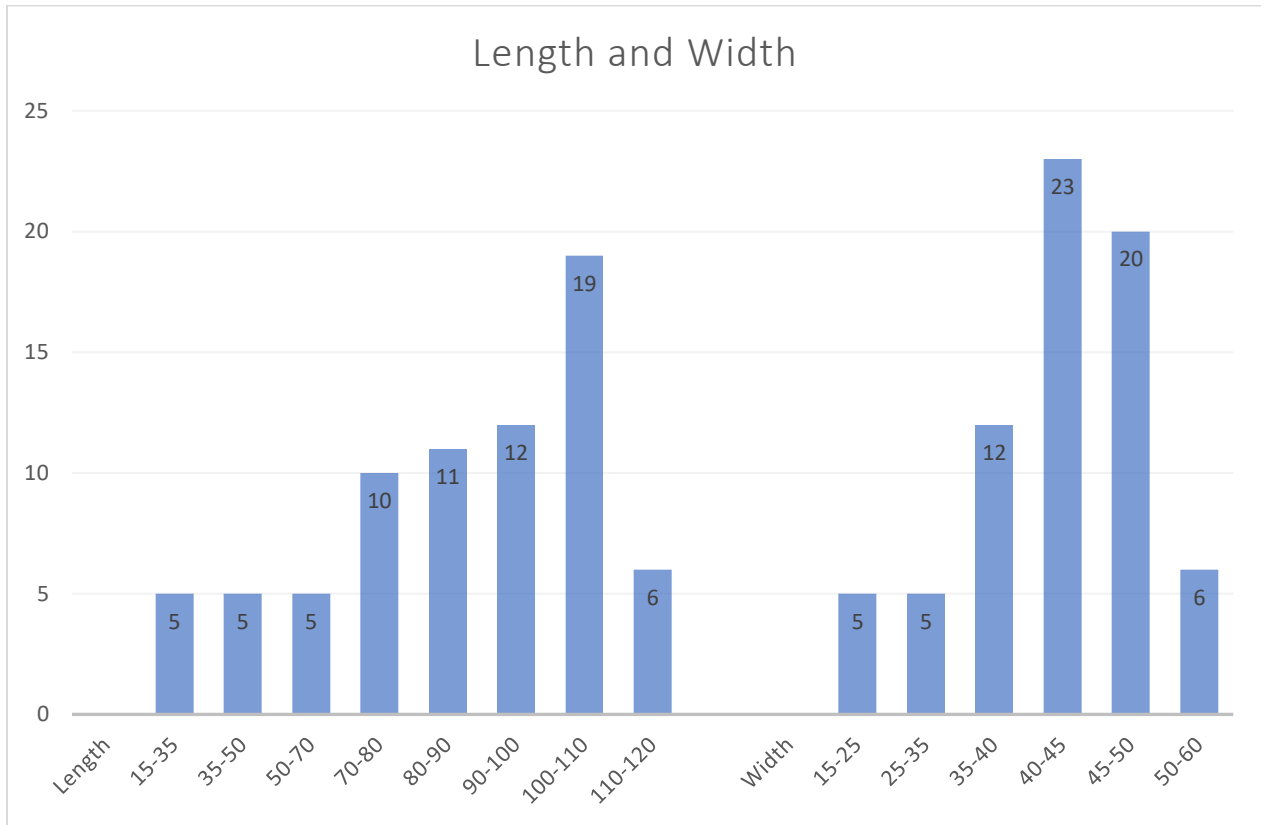
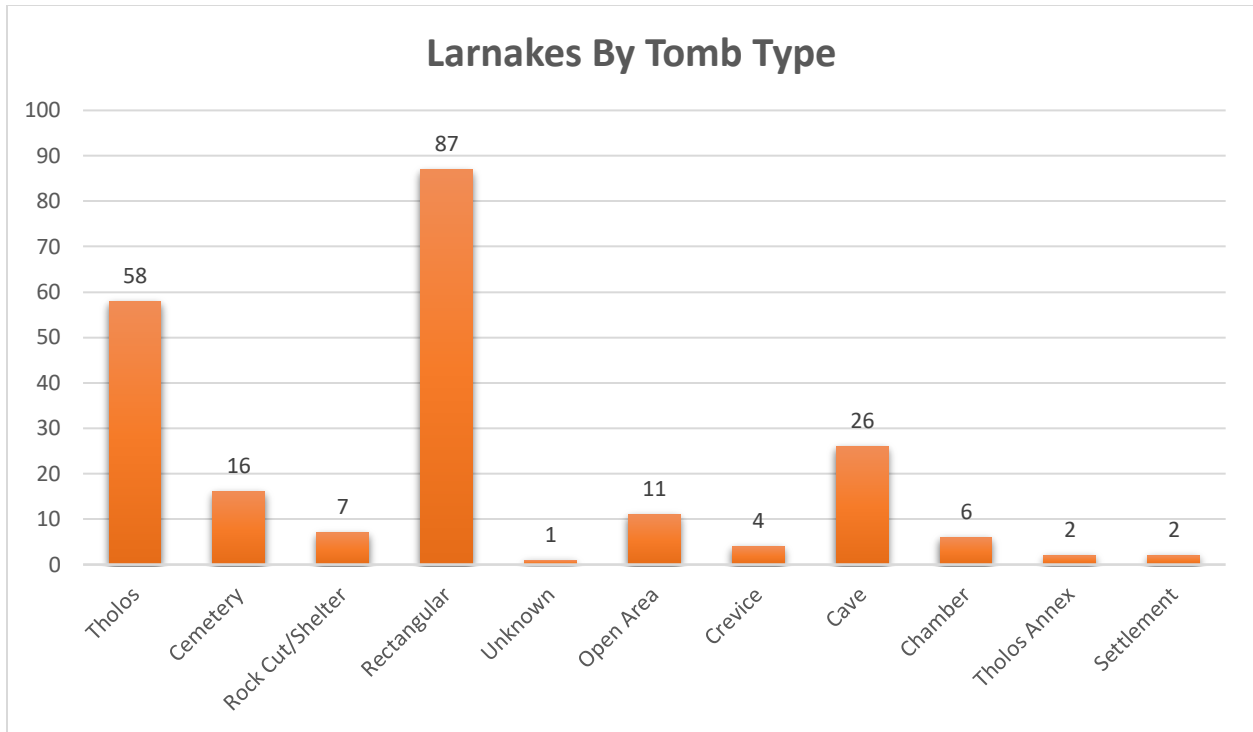
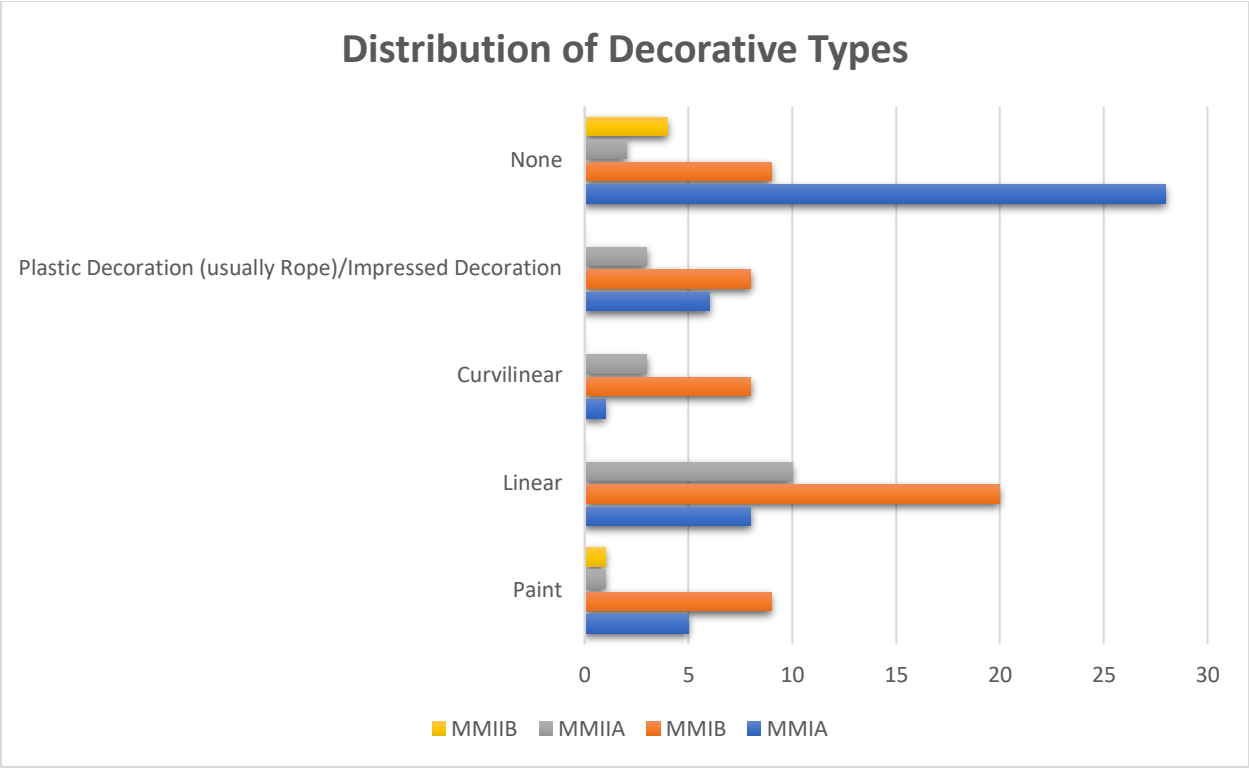


Table 9:
Prevalence of width and length seen in Pre- and Protopalatial larnakes



Type	Number
Tholos	58
Cemetery	16
Rock Cut/Shelter	7
Rectangular	87
Unknown	1
Open Area	11
Crevice	4
Cave	26
Chamber	6
Tholos Annex	2
Settlement	2

Table 10:
Common tomb types where larnakes are found during the Pre- and Protopalatial periods in graph and chart



	Paint	Linear	Curvilinear	Plastic Decoration (usually Rope) or Impressed Decoration	None
MMIA	5	8	1	6	28
MMIB	9	20	8	8	9
MMIIA	1	10	3	3	2
MMIIB	1	0	0	0	4

Table 11:
Common decorative elements seen on larnakes during the Pre- and Protopalatial periods in graph and chart

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<i>AAA</i>	Athens Annals of Archaeology
<i>AASOR</i>	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>Aegaeum</i>	Aegaeum: Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology
<i>AR</i>	Archaeological Reports (supplement to <i>JHS</i>)
<i>AnnParis</i>	Annales de l'Université de Paris
<i>ArchDelt</i>	Archaiologikon Deltion
<i>ArchEph</i>	Archaiologike Ephemeris
<i>ASAtene</i>	Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports
<i>BAR-BS</i>	British Archaeological Reports, British Series
<i>BAR-IS</i>	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
<i>BCH</i>	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
<i>BCH Suppl.</i>	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique: Supplément
<i>BIALond</i>	Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London
<i>BSA</i>	British School at Athens Annual
<i>BSA Studies</i>	British School at Athens Studies
<i>CAJ</i>	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
<i>CretAnt</i>	Creta Antica: Rivista internazionale di studi archeologici, storici ed epigrafici
<i>CretChron</i>	Kretika chronika: Keimena kai meletai tes kretikes istorias
<i>CurrAnthro</i>	Current Anthropology
<i>EJA</i>	Europeaon Journal of Archaeology
<i>Ergon</i>	To Ergon tes Archaiologikes Etaireias
<i>ÉtCrét</i>	Études crétoises
<i>Expedition</i>	Expedition: Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
<i>Hesperia</i>	Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
<i>JAnthArch</i>	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<i>JMS</i>	Journal of Mediteranean Studies
<i>Kadmos</i>	Kadmos: Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik
<i>OJA</i>	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
<i>Prakt</i>	Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias
<i>PraktAkAth</i>	Praktika tes Akademias Athenon
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Vita

Laura Suzanne Ursprung was born in Alton, IL on June 12. She attended Alton High School until May 2001. In the fall of 2002, she embarked upon her bachelor's degree at Truman State University in Kirksville, MO. During her bachelor's, she took her first trip to Greece (2005). She completed her BA in August 2005 after writing her BA thesis entitled, "The Rose Amongst the Thorns: Issues of a Minoan Utopia Among Third and Second Millennium Aggressors." After her BA, she began a career as a public servant between 2005 and 2012.

In August 2012, she entered graduate school at The State University of New York at Buffalo under the direction of Livingston Vance Watrous III. At this time, she also began working on excavation projects with Watrous at the site of Gournia on Crete. She earned her MA in 2014 with a thesis titled "Minoan Colonies? An Archaeological & Contextual Analysis of Cycladic and Minoan Fresco Fragments."

She immediately began doctoral work at the University of Missouri-Columbia in the fall of 2014 under the supervision of Susan Langdon. While at the University of Missouri-Columbia, she spent two years at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens between 2017 and 2019 (receiving two fellowships, The Doreen Canaday Spitzer and the Paul Rehak fellowship). During her PhD, she received multiple other fellowships and awards. In May 2021, she completed her dissertation and received her PhD in Art History and Archaeology from the University of Missouri-Columbia.