

MORTUARY VARIABILITY IN EARLY IRON AGE CRETAN BURIALS

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ABSTRACT

MELISSA SUZANNE EABY: Mortuary Variability in Early Iron Age Cretan Burials
(Under the direction of Donald C. Haggis)

The Early Iron Age (c. 1200-700 B.C.) on Crete is a period of transition, comprising the years after the final collapse of the palatial system in Late Minoan IIIB up to the development of the polis, or city-state, by or during the Archaic period. Over the course of this period, significant changes occurred in settlement patterns, settlement forms, ritual contexts, and most strikingly, in burial practices. Early Iron Age burial practices varied extensively throughout the island, not only from region to region, but also often at a single site; for example, at least 12 distinct tomb types existed on Crete during this time, and both inhumation and cremation were used, as well as single and multiple burial. As part of this study, over 1200 tombs found in the vicinity of 122 modern villages or towns have been catalogued. An examination of the burial methods, architecture, assemblages, dates, and spatial contexts of these tombs and cemeteries provides significant new evidence regarding the extent of cultural diversity present on the island during this period. The funerary evidence clearly indicates that Crete was characterized by extensive regionalism during the Early Iron Age; seven distinct mortuary regions, as well as four transitional or 'border' zones, are identified from the funerary material. In addition, a regional examination of the burial practices provides new evidence regarding the changes in political organization and social structure which occurred on the island over the course of the period.

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ABBREVIATIONS

References

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	<i>Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐξ Αθηνών</i>
Aegaeum	<i>Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America</i>
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung</i>
AR	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>
ArchDelt	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
ArchEph	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς</i>
ASAtene	<i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
CretChron	<i>Κρητικά χρονικά. Κείμενα και μελέται της κρητικής ιστορίας</i>
EEKS	<i>Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κρητικών Σπουδών</i>
Ergon	<i>Το Έργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
Hesperia	<i>Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
MonAnt	<i>Monumenti antichi</i>

OpArch	<i>Opuscula archaeologica</i>
Prakt	<i>Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
RE	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
SMEA	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>

Time Periods

A	Archaic
BA	Bronze Age
C	Classical
DA	Dark Age
EIA	Early Iron Age
EM	Early Minoan
EO	Early Orientalizing
G	Geometric
H	Hellenistic
LG	Late Geometric
LM	Late Minoan
MM	Middle Minoan
O	Orientalizing
PG	Protogeometric
PGB	Protogeometric B
SM	Subminoan

Other

KNC Knossos North Cemetery

KS Knossos Survey

VK Vrokastro

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“In few periods of antiquity does archaeology lean so heavily on the evidence of graves as in the early Iron Age of Greece.” Thus wrote Snodgrass in his seminal work on the Dark Age,¹ and this statement accurately sums up the nature of the evidence available at the time both for his work and that of Desborough and Coldstream.² While this statement is becoming less and less true, as new studies on settlement patterns, cult practice, and cultural identity are published, the fact remains that for many areas of Early Iron Age Greece the amount of funerary material still far exceeds that recovered from settlements or cult areas.³ It is fortunate, however, that cemeteries – often better preserved and represented than settlements – can offer a wealth of information about the ways that societies perceived themselves and articulated their social and political identity within their culture.⁴ It is surprising, therefore, that while studies of Bronze Age mortuary practices in the Aegean have recently been published,⁵ such a comprehensive investigation has not yet been undertaken for the Early Iron Age.⁶

¹ Snodgrass 1971, 140.

² Desborough 1952, 1964, 1972b; Coldstream 1968, 1977.

³ E.g., Nowicki 2000; Borgna 2002, for Early Iron Age settlement patterns on Crete; Prent 2003, 2005, for EIA cult practice; Wallace 2003, for cultural identity on EIA Crete.

⁴ Morris 1987, 1992; Whitley 1991.

⁵ E.g., Branigan 1970, 1993, 1998, for Crete; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, for the Greek mainland and Aegean; Georgoulaki 1996, for Crete; Keswani 2004, for Cyprus; Preston 2004, for LM II-IIIIB Crete.

The Early Iron Age (c. 1200-700 B.C.) and Archaic periods in the Greek Aegean represent important phases of cultural change, witnessing the emergence of the first Greek city-states. This cultural transformation is exhibited in changes in settlement patterns, settlement forms, ritual contexts, and most strikingly, in burial practices. Early Iron Age burial practices varied extensively throughout Greece, not only from region to region, but also often at a single site.⁷ For example, both inhumation and cremation were practiced during this period, frequently occurring together in the same tomb, and individual tomb types were used to contain both single and multiple burials. This kind of mortuary variability is especially apparent on the island of Crete, where for example, numerous tomb types existed in the EIA, including the chamber tomb, tholos tomb, pseudotholos tomb, pit grave, pit cave, shaft grave, cist grave, burial enclosure, burial in natural caves and rock shelters, pithos and larnax burials, intramural burial, mounds/pyres, and cremation under a cairn of stones.⁸ The potential cultural diversity of Crete in the Early Iron Age, as well as the recent intensity of archaeological research on the island, thus suggests the usefulness of Crete as a target for study.⁹

A considerable number of Early Iron Age burials have been identified on the island over the course of the last one hundred years. As part of this dissertation, I have catalogued over 1200 tombs found in the vicinity of approximately 122 modern villages or towns. An

⁶ Lemos (2002) does include an overview of Protogeometric burials throughout Greece, excluding Crete, but the focus of the work is not on mortuary practices. Also, Pini's study (1968) of Minoan graves contains LM IIIC and some PG (and later) burials, though the focus is on the Bronze Age material.

⁷ Morris (1997) includes a discussion of the end of the Early Iron Age as part of an overview of the Archaic period. It is significant to note that Archaic Greece is also characterized by regional diversity in settlements, burials, and sanctuaries.

⁸ Cf. Snodgrass 1971, 142.

⁹ See for example, Coldstream and Catling 1996, for Knossos; Gesell et al. 1990, 1991, 1995, for Kavousi Vronda; Stampolidis 1993a, 1994a, for Eleutherna.

examination of the burial methods, architecture, assemblages, and spatial contexts of these tombs and cemeteries provides significant new evidence regarding the extent of cultural diversity present on the island during this period. One of the many goals of my investigation was to search for and explain regional patterns in the funerary material, as well as changes that occur across the island over the course of the Early Iron Age. Previous studies, for example, have divided the island into two large regional groups (west/central and east) on the basis of pottery styles.¹⁰ This basic division has been maintained in recent investigations of EIA settlement patterns and cult dedications and is also visible in the funerary material;¹¹ one aim of this project was thus to pull this material together and place it into a discussion – previously dominated by ceramic, settlement, and cult studies. In addition to the two basic regional groupings which have been previously identified, an analysis of mortuary variability reveals more complex, intra-regional and local cultural groupings, thus supplementing the findings of recent surveys.¹² Another research goal was to explore the relationship between the catalogued tombs and cemeteries and their associated settlements; in other words, how did the cemeteries associated with EIA “refuge settlements” compare with those of small villages and habitations located in less defensible areas, as well as with those of larger towns, especially those which later become *poleis* (city states)? A final objective was to examine what the burial information revealed about the changes in settlement systems, as well as the developments in socio-political organization and complexity which are generally assumed to have occurred throughout the island during this period.

¹⁰ Desborough 1972; Coldstream 1968, 1977.

¹¹ Borgna 2003; Prent 2003, 2005.

¹² Cf. Hayden 2004, for Vrokastro; Haggis 1992, 1993, 1996, for Kavousi. These recent surveys have, for example, revealed local variations in settlement patterns with clusters of sites.

Chapter divisions

This dissertation thus involves the compilation of Early Iron Age Cretan burial sites, examining burial methods, architecture, assemblages, and spatial contexts, toward an understanding of the socio-political and cultural meanings suggested by mortuary variability within the individual cemeteries and regions of the island. The chapters of this study are organized as follows: Chapter Two presents background material for the analyses and discussions found in Chapters Four and Five; it contains sections on geography/location, chronology, the Early Iron Age on Crete, the history of research for Early Iron Age burials on Crete and for mortuary studies in general, the nature of the evidence, and methodology. Chapter Three includes the full catalogue of sites, providing the basic summary information for the tombs, burial information, grave goods, and the associated settlements (where known), along with bibliography. Chapter Four contains definitions and brief histories of the various tomb types. The focus of this section, however, is on the basic analysis of the tombs by type; tombs are examined by architectural features, location relative to the settlement, method of interment, grave goods, date, etc. Charts with all of the published information regarding these features are included within the text of this chapter, while associated maps, graphs, plans, and photographs are grouped together after the Bibliography. Finally, Chapter Five comprises an overall conclusion and discussion of the material analyzed in Chapter Four. Seven distinct mortuary regions and four transitional zones are defined; these regional burial patterns are then related to the settlement patterns previously identified for those areas. In addition, whenever possible, comments on social-political organization, social stratification, and cultural identity are presented within the sections where evidence for their identification is most clearly revealed.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This chapter presents background information for the study conducted in Chapters Four and Five; it contains sections on geography and location, chronology, the Early Iron Age on Crete, the history of research for Early Iron Age burials on Crete and for mortuary studies in general, the nature of the evidence, and methodology.

Location

The island of Crete is approximately 250 km east-west by 12-60 km north-south (fig. 1), and it is divided into three broad regions on the basis of geography: east (from the east coast to the Lasithi/Dikti mountains), central (between Psiloritis/Mt. Ida and the Lasithi mountains), and west (west of Psiloritis to the coast, including the area of the White Mts./Lefka Ora).¹³ The modern administrative provinces (*nomoi* – Lasithi, Herakleion, Rethymnon and Chania) were established roughly along these geographical divisions (fig. 2). Following Kanta, the catalogue presented in Chapter Three is organized by *nomos* and subdivided by *eparchia* (administrative district);¹⁴ the conclusions (Chapter Five) are also presented roughly according to these basic *nomos* divisions. Scholars such as Pendlebury, Sjögren, and Nowicki have similarly divided the island into separate geographical areas for

¹³ Nowicki 2000, 19-27; Rackham and Moody 1996, 12-32; Pendlebury 1939, 1-16.

¹⁴ Kanta 1980. Lasithi Nomos is comprised of Lasithi, Mirabello, Ierapetra, and Siteia Eparchias; Herakleion Nomos contains Kainourion, Malevyzion, Monophatsion, Pediada, Pyrgiotissa, and Viannos Eparchias; Rethymnon Nomos consists of Agios Vasilios, Amari, Mylopotamos, and Rethymnon Eparchias; Chania Nomos consists of Apokoronas, Kissamos, Kydonia, Selino (no EIA tombs), and Sphakia (no EIA tombs) Eparchias.

study;¹⁵ in fact, Sjögren states that the formation, appearance, and existence of various sites (and site patterns) can be more easily understood by dividing the island into geographic study-areas.¹⁶

The advantages of focusing a study on a single, small island have been laid out previously by Cherry, Renfrew, and others.¹⁷ According to Cherry et al., “islands have clearly defined and relatively unchanging boundaries that delimit a natural area which can be expected to behave to some extent as a unified cultural unit.”¹⁸ For this reason, islands are frequently distinguished from the mainland or even other islands in archaeological studies. The differences between Early Iron Age Crete and the rest of Greece, for example, have often been noted. This is well-illustrated by the fact that Lemos excluded Crete from her recent study of Protogeometric Greece, considering the island to require a separate study as a result of its unique character during this period.¹⁹ D’Agata as well acknowledges that EIA Crete comprises “a single cultural entity,” as opposed to the mainland, though one that shows a pattern of profound regionalism, if not localism.²⁰ Furthermore, island-wide cultural traits,

¹⁵ Pendlebury (1939), for example, identified four cultural-regions (north, south, east, and west). Nowicki (2000) divides his sites into 15 sub-regions (east Siteia plateau, west Siteia mountains, Irapetra isthmus, eastern Lasithi, southern Lasithi, northern Lasithi, northern Mirabello, central Crete, Mesara and its northern border, Asterousia, Mylopotamos, Rethymnon isthmus, Sfakia, Chania, Kissamos). Sjögren (2001) discusses regional site patterns in three broad divisions, each with subdivisions: central Crete (northern, Pediada, southern), western (westernmost and western-central), and eastern (Lasithi, Mirabello, easternmost).

¹⁶ Sjögren 2001, 7.

¹⁷ Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, 1-8; Cherry et al. 1991, 9-10. While Crete may not necessarily be considered a “small” island, as it is the largest in the Aegean, the advantages laid out by these authors still apply to its study, due to the fact that it is an island and can thus be considered a relatively “closed” system.

¹⁸ Cherry et al. 1991, 9.

¹⁹ Lemos 2002, 1.

²⁰ D’Agata 1999a, 182-183. See also Whitley 1991, 345, for diversity in the Early Iron Age in general. He states that “regional diversity in material culture is moreover the hallmark of the Greek Dark Ages. Every region differed in its pottery style, burial customs, depositional practices and settlement patterns ... [these features] are the material manifestation of distinct regional cultures.”

distinguishing Crete from the mainland and elsewhere in the Aegean, have long been identified, not only for much of the Bronze Age but also for the Archaic-Classical periods.²¹

Chronology

This study focuses on the Early Iron Age of Crete (fig. 3). Unfortunately, few agree on the definition of pottery phases that constitute this period or on the absolute dates, and there is little consensus on the chronological parameters comprising the “Early Iron Age.” Even the use of the term “Early Iron Age” has in the past been controversial, partially due to the rarity of iron early in the period; uncertainties also exist regarding the date of its introduction to the island and the beginning of local manufacture.²² The seminal texts of Snodgrass and Desborough refer to this period as the Greek “Dark Age(s),”²³ and many authors continue to employ this term.²⁴ While the designation “Dark Ages” has been criticized for its potentially negative connotations, Nowicki, following Coulson, defends its use on the basis that it allows us to bypass all problems with divisions of pottery styles and absolute chronological and regional differences.²⁵ Regardless, the majority of scholars now seem to prefer to call this period the Early Iron Age;²⁶ in fact, the designation of this period

²¹ See for example, Morris 1997, 12, 58-68, for the Archaic period; Perlman 1992, for the Classical period. Regional variation in burials, settlement patterns, ceramics, and cult practices also occurs across the island during these periods. See also Pendlebury 1939; Hutchinson 1962; Willetts 1977; Krzyszkowska and Nixon 1983; Preziosi 1983; Gesell 1985b; Marinatos 1993; Fitton 2002, for general Minoan studies.

²² Dickinson 2006, 1-9.

²³ Snodgrass 1971; Desborough 1972b.

²⁴ See for example, Coldstream 1991, 1994; Whitley 1991; D’Agata 1999a; Thomas and Conant 1999. See also Morris 2000, 77-106, for definition of the Dark Age; Dickinson 2006, 1-23, for recent summary of the chronology and terminology of this period.

²⁵ Coulson 1990a; Nowicki 2000, 15-16. Nowicki does, however, point out that the term “Dark Age” is often used inconsistently, its beginning referring either to the end of the Mycenaean or Minoan world or to the introduction of the Protogeometric pottery style, and that it must be discussed in different ways for different locations within Greece. See Papadopoulos 1993, 194-197; 1996, 254-255, for criticism of the term “dark age.” See also Dickinson 2006, 1-9, for further discussion of the use of this designation.

no longer appears to be an issue, as some scholars now employ both terms indiscriminately or else have switched to the use of Early Iron Age rather than Dark Age.²⁷ For this reason, I have chosen to designate the period thusly throughout this work.

Disagreement also exists as to which pottery phases comprise the Early Iron Age. Nowicki, on the one hand, considers this period on Crete to include very late LM IIIB-early Geometric.²⁸ He thus believes that the changes in settlement patterns and political organization which define the period began occurring at an earlier period than previously thought; in addition, Nowicki considers the period after EG and its associated developments to belong more properly with the later Early Archaic period. Many other scholars, however, have traditionally defined the period as SM-LG/EO, considering LM IIIB-C to belong to the Bronze Age by definition and Orientalizing or Archaic features to begin after the end of the Geometric period.²⁹ For my purposes, the Early Iron Age will include the Late Minoan IIIC (LM IIIC), Subminoan (SM), Protogeometric (PG), Geometric (G), and Early Orientalizing (EO) periods. The decision to include LM IIIC and EO was made in the hopes that a better understanding of the changes in funerary material would be reached through examining the transitional phases at both the beginning and end of the period.

The absolute chronologies for this period are even less certain. One of the difficulties in assigning exact dates to certain phases is the fact that while many of the same terms for

²⁶ E.g., Hood and Boardman 1961; Mook 1993; Prokopiou 1994; Stampolidis 2001; Tegou 2001; Tsipopoulou 2005.

²⁷ E.g., Haggis 1993; Snodgrass 1987, 170-210; Whitley 1991, 2001.

²⁸ Nowicki 2000, 16-17, 223-247, for additional bibliography and arguments in favor of dating the EIA from LM IIIB-EG.

²⁹ E.g., Whitley 2001; Tsipopoulou 2005. Brock (1957) considered the period to consist of SM-LO, though SM-LG/EO appears to be the most commonly used range of pottery phases. See also Mook (1993, 24-29) for summary of chronology and additional bibliography.

pottery styles are used both on Crete and in the mainland, these phases are not understood to indicate exactly the same chronological periods in absolute terms; in fact, certain pottery styles appear much later on the island than on the mainland. Dates for the Early Iron Age range from 1020-630 B.C. (Brock), 1150-after 715 B.C. (Snodgrass), 1200-800 B.C. (Nowicki), and 1100-700 B.C. (Whitley), varying partially on the basis of which ceramic phases are considered to constitute the period.³⁰ I will here consider the period (LM IIIC-EO) to include roughly 1200-700 B.C. As absolute dates are only rarely known, they will in general not be employed here, and especially not for subdividing pottery phases.

Additional difficulties exist with the chronology of Early Iron Age Crete. Pottery from across the island cannot be considered chronologically as a single homogeneous unit, and correlates between the regions do not always exist.³¹ In eastern Crete, for example, the precise relative sequence of pottery phases within the period are only now being worked out.³² In the past, the majority of east Cretan pottery was dated on the basis of stylistic parallels with central Cretan, primarily Knossian, material; this is “not a reliable guide, since internal development and external contacts were dissimilar in the two regions, and a much more conservative ceramic tradition existed in the east.”³³ Specifically, Mook and Tsipopoulou agree that in the east, for the most part, what is essentially PG-style pottery predominates until the arrival of Knossian-style LG, with little evidence of PGB, EG and

³⁰ Brock 1957; Snodgrass 1971, 134-135; Nowicki 2000; Whitley 1991. But cf. Whitley 2000, where the period is dated to 1000-700 B.C. See Whitley 2001, 60-74; Dickinson 2006, 20-23, for bibliography and summary of issues of chronology and dating of the EIA. See also Warren and Hankey 1989, 72-92, for discussion of the absolute chronology of Late Minoan IA to Subminoan.

³¹ Sjögren 2001, 8.

³² Mook 1993, for Kavousi Kastro; Tsipopoulou 2005, for much of eastern Crete.

³³ Mook 1993, 28.

MG.³⁴ An additional problem remains, however, as to the differentiation, or even existence of Subminoan as a separate phase or style of pottery; some scholars continue to use the term, while others attribute the material to either LM IIIC late or to PG.³⁵

Finally, much of the known pottery from EIA Crete comes from burials, rather than stratified settlement deposits. It is notoriously difficult to date tomb assemblages, and even more difficult to determine the date of a tomb's construction. Tombs were often used for multiple burials, sometimes over several phases, and heirlooms were potentially deposited as grave goods. Furthermore, many tombs were robbed, or partially cleared out for subsequent burials, and the latest material from a tomb can be the result of later offerings of non-funerary use, rather than representing the final phase of burial. In this catalogue and analysis, the dates for tomb assemblages are derived primarily from the original excavation reports, and more recent analyses when available, rather than an individual study of the assemblages from all tombs, which is beyond the scope of this work. Whenever possible, precise dates or phases are used, though the vast majority of burial sites can only be broadly dated. The conclusions presented in Chapters Four and Five must, therefore, be viewed within this context.

Brief history of the Early Iron Age on Crete

The Early Iron Age is a period of transition, comprising the years after the final collapse of the palatial system in LM IIIB up to the development of the city-state before or

³⁴ Mook (1993, 28-29) prefers to use the term Subprotogeometric to refer to the period between PG and LG, as observed at Kavousi Kastro. See also Tsipopoulou (2005, 555-558), for a good summary of the ceramic phases of EIA in the east.

³⁵ Mook (1993, 169-170) for example, terms the period LM IIIC-PG Transitional, as she was not able to identify any stratigraphic deposits of solely "SM" from Kavousi Kastro; this chronological phase would thus be transitional, containing both LM IIIC and PG pottery. Tsipopoulou (2005, 555-556), on the other hand, argues for continuing use of the term SM, as she identifies a distinct phase of pottery from the sites which she has examined.

during the Archaic period. A dramatic shift in settlement types took place on the island during this period; at the beginning of LM IIIB many settlements were abandoned, as a result of the collapse of the previous political structure.³⁶ A shift then occurred from the “previous (apparently hierarchically organized) system of nucleated settlements on coastal plains and other low-lying, flat, and fertile areas, to elevated, dispersed locations, mostly in the foothills of mountain ranges or on high rocky hills above the sea.”³⁷ These new settlements were often positioned at very inaccessible locations,³⁸ and they appear to have been economically self-sufficient.³⁹ Sites at these locations will be referred to here as “defensible” settlements following Nowicki 2000, rather than “refuge” settlements, in order to avoid any specific connotations as to the nature of their founding. This pattern of small defensible sites existed throughout much of the island from LM IIIC until PG, when a second widespread change occurred: many sites were abandoned, and those which continued, as well as newly founded sites, rapidly expanded their borders.⁴⁰ This general process of nucleation continued in the Geometric and Archaic periods, and these changes appear to have been primarily related to developments in political structure and new economic priorities.⁴¹ Early Iron Age settlement patterns across the island will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

³⁶ Nowicki 1990, 1994, 2000, 228-247.

³⁷ Wallace 2003, 256-262. See also Borgna 2003.

³⁸ Nowicki 1994, 1996a, 2000; Kanta 2001b. See Borgna 2003, for use of the term ‘refuge settlement.’ Haggis 1993, 1996, for environmental explanation for the move to upland settlements. See also Hayden 2003, 137-166; Wallace 2003, 257; Prent 2005, 104-126, 213-243.

³⁹ Wallace 1997-2000, 85-91; 2003, 257; Prent 2003, 81-82; Borgna 2003, 173. See Haggis 1992, 1993, 1996, for site cluster model of Kavousi area in which the nucleated hamlets within the cluster would have been economically interdependent. See also Hayden 2004, 146, for Vrokastro; Nowicki 1994, for Pefkoi.

⁴⁰ Wallace 2003, 257-262. By the end of LM IIIC in central Crete, however, some sites were already increasing in size and few-no abandonments appear to have occurred in this region, unlike in the east and west (Nowicki 2000, 235-247).

Those changes which occurred, beginning in PG or earlier, put in place the foundation for the later system of poleis or city-states.⁴² Regardless of the exact date or location of the origin of the polis, many scholars would now agree that the city-state existed, at least in an early form at certain locations, by the end of the 8th century B.C.⁴³ It is beyond the scope of my thesis, however, to examine the various arguments as to how a polis is defined and when it first appeared. Rather, in this study I will use the term polis to refer to sites which were later designated as such by ancient authors, inscriptions, common opinion, etc;⁴⁴ these sites were also large in size showing increased nucleation and population, continued in existence at least throughout the Archaic period, and showed discernable changes from earlier in the Early Iron Age in both the organization of the settlement and its architecture.

Brief history of research on EIA Cretan burials

While the basic list of Cretan sites containing Early Iron Age tombs can be found, for the most part, within the works of previous authors, this dissertation provides the first complete catalogue of the burial information, as well as the first comprehensive study of the burials. Coldstream, Desborough, and Pendlebury give simple lists of the EIA burials known

⁴¹ In addition, the PG-A sites tended to be well-located, with access to large arable land and political territory (Wallace 2003, 258-259).

⁴² Nowicki 2000, 247; Prent 2003, 82.

⁴³ E.g., Whitley, Prent, and Thorne (1999, 252-253) who consider the basic form of the city to have been established at Praisos by LG. See also Coldstream 1991; Morris 1991, 26-30, Whitley 1991, for Knossos; Haggis et al. 2004, 2006, for Azoria. Sjögren 2001, 1-3, 132-154; Mitchel and Rhodes 1997; Sakellariou 1989; Flensted-Jensen et al. 2000; Prent 2005, 218-226, for studies on the identification and definition of the city-state.

⁴⁴ Sjögren (2001, 16-19, 57-58, 140, 146), for example, identifies Arkades, Gortyn, Dreros, Eleutherna, Eltynia (Kounavoi?), Knossos, Lyttos (Lyktos), Lykastos, Milatos, Phaistos, Rhytion (Rotasi?), Itanos, Kydonia (Chania), Praisos, Sybrita, Aptera, Oleros, Larisa (?); Prinias (Rizenia?), Pantanassa (Vene or Phalanna?) as eventually becoming poleis.

at the time of their studies.⁴⁵ References to Late Minoan IIIC burials are frequently found in Kanta's study of the LM III period on Crete and from the Geometric period in Sjögren's recent work;⁴⁶ furthermore, Löwe has compiled a basic catalogue of LM burials that includes LM IIIC (and some PG), and many tombs appear in Syriopoulos' catalogue of EIA sites of all types.⁴⁷ Pini, meanwhile, continues to be the primary source and the only real study of LM-PG burials on Crete,⁴⁸ though Tsipopoulou has more recently catalogued and conducted a basic study of the Early Iron Age burials, examining the pottery in particular, from the eastern part of the island, excluding the area of the Lasithi Mountains and burials from the LM IIIC period.⁴⁹

Nature of the evidence

Over 1200 tombs have been identified in the vicinity of approximately 122 modern villages, at over 200 locations. While the majority of these tombs have been at least partially excavated, burials from many sites are merely inferred on the basis of survey information or chance finds brought to local museums. In addition, although the publications listed above are useful in determining the location of Early Iron Age cemeteries and tombs on the island, they do not provide the specific information necessary for conducting a mortuary variability study, for the most part merely noting the existence of burials at a certain location or giving only basic summaries of the site information. Preliminary and final publications, of which

⁴⁵ Pendlebury 1939; Desborough 1952, 1964, 1972b; Coldstream 1977.

⁴⁶ Kanta 1980; Sjögren 2001.

⁴⁷ Syriopoulos 1983; Löwe (1996) essentially provides an update to Pini (1968) but with no real analysis of the burials.

⁴⁸ Pini 1968.

⁴⁹ Tsipopoulou 1984, 1987b, 2005.

few exist, for individual sites provide the bulk of known information for these tombs and thus supply the majority of the data used for the analyses in Chapter Four.

Unfortunately, most of the EIA Cretan tombs were excavated and published long ago, in many cases over a hundred years ago, and the standards for recording and publishing tomb data are not consistent with those currently used. In addition, in only a few cases have cemeteries or tombs been completely published; the best published site by far is the Knossos North Cemetery, while Karphi, Vrokastro, and Kavousi Vronda are among the better documented locations with relatively large cemeteries.⁵⁰ Some individual tombs have also been fully studied, such as Ag. Georgios Papoura, Vasilike Kamaraki, Ag. Paraskies, and Pantanassa, while at sites like Arkades, the finds have been well published but the actual tomb and burial information provided is minimal.⁵¹ Although several sites with large cemeteries (Prinias, for example) remain unpublished, several new publications are forthcoming (Kavousi Vronda, Kritsa, Krya, Karphi, Kounavoi) which should be of great assistance in future studies.

Additional difficulties presented by the nature of the published material include the fact that specific tomb information, such as measurements, construction, and type, is often not recorded; chamber tombs, pit graves, and pithos burials, in particular, tend to be poorly published, likely due to their lack of built architecture. Frequently, only the most significant types of grave goods are listed, but with no other information. Furthermore, in many cases, old excavations, and even many recent ones, do not report specific data on the sex, age, etc. of the individuals buried; some publications do not even indicate the method of burial

⁵⁰ Coldstream and Catling 1996, for Knossos North Cemetery; Pendlebury 1937-1938, for Karphi; Hall 1914, for Vrokastro; Gesell et al. 1983, 1988, 1991, 1995, for Kavousi Vronda.

⁵¹ Watrous 1980, for Ag. Georgios Papoura; Tsipopoulou et al. 2003, for Vasilike Kamaraki; Levi 1945, for Ag. Paraskies; Tegou 2001, for Pantanassa; Levi 1927-1929, for Arkades.

(cremation or inhumation), though old excavation reports often mention the number of skulls found. Also, the majority of Early Iron Age burials appear to have been robbed, and often destroyed, to some degree. Any potential conclusions must, therefore, be considered with the nature of the evidence in mind.

Despite all of these problems with the data, however, sufficient information does exist to conduct an overall study of mortuary practices on the island during the Early Iron Age. Preliminary reports, even very old ones, often do provide significant amounts of information regarding the burials. In fact, on the basis of the available evidence, I have been able to create a database of all published tomb and site features; this has further allowed me to observe clear overall trends in the mortuary behavior on the island during the Early Iron Age, as well as to identify regional patterns amongst the funerary material and to make tentative comments regarding the nature of the changing social structure in the period.

History of scholarship for mortuary studies in general

Much literature has been written on various approaches and theories to mortuary studies. Among others, McHugh and Keswani provide excellent reviews of the history of scholarship for mortuary studies in general, covering between them both theoretical and quantitative approaches.⁵² Two basic approaches to the study of burials currently exist: the processual approach of Saxe, Binford, and to some degree Tainter, versus the more ideological, post-processual approach of Hodder, Parker-Pearson, Shanks and Tilley, et al. As these theories have been thoroughly analyzed elsewhere, only a brief summary of the history of research will be presented here; it is not deemed necessary to provide one more justification of the potential of mortuary data for studying social organization. As Papadimitriou states, “despite considerable differences in approach, *all* recent studies adhere

⁵² McHugh 1999, 1-18; Keswani 2004, 6-21. See also Parker Pearson 1999.

to the basic notion that mortuary practices reflect in one or another way social relationships.”⁵³

Saxe’s dissertation is generally viewed as “the starting point of the new, social analytical approach to mortuary practice.”⁵⁴ Both Saxe and Binford attempted to define cross-cultural ‘laws’ about burial practice, using ethnographic descriptions to identify a direct relationship between variations in mortuary treatment and social organization or status distinctions.⁵⁵ Saxe, for example, organized his ideas into eight hypotheses; among these is number five, which concluded that the degree of social complexity can be correlated with the degree of redundancy of components from the mortuary domain, in other words, the more similar the attributes of burial practice, the less complex and more egalitarian the society.⁵⁶ Following Saxe, Binford also considered a more complex society to be illustrated by a more structurally complex mortuary domain. He theorized that the form of the mortuary ritual was determined by the dimensions of the ‘social persona,’ stating that “status was usually symbolized by symbolic artifacts and quantity of grave goods, sex was usually differentiated by the types of goods, and sub-group affiliation by location and orientation of the grave.”⁵⁷ Finally, Tainter developed the ‘energy expenditure’ model, which states that the rank of an individual should be reflected in the amount of energy expended in constructing the tomb,

⁵³ Papadimitriou 2001, 5-6.

⁵⁴ Saxe 1970; McHugh 1999, 4.

⁵⁵ Binford 1971, 1972. See also Whitley 1991, 23-34; Parker Pearson 1999, 27-32, for a good summary of the works of Saxe, Binford, and Tainter.

⁵⁶ Saxe 1970. Thus, conversely, in a more complex society, individuals of lesser importance or status will have fewer social identities and thus fewer distinct burial characteristics. See also McHugh 1999, 4-6.

⁵⁷ Binford (1972, 232) defines ‘social persona’ as “a composite of the social identities maintained in life and recognized as appropriate for consideration at death.” See also, McHugh 1999, 7-8; Parker Pearson 1999, 28-29.

with higher rank thus indicated by larger size and elaborateness of the burial structure, as well as complexity of body treatment, duration of accompanying rituals, and nature of grave offerings.⁵⁸

The theories of Saxe, Binford, Tainter, and other processualists have been criticized in the more recent, post-processual studies. Post-processual scholars have emphasized the importance of cultural context, criticizing previous works for focusing too heavily on cross-cultural rules and ethnographic examples and for ignoring the fact that certain funerary rituals or ceremonies may not be evident or recoverable in the archaeological record. Their studies instead concentrate on historical contexts for the explanation of mortuary practice, and they emphasize the importance of ideological processes in burial.⁵⁹ While Saxe and others tended to view burial as an exact, faithful representation of social organization and hierarchy within the living society, post-processual scholars have argued that burial practice has the potential for “distorting, obscuring, hiding or inverting particular forms of social relationships.”⁶⁰ Scholars such as Morris, Shanks, and Tilley have emphasized the fact that “burial provides an ideal opportunity to make political dominance seem legitimate and ‘natural’ through ancestral association, as though it had always been the case.”⁶¹ Furthermore, post-processual theories consider that although burial is not automatically a

⁵⁸ Tainter (1975, 1978) also considered that distinctions in grave goods only rarely provided an accurate estimate of social rank. See also Watson 1994, for determining ranking from mortuary material.

⁵⁹ McHugh 1999, 1-2, 7-11. See Papadimitriou 2001, 5-10, for summary of these issues, as well as additional bibliography for studies conducted by other scholars with relation to Middle and Late Bronze Age Greek burials. See also O’Shea 1984, 1-22, for synopsis and critique of various theories on mortuary study.

⁶⁰ Hodder 1982, 152; Keswani 2004, 8. See also, Pader 1982; Parker Pearson 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1982; Morris 1987; 1992; Voutsaki 1998.

⁶¹ McHugh 1999, 1; Morris 1992, 6; Shanks and Tilley 1982. Morris (1987, 39) also proposes a distinction between social structure and social organization (social organization=day-to-day relationships of community, the way things really are versus social structure=idealized set of relationships).

context for status display, or even a focus for competition, it may become so at certain times, such as when instability exists in the status system.⁶²

McHugh, however, has also identified potential problems with the ideological interpretations of burial practices.⁶³ He states that a hidden ideology or agenda of status manipulation does not necessarily exist in the funerary material, and that burial could, in some cases, actually be a reasonably accurate representation of social structure. Furthermore, McHugh indicates the difficulty in distinguishing from the archaeological record features that may indicate ‘ideological manipulation’ versus other processes that may leave the same remains; there may also be bias in that the archaeological remains do not include a representative sample of the population.⁶⁴ Finally, there is a need to study all social dimensions symbolized in burial, rather than focusing specifically on elite ‘ideologies’ as most post-processual scholars have previously done.

Although the theories of both schools of thought have been justifiably criticized, important tools for research can be found in the works of scholars from both sides. As a result of their studies, burials are now being seen as part of the dynamic processes that created and modified social structure through time. While it does not provide the only source of information for inferring social structure, mortuary practice can be considered the best

⁶² McHugh (1999, 13) summarizes the post-processual approaches to burial practice: 1. “Status differences may be ideologically hidden in burial,” making the society appear more egalitarian than it really is. 2. “Status differences may be over-emphasized or exaggerated in burial,” especially when competition exists between individuals. 3. “Burial is not automatically an important arena for status display. Other contexts may be used...burial may not be important in general, or to specific groups of individuals within the society.” 4. “Economic aspects of society may have an important relationship with burial practice, particularly regarding the circulation of goods.”

⁶³ McHugh 1999, 16-17.

⁶⁴ McHugh 1999, 16-17.

source of such information.⁶⁵ The burial information cannot be viewed in isolation, however; the best studies combine funerary evidence with settlement or cult data, etc. In addition, there is a recent trend for increasing emphasis on regional explanations for mortuary practices;⁶⁶ “this kind of approach really gets behind the different ‘meanings’ and significance of burial practice, at an increasingly sophisticated level of understanding.”⁶⁷ Finally, McHugh recommends that in future studies of mortuary material, the archaeologist should first be concerned with directly examining the burial data and uncovering patterns that might exist, as well as their potential meanings.⁶⁸ Only afterwards should judgments be made regarding the accuracy of these patterns in terms of social structure.

Methodology

As no complete compilation of Early Iron Age Cretan burials currently exists, this dissertation serves to present this catalogue. The information in the site catalogue (Chapter Three) is derived primarily from published material, both preliminary and final publications from surveys and excavations, rather than individual fieldwork. Nearly all of the tombs with known locations and visible remains were, however, visited in order to observe their architectural features and position within the landscape; these sites were thus examined in

⁶⁵ McHugh 1999, 1-2.

⁶⁶ Morris 1992; Anderson Beck 1995; Smith 2002; Keswani 2004; Preston 2004.

⁶⁷ McHugh 1999, 2.

⁶⁸ McHugh (1999, 18) further argues for focusing on the four main social dimensions that structure burial – age, gender, vertical divisions, and horizontal divisions. Important factors to consider are tomb (location, positioning, size, structure, orientation), body (inhumation vs. cremation, position or treatment of body), artifacts, and ritual/ceremony. In addition, Keswani (2004, 9) states that “in societies with relatively stable social hierarchies and highly structured mortuary practice, the archaeological record should afford a distinctively patterned or tiered representation of status hierarchy in the living society, with strong correlations between the different elements of mortuary variability (locational, architectural, ritual, artifactual), but in societies characterized by a high degree of social competition, these correlations may be less apparent, reflecting the fluctuating hierarchical relations between groups. Here the distribution of wealth and status symbols may also be characterized by continuous variation rather than by stepped or discrete status positions.”

order to better understand the variations in tomb type and construction, as well as to evaluate the relationships between the burial areas and settlements. As part of this investigation, I was able to create a database and tables with all of the known Early Iron Age tomb information from the island; through the aid of these tables, I was then able to analyze the sites on the basis of tomb type, date, burial information, grave goods, and settlement type (Chapter Four).

My original plan was to conduct a full mortuary variability study, using a combination of techniques for multivariate statistical analysis (a form of cluster analysis – CLUSTAN and correspondence analysis – WINBASP/MVSP).⁶⁹ These techniques are frequently used in archaeology, primarily to reduce a large body of data, including tomb and grave good information, into a form which may reveal useful patterns and structure; furthermore, these methods have recently been successfully employed by classical archaeologists in conducting both local and regional mortuary investigations.⁷⁰ These forms of statistical analysis are most effective, however, when used on a single, large, well-excavated, and minimally robbed, cemetery or when investigating tombs or grave goods of a particular type.⁷¹ Unfortunately, the nature of the data from the Early Iron Age Cretan burials (i.e., poor publishing and inconsistent recording, high degree of tomb robbing, presence often of only a single tomb from a site) made such a study unfeasible. Any results obtained through statistical analysis under these conditions would have been unreliable, containing a high degree of possible error, unprofitable, and perhaps not even legitimate,

⁶⁹ McHugh 1999, 63-84, for a summary of multivariate approaches as well as additional bibliography. See also Shennan 1988; Baxter 1994; Jensen and Nielsen 1997.

⁷⁰ E.g., Cavanagh 1987; Morris 1987, 1992; Whitley 1991.

⁷¹ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 653-666, for cluster analysis of chamber tombs in the Knossos North Cemetery. See also Cavanagh 1987, for cluster analysis of Mycenaean chamber tombs; Whitley 1991, for cluster analysis of pottery styles from burials.

considering the fragmentary nature of the data. For these reasons, statistical analysis was not conducted as part of this study.

Although I was unable to use true statistical analysis, enough information was obtained from the site reports to identify clear patterns in the mortuary data; for example, I was able to identify seven distinct burial regions on the island, as well as distinguish two different types of tholos tomb.⁷² Following McHugh's recommendations, my plan of research was thus first to analyze the burial data with a focus on identifying regional and local patterns or general trends within the funerary material; only then did I attempt to place these patterns within the context of the transitional period of the Early Iron Age and interpret their possible meaning (Chapter Five).⁷³ Also, by studying the burials in combination with the known settlement information, I have attempted to avoid any potential misinterpretations made by looking only at the burials in isolation.

Due to the nature of the evidence, however, only limited observations were able to be made, on the basis of mortuary evidence, regarding the socio-political organization and social structure of Crete in the Early Iron Age. Whenever possible, a combination of the processual and post-processual methodologies was used in interpreting the funerary material, as both have theories relevant to EIA burials. The basic theorem of Saxe and Binford that the greater the similarity of burial attributes, the less complex and more egalitarian the society, for example, seems to be applicable to many Cretan sites, as in the Lasithi plateau area, at the beginning of the Early Iron Age (see Chapter Five).⁷⁴ In addition, Binford's idea that status

⁷² See Cavanagh and Mee 1998, for excellent analysis of EH-LH graves on the mainland without the use of statistical analysis. See also Keswani 2004, for BA Cyprus.

⁷³ McHugh 1999, 18. See also *supra* n. 66.

⁷⁴ Saxe 1970; Binford 1971, 1972. Cf. Keswani 2004, 19, where in some cases, a high degree of social competition may be reflected in a greater similarity of wealth and status symbols.

may be inferred from the quantity of grave goods and presence of symbolic artifacts, may be applicable, though with less certainty, to certain sites in the later part of the EIA.⁷⁵ On the other hand, the post-processual theory that in periods of change, instability in a status system may be reflected in burials by attempts to legitimize political domination by ancestral association, and that graves could have potentially become focuses for competition or status display, may be especially relevant at specific Cretan sites in the later part of the EIA; this practice can potentially be seen, for example, in the use of the large tholos tomb (see Chapter Five).⁷⁶ I have thus used a combination of methodologies for interpreting the funerary material with the ultimate goal of identifying any possible connections between mortuary behavior and changing social structures during the Early Iron Age on Crete.

The focus of this study is therefore on analyzing the mortuary remains themselves and searching for patterns or general trends within the data; topics such as determining potential ethnicities, the origin of cremation, origin of the tholos tomb, evidence of the Dorian invasion, trade in the Early Iron Age Aegean, etc. are beyond the scope of this dissertation. In addition, due to the nature of the evidence, observations about mortuary variability can only be placed within the broad social-political and economic context of the period; a determination of ranking, hierarchies, or specific social status levels at individual sites is thus also beyond the scope of this study.

⁷⁵ Binford 1971, 1972.

⁷⁶ Shanks and Tilley 1982.

CHAPTER 3

CATALOGUE OF SITES

The sites of this catalogue are arranged according to region: I. Lasithi, II. Herakleion, III. Rethymnon, and IV. Chania. Each region is also subdivided into districts or *eparchias* (fig. 2). Every site is assigned a number which corresponds to that used on the map of sites (fig. 4). In most cases, sites are referred to by the name of the closest modern village.

Whenever a site is better known by another name (Karphi, for example), that designation is used, with the nearest modern village listed in parentheses. Each catalogue entry describes the location, associated settlement, and basic funerary information from the site (number of tombs, type of tombs, grave goods, etc.), and references are listed below the entry; associated figures (photographs, plans, maps) are found after the Bibliography. Whenever burials were found at multiple locations in the vicinity of a single, modern village, the entry is subdivided into those different areas.

I. LASITHI NOMOS

LASITHI EPARCHIA

1. Agios Georgios Papoura (Kera) (figs. 5-7) – A large EIA (primarily PG and G, but also LM IIIC late, O and A) settlement or town is located on the summit (now largely destroyed by a telecom installation) and south and east slopes of Papoura ridge; the site is located ~1 km northwest of the modern village of Pinakiano, ~1 km south of Kera, and ~1 km southwest of Karphi. Watrous tentatively identified this site with ancient Dattala, and it appears to have

been two-three times the size of Karphi. A cemetery lies immediately to the east of the settlement, near the Armos saddle, at Tou Stephani o Lakkos. In 1896, Evans identified a “Mycenaean” tomb at this location; this may be the same robbed tholos tomb which was excavated in 1937 by Pendlebury and Money-Coutts. Although only one tomb was excavated, others are believed to exist in the vicinity.

The plan and construction of the excavated tomb resemble those found at Karphi – an inner vaulted chamber, in this case circular and with a diameter of over 2 m, surrounded by a rectangular mass of rubble masonry, and a short dromos. In the Karphi tombs, the masonry surrounds only the chamber, whereas here, possibly a later addition to the tomb, a mass of rubble also encloses the dromos and the exterior lintel slab of the stomion, though at lower level. This extra masonry thus created an open semicircular space at the area of the lintel, which according to Watrous may have served a similar function as the relieving triangle often observed in Mycenaean tholoi on the mainland. The whole tomb thus would have had the appearance of a low stone tumulus with rectangular base.

Pendlebury believed the tomb was used ca. 900-700 B.C., though only MG (1st half 8th c.) pottery was securely identified by Watrous among the remaining finds in the Herakleion Museum. Pini, however, notes that this tomb type is common in PG, and it seems likely that the tomb had more than a single period of use. Human bones were found in the dromos and chamber of the tomb, suggesting multiple inhumation burials, though the exact number of burials is not recorded. Finds of note from the tomb include a stirrup jar, mentioned by Pendlebury though not currently in the museum, jug, three cups, an iron double axe, bronze bowl, and anthropomorphic terracotta figurine. Also, an animal figurine was

found on the surface near the tomb, possibly an offering, as has been suggested for the similar figurines found at Karphi.

This cemetery was likely associated with the nearby settlement at Papoura, which both Watrous and Pendlebury believed to be the successor to Karphi, though occupation of Papoura appears to have begun before the end of occupation at Karphi. In addition, Papoura ridge is situated between two major routes, one the northern entrance to the Lasithi plain, and the other one of the main access routes to central Crete, via the Selli pass.

Ref: Taramelli 1899, 408-409; Pendlebury et al. 1935-1936, 10 #2a; Pendlebury 1936-1937, 199; Young 1937, 140-141; Pendlebury 1939, 319, 324; Pini 1968, 86 #37; Snodgrass 1971, 208; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 60; Coldstream 1977, 276; Watrous 1980, 271-275; 1982, 20-21, 39-40 #4; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 254; Belli 1991, 442; Nowicki 2000, 167-170; Brown 2001, 318

2. Kaminaki – In his survey of the Lasithi Plain, Watrous identified a probable cemetery at Pigadistria (#65), located west of modern Kaminaki and directly west of the church of Ag. Konstantinos and Helena, on terraced fields at the western edge of the plain. Although no actual Early Iron Age tombs were found, fragments of Geometric pithoi, as well as a larnax and many limestone slabs, were identified from the survey, likely from disturbed tombs. In addition, burial pits for LM III larnakes were found at Koutsounari below and west of the church at Ag. Paraskevi.

The cemetery at Pigadistria probably belonged to the small LM III and G settlements found less than 500 meters to the southeast at Ag. Paraskevi (#61). The LM III settlement site is located east-southeast of the village on the terraced slope above the church of Ag. Paraskevi, and the EIA (G-A?) site is immediately southeast of the church. In addition, the settlements are located by the entrance to the Chloros Valley to the south.

Ref: Watrous 1982, 59-60 #61, 61 #65; Sjögren 2001, 276 (E117)

3. Karphi (Kera) (figs. 8-16) – Two groups of small tholos tombs have been excavated at the site, at Ta Mnimata and at Astividero.

A. *Ta Mnimata* – At Ta Mnimata, near Vitzelovrysis spring [not all tombs are near the spring as they are scattered over Ta Mnimata, but reports often identify the tombs with this spring], below the summit and LM IIIC-SM settlement of Karphi, and west/north-west of Megali Koprana, 17 tholos tombs were excavated by Pendlebury and Money-Coutts in 1937-1939. One of these tombs, possibly M. 1, was previously excavated by Evans in 1896. More recently, several additional tholos tombs (mostly unpublished) have been found and looted by illegal excavators, one (Tomb A) of which was investigated by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1989. Tombs at Ta Mnimata have been identified over an area of at least 300 m north to south and 100 m east to west, and the cemetery probably extended further to the south and west. Nowicki notes that the tholoi of this group are typically located between 80-200 m from the settlement, though one of the new illegally excavated tombs is ~300 m away.

The tombs in this cemetery were often placed in pairs (M.1-2; 5-6; 7-8; 16-17), some of which were separated or joined by retaining walls. Of special note is isolated Tomb 4, which is larger in the size of its enclosure and constructed of larger and better-shaped stones than most of the other examples; it also has a circular chamber with long dromos.

Furthermore, at the southeast corner of the tomb's exterior was uncovered a walled-in and paved area, which contained human bones, and much pottery was found scattered outside of the tomb. Additional finds from this tomb included three terracotta cows, two fragments of iron, and a fibula possibly imported from Italy or Sicily. In addition, Tomb 8 is the largest and best built of the cemetery, with square-built masonry and a roughly round chamber, and it shows signs of later activity outside the tomb (black earth, as well as possible offerings:

two iron needles, two female terracotta statuettes, a clay ox, and a terracotta stand). Finds from inside this tomb include a fenestrated stand or altar and a conch shell.

B. *Astividero* – On the other (east) side of Koprana ridge, on the slopes of Astividero, Pendlebury and Money-Coutts also excavated four tholos tombs of the same type as at Ta Mnimata. Recent illegal activity has revealed additional tombs in this area as well, including two square-chambered tholoi (#5-6) found in 1983 to the south and west of the previously excavated group, one (#5) of which contained a larnax and gold and bronze beads, and one well-preserved tomb (#7) with larnax discovered in 1990 on the upper slope. According to Nowicki, the tombs in this area are placed at a distance of up to 350 m from the settlement, and in one instance (A. 2-3) two tombs were also joined or separated by a retaining wall.

C. *Chalasa* – Pendlebury mentioned the possibility of a third cemetery on the northern scree, on the slopes of Chalasa, directly north of Karphi, though tholoi have not yet been recorded, or at least not yet published, from this area.

Overall – With minor variations, the tombs all conform to the same general type – a small, vaulted tomb with rectangular, square, or circular chamber (ca. 1-2 m in diameter) surrounded by a square or rectangular mass of masonry, which often runs into the hillside. Most of the tombs were wholly or at least partially free-standing. A few tombs had a small dromos, and the tombs were oriented in any direction, placed perpendicular, sometimes parallel, to the slope of the hill. Tombs were placed alone, in pairs, and in possible groups, with grouped tombs often in rows, though the tholoi were scattered throughout the area of the site. Multiple inhumation burials were typical, with up to five bodies per tomb; in most cases the doorways were too small for the insertion of bodies and sometimes even smaller than the stones used to block them. It is now thought, partially as a result of the new tombs

discovered through illegal activity, that the total number of tholoi at Karphi is several dozen or even more, thus making it likely that this tomb type was common for all families from the settlement.

The Karphi tombs date to LM IIIC–PG, primarily mid-late IIIC and SM; according to Day, the Astividero tombs appear to date solely to LM IIIC. During and after PG, the descendants or former inhabitants of Karphi may have begun to bury their dead at the Agios Georgios Papoura cemetery. In addition, Pendlebury notes that numerous small animal figurines, likely bull or sheep, and vases were found during excavation in the area around many (at least 13) of the tholoi; these items may have been offerings to ancestors made during the later Geometric and Archaic periods by inhabitants of Papoura. Animal figurines, especially cows, were also found inside several of the Ta Mnimata tombs. Although many of the tombs in both cemeteries were robbed, finds of note still include a duck vase, stirrup jars, pyxides, tripods, a lattice-work stand/altar, a collar of bronze discs sewn onto some material, a silver ring, bone needle, conch shell, and steatite spindle whorls. Finds are currently in the Herakleion and Neapolis Museums, and a new publication of tombs from the area, including a relatively wealthy tomb dug in 2004, is forthcoming by Apostolakou and Kanta.

Ref: Frothingham 1896, 455; Pendlebury et al. 1935-1936, 10 #3b; 1937-1938, 100-111; Young 1937, 142; 1938, 233-234; Pendlebury 1939, 306, 312, 314; Robertson 1939, 205; Desborough 1952, 251-252, 325; Seiradaki 1960; Desborough 1964, 173-175; Pini 1968, 93 #36; Snodgrass 1971, 165, 209; Desborough 1972a, 253; 1972b, 120, 372; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 70; Davaras 1976b, 163; Watrous 1981, 641; 1982, 21; Davaras 1983; Syriopoulos 1983, 385-387 C; Nowicki 1987, 235, 246-247; 1988, 194; Apostolakou 1989, 463-464; Belli 1991, 442; French 1991, 71; Cadogan 1992a, 118; Nowicki 1996b, 45; Tomlinson 1996, 46; Jones 2000, 261; Nowicki 2000, 158-159, 163-164, 240; Brown 2001, 337; Whitley 2001, 78; Day 2006, personal communication

4. Lagou – The site of Kephali is located at the north edge of the Lasithi plain, on the south slope of a low ridge adjacent to and possibly under the modern village of Lagou. Surface

finds including the base of a Geometric burial pithos and a PG conical cup and miniature pithos led Watrous to identify this site as likely containing an Early Iron Age cemetery, though no actual burials were found. The associated settlement has not been identified, though it may have been on the summit of the same ridge; an O and A habitation site has been identified at Kolonna, ~200 m east of the village.

Ref: Sakellarakis and Alexiou 1966, 409; Watrous 1982, 41 #7-8; Sjögren 2001, 237 (E11), 275-276 (E113)

5. Mesa Lasithi – A potential EIA burial site(s) has been noted to the west of the modern village of Mesa Lasithi, which is positioned at the current entrance to Lasithi from the east (from Ag. Nikolaos). In 1936, Pendlebury observed larnax burials which were found during road works, though they have not been published. The 1935-36 report states that Geometric larnax burials were found five minutes above the village of Nikiphordo and that LM III sherds were found at Vlikystra five minutes further from the village. The 1939 publication, however, states that a group of SM larnax burials was uncovered at Vlikystra, but it makes no mention of Nikiphordo. It is therefore possible that larnax burials were found at both locations, though it seems more likely that the reports refer to the same larnax burials. Watrous identifies the west edge of Nikiphordo (under the modern road) as the findspot, and perhaps the precise location was confused due to the proximity of the two sites.

Kanta considers SM the probable date for these burials. Watrous, on the other hand, tentatively dates the burials to LM IIIC, and he believes that this cemetery may have belonged to the LM settlement at Armi (~200 m to the west), which is located to the north of the village, immediately west of the kalderimi from Mesa Lasithi. This settlement may also

have continued into the Early Iron Age, however, as Pendlebury observed SM and PG sherds in the vicinity of Armi.

Ref: Pendlebury et al. 1935-1936, 11 #5a and 5b; 1937-1938, 2 #5e; Pendlebury 1939, 314; Pini 1968, 86 #35; Kanta 1980, 122; Watrous 1982, 46-47 #27

6. Plati – At Ta Skalia (the area north of Meliskipos), just north of the village of Plati in the lower part of the valley, an LM III–SM tholos tomb was excavated by Dawkins in 1914. He had heard rumors of many tombs in this area but was only able to find this one. The tomb is a true tholos, with a roughly circular chamber ~1.7 m in diameter and a short, non-functional dromos which leads up to a face of natural rock, rather than to an opening. It is unusual in that it is “pipe-shaped,” with the entrance or dromos located on the side/corner of the tomb, rather than in the center. Scattered bones were found on the floor, which was paved with stone slabs, and a larnax with inhumation was found in a large pit below the floor. Only one plain jug was found with the body in the larnax, and it has not been published.

The excavator dated the tomb to late LM III, with the burial on the floor representing a later phase re-use, possibly SM. Watrous considers the larnax and tholos, due to its resemblance to the Karphi tombs, to date to LM IIIC. Pendlebury identified the larnax as LM III/SM, while Pini suggested LM IIIB2a-C. Kanta considers the architecture possibly to date to LM IIIB or C, but leaves the date of the tomb open due to the difficulty in dating the larnax. Belli comments on the doubtful nature of the date of the tomb but dates it as likely LM IIIB, noting its resemblance to Late Bronze Age Cypriot tombs, especially those at Enkomi, as well as the LM IIIB tholos at Smari (Livaditsa). LM IIIB/C may be the best date for the burial in the larnax, though it remains uncertain whether or not the main chamber contained evidence of later LM IIIC or SM activity.

An MM I-LM III and Orientalizing/Archaic settlement (Plati) was identified through survey on both Epano and Kato Kephala hills directly northeast of the village, and the tomb was likely associated with this site. The MM I-LM I cemetery was located at Meliskipos, which is 200 m west of the ancient settlement, and the LM III tomb was to the north of that, though its exact location is unknown.

Ref: Dawkins 1913-1914, 13-15; Pendlebury et al. 1935-1936, 12 #11b; Pendlebury 1939, 263; Platon 1945-1947, 70; Pini 1968, 90 #39; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 66; Kanta 1980, 121-122; Watrous 1982, 19, 62-64 #69-70; Belli 1991, 444; 1996; 1997, 252; Brown 2001, 354

MIRABELLO EPARCHIA

7. Adrianos (formerly Arkoudas) (fig. 17) – Tholos tombs have been identified at two areas in the vicinity of Adrianos.

A. *Xeropotamos Kolomati* – Faure noted a PG necropolis with tholoi at Kolomati, on the far side of the Xeropotamos River, to the southeast of the Early Iron Age settlement on the rocky knoll of Fortetsa (~600 m east of the modern village). No other information about these tombs has been published.

B. *Ta Mnimata* – In addition, Nowicki states that a large LM IIIC tholos tomb with rectangular chamber (c. 2.1 x 2.6 m) and dromos is visible on the slope of Ta Mnimata, ~500 m south of Fortetsa. The tomb is covered with a mass of masonry similar to that observed in the Karphi tombs. The locals' name for the area suggests that other tombs exist in the vicinity. These tombs were also likely associated with the defensible settlement at Fortetsa, which Nowicki dates only to LM IIIC, though Faure claims to have observed SM-PG sherds at the site.

Ref: Faure 1963, 499; Nowicki 1993, 99; 2000, 117-119; Tsipopoulou 2005, 39

8. Agios Nikolaos – Platon reports that in 1958 on the west side of Sopata Hill at Agios Nikolaos, a rock-cut PG chamber tomb with an inhumation was excavated. A stirrup jar is recorded as accompanying the burial. Pini and Leekley and Noyes both refer to this tomb as being in Agios Nikolaos, but Platon is actually referring to a chamber tomb dug near Knossos on a hill south of Isopata in the vicinity of the church of Ag. Nikolaos (see entry under Knossos). No EIA burials have yet been identified from Agios Nikolaos (Lasithi).

Ref: Platon 1958, 477; Hood 1959, 21; Pini 1968, 76 #29; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 55

9. Anavlochos (Vrachasi) (figs. 18-20) – Early Iron Age tombs have been found at Lami, Kalaritis, and Kako Plai in the vicinity of Anavlochos, which is the long ridge directly to the north (~1 km) of Vrachasi. All of the tombs likely belonged to the EIA settlement at Anavlochos, and finds from the sites are currently in the Herakleion Museum and possibly the Istanbul Museum.

A. *Kako Plai* – According to Pendlebury, Geometric pithos burials were found on terraces at this location on the northern slope, just below the western peak of the LM IIIC-A town or settlement at Anavlochos. Other Geometric pottery and terracottas were found in the vicinity, but no other evidence of burials from this location has been published.

B. *Lami* – Many robbed and destroyed tombs came to light during construction of the Neapolis–Mirabello (Milatos to Agios Nikolaos) road in 1928 and 1930. Lami is located on the north side of the mountain range, <500 m to the north of Kako Plai, ~500 m from the western summit, and ~800 m north of the ancient settlement. Evans noted tholoi here in 1896, and in 1929-30 Demargne and the French School investigated robbed and partially destroyed SM/PG-G tombs on three separate small hills beside this road, two on the south

side and one on the north. These tombs are also said to be near the old kalderimi from Milatos to Neapolis.

On the north side of the road (on hill #2), Demargne excavated one small tholos tomb with circular chamber (~1 m diameter) and without dromos, and he noted the presence of other similar tombs, one of which had a rectangular chamber, on this same hill. These other tholoi appear to have been nearly completely destroyed. Cremation was assumed when no bones were found, though there is no definite evidence to support this. According to Tsipopoulou, the tholoi appear to date primarily to SM-LPG.

The second hill (#1) (referred to in some reports as Lami, though in others as Kalaritis), located across the road and to the southwest of the first hill, contained a series of seven small, rock-cut “funerary enclosures” crowded together. They seem to have had roughly circular and rectangular plans, though the excavators mention that the amount of rubble on the hill made the plans difficult to determine, and only one remained unrobbed (Tomb α). In addition, Tsipopoulou compares these tombs to those found at Dreros, as they consisted partly of small shafts cut into the rock. As no bones were found, cremation was also assumed for these tombs, possibly with one burial per tomb. The unrobbed tomb was circular with a diameter of ~1.20 m, and it contained a krater (possibly Cycladic), two cups, two amphoriskoi/krateriskoi, a small pithos, and oinochoe. The pottery from these tombs dates PGB-LG; two jugs and a stirrup jar found in one tomb may date slightly earlier, however.

It is not specified whether the tombs from the third hill (#3), located to the northwest of the second, were tholoi as on the first hill, funerary enclosures as on the second, or of another type, and no further information about these tombs has been published.

C. *Merminga* – Evans drew Geometric vases from this site, identified by Pendlebury as to the north of Anavlochos. According to Pendlebury, some of the LG vases published by Droop (labeled as vases found on the road from Neapolis to Mirabello) came from here, and Coldstream observed PG-LG vases in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum which were said to have come from the same region, including two oinochoai similar to ones that Evans drew. Brown notes that *Merminga* and *Lami* may refer to the same area, and if so, the vases likely come from some of the looted tombs.

Ref: Droop 1905-1906, 37-39; Béquignon 1929, 528; Payne 1930, 252; Demargne 1931, 368-379; Marinatos 1931-1932, 5-11; Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 315, 326; Desborough 1952, 260, 326; Coldstream 1968, 417; Pini 1968, 93 #34; Snodgrass 1971, 169, 210; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 71; Coldstream 1977, 279; Kanta 1980, 128; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 254; Hayden 1988, 16 and n. 47; Belli 1991, 444; Nowicki 2000, 171-173; Brown 2001, 313; Sjögren 2001, 277 (E121); Tsipopoulou 2005, 40-42

10. Dreros (figs. 21-24) – An unrobbed cemetery is located ~200 m north of the acropolis and ~200 m northeast of the agora of the ancient (LM IIIC-A) town/settlement of Dreros (north of the village Nikithiano) at the northeastern foot of Ag. Antonios hill and ~100 m to the east of Ag. Georgios chapel. This hill is significant as it controlled communication along the Neapolis Valley between the bay of Mirabello and Mallia. The cemetery had an area of ~900 m², though it may have been as large as 1200m². The graves were placed inside a rectangular circuit wall, though on the east and south only a simple line of stones was used, due to the sides of the mountain. This wall shows an early attempt at organization of the cemetery (apparently dating to LG-EO), not commonly observed elsewhere in the EIA, and furthermore, traces of paving were found inside the cemetery.

25 tombs were excavated by van Effenterre and Demargne of the French School in 1937. The earliest tomb from the cemetery (T.1) was a probable tholos (SM, possibly with

some LM IIIC) with a rectangular chamber (2.10 x 1.75 m), the walls of which were constructed with large limestone blocks. This tomb contained three inhumations and 12 vases. The majority of the burials (23) were cist graves/bone enclosures (apparently G, but primarily LG-EO) with cremations. These tombs consisted of rectangular trenches (with average dimensions of 2.10 x 1.20 m), fairly regular in plan, with well-built, cut stone slabs for walls, and typically with paved floors. In some (9) tombs, the burials were placed in pithoi and urns, while in others (11, possibly later in date), the cremations were merely placed in the trenches, which were also often the site of the pyre. The graves were sometimes reused, though typically they did not contain a large number of offerings and usually had only one or two burials; Tomb 18 held an adult cremation burial and an inhumed infant. In addition, one grave (T.3) contained an urned infant placed in a hollow in the rock.

Approximately 20 tombs are grouped to one side of the enclosure, though smaller groups or clusters of 2-3 tombs may be present. In addition, the SM tomb seems to have determined the arrangement and orientation of the other tombs, which are typically placed parallel or perpendicular to it. Outside of the enclosure wall, a deposit of G vases (Depot R) may represent a funerary chapel or place for votive offerings. Furthermore, Tsipopoulou suggests that this cemetery could not have supported the entire settlement and may have been used by one clan or tribe, rather than one family.

The finds are currently in the museums in Herakleion, Neapolis, Agios Nikolaos, and possibly Istanbul, and artifacts of note include four or five stirrup jars, a bronze cauldron, three fibulae (one Attic and one Attic/Boeotian), iron spits, stone and glass/blue paste beads, and a Minoan stone pyxis. A possibly Attic, Dipylon style, krater fragment was also

recovered from the cemetery. In addition, sheep/goat and pig bones were found in one tomb and dog bones in another, possibly connected with the burial ritual.

Ref: Lemerle 1936, 487; Demargne and van Effenterre 1937, 5-6; van Effenterre 1948, 15-22, 59-66; Desborough 1952, 260-262; 1964, 184-185; Coldstream 1968, 417; Pini 1968, 88 #32; Snodgrass 1971, 169, 210; Desborough 1972b, 117, 235, 372; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 56; Coldstream 1977, 277; Kanta 1980, 133; Syriopoulos 1983, 151 #91, 533 XLII, 884 CXXXVI; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 256; Belli 1991, 444; van Effenterre 1992, 89; Jones 2000, 260; Nowicki 2000, 173; Tsipopoulou 2005, 53-64

11. Kastri (Neapolis/Vrachasi) – Kastri is a mountain located ~3 km southwest of Neapolis and ~3 km south-southeast of Vrachasi. An LM IIIC-SM/PG settlement was identified through survey on the summit of this hill, and on the south slope a group of mandras (shepherd's huts) were identified, ~20 m south of which is a likely tholos tomb (~180 m from the summit). This structure is circular and approximately 2 meters in diameter. Additional tholoi and a probable cemetery were tentatively identified by Nowicki to the southwest of this tholos, further down the south slope, south of the lakkos and south-southwest of the vineyard. Although these tombs have not yet been excavated, a date contemporary with the settlement or slightly later seems probable.

Ref: Nowicki 1995, 69; 2000, 110-112; Tsipopoulou 2005, 40

12. Kritsa (figs. 25-29) – Early Iron Age burials have been identified from two locations in the vicinity of the modern village.

A. Lakkoi – In 1953, Platon excavated two tholos tombs from an apparently much larger cemetery at the place Lakkoi, which is located ~1 km to the east/northeast of the village. These same two tombs were cleaned in 1996 and 1997 by Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti. The tholoi had trapezoidal chambers (2.2 x 2.0 m and 1.45 x 1.34 m), small doorways, and square or rectangular masonry enclosures. Tomb A was unusual in that its

lined dromos declined slightly from the surface to the chamber, was stepped, and was located near the corner of the northeast side, rather than in the center, as seen in the LM III tombs at Plati and Smari Leivaditsa. Belli also compares the Kritsa tomb with those found at Enkomi, noting its skilled, careful construction and monumentality, which included a double megalithic lintel. Inside the dromos of Tomb A were found a jug/pitcher and numerous small cups, likely for libations to the deceased; finds from the tomb chamber included vases, bronze pins and fibulae, iron tools, beads, a large flask and cylindrical vase (pyxis). No human remains were recovered from this tomb, though the pyxis may have been used as a cinerary urn.

The other excavated tomb (B) was smaller and unrobbed with a non-functional dromos or small stomion, and it contained two inhumations with a few vases, an iron knife, and fibula. Bones and a bronze fibula were also found during cleaning just outside the tomb. Tsipopoulou considers nearly all of the small vases, if not also the pithos and pyxis to date solely to SM, though there may also have been LM IIIC late and PG.

In 1993, ~150 meters to the southwest of Platon's tholos tombs and apparently belonging to the same cemetery, Tsipopoulou excavated a poorly preserved, robbed, rock-cut chamber tomb (C) with long dromos (>7 m), dating to LM IIIB-C and possibly including the transition between LM IIIC and SM. It contained two bath-tub larnakes with inhumations, one large burial pithos, many vases, and bronze instruments and jewelry. An empty cylindrical pyxis was also found in one of the larnakes, possibly from a cremation (cf. Praisos Photoula).

B. *Katharo* – Platon had previously (1951) excavated two small LM IIIA2-C chamber tombs, possibly without dromoi (cf. Mochlos), found during the construction of the road

from Kritsa to Katharos (northwest of the modern village). These tombs are no longer preserved, but Tomb 1 was LM IIIA2-B/C, with finds of note including three larnakes, imported IIIB pottery from Chania and the mainland, an incense burner, two stone vases, and a bronze knife. T. 2, the smaller of the two tombs, dated to LM IIIC and contained an inhumation in a basin, two pyxides (one with a cremated youth and bones from a formerly inhumed adult, the other with an adult male and child cremation), seven stirrup jars, two jugs, a deep bowl, and a possible potter's wheel, which may perhaps indicate the craft of one of the deceased.

Overall – These cemeteries could be associated with the large LM IIIC-PG settlement at Kritsa Kastello, the hill located directly to the west of the modern village. The Katharo tombs are less than a kilometer distant from the settlement, though those at Lakkoi are somewhat far away (~2 km); Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti have suggested that a number of small settlements may have been scattered on various hills around Lakkoi and above the modern village. The finds from the Kritsa tombs are now in the Herakleion, Ag. Nikolaos, and Ashmolean Museums, and a full publication of the tombs is forthcoming in a new monograph (*Incunabula Graeca, second volume in series*).

Ref: Platon 1951, 444-445; Cook 1952, 111-112; Deshayes 1952, 242; Alexiou 1953, 485; Cook and Boardman 1954, 168; Courbin 1954, 155; Desborough 1964, 268; Popham 1967, 350; Pini 1968, 86 #28.1-4; Popham 1969, 303-304; Tzedakis 1969, 400; Snodgrass 1971, 210; Desborough 1972b, 235, 372; Davaras 1973b, 159-162; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 60; Kanta 1980, 134-139; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 257; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1996a; 1996b, 659; 1997a; 1997b; Nowicki 2000, 120-123; Belli 2001; Tsipopoulou and Little 2001; Blackman 2002, 111; Belli 2003, 329-330; Tsipopoulou 2005, 65; Tsipopoulou et al. 2005; Belli 2006; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 2006

13. Milatos – Evans stated that in 1895 he secured evidence of Geometric tombs at Milatos. From one tomb, called a chamber by Pendlebury, he published a flask/bottle with a plastic

snake attachment around the opening (possibly early 7th c. BC) and mentioned purchasing other vessels of “a late Cretan Geometrical class” from the site, possibly from the same grave. Coldstream dates an oinochoe to MG which he states came from a tomb at Milatos, though it is unclear if it is from the same tomb as those vases mentioned by Evans. No further information is published from these tombs, and the number and type remain unknown. The tombs appear to have been located in the plain near the sea to the north of the acropolis Kastellos (~1.8 km northeast of the modern town), and they may belong to the DA settlement there (the acropolis was settled from LM IIIC–H). There appear to have been LM III tombs in this area as well.

Five LM IIIA-C chamber tombs with larnakes were also investigated at Agios Phanourios located ~200 m to the southwest of the village. All of the tombs appear to have been built in LM IIIA or B, though Tomb 2 contained IIIC material and T. 3-4 had IIIB/C. The ground plan (2.68 x 1.80 m) of Tomb 2 appears to have been enlarged at some point, and one of the larnakes was placed in this area. It is possible that this may represent an LM IIIC early burial, though it remains uncertain, as the burials have not been fully published. The LM IIIC evidence from these tombs consists of three or more vases, primarily stirrup jars. The Agios Phanourios tombs may have been associated with the LM IIIA2-C settlement located lower down the slope of Kastellos (~300 m to the west of the EIA site). Finds from the site are in the Herakleion, Agios Nikolaos, and Ashmolean Museums.

Ref: Mariani 1895, 246-247; Orsi 1889-1892, 208-209; Hogarth and Bosanquet 1899, 321; Evans 1906, 93-103; Xanthoudides 1920-1921, 154-157; Levi 1927-1929c, 569; Pendlebury 1939, 324; Kirsten 1940; Furumark 1944, 222-224; Boardman 1961, 99-100 (#461); Desborough 1964, 169; Evans 1964c, 46 n. 4, 164; Popham 1967, 349; Coldstream 1968, 243; 416; Snodgrass 1971, 209; Furumark 1972, 105-107; Kanta 1980, 125-128; Syriopoulos 1983, 103 #205, 287 #311, 881 CXXIX; Nowicki 2000, 170-171; Belli 2003, 329-330; Tsipopoulou 2005, 67

14. Olous (Elounda) – At Stous Traphous on a low knoll by the sea and Sto Trachili, on promontories south of Poros Isthmus, Bosanquet and van Effenterre excavated over 50 LM IIIA/B-SM graves, now destroyed, and an additional tomb was excavated by Davaras in 1972 at Pyrgos above Elounda Schisma. Of these graves, 26 were in larnakes, most with inhumations, and 26, most with cremations (three with inhumed children), were placed in pithoi. Both larnakes and pithoi were placed in hollows of the bedrock or sometimes in earth cavities. The pithoi were typically placed on their sides with the mouth oriented to the northeast. Davaras' tomb is a pithos burial with cremation, possibly SM. In the neighborhood of the Elounda Bay Hotel, two broken pithoi, LM or SM, were found in 1973, likely from additional burials. Three more robbed graves were discovered in 1996, but the date of these is unknown.

While the majority of the graves definitely date earlier than the Early Iron Age, some of the pithoi with cremations may have been LM IIIC and/or SM. The excavators believed the cremations were possibly PG due to the shape of the pithoi, though they admitted that the grave goods were more appropriate for LM IIIB with no iron found among the goods. Davaras dates many, if not all, the cremations to LM IIIC-SM. Snodgrass states that the burials could conceivably extend down into the 9th century, but no later. Kanta, on the other hand, recently discovered material from the excavation in the Neapolis Museum and has revised the chronology to LM IIIA1-B (cremations LM IIIA2-B), stating that the pithoi were for the most part incorrectly dated. She further believes that there is no evidence from the poorly preserved finds for use after LM IIIB. The difficulty in dating the burials derives from the fact that these pithos burials contained few to no grave goods, often only a pitcher.

The poor preservation of artifacts, due to the proximity of the sea, was noted by the excavators, but Davaras' tomb, which he dated to SM, contained 10 vases and a LM IA cylinder seal. The SM dating of this tomb, if accurate, makes it likely that a few other tombs from the main cemetery also dated to this period, though the dating of the cemetery remains problematic. In addition, the latest tombs appear to have been located on the periphery of the earlier tombs, as evidenced by the 1972 burial, thus possibly also supporting the existence of some post-IIIB tombs. Finds of note from the pithos burials include two bronze razors, two stone vases, a bronze axe, and a stone spindle whorl.

An LM IIIC-A (and through Byzantine) settlement/city has been identified on the summit of Oxa Hill (~3 km to the southwest), though no definitely associated burials have yet been identified. According to Nowicki, the LM III cemetery was likely associated with this settlement's predecessor, which was located on the coast. Pendlebury also mentions LM III-PG foundations at Agia Triada and Lagou. Finds from Olous are currently in the Neapolis and Ag. Nikolaos Museums.

Ref: Pendlebury 1939, 385; van Effenterre 1948, 1-13, 50-59; Desborough 1952, 260, 327; 1964, 188-189; Pini 1968, 78 #30; Snodgrass 1971, 168, 210; Desborough 1972b, 372; Davaras 1973a, 586-588; 1973b, 163-164; 1973-1974, 932; 1974, 46-47; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 64; Catling 1979a, 41; Kanta 1980, 129-132; Syriopoulos 1983, 151-152 #92, 214 #198, 533 XLIII, 579 XXXVIII; Apostolakou 1989, 463; van Effenterre 1992, 218; Tomlinson 1996, 47; Nowicki 2000, 173-174; Kanta 2001a

15. Vrachasi – In the Herakleion Museum are fragments of SM/PG vases from the area of Vrachasi, which apparently came from a robbed tomb. No further information is known about this tomb, however.

Ref: Pendlebury 1939, 316; Tsipopoulou 1987b, 254; 2005, 39

16. Vrokastro (Istron) (figs. 30-34) – Tombs have been found at Amigdali, Chavga, Karakovilia, Kopranes, Mazikhortia, and within the upper settlement of Vrokastro. These graves were excavated by Hall in 1912-13 and many were re-identified during the recent Vrokastro Regional Survey Project.

A. *Amigdali* – Hall excavated one SM-PG tholos tomb with rectangular chamber (1.80 x 1.55 m), dromos, and cremations (Tomb IV), ~0.7 km southwest of the Vrokastro summit and also southwest of Mazikhortia. This tholos is typical of those from the site, which are all of the same basic form – stone-lined, corbel-vaulted chambers (rectangular, square, circular, or oval) with foundations cut into the earth, and often with a short dromos. Finds from this tholos include a triple vase, stirrup jars, a perforated steatite disk with incised animals, and a Minoan sealstone.

In addition, one separate pithos burial with an inhumed adult, a cup and two perforated steatite fragments was found in the vicinity of the tholos tomb. Furthermore, a possible Geometric bone enclosure (VK 12) was observed in this area during recent survey work.

B. *Chavga* – Two pithos burials were found placed in a single circular pit at this location on the hillside just to the east of the Vrokastro summit. One pithos, placed on its side, contained an inhumed child, while the other, at a lower level, was inverted, held in place by large stones, and contained an inhumed adult and stirrup jar. The exact location of these burials is unknown and was not discovered during the recent survey of the region. Late LM IIIC/SM may be the date of these burials (Furumark dated them to LM IIIB:2c).

C. *Karakovilia (VK 2; 3; and possibly 11 and 14)* – On the ridge just south (~200 m) of the summit were found one large (~3 x 2 m) rectangular tholos (Tomb I) and five bone

enclosures (BE I-V). At least six burials (five adult cremations and one child inhumation) were placed in the tholos, which also contained numerous grave goods, including over 33 vases, 25 iron weapons, a bronze tripod support (Cypriot?), gold ring, 6 faience seals, some with pseudo-hieroglyphs, and 250 mostly faience beads. This tomb is larger (~3 x 2 m), of more regular construction, and richer than the other tholoi at the site, and it likely dates to SM-PG. Tomb I also contained a circular stone, possibly an offering table, placed opposite the dromos, near which most of the vases and bones were found, and the tomb further had a rectangular depression in the northeast corner, which may have been used for libations.

The bone enclosures, typical for the site, are constructed of a series of small and irregularly shaped rooms (in this case with one, three, or four chambers) of shallow depth, separated from each other by low walls of one-three courses. The Karakovilia enclosures are located to the southeast of the tholos, and they contained cremations, sometimes in jars, and grave goods, including iron weapons, bronze and iron fibulae (three Attic/Boeotian?), a Minoan sealstone, glass and faience beads, and bronze tweezers. Some of the enclosures also appear to have contained the funerary pyres. In addition, a one-room structure, which contained a clay tripod and krater, was discovered adjacent to the bone enclosures, and just outside this building were found terracotta figurines of humans, ducks, and horses. The building's construction is unusual for the site; it is built from cut-stone blocks, including carefully dressed limestone jambs, and it may have been in some way associated with a burial cult.

Also, several inhumations with Geometric sherds and a jug were found under an overhanging ledge of rock which runs along the southern edge of the Karakovilia slope. Furthermore, to the west and south of the tholos and bone enclosures were observed piles of

stones and ceramics (Vrokastro Survey site VK 11), which may represent other tombs, and to the southeast of this area at VK 14 was identified another possible bone enclosure.

D. *Kopranes (KP 7 and possibly 6)* – Three tholoi (Tombs V-VII) and six bone enclosures (BE VII-XII) were excavated at this location on the western slope of the Vrokastro summit. Tombs VI and VII contained only inhumations, but Tomb V contained both inhumations and cremations. These tholoi were of the same type as those found elsewhere at the site, though they appear to be the earliest, beginning in late LM IIIC and continuing into PG. The bone enclosures were located near the tholoi, possibly indicating a connection between them, and they were comprised of one, two, three, or five compartments, also of irregular shapes and arrangements, placed at various levels due to the unevenness of the soil, though with an average depth of 0.60 m. KP7 (possibly BE VII) was composed of poorly built walls, one or two courses high, and with average room size of 4 x 5 m. One enclosure room contained a pithos on its side with an inhumed child, though the other burials were cremations. Finds of note from the Kopranes tombs include obsidian chips, bronze earrings, one possibly Attic fibula, bronze and iron saws, an iron knife with bronze rivets (Cypriot?), faience beads, bird vases, and stirrup jars.

E. *Mazichortia (VK3; 4; 9; 10)* – Southwest of the summit, northeast of Amigdali, and west of Karakovilia were additional burials. These included two tholoi (Tombs II and III) and one burial enclosure (BE VI), excavated by Hall. Recently bulldozed and surveyed site VK3 may have contained another unexplored tomb (with large fallen lintel block), and one new enclosure may also have been identified in this area. Tholos Tomb II is noteworthy in that it apparently contained 24 inhumations, the skulls of which were arranged in rows around the outside of the tomb; Tomb III contained seven inhumations and possibly one

cremation. Both tholoi also had pebbled floors, as had Tomb I at Karakovilia. Tomb III dated PG-EG and Tomb II dated SM and LG-EO. The bone enclosure was located near Tomb II and was comprised of four irregularly placed chambers, one of which contained an inhumed child in a pithos. It also had the earliest pottery of the Vrokastro enclosures with PGB. The finds from these tombs were comparable to those found in the other tombs at the site.

F. *Poros (Istron)* – Two small LM IIIC-SM tholos tombs, possibly chamber tombs, were excavated in 1991 at this location on the land of K. Arnaoutaki. Both tombs apparently contained a single burial in a pithos; tomb #1 also had six vases and bronze jewelry and iron knives, while tomb #2 had eight vases and a stone bead. Nearby on the land of N. Kavousanou another robbed and much destroyed tomb was found in 1994. The 1994 tholos contained a few sherds, which included a skyphos, cup, and birdvase, stone, faience, and bone beads, fragments of bronze plate, and bronze earrings. It is unclear from the brief report whether or not this tomb is the one which the Vrokastro Survey publication refers to as having been recently excavated (with IIIC larnax) in the pass between Kato Arniko and Koprane (KP 5). Tsipopoulou does note, however, that the tombs are very near Koprane. Kato Arniko (KA 1/3) is located to the west of Koprane and appears to have had a small settlement in LM IIIC to which this burial may have belonged.

G. *Vrokastro Summit* – In the upper settlement, burials of children were found below the floors of two houses. In the northeast corner of Room 12, a pithos with an inhumed child was placed below the level of the floor and covered with a flat stone. The southwest corner of Room 26 also contained a child burial in a jar. In addition, ~100 meters from the houses at the point where the face of the hill falls away, the bones of a child were found placed in an

inverted bowl inside a cave-like recess. Hall dates these burials to the Geometric period, though SM is also a possible date.

H. *Survey Site APh 12.2* – Approximately 500 m east of the summit on the south end of a long ridge in the Phanourios hills, on the upper eastern slopes of the Chavga ravine, a possible bone enclosure (APh 12.2) with small rooms of poorly built rubble walls (~1-1.50 m per side) was identified by the Vrokastro Survey Project. Early Iron Age pottery (storage vessels and fine ware) was also found in the vicinity.

Overall – Many of the tombs from the site appear to have been robbed, at least to some degree, and numerous additional, unexcavated burials appear to exist in the area. The tholos tombs appear to have come into use at the end of LM IIIC/SM and some may have continued until the 9th/8th century or even later, while the bone enclosures began in the 9th and 8th centuries, continuing at least until EO. In addition, the vessels recovered from the tombs often included sets of cups and bowls or kraters, suggesting ritual toasting or funerary banquets at the tombs. Finds from the tombs are currently in the Herakleion and the University of Pennsylvania Museums.

The majority of the tombs likely belonged to the LM IIIC–LG/EO settlements (upper and lower) on the Vrokastro summit. Some tombs, however, may have belonged to smaller settlements or habitations in the vicinity; in fact, according to Hayden, house walls are frequently found adjacent to the tombs, especially on Karakovilia, Mazikhortia, Amigdali, and Koprane. The burial enclosure found at APh 12.2, for example, could have been associated with the nearby habitation site (APh 3), located ~300 m further east, while the tombs on the lower west slope of Koprane could have belonged to the settlement at the base of Koprane (KP 9). In addition, the more outlying tombs, such as Mazikhortia and

Amigdali were possibly constructed near dwellings. Hayden further suggests that the widespread distribution of the tholos tombs may indicate that the population in the PG period was scattered in small settlements and farms over the neighboring hills and basins and that some of the tombs may have been located in areas cultivated by family or kinship groups.

Ref: Hasluck 1912, 388-389; Hall 1914, 81-84, 106, 112, 118-176; Levi 1927-1929c, 551-558, 576-577; Lorimer 1933, 164; Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 307, 313, 315-316, 326; Furumark 1944, 227-230; Levi 1945, 19; Desborough 1952, 262-267, 327; 1964, 186-187; Coldstream 1968, 417; Pini 1968, 81 #27.1-10; Snodgrass 1971, 168-169, 210; Desborough 1972a, 252; 1972b, 117, 235, 372; Davaras 1973b, 164; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 58; Coldstream 1977, 102, 276; Kanta 1980, 133; Hayden 1983, 369 n. 7; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 254-255; Belli 1991, 441-442; Hayden 1991, 110-111; 1992, 286; Hayden et al. 1992, 348-349; Apostolakou 1994a; Blackman 2000, 141; Hayden 2000, 137-143; Jones 2000, 267-268; Nowicki 2000, 107-109; Hayden 2003, 1-13; 2004a, 137-160; 2004b; 2005, CD pages 20-21, 76-80, 184-188, 192-195; Tsipopoulou 2005, 42-52, 64-65

17. Zenia (fig. 35) – Tombs were located to the northeast and southwest of Zenia, a small village on the way from Neapolis to Lasithi. One probable tholos was identified ~150 m northeast of the church of Ag. Ioannis and ~600 m northeast of the LM IIIC (and possibly SM) settlement at Zenia Kastrokephala, which is located ~400 meters south of the modern village in the rocky hills. Also, a small, partly destroyed LM IIIB-C (or SM) tomb with circular chamber (1.9-2.0 m) and two burial phases was excavated in 1998 by the Greek Archaeological Service in the escarpment of the main road to Lasithi on the western edge of the village, ~400 m northwest of the EIA settlement. This tomb originally had monolithic jambs and a lintel and it contained at least six inhumations (possibly as many as nine), a few vases, four steatite conical buttons, possibly faience beads, three bronze rings, and a steatite seal. In addition, Nowicki reports hearing of another tholos found many years ago somewhere in the vineyards to the north of Kastrokephala, though no remains exist. Nowicki

states that the settlement site appears to have been one of the Lasithi sites, like Karphi, which was abandoned before the beginning of the Protogeometric period.

Ref: Nowicki 1993, 98; Eliopoulos 1998b, 93 n. 15; 1998c; Papazoe 1998, 146; Touchais 1999, 818; Blackman 2000, 147; Nowicki 2000, 114-116; Tsipopoulou 2005, 64; Whitley 2005, 106

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18. Agios Ioannis Katalimata – Nowicki identified a large, primarily LM IIIC defensible settlement on the summit of Katalimata (Kastrokakkos), ~3 km from Ag. Ioannis and 3 km from Kato Chorio. This may have been the main defensible settlement in the area between Kato Chorio, Ierapetra, Koutsounari, and Ag. Ioannis. Nowicki further observed a nearly destroyed, round stone construction on the eastern slope of Katalimata (~50 m below it) near a large lakkos (~15 minutes from the summit); this may represent the remains of a tholos tomb associated with the settlement.

Ref: Nowicki 2000, 82-84; Tsipopoulou 2005, 69

19. Braimiana – Small SM/PG built tholoi were found at Braimiana, one of which was excavated in 1932 by Marinatos. Some past sources mistakenly identified these tholoi as being at Vainia, though Braimiana seems to be correct, with Kanta citing the location of the tombs as on the road to Kalamafka, ~4 km from Ierapetra. The associated settlement is unknown, though an LM IIIC (and PG?) settlement has been identified ~1.2 km northeast of the village of Vainia (4 km northeast of Ierapetra) at Stavromenos.

Ref: Karo 1932, 176; Payne 1932, 255; Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 315; Pini 1968, 77 #25; Snodgrass 1971, 210; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 57; Kanta 1980, 161; Tsipopoulou 1987b, 257; Nowicki 2000, 86-89; Tsipopoulou 2005, 72

20. Chalasmenos (Monastiraki) (figs. 36-37) – Located ~500 m northeast of the modern village of Monastiraki is the LM IIIC (primarily middle) settlement of Chalasmenos, though recent evidence indicates that at least one ‘megaron’ in the main building complex in area B may also have been used in the Late Geometric period. In 1992 when the road to the site was bulldozed, the remains of an apparently undisturbed small tholos (Tomb A) with round chamber (~1.60 m diameter) and no dromos were found ~200 meters southwest of the settlement, on the steep slope. A total of five inhumations were found together with 27 vases, mostly cups and stirrup jars, two steatite spindle whorls, and some bronze sheathing, with all or nearly all vases dating to late LM IIIC.

Also, in 1994, the remains of a possible PG tholos were discovered, having been built into the south wall of Room 5 in Area B and slightly cut into the floor, after the abandonment of the settlement. The upper fill of that room contained many PG sherds, including cups and skyphoi, which likely came from this tholos, though the possible tomb itself contained only very fragmentary bone, a few sherds, including a PG stirrup jar, and a bronze ring.

In addition, Nowicki mentions reports of other tholoi which have been illegally excavated nearby, down the west and south slopes of the site; at least seven, possibly up to ten, tholoi may have been discovered in these areas. No tombs, however, were uncovered by a magnetometer survey of the site. The Chalasmenos tombs all appear to have been associated in some way with the settlement, though many of the burials appear to post-date the site, as at Kavousi Vronda.

Ref: Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994, 86-88; Tsipopoulou and Coulson 1994-1996, 372-378; Blackman 1997, 113; Rehak and Younger 1998, 168; Coulson 1999; Nowicki 2000, 91; Tsipopoulou and Coulson 2000, 104, 111; Tsipopoulou and Nowicki 2003, 562-563, 566; Tsipopoulou 2004, 106

21. Episkopi – LM III chamber tombs have been identified at various locations in the vicinity of the modern village, and there is evidence for the existence of an extensive cemetery from that period. In 1906, Seager investigated LM IIIA and B tombs, from which came 60 vases. Xanthoudides excavated an LM IIIB tomb ~100 m north of the village in 1919. In addition, Platon later dug two chamber tombs in the area, one of which contained 3 larnakes and over 50 vases, including IIIB imports from Chania and the mainland. Two IIIC stirrup jars and one possibly SM jug comprise the later finds from Platon's tombs. The associated settlement has not yet been found; according to Nowicki, the closest identified settlement is on Profitis Ilias hill (Kato Chorio), though this site was probably founded after the cemetery went out of use. Finds from the tombs are in the Herakleion and Ierapetra Museums.

Ref: Seager 1907, 111; Xanthoudides 1920-1921, 157-162; Platon 1941, 273; Walter 1942, 198; Amandry 1947-1948, 441; Furumark 1972, 106; Kanta 1980, 146-160; Nowicki 2000, 89-90; Tsipopoulou 2005, 73

22. Kalamafka – Dunbabin reports that a tholos tomb of uncertain date was found in 1942, though its exact location was not recorded; the two remaining vases from the excavation date to LM IIIB, according to Kanta and Pini. An additional tholos tomb, which contained a bronze spear head and vases, dating to LM III or SM, was found in 2005 approximately 3 km south of Kalamafka; further information about this tomb has not yet been published, though a second, empty tholos tomb (SM) was reportedly found three years ago in the neighborhood of Mesokastella (~2 km southwest of Kalamafka and ~1.5 km north of Anatoli).

Recent survey work has uncovered LM IIIC, PG, and G (as well as A-R) sherds, though no IIIB, in the area of the large ancient settlement which is located on a steep slope of Kastello, the mountain rising above the south edge of the modern village. Nowicki has,

however, also identified another settlement (PG-A) at Mesokastella, with which the recently excavated tholos tombs may have been associated.

Ref: Pendlebury 1939, 296, 326; Dunbabin 1947, 191; Platon 1947, 632; Pini 1968, 81 #26; Kanta 1980, 161; Nowicki 1993, 99-100; 2000, 127-129; Katrotzanaki 2005, 9

23. Kavousi (figs. 38-57) – EIA tombs have been excavated at Aloni, Azoria, Chondrovoulakes, Kastro, Plai tou Kastrou, Skouriasmenos, and Vronda in the vicinity of the modern village of Kavousi. Finds from these tombs are in the Herakleion, Ierapetra, Ashmolean, University of Pennsylvania Museums, and the INSTAP-SCEC storerooms, and full publications of the Vronda and Azoria tombs are forthcoming.

A. *Aloni* – Four tholos tombs with rectangular chambers, most with short dromoi, were excavated in 1901 by Wheeler, Boyd's assistant, at Aloni (now called Skala). Three of the four (I, II, IV) were identified and cleaned in 1981 as part of the Kavousi Survey, and Haggis believes that the fourth tomb (III) is likely located 8 meters southeast of Tomb IV. The three cleaned tombs were roughly placed in a line, ~75 meters apart from each other. Located on the lower southwest slope of Kastro, ~175-300 m south of the EIA (LM IIIC –O) settlement, and just off the old kalderimi leading from Kastro to Vronda, these tholoi were likely used by the inhabitants of Kastro. The tholoi, at least Tomb I, are built of more densely packed stones laid in more courses than those found at Vronda, and on the whole the Aloni tholoi are also larger. These tholoi are, however, representative of those found in the area of Kavousi, which average in size roughly 2 meters in diameter and height, with rectangular, square, circular or oval vaulted chambers, and often with short dromoi.

Inhumation seems to have been the practice in the Aloni tombs, with some of the skulls placed in bronze bowls. In addition, Tomb I may have been surrounded by an

enclosure wall, and this tomb is the second largest of all the Kavousi tombs. Finds of note from these tombs include a bronze fibula in the shape of a horse, which may show contact with Italy/Sicily, and a strainer with anthropomorphic handles, which indicates contact with Cyprus, 2 bronze bowls, 22 spindle whorls, a gold ring, larnax fragments, and a stirrup jar. The date of these tombs appears to be SM-LG (and possibly also LM IIIC), though only four of the finds recorded in Boyd's notebooks have been published, thus making the exact dating of the tombs difficult.

B. *Azoria* – Excavation in 2006 revealed a single, small (1.42 x 0.90 m) LM IIIC/SM-PG tholos tomb with an ellipsoidal chamber and stomion built of monolithic jambs and lintel. Unusually, this tomb had apparently been left in place and blocked off in the corner of a Late Archaic (possibly industrial/domestic) room; the capstone of the tomb was even built into the LA wall. Remaining finds in the tholos included two-three inhumations (pending further study), as well as five small vases, two conical stone beads, and a bronze ring. This tomb was probably associated with the LM IIIC settlement located further up the (Azoria) hill; in addition, other tholoi likely existed in its vicinity, but were either destroyed by LA activity or remain to be uncovered.

C. *Chondrovoulakes* – Boyd found four “shaft graves,” probably with cremations, at this site, which is located ~300 m northeast of Vronda and ~700 m southwest of the summit of Azoria. These tombs were placed close together and averaged in size 2.60 x 0.70 m. Tsipopoulou believes that these tombs may have been a form of grave enclosure, and that the burned earth found inside them may have come from burning the bodies at the burial site, as seen in many of the Vronda cists. The Chondrovoulakes graves likely date primarily to EO, though it seems that some Geometric material was also found. The majority of the finds

from these tombs, which included eight vessels, have not been published. A ProtoCorinthian lekythos/aryballos is the only vessel which can be securely attributed to these tombs, though a pyxis lid published by Tsipopoulou from the Herakleion Museum probably also belongs to one of the burials.

Haggis' survey identified LG and EO pottery in the area of Chondrovoulakes, though the specific location of the graves has not been found. According to Haggis, the general location of the site makes it a likely burial place for the (LM IIIC-A) settlement at Azoria or possibly that at Panagia Skali (LM IIIC, G-A), which is located ~300-400 meters east of Chondrovoulakes on the ridge immediately above and east of the church at the base of the north slope of Kastro.

D. *Kavousi* – A Geometric cremation burial in a pithos with no burial offerings was found in 1999, though the exact location was not reported. This burial, however, appears to have been found during the bulldozing of a new road/path, immediately to the right of the signed turn-off to Vronda, at Kako Mouri. This location is roughly equidistant from Azoria and Vronda.

E. *Kastro* – According to Liston, evidence of additional burials (primarily LG-EO) was found along the West Slope of the peak of Kastro in a row of rooms and domestic dump deposits. These burials were not recognized during the course of excavation but were identified from water sieving ashy soil. There appears to be evidence of up to seven individuals from this area. Cremated remains of at least three adults and two sub-adults were found, along with fragments of vessels. These all appear to come from secondary deposits, and the majority of the bones were found in rock cavities, such as the cremated individual found in the northeast corner of Room 32. It is unclear how many of these represent actual

burials, though according to Haggis one LG/EO amphora with cremated remains of an adult was found at the bottom of a deep layer of fill, well above the LG/EO floor in Room 35 (Building L). Human fetal/infant bones were also found at two locations in domestic dumps, including Room 29. A few scattered pieces of cremated bone were also found in the wall collapse of Bldg. A (Room 5/45) on the East Slope. No further information about these burials has yet been published.

F. *Plai tou Kastrou* – Located ~100 m to the east of the easternmost burial at Aloni and ~150 m south of Kastro was one large tholos tomb with square/rectangular chamber. Although this tomb was never formally excavated and was later destroyed to build terraces, Evans managed to acquire numerous finds from it, which had been removed in 1895 by the villager who discovered it. Previously there had been some confusion in the scholarship as to whether there was one tomb at this location or two, but the new discovery of Boyd's diary confirms that only one tomb was found. Boyd later excavated on this same terrace and on the three below, searching for other tholoi but she found none.

The finds acquired by Evans from the tomb included 117 vases, most of which have not been published, though photographs and drawings of many of the objects do exist in the Ashmolean archives. Pottery from the tomb shows Cypriot connections, as did some of the finds from the Aloni tholoi. Finds of note, in addition to the pottery, include four iron firedogs (Cypriot?) in the shape of warships (according to Boardman an extremely rare object in EIA Greek burials, though common in Italy), a bronze bowl (Cypriot?), many bronze weapons and tools, a small bronze wheel with seven spokes, and an iron double axe. Two skulls were also recovered from the tomb, though it is likely that more burials were originally present. This tholos was probably used by inhabitants of Kastro and it shows signs

of use from SM-EO (and possibly also LM IIIC). In addition, terracotta animal figurines and sherds were found in the vicinity (~40 m northeast of the tomb) on a rocky ledge, possibly from a shrine which may or may not have been associated with the tomb.

G. *Skouriasmenos* (“*Rusty Ridge*”) – Approximately 1 km southeast of the Kastro settlement was found the largest and best preserved tholos from the Kavousi area. This tomb was a true tholos, round from the bottom, with a diameter of 2.90 meters, a dromos, and an impressive façade built of roughly rectangular stones with monolithic lintel. When Boyd investigated the tomb in 1900, it had already been looted and a farmer had built his house over it, though several finds still remained, including bronze plate with relief decoration of helmeted men between lions, sphinxes and griffins, gold leaf, a gold button, glass beads, iron weapons, and seven vases, one of which was decorated on one side with a man in a chariot and on the other with three female mourners. In addition, several animal bones, including a boar’s tusk, were found in the tomb. The remaining finds date primarily to LG and EO.

H. *Vronda* – Ten mostly plundered tholos tombs have been found to the north and northwest of the EIA settlement. Boyd excavated eight tombs (I-VIII) in 1900-1 and the landowner excavated another (Tomb IX) in 1951 at Xerambela, ~150 m down the slope to the north of the other tholoi. In 1981 and 1989-90, the Kavousi Project re-located and cleaned eight of these tholoi and found an additional one (Tomb X) also to the north of the Boyd’s tholoi. The Vronda tholoi have circular, oval, rectangular, and square chambers, which have an average diameter of slightly less than 2 meters, and their height also averages 2 meters. The tombs typically have elaborately built facades with monolithic lintels and doorways that were entered from a pit dug in the earth, rather than a true dromos, which only Tomb I and X have. The tholoi contained primarily multiple inhumations, though at least

one tomb shows evidence of possible cremations. Finds of note include a stone lid fragment, possibly an heirloom, stone and terracotta spindle whorls, stirrup jars, and bird vases.

Tombs IV-VII and Tombs I-III and VIII may have been grouped in two clusters, both located only ~10-50 meters from the settlement, while Tombs X and IX were isolated. Tomb X contained a pit with stones, loose earth, and animal skeletons (dogs, a fox, and donkey), which had been dug under the floor and extended under the south wall. This may present evidence of a pre-burial sacrifice, if it was dug before the tomb, though the date of the pit is uncertain and this is not a typical EIA practice. In addition, large flat slabs of stone were placed in the area in front of the stomia of Tombs I, II, IV, V, and X and fragments of cups, skyphoi, kraters, and kalathoi were found above these, likely indicating libations to the dead at the time of burial or at an anniversary ritual. Furthermore, piles of stones were found above the stomia of several tombs, perhaps marking the tombs for later ceremonial or funerary use. The tholoi may have been constructed after the settlement at Vronda was abandoned, the occupation of which was primarily late LM IIIC, and they appear to have been in use from SM-EPG, PGB, and EG-MG; unusually, Tomb V may have been used only in the Geometric period. The tholoi may also have been used by single families, as the excavations recovered nearly as many tholos tombs as houses, probably living at nearby Kastro, after having moved there from Vronda, or possibly at Azoria.

In the Late Geometric period, 'cist' graves were built in and around nearly all of the LM IIIC buildings of the settlement, and some of them appear to have been placed in clusters. Kanta considers these tombs to have been stone-lined shaft graves which were misinterpreted as cist graves. The most common type is a large, rectangular stone-lined 'cist,' roughly 2 x 1 m, of which at least twenty examples were found. In some cases, walls

of the earlier houses were used as part of the construction with the other sides of the cist built from single rows of limestone blocks or bedrock boulders, while in others the tomb was built in the center of the room digging into the rubble from collapsed walls and rarely, building one or two good walls. Most of the burials contained multiple cremations, as many as eight in one case (G.28), and the graves were often the site of the pyres. In addition, a few of the tombs contained burials in a pithos or amphora. In several cases (at least seven), rather than creating a cist, the burial was placed under a cairn of stone, in the corner of the room, the doorway, or a cleft in the rock; these are secondary burials, for which the cremation took place elsewhere. Several inhumations also existed, most of which represent either a later phase of a tomb which contained earlier cremations, infant burials, though evidence of infant cremation was also found at the site, or burials placed outside but near cists, such as G.24, a child who apparently died of Histiocytosis. According to the excavators, the placement of uncremated individuals outside of cists may indicate that these individuals were associated with the family buried in the tomb but were not placed inside due to pollution from disease or some other reason. A total of 111 individuals (12 children) have been identified from the Vronda burials, including both the tholoi and cists. The pyres/graves were also sometimes marked by piles of stone placed on top, presumably to identify them for future use or ceremony. In addition, some of the graves may have been marked by pithoi or amphorae; beside Graves 3 and 9, for example, was a small paved area with a pot stand.

In some graves, goods were placed inside the tomb on a bedrock shelf. Nearly all of the graves contained cups, often in large numbers, and skyphoi, aryballoi, lekythoi, oinochoai, amphorae, and bowls/kraters also commonly occur. The large number of cups and skyphoi suggest possible drinking rituals/libations at the time of burial, having been

thrown into the grave after the cremation, for they were not as badly burned as the aryballois, which were likely placed on the pyre with the body. Finds of note from these tombs include terracotta beads, bronze fibulae and pins, iron pins, many iron weapons and tools, three obsidian blades, and an ivory bead. Grave 6 may provide an example of a specialized tool-kit, possibly for metal-working, containing an axe, chisel, hammer, tongs, two files, and a razor, among other items. The burials richest in metal seem to be concentrated on the summit of the hill, especially the northeast side (Bldgs. J and K), though many graves were relatively wealthy. It is perhaps noteworthy that the two examples of later inhumations placed above cremations inside a cist are accompanied by few goods, only two skyphoi and a skyphos and pin, respectively. While the grave goods were generally numerous, few luxury items occur, though there is evidence of imported pottery from Knossos and Cyprus (or in imitation of Cypriot style). In addition, many of the child burials, including one inhumed infant inside a pithos placed on its side within an enclosure, seem to have contained rabbit bones. Also, sheep and goat bones were often present in adult burials, possibly placed on the pyre as an offering for the deceased or as part of a funerary meal.

The excavators tentatively conclude that the cists represent family burials and that the clusters of graves in different areas of the site suggest larger groupings by birth, status, class, or some other factor, as different levels of wealth in goods are evident. The excavators question whether or not these tombs are similar to the “bone enclosures” found at Vrokastro, which also date primarily to the LG period, and these tombs will be referred to as bone enclosures in Chapters Four and Five. In addition, Building H appears to have been constructed together with Tomb 6, perhaps as a part of the enclosure. The Vronda cist burials date primarily to LG-EO, though there is also some evidence for MG, the time when

the tholoi went out of use. The cist burials may be associated with the settlement at nearby Kastro, for which the tholos tombs at Aloni, Skouriasmenos, and Plai tou Kastrou continued in use during this period, or possibly with the settlement at Azoria or Panagia Skali. It is also possible that the cemetery at Chondrovoulakes began in EO at the time when the Vronda cists were abandoned.

Ref: Hogarth and Bosanquet 1899, 321; Bosanquet 1900, 171-172; Boyd 1901, 137-154; 1904, 15-18; Levi 1927-1929c, 562-567, 579-609; Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 315, 343; Levi 1945, 19-20; Desborough 1952, 267, 327; Coldstream 1968, 258-261, 417; Pini 1968, 80 #21.2,4, 82 #19.1; Boardman 1971; Snodgrass 1971, 169, 210; Desborough 1972a, 252-254; 1972b, 117, 235, 372; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 59; Gesell et al. 1983, 394-412; Day 1984, 21-22; Tsipopoulou 1984; Gesell 1985a; Day et al. 1986; Tsipopoulou 1987a, 263-265; 1987b, 257-259; Catling 1988, 72; Gesell et al. 1988; Catling 1989, 105; Coulson 1990; French 1990, 73; Gesell 1990; Gesell et al. 1990; Belli 1991, 441; French 1991, 72; Gesell et al. 1991; French 1992, 64; Gesell et al. 1992, 122; Haggis 1992, 185, 188-195; Liston 1993; Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994, 65; Day 1995; Gesell et al. 1995; Tomlinson 1996, 46; Coulson et al. 1997; Blackman 1999, 120; Pangalos 1999, 161; Gesell et al. 2000, 77-83; Nowicki 2000, 97-100; Touchais et al. 2000, 990; Blackman 2001, 134; Brown 2001, 339-342; Kanta 2001b, 18; Apostolakou 2002, 341-342; Whitley 2003, 85; Haggis 2005, personal communication; Liston 2005, personal communication; Mook 2005, personal communication; Tsipopoulou 2005, 73-121

24. Meseleroi (figs. 58-60) – EIA burials have been identified at two or three locations in the vicinity of Meseleroi.

A. *Petrou Phrameno* – At this location in the mountains ~200 m southwest of the village, farmers found a partially destroyed cemetery with LG pithos burials. 13 have been excavated thus far by the Greek Archaeological Service, in 1992 and 1994. The jars were typically placed on their sides in rock-cut ellipsoidal pits and held in place with stones; in one example, two jars, with the mouth of one placed inside the other, were found in the same tomb. In addition, one pithos had a stone plaka instead of a base. The pits and pithoi were also covered with stone plakas, making a few of the burials somewhat similar in appearance to the “pseudotholoi” identified at Krya. The Meseleroi pithoi usually contained

inhumations, with the skulls of the deceased typically placed towards the bottom; in one example, a pithos contained three burials. There was no definite evidence for cremation, though in three pithoi no bone was found. Few finds were recovered from the burials; most commonly one or two vases accompanied the deceased, and one pair of tweezers, a bronze pin and an iron pin were the only non-ceramic finds. In addition to the pithoi, one large cist grave, lined with plakas, was found among the tombs; its date, however, is unknown as only bones were recovered.

B. Profitis Ilias – A cemetery site (PI4) was identified as part of the Vrokastro Survey Project, primarily in 1988 and 1990. This site is located ~700 m northeast of the modern village, and it contained some evidence of LG-O and H, though primarily A-C. Hayden states that eight different loci found on or near the ridge may represent tomb groups. These include two small possible tholos tombs (loci 1 and 4) with rubble walls, a possible rock shelter burial (A-C), a cist tomb, and a group of small built compartments or rooms (locus 5 = possible bone enclosures). The possible tholoi and bone enclosures could date as early as the Geometric period, though no conclusive evidence exists for this period. In the Archaic period this cemetery appears to have had an enclosure wall, which extended from the cist grave. The Early Iron Age evidence consists of fragments of LG burial pithoi, identified by the survey, of the same type and decoration as those found in the cemetery at Petrou Phrameno.

Overall – A possible EIA-A habitation site, OL4, was identified ~500 m northwest of Meseleroi (~600 m southwest of PI4 and ~500 m northwest of Petrou Phrameno), and a larger O-H habitation site was identified at OL1A (~200 m southwest of PI4). The Early Iron Age burials may have belonged to the former. Evidence of PG and G habitation has also

been observed from Schinavria (SK 11), which is possibly the site of Archaic Oleros, located ~1.5 km east of Meseleroi, though this site is probably too far away for the cemeteries to have been associated with it.

Ref: Apostolakou 1992, 604-605; Hayden et al. 1992, 344; Apostolakou 1994b, 749-750; Hayden 1995, 104-105, 124; Blackman 1998, 119; Touchais 1998, 953; 1999, 818; Blackman 2000, 143; Sjögren 2001, 255 (E57); Hayden, personal communication, 2004; 2005, CD p. 121-123; Tsipopoulou 2005, 123

25. Parsa – Parsa is located southeast of Lasithi and approximately 3 km southwest of the village Malles. Faure identified a deep cave ~20 minutes southwest of the village, inside of which were found a number of ancient bones, some of children, together with fragments of pottery, Geometric and earlier. No other information about the burials from this cave has been recorded.

Ref: Faure 1956, 100 #4

26. Schoinokapsala (fig. 61) – A small robbed tholos tomb was discovered at Xenotaphoi, though the exact findspot is unknown; the date was not given, though it was probably LM or SM. Remaining finds include stirrup jars, pitchers, and cups, though they have not yet been published. The name of the site indicates the likelihood of other burials in the area. It is possible that this tomb was associated with a small LM IIIC-PG settlement (Ag. Ioannis Psychro) identified by Nowicki along the road from Ag. Ioannis to Schoinokapsala (~3 km east of Ag. Ioannis, between the churches of Ag. Georgios and Ag. Panagia).

Ref: Apostolakou 1986, 234; French 1993, 79; Nowicki 2000, 81-82

27. Vasiliki (figs. 62-63) – Two tholos tombs have been excavated in the vicinity of the modern village of Vasiliki.

A. *Kamaraki* – In 1990 at Kamaraki in the plain, ~25 m to the east side of the road to Ierapetra near the crossroads to the modern village of Vasiliki (~300 m E-NE of the EM site), a small unrobbed (early) LM IIIC-PG tholos with roughly circular chamber (~2.5 m diameter) and a very short dromos was excavated by Tsipopoulou and Zographake. Only the south half of the chamber was paved, possibly to hold the first burial, and the tomb contained the remains of seven inhumations (five adults and two children). Finds from the tomb include 25 vases (kalathoi, amphoriskoi, stirrup jars, juglets, etc.), three clay beads, bronze fibulae, two bronze pendants, and a lead bead. In addition, some of the SM vases do not have good parallels among the Cretan material, but are more appropriate to the Mainland repertoire, and the bronze shield ring and three of the fibulae may have been imported from Athens. Finds from this tomb are in the Agios Nikolaos Museum.

Tsipopoulou originally suggested that this tomb was connected with the primarily LM IIIC settlement at Chalasmenos (~3 km to the east), though Eliopoulos believes that it was associated with the nearby LM IIIC-PG settlement at Vasiliki Kephala (~3 km to the west). Both sites are probably too far away, though, and perhaps there is an unknown settlement of this time period in the plain with which the tomb is associated. The recent Gournia Survey, however, did not find any sites of this period in the plain, and therefore the associated settlement remains uncertain. Perhaps the tomb marked the boundary between the territories of Chalasmenos and Kephala or else was placed on the land of the deceased. In addition, I was informed by a local that other, similar tombs (possibly one-three) were uncovered in this area in ~1971/72, but I have been unable to confirm this.

B. *Kephala* – In a vineyard at the location of Agios Theodoros on the south slope Kephala Hill, Seager excavated one disturbed tholos tomb in 1906. The exact location of the

tomb is unknown, as it is no longer preserved. Seager describes the tomb as carefully built, 2 m in diameter, with a 3 m long dromos. The tomb contained a larnax, several vases (a stirrup jar, two kalathoi, and a flask), a gold pendant, three carnelian beads, and a bronze dagger, probably dating to LM IIIC, though possibly also to SM. Human and dog bones were also found on the chamber floor. No other information is known about this tomb, which was most likely associated with the LM IIIC (and possibly PG) settlement on the summit of Kephala Hill.

Ref: Seager 1907, 113, 129-131; Pendlebury 1939, 243; Furumark 1944, 222-224; Desborough 1964, 176-177; Furumark 1972, 106-107; Pelon 1976, 261-262; Kanta 1980, 146; Tsipopoulou 1984, 232 n. 2; French 1991, 71; Pariente 1991, 941; Tsipopoulou 1997, 484 n. 16; Eliopoulos 1998a, 301 and n. 4; Rehak and Younger 1998, 166 n. 514; 168; Nowicki 2000, 106; Watrous et al. 2000, 477; Borgna 2003, 165 n. 49; Tsipopoulou et al. 2003; Tsipopoulou 2005, 71-72

SITEIA EPARCHIA

28. Achladia – In 1939 at Platyschino on the west slope of Khalepa Hill, Platon excavated a large, looted LM III tholos tomb built of cyclopean masonry, which had the unusual feature of a second door blocked by two walls opposite the entrance, possibly an unfinished lateral chamber. In addition, a possible system for wooden poles against the entrance was identified during a recent re-investigation of the tomb, perhaps a means of locking it from the outside. The excavator recorded that the tomb contained three larnakes and that SM pots and a stone lamp were found on the floor, though the finds, which had been stored in the Siteia collection, were destroyed during the war. Kanta considers the tomb only to have had one phase of use, LM IIIA2-B, while Pini dated the tomb to LM IIIB-SM. Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti did not identify any SM pottery in their recent study of Platon's drawings, though they did identify an LG oinochoe and cup. They suggest that this LG pottery was likely from

a ritual libation to honor the dead after a later re-opening of the tomb, possibly to collect some valuable material, rather than representing a late burial or example of hero cult. The LM settlement associated with the original use of the tholos was located to the northwest, also at Platyschino, though EIA habitation has not yet been identified from the area.

Ref: Robertson 1939, 206; Walter 1940, 304; Alexiou 1952, 476; Platon 1952, 643-646; de Santerre 1953, 239; Pini 1968, 75 #5; Kanta 1980, 178; Papadakis 1983, 13; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1995, 11, 115-128; Belli 1997, 251; Tsipopoulou 2005, 219

29. Adromyloi (Lithines) (fig. 64) – Two or three necropoleis with EIA tombs were excavated in the area of Adromyloi (~1.5 km north-northwest of Lithines). Unfortunately, the exact location and plans of these sites have not been published and their relationship to one another is unclear. Some finds from the tombs are in the Herakleion and Siteia Museums.

A. *Agios Antonios* – In a flat zone near the church and cave of Ag. Antonios (~3 km northwest of Lithines and ~500 m northwest of the church of Ag. Marina), Platon excavated a group of robbed burials in 1953. The tombs were small tholoi with square, rectangular, and circular inner chambers and rectangular and square stone outer enclosures, similar to those found at Karphi and Kritsa, and of the same type as those found in greater number at nearby Ag. Apostoloi. These tholoi were referred to as the “graves of the poor” by the villagers, as only a few small vases, primarily oil jars, were found inside them, probably dating to PG and G. They were given this name to distinguish them from the “tombs of the lords,” looted chamber tombs, probably Classical or Hellenistic, which were found nearby and included gold items. The EIA burials are likely associated with the extensive LM IIIC-A settlement (Anginara) on the ridge above and to the north of the church and cemetery, and they may (?) have been located ~700 meters from those at Ag. Apostoloi.

B. *Agios Apostoloi (between Sykia-Adromyloi)* – North of the village of Adromyloi toward Sykia apparently somewhere near the church of Ag. Apostoloi, Platon excavated in 1953-1954 a mostly looted LM IIIC-PG (and lasting until EO, according to Tsipopoulou) cemetery of rectangular, built tholos tombs with small dromoi. 14 or 15 tholoi were placed in a group around a low hill, while 3 single tombs were found higher up on three separate neighboring hills. According to Brown, the grouped tholoi may have been located in the area now known as Chondrovolaki, while at least one of the isolated tombs may come from the area of Christo to the northwest of Chondrovolaki. The cemetery does not appear to have been completely excavated. Only one tomb was unrobbed (of the group of 15) and it contained approximately 180 vases, 2 gold rings, 3 Minoan seal stones (one with pseudo-hieroglyphs), iron tools and weapons, bronze fibulae and pins. In addition, one of the isolated tombs (B) contained a larnax and 50 vases.

C. *Kandemi Kephali* – Finds from a Geometric tomb in the area of Kandemi Kephali were brought to the (Siteia?) museum in 1960. These included a baby feeder, two spearheads and bronze fibulae. No further information about this tomb has been published. Platon had previously in 1954 dug a horseshoe-shaped LM III (late B-early C) chamber tomb in this area, reportedly ~500 meters northeast of the Church of Agia Marina. This tomb contained a larnax with five skeletons, a pithos, eight-ten vases, a gold ring, sealstone, spindle whorls, and other jewelry. The IIIC vases include a stirrup jar, duck vase, and a feeding bottle. There was also a LM IIIB-C settlement to the northeast, with which the tomb is likely associated.

D. *Tomb 1902* – The exact location of this tomb is unknown, possibly at Kandemi Kephali or Anginara. 101 PGB-EO vases were reported from this tomb which was excavated

by villagers in 1902, though only 49 can now be accounted for. Some of the vases were published by Droop, including many cups, bowls, amphorae, and oinochoai. One vase of note is in the form of a nude seated woman with a hydria on her head. No other information about this tomb is known.

E. *Mousadenas* – In the vicinity of Adromyloi at the place Mousadenas on the land of G. Koutsantonaki was found a small Geometric tomb (2.3 x 1.5 m) with short dromos, possibly a chamber tomb or tholos with rectangular chamber; the type is unclear from the brief report, which implies that it was a cist tomb with dromos. Finds include sherds, iron weapons, and a bronze fibula. The Mousadenas tomb may have been associated with the other tombs of the same date from this area.

Ref: Bosanquet 1901-1902, 249; Droop 1905-1906, 43-47; Levi 1927-1929c, 575; Pendlebury 1939, 325; Alexiou 1953b, 489-490; Platon 1953a, 296-297; Cook and Boardman 1954, 168; Platon 1954a, 365-367; 1954b, 511-512; *BCH* 79 1955, 307; Hood 1955, 18; Platon 1960b, 261-262; Desborough 1964, 268; Coldstream 1968, 258; 417; Pini 1968, 75 #16.1-2; Snodgrass 1971, 210; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 54; Coldstream 1977, 276; Kanta 1980, 185-186; Papadakis 1983, 56; Syriopoulos 1983, 219 #216, 666 CX; Tsipopoulou 1984; Papadakis 1985, 302-303; Tsipopoulou 1987b, 260; Belli 1991, 441; Pariente 1992, 937; French 1993, 73; Tsipopoulou 1995, 182; Nowicki 2000, 218; Brown 2001, 307-308; Tsipopoulou 2005, 199-218

30. Agios Georgios (formerly Tourtoulou) (figs. 65-66) – Early Iron Age burials have been found at two locations near the village, on Mandalia Hill and at Ammoudoplaka.

A. *Mandalia* – Plundered Late Minoan and Geometric graves were found on Mandalia Hill (~1-1.5 km east/southeast of the village) by Davaras. These tombs were roughly circular and rectangular, rock-cut chamber tombs with dromoi, supposedly arranged in groups and belonging to an extensive cemetery. The Geometric examples were of the same type as the LM III ones. The one published Geometric example was excavated by Davaras somewhere on the top of the hill at Mandalia Kephala in 1964, though it is called a

small tholos by Tsipopoulou; this tomb had a rectangular chamber, ~1 x 1 m, and contained only one LG burial, 14-16 vases, mostly cups, pitchers, and amphorae, and two bronze fibulae. According to Tsipopoulou, approximately 15 EIA chamber tombs have been excavated and they were used from SM-LG/EO. The plans, contents, as well as number and manner of burial, from the Mandalia tombs have not yet been published, nor has the identification of all tombs as chambers yet been confirmed.

B. *Ammoudoplaka* – Another possible cemetery was identified at this location to the east/northeast of the modern village, and just southeast of Volakas, where nine LM III circular chamber tombs with dromoi were excavated (two bath-tub larnakes from these tombs could date to early LM IIIC). In 1965, Sakellarakis excavated a plundered LM III chamber tomb and two EO tholoi somewhere at Ammoudoplaka. The two tholoi (A and B) had trapezoidal chambers (A-2.2 x 2.46 x 2 x 1.97 m; B-1.7 x 1.3 x 1.5 x ? m) and were located ~25 meters apart. Tomb B was smaller, partly destroyed, and contained only a lamp and a fragment of another vessel. Tomb A, on the other hand, held at least five burials, a terracotta female statuette, oinochoai, cooking vessels, iron and bronze weapons, bronze fibulae, pins, and a ring, a lead amulet, stone axe, clay and glass beads, and two oyster shells. According to a local, an additional tholos was recently found in the vicinity of these two tombs.

C. *Other* – 11 LG-EO vases from a plundered tomb were given to the Herakleion Museum in 1918, though it is unknown from which of these two cemeteries they were taken. In addition, Tsipopoulou has recently published ~200 vases from the site, though most of them come from looted tombs. These vases date from LM-LG, though primarily 8th century, and consist mainly of pithoi, amphorae, hydriae, oinochoai, aryballoi (one from the Peloponnesos), pitchers, jugs, cups, skyphoi, and pyxides. Tsipopoulou further notes that a

large percentage of the ceramics from the site are handmade and representative of a traditional Eteocretan type. Finds from Tourtoulou are in the Agios Nikolaos, Herakleion, and Siteia Museums, and the location of an associated settlement is unknown.

Ref: Xanthoudides 1918a, 13; Levi 1945, 20; Alexiou and Davaras 1964, 442; Alexiou 1965, 283; Sakellarakis and Alexiou 1966, 407, 414-418; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 69; Kanta 1980, 178-179; Papadakis 1983, 21; Syriopoulos 1983, 292 #342; 887 CL; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987a, 266-267, 276; 1987b, 259; Belli 1991, 441; Tsipopoulou 1991, 138-139, 141; 1992; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997b; Jones 2000, 250; Tsipopoulou 2005, 126-193

31. Agia Photia – Remains of an extensive EM I-II cemetery have been uncovered near the shore at the locations Patima and Glyphada. The cemetery appears originally to have held over 300 tombs; a total of 263 tombs were excavated in 1971 and 1984, and at least 50 more are estimated to have been previously robbed and destroyed. The cemetery contained some oval pits cut in the bedrock, but it consisted primarily of primitive chamber tombs (ellipsoidal or roughly round) with small doorways, blocked by upright slabs, and antechambers, which were often paved. As many as three EM graves appear to have been re-used for burial in LM III (T. 198; 211; 231), and LM IIIB-C remains have been found through survey on a hill above the modern village and in a few areas of the plain, with which these burials may have been associated. In addition, Tsipopoulou reports that two LG vases, an askos and a jug, were found placed above one of the graves from the cemetery; the recent publication of the tombs, however, makes no mention of these vases. The EIA vases have been interpreted as possible later offerings to the deceased, as seen at Mochlos and Achladia. Finds from the site are in the Ag. Nikolaos and Siteia Museums.

Ref: Davaras 1971b; Catling 1972, 24; Davaras 1972a, 648-650; Tsipopoulou 1989; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1995, 126; Sjögren 2001, 270-271 (E94); Davaras and Betancourt 2004

32. Agios Spyridon (fig. 67) – Burials have been found at two locations in the vicinity of the modern village.

A. *Kalathiana/Petrota* – Located ~2 km north-northwest of the village of Ag. Spyridon, east of Ag. Georgios and west of Praisos, is a small ellipsoidal funerary cave/rock shelter (called Kalathiana or Petrota), which was excavated in 1985 by Tsipopoulou. The cave has two entrances, one of which was deliberately blocked with boulders and the other with a large fallen stone. The cave appears to have been unlooted, though some goods were found outside the cave due to rodent activity. The burials were inhumations, though the exact number is unknown as the bones were poorly preserved. The cave was first used for burial in LM IIIA2 (seven vases), and shows signs of additional activity in SM-PG (four vases and a bronze fibula), PGB-EG (two vases), LG (eleven vases and a triton shell), and LG-EO (six vases). The excavator noted the lack of bronze and iron weapons and jewelry among the finds, though small bones of a bird were found in a tripod, possibly an offering to the deceased. This isolated tomb was perhaps used by one family, as it was secluded and easy to access, and it could have been located near the fields of that family. The tomb is ~900 meters west of the burials at Skales Cave, which itself is ~500 m west of the 2nd Acropolis of Praisos; Kalathiana Cave could thus possibly be associated with Praisos or an unknown smaller settlement in the vicinity. The finds from the site are currently in the Siteia Museum.

B. *Kanene* – At this location on the slopes of a low hill near Agios Nikolaos (in between Ag. Spyridon and Praisos) in 1950-51 Platon recovered finds from several destroyed LM IIIB tombs. The finds included fragments of larnakes, stirrup jars, one of which was

IIIC, and a bronze knife. These tombs may also have been associated with a settlement in the Praisos area.

Ref: Cook 1952, 111; Deshayes 1952, 242; Platon 1960, 302; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 59; Kanta 1980, 197-198; Tsipopoulou 1983, 78-104; 1984; *Ακρόπολις* 11.4.85; Catling 1986, 94; Tsipopoulou 1987b, 259-260; French 1991, 76; Pariente 1991, 939; Tsipopoulou 1995, 180, 186; Whitley et al. 1999, 252; Tsipopoulou 2005, 193-194

33. Agios Stephanos (formerly Gras) – In 1954, 17 PGB-LG vases were found in a rock shelter “Stephanouli” at Ag. Stephanos, which is located ~2.5 km west of Pefkoi. Reports seem to indicate that there was one inhumation, though the exact number of burials is unclear, and it is unknown if any other finds were recovered from the cave. This cave may be associated with the PG and G settlement found on the summit of Kastello, the hill directly to the north of the village. Stephanouli may be to the northeast of that settlement, though its exact location is not recorded. Finds from the site are in the Ag. Nikolaos Museum.

Ref: Platon 1954a, 368; 1954b, 512; *BCH* 1955, 307; Faure 1962, 40; Desborough 1964, 268; Faure 1964, 67; Pini 1968, 76 #17; Papadakis 1983, 22; Syriopoulos 1983, 219 #218; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 260; Nowicki 2000, 71-72; Tsipopoulou 2005, 194-199

34. Chamaizi (fig. 68) – Small robbed tholoi were found at the locations of Liopetro and Phatsi.

A. *Liopetro* – In the Agios Nikolaos Museum are finds from one small tholos tomb which was excavated by villagers and destroyed in 1961. This tholos was located in the valley ~500 meters west of the Phatsi group and ~700 meters southeast of Liopetro. Iron weapons and 14 vases, dating to LM IIIC-PGB and early LG, were recovered from the tomb. No further information about this tomb is known.

B. *Phatsi* – In 1971 at Phatsi which is located between Chamaizi and the sea, ~1 km south-southeast of the Venetian fortress of Liopetro, Davaras found a group of five recently

pillaged and partially destroyed small, square/rectangular tholos tombs with inhumations, dating to SM-PGB. Many finds remained from Tomb V, which is located immediately next to the agricultural road, however, and it measured 2.10 x 2.10 m and had an elaborate façade with monolithic lintel and door jambs. 90 vases remained from the five tombs, including stirrup jars, duck/bird vases, bowls with cut-out decoration, an SPG imported Euboean lekythos, and a Bronze Age (probably EC III) vase. LG cups, a bowl, and oinochoai were also identified from the tombs. Other finds include a bronze dagger with ivory handle, two Minoan sealstones, and clay, glass and rock crystal beads. Finds from these tombs are also in the Agios Nikolaos Museum. The Phatsi tombs, as well as the one from Liopetro, probably belong to the LM IIIC-O settlement on the summit of Liopetro; the tholoi from Drongara (see entry under Skopi) are also likely associated with this settlement.

Ref: Davaras 1971a, 199; 1972a, 650; 1972b, 44-45; Desborough 1972a, 253; Catling 1978, 67; Kanta 1980, 176; Papadakis 1983, 36; Syriopoulos 1983a, 152 #93, 215 #199, 533 XLIV, 663 XCVII; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 267; Belli 1991, 441; Nowicki 1995a, 69-70; Tsipopoulou 1995, 185; 1997; Nowicki 2000, 101-102; Tsipopoulou 2005, 317-322

35. Chandras (or Voila) – In 1984, Tsipopoulou found fragments of a burial pithos, probably LM IIIC, during construction of a dirt road at Chandras-Voila. This may have been related to the nearby LM IIIC-PG settlement at Kastri, the hill located just to the east of Voila (~500 m northeast of Chandras), though its exact findspot was not recorded but probably west of the settlement. No other vases were recovered, and the fragments of the pithos are in the Siteia Museum. The presence of the nearby settlement makes it likely that other EIA burials exist in the area.

Ref: Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1992, 186; Tsipopoulou 1995, 186; Nowicki 2000, 60-61; Tsipopoulou 2005, 323

36. Itanos (modern Erimoupolis) (fig. 69) – At this site in the 1950s the French School excavated a largely plundered ancient necropolis, which was used intensively from the Geometric until the end of the Hellenistic Period. These excavations recovered only sherds from the earliest phase of use; at most, a few oval hollows can be attributed to this period, probably LG. Explorations in 1996, however, revealed one definite G grave (SP9), an oval pit cut into the rock, located beside a possible archaic temenos wall. Only sherds, primarily cups and skyphoi, were recovered from this grave, however. Additional (Late) Geometric graves have recently been excavated at the site (in 2003), though they have not yet been published. The necropolis is located north of the west acropolis (the center of the Greek and Roman town) and ~250 meters northwest of the EIA habitation area of the east acropolis.

Ref: *BCH* 1951, 193; Cook 1951, 251; Deshayes 1951, 201-209; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 58; Greco et al. 1996, 944; 1997, 817-818; Viviers 1997, 1053; Blackman 1998, 118; 2000, 141; Sophianou and Saliaka 2006

37. Karydi – Faure identified a large cave (Katophygi) on the plateau of Platyvolos at Limniolakkos (~2.8 km northeast of the modern village) with LM III, SM, and G sherds, together with many human and animal bones. This cave may have been used as both a burial site and place of refuge, though EIA burial activity has not been confirmed.

Ref: Faure 1963, 497-498; 1964, 69; Kanta 1980, 197; Papadakis 1983, 47; Tsipopoulou 2005, 227

38. Koutsouras – Faure identified the remains of LM III, SM, and PG tombs and a harbor installation at the locations of Kypourou, Lenika, and Spiliaridia. The number, type, finds, and exact dates of the tombs are unknown. It is also unclear at which of the three locations the tombs were found. According to Haggis, there were LM III burials in the plain at

Kypourou near the olive factory and also up the stream on the way to Stavrochori, just past Tsikalaria. No further information about these sites has been published.

Ref: Faure 1962, 40; Tsipopoulou 1995, 184; Haggis 2005, personal communication

39. Krya (figs. 70-71) – Approximately 30 tombs have been excavated in a pillaged LM IIIC-PG (with some Geometric) cemetery at Tsachali/Orthe Petra. This site is located ~1.5 km east of the modern village, on the lower slopes of the hill which holds the Venetian castle of Monte Forte (Monferrate) on its peak, and it extends into the tsachali/sand quarry to the northeast of that hill. Most of the tombs were excavated from 1972-1978 by Davaras. The tombs are primarily of two types. The first (10 examples) is the common type of small tholos with rectangular or square plan on the exterior, rectangular, square, trapezoidal, or circular inner chamber, averaging 1-1.5 meters per side, and often with a very short dromos. The second type is a pseudotholos (13 examples), which consists of a pithos laid on its side with rough stones closely built over it, typically forming an ellipsoidal tomb; at least two comparable tombs have been found at Eleutherna. The mouths of the pithoi were usually covered with stone plakas, and the floors were paved, sometimes with great care. One of the pithoi from this tomb type had a spout at the bottom, and another burial was placed inside a krater, rather than a pithos. Two tombs were combinations of the two main types, with a pithos and paved floor inside a tholos. Primarily inhumations were found in these tombs (cremations were somewhat rare), typically with only one burial per pseudotholos, though with up to four burials in some of the tholoi. In addition, few grave goods remained, though recovered finds include a small gold embossed ox head earring (likely a Cypriot import), bronze fibulae and pins, and ceramic vessels, including feeding bottles, jugs, skyphoi, and

stirrup jars. The pseudotholoi often contained no additional vases; in addition, tombs 6, 26, and 27 held a greater number of vessels than the other tombs.

Approximately 120 meters to the northwest of the main group of tombs at the peak of a small hill, a large tholos with rectangular chamber (2 x 1.1 m), no dromos, and keel-vaulted roof was found; this is the only tomb from the site which has been well-published, referred to as resembling the Royal Tomb at Isopata, the Tomb at Damania, T. Rho at Mycenae Grave Circle B, and the tombs at Ugarit. It was much disturbed, however, containing only four skulls and other bones, and fragments of pottery with “geometric decoration”, bronze, and iron. The date of the tomb is still debated; it may date as early as LM IIIB/C or as late as the middle of the 8th century B.C. Similar keel-vaulted tholoi have been investigated at Panagia (LM IIIC-PG), Orne, and possibly Kritsa Tomb A.

Also, excavations in 1995 revealed one large, unlooted tholos (T.28) with rectangular chamber (2.5 x 2 m), which contained numerous finds, including a bird vase, stirrup jars, a clay fish, a bronze pendant, and a stone axe. In addition, in front of the entrance to this tomb, a fragment of a poros limestone pyramidal shaped object, incised with Geometric motifs, was found; this may have been placed on top of the tholos, serving as a cippus, or aniconic burial marker. The published account of this tomb gives conflicting information as to its location: it is said to be ~90 m south of Orthe Petra and yet also ~40 m northeast of the Isopata type tomb. Regardless, it appears to have been somewhat isolated. Another robbed and destroyed tholos was recently found ~1.5 km from the main tombs, next to the local road, though its date is not given.

Furthermore, one grave (T.15) from the cemetery was not of either of the two main types, but it was a small, square stone-lined pit (cist) without a top. Another grave (T.26)

was comprised of a large natural hollow at the base of a raised piece of bedrock, the bottom of which was carefully closed with stones and earth. The north side of this grave contained a built wall, and the entrance on the east was blocked with stones. The chamber contained 11 vases, 2 bronze rings, and 6 skulls, one of which showed evidence of trauma to the back of the head. Another robbed tomb (T.25), a typical chamber tomb of elliptical shape, was found ~80 meters southeast of the Isopata type, but its date was not given.

Some of the tombs from the site are likely placed in clusters, which include both tholoi and pseudotholoi grouped together, though a plan of the site has not yet been published. Also, according to Kanta, the diversity of tomb type found at the site may indicate the presence of a mixed population. In addition, the main cemetery was apparently marked by a large menhir, from which it takes its name (Orthe Petra), analogous to that found at Eleutherna. An extensive LM IIIC-PG and possibly G defensible settlement existed on Monteferrate Hill (Ag. Georgios) to which the burials presumably belonged. More burials are assumed to exist in this area, and the cemetery possibly extended further into the area of the quarry and service road. Finds from the site are in the Agios Nikolaos Museum, and a full publication of the site is forthcoming by Davaras and Kanta.

Ref: Davaras 1972a, 646-647; 1973-1974, 931-932; 1976a, 381-382; 1978, 390-392; 1981, 27; Catling 1982, 57; Papadakis 1983, 53-54; Davaras 1984, 298; Tsipopoulou 1984; Catling 1985, 64; 1986, 94; Tsipopoulou 1987b, 261-262; Eliopoulos 1995, 750-751; Tsipopoulou 1995, 186; Nowicki 2000, 63-64; Blackman 2001, 135; Kanta and Davaras 2004; Kanta 2005

40. Lastros – To the east of the modern village at Langades, Faure identified an LM IIIB and SM burial cave, which he believed belonged to the settlement at Papourikaras, the small hill above and immediately to the southeast of Langades. No other information has been published about this cave. Two LM IIIB chamber tombs were also excavated at this location,

and additional chamber tombs of the same date were identified somewhere to the southwest of the village. Furthermore, Nowicki observed a small LM IIIC/PG settlement or hamlet at Vigla, the hill directly to the north of the village; Vigla is located ~2 km northwest of Langades, and thus an association between this site and the possible SM burial remains uncertain.

Ref: Faure 1962, 41; Kanta 1980, 174; Papadakis 1985, 54; Tsipopoulou 1995, 184; Nowicki 2000, 219-220

41. Makriyalos – Burials in pithoi with relief decoration were found near the shore, a little west of Katovigli. These probably date to EO, though it is unclear if any earlier material was found, and the number of burials is unknown. An associated settlement has not yet been identified, and no further information is known about the site.

Ref: Platon 1959, 391; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 262; 2005, 229

42. Mesa Mouliana (figs. 72-76) – Tholos tombs have been identified at two locations in the vicinity of the modern village.

A. *Sellades (Sellia)* – Two tholos tombs were excavated in 1903 by Xanthoudides at Sellades, located in a saddle between two hillsides ~500 m north-northwest of Mesa Mouliana. The tombs are located side by side, approximately 50 meters from the Siteia-Ag. Nikolaos highway, on the west side of the road to Kalavros. In addition, in 1996 both tombs were cleaned and their dromoi were fully exposed. Tomb A contained both inhumations and cremations and appears to have been used in LM IIIC, and possibly reused in SM/PG. The contents of Tomb A had been removed by a peasant before Xanthoudides' arrival, but he reported that it held many inhumations on the floor, as well as cremations in a large krater and possibly also in a large pyxis. This tomb had a rectangular chamber (2.4 x 1.8 m),

dromos, and a 0.9 meter deep pit behind the door filled with black earth, which may have been used for offerings or libations. Finds include a bell krater (decorated with a huntsman pursuing two agrimia on one side and a helmeted rider with spear and shield on the reverse), two bronze handles with bull protomes, three bronze phialai and a bronze pitcher, bronze and iron weapons, a bone disc, and two gold rings. The evidence for reuse of the tomb centers primarily on the date of the bell krater, which has been given as LM IIIC, PG, and G; most scholars currently, however, appear to date the tomb solely to LM IIIC, though some of the pottery may indicate an SM presence in the tomb.

Tomb B was located approximately five meters to the south of T.A, and it was of similar size and shape, but nearly a meter shorter in height. This tomb contained one inhumation in a larnax and another on the floor, which was covered with sand and pebbles, and finds included four stirrup jars, three bronze discs (possible shield bosses), bronze weapons, a gold ring, a gold face mask, two pieces of ivory, and a piece of iron. Tomb B seems to be slightly earlier than Tomb A, and it likely dates to LM IIIB/C-IIIC. Platon reported in 1959 that traces of additional tombs had been identified nearby.

B. *Vourlia* – At Vourlia (northeast of Sellades), Xanthoudides also cleared one LM IIIB tomb, which contained a gold ring, from a group of several previously destroyed tholos tombs. These tombs were said to be similar to those found at Sellades. No further information about these tombs has been published, though the excavator mentioned the likely existence of other tombs in the area.

Overall – “Mycenaean” walls were noted at Gouves, between Sellades and Vourlia, and a similarly dated wall was also observed to the west of the tombs at the acropolis Pyrgos/Ellinkon. The tombs could have been associated with one of these possible

settlements. Nowicki, on the other hand, has recently suggested that the Sellades tombs might be associated with the LM IIIC settlement at Kastello (Myrsini), which is located ~2 km to the southwest, or at least with the cluster of settlements to which it belonged. Finds from the site are currently in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Xanthoudides 1904, 21-52; Fowler 1905, 111-112; Lorimer 1933, 165-166; Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 308-309; 315; Furumark 1944, 222-229; Desborough 1952, 269-270, 327; Platon 1959, 389; Desborough 1964, 177, 188; Pini 1968, 88 #10.1 and 11; Snodgrass 1971, 168, 210; Desborough 1972b, 372; Furumark 1972, 106-107; Davaras 1973b, 163; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 63; Kanta 1980, 175; Papadakis 1983, 65-66; Syriopoulos 1983, 107-108 #212, 152 #95, 217 #207, 388 CII; Tsipopoulou 1995, 180; Papadakis 1997, 1044; Borgna 2003, 165 n. 49; Cameron 2003, 263; Nowicki 2004, 276-278

43. Mochlos – At least 30 rock-cut chamber tombs, which contained one or two burials each, have been excavated thus far in an LM IIIA-B cemetery located on a hill behind the modern village at the southern edge. One of the tombs (T. 27), which is located at the northern end of the cemetery, appears to have been reopened in EO. The tomb consisted of an oval chamber (0.9 x 1.45 m) and short dromos. Only one kylix and a burial pithos remained from the original period of use (LM IIIA2). The EIA visitors apparently removed the skeletal remains, grave goods, upper part of the pithos and its schist cover slab; they then filled the rest of the pithos with earth, placed two offerings (an alabastron and small hydria) beside it, and closed the tomb. The pithos cover slab was then positioned upright in the dromos near the entrance with a section of pithos, each accompanied by a single EIA vessel (a skyphos and aryballos), placed on either side. Finally, an irregular stone platform/altar (1 x 0.55-0.8 x 0.5 m) was constructed on top. Soles has interpreted this activity as ancestor worship, rather than mere offerings or a later burial, suggesting that the bones of the deceased were taken elsewhere, not necessarily on Crete, possibly to claim ownership of land

or to create a hero cult, which would provide “some community with a sense of identity and security.” Mochlos was not inhabited during the early 7th c. B.C. and an associated settlement for the EIA activity has not been identified.

Ref: French 1994, 81; Soles 1994, 755; Huber and Varalis 1995, 1019; Tomlinson 1995, 68; Soles 2001; Smith 2002, 151

44. Myrsini – 12 LM IIIA–C tombs (10 chambers and 2 pits) were excavated in 1959 by Platon on the west and south slopes of Aspropilia Hill (the summit of which holds the chapel of Panagia Analipsis), which is ~15 minutes north-northwest of the modern village and near the sea. Six (A, B, Γ, I, IA, IB) of these tombs contained definite LM IIIC evidence. Only the pottery from these tombs has been fully studied, however, by Smith in his recent dissertation. Tombs A and B were both chamber tombs (LM IIIA-C), and their finds included 55 vases, 4 triton shells, Nave type swords, and a whetstone, of which 6 stirrup jars, a kalathos, and a deep bowl were definitely IIIC. Tomb Γ was a small pit (LM IIIB-C) which held a possible infant burial in a pithos and eight vases, of which two stirrup jars were IIIC. Tombs I, IA, and IB were located to the south of the other tombs, possibly in a group. Tomb I was a simple pit with two burials and an LM IIIC stirrup jar and kalathos. Tombs IA and IB were both chamber tombs, the stomia of which were blocked by walls. Tomb IA (LM IIIB-C) contained one larnax, 13 pots, of which 2 stirrup jars were IIIC, and a triton shell, while Tomb IB (LM IIIA-C) had one larnax with two burials, a pithos, and 20 other vases, of which 2 stirrup jars were also IIIC. In addition to the six tombs which had definite evidence for LM IIIC, some tombs, such as Tomb ΣT, contained LM IIIB/C pottery. The LM IIIC evidence from these tombs thus comes primarily from stirrup jars, and these seem to date primarily to the early part of the period. Platon also mentions the presence of a cremation

from a IIIC grave at the site, which he compares with Mouliana and Praisos (Photoula), though he provides no other information about this burial. An associated settlement has not yet been identified, though Platon believed that Minoan buildings existed to the south of the hill.

On the south side of Aspropilia Hill were found remains of additional tombs, apparently Geometric and probably chambers, with ceramics, including two large kraters, a bronze vessel, and iron weapons and tools. No further information has been published from these EIA tombs. An LM IIIC-Geometric (and A?) settlement or town existed ~2 km north-northeast of Myrsini by the coast on the Kastello/Ellinika Hill, especially the summit and southern slopes. The Early Iron Age burials were thus likely associated with this settlement, being located ~700 m to the southwest of it. Finds from the site are in the Agios Nikolaos and Siteia Museums.

Ref: Platon 1959, 372-373; Daux 1960, 819-821; Platon 1960, 305; Pini 1968, 88 #12; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 63; Kanta 1980, 163-173; Syriopoulos 1983, 107 #211, 290 #330, 885 CXLII; Tsipopoulou 1995, 182; Nowicki 2000, 103-104; Smith 2002, 155-162

45. Orino (or Oreino/Orno) (fig. 77) – In 1898, Evans recorded traces of tombs and walls at Skaphe, which is located directly west of (~150 m) and below the LM IIIC-SM defensible settlement at Epano Ellinika (0.8–1 km southwest of the modern village). Pendlebury gave these tombs an uncertain date, but probably Minoan, though their proximity to the settlement makes an association and an EIA date seem more likely. Nowicki found no sign of these tombs in his recent investigations, though he notes that the area is much destroyed. He was, however, informed of a possible tholos, ~100-200 meters north of Ellinika, which was uncovered and completely destroyed 20-30 years ago. In addition, Nowicki found larnax and

vase fragments from a plundered rock shelter, which was used for an LM IIIB-early IIIC burial, on the scree of Kopsa, ~400 meters west of Ellinika.

Another DA settlement (LM IIIC-SM/PG) existed on the summit of Kastri, located ~600 m east of Orino and ~1.2 km northeast of Epano Ellinika. While no cemetery or isolated tombs have been found in its vicinity thus far, Nowicki expects tholoi to be found on the slopes below. In addition, in one area directly to the north of and below the citadel (Area C) Nowicki notes a large number of sherds, possibly from isolated houses or an eroded and plundered cemetery.

Ref: Pendlebury 1939, 299, 385; Papadakis 1983, 67; Nowicki 1990, 167-170; Tsipopoulou 1995, 187; Nowicki 2000, 73-79; Brown 2001, 349; Tsipopoulou 2005, 229-230

46. Palaikastro – In 1905, Dawkins examined two caves with inhumations, one at Plaka, located to the southeast of Palaikastro between Pefsofa and Cape Plaka, and the other to the south of it, overlooking a precipitous gorge opening on the sea. The first cave contained two stone “blossom” bowls, a lentoid gemstone, and a bronze ring, and it appears to date to LM II. The other cave contained only a cup and a “very late burial,” which Faure dates to LM III-SM. No other information about the latter cave has been published. Nowicki mentions an LM IIIB late-IIIC early settlement on the rocky hill of Kastri to the northeast of Palaikastro and a small LM IIIC settlement at Plakalona, the small kampos behind and south of Roussolakkos; both of these sites, however, are probably too far away for the burial cave to have been associated with them.

Ref: Dawkins 1905-1906, 1-2; Faure 1964, 66, 73; Nowicki 2000, 50-54

47. Pefkoi (figs. 78-83) – North of Pefkoi at Kastellopoulo was an LM IIIC/SM settlement. A cemetery (#15), likely associated with this settlement, appears to be located to the west,

across a small, dry stream bed, as indicated by scattered DA pottery found all over the slope of the hill. Two stone tholoi (#9) with square chambers, similar to those found at Karphi, were identified by Nowicki on a small lakkos ~300 meters southwest of Kastellopoulo. Unfortunately, the tombs were poorly preserved and no material was found in their vicinity, as they were likely robbed long ago. An LM IIIC/PG tripod leg, however, was found ~30 meters from Tomb 2 and may thus reflect the date of the tomb. These two tholoi may have been built as a pair, as they are placed approximately three meters apart. In addition, Nowicki was informed of the presence of larnax burials in a small lakkos east of Kastellopoulo, as well as graves in rock shelters slightly further east, though these have not been confirmed.

Another poorly preserved and robbed tholos (#10) was found ~250 meters further southwest at Glikis Prinon, and it appears to have been slightly larger than the other two. This tomb still contained a few small fragments of bone and some sherds, and it is located in between the settlement at Kastellopoulo and the LM IIIC-G settlement at Mega Chalavro. It is somewhat closer to Mega Chalavro (~250-300 m), however, and thus it may have been associated with this site. According to Nowicki, a piece of molten iron was found near this tomb, which may suggest that this outskirts of the valley functioned not only as an area for tombs, but also as a peripheral industrial center.

It is not certain which tombs belonged to which settlement. Nowicki states that the entire area around Glikis Prinon may have been a traditional burial ground used by inhabitants from the whole district, which also included an LM IIIC-G settlement at Stavromenos, ~800 m south of Kastellopoulo and ~300 m southeast of Mega Chalavro. Other graves may have been located closer to the individual settlements, however; for

example, two stone constructions (#6), possibly tholoi, were recorded ~100 meters to northeast of Mega Chalavro, and piles of stone to the north and south may indicate the location of additional other graves.

Ref: Nowicki 1991, 142; 1992, 116-118; 1994, 264-266; 2000, 64-71; Tsipopoulou 2005, 232-233

48. Piskokephalo – Evidence of EIA burial activity exists in two nearby caves, at Berati and Kephala. Unfortunately, the relationships between the Piskokephalo tombs and the location of their associated settlement(s) are unknown. Finds from the caves are in the Herakleion Museum.

A. *Berati* – At Berati to the southwest of the village, in 1952 during the opening of the Ierapetra-Siteia road, burials were found and excavated by Platon in a cave comprised of many deep hollows. The cave was used at the end of LM IIIC, PG, and G. According to Tsipopoulou, it was also used until EO, but the finds from this period remain un-mended in the museum. This cave is reported to have contained both inhumations and cremations. Inside was found an LM III box-shaped larnax which had been re-used for a PG burial, with the original occupant having been taken out and placed on the floor beside the larnax. A pithos with a spout at the bottom (also seen at Krya) and a tub/basin were also used to contain burials. Approximately 40 vases, including stirrup jars, and a small Geometric terracotta fish were among the finds recovered from the cave, though they have not been published.

B. *Kephala* – Platon excavated another burial cave at Langoupha/Kephala to the southeast of Piskokephalo in 1953. The entrance to the cave was built-up with jambs, one of which appears to have been taken from a Minoan building, and a threshold was formed with

two plakas. More than 10 inhumations, together with 80 intact vases, primarily pitchers, small kraters, and cups, were recovered. Some inhumations were on the floor; one skyphos contained the bones of an infant; two pits, one in the center of the cave covered with a plaka and the other at the entrance, also contained burials. According to Tsipopoulou, the cave was used in LPG, PGB, and LG.

C. *Other* – In 1965, a bath-tub larnax was found by chance in the area of Piskokephalo and brought to the Herakleion Museum. Kanta has dated this larnax to late LM IIIB or early IIIC, while Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti would prefer a date of early IIIC. The location and type of the associated tomb are unknown.

Ref: Alexiou 1952, 476; Platon 1952, 639-642; Alexiou 1953b, 485; Cook 1953, 128; Platon 1953a, 292-293; de Santerre 1953, 239; Cook and Boardman 1954, 168; Courbin 1954, 154-155; Desborough 1964, 187, 268; Faure 1964, 67; Coldstream 1968, 258, 417; Pini 1968, 90 #7; Snodgrass 1971, 210; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 65-66; Coldstream 1977, 102, 277; Kanta 1980, 177; Papadakis 1983, 77-79; Syriopoulos 1983, 216 #203, 290 #329, 664 C, 885 CXLI; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 262; 1991, 139; 1995, 180; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997b; Tsipopoulou 2005, 233-235; 2006

49. Praisos (figs. 84-90) – Numerous Early Iron Age tombs have been found in the area around Praisos.

A. *Kapsalos (Site 23)* – A looted cave with possible burial was found during the recent Praisos Survey on the upper northeast flank of Kapsalos Hill, ~1 km southeast of the 3rd Acropolis of ancient Praisos. A stone-built bench was placed against the northwest wall of this cave, and fragments of G pithoi and two other LG/EO jars, together with some bone fragments, were collected from the site. A large pyxis which was previously noted from the site may have been used as a cinerary urn.

In addition, Platon in 1960 excavated two robbed LM chamber tombs on Kapsalos, one of which was on top of the hill, and he noted the presence of other similar tombs nearby.

Furthermore, several LM IIIA-C vases were brought to the Herakleion Museum in 1957 from Kapsalos, possibly from these tombs.

B. *Kato Kephali Spetsoti* – Plundered tholos tombs were found at this site, northeast of Photoula and ~750 m southeast of the Third Acropolis, one of which (reported by Platon) was apparently LM IIIC and contained an iron knife. Four examples, previously excavated or looted, were noted by the Praisos Survey, on both the east and west sides of the hill. The date of these tombs is unknown, though Site 31, a tholos on the east end of the ridge, likely dates to LM IIIC-G. Piles of limestone boulders in the vicinity may imply the existence of other tombs in the area.

C. *Kephala* – A bulldozed small tholos tomb was observed in Tract 32 at the north foot of Kephala Hill, which is south of Xygi Mandra and southeast of Kapsalos, by the Praisos Survey. It likely dates to LM III-G.

D. *Mavrikia* – At Kamini nearby, ~2 km east of Vavelloi (Nea Praisos), Davaras excavated a small Geometric tholos tomb in 1978 by the agricultural road. 46 LG vases, 2 iron daggers, 5 spears, and a stone amulet (a fragment of a Minoan stone vase) were recovered, along with inhumations, the number of which was not recorded. The chamber was square/rectangular (1.35 x 1.25 m) with almost rounded corners, and the tomb did not contain a dromos. The Praisos Survey and Davaras' original report both identify this tomb as a tholos, though Tsipopoulou previously identified it as a chamber tomb.

Also, approximately 500 meters to the northeast of Mavrikia, a destroyed tholos tomb with rectangular chamber, which contained 36 PGB-LG vases, was uncovered in 1961.

E. *Photoula (Site 53)* – South of the Third Acropolis, east of Praisos Tomb B, and ~15 minutes northeast of Nea Praisos/Vavelloi, at the northwest foot of Kapsalos Hill, in

1960 Platon excavated one large tholos tomb with rectangular chamber (4.5 x 3.0 m), built of large stone slabs, with an unlined dromos. This tomb contained three burials, one inhumation inside a larnax together with the cremation of a youth in a pyxis, and another inhumation placed just under the roof with two stirrup jars. Finds of note include a gold ring, fragment of decorated gold plate, an ivory handle, stirrup jars, and a wooden vessel with bronze covering, and the tomb dates primarily to LM IIIC. The stirrup jars are said to resemble those from Karphi and Mouliana. Pini and Borgna date the tomb to LM IIIC-SM, though all other sources date the tomb only to LM IIIC, and Whitley, on the basis of recent survey information, states that there is no sign of reuse of this tomb.

F. *Praisos* – In 1901, a cemetery was excavated to the east and below the 3rd Acropolis. At least 53 tombs were found, dating from EIA-Hellenistic times, though these have not been fully published.

Tomb A is a large, round tholos (4.07 m diameter) without dromos located southeast of the Third Acropolis, east of the main cemetery, and underlying the south side of the road which leads to Praisos. A small, rectangular antechamber (2.3 x 1.5 m) exists in front of the chamber, the narrow entrance to which has a large threshold block. This tomb was much disturbed and reused in later periods for various other purposes. On the basis of its lack of a dromos, Xanthoudides originally suggested that the tholos was constructed in the Prepalatial period and then completely cleared out and reused in the Geometric. Branigan, however, rejected this suggestion from the lack of finds from the Early Bronze Age, suggesting that the tomb was MM. Tsipopoulou and Whitley, on the other hand, originally believed that the tomb was constructed in LM III, with the Geometric activity representing either evidence of later (LG/O) reuse of the tomb, offerings to the deceased, or “hero worship,” as at Mochlos,

Agia Photia, and Achladia. Bosanquet, however, dated the tomb to the Geometric period, as does Nowicki, comparing it to Tomb R at Arkades. In addition, Tsipopoulou now considers the tomb to have been constructed in the 3rd quarter of the 8th c. B.C. Two round stones with a sunken center, possibly for libations, were found, one near the entrance to the tomb and the other to the right of the entrance, though their date is unknown. There appears to be some evidence of cremation in the tomb, and finds of note include two Corinthian aryballoi, a gold ring, gold rosette, ivory sword handle, bone comb, triton shell, 2 sealstones, a bronze bowl, silver pin, and clay and glass beads. Human, cow, and dog teeth were found in the upper layers of the tomb, possibly from later disturbance.

Tomb B is a square (2.5 m) tholos with dromos located ~250 meters south of Tomb A at the location of Arphanoperivolia. The excavators considered there to be three burials from three different periods, LM IIIA2, G, and 4th c. B.C. Nowicki, however, dates the earliest burial to LM IIIB/C. Coarse ware sherds and terracotta beads were associated with the Geometric burial, two larnakes and gold ornaments with the Minoan, and iron swords and spearheads and a gold stater to the latest phase. Whether any of the burials were Geometric or not remains unclear, as the activity could represent later offerings to the deceased. The distance of this tomb from the others in the cemetery may indicate that it was not part of the main cemetery, though other burials were found nearby.

Tomb C was found ~75 m to the northwest of Tomb A, ~100 m southeast of the 3rd Acropolis, and it is part of the main cemetery. It was an unlined, square shaft (2.6 x 2.3 m) cut out of the bedrock containing at least three inhumation burials, placed one on top of the other. One side of the grave was lined with a raised bench covered with stone slabs. The tomb dates to PGB-O, though the 30 vases were primarily EO and included one

Protocorinthian aryballos. Finds include two obsidian razors, seven lekythoi, a bird vase, tripod, clay beads, and bronze tweezers.

Tomb E was found approximately a quarter of a mile south of Ag. Constantinos, on top of the lowest and southernmost part of the summit of Kephala hill. This tomb was a rectangular tholos with roughly paved floor. No finds were recovered and thus Bosanquet was unable to assign a date. The Praisos Survey, however, may have rediscovered this tomb (site 63), before it was destroyed in 1997, and LM IIIB/C larnax fragments were found in and around this rectangular tholos.

Tomb 53 is a small, rock-cut chamber tomb with built entrance, located on the west side of Praisos, excavated in 1901. According to the excavators, the exact dimensions were difficult to determine as the walls and roof had collapsed. 44 vases (G-EO) were recovered, along with obsidian fragments, bronze tweezers, blue faience, and a bronze spoon, among other finds.

Somewhere “near the Acropolis,” a tomb was excavated by Platon in 1959. It was looted and its type was not recorded. Many sherds, a bird vase, and fragments of iron tools and weapons were recovered, most of which appear to date to the Orientalizing period.

In 1953-1954, Platon recovered vases from two rock-cut, robbed Geometric tombs near the Hellenistic cemetery. Investigations in 1984 by Tsipopoulou suggested that the tombs are similar to those found at Dreros (“funerary enclosures”). Nine EO vases, including an Early Protocorinthian kotyle, and fragments of iron spears, other weapons and tools were recovered from the tombs.

G. *Skales Cave* – This cave, also known as Chelidones or Riza Maronias, is found near the quarries at the north end of the Praisos plateau, ~500 meters north of the 2nd

Acropolis and just above the gorge. It was first investigated by Bosanquet, later by Faure, and most recently by Papadakis and Rutkowski, who dug trial trenches in several locations. The cave appears to have been used periodically as a cult grotto from the late Neolithic until the end of the Bronze Age. In PG, and especially G-O, it was used for inhumation burials, which were placed primarily on the 10 meter wide platform in front of the entrance and within the entrance itself. The EIA finds consist primarily of sherds (one possibly Attic) from jugs, cups, and kraters, though bones and 1 bronze fibula were also recovered. In addition, Bosanquet mentions a lid (pyxis) with attached handle on the handle.

H. *Vavelloi* – The area of Vavelloi is southeast of Photoula at the northeastern part of Nea Praisos. Bosanquet acquired five LG vases which were found somewhere in the area, placed together with an inhumation under a ledge of rock in a natural hollow.

Also, at Chavagas, 10 minutes south of Nea Praisos, Faure identified LM III/SM and PG sherds, especially of cups, in a cave with an entrance built of Cyclopean masonry. He believes that this cave may have been used as a tomb, though no burials have yet been recovered. The cave may, perhaps more likely, have been used for cult activity.

I. *Xygi Mandra* – Just south of Kato Kephali Spetsoti at Xygi Mandra were found traces of tombs, likely tholoi. No other information about these tombs is known.

J. *Other* – According to Tsipopoulou, two LG and six EO vases were found in a tomb from Pyrgos and taken to the museum in 1961. The tomb type is unknown and the vases have not been published, though they included one Corinthian cup. In addition, in 1957 vases were brought to the Herakleion Museum, possibly from LM IIIA-C tombs in the area.

Overall – Whitley notes that the burial caves at Praisos are distant from the other tomb types and distinguished by a more restricted range of grave goods, and he also notes the absence of PG-MG tombs in the area around Praisos. Whitley further states that the isolated tombs and burial caves some distance away from Praisos and its main cemetery imply the existence of smaller settlements, in some cases possibly no more than farmsteads, further away. The burial sites closest to Praisos were likely associated with the LM IIIC-O (and especially A-H) settlement on the three acropoleis, while many of the more distant sites, such as Kato Kephali Spetsoti, Kapsalos, Xygi Mandra, and Kephala, could have been connected either to Praisos or to the large LM IIIC-O and A defensible settlement at Kypria above Kalamafki to the southeast. Several burials are located in the area between the two sites. Some finds from the burials are in the Herakleion, Agios Nikolaos, and Siteia Museums.

Ref: Bosanquet 1901-1902, 235-251; Droop 1905-1906, 24-36; Marshall 1905-1906, 64; Levi 1927-1929c, 572-575; Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, 111; Schachermeyer 1938, 474; Pendlebury 1939, 306-307, 315, 326; Alexiou 1953b, 485; Platon 1953a, 295-296; Cook and Boardman 1954, 168; Courbin 1954, 155; Faure 1956, 95; 1960, 194; Platon 1960b, 302-305; Platon and Davaras 1960, 514; Daux 1961, 864-866; Faure 1962, 39; Desborough 1964, 177-178; Faure 1964, 37, 67, 6, 187; Pini 1968, 90 #2.2,3,5,8; Branigan 1970, 8; Snodgrass 1971, 168-169, 210; Davaras 1973b, 160, 162; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 66-67; Coldstream 1977, 276-277; Davaras 1978, 392; Kanta 1980, 179-182; Papadakis 1983, 79-82; Syriopoulos 1983, 110-111 #218; Tsipopoulou 1984; Papadakis and Rutkowski 1985; Catling 1986, 94; Tsipopoulou 1987a, 268-279; 1987b, 262-266; 1991, 139; Whitley 1992, 256-257; Tomlinson 1995, 70; Tsipopoulou 1995, 182, 191; Whitley 1998, 33-36; Whitley et al. 1999, 245-252, 260-261; Jones 2000, 265-266; Nowicki 2000, 56-59; Borgna 2003, 165 n. 49; Tsipopoulou 2005, 235-294

50. Sklavoi – From Aveliakos come 63 vases, dating to the end of LM IIIC, SM, PG, PGB, LG, and EO, excavated by private individuals in 1965. These vases are unpublished, though some are currently on display in the Siteia Museum. In addition, the number and type of tomb from which the vases were robbed is unknown, but LM III chamber tombs have recently been excavated on a low hill near the village.

Ref: Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 266; 1991, 139; 2005, 295

51. Skopi (fig. 91) – In 1972, Davaras excavated a series of five small, robbed and destroyed tholoi with square chambers and probably without dromoi at Drongara, which is located ~500 m to the east of the tholoi found at Chamaizi Phatsi, though in the area of Skopi. These tombs were nearly completely pillaged, though of the same type as those found at Phatsi, and the only remaining finds were four vases and an iron knife, datable to EPG. Three of the tombs were essentially scattered within a 200 meter radius of the other two, which were perhaps grouped together. These tholoi were likely associated with those found at Liopetro/Phatsi and thus also with the EIA settlement on the summit of that hill. Finds from the site are in the Agios Nikolaos Museum.

Ref: Davaras 1972b, 45; Papadakis 1983, 112; Syriopoulos 1983, 152 #93b, 533 XLIV, 663 XCVII; Belli 1991, 441; Tsipopoulou 1995, 185; 1997, 455, 482; Nowicki 2000, 101-102; Tsipopoulou 2005, 312

52. Sphakia (fig. 92) – On Patela Hill south of the modern village, in 1955 Platon excavated a small tholos (#4) with rectangular chamber (1.5 x >2 m) and short dromos. At least 15 inhumed bodies (possibly 18 or 19) were found in the tomb. Finds include approximately 30 vases, bronze and iron fibulae, glass paste and stone beads. Many animal bones were found in higher levels of the tomb, but the excavator was unable to determine whether or not they were associated with the burials. Platon and Tsipopoulou (2005) date the tomb to PG, while Tsipopoulou and Little (2001) date the tomb solely to SM. Unfortunately, this tomb has recently been destroyed by a bulldozer (~2001 or 2002).

In addition, an LM IIIB/C tholos (#2) with round chamber was excavated on the northwest end of the same hill, and it contained two larnakes, vases, a bronze knife/chisel,

and a sealstone. Both of these tombs may be associated with the LM IIIC-G (and A?) settlement on the summit of Kastri, which is located ~800 meters to the northeast.

Ref: Orlandos 1955, 101; Platon 1955a, 295-296; 1955b, 563; *BCH* 80 (1956) 359; Hood and Boardman 1956, 31; Desborough 1964, 268; Pini 1968, 92 #4.2; Snodgrass 1971, 210; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 69; Papadakis 1983, 117; Syriopoulos 1983, 217 #210, 665 CVI; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 266-267; Belli 1991, 441; Tsipopoulou 1995, 182; Nowicki 2000, 55-56; Tsipopoulou and Little 2001, 92; Tsipopoulou 2005, 316-317

53. Tourloti – An extensive LM IIIA-C cemetery of chamber tombs was identified in the hills beneath the village, ~2 km to the north, at Plakalona, and five of these have been investigated. One was excavated by Seager in 1905 and another by Papadakis in 1938. Platon excavated an additional chamber tomb at the site in 1959, and rescue excavations were conducted in 1984 on two disturbed chambers in the same area. These tombs have not been well-published, though some of the tombs reportedly contained larnakes, sealstones, necklaces, bronze bracelets, rings, daggers, razors, beads, spindle whorls, and faience representations of animals. The extent of the LM IIIC presence is thus unknown, though one of the 1984 tombs (IIIA-C) contained an LM IIIB import from Chania, two IIIC imports from the Peloponnesos, as well as stirrup jars, jugs, and a pyxis with cremation, all of which may be IIIC.

In addition, a recent cleaning of a LM IIIC bath-tub larnax on display in the Agios Nikolaos Museum, which had been looted from a tomb, revealed five bronze fibulae, one of which dates to SM/PG. According to Tsipopoulou, this fibula seems to provide evidence of a re-opening and re-using of the larnax for a later burial, as seen at other sites, such as Kritsa, Piskokephalo, and Adromyloi. It is thus possible that other chamber tombs in the area were also re-used in SM-PG.

Finds from the excavations are in the Agios Nikolaos, Herakleion, and University of Pennsylvania Museums. An LM IIIC(?) and PG-O (and A?) settlement existed on the summit and slopes of Kastri ~1 km southeast of Tourloti, but Nowicki considers the tombs too far away to have been associated with it. Coarse wares (pithoi and tripod cookpots) have also been recovered from the hill above Plakalona, perhaps representing the settlement to which the tombs belonged.

Ref: Seager 1909, 286; Platon 1959, 388-389; Pini 1968, 92 #13; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 69; Kanta 1980, 173; Papadakis 1983, 128-129; 1984, 306; Tsipopoulou 1995, 186; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1999; Betancourt 2000, 21; Nowicki 2000, 104; Touchais et al. 2000, 989

54. Zakros – Burials of various dates, including Early Iron Age, were recovered from numerous caves and rock shelters both in and around the Zakros gorge; according to Tsipopoulou, at least six tombs were definitely used in this period. The Zakros burials were especially common around the entrance to the gorge from the east (from Epano Zakros). Some finds from these tombs are in the Herakleion, Siteia, Ag. Nikolaos, and Ashmolean Museums.

A. *Ellinika (Lenika)* – In the heart of the Zakros gorge (~2.5 km from the mouth at Kato Zakros and ~2 km from Epano Zakros) where the gorge widens out, an extensive LM IIIC-O and A settlement (Ellinika) has been identified. Just above Ellinika, and likely associated with it, was found one small cave, within which a section of the rock was cut out to contain a rectangular pit (~1.8 x 1.2 m). This tomb held an inhumation, six LG vases, including a large tripod cooking pot, and beads of blue Egyptian paste/faience.

B. *Koukou to Kephali* – On a hill immediately south of the village of Epano Zakros were found remains of an EIA cult site. To the east across the river, in 1900 Hogarth found

two robbed cave burials. Tomb A was in a natural recess and still contained 70 vases, bronze fibulae, pins, glass and clay beads, three stone vases, a steatite lid, iron sword hilt, and three terracotta spindle whorls. Tomb B, located to the left of Tomb A, had walls built out from the rock to form a sort of enclosure; 15 vases, only one with painted decoration, were found in this cave. The burials were likely inhumations, and the pottery has not been published, though Tomb A seems to show evidence of SM/PG-G use and Tomb B of Geometric. At least one vase, an LPG jug, from this excavation is in the Ashmolean Museum.

C. *Malakari* – Also in the gorge, at least four burial caves/rock shelters were found at Malakari, located approximately ~0.3 km further up the gorge to the north from Ellinika and high up on the right bank. Tsipopoulou names two of these as at Ellinika, rather than Malakari. These two rock shelters, both robbed, contained disturbed bones and fragments of LG pottery. The third cave/rock shelter was found by Platon and Davaras in 1963, and the eight vases from the excavation which are currently on display in the Siteia Museum date to PG, LG, and EO. Platon also notes a fourth cave, which contained 7-8 inhumations, 15 PG vases, stone beads, and a bronze fibula. In addition, another (?) burial cave at this location is said to have contained two LM IIIC (early) stirrup jars. The Malakari burials are also likely associated with the settlement at Ellinika.

D. *Others* – Faure also reports rock shelters, likely with inhumations, at the following locations: Marmara (SM-G), Gerovasili (SM-G), Pano Kastello (SM-G), and Anemospiliara (G). Marmara is just beyond Malakari as one travels further into the Zakros gorge towards Epano Zakros, and the other sites are listed in order of their location in the gorge (from south to north). These sites are all closer to Epano Zakros than Kato Zakros, and they are likely associated either with the settlement at Ellinika or its defensible settlement at

Pano Kastello. No further information about the contents or the burials has been published. In addition, rock shelters at Chalassa and Chalavro may have contained LM III inhumations.

E. *Palaimylos (Epano Zakros)* – Davaras reports that two stirrup jars, one of which contained a cremation and gold ring, and a pyxis with cremation were found by a private individual in the valley near the western mouth of the gorge, ~400 m west of the settlement at Ellinika. These are said to be of LM III/SM type.

Ref: Hogarth 1900-1901, 143-148; Pendlebury et al. 1932-1933, 98-99; Pendlebury 1939, 308; 315, 326; Desborough 1952, 270, 327; Boardman 1961, 95-97 (#432); Platon 1961, 224; Faure 1962, 39; Platon 1962, 166-167; Alexiou 1963, 385; Platon 1963, 187; Faure 1964, 66; Pini 1968, 94; Snodgrass 1971, 169, 210; Davaras 1973b, 158; Coldstream 1977, 277; Catling 1979a, 41; Kanta 1980, 195-196; Syriopoulos 1983, 155 #101, 293 #347, 536-537 LII, 888 CLIII; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 261; 1995, 184; Vokotopoulos 1997-1998, 252; Nowicki 2000, 46-48, 54-55; Tsipopoulou 2005, 220-223

55. Zou (in the area of Stavromenos) – A small burial cave with 11 PGB and LG vases and inhumation burials was excavated by Platon in 1954. No further information about this cave has been published and its exact location is unknown. Finds from the site are currently in the Ag. Nikolaos and Siteia Museums.

Ref: Platon 1954, 363; Hood 1955, 18; Faure 1964, 67; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 72; Coldstream 1977, 277; Syriopoulos 1983, 291 #338, 886 #CXLVII; Tsipopoulou 1984; 1987b, 266; 2005, 313

II. HERAKLEION NOMOS

KAINOURION EPARCHIA

56. Agia Deka – One or two simple pit tombs, apparently of Geometric date, were found in the plain a few hundred meters east of the village, just east of the modern road to Vagionia. No other information about these tombs has been published, though they may have been

associated with the Geometric habitation on Profitis Elias and Armi hills (Gortyn) located less than a kilometer to the west.

Ref: Di Vita 1991, 317 n. 13; Sjögren 2001, 209 (C141)

57. Ampelouzos – In 1958, three vases (a stirrup jar, deep bowl, and oinochoe) were found in the village of Ampelouzos (~2 km west of Gortyn) near the modern cemetery behind the church of Ag. Georgios. These vases date from LM IIIC late to SM/PG, but they are definitely earlier than the PG vessels from Petrokephali. According to Kanta, the vessels, which are currently in the Herakleion Museum, apparently came from a tomb or cemetery at the site. No further information about these potential burials is known.

Ref: Kanta 1980, 90; 2001b, 18

58. Gortyn (figs. 93-95) – Early Iron Age tombs have been found in various locations near the ancient city.

A. *Ag. Georgios* – In 1966 in the neighborhood of Georgikis Scholis, near the church of St. George, and at the foot of the acropolis of ancient Gortyn where there was also a Hellenistic necropolis, Alexiou excavated an unrobbed, built PG tholos with a 2.70 m diameter circular chamber and a narrow, deep rock-cut dromos. One unusual feature of this tomb was that it had eight or nine regular, built courses of masonry above the lintel, creating an elaborate façade. The tomb contained approximately 50 vases, including urns, pithoi and amphorae with cremations, jugs, cups, and kraters, iron spears, swords, spits, an axe-head, and a saw, a fragment of bronze foil/plate, possibly from a wooden vessel, as well as a terracotta spindle whorl. Also, one lid (?) may have been used as a lamp. All of the finds appear to date to PG, and they are currently in the Herakleion Museum. The acropolis (Ag.

Ioannis Hill) of Gortyn, located just northwest of the Greco-Roman town, contained a settlement from LM IIIC/SM until the seventh century BC, during or after which time the city spread down to the plain below. The tholos tomb was thus likely associated with the EIA settlement on the acropolis.

B. *Armi* – The southern slopes of Profitis Elias and Armi hills, which are located just to the east of the Gortyn acropolis, were occupied as early as PG and G, perhaps representing an expansion of the Ag. Ioannis settlement, and scattered remains of Geometric burials have been found on the upper, west slope of Armi Hill, ~600 meters east of the Gortyn acropolis. The burials appear to have been cremations placed in simple pit tombs, similar to those found at Agia Deka. No further information about these tombs is known. Finds from this site may also be in the Knossos Stratigraphical Museum.

Ref: Alexiou 1966, 189-191; Orlandos 1966, 152-154; Alexiou 1967a, 485-486; Daux 1967, 793-794; Megaw 1967, 20; Coldstream 1968, 416; Pini 1968, 94; Snodgrass 1971, 166, 209; Desborough 1972b, 225-226, 372; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 80-81; Coldstream 1977, 49-50; Kanta 1980, 91-92; Syriopoulos 1983, 111-112 #220, 219 #217, 666 CXI; Allegro 1991; Belli 1991, 449; Di Vita 1991, 316-317; Nowicki 2000, 186-187

59. Kourtes (figs. 96-98) – In 1893 Halbherr and Taramelli investigated three primarily PG (SM-G and possibly LM IIIC) tombs at this site, located on the upper, west slope of a hill called Plakoura or Kourtekephala near the modern, though apparently now abandoned, village; this former village is ~1 km southwest of the road leading from Ag. Deka to Zaros and ~1 km north of Panagia. They were unable to perform systematic excavations due to the political conditions of the time, and more tombs appear to have existed in this robbed and partially destroyed cemetery. The tombs were small tholoi, the chambers of which were more horseshoe-shaped or omega-shaped rather than round, ranging from 1.15–2.90 meters in diameter, though inconsistencies appear between the two authors' articles regarding the

tombs' measurements, and they did not have dromoi. One of the tombs was cylindrical, with the corbelling beginning only near the top, rather than in the lower courses. Pendlebury expressed reservations regarding the excavators' conclusions, suspecting that the chambers might have been square or rectangular in the lower courses, as commonly found in this period in the east of the island. Taramelli does, in fact, indicate that some of the tombs were almost quadrangular on the exterior.

Inhumations appear to have been placed in the tombs together with cremations in cinerary urns. Local residents had previously opened and robbed the tombs, though it appears that nearly all the vases were recovered. 234 vases are catalogued in the Herakleion Museum as coming from these tombs, and they include stirrup jars, oinochoai, aryballoi, hydriai, amphorae, cups, feeding bottles, and a kernos vase with small amphorae and human figures (cf. Arkades). Fragments of bronze fibulae, hairpins, and iron spears were also removed from the tombs. In addition, Halbherr found fragments of other Geometric vases, a Minoan steatite seal, fragments of a whetstone, and a piece of stone with relief decoration in the vicinity of the tombs. Furthermore, five vases were found buried in a pile outside one of the tombs, possibly connected with the burial ritual. Scattered remains of an LM IIIC-O/A settlement were observed on the summit and southern slope of the same hill, with which the tombs are likely associated.

Ref: Halbherr 1896, 531-532; 1901a, 260-261, 287-293; Mariani 1901; Taramelli 1901a; Levi 1927-1929c, 558-562; Pendlebury et al. 1932-1933, 90; 1937-1938, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 306, 315; Desborough 1952, 256-258, 325; 1964, 182; Coldstream 1968, 255, 416; Pini 1968, 86 #97.1-3; Snodgrass 1971, 165, 209; Desborough 1972b, 234, 372; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 87; Coldstream 1977, 276; Kanta 1980, 88; Syriopoulos 1983, 155 #102, 218 #215, 293-294 #349, 537 LIII; Di Vita et al. 1984, 31; Rocchetti 1988-1989; 1990; Belli 1991, 444; Kanta 1997, 244-245; Nowicki 2000, 187-188

60. Petrokephali – In 1957, the Italian School excavated a rectangular SM-PGB (and possibly to O) shaft/pit grave (1.50 x 1.45 m) at the site of Myloi, around 50 m to the north of the modern village at the foot of Mt. Asterousi; Petrokephali is located a little over 2 km southeast of Phaistos, though in Nomos Kainourgion rather than Pyrgiotissa. The tomb contained 77 vases, including skyphoi, kraters, amphorae, oinochoai, kalathoi, pithoi, tripod vessels, and a krater on an open-work stand base, and at least five of the vases were used for cremation burials. The tomb also contained iron weapons and glass/paste beads. Other, especially metal, finds may originally have been present but were destroyed over time, as the excavator describes the difficulties in excavating the tomb, which was continually filling with water. Finds from the tomb are in the Herakleion Museum, the Archaeological Museum of Rizza (Italy), and in the Stratigraphic Museum of Phaistos. This site may be associated with one of the EIA settlements in the vicinity of Phaistos, or with that at Siva (less than 2 km to the southwest of Petrokephali), or more likely, with another closer, unknown settlement, possibly under the modern village of Petrokephali.

Ref: Platon and Alexiou 1957, 336; 342; Levi 1957-1958, 358-361; Hood 1958, 17; Desborough 1964, 184; Rocchetti 1967-1968; Coldstream 1968, 255; Pini 1968, 89 #104; Snodgrass 1971, 210; Desborough 1972b, 226, 231, 372; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 93; Syriopoulos 1983, 220 #221, 667 CXIV; Watrous et al. 1993, 230; Cucuzza 1998, 62-64; Watrous et al. 2004, 533 site 51

61. Valis – Marinatos excavated a robbed tholos tomb at this site (Vorou) near the modern village in 1926. The tomb appears to have had a long period of use. It is of EM type, with a large chamber (4.90 m in diameter) carefully built of sizeable stones, and a few finds from that period remained in the tomb (two sealstones and two vases). The tomb was extensively reused in the LM period, with 15 larnakes found in situ in the tomb, along with additional pithos burials. Many MM and LM cups remained on the tomb floor, as well as grave goods,

including stone vases, two bronze earrings, and a bronze hair spiral, though the larnakes and pithoi were completely robbed. In addition, the tomb contained one urn with a child cremation. Pendlebury noted the difficulty in determining the exact dates of the burials, due to the lack of grave goods; furthermore, the pithoi and larnakes have not been published, though it is possible that some of the pithoi date to LM IIIC/SM. Finally, Kanta considers the tomb to have been used continuously from EM-LM I, and presumably until LM III. No definite evidence of LM IIIC or SM has been published, though Davaras believes the child cremation dates to LM IIIC or SM. An LM IIIC-O settlement has been identified on an adjacent hilltop to the south.

Ref: Boccard 1926, 578; Blegen 1927, 127; Woodward 1927, 258; Pendlebury 1939, 295; Pini 1968, 93 #99; Davaras 1973b, 164; Kanta 1980, 95; 1997, 232

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62. Agia Marina – Xanthoudides investigated a rock-cut tomb with circular chamber (1.6 m diameter) and dromos at Kollyva Metochi in the plain near the village of Ag. Marina (~4 km west of Herakleion). Four vases were recovered and the discoverer of the tomb alleged that no other finds had been present when he opened it. Desborough, however, believes that many more vases were originally present, as the remaining pottery is not contemporary (SM; PG; and possibly G). Finds are in the Herakleion Museum and they consist of an amphoriskos, krater, amphora, and an imitation Attic PG oinochoe. No other information about this tomb or its burials has been published, though Snodgrass states that the tomb may have contained cremation burials. He further identifies the tomb as a vaulted chamber (tholos), though it is unclear on what evidence; all other sources consider it to be a standard chamber tomb. An associated settlement has not yet been identified.

Ref: Marinatos 1931-1932, 1-2; Pendlebury 1939, 314; Desborough 1952, 252, 325; Pini 1968, 75 #85; Snodgrass 1971, 167, 209; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 76; Kanta 1980, 22; Syriopoulos 1983, 212 #189, 657-658 XCI

63. Agia Pelagia – A Minoan harbor was identified by Evans somewhere on the coast near the modern village. Evidence of a Minoan settlement (LM I-IIIC, especially IIIB) was uncovered during excavations in 1971 at Cape Souda, which is located immediately beside the sea near the chapel of Agia Pelagia; the Geometric-Hellenistic town, possibly ancient Dion or Kytaion, was apparently located on top of this LM III occupation. Evans claimed to have observed extensive remains of an associated Minoan cemetery in the hills to the southwest of this site. According to Alexiou, however, these tombs were not located to the southwest of the ancient remains but were on a small cape (Kladisos) just to the northwest of Souda.

Evans identified the tombs as tholoi, though Kanta reports being shown a chamber tomb by villagers who claimed that it was the one seen by Evans. The cemetery appears to date primarily to LM IIIB, and also IIIA, though there is evidence that it continued for a short time into the Early Iron Age, as illustrated by a PG stirrup jar which is among the finds currently in the Ashmolean Museum. Furthermore, Pini dates this cemetery from LM IIIB–PG. No other information about these tombs has been published. The location of the Geometric cemetery is also unknown, though it is surely somewhere nearby. In addition, a Classical funerary stele with an archer in relief (currently in the Herakleion Museum) was found somewhere near the village, and a robbed 5th c. B.C. tomb was excavated to the west of the small church.

Ref: Pendlebury 1939, 263, 347, 351; Boardman 1961, 95, 97 (#433); Evans 1964a, 299 n. 2; Pini 1968, 76 #87; Alexiou 1972a, 240; 1972b, 620; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 77; Kanta 1980, 18; Sjögren 2001, 225 (W51)

64. Kavrochori – Remains of Geometric burials have been found in the area of the modern village.

A. *Kavrochori* – Approximately 1 km northeast of the habitation site of Tyliossos near Kavrochori were found remains of greatly destroyed Geometric tombs of uncertain type. A large steatite bowl with incised decoration and two small oinochoai were the only objects from the tombs not taken by looters. No further information about these tombs has been published, and their exact location relative to the tombs at Petres (Tyliossos) is unclear. The Kavrochori burials could have been associated with the Marathokephala settlement, if it continued into the EIA, with that at Tyliossos, or with another undiscovered habitation site nearby.

B. *Xepetra* – In addition, a krateriskos (deep bowl) and two stirrup jars, mostly likely SM/PG, were found in 1970 near the village at Xepetra. According to Kanta, the vases have very close parallels to others found in Tomb II at Fortetsa (Knossos), and thus they may be SM rather than PG. It is unknown if the Xepetra pottery came from tombs in the same area or from a settlement. Evidence of a possible LM IIIB-C settlement was found, however, at Marathokephala nearby.

Ref: Hazzidakis 1934, 73-74, 93; Alexiou 1971a, 493; Kanta 1980, 22; Syriopoulos 1983, 213 #193; Sjögren 2001, 198-199 (C104)

65. Krousonas – Burials have been recorded near the village from Koupos Hill, Chalepa, and possibly from Livadiotis. The tombs from Krousonas may have belonged to the LM IIIC-A (and through R) settlement on the summit of Koupos Hill, and finds from the sites are in the Herakleion Museum.

A. *Chalepa* – In 1970, at this location ~1 km. northeast of Livadiotis was found a child burial in a pithos. Finds included three small PG vases (a jug, cup, and a triple vase, possibly a kernos), some spherical stone beads, and fragments of a pin. No other information about the burial has been published. Ioannidou mentions that fragments from other PG burial pithoi were also found nearby in 1972.

B. *Koupos Hill* – On the west slope of this hill, which is located just south ~300 m of the modern village of Krousonas, at the place called Choiromandres or Prinori was found by chance a cinerary urn, together with other small Geometric vases, in a shallow pit. No further information has been published about this tomb.

C. *Livadiotis* – LG-EO pottery, iron spear fragments, and an iron dagger, possibly from tombs, were recovered in 1976 at this location, which is to the northeast of Koupos Hill. The remains could be from a habitation, however, as a small section of wall was also observed at the site.

D. *Rizoplagies* – At this location, ~2 km southwest of Koupos Hill, a large (16 x 13 m) LM I building with multiple rooms was excavated; this building was partially destroyed by fire. In the corner of one room, enclosed/separated by an upright plaka, were found the remains of a skeleton and three skulls, along with LM IIIC stirrup jars, cups, and skyphoi; burned animal bones were also found beside these finds. The excavator does state, however, that it is uncertain whether or not these finds represent burials.

Ref: Xanthoudides 1918a, 10-11; Pendlebury et al. 1932-1933, 92; Pendlebury 1939, 325; Orlandos 1970, 189-190; Alexiou 1971a, 493; Ioannidou 1973, 572; Karetsou 1976, 359; Syriopoulos 1983, 216 #204, 290-291 #332, 664 CI, 886 CXLIII; Catling 1985, 60; Demopoulou 1985; Catling 1987, 55; Pariente 1992, 939-940; French 1994, 78; Löwe 1996, 234; Nowicki 2000, 181-182

66. Prinias (figs. 99-109) – An extensive necropolis (~140 x 100 m) existed on the southeast slope of Siderospilia Hill, which is located ~500 meters to the northwest of the ancient settlement on Patela Hill (~1.5 km northeast of the modern village). The cemetery is located to the east and west of the Prinias-Asites road, which cuts roughly through the middle of it. In 1899, Taramelli reported a “late Mycenaean” chamber tomb from the site, and funerary stelai with incised decoration were uncovered during roadwork in 1959. The primary excavations at the site were conducted from 1969-1978 by the Italian School, and two additional graves were found in 1984 in a small space between two previously explored areas, as well as part of a road/paved area belonging to the second phase of the cemetery. A total of 680 tombs has been investigated thus far, forming a continuous sequence (consisting of three phases) from the end of the 13th to the middle of the 6th centuries B.C.; the necropolis was also re-used in Roman times, and some earlier burials may date to the Prepalatial settlement located on the hillock that forms the northern boundary of the cemetery.

From the first phase of use (LM IIIC-SM) come a few simple cremations, typically not in urns, which were placed in oval, rock-cut pits covered with stone slabs. These burials were scattered throughout the area and usually isolated. Tomb AI is an example of an isolated burial from this period, and it contained several stirrup jars. Tomb BA (0.6-0.8 m diameter at base) is also from the first phase, and it held two stirrup jars, an oinochoe, a large bronze bowl, and other bronze and iron artifacts, such as a rod, ax, spear, and sword. Tombs K, 207 and 232, however, were found inside a large, stone circular enclosure, which apparently supported a tumulus (circular mass of stone possibly ~6 meters in diameter), with 207 and 232 each having first been surrounded by their own smaller enclosure or tumulus formed of large stones. According to Kanta, the tumulus seems to occur here for the first

time on Crete, with LM IIIC Tomb K (0.44 x 0.5 m), the earliest in the cemetery, being located in the middle of the tumulus. The contents of tombs K, 207 and 232 included two bronze pins and LM IIIC stirrup jars.

The second phase (SM to PGB) consisted of tholoi (~14 examples) with inhumations, with the earliest tombs concentrated around the foot of the northern hillock. From this phase comes Tomb F, a robbed tholos with a circular chamber (3.8 m diameter), which had been sunk into the bedrock and lined with regular, squared blocks, and a long rock-cut dromos. This tomb was robbed, though remaining finds included a large number of vases (including several pithoi), metal objects, clay figurines (including a head with diadem), and gold items. This tholos is representative of the early stage of phase two, as are Tombs J (with a stone sarcophagus), Q, and AQ (regularly built and well-constructed with paved entrance and monolithic jambs), though these tholoi have smaller chambers and shorter dromoi.

Representing a later stage of phase 2 are Tombs D, AH, AL, B, G, AR, AN, and AV. Tomb D is also a tholos with dromos, but it has a roughly trapezoidal plan (1.8 x 1.9 m); this tomb was covered by large, flat slabs and was not as regularly or carefully constructed as tombs from the earlier part of the period. This tomb was un-robbed and contained two adult and two child inhumations (one in a pithos, and the other in a limestone aedicula which faced the entrance), as well as grave goods, including a feeding bottle, oinochoe, and krateriskos. Tomb AH was similarly constructed and contained a stone sarcophagus. Tomb AL (slightly later than D and AH), on the other hand, was small, partly rock-cut, and constructed of stone only for the entrance and beginning of the dromos. Tomb G was also basically a tholos, but it was contained within an irregular rubble structure; Tomb B was essentially a circular pit with doorjambs and a narrow dromos, though it also has a small aedicula to hold the burial.

Finally, phase 2 also included flat-roofed “pseudotholoi” (not the same use of the term as at Krya), to which Tombs D and G may be considered intermediary forms. Tombs AR and AV for example, were small, flat-roofed, simplified structures of low depth with a series of slabs arranged in a circle around the pit. Additional finds from phase two tombs include cups, jugs, a bronze bowl and ax, and iron weapons.

Also associated with the second phase burials are 18 animal burials (Tombs BU, BS, BV, BE, for example), 12 of which contained horses in ovoid, rectangular, and circular pits (0.9-1.85 m in diameter), cut into the rock like the human tombs. These tended to be located in the center of the necropolis. One pit contained a pony with its head turned back, and at least one pit contained two horses. Two other animals, possibly dogs, were found accompanying two of these burials. Horse remains were also found in the dromos of one tholos tomb. These burials appear to be related to the horse sacrifices commonly mentioned in ancient literature. The horse burials also frequently contained bronze and iron bits, and they are securely dated to the second phase, as cremations from the last phase were placed on top of some of the tombs.

Burials of the third phase (PGB-O) were typically urned cremations supported by stones and carefully placed under rubble so as to form one, single uniform tumulus/mass of stones. Over 200 tombs of the third phase have been found. The majority of the urns were upright, though some were placed on their sides, and the mouths of the vessels were closed with bowls or stone slabs, with the grave goods placed inside or beside the urn. Evidence of the funerary pyre was sometimes recorded in a pit below the cremation urn. In a few instances, cremations were placed merely in the middle of the rubble and not inside a vessel, and in other cases, such as T. W, burials were placed in pithoi which were surrounded and

covered by rubble; in appearance these burials were more like the pseudotholoi from Krya. The pithoi typically contained individual inhumations of youths. Tomb 122, for example, consisted of a pithos burial with numerous terracottas, including a human figure, possibly a charioteer, a sea horse, and a pair of horses, probably associated with two wheels for a chariot. In some cases, however, such as T. 93, the head was removed and buried inside the vessel, while the rest of the body was cremated, and in these instances one, two, or three skulls could be placed in the same pithos.

In at least one area at the south end of the necropolis, the pithoi and urns were grouped inside rectangular/trapezoidal chambers (funerary enclosures), such as that (15 or more chambers) which was added to the stone tumulus of phase 1. These chambers (2-2.5 x 1-1.5 m) consisted of low, well-built walls, and they were filled with rubble, thereby becoming part of the large mound. The rooms often contained burnt material, which may have come from pyres, and some rooms contained cinerary urns. Grave goods from phase 3 (burial urns as well as the enclosures) include aryballoi, a baby feeder, four embossed sheet gold ornaments (two with a double axe motif and one with a six-pointed star), pieces of sheet gold band, a gold pendant, ivory items, and many terracotta figurines. Other clay figurines were found in the vicinity of the cemetery, such as a female statuette and horses, possibly offerings to the deceased.

The earliest graves of phase three were placed near the center of the necropolis and they gradually expanded outward to the east, with the stone heap eventually covering some of the tholoi, and to the south, where the latest tombs are placed. In this phase, the necropolis reached its maximum extension, with the burials placed both in groups, often of two, three, or four, and isolated. Phase 4 consisted of Roman burials, which were placed primarily in

the western part of the cemetery. The EIA burials belonged to the extensive town (LM IIIC-H), possibly ancient Rizenia, which existed on the plateau of Patela. The development of the necropolis coincides with the EIA settlement at this site. Finds are in the Herakleion Museum and the Pigorini Museum in Rome.

Ref: Rizza 1969, 24-32; Michaud 1971, 1055-1056; Desborough 1972b, 372; Rizza 1972; 1973a; 1973b; 1973-1974; Michaud 1974, 718; Rizza 1974, 154-156; Levi 1974-1975, 413; 1976a, 321; Di Vita 1977, 357-358; 1978, 463-464; Rizza 1978, 106-127; 1979; Kanta 1980, 14-15; Rizza 1981, 472-474; 1983, 45, 50; Syriopoulos 1983, 108-109 #214, 153, #96, 217 #208; Day 1984, 25; Di Vita et al. 1984, 152-167; Catling 1985, 61; Touchais 1985, 851; Belli 1991, 444; Rizza 1991, 331-334; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 76 #42, 160 #123, 264 #329; Nowicki 2000, 180-181; Kanta 2001, 19

67. Stavrakia – Sometime around 1895, two large Late Geometric cinerary urns and one amphora, which was also used for cremation, were recovered from the mountain slopes near the modern village. The exact location of the tombs, as well as an associated settlement, remains unknown, though the type was perhaps a simple pit. A funerary stele of later date was also apparently found in the area. In addition, at Xylangouri near the village, Davaras excavated an LM IIIB chamber tomb with three larnakes and three vases. Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Mariani 1895, 230; Orsi 1897, 257-260; Wide 1899, 36-39, 42-43; Alexiou 1963b, 398; Coldstream 1968, 416; Snodgrass 1971, 210; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 96; Kanta 1980, 16; Syriopoulos 1983, 290 #326, 885 CXXXVIII; Sjögren 2001, 199 (C106)

68. Tylissos – Dark Age tombs have been found at several locations in the vicinity of the modern village.

A. *Atsolou* – In 1929, Marinatos excavated an LM IIIC-SM/PG isolated chamber tomb at the southwest edge of the village at Atsolou. The tomb contained a cremation burial in a bronze basin, two stirrup jars (from outside the tomb), a bronze spear, four or five bronze

fibulae, and two pieces of iron (a knife?). The excavator dated the tomb to “LM-just before SM,” stating that the bronze basin has LM parallels but the fibulae SM, and Furumark dated the stirrup jars to LM IIIB2C. Kanta states that the tomb is probably just before PG, though Desborough, Pini, Davaras, Lorimer, and Snodgrass claim a SM-PG date. Finds are in the Herakleion Museum.

B. *Petres* – At Petres near the Minoan villas, which are located at the northern edge of the modern village, were found the remains of completely destroyed and robbed Geometric tombs, possibly chamber tombs. No further information about these tombs has been published.

C. *Tylissos* – In addition, an LM IIIB and C chamber tomb, the finds from which included three larnakes (each with one inhumation and no vases), nine vases (one was imported from Chania and three were IIIC – a kalathos, and two krateriskoi), a silver ring, bronze ring, triton shell, and a sealstone, was also excavated in 1913 somewhere to the west of the Minoan villa. According to Kanta, some of the vases have SM parallels with those found at Fortetsa (Knossos). Scattered remains of Geometric pottery have been found at various locations above the LM IIIC villas/houses at Tylissos, possibly indicating a later re-use of the earlier architecture; thus the Geometric, as well as the IIIC-SM/PG, burials may have been associated with this habitation site.

Ref: Hazzidakis 1913, 45; 1921, 82-86; Marinatos 1931; Hazzidakis 1934, 73; Furumark 1944, 227-229; Desborough 1952, 255, 326; 1964, 182; Pini 1968, 93 #89.1-3; Snodgrass 1971, 166, 210; Desborough 1972b, 233, 372; Davaras 1973b, 166; Kanta 1980, 10-11; Syriopoulos 1983, 104 #207, 213 #194, 288 #317, 384 XCVIII, 658 XCII, 882 CXXXIII; Vasilakis 1992, 274; Sjögren 2001, 158 (C3), 199 (C107)

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69. Arkalochori – In 1957, just north of the modern village at Pano Kalives, which is located in the plain, were found Geometric cremation urns (kalpai), together with three aryballoi. It is unknown whether these come from a single tomb or multiple tombs, and the exact location and tomb type are unknown. The location of the associated Geometric settlement is also unknown. In addition, Davaras has excavated LM III chamber tombs at Tsoulouka Kolymbos near the village.

Ref: Platon 1957, 339; Daux 1958, 783; Hood 1958, 20; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 74-75; Kanta 1980, 80; Sjögren 2001, 207 (C136)

70. Ligortynos – In 1961 at the northern entrance to the town, a large, rock-cut chamber tomb with roughly circular chamber was uncovered during roadworks. The tomb had a built entrance with monolithic jambs and lintel, and it also contained cremations in ash urns. Although the tomb had been looted, the remaining finds, which dated PGB-LG, included a Cypriot lekythos/aryballos, two LG Creto-Cypriot lekythoi, and a krater fragment with painted decoration of a female Daedalic head, which according to Alexiou helps provide a more accurate date for the beginning of the daedalic form (LG rather than EO).

This tomb has not been well-published, but it may be associated with the unexcavated PG-G (and O-R) settlement/town on the summit and south slope of Kephala, the long ridge located directly to the northeast of the village. In addition, three LM IIIA-B tholos tombs with larnax burials were previously examined by Evans somewhere to the north of the village. Finds are in the Herakleion Museum, the Knossos Stratigraphical Museum, and some vases from the settlement are in the Louvre.

Ref: Pendlebury et al. 1931-1932, 85; Hood 1961, 24; Platon and Davaras 1961-1962, 284-285; Daux 1962, 897; Alexiou 1963b, 385; Coldstream 1968, 416; Pini 1968, 86 #76.3; Snodgrass 1971, 209; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 89; Syriopoulos 1983, 294 #351, 888 CLVII;

Karetsou and Stampolidis 1998, 170 (#153), 174-175 (#167), 177-178 (#174); Nowicki 2000, 185-186; Brown 2001, 345-348

71. Rotasi (figs. 110-111) – Early Iron Age burials have been found at several sites in the vicinity of Rotasi.

A. *Embasos/Berdeleto* – In 1954, a small rectangular (1.70 x 1.50 m) tholos (Tomb A) with short dromos, which contained ~30 PG vases, including a bird vase, and two female idols with upraised arms, was uncovered east of Pyrgos between Pharmakara and Rotasi Kephala. The exact findspot is unknown.

In 1993, a small (exterior diameter-1.05 x 1.30; interior-0.76 x 0.30 m) unrobbed Geometric tholos tomb was also excavated at Embasos, ~250 meters from the ancient settlement, on the Pyrgos-Rotasi road; it was discovered when a piece of the road sank/collapsed. It contained two skeletons (a female and child), 15 vessels, including 5 feeding bottles, 3 jugs, 4 krateriskoi, a krater, cup, and hydria, as well as 11 faience beads, a bronze pin, and two spindle whorls, one terracotta and the other stone.

B. *Pharmakara* – In 1955, an extensive Geometric cemetery was found at this site during the construction of the road from Pyrgos to Rotasi. The tombs (analogous to Arkades?) consisted mostly of pithos burials with cremations, and finds included ash urns, pithoi, cups, and aryballoi. A rectangular block with a “very archaic” inscription of the name *Αρχεσιλας* was also found at this location (date?). No further information about this cemetery has been published, though the Embasos tombs may have been associated with it.

C. *Rotasi* – In 1958, in the plain slightly to the north of the village and not far from Xerokambos, Platon found an intact Geometric tholos tomb with circular chamber and unlined dromos. More than 250 PG-EO vases, including burial urns, amphorae, jugs, and

aryballoi, many iron weapons, pins, fibulae, nails/rivets (silver and one gold), gold finger rings, decorated gold foil, and bronze bands (comprising a vessel of unknown use) were found in the tomb, along with an estimated 40 or more burials. In the center of the chamber was an undecorated, elliptical larnax covered with slabs, on top of which were placed several of the vases. The tomb was not of extraordinary size (int. dia. 1.70 m; ext. dia. 2.50 m), though it contained a wealth of finds.

In 1971, exploration on the northeast side of Kephala Hill revealed remains of walls, possibly comprising a funerary enclosure, like those found at Vrokastro and Prinias (or a place for offerings?). Associated with this structure were terracotta animal figurines, including a fish, three bulls, a horse, and LG-EO vessels, including ring vases, aryballoi, cups, dishes, a lid handle with a ram figure, a disc with tree of life motif, and a bronze fibula.

Overall – Finds from the burial sites are in the Herakleion Museum, though most remain unpublished. A very extensive Geometric-Roman town (also PG and LM IIIC?), likely ancient Rhytion, occupied the summit and slopes of Kephala, the hill that rises above and immediately (100-200 meters) to the south of the village of Rotasi. Most, if not all, of these burials likely belonged to this town, which according to Nowicki is not very defensible and belonged to the group of large acropoleis typical for central Crete and the Mesara, such as nearby Ligortynos and Kasteliana (possibly ancient Priansos).

Ref: Platon 1954b, 516; *BCH* 79 (1955) 304; Hood 1955, 17; Platon 1955b, 567; *BCH* 80 (1956) 343; Hood and Boardman 1956, 30; Platon 1958, 468; Daux 1959, 734-735; Hood 1959, 16; Platon 1959, 387; Desborough 1964, 268; Coldstream 1968, 416; Pini 1968, 91, #71.1-2; Snodgrass 1971, 166, 210; Alexiou 1972b, 622; Desborough 1972b, 234, 372; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 95; Touchais 1977, 650; Catling 1978, 64; Coldstream 1979, 102; 276; Syriopoulos 1983, 220-221 #223, 295 #356, 667-668 CXV, 889 CLIX; Belli 1991, 449; Galanaki 1993, 466-467; Kanta and Karetsou 1998, 159, 164, 170; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 138-139 #85, 161 #128, 173 #162, 180 #181; Blackman 1999, 118; Touchais 1999, 819; Tsipoulou and Vagnetti 1999, 139; Nowicki 2000, 190-191

PEDIADA EPARCHIA

72. Agies Paraskies (fig. 112) – Isolated tombs have been recorded at Ag Marina and Kellia in the vicinity of the village. The associated settlement for these two locations has not yet been identified.

A. Ag. Marina – In 1934, Platon excavated a tholos tomb at the place Agia Marina, located at the foot of a hill, though in a flat area of the plain approximately 2 km north of the village. The tomb was free-standing, only a small circle was cut out of the bedrock before construction. The chamber was circular with a diameter of 1.40 m, except for the northeast side which deviated from the circle, possibly due to the construction of the stomion. No dromos was found, though the excavator believes one existed, as there was a step down into the chamber. In addition, the tomb had monolithic jambs and a threshold paved with small stones. Although it had been robbed, the tomb still contained nearly 150 vases, which dated from PG-O. These included 25 kalpai/cremation urns with lids, many pitchers, cups, skyphoi, aryballoi/lekythoi, and lekanai, most of which were found inside the ash urns. A bronze nail and bronze tweezers were also found in the tomb, and the finds are in the Herakleion Museum. While only one tomb was found, the nearby area was not investigated due to the presence of vineyards, and thus other tombs may exist in the area.

B. Kellia – A PG cremation burial (kalpis) placed in a rock hollow was recorded by Platon in 1958 from Kellia, located just to the northeast of the village, and southwest of Ag. Marina. This burial contained a few vases and one bronze fibula, though no further information about it has been published. Remains of three other cremation urns and a burial pithos were also uncovered at this site.

Ref: Blegen 1936, 372-373; Marinatos 1936, 224; Megaw 1936, 151-152; Pendlebury 1939, 313, 324, 340; Levi 1945, 27-28; Platon 1945-1947; Desborough 1952, 250, 324; Platon 1958, 479; Daux 1959, 740; Coldstream 1968, 245, 415; Pini 1968, 76 #59; Snodgrass 1971, 208; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 77-78; Coldstream 1977, 276; Syriopoulos 1983, 291 #333, 886 CXLIV; Belli 1991, 444

73. Aitania – EIA tombs have been found at two locations southwest of the village. The exact relationship between the three Aitania tombs is unknown, however, as is the location of their associated settlement.

A. *Phonia* – In 1954, a small rock-cut “burial cave” (chamber tomb?), which contained an unknown number of Geometric cremations and approximately 30 vases, was discovered at Phonia near the village, which is located ~2 km northwest of Episkopi and ~2 km west of Stamnioi. This tomb may have contained only one burial in a large skyphos-like vase, though it is unclear from the short published note if other vessels were also used as cremation urns.

In addition, a second Geometric tomb (chamber?), also cut into the bedrock, was found at this location, in the same field (Tziraki) by an agricultural road, in 1997. This tomb was smaller than that uncovered in 1954, and it contained one burial pithos and five other vases. No further information about these tombs has been published.

B. *Gridia* – In 1960, another G tomb was uncovered in the vicinity of the village, but near the river at Gridia. This tomb was a robbed chamber with a lidded urn cremation, a jug and three cups. No other information about this tomb has been published.

Ref: Platon 1954b, 515; *BCH* 79 (1955) 304; Hood 1955, 17; Platon and Davaras 1960, 525; Faure 1964, 68; Mandalaki 1997, 1000; Whitley 2004, 78

74. Alitzani – A Geometric pithos burial with inhumation was reported at Petra near the village. The tomb type is not reported, though it may have been a pit. No grave goods were

found with the pithos, and no other information about this burial has been published. The location of an associated settlement is also unknown.

Ref: Platon 1951, 445; Cook 1952, 110; Deshayes 1952, 242

75. Anopolis – Halbherr reported PG and G burials from a probable cemetery located on a small hill near the modern village. The exact location of these tombs is unknown, though they were apparently on the west side of a hill. The site has not been excavated but at least 15 cremation urns, primarily pithoi, have been recovered, along with other vases, including a stirrup jar and lekythos. In addition, Taramelli implied that there was a settlement to the east of the burial area, though its location has not been identified. LM III tombs have also been reported from the sites of Kambos and Paterika, Kelli, though their relationship to the EIA burials is unknown. Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Orsi 1897, 254-265; Wide 1899, 36-43; Taramelli 1901a, 295; Levi 1927-1929c, 567-568; Pendlebury 1939, 313, 319, 324; Desborough 1952, 250-251, 324; Benson 1961, 74 and pl. 5; Coldstream 1968, 245-249, 415; Pini 1968, 76 #50.2; Snodgrass 1971, 208; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 73; Kanta 1980, 46; Syriopoulos 1983, 213 #192, 288 #315, 882 CXXXII; Sjögren 2001, 202 (C116)

76. Arkades (Aphrati) (figs. 113-118) – The site of ancient Arkades (LM IIIC/SM through Hellenistic) is located on the summit of Profitis Elias Hill near modern Aphrati, and it was allegedly founded by immigrant Arkadians from the Peloponnesos. Nowicki, on the other hand, has suggested that this site was the successor to that at Erganos Kephali. Numerous tombs belonging to the Arkades settlement have been found nearby. The earliest tombs (SM/PG) from the area were found at tou Kophina to Kephali (see entry for Panagia). Slightly later in date are several (at least three – Tombs A, B, and C) tholoi investigated by Halbherr on the extreme western slope of Profitis Elias. These three tombs had small,

square/rectangular vaulted chambers (T. A-1.8 x 1.9 m; B-1.5 x 1.5 m; C-1.35 x 0.9 m) similar to those found at Panagia, and they reportedly lacked dromoi. Tombs A (possibly three burial vessels), B (eight skulls), and C (two-three skulls) were the earliest tombs in the Arkades cemetery, and they contained inhumations which dated primarily to G but also possibly to PG and O. The tombs were placed together at the northwest edge of the main cemetery, which is located ~500 m to the west of the ancient settlement. A carved limestone dado was found in the entrance to Tomb A, and the tombs were robbed, though some vases remained, including pithoi, a lekane, krater, and lid with seated female figurine, as well as a bronze fibula, pin, and spatula, an iron pin and arrowheads, faience/paste and stone beads, and a fragment of amber. Sheep/goat, cow, and pig bones were also found in Tombs A and B, possibly associated with the funerary ritual (meal or offerings), and burned earth and vegetable matter were discovered in front of T.B. According to Kanta and Karetsou, based on the number of burials and tomb type, these tholoi may have been used as family tombs and reflect an older, Minoan tradition in contrast to other tombs at the site.

Levi and the Italian School excavated three large tholoi (Tombs L, M, and R) with circular chambers to the southeast of the smaller tholoi. These tombs contained a large number of cremation urns and dated to G, O, and A. The largest of these (Tomb R) was over 3 meters high, 3.57-3.75 m in diameter, built of squared stones, and had a long, partly stone-built dromos. This tomb also contained a stone sarcophagus, cremation urn burials (at least 34) and over 250 vases. Above the capstone of T. R and just above ground level was found a stone paving and earth mixed with ash, possibly for offerings to the deceased. Tomb R was also isolated from the other tombs, and Tombs L and M, though near each other, were walled off from other tombs on three sides. Tombs L and M had both collapsed, though L was still

3.2 m in diameter and ~2.2 m in height. All three tombs were relatively wealthy (M the least so), and finds of note included an Egyptian scarab, bronze basins, a bowl with lotus flower handles (EIA-Cypriot?), possible shields, iron weapons, faience beads, a faience dog and lion, faience bowl, stone spindle whorls, fragments of clay rod tripods, two terracotta human figurines, including a lyre player, bird vases (commonly present here even into the 7th c.), and Corinthian (EPC-EC) and Rhodian pottery. According to Kanta and Karetsou, these tholoi, based on their size, style of architecture, and number of burials (at least 67 all together) may represent larger social groups, possibly clans, and reflect a more Mycenaean tradition, as opposed to the smaller Tholoi A, B, and C.

In addition to the tholoi, approximately 162 cremation burials (mostly O-A, but some G) were excavated in the cemetery. These burials were typically placed in terracotta jars, lekanai or in small bronze cauldrons (in at least one case with a tripod support), each of which was closed by a terracotta or bronze lid/plate. The burial jars, together with the grave goods, were then covered by large, upturned pithoi. In some cases, the pithoi were also covered with soil, creating a small tumulus. Often the upturned pithoi were placed directly on the ground or buried in small, shallow holes; many of these vessels, however, were supported with stone slabs or placed on a stone slab base. Also, the burial urns were sometimes placed inside a larger lekane and then covered by the pithos, rather than being placed directly on the ground. The urns typically held only one cremated individual, though two vases held two interments, and grave goods commonly consisted of only one or two vases, typically aryballoi, oinochoai, or cups, though MG-LG Cycladic vases, an Attic/Boeotian fibula, an iron horse, Corinthian pottery, and faience and paste beads were also recovered from some of the pithoi. In addition, burnt soil was often found above the

burials, possibly representing activity associated with the funerary ritual or later offerings or activity. The pithos burials were found scattered throughout the cemetery, often in groups or clusters. In fact, in the southwest area of the cemetery, two walls appear to separate groups of pithoi, and the cemetery itself appears to have been surrounded by an enclosure wall; a few terracotta animal figurines were found beside one section of this wall.

In addition, a few burials of other types were recovered from the cemetery. For example, two urn burials (P.102-103) were found placed in rock-cut pits and covered with large stones; these were found at the extreme north end of the necropolis, just north of Tomb C. Tomb P. 114 at the west side of the necropolis consisted of a pithos placed on its side and surrounded by a low stone wall. T. E, which is located just to the southwest of T.A, apparently consisted of an urn placed on its side and covered by a mass of stones ~1 m in diameter; this tomb may have been a pseudotholos, as seen at Prinias or Krya. Possible Tomb G may also have been of this same type.

Furthermore, three small, rectangular built enclosures (F1, F2, F3), each one of which was open on one of the short sides, were found, and they contained burnt earth, fragments of bone, paste beads, iron pins, bronze tweezers and pins, two terracotta female figurines, a gold bead, and stone spindle whorls. These buildings were interpreted as specific architectural structures used for the cremation of the dead, possibly pyres or crematoria, though comparisons can also be made with the funerary enclosures of Vronda and Vrokastro. In addition, a double building (H-H1), which contained many vases but no human bones, may have served as a votive depository for nearby tombs; this structure is located roughly in the center of the necropolis, just southwest of T.L.

Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum, the Metaxas Collection, and possibly also in the Ashmolean. At least 15 single pithos graves were also found at Sto Selli, a small hill on the western slope of Profitis Elias, just below and several hundred meters to the west of the large Arkades cemetery, but these are primarily Orientalizing in date. Extensive illegal excavation has taken place at this site, and it remains uncertain whether or not EIA burials existed at this location.

Ref: Halbherr 1896, 532; 1901a, 262; 1901c, 394; de Boccard 1924, 491-492; Woodward 1924, 278-279; Levi 1927-1929a, 78-380; Lorimer 1933, 167-170; Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 314, 319, 324, 341; Levi 1945, 19-27; Desborough 1952, 254, 326; Sakellerakis and Alexiou 1965, 561; 1966, 406; Coldstream 1968, 255-257, 416; Pini 1968, 76 #67; Snodgrass 1971, 166, 208; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 74; Coldstream 1977, 276; Kanta 1980, 75; Syriopoulos 1983, 110 #216, 388-389 CIV; Di Vita et al. 1984, 168-173; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1990, 120; Belli 1991, 444; Morris 1997, 59-61; Kanta and Karetsou 1998; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 158 #12, 178 #176, 179 #178, 193 #211, 251 #314; Jones 2000, 253-257; Nowicki 2000, 179-180; Sjögren 2001, 209-210 (C144)

77. Elia (Artsa) – At Artsa (to the northeast of Elia) in 1971, seven LG/EO-LO ash urns were recovered, along with jugs, aryballoi, and a skyphos. The burials apparently came from an ellipsoidal rock-cut chamber tomb, which was destroyed by the land owner. Witnesses report that two tombs were discovered, but no traces of a second tomb were found. The relationship between these burials and those found at Kato Vatheia is unclear; due to their proximity (the modern villages are only ~1 km apart), they may both belong to the same undiscovered settlement. Xanthoudides also excavated an LM IIIA chamber tomb at Artsa in 1903.

Ref: Alexiou 1971b, 285; Lembesi 1971, 290-292; Orlandos 1971, 259-261; Alexiou 1972a, 621; Kanta 1980, 45-46; Sjögren 2001, 202 (C117)

78. Episkopi – In 1952, one small Geometric burial pithos with possible cremation was found west of the modern village at Kavousi. Nearby were found a small jug and cup. No

further information is known about this burial, and the associated settlement has not yet been identified.

Also, Hartley published PGB-LG vases from robbed tombs, which were previously found nearby at unspecified locations. The vases, which included pithoi, aryballoi, skyphoi, and lids, were said to be comparable to those found at Fortetsa (Knossos).

LM III chamber tombs have also been noted and/or excavated at several locations in the area of Episkopi (Ta Markavousa, Tou Episkopou, Christos, Ag. Apostolos, Kavousi, Kalyvotopos, Malathre, Ston Potamo, Sto Kambo, Kephala, and Alonia), though no find definitely datable to LM IIIC has yet been found. Finds from the area are in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Hartley 1930-1931, 69-72; Pendlebury 1939, 265; Platon 1952a, 628-629; Cook 1953, 128; de Santerre 1953, 239; Coldstream 1968, 415; Pini 1968, 79 #54; Snodgrass 1971, 209; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 79; Coldstream 1977, 277; Kanta 1980, 58-68; Syriopoulos 1983, 289 #323; 885 CXXXVII

79. Erganos (Katophyi) (figs. 119-123) – A large LM IIIC defensible settlement, perhaps one of the largest on Crete, existed on the summit and slopes of Kephala Hill, which is ~2.5 km southeast of the modern village of Katophyi, and according to Nowicki, this site is located at the most important route leading to the Lasithi Plain from the southwest. Tombs associated with this settlement were found on the west slope of the hill at Xenotaphia. These tombs were first recognized from heaps of stone on the ground; the stone piles may have resulted from later re-opening or looting or else they may have served as tomb markers/protectors. In 1894, Halbherr excavated three tholos tombs with round chambers (ranging from 1.3-1.9 m in diameter) and long stomia/short dromoi; the tombs were of similar form to the smaller tombs found at Karphi, and one of them had a paved slab floor.

As at Kourtes, the site was unable to be properly excavated due to political restrictions at the time. The three tombs were found grouped together and they contained inhumations (one had six skeletons and another had three). The tombs have been dated primarily to the LM IIIC period, though there also appears to have been some SM/PG and possibly G; apparently a PG-G burial urn was found inside one of the tombs. Halbherr's tombs, as well as other robbed tombs, are still visible along the old kalderimi leading from Katophygi to Erganos.

In addition, in 1981 two tholos tombs, with fragments of pithoi and two larnakes, and a pit grave were destroyed during construction of the new road from Katophygi to Erganos, though the tholoi are still visible in the escarpment; these tombs are located just to the south and southeast of Halbherr's tombs. Nowicki notes that the ceramics from these excavations were primarily LM IIIC middle. Rescue excavations were conducted that same year, during which at least six tombs were cleaned, and it appears that many more tombs originally existed (Halbherr mentions considerable numbers). Finds from the Erganos tombs are in the Herakleion Museum, and they include stirrup jars, a pyxis/kalathos used to contain a burial, a bronze ring, stone bead, and two larnakes. According to Nowicki, tombs are scattered in groups and isolated over a vast area at distances of c. 250-400 m from the Lower Settlement on Pano Kephala.

Ref: Halbherr 1896, 531-532; 1901a, 261, 266, 271-280; Mariani 1901, 303-305; Sergi 1901; Pendlebury 1934, 262, 306, 314; Pendlebury et al. 1936-1937, 196; 1937-1938, 111; Furumark 1944, 222-224; Platon 1945-1947, 71; Desborough 1952, 251, 325; 1964, 177; Pini 1968, 94 #68.1-3; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 79; Pelon 1976, 262; Kanta 1980, 75-76; Rethemiotakis 1981, 389; Di Vita et al. 1984, 31; French 1990, 72; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1990, 118-121; Belli 1991, 442; Nowicki 1991, 137; 1992, 113; Nowicki 2000, 143-145, 241; Wallace 2003, 269; Nowicki 2005, personal communication

80. Gonies – An LM IIIC-SM/PG defensible settlement has been identified on To Flechtron, the long ridge with a rocky spur (separated from Louloudaki Mountain by a saddle) located

to the south of the modern village. While no tholos tombs have yet been recorded from the site, Nowicki states that they should be expected on the slopes around the settlement.

Ref: Rutkowski and Nowicki 1990, 122; Nowicki 2000, 148-149

81. Kato Vatheia – In 1937 in a field at Kaminia near the village, an isolated PG-G circular chamber tomb with a diameter of ~1.80 meters was excavated. The tomb contained cremation urns, which in turn held smaller vases. In 1959, an EO funerary pithos, a krater and a jug were also found nearby, though the tomb type was not reported. No further information about these tombs has been published, and the location of an associated settlement is unknown.

Ref: Marinatos 1937, 224; Petrou-Mesogeitis 1938, 615; Pendlebury 1939, 385; Platon 1957, 460; Daux 1959, 733; Pini 1968, 93 #49; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 98; Sjögren 2001, 203 (C119)

82. Kounavoi (figs. 124-126) – Early Iron Age tombs have been uncovered at various locations in the vicinity of the village.

A. *Kastrinaki* – In 1987, a PG cremation urn (krater) placed in a small pit cut into the bedrock was found northeast of the modern village at Kastrinaki, on the road to Myrtia from Skalani. This location is ~200 meters east of Kaki Rachi, where other PG tombs were previously found and with which this burial likely belongs. The site appears to be near that of Vromonero (see entry under Archanes), though the exact relationship between the two remains unclear. The Kastrinaki burial contained a broken and folded iron weapon, possibly a sword which had been ritually killed.

B. *Kounavoi* – Rescue excavations were carried out to the south of the village in 1993 and 1998 on the property of D. Eleutheraki. At least 16 tombs (2 tholoi, 9 chamber

tombs with dromoi, and 5 rock-cut pits) have been found at the site thus far. A 9th-8th century BC tholos tomb (#10; 2.6 m in diameter) was among the tombs excavated at this site; it was well-built with a slab floor and limestone door frame, which was closed by a single large slab. Many cremation urns were found in this tomb, and approximately 100 vases (PGB-LG) were recovered, many of which showed Knossian links, as well as a bronze fibula, gold leaf, an iron spear, dagger, and knife. In addition, sheep, goat, and pig bones were found, together with four fragments of iron obeloi, likely evidence from the funerary meal. Another, smaller PG tholos (Tomb 11) with no apparent entrance was also found nearby, but it had been robbed; terracotta beads, bronze plate, a bronze pin, fragments of iron daggers and swords, as well as animal bones and fragments of iron spits, were recovered from this tomb. In addition, evidence of burnt and poured offerings was found around the tholos – a pyre at the western edge and two shallow pits for libations.

The four small chamber tombs (1, 3-5) found in 1993 were grouped around the large tholos (Tomb 1 to the west and 3-5 to the east), and the five additional chamber tombs (12-16) which were excavated in 1998 continue the main line of tombs to the south. The chamber tombs were rock-cut with dromoi facing the west, and they typically contained one-three inhumation burials, though a few urn cremations were also present (Tombs 4 and 16, one of which had a killed iron sword). The chamber of Tomb 4 appears to have been divided in half, and outside the tomb by the entrance was found an irregular circular construction (1 x 0.3 m), possibly a pyre or offering table/altar, with bones and sherds; Tomb 16 also had a pyre in front. From Tomb 12 come a pithos burial with Cypriot juglet, aryballos and two LM I conical cups, and finds of note from the other chamber tombs include clay beads, bone pins,

iron spits and weapons, faience beads, and bronze fibulae. These tombs date primarily to PG and PGB.

The excavators believe that the chamber tombs were constructed during the first phase (PGA) of the cemetery, with the dromoi of Tombs 3-5 starting from the edge of a paved road which ran north-south and crossed part of the cemetery. To the west side of this paving, beside T. 1 and the large tholos, was a rectangular hearth (0.7 x 0.9 m), which contained carbon and ashes, evidence of burnt offerings to the deceased. The second phase (PGB) of the cemetery is represented by the large tholos, the construction of which appears to have cut into the dromos of T.1 and put the paved road out of use.

Also from the site come five, mostly PG, shallow, rock-cut pit tombs (T.2; 6-9); according to the excavator, the chamber tombs are concentrated in the eastern part of the site where the bedrock is softer, while the pit graves were concentrated in the southwestern area where the bedrock is harder. The pit graves include Tomb 2, an elliptical pit covered by a heap of stones, which contained cremations (four in pithoi and three in amphorae), along with many skyphoi, a plate, krater, kalathos, iron sword and scraper. Tomb 7 was a small natural cavity/pit grave which held an upright burial pithos, held in place by stones, and showed evidence of libations to the deceased; a lekane, with spout and pierced base, was attached to the pithos rim in order to receive poured offerings, and the pithos was also positioned below a rectangular hole, the floor of which had a stone slab and was found filled with dark soil (remains of liquid offerings). In addition, Tomb 7 contained a stirrup jar, one gold and one silver ring, a bronze spear and dagger. Furthermore, T.8 contained a single inhumation without grave goods, while T.9 contained a child burial with 3 vases. A little to the north of the 1993 tombs, a shallow pit was excavated with a cranium (a secondary burial),

hydria, kernos (with amphoriskos and cup on the rim), and an unusual lekane with four animals, three birds, and a seated female mourner attached to the rim (cf. Kourtes, Arkades).

In addition, two Geometric urn burials, three small vases, and two clay beads, as well as an isolated skeleton were recovered during the initial excavation at the site, though the tomb type and its location relative to the other tombs is unclear from the reports.

Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum, though the tombs have not yet been fully published; a monograph by Englezou is forthcoming, *Το γεωμέτρικο νεκροταφείο της Έλτυνας*. Five Roman pit tombs were also found ~200 m to the west of the EIA cemetery, all of which may have belonged to the ancient (Greek and Roman) city of Eltyna. The site has been identified by inscriptions found in the area, and evidence of an Archaic building was found near the village by the river Hellenika, though the exact location of the settlement remains unknown. Kounavoi is only ~2 km northeast of Archanes, though in Nomos Pediada rather than Temenos.

Ref: Demopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1987a, 530; 1988; French 1990, 72; 1994, 78; Rethemiotakis and Demopoulou 1993, 463-465; Pariente 1994, 817, 819; Rethemiotakis and Demopoulou 1994-1996; Blackman 1998, 116; Papazoe 1998, 144; Rethemiotakis 1998; Stampolidis and Karetsoy 1998, 162 #130; Blackman 1999, 117; Touchais 1999, 823-824; Blackman 2000, 135; 2001, 130-131; Sjögren 2001, 173 (C43); 206 (C132)

83. Koxari – Fragments of Geometric and Orientalizing cinerary urns, many of which contained cups, were found in 1965 at Riza near the modern village. No other information about these burials is known. The burials may be associated with the G-O habitation site identified by survey on a low hill just above the plain near Koxari. In addition, a G pithos was uncovered in 1959 at the location Ali Choraphi.

Ref: Platon and Davaras 1960, 525; Alexiou 1965, 290; Sjögren 2001, 164-165 (C22); 203 (C120)

84. Krasi (figs. 127-128) – Taramelli sketched a small tholos tomb (A) on the slope Siderokephala/Sidero Hill (~800 m-1 km southwest of the modern village), and he located it just above the road from Avdou to Kera Kardiotissa Monastery. This tholos was said to resemble those found at Karphi, with rectangular chamber (1.50 x 2.00 m) and vaulted roof, though its back side was apparently cut from the bedrock rather than built. No remains of the tomb now exist. Taramelli did not actually see the finds from the tomb, though it was said to have contained human bones, a few vases, including pithoi, a bronze dagger, and a gold ring. He dated the pottery as Mycenaean, though Pendlebury, Desborough, and Pini refer to the tomb as SM-PG. According to Nowicki, this tholos was probably located to the west of the LM IIIC settlement which was found on the peak, north and east slopes of the same hill, rather than to the south as indicated by Taramelli's sketch. In addition, Watrous has identified Siderokephala as a winter settlement of Karphi, though Nowicki prefers to view the site as part of a complex network of defensible settlements in this area of Lasithi. Taramelli also observed pithos sherds and fragments of larnakes on terraces on the lower north and east sides of the hill.

Also likely associated with the settlement at Siderokephala is a small tholos tomb (B), which was unearthed and half-destroyed in 1994. This tomb is located ~200 meters south-southeast of the settlement, on Stavros Hill, immediately south of Siderokephala and directly south of and above the main Krasi–Kera road (~700 meters before the monastery of Kera Kardiotissa and left of the ascent, visible high up in a cutting of the road). Tomb B is also very similar to those found at Karphi, with dimensions (interior - 1.5 x 1.5-2.0 m) which fall within the middle range of the Karphi tombs. The exterior enclosure was rectangular and the interior chamber was roughly circular. The tomb was constructed of rough limestone blocks

and the gaps were filled with smaller pieces of schist. The floor was paved with plakas upon which were placed the funerary remains. Within the fill, ~0.5 m above the floor, was found a gold finger ring and on the floor, the poorly preserved remains of one inhumation and four LM IIIC-PG vases (a kalathos, cup, skyphos, and krateriskos). In the area below the destroyed section of the tomb were found additional sherds, including those from a pithoid jar, lekane, krateriskos, jug, and cup. Most of the pottery associated with the tomb is undecorated and of LM IIIC/SM Karphi types, though the two krateriskoi are PG. This tomb would have faced the footpaths to other sites in the area, such as Avdou-Gonies. According to Nowicki, as these two tombs were located far from each other, they point to a very large scatter of tombs or to different cemeteries.

In addition, an LM IIIC stirrup jar was found near the same road, possibly from another destroyed tomb. This would seem to indicate the existence of other, dispersed tombs on the south side of Siderokephala Hill.

Some finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum. At Armi, the ridge directly south of the western edge of the village, ~700 m east of the summit of Siderokephala and ~500 m west of Kastello, Nowicki identified remains of a small LM IIIC late-PG settlement, “possibly a hamlet or small peripheral settlement of the same economic system whose center was probably Karphi,” though no associated tombs have yet been found. A PG-G (and possibly O) settlement has also been noted and recently illegally excavated at Kastello, the mountain which towers over Krasi, located ~400 m to the southeast of the village (~1.5 km north of Karphi and ~1.3 km east of Siderokephala). Blackman notes that finds from the site include one robbed G-A tomb, though this appears to be a mistake, actually referring to the settlement; no confirmed tombs have yet been found at this location.

Ref: Taramelli 1899, 402-405; Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 315; Platon 1945-1947, 70; Desborough 1952, 259; Platon and Davaras 1961-1962, 289; Pini 1968, 82 #40; Snodgrass 1971, 165, 210; Kanta 1980, 71; Watrous 1982, 20; Syriopoulos 1983, 215-216 #210, 663-664 XCIX; Rutkowski and Nowicki 1990, 123; Belli 1991, 442; Eliopoulos 1994; 1996a, 127-128; 1996b, 658; 1998b; Touchais 1999, 819; Nowicki 2000, 152-157, 241; Blackman 2000, 142; 2002, 111; Whitley 2004, 80

85. Lyttos (formerly Xidas) – The ancient settlement of Lyttos was located on a hill less than a kilometer northeast of the modern village (~5 minutes from Timios Stavros Church), and it was founded, probably in LM IIIB/C as a type of defensible settlement, only later to become one of the largest Cretan Doric poleis, lasting into Roman times, though it was destroyed and rebuilt once. Taramelli indicated that, based on the information given to him, the necropolis of Lyttos must be located toward the vineyards in the valley of Askoi to the northeast of the settlement. No tombs have yet been recorded in the area, but his suggestion cannot be disproven as the area has never been explored.

Ref: Taramelli 1901a, 301; Nowicki 2000, 177-178

86. Malia – Early Iron Age burials may have been found at several sites near the modern village.

A. *Ag. Pelagia* – A few Geometric vases, a cremation burial, and inhumations were found by Renaudin in 1920-1 in the dromos of an LM III chamber tomb located near the church of Ag. Pelagia, on the coast, north-northwest of modern Malia. These remains have been interpreted as evidence of Geometric reuse of the tomb for the cremation burial. It is possible, however, that the cremation dates to the last phase of use and that the Geometric vases actually represent later offerings at the tomb, as seen at Mochlos, Achladia, and Agia Photia, for example.

Five LM III larnakes were also found in robbed, rock-cut cave-like tombs, probably chamber tombs, the number of which is not specified, located near this same church. Vases inside the larnakes included stirrup jars, cups, and a pitcher. Some of the vases were said to correspond in date to those found in the first tomb (the possible tholos) at Dreros as well as to the sarcophagi and pithoi of Olous, though there is a large difference in date between these two sites and it thus remains unclear whether or not there was any evidence of LM IIIC burials in these Malia tombs.

B. *Christ Island* – A few fragments of Geometric pithoi and other vases, possibly from burials, were found in the vicinity of the MM I cemetery on this small islet just off the coast, directly north of the modern village and ~750 m northeast of Ag. Pelagia. The G finds were concentrated to the east and southeast of the MM excavations, in a place where Minoan burials were not found. In addition, a probable tomb, with an askos, stirrup jar, hydria, jug, and pithos/amphora, was identified in a rock hollow in this same area, and Kanta dates at least two of the vases, the askos/ring vase and stirrup jar, to LM IIIC.

C. *Trochaloi (Stous Trochalous)* – A PG-G cist grave (0.75-0.9 x 0.85 m) constructed with large stone slabs was excavated in 1918 by Xanthoudides at this site, located near the sea ~1 km to the west of the church of Ag. Pelagia. Five cinerary urns with cremations were found, along with 20 other vases, including stirrup jars, bowls, pitchers, cups, and a skuttle, as well as a steatite lid.

Overall – Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum. Scant traces of possible LM IIIC habitation have been recovered in the area (LM IIIB/C from Quartier E), though evidence of non-funerary Protogeometric and Geometric activity at Malia has not yet been

found; the location of the associated settlement(s) therefore remains unknown, though it could have been under the modern town.

Ref: Xanthoudides 1918b, 18; de Boccard 1921, 536; 1925, 473-474; Pendlebury 1939, 324; van Effenterre et al. 1963, 112-113, 118-122, 129; Coldstream 1968, 416; Pini 1968, 87 #41.2,6; Snodgrass 1971, 168, 209; Kanta 1980, 50-52; Syriopoulos 1983, 881-882 CXXX

87. Nipiditos – A small Geometric oinochoe, an iron fibula, and two beads, found by chance somewhere near the modern village in 1960, may have come from a tomb of unknown type. No further information is known about this site in the Geometric period, though two LM III vases, possibly also from a tomb, had been previously brought to the Herakleion Museum. In addition, Platon dug an empty, stone-lined cist tomb somewhere near the village in 1956, beside which was found a large LM I rectangular building.

Ref: Alexiou 1956, 417; Platon and Davaras 1960, 525; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 92; Kanta 1980, 74; Sjögren 2001, 178 (C58)

88. Panagia (figs. 129-131) – At Tou Kophina to Kephali, a small hill to the south of the modern village and somewhere on the western/northwestern slope of Profitis Elias Hill (~30 minutes from the summit), two plundered SM-PG tholos tombs, with square/rectangular chambers and no dromoi were investigated in 1893-1894 by Halbherr; one of these tombs, later called T.H by Taramelli, had a chamber of 1.9 x 1.65 m. He completely cleared only the better preserved tomb, from which a bronze finger ring and a stone spindle whorl were recovered. Halbherr was unable to discover the original contents of the tombs or the method of burial, though he noted the remains of several other similar tombs in the vicinity.

In 1924, the Italian School (under Levi) excavated four tholoi ($\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta$) nearby; one of these may be the tomb not completely cleared by Halbherr, as Desborough mentions a total of five tholos tombs from the site. These tombs had rectangular or trapezoidal chambers (α

– 1.4 x 1.1 m), round stone enclosures/tumuli, short dromoi, monolithic jambs and lintels, and pointed vaults with a flat ridge on top (keel-vaulted); furthermore, they appear to have been spaced ~11-14 meters apart. Tomb δ was nearly completely destroyed, though it may have been a double tomb. The tombs contained inhumations (Tomb β had six-seven), and a few vases remained in the tombs, including oinochoai, kalathoi, stirrup jars, and hydriai. To the right of the dromos of Tomb α was found burned earth, vases, animal bones, a mass of iron swords and spears, and two fragments of non-Melian obsidian knives possibly from the Dodecanese, possibly representing an offering to the deceased; in addition, a small jug was found under a rock at the entrance to Tomb β .

This site may have served as a necropolis for the earliest phase of settlement on Ag. Elias Hill (see Arkades entry) to the southeast/east, though Nowicki mentions the possibility of a closer, undiscovered settlement. Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Halbherr 1901a, 262, 283-287; Woodward 1924, 279; Levi 1927-1929b, 389-400; Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 314, 324; Platon 1945-1947, 71; Desborough 1952, 326; 1964, 184; Pini 1968, 89 #66.1-5; Snodgrass 1971, 209; Desborough 1972b, 116, 235, 372; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 92-93; Kanta 1980, 74-75; Syriopoulos 1983, 154 #99, 218 #211, 535 L; Di Vita et al. 1984, 168; Belli 1991, 444; Kanta and Karetsou 1998, 169; Nowicki 2000, 179-180

89. Smari – Early Iron Age burials have been found at two locations near the village.

A. *Profitis Elias* – An LM IIIC–O (and possibly A) settlement has been found on the summit of Profitis Elias Hill at Troulli tis Koriphis, ~2-2.5 km east of the modern village. An apsidal building with foundations cut into the bedrock was excavated on the northwest edge of the site, just outside the acropolis, in 1999. The excavators have suggested that it was a funerary building, possibly a pyre or bone enclosure, as it contained LM IIIC-SM kylikes and badly preserved bones in a burnt level. The bones have not yet been studied,

however, to confirm that they are human, and no further information about this structure has yet been published.

B. *Riza* – To the north-northeast of the modern village at Riza, north of the Byzantine church of Ag. Georgios and at the foot of the hill between Ankarathos and Leividitsa, were found fragments of G and O pithoi and cinerary urns, indicating a probable burial site. Furthermore, Chatzi-Vallianou states that a large SM-O cemetery likely existed here, and it would have contained burials similar to those found at Arkades. No further information about these burials is yet known. The settlement to which these burials belong is uncertain; the site seems to be too far away (~2.5 km to the southeast) to be associated with the settlement on Profitis Elias, though Spitakia, a low hill just to the south of Smari with a G-O habitation site, is only approximately 1.5 km to the south.

C. *Leivaditsa* – An LM IIIB tholos tomb was excavated at this location to the southwest of the modern village in 1977. This tomb has been compared to the tholos found at Plati, one of the tombs at Kritsa, and LBA tombs from Enkomi on Cyprus. It had a rectangular chamber (1.7 x 1.85 m) and a declining dromos placed at the side of the tomb, rather than the center, thus giving the tomb a “pipe-plan.” The dromos was also non-functional, leading to a rocky spur, and the tomb was constructed in a mixed technique, partly cut into the rock and partly lined with stone blocks. Furthermore, remains of a pyre were uncovered 11-12 meters to the northwest of this tomb. In addition, Chatzi-Vallianou reports that at least two more tholoi were identified to the south-southeast of this tholos, though their dates are unknown. Fragments of pithoi and sarcophagi were also found in the area of Leivaditsa.

D. *Other* – In addition, another G-O habitation site was discovered through survey at Kallergi on the summit and eastern slope of the lower hill immediately (~800 m) to the south of Profitis Elias, with which undiscovered tombs may belong. Furthermore, scattered pithos sherds, possibly associated with burials, were found all over the plain between Lenika in the vicinity of modern village and Profitis Elias.

Ref: Chatzi-Vallianou 1980, 22-23, 39-44; Kanta 1980, 69; Belli 1996, 43-45; 1997, 252; Pangalos 1999, 176-177; Nowicki 2000, 178; Touchais et al. 2000, 993; Sjögren 2001, 174-175 (C44-46), 207 (C133); Blackman 2001, 132; Chatzi-Vallianou 2002, 326

90. Stamnioi (figs. 132-133) – Two simple, rock-cut LG pit tombs were found just to the south of Stamnioi, which is located ~1.5 km north of Episkopi, near the public highway. One tomb contained a pithos, the mouth of which was covered by a stone slab, and two oinochoai. The pithos was empty, and it is uncertain whether it originally contained an inhumation or cremation. The other tomb held an ash urn/kalpis with a stone attached to its base, but no other finds. The construction of an aloni (threshing floor) appears to have destroyed other tombs nearby, and many more tombs thus may have existed in the area. In addition, in 1963 a Geometric oinochoe and cups were recovered, possibly from another tomb. The settlement with which these tombs belong remains unknown, and several LM IIIA-B chamber tombs have also been found in the area at Palialona (~10 minutes northwest of Stamnioi). Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Platon 1952a, 628-630; de Santerre 1953, 239; Alexiou 1963b, 386; Kanta 1980, 53-58; Syriopoulos 1983, 289 #323, 885 CXXXVII; Sjögren 2001, 207 (C134)

91. Vatheianos Kambos – Pendlebury noted an SM/PG chamber tomb with dromos at this site, which is located on the coast ~9-10 km east of Herakleion and 1 km northeast of Nirou Chani. The tomb contained an inhumation in a larnax, and a few small vessels, including a

krater “of SM character,” a basket vase, and a stirrup jar were found placed around the sarcophagus. Syriopoulos assigns the finds from this tomb to SM, though Kanta prefers the more likely date of LM IIIA-B. This burial was possibly associated with the nearby villa and surrounding settlement (LM I-III A/B) at Nirou Chani. Geometric sherds found above the villa may indicate an EIA reuse of the architecture for habitation, and thus Geometric burials may also exist nearby. Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Marinatos 1933-1935, 56-57; Béquignon 1934, 273; Marinatos 1934, 249-251; Pendlebury 1939, 314; Pini 1968, 85 #46.1,3; Kanta 1980, 44-45; Syriopoulos 1983, 151 #89, 531 XL; Sjögren 2001, 164 (C20)

92. Zinda – According to Platon, in 1954 Geometric vases were found which confirm the existence of a necropolis in the area of the modern village (located ~2.5 km west of Arkalochori). No other information about these tombs has been published and the number and type are thus unknown.

Ref: Platon 1954b, 515; *BCH* 79 (1955) 304; Hood 1955, 17

PYRGIOTISSA EPARCHIA

93. Agia Triada – Pre-palatial and post-palatial burials have been excavated by the Italian School, and they are concentrated in a small area just to the north and northeast of the Minoan villa. Among these are Tholos Tomb B, which was used from EM II-MM IB and later reused in LM IIIA2-B, and the Tomb of the Painted Sarcophagus, a rectangular chamber tomb which has recently been definitively dated to LM IIIA2. Near Tomb B is the large tholos (Tomb A), which was used from EM II-MM II (~150 burials), and had a circular chamber (~9 m in diameter) with annexes in front. The only potential EIA funerary activity from the site comes from two LG or EO bronze bulls which were found in the vicinity of the

large tholos. These may represent offerings or some other form of cult activity, though the exact findspot is unknown. Many post-palatial, especially PG-EO, terracotta and bronze figurines, both human and animal, have been found within the villa, especially in the south part of the site known as the “Regione di Sacelli,” where a “ruin cult” appears to have existed. In addition, possible evidence of Geometric habitation has recently been found to the southeast of the grand portal, with which this ritual activity may have been associated.

Ref: Banti 1930-1931; Stefani 1930-1931; Pelon 1976, 8-11; Di Vita et al. 1985, 117; La Rosa 1992a; Blackman 1998, 111-112; D’Agata 1998, 22; Touchais 1998, 962-964; D’Agata 1999b; Sjögren 2001, 178-179 (C60-62); Prent 2003

94. Kamares (fig. 134) – Tombs were found at various locations near the village.

A. *Sopato* – In 1894, Taramelli and Halbherr visited the site of tis Kaimenis to Sopato, which is located to the (south)west of the modern village on the summit of a hill, on the west side of the Kamares River. They were informed of the existence of seven tombs in the area, and they found and explored four small, pillaged tholos tombs. Three of these were grouped together on a single line and the fourth was located slightly to the northwest. The tholoi had built, round chambers, ranging from 2.0–2.4 m in diameter and 1.6-2.0 m in height, with dromoi (1.0-1.4 m in length). The tombs were empty, except for fragments of bone, pottery, a mass of bronze, and possibly a sealstone; according to locals, one of the tombs originally contained seven skeletons.

Evans investigated two tombs nearby in the same year, and he found a stirrup jar and a bronze knife in one of them. He said that the tombs were built up like Mycenaean tholoi but smaller. He also reported that a large bronze spear and ‘amphorae’ had previously been found in the vicinity of these tombs. In 1905, C. Hawes went to dig tombs, probably at this site, and he apparently found the remains of four or five empty tholoi (the same tombs?).

The area of the site is now destroyed and full of vineyards, and finds from the site are in the Herakleion and Ashmolean Museums.

The tholoi are difficult to date due to the lack of finds. Taramelli called the tombs “Mycenaean,” though he saw no datable finds. Pendlebury assigned them the same date as the tombs at Karphi (LM IIIC-PG), and Pini dates the tomb type to LM IIIB–SM. In addition, Faure considers the cemetery Iron Age (SM), and Snodgrass mentions the possibility of Geometric cremations in the tholoi, though it is unclear on what evidence. Kanta, on the other hand, discusses two stirrup jars and a jug, ranging in date from LM IIIA-C, in the Herakleion Museum which likely came from these tombs. Furthermore, she considers these tombs to bridge the gap between the LM IIIA-B tholoi of Amari and the small LM IIIC-SM tholoi, as seen at Karphi for example; Kamares was located on the ancient route from Amari to the Mesara.

Taramelli reported a settlement (probably LM IIIA-C) to the west of the cemetery at Kaimenis Mitato, with which these tombs might have been associated.

B. *Kambes* – A small PG burial pithos, or possibly more than one, with vases was also reported in 1964 at Kambes near Kamares. No other information about this tomb has been published and its exact location relative to Sopato is unclear. An EIA settlement site has not yet been identified in the area.

Ref: Taramelli 1901b, 439-443; Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, 111; Pendlebury 1939, 315; Desborough 1952, 259; Alexiou 1964b; 284; Faure 1964, 178; Pini 1968, 81 #112.1-2; Snodgrass 1971, 209; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 84; Kanta 1980, 111-112; Syriopoulos 1983, 153 #97; 534 XLVIII; Belli 1991, 444; Kanta 1997, 244; Brown 2001, 41; 69; 332

95. Kamilari – Evidence of Early Iron Age funerary activity has been observed in the vicinity of the modern village.

A. *Alisandraki* – A PG tomb with burial pithos and associated vases, including a tripod, three jugs, an oinochoe, aryballos, and cylindrical vase, was uncovered at this location. No further information has been published about this burial, and the tomb type and its exact location relative to Gligori Koriphi remain unknown.

B. *Gligori Koriphi* – A well-known, large MM IB–LM IIIA2 tholos tomb with circular chamber (7.65 m interior diameter) and five annex chambers was excavated by Levi and the Italian School in 1959 at this location, ~1.6 km northwest of Kamilari and ~1.9 km southwest of the Minoan villa at Ag. Triada. A recent re-examination of sherds from the excavation has identified four Geometric (possibly PG and G) vessels – a skyphos, amphora, pitcher, and some form of openwork stand. Two of these vases were discovered in a pit near the entrance to the annexes located in front of the tomb. The EIA activity at this tomb likely represents offerings to the deceased or evidence of hero cult, rather than re-use.

Overall – A Geometric (with some Minoan) habitation existed on the summit of the low hill at Seli directly above (south) of the modern village, ~1.75 km south of the tholos; numerous EIA habitation sites have been found in the vicinity of Phaistos (~2.5 km to the north-northeast); and some evidence exists for Geometric habitation at Agia Triada. The EIA funerary activity may have been associated with one of these sites, though it seems more likely that a closer, undiscovered settlement exists. Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Platon 1958, 480; Daux 1959, 747; Levi 1961-1962b; Pini 1968, 81-82 #108.1-2; Levi 1976b, 701-742; Pelon 1976, 19-22; Kanta 1980, 101-102; Di Vita et al. 1984, 139-142; La Rosa 1992b; Sjögren 2000, 184 (C74); Lefèvre-Novaro 2001; Wallace 2003, 271

96. Phaistos (figs. 135-138) – Evidence of Early Iron Age funerary practice has been found at numerous sites in the vicinity of the modern village.

A. *Agios Ioannis* – A Geometric tholos tomb was found in 1993 at this location, in the plain ~1 km south-southwest of Phaistos next to the road to Matala. It had monolithic door jambs and lintel and a roughly circular chamber (3.23-3.26 m diameter), and it contained multiple cremations in urns and pithoi. A Hellenistic funerary peribolos with two cist graves lay above the tholos. A total of 112 vases were recovered, ranging from PG to LH. Geometric finds include skyphoi, cups, amphorae, oinochoai, burial pithoi and kalpai, Knossian and Cypriot vases, including aryballoi, two LG-EO Phoenician lekythoi/aryballoi, a bronze statuette, bronze bracelet, pins, and iron weapons (swords and daggers).

In 1958 ~1 km southeast of Ag. Ioannis and ~1.5 km northwest of Petrokephali at the location of Ambeli, PG vases were found, during preparation of a vineyard, in a hole in the ground surrounded by a circle of stones. These vases likely come from a tomb, and they include a basket vase, two baby feeders, an amphoriskos, jug, two cups, an amphora (possibly a cinerary urn), and a hydria. West of the cavity was found a line of wall destroyed during cultivation, and the excavator was unable to determine whether it represented the remains of the entrance to the tomb or a deposit for grave goods. No bones were found in the immediate vicinity.

Also, the Western Mesara Project reports finding off-site LM IIIC pottery, just south of Ag. Ioannis, which may come from an additional burial. Furthermore a possible G-LR settlement was identified ~650 m south-southeast of the village, and an additional settlement (G-ER) was identified just north of the shrine of Ag. Demetrios, ~850 m south-southwest of the village.

B. *Agios Onouphrios* – Watrous et al. in the preliminary report of the Western Mesara Survey mention the existence of PG-G burials at this location, though no other

information is provided. This site is famous for the EM I – MM II cemetery, which was found directly northeast of the church of Ag. Onouphrios, ~1 km north-northwest of Phaistos, and stretches for at least 300 m across the south slope of Ieroditis ridge.

C. *Ieroditis Ridge* – The Western Mesara Project identified an LM IIIC gravesite somewhere on the slope of Ieroditis to the northeast of Phaistos. No further information has yet been published, however, and the exact evidence thus remains unknown. Watrous et al. also refer to known PG-G burials found on the ridge of Ieroditis, though it is unclear whether they are referring to one or more of the burials listed below in this entry (i.e., Mulino or Tomb 1954) or to additional unpublished tombs.

D. *Kalyviani (Site 104)* – In the area around the Panagia Kalyviani monastery, which is just west of the village of Kalyvia, less than 2 kilometers east of Phaistos, were found traces of burials, belonging to the “same period as Liliana,” (LM III-PG?, according to Pini). No further information about these burials has been published. Pendlebury also reported seeing surface sherds from Geometric burials at Kalyviana, though the exact location relative to these burials is unknown.

In 1979, a PG chamber tomb (9.5 x 10 m) with dromos was excavated at Kalyviani, not far from the LM IIIA necropolis at Kalyvia (~1 km east of Phaistos and ~450 m west of the monastery) which contained 14 tombs, primarily chambers. The PG tomb contained a large number of vases, including 3 large cinerary urns, amphorae, amphoriskoi, pithoi, stirrup jars, jugs, cups, and kraters, iron and bronze weapons, and beads. This tomb appears to be the same tomb referred to by Vallianou in the comments to Tsipopoulou and Little (2001); she mentions a rock-cut chamber tomb at Kalyviani which contained cremations in pithoi and pith-amphorae along with ~300 other vases, which date to LM IIIC-PG.

E. *Liliana (Site 103)* – Eight unrobbed tombs (A-H) were excavated by the Italian School in 1902-1903 at this location, which is ~750 m west of the Kalyviani monastery and ~900 m east-northeast of Phaistos. Four of the tombs (A-D) were irregular, rock-cut chamber tombs, three of which had dromoi, while the other four tombs (E-H) were single trenches/pits. Most of the burials were inhumations, though one vase (from Tomb D) contained the partially cremated remains of a child. As many as 21 larnakes were found in the tombs, along with 46 vases (stirrup jars, feeding bottles, jugs, cups, bowls, a pyxis, kalathos, and krater), bronze rings, a hair spiral, needle, stone and paste beads, stone and clay spindle whorls, an alabaster vase, and a terracotta horse figurine. Finds from this site date to LM IIIB-SM, mainly IIIC, and Tomb D is the most likely candidate for LM IIIC/SM material. In addition, Watrous states that some of the larnakes may have been reused in the Geometric period, and that urn burials were found nearby, though no further information about these burials has been published.

F. *Logiadi (Site 89)* – Trial excavations at this site, which is located to the west of Zaimoglu to Choraphi and ~700 m west-southwest of Kalivia Monastery (~850 m east-northeast of Phaistos), identified traces of tombs, possibly pits/trenches with cremations and a group of late “Mycenaean” vases, probably PG. No further information has been published from this site. Fragments of LM III larnakes and sherds have also been observed at Zaimoglu to Choraphi.

G. *Mulino (Site 59-Neromylos)* – In 1957, finds were recovered from a PG tomb or tombs at this site, which is located a short distance north of the hill of Phaistos and ~30-40 meters from the mill (Mulino), at the ancient road between the main street and the palace just below the path from the mountain opposite the summit of the hill. The exact tomb type is not

recorded, though it was likely a pit or chamber tomb. The tomb(s) contained three or four fragmentary urns/pithoi with half-burned cremations and 24 vases, including pithoi, jugs, hydriai, skyphoi, cups, oinochoai, and a baby feeder, as well as fragments of iron weapons and a bronze fibula. This tomb(s) was probably part of the same necropolis represented by the chamber tomb found in 1954 (Tomb 1954).

H. *Tomb 1954* (on the highway) – A nearly destroyed SM chamber tomb was found in 1954 during road construction at the foot of the north slope of the hill of Phaistos along the Ieropotamos River, near the third from the last turn in the main street, which ends at the square of Ag. Georgios, at Phalandra; this is in the area northeast of Ag. Photini. This tomb contained 13 SM-PG vases, including 4 stirrup jars, 3 amphorae, 2 kalathoi, 3 skyphoi, and an askos, as well as a bronze hair spiral, two bronze fibulae (possibly from Cyprus or Argos), and a steatite button.

In the same year, a hydria, kalathos, stirrup jar, two jugs, and a skyphos, possibly from another robbed/destroyed tomb, were also recovered along the same road in the vicinity of this tomb.

I. *Tou Phygote to Aloni* – Twelve chamber tombs (supposedly SM/PG-G, though perhaps primarily LM IIIC) were excavated at this location in 1902, though they have not been well published. Tomb 9 is reported to have contained a partially cremated adult, while all other burials were inhumations. Finds of note from these tombs include a bronze mirror, weapons, and vases, sealstones, gold, paste, and stone beads, gold, silver, and bronze rings, as well as stone vases. This exact location of this cemetery relative to the others in the area is unclear, though it appears to be ~2 km east of Ag. Onouphrios.

J. *Other* – A kalathos, amphoriskos, skyphos, stirrup jar, and jug, recovered from somewhere around the street near Phaistos, may provide evidence of other destroyed SM/PG tombs in the area.

Overall – Finds from the tombs are in the Herakleion, Phaistos, and Pigorini (Rome) museums, though none of the burial sites has been well-published. Evidence of Early Iron Age habitation or activity has been observed to the west and southwest of the Minoan palace (G-O), including near Ag. Georgios church ~350 m to the west and at Chalara (the southeast slope of the palace hill, ~75 m southeast of the palace). Post-Minoan (G-O) habitation or activity has also been identified on Ag. Photini Hill (~150 m northeast of the palace), on the west side of the Acropoli Mediana (PG fortification wall and possible settlement, IIC/SM-EA), the west slope of Christos Ependis (the conical hilltop immediately west of Phaistos), and on top of certain sections of the palace (LM IIC-PG), including the West Court, and just to the southwest of the palace (G-EO). Most of the cemeteries in the area likely belonged to some of the large settlement or series of sites at Phaistos.

Ref: Gerola and Pigorini 1902; Savignoni 1904, 627-654; Levi 1927-1929c, 575-576; Pendlebury 1939, 264, 315, 319, 325; Borda 1946, 29 #170-176; Furumark 1944, 227-229; Desborough 1952, 258-259, 326; Hood 1955, 17; Levi 1955, 159; Desborough 1964, 183-184, 187, 267; Levi 1957-1958, 355-359; 1961-1962a, 467-468; Pini 1968, 90 #107; Rocchetti 1969-1970; Snodgrass 1971, 209-210; Desborough 1972b, 116, 225-226, 372; Furumark 1972, 106-107; Davaras 1973b, 162-163; Rocchetti 1974; Levi 1976b, 631; Chatzi-Vallianou 1979, 384; Kanta 1980, 99-100; Syriopoulos 1983, 112 #221, 113 #223, 390 CVIII, 537 LV, 581, 667 CXIII, 889 CLVIII; Di Vita et al. 1984, 85-86; Catling 1988, 67; Touchais 1988, 688; La Rosa 1992c, 235, 240; Vasilakis 1993; Watrous et al. 1993, 229; Vasilakis 1994-1996; Blackman 1998, 112; Cucuzza 1998, 62-64; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 180-181 #185-186; Blackman 1999, 113; Jones 2000, 284; Watrous et al. 2004, 307-313, 525-526, 532-534, 537-539

97. Sivas – In 1986, the Western Mesara Project discovered a cemetery site (B37=site 92), with associated sherds dating from LM IIIA1–PG/G, ~700 m south-southeast of the modern

village at Monasteriako Pigadi (~3.5 km south of Phaistos). No further information about the tomb type and number of tombs has yet been published. An associated settlement (B38=site 93), MM I-G, was also identified by the survey approximately 200 m above (to the southeast of) the cemetery on top of a steep ridge. The cemetery produced larnakes, ash, bone, kraters, bowls, tripod offering tables, and snake tubes. PG/G surface pottery from the settlement and cemetery included a skyphos, kalathos, krater, jugs, and pithoi. South/southeast of the village two robbed EM circular tholos tombs were previously excavated, and LM sherds were found in front of one.

Ref: Marinatos 1924-1925, 77-78; Kanta 1980, 113; Watrous et al. 1993, 228-230; 2004, 538 sites 92-93

TEMENOS EPARCHIA

98. Agios Syllas – The modern village is located south of Herakleion, ~4 km west of (Epano) Archanes, on the lower, northwest slope of Mt. Juktas. LM, PG and G pottery was found in association with tombs at Sochoro near the village. No further information about the EIA burials has been published, and the associated settlement has not yet been identified. LM IIIA-B chamber tombs with larnakes have also been reported from the area. Many LM and G vases from the site are currently in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Marinatos 1933-1935, 56; Kanta 1980, 35; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1990, 70; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 14; Chaniotis 1994, 69; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997, 36; Sjögren 2001, 204 (C123)

99. Agios Vlasis – Geometric pottery was recorded in connection with tombs found somewhere near the modern village, which is located ~2 km northeast of Ag. Syllas and ~3 km northwest of (Epano) Archanes. No other information about the G burials has been published, and the associated settlement is unknown. LM III chamber tombs have also been

recorded in the vicinity of the village. In addition, Platon and Davaras report the finding of four Geometric vases, including two small jugs and an aryballos, from Agios Vlasios, and it seems likely that they are referring to the same site.

Ref: Platon and Davaras 1960, 524; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1990, 70; Sakellerakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 14; Chaniotis 1994, 69; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997, 36; Sjögren 2001, 204 (C124)

100. Archanes (figs. 139-140) – Early Iron Age burials have been found at numerous sites in the vicinity of the modern village.

A. *Phourni* – Phourni, which is located on a small hill just northwest of Epano Archanes, was the site of an EM II–LM IIIB/C cemetery. This cemetery contained several types of tombs, including tholoi, burial buildings, a “Mycenaean” grave enclosure with shaft graves, and a chamber tomb/cenotaph. Tholos D (Building 15), the last tomb on the south end of the hill, was originally used for one wealthy LM IIIA2 female burial. The tomb was smaller than the other tholoi at the site, with a round chamber, (~2.2 m in diameter) and possibly no dromos, and finds include a bronze mirror, gold diadem, ivory fragments, a silver ring, glass paste pins, gold hair spirals, a sealstone, and gold, paste, faience, and amber beads. In debris from the collapsed roof were found three disturbed SM inhumation burials with five bronze rings, a bronze fibula, and a small fragment of bronze plate. No ceramics were found with these burials and the SM date is based on parallels for the bronze fibula.

In addition, Geometric sherds have been observed at Phourni outside the east wall of Building 4, which is located roughly in the center of the cemetery, between Tholoi A and B. These sherds may provide evidence of later offerings to the deceased, as this unique building appears originally to have been connected with funerary rituals; in fact, while the cemetery

was in use, Building 4 apparently contained workshops potentially to make items for use by the dead, storage facilities, and space to perform religious rituals.

B. *Phythies* – A cemetery existed at this location, which is part of Kambos, north of the Minoan palace, southeast of Phourni, and east of the main road connecting Kato and Epano Archanes, from LM IIIC until at least PG, and possibly until EO. A clay model, possibly of a tomb in which offerings are made to the dead through the roof, along with 15 vases, including cups, hydriai, oinochoai, jugs, kalathoi, and a cinerary urn, were recovered from the site, possibly in 1949. Workmen report that these came from plundered, rectangular built tombs, likely stone cists, in the vineyard of Anna Ludaki. Their size appears to have averaged 1.50 x 0.60 meters, though this figure could be exaggerated, and the tombs were built of cut plakas, though at least one was cut out of the rock and only covered with plakas. In addition, the grave with the terracotta model was said to have been distinctly roofed “like a bridge/arch”. There may have been as many as six graves in the vineyard, two of which were not excavated. Numerous additional finds were apparently recovered from these tombs but were hidden and later sold by the land owner or other members of the family. These are said to have included other cremation urns with lids, cups, pitchers, and two blue beads. Many fragments of pithoi, amphorae, and small vases were still visible on the surface in recent years.

In 1969, a LM IIIC/SM rectangular, lidded stone larnax/cist (0.44 x 0.31 m) with cremation was excavated nearby, and it contained a krateriskos, kotyle, two stirrup jars, an iron arrowhead, and a lump of iron. This larnax is comparable to the stone cremation urn excavated at Kato Lakkos (see entry under Juktas), a type not commonly found elsewhere in Crete during the EIA.

C. *Synoikismos* – At this site located to the southwest of the ancient settlement on the western fringe of the modern town, was uncovered a large PG burial pithos, which was placed on its side in a pit and held in place by stones at the neck and mouth. Two skulls and a few bones were found inside, along with a stirrup jar and bronze pin. No evidence of fire was found in the grave, though possible traces of a pyre with sherds and bone fragments were found nearby.

D. *Vromonero* – Robbed tombs were investigated in 1936 by Marinatos at this site, which is reportedly near a spring. Vromonero apparently lies somewhere to the southeast of Patsides, just east of a road to Varvarous (Myrtia) which branches off from the old road from Herakleion to Peza, on the south side of a small hill just down from the peak (N of Kounavoi?). 39 vases, including 3 cremation urns, amphorae, oinochoai, jugs, aryballoi, pyxides, and cups, primarily dating to PG-EG and LG-EO, were recovered from the tombs, as well as an iron pin and fragment of cloth. The vases were made in a local workshop and were similar to vases found at Phythies and Knossos Fortetsa. A bronze ring, terracotta spindle whorl, and worked stone may also have been associated with these tombs. The history of the tombs is very confused in the scholarship; according to Sakellarakis, however, there appear to have been two tombs, possibly unlined pits, though the exact number and type remain uncertain.

Overall – Remains of the Geometric, and possibly earlier (some LM IIIC and likely also SM-PG), settlement at Archanes have been found in the center of town, on the site of the Minoan palace (Tourkoyeitionia) and at Tzami, and some of the burials were likely associated with this habitation. The EIA scattering of cemeteries in the area around Archanes parallels

the pattern observed in the Minoan period. Finds from the sites are in the Herakleion Museum and Giamalakis Collection.

Ref: Hartley 1930-1931, 72-75; Blegen 1936, 372; Marinatos 1936, 224; Megaw 1936, 151; Alexiou 1950b; Hood 1958, 20; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, 154 (#138-139); Coldstream 1968, 415; Pini 1968, 76 #80.2; Snodgrass 1971, 208; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 75; Sakellarakis 1975, 257-268; Kanta 1980, 32-34; Sakellarakis 1986; Demopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1987b, 530; Sakellarakis 1987; Sapouna-Sakelleraki 1990, 83-85; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1991, 14, 24-25, 66, 128-134; 1992; Chaniotis 1994; French 1994, 73; Pariente 1994, 821; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997, 35-36, 185-188, 223-229, 465; Cameron 2003, 128

101. Herakleion (figs. 141-142) – Numerous EIA burials have been found in the vicinity of the city. Finds from the sites are in the Herakleion Museum.

A. *Atsalenio* – In 1958, at Atsalenio, which is ~3 km southwest of the city center (~3 km northwest of Knossos), Platon excavated a Geometric chamber tomb with 40 vases, the exact location of which was not reported. No further information is known about this tomb.

In 1962, Davaras excavated two additional, though largely destroyed, Geometric chamber tombs with dromoi ~100 m west of the road to Knossos and ~200 m north of the modern cemetery of Atsalenio. The chamber (1.7 x 1.1 m) floor of Tomb A (PGB-O, but primarily EO-O) was lower than the dromos, a common feature of Knossian tombs. This tomb contained 17 pithoi with cremations and 43 other vases, including skyphoi, cups, aryballoi, and an imported Cypriot jug, 4 terracotta spindle whorls, one terracotta spool, two bronze tweezers, one bronze pin, and 2 iron pins. Tomb B (6 meters to the east of T.A) was nearly completely destroyed, but 19 vases remained.

While these three tombs may represent the northernmost part of the Knossos cemeteries, they could also represent a small part of a separate cemetery, which remains largely unexplored and partly destroyed to intensive modern building in the area. Numerous

scattered settlements are known from the Knossos region, though Alexiou long assumed the existence of an EIA settlement at Atsalenio, with which this cemetery could be associated, if not with the settlement at Knossos.

B. *Mastamba* – Two Geometric chamber tombs have been excavated at this location, which is ~1.5 km southwest of the city center and ~5 km northwest of the palace at Knossos. One small, ellipsoidal chamber (1.25 x 0.9 m) with dromos was excavated in 1970 at the northwest corner of streets Damaskenou and EOK; this tomb was also ~600 m north of Atsalenio Tombs A and B. The Mastamba tomb contained 17 cremations in pithoi and kraters (two of these were in the dromos) and 76 other PG-O vases, two terracotta horses, as well as bronze tweezers, a bronze fibula, iron knife, spear, and two axes. In the dromos north of the two burial pithoi was found evidence of two successive fires/pyres. No bone was found, though these appear to represent offerings to the dead; in addition, further north were found a cup, other sherds, ashes, and burned earth.

In 1976, another small chamber tomb with dromos was excavated ~700 meters to the south of the previous tomb, and it contained 21 PG-LG/EO vases, including 5 cremation urns, skyphoi with Attic influence, plates, cups, jugs, and hydriai, a terracotta statuette of a seated figure with upraised arms (possibly attached to the handle of a vessel), a terracotta bull and bird, a bronze fibula, and an iron spearhead.

The two Mastamba chamber tombs are of the same type as those found at Atsalenio, and they are thought to represent another large cemetery analogous to those from the area of Knossos. The Mastamba tombs may further have belonged to a new harbor town founded at Herakleion, the possible settlement at Atsalenio, or another closer unknown site, rather than

to the settlement at Knossos. Also, an LM IIIB chamber tomb was excavated in the area, though its exact location was not recorded.

Ref: Platon 1958, 460, 468; Daux 1959, 735; Hood 1959, 16; Alexiou 1963a, 311-312; 1963b, 398; Megaw 1963, 29; Coldstream 1968, 415; Davaras 1968; Pini 1968, 80 #84.11,14; Lembesi 1970, 270-297; Orlandos 1970, 189-190; Snodgrass 1971, 209; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 82; Catling 1976, 29; Lembesi 1976, 351; Syriopoulos 1983, 287 #309, 288 #314, 881 CXXVIII, 882 CXXXI; Catling 1985, 58; Touchais 1985, 849; Cadogan 1992b, 132-135

102. Katsamba – One Geometric tomb was reported in 1936 from this site, a suburb east of Herakleion, which is located at the mouth of the Kairatos (now Katsamba) River, just west of Nea Halikarnassos, and very near the ancient port of Knossos (Poros). No further information has been published from this tomb, though it was said to have contained many vases. The tomb may have belonged to the new harbor town founded at Herakleion.

In addition in 1953, just to the south of Katsamba, Alexiou excavated a rock shelter which was used for burials in the Neolithic, Middle Minoan and Late Minoan periods. Kanta has identified one deep bowl from the excavation as LM IIIC, though it remains uncertain whether or not there was an associated burial from this period. Alexiou also excavated at this location seven LM II-III A chamber tombs, as well as the remains of an associated settlement, which extended to Poros and lasted until LM IIIC. The rock shelter burial may thus have belonged to this habitation site. Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Blegen 1936, 372; Marinatos 1936, 224; Alexiou 1953a, 307-308; Courbin 1954, 150-152; Alexiou 1967c; Pini 1976, 80 #84.3-10; Kanta 1980, 28-29; Syriopoulos 1983, 102 #202, 287 #306, 881 CXXVI; Sjögren 2001, 158-159 (C6)

103. Knossos (figs. 143-152) – A great number of EIA tombs (approximately 200, primarily chamber tombs) and cemeteries have been found in the vicinity of the Minoan palace.

Nearly all of these are noted in Hood and Smyth's publication (2nd edition) of the Knossos

Survey; therefore, the tombs, especially those from the North Cemetery and Fortetsa, will not be described here in great detail as they have been well-published elsewhere (see also Brock 1957 and Coldstream and Catling 1996). The sites in this entry will be presented based on location, roughly from north to south.

A. *Isopata* – The “Royal Tomb” (Knossos Survey #2) was excavated by Evans in 1904 at this location, which is just over 2.5 km north-northwest of the palace; it was, however, destroyed during World War II. The tomb originally contained a large rectangular chamber (6.07 x 7.85 m), rectangular antechamber, and long dromos (~10 m), and its height (keel-vaulted roof) may have been as great as 8 m. Evans first dated the tomb to MM III on the basis of masons’ marks found on some of the blocks, though he later changed the date of the earliest burials to LM II. The tomb was apparently disturbed and plundered multiple times, though there is evidence that it was re-used for burials in LM IIIC. Some of the burials found in the three niches (one in the back wall of the chamber and one on both the north and south sides of the antechamber) may date to this period as a few of the vases, including two stirrup jars and a cup, are apparently IIIC. A few Geometric sherds were also discovered “rather in the upper levels,” though it is uncertain whether or not these indicate Geometric activity at the tomb.

Approximately 250 msouth of the Isopata Tomb, Hood and Smyth identified the collapsed remains of an LM or EIA chamber tomb (KS #3), though no further information about this tomb is known.

In addition, fragments of a cinerary urn and Geometric amphora, likely from a tomb, were found at Isopata near the church of Ag. Nikolaos.

B. *Agios Ioannis* – Eight rock-cut chamber tombs (KS #6), all with collapsed roofs, have been excavated at this location (~1 km southwest of the Isopata Tomb), on the north side of the road from A. Ioannis to Mesambelies (Ambelakia), just past the junction from the Herakleion-Knossos road. The tombs had circular, oval, rectangular and quadrangular chambers (ranging from 0.65-1.7 x 1.3-2.3 m) which were often closed by worked ashlar blocks, likely re-used from a Minoan building. Both inhumations and cremations were found in the tombs, and finds of note include 122 vases, iron swords and spears, 7 bronze rings, 2 bracelets, a whetstone, over 250 clay beads, faience beads, 4 gold rings, 2 silver rings, and rock crystal fragments, possibly from a Minoan vase, though unfortunately most of the small finds were lost during World War II. In addition, Tomb IV contained an inhumation burial in a niche, in front of which was a small area with ash, burned animal bones (bird?), and food remains, likely from an offering to the deceased. The cemetery was short-lived, used only from SM/EPG-LPG, and it may have been used by inhabitants of a small local settlement, rather than the main settlement at Knossos.

In 1980, four SM/PG (or one PG and four Roman, the number of PG tombs is unclear in the report) chamber tombs were also reported from this area, and finds include many vases, including stirrup jars and an amphora, iron weapons, and gold jewelry. The exact location of these tombs relative to the eight previously excavated tombs is unknown and no further information about them has been published.

Another chamber tomb (KS #19) was excavated in 1959, and it is located approximately 550 meters southeast of the main group of Ag. Ioannis tombs; this tomb is often referred to as the tomb south of Ag. Ioannis. This tomb lies under the boundary fence of the Apollonio hospital to the east and a little below the orphanage, and it is also ~550 m

west of one of the groups of Kephala tombs (KS #16). The tomb originally dates to LM I or II and it has a quadrangular chamber (2.4 x 1.9-2.6 m) and a deep-cut dromos with narrow, inward leaning sides. The tomb further appears to have been reused in SM for two inhumation burials, a male and a female. Two large bronze pins (one with an ivory head) were found with the female, one placed on each shoulder, a feature thought to be foreign to Mycenaean tradition, though common in Central Europe. Furthermore, the skulls were said to be “quite different from most of the Cretan material.” Two stirrup jars, one amphora, and fragments of bronze also accompanied these burials. In addition, an ash deposit was found in front of the door to the chamber, possibly indicating ritual purification before the reuse of the tomb or some part of the SM burial ceremony.

C. *Ambelakia* – In 1950, Alexiou excavated a robbed and half-destroyed oval chamber tomb (~2.15 m in diameter) in an area between a vineyard and a field ~1 km west of the road from Herakleion to Knossos (west of Ag. Ioannis). Protogeometric and Geometric sherds were recovered from this tomb, which also had two monolithic door jambs, a rectangular threshold cut into the kouskoura, and possibly a floor paved with plakas, or possibly fallen from the roof. The tomb likely contained cremations, though no further information about it has been published.

D. *Kephala* – In 1958, Coldstream excavated a tomb (KS #10) with a rectangular chamber (2 x 1.6 m) and dromos with inward leaning sides at this location, which is ~700 m south-southeast of the Royal Tomb, on the west bank of Kephala ridge, near the church of Agios Nikolaos at Isopata, and ~500 m northwest of Payne’s Kephala tombs. This tomb has previously been mis-identified as being located at Sopata of Agios Nikolaos (Lasithi). The

tomb appears to have been constructed in LM III but reused for a single MPG inhumation burial. This burial was accompanied by an amphora, stirrup jar, bronze ring, and bronze pin.

The 1958 tomb is likely associated with tombs (KS #16) found ~200-300 m to the south. Evans dug two tombs, which he called beehive tombs, at this location in 1907, one of which was said to have contained nearly 100 vases, including Corinthian imports. Bronze tweezers, a bronze cup, and iron swords were also recovered from these two tombs. Payne dug an additional tomb (or two-chamber tombs) a little to the south in 1927. Payne's tomb had a circular chamber (~2.4 x 1.9 m), which contained three pits, and a dromos with two niches. Over 100 terracotta vases, including Rhodian and Corinthian imports, and bronze vessels were also found in this tomb, as well as a rough limestone block, identified as a possible altar. The pottery from these three (or four) tombs dates from PG to O, and they contained cremation burials, primarily in kalpai and pithoi. These tombs also continue the line of Hogarth's tombs, which are located ~400 m to the south.

Around 150 meters east of KS # 16 on the crest of the ridge was found a tholos tomb (Kephala tholos - KS #17). This tholos contained a round corbel-vaulted chamber, rectangular fore-hall with two side chambers, and a walled, steep dromos. Mason's marks were also found on some of the blocks. The earliest burials of this tomb, from four shaft graves, appear to date to LM II, though authors have previously argued that its construction could be as early as LM I or MM III; the tomb was also, however, reused in LM IIIC, as was the Isopata tomb. According to the excavation reports, the LM IIIC material consists of 5 deposits in the chamber fill, which include up to 9 inhumations and 15 vases. Preston, however, proposes two LM IIIC burial deposits, one in the chamber at a depth of 2.1 m (the so-called 5th bone deposit, with four skulls, two deep bowls, two stirrup jars, and an

aryballos) and the other in the forehall (with an amphoriskos). She further identifies an SM stirrup jar and deep bowl as associated with an inhumation in a pithos found ~1 m deep in the chamber fill; in addition, a PG bell krater found higher up in the fill may indicate presence of yet another EIA burial in this tomb.

Hogarth dug eight (seven of which were robbed) rock-cut tombs (KS #39) at this location (a little over 1 km north of the palace and ~500 m east of the North Cemetery) in 1899-1900. Most of the tombs were chambers with dromoi, though one or two (#6-called tholos chamber and #1-called vaulted chamber whose walls almost converge to form a pointed arch) may have been a tholos. At least two of the tombs had sloping, stepped dromoi with inward leaning sides, signs that they may have been constructed in LM III. The tombs contained evidence of burials from SM-EO, and one also contained evidence of LM III. Finds of note from these tombs include a clay kernos with tripod feet, a bird vase, three pairs of bronze tweezers, three bronze mirrors, a gold diadem, blue paste and terracotta beads, a bronze tripod, and iron weapons. In addition, Tomb 2 contained a cylindrical stone, which may have been used as an altar, and Tomb 5, which was unrobbed, contained only two inhumations and four vases, reminiscent of the tomb at Agios Ioannis. Finally, Hogarth's tombs appear to have contained both inhumations and cremations.

Payne also apparently investigated two previously excavated tombs in the vicinity of Hogarth's tombs in 1929, one with a circular chamber with G and A sherds, and the other with a rectangular chamber dating to LM. It is unclear whether the Kephala tombs are the eastern outliers of the North Cemetery or represent smaller local plots, possibly for extended families. Many of the tombs may have been reused from Late Minoan times, as Kephala

ridge was in a prominent location above the main ancient road leading from the palace/settlement to the harbor.

In addition, in 1957 another, half-destroyed chamber tomb (~4.2 m diameter), with PG-O pottery, was cleared on the southern edge of Kephala ridge (between KS #39 and #40, to the south/southeast of Hogarth's tombs). The remaining small finds from the tomb consisted of a gold bead, iron sword, gilt iron pin, and a Levantine scarab. According to Coldstream, this tomb would have been an outlying member of Hogarth's cemetery (or the NC). An empty tomb with a small, oval chamber and stepped dromos was also found just to the east of this tomb.

Less than 150 m to the west of Hogarth's tombs opposite the stream were identified other (at least three were noted by Evans) Geometric tombs (KS #41), though no other information about them is known.

E. *Kallithea (Babali)* (KS #32) – In 1959, Platon uncovered two “rather poor” PG chamber tombs, ~1 km northwest of the village of Kallithea (which is ~1.5 km northeast of the palace), and he noted traces of tombs and buildings of the same period in the area. These tombs were said to have contained a few burials and very few vases, including a small stirrup jar. Just below the burial layer of Tomb B was uncovered a palaeontological find: seven large vertebrae of some unknown mammal. A possible associated settlement (G-H) was also identified ~200 m southwest of the village.

F. *North Cemetery* – The North Cemetery at Knossos (the main cemetery of the EIA) appears to have been quite large: it consists of tombs labeled as from Teke (Ambelokipi), the Knossos Medical Faculty (University Site), Venizelio Hospital (=Sanatorium, ~100 m to the SE of the Medical Faculty), and Fortetsa (North).

Approximately 100 m to the south of the University site was identified a concentration of chamber tombs, which form the southern limit of the North Cemetery. Brock published three tombs (SM-EO) from this area (labeled as Fortetsa) which were excavated by Payne and Blakeway in 1933 (Tombs L, TFT, and II = KS #52). These tombs were located ~800 m to the north of the other Fortetsa tombs (see below - K. Fortetsa) and were of the same type. Tomb II was noteworthy in that it contained evidence of SM burials; Tomb L contained one inhumation (possibly a child) and at least two cremations; Tomb TFT, on the other hand, was small (<1.25 m in diameter) and contained 15 burials (three in a niche in the dromos), along with numerous imported vases (Naxian, Cycladic, Corinthian, Cypriot), though few other finds.

Approximately 50 meters west of KS #52 (~50 m southwest of the main Knossos-Herakleion road and immediately opposite the Sanatorium/Hospital) on a small rise were three chamber tombs in a row (KS #56) excavated by Hood. Two of these contained evidence of inhumations and the other of cremations. Also from this concentration of tombs come 10 additional chambers excavated by Coldstream and Huxley in 1967 (KS #55) in an olive grove opposite the main entrance to the Venizelion Hospital. All of these tombs had been thoroughly looted, though there was evidence from SM (two tombs) until EO/O.

Knossos Survey #62 represents part of the Medical Faculty site (an SM-LO, H and R cemetery), which is located under the new Medical Faculty building of the University of Crete, ~1.2 km northwest of the palace and 1 km north of the main Fortetsa cemetery. 86 tombs were excavated in 1978, the majority of which (60 or more) were chamber tombs; these had mostly irregular, round chambers, though some were rectangular, and niches/side chambers were often found in the dromoi. The SM chamber tombs, in particular, most

resemble the Fortetsa tombs in “the shape of the chambers and their size relative to the whole tomb.” The Medical Faculty site also contained a few shaft graves, pit graves, and pit caves, which are defined as rectangular shafts which lead to miniature chambers dug into the sides. The tombs in the cemetery seem to occur commonly in clusters arranged in rows of four to six tombs. A limited number of burials were found in each tomb, and Cavanagh has suggested that they were family tombs serving a “very narrow kin group.”

As many as twenty-one SM tombs were excavated, all except one located on the southern edge of the Medical Faculty; these consist of 11 chamber tombs, 1-4 shaft graves, and 2-4 pit caves, types all observed in the LM III cemetery at Zapher Papoura. Catling believes that the earliest burials in this cemetery date to SM and that no previous burials existed here, though Coldstream suggests that some of the burials (T. 75 and 107, for example) may have been placed in reused LM III tombs. From PG onwards, nearly all adult burials are found in chamber tombs. Many new chamber tombs were constructed in PG-MG, though it has been suggested that new chambers were not constructed after the ninth century and that in LG-O old ones were simply reused with burials, often the older ones, frequently being placed in niches cut into the dromoi. Small pits with burials in larnakes, pithoi, and urns also occur during this later period. The SM tombs contained both inhumations and cremations, while urn cremation was predominant from PG onward. Geometric inhumations in this cemetery likely all (or nearly all) represent infant/child burials in pithoi and larnakes, and these occur within and outside the chamber tombs, as well as in pits. Parts of 17 Minoan (LM IIIA-B) larnakes, as well as at least one small scale imitation (T. 104), have been found with EIA burials from the North Cemetery and Coldstream has suggested that in PGB these larnakes began to be reused, possibly all for the inhumations of children. The total number

of burials in the Medical Faculty may range from 422-671, with a peak in the Geometric period.

In addition, two of the SM pit caves (T. 186 and 200-202) from the Medical Faculty were especially noteworthy in that they contained warrior burials; T. 200-202, for example, contained the remains of a male, two females, and possibly a child (the male, one female, and the child may have been cremated at the same time on the same pyre), and finds included a boar's tusk helmet, bronze openwork stand, bronze weapons, a bronze shield boss, an ivory comb, iron pins, 80 gold beads, and stone, glass and faience beads. The shaft graves, also SM, consisted of rectangular or trapezoidal pits cut into the bedrock, within which a smaller pit was dug to a greater depth to receive a single inhumation (male where it was possible to identify the bones) and then covered with stone slabs. These tombs contained few to no offerings; one stirrup jar was the only recovered find.

Finds of note from the Medical Faculty chamber tombs, on the other hand, include an MM III-LM I stone gem in EIA gold setting, bronze cauldrons and other vessels, iron obeloi and firedogs, glass and amber beads, bronze and iron weapons, bronze, silver, and gold jewelry, a serpentine pendant, limestone basin and mortar, iron horse bit, bone pin, scarabs, faience figurines and vessels, fragments of a terracotta house model, goat horns, and eggshell. Attic, Corinthian, Argive, Thessalian, Euboean, Cycladic, East Greek, Cypriot, and Phoenician imported vessels have also been identified from these tombs. Furthermore, evidence of funerary meals (bones of sheep/goat, and pig), amulets (bones of cattle, sheep/goat, pig, and dog), offerings (eggshell), and animal sacrifice (T.79-2 horses and 2 dogs; T. 152-two horses) were recovered from some of the tombs.

Other tombs were previously identified less than 50 meters from the excavated area of the Medical Faculty: KS #53 (EIA tombs northwest of the fork between the Fortetsa and Knossos roads, southwest of KMF) and KS #54, about which no further information, including date of excavation, is known. Survey #63 is another possible EIA chamber tomb uncovered in 1976 on the east edge of the Medical Faculty tombs. Also from the area of the Medical Faculty tombs come four LG chamber tombs dug in 1982. In 1991, three chamber tombs were excavated in the area of the hospital, one of which contained LM III-SM vases, and in 1996 two chamber tombs, one of which was PG and the other included an LM IIIC-SM stirrup jar among its contents, were excavated adjacent to the west side of the Hospital. In addition, a cippus, presumably from the North Cemetery was found out of context in the vicinity of the hospital in 1997.

Also likely part of the North Cemetery are KS #50 and #51 (located ~150-250 m south and southwest of the Medical Faculty tombs). KS #50 (labeled as at Teke) is an EPG chamber tomb which was excavated by Coldstream in 1959. Fragments of two inhumations remained (an infant in a pithos in the chamber and an adult in the dromos), along with 18 vases, 2 iron spears and a bronze ring. Survey #51 represents EIA tombs discovered in 1957 on the edge of Fortetsa village looking towards Ambelokipi (Teke). Two tombs, located ~15 m apart, were excavated, and fragments of G pottery were also found nearby; these appear to have been the chamber tombs dug by Payne in 1927 “at Fortezza” which were said to have been PG-O.

From Ambelokipi (Teke) come numerous chamber tombs, which appear to comprise an outward extension/the northern fringe (~100 m to the northwest) of the North Cemetery. KS #47 with 13 or more tombs (PG-O) was excavated, primarily in 1975-1976, during

construction on the Niotakis and Koiladi plots. Tomb G represents the tomb partly dug by Platon in 1943 and it contained over 150 terracotta vases, at least 10 bronze vessels, two loomweights, and obsidian fragments. Tombs N-G-H-J-L-K form a single line, with other tombs located nearby. Tomb F contained a pit in the dromos with the remains of two horses and two dogs; finds of note from the other tombs include bronze vessels, imported vases, bronze and iron pins, a possible limestone altar, an LM III sealstone, gold pins, gold rings, and obsidian fragments.

The Teke tholos tomb (KS #46), which was found by Hutchinson in 1939-40 approximately 150 m north of KS #47, may originally have been Minoan but was reused for burials from PGB-EO. The tomb had a round chamber (>3 m in diameter) and a long (15.3 m) dromos. Just inside the doorway, on either side was a vase, both of which contained fine jewelry. The tomb was looted and disturbed but still contained evidence of cremation burials (at least 19), approximately 120 vases, a terracotta house model, gold, amber, bronze, and crystal pendants, silver pins with gold heads, an ivory crescent, ostrich egg, an electrum potnia theron, LM III larnax, fragments of limestone 'horns of consecration,' a faience bottle, an ivory crescent, a gold fillet, scarabs, a gold male and female kriophoros, bronze horses, and fragments of a bronze tripod cauldron, among numerous other items. The finds from this tholos have been well-published and Boardman has identified it as possibly the tomb (in PGB) of an immigrant goldsmith (and his family) from the Middle East (North Syria?), as it contained much fine jewelry (often with NE elements), and gold bars and gold, silver, and electrum dumps, though Hoffman does not consider the tomb to have been that of a jeweler. Two adjacent chamber tombs of the same period (G-O) were also excavated, one of which

contained a curved stone which may have come from the tholos. Traces of two pyres were also identified between the tholos and the nearest chamber tomb.

Additional tombs have recently been excavated in the Ambelokipi/Teke area. One LG chamber tomb with built stone jambs and a possible offering table was reported in 1991. Seven PG-O chamber tombs with both inhumations and cremations were excavated and six more were identified, but were unable to be excavated, in 1993 from the Koiladi plot on Knossou Street. One of these tombs had four cups placed just in front of the blocking stones, and fragments of iron obeloi, a terracotta bird and votive idol were recovered from the tombs. In 1994, on the Daphermou plot, two robbed PG and SM-G chamber tombs were investigated. Furthermore, in 2000 three additional G (and O?) chamber tombs were excavated in this area, one of which contained a stone kernos and a scarab.

G. *Mavro Spelio* (KS #251) – A cemetery of 21 MM II-LM IIIB chamber tombs (with one-four chambers each and dromoi) was excavated at this location (~600 m northeast of the palace) by Evans and Forsdyke in 1926-1927. In some tombs (IV-14, VII-2, and XVII-1 or more), Geometric pithoi with infant burials were placed in the collapsed/fallen earth above the Minoan interments; the pithoi of tomb IV were placed high up in the fallen earth, while those of tomb XVII cut into a larnax resting on the chamber floor. Cups and jugs are the only finds mentioned as accompanying some of these burials.

H. *Villa Ariadne* – In 1958, twelve LPG vases (a krater, five skyphoi, two aryballoi, a cup, a miniature cup, jug, and oinochoe) were discovered ~150 m southwest of the villa, possibly from a tomb. The surrounding area was thoroughly explored the next year, though no tomb was found. If the vases do come from a burial, it would likely represent an isolated cremation in a domestic area.

I. *Near the Palace* – An ‘oven-shaped’ tomb (KS #223), possibly EIA, was found immediately north of the palace, “a little east” of the Geometric well of the north pillar crypt (KS #222). No further information about this tomb is known.

J. *Stratigraphical Museum* – According to Cadogan, excavations behind the Knossos Stratigraphical Museum have revealed evidence of intramural infant burials placed under the floors of rooms, a practice commonly observed in mainland Mycenaean burials and also found in the LM II Unexplored Mansion at Knossos. These infant burials were apparently found all over the site, dating to LM IIIC (especially the middle phase) and SM, though the exact number of burials and grave goods have not yet been published. The brief report mentions that in one example, however, the infant was placed under a large, plain lekane.

K. *Fortetsa* (KS #151) – Seventeen or eighteen chamber tombs were excavated in 1933 and 1935 at this site on the lower west slopes of the so-called Acropolis of Knossos (~850 m west of the palace and ~1 km south of the Medical Faculty tombs). The tombs typically had round or oval chambers (~1-2.5 m in diameter), except for the two smallest (III and OD) which had square chambers, and dromoi (length 1->5 m), some of which contained ledges for burials. They were entered by a low rectangular opening, and there was usually a considerable step down from the descending dromos into the chamber. The tombs were roughly divided into three groups based on location (I-IX and P; OD, X, XI, LST and BLT; F (the only tomb with a different orientation) and possibly θ and Q). Cremation burials were found inside the chambers, in the dromoi, and on the cut ledges, and these were usually placed in pithoi, though sometimes in a krater or bronze lebes/dinos. While most tombs contained as few as one-five burials, a few tombs contained many more (for example, T.VII-12, F-13 or 14, X-21, II-28, and P-as many as 78).

The Fortetsa tombs were used from EPG-LO, though according to Brock, there is no evidence that any of the tombs was constructed after the end of PG. Tomb P was by far the richest grave with ~380 vases, followed by T. II with 137, among numerous other finds. Aryballoi, oinochoai, cups, and krateriskoi were the most common vase types, and Cypriot, Attic, and Corinthian imports were also present. Finds of note from the Fortetsa tombs include many bronze vessels (dinoi, bowls, oinochoai, phialai, a tripod stand), fibulae, pins, reliefs, and a ram, gold (leaf, rings, pins, a bee, and a daedalic head), terracotta (trees, horses, birds, a boat, and a basket), and silver objects (pins and tweezers), iron weapons and tools, gold, faience, glass/paste, terracotta, and amber beads, scarabs, pendants (steatite, crystal, carnelian, and ivory), sealstones (one with a flying fish), whetstones, a lead lion, and faience figurines. In addition, a large burned area was found in front of the dromoi of Tombs P(I) and II, likely from pyres, funerary rituals/offerings, or from cleaning out the tomb for later burials.

In addition, fragments of G tripod pithoi and other vases suggested to Hood and Smyth the existence of possible EIA tombs at KS #107, which is less than 1 km northeast of the palace, 500 m south of the Medical Faculty tombs, and ~400 m north of the Fortetsa tombs.

L. *Lower Gypsades* – The MM III-LM I Temple Tomb (KS #323) is located ~600 m south of the palace. In 1975 approximately 200 m northwest of this tomb on the eastern slopes of Lower Gypsades, a PGB-LO chamber tomb (KS #320) with an irregular, oval (~2.6 x 1.5 m) chamber and narrow dromos was uncovered. The tomb contained 35 cremation urns (21 PGB-LG), and other finds included 81 additional vases, a pair of silver pins, bronze tweezers, iron weapons, and a faience scarab. Fragments of eggshell were also noted,

possibly from an offering made at the tomb. According to Boardman, this tomb may have belonged to an undiscovered outlying habitation on Lower Gypsades or have been placed on the land of a family living in the main settlement at Knossos.

Just beyond the northwest corner of Temple Tomb was found what Evans records as a “Late Geometrical grave pit containing vessels of characteristic types.” No further information about this grave has been published, however.

In addition, ~150-200 m south of Temple Tomb in a vineyard on a high bank bordering the west side of the main road was recorded a plundered, possibly EIA tomb (KS #325), though no further information about this tomb is known. Two other possible EIA tombs (KS #328) appear to have been exposed before and during WW II, ~300 m southwest of Temple Tomb, though again no further information is known. Also in this area, immediately south of KS #328, was excavated an LM III chamber tomb and two or three shaft graves (KS #329).

M. *Upper Gypsades* – At this location (~200 m southwest of KS #328 on Lower Gypsades), 18-20 tombs (KS #331), primarily chambers, were excavated in 1955. One of these tombs dated to MM and the majority dated to LM IIIA-B. Tomb IX, however, dates to LM IIIB2 (possibly IIIC), and it contained a larnax with three skulls, a stirrup jar, deep bowl, and bronze earring. Dating to the same period is possible Tomb VIa, which consisted of a group of vases (two stirrup jars, a jar, and a flask), though no bones were found. Tomb VII, on the other hand, is the latest from the cemetery (LM IIIB2-SM) and it held many more vases and grave goods than the other tombs. This roughly circular chamber tomb (1.7 x 1.9 m) with dromos contained at least three inhumation burials, one larnax, 11 vases, 4 bronze pins (one cf. Mouliana), an iron knife with bronze rivets, 2 sealstones (one engraved with a

flying fish), a spindlewhorl, 2 bronze rings, an amber bead, 2 stone beads, and a faience bead. Two additional stirrup jars were found higher up in the fill and may also belong with this tomb.

Also in 1993 in Papadakis field, five chamber tombs (four LM IIIB and one PG) were uncovered; in 1997 immediately to the east of these tombs, Grammatikaki excavated a large SM-PG chamber tomb (T.5) which was divided in two by a section of wall. The north side of the tomb contained eight skulls, fragments of larnakes, a feeding bottle, and a small jug, while the south end of this tomb contained three skulls and a few sherds. It is unclear from the reports whether this tomb is located on Upper Gypsades or Lower.

N. *Other* – In 1897, Orsi published one large Early Iron Age cinerary urn and two lids, which were said to have come from burials at Knossos. The exact findspot(s) and tomb type, however, are unknown.

Overall – Finds from the cemeteries are in the Herakleion and Knossos Stratigraphical Museums and possibly also the Ashmolean and British Museums. An extensive LM IIIC and SM settlement has been identified behind the Stratigraphical Museum to the west of the palace. The area west of the palace remained the main habitation site of Knossos throughout the EIA, expanding to the north in the area between the palace and the Venizeleion hospital during LG and O. Some scholars have suggested that the wide distribution of EIA cemeteries (spread over 5 km) implies the existence of a scatter of separate villages and hamlets, though Hood and Smyth believe that the main center of habitation from PG on was this area west of the palace. In addition, Coldstream has suggested that Knossos was an urban nucleus throughout the Dark Age and that the tombs are typically located less than 500 meters from the settlement. Furthermore, Hood and Smyth

consider the tombs in the EIA to be no more scattered than in the BA or R periods. They also postulate that the distribution of EIA tombs may have been to some extent conditioned by the distribution of BA ones; for example, in the earlier part of the period some BA tombs appear to have been reused, especially those (KS #16; 39) flanking the line of what may have been the ancient road from BA Knossos to the north. The tombs from Gypsades, Fortetsa, Mavro Spelio, Kephala, the North Cemetery, and near the palace all likely belonged to this settlement, with the North Cemetery being the main cemetery. The Geometric finds from Isopata may have belonged to the possible settlement at Herakleion, along with the tombs at Mastamba and Atsalenio, or to a potential, smaller settlement on Agios Ioannis Hill, to which the cemetery at the western foot of the hill and the tomb at Ambelakia would also have belonged. Evidence of G-H occupation (KS #32) also existed on top of the ridge to southwest and on the slopes below Kallithea (Babali), with which the tombs in that area may have belonged. There may also have been a scatter of farmhouses, to which some isolated tombs could have belonged.

Ref: Orsi 1897, 255-257; Hogarth 1899-1900, 82-85; Welch 1899-1900; Evans 1901-1902, 8; 1903-1904, 4-6; 1906, 136-172; Mackenzie 1906-1907, 443-444; Karo 1908, 122; Forsdyke 1926-1927; Woodward 1927, 244-245; Payne 1927-1928; Levi 1927-1929c, 568-572; *BCH* 52 (1928) 495; Herbig 1928, 604-605; Karo 1930, 156; Hartley 1930-1931, 56-69; Béquignon 1933, 292; Marinatos 1933, 304-314; Payne 1933, 288-292; Béquignon 1934, 269-270; Payne 1935, 166-168; Karo 1936, 160; Marinatos 1936, 224; Pendlebury 1939, 314, 324; Robertson 1939, 203-205; Walter 1940, 298-299; 1942, 195; Dunbabin 1944, 84-86; Furumark 1944, 226-227; Platon 1947, 628, 633; Cook 1948, 117; Alexiou 1950, 294-296; Desborough 1952, 325; Platon and Alexiou 1953, 487; Cook and Boardman 1954, 166; Hutchinson and Boardman 1954; Hutchinson 1956; Brock 1957; Hood 1958, 24; Platon 1958, 477; Hood 1959, 21; Platon 1959, 367, 380-381; Hood et al. 1958-1959; Boardman 1960; Daux 1960, 838-840; Hood 1960a, 42; Boardman 1961, 97-98; Hood and Boardman 1961; Coldstream 1963; Desborough 1964, 179-181; Evans 1964b, 154, 547, 555-558; 1964c, 771-776, 1018; Alexiou 1965, 290; Boardman 1967; Cadogan 1967; Coldstream 1968, 415-416; Hood and Coldstream 1968; Megaw 1968, 22; Pini 1968, 83-85 #83; Snodgrass 1971, 80-82, 165-166, 209; Desborough 1972b, 115, 225-229; Furumark 1972, 106-107; Lembesi 1975; Sackett 1976; Pelon 1976, 263-265; Catling 1977, 11-18, 22; 1979b; Kanta 1980, 29-30; Catling 1981, 42; Coldstream 1981; Holloway 1981, 101; Hood

and Smyth 1981, 16-18, 34-39, 42, 46, 52-53, 58-59; Rethemiotakis 1982; Touchais 1982, 624; Catling 1983, 43-56; Syriopoulos 1983, 658-662 (XCIII), 882-884 (CXXXIV); Warren 1983, 73-74, 80; Coldstream 1991; French 1991, 68-69; Cadogan 1992b, 132-133, 139; Grammatikaki 1993; Coldstream 1994; Serpetsidaki 1994; Catling 1995; Coldstream and Catling 1996; Grammatikaki 1996, 624; Blackman 1997, 105-106; Grammatikaki 1997, 987; Hoffman 1997, 191-245; Kanta 1997, 231; Blackman 1999, 113; 2000, 133; Jones 2000, 216-229; Banou 2002, 309-313; Coldstream 2002; Whitley 2003, 81; 2004, 77; Preston 2005

104. Mount Juktas (figs. 140, 153) – Several Early Iron Age burial sites have been found in the vicinity of Mount Juktas, to the southwest of Archanes.

A. *Kastro* – Sakellarakis reports that remains of a Geometric cemetery were found at this site, which is located ~300 m southwest of Stravomyti Cave, in the area of Karnari, southwest of Mount Juktas, and northeast of Profitis Elias (Kanli Kastelli). No further information about these tombs has been reported. Evidence of LM, G, and A occupation has also been found in the vicinity of Kastro, with which these burials may have been associated.

B. *Kato Lakkos* – An SM cremation burial was found in a lidded limestone ash urn at this site, which is located ~800 m southeast of Kanari, on the far southern slope of Juktas, south-southwest of Archanes. Grave goods include one stirrup jar, a bronze spearhead, iron spearhead, and two iron Nave Type II swords.

C. *Krya Vrysi* – Geometric pottery was found in connection with tombs at this site, which may be located somewhere on the lower, southeast (or southwest) slope of Juktas. The exact location, however, is unknown, and no further information has been published about these tombs. Mycenaean, Geometric, and Archaic remains have been found at Kato Vrysi, though its location relative to Krya Vrysi is unclear from the reports.

D. *Stravomyti* – Pendlebury reported fragments of SM/PG larnakes from Kambariane, which is located just west of Stravomyti Cave and northwest of Kastro, on the southwest flank of Juktas, at the foot of the mountain near Karnari. These burials may more

likely date to LM III, however, though the date remains uncertain. These larnakes may also have been associated with the settlement at Kastro.

Overall – A small LM III and SM settlement has been reported from the area of Kanari (Kambariani #6c), ~60 meters west of a fountain, and remains of a few G-EO buildings were also found, somewhere near a spring. The exact location of these sites relative to each other is unclear, and it is also unclear from the reports whether the occupation identified in the vicinity of Kastro refers to the same site(s) or to a different one. At least some of the burials from the area, however, likely belong to these sites. In addition, an LM IIIB rock-cut chamber tomb was excavated by Sakellarakis at Tragomandra. Some finds from the Juktas tombs are in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Pendlebury 1939, 315; Pini 1968, 82 #79.1; Orlandos 1974, 115; 1978, 62; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1978, 322; Catling 1980, 50; Kanta 1980, 34; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1990, 73-76; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1991, 14, 24-25; Chaniotis 1994, 69; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 35-36; Sjögren 2001, 171 (C35); 204 (C125)

105. Nea Halikarnassos – One Geometric grave (a chamber tomb?) was reported from this site in 1936, and Pendlebury refers to a G cemetery at this location, which is a suburb just to the east of Herakleion and east of Katsamba. No further information has been published from these tomb(s), however, though they could have belonged to the new EIA harbor town founded at Herakleion.

In addition, in 1972 Lembesi excavated a robbed LM chamber tomb at this site, located between Herodotou and Artemisias roads and west of the church of Agios Nikolaos. The tomb was of LM II or IIIA1 type, similar to the Tomb of the Double Axes and the Isopata Tomb from Knossos, and it had a trapezoidal chamber (3.5 x 3.2 m), which was divided into three sections by a large columnar support, and a long (8.6 m) dromos. The

tomb appears to have been cleaned out in ancient times, with three small conch shells, one from each of the three tomb sections, representing the only finds still on the chamber floor. Inside the tomb to the left of the entrance was found a pit (1.25 x 0.6 m), which was full of earth, stones, bones, two skulls, three vases, a faience vase, one clay bead, three stone beads, and a glass/paste bead. This pit was apparently created in ancient times as a deposit for goods and bones, rather than a primary burial site, and a tripod altar was also placed on top of the pit. The faience vase and two of the beads appear to date to the earliest phase of the tomb's use, though two of the vases (a stirrup jar and jug) date to LM IIIC and perhaps represent a later re-use of the tomb or the period in which it was cleaned out. According to Lembesi, this tomb seems to indicate that the LM cemetery of the harbor settlement at Katsambas and Poros was larger than previously thought, extending further to the east as far as Nea Halikarnassos. Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum.

Ref: Blegen 1936, 372; Marinatos 1936, 224; Pendlebury 1939, 324; Snodgrass 1971, 209; Lembesi 1973, 564-567; Catling 1979a, 36; Syriopoulos 1983, 102 #203, 287 #307, 881 CXXVII

106. Phoinikia – Early Iron Age tombs have been found in various locations in the vicinity of the modern village, which is 4-5 km southwest of Herakleion. Finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum, and the associated settlement has not yet been identified.

A. *Phoinikia* – Marinatos notes that as many as 11 PG and 3 G vases were recovered from a vineyard located on a small hill near the village, apparently in 1925. These vases certainly come from one or more robbed tombs, likely chambers with cremations, though the exact location of the tombs remains unknown. The pottery includes two aryballoi, two pyxides, two oinochoai, two coarse ware vases, a cup, jug, and pithos.

B. *Drakouliari* – In addition, in 1967, at Drakouliari or Chochliodoloi on the west side of the plain of Phoinikia, Alexiou excavated a small EPG round chamber tomb (1.39 m diameter) with short dromos. The dromos was apparently used as a pit, and was full of ash, but no bone, possibly from offerings to the deceased. The dromos also contained three steps and was 0.6 m higher than the chamber floor. Finds from the tomb chamber include a cremation in a pithos, ten other vases (four stirrup jars, two amphorae, two krateriskoi, a jug, and oinochoe), two hemispherical bronze bowls, a bronze spear, iron weapons, and an iron fibula with a bronze disc through the middle. In addition, the burial pithos was placed on top of a large plaka and its mouth was also closed with one.

C. *TEI* – Also, in 1994 during the digging of a pipeline on the land of the Agricultural Technological Institute of Herakleion (TEI), one half-destroyed, rock-cut chamber tomb was discovered with 27 LG vases, including 6 skyphoi, 6 jugs, 6 aryballoi, 4 ash urns, 4 cups, and a hydria. A thick layer of burned clayish soil was uncovered just above the tomb. Evidence of a short, possibly funerary, peribolos wall (the longest section running for 6 m) was also found ~400 m from the tomb, and south of the northern section of this wall was observed burnt earth from a possible pyre. In addition, at the northwest corner of this area and to the south of the peribolos wall, a low semicircular building was identified, also LG (though with evidence of an earlier phase), along with five amphorae and one coarse ware vessel; the function of this building has not yet been established.

Ref: Marinatos 1931-1932, 2-5; Pendlebury 1939, 314, 325; Desborough 1952, 254, 326; Alexiou 1967b, 213-214; Orlandos 1967, 124-126; Alexiou 1968, 404; Coldstream 1968, 416; Daux 1968, 999; Megaw 1968, 23; Pini 1968, 90 #82, 93; Snodgrass 1971, 210; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 93; Syriopoulos 1983, 214 #197, 663 XCV; Galanaki 1994; Touchais 1999, 823; Blackman 2000, 139

107. Profitis Elias (formerly Kanli Kastelli) – Xanthoudides excavated an EIA tomb at Riza, located approximately one km north of the modern village, which is ~4 km south-southwest of Ag. Syllas. The tomb type and exact contents of the tomb were not reported, though there were said to have been many vases, primarily Geometric but some Protogeometric. It is unclear, however, whether the Attic PG skyphos discussed by Desborough comes from this tomb or another unknown robbed tomb. The finds from the site are in the Herakleion Museum.

This tomb could have belonged to the PG-G (and possibly LM IIIC) settlement(s) which existed on Rokka, the rocky hill immediately to the south of the modern village, and perhaps also on Korifi, the small hill less than 1.5 km to the east of the village. The archaic city that developed on this site, and lasted until Byzantine times, may have been ancient Lykastos.

Ref: Xanthoudides 1918, 10; Pendlebury 1939, 325; Desborough 1952, 259; 1972b, 372; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 84; Syriopoulos 1983, 216-217 #205, 291 #336, 664 CII; Jones 2000, 266; Nowicki 2000, 182-183; Brown 2001, 334-336

108. Tsangkaraki – Marinatos reported finds from PG and G tombs at this site, which is located a little over 2 km to the north of Kanli Kastelli/Profitis Elias. No other information about these tombs has been published. These tombs appear to belong to the Geometric cemetery referred to by Evans as located ~3 miles northeast of Kanli Kastelli.

Ref: Marinatos 1933-1935, 56; Evans 1964c, 74 n. 5

VIANNOS EPARCHIA

109. Arvi – An LM IIIC (and possibly late IIIB) defensible settlement has been identified on the summit of Fortetsa, which is located on the east side of the gorge ~1.3 km north of the

village of Arvi. Possible larnax fragments were observed by Hood et al. and also by Nowicki just beyond the east edge of the settlement in Area C. In addition, Hood et al. identified the remains of a possible, destroyed tholos just below and ~20 m to the southeast of the east end of the summit ridge. Nowicki, however, believes that there is not enough evidence to suggest that this was the location of a cemetery in connection with the settlement. No definite burials have yet been identified, though tholos tombs should be expected nearby. A Greek and Roman cemetery was identified to the southeast of Fortetsa at Xenotaphoi, which is located south/southwest of Kamini Hill (where the Minoan settlement was located), and the associated Greco-Roman town was located by the sea in the vicinity of the modern village.

Ref: Hood et al. 1964, 89-93 #42; Nowicki 1991, 139; 1996, 265; 2000, 139-143

110. Viannos: Keraton – In 1956, a few Geometric vases (three kalpai, a cup, and two aryballoi) and a bronze pin, were found on the slope of Keraton/Vigla Hill in the vicinity of the acropolis. These likely come from a tomb, though no graves have yet been identified at this location. This probable burial would have been associated with the extensive LM IIIC–G defensible settlement, possibly ancient Arvi, which has been identified by Nowicki on this hill, especially on the summit and northern slope. Evans had previously recorded pottery and larnax fragments from this site and he also noted a Minoan settlement on the north slope of the hill.

Approximately 1 km northwest of Keraton at the place Petrota, Nowicki identified a tholos of Dark Age type, and he found three LM IIIC-PG sherds nearby, which may provide the date of the tomb.

Ref: Frothingham 1896, 465; Taramelli 1899, 422; Alexiou 1956, 420; *BCH* 81 (1957) 618; Hood et al. 1964, 84 #37; Pini 1968, 94; Nowicki 1991, 139; 2000, 139; Brown 2001, 342-343; Sjögren 2001, 277 (E119)

III. RETHYMNON NOMOS

AGIOS VASILIOS EPARCHIA

111. Atsipades (fig. 154) – At the location of Pezoulos, approximately 300 m to the southeast of the modern village and directly above the road leading from Atsipades to Phonises, in 1912-1913 Petroulakis excavated 21 LM IIIC-SM jar burials, in a 9 x 5 meter area (now in the vicinity of a large stone enclosure). He did not notice any associated pits, nor did he specify the vessel types, though they appear to have been primarily pyxides and collared jars. Some of the burial vases were very small (only 0.1-0.15 m in height), and many appear to have been supported upright by stones placed on either side. The rims of most vases were covered by stone slabs, while a few were covered with large pot sherds. The burials usually contained one or more smaller vases as offerings, and finds include amphoriskoi, stirrup jars, an askos, a few bronze fibulae, a bronze bracelet, spearhead, and an awl. The excavator believed that the burials (either cremations or secondary inhumations) were all of children, a conclusion supported by Kanta based on the smallness of the vases. This theory seemed to be confirmed in 1975 when Mavriyiannaki was shown an in situ burial, apparently an infant cremation in a skyphos, at the northeast corner of the excavated site; furthermore, she re-dated the burials to LM IIIB-SM after studying the pottery from Petroulakis' excavation. Hood and Warren, however, suspected that the burials were actually adult urn cremations.

Additional evidence was provided in 1997 by the Agios Vasilios Survey Project which noted parts of three jar burials (site 5024 #7) in a field house complex immediately above the dirt road to the Korakia peak sanctuary (Phonises); these were in the vicinity of and likely associated with Petroulakis' burials. One of these vases contained a bronze

handle, possibly from a wooden vessel which had been burned on the pyre. Two vessels, a collared jar and an amphora, were identified as containing adult male cremations, thus proving that the cemetery was not used only for children, and data from the survey has further revealed that the burials from the cemetery apparently date only from mid-late LM IIIC-SM. Agelarakis et al. also observed evidence of links with Cyprus in some of the pottery, and they further note that the density of the burials is unusual, suggesting the possibility that this was an urnfield cemetery, the only one known from Crete in this period (cf. Amathous, Cyprus), though of a type common in the Levant and W. Anatolia. Kanta further states that evidence of a mainland presence in the cemetery may be indicated by a typical form of Mycenaean cooking jar which was used for one of the urn burials.

Scattered LM IIIC/EIA sherds were found in the fields above and to the south of these burials, possibly from other tombs. The Atsipades jar burials were likely associated with the extensive LM IIIC (and PG?) settlement which has been identified ~300 m to the southeast on the north slopes of Phonises hill (~600 m southeast of the modern village). In addition, according to Hood and Warren, a bronze sword or dagger was reportedly found on the lower slopes of the Phonises settlement at 'Lakkos', possibly from a tholos tomb. Also, several LM IIIA/B pithos burials with inhumations have been identified at Adzeivitos to the north. Finds from the site are in the Rethymnon and Chania Museums.

Ref: Karo 1915, 198; Petroulakis 1915; Pendlebury 1939, 261; Desborough 1964, 184; Hood and Warren 1966, 178-179 #15-16; Mavriyiannaki 1967-1968, 171; Pini 1968, 77 #129; Snodgrass 1971, 165, 209; Davaras 1973b, 164; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 101; Mavriyiannaki 1975; Catling 1978, 67; Kanta 1980, 209-210; Syriopoulos 1983, 108 #213, 388 CIII, 475 CXXI; Blackman 1998, 120-121; Touchais 1998, 968; Nowicki 2000, 204-206; Agelarakis et al. 2001; Kanta 2001b, 17; Sjögren 2001, 233 (W73); Moody 2004, 257

112. Koxare – Hood and Warren mention the possible existence of tombs at Kamini, which is located ~500 m to the southeast of the modern village at the foot of the ridge/acropolis Ambelo. Two LM IIIC pithos sherds were found in a great pile of stones, which runs 40-50 meters across the edge of a field. These stones could represent a row of tholoi. These possible tombs likely belong to the LM IIIC settlement at Phonises (Atsipades) ~1 km to the west, though an LM III (primarily A and B) settlement has also been identified at the Ag. Markos location ~1.5 km to the north of Kamini.

Ref: Hood and Warren 1966, 177 #13, 179 #17; Kanta 1980, 210

113. Orne (figs. 155-156) – Kanta and Stampolidis identified an extensive LM IIIC defensible settlement on the summit of Kastello Hill, ~1 km northeast of the village. Remains of a small tholos tomb (1.20 m preserved length) were found built into a small hut/toolshed in the middle of an orchard on a slope to the south of the citadel. The tomb is said to be similar to those found at Karphi, Kamares, Kourtes, and Krya, and its irregular shape has been compared to some of the small tombs found at Anavlochos. The Orne tomb also had a keel-vaulted roof, as at Panagia. The land owner reports that the tomb was once full of vases, but that they were destroyed during World War II.

Ref: Nowicki 2000, 200; Kanta and Stampolidis 2001, 98-103; Kanta and Davaras 2004, 151

AMARI EPARCHIA

114. Mesonisia – At the location of Pano Sarakina northwest of the village, Faure identified a pithos with infant burial in a rock shelter called Kalogerospilios; this is the southernmost of a row of rock shelters. Faure dated the burial, which was accompanied by a small jug and perfume vase, to SM (?), though Hood et al. dated it to MM (?). Hood et al. also observed

fragments of another possible pithos in the rock shelter. No further information about this burial has been published. A possible EIA (and also Minoan?) settlement has been identified on the hill immediately above the rock shelters, with which the burial(s) may have been associated; this appears to be the same site (Ai Nuphris) where Faure identified LM and SM sherds.

Ref: Faure 1963, 503-504; 1964, 68, 71 n. 2; Hood et al. 1964, 75 #25.2; Kanta 1980, 207

115. Pantanassa (figs. 157-158) – Rescue excavations were conducted in 1995 and 1998 in Politakis field at the Erimoklisies site to the north of a new dirt road on the southeast slopes of Veni, the mountain directly to the northeast of the modern village. Two stirrup jars, two bronze pins, and a fragment of a terracotta figurine were uncovered in this area in 1988, likely from a destroyed tomb. In 1995, a small tholos tomb, dating to late SM, with a rectangular chamber (1.12 x 1.4 m) and a short dromos was excavated. The north and east sides of the chamber were built up against the bedrock; the interior of the tomb shows careful construction, while the exterior is somewhat poorly constructed. The tomb contained two ash urns (a pithos and a bronze amphoroid-krater) placed on their sides on the floor, which also contained two stirrup jars and two lekythoi. The pithos contained only an amphora, a bronze pin, and cremated bones from an adult male, while the krater held an adult male cremation, an amphora, stirrup jar, two krateriskoi, an iron dagger, and an iron knife; a lekythos and the bronze krater show connections with Cyprus. Both of the vessels were larger than the stomion and therefore must have been placed in the tomb through the roof. The crown of the tomb's roof, which originally consisted of one large plaka, was apparently completely covered/hidden by a pyre. Fragments of burned earth, carbon, wood, and a jug were found with it. Immediately to the south and east of the pyre, two hollows full of ash

were uncovered in the bedrock, though the excavator was unable to determine whether the ash came from the cremation or from some other funerary activity. Another pyre, apparently the earlier of the two, as ash from the first pyre was found on top of earth used to put out the fire of this pyre, was uncovered in the dromos by the entrance, from which two bronze spears and a possible iron fibula were recovered.

A PG pithos burial was excavated in 1998 at the same site. The pithos was placed on its side in a shallow pit and had stones placed around it. One baby feeder and two small oinochoe accompanied the single cremation burial. The funerary pyre (0.9 x 0.57 m) was identified immediately to the southeast of the burial. A section of wall and another possible pyre were also uncovered to the west of the pithos burial. In addition, part of a poros funerary stele was found on the surface somewhere nearby.

The Pantanassa tombs were likely associated with the large (LM IIIC-O and A-H) settlement (possibly ancient Vene or Phalanna) on the summit of Veni; according to Nowicki, this site is located at a strategic point in the northern entrance to the Amari valley, and its summit is ~3 km west of the summit of Thronos Sybrita (Kephala). Also, approximately 400 m to the west of the summit of Veni, at Metochi (Voliones), in 1982 two larnakes with a few grave goods were found placed in simple pits, dating to the transitional LM IIIB/C period. Some of the finds from the site are in the Rethymnon and Chania Museums.

Ref: Dunbabin 1947, 186; Hood et al. 1964, 70-71 #21; Pologiorgi 1981; Prokopiou 1994, 253; Tegou 1995; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 84 #55; Tegou 1998; Nowicki 2000, 197-199; Tegou 2000-2001; Blackman 2001, 142; Tegou 2001; 2002; Whitley 2003, 87

116. Thronos – A large settlement (LM IIIC-G; A-R), likely ancient Sybrita, has been identified on the summit of Kephala hill, which is located just to the west of the modern

village. According to Belgiorno, traces of G-A finewares were discovered in the area of Ag. Theotokos hill (southwest of Kephala), possibly revealing the location of an unpublished Geometric tomb excavated by the Greek Ephoreia. It is unclear whether the PG-G vases and terracotta figurines from the area of Sybrita, which were recently found in the collection of Ch. Neonakis in Athens, come from this tomb or a different one. The finds from the Neonakis collection consist of 23 vases, 3 spindle whorls, a terracotta human figurine (probably a vase attachment), terracotta figurine of two joined horses with riders, and 10 bronze fibulae. In addition, G-A sherds have been found at Ghiristo, which is just to the north of Ag. Theotokos; these may also indicate the location of tombs, though no further information about any of the EIA tombs at Sybrita, including their number or type, is known. Furthermore, Hellenistic and Roman tombs have been uncovered at Ta Ellenika (immediately north and northwest of the summit of Kephala) and at Charaka to the south of Kephala (south of the village of Yenna, where LM III chamber tombs have also been excavated).

Numerous (>60) pits, possibly of ritual nature and located in the area between the two plateaus, and buildings (located primarily on the north plateau) dating to LM IIIC-G have also been uncovered during the recent and continuing Greek-Italian excavations on the summit of Kephala hill (see yearly reports from 1987 to present in *AR*, *Kritiki Estia*, *ArchDelt*). Of interest from the area of the settlement is pit (lakkos) 54 excavated in 2000, which contained LM IIIC finds (fragments of 38 vases, 1 bronze blade, 2 stone tools, two dog skeletons (one complete), tortoise shell, and small quantities of goat and human bones, which showed traces of flesh removal). The function of this pit is unknown, though it may have been associated, along with pit 53 to the north, with building 1 (located to the east of the pits), which is of megaron type with a hearth.

Ref: Dunbabin 1947, 186; Hood et al. 1964, 71-72 #22; Kanta 1980, 208; Lembesi et al. 1991, 534; Belgiorno 1994, 205, 213-217; Rocchetti 1994; Tomlinson 1996, 47; Touchais 1998, 966; D'Agata 1999a; Nowicki 2000, 199-200; Blackman 2002, 114; Karamaliki and D'Agata 2002

MYLOPOTAMOS EPARCHIA

117. Eleutherna (figs. 159-163) – The PG-O and A-R city of Eleutherna was located on the long and narrow ridge (and its east slopes) directly north of the modern village of Prines.

This site was apparently one of the most important towns on Crete by the Geometric period, and the DA settlement was probably on the top of the ridge. Evidence of LM IIIC occupation has been found at Pyrgi to the north/northwest and LG-O buildings have recently been excavated at Xeniana to the northwest. On the west slope of the acropolis (Prines Hill) at Orthi Petra (area III) near Halopota stream has been identified a significant LPG-A (~880/870-early 6th c. BC) necropolis, excavated by Stampolidis and the University of Crete, beginning in 1985. Payne had briefly excavated at this location in 1928 and suggested that it was the necropolis, but he was unable to prove it. Approximately 1000 m² of the cemetery have been uncovered thus far.

Three types of burials have been uncovered in this necropolis: 'open burials,' inhumations in vessels, and cremations, both primary and secondary. The first two types appear to have been located primarily in the south and west sectors of the cemetery, while the cremations were in the north and east sectors, though pithos and open burials were also frequently found near the cremation burials. The 'open burials' are relatively few in number, though the exact number and their date range are difficult to determine, as they seem to have been largely destroyed by plowing. There is no indication that these burials were placed in pits or covered/surrounded by a tomb of any sort; rather, it appears that the deceased were

primarily women, and they were covered in burial shrouds and laid on a wooden stretcher, which was then placed directly on the ground. Some of these burials, however, appear to have been found within the large mound (see below) and especially to the west of it. One open burial, uncovered to the south of building A, consisted of the skeleton of a girl (~6-7 years old) with a pair of gold earrings or hair pins (dating to the middle of the 7th c. B.C.). In addition, remains of three open burials were found in quadrant ΛΛ, one of which was accompanied by a small oinochoe and a lion-shaped vase (probably EO). Vases, pins, and fibulae were the most common type of small finds from this type of burial.

The urn burials were comprised of inhumations (normally one, though sometimes two, per vessel), primarily though not exclusively, of infants, children, and adolescents, placed in pithoi (often smaller ones for infants) and amphorae. This burial type was also common for older adults (>55-60 years old). Many of these burials were found in section B, along with open burials; the majority of the inhumations were found in the immediate vicinity of the burial mounds and pyres (see below), and they occurred both in groups and in isolation. The exact number of urn burials has not been revealed thus far in any of the excavation reports (“a few tens”), though 11 new pithos burials were uncovered in 2003 during construction of a cover for the site. The burial vessels were typically placed on their sides in shallow pits cut into the earth, and some were covered by stones, creating “pseudotholoi” as at Krya. The mouths of the vessels were covered by single stones (slabs or fieldstones) and/or terracotta sherds, and the locations of the burials were often marked by a grave stele or large stone. Grave goods frequently consisted of small pots, astragaloi (knucklebones), and gold jewelry or beads. Some adult burials in pithoi do exist, though they tend to be poorer than the other urn inhumations, often containing no grave goods. Of the

urn inhumations for both the adults and children, those that are further away from the places of cremation and later in date tend to be poorer, while those nearer the cremations are richer, possibly taking importance from their proximity. The urn burials date from the late 8th – 7th/6th c. B.C.

The cremation burials were frequently associated with the pyres, which were placed on the ground (often on a base of mud-bricks) or within a rectangular pit/trench (2-3 x 1-2 x 0.5-1 m). Some of the pits were also surrounded by rectangular stone enclosures (A and K for example). Trench A (3.5 x 2.2 x 0.6 m) appears to have been a crematorium; it contained evidence of a large number of cremations and pyres and was used continuously from LPG-EO (~880/870-beg 7th c. B.C.). Hundreds of faience beads, gold and crystal beads, part of a bronze cauldron, and a glass bowl were recovered from this trench, along with animal (ox, pig, sheep, goat, fowl) bones, representing both burnt offerings and remains of funerary meals, human bones, food offerings (figs and grapes) and terracotta vases. In addition, a group of inverted cups and vessels appears to have been added to the fire as part of a ritual after one of the cremations had been completed. The trench was further covered by a mound of rough stones and earth, and it may have been marked by a stone stele. Trench A was also surrounded by a rectangular enclosure (5 x 3.5 m), which was constructed of fieldstones, though the lower exterior section of the east side was constructed of ashlar masonry. To the east of this building and contiguous with it is a courtyard ~12 m² surrounded by a temenos wall, possibly of the same date. In a corner of the court was found a gold plaque depicting a goddess with upraised arms and a relief protome, probably also a goddess, from a vessel; the function of this structure remains uncertain, though it was likely used for rituals associated with the cremations.

Enclosure K (2.3 x 4.4 m), which is located on the north side of crematorium A, dates to the 8th century B.C. and contained evidence of one or more burial pyres, cremations (few bones), bronze and terracotta vases, iron obeloi and weapons/tools. It is unclear whether this enclosure also served as a crematorium (or as help for crematorium A) or if it was the site both of funerary pyres and primary burials, as at Vronda (Kavousi).

Likely associated with the crematorium (trench A), and also possibly with enclosure K, was an unlooted, large, roughly square chamber tomb (burial A1/K1) with dromos, located immediately to the west of the enclosures. The chamber (2 x 1.8 m) contained hundreds (or 10s, the reports give conflicting information) of funerary urns dating from ~870 to the end of the 8th/early 7th c. B.C., and burials were placed in the dromos during the beginning-middle of the 7th century, after the chamber was closed. While the cremations from this tomb were primarily adults, there appear to have been a few child cremations as well. Finds from the chamber include two lotus handles from a bronze cauldron, fragments from a bronze rod tripod stand, faience vessels and beads, a faience Sekhmet figurine, scarab, dozens of bronze phialai (often used to cover the urns), lekanides, cauldrons, fibulae and pins, and iron obeloi, swords, daggers, spears, knives and an ax; gold jewelry was recovered from the dromos. This tomb was found just below and to the west of a small π -shaped stone structure with orthostate base (monument A1/K1), which dates to ~700 B.C. Monument A1/K1 contained a pyre with a single cremation amphora covered with a bronze phiale and surrounded by stones. Stampolidis suggests that this burial/monument may have been erected just after the last burial was placed inside the chamber tomb but before the first burial was made in the dromos.

At the end of the 8th-7th c. the crematorium appears to be mostly replaced by single (independent), relatively isolated burial pyres, the exact number of which has not yet been published. These pyres are primarily located to the north and east of enclosure K. The typical pyre (placed on the ground or in a trench) was built of wood, upon which the body (or bodies) was placed, and grave goods, food offerings (such as figs, grapes, honey, oil, wine, olives, pomegranate, fat/meat), and remains from the funerary meal were placed on many pyres at various times during the burial ritual. The pyres may have been extinguished with water, and frequently certain bones (usually white ones) were collected and placed in amphora(e) beside the pyre, all of which was then covered with a mound (large or small) of earth and/or stones. These mounds were often surrounded by mudbricks, with large and small pebbles placed on the upper surface. The single/isolated pyres contained only adult (19-50/55 yrs.), typically male, cremations, and Trench KK provides a good example of this type of burial in that it contained a single amphora with white bones placed next to the pyre, which was then covered with a mound of stone. Sometimes the pyres or mounds were marked with stelai or Phoenician-style cippi, and remains of food and small perfume vases, possibly offerings to the memory of the deceased, were also found above some of the mounds.

Of note from these independent pyres was a pyre in sector ΛΛ (placed on bricks on the ground); ΛΛ contained two pyres, the upper one (B) nearly destroyed and dating to ~670 B.C. and the lower (A) (~2.4 x 1.8 m) dating to ~700 B.C. (720-690). The cremated remains of two individuals (one a ~30-40 year old male) were found on top of pyre A, along with a bronze spear, iron sword (Naue Type II), two iron knives, a bronze conical pyxis, and bronze and iron tongs (possibly for removing the white bones after cremation). Two amphorae with

the white bones of a male and female, probably from the two individuals cremated on the pyre, were found at its southern edge, and the remains of an unburnt, headless skeleton from a ~40 yr. old male were found at the northwest side. An iron axe, iron dagger, whetstone, and part of a burned wooden board were found next to this inhumation. This individual may have been a sacrifice victim or an opponent (possibly the killer, sacrificed as an act of retaliation) of the warrior burned on the pyre (cf. the Trojans who were executed in front of the pyre of Patroklos in Homer's *Iliad* 23.174-176). Remains of libations/rituals (many cups), the funerary meal, and burnt (cow, pig, sheep/goat, shellfish) and non-burnt food (figs, olives, grapes) offerings were also found on the pyre. The pyre was covered with a mound of earth, and its sides appear to have been bordered with mudbricks, while a layer of river stones was placed on top.

Funerary monuments, some with periboloi, were also found in the cemetery, though these mostly date to LO and A. For example, 4A, which is located immediately to the east of the courtyard of trench A, was a large rectangular structure built of ashlar masonry (with limestone warriors, possibly akroteria) placed inside a peribolos. This structure may have been a cenotaph or heroon (or "monument to the unknown soldier") and it dates to the middle of the 7th century B.C. In addition, it appears that the single pyres and their tumuli were all, or nearly all, covered at some point by a huge tumulus of small stones and earth located at the northeast side of the necropolis. These appear to have been marked by a large boulder (1.5 x 1.5 m), which supported a pillar/marker (original height possibly 3.6-3.8 m). This monument apparently remained visible well into the Medieval Period, providing the name for the area (Orthe Petra). The monument also appears to have been contemporary with some of

the pyres, and it may have served to commemorate warriors who fell in battle, as the burials on the pyres are primarily, or all, of males.

Many of the tombs from the cemetery contained pottery imported from Central Crete, Attica, Corinth, the Cyclades, Cyprus, and possibly Euboea and Laconia; Attic and Corinthian pottery was particularly common. In addition, possible connections with the Argolid, Phoenicia, and Egypt can be observed in some of the small finds. Finds of note from the tombs include a bronze bowl with tripod base, glass phiale, hundreds of faience beads, rock crystal and gold beads, a clay die, terracotta spindle whorls and loomweights, iron obeloi, spears, swords, daggers, axes, knives, chisels, and tongs, bronze vessels, spears, tongs, tweezers, fibulae, and pins, a stone tray, half of a lead turtle, gold earrings, bands/diadems, and beads. Cremation burials were frequently wealthy in all periods of the cemetery's use, and there does not appear to be a different distribution of grave goods between the chamber tomb/enclosure group and the independent pyres. Finds from the site are in the Herakleion and Rethymnon Museums.

Ref: *BSA* 1928-1930, 268; Woodward 1929, 224-226; Hartley 1930-1931, 108-114; Stampolidis 1988; 1989/1990; 1990a; 1990b; Pariente 1991, 944; Stampolidis 1991/1993; Pariente 1992, 942; Stampolidis 1992; Themelis 1992; Pariente 1993, 895-896; Stampolidis 1993a; 1993b, 36-46; Pariente 1994, 833; Stampolidis 1994a; 1994b; 1994/1996; 1995; Tomlinson 1995, 73; Stampolidis 1996a; 1996b; 1996c; Morris 1997, 59-61; Blackman 1998, 125; Stampolidis 1998; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998; Brown 2000, 324-325; Jones 2000, 287-288; Nowicki 2000, 193-194; Stampolidis 2000-2001; 2001; Whitley 2003, 86-87; Stampolidis 2004, 116-143, 234-296

RETHYMNON EPARCHIA

118. Mesi – Two isolated LM III chamber tombs were excavated in 1976 near the village, which is ~10 km southeast of Rethymnon. One tomb (1.45 x 1.85 m) was located in the area of Mourniani or Nikitas to the northeast of the village; it contained a larnax with inhumation

and a kylix, and an early LM IIIC amphora was found in a niche inside the chamber. Hood et al. had previously observed an LM tomb with larnax at this location. The second 1976 chamber tomb was located at Phoukianos, ~100 m east of the village. At this same location, Hood et al. noted a chamber tomb, and Evans in 1894 saw two LM IIIB larnakes and a possible chamber tomb.

In addition, a tholos tomb (LM III A or B?) was also uncovered at Aera to the northwest of the village. The associated settlement has not yet been found, though a small Minoan site (possibly with LM II or III) was discovered at Selli on a rocky knoll called Kephala just southwest of the village. The amphora from Mourniani is the only LM IIIC evidence to have been uncovered from a tomb in the area thus far.

Ref: Alexiou 1963b, 412; 1964a, 447; Hood et al. 1964, 66-67 #14; Pini 1968, 87 #124; Tzedakis 1976, 372; Kanta 1980, 215; Catling 1985, 65; Touchais 1985, 855

119. Rethymnon – Woodward noted that a group of Geometric burials was examined in 1929 by Stavropoulos approximately 6 km along the road from Rethymnon to Herakleion. Pendlebury, followed by Snodgrass and Syriopoulos, cited these burials as being near Touzla on the main road by Khania, though Andreadaki-Vlasaki confirms that the location was ~6 km east of Rethymnon on the road to Herakleion. These burials consisted of ash urns (upright?) surrounded by small walls of stones, though what exactly this means is unclear. Grave goods typically included two or three smaller vases, and most burials supposedly included a bronze dagger, bent to fit inside the vase. No further information about these burials has been published and the exact number remains unknown. LM III A-B chamber tombs have also been excavated at Mastamba, a suburb to the southeast of Rethymnon.

Ref: Woodward 1929, 235; Pendlebury 1939, 323; Hood et al. 1964, 60 #8; Pini 1968, 91 #125; Snodgrass 1971, 168, 209; Kanta 1980, 211; Syriopoulos 1983, 101 #200, 286 #302, 881 CXXIII; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1985, 11 n. 3

IV. KHANIA NOMOS

APOKORONAS EPARCHIA

120. Aptera (Aptara) – The ancient (LG-R) city of Aptera (or Aptara) was located on the large plateau east of the modern village of Megala Choraphia and immediately east of the village of Palaiokastro (~17 km southeast of Khania); Minoan Aptara appears to have been at a different location, possibly near Stylos. The ancient town was encircled by an ~4 km long fortification wall, and one of its cemeteries (apparently in use continuously from LG to R) was located just outside the west fortification wall near the main entrance. This cemetery now, however, lies mostly beneath the modern village. In 1987-88 in the Kelaidi field, two late 8th/early 7th century (LG-EO) pithos burials were excavated in this (the west) cemetery. The pithoi were placed on their sides in shallow, rock-cut pits and apparently contained inhumations. Pithos 1 was accompanied by ~20 vases (amphoriskoi, skyphoi, cups, oinochoai, a flask and a jug), and pithos 2 had 10 vases (skyphoi, cups, an aryballos, amphoriskos, and an oinochoe) placed around it. The vases are said to resemble those from Pelekapina (Khania) and Vouves, and finds from the site are in the Chania Museum.

Ref: Coldstream 1968, 415; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1988; 1989/1990; 1991, 410, 417-419; Huber and Varalis 1995, 1029; Tomlinson 1995, 71; 1996, 47; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 2000, 34-35, 46

KISSAMOS EPARCHIA

121. Astrikas (fig. 164) – Two Geometric (beginning of the 8th c.) rock-cut chamber tombs were excavated in the vicinity of this village in 1993. Tomb 1 was found in the middle of the village and was of the type known from Gavalomouri and Vouves to the east. It had an

irregularly shaped chamber (3.15 x 2.15 m) with dromos and two limestone plakas used as door jambs, probably to support a lintel. This tomb contained ~63 vases (including skyphoi, amphorae, pithoi, kraters, cups, and braziers), three terracotta human figurines (probably vase attachments), a bronze tripod cauldron, 32 additional bronze objects (fibulae, pins, rosettes, and sheet/plate), 15 iron objects (fibulae, nails/rivets), 6 large terracotta pyramidal loomweights, two spindle whorls, a gold ring and two hair spirals, and one lead, one glass, and one stone object. Seven burials (one female inhumation in a corner, one cremation in an urn, and five inhumations in pithoi, amphorae, and kraters) were identified from the chamber. A funeral stele with relief rosettes had also fallen into the tomb from above.

Tomb 2 was found on Ai-Lias hill to the east of the village and was of the same type as Tomb 1, with an elliptical chamber (2.2 x 2.6 m), dromos, and limestone door jambs and lintel. Although the tomb had been robbed, it still contained 12 vases, 4 bronze fibulae, a terracotta loomweight, and bones from an inhumation.

The location of the associated settlement is unknown, though according to Andreadaki-Vlasaki, an important classical, and possibly earlier, settlement is known to have existed in the area of Astrikas. Finds from the excavations are in the Chania Museum.

Ref: Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1993; Pariente 1994, 842; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1994/1996; Huber and Varalis 1995, 1029; Blackman 1998, 122; 1999, 123; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 2000, 32

122. Gavalomouri (figs. 165-168) – Geometric (Middle and Late) and Early Orientalizing chamber tombs, most nearly destroyed by cultivation, were excavated at two locations southwest of the modern village in 1976-1978.

A. *Sphaka* – Three chamber tombs (III-V) were excavated on the low hill of Sphaka (~700 m to the south-southwest of the village). Tomb III was destroyed, though the remains

of 17 vases and 2 iron spears were found scattered in the vicinity. Tombs IV and V had ellipsoidal chambers (1.85 x 2.18 and 1.2-1.68 x 2.06 m) with short dromoi, and each apparently contained only one MG burial, a cremation in a pithos. Finds from these two tombs included 33 vases, especially amphorae, flasks, cups, and amphoriskoi/ krateriskoi, two iron fibulae, an iron spear, an iron knife, two terracotta beads, and a whetstone. In both tombs, a small flask was found placed inside both an amphora and a skyphos.

B. *Langi* – Remains of four chamber tombs (I-II; VI-VII) with short dromoi were recovered at this location, on a low hill approximately 350 m to the northwest of the Sphaka tombs. Tombs I and II were next to each other, and Tomb I contained the remains of ~100 vases, including an Attic MG cup, kantharos, and skyphos, as well as an MG Cycladic skyphos, a bronze fibula, and iron weapons. Tomb II consisted of a mostly destroyed, irregularly shaped chamber (2.5 x 2.25 m). The right side of the chamber contained a child (~9 yrs. old) inhumation, with 18 vases (10 cups, a flask, lekane, jug, feeding bottle, bowl, dinos, aryballos, and a brazier, an item rarely found in EIA tombs), 2 terracotta beads, a faience bead, 3 bronze finger rings, a fibula and pin, a terracotta toy (an ox on wheels), a terracotta figurine (a woman (?) on a horse), and two iron knives, dating to the late 8th-early 7th c. Evidence of an earlier adult inhumation was found on the left side of the tomb, along with a bronze fibula and fragments of a krater and oinochoe. Tombs VI (west of I and II) and VII (~50 m. southwest of I and II) were nearly completely destroyed, though fragments of seven vases and two bronze rings were recovered from VII, which may have been a child's tomb.

Overall – According to Andreadaki-Vlasaki, these tombs, along with those at Vouves (a little over one km to the northeast of Langi), probably belonged to two small,

undiscovered neighboring settlements within the sphere of broader control of a larger settlement, perhaps that on Grimbiliana ridge (Riza hill, possibly ancient Polichna). It is also possible that a large village settlement pattern existed in this area, comprised of neighboring settlements which together formed one autonomous city. Finds from the site are in the Chania Museum.

Ref: Hood 1965, 105 (A7); Tzedakis 1976, 365-366; 1977; 1978, 375-377; 1979; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1985, 16-19, 25-29, 32; Catling 1985, 67; 1986, 97; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1987; Gondicas 1988, 279; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991, 420; Stampolidis and Karetsoy 1998, 140-141 #86; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 2000, 32; Jones 2000, 289; Moody 2004, 257

123. Kavousi – Three chamber tombs were uncovered at this location in 1969 during the widening of the Platanos-Phalasarna road. Two of the tombs were completely destroyed, though approximately half of the third tomb remained; this tomb was located ~3.5 m above the level of the road and a short distance to the north of the other two. The chamber of this tomb (1.75 x 1.2 m preserved) contained 36 LPG-MG vases (amphorae, amphoriskoi, oinochoai, skyphoi, a pithos, and many cups), terracotta beads, and iron fibulae. The tomb appears to have had two phases of use, one represented by an inhumation found on the floor, the other by a cremation urn. The tombs and finds from this cemetery have many similarities to those found at Gavalomouri. In addition, the excavator (Tzedakis) believed that another group of tombs likely existed just below the level of the road, but he was unable to investigate this area as it was covered by rubble from the roadwork. According to Andreadaki-Vlasaki, these tombs could have belonged to Phalasarna, which was probably founded during this period, though this seems unlikely due to the distance between them (~4 km). It seems more likely that this cemetery belongs to an undiscovered settlement nearby. Finds from the site are in the Kissamos Museum.

Ref: Alexiou 1969, 542; Tzedakis 1969a, 432-433; Fraser 1971, 32; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 112; Syriopoulos 1983, 286 #305, 881 CXXV; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1985, 19, 29-30, 33; Gondicas 1988, 83-84, 279; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991, 415; 2000, 32; Sjögren 2001, 229 (W62); Moody 2004, 257

124. Kissamos – In 1891, Evans purchased a male figure vase which supposedly contained several minor objects, said to be from a chamber tomb at Kissamos. The exact location of this tomb is unknown. The accompanying finds are nearly all Geometric in date and include a head from a smaller, similar vase, bronze fibulae, plaques, beads, and a fragment from a tripod, iron nails and sockets, a lead wheel (?) and bead/whorl, stone spindle whorls and beads, a bone spindle whorl, a faience bead, rock crystal beads and pendants, glass beads, clay beads, and one amber bead. One skull was also among the finds, which are currently in the Ashmolean Museum. No further information is known about this tomb.

Ref: Halbherr 1901b, 382; Payne 1931, 54 (plate 2); Boardman 1961, 89-94; Jones 2000, 289; Sjögren 2001, 228 (W61)

125. Vouves (figs. 169-170) – In 1978, two G-EO chamber tombs were excavated in a vineyard ~500 m south of the modern village and ~1 km northeast of the Gavalomouri (Langi) tombs. One of the Vouves tombs was largely destroyed by cultivation. The second tomb (2 x 3.55 m), however, was of LM III type with a descending dromos which, at the entrance, was 0.4 m higher than the chamber; large plakas formed a step down into the chamber (cf. Herakleion Atsalenio). Two shallow pits were uncovered, one on the right side of the tomb and one on the left, each containing a single inhumation, apparently one male and one female. Above the pit on the right side were found two cremations in amphorae and a child inhumation in a pithos. Associated with these burials were over 110 vases (primarily 8th c.), very similar to those found at Gavalomouri, 2 iron spears, an iron sword (Naue Type

II), axe, and 7 fibulae, 3 terracotta beads, 3 loomweights, and a whetstone. Furthermore, a group of 23 seventh century vases was found on a ledge above a layer of rocks which had fallen into the right side of the tomb; it is uncertain whether these vases come from an unpreserved child burial, based on their size, or from some form of ritual or offering.

The finds from the site are in the Chania Museum. In addition, the cemeteries of Vouves and Gavalomouri may have belonged to small, undiscovered neighboring settlements; according to Andreadaki-Vlasaki, these settlements could have been within the sphere of control of a larger city, possibly the EIA settlement on Grimbiliana ridge to the north (on Riza hill south of the main Chania-Kastelli road, west of the fork to Palaiochora).

Ref: Hood 1965, 105 (A7); Alexiou 1969, 535; Tzedakis 1978, 374-375; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1985, 15-16, 22-25, 32; Catling 1986, 97; Gondicas 1988, 279; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991, 420; 2000, 32; Moody 2004, 257

KYDONIA EPARCHIA

126. **Chania** (fig. 171) – A few Early Iron Age burials have been found in the vicinity of the modern town.

A. *Park of Peace and Friendship* – Excavations from 1986-1988 at this location in the middle of the modern city uncovered part of a Minoan-Roman cemetery (primarily Hellenistic cist and tile graves). Among the tombs was one LG/EO pithos burial, which contained a child inhumation accompanied by several vases. The child also had bronze rings on every finger. No further information about this burial has yet been published, though finds are in the Chania Museum.

The main Minoan settlement at Chania was to the northwest of the Park of Peace and Friendship on Kastelli Hill by the coast; it appears to have been abandoned in early LM IIIC and not resettled until LG. The pithos burial is thus likely associated with this later

settlement. In addition, numerous LM IIIA and B chamber tombs have been found at various locations throughout the city, though mainly in the area of the Law Courts and also in the area of Ag. Kyriaki at Chalepa. Syriopoulos mentions three SM chamber tombs which were excavated in the vicinity of the Law Courts, but these appear actually to date to LM IIIB, and an SM inhumation with bronze fibula is noted in the Chania Museum as coming from the Rovithakis plot, though no further information about this burial is known. According to Hallager, however, no LM IIIC burial has yet been found in the city of Chania.

B. *Pelekapina* – In 1984, remains of two PG (late 10th-early 9th c.) pithos burials with inhumations, one apparently female, were uncovered by a bulldozer at this location in a high embankment of the Kladisos River just outside the town of Chania, ~2.5 km to the southwest of the settlement at Kastelli. Each of the burials was accompanied by a few vases, and finds include an imported ‘Aegean’ pyxis and lid, two gold disks (roundels), and a bronze fibula. The associated settlement for this burial remains unknown. Finds from the burials are in the Chania Museum.

Ref: Karo 1930, 163-164; Jantzen 1951; Hood 1965, 100, 109-110 (C13); Pini 1968, 77-78 #133; Tzedakis 1969; Snodgrass 1971, 165, 209; Kanta 1980, 217-228; Syriopoulos 1983, 100-101 #200, 150 #86, 578 XXXVI; *Ακρόπολις* 1984; Catling 1985, 67; Touchais 1985, 857; Markoulaki 1987; Touchais 1987, 579; Niniou-Kindeli et al. 1988; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991, 405-410, 414-415; Hallager and McGeorge 1992; Pariente 1994, 836; Tomlinson 1995, 72; Hallager and Hallager 1997; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 2000, 28-32, 34; Hallager 2000; Jones 2000, 287; Moody 2004, 256

127. Modi – Early Iron Age tombs were found at multiple locations near the modern village.

A. *Ag. Ioannis* – In 1952, Platon excavated a group of seven rock-cut tombs near the modern village at Ag. Ioannis, ~1 km northwest of the tombs at Vryses Timios Stavros. These included two chamber tombs, one burial under overhanging rock, and four rectangular pits/shafts. Isolated pithos burials were also noted in the vicinity. The first chamber tomb

contained two pithos burials accompanied by 15 vases, iron spears and a knife, and the second contained similar finds. The Modi burials appear to have consisted primarily, if not exclusively, of inhumations. The finds, which remain unpublished, date mainly to PG (but also some G) and include many iron weapons (swords, spears, and a dagger), iron tools, bronze fibulae, a whetstone, and ~80 vases (many small kraters, amphoriskoi, pyxides, jugs, 1-2 oinochoai, kalathoi, cups, skyphoi, a dish, and an amphora). No further information about these tombs is known.

In 1967 at the same location, another tomb, the type of which was not published, was uncovered. It reportedly contained nine LG/EO small vases (krateriskoi, oinochoai, two aryballoi, a skyphos, and a cup). According to Andreadaki-Vlasaki, this tomb may have held a child burial, based on the size of the vases.

B. *Ag. Gerasimos* – Also, in 1991 SM pithos burials placed on their sides with inhumations, accompanied by small pots, were uncovered on the southeast part of Ag. Gerasimos hill. Part of the cemetery appears to have been destroyed by previous roadwork. Furthermore, the location of Ag. Gerasimos relative to Ag. Ioannis and the Vryses tombs is unclear.

Overall – The Modi cemetery may have belonged to the same settlement (that on Ag. Georgios hill ~2 km to the northwest) as the cemeteries at Vryses. The modern villages of Modi and Vryses are located ~1 km apart (cf. Vouves and Gavalomouri), and according to Andreadaki-Vlasaki, they could also have belonged to neighboring settlements which together formed one autonomous city, possibly ancient Pergamon. Finds from the Modi cemetery are in the Chania Museum.

Ref: Platon 1953b, 485-486; de Santerre 1953, 240; Cook and Boardman 1954, 169; Faure 1958, 499; Desborough 1964, 267-268; Coldstream 1968, 234 n. 2, 415; Pini 1968, 87 #135;

Tzedakis 1968, 418; Alexiou 1969, 535; Snodgrass 1971, 81, 167, 209; Desborough 1972b, 225, 234, 372; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 114; Syriopoulos 1983, 212 #187, 657 LXXXIX; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1985, 14, 20-22; 1991, 415; Blackman 1997, 122; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 2000, 32; Moody 2004, 257

128. Mousouras/Agia Triada – Moody identified a possible SM or PG pithos burial at this location (AT3) on Akrotiri, approximately 135 meters northeast of the Choraphakia-Agia Triada road fork and 800 m southwest of the monastery of Ag. Triada. No bone was observed, however, and an associated settlement was not identified. In addition, an LM III (primarily B) cemetery (AT1a) with pithos burials was identified at Megeino/Ammoutsos, 750 m east-southeast of the monastery, and its associated settlement (AT1b) was found ~350 meters to the southwest.

Ref: Moody 1987, AT1a-b; AT3; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991, 414 n. 28

129. Vryses – Early Iron Age tombs have been uncovered at two locations near the modern village. An LM IIIC-G and A settlement, possibly the acropolis of ancient Pergamon, has been identified on the summit of Ag. Georgios hill ~1 km to the southeast of the village, with which these tombs, and possibly also those at Modi, were likely associated.

A. *Logades* – A burial pithos with child inhumation was found in a pit at this location, on the east flank of a small hill ~7 minutes northwest of the village center, in 1959. The findspot of this burial is ~1 km south of the cemetery at Modi and was wrongly assigned to Vryses Apokoronou in the *Kretika Chronika* report. According to Platon, the finds consisted of one small vase, many bronze objects, including two miniature double axes, fibulae, needles, a long pin, four-spoked wheel, ring, bracelet, and four small snake heads (also possibly from a bracelet), and 34 shell beads. Only the double axes and the wheel are

catalogued in the Chania Museum, however. Faure dated the burial to LM III, though Andreadaki-Vlasaki considers the finds to date more accurately to the Geometric period.

B. *Timios Stavros* – In 1939, two isolated chamber tombs with many vases were discovered at this location east of the village and near the chapel of Timios Stavros, ~1 km east of Logades. Theophanides (the excavator) dated the burials to SM or PG, though no details about the tombs or their finds were published. Jantzen published 8 vases (a krater, pithos, oinochoe, and five cups) in the Chania Museum, which may have come from this group, and he dated them to PG. Andreadaki-Vlasaki, however, considers these not to belong to PG, but probably to LG/EO, though it remains uncertain whether or not these vases came from the Timios Stavros chamber tombs. In addition, Faure states that other similar tombs were found by locals at this location, though no further information about these burials is known.

Ref: Theophanides 1940, 485; Walter 1940, 306; Dunbabin 1944, 88; 1947, 192; Faure 1958, 499; Platon 1959, 392; Alexiou 1960, 271; Daux 1961, 896; Faure 1962, 48-49; Jantzen 1964; Hood 1965, 106 (C3); Coldstream 1968, 415; Pini 1968, 94 #134; Snodgrass 1971, 165, 210; Desborough 1972b, 236, 372; Leekley and Noyes 1975, 116; Kanta 1980, 233-234; Syriopoulos 1983, 150 #87, 212 #188, 286 #303; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1985, 12-14, 19-20; Moody 1987, VRS2-3; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991, 411, 414-415; 2000, 34; Nowicki 2000, 214-215; Moody 2004, 257

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS BY TOMB TYPE

This chapter presents an analysis of the burials catalogued in Chapter Three. It is organized by tomb type: 1. tholoi, 2. caves/rock shelters, 3. chamber tombs, 4. pit graves, shaft graves, and pit caves, 5. pithos burials, pseudotholoi, and intramural burials, 6. cist graves and burial enclosures, 7. other tomb types, 8. tombs of unknown type. Each section contains a definition and brief history of the individual tomb type; the focus, however, is on the basic analysis of the tombs within each type (architecture, location relative to the settlement, method of interment, grave goods, date, etc.). Tables with all of the published information regarding these features are included within the text of this chapter, while maps, plans, and graphs are placed within the figures after the Bibliography.

1. THOLOS TOMBS

Brief history of use

In the Early Iron Age on Crete, tholos tombs were used for burial at the greatest number of catalogued sites (at a minimum of 41 sites or 34%, though likely at as many as 49 sites or 40% – fig. 173), though with the second highest frequency (with over 200 known examples – fig. 172). The tholos tomb had a long history of use on the island; the “Minoan” tholos was used from FN/EM-MM, sometimes continuing at a site up to LM I or even LM III. This tomb type occurred primarily, though not exclusively, in the Mesara (e.g., Lebena, Platanos, Kamilari, and Valis). The “Minoan” tholos was built completely above ground, or

with a small section cut into the hillside, and typically consisted of a large, round chamber (between 4-13 m in diameter) with thick walls (0.7-2.5 m) constructed of unworked fieldstones, a small doorway (usually less than 1 x 1 m and sometimes with monolithic jambs and lintel) which frequently opened to the east, no dromos, and a corbel-vaulted stone roof (thus far proven only for the smaller examples).⁷⁷ The later examples of this tomb type, on the other hand, tended to be smaller and to have improved masonry (i.e., cut blocks), as well as built and/or higher doorways and annexes, defined as rectangular complexes of rooms typically added around the front of the tomb. In addition, these communal tombs often contained as many as hundreds of inhumations, and they are most commonly believed to have been used by large clans over a long period of time.⁷⁸

Currently, most scholars consider the “Mycenaean” tholos to have evolved from, or at least been influenced by, the “Minoan” type.⁷⁹ Significant changes to the basic form, however, were made on the mainland.⁸⁰ The mainland tholos (e.g., Messenia, Mycenae, Pylos, Kapakli, Koryphasion) was used from MH-LH IIIB (primarily LH II-IIIB); it was typically subterranean, cut into the hillside, and sometimes covered with a tumulus of earth.

⁷⁷ See Pini 1968, 7-72, 433-453; Branigan 1970a, 160-175; 1970b, 1993; Pelon 1976; Belli 1991; Kanta 1997, among others, for discussion of the “Minoan” tholos. See also Rutter, J. 2000. “Lesson 6: The Early Minoan Period: The Tombs.” http://projectsx.dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age, for an excellent summary of the history of scholarship, tomb typology and origin of form, the question of roofing, and for additional bibliography.

⁷⁸ Branigan 1970b, 128.

⁷⁹ For scholarship in support of the Minoan influence or derivation, see Hood 1960b; Matz 1962, 196-199; Branigan 1970b, 152-160; Belli 1997, 254; Kanta 1997; Kanta and Karetsou 1998; Belli 2003, 327. See also Rutter, J. 2000. “Lesson 10: Middle Minoan Crete.” http://projectsx.dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age, for additional bibliography. For purely “Mycenaean” development, see Hutchinson 1962, 152-154; Mylonas 1966, 132; Cavanagh and Laxton 1981, 132-133. Dickinson (1994, 224-226) argues that this type of tholos is basically a superior version of a chamber tomb.

⁸⁰ See Mylonas 1966, 118-131; Pelon 1976, esp. 153-423; Dickinson 1977, 1983; Taylor 1983, 70-81; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 44-46, 63-64, 92. See also Rutter, J. 2000. “Lesson 19: Mycenaean Tholos Tombs and Early Mycenaean Settlements.” http://projectsx.dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age, for a good summary of the Mycenaean tholos and for additional bibliography.

“Mycenaean” tholoi contained a corbel-vaulted circular chamber, often lined with stone masonry in horizontal courses, a long, steeply sloping dromos which narrowed at the stomion (the orientation of which was determined by topography), and a doorway of greater height (typically higher than 2 m, though often of monumental proportion).⁸¹ These tholoi typically held only a small number of burials, and their use tended to be restricted to the ruling class, rather than the entire population as with the “Minoan” tholos.⁸²

Both “Minoan” and “Mycenaean” style tholoi occur on Crete during the Late Bronze Age. As previously mentioned, EM/MM circular structures (“Minoan tholoi”) continued to be built up to the end of the Middle Minoan period, with certain examples continuing in use until LM I, or even as late as LM III.⁸³ A continuation of the old “Minoan” burial customs can perhaps also be observed in recently identified LM IIIA-early IIIC tholos tombs from around Apodoulou in the Amari region of west-central Crete, an area with a tradition of close relations and contact with the Mesara; in fact, Kanta considers these tombs to be the direct descendants of the large circular structures.⁸⁴ These tholoi (e.g., Frangou to Louri, Ag. Paraskevi, Psila Chomata, Sata, and Aigidomandra) are relatively small (ca. 2-3 m in diameter) with roughly circular vaulted chambers, no dromoi or else very small, rudimentary ones, and no tumuli; they are built both above and partially below ground, occurring

⁸¹ Kanta (1997), however, considers that some of the “Mycenaean” features, such as the long dromos, may actually have developed or evolved on Crete; tholos B at Archanes, for example, could potentially be the earliest example of a long dromos in Crete or elsewhere in Greece. See also Branigan (1970b, 152-160) and Hood (1960b, 170-174) who note that the adoption of the dromos became necessary on the mainland when the tombs were placed in a mound or hillside; some of the earliest mainland tholoi, though, were placed more or less at ground level and then covered with a mound of earth.

⁸² Hood (1960b, 174) does note that some of the smaller and simpler “Mycenaean” tholoi appear to have been used for repeated burials, possibly serving as family tombs.

⁸³ See Pelon 1976, 70-71; Kanta 1980, 85; 1997, 231-233. Sites with the strongest evidence for post-MM burial include Valis, Ag. Irini (Koumassa), Ag. Triada Tholos B, Kamilari, Drakones (Stavies), and Knossos Gypsades tholos.

⁸⁴ Pologiorgi 1987; Kanta 1997.

sometimes in clusters, and burials are frequently placed in larnakes. The Apodoulou tombs would thus appear to indicate a more “Minoan” than “Mycenaean” character in their frequent lack of proper dromoi, construction above or partially above ground, and extensive use of larnakes; in addition, the number of examples found so far, as well as their presence in clusters, may indicate that these tholoi were family tombs, comprising a common method of burial for the community, rather than just for the elite.⁸⁵

On the other hand, “Mycenaean” influenced tholoi were also used on Crete in the Late Bronze Age (e.g., Knossos Kephala, Armenoi, Achladia, Phylaki, Maleme, and Stylos), beginning in LM II or earlier, though they were especially common in LM III. According to Belli, these were proper tholoi, built deep into the slope, with medium-large square (3.25-5.50 m diameter) or round (2.7-5.0 m in height) chambers of carefully constructed walls (with almost regular coursing) and long dromoi.⁸⁶ The majority of these hypogean tombs had the typical beehive/hemispherical corbelled vault, though a few tombs with rectangular chambers (Royal Tomb and T.1 at Knossos Isopata and two tombs at Damania) contained a keel vault.⁸⁷ These monumental tholoi date to the period when Mycenaean influence on Crete was at its peak, and they also appear to have been used in a similar manner as on the mainland, namely for elite burials; in fact, Belli has even suggested that the limited number

⁸⁵ Kanta (1997, esp. 233-235, 242-247) also notes that some of the traditional Mesara tholoi were built partially below ground (Ag. Triada, Kamilari, Ag. Kyrillos).

⁸⁶ Belli 1997.

⁸⁷ In a keel vault, only the long sides of the chamber were corbelled to form the vault (the short sides had continuous vertical walls). This feature, however, is not necessarily Mycenaean, though it is present in T. Rho at Mycenae; it may derive from the Near East/Levant, as tombs from Ugarit have the same type of roof, or else it may have been a Cretan development. See Belli 1997, 252; 2003, 328-333; Kanta and Karetsou 1998, 169, for discussion of tombs of this type.

of these tombs, their superior construction, and distribution across the island may indicate that each associated site was related to a regional center of administration.⁸⁸

Like the LBA tombs, the Early Iron Age tholoi also show both “Minoan” and “Mycenaean” features. EIA tholoi can be divided into two basic types (fig. 174): small tholoi (type 1: these should, in most cases, perhaps more properly be called small vaulted chamber tombs, though they will be referred to here as small tholoi to distinguish them more clearly from the typical rock-cut chamber tomb – fig. 175) and large (by EIA standards) circular tholoi (type 2 – fig. 176). Tholoi characteristic of the first type have square/rectangular, trapezoidal, or circular/oval/ellipsoidal interior ground plans of small diameter (most commonly 1.5-2.5 m) and low height (1.0-2.0 m). Most of these tombs were constructed by first cutting a pit into the bedrock or earth and then lining it with stones to form the walls (typically irregular, unworked fieldstones). Tombs were frequently built into the hillside and were often mostly-entirely below ground. A form of circular corbelled vault, often closed by a single capstone, roofed the majority of tombs; a small number of examples appear to have had keel vaults. Some tombs were without dromoi, while others had very small, rudimentary ones, often just a pit or trench; a few tombs had slightly longer, lined or unlined dromoi. In addition, the doorways were quite low (frequently less than 0.50 m), though they sometimes contained elaborately constructed facades which included monolithic jambs and lintels.

The large tholoi, on the other hand, typically contained corbel-vaulted circular chambers (with a diameter >2.5 m, especially 3 m or more), often with dromoi. These tholoi were frequently cut into the hillside and were often fully below ground. They also tended to be of much better craftsmanship than the smaller tholoi, with more regular, rectangular

⁸⁸ Belli 1997, 252; 2003, 327-328.

courses of stones; in fact, some of these tombs were originally assumed to be LM II-III as a result of their ‘superior’ architectural features. Tholoi of this type have been identified at Kavousi Skouriasmenos, Praisos A, Gortyn, Prinias (F, J, Q?, AQ?), Arkades (L, M, R), Phaistos Ag. Ioannis, Knossos (Kephala Tomb 6 and Teke), and possibly also at Kourtes (one tomb), and Kounavoi (the large tholos) (fig. 176).

Tombs of the small type comprise the vast majority of EIA tholos tombs, occurring at 75-80% of the sites with tholoi and comprising at least 85%, and probably more, of the total number of tholoi (figs. 175-176). Although the Early Iron Age small tholoi exhibit some “Mycenaean” features not typically observed in the Apodoulou tombs, such as being built into a hillside, fully below ground, and containing dromoi, they appear to be primarily the product of the continuous “Minoan” tradition identified by Kanta, though in general they tend to be smaller in size and less well-constructed than their LM III counterparts.⁸⁹ While these small tombs were typically placed into a hillside like “Mycenaean” style tholoi, they were usually dug only shallowly into the slope; also, while many tombs had some form of dromos, very few had true, long dromoi. The low doorways and rough architecture, on the other hand, are reminiscent of the EM-MM large “Minoan” tholoi. In addition, EIA small tholoi occurred in large numbers, often in clusters, and they appear to have been used by most-all members of the community for family burials, not just the elite. Finally, these small tholoi tended to be located in mountainous regions and especially in east Crete, the areas typically considered to have held onto Minoan traditions the longest.

The large Early Iron Age tholoi, however, exhibit more features typically identified as “Mycenaean” (i.e., few in number, with chambers of more regular courses of stones and

⁸⁹ See Belli 1996, 2003, 328-333, for the potential influence of Cypriot or Levantine tombs on certain Cretan LBA and EIA tholoi (e.g., Plati, Smari, Kritsa A).

longer dromoi, and built below ground into a hillside), though they are not, in fact, exclusively Mycenaean in character, often containing a large number of burials.⁹⁰ Variations and subcategories exist within the two basic types of EIA tholoi, however, and a small degree of overlap does occur; an analysis of the individual tomb types and their architectural features will be presented in the following section. Despite the distinctions between the large and small types of Early Iron Age tholoi, both share a common factor in that they display a mixture of “Minoan” and “Mycenaean” features; in fact, this is typical of the period in general, where at many sites, such as Arkades and Karphi, the population is often considered to have been of mixed origin, or at least Minoan with Mycenaean elements.⁹¹ It is difficult, however, to determine the exact degree of “Minoan” versus “Mycenaean” influence on the actual form of the tholos tomb in the EIA; what is most significant is the simultaneous use on Crete during the Late Bronze Age of at least two distinctive types of tholoi and the continuation of this trend into the Early Iron Age.

Analysis of architectural features

The tholos was the characteristic tomb form for numerous sites (see table 1); at approximately 17-18 primarily Eastern sites (Papoura, Karphi, Adrianos, Kastri (?), Zenia, Braimiana, Chalasmenos, Kalamafka, Schoinokapsala, Vasiliki, Chamaizi, Mouliana, Skopi, Sphakia, Kourtes, Krasi, Viannos, Orne), no other form of burial has yet been discovered. At many sites, however, tholoi were found together with other grave types, including chamber tombs, bone enclosures, rock shelters, and pit graves. Tholoi also rarely occurred singly;

⁹⁰ See Kanta 1997. Kanta and Karetsou (1998, 170) also state that the small EIA tholos tombs “go back to the comparable tombs found in Crete at the end of the Bronze Age, a typical Minoan burial custom, while the large circular tholos tombs go back to the Mycenaean tholos tombs, which although of Minoan origin, acquire their grander features on the mainland and are relatively rare in Crete. Although it cannot be proved, it is possible that they represent the burial places of two social groups which identify with a different tradition, perhaps Mycenaean versus Minoan.”

⁹¹ See for example, Kanta and Karetsou 1998; Nowicki 2000, 163; Tsipopoulou and Nowicki 2003.

typically, more than one example existed within the area of any given site. Small tholos tombs (type 1) have been uncovered in great numbers at several sites (e.g., Karphi->27, Adromyloi->20, Kavousi-16, Krya-13 or 14, Vrokastro-10), and this tomb type was by far the dominant form at several others, making it a common form of grave for all members of society. The large circular tholoi (type 2), however, occur in much smaller numbers (between 12-15 total examples), often with only one per site, though multiple examples do exist (e.g., Prinias and Arkades); and they are also commonly found in association with smaller tholoi. These larger tholoi thus appear to have had a more restricted use than the smaller examples.

In terms of interior chamber shape (see table 1), the small tholos tombs contain more than twice as many square/rectangular (or trapezoidal, though only four definite examples are recorded) ground plans than circular/ellipsoidal (or horseshoe, though only four definite examples are recorded). The exact shape of a tomb's chamber, however, is often difficult to determine, with many chambers being only roughly square/rectangular or circular and with the corbelling of some rectangular tombs beginning as low as the second course; in fact, Pendlebury himself noted the difficulty in deciding which stones were fallen into the chamber and which were part of the lowest course(s) of the walls.⁹² The tombs from many sites have also not yet been published, though the general observation that there were far more square and rectangular than circular examples does appear to be valid; in fact, this is also true at most sites which have examples of both chamber types, such as Karphi (at least 20 sq/rect. versus only 5 circular), Krya (9 sq/rect. versus 1 or 2 circ.), Adromyloi, Vrokastro, and Kavousi.

⁹² Pendlebury 1939, 306.

The shape of the tomb chamber does, however, vary in dominance with the size of the tomb (fig. 177). The smallest tombs, with diameters less than 1.5 m, have a much higher percentage of circular chambers than the larger examples of type 1, with slightly more circular chambers existing than square/rectangular ones.⁹³ The average-large sized small chambers have a much higher percentage of square/rectangular plans; those with diameters of 1.5-2 m, the majority of the small tholoi, are approximately two-thirds sq/rect., while the larger ones with 2-2.5 m diameters are over 83% sq/rect.⁹⁴ The largest tombs (type 2), with average diameters greater than 2.5 m up to 4.0 m, however, are all/nearly all circular in plan; only Praisos Photoula (4.5 x 3.0 m) has a rectangular chamber, and this tomb may belong to a different tradition than the other large-chambered examples. Thus, the size of the chamber does appear somewhat related to the shape; most importantly, it serves to clearly distinguish the average small tholos type from the large circular type.

The interior height of the chamber (see table 1) is frequently not published in the reports; furthermore, it is often difficult to determine the exact original height due to the collapse of the roof. The height of the small tholos tombs appears to be primarily related to the size of the tomb, as would be expected. The typical interior height for tombs of the small variety is between 1.5 and 2.0 meters. Tombs with heights of less than 1 meter tend, predictably, to be of small-normal/average size, while those tombs with chamber heights greater than 2 m tend to be large or average sized. The heights of the large circular tholoi are

⁹³ Tombs with diameters of less than 1.5 m are Karphi M. 10, 13, Anavlochos, Kritsa T. B, Kavousi Azoria, Krya T. 1, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 17, 22, 27, Praisos Mavrikiia and Kato Kephali Spetsoti, Kourtes, Prinias, Rotasi '93, Ag. Paraskies, Erganos, Panagia T. A, Orne, Pantanassa. Note that both western (Rethymnon Nomos) examples fall into this category.

⁹⁴ Tombs with diameters between 2-2.5 m are Papoura, Karphi M. 8 and A. 5, Adrianos, Kritsa A, Vrokastro Karakovilia T. I, Kavousi Aloni I and II, Vronda III, Vasiliki Kamaraki and Kephala, Ag. Georgios T. A, Chamaizi T. II and V, Krya T. 28 and the far away tholos, Moulia T. A, Skopi T. I, and Kamares (? earlier date). Note that all of these examples occur in East Crete.

more variable, ranging from 1.3 (Kounavoi) or 1.7 (Knossos Kephala #6) to 3.21 m (Arkades T.R), though again with the tombs of larger diameter tending to have greater heights.

Table 1 (Tholoi – chamber shape, size, height; large circular tholoi indicated by *)

Site	# Tombs	Chamber shape	Chamber size	Height
Ag. G. Papoura	1	circular	~2.2-2.3 m	>1.5, prob. 2 m
Karphi:Ta Mnem.	>20 (#1-17; A)	4 circ-#4;6;13; 14 14 sq/r-#1-3;5;7; 8;9-12;15-17;A	<1.5 m-#10;13 1.5-2 m-#1-7;9;11;12; 14-17 >2 m-#8	<1 m-#6;9;15 1-1.5 m-#1;3-5; 7;8 1.75 m-#17 >2 m-#16
Karphi:Astividero	>7 (#1-4; A-C)	1 circ-#3 6 sq/r-#1;2;4;A; B;C	1.5-2 m-#1-4;B >2 m-A	<1 m-#3 1-1.5 m-#1;4;B >2 m-#A
Adrianos	>1	rectangular	2.1 x 2.6 m	?
Anavlochos:Lami	3 or more	circ;ellip;rect	one w/ <1 m (circ)	?
Kastri	>2	circular	~2 m	?
Kritsa:Lakkoi	2 (#A;B)	trapezoidal	A-2.25 x 2.05 m B-1.45 x 1.25 or 1.34m	A-2.2 or 2.1 m B-1.5 m
Vrokastro:Amig.	1 (# IV)	rectangular	1.80 x 1.55 m	pres. 1.15 m
Vrokastro:Karak.	1 (# I)	rectangular	~3 x 2 m	~1.5 m
Vrokastro:Kopran.	3 (#V-VII)	V-circ; VII-rect	V-1.66 x 2.09 m; VII-2.24 x 1.59 m	V-1.38 m pres
Vrokastro:Mazich	2 (#II-III)	rectangular	III-1.34 x 1.76 m; II-1.70 x 2.04 m	III->1.4 m; II- 1.09 m pres
Vrokastro:Poros	3 (2-CT?)	1991-elliptical	small	?
Zenia	2 or 3	2-circular	'98-1.9-2 m; Nowicki~2m	'98-1.15 m
Braimiana	>1	?	?	?
Chalasmenos	>1 (#A)	circular	A-1.60 m	A-1.40 m
Kalamafka	2	?	?	?
Kavousi:Aloni	4 (#I-IV)	rectangular	I-~2 x 2.5 m; II-2.1 m length	I-1.65m; max H others-1.45 m
Kavousi:Azoria	1	elliptical	1.42 x 0.90 m	1.25 m
Kavousi:Plai	1	sq/rect	large; poss 1.83 m??	>1.58 m+0.86?
*Kavousi:Skourias	1	circular	2.9 m	2.2 m
Kavousi:Vronda	10 (#I-X)	3 circ-#I;II;VI 4 sq-#III;V;VII; IX; 1-irreg-#IV; 1-horseshoe-X	1.5-<2 m-#I;II;IV;V; VI;X 2 m-#III	typically <2 m
Schoinokapsala	1	?	?	?
Vasiliki:Kamaraki	1	~circular	2.5 m	1.3 m
Vasiliki:Kephala	1	circular	2 m	1.8 m
Adromyloi:Ag.Ant	?	sq;rect;circ	?	?
Adromyloi:Ag.Apo	18	prim sq/rect;circ	?	?
Ag. Georgios	2 or 3 (#A;B)	trapezoidal	A2.2x2.46x2.0x1.97m B-1.7x1.38x1.5x?m	A-0.95 m preserved
Chamaizi:Liopetro	1	rectangular	?	?
Chamaizi:Phatsi	5 (#I-V)	sq/rect;trap	II-2.8x1.59x2.85x2.75 III-2.2x1.62x2.2x1.65 V-2.10 x 2.10 m	?

Krya	13 or 14 (#1;4-7; 9;11;14;17;22;27; 28;Isopata;+1 far	9 rect/sq-#1;5;7; 9;14;17;27;28;Iso 1 circ-#11 1 irreg-#4; 1 horseshoe-#22	<1m-#14;17;22 1-1.5m-#1;4;5;7;9;11; 27 T.28-2.5x2m; far ex.- 2.6x1.5; Iso-2.2x1.1m	<1m-#1;7;14; 17;22 1-1.5m#4;5;9;11; 27 far-1.75;T.28-2m
Mesa Mouliana	2 (#A;B)	rectangular	A-2.42-2.48 x 1.82 m B-1.9-2.12 x 1.97 m	A~1.6 m B-0.8 m
Pefkoi	>5	2 sq; circ	one ex. 1.8 m	prob. ~1.5 m
*Praisos	1 (#A)	circular	4.07 m	?
Praisos:KKS,K,XM	>5	circ;sq/rect?	1.8 m; 1.25 m	?
Praisos:Mavriki	2	1-sq w/ rounded corners; 2-rect	1.35 x 1.25 m	0.7 m preserved
Praisos:Photoula	1	rectangular	4.5 x 3 m	~1.3-1.5 m
Skopi	5 (#I-V)	rect/sq	I-2.8x2.65x1.8x1.8m II-much smaller	I-1.7 m
Sphakia	1	rectangular	1.5 x >2 m	?
*Gortyn	1	circular	2.7 m	2.9 m
Kourtes ⁹⁵	>2	circ/horseshoe	1.15; 1.4 m	av. ~1.7m
*Kourtes	1	circular	2.9 m	~1.8 m
Prinias	7-10 (Q?,AQ?, AN,D,AH,AL,B, G,AR,AV)	most roughly circ/oval; trap-D; AH; horsesh-AN	most 1-little >2 m D-1.8x1.9m;AH-2.3x 1.54-1.8m; B-1.5m	AH-2.05 m
*Prinias	2-4 (F,J,Q?,AQ?)	circular	F-3.8 m; J-3.1 m	F-1.6 m pres.
Rotasi	3	A(1954)-rect; 1958+1993-circ	A-1.7x1.5; 1993-0.76x 0.3 m;1958-1.70 m	A~1 m; 1993- 0.65 m
Ag. Paraskies	1	circular	1.40 m	prob ~1.4 m
Arkades	3 (#A;B;C)	sq/rect	A-1.8x1.9; B-1.5x1.5 C-1.35x1.9 m	A~2 m; B-1.5m C-0.6 m
*Arkades	3 (#L;M;R)	circular	L-3.2; M->3 m; R- 3.57-3.75 m	L-2.2 m; R-3.21 m
Erganos	>6	circular	1.3-1.9 m; one-1.76m	0.8-1.25 m
Kounavoi (T.11)	1	circular	smaller than T.10	?
*Kounavoi large	1	circular	2.6 m	1.3 m
Krasi	>2 (#A;B)	A-rectangular;B- roughly circular	A-1.5 x 2 m; B-1.5 x 1.5-2.0m	A-1.8 m B->1.0 m
Panagia	5 or 6	rect;trap	1.9x1.65; A-1.4x1.1 m B1.56x1.94x1.87x1.68	1.25 m pres; A-<1 m; B-1.4m
Kamares	up to 7 (? how many built IIC)	circular	T.1;3-2.0 m; T.5-2.2; T.2-2.4 m	T.1;3-1.6 m; T.2 -1.8; T.4-2.0 m
*Phaistos:Ag. Ioan.	1	circular	3.23-3.26 m	3 m
*Knossos:Kephala	1 or more (#6)	circular	~3 m	1.7 m
*Knossos:Teke	1 (? date)	circular	>3 m	?
Keraton	1	?	?	?
Orne	1	irregular	pres. 1.2 x 1 m	~0.8-0.85 m
Pantanassa	1	rectangular	1.12 x 1.4 m	~1 m

⁹⁵ The measurements of the investigated tombs at Kourtes are provided inconsistently by Halbherr and Taramelli (1901) and it is unclear whose measurements are the most accurate or if different tombs are referred to by the two authors; this is particularly significant for the identification of a tholos tomb of the large type at this site.

The stomia (see table 2) of most tombs were blocked, either with small-large stones or with one or more slabs/plakas. For the small tombs, the width typically varied between 0.5-0.75 m. Extra small (0.3-0.35 m) stomia have been found at Erganos (two tombs) and Ag. Paraskies; some of the tombs at Krya also had stomion widths of ~0.38 m. Those tombs with very small stomion widths tend to be the tombs with extra small chambers, as would be expected. Above average stomion width was observed at Karphi (M.1 and 4 with 1 meter)⁹⁶ and Chamaizi (T. II and III with 1.3 m); while Chamaizi T. II is a rather large tomb, the other three tombs are of relatively average size. Further, the stomion widths of the large circular tholoi do not appear to be significantly larger than those of the small tholoi, with most recorded examples being around 0.7-0.8 m. In addition, the width of the stomion in some tombs (Krya Isopata type, Skouriasmenos, and one tomb at Erganos) narrows towards the interior of the tomb.

The length of the stomion is rarely provided in tomb publications; based on the few published examples, the average stomion length for tholoi of all sizes appears to be 0.5-1.0 m. Pantanassa has the smallest recorded stomion length with 0.38 m (and that of the far tholos at Krya was possibly only 0.32 m), while Papoura has by far the longest of the small tholoi with 2.5 m. Of the large tholoi, only the stomion of Tomb R at Arkades is extra long (3.75 m). Tombs with long stomia (usually in the 1.0-1.5 m range) have sometimes been mistakenly identified as having short dromoi; it is also often unclear from the short published reports whether a tomb has a short dromos or a long stomion. Tombs at Karphi (M. 4, 8, 17), Erganos, Kamares, Arkades, and possibly Panagia appear to have had this type of long stomion.

⁹⁶ Stomion width at Karphi varies from 0.5 (M. 2; 5-7; 9-12; 14; 17; A. 1-4; 6), 0.75 (M. 8; 16; A. 5), to 1.0 (M. 1; 4), and length ranges from 0.5 (M. 6; 9; 11; 12; A. 6), 0.75 (M. 14; 16; A. 2; 5), 1.0 (M. 1; 5; 7; 10; A. 1; 3; 4), 1.25 (M. 8), and 1.5 (M.4;17).

The small type of tholos tomb also typically has a low stomion, with nearly all examples falling in the height range of 0.5-0.8 m. Such a low stomion height makes the doorways of many of these tombs essentially non-functional, and it is believed that in many cases, interments may have been made through the roof rather than through the doorway. The tholoi at Karphi (range 0.35-0.45 m) and one tomb at Erganos (0.4 m) have stomion heights slightly lower than average, while Vrokastro Mazichortia (III-0.85 m) and Vasiliki Kamaraki (0.90 m) have slightly above average door heights. Most of the large circular tholoi, on the other hand, have stomia which are at least one meter in height, making the doorways more likely to have been functional. The greater stomion height is also more appropriate and predictable for the larger chamber size. In addition, some tombs, such as Mouliana A and Arkades A and R have stomia which are higher at the dromos than at the interior (chamber).

Many tholos tombs have well-constructed or elaborate doorways, with monolithic lintels, door jambs, and/or thresholds or paved entrances (see table 2). The doorway is a natural point of emphasis, visible at least during the actual burial and associated funerary rituals and also potentially during later offerings, and even poorly constructed tombs of relatively small size frequently have well-built door frames; at Prinias, for example, Tombs AL and B were built only at the entrance and in front of the dromos, with the back of the tomb being rock-cut, though these examples are really more like chamber tombs than tholoi. The monolithic lintel is the most common of these elaborative features, found on small tholoi from at least 19 sites, and apparently on all of the large tholoi; in many cases, the doorways were not preserved and thus even more tombs likely originally contained monolithic lintels.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Among the small tholoi, monolithic lintels were found at Papoura, Karphi, Kritsa, Vrokastro, Zenia, Kavousi Vronda and Azoria, Vasiliki Kamaraki and Kephala, Adromyloi, Ag. Georgios, Chamaizi Phatsi (V), Krya

Door jambs, however, are less common than monolithic lintels, occurring at 13 of the sites with small tholoi and at least 7 of the sites with large tholoi; in some cases, the jambs are monolithic, while in others, they are built with large or small stones.⁹⁸ Entrances paved with stones or with single threshold blocks occur at even fewer sites (eight small tholoi at five sites and six large tholoi at six sites).⁹⁹

Only three sites with small tholoi (Ag. Paraskies, Arkades A and B, and Prinias Q, AQ, AN) and four sites with large tholoi (Gortyn, Prinias F, Arkades R, and Kounavoi) have tombs with all three of these features (several other sites have tombs with two out of three),¹⁰⁰ though again the doorways of tombs were often destroyed or not preserved and more examples may originally have existed. While these architectural features occur in a much higher percentage of large tholoi than small tholoi (the larger tholoi – more elaborate and better constructed – are by definition more likely to have these features), chamber shape, size and stomion height do not appear to be significant factors in their presence within the small type of tholos, as some of the smallest tholoi have one or more of these as well; it is true, however, that such characteristics are slightly more common on the larger sized small tholoi. These features do, however, serve as a form of architectural elaboration or enhancement, signifying better construction and attention to detail, as well as potentially distinguishing some tombs from others, both within a site and among different sites. In some

(Isopata and T. 28), Mouliana, Skopi (I), Kourtes, Prinias, Arkades, Krasi (A), Panagia (H, A, B), and Pantanassa.

⁹⁸ Door jambs were found at Karphi M. 9-12, 14 (all of which are in a group), Zenia, Vasiliki Kephala and Kamaraki, Kavousi Azoria, Chamaizi Phatsi T.V, Krya (Isopata), Mouliana A, Praisos Mavrikia (one example) and Photoula, Gortyn, Kourtes (one example), Prinias (F, A, AQ, AN, B), Ag. Paraskies, Arkades, Kounavoi (large), Panagia (A, B, H), Phaistos, and Knossos Teke.

⁹⁹ Paved entrances/threshold blocks occur at Karphi A. 2, Kritsa A, Praisos A, Gortyn, Prinias F, Q, AQ, and AN, Ag. Paraskies, and Arkades A, B, R, Kounavoi (large), and Knossos Teke.

¹⁰⁰ Two out of three features exist at Karphi M. 14, Kritsa A, Zenia, Vasiliki Kamaraki and Kephala, Chamaizi V, Krya Isopata, Mouliana A, Kourtes, Panagia, and Praisos A and Photoula, Phaistos, Knossos Teke.

instances, only a few tombs, or even just one, at a site have these characteristics; thus they could have served as a form of display, an indicator of real or desired social status for the occupants, or a greater degree of wealth.

In addition, a few tombs have an elaborate, built façade (frequently with rectangular courses of stones), which often extends above the stomion (e.g., Kritsa A, Kavousi Vronda II, IV, V, VI, Skouriasmenos, Arkades A and R, and Gortyn). One further feature, observed in only a few examples, is the presence of a step down into the burial chamber from the stomion; this has been recorded at Kritsa A, Krya T. 22, and Ag. Paraskies. Also, a small number of tombs, all rectangular or trapezoidal but of any size, have doorways which are off-center (e.g., Karphi M. 2 at NE, Kritsa A at NE, Krya T. 27 at SE, Pantanassa at SE, and Phatsi V at SE); these can perhaps be compared with, or derived from, a type of LM IIIB tholos tomb noted by Belli, which contains a roughly circular chamber with entrance at the side of the tomb, rather than in the center (e.g., Plati, Smari, LBA tombs at Enkomi on Cyprus).¹⁰¹ A further unusual feature is observed in the smaller tholos at Kounavoi (T.11), which appears to have been without an entrance (i.e., an entirely closed circular chamber).

Most of the type 1 tholos tombs had a dromos of some form. The presence of a dromos in tombs uncovered by old excavations, however, is often uncertain; in many cases, the dromoi were not exposed at all, or were only partially cleared (compare Moulia where a recent cleaning of the two tholoi revealed the presence of long dromoi). The tombs which are recorded as having no dromoi (Anavlochos, Chalasmenos, Praisos Mavrikiia, Kourtes, and some Karphi tombs), however, tend to be of the smaller range of chamber size. Some tombs had a “pseudodromos” or rectangular trench, often ~1 m wide, rather than a real dromos, as at Vronda, Kourtes (one tomb), and possibly Vrokastro. Still other tombs are

¹⁰¹ Belli 1996.

published as having a very short dromos of less than 1 meter in length, though these are difficult to distinguish from the small trench/pseudodromos, if in fact there is a difference, as at Vrokastro, Vasiliki Kamaraki, Adromyloi, Krya, Pantanassa, and Prinias. In addition, some of these short dromoi may actually have been long stomia, which have not been published or were mis-identified. Karphi M. 11, Kritsa, Vrokastro, Kavousi Aloni, Vronda I and X, and possibly Panagia have been identified as having short dromoi (~1-2 m long), and most or all of these appear to have been real dromoi, rather than long stomia or trenches. Finally, long dromoi (3-8 m) have been found at Papoura, Karphi (M.1, 4, 7, 8; A. 4), Vasiliki Kephala, Mouliana, and Prinias D.

Unfortunately, the dromos length for the large circular tholoi was often not recorded, making it difficult to make inferences relative to the small type, though it appears that some of these tombs may be without dromoi or had only short dromoi, while others, such as Arkades R (2.2 m or more), had deep dromoi of average-long length. In other words, dromos length or presence is not a distinguishing feature of the two different tholos types. In addition, a few sites had stone-lined dromoi: Karphi (M.1; 4; 7; 8; 11; A. 4), Kritsa A, Vronda I, Krya T. 6, Vrokastro III, some at Prinias, and Arkades R. The presence of stone-lining also does not appear to have been related to the size of the tomb or the length of the dromos. Other features of note regarding dromoi are that some, as at Karphi, narrow towards the stomion, while others rarely, as at Pantanassa, are considerably wider than the stomion, even at the stomion itself. In addition, the dromoi of most tombs tend to be positioned at roughly an even level with the stomion of the tomb; in some cases, however, the dromos declines slightly from the surface to the tomb (as at Kritsa A, Arkades R, and Kounavoi),

while in others (as at Karphi) it inclines to the stomion, reaching it even as high as the top of the door.

The small tholos tombs were typically constructed of unworked, irregularly shaped local fieldstones (most commonly limestone, though schist slabs were used at Kavousi Aloni, Pefkoi, and Kamares), and the space between stones was filled either with a bonding of clay or with smaller stones. A few tombs were noteworthy for having better construction than others, consisting of more regular coursing of stones or roughly square/rectangular blocks: Papoura, Karphi M. 4, 8 and 5, 11 (?); Kritsa A, Vrokastro Karakovilia I, Vronda III, Vasiliki Kephala, Krya T. 9 and Isopata, Prinias Q, AQ, and possibly Panagia H. These better constructed tombs tend to be of large size or at least among the largest from a site, and they also tend to have at least one additional architectural detail (lintel, jambs, or paving/threshold). The large tholos tombs, on the other hand, are almost always of better construction with square or rectangular fieldstones, typically unworked but placed in more regular, carefully built courses.

Table 2 (Tholoi – stomion, dromos, construction)

Site	Stomion (WxL)	Dromos	Chamber Construction
Ag. G. Papoura	~0.75 x 2.5m; partly blocked; H-0.65 m; 2 mono lintels (int. + ext.)	shallow, unlined <3 m long, rubble covered	int-regular courses of unworked local limestone
Karphi:Ta Mnem.	typ. blocked; H~0.35-0.45m; L-0.5-1.5 m; W-0.5-1.0 m; project into dromos #9;10; 12;14;17; mono lintels #4;5;7;8;14; 17;A; jambs #9-12;14; T.2 door to left not center	yes, stone-lined + blocked (1 course) #1;3?;4;7;8;11; A; width narrows at stomion; leng. (#11=1.5 m pres.; 1=4.5 m; 7;8=6m; 4=8 m); incline-some reach entrance high up, even at top of door (ex#4); dromos of T.4 filled in w/ bonded stone	unworked local limestone; T.4 larger stones+better const. than most; T.8 square-built masonry, largest tomb+best built of both cem; T.5-large+ carefully selected stones; T.11-sq. and better built jambs
Karphi:Astividero	wid-0.5-0.75m; leng-0.50-1.0 m; #2 ent-proj.+ raised paved	#4 has lined dromos, <4 m long; blocked	unworked limestone
Adrianos	?	yes	unworked fieldstones
Anavlochos:Lami	?	no	unworked fieldstones
Kastri	?	?	med-large rough limestone blocks

Kritsa:Lakkoi	A-small, v. low, at NE corner, not ctr., façade wall over st.; threshold block, step down into chamber;B-0.44x 0.52 (H) mono lintels (A+B-double)	A-2 m long; ~1 m wide; lined w/ walled masonry, declining, stepped; lining of dromos continues above lintel; B-non-functional, rock-cut rough unlined steps (0.3-0.5 m)	A-unusual atten. to detail; small-large roughly quadrangular stones; lower part of walls almost reg, rect blocks; B-more irreg shaped small-medium stones, roughly quad
Vrokastro:Amig.	lintel 2 large stones	v. short <1 m	unworked fieldstones
Vrokastro:Karak.	>0.65 m H; mono lintel	v. short; L~1 m; W~0.5m	more regular const. than others at site
Vrokastro:Kopran.	VII- prob. 0.67 m H	V+VII have short; W-0.64-0.75 m	unworked fieldstones; VII-‘well-built’
Vrokastro:Mazich	T.III-0.85 m height	yes, W-II-0.47;III-0.6 m; III-lined; L-1.51 m	unworked fieldstones
Vrokastro:Poros	?	?	?
Zenia	’98-H-0.6 m; mono lintel and jambs	?	’98-unworked limestone; 9 courses; 0.4 m wall W
Braimiana	?	?	?
Chalasmenos	A-0.90 m width	no	A-med+large blocks (0.27-0.59m), space filled w/ smaller stones
Kalamafka	?	?	?
Kavousi:Aloni	I-0.7Wx0.85L; II-0.62 W	short; L-I=1.10 m; II=1.2	irreg flat schist slabs; more courses+denser packed than Vronda
Kavousi:Azoria	0.69 Hx 0.49 x 0.49 m; monolithic lintel (double-one above other?) and jambs; blocked/filled with earth	unknown	primarily small-medium sized unworked fieldstones (0.07x0.17-0.21x0.49 m); 8 courses; 1 st 4-5 courses well bonded; upper full of voids=poss disturbance
Kavousi:Plai	0.77 m W?; mono lintel?	?	irregular stones, some clay bonding
Kavousi:Skouris	blocked; 0.7-0.38 m W; 1.10-H; built façade, 3 mono lintels	>1.7 m long, unlined	rough rect stones, thin slabs, schist, earth filled cracks, façade-rect stones
Kavousi:Vronda	v. small, blocked w/ earth or 2-3 flat slabs; elab. built façade II;IV;V;VI; mono lintels W-0.42-0.82m;H-0.5-0.6 m	most pseudodromoi (~1m rect trench); I+X w/ dromos (I-lined, 1.5m len declining?), most filled w/ earth+stones up to lintel	irregular local unworked limestone, clay bonding; bottom stones more reg.; III best construction (stones fairly reg in size)
Schoinokapsala	?	?	?
Vasiliki:Kamaraki	0.82 W; 0.9 m H, incline to door, sides lined w/ slabs in two rows (jambs), mono lintel	v. short; downward sloping (toward ent), cut into earth	irregular fieldstones
Vasiliki:Kephala	built-up; 0.8x0.8 m; small stone blocking; mono lintel + jambs	yes, 3 m long	carefully built w/ large flat stones
Adromyloi:Ag.Ant	some mono lintels	lined stomion/short dromos	irregular fieldstones
Adromyloi:Ag.Apo	some mono lintels	lined stomion/short dromos	irregular fieldstones
Ag. Georgios	A-0.75 W; 0.6 m L; mono lintel	?	small+large irregular stones; plakas for vault

Chamaizi:Liopetro	?	probably no	?
Chamaizi:Phatsi	blocked; II+III-1.30 W; V-built, 0.62 W; V-mono jambs+lintel, ent. at SE	probably no	medium-large irregular local stones
Krya	av. ~0.38-0.58 m W (T. 28-0.7; Iso-0.85-0.42x0.6) 0.52-0.66 H; oft blocked; Isopata type-mono lintel+ jambs; T.22 step down to floor; T.27 ent SE corner not ctr;T.28 mono lintel	v. short; T.6 w/ stone lining [stomion:T.1-0.48x0.52; 0.84 H; far-0.53x0.32; 0.85 H]	irregular fieldstones; T.9 carefully built; Iso-larger size + diff type; far and 28 (?) larger
Mesa Mouliana	mono lintels; A-0.7-0.45 H; 0.73m W, closed by plakas, mono jambs; B-0.7 H,0.7-0.9 W-blocked; built jambs; slightly built up façade	yes, A-5.7 m L; B-3.7 m; slopes downward to tomb	irreg, roughly rect plakas (large and medium), smaller stones fill gaps
Pefkoi	blocked	?	local schist and limestone slabs; T.10-med. irreg shaped
Praisos A	vestibule 2.3x1.5m; 0.85 passage, mono lintel; threshold	short	reg courses of large, roughly rect stones
Praisos:KKS,K,XM	?	?	?
Praisos:Mavrikiá	blocked; one w/ jambs; 0.6 H; 0.6 m W	no	?
Praisos:Photoula	blocked; 1.10x1.15 (L?) m; mono lintel and jambs	yes, unlined	large unworked stone slabs, av. 1.3x1.5m
Skopi	I-0.7x0.7x0.8 m; mono lintel	probably no	rough fieldstones
Sphakia	?	?	boulders w/ roughly regular shape
Gortyn	blocked w/ 2 plakas; 0.5 W; 1.0 H; mono lintel and jambs, threshold, built façade above lintel	narrow, deep rock-cut	carefully built with large and small plakas; smaller stones for gaps; façade-reg rect courses
Kourtes	at least one mono lintel; 1 w/ jambs	no, at least one had deep pit out front of door	rough local stones; irreg courses
Kourtes-large	0.65 L; 0.5-0.6 H; mono lintel	pit/pseudo-dromos, 0.7 m length	irreg fieldstones, 0.6-0.65 wall thickness
Prinias	some mono lintel; jambs (#Q,AQ,AN,B); paved ent (Q,AQ); threshold (AN); oft blocked ent, D-blocked by large slab; B- blocked non-functional ent.	all/nearly all have, typically short, some stone-lined; D-0.9x4.0m; B-0.45 m W; AQ-wide	Q,AQ-reg, well-cons w/ med stones + smaller ones for gaps; AN-irreg poor const; D,AH-irreg stones + slabs; AR+AV-simple, series of slabs around pit; AL,B-partly rock-cut, only built ent/dromos; G-irregular rubble
Prinias-F; J	F-mono jambs; threshold; prob mono lintel	F-long (~7 m), rock-cut dromos J-probably yes	regular rectangular blocks, well-built
Rotasi	1958-blocked, mono lintel?	A-short; 1958-unlined	A-large plakas; other 2-medium irreg plakas

Ag. Paraskies	0.35x0.45m; H-0.80m; mono jambs+lintel; paved threshold (small stones); blocked	prob had unlined dromos b/c step down into chamber and placed parallel to hillside	irregular fieldstones, 0.35-0.45 m thick walls
Arkades-A;B;C	A-0.4-0.65m H; C-small; all mono lintels; jambs; blocked (B w/ 1 slab); A,B-low threshold;A-built façade; declining stomion -A,B	small stomion instead of dromos; mass of stones in front of ent-A,B; A-2 niches in dromos/ stomion?	irregular stones and some more regular/square; wall thickness A~0.7 m
Arkades-L;M;R	blocked; R~0.8x3.75; H-0.62-1.2 m; built façade above lintel; double mono; jambs; threshold Tomb L-0.85 W; 1.0-H mono lintel; L+M-long stomion/ short dromos	L+M-long stomion/short dromos; R-long, partly stone built/lined, 0.8-1.2 W; 2.2 m L or more; blocked at end; slight decline	R-sq/rect stones w/ earth+ small stones b/w; outer const less careful than inner; M-more irregularly shaped stones
Erganos	0.3x1.0, H-0.4m 0.35-0.50x1.3; 0.65H 0.58x1.40, H-0.75 m	lined stomion/short dromos, 1-1.4 m long (inc. w/ stomion dimen.)	irregular fieldstones
Kounavoi T.11	no entrance	no	?
Kounavoi-large	mono lintel; jambs; threshold; blocked w/ large slab	deep, declining; 1.3 m L	well-built w/ roughly rect fieldstones
Krasi	A-mono lintel; B-not preserved	?	A-built front, r-c back; B-rough limestone blocks (av. 0.4x0.15 m), gaps filled w/ small schist
Panagia	0.53-0.6 W; 0.5-0.7 H; mono jambs+lintel-A,B,H	some w/ short; A~1 m long, blocked	roughly rectangular stones
Kamares	av. 0.45 W; 0.5 m H	lined stomion/short dromos 1.0-1.4 m long, blocked	schist slabs
Phaistos	0.7 W; 1.2 H; mono lintel and jambs	?	irreg, plaka-like stones; 0.6-0.8 W of wall
Knossos:Kephala 6	built door; mono lintel	yes, inclined	?
Knossos:Teke	mono jambs; lintel	yes, blocked, 15.3 L; 1.3W	worked, sq blocks
Keraton	?	?	?
Orne	not preserved	not preserved	rel flat stones, lower courses roughly rect; N+E sides built against bedrock
Pantanassa	0.59x0.38x0.51m,closed by mono plaka;mono lintel, ent. off-ctr.	rock-cut, 0.88x0.84 m; wider than stomion	int-careful const., small-med stones w/ well-worked face; ext-less careful

Many of the small tholos tombs were covered either by masonry enclosures (the “Karphi-type”) or a form of stone tumulus.¹⁰² With the possible exception of T. R at

¹⁰² Masonry enclosures or stone tumuli were found at Karphi, Papoura, Adrianos, Kritsa, Zenia (?), Adromyloi, Arkades, Krasi, Panagia, Pefkoi, and possibly at Vronda, Azoria, Erganos (tumulus ?), and Krya T.28 (?).

Arkades, the stones of which are probably just paving, it appears that none of the large circular tholoi, however, contained either of these features. It is often difficult to distinguish between these two elements as the excavation reports frequently mention only the presence of a mass or pile of stones above or near the tomb. As defined by Pendlebury, tombs with masonry enclosures (the “Kaphi type”) were “surrounded by a mass of rough masonry roughly square in shape and in thickness equal on three sides to the diameter of the tomb;” the entrance side was only the thickness of the chamber wall, and “the buttressing extends to within less than a meter of the top of the tomb, which appeared above it as a cupola.”¹⁰³ The chambers of other tombs, but typically not the dromoi, however, appear to have been covered by circular or rectangular/square piles of stones or tumuli. In most cases, these are not the hill-shaped tumuli seen elsewhere in Greece; they appear to be more of a unified pile of irregularly shaped, though not flat, stones of roughly a single height covering only the top of the tomb chamber.

The exact function of this rough masonry is unclear; in some cases, as at Kaphi where the masonry was probably visible, it may have served as a kind of buttress, to support the free-standing/partially free-standing tombs against the hillside. At other sites, however, it is unclear to what degree the enclosure/tumulus of stones was visible above ground in ancient times; in these cases, the stones may have served to cover or protect the roof when it projected above ground level, to somehow support the roof/impede water penetration, or else to serve as grave markers.¹⁰⁴ Enclosures or tumuli occur on both large and small tholoi of the first type and on tombs with circular and rectangular chambers.

¹⁰³ Pendlebury 1939, 308.

¹⁰⁴ Levi 1927-1929, 208, for impeding water penetration into tombs.

Perhaps most significant is the fact that all examples of both types of tomb covering come from the eastern part of the island; the few examples that are technically in Herakleion Nomos are all within the vicinity of the Lasithi Mountains. In addition, this type is especially popular in the Lasithi area (the plateau and surrounding mountains), as illustrated by the fact that 9 of the 13 possible sites (and 6-7 of the 8 definite ones: Karphi, Papoura, Adrianos, Arkades, Krasi, Panagia, Kritsa, Zenia, and Erganos?) are roughly located in this region; in fact, Pendlebury previously identified this as a local Lasithi (especially Karphi) type.¹⁰⁵ The other four possible sites are all in the region of the west Siteia mountains, with three of the sites (Krya, Pefkoi, Adromyloi) all located near each other (~5 km apart); Kavousi (Vronda and Azoria) is the fourth possible site.

The majority of EIA tholos tombs (all of the large variety and most of the small) have corbel-vaulted roofs which form roughly hemispherical vaults; in the tombs with rectangular chambers, the corbelling typically begins in the 1st-6th course. Unfortunately, a large number of the roofs have collapsed due to their relatively poor construction and frequent placement close to the surface (pressure from surrounding earth; agricultural activity). In most cases, the regular corbelled vault was closed at the top by a single capstone, consisting of a medium-large irregularly-shaped fieldstone or else a more square/rectangular plaka. In a few instances (Gortyn, Arkades R, Kounavoi large tholos, and possibly Rotasi 1958 and one or more tombs at Kourtes, as well as Vronda V), however, a circular, flat paving of stones, comprised of flat plakas or fieldstones of similar thickness/height, surrounded the capstone. This paving can be distinguished from the masonry enclosure or tumulus by its flatness and clearly defined shape, though in some instances it is unclear from the reports whether a tomb had a paving or a tumulus. The paving further appears to be a feature more common to

¹⁰⁵ Pendlebury 1939, 319.

tombs in central Crete and possibly also more characteristic of the larger tholoi. The function of the paving could have been the same as that of the enclosures and tumuli (i.e., to keep out water or support the roof), though it could also have been used for offerings or funerary ritual (cf. Arkades R-ash and terracotta figurines found on the paving).

A few sites had roofs which varied from the normal form of roughly hemispherical vault. One alternate form of roof was the keel vault, in which only the long sides of the chamber were corbelled to form the vault and the corbelling ends in a straight line of slabs (flat ridge) on top, running the length of the tomb. This type of vault was found at Krya (Isopata type), Panagia, Arkades A-C (?), Orne, and possibly Ag. Georgios A, and was a minor form also observed in LM III.¹⁰⁶ This form of roofing was by nature normally only present in tombs with roughly rectangular chambers, though it is possible that many more EIA tombs originally had this form of vault and that the roofing was either destroyed or not noticed/understood by the excavators. In addition, a third (and possibly fourth) form of roofing appears to have existed at Praisos Photoula and at several of the tombs at Prinias. Several tholos tombs at Prinias (AR; AV) are mentioned as being flat-roofed with large stone slabs or with a pseudo-dome in which the corbelling of the tomb apparently retains the square/rectangular shape of the chamber rather than becoming at least somewhat rounded (D, AH, AQ), while at Praisos Photoula the roof is essentially flat, constructed of flat slabs with only a slight corbelling in the top two-three courses above the walls.

The floors of EIA tholos tombs were frequently comprised of natural bedrock or packed earth, though they were sometimes paved, with either stone slabs or pebbles, and very

¹⁰⁶ Belli 1997, 2003; Kanta and Karetsou 1998, 169.

rarely, covered with sand;¹⁰⁷ in addition, at two sites (Vrokastro Karakovilia I and Mouliana B) pebbles were found mixed with sand. Multiple forms of floor type often occur at a single site, as at Karphi and Krya, though as with other tomb features, the floor type was often not recorded by the excavators. At some sites, the presence of paving may have served as a feature distinguishing some tombs from others, while at other sites, such as Karphi, it appears to have been a normal aspect of tomb architecture. In addition, surprisingly, floor paving appears to have been more common in small tholos tombs than in large, though again the floors of the large type were often not recorded and so this remains uncertain.

In the Early Iron Age, the majority of the tholoi were completely or nearly completely below ground; most examples were dug into the side of a hill, though a few were found the plain. The shallow depth of these tholoi, however, was one cause of the destruction or near destruction of so many tombs. At least half of the tombs with masonry enclosures or stone tumuli/paving were also of this type, built completely below ground, though their stone coverings may in some cases have been visible above ground.

Furthermore, at as many as five sites (Papoura, Karphi, and possibly Adrianos, Adromyloi, Pefkoi) with masonry enclosures, the tomb itself may have been partially visible/above ground on one or more sides. Completely free-standing above ground tombs are known to have existed at only two sites, Ag. Paraskies (no masonry enclosure, tomb placed parallel to hillside) and Karphi (masonry enclosures, tombs placed parallel and against the hillside).

The recently excavated tholos tomb at Kavousi Azoria is exceptional, however, in that it

¹⁰⁷ Floors paved with slabs occur at Karphi (M.1-4; 6-11; 14; 16; A), Vasiliki Kamaraki (south half), Kavousi Azoria (at least N half), Krya (17, 22, far ex.), Arkades B (some), Erganos (1 ex.), Krasi B, Kourtes (large), and Kounavoi, with pebbles/small stones at Papoura, Vrokastro (Karakovilia also with sand), Mouliana B (and sand), Ag. Paraskies, and Panagia A. Sand only was found at Knossos Teke.

appears to have been left, blocked-off but partially exposed in the corner of a Late Archaic room, with the capstone even being incorporated into the back wall of the building.

Table 3 (Tholoi – enclosure, roofing, floor, above/below ground)

Site	Enclosure/tumulus	Roofing	Floor	Above/below ground
Ag. G. Papoura	rect rubble enc, ~10 x 6m filled w/ smaller stones; 2 nd enc. over stomion +dromos at lower level	prob reg corb vaulting	hard-packed w/ small stones	dug into side of hill on N+W; above ground E+S sides
Karphi:Ta Mnim.	sq+rect; range-2.5-6.0x 2.5-7.0 m [>6m avg-#8; >4m-#1;3;4;7;16;17; rest >2] T.14 no enc.; some- times irreg at back; 0.4->2 m thick (1-2 courses); T.8- squarely built enc	corbelled vault, begins 2 nd -4 th course, single capstones	paved w/ irreg schist slabs-#1-4;6;11; 14;16;A; platform at back-#3	#1;2;4-8;16;17 free-standing, rest partially above ground/visible masonry oft runs into hillside or parallel
Karphi:Astividero	sq/rect; >4m-#4; >2m-#1-3; typically smaller than Ta. M examples	corbelled vault begins 2 nd -4 th course, single capstones	paved w/ schist slabs-#1;3;4; packed earth-#2; bedrock-#5	#4 free-standing, rest partially; masonry oft runs into hillside
Adrianos	rect, ~4 x 6 m	corbelled vault, beg 2 nd -3 rd	?	mostly below ground poss partly visible
Anavlochos	no	corbelled vault begins 3 rd -4 th	?	prob completely/ nearly below
Kastri	?	?	?	?
Kritsa:Lakkoï	rect enclosure/tumulus, A-5.5 x 3.3 m; B-3.2 x 2.5 m	B-corb vault, beg 3 rd ; A-poss keel vault; begins 7 th (11-12 total courses)	bedrock	nearly below ground; enc. partially visible
Vrokastro:Amig.	no	prob corbelled vault	?	prob complete/ nearly below ground
Vrokastro:Karak.	no	corbelled vault	sand; river pebbles	completely/nearly below ground
Vrokastro:Kopran.	no	prob corbelled vault	?	prob complete/ nearly below ground
Vrokastro:Mazich	no	prob corbelled vault	pebbles	prob complete/ nearly below ground
Vrokastro:Poros	no	?	?	?
Zenia	possibly small covering/enc	?98-corb vault (9 total courses)	bedrock	completely/nearly below ground
Braimiana	?	?	?	prob complete below
Chalasmenos	no	A-corb vault begins 2 nd (7 total courses)	earth	completely below ground

Kalamafka	?	?	?	?
Kavousi:Aloni	app not, but T.I poss enclosure wall	corb vault, beg 2 nd -3 rd , 5 th -6 th course, app cov by single slab	earth	prob completely/nearly below; ? if partially above
Kavousi:Azoria	appears to have sq/rect (>0.95 x 1.78 m), though poss = Archaic activity	corb vault; begins 1 st -2 nd ; (8 total courses); single large capstone (0.33 x 0.57m)	paved with plakas (at least N half)	prob mostly below in IIIC; in A blocked off in corner of room
Kavousi:Plai	?	corb vault beg at level of lintel (sq up to lintel)	?	prob completely below ground
Kavousi:Skouris	no	corb vault, sq. capstone, 23 total courses	earth	completely below
Kavousi:Vronda	some appear to have form of enclosure/tumulus, circ or rect/sq; some pile of stones at stomion	corb vault beg 2 nd -3 rd , at least V-flat/paved exterior/tumulus	earth	completely/nearly below ground; some of enc/tumulus visible?
Schoinokapsala	?	?	?	?
Vasiliki:Kamaraki	no	corb vault, rel. large cap-stone	S half paved w/ irreg slabs	completely below ground, in plain not on slope
Vasiliki:Kephala	no	large capstone; corb vault	?	completely below
Adromyloi:Ag.Ant	yes, rect	prob. corb vault	?	?
Adromyloi:Ag.Apo	yes, rect	prob corb vault, some keystones preserved	?	up against hill, poss. only partially below/partly visible
Ag. Georgios	no	corb vaulted; or poss keel-walls perpendicular up to dome	bedrock?	?
Chamaizi:Liopetro	no	?	?	?
Chamaizi:Phatsi	no	prob corb vault V-beg 2 nd cour	?	completely/nearly below ground
Krya	normally no; T.28-poss., large ext-5 x 3.5 m	Iso-keel-vault; most prob. corb vault	most bedrock; T.28-earth; paved-#17; 22;far, Iso	most apparently completely below ground
Mesa Mouliana	no	A-6 th beg corb vault; B~3rd-4 th ; single large plaka cov. ; A~12 total courses; B~10	B-pebbles and sand; A-earth?	completely/nearly below ground
Pefkoi	yes, square, T.1=3.2 m; T.3=<4.5 m	prob. corb vault cov. by slabs	?	mostly below; enc. visible?
Praisos A	no	prob corb, but not preserved	earth?	prob completely below

Praisos:KKS,K, XM	probably no	?	earth?	?
Praisos:Mavriki	probably no	appears to be corb vault	earth	completely/nearly below ground
Praisos:Photoula	prob no, ext. trapezoidal 7 x 4.5 m	flat slabs, slight corbel above walls top 2-3 courses	large slab in front of larnax	completely/nearly
Skopi	no	not pres; prob corb vaulted	?	prob complete/nearly below ground
Sphakia	probably no	4 th beg corb vault	?	completely/nearly below ground
Gortyn	no	corb vault, 20 courses total, circ paving ext	?	completely/nearly below; roof 15 cm above ground today
Kourtes	prob. no, though some almost quadrangular ext	corb vault, 1-2-flat/paving on top ext.	?	completely below ground
Kourtes-large	no	corb vault, large capstone, paving?	plaka-paved	completely below
Prinias	no	flat roofed/pseudodome-AR;AV; large flat slab(s) on top-D;AH;AQ	?	most apparently just below completely/ nearly?
Prinias F, J	no	?	earth	below
Rotasi	no	1958-corb vault; poss paving on top	?	1993-well below ground; 1958-comp/nearly below
Ag. Paraskies	no	prob. corb vault	small seastones	free-standing, parallel to hillside
Arkades	yes, mass of stones on top, circ/rect	prob keel-vaulted roof	B-some paving	completely below ground; mass visible?
Arkades L,M,R	R-form of enc, also over stomion, 5.8 x 5.4 m (? if not just paving)	R-corb vault, 24-25 courses total, capstone, paving above	earth?	completely below; paving visible?
Erganos	possibly at least one (IV, V), though exc. note tombs visible by heaps of stone on ground (from 're-opening' or 'markers')	3 rd -4 th beg corb vault; large slab cap-stone	1 paved w/ plakas	completely/nearly below ground
Kounavoi T.11	no	?	?	?
Kounavoi-large	no	corb vaulted; paving above	large slab-covered	completely below, paving visible?
Krasi	yes, sq/rect, B-2.5x2.5-3.0 m (0.20 m thick, esp. to S)	A-6 th ; B-2 nd beg corb vault	B-paved w/ plakas	prob comp/nearly below; A-back=carved bedrock
Panagia	yes, round tumulus for at least 3	H-beg vault 2 nd (6 total); keel-vaulted	A-paved w/ small stones	completely/nearly below ground, tumulus visible?

Kamares	prob no	3 rd -4 th beg corb vault, prob. single capstone	?	completely/nearly below ground
Phaistos	no	corb vaulted	?	completely below?
Knossos:Kephala	no	corb vaulted	?	?
Knossos:Teke	no	corb vaulted	sand	below?
Keraton	?	?	?	?
Orne	prob no	keel-vaulted	earth	partially built against rock
Pantanassa	no	4 th beg vault; (9 total) large plaka-capstone	?	N+E sides built against bedrock; below?

Inhumation and cremation were practiced in the Early Iron Age tholoi, with both occurring at some sites or tombs (see table 4). The majority of sites at which only inhumation was found are located in east Crete, or just on the west side of Lasithi,¹⁰⁸ while nearly all examples at which cremation exclusively occurred are located in the central part of the island.¹⁰⁹ The presence of cremation, however, is often difficult to determine, as ash and bits of bone were often not preserved or not observed/reported in old excavations. In addition, partially cremated remains can easily be mistaken for inhumations, while evidence of burning on bones from fumigation of a tomb or other, later non-funerary activities can be mistaken for cremation. With the exception of Pantanassa, all tholoi which contained solely cremations have circular chambers (six of the large type and Ag. Paraskies of the small type but free-standing), while those which held only inhumations are typically of the small variety (except Prinias and Knossos Kephala, which are both in central Crete) and occurred in both rectangular and circular chambers. In addition, at sites where both inhumation and cremation were found, nearly all of which were in east Crete, the cremations commonly occurred in just

¹⁰⁸ Inhumation alone appears to have been practiced at Papoura (?), Karphi, Zenia, Chalasmenos, Kavousi (Aloni ?), Vasiliki Kamaraki and Kephala, Adromyloi (?), Chamaizi (?), Praisos Mavriki, Sphakia, Erganos, Krasi, and Panagia in the eastern Crete, and Prinias, Kamares, and Knossos Kephala in central.

¹⁰⁹ Cremation alone was found at Gortyn, Ag. Paraskies, Arkades (L; M; R), Kounavoi, Phaistos, Knossos Teke (?), Pantanassa, and Praisos A (?).

one tomb with only one or two examples, and thus was an uncommon, potentially significant form of burial at these locations.¹¹⁰

EIA tholos tombs typically contained a low number of burials: most examples held fewer than five burials, and only 10-11 tombs held more than eight (Sphakia, Knossos Teke, Vrokastro Mazichortia Tomb III, Rotasi 1958, Ag. Paraskies, Arkades Tomb R and possibly also L and M, Gortyn, Kounavoi large, and Phaistos). Unfortunately, the total number of burials from the large circular tholoi has, in most cases, not been published, making it difficult to determine any definite trends with regard to total number of interments, though they appear in general to have contained a greater number of burials. According to Nowicki, the typically low number of burials in the small tholoi indicates that most single tombs belonged to one family (probably two generations), and that the average use of a tomb was likely less than 50 years, though some of these tombs show much longer use.¹¹¹ Of the 12 possible tombs with a large number of burials (>15-40+), four (with five additional possible examples) are tombs with circular chambers (seven large and two small) which held only cremations, one with a rectangular chamber contained ~15 inhumations (Sphakia), and that from Vrokastro, also rectangular, was unusual (24 skulls found in rows around the tomb and piles of bones inside). These tombs (except for Sphakia), predictably, tended to be in use for a longer period of time than those with fewer burials.

The inhumation burials were placed in larnakes, pithoi and occasionally, other vessels (often placed on their sides), as well as on the floor, while cremation burials were typically placed in upright urns or other vessels (such as pyxides, amphorae, kraters), and some pithoi

¹¹⁰ Both inhumation and cremation occurred at Kritsa (1 cremation?), Vrokastro, Vronda (1 cremation?), Krya, Mouliana A (2 cremations), Praisos Photoula (1 cremation), Kourtes, Rotasi 1958 (1 larnax=1 inhumation ? or just re-use), and Arkades (A; B; C) (cremation ?).

¹¹¹ Nowicki 2000, 98.

may also have been used for cremations. In addition, at Kavousi Aloni, some skulls were later (after decay) apparently moved to bronze bowls, and at Prinias D a stone aedicula contained an inhumed child. Burial of children thus did occur in some of these tombs (Vrokastro Karakovilia, Vasiliki Kamaraki, Prinias T. D., Rotasi 1993); unfortunately, however, the bones of children were often not preserved or noted by excavators, and the exact frequency of their presence in tombs of this type remains unknown. In all four recorded examples, the burials were inhumations, including at Vrokastro where the adult burials in the same tomb were cremations. In addition, the sex of the adult burials was only very rarely noted by excavators; of note are the inhumation burial of a woman and child from Rotasi (1993) and the cremation of two males in a pithos and bronze krater at Pantanassa.

Table 4 (Tholoi – burial information)

Site	#Burials (Total)	Form (inh/crem)	Pithos/larnax/other	Notes/Other
Ag. G. Papoura	multiple	inhumation	?	bones found in chamber +dromos
Karphi:Ta Mnem.	>43	inhumation	larnax-#1;4-6 pith-#1?	1-5 burials per tomb; #3-platform at back w/ burial; #4- walled+ paved area outside SE corner w/ human bones ¹¹²
Karphi:Astividero	>6	inhumation	larnax-#5;7;pith-#4?	
Adrianos	?	?	?	
Anavlochos	?	?	?	excavators assumed cremation, though no bones/ash were recorded
Kastri	?	?	?	
Kritsa:Lakkoi	>3	inhumation+ poss 1 crem	A-pyxis-poss for crem	A-no human remains found, but pyxis sugg crem; B-2 inh; poss secondary burial-bones found outside tomb near NW corner
Vrokastro:Amig.	>4	cremation	2 jars; poss 1 sj	bits of bone in vessels +scattered
Vrokastro:Karak.	>6	5 crem + 1 inh	at least 2 in jars	5 adult crem and 1 child inh

¹¹² At Ta Mnimata, tomb 4 had five burials, tombs 9, 10, 12, and 16 had four, tombs 2, 8, and 17 had three, tombs 7, 11, 15, A had at least two, and tombs 3, 6, 14 had one.

Vrokastro:Kopran.	>5	inh + crem	V-pithos burial?	V-crem+inh?; VI-3 inh; VII-frag of inh
Vrokastro:Mazich	31 or 32	31 inh; 1 crem?	?	II-24 skulls found in rows outside of tomb; other bones inside; III-7 inh+1 poss c
Vrokastro:Poros	1991-2	inhumation?	1991-one pithos burial per tomb	
Zenia	1998-at least 6	1998-inhumations	?	6-7 skulls were found in lower level; 2 in upper at the doorway (last phase)
Braimiana	?	?	?	
Chalasmenos	5	inhumation	no	burials all adults-2 f; 1 m; 1 youth; 1 ?
Kalamafka	?	?	?	
Kavousi:Aloni	multiple	inhumation	1 larnax, pithos frag.; bronze bowls	I-some skulls app in bronze bowls=reburial
Kavousi:Azoria	prob 2-3	inhumation	on floor	1-2 adults and 1 poss youth
Kavousi:Plai	>2	inhumation?	?	
Kavousi:Skouris	?	inhumation?	?	
Kavousi:Vronda	>10	inh + 1 crem?	some pithoi, kraters?	II-3 inh; IV-4 inh+1c? (pith w/ blackened earth); IX-3i
Schoinokapsala	?	?	?	
Vasiliki:Kamaraki	7	inhumation	?	5 adults and 2 children
Vasiliki:Kephala	at least 1	inhumation	larnax	
Adromyloi:Ag.Ant	multiple	inh?	?	
Adromyloi:Ag.Apo	multiple	inhumation	B-1 larnax	
Ag. Georgios	>5	?	?	A-at least 5 burials
Chamaizi (all)	?	inhumation	?	? if any ev. of crem
Krya	>14-18	most inh + few poss crem	pithoi (T.17; 22)	1-4 burials per tomb; #11;22 prob cremations
Mesa Mouliana	>6	inh+crem	A-c in krater+pyxis; B-larnax+on floor	A-'many' inh+2 crem B-2 inh
Pefkoi	?	?	?	
Praisos A	?	cremation	?	
Praisos:KKS,K,XM	?	?	?	
Praisos:Mavriki	multiple	inhumation	?	(Kamini only known)
Praisos:Photoula	3	2 inh+1 crem	larnax, pyxis; J, AH-stone sarcophagus	larnax-1 inh+crem of youth in pyxis; 2nd inh just under roof of tomb
Skopi	?	inhumation	?	
Sphakia	>15	inhumation	?	
Gortyn	multiple	cremation	pithoi, urns, amphorae	latest burials in entrance
Kourtes (all)	?	inh+crem	pithoi; crem in urns	
Prinias (all)	?	inhumation	pithoi; aedicule (T.D;B)	T.D-2 children (1 in pithos; 1 in aedicula) +2 adults floor
Rotasi	~42	inh+crem	1958-larnax, c urns	1993-2 inh-female+ child; 1958-~40 or more crem; inh?

Ag. Paraskies	25	cremation	all in urns	
Arkades A-C	>13-14	inh+crem?	pithoi, jars, urns	A-at least 3; B-8 skulls (4 stomion, 4 ch); C-2-3 skulls
Arkades L,M,R	prob ~67	cremation	urns; R-stone sarc.	R-at least 34 burials
Erganos	>11	inhumation	pithoi, 2 larnax, 1 pyxis	1 tomb-6; other-3 burials
Kounavoi T.11	?	?	apparently pithoi	
Kounavoi-large	many	cremation	urns	
Krasi	>2	inhumation	A-pithoi?	B-1 inh on floor
Panagia	>9	inhumation	?	B-6-7 skulls
Kamares	>7; ? # IIIC	inhumation	?	Tomb 2 had 7 burials
Phaistos	multiple	cremation	urns, pithoi	
Knossos:Kephala	3	inhumation	?	burials found near dromos
Knossos:Teke	min. 19	cremation	urns; LM III larnax	some in dromos
Keraton	?	?	?	
Orne	?	?	?	
Pantanassa	2	cremation	pithos; bronze krater	both males

The vast majority of EIA tholos tombs appear to have been constructed in LM IIIC (primarily middle-late) or SM (see table 5 and fig. 178). It is frequently difficult to be more precise or to distinguish between the two periods due to problems with the definition of the terms SM and LM IIIC late (as well as variations between dating in eastern vs. central Crete), dates provided by old excavations, and lack of publishing from the sites. In addition, often only the date range for all the tombs at a single site is provided by the sources, rather than the periods of use and construction of individual tombs. Despite these difficulties in dating, it is clear that the earliest tholos tomb at a site frequently dates to LM IIIC;¹¹³ tombs of this period are found at between 17-20 sites, or 44-51% of the sites with confirmed tholos tombs. The tombs of certain LM IIIC date are all located in the eastern part of the island (or the western side of the Lasithi Mountains), with the exception of Kamares, which belongs to an earlier tradition (the tombs date from LM IIIA-C), and Orne, which may also belong to this

¹¹³ Tholos tombs were constructed in LM IIIC at Karphi, Adrianos, Kastri, Kritsa (?), Vrokastro, Zenia (?), Kalamafka, Chalasmenos, Kavousi Azoria (?), Schoinokapsala (?), Vasiliki, Adromyloi, Chamaizi, Krya, Mouliana, Pekoi, Praisos, Erganos, Krasi, Keraton, Orne, and Kamares (?). In a few instances however, as at Sphakia, the earliest tholos tomb at a site may date to LM IIIB/C.

same Amari tradition. Most of these tombs continued to be used in SM, with only a few sites/tombs used exclusively in IIIC, and new tombs were also often built at these same sites during this period. In addition, the earliest tombs at several other sites (~9-10 new sites or 23-26% of tholos sites) have been dated to SM.¹¹⁴ Thus, between 67-77% of sites with tholoi have tombs that were constructed in LM IIIC or SM; furthermore, this tomb type continued to be a primarily eastern Cretan feature in SM, though it also began to appear at some central and central/western sites in the same period.

In the Protogeometric period, some of the earlier tombs remained in use, and new tombs, though few in number, may have been constructed at several sites;¹¹⁵ a large number of the EIA tholos tombs, however, went out of use during PG or just before. No tholos tombs dating later than SM have yet been found from western Crete, and the two known examples appear to have been single period tombs (Orne-LM IIIC and Pantanassa-SM). Tholoi appear for the first time in PG at five-six new sites (or 13-15% of tholos sites), including Gortyn, Rotasi, Ag. Paraskies, Kounavoi T.11, Phaistos, and possibly Arkades (A-C).¹¹⁶ The Protogeometric is thus significant in that the earliest examples of the large circular tholos occur during this period; no tombs of this type have yet been found dating earlier than PG. In addition, only two-three new tombs date to PGB (one tomb at Praisos Mavrikia, the large tholos at Kounavoi, and Knossos Teke, if not originally LM). Most tombs and cemeteries, therefore, appear to have been used in more than one period (during

¹¹⁴ New SM sites with tholoi are Anavlochos, Braimiana, Kavousi, Sphakia (poss. PG), Zenia, Kourtes (poss. IIIC), Prinias, Panagia, Knossos Kephala (?), and Pantanassa.

¹¹⁵ The sites with IIIC-SM tholoi most likely to have had new tholoi built in PG are Anavlochos, Vrokastro Mazichortia III, Vronda, Adromyloi, Chamaizi (?), Krya (?), Pefkoi (?), Praisos (?), Skopi, Kourtes, Prinias, Panagia.

¹¹⁶ The tombs at Skopi may have begun during this period, though they really belong with those at Chamaizi Phatsi and Liopetro.

LM IIIC-PG), though few of them were used for extended lengths of time (i.e., throughout the entire EIA), as indicated by the low number of total burials.

A few sites/tombs do, however, show signs of more long-term use, with finds also dating to the Geometric period; of the tombs which continued into G, seven sites (five or six of which started only in PG) were in central Crete, while six sites (beginning in IIIC or SM) were in Eastern.¹¹⁷ Only a maximum of nine new tholos tombs (~4% of the total number of known EIA tholoi) at six sites (~15% of sites) were constructed during the Geometric period,¹¹⁸ and at only one of these sites (Papoura) was a tholos constructed for the first time. Five of the newly-built G tholoi are of the large circular type, and one is of the large-sized small type. Only a handful of tombs continue into EO,¹¹⁹ and the two tholoi at Ag. Georgios were apparently the only tombs constructed in this period, though they may actually date to LG. No new tholos tombs were constructed after LG/EO, and only Arkades (L, M, R), Ag. Paraskies, and possibly Praisos A contained evidence of continued use in the Late Orientalizing period, with one or more of the Arkades tombs possibly continuing into the Archaic period.

In LM IIIC/SM, rectangular chambers tend to occur more frequently than circular ones, while in PG both types occur with similar frequency, though nearly all examples at new sites have round chambers; in addition, most Geometric-built tombs also have circular chambers. Within the small type of tholos, date does not appear to be a determining factor in chamber size, with large and small examples occurring throughout the period. Date also does

¹¹⁷ Sites with tombs that continued in use in G are Vrokastro Mazichortia, Kavousi Aloni, Plai and Vronda, Adromyloi, Chamaizi, Krya (?), Praisos, Rotasi, Ag. Paraskies, Arkades, Kourtes, Kounavoi, Phaistos, Knossos Kephala and Teke.

¹¹⁸ Papoura, Kavousi Skouriasmenos, Praisos A and Mavrikiia Kamini, Arkades L, M, R, Vronda V, and Rotasi 1993 (?).

¹¹⁹ Kavousi Plai and Skouriasmenos, Adromyloi (?), Rotasi 1958, Phaistos (?), Knossos Kephala (?) and Teke.

not appear to be significantly related to stomion features, presence or lack of dromos, method/quality of construction, or presence of tumulus/enclosure for the small tholos type; this remains uncertain, though, due to the difficulty in precisely dating the majority of known tombs. Paving above the roof, however, does appear to be a relatively late feature, with no examples occurring before PG. Thus, there does not appear to be any particular definable evolution or change in the form of the small tholos during the EIA, while the large tholos type is a feature primarily of PG-G.

Both inhumation and cremation occur in all periods of the Early Iron Age. The majority of the LM IIIC-built tholos tombs contained inhumations. Three eastern sites (Kritsa, Praisos Photoula, Mouliana) had one or two possible cremations occurring with inhumations; the date of the two possible tombs with cremations at Krya has not yet been published; and only one tomb at Vrokastro Koprane seems to contain cremations, though they are possibly later than IIIC. In most cases, unfortunately, it is impossible to distinguish which burials from a single tomb go with which period. Of the SM tombs at new sites, the majority still held inhumations, with two containing both inhumations and cremations (Kourtes with an unknown number of both and Vronda with only one possible cremation), and one tomb with only cremation (Pantanassa). On the other hand, of the PG and PGB-built tombs at new sites, nearly all confirmed examples had cremations; only Arkades A-C still contained inhumations. Inhumation remained prominent, however, at those few earlier sites which continued in use. Finally, of the Geometric-built tombs, surprisingly inhumation appears to occur more frequently than cremation, as it is found at as many as five of nine tombs or four of five sites; cremation was found at two of these same five sites.

Early Iron Age tombs are oriented in all directions (see table 5); tombs with a western orientation appear to be slightly more common than the other directions, but there does not appear to be an actual preference or significance in the orientation.¹²⁰ In nearly all cases, the orientation of the tomb is determined by/follows the slope of the hill into which it is built; a few tombs (Karphi M.4, 7, 8; A. 4; Ag. Paraskies), however, are oriented parallel to the hill, possibly for ease of digging a dromos. Only a small number of tombs are not built on the slope of a hill and these tombs also do not appear to form a pattern in terms of their orientation. A tomb or tombs with an orientation that differs from that of the other tholoi at the same site (within a single cemetery, especially when on the same side of a hill) may, however, be significant or distinguished from the other tombs; for example, Vronda V (possibly later in date than the other tholoi), Arkades M, and perhaps Karphi M.4 have different orientations from the other tombs in the same cemetery.

Early Iron Age tholoi were typically not found in enclosed, well-defined cemeteries; those few examples where this practice occurred were at sites which later became poleis (Prinias, Arkades, Dreros ?), and the majority of the tombs in these cemeteries post-date the tholoi. EIA tholos tombs usually occurred scattered over large distances on the slopes around a settlement; in fact, at Karphi for example, Nowicki also notes that there are “no special regularity or rules” for the distances between tombs.¹²¹ Tholos tombs do, however, frequently occur in groups/clusters,¹²² along a single line, and sometimes in pairs;¹²³ these

¹²⁰ Orientation by site as provided, in most cases, by excavators or published plans: E-9; N-8; S-10; W-16; NE-4; NW-4; SE-6; SW-3. Note, these are not necessarily precise as some sources are less specific than others (e.g., one excavator may describe the orientation as N when in fact it is really NW or NE).

¹²¹ Nowicki 2000, 240.

¹²² Groups/clusters likely occurred at Karphi M. 9-15, Anavlochos, Vrokastro Kopranes, Vronda IV-VII; I-III, VIII, Adromyloi, Chamaizi, Krya, Skopi, Kourtes (?), Prinias, Arkades (A-C), Erganos, Panagia, Kamares (?).

associations are identified by proximity, similar orientation, and in some cases, an enclosure or dividing wall. In many cases, they likely signify an extended family or clan connection, while in others, the tomb positioning may indicate a desired association through proximity with the person(s) buried in an adjacent tomb through implied status. Unfortunately, there is not enough information available to determine whether any trends existed as to what features grouped tombs at a site had in common, though at Karphi, for example, nearly all examples of tombs with projecting entrances occurred in a single group. In a few cases (Kritsa, Ag. Georgios, Sphakia, Kounavoi, Knossos Kephala), the location of a tholos tomb(s) may have been determined/influenced by the existence of an earlier tomb or tombs (chamber or tholos), though at Kritsa and Sphakia the tombs are ~150 m away; these associated tombs are typically LM III, frequently B/C, except at Kounavoi where the chamber tombs are EIA. In addition, later EIA tombs, especially bone enclosures and pithos burials, were often placed near tholos tombs, with the tholos tomb(s) possibly influencing their location (e.g. Vrokastro, Anavlochos, Arkades, Knossos Teke, Pantanassa, Praisos A).

The isolation of a single tomb from other tombs at a site appears somewhat more significant, however, though it is often difficult to determine for certain whether a tomb was isolated without completely excavating a large surrounding area. Tombs that are relatively isolated within cemeteries include Karphi M. 4, Vrokastro I and VI, Krya Isopata and large tholos, Vronda IX and X, Praisos A, and Arkades R; in addition, 3 tombs at Adromyloi were found on three separate hills, as opposed to the 15 which were found grouped around a fourth hill. Furthermore, the large circular tholos at Kavousi Skouriasmenos seems the most likely candidate for a fully isolated tomb, as supported by its tomb type and finds, as well as the

¹²³ Pairs have been observed at Karphi, Kritsa, Vrokastro Mazichortia (?), Ag. Georgios, Mouliana, and Pefkoi, for example.

presence of two-three other cemeteries in the vicinity of the settlement but at a considerable distance from the tomb. Thus, depending on the tomb type and wealth of finds, some truly isolated tombs, most likely those of the larger type and wealthier in certain grave goods, could have been used by elite individuals or families (or ruling class/aristocracy), while others, most likely of the smaller type and in general poorer in grave goods, may have been placed on family lands, farms or fieldhouses or else separated from other tombs for some unknown reason pertaining to the interred (disease, ethnicity, social status or rank, etc.).

Tombs and cemeteries were placed in all directions from the settlement, which during this period was nearly always on top of a hill/mountain.¹²⁴ As with individual tomb orientation, the location of the tombs (both large and small) relative to the settlement does not appear to follow a specific pattern; tombs are found most frequently to the south of the settlement, though all other directions also commonly occur when looking at the tombs overall.¹²⁵ In addition, sites often have burials in multiple locations relative to the settlement. There may, however, be a slight distinction in relative location based on region; while central Cretan sites appear to occur most frequently to the north, west, and especially northwest of the settlement (with only one example each of south and southwest, and no known examples of east, northeast, or southeast), eastern Cretan tholoi show much greater diversity, occurring in all directions (but especially SE, S, E, SW, and W, with only one definite example each of NW and N). The two known central western examples (Rethymnon Nomos) are located to the south and southeast of their associated settlements.

¹²⁴ Cf. Branigan 1998, for placement of EM tholoi within the landscape.

¹²⁵ Tombs are placed to the north of the settlement at 4 sites; to the south at 10; to the east at 5-7; to the west at 5-7; to the northeast at 3-4; to the northwest at 6-8; to the southeast at 5-8; to the southwest at 7-8.

The distance of tholos tombs and cemeteries from their associated settlements is typically one kilometer or less, especially <500 m and sometimes only tens of meters.¹²⁶ Size, type of tholos and date do not appear to be related to a tomb's distance from its settlement. Only six possible sites have tombs located at a distance greater than one kilometer from their associated settlement (one tomb at Krya-1-1.5 km; the Skopi tombs~1.5 km; the tombs at Kritsa and Mouliana-possibly 2 km; one tomb at Kalamafka-possibly 2.5 km; and Vasiliki Kamaraki-possibly as much as 3 km). For these tombs, it is possible that a closer settlement remains to be identified, though they could also have served as boundary markers between the territories of two settlements/villages or between the land/fields of different owners, or else merely have been placed on a family plot of land or remote location, rather than within a cemetery or near other tombs.

Nearly all EIA tholos tombs were associated with “defensible” settlements, as defined by Nowicki;¹²⁷ only Rotasi (somewhat defensible and belonging to a group of large acropoleis of central Crete and the Mesara), Knossos, and Phaistos are considered not to have been of this settlement type. Furthermore, at Knossos and Phaistos (and likely also Rotasi), the tholos tomb was only a minor form of burial, in other words, comprising a very small percentage of the total number of EIA burials at the site. The defensible sites varied in size from small-quite large, and while some were abandoned rather quickly, others continued to be inhabited beyond the EIA, with some even becoming poleis or large towns. Many of the

¹²⁶ Burial sites 500 m or less from their settlement are found at Papoura (?), Karphi, Adrianos, Kastri, Vrokastro, Zenia, Chalasmenos, Kavousi, Krya, Pefkoi, Praisos, Kourtes, Prusias, Rotasi, Arkades, Erganos, Krasí, Pantanassa, from 500-less than 1 km at Anavlochos, Vrokastro, Zenia, Adromyloi, Chamaizi, Praisos, Sphakia, Gortyn, Kourtes, Orne, from 1-1.5 km at Kavousi Skouriasmenos, Chamaizi, Krya (1?), Skopi, Phaistos, Knossos Kephala and Teke, Keraton. Sites whose associated settlement may be as far as 2-3 km are Kritsa, Kalamafka, Vasiliki Kamaraki, Mouliana. For the sake of consistency, where possible plans from Nowicki (2000) were used in determining unknown distances.

¹²⁷ Nowicki 2000.

EIA settlement sites have been investigated and identified only through survey, causing their exact date range and size to remain unconfirmed. Twelve sites appear to have become large towns or poleis by the end of the EIA or shortly thereafter (Papoura-not polis, Anavlochos-not polis, Kalamafka, Praisos, Gortyn, Prinias, Rotasi, Arkades, Kounavoi, Phaistos, Knossos, Pantanassa),¹²⁸ and seven of these sites had tholoi of the large type (only nine total sites had large tholoi). This therefore appears to support the proposed distinction between the small and large types of tholos, as the large tholos, the presence of which likely shows increased social diversity or hierarchies (few in number, better construction, larger size, and frequently later in date), occurs most often at the sites where such distinctions would be expected (i.e., sites which develop into large towns or city-states).

Finally, in a few cases, tombs or cemeteries continue in use for a short time after the settlement has been abandoned. It is often difficult to confirm this due to lack of publishing and refinement of chronology for both settlements and tombs. The best potential evidence of this comes from Karphi, Chalasmenos B (see table 6), Vronda, and Erganos, and these examples would seem to indicate that the practice occurs primarily at settlements which were occupied only for a short time (primarily LM IIIC), with a few individuals thus returning to bury their dead shortly after the abandonment of the site.

Table 5 (Tholoi – date, orientation, location relative to settlement)

Site	Date	Tomb Orient.	Group/isolated	Location rel. to settlement	Settlement type and date
Ag. G. Papoura	G (MG)	E	?	immed to E on slope (Papoura)	large town; IIIC late-A, esp. PG-G
Karphi:Ta Mnem.	IIIC-SM; little PG	NE-7,8,16 17; NW-1-3,A; S-4; SW-5,6,9-15	group (#9-15); pairs (1+2,5+6,7+8,16+17) 1+2,5+6-wall behind + b/w; 7+8-conn wall 16+17-built together; single 3,4	to S ~80-300 m (Karphi)	large defensible site; IIIC-SM

¹²⁸ And also possibly Skouriasmenos (nearby Azoria later town/polis)?

Karphi:Astividero	IIIC-SM; little PG	SE-1-3; NE-4; W-5	pair (2+3) with dividing wall; single 1,4	to E; up to 350 m	“
Adrianos	IIIC; SM/PG?	1-N(NW)	?	S~500 m (Fortetsa); +Faure-SE?	defensible site; IIIC; SM/PG?
Anavlochos	SM-LPG; G?	1-NE	several tholoi on same small hill	N~500-800 m (Anavlochos)	poss. town; G- A; defensible IIIC-PG
Kastri	prob. IIIC- SM/PG	?	?	SE~200m; S (Kastri)	defensible; IIIC-SM/PG
Kritsa:Lakkoi	IIIC late- SM; PG?	E; NE	A~10 m east of B; CT ~150 m SW of B	E~2 km? (Kastello)	large defensible; IIIC-SM; PG?
Vrokastro:Amig.	SM-PG	S	pithos burial nearby; ~500m from T.II	SW~700 m (VK summit)	defensible; IIIC-LG/EO
Vrokastro:Karak.	SM-PG	SE	poss. structures near; b.e's-same hill <1km	S~200 m	“
Vrokastro:Kopran.	IIIC-SM, PG?	NE; SW	adj. bone enclosures; 3 tholoi ~200m apart	W~400 m	“
Vrokastro:Mazich	III-PG-G II-SM,LG	N; S	III by b.e.; II+III <500m apart	SW~400 m	“
Vrokastro:Poros	IIIC-SM	?	3 tholoi in ~same area	prob W or E (KA1/3) or VK	small settlement?
Zenia	'98-IIIB-C (or SM)	'98-SE (?)	?	NE~600m; NW~400m (Kastrokephala)	large defensible; IIIC (SM?)
Braimiana	SM/PG	?	?	?	?
Chalasmenos	IIIC late	W (+S?)	prob other tombs in area	SW~200 m (Chalasmenos)	~small def; IIIC (mid)
Kalamafka	LMIII/SM; SM	?	?	2-nearby (Anatoli Mesokastella ?); 1-to SE?? >2.5 km(Kastello)	K-v. large def; later poss polis, IIIC-R M-small def sett
Kavousi:Aloni	SM-LG; IIIC (?)	N;W	I,II,IV~75 m apart; III poss 8 m from IV	SW~175-300m (Kastro)	small def IIIC- O
Kavousi:Azoria	IIIC/SM- PG	W	?	immediately to SW (Azoria)	def sett IIIC- O; poss polis in A
Kavousi:Plai	SM-EO	?	~100 m from Aloni I	S~150 m	“
Kavousi:Skourias	LG-EO	E/SE	isolated	SE~1 km	“
Kavousi:Vronda	SM-MG (V-only G)	W;N;NW; S-#V	2 groups-IV-VII; I- III+VIII; X-50m from I; IX-150m from X	N;NW; ~10>200 m (Vronda) or W~1 km(Kastro)	small def IIIC or IIIC-O
Schoinokapsala	LM or SM	?	?	E? (Ag. Ioannis Psychro)	small def; IIIC-PG
Vasiliki:Kamaraki	IIIC-PG	SE	report of others nearby	W or E ~3km?? Chalasmenos or Kephala	IIIC small def/IIIC-PG def
Vasiliki:Kephala	IIIC	?	isolated?	S (Kephala)	defensible IIIC-PG

Adromyloi:Ag.Ant	PG-G	?	apparently in group	SW~700? (Anginara)	large defensible; IIIC-A
Adromyloi:Ag.Apo	IIIC-PG; G-EO (?)	?	15 around hill ; 3 more iso on separate hills	S or SW ~500- 700?	“
Ag. Georgios	EO	A-N? B-S?	B~25 m to E of A; 12 m from LM III ct	?	?
Chamaizi:Liopetro	IIIC- PGB;LG	?	~500 m W of Phatsi group	SE~700 m (Liopetro)	def; IIIC-A
Chamaizi:Phatsi	SM-PGB; LG?	W; S	tombs roughly in group	SSE~1 km	“
Krya	late IIIC- PG; G?	most SE; +S;E;W	many=main group; Isopata-120m away; large-40m from Iso; far ex-1-1.5 km away	E; NE ~300 m and less (Ag. Georgios)	defensible IIIC-PG; G?
Mesa Mouliana	A-IIIC; SM? B-IIIB/C or IIIC	W	two tombs ~5 m apart	nearby(Gouves) or W (Pyrgos) or poss ~2 km to NE (Myrsini Kastello)	Kastello= def, IIIC-G, A?
Pefkoi	IIIC;PG?	SE; S	two Kastellopoulo tombs 3m apart	SW~300m (K); NE ~300?(MC) or SW~500 (K); E~100m(MC)	defensible; IIIC/SM (K) IIIC-G? (MC)
Praisos A	LG?-O?; earlier const ?; esp LG-EO	NW	B~250 m to S; C~75m to N	S~250m (Praisos)	EIA ~defen; becomes polis;IIIC-H
Praisos:KKS,K,XM	IIIC-G	?	?	SE or W ~500- 750m? (Praisos or Kalamafki Kypria)	“ or IIIC-A large defen
Praisos:Mavriki	PGB-LG; LG (Kam)	1-E	two tombs 500 m apart	SE or W	“
Praisos:Photoula	IIIC-SM	W	?	S/SE-500- 1000m (Praisos)	EIA def; bec polis,IIIC-H
Skopi	PG	W	T.3-5 w/in 200 m radius of other two; ~500m from Phatsi	~E >1.5 km (Liopetro)	def; IIIC-A
Sphakia	SM or PG	E	IIIB/C tholos on same hill	SW~800 m (Kastri)	med. def; IIIC- G;A?
Gortyn	PG	S	?	S/SE~750m? (Ag. Ioannis)	EIA def; becomes polis IIIC-R
Kourtes	SM-G; esp PG	W;N	apparently some groups	W;NW; prob ~500-1 km (Kourtekephala)	def; IIIC-O/A
Prinias	SM-PGB	E;S/SE	most only few m apart	NW~500 m (Patela)	def; bec polis IIIC-H
Rotasi	PG-‘54; G- ‘93; PG- EO-‘58	?	?	NW/W~250 m (‘93); N~500 or more (‘58) (Kephala)	becomes large town, poss polis PG-R; IIIC?
Ag. Paraskies	PG-O	N	?	?	?

Arkades A,B,C	G, poss PG	W;SW	near pithoi;A-C gr; at NW edge cem	W~500 m (Prof. Ilias)	def; bec polis; SM-H; IIIC?
Arkades L,M,R	G-A	W; T.M-SE	R-little isolated; L+M-sep by wall from others+pithoi	W~500m	“
Erganos	prim IIIC; SM/PG;G?	W?	group of 3-4; others in vicinity	W~250-450 m (Kephala)	large def; IIIC
Kounavoi	large-PGB-LG T.11-PG	W-large 11-no ent	by earlier chamber tombs; T.11 just to south of large tholos	nearby (ancient Eltyna?)	EIA-R, poss town/polis
Krasi	B-IIIC-PG A-LM III?	N;W?	?	B-SSE~200; A-W<200 m? (Siderokephala)	def; IIIC
Panagia	SM-PG	W;N;NW	tholoi only a few m apart	W/NW? (Prof. Ilias?-Arkades)	def; polis; SM-H; IIIC?
Kamares	IIIA-C; SM?	E	3 or more in group; one to NW	E?(Kaimenis Mitato)	settlement ? IIIA-C
Phaistos	PG-LG/EO	S?	isolated ?	SW/SSW<1 km (Phaistos)	settlement; polis; IIIC-A
Knossos:Kephala	SM/PG-G; EO?	W?	among cts (LM+EIA)	N~1 km (Knossos)	bec polis; IIIC-R
Knossos:Teke	PGB-EO	W	two adj. G-O cts	NW <1km	“
Keraton	IIIC-PG?	?	?	NW?; ~1km (Keraton)	def; IIIC-G
Orne	IIIC	prob E	?	S <1 km (Kastello)	def; IIIC early
Pantanassa	late SM	S	near pithos burial	SE~200m? (Veni)	def; poss polis/ town; IIIC-H

In addition, several sites have structures which may have been EIA tholos tombs, but their identification has not yet been confirmed (see table 6). Also, in a small number of instances, pre-EIA tombs may have been re-used for EIA burials (see table 7); of the possible examples, however, only Archanes Phourni Tomb D is certain, with three SM inhumations placed in the debris from the collapsed roof of the LM IIIA2 tholos.

Table 6 (Possible EIA tholos tombs)

Site	Information
Adrianos	Faure noted PG necropolis with tholoi on far side of Xeropotamos River (at Kolomati)
Dreros T.1	LM IIIC-SM; 1 rectangular tomb, 2.1x1.75 m cut into bedrock; built of large limestone blocks; covered by 1 large paving stone (? if tholos or cist); among G cist graves; 3 inh; loc ~200 NE of associated settlement
Zenia	Nowicki reports hearing of destroyed tholos in vineyard north of Kastrokephala
Ag. Ioannis	LM IIIC?; 1 round stone construction identified by Nowicki as possible tholos; ~50 m east of associated settlement
Chalasmenos	T.B -PG; 1 irregularly shaped structure ~2 m diameter, built into S wall of Room 5 of settlement after abandoned; slightly cut into floor; possible monolithic jamb; above ground; v. fragmentary bone recovered; other -Nowicki reports that other robbed tholoi may be found to W+S of settlement

Mesleroi	Vrokastro Survey identified 2 possible tholoi “with rubble walls” at Profitis Ilias 4, though the date of this feature is unknown (possibly sometime between LG and A)
Adromyloi Mousadena	G; 1 rectangular tomb 2.3x1.5 m with short dromos ~0.85 m width; id in report as “cist tomb with dromos,” poss. tholos due to presence of others in area
Ag. Georgios	some of SM-LG/EO chamber tombs may actually have been tholoi-not yet published; Tsipopoulou also calls 1963 tomb tholos rather than chamber tomb
Oreino	prob LM IIIC-SM; Evans id tombs ~150 m west of settlement; Nowicki informed of one destroyed example 100-200 m north of settlement
Praisos T. E	rectangular tholos (chamber 2.2x1.84m; entrance 0.85 m wide; opens to north; vaulting begins at 4 th ; roughly paved floor-Bosanquet), date unknown as empty when excavated; may be site 63 of Praisos Survey (1.8x4.7 m) for which fragments of IIIB/C larnakes found inside and around tomb
Ag. Marina	SM-G; 1 circular tomb 1.6 m diameter with dromos; Snodgrass id as vaulted chamber tomb; others id as standard chamber tomb
Ag. Pelagia	LM IIIB-PG?; Evans id tholoi; Kanta believes were actually chamber tombs
Smari: Leivaditsa	Chatzi-Vallianou identified at least two tholoi to S/SE of well-known LM IIIB tholos; the dates of these two tombs have not been published, however
Archanes: Phythies	one tomb among cist graves said to have been distinctly roofed “like a bridge/arch”; terracotta model (poss of tomb with offerings being made through roof), tholos ??
Knossos Kephala (KS 16)	PG-O; Evans 1907 id two ‘beehive tombs’; uncertain if tholoi or chamber tombs b/c called rock-cut tombs in other source+many cts nearby
Knossos Kephala #1	called “vaulted chamber” by Hogarth (#6 called tholos); square; 2.4 m; sloping dromos 3.2 m long; walls “almost converge to form pointed arch;” step down into chamber and also at far end of dromos; built door; 1 inh + 5 “Myc” vases, 2 bronze tweezers; just outside additional human bones, bronze mirror, blue paste w/ relief rosettes (tomb type?, date?)
Arvi	LM IIIC?; Hood et al. 1964 id remains of possible destroyed tholos, ~20 m SE of settlement
Atsipades	Hood and Warren id possible tholos at Lakkos
Koxare	LM IIIC?; Hood and Warren id great pile of stones, possibly row of tholoi ~ 1km west of settlement

Table 7 (Pre-EIA tholoi with possible EIA burials)

Site	Date	Information
Plati	LM IIIB or B/C	orig. burial in larnax below floor of tholos; uncertain date of bones above floor, poss LM IIIC or SM
Achladia	LM IIIA2-B	Platon mentioned SM pots on tomb floor, though none id by Tsipopoulou + Vagnetti in recent study of Platon’s drawings
Praisos T.B	LM IIIA2?	apparently 1 Geo burial, though poss. just offerings
Valis	EM-LMI/III	one urn with child cremation, poss. LM IIIC or SM (Davaras)
Kamares	LM IIIA-C	some of IIIC burials likely in tombs built in IIIA+B
Archanes Phourni T.D	LM IIIA2	3 disturbed SM inhumations in debris from collapsed roof of tholos
Knossos Isopata	MM III; prob LM II	some of burials (up to 6 inhumations) in three niches (2 in antechamber, 1 at back of chamber) possibly date to IIIC; tomb is really a combination of a built chamber tomb/tholos
Knossos (KS17) Kephala tholos	MM III; prob LM II	apparent LM IIIC re-use; deposits in chamber fill and forehall, 5-9 inhumations and 15 vases; poss SM inh with stirrup jar in pithos; + few poss PG sherds

EIA tholoi of both types also frequently show evidence of contemporary and/or later offerings, funerary rituals, meals, libations, and burial pyres (see table 8). Terracotta animal

figurines (especially bulls, cows, sheep, and goats) were common BA cult offerings without military connotations,¹²⁹ and they were found outside EIA tholos tombs at up to four (Karphi, Papoura, Kavousi Plai, Arkades R) sites, and inside tombs at two or more additional sites; this practice appears to have been particularly common at Karphi. While ceramic vases were generally found inside all tombs, sometimes certain vessels, especially cups, jugs, and bowls/kraters, were left outside the tombs as offerings or as the result of final toasts/funerary banquets; vases found inside tombs also frequently represent these practices. In fact, ceramic vessels were the most commonly found items relating to cultic or funerary practices. Some of these vases may further have been used to pour libations, perhaps in pits or depressions, as found inside (Vrokastro Karakovilia I, Kavousi Aloni II, and Mouliana A) and outside (Kounavou T.11) a few tombs. Also, circular stones, interpreted by the excavators as for libations/offerings (identification uncertain-possibly column bases) were found at Vrokastro Karakovilia and Praisos A.

In addition, evidence of funerary meals or burnt offerings can be seen in the presence of iron spits, animal bones, and burned earth. The presence of iron spits has only been confirmed thus far at Kavousi Plai tou Kastrou (and also firedogs in the shape of warships), Kounavoi (both tholoi), and Gortyn; two of these are large tholoi and the other is significant in type and quantity of grave goods. It is often difficult, however, to determine whether animal bones found in a tomb were associated with the burials, as sacrifices or offerings, remains of meals, or even themselves intentionally buried, or thrown/dumped in at a later date, though animal bones were recovered from at least 9 sites and 13 tombs (see tables 8 and 10). Furthermore, burned earth (found at only a few sites, Karphi M. 8, Kavousi Plai, Arkades B and R, and Panagia A) and other burned items could also sometimes come from

¹²⁹ See Prent 2003.

pyres rather than offerings/meals, and associated pyres have been positively identified for three tholoi (Kounavoi T. 11, Knossos Teke, Pantanassa). Finally, evidence of EIA activity, not re-use for burial, but offerings, ritual libations, tomb cult, etc., has also been uncovered inside or in the vicinity of a few Bronze Age tholos tombs (see table 9).

Table 8 (Offerings, funerary ritual, etc. associated with EIA tholoi)

Site	Information
Ag.Georgios Papoura	animal figurine found on surface near tomb, poss. offering (cf. Karphi)
Karphi (Ta M.)	1 -M.4-exterior SE corner, walled paved area with human bones + pottery scattered outside 2 -M.8-black earth, 2 iron needles, 2 female terracotta statuettes, ox and stand found outside tomb 3 -M.5+6-vases, including late A and 4 th c. BC found outside tombs 4 -G-A animal figurines (esp. cows, bulls and sheep) found around many of the tholoi 5 -M.11,16 (dog, sheep, ox),17 (horse, ox, sheep/goat)-animal bones found in tomb (? date)
Kritsa	T.A-jug and many cups in dromos, poss. from libations; Archaic and Classical black monochrome krateriskoi may represent later use/offering
Vrokastro	Karakovilia I -inside tomb, NE corner rectangular depression, poss for libations; circular stone, poss for offerings; Maz II -LG pottery (? if later burial or offering because only SM also id from tomb-poss assoc with placement of skulls outside of tomb); also cow teeth in upper strata; other - Hayden mentions sets of cups+bowls/kraters found in several tombs, possibly funerary banquet/toasting ritual
Kavousi Aloni	Tomb II had two pits
Kavousi Azoria	very eroded vessel found above second lintel (if EIA, poss similar function as at Vronda)
Kavousi Plai	~40 m NE of tomb on rocky ledge, Boyd found burned earth, terracotta animal figurines (esp. bulls) and sherds, poss from shrine (association with tomb uncertain); iron spits found inside tomb
Kavousi Sk	sheep/goat bones found inside (date ?) and part of boar's tusk
Kavousi Vronda	T.I,II,IV,V,X-some have vessels (cups, skyphoi, kraters, kalathoi) on stone slabs at stomion, possibly from final toast or libation; T.X-large pit with animal (dog, fox, donkey) bones-date?
Vasiliki Kephala	dog bones found on floor of tomb (date?)
Krya	one tomb may have had a pit (awaiting publication)
Mouliana	T.A-pit with black earth behind doorway (same width as doorway), poss for libations
Praisos T.A	two round stone drums with sunken center, excavator suggested for libations (or column base?); ox and dog teeth (later?)
Sphakia	animal bones in higher level (? if associated)
Gortyn	iron spits found inside tomb
Kourtes	5 vases found buried in pile outside one of tombs, poss connected with burial ritual
Arkades	A+B -animal bones (s/g-A, pig-A+B, cow-B); B -jar on side with vegetable matter (and burned earth around) found in front of mass of stones blocking tomb entrance; R -on paving above roof, found earth mixed with ash, possibly for offerings or pyre? (+LM type female figurine, 3 animal figs, bronze fibula and pin)
Kounavoi T.11	a pyre was found at west edge of tomb; two shallow pits for libations were found outside the perimeter of tomb (W-feeding bottle and oinochoe; E-2 feeding bottles, oinochoe, jug); inside tomb-iron spits and animal bones from meal
Kounavoi-large	g/s, pig bones and iron spits found inside tomb, poss from funerary meal; hearth with carbon and ashes found just to west of tomb=evidence of burnt offerings (?assoc with tholos or chamber tomb)

Panagia	T.B -small jug under rock at entrance; T.A -to right of dromos, found burned earth, vases, animal bones, mass of iron swords and spears, 2 fragments of obsidian knives (offering or poss pyre)
Knossos Teke	two pyres found between tholos and chamber tomb; just inside doorway of tholos, on either side found vase with jewelry
Pantanassa	pyre found in dromos and also on crown of roof

Table 9 (BA tholoi with possible EIA cult activity)

Site	Date	Information
Achladia	LM IIIA2-B	LG oinochoe and cup identified by Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti during study of Platon's drawings of tomb contents
Praisos (Tholos B)	LM IIIA2?	Geometric vases, terracotta beads found inside tomb; uncertain if represent re-use of tomb for burial or offerings
Ag. Triada-(Tholos A)	EM II-MM II	LG or EO bronze bulls found in vicinity of tholos, though exact findspot unknown
Kamiliari	MM IB-LM IIIA2	4 Geo (poss PG and G) vessels (skyphos, jug, amphora, open-work stand) found during recent re-examination of sherds from excavation; 2 of vases discovered in pit near entrance to annexes (in front of tomb)
Archanes Phourni	EM II-LMIIIB/C	Geometric sherds observed outside east wall of Bldg. 4; this building was apparently connected with funerary rituals during cemetery's original use

Grave goods

While it is theoretically possible to do a true multivariate analysis of grave goods from the tholoi, in practice it would not be a very effective study, as only a very small number of tombs (as few as 12 of over 200) were found intact (i.e., completely unrobbed),¹³⁰ and a large percentage of the sites and tombs remain unpublished. While the tombs at many sites were completely, or nearly completely, robbed or destroyed, even empty, numerous other tholoi were only slightly disturbed, thus providing us with important information for analysis; in fact, certain trends and distinctions can still be observed among the tombs/sites and their architectural types. Overall, the grave goods found in EIA tholos tombs show a large range of offerings; in fact, greater diversity occurs in the tholoi of this period than in most other tomb types. The total number of ceramics varies from only a few vases to over

¹³⁰ Completely intact were Kritsa B, one tomb from Adromyloi, one tomb from Vrokastro Poros, Vronda IV, Vasiliki Kamaraki, Krya 6, 27, 28, Praisos Photoula, Gortyn, Rotasi 1958 and 1993. Other unpublished examples likely also exist; those listed previously are the certain examples.

250, and metal objects commonly occur; terracotta, stone, glass/paste, and even faience and ivory objects are also sometimes found (see table 10).

The tombs (nine examples-Kavousi Plai, Adromyloi, Rotasi 1958, Ag. Paraskies, Arkades R,L, Kounavoi, Phaistos, Knossos Teke) with the greatest number of vases (>100) most commonly had round chambers (five were of the large type, two of the small, Adromyloi is unknown, and Plai was square). Most of them also contained a large number of cremation burials (except for Plai and possibly Adromyloi), and they further tended to be located in central Crete. In addition, all seven of the central Crete cremation tombs were built in PG or G, while the two eastern exceptions with inhumations were likely built in LM IIIC or SM. Predictably, all nine of the tombs with many vases were in use for a long period of time, usually until LG/EO or even later.

Other tombs also contained a relatively large number (~25-50) of vases;¹³¹ a greater percentage of these examples occurred in the eastern part of the island, however, and they tended to be in use for a shorter period of time. The burials also more frequently consisted of inhumations, fewer in number. In addition, these tombs contained both rectangular and circular chambers, including two central Cretan tombs of the large circular type. There does not appear to be a discernable trend regarding these particular tombs; some tholoi are larger and better built than other tombs at the same sites or else somewhat isolated, while others do not appear distinct architecturally and are placed among other tholoi. Analyzing these tombs only by the presence of a number of vases is difficult, however, as many additional robbed or unpublished tombs likely contained the same number of vases.

¹³¹ Tombs with ~25-50 vases were found at Vrokastro I, Chalasmenos, Vronda IV, Vasiliki Kamaraki, Adromyloi B, Chamaizi Phatsi III and V, Krya 6 and 28, Praisos Mavrikia (both), Sphakia, Gortyn, Rotasi 1954, Arkades M.

Many different types of vases were recovered from tholos tombs. By far the most common, occurring at nearly all sites and in most tombs, were jugs/oinochoai and cups/skyphoi, vessel types often used as part of funerary rituals for libations or toasts. Also occurring frequently were stirrup jars, amphoriskoi/krateriskoi, kalathoi, flasks, hydriae, aryballoi/lekythoi, pyxides, and bird vases/askoi, as well as vessels often used to contain burials, such as pithoi, amphorae, kraters, and urns/kalpides. Slightly less common were feeding bottles, tripods, lekanai, and trays/dishes. Among the ceramic vases, perhaps the most significant are those which occur rarely, such as stands (Karphi M. 8, Knossos Teke, Arkades L), multiple vases (Vrokastro Amigdali, Chamaizi Phatsi II, Arkades R), kernoï (Knossos Teke, Kourtes), open-work vessels (Vrokastro I-kalathoi, Chamaizi Phatsi V-bowls, Arkades L-stand), a strainer with human and horse head spouts (Kavousi Aloni I), and possibly, unusual rhytons (one in the shape of a human head from Karphi M. 11 and a jug with human head from Arkades R);¹³² these rare vases may represent important grave goods, serving to distinguish one tomb or its inhabitant(s) from others at a site. In addition, with one or two exceptions (Vrokastro Amigdali, Karphi M. 11), these rare vases were found only in tholoi of the large type or in large examples of the small type (frequently the largest tomb at a site and also usually tombs with rectangular chambers).

One further point to consider is the presence of imported vessels; the most significant possible imports were found at Chamaizi Phatsi II (Euboian aryballos) and V (Early Cycladic III vase-heirloom), Kavousi Plai (possible Euboian hydria), Knossos Teke (Sardinian askos, Cycladic and Cypriot vessels), Phaistos (Cypriot vases, Phoenician aryballos), Kounavoi (Attic skyphoi?), and Vasiliki Kamaraki (possible mainland imports).

¹³² One ladle was also recovered from Vrokastro Koprane V, but this may not be as significant as the other forms, though it may have been used for serving at a feast or libation.

The large tombs at Arkades also contained imports (Corinthian – also at Praisos A, Rhodian, Cypriot), but many of these post-date the EIA. Most of the known imports occur in tholoi of the large type or at least in large examples of the small type. Finally, numerous other examples certainly exist, especially possible Cypriot imports (e.g., Vrokastro Kopranes, Kavousi Plai, Mouliana, etc.), but those listed above appear to be the most significant.

Gold occurs somewhat more commonly than one might expect in EIA tholos tombs, having been recovered from at least 18-20 tombs at 13 sites (see table 10).¹³³ Rings, often with elliptical bezels, represent the most frequent gold find; in fact, they were often the only gold item in a tomb, present in 11-13 of the tombs. Minor objects, such as leaf, rivet heads, and beads were also relatively common (at 9-10 tombs). Unusual items are a pendant (Vasiliki Kephala), a Cypriot ox head earring (Krya T.1), possible face masks (Mouliana B and Praisos Photoula), diadems (Knossos Kephala 6 and Teke), and gold dumps/nuggets, bracelets, and small statuettes (all from Knossos Teke, a possible jeweler's tomb).

While gold did occur somewhat frequently, it was not typically found in more than one or two tombs at a single site; its presence would thus appear to distinguish these tombs from others; for example, gold was found at Kavousi Aloni and Skouriasmenos, previously identified as potential elite cemeteries, but not at Vronda. The presence of gold, however, is not limited to any specific tomb type, and it is the material most likely to have been robbed from a tomb; gold is found in large circular tholoi and large-average rectangular, as well as large-average-small circular, tholoi of the first type. Perhaps significant is the fact that a high percentage of these tombs (at least 15 certain examples with 4-5 unknown) do, however,

¹³³ Gold objects were found at Karphi A. 5, Vrokastro I, Kavousi Aloni and Skouriasmenos, Vasiliki Kephala, Adromyloi, Krya 1, Mouliana A and B, Praisos A, B?, Photoula, Prinias F, Rotasi '58, Kounavoi, Krasi A and B, Knossos Kephala 6 and Teke.

have dromoi (at least short ones). In addition, tombs with gold artifacts contained both inhumations and cremations, with inhumation being most prominent.¹³⁴ Finally, gold was found in tombs of all dates, with LM IIIC being the most common construction date for tholoi of the small type (7-IIIC, 2-SM, 1-PG-the only central Cretan example), and with the construction dates for the large tholoi evenly divided (2-SM, 2-PGB, 2-LG-the only eastern Cretan examples).

While gold was found in numerous tholoi, silver only rarely occurred (Karphi Ta Mnimata A, Praisos A, Arkades R, Knossos Teke, Rotasi '58). Silver pins were found in each of the three above tombs of the large circular type, while rivets were found at Rotasi (small but later in date and similar to the large type), and a ring at Karphi. In addition, the exceptionally wealthy Teke tomb also contained a silver dump, bracelet, and an electrum Potnia Theron. Finally, with the exception of Karphi, all of these tombs date to PG or later and contained cremations. Lead, however, was even rarer, occurring at only 3 sites, all in the east (Kavousi Skouriasmenos-pieces, Vasiliki Kamaraki-bead, and Ag. Georgios A-“amulet”).

Bronze items were quite frequently found in EIA tholoi, having been recovered from nearly all sites (see table 10). Types of jewelry, especially fibulae and pins, but also rings, hair spirals, bracelets, pendants, beads, and earrings, were the most common artifacts. Bronze jewelry was recovered from at least 24 sites and often from multiple tombs at a site (59 confirmed tombs); it appeared in both wealthy and relatively poor tombs of both large and small size and of early and late date. In some cases, one or more pieces of bronze jewelry were the sole metal artifact(s) from a tomb, though in others additional objects, such as weaponry, were also present. Most noteworthy among these finds were pendants

¹³⁴ Inhumation alone occurs in 11 tombs; cremation alone in 4; and both in 3.

(Kamaraki, Krya 28, Teke), fibulae, possibly imported from Sicily/Italy (Karphi M. 4 and Kavousi Aloni I) and Attica (Vasiliki Kamaraki), and a possibly Attic ring (Kamaraki). Iron jewelry, however, occurs much less frequently, having been found at as many as 9 sites and 11 tombs (and its presence at 3 of these sites has not been confirmed),¹³⁵ and the artifacts consist solely of fibulae, pins, and rings, though primarily fibulae; nearly all of these tombs also contained bronze jewelry and some had iron weapons as well.

Bronze weapons, primarily spears, swords, daggers, knives (but also arrowheads at Skouriasmenos) occurred less frequently than bronze jewelry (found at only 11-12 sites and ~15 tombs); a few, rare examples of tools also occurred, at Kavousi Plai (razors and sickles) and Prinias (axe). In most cases, except Mouliana and possibly Kavousi, bronze weapons were recovered from only one tomb at a site or at least only one tomb from a single cemetery. In addition, these tombs are typically large circular tholoi or large, especially the largest at a site, tombs of the first type. With the exception of Pantanassa (in the West), all known sites with bronze weapons (the axe from Prinias is more of a tool than a weapon and those from Kamares are likely pre-EIA) were from east Crete (or the western side of Lasithi-Arkades).¹³⁶ Furthermore, iron weapons were also recovered from most of these same tombs; the tombs without iron weapons (i.e., with only bronze weapons), however, are early in date, with all appearing to date primarily/only to LM IIIC.

Iron weapons, on the other hand, were more prominent than bronze weapons, having been identified from at least 23 sites and 38 tombs; tools (adzes, chisels, axes, razors) were

¹³⁵ Iron jewelry has potentially been found at Karphi M. 11, Kritsa B, Vrokastro II and VI, Krya 28, Sphakia, Rotasi '58, Arkades A and L, Vasiliki Kamaraki, Pantanassa.

¹³⁶ Bronze weapons were found at Kalamafka '05, Kavousi Aloni I, Plai, and Skouriasmenos, Vasiliki Kephala, Adromyloi (1 tomb), Ag. Georgios A, Chamaizi Phatsi V, Mouliana A and B, Praisos A, Krasi A, Kamares (date?), Arkades L, and Pantanassa.

also recovered from 6 of these same tombs (see table 10).¹³⁷ Iron weapons were found in tombs of all sizes (9 large, 8 large examples of type 1, 14 normal, and 3 small) of early and late date with both inhumations and cremations, and in both eastern, central, and western-central Crete; these artifacts do, however, appear to be exceptional tomb offerings, typically occurring at only one or a very small number of tombs at a site. In general, the wealthiest tombs all have weapons; all but two tombs with gold, for example, also have weapons. A small number of relatively wealthy tombs without weapons do exist, however (e.g., Vasiliki Kamaraki, Karphi M. 8 and possibly others such as M. 4, 11, A or A. 5, Vrokastro Amigdali and Mazichortia III, and possibly Arkades A-C). While swords, spears, and daggers may give important meaning or status to the inhabitants of the tombs,¹³⁸ axes (bronze-Prinias F; iron-Vrokastro I, Skouriasmenos, Gortyn; stone-Ag. Georgios A, Krya 28, Skouriasmenos-all three eastern sites) and double axes (an old symbol of authority/cult, found at Papoura and Kavousi Plai) may also be potentially significant objects; these two artifacts occur only in a very limited number of tombs of the large type or large examples of the small type.

¹³⁷ Snodgrass (in Coldstream and Catling 1996, 585-587), however, considers knives to be tools rather than weapons. One or more iron knives were the sole weapon(s) in tombs at Papoura, Karphi M. 11, Kritsa B, Vrokastro Koprane V, VI, Vronda IX, and Skopi 2. Iron weapons were also found at Kritsa A (and tools?), Vrokastro I (and tools) and VII, Kavousi Aloni, Plai (and tool), Skouriasmenos (and tool), Vronda IV and VIII, Adromyloi (and tools), Ag. Georgios A, Chamaizi Liopetro and Phatsi V, Krya 28, Mouliana A, Pefkoi 3, Praisos A, KKS, Mavrikia Kamini, and Photoula, Gortyn (+tool), Kourtes, Prinias F, Rotasi '58, Arkades L, Kounavoi, Panagia A, Phaistos, Knossos Kephala 6 and Teke, Pantanassa.

¹³⁸ According to Kanta (2003), bronze and iron weapons, and some tools, especially when found in combination with bronze mirrors, vessels, and jewelry, though the tombs often lack other wealthy items, may signify the presence of "warrior graves" (the descendants of the earlier LM examples and a continuing form of "warrior ethos" as identified by Kanta), or else at least form symbols of authority or a certain social status. The tholoi which best fit Kanta's definition are Vrokastro I, Kavousi Aloni I, Plai, Skouriasmenos, and Vronda IV, Adromyloi, Ag. Georgios A, Chamaizi Phatsi V, Krya 28, Mouliana A and B, Praisos A and Mavrikia Kamini, Gortyn, Prinias F, Rotasi '58, Arkades L, Kounavoi, Phaistos, Knossos Kephala 6, and Pantanassa, though other examples exist with only a single weapon.

Other significant bronze objects recovered from tombs were vessels (tripods, cauldrons, bowls, phialai, pitchers),¹³⁹ possible shield bosses (Kavousi Plai, Mouliana B, Arkades L), mirrors (Knossos Teke and Kephala 1 and 6), a small wheel (possibly from a chariot-Kavousi Plai), and figurines (Phaistos and Knossos Teke); also found were attachments, small discs, tweezers, fishhooks, small saws, plate/sheathing, foil, nails, and needles. Additional iron objects were needles, spits, firedogs, a possible scepter (Kavousi Skouriasmenos), saws, and nails.

Additional terracotta objects (human and animal figurines, spindle whorls, beads, and one small wheel) were also recovered from tholoi at 17 sites, and from the interiors of at least 21 tombs. Spindle whorls were found in a variety of tombs (seven or eight) in both central and eastern Crete,¹⁴⁰ while beads occurred only in large relatively wealthy tombs (Aloni I, Vasiliki Kamaraki, Ag. Georgios A, Chamaizi Phatsi V, and Praisos A-all larger than 2 m in diameter) from eastern Crete (especially the isthmus area and further east) and also at Kounavoi T. 11. It is difficult to confirm these observations, however, as only a small number of examples exist and large beads are often misidentified as spindle whorls. Human figurines were found in six tombs (Papoura; females-outside of Karphi M. 8, Ag. Georgios A, Prinias F, Rotasi '54, Arkades R; lyre player-Arkades R), while animal figurines were found inside tombs at Karphi M. 1, 2, 4, Krya 28 (a fish), Kourtes, and possibly Prinias. Also of note are a house model (Teke) and a small wheel (possibly from a chariot at Arkades Tomb B).

¹³⁹ Bronze vessels were found at Papoura, Vrokastro I, Aloni I, Plai (possibly Cypriot import), Mouliana A, Praisos A, Prinias, Arkades M and L, Knossos Teke, tombs which typically also have weapons.

¹⁴⁰ Terracotta spindle whorls were found at Karphi M. 1, Aloni I (or bead), Vronda II, IV, Praisos A, Gortyn, Rotasi '93, and possibly Krasi.

Stone objects, in addition to axes, were also recovered at a small number of tombs. Of these artifacts, Minoan stone vessels/fragments and sealstones are among the most important, representing heirlooms, amulets, or old symbols of authority. Remains of stone vessels (especially lids) were found at Vronda IV, Vrokastro I, Praisos Mavrikiia Kamini, and Sphakia, while sealstones were recovered from Vrokastro Amigdali, Zenia, Adromyloi (one with pseudo-hieroglyphs), Chamaizi Phatsi III, Praisos A, and possibly one tomb at Kourtes; all of these sites (except Kourtes) are in the East and only Praisos A is of the large type of tholos. One or two possible whetstones (Vrokastro Amigdali and possibly Kourtes) were also excavated; this type of object is rare in DA burials (found for example in Grave Circle A at Mycenae), though it is usually found in association with weapons, and none were recovered from Amigdali.

Other stone objects include spindle whorls, beads (steatite, carnelian, rock crystal),¹⁴¹ rock crystal pendants (Vrokastro III and Teke), a possible cippus (Krya 28), an incised disc (Vrokastro Amigdali), horns of consecration (Teke, and also a relief plaque), and obsidian (fragments-Vrokastro V, knives-deposit near Panagia A). With the exception of Teke, all stone beads were found at eastern sites (or on the west side of Lasithi) as with terracotta beads. Spindle whorls were also found primarily in the east, and they occurred mainly in average-sized tombs without weapons (or with only a single knife) and with inhumation burials. Finally, in general, stone objects do appear to be a particularly eastern form of offering (at least in tholoi), with only three (Kourtes (?), Rotasi '93, and Knossos Teke) tombs (out of 35 total) not being found in east Crete (or the west side of Lasithi); stone grave

¹⁴¹ Stone beads were found at Vrokastro I, III, IV, Vasiliki Kamaraki and Kephala, Chamaizi Phatsi V, Kavousi Azoria, Krya 28, Sphakia, Arkades C, Erganos, Teke, and spindle whorls were found at Karphi M. 1, 11, 12, 14, A. 1, Chalasmenos, Vronda I, IV, VII, IX, Rotasi '93, and Panagia H. Stone buttons were found at Zenia.

goods also appear to be more characteristic of the small type of tholos, both large and average sized examples.

Finally, bone, shell, glass/paste, faience, ivory, and amber objects have also been recovered from the tholoi (see table 10). Worked bone objects include a needle (Karphi M. 7), disc (Mouliana A), comb (Praisos A-date?), unidentified incised object (Karphi M. 2), and beads (Karphi M. 8, and Vrokastro Poros), while other significant bone items include a boar's tusk (Kavousi Skouriasmenos), oyster shells (Ag. Georgios A), triton shells (Karphi M. 8 and Praisos A), and an ostrich egg (Knossos Teke). Bone and shell objects would thus also appear to be an eastern phenomenon (especially common at Karphi) in tholoi; the ostrich egg (not really bone) at Teke is the only possible exception. Ivory objects are even rarer than bone, though sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the two materials, making the exact frequency of the two types uncertain. Again with Teke as the only exception, all ivory objects come from the far east of the island (ivory handles-Chamaizi Phatsi V, Praisos A and Photoula; and fragments-Mouliana B).

Nearly all glass/paste objects are beads (except for a scarab from Teke), and these beads were found primarily in eastern tombs (and especially in the Siteia Mountains),¹⁴² with the exception of those from Knossos (Kephala 1, 6, Teke). Faience is closely related to glass/paste and often difficult to distinguish from it; in fact, the two terms are also frequently confused or interchanged in old publications. Some faience objects may have been imports, though Hoffman states that it is uncertain whether these beads are imports, Cretan products or Minoan survivals.¹⁴³ By far the greatest number of faience items come from Vrokastro, a

¹⁴² Glass/paste beads were found at Vrokastro Amigdali, Aloni I, Skouriasmenos, Ag. Georgios A, Chamaizi Phatsi V, Mouliana A, Praisos A, Sphakia.

¹⁴³ Hoffman 1997, 38.

likely destination (port) for imports; >250 beads (Tombs I, III, IV, V, Poros) and a few seals/scarabs (I) were found at this site. Other items identified as faience came from Rotasi '93 (beads), Arkades L and R, Knossos Teke, and possibly Kavousi Skouriasmenos and Zenia. In addition, a very rare item is amber, found only at Teke (bead) and Arkades C (fragment), though both of these items may be post-EIA.¹⁴⁴

Table 10 (Grave goods from tholos tombs)

Site	Total Ceramics	Identified vessel types	Other terracotta objects	Metal objects (g-gold; s-silver; b-bronze; i-iron)	Stone objects	Other objs
Ag. G. Papoura	>5	stirrup jar; jug; cups (1 Cretan imitation Attic)	human figurine; animal fig. on surface	b -bowl frags; fib (on wall); i -knife; double axe	none	none
Karphi:Ta Mnim.	>74 3 tripods-T.2;15;17 2 stands/altars-T.8 (int+ext) 1 rhyton-T.11	rhyton-human head; bird vase; stirrup jars; feeding bottles; pyxides; tripods; kalathoi; cups; kylikes; jugs; oinochoe; bowls; lekanai; pithos; kraters; amphora; altar/stands	2 female fig (ext T.8); 6 animals (ox, cow) (T.1;2;4) + many ext.; 2 spindle whorls (T.1)	s -ring (T.A) b -6 fibulae (1 import?-T.4) (T.4;8;11;17); 9 pins (T.1;3; 9;10; 13); 7 rings (T.4;8; 17;A);4 hair spirals(T.8;13) needle (T.4); >3 disc/attach (T.7;8); 1? i -fibula (T.11); knife (T.11); 2 needles ext (T.8); 2? (T.4)	4 spindle whorls (T.1;11;12 14); 1 rock crystal obj. (T.11)	bone -needle (T.7);bead (T.8); incised obj. (T.2); sheep/goat; horse; dog; ox (T.11;16; 17); other -triton shell (T.8)
Karphi: Astividero	>17	stirrup jars;cups; bowls; pithos	none	g -beads; leaf b -beads (all-T.5)	1 spindle whorl (T.1)	none
Anavlochos	?	poss stirrup jar and jug	?	?	?	?
Dreros	12	stirrup jars; feeding bottle; kalathos; jug; kylix; skyphoi; ~fruitstand	none	none	none	none
Kritsa (B-unrobbed)	>8	cups; jug; flask; bowls; pyxis; pithos; amphoriskoi; kalathos	none	b -fibulae; pins (A, B?) i -tools (A); un-id obj; knife +fibula (B)	none	beads (A)

¹⁴⁴ Hood, Huxley, and Sandars 1958-1959, 239.

Vrokastro: Amigdali	>10	tripod triple vase; stirrup jars; jug; cup; bowl; kalathos; oinochoe; krateriskos	none	b -4 fibulae; pin; 3 rings	whetstone seal; 2 discs (1 incised w/ animals); bead	glass/paste -10 beads; faience - 1 bead
Vrokastro: Karakovilia	33+many cups	stirrup jar; pyxides; open-work kalathoi; cups; kylix; jug; oinochoe; flasks; bowls; pithoi; krater; amphorae; possible lids	none	g -ring b -3 fibulae; tweezers; tripod support; fish hook; appliq i -knives; daggers; swords; spears; adze; chisel; axe; un-id (~25 weapons est.)	possible lid; a few carnelian beads; 1 steatite bead	faience -~250 beads; 6 seals (some w/ pseudo-hieroglyph
Vrokastro: Kopranes	>23 (V-13; VI-5; VII-5)	bird vases; askos; stirrup jars; kalathos; cups; kylikes; jug; oinochoe; flasks (1 Cyp?); ladle; pithos	none	b -2 fibulae (V;VI); 3 rings (V;VI;VII); 2 earrings (V) i -ring (VI); 2 knives (V;VI); spear (VII)	obsidian frags (V)	faience bead (V)
Vrokastro: Mazichortia	14 (II-3; III-11)	bird vase; cup; jug; stirrup jar; pyxis; amphora; oinochoai; flask; hydria; bowls; krateriskoi	none	b -3 fibulae; 9 pins; 3 rings; bracelet; bead; perforated disc; saw (all-III) i -fibula (II)	bead; 2 rock crystal pendants; un-id obj (all-III)	faience- 6 beads (III); cow teeth upper strata (II)
Vrokastro: Poros	>17 (1991-6; 8; 1994- >3)	skyphos; bird vase; cup; stirrup jar, kylikes; pithoi	none	b -earrings; plate/sheathing frags. (1994); jewelry (1991-#1) i -knives (1991-#1)	beads (1991-#2; 1994)	faience+ bone beads (1994)
Zenia (1998)	>6	skyphos; 2 jugs; kylix; feeding bottle; jug	?	b -3 rings; 2 hair spirals	4 steatite buttons; seal	6 beads (faience?); frag. 'black glass;' goat bones- prob later
Chalasmenos	~27	cups; stirrup jars; skyphoi; jug; kalathos	none	b -sheathing	2 spindle whorls	none
Kalamafka (‘05)	multiple	?	none	b -spear	none	none

Kavousi:Aloni	>31	stirrup jar; cup; skyphos; jugs; pithos; strainer w/ 2 human figures (I)	22 spindle whorls or beads (I)	g -ring (?) b -4 fibulae (1 It/S?-horse shaped- T.I); pins; bowls +phiale (I); frag sheath; spear i -knives	none	glass/ paste bead (I)
Kavousi:Azoria	at least 6	juglets; bowl; skyphos; flask; stirrup jar	none	b -ring	2 stone beads	none
Kavousi:Plai	117	bird vase; cups;skyphoi; oinochoai; hydriai; kraters; amphorae; some poss. Cypriot conn. ; 1 hydria poss. Euboean	none	b -3 fibulae; pin; bowl; shield boss; razors; spear; daggers; knives; sickles; small wheel i -knives; adze; daggers; spit; 4 firedogs in shape of warships; double axe	none	none
Kavousi: Skouriasmenos	>17	cups; skyphoi; jugs; hydria; oinochoai; lekane?; kraters; amphorae; 2 lids w/ birds	none	g -button; leaf b -18 sheath frag; 2 arrow heads; fish hook; un-id; i ->7 swords; 7 spears; axe; un-id; scepter? lead -3 frag	axe	glass / paste -8 beads; 2 frags (1 faience?) bone - sheep/goat boar's tusk
Kavousi:Vronda (IV-unrobbed)	>105 (II-13; IV- 40; VII- 18; VIII- 10; IX~ 20)	bird vases; askos; stirrup jars; kalathoi; cups; skyphoi; jugs; oinochoai; flasks; bowls; lekane; kraters; amph/ krateriskoi; amphorae; pithoi (IV w/ amulet around neck)	3 spindle whorls (II; IV)	b ->9 fibulae (IV;VII;VIII); 2 pins (VII; VIII); 5 rings (II;IV;VII) bracelet (IV); 3 sheathing VII); 2 fishhooks ? (VII); un-id i -knife (IX); 2 swords (IV); 2 spears (IV); blade (VIII)	6 spindle whorls (I;IV;VII;I X); 1 lid (IV-poss. heirloom)	animal bones (X)- dog, fox, donkey
Schoinokapsala	>11	stirrup jars; cups; skyphos; jugs	?	?	?	?
Vasiliki: Kamaraki (unrobbed)	25	stirrup jars; pyxis; kalathoi; cups;	3 beads	b -4 fibulae (3 Attic); pin; 2 rings (1 Attic);	2 beads	none

		jugs; flask; bowls; lekane; amph/kraterisk amphora; lid		3 hair spirals; 2 pendants i -2 rings; 1? lead -bead		
Vasiliki: Kephala	4	stirrup jar; kalathos; flask	none	g -pendant b -dagger/sword	3 beads	dog bones
Adromyloi: Ag. Antonios	?	many aryballoi	?	?	?	?
Adromyloi: Ag. Apostoloi (1 unrobbed)	>230 (B-iso-50; one of group ~180)	stirrup jars; kalathoi; pithoi; krateriskoi; oinochoai; pyxis	?	g -2 rings b -fibulae; pins; LM III dagger i -weapons+ tools-many	3 seals (1 w/ pseudo-hieroglyph	?
Ag. Georgios	>10	oinochoai; cookpots (A); lamp?+other pot (B)	female figurine; 7 beads (all A)	b -fibulae; pins; ring; knives; foil i -3 spears; 2 daggers; 2 knives lead -amulet (all A)	axe (A)	4 glass/paste beads; 2 oyster shells (all A)
Chamaizi: Liopetro	14	bird vase; askos; stirrup jars; flasks; pyxis; amphoriskoi; krater; oinochoe; cookpot; cups	?	i -weapons	?	?
Chamaizi:Phatsi	>86 (I-3; II-15; III-39; IV-4; V-25-26)	bird vases; stirrup jars; pyxis; kraters; kalathos; cups; jugs; flask; oinochoai; hydrai; bowls; lekane; aryballoi (1 Eub-II); amph/krateriskoi; amphorae; trays; multiple vase (II); 3 open-work bowls+1 ECIII Cypriot vase (V)	beads (V)	b -dagger/sword; knives i -knives (all V)	2 seals (III); rock crystal beads (V)	glass/paste beads; ivory handle (all-V)
Krya (unrobbed- T. 6;27; 28)	>90 (T.6-25 vases; T.28-50 vases)	stirrup jars; bird vase, cups; skyphoi; jugs; feeding bottles; amph/kraterisk flask; pithos;	small fish (28)	g -small ox head earring - Cypriot (1) b -pendant/amulet (28); fibulae- (5,6, 27,28); pins	axe; poss incised cippus; beads (stone ?); (all 28)	?

		pyxis; dish; oinochoai		(1,5,6,28); foil (1); frags. (4,11,Iso) (i?) -fibulae+ pins (28); 6-7 spears (28) i -frags (11;Iso)		
Mesa Mouliana	11 (A-4; B-4)	stirrup jars; pyxis; lid; flask (Cyp?); krater; krateriskos	none	g -3 rings (B, A); mask (B); rivet heads (A) b -2 fibs+pin (A); 3 shield bosses (B); 5 swords+ 4spears (A,B); 2handles w/ bulls (A); pitcher + 3 phialai (A); 4 sheathing frags (A) i -knife+sword (A); frags. (B)	none	ivory -2 pieces (B) glass / paste - bead (A) bone -disc (A)
Pefkoi	>4	cups; tripod leg (ext); krateriskos	?	i -dagger/sword (3)	?	?
Praisos A (Praisos B- LM+G-pottery, gold ring, leaf; other obj., iron weapons?)	>6	jug; cup; 2-3 aryballoi (PC,C); plates; oinochoe	23 clay beads; 4 spindle whorls	g -ring; leaf; rosette s -pin b -bronze over wooden bowl; knife; bowl; plate; fibula i -handle; 2 spears	2 seals; slate palette (?)	ivory / bone - sword pommel bone -haft plate; comb; ox; dog teeth (date?) glass / paste - 13-14 beads triton shell
Praisos:KKS,K, XM	?	?	?	i -knife (KKS)	?	?
Praisos: Mavrikiia	82 (Kam-46; other-36)	amphorae; hydriai; cups; oinochoai; jugs; aryballoi; kalathoi; krateiskoi; skyphoi; lid; pithoi; pyxis; phiale	?	i -2 daggers + 5 spears (Kam.)	amulet (frag. Minoan stone vase) (Kam.)	?
Praisos: Photoula (unrobbed)	6	stirrup jars; jug; pyxis	?	g -ring; leaf (face mask?); 4 nails	?	ivory handle; wooden

				b -fibula; pin; sheathing i -spear		vessel
Skopi	>4	stirrup jar, cup; kraters (T.2)	?	i -knife (T.2)	?	?
Sphakia	>30	cups; krateriskoi; aryballoi; jugs	?	b+i -fibulae; pins; rings	lids; beads	glass/ paste- beads animal bones in higher level
Gortyn (unrobbed)	~50	stirrup jar;cups; skyphoi; jugs; oinochoai; hydriai; pithoi; kraters; amphorae; urns krateriskoi; lids	spindle whorl	b -sheathing i -swords; spears; spits; axe; saw	none	none
Kourtes	234	jug w/ animal head spout; bird vases; stirrup jars; feeding bottles; pyxides; tripod; kalathos; cups; jugs; bowl oinochoai; flasks; hydriai; dinoi; pithoi; aryballoi; krateriskoi; stamnoi; amphorae; trays; lids; urns; kernos w/ small amphorae and human figures	animal figurine	b -fibulae; hair spirals/pins i -spears	whetstone (?); seal (?); stone w/ relief in vicinity of tomb	?
Prinias (some unrobbed?)	? (F-many)	pithoi; pyxis; oinochoe; jugs; feeding bottle; krateriskos; cups; tripod?	human figurine (F) + animals?	g -objects (F) b -bowl; axe; vessels? i -weapons (F)	?	?
Rotasi- Embasos (1993-unrobbed)	45 (1954-30; 1993-15)	bird vase; feeding bottles; cup;	2 FGUA (⁵⁴);spindle whorl (⁹³)	b -pin (⁹³)	spindle whorl (⁹³)	11 faience beads (⁹³)

		jugs; hydria; krater; krateriskoi				
Rotasi (1958) (unrobbed)	>250	jugs; aryballoi; kalpai; amphorae	?	g -rings; leaf; rivet s -rivets b -bands for vessel i -fibulae; pins; weapons	?	?
Ag. Paraskies	>132	askos; pyxis; cups; skyphoi; jugs; oinochoai; hydria; bowl; lekanai; lids aryballoi; kalpai	?	b -tweezers; nail	?	?
Arkades A-C	>15	amphorae, pyxides; pithoi; dish; urns; lekane; lids (1 w/ seated female- B)	small wheel (B)	b -fibula (A), pins (B), fragments (B) i -pin (A); rod (A); frags (B)	carved dado (poss. column base) (A); 2 rock crystal beads (C)	bones - sheep/goat + pig (A);cow + pig (B) amber - frag (C)
Arkades L,M,R	>390 (R>250; M>40; L- ~100)	kraters; urns; amphorae; pithoi; oinochoai (inc Corin; Rhod); jugs; aryb/leky (inc Cyp; Corin); plate; cup; owl jugs (L,R); double vase (R) ; tripods (R); horse askos; ring vase; flasks; cutout stand (L); bird vases; lekanae; bowls; krateriskoi; lids; pyxides; jug w/ human head (R) skyphoi; dinoi	2 humans (1 lyre-player; seated female); lion w/ bowl (all R)	s - 2 pins (R) b -Cyp bowl (M); relief w/griffins basins+ urn+ phiale (L); shield cover w/ lion protome (L) fibulae (R,L); pins (R,L); spears (L), leaf (L) i -pin (L); fibulae (L); spears+arrow heads+nails (L); frags (R)	none	faience - bowl+lion / dog (L), copy Egypt lion (R); beads (R) Egyptian scarab (L)
Erganos	>17	stirrup jars; pyxides; tripod; cup; pithos; lid krateriskos; tray	?	b -hair spiral; ring	bead	?

Kounavoi (T.11)	?	inside-pithoi; sherds ext pits-feeding bottles; oinochoai; jug pyre-skyphoi; krater	beads (interior and pyre)	g -leaf (pyre) b -plate (poss from vessel); pin i -daggers; swords; obeloi	none	animal bones
Kounavoi (large)	>100	lekythoi/ aryballoi; urns; pithoi; kraters; amphorae; jugs; cups; hydria; oinochoai; pyxis krateriskoi; skyphoi (inc. Attic type)	none	g -leaf b -fibula i -4 spits; sword; spear; knife	none	goat/sheep pig bones
Krasi	>13	stirrup jar; cups kalathos; skyphos; jug; lekane; pithoi; krateriskoi	spindle whorl (?)	g -2 rings (A,B) b -dagger (A)	?	?
Panagia	>18 (A-10; B-3; D-2)	stirrup jars; cup; kalathos; skyphoi; jug; oinochoai; hydriai; krater; krateriskoi	?	b -ring (H) i -3 daggers; 3 swords; 2 spears; arrow head (all deposit near A)	spindle whorl (H); 2 obsidian knives (deposit near A)	?
Kamareas (? what IIC)	>5	stirrup jars; jug; pithos; amphora	?	b -mass; knife; spear	seal?	?
Phaistos	112	skyphoi; cups; amphorae; pithoi; oinochoai; kalpai; aryballoi (2 Phoen); (Knoss+Cyp vases)	?	b -statuette, bracelet; pins i -swords; daggers	?	?
Archanes D	none	none	none	b -5 rings; fibula; plate	none	none
Knossos: Kephala (#1;6;tholos)	#1-5; #6-23; th-15	#1-aryballos?; #6-krater; askos; krateriskoi; kalpai; stirrup jar; kalathos oinochoai; bowl aryballoi/ lekythoi; stirrup jars;	none	g -diadem (6) b -tweezers+ mirror (1); 7 pins+mirror (6) i -blades, spear, sword (6)	none	blue paste object (1); hundreds of paste beads (6)

		jugs; amph/ krateriskoi				
Knossos:Teke	~120	pithoi; kraters; amphorae; hydria; jugs; oinochoai; lids; dishes; cothon; feeding bottle; pyxis; flasks (2 Cyp form); aryballoi; skyphoi; kantharos; cups; kalathoi; bowls; amphoriskos; stand/brazier; double tripod kernos; Sardinian askos; Cycladic and Cypriot vases	house model	g -4 pendants; fillet; 5 nuggets; 4 dumps; pin; leaf; m+f kriophoroi; eye; band; 2 rings; ribbon; 2 beads; bracelet s -4 pins; dump; bracelet electrum - potnia theron b -doe head; 3 horses; plate; pendant; fibula; rod; conical obj; pins; mirror; ring handles; tripod cauldron frags. i -swords (1 w/ b plated scabbard);spea rs	crystal - pendant; 16 beads stone - horns of consecrati on; relief plaque; beads	amber - bead ivory - crescent; 2 handles; studs; 2 obj. glass / paste - beads; 2 scarabs faience - beads; bottle ostrich egg
Keraton (from poss tomb on slope)	9?	cup; aryballoi; kalpai	?	b -pin	?	?
Pantanassa	11	stirrup jars; jug; pithos; lekythoi; krateriskoi; amphorae; (2 w/ cypriot conn?)	none	b -pin; krater; 2 spears i -fibula?; knife; dagger	none	none

Brief summary

Early Iron Age tholos tombs have thus been divided into two basic types. Type 1 comprises the majority of known examples and is characterized by small (especially 1.5-2.5 m in diameter) vaulted chambers (circular and square/rectangular, though the frequency of square/rectangular chambers increases dramatically with size), sometimes with dromoi (often short), and constructed with irregular, unworked fieldstones. Numerous examples of this tomb type often occur at a single site, and frequently certain tombs are distinguished from

others by size, architectural features (built facades, monolithic lintels, door jambs, thresholds), and/or better construction with more regular coursing. Such features are particularly common in the larger, especially the largest, tombs at a site. An additional feature, the masonry enclosure or stone tumulus, occurs only rarely and it appears to be a characteristic feature of tholoi in the Lasithi area, especially the area around Karphi. Furthermore, type 1 tholos tombs occur most frequently in the eastern part of the island; in fact, tombs of the largest size range (2-2.5 m) are all found in the east. The characteristic burial practice for tombs of this type is inhumation with only a small number of burials, though cremation does occur. The majority of small tholoi were also constructed in LM IIIC-SM and only used for a short period of time, though later examples do exist, as well as tombs which were utilized throughout the EIA.

Type 2 tombs, on the other hand, comprise only a very small percentage of the total number of EIA tholoi. These tombs are characterized by relatively large circular chambers (>2.5 m in diameter), sometimes with dromoi, and they were typically of better craftsmanship (with more regular rectangular courses of stone) and contained a higher percentage of architectural refinements (lintels, jambs, thresholds) than type 1 tombs. A circular flat stone paving above the roof is a rare feature, having been confirmed only in three large central Cretan tholoi. Only a small number of large circular tholos tombs, often just one, occurred per site, indicating a more restricted/elite usage, and this type was also slightly more common in central Crete, frequently occurring at sites which later became large towns or poleis. Furthermore, tombs of this type were often later in date than those of the small type, with the earliest examples dating to PG; most large tholoi were, however, used over

several periods. In addition, cremation, with a large number of burials, was more common in these tombs, especially in central Crete, though inhumation, in smaller numbers, did occur.

Three tombs may provide exceptions or overlap between these two types. Praisos Photoula is quite large with a rectangular chamber (4.5 x 3.0 m), some elaborative features, and a nearly flat roof, and it contained only three burials (two inhumations and one cremation) and was built in LM IIIC; it is thus large in size but more like the small, primarily eastern tholoi in tradition. Rotasi 1958 and Ag. Paraskies, on the other hand, have small circular chambers (1.7 m and 1.4 m, respectively) and architectural elaborations; they also contain a large number of cremation burials, and a large total number of vases, and are of later date (PG-EO, PG-O), linking them more with the larger type of tholos tomb, especially the central examples.

While most EIA tholos tombs conform to one of the two basic types, they are especially characterized by their diversity, in size, architectural features, construction, burial practice, orientation, location, within these types. Tombs are also, however, distinguished by the amount and type of grave goods. Tholoi with the greatest number of ceramic vases (>100), for example, are most commonly of the large circular type. Rare vases, as well as imports, are characteristic not only of the large circular tholoi, but they also appear in the larger examples, especially the largest at a site, of the small type; the same trend can also be observed in bronze weaponry. Bronze jewelry and terracotta objects, however, occur in tombs of all shapes and sizes, often in multiple tombs at a site. Gold is found as well, though less frequently, in tombs of both types (large and small), though the small chambered tombs of the first type with objects of this material tend to be LM IIIC in date. Silver and lead were recovered only very rarely, with silver found primarily in large tholoi and lead only at three

eastern sites. Iron weaponry appeared in tombs of all sizes, though typically only at a small number of tombs per site; as a general rule, the wealthiest tombs all have weapons. Stone especially in the small tombs, as well as bone and shell, objects appear to be particularly eastern forms of offerings, in tholoi at least; the few ivory objects further tended to be found in the east, in particular the Siteia area. Finally, items identified as glass/paste occurred most commonly in eastern (especially Siteia) tombs, while faience was recovered in both east and central tombs, though rarely.

2. NATURAL CAVES, ROCK SHELTERS, AND ROCK HOLLOWES

Natural caves and rock shelters were often used for burials in the Early Iron Age (figs. 172-173, 179), though less frequently than other tomb types. This form of burial had a long history of use on the island, beginning in the Late Neolithic, during which period it was the standard type in the north and east, and Final Neolithic; it was also especially common in the early part of Early Minoan (e.g., rock shelters at Zakros, Ag. Photia, Gournia Sphoungaras, Mochlos, Pseira, and Kavousi Ag. Antonios) and continued to occur, though less frequently, in Middle Minoan (e.g., rock shelters at Ag. Photia and Pseira and a large cave at Ag. Charalambos) and Late Minoan (e.g., rock shelters and caves at Zakros and Palaikastro).¹⁴⁵ The vast majority of LN-LM cave and rock shelter burials were found in the eastern and northern parts of the island, though this form of burial also occurred in the far west.¹⁴⁶ In addition, inhumation appears to have been the only form of burial practiced in these tombs.

¹⁴⁵ E.g., Hall 1912, 73; Faure 1964, 66-69; Branigan 1970a, 152-154; Watrous 1994, 162-165, 190; Rutter 2000.

¹⁴⁶ This type of burial was never common in south-central Crete, possibly due to the fact that caves are relatively rare in the Mesara. Branigan 1970a, 152-154; Rutter 2000.

Caves

All known examples of EIA cave burials (8 sites with at least 13 examples) occur in Lasithi Nomos, primarily in the far eastern part of the island (Siteia Eparchia). Cave burials have been identified at Parsa, Lastros, Karydi (?), Palaikastro, Piskokephalo, Praisos, Zakros, and Zou (see table 11).¹⁴⁷ Inhumation was the primary method of interment in these caves with burials most often placed on the floor of the cave, though sometimes in vessels or a larnax as at Piskokephalo Berati; at Piskokephalo Kephala and Zakros Ellinika, burials were placed in pits. Partially cremated bones were apparently found, however, at Piskokephalo Berati, and the form of burial at Praisos Kapsalos has not yet been conclusively established (fragments of bone were recovered, possibly from cremations, in pithoi and a large pyxis). The caves, except for that at Palaikastro and Zakros Ellinika, were used for multiple burials, with Zakros Koukou Kephali Tomb A containing as many as fifteen. The fact that nearly all of the caves appear to have been used in multiple phases of the EIA and the presence of multiple burials and children (at Parsa and Piskokephalo Kephala) suggests that these, at least the majority, were family tombs re-used over time.

Table 11 (Cave burials – tomb information)

Site	Date	# of tombs	Dimensions/features	Location relative to settlement	Form of burial (inh/crem)	# of burials
Parsa	PG-G	1	deep cave	?	inh, inc. children	multiple
Karydi	LM III; SM; G	1 (?)	80x10x2.5 m; 15 m corridor; 3 galleries	?	prob. inh	?
Lastros	LMIIIB; SM	1 or 2	?	NW of IIB settlement	inhumation	multiple
Palaikastro	LIII-SM	1	10x3x10 m	?	inhumation	1
Piskokephalo:	LMIIIC-	1	cave w/ many deep	?	inh + crem	>4

¹⁴⁷ The terms cave, rock shelter, and cave-like cavity are often confused and interchanged in the sources. For the sake of consistency, sites are, where possible, identified as caves or rock shelters on the basis of Faure's distinctions (1964, 66-69). Faure himself, however, does not actually define these terms. The tombs at Piskokephalo and Lastros (called cavities by Faure) are here considered as caves to avoid an even more confusing undefined three-fold distinction.

Berati	EO		hollows; ent. to E		re-used larnax, pithos, basin	
Piskokephalo: Kephala	LPG; PGB; LG; LG/EO	1	3.5x2.5x1 m; built entrance-jambs (poss from Minoan bldg) and threshold (two plakas); two pits (1 ctr. 0.48x0.70 m cov. w/ plaka; 1 near ent. 0.7x0.92 m)	?	inhumation, on floor, pits, skyphos w/ infant; also children	>10, poss. up to 15
Praisos: Kapsalos	LG-EO	1	15x6 m; 4m high double ent to E; stone bench NW wall	SSE or W ~1 km (Praisos-IIIC-H bec polis or Kalamafki Kypria IIIC-A defens)	inh/crem? in pithoi, large pyxis	prob >3
Praisos: Skales	PG-O (cult N-BA)	1	burials prim on 10 m wide platform at ent. to N and w/in ent. (4x7x2.5m), small vestibule; 2 chambers (5x3; 4x7m)	N/NW ~500 m (Praisos)	inhumation (+ animal bones)	multiple
Zakros: Anemospiliara	G	1 or more	20x30x8 m	NW ? (Ellinika)	inhumation	multiple
Zakros: Ellinika	LG	1	small cave (4x5x8m) within which section of rock was cut out to form rect pit/cist (~1.8x1.2m)	just above def sett (IIIC-A Ellinika)	inhumation	1
Zakros: Koukou	SM-G	2 (near each other)	A-2x2x2.5 m; B-6x2.5x4 m; B-walls built out from rock to enclose tomb	?, poss W/S	inhumation	A~15 B~4-5
Zou	PGB;LG	1	small cave	?	inhumation	multiple

The size of the natural burial caves, as identified by Faure, varied from quite large (Karydi-80x10x2.5 m) to rather small (Zakros Koukou A-2x2x2.5 m). In most cases, no architectural alterations were made to the caves. At Piskokephalo Kephala, however, a door frame with jambs and threshold was constructed and pits were dug inside the cave, and a rectangular pit was cut out of the rock at Zakros Ellinika, while at Zakros Koukou B walls were built out from the rock to enclose the tomb.¹⁴⁸ The EIA burial caves also tended to be

¹⁴⁸ Also, Praisos Kapsalos had a built stone bench, the date of which is uncertain.

somewhat isolated, both from other graves (except at Zakros Koukou to Kephali, where the two tombs were essentially side by side) and from known settlements, though perhaps closer settlements have not yet been identified. Multiple cave burials do, however, often exist within a given area, as at Zakros, Praisos, Piskokephalo, and Palaikastro (LM II example nearby). Some of the caves may have been chosen to hold burials based on their location; i.e., caves may have existed on a family's land or field or have been located on a boundary with the land of another person. In other cases, the significance of a cave's location and the exact nature of the burial information are more difficult to determine, due its previous use for religious purposes or for refuge, as at Praisos Skales where the tomb appears to have had a cult function from N-BA but was used for burials in EIA.¹⁴⁹

Associated grave goods tend to be poor, typically only sherds or a few vases, though most of the caves were likely robbed, particularly easy due to their open nature, and in nearly all cases the finds remain unpublished (see table 12). The two tombs (both called natural cave-like cavities by Faure rather than caves) at Piskokephalo differed from those at other sites in their relatively large number of vases (and also at Berati-a larnax and a small terracotta fish; Kephala-two stone objects). Cave burials are, in fact, noteworthy for their lack of metal objects, especially weapons; this does not appear to be solely the result of robbing, as a bronze fibula was the only metal object from the unrobbed Ag. Spyridon cave. Only one bronze fibula was recovered from Praisos Skales in addition to the ceramic vessels, and Whitley et al. further note that cave burials in the vicinity of Praisos are “dispersed and distinguished from the other tomb types by a more restricted range of grave goods.”¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ The possibility further exists that certain individuals were placed in isolated burial caves for other reasons, such as disease, social status, etc.

¹⁵⁰ Whitley et al. 1999, 252.

Zakros Koukou Kephali (Tomb A), however, was somewhat wealthy (70 vases, bronze fibulae, pins, glass and clay beads, 3 Minoan stone vases, a steatite lid, iron sword and other iron objects, and 3 terracotta spindle whorls); significantly, this is the only tomb (cave or rock shelter) to contain iron weapons, and it is also one of the smallest tombs, possibly the smallest. Furthermore, Koukou A was not located near the other caves and rock shelters, deep inside the Zakros gorge, and it thus may have belonged to a different settlement or have had a more significant location (it is located to the east of a cult site).

Table 12 (Grave goods from cave burials)

Site	Total ceramics	Identified vessel types	Other terracotta objects	Metal objects	Stone objects	Other objects
Parsa	sherds	unknown	none	none	none	none
Karydi	sherds	unknown	none	none	none	none
Lastros	sherds	unknown	none	none	none	none
Palaikastro	1	cup	none	none	none	none
Piskokephalo: Berati	40	stirrup jars; pithos; basin	larnax; tc fish	none	none	none
Piskokephalo: Kephala (unrobbed)	88	jugs;oinochoai; kraters;krateriskoi; cups; amphorae; skyphoi; pyxides; kalathos; bowl (esp. oin+cups); LM IIIA2 stirrup jar and bowl (heirlooms/robbed from other tomb)	none	fragment of bronze pin	conical obj (mortar?); small skull-shaped obj	none
Praisos: Kapsalos	sherds	2 jars; pithos; 1 pyxis	none	none	none	none
Praisos: Skales	sherds	jugs; pithoi?; amphorae; krater; pyxis lid w/ hare, cups (1 Attic?)	none	1 bronze fibula	none	none
Zakros: Anemospiliara	?	unknown	?	?	?	?
Zakros: Ellinika	6	tripod cook pot	none	none	none	5 blue paste beads
Zakros: Koukou	A-70 B-15	jug	3 spindle whorls; beads (A)	bronze fibs; pins; iron sword;obj(A)	3 Minoan vessels;lid steatite(A)	'glass' beads (A)
Zou	11	amphora; jugs; oinochoe; cups; skyphoi; phiale; krateriskoi	?	?	?	?

Rock shelters

Burials in rock shelters and under rock ledges have been identified at 9 sites, with at least 15 examples (Vrokastro Karakovilia, Ag. Spyridon, Ag. Stephanos, Orino, Zakros, Praisos Vavelloi, Katsamba, Mesonisia, and Modi-see table 13) dating to all periods of the EIA. These burials also occurred primarily in the east part of the island, though two or three examples were found in central and west Crete (Katsamba, Modi, and possibly Mesonisia). The rock shelters varied in size from 10 x 7 x 5 m (Zakros Marmara) to 3 x 2 x <1.5 m (Ag. Spyridon), and they were typically not altered architecturally; at Ag. Spyridon and Orino, however, one entrance was deliberately blocked by boulders.

The rock shelters appear to have held exclusively inhumations, often multiple, though with several rock shelters containing only one burial. In addition, these burials seem to be somewhat less isolated than the cave burials in their relationships both with other tombs (Vrokastro Karakovilia-possibly near bone enclosure; Zakros-many rock shelters and caves in vicinity; Katsamba-near LM II-III A chamber tomb cemetery; Mesonisia-the southernmost in row of rock shelters; Modi-apparently near chamber tombs and shaft/pit graves) and also, in some cases, with the settlements. Those examples which are located in the vicinity of tombs of other types and contain only one burial could perhaps have held individuals who were deliberately isolated (for whatever reason, positive or negative) from others.

Table 13 (Rock shelters – tomb information)

Site	Date	# of tombs	Dimensions/features	Location relative to settlement	Form of burial (inh/crem)	# of burials
Vrokastro: Karakovilia	G	1	under overhanging ledge of rock	to S(~200 m?); IIC-LG/EO def	inhumation	several
Ag. Spyridon	LM IIIA2; SM-EO	1	3x2x<1.5 m; 2 ent., one blocked by boulders	W ~1.5 km? (Praisos?)	inhumation (+ tripod w/ bird bones)	4?
Ag. Stephanos	PGB-G	1	5x3x2 m	prob. to NE (PG-G def)	inhumation	1?

Orino: Kopsa	IIIB; poss IIIC early	1	4 x 2-3 m; blocked with boulders	W~400 m (IIIC-SM def sett)	prob inh; larnax frags.	1 or more
Pefkoi	IIIB/C?	multiple	reports of rock shelters E of Kastellopoulo	to E?	?	?
Praisos: Vavelloi	LG	1	under ledge of rock in hollow	S?	inhumation	1
Zakros: Malakari	LMIIC (5?); PG (4); PG +LG-EO (3); LG-EO (1-2)	4 or more	5x5x10 m; 7x4x7 m	N/W ~300 -500 m (Ellenika- IIIC-A def)	inhumation	multiple (one #4 w/ 7-8)
Zakros: Marmara	SM-G	1	10x7x5 m	N/W >500 m (“)	prob. inh	?
Zakros: Gerovasili	SM-G	1	8x10x9 m	NW or S?	prob. inh	?
Zakros: Pano Kastello	SM-G	1	7x10x4 m	NW?	prob. inh	?
Katsamba	N; MM; LM; LMIIC?	1	6x1.6x1.2 m	nearby to S?	LM IIIC inh?	1?
Mesonisia	MM or SM	1(southern- most in row of r.s- date?)	6.6x11.7x5 m	immed to SW, poss. ~25 m	inh; pithos w/ infant; pithos frag.	1 or 2
Modi	PG	1	under overhanging rock (near CTs and shafts)	?	inhumation	1

As in the caves, grave goods tended to be sparse, typically consisting only of a few vases and occasionally a bronze fibula (see table 14); in fact, no iron objects or weapons of any kind were found in these tombs. The degree to which most of the tombs were robbed is unknown, however. Ag. Spyridon was the most noteworthy, despite being looted, of the rock shelters, containing several vases, a Minoan stone vessel, triton shell, and bronze fibula, though the excavator still noted the lack of bronze and iron weapons and jewelry;¹⁵¹ this tomb was also exceptional in the presence of a possible offering (bird bones were found in a tripod).

Table 14 (Grave goods from rock shelters)

Site	Total ceramics	Identified vessel types	Other terracotta objects	Metal objects	Stone objects	Other objects
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¹⁵¹ Tsipopoulou 1983, 100-104.

Vrokastro: Karakovilia	sherds+1	jug	none	none	none	none
Ag. Spyridon	23+7 IIIA2	askos; pyxis; tripod; cups; skyphoi; hydria; lid oinochoai; aryballoi; amph/ krateriskoi	none	1 bronze fibula	1 Minoan vessel	triton shell; bird bones
Ag. Stephanos	17	kalathos; jugs; amphora; cups; flask; pyxis; oinochoai; krateriskoi	none	none	none	none
Orino	poss 10 or more	stirrup jars; krateriskoi; kalathoi; jugs; cups	none	none	none	none
Praisos: Vavelloi	5	unknown	none	none	none	none
Zakros: M;M;G;PK	>25 (#3-8; #4- 15; #5-2)	stirrup jars; feeding bottle; cup; skyphos; jug; oinochoe; amp/krateriskos	none	bronze fibula (#4)	beads (#4)	none
Katsamba	1 IIIC?	deep bowl	none	none	none	none
Mesonisia	>4	pithos; jug; aryballos	none	none	none	none
Modi	?	?	?	?	?	?

Brief summary

Burial in caves and rock shelters was thus a relatively common practice in the Early Iron Age, occurring at ~12% of the catalogued sites (15 total sites with 28 or more examples). While these two tomb types represent essentially the same form of burial, some minor distinctions in use may have existed between them. Cave and rock shelter burials appear with roughly the same frequency in all phases of the EIA, with most sites containing burials from multiple phases; lack of published finds makes the exact dating and phasing of these tombs difficult, however. These EIA burials were continuing a long-established (“Minoan”) tradition in burial form and location, using in nearly all cases the traditional method of interment (inhumation). This form of burial required little to no labor, was inexpensive, accessible, and easily reused; furthermore, the caves/rock shelters were

typically somewhat isolated, possibly being located near family fields/land or boundaries. In addition, most tombs of this type were found in east Crete, primarily in the Siteia region; cave and rock shelter burial was apparently a characteristic type for this area. Burial in caves/rock shelters was not, however, the most common funerary type for this region, except at Zakros, where it appears to be the norm, with numerous examples from various periods having been identified in the gorge; several examples were also found in the vicinity of Praisos. Finally, grave goods from these tombs tend to be relatively poor, with metal jewelry and weaponry occurring very rarely.

Natural rock hollows

Early Iron Age burials were also sometimes placed in natural hollows or small rock cavities. In many instances, the hollows/cavities were converted into cists or were really more like pit graves or chamber tombs in nature; these examples will be discussed in other sections. The graves listed in table 15, however, appear to consist solely of unworked natural hollows/cavities (i.e., no architectural additions), and they are perhaps best linked with the caves and rock shelters, though this tomb type is particularly difficult to define. The two most notable examples (Dreros and Vrokastro Summit) both contained a single infant/child inhumation inside or under a vessel. While that from Vrokastro (SM-PG) contained no grave goods other than the vessel which covered the burial, the Dreros tomb (Geometric?) contained at least five vases, a bronze and iron fibula and a stone disc. On the other hand, the presence of an EIA burial at Malia Christ Island has not been confirmed, and the exact nature of the burials at Kavousi Kastro and Ag. Paraskies remains unclear.

Table 15 (Natural rock hollows)

Site	Date	Information	Grave Goods
Dreros	G?	T.3-rock hollow; contained inhumed infant in urn; at E end of cemetery; ~200 m to NE of settlement (IIIC-A def town becomes polis)	5 or more vases (urn, aryballo, jugs, cup); bronze fibula; iron

			fibula; stone disc?
Vrokastro	SM- PG	cave-like recess; child inhumation in inverted krateriskos, ~100 m from settlement on summit (IIIC-LG/EO defensive settlement)	krateriskos
Kavousi: Kastro	LG- EO	up to 5 possible adult burials (secondary) found in abandoned rooms of houses, most placed in rock cavities (e.g. cremation in NE corner or Room 32)	sherds (not yet pub.)
Ag. Paraskies: Kellia	PG	one cremation burial in urn found in rock hollow; remains of 3 other kalpai and a burial pithos also found inside or nearby	kalpis, jugs, kalathos, one bronze fibula
Malia	LM IIIC?	Christ Island; probable tomb found in rock hollow; 1 burial ?	askos/ring vase, stirrup jar, hydria, jug; pithos/amphora

3. CHAMBER TOMBS

One of the most characteristic forms of burial on Crete in the Early Iron Age is the rock-cut chamber tomb (fig. 180); this tomb type occurs at the second greatest number of sites (between 24 to >33 sites, or 20-27% of total sites – fig. 173), but with the highest frequency (with >250, possibly as many as 300, examples – fig. 172). The standard form of chamber tomb first appeared on Crete in MM II-MM III at the Mavro Spelio and Upper Gypsades cemeteries at Knossos, and it was the most popular form of burial in LM, especially LM III and also at Knossos.¹⁵² While the exact derivation of the chamber tomb remains uncertain (from Egypt, Cyprus, or else an independent Minoan invention), this type was prominent on both Crete and the Mainland during the Late Bronze Age.¹⁵³

The typical Minoan and Mycenaean chamber tomb has a circular, oval, rectangular, square, irregular or horseshoe shaped chamber (averaging 2 x 2 m in LM), approached by a long or relatively short, horizontal or downward sloping dromos, usually with inclining side

¹⁵² See for example, Hood and Smythe 1981, 11-14, for Knossos burials in general; Forsdyke 1926-1927, for Mavro Spelio; Hood et al. 1958-1959, for Upper Gypsades; Evans 1906, 3-10, for Zapher Papoura; Hallager and McGeorge 1992, for LM III Chania.

¹⁵³ See for example, Pini 1968, 36-44; Davaras 1976b, 48-49; Dickinson 1983, esp. 64-65; 1994, 223-226; Coldstream and Catling 1996, 653-658. Mycenaean chamber tombs are most commonly considered to be derived from the Minoan examples or else an independent Mycenaean invention. See also Rutter 2000, Lessons 10 and 13 for a full bibliography on chamber tombs, their history, description, derivation, etc.

walls and widening slightly toward the doorway; some chambers also have carved stone benches and/or side chambers.¹⁵⁴ The stomion is often cut from the rock in the shape of a doorway (especially 0.5-1.0 m in width and 1.2-1.8 m in height) and is frequently narrower than the dromos; furthermore, the stomion was typically blocked with stones and the dromos filled in, especially with earth, but sometimes with stones. In addition, the ceiling of the chamber was either flat or domed (convex). These chamber tombs were typically cut, often deeply, into the limestone (local kouskouras) and placed into a hillside or slope; only rarely were they on level ground. Late Minoan chamber tombs also do not show consistent orientation for their entrance, which was determined by topography, and they usually held multiple inhumations in pithoi, larnakes, wooden coffins, or on the chamber floor, and also sometimes in pits/shafts or cists cut into the floor. Finally, during the LM period chamber tombs were especially common in north central Crete, and they were also popular in the west, though relatively rare in the east.

Early Iron Age chamber tombs, on the other hand, tend to have smaller chambers with relatively short and shallow dromoi (the chamber is often shorter than the length of the dromos), though larger chambers and long dromoi continue to exist; niches are also found in some dromoi. According to Cavanagh, Dark Age chamber tombs at Knossos are distinguished from Bronze Age examples in that they are half the size even of the smaller BA tombs, typically without jambs, and they also tend to have smaller stomion widths.¹⁵⁵ In addition, the dromoi of EIA Knossian tombs are on average no smaller than the BA examples, though the EIA tombs typically show less care in the carving of the entrance,

¹⁵⁴ Pini 1968, 36-44; Rutter 2000.

¹⁵⁵ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 653-658.

which tends to be shorter. Furthermore, the narrowing/inclining of the dromos walls appears to be a primarily LM feature and only very rarely occurs in the EIA.

Analysis of tomb form

In the Early Iron Age (as in LM), chamber tombs were especially characteristic of (north) central (especially the area around Knossos) and far western (Nomos Chania) Crete. Of the nine total eastern sites with possible EIA burial in chamber tombs, none of which are in Lasithi Eparchia, three (Episkopi, Myrsini, Turloti) consist solely of LM IIIA-B cemeteries at which one or more examples of early IIIC burial may have occurred (see table 20), comprising the final period of burial at the site; some may even date slightly after the abandonment of the associated settlements. Only one chamber tomb was identified at two other sites (Krya; Adromyloi – IIIB/C), the cemeteries of which consist predominantly of tholos tombs; the chamber tomb was also not the primary burial type at Kritsa (chambers predate the tholoi) and Praisos. Therefore, at only two eastern sites (Milatos and Ag. Georgios) was the chamber tomb the dominant form of burial in the EIA, and both of these sites also contained extensive LM III chamber tomb cemeteries.

In western (Chania) Crete, however, the chamber tomb seems to have been the primary form of burial in the EIA, with six of the nine total catalogued sites containing burials of this type, and at four (Astrikas, Gavalomouri, Kavousi, Vouves) of these sites, no other form of burial has yet been found. Eleutherna was the only site from west central Crete (Rethymnon Nomos) with a burial of this type, but only one example has been recovered from the site thus far. The majority of known chamber tombs come from central Crete, especially the northern region. In fact, nine of the eleven confirmed central sites with chamber tombs are in the north; only Phaistos and Ligortynos are in the south, and no

examples have yet been found on the west side of the Lasithi Mountains. The chamber tomb is especially predominant at Knossos and Herakleion (in both LM III and the EIA), occurring on an enormous scale, with ~170 known EIA tombs (~68% of total chamber tombs); no other site has even close to this number of tombs (Phaistos has ~19 tombs and Ag. Georgios has up to 15).

Considerable variation in chamber shape was found in both LM and EIA chamber tombs, and according to Cavanagh, shape does not appear to be a significant distinguishing factor, in the Knossian tombs at least.¹⁵⁶ EIA tomb chambers rarely conform to an exact shape; the vast majority are irregular, roughly circular, elliptical, or horseshoe, though some roughly square/rectangular examples do occur (see table 16). Most chambers are irregularly shaped due to the manner of cutting into the bedrock, in other words, tombs are typically not well-cut in the EIA. Square/rectangular or trapezoidal chambers occur at 5 sites (25 or more tombs), none of which are in the west: Kritsa (both locations?), Ag. Georgios, Phaistos (Kalyviani, Liliana C, Tou Phygote), and Knossos (Ag. Ioannis I, II, IV, VII, Kephala III, North Cemetery T. 14, 40, 55, 75, 106, 207, 218, 283, Fortetsa III). Nearly all of these tombs, however, appear to be only roughly quadrilateral; the one significant exception is Phaistos Kalyviani, which is very large (9.5 x 10 m) and appears to have been regularly cut.

Chamber size typically ranges from ~1-3 m in the Early Iron Age (see table 16); in fact, within the cemeteries at Ag. Georgios and Knossos, tombs have roughly the same degree of variation (from ~1-2.7 m in diameter). The most common tomb diameter is 1.6-2.0 m, though larger and smaller sizes occur quite frequently as well (1-1.5 m and 2.1-2.8 m are found in roughly the same proportions). Chamber tombs with less than 1 m diameters have been recorded solely at Knossos (NC and Fortetsa), and only three or four known tombs have

¹⁵⁶ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 643.

diameters greater than 3 m (Knossos Kephala 1957 – 4.2 m circular chamber; Phaistos Kalyviani – 9.5x10 m rectangular chamber; Phaistos Tou Phigiote T.1 – 6 m circular chamber and possibly T.2 – rectangular with two chambers). These three tombs were significantly larger than all other EIA chamber tombs, and they occur at former palace sites in central Crete which later became poleis and also near Minoan cemeteries (Phigiote?). In addition, the chamber tombs at western sites appear, based on the limited amount of available information, to be slightly larger than average in size. Finally, size does not appear to be related to chamber shape; square/rectangular chambers occur in roughly the same proportions in all size categories.

Average chamber height, however, is difficult to determine, as tomb roofs are quite often destroyed by bulldozers or natural collapse and are only rarely preserved intact and recorded. Tomb height appears to range from <1-2.0 m, and it seems, for the most part, to have been related to the size of the tomb, with larger chambers more likely to have greater height, as with tholos tombs. The Knossian tombs may have had slightly shorter than average chamber heights compared to other sites, though this is difficult to prove, as so few published/preserved examples exist. In the EIA, chamber roofs continued to be either flat or domed (convex), as in the LM period. A further chamber feature to be examined is the floor; the majority of tomb floors consist of cut bedrock/kouskouras, though this information is also rarely recorded. Sometimes sea pebbles or gravel (Knossos NC, Herakleion Mastamba, Vouves) were used to cover the floor, and at Knossos Ambelakia the floor may have been paved with plakas; also at Atsalenio five irregular stones slabs with vases were found on the floor.

Nearly all chamber tombs were cut into the natural bedrock (kouskouras); the Gavalomouri tombs, however, were cut into the earth (eroded schist). In addition, most tombs were not well-carved/cut; at Knossos NC, only a few tombs are singled out as being more carefully cut (T. 13, 28, 106, 219, 306, for example). A small number of tombs (Knossos Kephala T. III and 1957, for example) also had niches in the chamber. Finally, EIA chamber tombs were often somewhat shallowly dug, often into hillsides or slopes.

The stomia of EIA chamber tombs are, in many cases, just low, short rectangular or circular openings (i.e., not really defined entrances). As a result, stomion measurements are rarely provided in the publications; they are provided only at Knossos NC, Eleutherna, and Astrikas. At Knossos NC, the average stomion width is 0.86 m and length 0.28 m, while at Astrikas that of tomb II is somewhat larger than this average; the Knossian measurements are presumably representative of tombs at other sites. In some instances, however, more attention is paid to the carving/defining of the doorway (e.g., Knossos Kephala 5-arched door, NC 106-carefully constructed façade, and apparently some tombs at Ag. Georgios have more carefully carved entrances), with a few tombs having carved thresholds or door jambs; only rarely do built entrances (i.e., separate stone jambs, thresholds, and/or lintels) occur.¹⁵⁷ At Knossos NC, stone thresholds are found on two of the largest tombs in the cemetery; there thus may be a tendency for stomion elaborations to occur, though not exclusively, on some of the larger tombs within cemeteries, as with tholoi, though not nearly enough published examples exist to confirm this. In addition, the presence of a step down into the chamber from the stomion (with 0.5-0.6 m being perhaps roughly average step height) is common,

¹⁵⁷ Carved jambs and/or thresholds are found in several Knossos NC tombs and Ambelakia (cut threshold). Praisos T.53 had a built entrance, and also possibly some tombs at Phaistos Tou Phygote; stone thresholds were found at Knossos NC 19, 75, 219, Ligortynos, Atsalenio A, Vouves II; stone jambs at Ligortynos, Knossos Ambelakia, NC 1991, T. 285; Astrikas; lintel at Ligortynos and Astrikas.

especially at Knossos though also found at Phoinikia and Vouves. Furthermore, the stomion was usually blocked, either with a single, large stone, rubble, or even re-used ashlar blocks (only at Knossos).

The dromos is a defining feature of the EIA chamber tomb; nearly all known examples had one, except Phaistos Liliانا C and possibly Kritsa Katharo. Unfortunately, the full length of the dromos is only rarely preserved, with a great many examples, including those in the NC, having been bulldozed (see table 16). Dromoi in the Knossos NC range in length from <1-9.75 m, with an average of 4.39 m, and the longest preserved examples from all sites were found at Kritsa T.C (~7 m), Knossos NC (T.75-9.75m; T.100-9 m; T.60-6.62 m), and also Phaistos Tou Phygote (T.4-15 m; several other tombs 9-10 m). In general, dromos width appears to vary from 0.85-1.6 m, with that at Knossos averaging from 1.13-1.02 m.¹⁵⁸ Dromoi also often widen slightly toward the entrance, and they are frequently wider than the entrance; the greatest variation in dromos width occurs at Vouves T. 2 (0.45-1.2 m width). Furthermore, EIA dromoi were typically filled in with earth or sometimes blocked with stones. In some cases, they were also stepped, and they frequently descended from the surface; a slight inclination is seen at Mastamba and Knossos Kephala 5. In addition, some dromoi (at Herakleion, Knossos and possibly Eleutherna) contained niches, which were frequently used for the latest burials, though also potentially for earlier burials removed from the main chamber, or were well-cut with straight, parallel sides (Knossos North Cemetery 18, 28, 45, 219). Finally, only a very few examples exist with inward leaning sides, all of which are apparently from Knossos; this type of dromos appears to be typical of LM III, and some of the Early Iron Age examples may actually be re-used LM III tombs.

¹⁵⁸ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 653.

Table 16 (Chamber tombs – shape/size, dromos, other)

Site	# of tombs	Chamber-shape/size	Dromos	Other information
Kritsa: Lakkoi	1 (T.C)	square, 1.82 m	yes, >7 m long	
Kritsa:Katharo	2 (only T.2-EIA)	T.2-square, 1.80 m; smaller than T.1	possibly no	T.1 dates LM IIIA2-B/C
Milatos:plain	>1	?	?	
Adromyloi:KK	1 (IIIB/C)	horseshoe	?	
Ag. Georgios	~15	circular; rect; range-1x1 m to 2-2.5 m	yes; 2.0-5.5 m L; 1-1.5 m W	some more attention to carved doorway
Krya (T.25)	1	elliptical (2.16x1.7 m) H-1.65m	?	
Praisos T.53	1	small, rect?	yes	built entrance
Ag. Marina	1	circular, 1.6 m	yes	poss tholos, not chamber
Tylissos:Atsolou	1	ellipsoidal	?	
Ligortynos	1	roughly circular; large	?	built ent. w/ mono lintel; jambs (~1 m H x 1.5 W); threshold
Aitania:Phonia	1 or 2	one larger than the other	?	'54 tomb def chamber; '97 rock-cut chamber or poss pit
Aitania:Gridia	1	?	?	
Elia	1 or 2	ellipsoidal	?	report of 2 tombs but only traces of one found
Kato Vatheia	1	circular, 1.80 m	?	
Kounavoi	9 (#1,3-5, 12-16)	ellipsoidal, horseshoe (#5), circular, average ~1x1 m; T.15-1.15x0.93m	yes, oft blocked by rubble wall; T.13-L=1.4m; W-1.10m; T.14-L-2.6; W-1.05m	T.4 divided in half; T.4 cut into T.5; T.3 cov. w/ stone heap
Phaistos:Kalyviani	1	rectangular; 9.5 x 10 m	yes, blocked w/ fieldstones	
Phaistos:Liliana	4	irreg, circular (A-2m dia; B; D); rectangular (C- 3x1.2 m); H of A-2m	yes (A,B,D); D-3m long and 1.2 m wide	A+D-entrances blocked with stones
Phaistos:T. 1954	1 or 2	?	?	
Phaistos:Tou Phyg	12	T.1-circular (~6 m dia.); T.2-rect (2 chambers #1-1.8x 2.8m; #2-3m wide); T.3-irreg; most rect	yes (all?); T.3-1.4 m wide; T.4-15 m long; several 9-10 m long	roofs of some tombs were domed (rock-cut); some apparently with stone-built doorways
Herakleion: Atsalenio	3	ellipsoidal; A-1.7 x 1.1 m; B-sim dimensions	1962-yes (A-1 x 0.9 m remaining)	A-threshold (2 large slabs); step down into chamber; 5 irreg slabs with vases on floor
Herakleion: Mastamba	2	ellipsoidal; 1970-1.25 x 0.9 m; H-0.9 m	yes; both blocked; 1970-1.5x0.74-0.88 m; slight inclination to entrance; 1976-wide	1970-gravel floor; step down into chamber; hollow in W side of dromos; 1976-0.25 m step down into chamber
Knossos: Ag. Ioannis (KS #6)	8 (+1-4 poss)	rect (II, VII); oval (I, III,V,VIII); circ (VI);	some yes (V-VIII; VI-2.10 L; VII-1.35-	stomia oft blocked with ashlar blocks; VIII-oval

	from 1980)	quad (IV); typical 1.4-1.7 x 1.3-2.3 m)	1.5 W; declines from surface	side chamber; VII-0.55 step down into chamber; II dug into dromos of VI; III cut into dromos of V; IV below II
Knossos: Ambelakia	1	oval, ~2.15 m	?	blocked by big stone; floor poss paved with plakas; mono jambs; threshold cut into bedrock
Knossos:Kephala (Payne 1927; Hogarth T.2-5; 1957)	7-9 or more	oval (2.4x1.9-Payne; 2.1; 2.8x2.4); square (2.2x2.3 m) circ (1957-4.2 m)	yes; Payne 1927 w/ 2 niches; (T.5) 4.8-5.4 L; (T.3) 2.5 L; 2 w/ leaning sides; sloping; T.5 inclined; oft stepped	T. 3; 1957 chambers with niche; T.5 arched door; some poss LM III construction
Knossos:Kallithea	2 or more	?	?	?
Knossos:NC	>125	circ; oval; rect; irreg (<1-2.7 m); some w/ side chambers (largest-G;N;Q; Π;48;75; 82;106;218;219); H-1.1; 1.3 m (T.2; 55 pits in floor); sq/rect (T.14;40;55;75; 106;207;218; 283)	yes (0.85-1.6 W; <1-9.75 L); (T.75-9.75 m L; 100-9 m; 60-6.62 m) oft stepped; freq niches; most sloping; straight parallel sides (T. 18;28;45; 219); inward sloping sides (T.44); deep (T.285)	typ blocked entrance; stomion-av. W-0.86; L-0.28 m; typ step down into chamber; a few w/ carved or stone thresholds (stone-19;75;219; raised-13); floors of bedrock or gravel, pebbles; some w/ carved jambs (T.285-1 built; 1991-built); T.106-carefully const. façade; well-cut chamber-T.13;28;219;306
Knossos: Fortetsa	17-18	oval; circ; 1-2.5 m dia.; III+OD square (0.75-1.0 m)	yes; average W-1m; L-1->5m; descending; some have niches	usually step down into chamber; entrance-low rectangular opening; blocked ent.; III-walls of dromos converge slightly at top; VII extra S wall across dromos
Knossos: Lower Gypsades	1	oval; 2.6x1.5 m	yes; 0.9 W; 4 m L	step down into chamber
Knossos:Upper Gypsades	2 (PG) and 5 IIIB	irregular	?	'97 (T.5) divided in two by section of wall
Phoinikia: Drakouliari	1	round, 1.39 m H-0.78 m	yes, short; 3 steps	step down into chamber (0.6 m)
Phoinikia: TEI	1	?	?	poss. peribolos wall ~400m away w/ pyre near wall
Eleutherna	1	irregular, 2x 1.8 m; H~1.8m	yes	blocked entrance; below A1/K1 bldg; 1 low niche; st-0.75W; ~0.4 L
Astrikas	2	I-irregular; 3.15x2.15m II-elliptical; 2.2x2.6 m	yes, I (1.8 pres L; 1.15 W); II (2.3 pres	stomion of II-1.2x0.58m; both-

			L; 0.9 W)	limestone plaka jambs and lintel; limestone stele fell into T.I
Gavalomouri	7	irreg; ellipt; SP-IV-1.85x2.18; V-1.2-1.68x2.06m; L-T.II-2.5x2.25m; I-1.4x2.9m	yes, short (V-0.92; IV-1.85 L); V-0.56 W; full of earth	blocked entrance; chamber H-0.75-1.6 m; carved into earth (eroded schist), not kouskouras, into sides of hills
Kavousi	3	irregular?; 1 preserved-1.75x1.2 m	yes, but destroyed	chamber H-0.85m
Vouves	2	II-elliptical; 3.65 x 2 m; H-1.4 m	yes, 3.2L; 0.45-1.2 W; descending	plaka threshold; step down int chamber; blocked stomion; floor-sea pebbles
Modi	2	?	?	?
Vryses: Timios St	2	?	?	?

A few EIA chamber tombs also show signs of burial ritual, funerary meals, offerings, etc. (see table 17). Pyres for cremation or burnt offerings have been identified at Kounavoi (T. 4, 16), Mastamba 1970, and possibly Phoinikia TEI, and the chamber tomb at Eleutherna is beside a possible crematorium. Ash was found in the dromoi of Mastamba 1970 and Phoinikia Drakouliari, and evidence of food offerings and animal sacrifice was found in several of the NC tombs, including Tomb F-pit in dromos with two horses and two dogs and T. 152-horse bones in dromos. In addition, possible altars were found in Knossos Kephala T. 2 and 1927, and burned animal bones, food remains and ash were found in front of a burial niche in Knossos Ag. Ioannis IV. Iron spits were also found in tombs at Kounavoi, Knossos, and Eleutherna. Finally, a few KNC tombs (T. 75, 218, 219, 283, 285) contained two-three stone stands, possibly for offerings or as bases for burial vessels. Particularly significant was the possible evidence of LG/EO ancestor worship found in an LM IIIA2 chamber tomb at Mochlos (T. 27).

Table 17 (Chamber tombs – offerings, evidence of burial ritual, etc.)

Site	Information
Mochlos	T.27-LG/EO offerings in LM IIIA2 chamber tomb (oval-0.9x1.45x1.05m); in EIA, skeletal remains, upper part of burial pithos and schist cover, as well as grave goods, were removed from the tomb; rest of pithos then filled with earth and an alabastron and small hydria placed inside; tomb was closed and cover slab positioned upright in dromos near entrance with section of pithos, skyphos and aryballos on either side; irreg stone platform/altar (1 x 0.55-

	0.8x0.5 m) constructed on top; Sole says=ancestor worship
Kounavoi	T. 4 irregular pyre (1x0.3m) by entrance, poss. for offerings (bones and sherds found); T. 16 pyre in front; iron spits found in T. 4 and 14
Herakleion: Mastamba	1970 tomb-evidence of 2 pyres found in dromos just north of 2 burials; further north, a cup, sherds, ashes, and burned earth were found
Knossos: Ag. Ioannis	Tomb IV-burned animal bones (bird?), food remains, and ash found in front of burial niche
Knossos: Kephala	Payne 1927 tomb-3 pits in chamber and possible altar found; T. 2 also possible stone altar
Knossos: NC	T.2 and 55 pits in chamber; ev. of food offerings in several tombs; animal sacrifice (4 ex.); F-pit in dromos w/ 2 horses and 2 dogs; horse bones in dromos of T.152; ostrich eggs-T.30, 56, 219, 294; iron spits-T.24, 75, 100, 107, 218, 219, 283, 285, 1994-T.4-6; fire-dogs-T.219, 283, 285; stone stands-T.75, 218, 219, 283, 285
Knossos: Fortetsa	P and II burning in dromos; iron spits-T.VI? and P
Phoinikia: Drakouliari	dromos full of ash, possibly from offerings
Phoinikia: TEI	burned soil above tomb, ~400 m away found possible peribolos wall and pyre
Eleutherna	iron spits found
Vouves	pit on right and left side of chamber

The majority of Early Iron Age chamber tombs contained between one-five burials; while multiple burials were most common, numerous examples do exist with only a single burial (see table 18).¹⁵⁹ Tombs with six-ten burials occurred at Knossos NC, Astrikas I, and possibly Elia, and only Herakleion (Atsalenio A and Mastamba 1970), Knossos (Ag. Ioannis I, Fortetsa P, VII, F, X, II, Lower Gypsades, some NC tombs, and possibly Upper Gypsades), and probably Eleutherna had tombs with more than ten burials. In fact, most tombs at Knossos NC contained 10 or fewer burials, and many of the high burial estimates at Fortetsa and NC are based on counts of possible cremation vases, not on confirmed cremations; by far the highest estimate of total burials is Fortetsa P (with 78), followed by II (with 28). Most tombs were therefore limited to few individuals and according to Cavanagh likely represent family tombs serving a narrow kin group (in Knossos at least).¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Tombs with single burials were found at Tyllissos Atsolou, Aitania (all 3 tombs), Knossos Ag. Ioannis (possibly II, III, VII), Fortetsa V, Phoinikia Drakouliari, some tombs at Kounavoi, Gavalomouri II, IV, V, and Astrikas II.

¹⁶⁰ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 664.

The most common form of burial in EIA chamber tombs was cremation in urns, pithoi, kraters, and amphorae, though bronze basins/bowls were also used in a few instances (Tyliossos Atsolou, Knossos Fortetsa). The majority of tombs contained cremation burials only, though inhumation did occur at some sites. In the east, inhumations were found in larnakes and basins at Kritsa (together with cremation) and Adromyloi, both of which are early in date (LM IIIB/C-IIIC). In central Crete, inhumation was predominant at Kounavoi (PG-PGB), Phaistos Liliana (LM IIIB-SM) and Tou Phigiote (IIIC-PG?), while it also occurred at Knossos Ag. Ioannis, Kephala, NC, and possibly Upper Gypsades; cremation was also practiced in most of these cemeteries, however. With the exception of Kounavoi, the adult inhumation burials in the other central cemeteries date primarily to LM IIIC or SM, and at Knossos it has been noted that inhumation may have been the typical practice of SM, with cremation occurring during this period only in the NC.¹⁶¹ All western sites, on the other hand, have inhumation burials, though most also have cremations. The continued use of adult inhumation in these western tombs is noteworthy, however, as all appear to be somewhat late in date (PG or G). Finally, child burial (often in pithoi, other vessels, and larnakes) has been confirmed from some EIA Cretan chamber tombs; evidence of child cremation was found at Kritsa Katharo, Phaistos Liliana D, and Eleutherna, while inhumation was found at Knossos NC, Gavalomouri, and Vouves. In addition, at Knossos NC it appears that LM IIIA-B larnakes were sometimes re-used for child/infant inhumations from PGB on, and most Geometric inhumations in the NC are of children.¹⁶²

Table 18 (Chamber tombs – burial information)

Site	Total # EIA	Type	Vessel	Other
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¹⁶¹ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 643.

¹⁶² Coldstream 1998.

	Burials			
Kritsa:Lakkoi	4-5	4 inh; 1-4 crem?	2 larnakes; 1 pithos; pyxis (crem?)	pyxis found inside larnax, one inh on floor
Kritsa:Katharo	5	2 inh; 3 crem	basin; 2 pyxides	inh in basin; 1 pyxis-crem youth and secondary burial of inh adult; other-cremated adult and child; possible clay bier
Milatos:plain	?	?	?	
Adromyloi:KK	?	inhumation	larnax	larnax w/ 5 skeletons (? how many IIC)
Ag. Georgios	?			1 ex had only one burial
Krya	?	?	?	
Praisos T.53	?	?	?	
Ag. Marina	?	cremation?	?	
Tylissos:Atsolou	1	cremation	in bronze basin	
Ligortynos	multiple	cremation	urns	
Aitania:Phonia	'54 -1 burial '97-1	cremation	skyphos-like urn	'97 tomb contained one burial pithos
Aitania:Gridia	1	cremation	urn	
Elia	7 (? # of LG/EO)	cremation	urns	
Kato Vatheia	multiple	cremation	urns	
Kounavoi	>15	most inh; some crem	crem were in urns; inh oft on floor	most tombs contained 1-3 inh; T.4 had 2 crem +T.16 had ~3 crem;
Phaistos:Kalyviani	3 or more	cremation	urns	
Phaistos:Liliana	>17 (? # of IIC)	most inh; 1 partial crem	15-16 larnakes (3-5 per tomb; some w/ multip burials)	child cremation in vase (D); (Watrous-some larnakes poss later reuse)
Phaistos:T. 1954	?	?	?	
Phaistos:Tou Phyg	>20	inh; T.9 had partial crem	?	T.1-7 inh; T.2-3 inh; T.4-1 inh (apparently in stone covered pit in floor); T.9-poss 2 pits (1 with male other with female)
Herakleion:Atsalenio	>20	cremation	urns; pithoi	A-17 pithoi with cremation
Herakleion:Mastamba	22	cremation	pithoi, kraters, urns	1970-17 cremations (of which 2 in dromos); 1976-5 crem urns
Knossos:Ag. Ioannis	17-23	8 inhumation (I,II, IV,VI, VIII); 9-15 cremation (I,III, IV, V,VIII?) VI-infant	krater, urns	IV-inh in niche of NE wall; all have 1-4 burials, except I, up to 11 burials
Knossos:Ambelakia	?	prob cremation	?	
Knossos:Kephala	>6	inh (T.5); crem (1927, T.3,	some c in urns	1927-2 niches in dromos, each with c urn

		1957)		
Knossos:Kallithea	a few	inhumation?	?	
Knossos:NC	est. 422-671 for all NC (inc pits+shafts)	most crem; some early ex. inhum +infants /children	crem typ in urns	infant/child inh in pithoi, larnakes (some reused LM IIIA-B); majority of tombs have 10 or fewer urn burials; T.107 >33 c pithoi; 2-3 stone stands found (T.75;218;219; 283;285) for offerings or base for burial vessel
Knossos:Fortetsa	poss ~180	cremation	pithoi,kraters; bronze dinoi	burials also in dromoi and niches; many tombs 1-5 burials; but P-up to 78; and VII+F (12-14); X,II (21; 28)
Knossos:Lower Gyp	35 (21 PGB-LG)	cremation	pithoi	
Knossos:Upper Gypsades	'97-11 skulls	inhumation?	larnax	
Phoinikia: Drakouliari	1	cremation	pithos	burial pithos placed on large plaka and mouth closed w/ plaka
Phoinikia: TEI	at least 4	cremation	kalpai	layer of burned soil just above tomb
Eleutherna	10s or 100s	cremation	urns	also a few child crem; urns also in dromos
Astrikas	8	7 inh; 1 crem	pithoi; kraters; amphorae; c in urn	I-6 inh (inc. 1 female in corner w/o vase)+1 crem II-1 inh
Gavalomouri	SP-2; L-4	SP-cremation; L-1 crem; 3 inh	pithoi; crem in urns	II;VII-possibly each w/ child inh (II also adult inh); IV+V-each only 1 MG crem in pithos
Kavousi	2	inh and crem	c in urn	inh on floor
Vouves	5	3 inh; at least 2 crem	2 shallow pits with inh (m+f); crem in amphorae	23 O vases on ledge in rubble=burial/offering; 1 child inh in pithos
Modi	>2	inhumation	pithoi	T. I- 2 burials
Vryses:Timios Stav	?	?	?	?

New chamber tombs were dug throughout the EIA, with the earliest eastern and central examples dating to LM IIIC and SM; the first Knossian examples are SM and the earliest western examples PG (see table 19). The five confirmed LM IIIC tombs (at four sites) do not continue beyond SM, though the construction date of Phaistos Kalyviani remains uncertain, while the new SM cemeteries and tombs all continue at least until PG,

some even to O. The greatest period of construction and use of chamber tombs, as well as the beginning of new cemeteries/sites, throughout the island appears to be PG; at Knossos from PG on nearly all adult burials are in chamber tombs. This tomb type, however, also appears at many sites for the first time in G and continues to be used at many others during this period; the chamber tomb thus appears to have been almost/equally as popular in the Geometric as in PG. At Knossos, new chamber tombs appear to have been dug through MG, while in LG-O only pre-existing tombs were re-used.¹⁶³ New tombs were constructed in LG or LG/EO only at Elia, Phoinikia TEI, and possibly Vouves, though tomb use continued until EO at some eastern, central, and western sites. No tomb has evidence of burials dating later than Late Orientalizing, though at Herakleion, Knossos, Elia, and Eleutherna some tombs continued in use during this period. Thus, while burial took place only for a short period of time in some tombs/cemeteries, a few sites show much longer periods of use (SM-EO at Ag. Georgios, Knossos Kephala and NC and PG-O at Mastamba and Eleutherna). At Knossos NC in fact, the greatest number of tombs were utilized for fewer than 50 years, though 50-100 and 100-150 yrs. were also common, and two tombs were used for up to 400 years.¹⁶⁴

There does appear to be a slight correlation between certain architectural features and date. For example, square/rectangular chamber shape may have been an early feature; it appears that most (non-Knossisan) tombs of this shape were carved in LM IIIC or SM (PG at the latest, though Ag. Georgios and Phaistos Kalyviani remain unpublished). Stomion elaborations, on the other hand, may have a tendency to be later in date, as most tombs with these features were constructed in PGB and G; some Knossos examples are PG. It is difficult, however, to determine any possible link between chamber size and date, though the

¹⁶³ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 659-666.

¹⁶⁴ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 659-666.

two largest known tombs were both constructed in PG, or dromos length and date. Finally, single burials occur in all periods, while the tombs with the greatest number of burials tend to have been constructed in PG or PGB.

Chamber tombs also frequently occur in cemeteries, both large and small, as well as in groups (e.g., Phaistos Liliana, Herakleion, Knossos Ag. Ioannis, Kephala, NC and Fortetsa, Gavalomouri); for example, in the North Cemetery, rows of four-six tombs are especially common. In addition, chamber tombs are often found in association with tombs of other types, such as tholoi (Kritsa, Krya, Kounavoi-later tholos) and pits (Liliana, Kounavoi), or with chamber tombs of earlier date (Ag. Georgios). Furthermore, multiple chamber tombs are typical at a site, though a few somewhat isolated examples may have existed (possibly Tyliisos Atsolou, Kato Vatheia, Phaistos Kalyviani, Astrikas, Vryses).

Chamber tomb orientation appears to be primarily related to topography, as in LM. Tombs are found oriented in all directions (N, E, S, W, NW, NE, SE, SW), though west occurs most commonly overall, followed by south and southeast. The east Cretan tombs have orientations of S, SE, and NW; the north central tombs face all eight possible directions; the south central tombs E and SE, and the western tombs E, NE, S, and W. Early Iron Age chamber tombs are also positioned in all directions (except SE) from their associated settlements, and frequently at multiple locations within a single site; tombs of this type do, however, tend to be grouped more regularly in cemeteries (i.e., less scattered) than tholoi and caves/rock shelters. Among the chamber tombs overall, the distribution is evenly divided among the various directions. Minor distinctions are observable, though, within the different regions (eastern tombs are found to the E, NE, N, S, and SW of their settlements; north

central sites to the N, S, W, NW, SW (none to E, SE or NE); south central sites to N, E, NE, SE; Eleutherna to the W; western sites to the NE and NW).

In addition, most burial sites are located <1 km from their associated settlements (especially between 500 m-1 km), while only a few tombs/cemeteries are at a distance of between 1-1.5 km;¹⁶⁵ a small number of sites were possibly found at greater distances, though none can be confirmed. While the tholos tomb appears to be especially characteristic of defensible settlements, the chamber tomb is more evenly divided between sites of different types. Chamber tombs occur at six defensible sites (and two of these are only somewhat defensible) and six non-defensible sites, making it perhaps a more characteristic type for non-defensible sites, though non-defensible sites are more characteristic of central and western Crete in general, where the majority of chamber tombs are found. Furthermore, at least half, and probably more, of the settlements with associated chamber tombs later became poleis or large towns.

Table 19 (Chamber tombs – location, orientation, relation to settlement)

Site	Date	Orientation	Location; Isolated/ group	Relation to settlement	Settlement type and date
Kritsa:Lakkoi	IIIB/C - trans IIIC/SM	SE	~150 m SW of tholoi	E~2 km (?) (Kastello)	large defen; IIIC-SM; PG?
Kritsa:Katharo	T.2-IIIC (T.1IIIA2- B/C)	?	~1km SW of Lakkoi	NE~1 km (?) (Kastello)	poss also Kastello
Milatos:plain	G (MG- LG/EO)	?	in plain near sea	N ~500-600 m (Kastellos)	def; becomes polis (IIIC- H)
Adromyloi:KK	IIIB/C	?	?	SW	IIIB-C settle to NE
Ag. Georgios	SM-EO	S; SE	in groups; same type as nearby LM III examples	?	?
Krya	in IIIC-PG	NW	~80m SE of Isopata	E/NE <300 m	defensible;

¹⁶⁵ Settlements located less than 500 m away existed at Krya, Praisos and Eleutherna, while distances of between 1-1.5 km were found at Knossos Kephala, Kallithea, NC, and Vryses. The tombs at Kritsa Lakkoi, Knossos Ag. Ioannis, and Modi may have been ~2 km away from the settlement, and the Atsalenio and Mastamba tombs 3 or 4 km, if no closer settlement existed.

	cemetery		type	(Ag. Georgios)	IIIC-PG; G?
Praisos T.53	G-EO	?	later tombs nearby	S ~250 m? (Praisos)	EIA defen; becomes polis; IIIC-H
Ag. Marina	SM; PG; G?	W	?	?	?
Tylissos:Atsolou	IIIC-SM	?	somewhat isolated?	SW? (Tylissos)	habitation, poss IIIC-SM re-use above villas
Ligortynos	PGB-LG	?	?	SW ~500-600 m (Kephala)	PG-G def; O- R town
Aitania:Phonia	G	?	2 tombs in same field	?	?
Aitania:Gridia	G	?	?	?	?
Elia	LG/EO-LO	?	?	?	?
Kato Vatheia	PG-G	?	somewhat isolated?	?	?
Kounavoi	PG-PGB; (T.12-EG?)	W	all in same area; 12-16 group; 3-5 group; 1 by large tholos	nearby (ancient Eltyna?)	EIA-R sett; became town/polis
Phaistos:Kalyviani	IIIC-PG	SW	somewhat isolated?	E ~1 km (Phaistos)	large settlement (IIIC-O) becomes polis
Phaistos:Liliana	IIIB-SM	E	group	NE ~1 km	“
Phaistos:T. 1954	SM-PG	?	?	NE	“
Phaistos:Tou Phyg	SM/PG; G? prob prim LM IIIC	S;E	T.1-5 on S slope of hill; rest on E	N/NE? ~2 km	“
Knossos:Atsalenio	PGB-O; esp EO-O	N (T.A)	group (A+B ~6 m apart)	NW? (~3 km from Knossos) or nearby at Ats.	local settlement or Knossos
Knossos:Mastamba	PG-O	N (‘70); NW (‘76)	‘76 tomb ~600m N of Atsalenio tombs; ‘70 tomb ~700 m N of ‘76	S/SW (~2 km Herakleion) or NW~4 km (Knossos)	harbor town at Herakleion or Knossos or local settlement
Knossos:Ag. Ioannis	PG (8); 1980- SM/PG	W;SE;SW	cemetery; I-VI in group; VII-VIII	W (at foot of hill) or NW >2km	local settlement or Knossos
Knossos:Ambelak	PG-G	E	iso?	W or SW?	Knossos or local Ag. I sett
Knossos:Kephala	SM-O (T.3-poss const in LM III) 1958-MG	most to W	in cemetery; groups	N-750-1.5 km (Knossos)	IIIC-O,R; sett, becomes polis
Knossos:Kallithea	PG	?	group	NW? ~1.2 km; or NE ~1.5 km	local G-H settlement or Knossos?
Knossos:NC	SM-LO	N;NE;E;SE;	groups (KMF typ rows	NW~500m-	IIIC-O,R

		W;NW;S	of 4-6); rel iso	>1 km (Knossos)	sett; becomes polis
Knossos:Fortetsa	EPG-LO	W; S (T.F)	3 groups (I-IX+P; OD,X,XI,LST+BLT; F,θ, Q)	W ~500 m (Knossos)	“
Knossos:Lower Gypsades	PGB-LO	SE	relatively isolated?	S>500 m (Knossos)	“
Knossos:Upper Gypsades	SM-PG	S	'93 with IIIB tombs	S/SW <1 km	“
Phoinikia:Drakouliari	EPG	?	?	?	?
Phoinikia:TEI	LG	?	?	?	?
Eleutherna	LPG-O	W	beside enclosures A+K; prob assoc w/; in cemetery	W <150 m (Prines Hill)	PG-O; A-R def sett; becomes polis
Astrikas	G	?	isolated?; 2 tombs not nearby	?	?
Gavalomouri	MG-EO	SP-to S II to NE?	III-V SP group ~350 m to SE of L I-II; VI-VII (~50 m SW of I-II)	?	?
Kavousi	LPG-MG	W?	2 to N of 1	to SSE ??	(Phalasarna?)
Vouves	G-EO	E	2 nearby; ~1 km NE of Gavalomouri L	?	?
Modi	PG	?	in group	NW >2 km? (Ag. Georg.)	EIA settlement
Vryses:Timios Stav	PG or LG/EO	?	isolated?	NE > 1km (Ag. Georg.)	settlement, poss def

Several Early Iron Age burials were also found in Bronze Age tombs (see table 20); in fact, much of the evidence for LM IIIC burial in chamber tombs comes from LM IIIA-B (or earlier) tombs. In many cases, this evidence consists solely of a few vases, primarily stirrup jars, and it is difficult to confirm the existence of an LM IIIC burial, as opposed to a later offering or cleaning out of the tomb (e.g., Nea Halikarnassos). Some of the LM IIIC vases found in IIIA-B cemeteries, as at Milatos, Episkopi, Ag. Spyridon, Myrsini, Tourloti, Tylissos, and Mesi, however, may signify the final burials in a Bronze Age cemetery, in some cases potentially dating just after the abandonment of the settlement. The construction dates, and degree of re-use, of certain tombs at Knossos (Ag. Ioannis, Kephala, Upper Gypsades), though, still need to be clarified. Finally, significant re-use of chamber tombs

was identified at Mavro Spelio where multiple Geometric infant inhumations in pithoi were placed in the MM-LM chamber tomb collapse.

Table 20 (Bronze Age chamber tombs with possible EIA burials)

Site	Information
Milatos: Ag. Phanourios	5 chamber tombs (mainly LM IIIA-B) with dromoi excavated; T.2 (rectangular 2.68x1.80m; H-1.4m) was enlarged to N sometime after construction, for inhumation burial in larnax, poss. IIIC; 3 IIIC early vases, mostly stirrup jars, recovered from this tomb; cemetery located to SW <2 km of EIA def settlement at Kastellos
Episkopi	>4 chamber tombs (mainly LM IIIA-B) excavated in large cemetery; 1 tomb with IIIC vases (2 stirrup jars, and one possible SM jug); tombs contained inhumations in larnakes; number of IIIC burials unknown
Ag.Spyridon: Kanene	Platon recovered finds from several destroyed LM IIIB tombs with inhumations in larnakes; finds included 1 IIIC stirrup jar, possibly from an early IIIC burial; located to W (~1-2 km) of possible associated settlement at Praisos
Myrsini	10 LM III chamber tombs with inhumations in larnakes and pithoi were excavated, of which 4 contained IIIC vases, mostly early stirrup jars; tombs A,B, IB (LMIIIA-C); IA (IIIB-C); number of IIIC burials is unknown; cemetery located to SW (~700m) of EIA def settlement on Kastello
Tourloti	>5 LM III tombs mostly with inhumations in larnakes were excavated from extensive cemetery; extent of IIIC presence unknown; one of 1984 tombs (IIIA-C) contained 2 IIIC Pelop imports; sj; jugs; pyxis with cremation (all of these may be IIIC); also SM/PG fibula found in IIIC larnax from robbed tomb in museum=re-use (tomb location unknown); closest known EIA settlement is at Kastri (~3km to NW), Minoan settlement on hill above cemetery
Tylissos	1 LM IIIB-C chamber tomb with 3 larnakes was excavated to the west of the Minoan villa; number of IIIC burials is unknown; 3 (kalathos, krateriskoi) of 9 vases were IIIC
Knossos: Isopata	collapsed remains of chamber tomb (KS #3) found ~250 m S of Royal Tomb; date of tomb unknown, either LM or EIA
Knossos: Ag. Ioannis	one chamber tomb (KS #19) found ~550 m SE of main group of Ag. Ioannis tombs; dates to LM I or II; appears to have been reused in SM for 2 inhumation burials (male and female) found 0.15-0.2 m above the floor; 2 stirrup jars, an amphora, 2 large bronze pins (one with ivory head), and bronze plate fragments were recovered; also ash deposit found in front of door to chamber
Knossos: Kephala (1958)	one chamber tomb (KS #10) with rectangular chamber (2x1.6 m), dromos (~4 m L; 1.2-1.35 W) with inward leaning sides, and door jambs was excavated (~700 m S/SE of Isopata Royal Tomb); possibly constructed in LM III but reused for single MPG inhumation burial, which was accompanied by amphora, stirrup jar, bronze ring and bronze pin
Knossos: Mavro Spelio	Geometric pithoi with inhumed infant burials were found in fallen earth/collapse above Minoan burials in chamber tombs IV (14 burials); VII (2) and XVII (1 or more); these are larger eastern tombs of MM II-LM IIIB cemetery is located ~500 m east of EIA settlement; a few cups and jugs recovered with pithoi
Knossos: Upper Gypsades	2 tombs (IX; VIa) from primarily LM IIIA-B cemetery possibly contain IIIC; total finds-IX-larnax w/ 3 skulls; stirrup jar, deep bowl; bronze earring; VIA-2 stirrup jars; jar; flask; VII-is latest from cemetery (IIIB2-SM), roughly circular 1.7x1.9 m with dromos, containing 3 inhumations, 1 larnax, 11 vases, 4 bronze pins, iron knife with bronze rivets, 2 sealstones, t.c. spindlewhorl, 2 bronze rings, amber bead, 2 stone beads, faience bead
Nea Halikarnassos	at some point finds from LM II or IIIA chamber tomb were placed in pit to left of entrance, with an altar on top; a stirrup jars and jug may date to IIIC and could represent later re-use or period of cleaning out/offering
Mesi	one early IIIC amphora found in niche inside chamber of LM III tomb at Mourniani or Nikitas; it is uncertain whether this represents an early IIIC burial or offering

In addition, see table 21 for possible EIA chamber tombs; these are only the uncertain tombs which were most likely to have been chambers, less certain examples are in the unidentified tomb type section.

Table 21 (Possible EIA chamber tombs)

Site	Information
Myrsini: Aspropilia	on south side of hill were found remains of tombs, apparently Geo chamber tombs; finds include 2 large kraters, a bronze vase, iron weapons and tools
Tylissos:Petres	near Minoan villas found remains of completely destroyed and robbed Geo tombs, poss chamber tombs
Malia:Ag. Pelagia	1 -LM III chamber tombs with larnakes were excavated near the church of Ag. Pelagia; uncertain if vases include any LM IIIIC (said to correspond to those from T.1 at Dreros but also to Olous); 2 -a few Geo vases, 1 cremation, and inhumations found in dromos of LM III chamber tomb; unclear if EIA re-use for cremation or Geo vases=later offerings
Vatheianos Kambos	Pendlebury noted SM/PG chamber tomb with dromos at this location, ~1 km northeast of LM villa at Nirou Chani; Syriopoulos also ids tomb as SM, though Kanta prefers LM IIIA-B; contained inhumation in larnax and a few vessels, inc. basket vase, krater, sj
Phoinikia	Marinatos notes that 11 PG and 3 G vases were recovered from a vineyard on a small hill near the village in 1925; vases come from 1 or more tombs, likely chambers with cremations, though exact location remains unknown
Kissamos	Evans purchased male figure vase with accompanying Geo finds, including bronze fibulae, plaques, beads, tripod fragment, iron nails, lead wheel, stone and bone spindle whorls, faience, rock crystal, stone, lead, glass, terracotta and amber beads, and 1 skull, said to be from chamber tomb

Grave good analysis

As with tholoi, great diversity occurs among the grave goods found in chamber tombs. The sheer amount of material recovered and published from the chamber tombs at Knossos, however, so greatly exceeds that from other sites that it is difficult to analyze the goods (outside of the Knossian material) or to determine any specific overall trends regarding grave goods found in tombs of this type.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, it is not my intention here to provide a thorough mortuary analysis of the Knossian material, which has already been and is currently being studied; rather, I wish to provide a basic overview of the types of grave

¹⁶⁶ See Whitley 1991, 354-361, for further comments on Knossos. He notes that eclecticism characterizes the burial assemblages at Knossos, and that no recurrent patterns exist in artifact types with relation to pottery style and motif.

goods found in Early Iron Age chamber tombs, searching for any possible overall trends or associations with certain tomb features or geographical regions.

The total number of ceramic vessels recovered from EIA chamber tombs varies from only a few to ~380 (see table 22); only a small number of tombs, however, contained more than 100 vases, and most are from Knossos.¹⁶⁷ While the tombs at Knossos with many vases did tend to be among the larger examples from the site, including some of the largest in the cemetery, size and/or presence of architectural refinements do not appear to be directly related to the number of vases; it is interesting to note, however, that all five NC tombs with stone stands had ~100 vases or more. As in tholoi, the most common vessel types found in chamber tombs are cups, skyphoi, jugs, and oinochoai, along with burial vessels (pithoi, amphorae, kraters); krateriskoi, aryballoi, lekanai, flasks, stirrup jars, hydriai, feeding bottles, pyxides, and kalathoi also occur relatively frequently.

Perhaps the most significant “new” vessel type is the skuttle or brazier; this form is not a typical EIA tomb offering, and it appears to occur only (or primarily) in western graves (chamber tombs at Astrikas, Gavalomouri, Vouves), thus possibly representing a grave good characteristic of that specific region or area. Rare vases, such as open-work kalathoi (KNC 219, 292), tripods (KNC, Fortetsa, Eleutherna), and animal/anthropomorphic aryballoi (KNC 40, 106, 107, Fortetsa P), may also be important; LM (I) conical cups were also found at Kounavoi T. 12 and KNC T. Q and a ‘san’ was found on the rim of a burial urn from Gavalomouri, possibly a maker’s mark. In addition, imports occur somewhat more frequently in chamber tombs than in tholoi, perhaps due to the fact that more chamber tombs are found in central Crete, near Knossos, an arrival point for many imports; in the Knossos

¹⁶⁷ Knossos Kephala 1927, KNC T. G, Q, 104, 218, 283, 285, Fortetsa II, X, Lower Gypsades, Gavalomouri I and Vouves II contained ~100 or more vases; KNC 75, 107, 292 contained >200 vases, and Phaistos Kalyviani held ~100 or 300; Fortetsa P ~380.

North Cemetery, Attic (also at Fortetsa), Argive, Thessalian, Euboean, Cycladic, Phoenician, East Greek, Rhodian, Corinthian (also at Kephala and Fortetsa), and Cypriot imports (also at Fortetsa) were found. Cypriot imports (Ligortynos, Kounavoi T. 12, Herakleion Atsalenio), a Peloponesian import (Ag. Georgios), and Attic imports (Gavalomouri I) were recovered from other sites.

The most common additional terracotta objects found in chamber tombs are beads (6 sites or 24 tombs, especially the western sites and Knossos), spindle whorls (3-4 sites or 8-9 tombs), animal figurines and loomweights, though a possible potter's wheel (Kritsa Katharo) and possible house model (Knossos NC 57) were also recovered. The presence of loomweights is interesting, as no examples were found in either tholos tombs or caves/rock shelters or at any eastern site; loomweights were, however found at Astrikas I, II, Vouves, and Knossos NC T.G and 100. The most significant of the terracotta figurines were perhaps the horses (with their potential aristocratic symbolism), and these were found at Phaistos Liliana D, Mastamba, KNC 292 (possibly from an Attic pyxis), Fortetsa I, X, P, and possibly Gavalomouri II (a female on horseback). In addition, bulls, birds, a ram, snake, tree, and boat were found in a few Knossian tombs (especially Fortetsa X), while an ox on wheels was recovered from Gavalomouri II and human figurines, possibly vessel attachments, from Mastamba 1976, Knossos 1993 T.5, and Astrikas.

Overwhelmingly, the greatest degree of wealth and variation in grave goods are observed in the tombs from Knossos.¹⁶⁸ Gold objects were recovered at only 4 sites in 25-26 tombs, nearly all of which are at Knossos (~10% of tombs in the NC contained gold artifacts, as did many of the Fortetsa tombs, and one tomb from both Ag. Ioannis and Kephala); gold

¹⁶⁸ The wealthiest tombs (not including vases) from KNC are 75, 100, 107, 175, 218, 219, 283, 285, 292 and from Fortetsa X, II, P.

was also found in one tomb at each of the three other sites (Adromyloi, Eleutherna, Astrikas). The most common gold objects were rings, beads, foil/leaf, pins, and bands, while unusual objects were a diadem, earrings, pendant, and daedalic head (all from Knossos). The tombs with gold artifacts, at Knossos at least, are often not among the largest from the site or distinguished architecturally. Silver, on the other hand, is very rare, found only at Knossos and in nine tombs (though at multiple locations-NC 26, 45, 229, 292, Ag. Ioannis V, Fortetsa II, Lower Gypsades), and these objects consist of rings, pins, tweezers, and an earring. In addition, electrum pins were found at Fortetsa II, and lead was found in 4 tombs (NC 287, 292, Fortetsa XI, and Astrikas I).

Bronze jewelry was a relatively common find, recovered from at least half of the sites (and >26% of NC tombs). The most common objects were fibulae (one from Phaistos 1954 is possibly imported), pins, and rings; one hair spiral (Phaistos 1954), a pendant (Fortetsa P), two bracelets (Ag. Ioannis), and three earrings (NC) were also found, along with mirrors (Kephala), a spoon (Praisos), and figurines (NC 229 and Fortetsa P2). Bronze vessels represent additional significant artifacts (Tyliossos, Knossos NC, Fortetsa and Kephala, Phoinikia, Eleutherna, and Astrikas), and they were sometimes used for burial. Bronze weapons, on the other hand, were quite rare, found at only five sites (in ten tombs);¹⁶⁹ thus, they were even rare in the NC, appearing in only three-four tombs. This may be primarily a function of date, as many tombs date to PG or G, rather than LM IIIC (the date of most tombs with bronze weapons). Only four tombs definitely had spears, one or two had knives, one an adze/axe, and one a chisel (though the exact finds of Kritsa, Phaistos, and Knossos

¹⁶⁹ Bronze weapons were found at Kritsa Lakkoi, Phaistos Kalyviani, Knossos Kephala IV, NC 14, 65, 292, 1993-5 and Fortetsa XI, Tyliossos, and Phoinikia Drakouliari.

Kephala are unknown); unusual items were horsebits (NC 30, 219), possible shield bosses (NC 219 and Eleutherna), and a small wheel (NC 285).

Iron jewelry was less common than bronze and it occurred at only nine sites. Fibulae and pins were the primary finds, though a few rings, nails, tweezers, and a saw were also recovered. In addition, iron fibulae appear to have been especially common in the west (found at four sites); while this may just be a feature of recovery or preservation at these sites, iron fibulae were found in only four tombs in the North Cemetery. Iron weapons (swords, daggers, spears, knives), on the other hand, were much more common than bronze weapons, especially at Knossos (found in 32 NC tombs).¹⁷⁰ Arrowheads (NC 13, 107, 218, 292; Fortetsa II, X, P), chisels (NC 75, 292), double axes (NC 219, 285, Fortetsa P), and axes (Mastamba 1970, NC 75, 285, 292, 306, Fortetsa F, P, Eleutherna, Vouves) were much rarer, and possibly even more significant, occurring primarily in the wealthiest tombs (at least at Knossos).¹⁷¹ Several tombs also contained iron spits (Kounavoi 4, 14, NC (11 tombs), Fortetsa, P, VI?, and Eleutherna) and firedogs (KNC 219, 283, 285), likely remnants from funerary meals.

Most of the stone objects found in chamber tombs were recovered from Knossos, though finds of this material were also recovered at five other sites; the most significant stone objects were sealstones (Adromyloi and Knossos), vases (Liliana and Knossos), whetstones (Knossos, Gavalomouri V, and Vouves), obsidian (Praisos and Knossos), possible altars (Knossos), pendants (Knossos) and a pebble gaming set (KNC 294), though beads, buttons,

¹⁷⁰ Iron weapons were found at Kounavoi 4, 14, 16, Mastamba, Knossos Ag. Ioannis I, IV, V, VIII, Kephala III, NC (32 tombs), Fortetsa (6 tombs), Lower Gypsades, Phoinikia Drakouliari, Eleutherna, Gavalomouri II, V, I, Vouves, Modi, and Phaistos Kalyviani.

¹⁷¹ In addition, an iron razor was found in Kounavoi T. 4, an adze in Fortetsa P, and a horsebit in NC 292. In the NC, iron obeloi were found in T. 24, 75, 100, 107, 218, 219, 283, 285, 1994-T.4-5.

and spindle whorls were also found.¹⁷² Bone artifacts, primarily pins and handles, were recovered from Kounavoi and Knossos (NC and Fortetsa), as well as a boar's tusk (NC 292) and shells (including triton-NC 1996; oyster NC 40). In addition, eggshell fragments were found at KNC (4 tombs) and Lower Gypsades. Finally, a small number of ivory (Knossos), amber (Knossos), faience (Praisos, Kounavoi T.14, Knossos, Eleutherna, Gavalomouri II), and glass/paste (Kounavoi T. 13, 14, 16, Liliana A, Knossos, Eleutherna, Astrikas?) objects were also recovered from EIA chamber tombs, as well as scarabs (Knossos, Eleutherna).¹⁷³

Table 22 (Grave goods from chamber tombs)

Site	Total Ceramics	Identified vessel types	Other terracotta objects	Metal objects	Stone objects	Other objects
Kritsa: Lakkoi	many	bird vase; pithos; pyxis; jugs; amphorae; stirrup jars; lekane; IIIB sj import (chania, mainland), Cypriot jar	?	b -pin; fibula; instruments/ tools	stone tools; LM IIIA seal	IIIB tin covered kylix (? or Katharo)
Kritsa: Katharo T.2	14	stirrup jars; jugs; pyxides; basin; kylix; krateriskos	possible potter's wheel (or lid?)	?	?	?
Milatos: plain	>2	flask w/ snake attachment; oinochoe	?	?	?	?
Adromyloi: KK	8-10	pithos; IIIC-stirrup jar, bird vase; feeding bottle	?	g -ring b (?)-jewelry; attachments	sealstone	spindle whorls
Ag. Georgios	~200	cups; jugs; pithoi; hydriai; oinochoai; amphorae; skyphoi; aryballoi (one from Pelop);	?	b -2 fibulae	?	?

¹⁷² At Knossos, sealstones were found at NC J, 2, 18, 129 and Fortetsa II, θ, I; stone vases Ag. Ioannis II, V; NC TFT, 106, 292, 2000 (kernos); whetstones at Ag. Ioannis I, II, NC 107, 294, Fortetsa X, II; obsidian at NC 75, 107, 129, G, 132, possible altars at Kephala 1927, 2, NC H; pendants at NC 26, J, F, II, VI, θ.

¹⁷³ Ivory was found in NC 210, 219, 292 and Fortetsa XI; amber at NC 18, A/2, 82, 104, 229, 218; Fortetsa X, VII; faience at Ag. Ioannis V, NC 75, 100, 207, 219, 285, 13, 26, 34, 56, Fortetsa IX, P2, I, VI, II, P; scarab NC 48, 107, 229, Fortetsa II, Lower Gypsades.

		pyxides; krateriskoi				
Krya	?	?	?	?	?	?
Praisos T.53	44	pithoi; hydriai; amphorae; pyxides; lids; oinochoai	none	b -fibula; tweezers; spoon; disc i -fibula	obsidian frags	blue faience
Ag. Marina	4	amphoriskos; krater; amphora; imitation Attic oinochoe	?	?	?	?
Tylassos: Atsolou	2	stirrup jars (outside)	none	b -basin; spear; knife (?); 4-5 fibulae i -2 frags (knife?)	none	none
Ligortynos	>12	Cypriot aryballos/ lekythos; 2 Creto-Cyp lekythoi; krater; cups; jugs; lids; oinochoai; urns	?	?	?	?
Aitania: Phonia	37 (1954- 31; 1997-6)	pithos; skyphos; prob. cup + jug	?	?	?	?
Aitania: Gridia	>5	urn; lid; jug; cups	?	?	?	?
Elia	>10	urns; jugs; aryballoi; skyphos; lids	?	?	?	?
Kato Vatheia	>5	urns	?	?	?	?
Kounavoi (some poss unrobbed)	>55 (T.14- 19 vases)	stirrup jars; skyphoi; cups; urns; jugs; lekanai; flask; krater; krateriskos; pithos; amphorae; hydriai; aryballoi; feeding bottles (T.12- 2 LM I conical cups; Cypriot jug)	beads (T.1;13;14)	b -4 rings (T.5;13); 7 fibulae (T.4; 12;14); pin (T.13) i -spits (T.4; 14); razor (T.4); sword (T.16); 3 spears (T.4; 16); 3 daggers (T.4; 14;16); knife (T.14); nail (T.13); fibula+ handles (T.14)	none	bone -3 pins(T.3; 13); obj (T.4); handle (T.14) glass -5 beads (T.13;14;16) faience - beads (T.14)
Phaistos: Kalyviani (unrobbed)	~100 or 300	amphorae; jugs pithoi; cups; amphoriskoi; urns; stirrup jars; krater	?	bronze and iron weapons	?	beads

Phaistos: Liliana (most unrobbed)	41 (A-22; B-2; C-1; D-16)	cups; jugs; stirrup jars; krater; bowl; hydria; kalathos; krateriskoi; oinochoai	horse (D)	b -rings (A;D); needle/chisel (D)	alabaster vase (D); spindle whorls (A, D?); beads (D?)	paste -beads (A)
Phaistos: 1954	13	stirrup jars; amphorae; kalathos; skyphos; amphoriskos	?	b -2 fibulae (poss from Cyprus or Argos); hair spiral	steatite button	?
Phaistos: Tou Phyg	~20	stirrup jars; pyxis; bowl; cylindrical vase; unusual vase	spindle whorls	g -leaf; rings; beads; rosettes s -ring b -mirror; ring; razors; knives; pins; fibulae; arrowheads; sword; dagger; vessels	4 vases (alabaster, green stone, other); incised obj; 2 spindle whorls; 2 sealstones; beads	glass/ paste -beads; 2 handles bone -mirror handle; plaque? 'lapis lazuli' obj
Herakleion: Atsalenio	~119 (A-60; B-19; 1958~40)	pithoi; skyphoi; cups; jugs (A-1 imported Cypriot); lids; aryballoi; hydria; oinochoai; kalathos	A-4 spindle whorls; spool	b -2 tweezers (A); pin (A) i -2 pins (A)	none	none
Herakleion: Mastamba (poss unrobbed)	~114 (1970-93; 1976-21)	pithoi; kraters; krateriskoi; cups; pyxides; lids; lekane; skyphoi; jugs; kalathos; aryballoi; plates; tripod; oinochoai; amphora; hydriai; urns	1970-2 horses 1976-seated human fig w/ upraised arms (prob from vessel); bull; bird	b -tweezers ('70); 2 fibulae ('70; '76) i -knife ('70); 2 spears ('70, '76); 2 axes ('70)	none	none
Knossos: Ag. Ioannis	122 (I-59; V-26; VIII-18)	stirrup jars; jugs skyphoi; kalathoi; amphorae; kraters (inc. handle w/ goat heads); krateriskoi; hydriai; pyxides; pithos; oinochoai; askos; tripod; feeding bottle; urns; tray; cups	>250 beads (V); 3 beads (I); spindle whorl (V)	g -4 rings (V) s -2 rings (V) b -7 rings (I; IV; VI; VIII); 2 bracelets (II; V); 3 fibulae (II; VIII); belt (I) i -2 swords (IV; VIII); spears (I; IV; V); 3 pins (IV; V)	whetstone (II); rock crystal frags (poss Minoan vase-V); amethyst beads (V)	faience -beads (V); bones -bird? (IV)
Knossos: Ambelakia	sherds	?	?	?	?	?
Knossos: Kephala	>172 (1927-103;	pithoi; stirrup jars; kraters; lids; amphorae; plates	15 beads (H-T.4)	g -bead ('57) b -vessels ('27); tripod,	limestone block, poss altar ('27);	Levantine scarab ('57)

(Hogarth T.5-unrobbed)	Hogarth T.3-~50; T.5-4 vases; T.4-6)	hydria; aryballoi; oinochoai; cups; krateriskoi; bowls; kalathoi; pyxis; skyphos; ('27 inc. Rhodian and PC)		fibula+ mirror (H-T.3); 2 blades and tweezers (H-T.4); pins (H-T.5) i-knives, spears (H-T.3); sword, pin ('57)	cylindrical stone, poss altar (H-T.2)	
Knossos: Kallithea	few	stirrup jar	none	none	none	none
Knossos: NC	~3500 (some O;LO) (>200-T.75;107; 292) (>100-G; Q; 104; 218; 283; 285)	amphorae; pithoi; lids; oinochoai; lekythoi; aryballoi (inc. monkey; rooster; hen-T.40; hare-107); cups; skyphoi; kraters; stirrup jars; kalathoi (open-work-T.219;292); jugs; pyxides; trays; hydriai; bird vases; bowls; basins; lekanai; urns; tripod; amphoriskoi; feeding bottle; tripod cookpots; strainers; flasks; stands; anthropo jug (T.106); ring kernos (T.285); bull protome (T.14; animal protomes T.104;107) LM conical cup (Q) (vases inc. Attic; Corinthian; Argive; Thessalian; Euboean; Cycladic; East Greek; Cypriot,Phoenician)	beads- (D;J;Q;Π; 30;152;219; 283;294; 306;'94-5); cube (D); loomweight (G;100); bull (Q); bird ('93-5); animal (283; 285; 292;294); horse poss Attic pyxis (292); idol ('93-5); spindle whorls (TFT;19; 107; 283?); poss house model (57)	g -pins (J;H2/A); ornament (N;26; 40; 48); rings (Q); band (L); bead (2/A; 285); diadem (75); foil (75; 285; 292); earrings (104); pendant (107); rosette (40) s -earring (26); pins (26; 45; 229); ring (40;56;292) b -fibulae (16 tombs); pins (25 tombs); sheet (22 tombs); vessels (18 tombs); rings (6 tombs; chisel (T.14); horsebit (T.30; 219); tweezers (5 tombs); earrings (3 tombs); shield boss (T.219); stag figurine (T.229); mirror?; wheels (285); spear (T.292); knife (T.65); adze/ax ('93-5) i - (32 tombs w/ weapons); spears;knives; daggers; swords;	column (34; 292); mortar (24); pestle (75); pendant (26; J w/ double axe) button; 14;16;107); spindle whorl (14; 292;'94-4); steatite lid (TFT); seal stone(J;2;12 9); amethyst bead (J); beads (J;14;218;22 9; 285; 306); mini altar (H); gem (18); rock crystal beads (Q;34; 219; 285); obsidian blades (75; 107; 129 flakes-G;132); whetstone (107;294); vessel ? (106; 292); kernos ('00)	glass -beads (14 tombs); vessel (T.292) faience -beads (75; 100; 207; 219; 285); vessel (13; 26; 34; 56; 219); lion (100) scarab - (48;107; 229) bone -plaque (J); pin (40); handle (45; 292); bead (75) shell -triton ('96); egg (30, 56, 219, 294); oyster (40); cockle (132); fossil (285) pebble gaming set (294) ivory -inlay (219); handle (210; 292); on fib (285) amber -bead (A/2; 18; 82; 104;229); pin head (218) goat horn core Z); boar's tusk in silver

				<p>arrowheads (T.13;107; 218; 292); axes (T.75; 285; 292; 306); double axe (219; 285); chisel (75; 292) pins (19 tombs); fibulae (4 tombs); obeloi (24; 75; 100; 107; 218; 219; 283;285; '93-4-6); horsebit (292), rings; nails; firedogs (219; 283; 285); fire basket (219)</p> <p>lead-strip (287;292) weight (292)</p>		mount (292)
Knossos: Fortetsa	>1000 (P~380; II-137; X~120)	aryballoi; oinochoai; cups; krateriskoi; multiple vases; flasks; kalathoi; stirrup jars; pithoi; jugs; amphorae; kraters; bird vases; feeding bottles; skyphoi; trays; bowls; hydriai; pyxides; lids; tripods; inc. Cypriot; Attic; Corinthian imports; monkey bottle (P)	horses (I;X;P); birds (X;P); trees; boat; basket; snake in bowl (all X); ram (P); beads (VI;F?); spindle whorl (XI)	<p>g-leaf (VI;XI; OD;X; I); rings (VI;XI; VII?;II; I); pins (VI;II); bee (I); beads (XI;II); disc (VIII);daedalic head(I) s-pins (II); tweezers (II) b-vessels (VI;XI;X;II;P); fibulae (VI; VIII; IX;XI;X; I;II;P); pins (θ;VIII,III; OD, Q;X;F); rings (VIII;F); spear (XI); tweezers (X;II); relief girdle (P); ram (P2); head (II); pendant (P) i- pin (VIII; X;F;VII;II;P); swords (X;II;P); spears (X;F; VII; XI;II;P); dagger (F;II; P); knife (F;P);</p>	<p>steatite, crystal, carnelian pendants (II;VI,θ); sealstones (II;θ;I); whetstones (X;II); spindle whorl (VII?); beads (II;I)</p>	<p>faience- figurines (IX; P2;I); rings (VI); beads (VI;II;I); vessel (P2;P) amber- beads (X); frag (VII) ivory- pendant and pin head (XI) paste/glass- beads (VI;XI;X;F; II; LST;I) ; bowl (P) bone-bead (VIII); pins (VI;XI) scarab- (II) shell cov in gold leaf (XI)</p>

				axes (F;P); obeloi (VI?;P); adze (P); saw (P); tweezers (P); arrowhead (II;X;P); double axe (P) lead -lion (XI) electrum -pins (II)		
Knossos: Lower Gypsades	116	pithoi; cups; pyxides; skyphoi; jugs; oinochoai; aryballoi; krater; amphora; tray; lids		s-2 pins b -tweezers i -3 spears; 2 swords; 2 knives; dagger	1 rock crystal bead	faience scarab eggshell glass -bead
Knossos: Upper Gypsades	>3	feeding bottle; jug	?	?	?	?
Phoinikia: Drakouliari	11	pithos; stirrup jars; amphorae; jug; oinochoe; krateriskoi	?	b -2 phialai; spear i -fibula; spears; sword; dagger	?	?
Phoinikia: TEI	27	skyphoi; jugs; aryballoi; kalpai; cups; hydria	?	?	?	?
Eleutherna (unlooted)	multiple	aryballoi; lekythoi; askoi; kraters; tripods; cups; krateriskoi; pithoi; amphorae; lekanai; oinochoai	?	g -bands from dromos b -lotus handles from cauldron; tripod stand; phialai; lekanai; cauldrons; pins; fibulae; shield? i -obeloi; axe; swords; daggers; spears; knives	?	faience - vessels; Sekmet fig; scarab; beads (or glass)
Astrikas	~63 (I); 12 (II)	skyphoi; amphorae; pithoi; kraters; cups; bowl; braziers/skuttles; oinochoe; tripod jug; hydria; lekane; krateriskos; urn	3 human figs (prob vase attach; 7 loom weights (1 from II); 2 spindle whorls; bead (all I)	g -ring; 2 hair spirals b -tripod cauldron; fibulae (4 from II); pins; rosettes; sheet i -fibulae; nails lead -obj (all from I)	1 stone object – bead? (I)	1 glass object-bead? (I)
Gavalom.	Sphaka ~50	cups; skyphoi; pyxides; jugs;	II-female on horse; ox on	b -2 fibulae (II); pin (II); 5-	whetstone (V)	faience bead (II)

	Long>1 33 (T.I~10 0)	oinochoai; feeding bottle; flasks; lekane; dinoi; pithoi; kraters; urn w/ goat handles; krateriskos; aryballos; amphorae; amphoriskoi; skuttles; urn w/ 'san' on rim; cookpots (I-inc. 3 Attic; 1 Cycladic)	wheels beads (IV;II)	6 rings (II;VII) i-3 fibulae (IV+I); 3 spears (III;V); 3 knives (V+II); weapons (I)		
Kavousi	T.III-36	amphorae; cups amphoriskoi; oinochoai; jugs; skyphoi; pithos	beads	i-fibulae	?	?
Vouves	T.II- >110	amphorae; pithos; feeding bottles; cups; skyphoi; jugs; oinochoai; flask; hydriai; dinoi; kraters; bowl; aryballoi; tripod jug; skuttle; amphoriskoi; cookpot	3 beads; 3 loomweights	i-2 spears; axe; dagger(s)/ sword; nail; 7 fibulae	whetstone(s)	?
Modi	>17	pithoi; prob. jugs; cups; amphoriskoi, etc.	?	i-spears; knife	?	?
Vryses	multiple	poss. krater; pithos; oinochoe; cups	?	?	?	?

Brief summary

Rock-cut chamber tombs with dromoi were especially characteristic of north central, Knossos in particular, and western Crete in the EIA. Considerable variation occurred in shape (typically irregular circular or elliptical), size (usually ~1-<3 m diameter), and dromos length. While the stomion was often nothing more than a low, circular or rectangular opening, in some cases it was cut into the shape of a doorway, with carved or even stone thresholds, jambs, and/or lintels; such architectural refinements, however, may be primarily later features, dating especially to PGB and G. The greatest periods of construction and use

of chamber tombs were PG and G, and tombs (PG and later) typically held a small number of urn cremations; inhumation was predominant in LM IIIC and SM, and its continued use together with cremation in the western tombs in PG and G may be significant. Distinctions in wealth and type of grave goods are also observable both within and among the various sites. One of the most significant grave goods is the skuttle/brazier, and also possibly the loomweight, which appears to be a particularly western offering.

4. PITS, SHAFT GRAVES, AND PIT CAVES

Pit graves

The basic pit grave first occurred on Crete as early as the Neolithic period, and this tomb type continued to be used, though infrequently, in EM (e.g., Ag. Photia where some of the tombs were oval pits).¹⁷⁴ In EM III and MM, larnax and pithos burials were often placed in simple pits cut into the earth or bedrock (e.g., Olous, Pacheia Ammos, Pseira, and Gournia).¹⁷⁵ This form of burial was always, however, a minor type, though examples also existed in LM, especially LM II-III Knossos where pit graves were relatively common.¹⁷⁶ The pit grave is distinguished from other forms of burial in that it was typically, though not exclusively, used for a single interment and usually an inhumation.

According to Dickinson, the pit grave is defined simply as a hole cut into the earth or bedrock, of more or less rectangular shape, but also oval or even round.¹⁷⁷ The term ‘shaft

¹⁷⁴ Davaras and Betancourt 2004.

¹⁷⁵ E.g., Hall 1912, for Gournia; Seager 1916, for Pacheia Ammos; Betancourt and Davaras 2003, 128-129, for Pseira.

¹⁷⁶ Pini 1968, 82-85; Dickinson 1994, 215.

¹⁷⁷ Dickinson 1983, 56-57.

grave,' however, has been used in several different ways and its exact meaning has been somewhat confused in the scholarship.¹⁷⁸ In some instances, the more regularly cut rectangular pits are referred to as shafts, while in others, the terms 'pit' and 'small shaft' refer to the same tomb type, only "applied to softer and harder ground, respectively."¹⁷⁹ Tombs fitting these descriptions which were called shaft graves by the excavators will be considered here with the pit graves; in addition, tombs referred to as trenches, as at Phaistos Lilia, will also be included among the pit graves. Furthermore, burial pits which were found within chamber tombs, tholoi, and caves will be analyzed within their respective tomb types, as will pithos burials for which the presence of a pit is unknown.

The pit grave was a relatively common burial type in the Early Iron Age, occurring at a minimum of 21-22 sites (or 17-18% of sites – fig. 173) and probably more (especially if pithos burials which may have been placed in pits are added); somewhere between 80-100 confirmed EIA pit graves have been found on the island thus far (figs. 172, 181). Most tombs of this type consist of elliptical or circular pits cut into the earth or bedrock; the remaining examples were usually only roughly square/rectangular in shape (see table 23). Diameters range from 0.5-1.5 m (the length of SP9 at Itanos may have been ~2 m), with ~1-1.5 m being the most common, and the pits were sometimes wider at the base than at the top, as at Prinias (Tomb BA). The depth of the pit is rarely provided in publications, though it was typically quite shallow (with examples of 0.3-0.55 m at Knossos NC and 0.65 m at Prinias). The tomb at Petrokephali is distinguished from the other pit tombs in its rectangular shape and depth (~1 m), as are the Lilia tombs (rectangular or trapezoidal trenches for

¹⁷⁸ For more information on pits and shaft graves (both Minoan and Mycenaean), as well as additional bibliography, see Pini 1968, 3-4, 44-46; Dickinson 1983, 1994, 230-231; Rutter 2000, Lessons 6, 13, 16.

¹⁷⁹ Snodgrass 1971, 142.

larnakes). At Prinias, the pits were sometimes covered with a stone slab, while at KNC T. 182, the tomb was lined with mudbrick on one side. In addition, Arkades P.102-103 and Kounavoi T.2 were covered with stones, but apparently not in the shape of a pseudotholos, and some tombs at Eleutherna were marked by a large stone or stele.

Pit graves typically contained a single pithos or amphora, placed on its side; the smaller vessels such as cremation urns and kraters were often upright. In fact, the size of the burial vessel frequently determined the size of the pit (i.e., slightly larger than the pithos). The pithoi were sometimes held in place by stones at the base, neck, and/or mouth, and the mouth was often closed by a stone or sometimes a terracotta sherd. Furthermore, the mouths of the burial vessels appeared to have faced all directions, especially N, NE, and E, though this information is rarely provided by the excavators. Only Myrsini T.I (inhumations), Prinias (cremations), and Kounavoi (T.8-9, the tombs with inhumations), as well as Phaistos Liliانا (inhumations in larnakes), did not contain burials in pithoi or urns.¹⁸⁰

Typically, each grave contained a single burial, or sometimes two (see table 23); only three known exceptions exist – Petrokephali (at least five), Phaistos Liliانا E (three), and Kounavoi T. 2 (seven possible). Both inhumation and cremation occur, with cremation especially prominent in the central part of the island; only inhumation was found in the small number of far western examples. Inhumation, however, occurs in pit graves throughout the EIA. In fact, around half of the LG burials appear to have been inhumations; inhumation is more common in LM IIIC, while cremation is predominant in PG and earlier G. One of the most significant features of the pit grave is the fact that a greater number of child and infant burials appear to have been of this type; child/infant burials have been identified from seven

¹⁸⁰ Sophianou and Saliaka's recent paper (2006) would seem to indicate that at least one LG cremation burial was placed inside a cylindrical pyxis.

sites, and all examples seem to have been inhumations. Especially interesting is the recent evidence from Eleutherna, which indicates that the pithos burial in a pit grave may have been a type specific to certain sections of society at this particular site; this form of burial appears to have been primarily for infants, children, youths, and adults >55 years old (especially males), and the adult burials appear to have been among the poorer at the site.

Complementary evidence from other sites has not yet been found, however.

Table 23 (Pit graves – burial information)

Site	# Tombs	Shape, size	Burial vessel	Burial type and #
Vrokastro: Chavga	1	circular pit cut in earth	2 pithoi; upper-on side and closed by 2 large stone discs; lower-inverted and held in place by large stones	upper-1 child inh lower-1 adult inh
Meseleroi: Petrou ¹⁸¹	7-10 (T.2-5; 8-9; 13, poss. 1; 10;12)	shallow ellipsoidal pits cut into bedrock; slightly larger than pithos; typically >1-1.5m	all contain pithos on side (T.1;3 have two pithoi mouth to mouth); pithoi often held in place by stones; pithos mouths oriented N;NE;E; SW?	most with single inh (skulls toward bottom of pithos); T.5-poss. infant
Itanos	a few	oval pits/hollows, cut in bedrock; SP9- approx. 1x2 m	cylindrical pyxis (poss from pyre not grave)	cremation, pyres found nearby
Myrsini	2 (I-IIIC Γ-IIIB/C)	small rock-cut pits	Γ-pithos; I-no burial vessel	Γ-poss inh infant I-2 inhumations
Ag. Deka	1 or 2	simple pits	?	cremation?
Gortyn: Armi	multiple	simple pits	?	cremations
Petrokephali	1	rectangular pit, 1.5 x 1.45 m; 1m deep	pithoi; urns	at least 5 cremations
Krousonas: Koupos	1	shallow pit	urn	1 cremation
Prinias ¹⁸²	a few (AI, BA)	oval, rock-cut pits, typ. cov. with stone slab; BA-0.6-0.8 m base dia; 0.5-0.44 m top; H-0.65m	typically not in urns	cremations (typically one per grave?)
Arkades	2 (P.102-103)	oval rock-cut pits; cov. with stones	each with single burial in krater or pithos on side (mouth to N)	cremation

¹⁸¹ The remaining pithos burials from Meseleroi are considered with the pseudotholoi.

¹⁸² The other pit burials (K, 207, 232) from Prinias are considered with the tombs of other types, and the phase 3 burials are considered with the pithos/urn burials.

Erganos	1 (?)	pit grave	?	?
Kounavoi: Kastrinaki	1	small pit cut in bedrock	1 burial krater w/ folded iron sword, poss. ritually killed	cremation
Kounavoi	5 (T.2;6-9)	shallow elliptical pits; 2-cov. by stones; 6-kidney bean shaped; 7-small pit w/ upright pithos (pierced lekane on rim) below rect hole (1.10x0.9 m) with paving above; ev. of liquid offerings-black earth in hole	cremations in amphorae, pithoi; inhumations not in vessels	cremation-T.2 had 7; T.7 had 1; inh-T.8-1; T.9-1 child
Stamnioi	2	shallow sq and elliptical pits, 1-1.5 m diameter	pithos; urn on sides; mouth to NE;SE; ellip- stone slab at mouth; sq-stone at base	urn-cremation; pithos (?)
Phaistos: Liliana	4 (E-H)	E-trapezoidal; F-H rect pits/trenches	F,G,H-each 1 larnax; E-3 larnakes (4;3;1 skulls)	inhumation
Archanes: Synoikis.	1	pit	pithos on side, held in place by stones at neck and mouth	2 skulls + bones in pithos (inh?), though poss pyre nearby
Knossos:NC	at least 9 (T.59,63, 78,79,86?, 163, 176, 182, 280)	oval, round, irreg rect (182) shallow pits; T.63-0.3 m dia. 0.3 depth; T.79-1.34x1.4m, 0.55 depth; T.176 ~1x1m; T.182-1.2x0.5m; T.280-1.3x1m; T.182-lined on one side with mudbrick	pithoi (on sides); urns	typ. cremation; T.78-inh infant; T.79-also 2 horses and 2 dogs
Knossos: TT	1	pit	?	prob. crem
Pantanassa	1	shallow pit	pithos on side with stones around; mouth to S	single crem; pyre (0.9x0.57 m) immed to SW
Eleutherna	'a few tens'	shallow pits cut in earth; location sometimes marked by grave stele or large stone	pithoi and amphorae on sides; mouths cov. by single stone or terracotta sherd	inh (prim infants, children, adolescents, and >55 yrs.); typ. 1 per vessel (some w/ 2 burials)
Aptera	2	shallow, rock-cut pits	pithos (0.75x0.5; 1x0.7m) on side in each pit; mouths to E;W	2-inhumations
Modi	4	rectangular shafts/pits	?	app single inhs
Vryses:Log	1	pit	pithos on side	child inh

Pit graves occur in all periods of the Early Iron Age, though they are especially common in LG (see table 24). Pits occur along with tombs of other types, including tholoi,

chamber tombs, and burial mounds, though they are sometimes isolated or scattered, especially the earliest examples. In LG, pit graves are frequently found in established cemeteries, often with other pithos burials. Another significant aspect of the pit grave is its apparent connection, in LG at least, with the sites that become poleis. Four-five out of six sites with LG pit graves become poleis, and Stannioi's associated settlement is unknown; this grave form may thus be a characteristic type of the polis on Crete, or at least indicative of the changing political structure of the end of the EIA. Finally, pit graves are found in all directions from their associated settlements, except N, with W and NW being the most common and S, SW, and NE the least common. In addition, the tombs are most frequently placed <500 m from the settlement (and nearly all are less than 1 km, except possibly Petrokephali, Modi, and Vryses).

Table 24 (Pit graves – date, location relative to settlement)

Site	Date	Iso/group	Location relative to settlement +type
Vrokastro: Chavga	LM IIC/SM	isolated?	just east of summit (IIC-LG/EO); defensible
Meseleroi: Petrou	LG	most in group/cem; T.4 isolated	to SE ~500-800 m (OL4-possible EIA-A habitation); Oleros-polis in vicinity
Itanos	LG	apparently in cem/group	to NW ~250 m from EIA habitation area on E acropolis; becomes polis (G-H), ctr. on W acropolis
Myrsini	Γ- IIB/C; I-IIC	with IIIA-C chamber tombs; 2 groups	to SW? ~700 m (Kastellos-IIC-G defensible settlement)
Ag. Deka	G	?	to E ~800m-1 km (Prof. Ilias and Armi-PG+G habitation), poss. assoc. with Gortyn
Gortyn	G	?	to W~300 m(Prof. Ilias and Armi-PG+G hab) or E ~600 m (Gortyn-EIA defen.; IIC-R-becomes polis)
Petrokephali	SM- PGB	?	to SE? (Phaistos) or NE?(Siva) ~2km
Krousonas: Koupos	G	?	W <300 m (IIC-A-R sett on Koupos Hill) EIA def; becomes rel large town
Prinias	LM IIC- SM	scattered throughout the area and usually isolated	NW~500 m (Patela; defensible; IIC-H; becomes polis)
Arkades	PG?	at N end of cemetery by tholoi A-C	W~500 m (Prof Ilias; defensible; IIC-H; becomes polis)
Erganos	IIC (?)	near tholoi	W~300-400 m (Kephala, large def IIC)
Kounavoi: Kastrinaki	PG	~200 m east of other burials	?

Kounavoi	PG	near chamber tombs and tholoi, though somewhat more scattered	nearby (Elytna ?); EIA-R, poss polis
Stamnioi	LG	2 tombs beside each other; poss others in area	?
Phaistos: Liliana	LM IIC (+IIIB?)	E near chamber tombs	NE~1 km (Phaistos-large settlement IIC-O, becomes polis)
Archanes: Synoikismos	PG	isolated?	SW (habitation above Minoan palace in ctr of modern town)
Knossos:NC pits	PGB, esp. LG-O	in cemetery with chamber tombs	NW~500 m (IIC-O, R settlement, becomes polis)
Knossos: TT	LG?	by NW corner MMIII-LMI Temple Tomb	SE?~600 (Knossos)
Pantanassa	PG	near SM tholos	SE ~200 m? (Veni-large settlement IIC-H, poss becomes polis)
Eleutherna	(L)G-A	in cemetery, esp S+W areas; in groups and isolated	W<150 m; PG-R (Eleutherna-def sett, becomes polis)
Aptera	LG-EO	in LG-R cemetery	immed to W; LG-R city (Aptera)
Modi	PG-G	near chamber tombs	NW>2 km?; settlement (Ag. Georgios)
Vryses	G	~1km from Modi cem	NW >1 km (Ag. Georgios settlement)

Little evidence for burial ritual, funerary meals, etc. has been found with pit graves (see table 25). The one notable exception is Kounavoi T. 7 in which the pithos was placed upright below a rectangular hole with paving above, and evidence of liquid offerings were found in the hole. In addition, the bones of two dogs and two horses accompanied the deceased in KNC 79; horse burials in pits were also found at Prinias, though these appear to have been associated with the SM-PGB tholos tombs. Furthermore, likely pit graves or tombs of possible EIA date are found in table 25. The most unusual find comes from Kounavoi in which a skull, hydria, kernos, and lekane were placed in a shallow pit; also significant are the two LG vases (offerings) found placed above one grave in the EM I-II cemetery at Ag. Photia.

Table 25 (Pits with possible EIA burials or offerings)

Site	Information
Olous	LM IIIA-B cemetery of larnakes (inh) and pithoi (most crem) placed in hollows and pits in bedrock and earth; Davaras 1972 pithos burial (mouth to NE; vessel H-1.02 m) with 10 vases and LM I seal possibly dates to SM ('hollow in bedrock'); no definite LM IIC or SM yet id
Ag. Photia	up to 3 graves (T.198, 211, 231) from EM I-II cemetery (oval pits and primitive chamber tombs) re-used in LM III; also, 2 LG vases (askos and jug) found placed above one grave in

	cemetery, likely represent later offerings
Prinias	18 animal burials (inc. 12 with horses and 2 also with dogs) were found in rock-cut pits (circular, oval, rectangular, 0.9-1.85 m in diameter), most located in center of necropolis; date to phase 2 of necropolis (SM-PGB) with tholoi; possibly type of horse sacrifice
Kounavoi	a little to N of tombs, shallow pit with skull, hydria, kernos, and lekane with attached figures (inc. animals, birds, seated female mourner); secondary burial, removed from orig burial place
Archanes: Vromonero	PG-EG; LG-EO tombs (apparently 2 ex.), poss. unlined pits, were exc. in 1936; contained 3 or more cremation urns; 36 other vases (amphorae, oinochoai, jugs, aryballoi, pyxides, cups, pithoi, amphoriskos, skyphos, hydria, tray, lids), and an iron pin and fragment of cloth; possibly associated are a bronze ring, terracotta spindle whorl, and worked stone

Shaft graves

Following Dickinson, the term ‘shaft grave’ will here be used to refer exclusively to tombs which resemble those found at Mycenae (e.g., Grave Circle A and B); tombs of this type are considered essentially to be an elaboration of the basic pit grave, and they consist of a pit cut into the earth or bedrock with a roof (made of timber, reeds/twigs and clay or flat stone slabs) supported on ledges or walls (i.e., the upper edge of the shaft is cut back to form a ledge).¹⁸³ The space above the roofed pit grave is the true shaft, and after burial, it is filled with earth or the bedrock removed while digging the grave. This is a relatively rare tomb type on the mainland (also found at Lerna, Tiryns, Argos, Ag. Stephanos, especially late MH-LH I), as well as on Crete, and most scholars consider the Minoan examples to have been inspired by Mainland prototypes.¹⁸⁴ On Crete, shaft graves of this type were found primarily at LM II-III Knossos (Zapher Papoura, Mavro Spelio, and Ag. Ioannis, for example), and they were typically used for single burials.¹⁸⁵ Unfortunately, the term ‘shaft grave’ has also been used to refer to built cist graves or enclosures as at Kavousi Vronda;¹⁸⁶ tombs of this type will be analyzed in a separate section.

¹⁸³ Dickinson 1983, 56-57.

¹⁸⁴ See *supra* n. 177.

¹⁸⁵ See Evans 1906, 11-15; Coldstream and Catling 1996, 643.

True shaft graves are very rare in the Early Iron Age (see table 26); their presence has been confirmed only at Knossos (up to four tombs). According to Catling, the EIA shaft graves at Knossos are much smaller and shallower than the LM examples, which range from 2-3.5 m deep with an additional meter for the grave itself;¹⁸⁷ furthermore, the lower pits of the Knossos burials, in all periods, were also typically covered by stone slabs. In addition, the EIA shaft graves at Knossos all appear to date to SM, and each may have contained a single male inhumation.

Tomb C from Praisos is somewhat of an anomaly, not really a pit, shaft, or cist grave, though it is perhaps more like a shaft (or cist) grave than a chamber tomb. Its relatively large size (2.6 x 2.3 m), rectangular shape, depth (3 m), construction (walls and floor carefully carved), and raised bench covered with stone slabs distinguish it from all known pit graves, however. In addition, it held two-three inhumations; the original occupant was placed on the bench.

Table 26 (Possible shaft graves)

Site	# of Tombs and Date	Shape, size, other tomb info	Burial Information
Praisos T.C	1 (PGB-O, esp EO)	rectangular, 2.6x2.3 m; 3 m deep, walls and floor carefully cut into bedrock; raised bench (0.7x0.5) covered with thin stone slabs; in cemetery, ~75 m NW of tholos A; to S~150 m from settlement	2-3 inh (1 on bench; 1-above that on bench)
Knossos: NC	up to 4 (T.149;153; 160;282) -SM	rect or trapezoidal pit cut into bedrock, 1.84x1 (T.282) to 1.38x1.08 m (T.153) and 0.4-0.8 m deep; smaller rect or oval pit within, 1.38x0.86 to 1.15x0.62 and 0.24-0.6 m deep; inner pit cov. by (3) stone slabs side by side supp. by ledge of upper pit (refilled with removed bedrock); among chamber tombs (T.153 and 160 side by side); NW ~500 m from settlement	each apparently contained single inh (poss. male)

Pit cave

An additional tomb type, really more of a cross between the shaft grave and chamber tomb, is the pit cave. Dickinson defines this form as consisting of a small chamber cut into

¹⁸⁶ Kanta and Davaras 2004, 151, for example.

¹⁸⁷ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 639-640, 643.

one side of a vertical shaft.¹⁸⁸ Pit caves are typically small in size and used only for a single burial; they are also usually found with tombs of other types, not isolated. A few tombs of this variety were found at Knossos in LM II-III, primarily from Zapher Papoura and Upper Gypsades, and they also occurred in small numbers on the mainland (Nauplia, Tiryns, Argos, Athens).¹⁸⁹ Early Iron Age pit caves have been identified only at Knossos NC with two-four known examples (see table 27), all apparently SM; in fact, these tombs comprise some of the earliest burials in the North Cemetery. According to Catling, the LM tombs were up to 4.35 m deep and had relatively large caves for inhumation burials which were sealed with walls of drystone masonry.¹⁹⁰ The EIA pit caves, on the other hand, contained cremation burials and were smaller in scale than the LM examples; their small chambers were also blocked with stone slab(s). In addition, both LM and SM pit cave burials are considered to be warrior burials, though two females and a child accompanied the male burial in T.200-202.

Table 27 (Pit caves)

Site	# Tombs	Tomb information	Burial information
Knossos: NC	2 to 4 (98?,186, 200-202, 208??) -SM	sq/rect pit with 1 (T.186) to 3 (T200+) chambers; T.186-pit 1x1m; 0.78 deep; ch-0.6x0.4m; H-0.55; T.200-202-pit 1.34x1.34m; ch-0.7x0.7; 0.55 ch H; 0.45 opening H; 201-0.54x0.5; 202-0.55x 0.62m; ch openings blocked with slab(s); some of earliest graves in cemetery, all in same area	T.98-crem; 186-male crem; 200-female crem+201-male, female, and child cremations (cons. warrior burials); not in vessels

Grave goods (pit graves, shaft graves, pit caves)

In all periods of the EIA, pit graves tended, for the most part, to be relatively poor in grave goods (see table 28). At many sites (Vrokastro, Meseleroi, Itanos, Myrsini, Krousonas, Arkades, Kounavoi T. 8 and 9, Stannioi, Phaistos, Eleutherna, and Pantanassa), the grave

¹⁸⁸ Dickinson 1983, 57.

¹⁸⁹ Evans 1906, 15-21; Pini 1968, 46; Coldstream and Catling 1996, 642-644; Rutter 2000, Lesson 13.

¹⁹⁰ Coldstream and Catling 1996, 639-640.

goods consisted solely of one or two vases, in addition to the burial vessel, and sometimes also a bronze or iron pin (Archanes, Meseleroi T. 3). A few tombs had a greater number of vessels but still no other significant grave goods, as at KNC (T. 63, 79, 165) and Aptaera. Gold objects were rare, found only at Kounavoi T. 6 and 7, KNC T. 59, 78, 182, and Eleutherna (?), while silver was recovered from Kounavoi T. 7 and Knossos T. 78. Bronze jewelry was present at Kounavoi T. 6, KNC 78, 86, and Vryses (including miniature double axes), and bronze vessels (Prinias, KNC 59) and a spear (Kounavoi T. 7) were also among the finds. Iron weapons (Petrokephali, Prinias BA, Kounavoi Kastrinaki, T. 1, 2, 7, KNC 86), terracotta (beads-Kounavoi T. 6; spindle whorl KNC 59) and glass/paste (beads-Petrokephali, KNC 78, 280) objects were also relatively rare. Unusual items recovered from pit graves include an obsidian blade, rock crystal pendant, faience figurines, scarabs, and amber beads (all KNC 78), an incised bone handle (Kounavoi T. 6), knucklebones (Eleutherna), and shell beads (Vryses). Thus, only a small number of pit graves had relatively wealthy grave goods (Petrokephali, Kounavoi T. 6-7, and KNC 78). Among these, the Petrokephali grave is distinguished by its rectangular shape, size and depth, as well as number of burials, and Kounavoi T. 7 by its small paved area and evidence of libations; also, Knossos NC 78 contained an LG-EO infant burial.

The true shaft graves at Knossos were poor or robbed, with only a single stirrup jar preserved from T. 160; T. 153 was apparently undisturbed but without grave goods. The unusual grave at Praisos, however, was relatively wealthy, with >33 vases, terracotta beads and spindle whorls, bronze tweezers, an iron sword, obsidian razors, and three slate palettes. The pit caves, on the other hand, were unusually wealthy for SM graves, though with few vases, especially T. 200-202 which contained gold, silver and bronze jewelry, bronze and

iron weapons, obsidian flakes, stone, glass, and faience beads, ivory objects, and a possible boar's tusk helmet.

Table 28 (Grave goods from pits, shafts, and pit caves)

Site	Total # vessels	Vessel types	Other terracotta	Metal objects	Stone objects	Other
Vrokastro: Chavga	3	pithos; stirrup jar	none	none	none	none
Vrokastro: Summit	3	pithos; cup; jar	none	none	none	none
Meseleroi: Petrou	13-16 (typ. 1 or 2 vessels per pithos)	cups; skyphos; amphora; pithoi; aryballos; hydria	none	b -1 pin i -1 pin (both T.3)	none	none
Itanos	sherds	especially cups; skyphoi	none	none	none	none
Myrsini	8-10 (4 IIC)	IIC-stirrup jars; kalathos	none	none	none	none
Praisos T.C	>33	cups; lekythoi, krater; skyphoi; krateriskos; stamnos; tripod stand; basin; hydriai; amphora; bird vase; PC aryballos; pyxis	10 beads; 2 spindle whorls	b -tweezers i -sword	3 slate plates (poss palettes); 2 obsidian razors	none
Ag. Dekas	?	?	?	?	?	?
Gortyn	?	?	?	?	?	?
Petrokephali	77	skyphoi; kraters; amphorae; oinochoai; kalathoi; pithoi; cups; tripod vessels; open-work stand; stirrup jars; pyxides; jug; hydriai; bowl; lid krateriskoi; tray; alabastron	none	i -weapons	none	glass/paste beads
Krousonas: Koupos	few	urn and small vases	?	?	?	?
Prinias	multiple	stirrup jars; oinochoe	?	b -bowl i (?)-rod, axe, spear, sword (all BA)	?	?
Arkades	3	krater; cup; pithos	none	none	none	none
Kounavoi: Kastrinaki	?	krater	?	i -sword	?	?
Kounavoi	35 (T.8-25)	amphorae; pithoi; skyphoi; kraters; kalathos; plate;	28 beads (T.6)	g -2 rings (T.6,7) s -ring (T.7)	none	incised bone obj-poss scepter

		cups; feeding bottle; stirrup jar; lekane		b-3 fibulae (T.6); spear (T.7) i-sword (T.2); razor (T.2,6); dagger (T.7)		handle (T.6)
Stamnioi	3	pithos; oinochoai; kalpis	none	none	none	none
Phaistos: Liliana	4 (T.E)	jug, bowl, feeding bottle	spindle whorl (E)	none	spindle whorls (E); beads (?)	none
Archanes: S	2	pithos; stirrup jar	none	b-pin	none	none
Knossos:NC pits	54 (some post EO) (T.78; 280 w/ 10 vases)	oinochoai; cups; aryballoi (1 LPC); pithoi; lids; tray; skyphoi; pyxides; jugs; kalathos; hydria; amphora T.78-bull protome	spindle whorl (59)	g-ring (59); foil (78); lion's head pendant (182) s-ring , hair spiral, pendant (78) b-bowl (59); leaf (59); sheet (59); fibulae (78); graver (86); pin (86) i-knife (86); pins (163) electrum-earrings (78)	obsidian blade (78); rock crystal pendant and inlay (78)	glass-beads (78, 280), pin (78) faience-3 figurines (Ptah, Nefertum) and bead- (78) 4 Egyptian scarabs (78) amber-bead (78)
Knossos:NC shafts	1	stirrup jar	none	none	none	none
Knossos:NC pit caves	11	skyphos; stirrup jars; amphorae; amphoriskos	none	g-leaf (200, 98), band (98); rosettes (200); 81 beads (200); ring (200-201) s-pin (208) b-fibula (98), frag (98, 208); spear (186, 201); shield boss (186, 201); pin (200); stand (201); 6 arrow heads (201); sword (201); strip (201) i-knife (186, 201, 208), dagger (186, 208); pins (201, 208)	obsidian flake (98, 208); 2 whetstones (186); bead (200)	faience-beads (200) ivory-comb (200); obj+ mounting (201) glass-beads (200) bone-boar's tusk (186?, 201-helmet plates); inlays (201)
Knossos: Strat	?	lekane	?	?	?	?
Knossos:TT	multiple	?	?	?	?	?
Pantanassa	4	pithos; feeding	none	none	none	none

		bottle; oinochoai				
Eleutherna	multiple	pithoi; bird vase; amphorae; small vases	?	g-jewelry	?	knucklebone s; beads
Aptera	~32	amphoriskoi; skyphoi; cups; oinochoai; flask; jug; pithoi; aryballos	none	none	none	none
Modi	?	amphoriskoi; krateriskoi; jugs; aryballoi ?	?	?	?	?
Vryses:Log	2	pithos; small vase	none	b-2 mini double axes; fibulae; pin; needles; 4-spoked wheel; ring; bracelet; 4 small snake heads	none	34 shell beads

5. PITHOS BURIALS, PSEUDOTHOLOI, INTRAMURAL BURIALS

Possible pithos/urn cemeteries

Pithoi were first used for (inhumation) burial on Crete at the end of EM/beginning of MM, and their use was especially common in MM.¹⁹¹ In this period, pithos burials were frequently found in tholoi, chamber tombs, caves, and rectangular ossuaries, though they also occurred, placed on their sides, upright, or upside down, in simple pit graves or on the ground covered by earth. The latter burials were both isolated and found in groups, sometimes forming pithos cemeteries, as at Ag. Triada, Chania, Gournia Sphoungaras, Mochlos, Pacheia Ammos, and Malia Christ Island.¹⁹² Pithos burial continued into LM I but was relatively rare by LM III, having been replaced for the most part by burial in larnakes. In the Early Iron Age, burial in pithoi (or urns) again became common, with the vessels placed in tombs of various types, as in MM; EIA pithos burials in caves, tholoi, chamber tombs, pits, bone enclosures, etc. are discussed within their specific tomb types. In a few instances (all in

¹⁹¹ See supra n. 177. See also Pini 1968, 12-13; Rutter 2000, Lesson 10.

¹⁹² Pini 1968, 12-13.

central or west-central Crete), cemeteries of pithos burials, some with a large number of burials, such as Prinias ~200 and Arkades ~162, appear to have existed (see table 29 and fig. 182);¹⁹³ although some of these pithoi were likely placed in pits (it is not always clear from the reports), they are included in this section due to their apparent presence within a pithos cemetery.

The exact placements of the burial vessels in the possible pithos cemeteries are known only from three sites, and each site is different: at Atsipades, the vessels (pyxides, skyphoi, amphorae, collared jars) were placed upright on the ground, with no evidence of pits, and supported by stones around the sides; the Rethymnon burials may have been of the same type; at Prinias, upright urns, and a few pithoi on their sides, supported by stones were placed together under one large tumulus of stone/rubble, and in some cases a pyre was found in a pit below the urn; at Arkades, the burial vessels (jars, lekanai, bronze cauldrons) were placed above ground or in shallow pits, some surrounded by stones or on a stone base, covered first by an upside down pithos and then by soil, thus forming a small tumulus.

Nearly all of the potential pithos/urn cemeteries were of Geometric or later date, lasting at Prinias and Smari through the Orientalizing period and at Arkades into the Archaic; the one significant exception is Atsipades (LM IIIC-SM). The typical form of burial at all sites appears to have been cremation. At Prinias, a few pithoi contained inhumations, mostly of youths, and in some the skull had been retained but the rest of the body cremated. At Atsipades, on the other hand, all burials were cremations, including those of children and infants. In addition, the pithos cemeteries are typically located near (<500 m from) their associated settlements, though Smari may have been ~1.5 km to N or 2.5 km to SE of its

¹⁹³ Many of the pithos burials from both sides post-date the EIA, however.

settlement. Furthermore, the sites that become poleis (Prinias, Arkades, and Rotasi) have their cemeteries to the NW, W, and N, while that of Atsipades is to the SE.

Grave goods from these pithoi were generally few in number, typically consisting of only one-three vases, especially aryballoi, oinochoai, and cups (amphoriskoi, stirrup jars, jugs, and an askos at Atsipades). A small number of additional items, however, were sometimes recovered, such as fibulae (Atsipades and Arkades, one of which was possibly Attic/Boeotian), a bronze pin, bracelet, spear, awl, and vessel (Atsipades), daggers (Rethymnon), stone (Atsipades), glass/paste (Arkades and Atsipades), and faience (Arkades) beads, gold sheet and a pendant, an ivory object, and terracotta figurines (Prinias). Unfortunately, the finds from nearly all of these sites have not yet been published.

Table 29 (Possible pithos/urn cemeteries)

Site	Information
Arkades	~162 mostly O-A (but also some G) cremation burials found in cemetery in groups and scattered; burials typically placed in jars, lekanai, or small bronze cauldrons (each of which was closed by terracotta or bronze lid/plate) placed either above ground or in small shallow pits; jars then, along with grave goods, covered by large upturned pithoi; some pithoi covered with soil, creating small tumulus; some vessels supported by stone slabs or placed on stone base, others placed inside large lekane and then covered by pithos; urns typically held one cremated individual; poss. 1 infant; ~500 W of settlement (becomes polis SM-H); grave goods typically consisted of only one or two vases, typically aryballoi, oinochoai, cups, though MG-LG Cycladic vases, an Attic/Boeotian fibula, iron horse, Corinthian pottery, and faience and paste beads were also recovered from; burnt soil often found around burials; cemetery itself poss has enclosure wall; double bldg H-H1 with many vases poss votive depository for nearby tombs
Arkades	at Sto Selli, at least 15 single pithos graves (primarily O) several hundred meters to W of large cemetery
Prinias: phase 3	<200 PGB-O urn cremations supported by stones and carefully placed under rubble so as to form one single uniform tumulus/mass of stones; most urns upright, though some on sides, mouths of vessels closed with bowls or stone slabs; sometimes pyre in pit below urn; also pithoi (most with youth inhumations-T.122 with terracotta figurines, including a possible charioteer, a sea horse, pair of horses; T.93 head removed and put in pithos which rest of body cremated with bronze fibula, glass/paste bead, gold earring (?); some pithoi with 1-3 skulls); other finds inc. gold sheet with double axe, gold pendant, ivory items, many terracotta figurines; to NW ~500 of settlement (becomes polis, IIC-H)
Rotasi	extensive Geometric cemetery found Pharmakara; consisted mostly of pithos and urn burials with cremations, accompanied by cups and aryballoi; said to be analogous to Arkades; probably to N of associated settlement (PG-R, poss. becomes polis)
Smari	to N-NE of village at Riza were found fragments of G and O pithoi and cinerary urns; Chatzi-Vallianou considers there to have been large SM-O cemetery, possibly with burials similar to those at Arkades; site is ~2.5 km to SE of Prof. Elias and ~1.5 km to N of Spitakia (G-O habitation)

Rethymnon	a group of 'Geo' burials was excavated in 1929 ~6 km along road from Rethymnon to Herakleion; burials consisted of ash urns surrounded by small walls of stones; grave goods typically included 2 or 3 smaller vases, and apparently bent bronze daggers
Atsipades	25 LM IIIC-SM upright jar burials (pyxides, skyphoi, amphorae, and collared jars) at Pezoulos; no pits; many supported by stones on either side; rims of most vases covered by stone slabs, some with large pot sherd; typ. contained one or more smaller vases as offering, and finds include amphoriskoi, stirrup jars, jugs, an askos (some pottery with Cypriot links; one Mycenaean form of cooking jar), incised terracotta disc, 3 bronze fibulae, a bronze pin, bronze bracelet, spear, dagger (?), awl, vessel handle, stone and glass/paste beads; adult, child, and infant cremations; cemetery in dense area (21 burials in 9x5 m area) likely associated with IIIC settlement ~300 m to SE at Phonises Hill

Pseudotholoi

A variation on the pithos burial is the pseudotholos tomb, which consists of a pithos laid on its side, sometimes in a shallow pit, with rough stones built closely over it, typically forming an ellipsoidal tomb resembling a tholos; in addition, some pseudotholoi (as at Krya) have paved floors. At least five sites appear to have had tombs of this type (see table 30), though it is often difficult to identify true pseudotholos tombs from the brief reports; in some cases, pithoi are described merely as being covered with stones, and it is thus unclear whether or not they were of this type (some of these are listed with the pit graves).

Pseudotholos tombs typically held a single inhumation (at Prinias typically youths and at Eleutherna children, adolescents or adults over 55), and most examples, with the exception of Krya (LM IIIC-PG), date to G-O (especially LG). At Krya, the pseudotholoi were found among tholos tombs, while at other sites they were placed among pithos and pit burials; those at Arkades were also near tholoi. Finally, the grave goods found in these tombs tended to be sparse; one bronze object was found from the Krya tombs, and iron tweezers were found from one tomb at Meseleroi. Arkades T.E was perhaps the 'wealthiest' of the pseudotholoi, though it contained only a cup, bronze ring, two iron arrowheads, and a glass/paste fragment.

Table 30 (Pseudotholos tombs)

Site	Information
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Krya	13 LM IIIC-PG tombs (T.2,3,8,10,12,13,16,18-21,23,24) in groups and isolated, among tholoi; to E,NE,SE <300 m from IIIC-PG def settlement; typically ellipsoidal, though some more rectangular; ext. range 0.6-2 m x 0.5-1.9 m; H-0.4-1.5 m; pithoi (one with krater) on sides with plaka blocking mouth; covered with boulders and small stones; paved floors, some with great care; orientation-SE,E; typically inhumations one per pseudotholos (T.13-2 burials?), at least one child (T.10); rarely had grave goods (T.10-skyphos found outside tomb; T.13-bronze obj.); many robbed
Meseleroi	at Petrou Phrameno; some LG pithos burials (T.6,7,11, poss. 1,10, 12) may have had appearance of pseudotholos; jars on sides in ellipsoidal pits, held in place by stones, covered with stone plakas; mouth typ to E,NE; typ. one inhumation per burial; few finds found with burials (T.6-other vase and iron tweezers; T.7-frag of other pithos; T.11-aryballos); burials to SE ~500-800 m from sett/hab; later polis Olerus in vicinity
Prinias	among third phase burials (under rubblemound) PGB-O were a few examples (such as T.W) in which burials were placed in pithoi (mouth covered by slab) which were surrounded and covered by elliptical mound of rubble, like pseudotholoi; typically with individual inhumation of youths; loc.to NW ~500 m from def sett which becomes polis
Arkades	T.E (located just to SW of T.A), and also possibly T.G with paved interior and fragment of bronze found, apparently consisted on an urn on side, covered by an elliptical mass of stones (~1 m in diameter), possibly resembling pseudotholos; finds from E include cup, bronze ring or pin, 2 iron arrowheads, and a glass/paste fragment; loc to W ~500 m from def sett which becomes polis
Eleutherna	some of urn burials (on sides in shallow pits with mouth covered by stone or terracotta slab) covered by stones, resembling pseudotholoi; for child, adolescent or >55 adult inhumations, LG-O; small vases, knucklebones, and rarely gold jewelry or beads recovered from pithoi in general; loc. to W ~150 m from def sett which becomes polis

Other pithos burials

Many additional burial pithoi/urns, for which the associated tomb type is unknown, have been recovered from across the island (see table 31 and fig. 182); while the majority of these vessels likely came from chamber tombs or pit graves, it is possible that some were from pithos cemeteries or tombs of other types.

Table 31 (Tombs of unknown type with pithos burials/cremations urns)

Site	Information
Anavlochos	Pendlebury reports Geometric pithos burials at Kako Plai (to N and NW <100-300 m from LM IIIC-A settlement/town)
Vrokastro	at Amigdali to SW of settlement, Hall excavated one pithos burial with inhumed adult, cup and two perforated steatite fragments, somewhere near tholos
Kavousi	in 1999 at Kako Mouri was found a Geometric cremation burial in a pithos with no grave goods
Chandras	Tsipopoulou found fragments of a burial pithos, probably LM IIIC; possibly located <500 m W of LM IIIC-PG settlement at Kastri
Makriyalos	burials in pithoi with relief decoration, probably EO, were found near the shore, a little west of Katovigli
Krousonas	at Chalepa was found a child burial in a pithos with PG jug, cup, and triple vase (poss. kernos), stone beads, and fragments of a pin; fragments of other PG burial pithoi were found nearby
Stavrakia	~1895, 2 large LG cinerary urns and an amphora (also with cremation) recovered from mountain slopes near village

Arkalochori	Geometric cremation urns, along with 3 aryballoi, were found at Pano Kalives in 1957
Alitzani	Geometric pithos burial with inhumation was found at Petra; no accompanying grave goods
Anopolis	Halbherr reported PG and G burials from small hill near the village; at least 15 cremation urns (primarily pithoi) have been recovered, along with other vases, including a stirrup jar, cups, jug, bowl, krater, amphorae, and lekythos; associated settlement possibly to E
Episkopi	in 1952 at Kavousi was found a small Geometric burial pithos with possible cremation; a small jug and cup were found nearby
Kato Vatheia	in 1959 an EO burial pithos, krater, and jug were found near the chamber tomb at Kaminia
Kounavoi	near or within the cemetery were recovered 2 Geometric urn burials, 3 small vases, 2 terracotta beads, and a possible isolated skeleton
Koxari	1-fragments of G-O cinerary urns, many with cups, were found at Riza in 1965; 2-a G pithos was found at Ali Choraphi in 1959, possibly from a burial
Smari	pithos sherds were found all over plain between Prof. Elias and Lenika (to W), possibly from burials
Kamares	at Kambes a small PG burial pithos with vases was reported in 1964
Kamilari	at Alisandraki a PG tomb with burial pithos and associated vases, including a tripod, 3 jugs, oinochoe, aryballos, and cylindrical vase, was uncovered
Chania	1-one LG/EO pithos burial (on side) with a child inhumation, ~13 vases (including jugs, amphoriskoi, krateriskoi), an iron knife, and 8 bronze rings, was found in the excavations in Park of Peace and Friendship (Minoan-Roman cemetery); LG settlement <750 m to NW; 2-at Pelekapina, remains of two PG pithos burials with inhumations (one apparently female) were uncovered ~2.5 km SW of settlement at Kastelli; finds include an imported 'Aegean' pyxis and lid, two gold disks, and a bronze fibula
Modi	1-in 1952 Platon noted isolated pithos burials with inhumations in the vicinity of other tombs at the site; 2-in 1991, SM pithos burials (on sides, W-E orientation) with inhumations accompanied by small pots were uncovered on the SE part of Ag. Gerasimos hill
Mousouras	Moody identified a possible SM or PG pithos burial at this location (AT3) on Akrotiri

Intramural burial

Another rare form of burial is the interment of infants or children below the floors of houses; this burial type occurs at only two sites during the Early Iron Age (see table 32), Vrokastro and Knossos. At Vrokastro, Subminoan child inhumations (one in a pithos and the other below a jar) were found below the floor in the corners of two rooms, while at Knossos LM IIIC and SM infant burials were apparently found under the floors of rooms all over the site in the settlement behind the Stratigraphical Museum. Warren states that this practice was commonly observed in mainland Mycenaean burials and that it was also found in the LM II Unexplored Mansion at Knossos.¹⁹⁴ There is, however, earlier evidence on the island for this

¹⁹⁴ Warren 1983, 73, 80.

funerary practice, as infant and child burials have been found in pits below house floors at Knossos from the aceramic, EN II, and MN periods.¹⁹⁵

Table 32 (Intramural burials)

Site	Information
Vrokastro: Summit	prob. SM; in NE corner below floor of Room 12, where rock sloped away found pithos covered with flat stone, with child inhumation and cup; in SW corner room 26 below floor found inverted jar with child inhumation
Knossos: Strat.	LM IIIC and SM infant burials found under floors of rooms in settlement area behind the Stratigraphical Museum; apparently found all over the site; 1 ex. infant placed under large lekane

6. CIST GRAVES AND BURIAL ENCLOSURES

Cist graves

Dickinson defines a cist grave as “box-shaped” in appearance, a single, square or rectangular tomb, lined on all four sides, typically with upright stone slabs, though the walls can also be constructed of rubble, slabs, shaped stones, or mudbrick, and usually covered with a stone slab.¹⁹⁶ A true cist grave is merely an elaboration of the basic pit grave, and it is placed completely below ground. Tombs of this basic type first appeared on Crete in the Early Minoan period, though relatively rarely and especially in the northeastern part of the island (as at Mochlos, Pseira, Zakros, and Ag. Photia); these early examples are considered by many to show Cycladic influence.¹⁹⁷ With the exception of cist graves cut into the floors of tholoi or chamber tombs as in the Royal Tomb and Isopata tomb I at Knossos, the only known Late Minoan examples of this type were child burials from Malia (probably Late Minoan III).¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Evans 1964d, 136, 140-142.

¹⁹⁶ Dickinson 1983, 57.

¹⁹⁷ Pini 1968, 9; Rutter 2000, Lessons 6, 13; Betancourt and Davaras 2003; Davaras and Betancourt 2004.

¹⁹⁸ Dickinson 1994, 215; Rutter 2000, Lesson 13.

True cist graves were very rare in the Early Iron Age, and many of the tombs which have been called cist graves are actually more like pit graves or the so-called “burial enclosures” (fig. 183). Possible EIA cist graves have thus far been identified at only four sites (see table 33). A single stone-lined cist grave was found in the vicinity of other EIA burials at both Meseleroi and Krya; the dates of these two tombs are unknown, however, as that at Krya was empty and that at Meseleroi contained only bone fragments. The tombs at Archanes Phythies (LMIIC-PG, possibly until EO) were described as cists by workmen (i.e., built of cut plakas and covered with plakas), though their type has not been confirmed. The most likely example of a true cist grave (PG-G) comes from Malia Trochaloi where five cremation urns were found in a grave constructed of large stone slabs.

Table 33 (Possible cist graves)

Site	#Tombs + Date	Tomb Information	Burial Information
Meseleroi: Petrou Phrameno	1 (date?)	rectangular cist grave, ~2 x 1 m; cut into bedrock, lined with plakas; near LG pithos burials; E-W orientation	bones recovered (inh?)
Krya (T.15)	1 (SM-PG?)	square stone-lined cist without top; 0.4 x 0.4 m; smallest tomb in cemetery of tholoi and pseudotholoi	?
Malia: Trochaloi	1 (PG-G)	cist grave (0.75-0.9 x 0.85 m); shallow depth; const. with large stone slabs; isolated (?)	5 cremations urns
Archanes: Phythies	up to 6 (IIC-PG, poss until EO ?)	tomb type described by workmen (i.e., not necessarily cists), average possibly ~1.5x0.6 m, 0.5 m depth; built with cut plakas (0.8x0.7) and covered with plakas; 1 apparently rock-cut and covered with plakas like pit; one distinctly roofed (“like a bridge/arch”=tholos?); tombs roughly in group	cremations in urns

Burial enclosures

The burial (or bone) enclosure is similar in form to the cist grave and it is often difficult to distinguish between the two types based on the limited information presented in the site reports; this tomb type has also been called an ossuary by Pendlebury.¹⁹⁹ As defined by Hall, at Vrokastro the bone enclosures consist of a series of small and irregularly shaped rooms, separated by low walls (especially made of rubble) of shallow depth, like a house in

¹⁹⁹ Pendlebury 1939, 308.

appearance but smaller and shallower and typically without doorways.²⁰⁰ The primary distinction between cist graves and burial enclosures is that the enclosures are at least partially above ground and usually unroofed. The EIA burial enclosure has also sometimes been compared with the EM-MM (and LM) ‘house’ tomb complexes as seen at Mochlos, Gournia, and Palaikastro.²⁰¹ While some scholars such as Stampolides consider that the EIA form may have developed from these earlier examples, Tsipopoulou considers a direct relationship between the two to be unlikely.²⁰²

Early Iron Age burial enclosures of the type defined by Hall appear to be a primarily eastern feature, occurring at Anavlochos, Dreros, Vrokastro, Kavousi, Praisos, and possibly Arkades and Meseleroi (fig. 183); in addition, all of these sites, with the exception of Vrokastro (and possibly Anavlochos) develop into poleis.²⁰³ Furthermore, all of these sites have tombs consisting of a single chamber or room, while only Vrokastro has tombs with multiple rooms; multiple burial enclosures, however, were typically found at a single site, usually in the same area and sometimes in groups. The compartments of most burial enclosures were roughly rectangular, with dimensions of a single side ranging from 0.7-2.6 m. The walls of the tombs were low (H-0.35-0.9 m), typically 1-3 courses, built of cut stone or rubble, and the lowest part of the tomb was sometimes rock-cut, as at Anavlochos, Dreros, and Praisos. Some of the tombs at Vronda used existing house walls as part of the tomb construction, and occasionally the floor of the tomb was paved with stones or pebbles (Dreros T. 2, Vronda G. 6). Burials at Vronda were also often covered with a cairn of stones

²⁰⁰ Hall 1914, 155.

²⁰¹ Branigan 1970a, 155-159; Soles 1992; Dickinson 1994, 215-220

²⁰² Stampolides 1990; Tsipopoulou 1984, 243. Hall 1914, 155; Pendlebury 1939, 308; Snodgrass 2000, 169 all noted the similarities between these tomb types.

²⁰³ See table 5 (tholos tombs) for settlement info.

and marked with a pithos or amphora, though some tombs contained evidence of funerary meals and toasts – sheep/goat bones and many cups. Burial enclosures usually contained only one-two cremation burials, sometimes in jars, though at Vronda most contained multiple burials, as many as eight in one case. While many enclosures were also the site of the burial pyre, a few inhumations did exist, primarily of infants and children. Finally, the enclosure is a late form of burial, with the earliest examples dating to PGB, and most examples dating to LG-EO; in fact at several sites, the burial enclosure is the primary tomb type during this period.

The “enclosures” at Eleutherna and Prinias, however, differ somewhat from those mentioned above. Enclosures A and K at Eleutherna were first used in LPG, are much larger than other examples (5 x 3.5 and 2.3 x 4.4 m), surround rectangular trenches that were covered by a mound of rough stones and earth, and may have served solely as crematoria for the adjacent chamber tomb rather than as tombs themselves. Furthermore, evidence of burial ritual (cups, food, animal bones) was found inside enclosure A, and a temenos with courtyard was located just to the east. At Prinias, 15 or more PGB-O rectangular/trapezoidal chambers (2-2.5 x 1-1.5 m) with low, well-built walls were added to the large stone tumulus, which covered many of the pithos/urn burials, and then filled in with rubble to become part of the tumulus. These chambers contained cremations, some in pithoi and urns, and they may also often have been the site of the pyres. Furthermore, these rooms at Prinias are more reminiscent of the ossuaries/annexes added to some large Minoan tholos tombs, as at Kamilari, than the burial enclosures seen at other Early Iron Age sites.

Table 34 (Burial enclosures; possible examples marked by *)

Site	#Tombs +Date	Tomb Information	Burial Information
Anavlochos	7 (PGB- LG, 1	single small chambers (estimated range 0.85- 2.0 m), circular (A-1.2 m dia) + rectangular	no bones found, assume cremation, poss 1 per

	tomb poss earlier)	plans; partially rock-cut w/ low built walls above; crowded around top of small hill and possibly open on one side; to N~500-800 m of settlement	tomb
Dreros	23 (G-LG/EO)	single rectangular trenches, fairly regular in plan, on average 2.1x1.2 m with urns, 2.4x1.3 without; av. wall H-0.75-0.9 m; some built with cut stone slabs (T.2, 11), others with small walls of dry stone; some w/ paved floor (T.2); graves w/in rect circuit wall, some in possible groups of 2-3, organized around poss. SM tholos; outside wall-Depot R=poss funerary chapel or place for votive offerings; graves-NE~200 from settlement	9 tombs with crem in pithoi and urns; 11-cremations w/o vessels; some graves also site of pyre; typ only 1-2 burials per grave; T.18 adult crem and infant inh; T.2 poss. 1 inh; T.8-female crem; in b/w certain tombs ashes, carbon, small animal bones=poss other pyres+ funerary sacrifices/ meals; 2 tombs with goat+pig; 1 w/ dog bones
Vrokastro: Karakovilia	5 (I-V) (G-EO)	1-4 roughly rectangular chambers; I-2.1x1.8, 1.4x1.7, 1.5x0.7m; small, poorly built rooms, low walls of 1-3 courses, shallow depth; slightly isolated but in vicinity of each other; to S~200 m from sett; one-room bldg. adjacent to b.e's const of cut-stone blocks with carefully dressed limestone jambs, poss. assoc with burial cult (contained tripod and krater, outside terracotta figurines)	>8 cremations, sometimes in jars; some enclosures also contained pyre
Vrokastro: Kopranes	6 (VII-XII) (G-EO)	1-5, poss. 7 chambers; VIII-2.6x0.7m; H-0.35m; average depth 0.6 m; same type as Karakovilia; near tholoi; W~400 m from sett.	6 burials (cremations and 1 child inhumation in pithos)
Vrokastro: Mazichortia	1 (VI) (PGB-G)	same type as Karakovilia; near tholos III	>4 burials (cremations and 1 child inhumation in pithos)
Vrokastro: possible	up to 4	survey found possible bone enclosures at Amigdali (VK12); Karakovilia (VK 14); Mazichortia; and APh 12.2 (small rooms of poorly built rubble walls ~1-1.5 m per side)	presumably cremations, though not confirmed as tombs
Kavousi: Chondrovoulakes	4 (LG-EO)	single rectangular graves, acc. to Hall of same type as at Vrokastro; average 2.6x 0.7m; H-0.35 m; 0.5 m wall thickness in group; poss located ~700 m to SW of sett (Azoria)	cremation; poss also site of pyres
Kavousi: Vronda	20 (LG-EO) (G.3,5-6, 9-10,12,16-17, 19-21, 23,25-28, 30,32,34, 36)	typical is single rectangular stone-lined grave, ~2x1 m; G6-pebble floor; in some cases used existing walls of houses; other walls of 2 limestone courses or single one of boulders; others in ctr of room in rubble; oft covered with cairn of stones +/- marked with pithos/amphora; beside G3,9 paved area for pot stand; some bedrock shelf for goods; bldg. H built with T.6; in groups/clusters; burials found in nearly all former houses	most w/ multiple crem, as many as 8 (G28); 69 total crem; 6 inh (typ later date or infant); some pithoi/ amp (16,21,28 surrounded by stones); cist also often site of pyre; some sheep/goat bones 24), many cups (prob from meals, libations); rabbit bones with some children; child/infant inh + crem
*Meseleroi: PI4	1 (date?)	Hayden ids possible bone enclosure (locus 5); group of small built compartments/ rooms	presence of tomb not confirmed

Praisos T.1953-4	2 (EO)	single rectangular, rock-cut tombs; Tsipopoulou says of same type as Anavlochos	?
*Krousonas: Rizoplages	1? (LM IIIC)	poss enc, sounds similar to Vronda?; corner of LM I rectangular bldg enclosed with plaka; ~2 km SW of settlement	remains of skeleton and 3 skulls (not certain if burial)
Prinias	15 or more (PGB-O)	rect/trapezoidal chambers (2-2.5x1-1.5m) added to stone tumulus; low well-built walls (0.4-0.6 m thick); 0.9 pres. H; filled with rubble to become part of tumulus	some cremations in pithoi and urns; some poss location of pyres
*Rotasi: Kephala	1 (LG- EO)	remains of walls, poss from burial enclosure (rect ~3x8m?) or just for offerings (?); found on NE side of Kephala Hill (settlement on summit)	?
Arkades	3 (G-O?) (F1-3)	single rectangular; 2.2x1.6; 4x2; 1.6x1.8m; open on one side; by pithos burials in middle of cem	cremations; poss pyres/ crematoria rather than burials
Eleutherna	2 or more (LPG-O) (A;K)	rectangular trench inside (A-3.5x2.2x 0.6m); rect enclosure (A-5x3.5m); A-east side of ashlar masonry rest with fieldstones; K- 2.3x4.4m; trenches covered by mound of rough stones and earth; poss marked by stone stele; beside each other and chamber tomb; temenos w/ courtyard to E of A poss for rituals; [poss other smaller pyres w/in other enclosures]	A+K poss both crematoria w/ pyres in pits/trenches; A-ritual-inverted cups; figs, grapes; ev. of sacrifice and meal (ox, pig, sheep/goat, fowl); burials poss in adjacent chamber tomb

Grave goods (cists and burial enclosures)

Of the possible cist graves, two (Krya and Meseleroi) were empty, the tomb at Malia contained 5 cinerary urns and 20 additional vases (including a skuttle), as well as a steatite lid, and the tombs at Archanes were highly robbed (see table 35). The burial enclosures, however, display a wider range of grave goods. With only a few exceptions (e.g., Vronda G. 9), the associated vases tend to be few in number; imports are also rare, with possible Cycladic vases found at Anavlochos and Protocorinthian from Kavousi Chondrovoulakes and Praisos. Additional ceramic objects are uncommon, with a spindle whorl (Dreros T. 8), beads (Vronda four tombs), and two female figurines (Arkades) representing the only finds. Beads of gold (Vrokastro, Arkades, Eleutherna), faience (Vrokastro, Eleutherna), ivory (Vronda), and glass/paste (Dreros, Vrokastro, Arkades, and glass bowl at Eleutherna) were sometimes recovered, and items of silver (Prinias and Arkades) and lead (Vronda) were also

unusual. Bronze jewelry and other instruments (tweezers, saw) were found at Dreros, Vrokastro, Vronda, and Arkades, while a single bronze spear and two cauldrons were recovered at Dreros and Eleutherna. Iron jewelry was uncovered at Vrokastro, Vronda, and Arkades and iron weapons at Dreros, Vrokastro, Vronda, Praisos, Prinias (?), and Eleutherna.²⁰⁴ Finally, stone beads (Dreros, Vrokastro, Vronda, Eleutherna), a pyxis (Dreros), lid, seal and pendants (Vrokastro), obsidian blades (Vronda), and a spindle whorl (Arkades) were also present in the burial enclosures.

Table 35 (Grave goods from cists and burial enclosures)

Site	# Vessels	Vessel Types	Terracotta objects	Metal objects	Stone objects	Other
Anavlochos (A-unrobbed)	>10	krater (poss Cycladic); cups; jugs; amphoriskoi; pithos; oinochoe; stirrup jar	?	?	?	?
Dreros	~30 (T.8-13 vases)	stirrup jars; jugs; cup; aryballoi; pithoi; urns; hydria; amphorae; amphoriskoi; skyphos; feeding bottle	spindle whorl (T.8)	b -3 fibulae (1 Attic, 1 Attic/Boeotian) (T.11,13,18); pin (T.13); spear (T.12) cauldron and applique (T.9,14) i -spits (T.9,13, 18); sword (T.11), 2 scrapers (T.11), axe (T.11,12,14)	rock crystal beads T.8); stone beads (T.10,25); stone pyxis (T.13)	glass/paste bead (T.10); sheep/goat, pig bones one tomb; dog bones in other
Vrokastro: Karakovilia	>12	jugs; cup; amphorae; lid	none	b -8 fibulae (I,II,III); 3 pins (I,IV); wire (I, IV); tweezers (I) i -fibulae (I,II); pin (III); knife (V?); 2 swords (I,II); 3 spears (I)	sealstone (II); 2 rock crystal (II) pendants; rock crystal button (I)	glass/paste beads (II,III); faience bead (II)
Vrokastro: Kopranes	15	cups; jugs; flask; bowl; pithos; krater; amphorae	none	g -bead (VIII) b -8 fibulae (VII,VIII,X, XI,XII); 2 pins (XI); saw (VII) i -3 knives (VII, IX); saw (VIII)	1 rock crystal and 1 steatite bead (VIII)	none
Vrokastro: Mazichortia	5	jug; oinochoe; hydria; bowl;	none	b -2-3 fibulae i -fibula; spear; button ?	lid; rock crystal	none

²⁰⁴ Iron weapons and tools were especially prevalent at Vronda. Also, spits were found at Dreros, Vronda and Eleutherna, and axes at Dreros and Vronda.

		pithos			bead	
Kavousi: Chondrovol	8	pyxis lid; Protocorinth lekythos	none	none	none	none
Kavousi: Vronda	>170 (G.9- 80 vases)	cups; skyphoi; aryballoi; trays; lid; oinochoai; amphorae; jug pithoi; strainer; kraters; bowls; amphoriskos	beads (12,26,30, 36)	b -fibulae (9,12,23,26, 28,30); pins (3,5,12, 17,23,30); sheathing (9,17,20,30); earring (3) i -fibula (6); pins (3,6,12,16,17,30, 36); spears (5,6,9,12, 16,17,21,26,27,28, 30); daggers (6,9,12, 16,21,26,30); knives (5,9,12,28); sickles (5,9,12,17, 27,30); axes (6,9,28,30); tongs (6); chisel (6,12,16, 30); scrapers (5,9); tweezers (5); poss spit (9,12,27,28); saw (12); arrowheads (12); needle (16,23,30) lead -obj (21)	obsidian blades (5,6,16); beads (23,36)	ivory bead (20)
Meseleroi	0	none	none	none	none	none
Krya	0	none	none	none	none	none
Praisos	9	jug; aryballoi; phiale; lids; bird vase; PC kotyle	?	i -spears, other weapons and tools	?	?
Krousonas: Rizoplagies	5	stirrup jars; cups; skyphoi	?	?	?	?
Prinias	?	pithoi; urns; lid; kalathos; jug; hydria	?	silver, bronze, iron obj	?	?
Rotasi	~18	ring vases; aryballoi; cups; trays; lid handle w/ ram; skyphos	animal figurines (fish; 3 bulls;horse); disc w/ tree of life	b -fibula	?	?
Arkades	?	?	2 female figurines	g -bead s -item b -tweezers; pins i -pins	spindle whorls	paste beads
Malia	25	urns; stirrup jars; bowls; jugs; trays; lid; cups; skuttle; lekanai; aryballos	none	none	steatite lid	none
Archanes: Phythies	>15	cups; hydriai; oinochoai;	model (poss of tomb)-	?	?	2 blue beads

		jugs; kalathoi; urns; lids; pithoi; pyxis; amphorae	from poss tholos			
Eleutherna	?	cups	?	g -beads b -cauldron; vases i -weapons/tools; obeloi	rock crystal beads	faience beads; glass bowl

7. TOMBS OF OTHER TYPES

A few remaining burials do not appear to fit into any of the other categories (see table 36). For example, at Vronda in the area of the burial enclosures, some Late Geometric- Early Orientalizing cremation (or inhumation) burials were placed in the corner of a room, doorway or cleft in the rock and merely covered by a pile of stones; these burials tended to be quite poor in grave goods, often containing none or only a few vessels. Similarly at Eleutherna, a small number of mostly EO or later ‘open burials’ were recovered; these burials apparently consisted of inhumed women and girls who were covered with burial shrouds and laid on wooden stretchers (with no evidence of pits), and vases, pins, and fibulae were the most common finds. Certain adult males at Eleutherna were buried in a distinct fashion as well (in EO-A); these burials were comprised of pyres, placed in rectangular trenches or on the ground, sometimes on a base of mudbricks, which were covered with a large or small mound of earth and/or stones (often surrounded by mudbricks) with large and small pebbles placed on the upper surface and sometimes marked with a stele or cippus. These cremation burials often contained numerous grave goods, as well as evidence of funerary meals and burnt offerings, and in one case a probable human sacrifice. Also, Krya T. 26 was apparently some form of ossuary (an ‘uncanonical chamber’) which contained six skulls, one with apparent trauma to the head. Finally, at Prinias among the LM IIIC-SM tombs were pit graves K, 207, and 232, which were placed inside a large circular stone

enclosure and tumulus, with tombs 207 and 232 each first having been surrounded by their own smaller enclosure or tumulus of large stones; finds from these tombs included stirrup jars and bronze pins.

Table 36 (Tombs of other types and burials without structure)

Site	Information
Kavousi: Vronda	7 LG-EO tombs (1-2,4,7-8,14-15,24) most placed on room floor in corner, doorway, or cleft in rock and covered with a pile of stones; 1-3 cremations per burial; most poor in goods, with none or just a few vessels, except G.1 (for which is some confusion in sources-bronze fibula, 18 arrowheads, stone bead, much pottery); G.24 had 1 inhumation without goods and the individual apparently died of a deadly disease
Krya T.26	an 'uncanonical chamber tomb' (1.25 L; 0.7 max. W; H-1.5 m) was formed from a large natural hollow at the base of a raised piece of bedrock; the bottom was closed with stones and earth, forming the floor of the tomb; a wall was built on N side; entrance on E (<0.4 m) blocked with boulders; recovered 11 vases (stirrup jars, krateriskoi, feeding bottles, jug, cup, pithos), 2 bronze rings and 6 skulls with apparent trauma to head (poss some form of ossuary); ~80 m N of cluster of tholoi and pseudotholoi
Prinias: phase 1	among LM IIIC-SM tombs, simple cremations in oval, rock-cut pits covered with stone slabs; T.K (0.44x0.5 m), 207, 232 were pit graves inside a large, stone circular enclosure, which apparently supported a tumulus (circular mass of stone possibly ~6 m in diameter), with 207 and 232 each first surrounded by their own smaller enclosure/tumulus of large stones; T.K (earliest in cemetery) was in middle of tumulus; contents of these three tombs included stirrup jars and bronze pins
Eleutherna	single independent mounds/pyres (EO-A) within cemetery primarily to N+E, though often relatively isolated; in rectangular trench 2-3x1-2x0.5-1 m or on ground (oft on base of mudbricks); sometimes white bones collected from fire and placed in amphora by pyre, then all covered with large or small mound of earth and/or stones; mounds oft surrounded by mudbricks with large and small pebbles placed on upper surface; typically only for adult male cremations (ex. KK; LL); some marked with stele or cippus; offerings and food remains (figs, olives, grapes, cow, pig, sheep, goat bones, shellfish); often beside or above; LL (2.4x1.8m) with evidence of human sacrifice and finds include iron axe, dagger, sword, knives, whetstone, bronze spear, pyxis, bronze and iron tongs
Eleutherna	small number of 'open burials' most apparently EO or later; primarily women, covered with burial shrouds and laid on wooden stretcher; no indication of pit or tomb of any sort; some poss w/in large mound; one ex was inh of ~6-7 year old girl with pair of gold earrings/hair pins (dating to mid 7 th c); other ex with oinochoe and lion-shaped vase; vases, pins and fibulae were most common finds; some near pithoi

8. TOMBS OF UNKNOWN TYPE AND POSSIBLE BURIALS

In addition, table 37 shows all remaining tombs of unknown type and possible tombs. The most interesting of these are from Kavousi Kastro, Archanes Phythies, and Mt. Juktas Kato Lakkos. At both Archanes and Mt. Juktas, a single LM IIIC-SM cremation burial in a lidded stone urn/larnax was recovered, while remains of LG-EO secondary cremations were

found in some rooms in the settlement at Kastro (and fetal/infant bones were found in two domestic dump deposits).

Table 37 (Tombs of unknown type and possible tombs)

Site	Information
Kaminaki	Watrous id prob. cemetery at Pigadistria based on fragments of Geo pithoi, as well as larnax and limestone slabs, observed during survey; located <500 m to NW of possible Geometric settlement at Ag. Paraskevi
Lagou	Watrous id poss. cemetery at Kephali on basis of G pithos sherds observed during survey (and previously found PG conical cup and miniature pithos)
Mesa Lasithi	Pendlebury observed LM IIIC or SM larnax burials at Nikiphordo/Vlikystra; ~200 m to E of LM settlement at Armi
Vrachasi	Tsipopoulou reports that SM/PG vases from robbed tomb are in Herakleion Museum
Kavousi: Kastro	1 -LG-EO cremated remains of adults (from secondary burials) were recovered from some room deposits on West Slope, including one amphora with adult crem from bottom of deep fill above floor in Room 35; up to 7 adults found in total (though some bones found in rock cavities); fetal/infant bones were also found in two domestic dumps, including Room 29; 2 -a few scattered pieces of cremated bone were also found in the wall collapse of Bldg. A on the East Slope
Adromyloi	1 -finds from Geometric tomb (inc. feeding bottle, 2 spears, and bronze fibulae) in area of Kandemi Kephali were brought to museum in 1960; 2 -at Kandemi Kephali or Anginara, villagers excavated a tomb in 1902, which contained 101 PGB-EO vases, including cups, bowls, amphorae, oinochoai, and a vase in the form of a nude seated woman with hydria on her head, possibly tholos tomb
Ag. Georgios	11 LG-EO vases from a plundered tomb were give to the Herakleion Museum in 1918, possibly from tholos or chamber tomb
Koutsouras	Faure reports LM III, SM, and PG tombs and harbor installation at locations of Kypourou, Lenika, and Spiliaridia; Haggis reports LM III burials at Kypourou
Praisos	1 -Platon excavated a tomb somewhere “near the Acropolis” in 1959; finds include many sherds, fragments of iron tools and weapons, most of which appear to date to EO-O; 2 -Tsipopoulou reports that 2 LG and 6 EO vases (including 1 Corinthian cup) from a tomb at Pyrgos were taken to the Siteia museum in 1961
Sklavoi	63 LM IIIC-EO vases from a tomb at Aveliakos were given to the Siteia Museum
Zakros	Davaras reports that 2 stirrup jars (one with cremation and gold ring) and a pyxis with cremation were found in the valley near the western mouth of the gorge (at Palaimylos) ~400 m of the settlement at Ellinika; vases are said to be of LM III/SM type
Ampelouzos	Kanta reports that in 1958 3 LM IIIC late-SM/PG vases (stirrup jar, deep bowl, oinochoe) were found, apparently from a tomb, near the modern cemetery behind the church of Ag. Georgios (~2 km W of Gortyn)
Kavrochori	1 ~1 km NE of the LM habitation at Tylissos were found remains of greatly destroyed Geometric tomb; remaining finds include a large steatite bowl and 2 small oinochoai; 2 -a krateriskos and 2 stirrup jars, likely SM/PG, were found at Xepetra, possibly from tomb
Krousonas	at Livadiotis (~1 km to SW of Chalepa) found LG-EO pottery, iron spears, and iron dagger, possibly from tombs
Tylissos	at Petres near Minoan villas, were found remains of completely destroyed and robbed Geometric tombs, probably chambers or pits
Episkopi	Hartley published PGB-LG vases, including pithoi, aryballoi, skyphoi, and lids, from robbed tombs at unspecified locations
Lyttos	Taramelli indicates that the necropolis of ancient Lyttos was likely located near the vineyards in the valley of Askoi to the northeast of the settlement; no tombs have yet been recorded in this area
Nipiditos	a small Geo oinochoe, iron fibula, and two beads found in 1960 may come from a tomb
Smari	on the northwest edge of the site, just outside of the acropolis of the LM IIIC-O settlement

	on Profitis Elias, was excavated an apsidal building (3.5x3.9 ext; 1.62x2.4 m int); this may have been a funerary building, possibly a pyre or bone enclosure, as it contained LM IIIC-SM kylikes and burnt bones (possibly human)
Zinda	according to Platon in 1954, Geo vases were found which confirm the existence of a necropolis in the area of the modern village
Phaistos	1 -in 1958 ~1km SE of Ag. Ioannis (at Ambeli) PG vases were found in a “hole in the ground surrounded by a circle of stones;” vases include basket vase, 2 feeding bottles, amphoriskos, jug, 2 cups, amphora (poss. cinerary urn), and hydria; 2 -Western Mesara Project reports off-site LM IIIC pottery just S of Ag. Ioannis, poss. from burial; 3 -Western Mesara Proj. reports PG-G burials at Ag. Onouphrios; 4 -Western Mesara Project identified LM IIIC gravesite somewhere on slope of Ieroditis (NE of Phaistos) and refer to known PG-G burials on ridge (poss refer to Mulino or Tomb 1954?); 5 -Pendlebury reports surface sherds from Geo burials at Kalyviana, and other traces of burials of the “same period as Lilia” were also reported from this area; 6 -trial excavations revealed traces of tombs with cremations and a group of late “Mycenaean” vases (possibly PG) from Logiadi (site 89); 7 -in 1957 a PG tomb or tombs was found at Mulino (site 59), likely pit or chamber tomb(s); finds included 3-4 urns/pithoi with partially cremated remains and 24 vases, as well as fragments of iron weapons and a bronze fibula; 8 -a kalathos, amphoriskos, skyphos, stirrup jar, and jug (SM/PG) were recovered from somewhere around the street near Phaistos, poss from tomb
Sivas	Western Mesara Project id cemetery site (B37=site 92) with associated sherds LM IIIA1-PG/G at Monasteriako Pigadi; associated settlement MM I-G found ~200 m to SE
Ag. Syllas	Sakellarakis reports that LM, PG, G pottery was found in association with tombs at Sochoro
Ag. Vlasis	Sakellarakis reports that G pottery was found in association with tombs near village
Archanes: Phythies ‘69	LM IIIC/SM rectangular (0.44x0.31) lidded stone larnax/cist with cremation was recovered from the site in the vicinity of other cist graves; finds include krateriskos, cup, stirrup jars, iron arrowhead, and lump of iron; uncommon burial vessel; in pit (?)
Katsamba	Marinatos reports that one Geo tomb was found in 1936 at this site
Knossos	1 -fragments of a cinerary urn and Geo amphora, likely from a tomb, were found at Isopata near the church of Ag. Nikolaos; 2 - in 1958, 12 LPG vases were discovered ~150 m SW of the Villa Ariadne, possibly from a tomb; 3 -an ‘oven-shaped’ tomb (KS#223) possibly EIA was found immediately N of palace; 4 -~150-200 m south of Temple Tomb was recorded a possible EIA tomb (KS#325); two other possible EIA tombs (KS#328) were exposed during WWII, ~300 m SW of Temple Tomb; 5 -in 1897, Orsi published one large EIA cinerary urn and two lids, said to come from burials at Knossos
Mt. Juktas	1 -Sakellarakis reports remains of Geometric cemetery at Kastro (~300 m SW of Stravomyti Cave); 2 -SM cremation burial in lidded limestone ash urn found at Kato Lakkos; grave goods included one stirrup jar, a bronze spear, iron spear, and two iron swords; 3 -Geometric pottery was found in association with tombs at Krya Vrysi; 4 -Pendlebury reported fragments of SM/PG (possibly LM III) larnakes from Kambariane, just west of Stravomyti
Nea Halikarnassos	one Geo grave was reported in 1936, and Pendlebury refers to a G cemetery at this location
Prof. Elias	Xanthoudides excavated a tomb at Riza, said to have included many vases, esp. G but also PG; poss. associated with PG-G settlement on Rokka
Tsangkaraki	Marinatos reports PG and G tombs at this site (>2 km N of Prof. Elias)
Arvi	Hood et al. and Nowicki identified remains of larnax fragments just beyond E edge of LM IIIC settlement in Area C (Fortetsa)
Viannos	in 1956 a few G vases (3 urns, cup, 2 aryballoi) and a bronze pin were found on the slope of Keraton/Vigla Hill in vicinity of acropolis, likely from tomb; Evans previously noted pottery and larnax fragments from site
Pantanassa	in 1988, 2 stirrup jars, 2 bronze pins, and a fragment of a terracotta figurine were uncovered, likely from destroyed tomb, in vicinity of tholos and pit grave
Thronos	1 -according to Belgiorno, traces of G-A finewares were discovered in area of Ag. Theotokos hill, poss from tomb; 2 -23 PG-G vases, 3 spindle whorls, a terracotta human figurine (prob. vase attachment), figurine of two joined horses with riders, and 10 bronze

	fibulae, apparently from tomb, are in Neonakis collection; 3-G-A sherds from Ghristo may also indicate location of tombs; 4->60 LM IIIC-G pits, possibly of ritual nature, were uncovered during excavations on summit of Kephala hill; pit 54 contained LM IIIC finds (fragments of 38 vases, 1 bronze blade, 2 stone tools, two dog skeletons, tortoise shell, and small amounts of goat and human bones); function of pit unknown
Modi	in 1967, a tomb of unknown type was uncovered, and it contained 9 LG/EO vases (krateriskoi, oinochoai, aryballoi, skyphos, cup); possibly a child burial

CHAPTER 5

SYNTHESIS AND DISCUSSION

In previous discussions of the Early Iron Age on Crete, the island has been divided into two large regional groups (west/central and east) on the basis of pottery styles;²⁰⁵ this basic division has been maintained in recent investigations of EIA settlement patterns²⁰⁶ and cult dedications.²⁰⁷ As mentioned in Chapter Two, scholars such as Pendlebury, Nowicki, and Sjögren have used geography as a means of identifying settlement patterns or culture-regions.²⁰⁸ The mortuary data presented and analyzed in the previous chapter serve to supplement these recent studies, in particular those on settlement patterns; they further show that distinct regional, and sometimes local, burial patterns are visible in Early Iron Age Crete

²⁰⁵ Coldstream (1977, 275), for example, notes that the pottery from the east shows little resemblance to that from central Crete, and he (1968, 258) considers the western-most limit of the eastern style to be at Vrokastro. Snodgrass (1971, 164), on the other hand, states that the division between the eastern “Eteocretan” style and central occurs near Neapolis at the mountain passage on the road from Malia to Dreros. Tsipopoulou (2005, 547) also considers the pottery of Lasithi Eparchia to show more affinities with central Crete than eastern, and thus does not include it in her new book on the “Eteocretan” pottery style. See also, Desborough 1972, 234.

²⁰⁶ Borgna (2003, 172-173) identifies two distinct environments at the end of LM IIIB and early IIIC. The central plains and the north coasts (including the western part of the island) were “dominated by nucleated settlements oriented toward industrial activities and seaborne long-distance trade,” while the inland and upland regions (from the Lasithi plain to the east coasts) were “characterized by a dispersed population, sometimes clustered around some main defensible settlements.” Further, she (158 n. 21) considers the district of Pediada to be a “buffer area, affected by aspects typical of both central and eastern Crete, though more deeply involved within the settlement dynamics of the lowland coastal plains.”

²⁰⁷ Prent (2003, 95-97) notes how the variations in settlement patterns and presence of different people in eastern and central Crete affected the development/rise of the sanctuary and methods of cult practice in each of the two areas; for example, ruin cults were more evident in central Crete than in eastern. See also Wallace 2003, for regional identities and regionally based-communities in EIA Crete.

²⁰⁸ See n. 15 in Chapter 2. Also note Boardman (1960, 143) who states that “there are, however, many strong regional peculiarities in Iron Age Crete, not only in matters of burial, and each major site or district is best considered in isolation.”

(fig. 184). In this chapter, seven distinct burial regions and four border zones are identified on the island; in some instances, a region is divided into smaller subregions. Within each section, the burial data are summarized and also related to the identified settlement patterns for that region. In addition, whenever possible, comments on social-political organization, social stratification, and cultural identity are presented within the sections where evidence for their identification is most clearly revealed.

Lasithi (area 4 on fig. 184)

This area consists of Ag. Georgios Papoura, Karphi, Krasi, Kastri, Zenia, and Adrianos, and over 35 tombs have been identified at approximately 10 locations.²⁰⁹ All known burials in this region were found in small tholos tombs, which were typically scattered over a vast area on the slopes around the settlement, rather than being organized in defined cemeteries, and all tombs appear to have held a small number of inhumations.²¹⁰ In addition, the majority of, and possibly all, Lasithi tholoi shared a characteristic feature, the masonry enclosure, which is also seen at the nearby sites of Panagia and Arkades in western Lasithi. While some relatively minor variations occur in grave goods and tomb construction, as at Karphi where certain tombs are distinguished in chamber shape or size, dromos length or presence, stomion style, orientation, or construction technique, the overall similarity of all the Lasithi tombs and their contents, is the most prominent feature.

With the exception of Papoura, all of the Lasithi burials were associated with short term (LM IIIC and sometimes into SM) defensible settlements. No polis developed in this

²⁰⁹ Gonies, for which no tombs have yet been identified, may also belong with these sites, as would Kaminaki and Lagou, at which burials have been assumed on the basis of survey pottery. While Krasi is technically in Nomos Herakleion (just barely) it really belongs with these other sites and is thus included here.

²¹⁰ See also Nowicki 2000, 240.

area, though Papoura became a relatively large town in the later part of the period. The Lasithi mountain region was characterized by a dispersed settlement pattern throughout the Early Iron Age; increasing centralization occurred by the end of the period with Papoura appearing as the main town, though a few hamlets continued to exist in the vicinity.²¹¹ Nowicki suggests that in LM IIIC the defensible settlements in this area in general show indications of very little or no social stratification. “Their architecture represents typical village organization with the houses slightly different in size, which may have resulted from the size and prosperity of particular families rather than from a higher position within the community;”²¹² while the distinctions in the sizes of houses and tombs do not appear to mark clear social diversity, they may lead to that in the future.²¹³ For much of LM IIIC-SM Crete, in fact, a relatively loose ‘egalitarian’ social-political organization is assumed to have existed, with the household or extended family forming the basic unit, though with some differentiation of wealth possibly present.²¹⁴

The overall similarity in tomb type, construction, and grave goods observed in the Lasithi region, as well as the low number of burials per tomb and groupings of tombs in pairs

²¹¹ Sjögren 2001, 123-124. According to Nowicki (2000, 245), Karphi itself became a relatively large town, likely comprised of people who previously lived in scattered hamlets and farms in the area, with its own territory and satellite villages (Kera Vigla and Siderokephala).

²¹² Nowicki 2000, 237. There is, however, evidence of two different architectural types at Karphi (and also Chalasmenos), possibly indicating different groups of people (traditional “Minoan” architecture vs. architecture of “Mycenaean” influence = old inhabitants of the area vs. possible Cretans from the lowlands, not necessarily Mycenaean) who were under strong Mycenaean influence). This would provide one possible explanation for the existence of two separate burial areas, Ta Mnimata and Astividero, at Karphi. See also Tsipopoulou and Nowicki 2003, 565-566, for Chalasmenos.

²¹³ While Whitley (1991) has used the “big man model” for analyzing the EIA settlement pattern on Crete, Nowicki (2000, 238-239) states that no evidence has yet been recovered from the archaeological record to support this, though he does not reject the possibility. Regardless, big man societies are relatively egalitarian in their organization. See also Prent 2005, 118-126, for good summary of the relevant issues and additional bibliography. Cf. Borgna (2003, 164-168); Day and Snyder 2004.

²¹⁴ Prent 2003, 118-126; 2005, 615-623; Haggis 1993, 151; Nowicki 2000, 226-227, 250.

and clusters, rather than in a bounded necropolis area, would thus seem to support the idea that limited social diversity existed in this area at the beginning of the Early Iron Age.²¹⁵ Borgna, on the other hand, sees increasing social complexity, as well as evidence of social ranking and the emergence of chiefs, in the east as early as LM IIIC. As evidence she cites the switch from multiple burials to a focus on larnakes with only one or two individuals per tomb and the presence of weapons, especially bronze swords and spearheads.²¹⁶ While larnakes were often used for burials at these sites, at Karphi, for example, all tombs contained between one and five individuals, and contrary to Borgna's expectations, those examples which were slightly distinguished from the other tombs at the site tended to have a greater number of burials than the other tombs. In addition, there is a very limited presence of weapons from the Lasithi sites; only Tomb A from Krasi had a true weapon, a bronze dagger, and this tomb may pre-date the period.²¹⁷ Although minor differences in wealth may be observable in some of the Lasithi tombs, the funerary evidence thus still appears to support the identification of limited to no social stratification, with the household or extended family forming the most prominent element in the socio-political organization of this region at the beginning of the Early Iron Age.

Far Eastern (area 1 and border zone on fig. 184)

²¹⁵ The use of the tholos form itself does not appear to have been particularly significant in this area during LM IIIC-SM, though it is possible that it reflected a conscious local or community effort to retain or create a certain cultural identity, rather than a method of distinguishing certain groups of people or elite families within the community. Retention of traditional practices may also be visible at Karphi and Papoura in the frequent 'later' offerings of terracotta animal figurines, primarily bovine, above tombs, rather than items of military or aristocratic character. See Prent 2003, 93; 2005, 615-623, for this practice in LM IIIC-SM central Crete.

²¹⁶ Borgna 2003, 164-168.

²¹⁷ Tomb M.11 from Karphi also contained a single iron knife. The Papoura tomb had an iron knife, bronze vessel fragments, and a small iron double axe, though this tomb is much later in date than the others from the area, and its finds and slightly larger size may reflect some changes in socio-political organization not visible in LM IIIC-SM.

While the remaining areas of Nomos Lasithi (far eastern, west Siteia mountains, Mirabello and Ierapetra isthmus) are joined by a common ceramic tradition in the Early Iron Age, clear variations in mortuary practice are identifiable.²¹⁸ The far eastern area consists of the sites found along the current north-south road from Siteia to Ierapetra and the region further east (east Siteia plateau). Over 20 tombs have been identified from more than 25 locations in the far eastern area.²¹⁹ The easternmost part of this region contains many sites at which burials have been found thus far only in caves and rock shelters (Karydi, Palaikastro, Zakros, Zou). The caves and rock shelters are rarely altered (i.e., given architectural features), the method of interment is normally inhumation, and the grave goods are typically poor, though Zakros Koukou Kephali is a noted exception. In addition, the use of this tomb type does not appear to be confined to any particular phases within the Early Iron Age. The final burial site in the easternmost part of this region is coastal Itanos, from which a few LG cremation burials in pits have been identified.

Itanos is exceptional for this region in that it was founded at a late date, sometime in the Geometric period, and later became a polis. Its associated burials were also pit graves, an unusual type for this area, and they were apparently placed in a clearly designated cemetery near the settlement; this same necropolis was used until the Hellenistic period. The associated settlements of caves and rock shelters, however, are often unknown, and the burials themselves tend to be in relatively isolated locations.²²⁰ At Zakros alone, which held

²¹⁸ See Tsipopoulou 2005 for fullest study of the pottery (“Eteocretan style”). See also n. 204 above.

²¹⁹ The 25 locations were dispersed among 12 sites. Sites from this area include Ag. Georgios (Tourtouloi), Ag. Photia (possible EIA offerings only), Ag. Spyridon, Chandras, Itanos, Karydi, Palaikastro, Piskokephalo, Praisos, Sklavoi, Sphakia, Zakros, and Zou.

²²⁰ Jodi Magness (personal communication) has suggested that the cave/rock shelter burials may have been associated with a transhumant population, which could explain their frequent placement in relatively isolated locations.

a defensible settlement, this form of burial appears to have been typical, while at other sites these burials may have been associated either with similar inaccessible sites or else with small farms or hamlets. In addition, Sjögren has identified the Early Iron Age settlement pattern for far eastern Crete, in the 8th c. at least, as consisting primarily of small villages and a few coastal sites. By the end of the period, however, these small villages may have been in some way dependent upon a larger settlement in the region, possibly Praisos.²²¹

Burial in caves and rock shelters was a traditional “Minoan” practice in this area; like the Lasithi plateau with its small tholos tombs, the far eastern region may have held on to traditional practices for the longest time, perhaps being an area for refugees from other locations after new people or outside influences came, especially from the mainland.²²² In far eastern Crete throughout much of the Early Iron Age, as in the Lasithi plateau area, it would thus appear that limited social diversity existed among those individuals using caves and rock shelters for burial. It is thus particularly significant that this tomb type tends to be found away from known settlements and in relatively isolated locations, possibly associated with farms or hamlets; it is also noteworthy that in central Crete during LM IIIC-SM and later, caves are used primarily for religious or cult practices and not for burial.²²³

A somewhat different meaning may be ascribed to the Late Geometric askos and jug which were placed as possible offerings above one of the graves in the EM cemetery at Ag. Photia.²²⁴ The placement of these vases potentially illustrates, at the end of the period, a renewed interest in the “Minoan,” or “ancient,” past and desire for association, real or

²²¹ Sjögren 2001, 129.

²²² Nowicki 2000, 235-241.

²²³ Prent 2005, 615-623.

²²⁴ The ‘Geometric’ pottery found in the LM IIIA tholos B at Praisos may also reflect this practice, if not EIA re-use for burial.

perceived, with it.²²⁵ This practice occurs more commonly further to the west in the Siteia mountains and also in central Crete; for example, a few LG vases were found associated with a single LM III tomb from both Mochlos and Achladia in the west Siteia mountains.

Although the exact significance of these ‘offerings’ remains uncertain, it is noteworthy that the examples from east Crete all date to the Late Geometric period, the time when the polis was developing in this area,²²⁶ and that offerings seem to have been made only once and at a single tomb per site.²²⁷ Also, no known EIA settlement was located in the close vicinity of any of these three sites. The formation of a new, larger and shared identity within the polis may have created a need to fashion new, smaller ‘group’ identities, or assert old family ones, accomplished by forming a connection to the local, ‘ancestral’ past.²²⁸ These offerings, possible examples of ancestor or tomb cult, could also reflect competition for authority among the emerging elites at the end of the EIA; in other words, elites may have attempted to legitimize their authority by claiming links with the past (an actual kinship or knowledge of the deceased was not necessary) (see also below, central Crete).²²⁹ Asserting a link with the past at a location distant from a settlement could have been especially significant for emerging elites at sites such as Itanos which were founded at the end of the period.

Unlike most sites in the easternmost area, those located on or near the modern north-south road from Siteia to Ierapetra show a variety in tomb and settlement types. The modern

²²⁵ Prent 2003; Wallace 2003, 268-271; Tsipoulou 1995, 126; Davaras 1971b, 396.

²²⁶ Whitley, Prent, and Thorne (1999, 252-253) consider the basic form of the city to have been established at Praisos by LG.

²²⁷ The presence of only a single offering/visit, rather than continuous, long-term use, would seem to associate this practice more with that of tomb or ancestor cults, as observed on the mainland during this period, and not with hero cults, which tended to be continuously venerated over a longer period of time. See Antonaccio 1994; 1995.

²²⁸ Wallace 2003, 271.

²²⁹ Antonaccio 1994, 410. See also Morris 1992, 8-15.

road is placed along one of the traditional communication routes for this area; its location was primarily dictated by the natural topography, and the associated sites are thus notable for their close proximity to this transportation or communication route. Small tholos tombs were the primary form of burial at defensible settlements in the area (Sphakia and Praisos),²³⁰ though Praisos also had burials in rock shelters and caves, bone enclosures, chamber tombs, a pit or shaft grave, and a large tholos.²³¹ Of all the sites in the area of the traditional communication route, only Praisos developed into a polis, likely incorporating the adjacent defensible site of Kypria. The tradition of cave burial commonly observed further east also existed at Piskokephalo, the associated settlement of which remains unknown; this site is unusual, however, in that both inhumation and cremation were practiced and the grave goods were relatively wealthy (by cave standards at least). Finally, the burials at Ag. Georgios were placed primarily in chamber tombs and a small number of tholoi, and the associated settlement remains unidentified. The use of the chamber tomb was unusual for east Crete in the Early Iron Age, though it was the primary form of burial at this site in LM, and the late construction date of the small tholoi is also atypical for Crete in general.

While the sites in the easternmost part of the region are characterized throughout the EIA primarily by the traditional form of burial in caves and rock shelters, the sites closer to the main north-south transportation route show a greater variety in tomb types, method of interment, and wealth of grave goods. This diversity might represent a confluence of traditions, perhaps various peoples or extraregional cultural influences. For example, while no definite imports have been recovered from the eastern cave and rock shelter burials, many

²³⁰ The tomb type from which a burial pithos was recovered at Chandras is unknown, though it was likely associated with the nearby defensible settlement.

²³¹ The rock shelter at Ag. Spyridon may have belonged to the settlement at Praisos.

imports are present among the grave goods from the sites near the main transportation route, as would be expected. Also, even in LM III, the population living in the vicinity of the transportation routes and elsewhere on the island was likely mixed and heterogenous, with Minoan, Mycenaean, and possibly Cypriot elements influenced by factors such as trade, travel, immigration, native population, etc.²³² The border sites of the far eastern region were thus influenced by the possibly “Minoan” tradition of the Siteia mountains to the west where small tholos tombs occurred most commonly, the “Minoan” traditions further east where caves and rock shelters formed the primarily burial type, as well as the mixed Minoan and Mycenaean tradition of the area along this primary transportation route, as illustrated for example in the continuation of the LM tradition of rock-cut chamber tombs at Ag. Georgios.

West Siteia Mountains (area 2 on fig. 184)

This area includes the sites found on the east and west slopes of the Siteia mountains; thus far, over 137 EIA tombs have been identified at over 29 locations.²³³ Chamber tombs and pit graves were the only types of tombs found at Tourloti and Myrsini during the Early Iron Age. Most of these burials, however, date to the final phases of use in an LM IIIA-C cemetery, thus representing the end of the old, pre-EIA tradition, rather than EIA-constructed tombs for a new defensible settlement.²³⁴ Also, a single burial cave or rock shelter was found at Lastros and Ag. Stephanos, a tomb type commonly observed in the far eastern part of the island.²³⁵ As in the Lasithi plateau, many sites in the west Siteia mountains are characterized

²³² See Borgna 2003, 156 for additional references.

²³³ These tombs were identified from at least 16 sites, including Adromyloi, Ag. Ioannis, Chalasmenos, Kavousi, Schoinokapsala, Achladia (offerings only), Ag. Stephanos, Chamaizi, Koutsouras (?), Krya, Lastros, Makriyalos (?), Mesa Mouliana, Mochlos (offerings only), Myrsini, Orino, Pefkoi, Skopi, and Tourloti.

²³⁴ At Myrsini, the specific location and type of burials attributed to the Geometric period have not been published.

by the presence of small tholos tombs located near their associated defensible settlements.²³⁶

Only small tholoi have been identified near the defensible settlements of Ag. Ioannis, Chalasmenos, Schoinokapsala, Chamaizi, and Skopi. The small tholos is also the only known tomb type from Mesa Mouliana, though the settlement location for this site is uncertain, possibly Kastello Myrsini. In addition, this tomb form comprises the primary burial type for Orino and Pefkoi, both of which also had an LM IIIB/C rock shelter, Krya, which also had pseudotholoi and one possible chamber tomb, and Adromyloi, which also had one possible chamber tomb; furthermore, these four sites were associated with defensible settlements. Several of the defensible settlements to which the west Siteia mountain tholos tombs belonged remained inhabited for longer periods of time than sites in the Lasithi plateau. Indeed, some settlements lasted into the Archaic period, though no known polis existed at any of these sites.

The majority of small tholos tombs in the west Siteia area show limited diversity in tomb construction or grave goods, a condition also observable in the Lasithi plateau. A few tombs at only a handful of sites, however, stand out in the wealth of grave goods. The Mesa Mouliana tholoi, for example, are especially noteworthy in the richness of their contents. Nowicki notes that the owners of these tombs may have been warriors or local chieftains, though the early LM IIIC date of the burials may reflect the final phase of the previous (LM IIIA-B) “Mycenaean” hierarchy, rather than complex social stratification at the beginning of the EIA.²³⁷ Furthermore, one or possibly two tombs from Adromyloi and a single tomb from

²³⁵ The exact nature of EIA burials at Koutsouras and Makriyalos remains uncertain.

²³⁶ Nowicki 1990, 2000, 2004.

²³⁷ Nowicki 2004, 277-279. This may also be the case with the relatively wealthy IIIC tomb at Praisos Photoula. See also Kanta 2003, who considers these tombs, as well as Praisos Photoula, to be warrior graves.

Chamaizi appear to have been significantly more wealthy than the other tholoi at the site. The individual tombs from both of these sites, however, have not been adequately published and their chronology and contents remain poorly understood. Although the evidence is limited, these particular tombs appear to date to the Protogeometric period or later. The cemeteries of both sites also remained in use for a much longer period of time than those found in the Lasithi plateau area. It is thus possible that the apparent increase in grave good diversity at these sites, longer continuity of tomb use, and the later date of the most noteworthy tombs may provide one indication of the early phases of the increasing social complexity, changing socio-political structure, and increasing population which eventually led to the development of the polis at other sites.²³⁸ As the evidence is limited, it is also possible that the finds in these tholoi do not indicate clear distinctions in social status, but merely greater wealth for an individual or family.

A significant exception in the west Siteia region is the site of Kavousi, which has several distinct burial areas,²³⁹ containing among them one large and several small tholos tombs, burial enclosures, cairns of stone, and a pithos burial. Varying degrees of wealth are observed in the grave goods, which considered along with the presence of distinct burial areas and tomb types, may be indicative of a changing socio-political structure, perhaps becoming more complex; this variability would seem to provide a good predictor of the changes to come – the eventual urban nucleation at Azoria in the Archaic period.²⁴⁰ A similar diversification of tomb types at LM II Knossos, as well as on the mainland in LH I

²³⁸ Cf. Hägg 1983, who sees changes in LG burial customs at Argos as related to the emergence of the polis. For example, by EG some larger sized cist graves existed with richer contents than observed in PG.

²³⁹ Distinct burial areas are also visible at Adromyloi and Pefkoi, and possibly Chamaizi/Skopi and Krya.

²⁴⁰ Haggis et al. 2004, especially 390-393; 2006. Azoria may, in fact, have become a polis in the Archaic period.

and II, is interpreted by Preston as reflecting or even contributing to the social changes occurring at the time, with mortuary practices beginning to be employed as a forum for status display.²⁴¹ Some of the burial distinctions at Kavousi are primarily chronological; for example, most small tholoi pre-date the burial enclosures and the large tholos, as well as the wealthiest tombs, appear to be late in date. Although the use of distinct burial areas may, on the one hand, reflect the presence of different family groups, originally associated with different hamlets or villages in the vicinity (Vronda, Kastro, Azoria, and perhaps Panagia Skala), there may also have been distinctions in status for burial at certain locations.²⁴² Skouriasmenos, and possibly Plai tou Kastrou and Aloni, may have served as elite cemeteries in the later part of the period, as indicated by the fact that their grave goods tend to be wealthier than those of other tombs, as well as the continued use in LG of the tholos form at these locations after the majority of the population had switched to interment in burial enclosures. Although the household or extended family may have remained the most significant unit for social organization at Kavousi throughout the Early Iron Age, the diversity in burial practices appears to reveal the beginnings of differentiation in social status by the end of the period.²⁴³

²⁴¹ Preston 1999.

²⁴² Haggis (1992, 1993, 1996) has identified the EIA settlement pattern of the Kavousi area as comprised of site clusters; hamlets within the cluster would have been socially and economically dependent, and probably originally comprised of extended families. This type of site pattern appears also to have existed at Pefkoi (Nowicki 1994).

²⁴³ In addition, movement between Kavousi sites occurred throughout the EIA, though connection to traditional hamlets (old community identity) is clearly illustrated by the Vronda burials, especially the LG burial enclosures constructed within the old houses, which post-date the abandonment of the village. An additional, though perhaps slightly different example of the desire for connection with the past can be seen in the offerings or dedications observed at a single pre-EIA tomb at Mochlos and Achladia, both also in the west Siteia mountains.

The sites in the west Siteia mountains thus show an overall similarity in their adherence to old traditions, manifested especially in the predominant use of the small tholos and the limited use of caves or rock shelters; it is possible, however, that the limited presence of cremation at some sites but not at others is significant. That said, influences are visible at certain sites, ostensibly coming from the two major transportation routes flanking the mountains on both the east (in the area of the Ierapetra isthmus) and the west (the north-south route from Siteia to Ierapetra). In addition, factors such as increasing differentiation in wealth, greater continuity in tomb use, and variation in tomb type may reflect the beginnings of increasing social complexity, possibly as early as PG or G, at certain sites in this area.

Mirabello and Ierapetra Isthmus (area 3 and border zone to east on fig. 184)

Catalogued sites from this area include Anavlochos, Dreros, Kritsa, Milatos, Olous, Vrachasi, Vrokastro, Braimiana, Episkopi, Kalamafka, Meseleroi, Parsa, Vasiliki, Viannos, and possibly Arvi, and over 93 Early Iron Age tombs have been uncovered from at least 25 locations. From the area designated as 3b on fig. 184, the majority of known sites were of the defensible type, characterized by small tholos tombs, the use of which would appear to indicate a connection with the more traditional areas to the west, especially the east Lasithi mountains.²⁴⁴ Kritsa may also belong with this group of sites, or with the Lasithi burials, though the presence of both chamber tombs and tholoi distinguish it from the other sites in both areas. An unusual potential burial site is the PG-G cave at Parsa; although burial caves and rock shelters are relatively common throughout the EIA in the far eastern part of the island, this is the only known example from this region.

²⁴⁴ Although Kalamafka may have developed into a polis, the known EIA tholoi were found much closer to Anatoli than Kalamafka. Also, the associated settlements of Braimiana and Vasiliki Kamaraki (possibly either Vasiliki Kephala or Chalasmenos) remain unknown.

The border zone (Ierapetra isthmus) between Mirabello and the west Siteia mountains is located in the plain at the narrowest point of the island. Although this area represents a major transportation route, both modern and ancient, the few known burials are perhaps less distinct from those of the neighboring regions than those observed in the border zone between the west Siteia mountains and the far east. The relatively large size, presence of Attic imports, and location potentially far from an associated settlement and in the plain, rather than on a hillside, of the Vasiliki Kamaraki tholos, however, differentiate it somewhat from the typical examples of the small tholos found in the surrounding areas; these features may be representative of the communication or movement of peoples likely taking place in this area. While the nearby small tholoi of both Vasiliki Kephala and Chalasmenos may more properly belong in this border zone, neither displays any features which distinguish it from the other examples found in neighboring regions. The final site from the Ierapetra isthmus is Episkopi. The limited EIA funerary evidence from the chamber tombs at this site seems to represent the final activity in the LM III cemetery, belonging to a former settlement of the previous tradition rather than a new EIA one; this same practice was also seen at Tourloti and Myrsini in the west Siteia mountains.

A different tradition is observed with the remaining sites of this region – Anavlochos, Dreros, Vrokastro, Milatos, and Meseleroi (see area 3a on fig. 184).²⁴⁵ The Early Iron Age burial information at Milatos is unclear; the limited LM IIIC remains in chamber tombs belong with the IIIA-C settlement, not the EIA, and nothing is known of the Geometric burials. The relation of Milatos to the other sites of this region thus remains unknown.²⁴⁶ At

²⁴⁵ Evidence for EIA burials at Olous remains uncertain, and the only evidence from Vrachasi comes from vases brought to the museum.

²⁴⁶ Nowicki (2000, 247) has suggested that Anavlochos may have served as the acropolis of Milatos.

Dreros, Anavlochos, and Vrokastro, on the other hand, the earliest tombs appear to have been small tholos tombs, though only one possible example was found at Dreros. As early as PGB, a change occurs at these locations to primarily burial enclosures, though none of the above sites has a tholos of the large type.²⁴⁷ In addition, the shift from small tholoi to burial enclosures was accompanied by a change in interment practice from primarily inhumation to cremation. The burial enclosure may, in fact, represent an eastern regional type for northern Mirabello in the second half of the Early Iron Age; this same tomb type then later appears further east at Kavousi in MG or LG and possibly at Praisos in EO.²⁴⁸

Although the burial enclosure became the primary form of burial at these sites at the end of the EIA, its use and significance may have varied from site to site. At Dreros, the graves were organized in one clearly defined cemetery and typically consisted of single compartments with only one or two individuals per tomb. At Vrokastro, on the other hand, the enclosures were comprised of one-five compartments, often with multiple burials, and they were scattered around the settlement, frequently placed near older tholos tombs. The number of burials per tomb is unknown at Anavlochos, though seven tombs were placed together on top of a small hill. The Vrokastro, and possibly Anavlochos examples, like those at Kavousi Vronda, actually show little distinction from the basic practices observed in the former small tholos tombs, aside from the obvious new tomb form and widespread use of cremation. In other words, the presence of multiple burials in most tombs, as well as the association with earlier tholos tombs and even former houses at Vronda, implies that no

²⁴⁷ It is still possible that a large tholos could remain to be discovered at these sites. Burial enclosures may also have existed at Meseleroi, though their identification has not been confirmed. In addition, the extent of pithos burial at Anavlochos is unknown; in fact, their presence has not been confirmed.

²⁴⁸ It is not clear, however, how Meseleroi with its LG pits with pithoi and pseudotholoi fits into this picture. Meseleroi, along with Milatos, continued beyond the Archaic period, while the other sites, including Kavousi Azoria were all abandoned or destroyed by the end of the Archaic period.

significant change in ideology has yet taken place. The extended family still seems to have been the most significant element socially. These tombs thus show no signs of developing the larger ‘group’ or community identity often attributed to the polis, though the apparent overall, widespread adoption of a new burial method and form may be indicative of the fact that things are changing.²⁴⁹ At Dreros, however, the presence of a single, defined cemetery area and lower number of burials per tomb could signify the beginning of an ideological change, with the focus becoming more on a larger group or community, possibly even the clan, as the site develops toward the polis.²⁵⁰

The settlements in the northern Mirabello area were placed on the outer edge of the mountainous area in high commanding inaccessible locations, as also in the southern area. Sjögren states that in the Mirabello region a true nucleated pattern developed only in the Dreros mountains.²⁵¹ Meseleroi was comprised of dispersed sites of different size in the Early Iron Age and may not have become an urban center until the Classical period. In addition, the settlement pattern of the Vrokastro area consisted of main settlements with a halo of ancillary sites, rather than a cluster of equal sized sites as at Kavousi, which explains the wide-distribution of EIA tombs.²⁵² All of the sites in the Mirabello area, however, show some signs of nucleation by the end of the period, with Anavlochos, Dreros, Milatos, and Meseleroi eventually becoming poleis or at least large towns.

²⁴⁹ See for example, Morris 1987; Whitley 2001, 185-188. See also Wallace 2003, 268, who states that while the extended lineage may have become more important during the PG-A periods, as a result of the formation of larger-scale authorities based at the nucleated settlements, these family groups still felt a need to preserve their own specific identities. This practice can be illustrated by the use at Vronda of old houses for some burial enclosures.

²⁵⁰ As other contemporary burial types have not yet been found at Vrokastro, Dreros, or Anavlochos, it is not possible to confirm that the burial enclosure was not restricted to a certain group of people.

²⁵¹ Sjögren 2001, 124-127.

²⁵² Hayden 1995, for Meseleroi; Hayden 2004, 146, for Vrokastro.

The Mirabello (north and south) and Ierapetra isthmus areas were important border zones, and they thus exhibited the mixed traditions typical of such areas. The tombs in the southern part of Mirabello are characterized more by their adherence to tradition, exhibited especially in the continued use of the small tholos tombs. Those from the northern area, however, show a greater degree of diversity in tomb type and burial practice; in fact, this may have been the first area of the east to acquire new traditions and adapt to the changes which first began occurring in central Crete, as perhaps seen in the early use of the burial enclosure at Vrokastro, Anavlochos, and Dreros.²⁵³

Conclusion for East Crete

In eastern Crete, the majority of LM IIIC-SM burials were associated with settlements located in relatively inaccessible mountainous locations. While the small tholos was the characteristic tomb form in this early period for most sites in the Lasithi, west Siteia mountain, and Mirabello regions, caves and rock shelters were most commonly used for burial in the far eastern area. In general, the tombs dating to the beginning of the Early Iron Age show little variety in type, construction, or manner of burial. Regional and local differences are observable in the funerary material, however, such as the use of the masonry enclosure on small tholoi in the Lasithi region. Also, the grave goods from these tombs do not appear to show significant variation in degrees of wealth, with a few possible exceptions. For the majority of sites, therefore, the overall similarities would seem to indicate the presence of limited social diversity during the LM IIIC-SM period. Furthermore, these sites were likely characterized by a typical ‘village’ organization based on lineage, with the

²⁵³ In addition, some sites in this region, such as Vrokastro, due to the proximity of a port, may have had direct contacts with many areas of the Aegean, especially with mainland Greece, through small scale trade, exchange of gifts, movement of population, etc. This may partially explain the presence of more elaborate (wealthier) grave goods in several tombs (but especially Vrokastro T.I). Tsipopoulou, Vagnetti, Liston 2003, 110.

household or extended family forming the basic unit. In addition, certain sites, such as Kavousi, Vrokastro, and Pefkoi, were characterized at this time by the presence of clusters of villages or hamlets, attested partially by their multiple and scattered burial areas.²⁵⁴

Many of these defensible sites were abandoned by or during the Protogeometric period, as nucleation started occurring at some of the remaining sites. Although changes toward the development of the polis occurred later in the east than in central Crete, with the city-state apparently not being established at any site before the Late Geometric period,²⁵⁵ potential signs of increasing social complexity are visible in some burials as early as PG; for example, a limited number of tombs, as at Adromyloi, Chamaizi, Vrokastro, and Kavousi, begin to stand out in wealth of grave goods during this period. As early as PGB, the switch from inhumation in small tholoi to cremation in burial enclosures begins at Anavlochos, Dreros, and Vrokastro in the northern Mirabello region, though the practice does not appear to reach Kavousi in the west Siteia mountains until MG or LG. While the introduction of new burial practices does not in and of itself necessarily indicate a changing socio-political structure, the organization of these new burial enclosures within a specific cemetery area may, as at Dreros and possibly at Kavousi. An additional indicator of increasing social complexity at certain sites can be observed in the use of a single, large tholos at Kavousi and Praisos in LG; at the time that these large tholoi were in use, the small tholos was no longer the primary form of burial at either site, and settlements at both sites appear to have become poleis in LG or A. In addition, Kavousi and especially Praisos are characterized by a diversity of tomb types during this period.

²⁵⁴ E.g., Haggis 1996, 414; Prent 2005, 118-121. See also Wallace 2003, 268-271.

²⁵⁵ E.g., Whitley, Prent, and Thorne (1999, 252-253) consider the basic form of the city to have been established at Praisos by LG. See also Haggis et al. 2004; 2006, for Azoria, where major changes did not occur until the beginning of the Archaic period.

The late development of the polis at eastern sites may be partially attributable to the nature of the village organization present at sites such as Kavousi and Vrokastro. This type of socio-political organization appears to have created a much more stable environment than that observed in central Crete, the result of which may thus have been a relatively smooth, or at least slower, transition towards urbanization and the development of poleis-like towns, with socio-political changes and new traditions being more gradually assimilated.²⁵⁶

Regardless of the rate of transition, a clear increase in social diversity and complexity is visible at some sites by the end of the period; this is observed primarily in the appearance of the large tholos, as well as greater diversity in tomb type and wealth of grave goods.

Central (area 5 on fig. 184)

Northern Area (zone 5a on fig. 184)

The northern area of central Crete contains burials at over 60 locations and with a minimum of 525 tombs.²⁵⁷ The current evidence suggests that the majority of those sites utilized only a single form of burial in the Early Iron Age; only chamber tombs have been found at Elia, Phoinikia, Aitania, Tylissos, and possibly Kavrochori, Ag. Marina, and Kato Vatheia, while only pits or pithos burials were found at Stavrakia, Stamnioi, Arkalochori,

²⁵⁶ There may also have been fewer outsiders (mainlanders, Dorians, etc.) in this area than in central Crete, or else their arrival or influence was later, making any competition or power struggles less intense. Cf. Whitley 1991, who believes that such sites were “unstable.” See also Voutsaki 1998, who compares burial practices of Messenia and the Argolid in the Mycenaean period. Cf. EIA east Crete development of the polis with MH-LH Messenia, where a much smoother transition to emergence of palatial system appears to have occurred than in the Argolid.

²⁵⁷ Tombs have been identified from approximately 31 sites. The sites considered to be in this region are Ag. Marina, Ag. Pelagia, Kavrochori, Krousonas, Prinias, Stavrakia, Tylissos, Arkalochori, Aitania, Alitzani, Anopolis, Elia, Episkopi, Kato Vatheia, Kounavoi, Koxari, Malia, Smari, Stamnioi, Vatheianos Kambos (?), Zinda, Ag. Syllas, Ag. Vlasias, Archanes, Herakleion, Katsamba, Knossos, Mt. Juktas, Nea Halikarnassos, Phoinikia, Prof. Ilias, and Tsangaraki. Lyttos is also considered to be in this regions, though it may belong more with Lasithi, but no burials have yet been found.

Alitzani, Anopolis, Koxari, and possibly Episkopi, Smari, and Krousonas.²⁵⁸ It is possible, however, that some of the sites had burials of both types; these tombs are often poorly described in the sources and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them (chambers versus pits; pithoi in pits versus not in pits). Nearly all of these tombs contained cremation burials, the pithoi and pits typically with only one individual per tomb and the chamber tombs with one or multiple burials. Furthermore, chamber tombs were used throughout the Early Iron Age, while the pit graves and pithos burials tended to be later in date, especially G (LG), though there is some overlap. The extent of EIA burial at these sites is difficult to determine, however, as none has been completely excavated, the majority of remains derive from old excavations, and most of the finds and tomb information have not been published. In addition, burials at certain other northern sites have been identified solely on the basis of pottery observed in survey or brought to museums, such as Ag. Syllas, Ag. Vlasis, Tsangaraki, Zinda, as well as most of the evidence from Mt. Juktas, and their tomb types thus remain unknown.

For the majority of the above-mentioned sites, the settlement has not yet been located. The large number of sites and scattered distribution of these tombs may, however, reflect the settlement pattern for this region, as identified by Sjögren (for the 8th century at least), of small, widespread villages and farmsteads.²⁵⁹ In addition to the presence of numerous small villages, Nowicki has identified a few defensible settlements on hills in the area, including Smari, Prinias, Krousonas, Profitis Ilias and Lyttos. The defensible sites in this area were far

²⁵⁸ The evidence from Ag. Pelagia seems to indicate that only chamber tombs were found, though the EIA finds may actually represent the final phases of use of the LM IIIB cemetery.

²⁵⁹ Sjögren 2001, 111-114. In fact, Sjögren (2001, 112) states that the identification of densely scattered habitation sites in the lowlands of this area is “mainly illustrated by the number of burial sites that must have belonged to habitation sites which have yet to be discovered.”

less inaccessible than those sites found in the east, though geographically they still dominated the areas around them.²⁶⁰ Furthermore, as opposed to the pattern observed in eastern and western Crete, no defensible settlements were abandoned at the end of LM IIIC in central Crete, and many expanded their borders rapidly during PG.²⁶¹ The strongest sites of this type became “the centers of a new settlement system,” as well as modified and put into place in PG the foundations of the later system of the city-state; nucleated centers developed much faster in central Crete than in the east, possibly because the cluster-type settlement pattern identified at several eastern sites did not exist in this area.²⁶² Among these sites, Knossos, Prinias, Lyttos, and possibly Kounavoi eventually become poleis, while Krousonas, Ag. Pelagia, and Profitis Ilias become large towns.

As a result of the nucleation process and population growth rapidly occurring at certain north-central sites, more complex social structures were developing, one aspect of which was the rise of emerging elites. This rapid development of new social and political structures thus likely involved attempts by individuals or families to gain new dominance or maintain old authority. The power struggles that occurred during this developmental period may be reflected in some instances in an increasing distinction in burial types, grave goods (especially at Knossos), and funerary rituals.²⁶³ Those sites with the greatest number of (i.e.,

²⁶⁰ Nowicki 2000, 241-242.

²⁶¹ Nowicki (2000, 241-247) states that outsiders dominated central Crete first, with a quicker assimilation than in the east.

²⁶² Nowicki 2000, 246-247.

²⁶³ Cf. Preston 1999, 143, where a diversification of tomb types (at LM II Knossos, as well as on the mainland in LH I and II) is interpreted as a response (and contributor) to social changes. Also Preston 2004, for LM I-III B Crete. Coldstream and Catling (1996, 715-720) prefer to view the use of distinct grave types and goods in SM Knossos to reflect different elements of the population, though they also consider the wealthy pit cave burials to provide evidence of a hierarchical society. For the most part, however, they see no real evidence for social hierarchy within the North Cemetery, stating that with few exceptions “offering types repeat themselves almost monotonously.” “The overwhelming impression of the North Cemetery’s Dark Age population is of individuals

variety in) tomb types (Knossos, Prinias, Kounavoi), for example, tend to be those which develop into poleis at some time during the Early Iron Age, or at least make significant developments towards the city-state during that period. This diversity in tomb type may, in fact, be a possible indicator of social organization becoming increasingly complex at these sites, though it could also show the presence of a mixed population.

The three sites with the greatest variety in tomb types all also contained tholoi of both the large and small variety; the tholos is not the primary form of burial at any of these sites, though it does appear to represent the second phase of burial at Prinias rather than a few isolated examples.²⁶⁴ In fact, new tholoi appeared in north-central Crete during the Early Iron Age at only these three sites (Knossos, Prinias, Kounavoi). The use of the tholos form in this area of Crete appears to show some connection to old ideologies or a desire to be associated with them; the re-use of BA tombs at both Knossos and Archanes, as well as the Geometric re-use of or offerings in an LM III chamber tomb at Malia, may have served a similar function.²⁶⁵ An elite distinction, or desire to be perceived as such, seems in particular to have been associated with tholoi of the large variety in all areas of Crete in which they appear. In contrast to eastern Crete, in the north-central part of the island there may also have been a special meaning or significance attached to the tholos tomb in general, especially when used late in the period. The fact that tholos tombs were so rare in this area in the Early Iron Age may indicate that they were used by emerging, and potentially competing, elites as

who had much in common, not least their status, not all of whom were either able or willing to advertise their success in life by the same degree of consumption in death as some of their peers.”

²⁶⁴ The widespread use of tholoi at Prinias may also be due to its location on the border with Rethymnon Nomos, possibly indicating the influence of different traditions. In addition, Prinias was located on one of the natural passages from the north coast to the south.

²⁶⁵ The apparent use of a true cist tomb at Malia is very unusual for the Early Iron Age on Crete. See also Coldstream 1998, for evidence from the EIA Knossos North Cemetery of a reviving interest in the Minoan past.

a source of, or justification for, power or socio-political status, drawing on old symbols in order to show a connection (real or perceived) with the past and/or old authority; this would thus appear to provide a clear reflection of the increasing social diversity and complexity that were occurring at certain sites during the period.²⁶⁶

Southern Area (zones 5b-c and border zones with Lasithi to the east and with Rethymnon to the west)

The area to be discussed in this section consists of the Mesara, southern Lasithi (included in the border zone with Lasithi to the east), and the border zone with Rethymnon to the west. Early Iron Age burials have been identified from 17-18 sites, at approximately 30 locations with over 250 tombs.²⁶⁷ In terms of settlement patterns, while many rural settlements of south-central Crete were abandoned in LM IIIB, settlement in the western Mesara became polarized into two types in LM IIIC: large settlements in the plain (Phaistos and Gortyn) and smaller sites (Vigla, Kourtes, Kophinas) in defensible mountain locations.²⁶⁸ Sjögren suggests that in the eighth century, and likely much earlier, a single site dominated a part of the plain and various small sites in their vicinity; each of these sites eventually developed into a polis or large urban center: Phaistos for the west, Gortyn for central, and Arkades for the east.²⁶⁹ In addition, Nowicki states that while defensible settlements existed

²⁶⁶ See also Borgna 2003; Prent 2003; Wallace 2003, 268-271, 275-277. Also cf. Preston 1999, 143, for LM II burials at Knossos. Prent (2003, 90, 97) indicates that ruin cults were more prevalent in central Crete than eastern. These cults represented deliberate attempts at forming an association with the BA past, and they “provided instruments for articulation and legitimization of the claims to power and authority of rising aristocratic groups.”

²⁶⁷ Area 5b consists of Ag. Deka, Ampelouzos, Gortyn, Petrokephali, Valis (?), Ag. Triada (possible offerings), Kamilari, Phaistos, and Sivas, and area 5c includes Ag. Paraskies, Ligortynos, and Rotasi. The eastern border zone has Arkades, Erganos, Nipiditos (?), and Panagia, though Arvi and Viannos could arguably be included here instead of with south Mirabello, and the western border zone contains Kamares and Kourtes.

²⁶⁸ Watrous et al. 2004, 307-314. They further suggest that the smaller sites may have been perioikic communities dependent on the polis of Phaistos or Gortyn.

in this area, as in the northern area, they were far less inaccessible than in the east, and a less dramatic shift in settlement occurred during the Early Iron Age, with inhabitants often moving only from the summit to foothills of same hill.²⁷⁰ From among the EIA sites in the southern area, defensible settlements existed at Kourtes, Ligortynos, Gortyn, Arkades, Erganos, and Panagia, and poleis eventually developed at Phaistos, Gortyn, Arkades, and possibly Rotasi.

The sites in southern Lasithi tend follow the same pattern as that observed within the Lasithi plateau further east, in that they were short-term defensible settlements with small tholoi containing a few inhumation burials. Arkades, which is located on the border between southern Lasithi and central Crete, differs from this pattern slightly. While the earliest tombs at the site, and also at Panagia, consist solely of small tholoi, the later tombs are comprised mainly of pithos burials and a few large tholoi; a large percentage of tombs of both types, however, appear to be of post-EIA date.²⁷¹ Arkades began as a small defensible settlement like other sites in Lasithi, but following an increase in its size and population, after the abandonment of other settlements in the area, it apparently developed into a polis by the end of the EIA. Clear distinctions are visible at Arkades in the small number of large, wealthy tholoi (with multiple burials, imported grave goods, and elaborate architectural constructions) and the typical covered pithoi with single burials and few grave goods. While tombs of both types occur in a single, large cemetery, the large tholoi are concentrated in a specific area of the site; furthermore, these tholoi, as at certain northern sites, may have represented an attempt by current aristocratic families or members of the ruling class to assert their authority

²⁶⁹ Sjögren 2001, 115-116.

²⁷⁰ Nowicki 2000, 241-247. Nowicki further states that no LM IIIC sites were abandoned in the Mesara.

²⁷¹ Two pit graves, two pseudotholoi, and three possible burial enclosures have also been identified at Arkades.

or status, or else a desire by old notable families, not necessarily currently in power, to present an image of retained influence and authority. Such distinctions, however, are really just beginning to appear at the end of the Early Iron Age at this site, as at the few polis sites in the eastern part of the island, and they become more pronounced in the period immediately following.

The sites in the mountainous border zone with Rethymnon to the west show many similarities to those observed in southern Lasithi and other areas in eastern Crete, as well as certain locations in the Rethymnon region, especially the Amari area. Kamares and Kourtes were both characterized by the use of small tholos tombs, which were likely associated with defensible settlements. Each site, however, has features which distinguish it slightly from other sites with small tholoi. Kourtes is unusual in its primarily PG date and the possible presence of one large tholos. The Kamares tholoi, on the other hand, appear to date primarily from LM IIIA-C, and one PG pithos burial has also been recovered from the area, though its tomb type is unknown. Kamares and Kourtes provide good examples of border zone sites, in that the small tholos form is like that commonly found to the west in the Amari area, while the possible large tholos and pithos burial are more reminiscent of tomb types found immediately to the south in the western Mesara.

As at Arkades and other future polis sites in north-central Crete, the largest and most dominant sites of the Mesara also show variety in tomb type and location; Gortyn (with Ag. Dekka) contains a single large tholos and pits/pithoi and Phaistos (with Petrokephali) has pits, chamber tombs, and one large tholos. The burials from these sites were mostly cremations and their general features show many similarities with examples found at sites in the northern area. Notably, each of these sites contained a single, large tholos tomb, containing many

cremations, and Phaistos also had one unusually large rock-cut chamber tomb. As previously mentioned with the northern burials and Arkades, the large tholos tomb may be illustrative of the emerging elites at these sites; in particular, the presence of a single or limited number of relatively wealthy, large tombs with many burials, as opposed to small pit or pithos burials typically with only one or two individuals, may indicate the emergence of elite groups or families, rather than just individuals. The importance of establishing a link, real or perceived, with the Bronze Age past is illustrated not only by the extremely limited use of the tholos form in this area, but also by the potential EIA offerings found at a single Bronze Age tomb at both Kamilari and Ag. Triada.²⁷²

The sites of Rotasi, Ag. Paraskies, and Ligortynos may form a small subregion within the larger area of central Crete (area 5c on fig. 184). Each of these sites contains a single tomb which shares many features with the large tholoi of the nearby Mesara but on a smaller scale. Rotasi and Ag. Paraskies each had a single, well-built small tholos with circular chamber of PG-EO/O date, and both tombs contained a large number of cremation burials. Although two other small tholoi are known from Rotasi, the majority of burials from the site appear to have been in a pithos cemetery, and the only other known burial from Ag. Paraskies was found in a rock hollow. A single chamber tomb has also been excavated at Ligortynos, but it had many features of the large tholoi, namely monolithic jambs and lintel, a circular chamber, late date (PGB-LG), and probably a large number of cremation burials. The selected tombs from these sites thus show more similarities in style, construction, date, and manner of burial with the large tholos tombs of the central Mesara and its northern border than with any other area. It is possible that the presence at each of these sites of a

²⁷² See also Prent 2003, for ruin cults at old palace sites.

single, noteworthy tomb may reflect an imitation, albeit on a smaller scale, of the 'elite' practices observed at the larger, more dominant sites in north and south central Crete.

In addition, of the remaining sites in south-central Crete, the burial evidence from Ampelouzos, Sivas, and Nipiditos derives solely from survey or pottery brought to the museum, at Kamilari the type of PG tomb found with a pithos burial remains unknown, and EIA burial in the BA tomb at Valis has not been confirmed.

Conclusion for Central Crete

While distinctions exist in mortuary behavior and settlement patterns between the northern and southern areas of central Crete, overall the similarities between the two regions are most noteworthy. In both areas, a limited number of sites appears to have become dominant, or at least larger than most other sites in the area, relatively early in the period. The limited use of the large tholos tomb, as well as the presence of offerings at certain Bronze Age tombs and former palatial ruins, appear to have served the same function throughout central Crete, namely deliberate association with the past. These tombs, and perhaps the offerings as well, were potentially used as a means of acquiring or justifying authority or status in the midst of the developing social and political structures of the Early Iron Age. Furthermore, this tomb type was particularly associated with those sites which eventually became poleis. Changes occurred much more swiftly in central Crete than in the east, thus making the use of such symbols potentially even more significant or influential in this area. Although the majority of sites in central Crete show an overall similarity in funerary tradition, some sites, especially those found at the southwest and southeast border zones of the region, show characteristics more typical of the immediately adjacent areas

(namely, the traditions of the Amari region to the west and of the Lasithi Mountains to the east).

Far Western (area 7 of fig. 184)

Relatively few Early Iron Age burials, and relatively few EIA sites of any type for that matter, have been identified thus far from the westernmost region of Crete, and all known tombs have been found in the northern part of the area. Only a total of 10 possible burial sites at up to 14 locations and more than 31 tombs have been uncovered in the Chania Nomos.²⁷³ No Early Iron Age tholoi have yet been found in this area of the island, and the majority of sites contain only a single type of tomb, either chamber tombs or pithos graves, similar to the pattern seen in the northern Herakleion region. Astrikas, Gavalomouri, Kavousi, Vouves, and possibly Kissamos are currently known to have had only chamber tombs; these tombs range in date from LPG-EO, and inhumation appears to have been the primary form of burial, though some cremation did occur. Pithos burial in pits is the sole form of interment found thus far at Aptera (LG-EO), Chania (PG, LG), and possibly Mousouras (SM/PG), and inhumation also appears to have been the primary funerary rite at these sites. Both burial types (chamber tombs and a child burial in a pithos) were found at Vryses, while Modi (PG-G) showed the greatest variety in tomb type, with chambers, pits, burial under overhanging rock, and pithos burials. Unfortunately, none of these sites has been well-published, making an analysis or identification of patterns in burial practice difficult for this region.

Settlements in the westernmost region of Crete are located primarily in the lowland and are in general not of the defensible type; in fact, according to Nowicki, Ag. Georgios

²⁷³ Sites in this area include Aptera, Astrikas, Gavalomouri, Kavousi, Kissamos, Vouves, Chania, Modi, Mousouras, and Vryses.

Vryses (LM IIIC-A) is the only possible defensible site in this area, located between two plains for which it could have controlled communication.²⁷⁴ For this region, Sjögren has identified a dispersed settlement pattern, comparable to that found on the north coast of central Crete, which persisted in the area until nucleation began in the 6th century B.C. Furthermore, she considers a pattern of possible urban agglomerations with access to the sea to have characterized certain areas in the north beginning by the end of the 8th c., while small, scattered habitation sites characterized the interior; this pattern differs from that of central Crete where urban sites were found at strategic, inland locations.²⁷⁵ Of the known sites with burials in the westernmost part of Crete, Aptaera and Chania were relatively large towns in LG, and both would eventually become poleis.²⁷⁶ In addition, Andreadaki-Vlasaki has identified a possible large village settlement pattern for several of the other sites in the region, in which neighboring settlements, such as Modi/Vryses and Gavalomouri/Vouves, together eventually formed one autonomous city or belonged to a polis.²⁷⁷

Those sites at which only chamber tombs were found thus appear to fit into the category of dispersed habitation sites, with Gavalomouri/Vouves perhaps being of the type identified by Andreadaki-Vlasaki; the limited available information suggests that these tombs contained few imports, and that loomweights, skuttles, weapons, and whetstones may have been significant or characteristic grave goods for this area. Of those sites with pithoi in pits

²⁷⁴ Nowicki 2000, 214. See also Moody 1987, 2004.

²⁷⁵ Sjögren 2001, 118-119.

²⁷⁶ Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991, 405-410, 415. The main settlement at Chania appears to have been abandoned sometime in LM IIIC and may not have been re-inhabited until LG. See also Borgna 2003, 168.

²⁷⁷ Andreadaki-Vlasaki (1985, 12-14, 30, 33; 1991, 420) states that Vryses and/or Modi may have been ancient Pergamon, while the city of Gavalomouri/Vouves is unknown, possibly Polichna. She also states that Kavousi may have belonged to Phalasarna, which was probably founded around this time, though the distance between the two is somewhat large.

only, both Aptera and Chania were large towns which later became poleis and may not have been founded until LG. In addition, the two sites with the greatest variability in mortuary practices (Vryses and especially Modi) appear to have been associated with each other, perhaps belonging to the defensible settlement at Ag. Georgios Vryses, which may later have become the ancient city-state of Pergamon.

The lack of tholoi in the Chania region during the Early Iron Age would seem to represent a continuation of the predominant LM tradition in the area of using primarily large and small rock-cut chamber tombs for burials. The poor dating and lack of publication of the EIA tombs, however, makes any identification of a switch from predominately chamber tombs to predominately pithos burials at the end of the period tentative. Furthermore, it remains unclear whether the paucity of sites and tombs, especially in the southern part of this region, is due primarily to a depopulation or movement of people, the changing political situation at the time, difficulty in identifying sites due to the type of vegetation found in many areas, or destruction caused by previous exploration in the area.²⁷⁸

In conclusion, many similarities exist between the burials of the westernmost region and those found in central Crete; these similarities are perhaps due to the level of previous “Mycenaean” presence or influence in the area, as partially illustrated by the elements of continuity in the burial tradition. One of the primary factors distinguishing the westernmost burials from those of central Crete is the persistence of inhumation throughout the period, though cremation does occur; the presence of certain unusual grave goods, such as skuttles and loomweights, may also represent significant variations in the funerary tradition between these two areas. While such distinctions do exist, overall the mortuary traditions of north central and far western Crete exhibit many similarities; far more differences in funerary

²⁷⁸ See for example, Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991, 42.

tradition are visible, however, between the westernmost region and the west-central region (Rethymnon).

West-Central (area 6 on fig. 184)

This region includes the sites of Atsipades, Koxare, Orne, Mesonisia, Pantanassa, Thronos, Eleutherna, Mesi, and Rethymnon with approximately 50-100 known Early Iron Age tombs.²⁷⁹ The small tholos may have been the primary tomb type at several sites: Orne, Pantanassa, where a pithos burial was also found, and possibly Koxare, though the burials from this site may have been associated with the Atsipades settlement. None of these has been fully excavated, however, and so the presence of other tomb types remains unknown. In addition, the burials at these sites may represent a continuation of the Amari tradition of small tholos tombs, as also seen at Kamares and Kourtes in the border zone with south-central Crete.²⁸⁰ Furthermore, all of the known tholoi from this area are LM IIIC-SM in date and associated with defensible settlements; Pantanassa does eventually become a large town, possibly the polis of Veni or Phalanna.

An Early Iron Age date for the burials in the rock shelter at Mesonisia is by no means certain, and any potential EIA presence at Mesi (a single LM IIIC amphora) would merely reflect the final phase of burial in an LM III cemetery. Furthermore, the burials at Thronos, which becomes a large town or polis, are of an unknown type. In addition, cremation urn cemeteries were found at Atsipades, which is unusual in its early date (LM IIIC) and early use of cremation, and Rethymnon, which is said to be Geometric in date, though this has not been confirmed. While the associated settlement of the Rethymnon burials has not yet been identified, the Atsipades cemetery belonged to a nearby defensible settlement. Finally,

²⁷⁹ The number of excavated tombs of this date at Eleutherna remains unpublished.

²⁸⁰ Kanta 1997, 2003. The Pantanassa burial is somewhat unusual in its contents, however.

Eleutherna is the most striking site of this region in its unusual burial types, consisting of a large chamber tomb, burial mounds, open burials, pithoi, and enclosures; this site also belonged to a defensible settlement in the Early Iron Age, though it later became a polis. The Eleutherna cemetery is unusual in its apparent distinctions of burial type and grave goods based upon age and sex. It is unclear, however, exactly what percentage of the burials from the Orthe Petra cemetery date to the Early Iron Age; in fact, the majority appear to date just after this period.

The area of west-central Crete was thus characterized throughout much of the Early Iron Age by the presence of defensible settlements; in fact, Nowicki mentions the continuation of LM IIIC defensible settlements in this region, and substantial growth during PG, at both Thronos and Pantanassa, while Atsipades was abandoned at the end of LM IIIC, and Orne early in IIIC, followed by a dispersion of settlement through the valleys below the site.²⁸¹ Similarly, Sjögren describes this area, in the 8th century at least, as being characterized in both the coastal areas and the mountain interior by a dispersed pattern of small village settlements of fairly equal status.²⁸² Polis development does occur, however, at Eleutherna, Thronos, both of which were on the main route from the north to the Mesara, and possibly Pantanassa.

Based on the limited available information, west-central Crete in the Early Iron Age thus appears to have been a mixed area, influenced simultaneously by several different tomb types and burial traditions. For example, a few early sites in the southeastern part of the region appear to have been influenced by the previous LM tradition of small tholos tombs, as also seen slightly further east at Kourtes and Kamares. On the other hand, the LM IIIC

²⁸¹ Nowicki 2000, 191-194.

²⁸² Sjögren 2001, 119-121.

cremation urn cemetery at Atsipades is unique for the entire island, as are certain later burial practices from Eleutherna. It is difficult, however, to determine any regional patterns in the funerary information, due to the small number of known and published sites.

Overall conclusion

The Early Iron Age on Crete was a period of transition, comprising the years after the final collapse of the palatial system in LM IIIB up to the development of the polis by the Archaic period. Over the course of this period, significant changes occurred in settlement patterns, ritual contexts, as well as in mortuary practices. EIA burial practices varied considerably throughout the island, as illustrated by the presence of numerous different tomb types, including the tholos, chamber tomb, pit grave, cave and rock shelter, pithos, pit cave, shaft grave, burial enclosure, cist grave, pseudotholos, intramural burial, mound/pyre burial, and cremation under a cairn of stones. An analysis of these tomb types, as well as the burial and grave good information, reveals new evidence regarding the extent of cultural diversity on the island during the Early Iron Age.

In this period, Crete was characterized by profound regionalism, as clearly indicated by the mortuary practices. Many of the variations in funerary tradition seem to follow geographical boundaries; for example, sites in the vicinity of transportation routes and other border zones often show the greatest degree of diversity from site to site, while traditional burial practices tend to be preserved for the longest in the most mountainous areas. Relatively distinct identifiable mortuary regions are: 1. Lasithi, 2. far eastern, 3. west Siteia mountains, 4. Mirabello (especially northern), 5. north and south central, 6. far western, and 7. west-central Crete. The most prominent transitional zones are the western and eastern

(especially southwestern and southeastern) edges of central Crete, the area around the north-south transportation route from Siteia to Ierapetra, and the Ierapetra isthmus.

The regional variability in Cretan burial practices can also be seen as reflecting the settlement patterns observed in the different areas of the island; this study thus serves to supplement recent works on Early Iron Age settlement patterns and cult practice. One of the most significant aspects of the EIA is that it comprises the formative period for the development of the polis, with the city-state potentially existing at several sites by the end of the period or shortly thereafter. The funerary evidence from the majority of sites, especially in the east, appears to reflect limited social stratification and a relatively 'simple' socio-political organization at the beginning of the period. Over the course of the Early Iron Age, however, movement is made toward the development of the polis or large nucleated centers; this was accompanied by, or resulted from, population growth, increasing social complexity, and a more hierarchical socio-political organization. These changes may be indicated in the mortuary record by features such as variations in tomb type at a single site, increasing diversity in wealth of grave goods, and the use of the large tholos tomb (in central and eastern Crete). Socio-political developments, as well as the concomitant changes in settlement patterns and burial practices, however, did not occur consistently throughout the island; some areas adopted new features at a slower rate than others, and outside or new influences were manifested in a variety of ways, depending upon location and previous tradition in a region.

One of the goals of this study was to assemble all of the known Early Iron Age Cretan burials and to provide an initial analysis of the funerary material. It is hoped that this analysis will contribute to future studies of this transitional period. Many related areas of

research were beyond the scope of this dissertation. Areas for future research include an analysis of the relationship between Early Iron Age Cretan burials and those from the mainland and nearby islands, especially Rhodes and Cyprus. Also, a detailed analysis of a specific region of Crete may allow for more definitive conclusions with regard to grave goods. Furthermore, re-dating and publishing the pottery from many old burial excavations on the basis of recent finds and ceramic analyses may allow for more precise sequencing of the tomb material; this information would then allow for more detailed or accurate conclusions about mortuary practices over the course of the Early Iron Age. Finally, the role of “Minoan” and “Mycenaean” symbols in the changing socio-political structure on EIA Crete should be explored in greater detail.

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Figure 1. Map of Aegean with study area



Figure 2. Districts of Crete

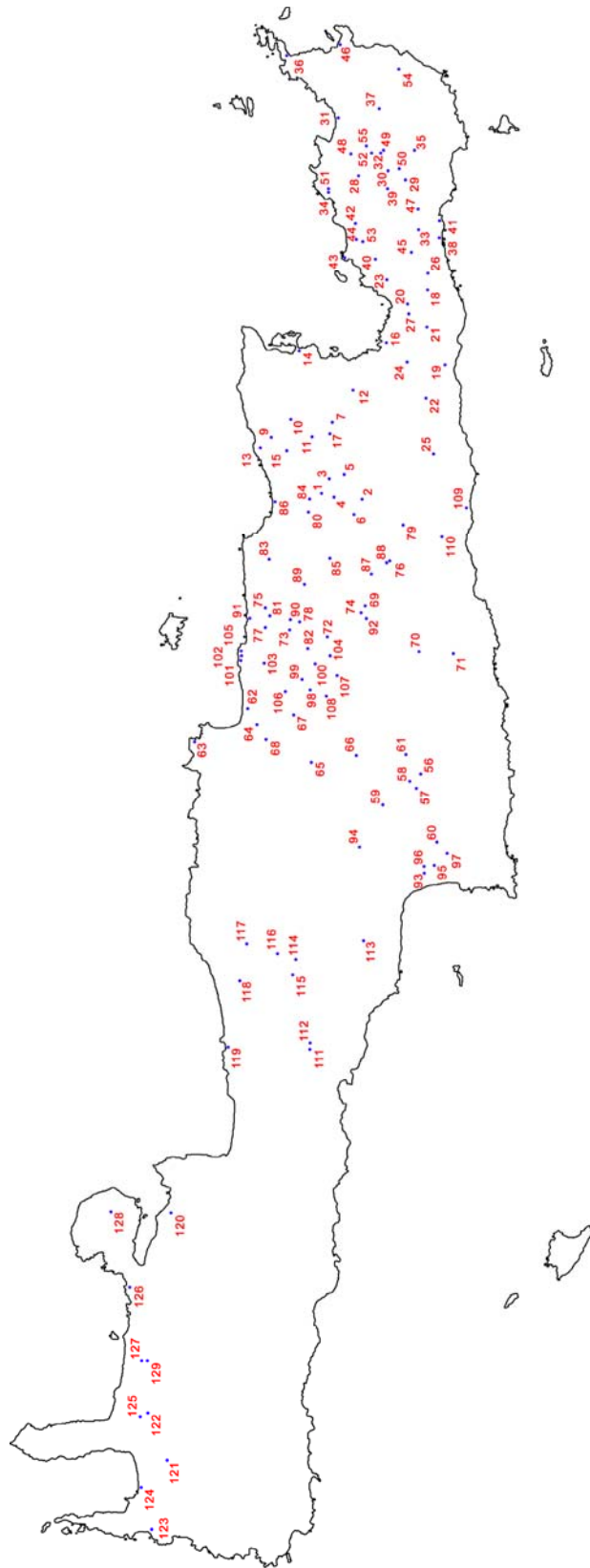


Figure 4. Map of burial sites (site numbers correspond to numbers used in Chapter 3)

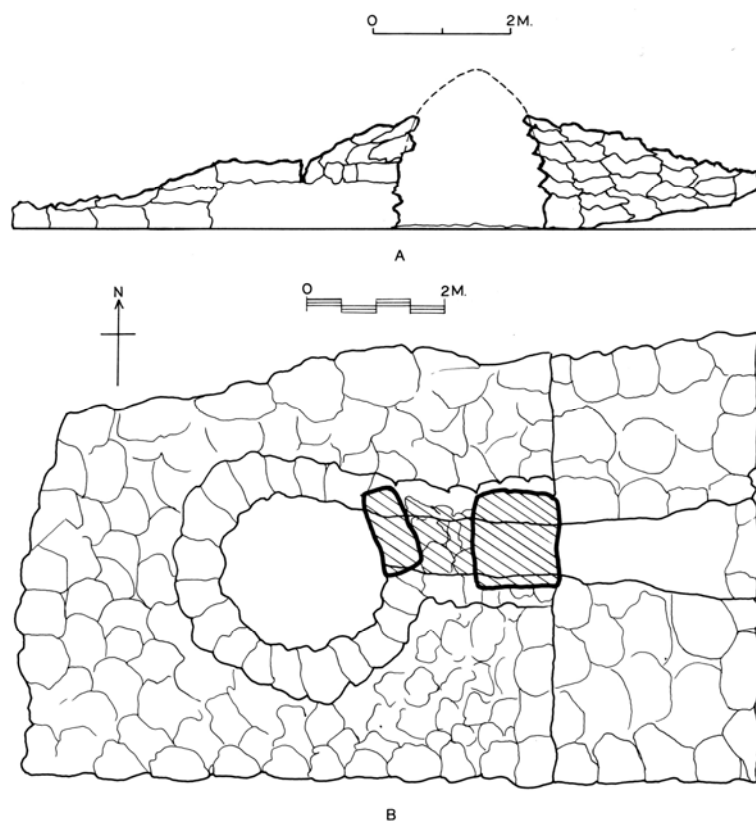


Figure 5. Section and plan of Papoura tholos
(Watrous 1980, 274, fig. 5)



Figure 6. View of Papoura tholos
(Watrous 1980, plate 23b)



Figure 7. View of Papoura tholos (wall of masonry enclosure)
(Watrous 1980, plate 23c)



Figure 8. Map of Karphi
(Nowicki 2000, 160, fig. 90)

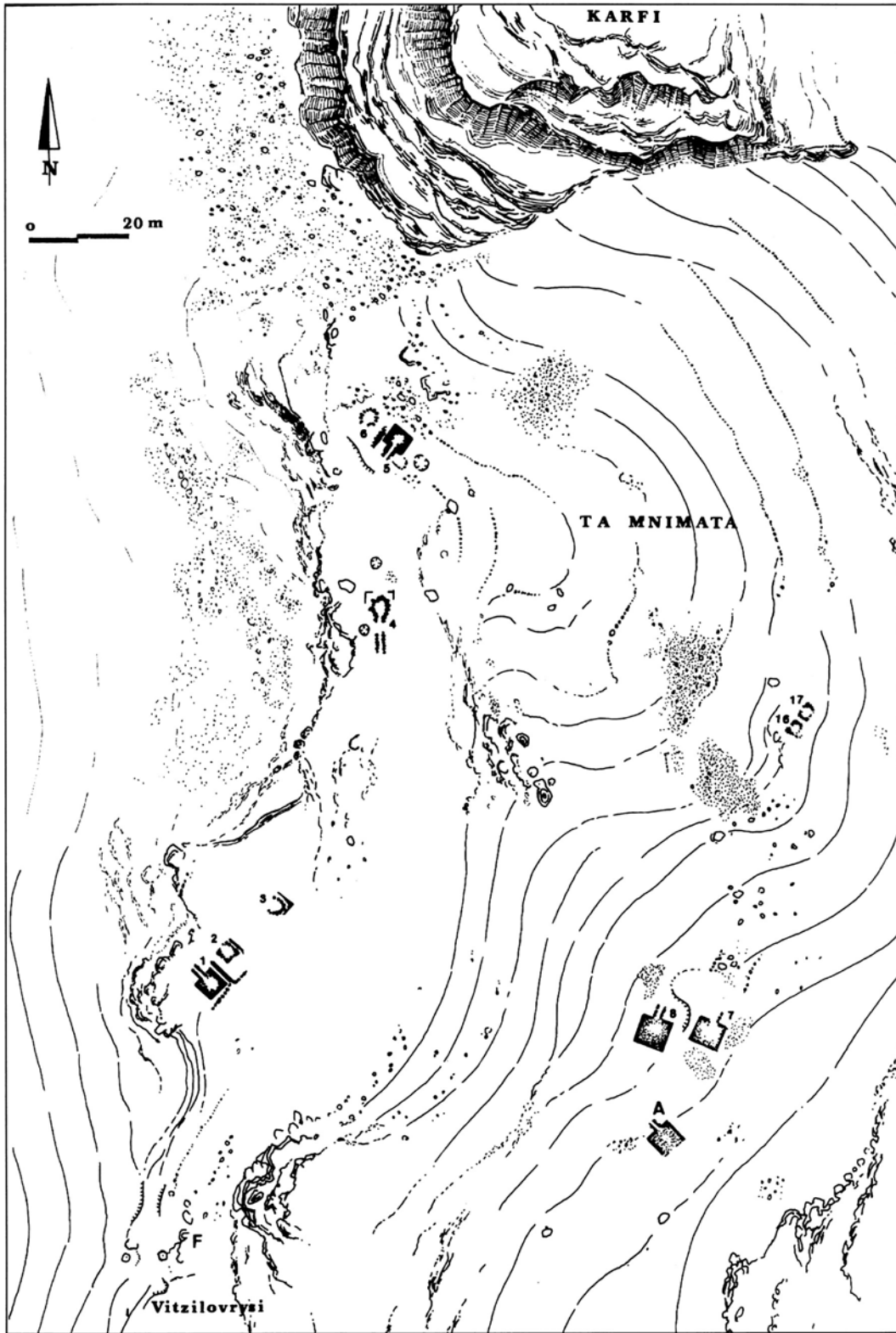


Figure 9. Plan of Ta Mnimata cemetery at Karphi
(Nowicki 1996, 46, fig. 10)

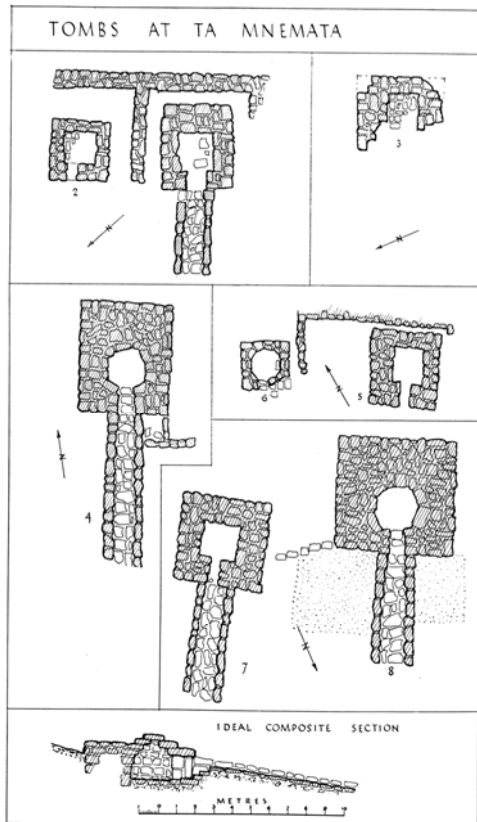


Figure 10. Plan of Karphi tombs
(Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, plate XII)

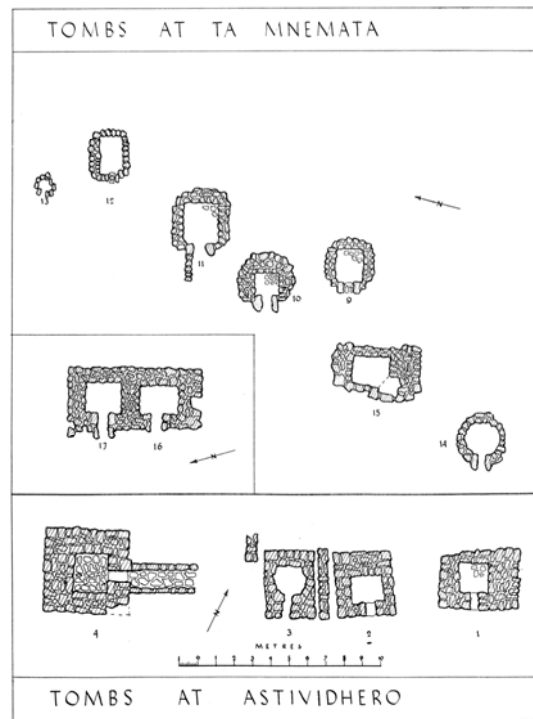


Figure 11. Plan of Karphi tombs
(Pendlebury et al. 1937-1938, plate XIII)



Figure 12. View of Karphi tomb M.17
(Photo by author)



Figure 13. Interior of Karphi tomb M.17
(Photo by author)



Figure 14. View of Karphi tomb M.16
(Photo by author)



Figure 15. View of Karphi tomb M.8 and enclosure
(Photo by author)



Figure 16. View of Karphi tomb M.A and enclosure
(Photo by author)



Figure 17. Plan of Adrianos tholos tomb
(Nowicki 2000, 119, fig. 56)

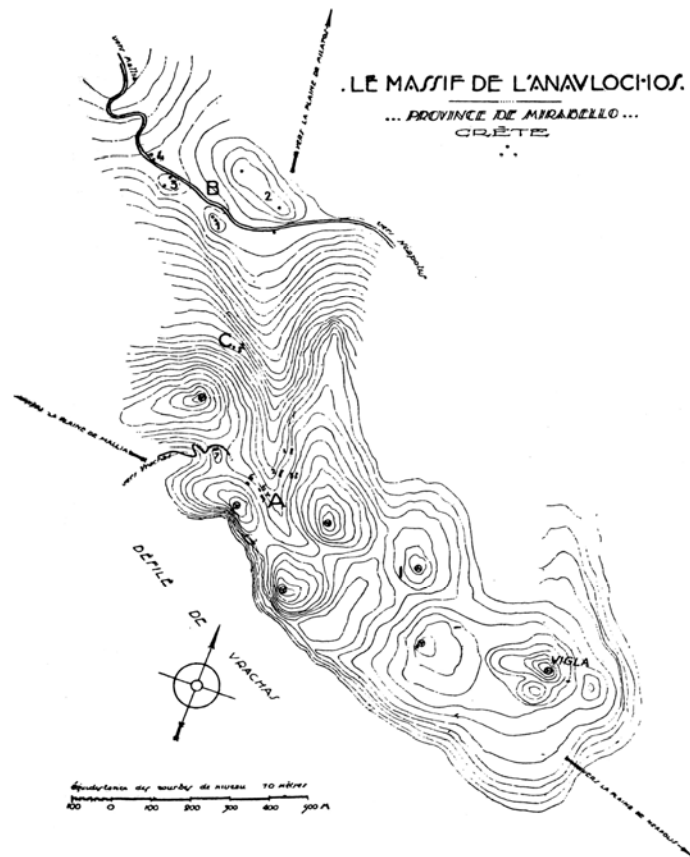


Figure 18. Map of Anavlochos
(A-area of settlement; B1-Lami burial enclosures; B2-tholoi; C-Kako Plai)
(Demargne 1931, 369, fig. 4)

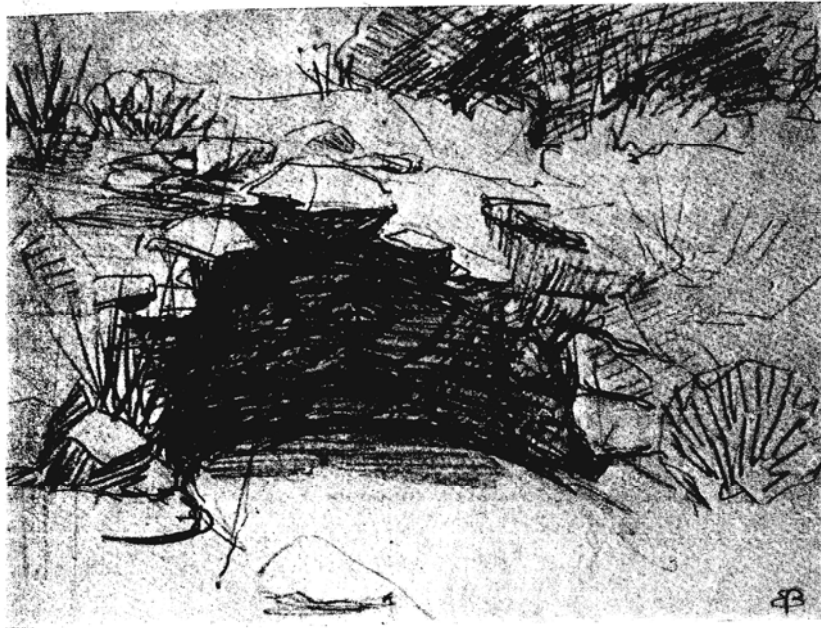


Figure 19. Drawing of Anavlochos tholos on hill B2
(Demargne 1931, 375, fig. 10)

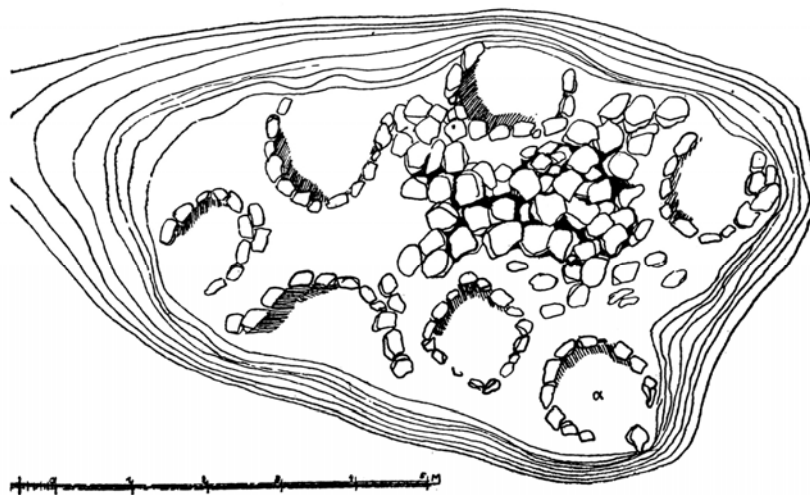


Figure 20. Plan of Anavlochos burial enclosures on hill B1
(Demargne 1931, 375, fig. 11)

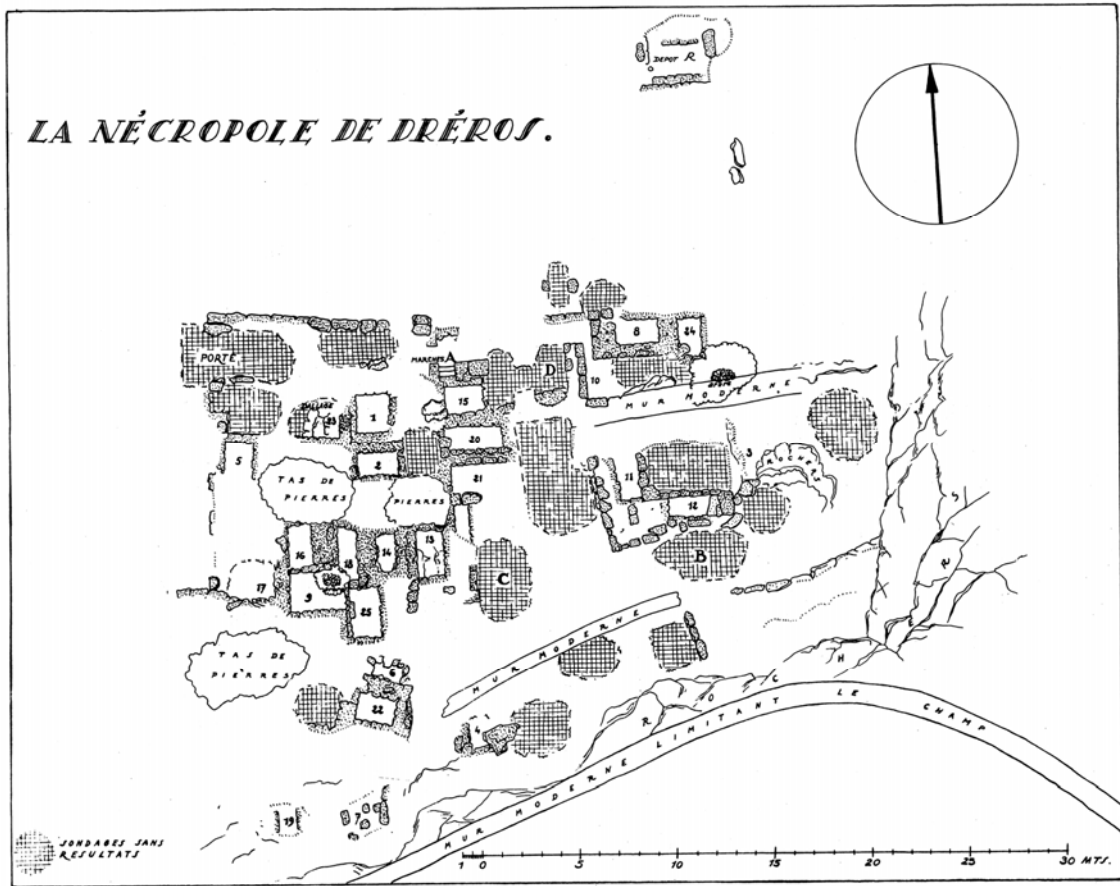


Figure 21. Plan of Dberos cemetery
(van Effenterre 1948, plate V)



Figure 22. Plan of Dberos tomb 8
(after van Effenterre 1948, plate XLII)



Figure 23. View of Dberos tomb 11
(van Effenterre 1948, plate XLIII)



Figure 24. View of Dreros tomb 11 (?)
(photo by author)

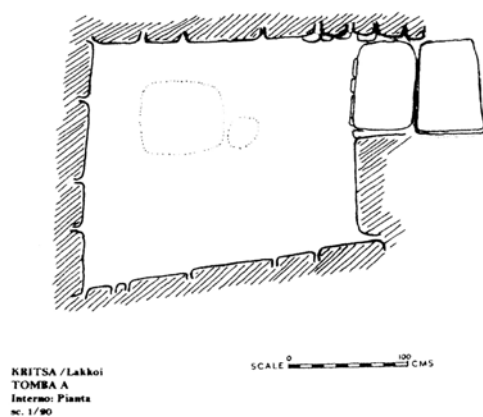


Figure 25. Plan of Kritsa tomb A
(Belli 2006, 281, fig. 2b)

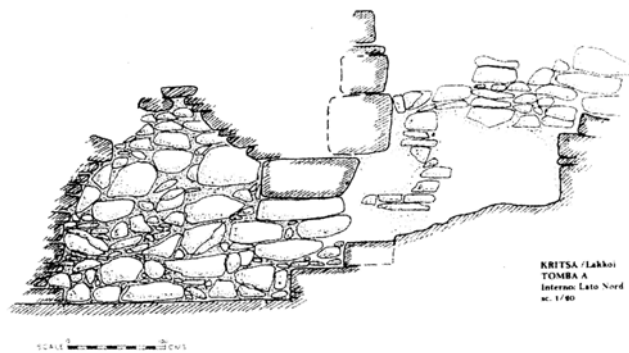


Figure 26. Section of Kritsa tomb A
(Belli 2006, 281, fig. 2a)



Figure 27. View of Kritisia tomb A
(Belli 2003, 329, fig. 16)

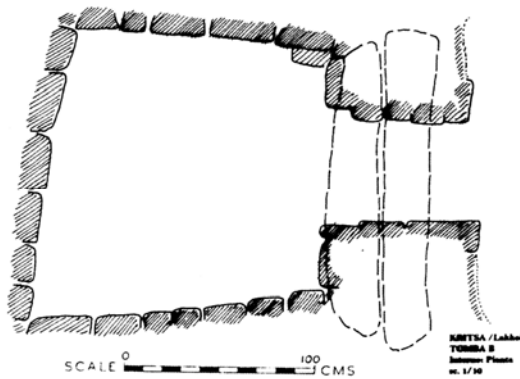


Figure 28. Plan of Kritisia tomb B
(Belli 2006, 280, fig. 1b)

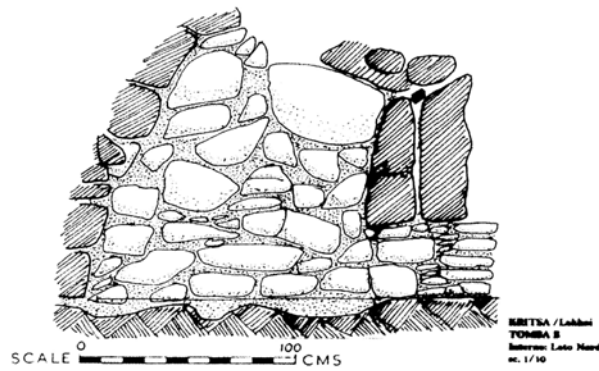


Figure 29. Section of Kritisia tomb B
(Belli 2006, 280, fig. 1a)

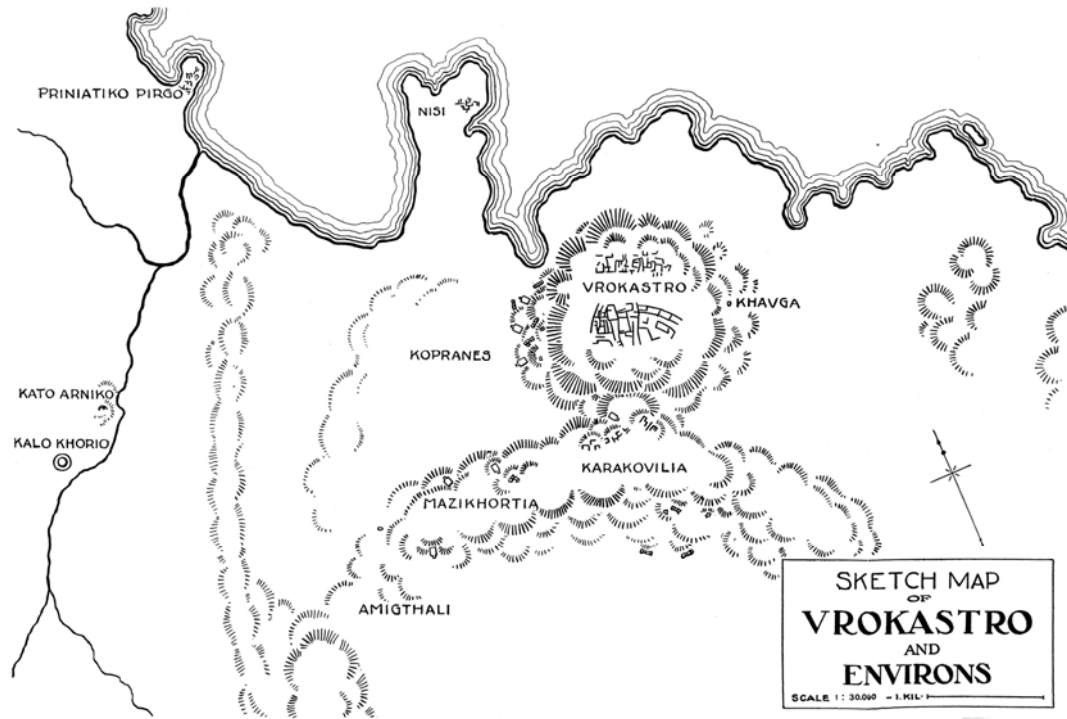


Figure 30. Map of Vrokastro
(Hall 1914, plate 17)

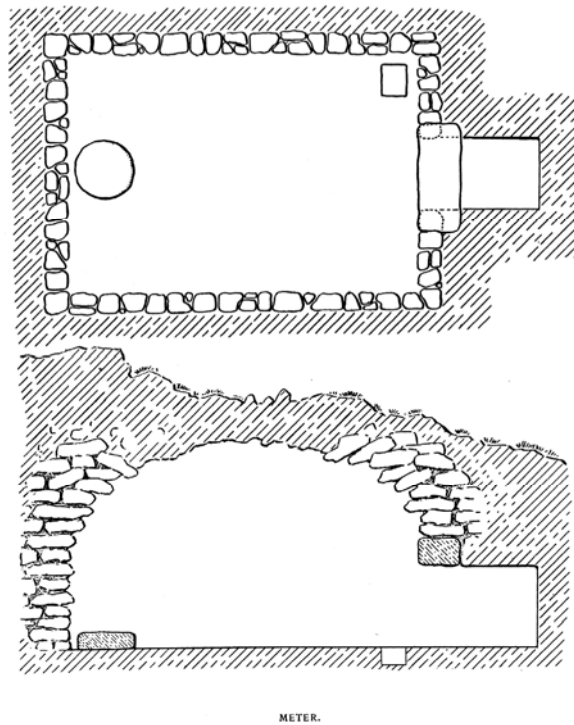


Figure 31. Plan of Vrokastro tholos tomb I (Karakovilia)
(Hall 1914, 124, fig. 74)



Figure 32. Plan of Vrokastro burial enclosure 3 (Karakovilia)
(Hall 1914, 155, fig. 94)



Figure 33. View of Vrokastro tholos I (Karakovilia-VK2)
(photo by author)

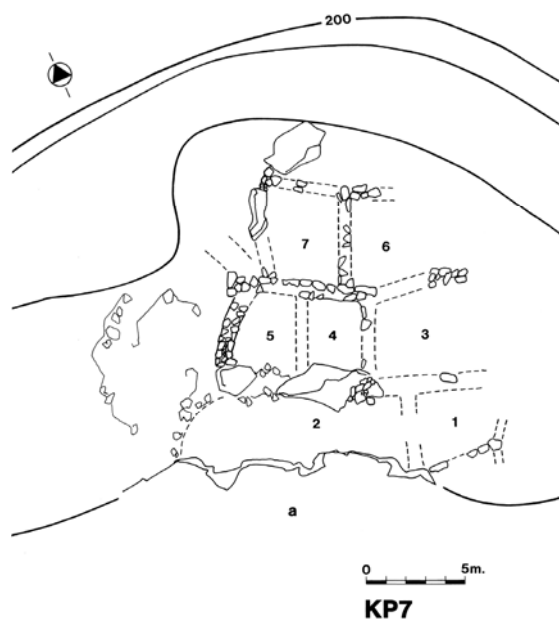


Figure 34. Plan of possible burial enclosure 7 at Vrokastro Koprane
(Hayden 2005, fig. 20)



Figure 35. View of tholos tomb at Zenia
(Eliopoulos 1998c, plate 389b)

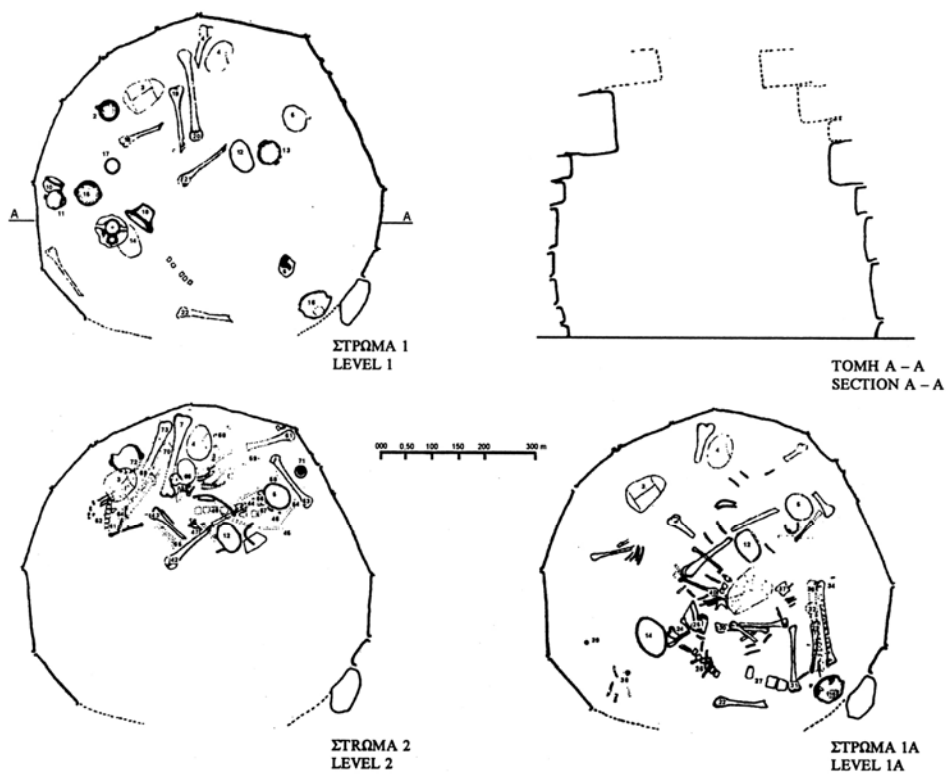


Figure 36. Plan of Chalasmenos tholos tomb
(Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994, 83, fig. 17)



Figure 37. View of Chalasmenos tholos
(photo by author)

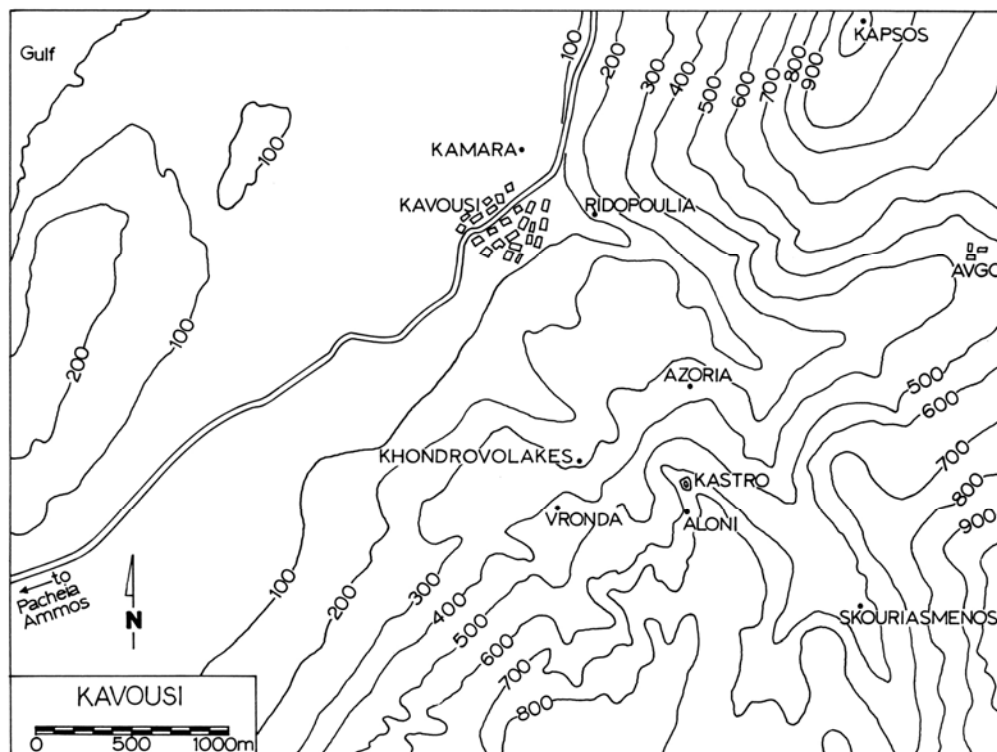


Figure 38. Map of Kavousi area
(Gesell et al. 1983, 392, fig. 2)

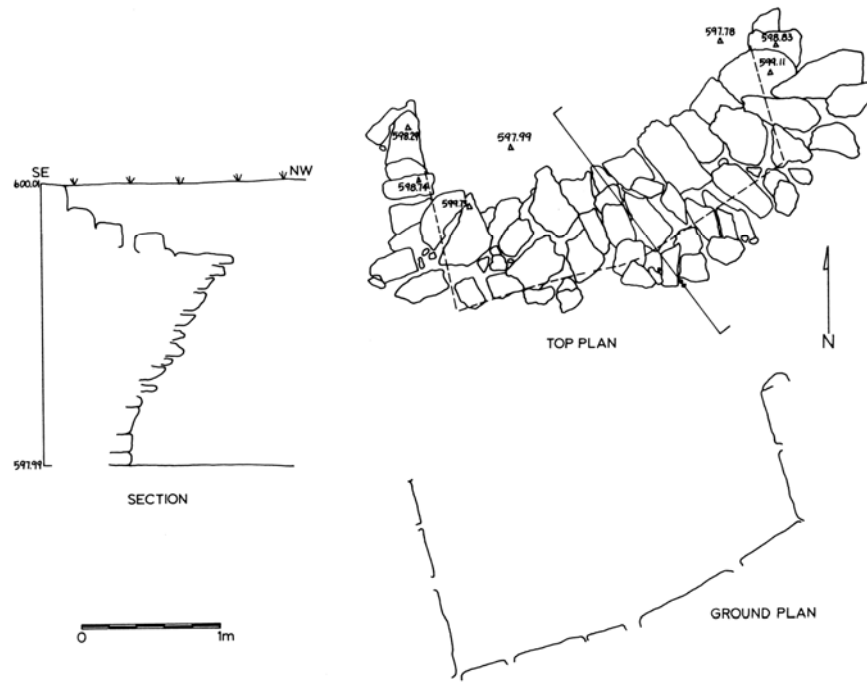


Figure 39. Plan and section of Kavousi Aloni tomb I (Gesell et al. 1983, 411, fig. 10)



Figure 40. View of Kavousi Aloni tomb I (photo by author)



Figure 41. View of Kavousi Aloni tomb IV
(photo by author)

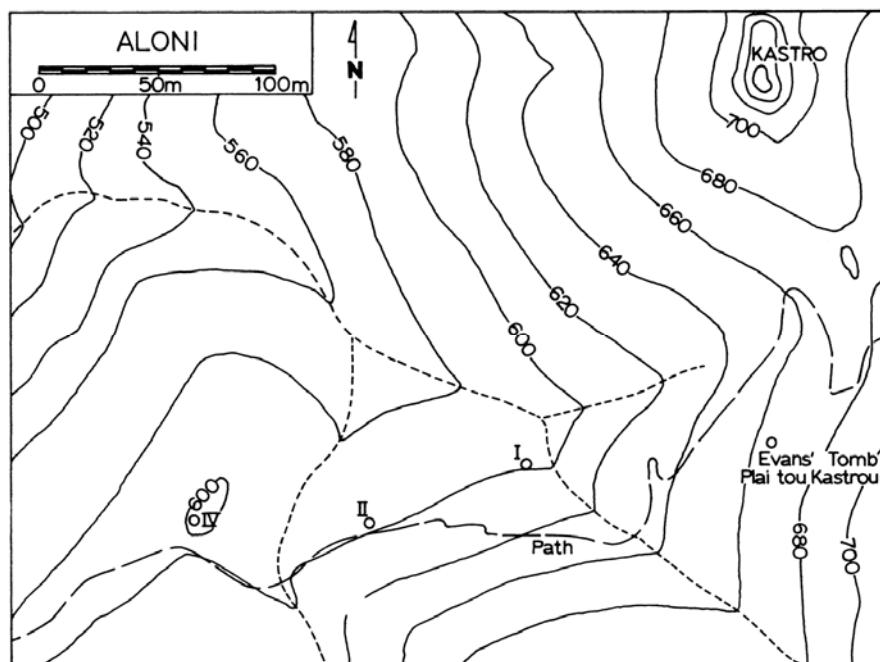


Figure 42. Map of Kavousi Aloni and Plai tou Kastrou
(Gesell et al. 1983, 410, fig. 9)



Figure 43. View of Kavousi Azoria tholos
(photo by author)



Figure 44. Interior of Azoria Tholos
(photo by author)

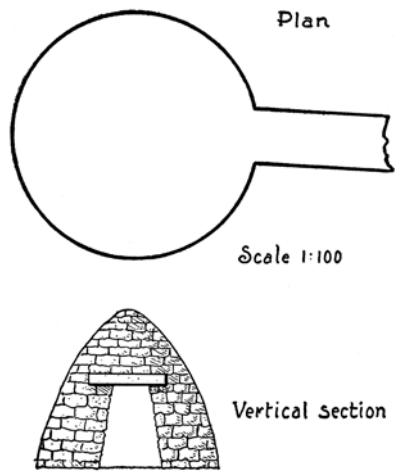


Figure 45. Plan and section of Kavousi Skouriasmenos tholos (Boyd 1901, 144, fig. 8)



Figure 46. Interior of Skouriasmenos tholos (photo by author)



Figure 47. Interior stomion of Skouriasmenos tholos (photo by author)



Figure 48. View of Kavousi Skouriasmenos tholos (photo by author)

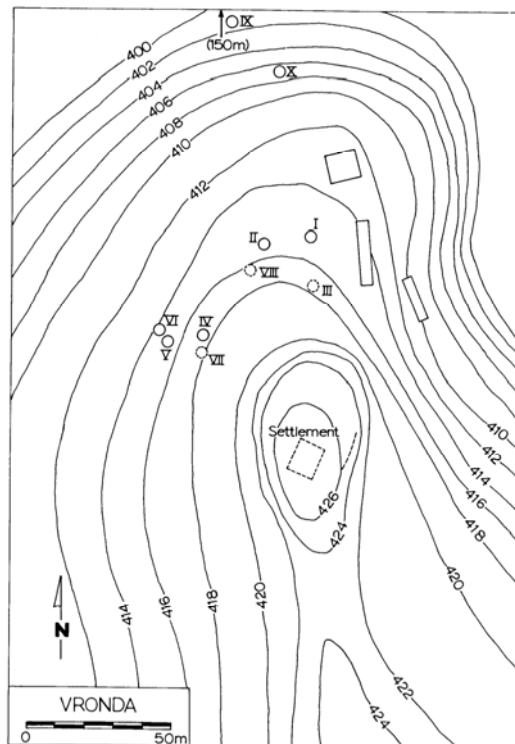


Figure 49. Map of Kavousi Vronda (Gesell et al. 1983, 395, fig. 3)



Figure 50. View of Kavousi Vronda tholos IV
(photo by author)



Figure 51. Interior of Vronda tholos IV
(photo by author)



Figure 52. Exterior of Vronda tholos V
(photo by author)



Figure 53. View of Vronda tholos II
(photo by author)

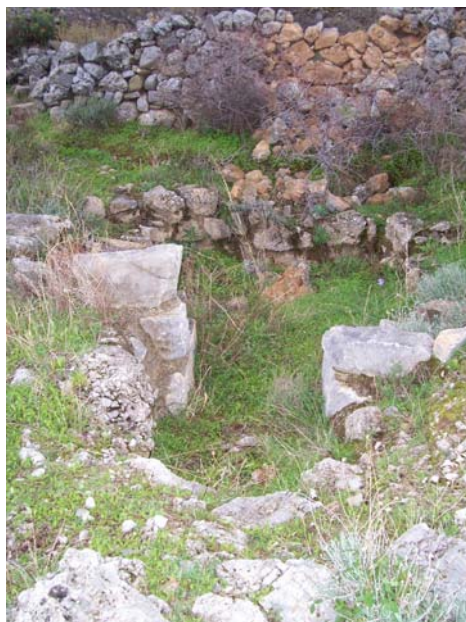


Figure 54. View of Vronda tholos III
(photo by author)

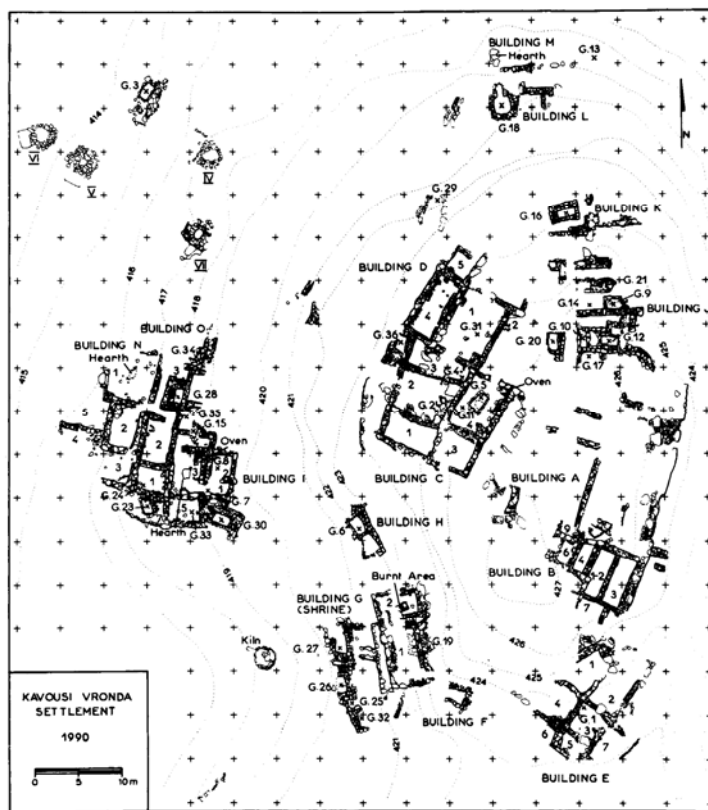


Figure 55. Plan of Vronda with location of burial enclosures
(Gesell et al. 1995, 69, fig. 1)

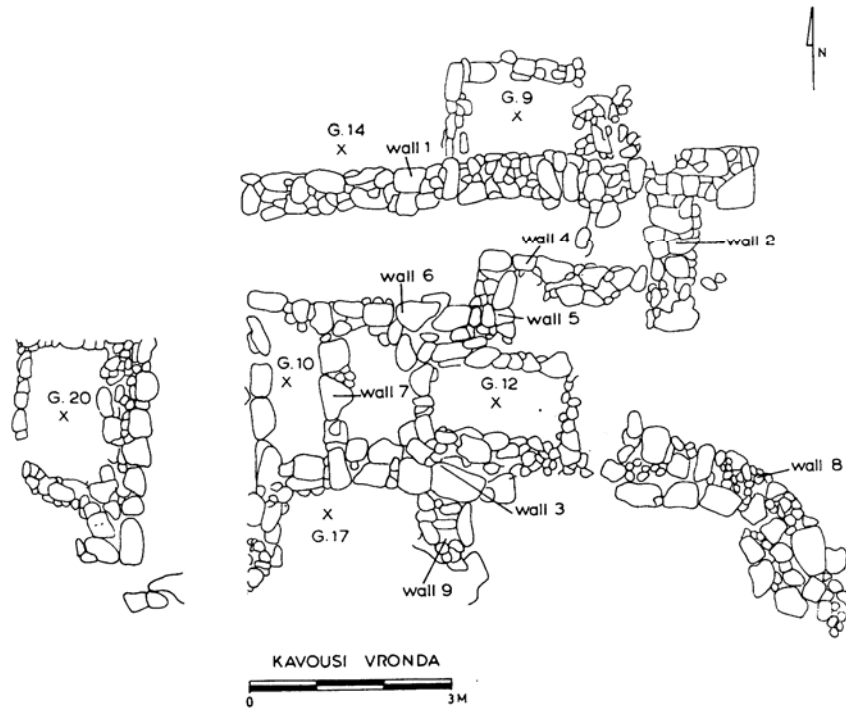


Figure 56. Plan of Vronda building J with burial enclosures (Gesell et al 1991, 149, fig. 2)



Figure 57. View of Vronda building J (photo by author)

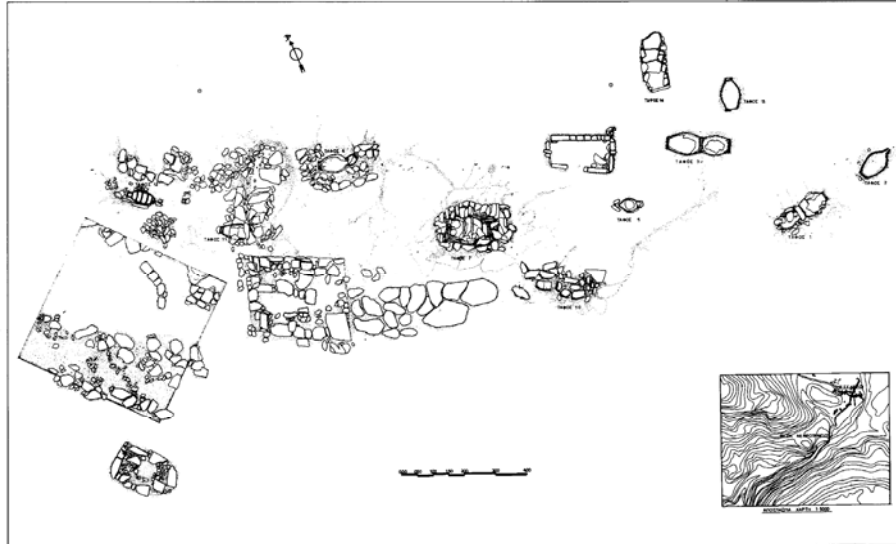


Figure 58. Plan of Meseleroi Petrou Phrameno burials
(Apostolakou 1994, 751, fig. 3)



Figure 59. View of Meseleroi burial 7
(Apostolakou 1994, plate 175e)



Figure 60. View of Meseleroi burial 3
(Apostolakou 1994, plate 175d)



Figure 61. View of Schoinokapsala tholos
(Apostolakou 1986, plate 153b)

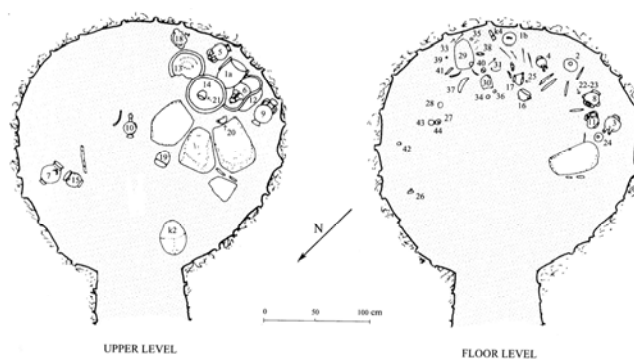


Figure 62. Plan of Vasiliki Kamaraki tholos
(Tsipopoulou et al. 2003, 89, fig. 3)



Figure 63. View of Kamaraki tholos
(photo by author)

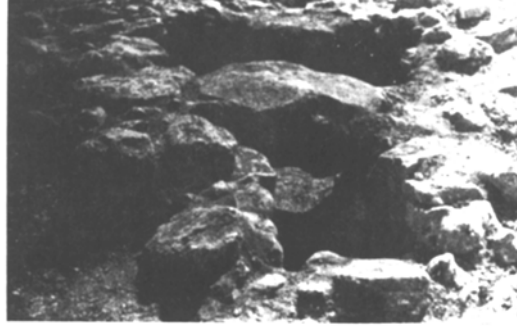


Figure 64. View of Adromyloi tholos
(*BCH* 1955, 309, fig. 4)

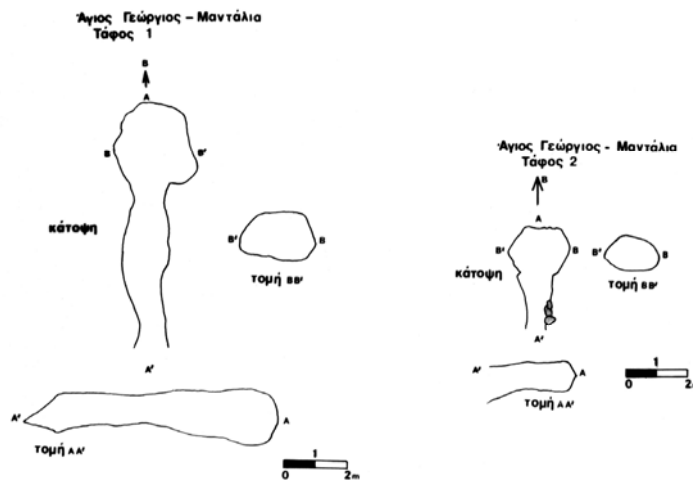


Figure 65. Plan of Ag. Georgios chamber tombs
(Tsipopoulou 1987, figure 1)



Figure 66. View of Ag. Georgios chamber tomb
(photo by author)

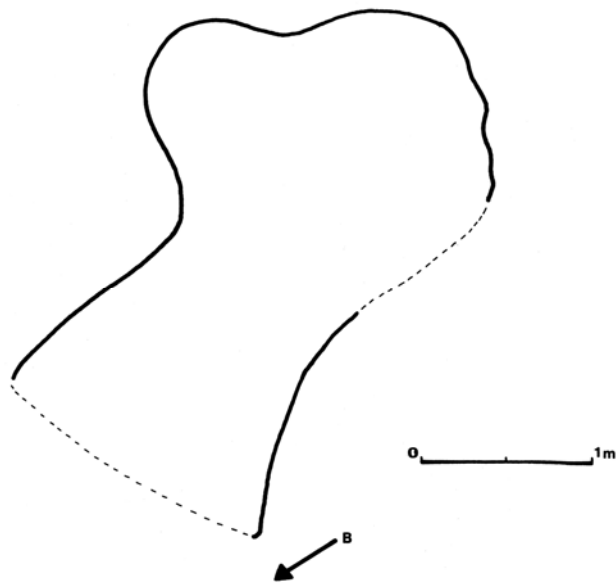


Figure 67. Plan of Ag. Spyridon cave
(Tsipopoulou 1987, fig. 2)



Figure 68. View of interior stonion of Chamaizi tomb V
(photo by author)

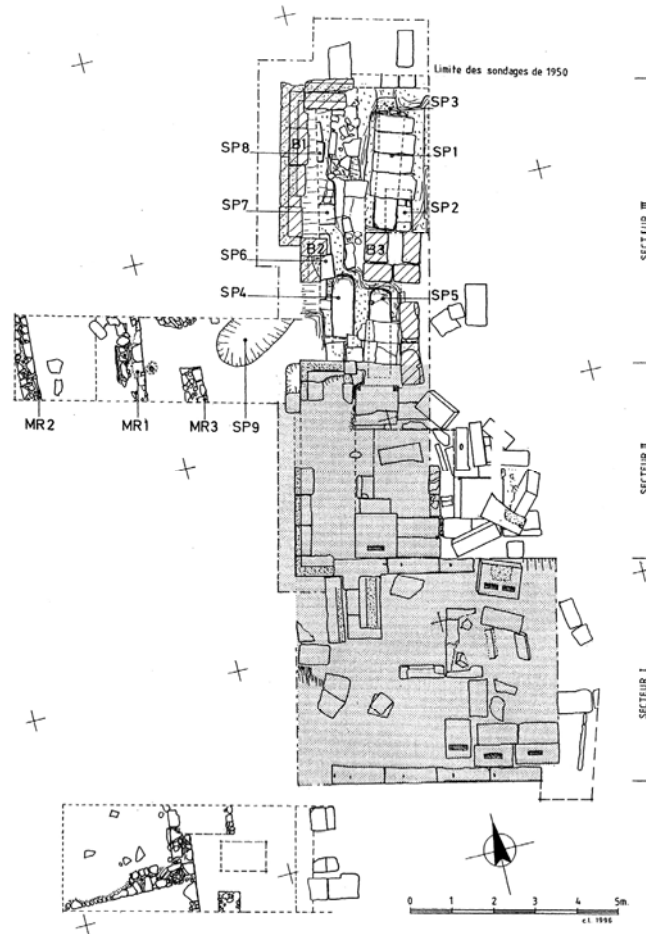


Figure 69. Plan of Itanos north necropolis (SP9=EIA pit grave)
(Greco et al. 1997, 815, fig. 3)



Figure 70. Keel-vaulted tomb (“Isopata type”) at Krya
(Kanta and Davaras 2004, 151, fig. 3)



Figure 71. Pseudotholos from Krya (in Ag. Nikolaos Museum)
(photo by author)

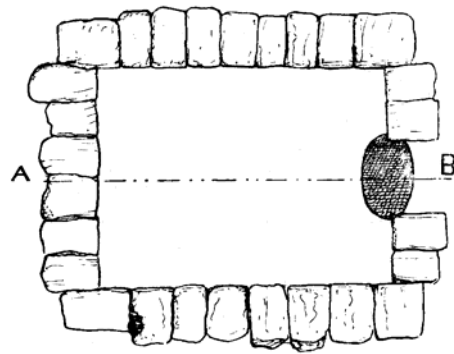


Figure 72. Plan of Mouliana tomb A
(Xanthoudides 1904, fig. 5a)

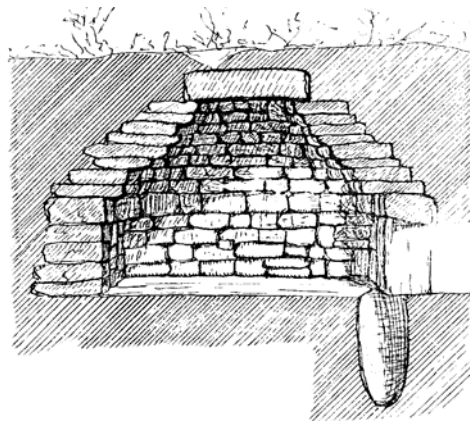


Figure 73. Section of Mouliana tomb A
(Xanthoudides 1904, fig. 5b)



Figure 74. View of Mouliana tomb A
(photo by author)



Figure 75. Interior of Mouliana A
(photo by author)



Figure 76. View of Mouliana tomb B
(photo by author)



Figure 77. Map of Orino (4-IIIB/C rock shelter; 5-Evans' tombs) (Nowicki 2000, 74, fig. 26)



Figure 78. Map of Pefkoi (6, 9, 10-location of tholoi) (Nowicki 2000, 65, fig. 20)

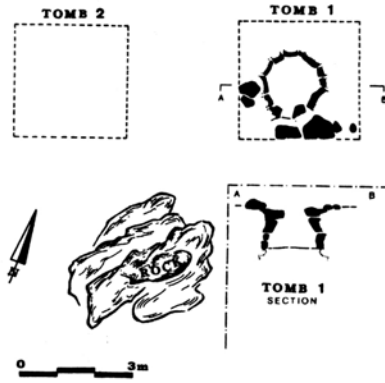


Figure 79. Plans of Pefkoi tholoi 1-2 (Nowicki 1994, 264, fig. 19)

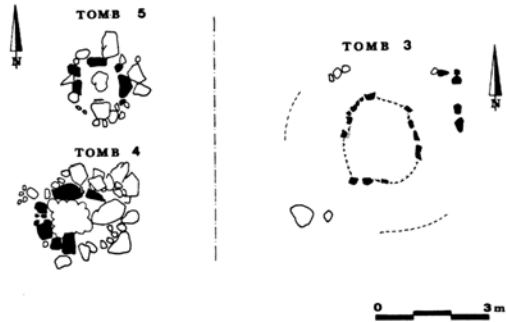


Figure 80. Plans of Pefkoi tholoi 3-5 (Nowicki 1994, 265, fig. 20)



Figure 81. View of Pefkoi tomb 10 (?) (photo by author)



Figure 82. View of Pefkoi tholos tomb (photo by author)



Figure 83. Tholos tomb at Pefkoi
(photo by author)

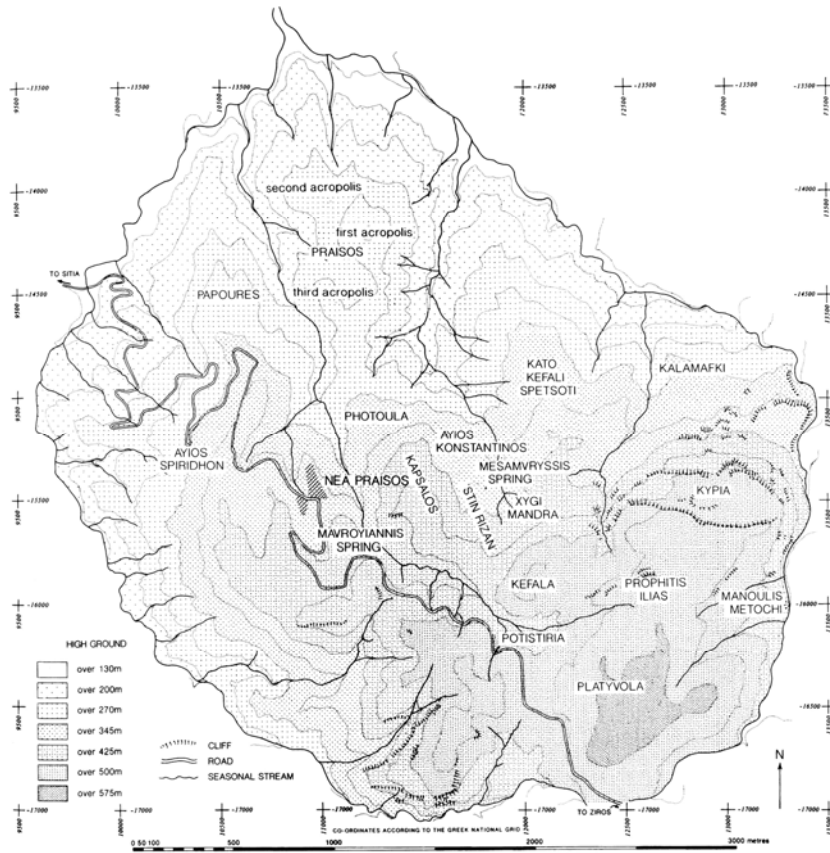


Figure 84. Map of Praisos area
(Whitley et al. 1999, 219, fig. 2)



Figure 85. Map of Praisos (Whitley 1992, 257, fig. 37.1)

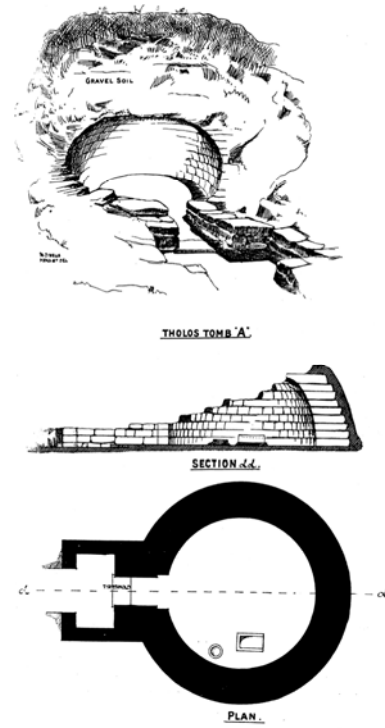


Figure 86. Plan/section of Praisos A (Bosanquet 1901-1902, 241, fig. 8)

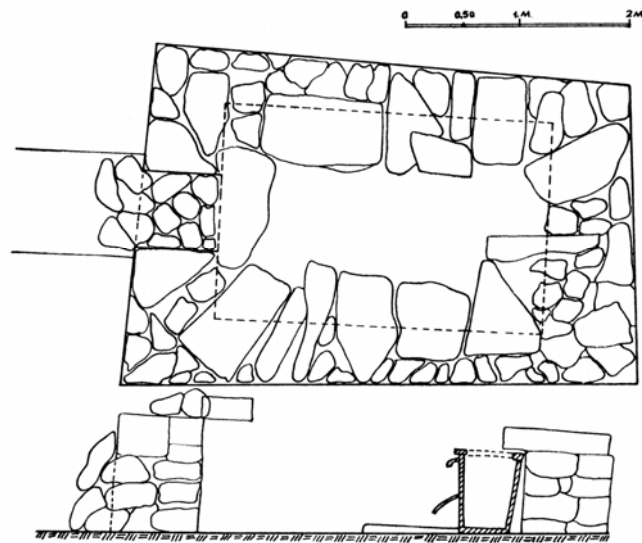


Figure 87. Plan and section of Praisos Photoula tholos (Platon 1960a, 304, fig. 1)



Figure 88. View of Praisos Photoula tholos (Orlandos 1960, 211, fig. 240)

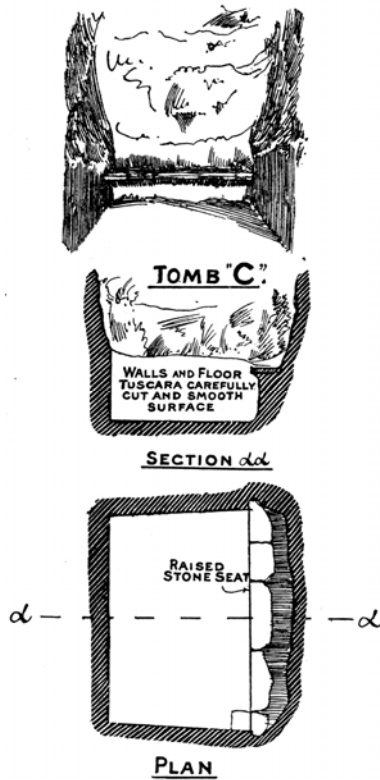


Figure 89. Plan of Praisos C (Bosanquet 1901-1902, 249, fig. 20)

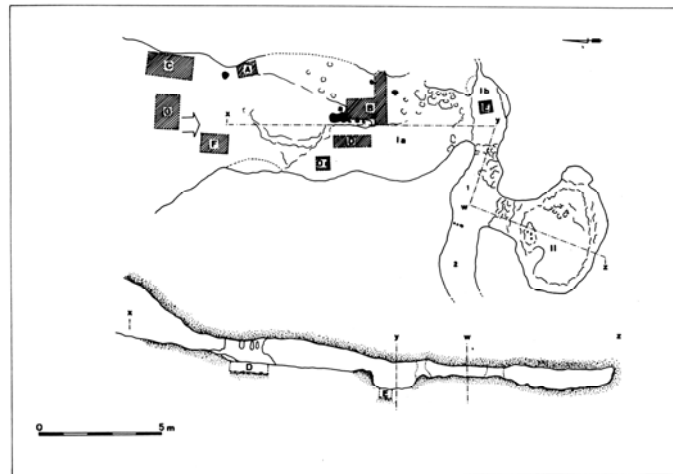


Figure 90. Plan of Praisos Skales Cave (Papadakis and Rutkowski 1985, 130, fig. 1)



Figure 91. View of Skopi tholos
(Davaras 1972, plate 604b)

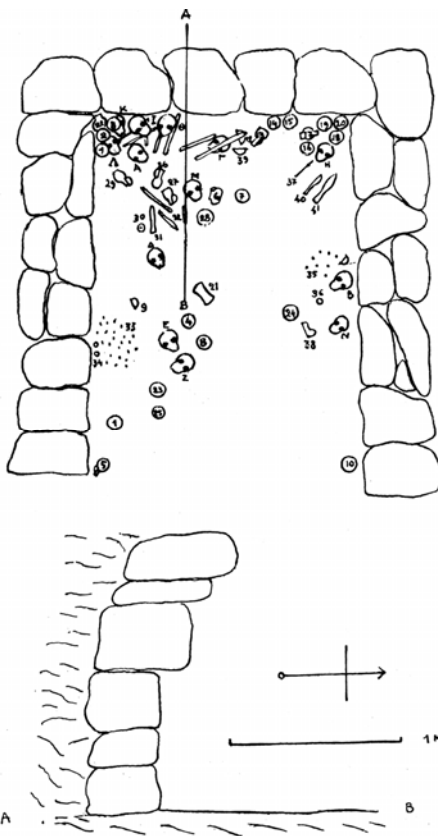


Figure 92. Plan and section of Sphakia tholos
(Platon 1965, 295, fig. 2)

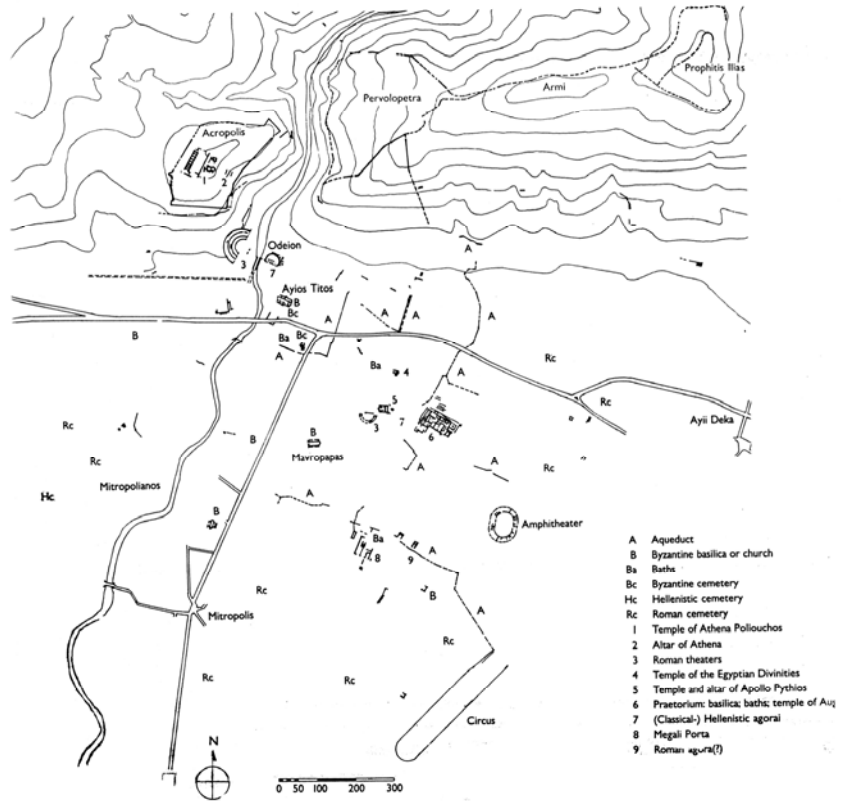


Figure 93. Map of Gortyn
(DiVita 1992, 98, fig. 12.1)



Figure 94. Exterior view of Gortyn tholos
(Daux 1967, 793, fig. 1)



Figure 95. Interior view of Gortyn tholos
(Daux 1967, 793, fig. 2)

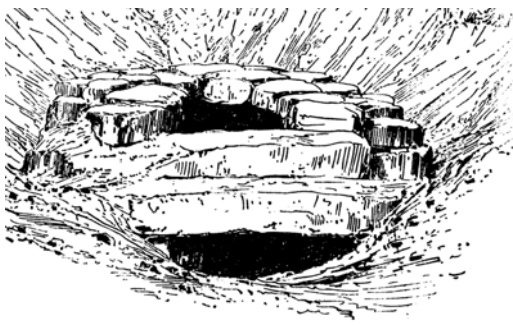


Figure 96. Kourtes tholos (#1)
(Halbherr 1901a, 290, fig. 18)

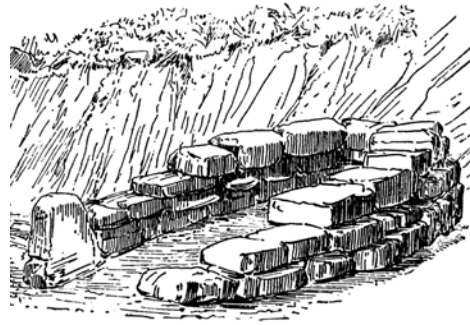


Figure 97. Kourtes tholos (#2)
(Halbherr 1901a, 291, fig. 20)

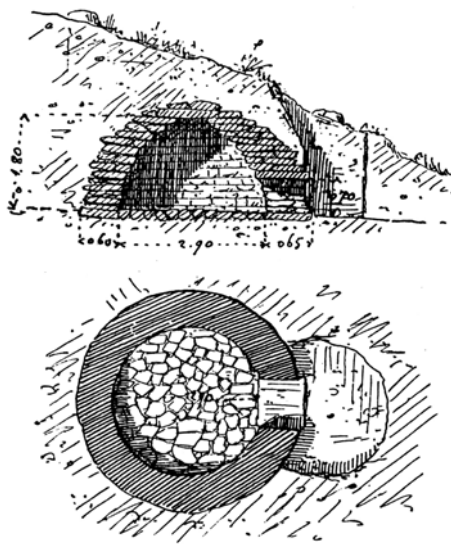


Figure 98. Plan and section of Kourtes tholos (large type?)
(Taramelli 1901a, 298, fig. 2)



Figure 99. Plan of eastern sector of phase II necropolis at Prinias (DiVita et al. 1984, 154, fig. 268)

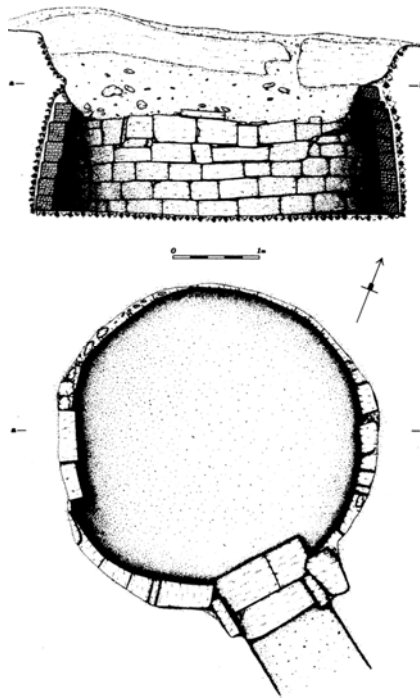


Figure 100. Section and plan of grave F at Prinias (DiVita et al. 1984, 155, fig. 270)

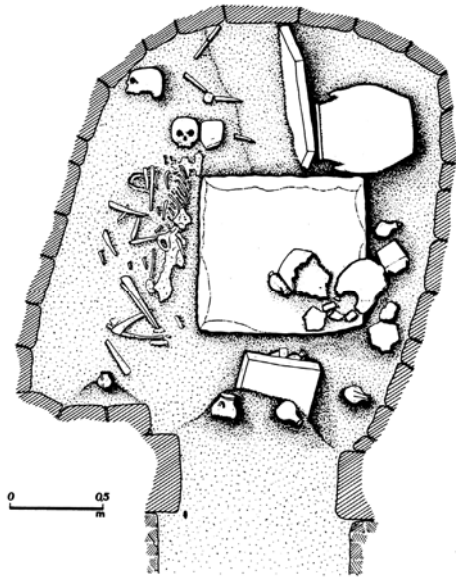


Figure 101. Plan of Prinias tomb D (DiVita et al. 1984, 158, fig. 275)



Figure 102. Interior of Prinias D (DiVita et al. 1984, 158, fig. 276)



Figure 103. View of Prinias tomb AN (Rizza 1973b, plate 548c)

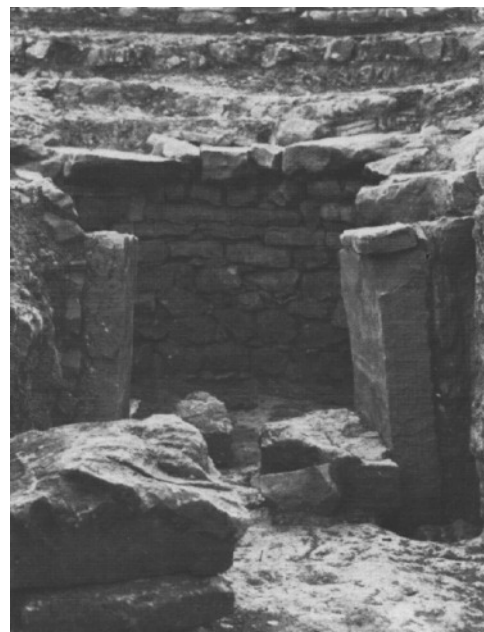


Figure 104. View of Prinias AQ (Rizza 1973b, plate 548d)



Figure 105. Plan of enclosure, tumulus and pit graves (K, 207, 232) at Prinias (DiVita et al. 1984, 153, fig. 267)



Figure 106. View of Prinias burial enclosures (photo by author)

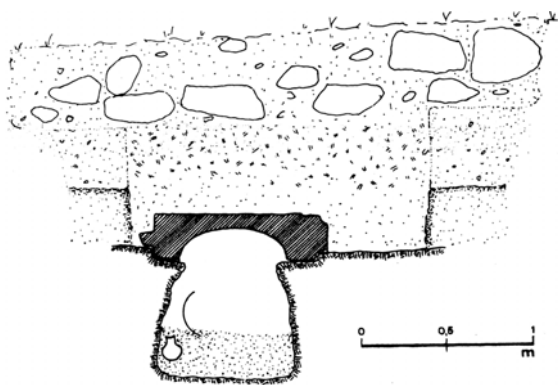


Figure 107. Section of Prinias tomb BA (Rizza 1978, 121, fig. 33)



Figure 108. View of Prinias K (Rizza 1978, 120, fig. 32)



Figure 109. View of Prinias tomb W (DiVita 1984, 165, fig. 294)



Figure 110. View of Rotasi 1958 tholos (Daux 1959, 733, fig. 3)

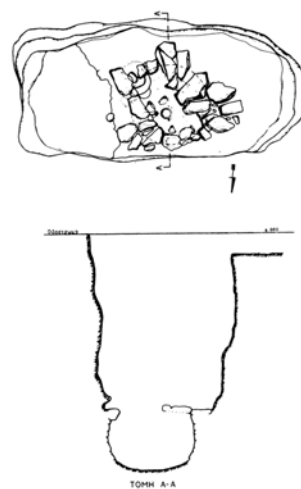


Figure 111. Plan/section of Rotasi 1994 (Galanaki 1993, 467, fig. 12)

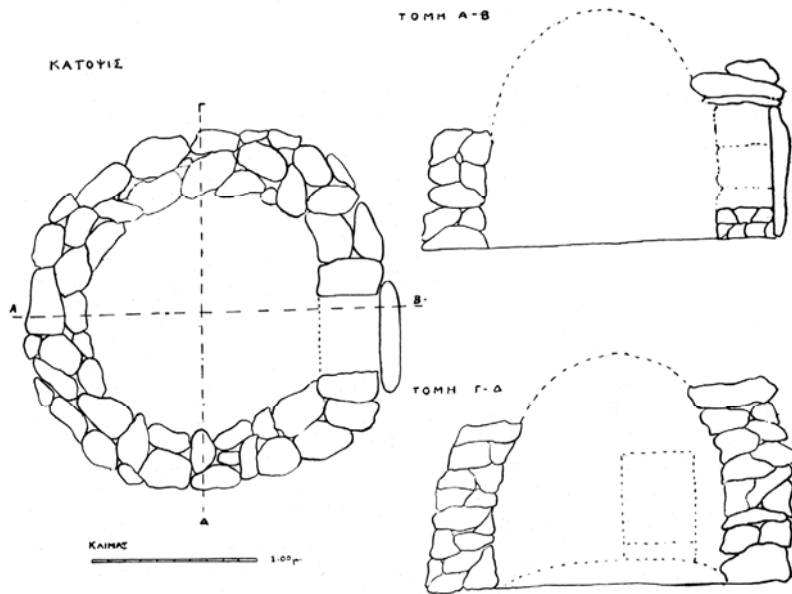


Figure 112. Plan and section of Ag. Paraskies tholos
(Platon 1945-1947, 48, fig. 1)

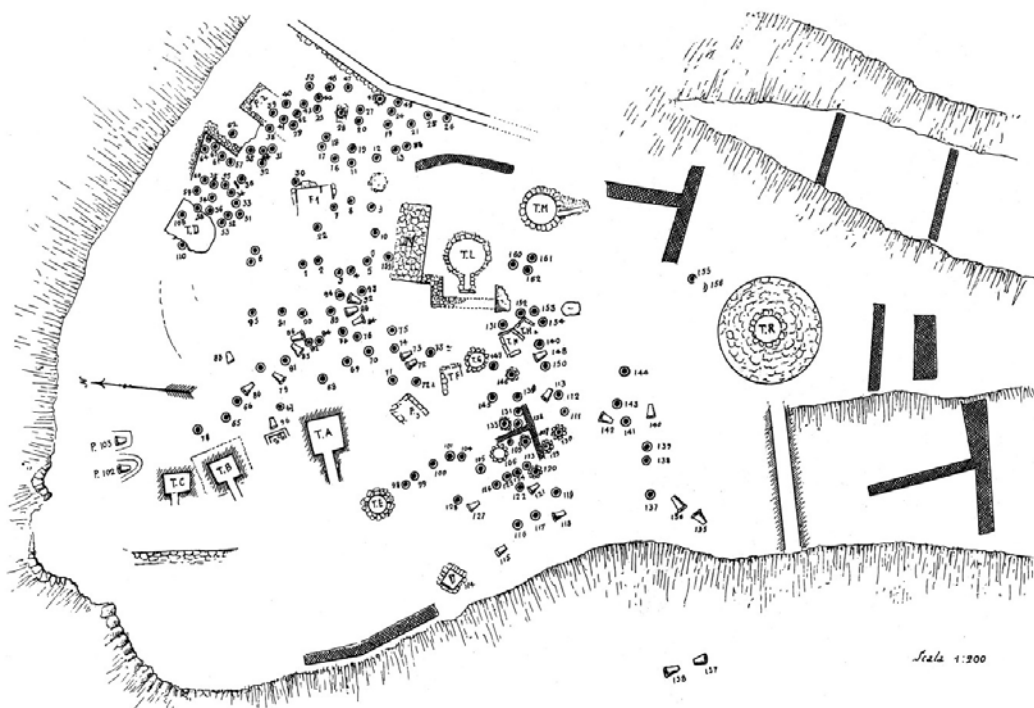


Figure 113. Plan of Arkades necropolis
(Levi 1927-1929, plate IV)

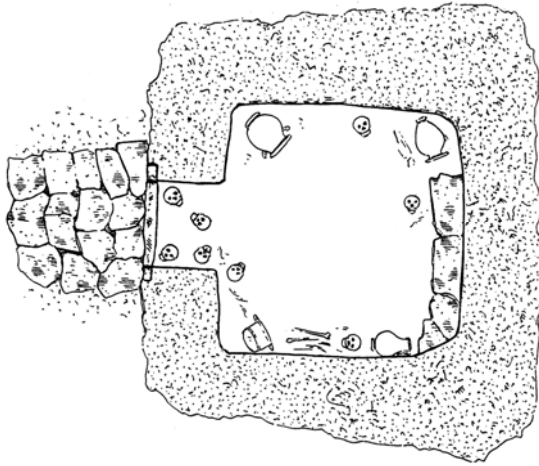


Figure 114. Plan of Arkades tomb B
(Levi 1927-1929, 179, fig. 198d)

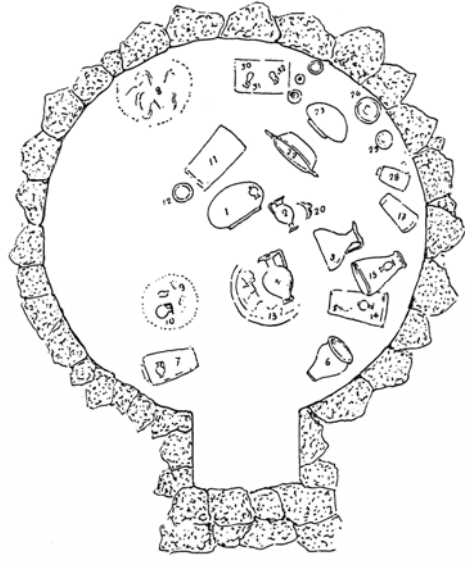


Figure 115. Plan of Arkades M
(Levi 1927-1929, 304, fig. 404)

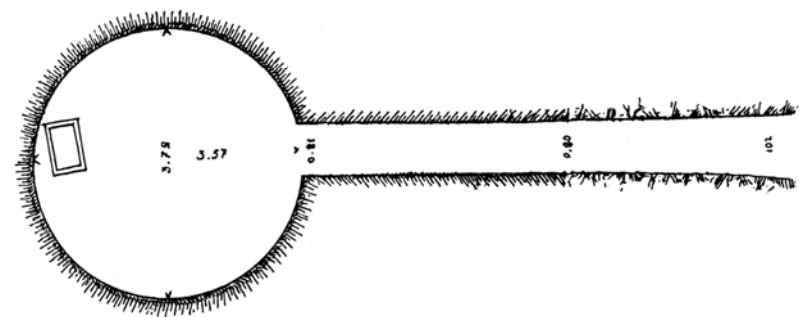
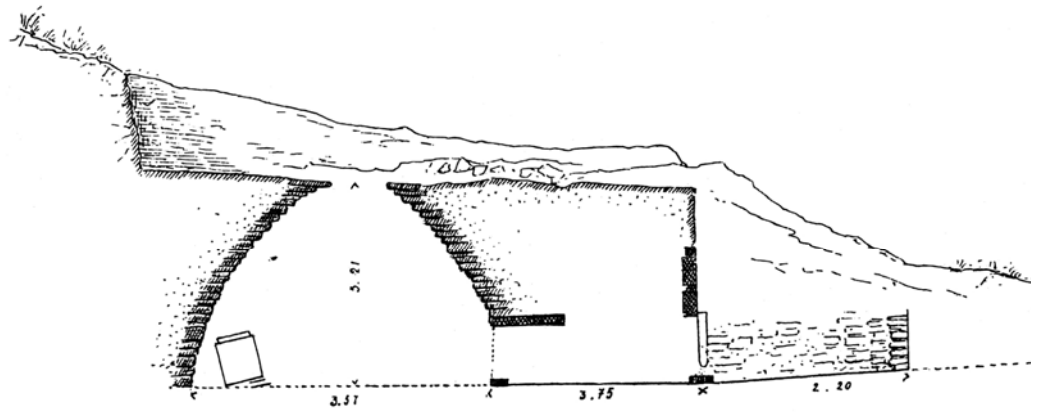


Figure 116. Plan and section of Arkades tomb R
(after Levi 1927-1929, plate V)



Figure 117. View of paved roof of Arkades R
(Levi 1927-1929, 206, fig. 229)

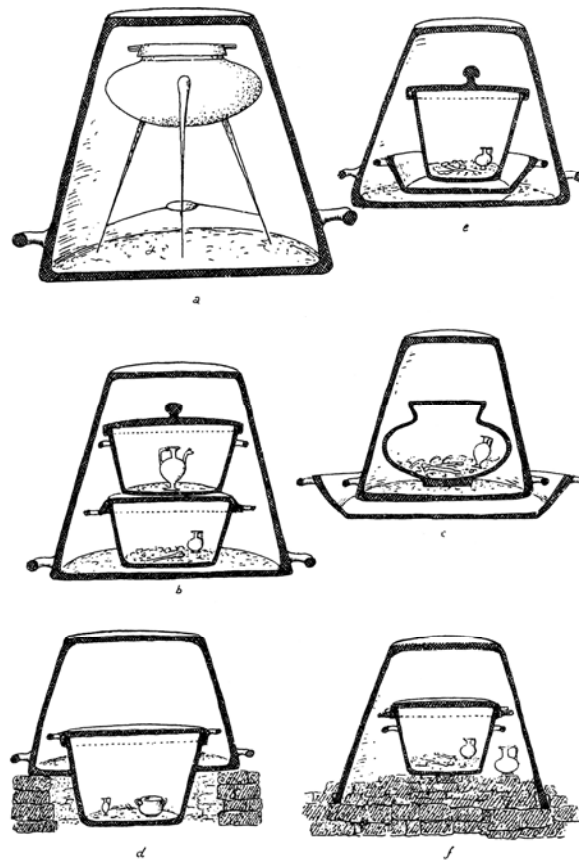


Figure 118. Types of Arkades pithos burials
(Levi 1927-1929, 81, fig. 57)

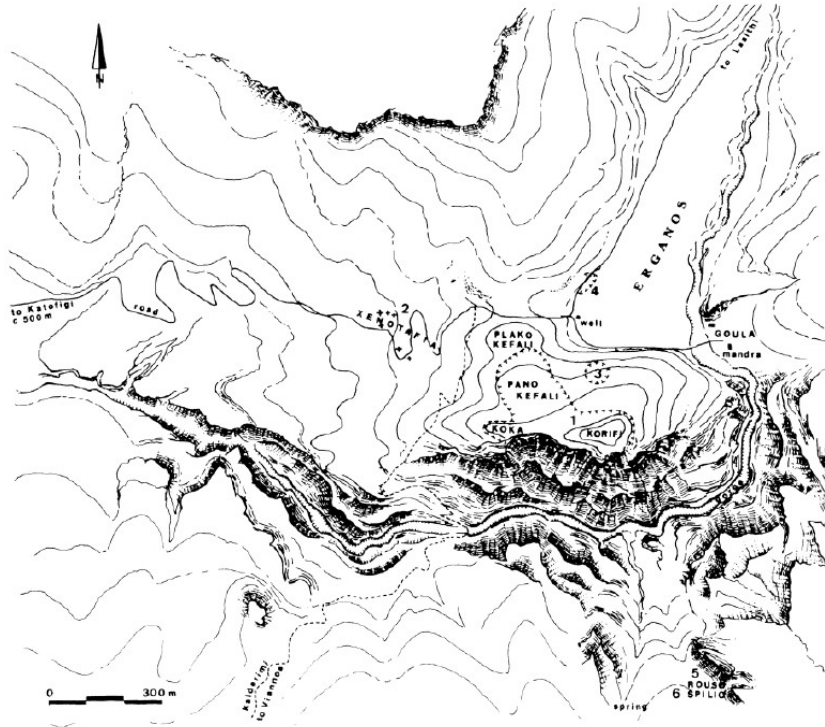


Figure 119. Map of Erganos area (tombs marked with +)
 (Nowicki 2000, 144, fig. 77)

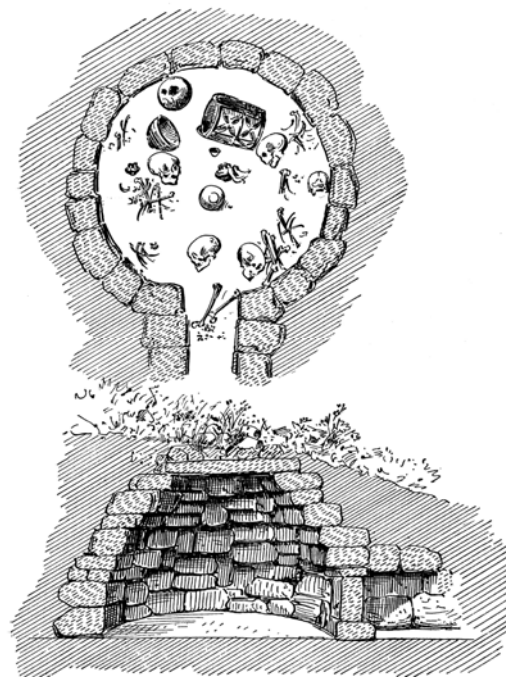


Figure 120. Plan of Erganos tholos
 (Halbherr 1901a, 272, fig. 6)



Figure 121. View of Erganos tomb 3
(photo by author)



Figure 122. View of Erganos tomb 4
(photo by author)



Figure 123. View of Erganos tomb 5
(photo by author)

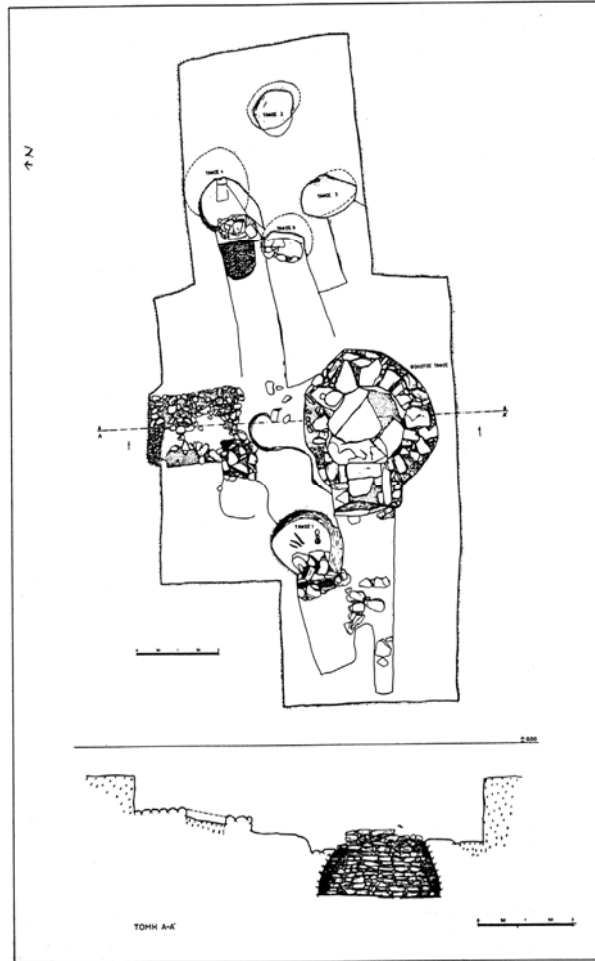


Figure 124. Plan of Kounavoi cemetery and section of tholos 10 (Rethemiotakis and Demopoulou 1993, 464, fig. 11)



Figure 125. View of Kounavoi T. 10 (Rethemiotakis and Demopoulou 1993, plate 146b)

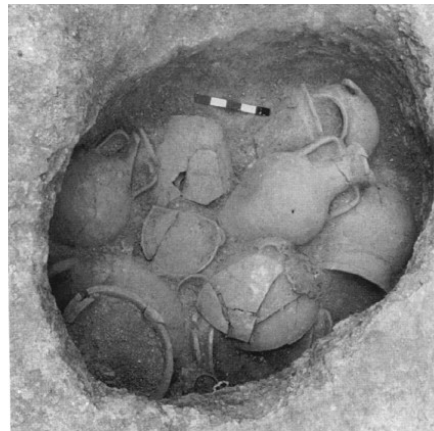


Figure 126. View of Kounavoi Pit (Galanaki 1993, plate 147a)

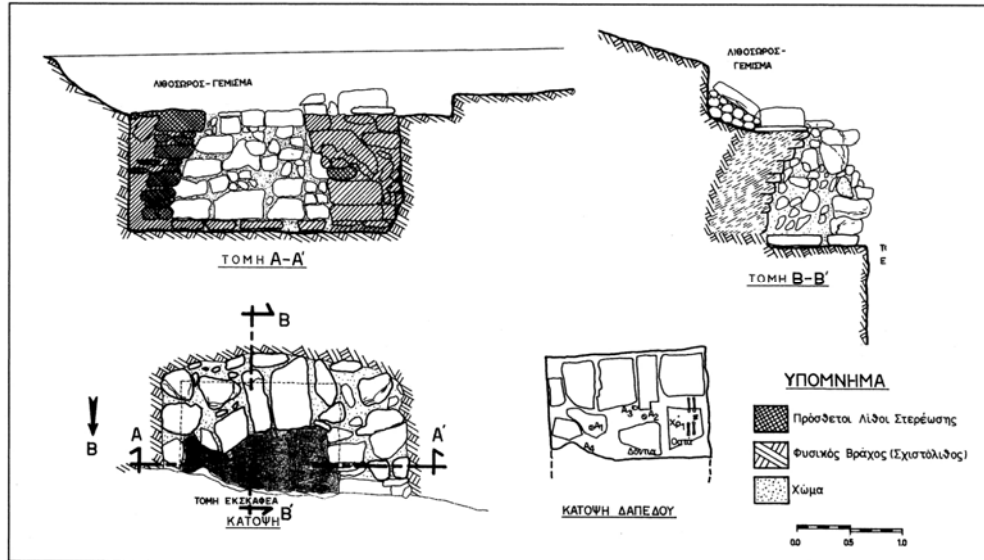


Figure 127. Plan of Kراسι tholos B (Eliopoulos 1998b, 92, fig. 3)



Figure 128. View of Kراسι tholos B (photo by author)

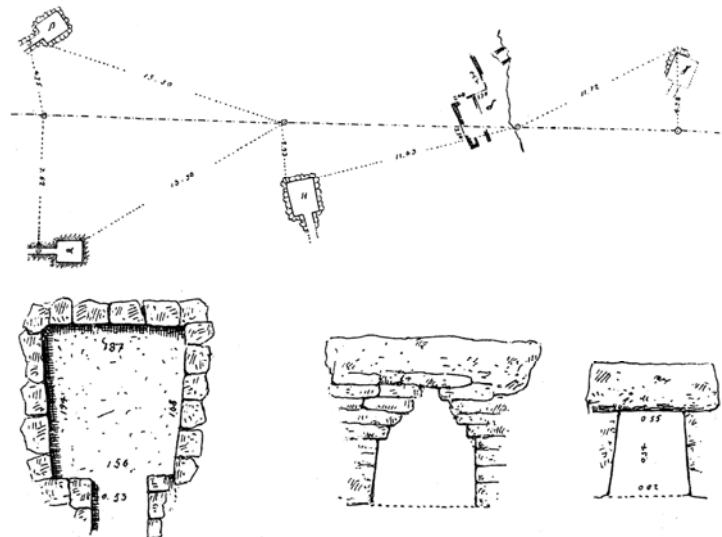


Figure 129. Plan of Panagia cemetery
(Levi 1927-1929, 390, fig. 500)

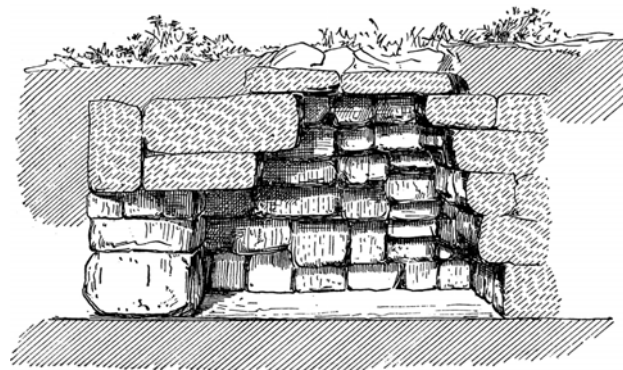


Figure 130. Section of Panagia tholos
(Halbherr 1901a, 285, fig. 12)

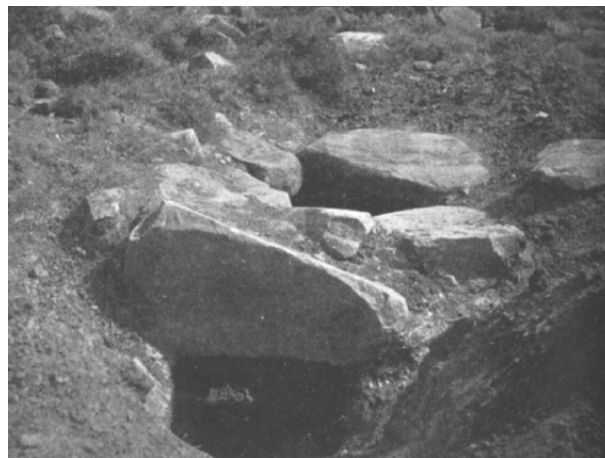


Figure 131. View of Panagia tholos
(Halbherr 1901a, 286, fig. 13)

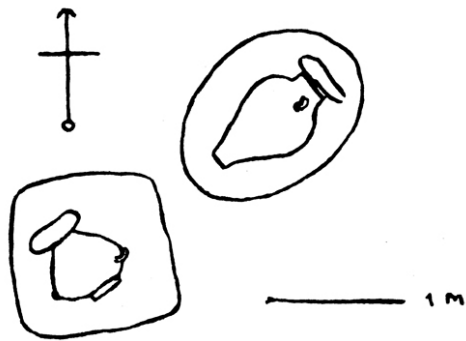


Figure 132. Plan of Stamioi pithos burials
(Platon 1952a, 630, fig. 11)

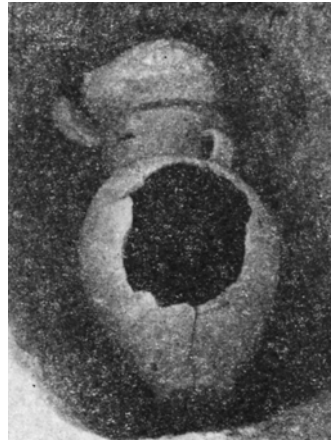


Figure 133. View of Stamioi pithos
(Platon 1952a, 630, fig. 10)

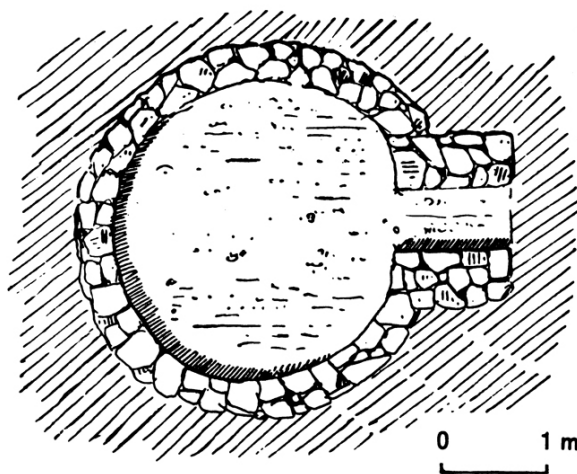
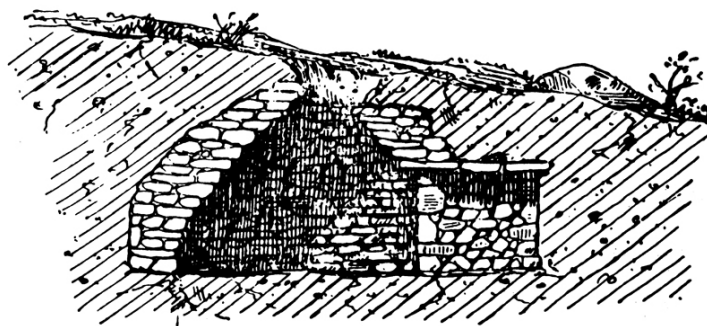


Figure 134. Plan and section of Kamares tholos
(Taramelli 1901a, 441, fig. 2)

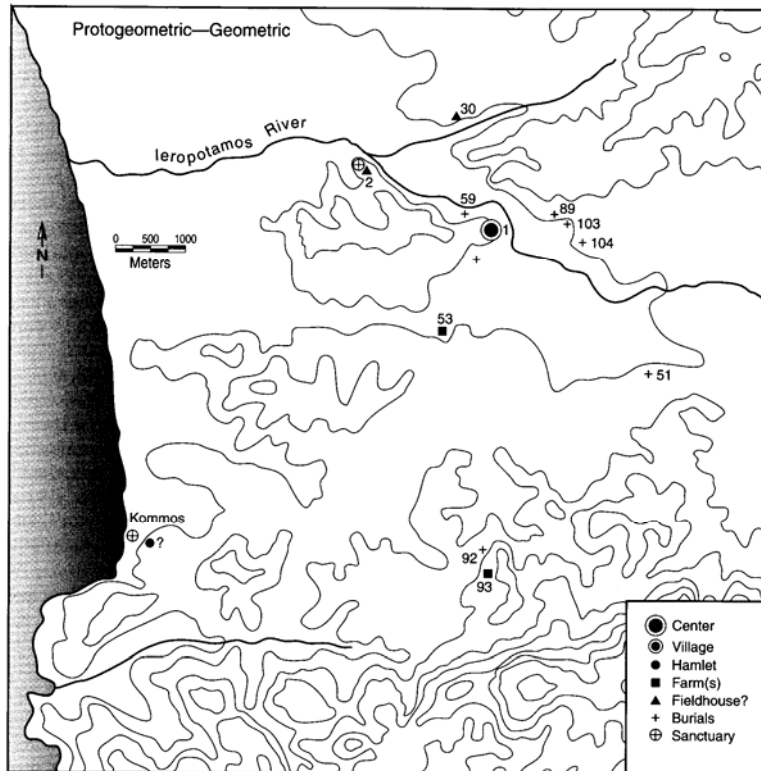


Figure 135. Map of Phaistos area (1-Phaistos; 2-Ag. Triada; 51-Petrokephali; 59-Mulino; 89-Logiadi; 92-Sivas cemetery; 103-Liliana; 104-Kalyvia) (Watrous et al. 2004, 312, fig. 11.3)

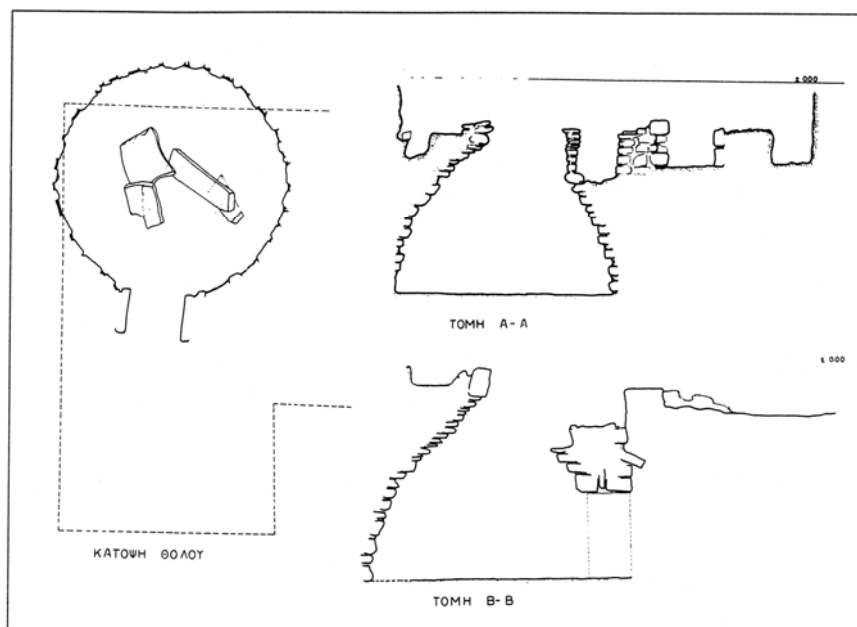


Figure 136. Plan and section of Phaistos Ag. Ioannis tholos (Vasilakis 1993, 447, fig. 2)



Figure 137. View of Phaistos Kalyviani tomb
(Chatzi-Vallianou 1979, plate 193)

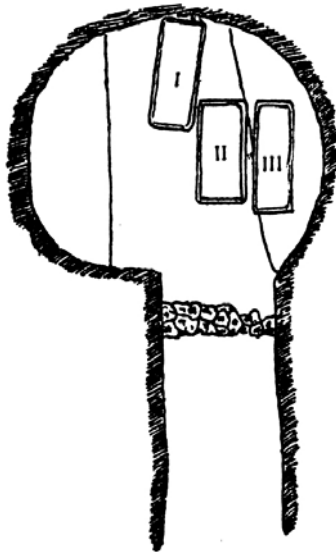


Figure 138. Plan of Phaistos Liliana
tomb D
(Gerola 1902, 327)

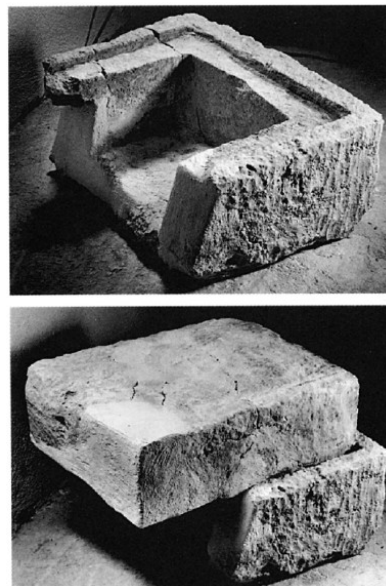
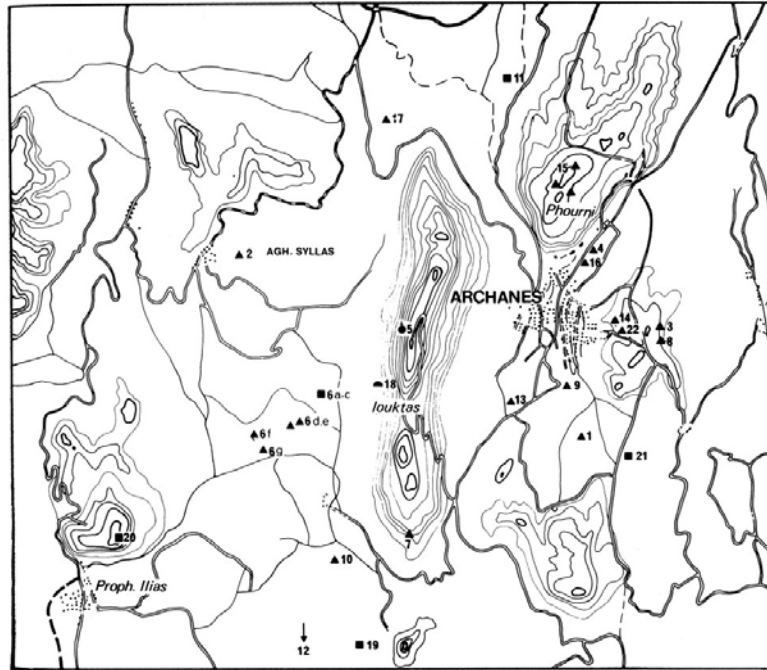


Figure 139. Stone burial urn from
Archanes Phythies
(Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1987, 35 fig. 9)



Carte des sites de la région d'Archanes. Dessin I. Şahin.

- ▲ lombe
- maison ou lieu d'habitation
- ⚡ sanctuaire
- ▲ grotte

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Aghios Ioannis | 11. Mandrès |
| 2. Aghios Syllas | 12. Mertiotis |
| 3. Aghia Photia | 13. Messambela |
| 4. Aniphoros | 14. Ontades |
| 5. Iouktas | 15. Phourni |
| 6. Karnari (Kambariani, Kastro, Tragomandro, Aghios Ioannis) | 16. Phythies |
| 7. Kató Lakkos | 17. Spiliotaki Metochi |
| 8. Kavallaropetra | 18. Grotte de Stravomyti |
| 9. Lakkos | 19. Vathypetro |
| 10. Limnès | 20. Vitsila |
| | 21. Xeri Kara |

Figure 140. Map of Archanes and Juktas area (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1990, 69, fig. 2)

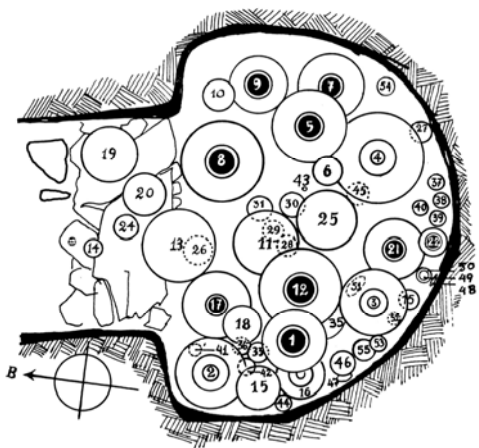


Figure 141. Plan of Herakleion Atsalenio tomb A (Davaras 1968, 134, fig. 1)



Figure 142. View of Atsalenio tomb A (Davaras 1968, plate 30a)

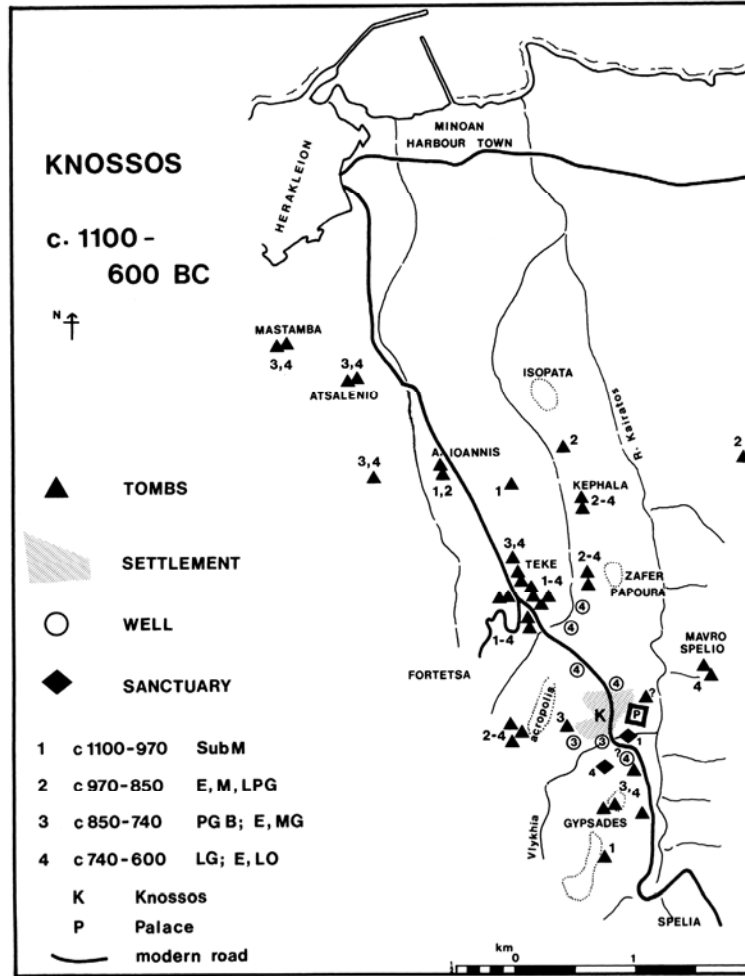


Figure 143. Map of Knossos area
(Coldstream 1994, 107, fig. 1)

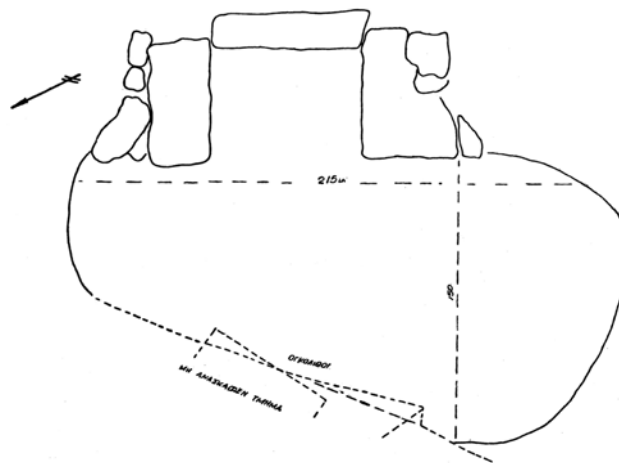


Figure 144. Plan of Knossos Ambelakia tomb
(Alexiou 1950, 295, fig. 1)

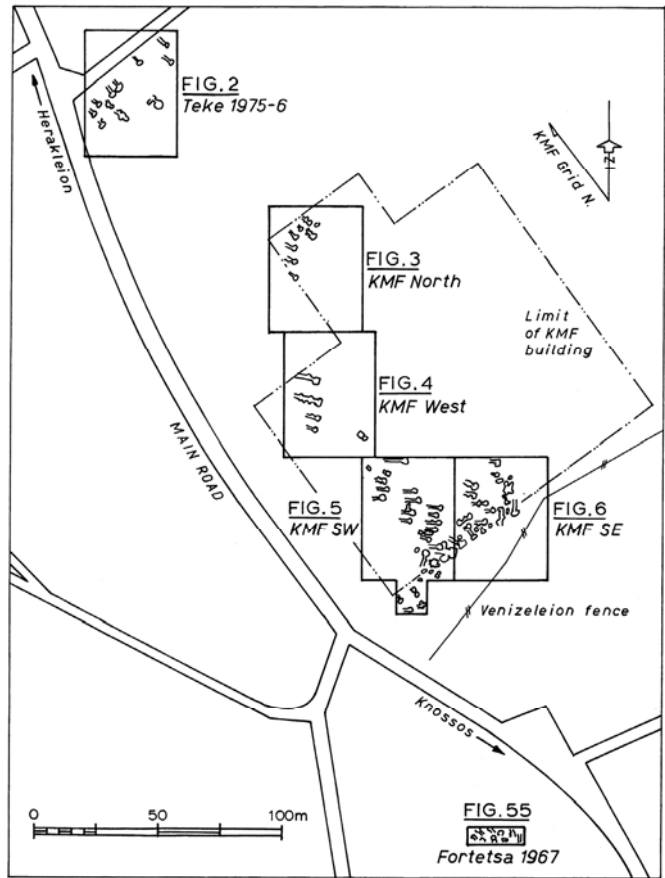


Figure 145. Plan of Knossos North Cemetery (Coldstream and Catling 1996, fig. 1)

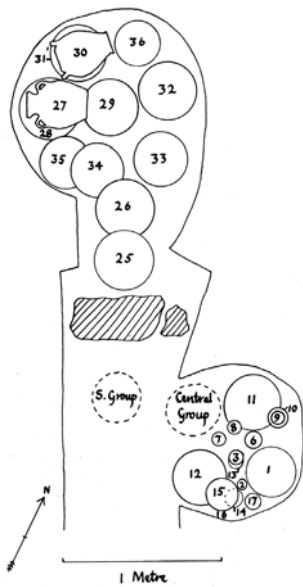


Figure 146. Plan of TFT tomb at Knossos Fortetsa (NC) (Brock 1957, plate 152)

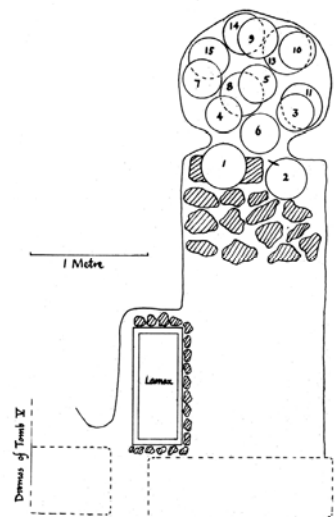


Figure 147. Plan of tomb VII at Knossos Fortetsa (Brock 1957, plate 157)

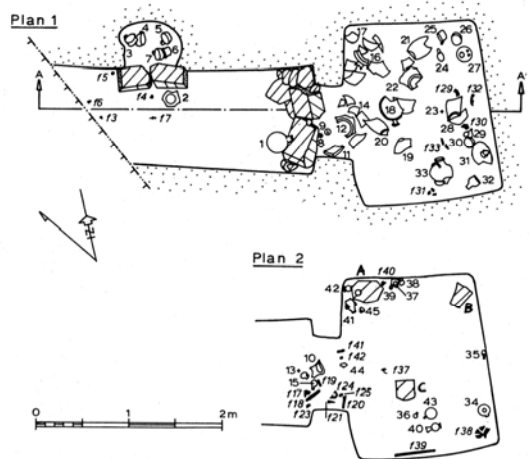


Figure 148. Plan of Knossos North Cemetery T.283 (Coldstream and Catling 1996, fig. 49)

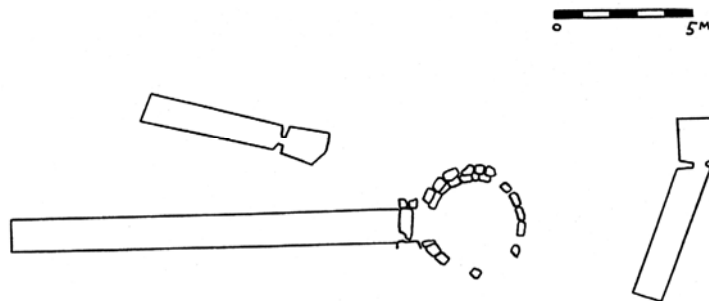


Figure 149. Plan of Knossos Teke tholos and chamber tombs (Hutchinson 1954, 215, fig. 1)

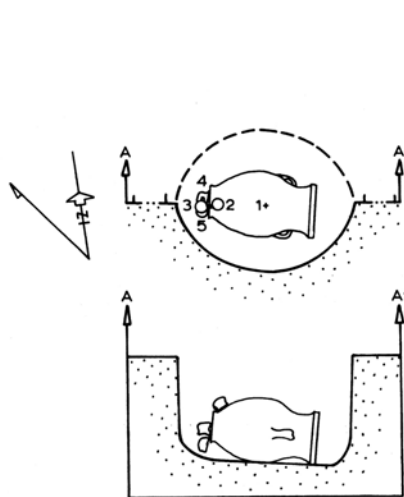


Figure 150. Plan of KNC pit T.280 (Coldstream and Catling 1996, fig. 48)

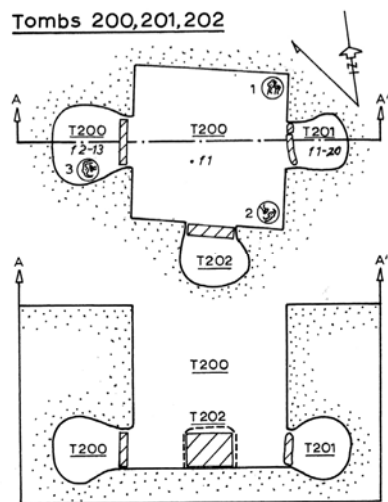


Figure 151. Plan of KNC pit cave T.200-202 (Coldstream and Calting 1996, fig. 43)

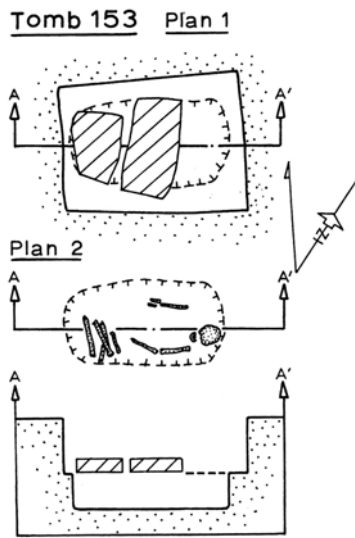


Figure 152. Plan of KNC shaft grave T.153 (Coldstream and Catling 1996, fig.43)

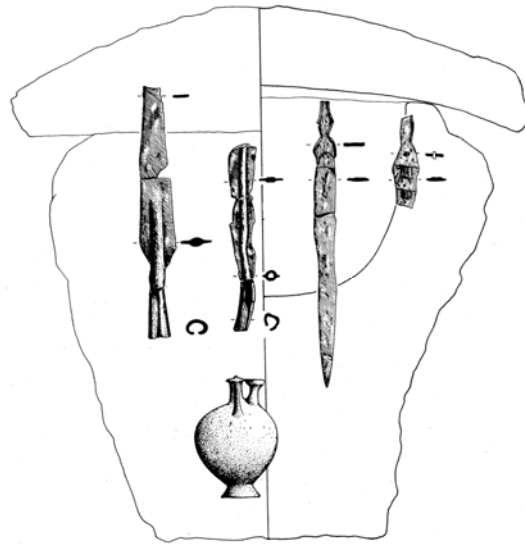


Figure 153. Stone ash urn from Juktas Kato Lakkos (Orlandos 1978, 61, fig. 70)



Figure 154. View of Atsipades burials (Petroulakis 1915, 50, fig. 3)

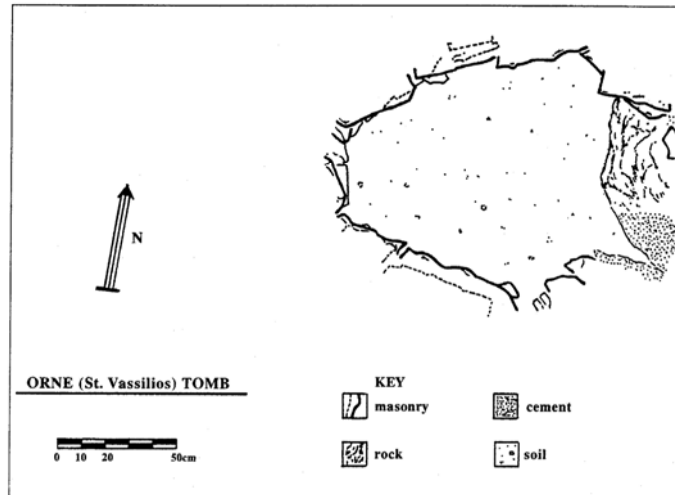


Figure 155. Plan of Orne tholos
(Kanta and Stampolidis 2001, 98, fig. 3)



Figure 156. Interior view of Orne tholos
(Kanta and Stampolidis 2001, 99, fig. 4)



Figure 157. View of Pantanassa tholos
(Tegou 2001, 123, fig. 4)

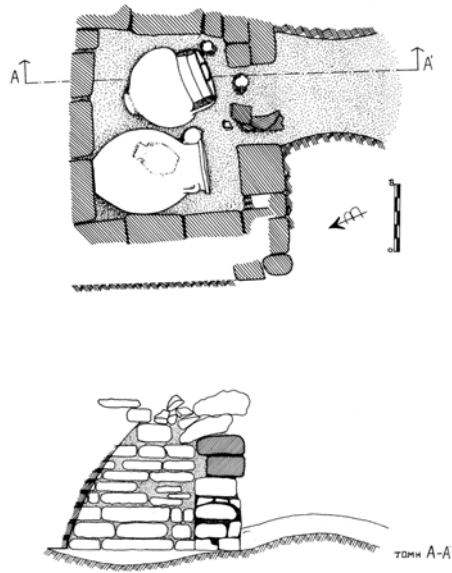


Figure 158. Plan and section of Pantanassa tholos
(Tegou 2001, 125, fig. 5b-c)



Figure 159. Plan of Eleutherna necropolis
(Stampolidis 2004, 119, fig. 3)



Figure 160. View of Eleutherna chamber tomb (A1K1)
(Stampolidis 2004, 123, fig. 8)

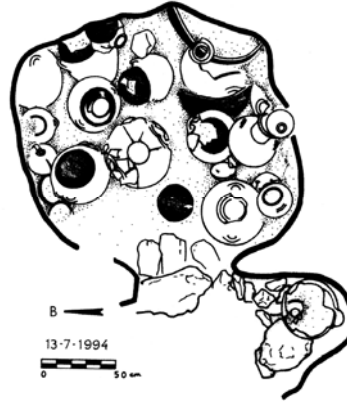


Figure 161. Plan of Eleutherna chamber tomb
(Stampolidis 2004, 123, fig. 9)



Figure 162. Reconstruction of earth tumulus of pyre A (tomb ΛΛ) at Eleutherna
(Stampolidis 1996, 91, fig. 151)

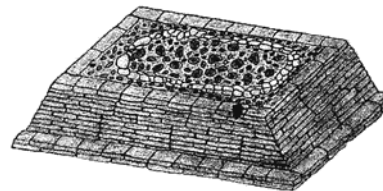


Figure 163. Reconstruction of cover of earth pyre A (tomb ΛΛ) at Eleutherna
(Stampolidis 1996, 145, fig. 193)

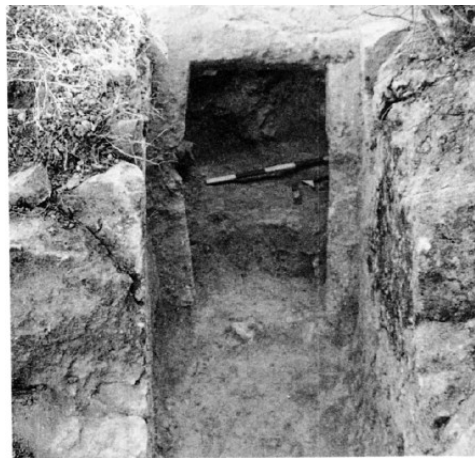


Figure 164. View of entrance of Astrikas tomb 2
(Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1993, plate 149d)

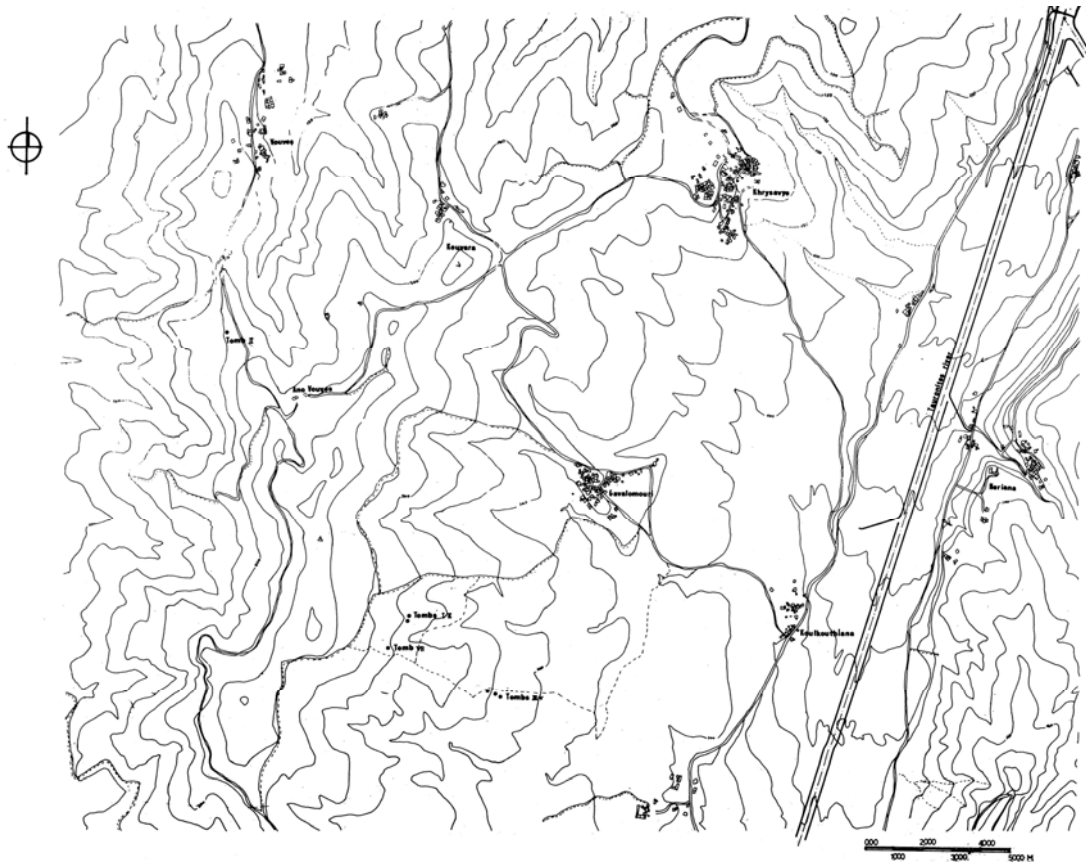


Figure 165. Map of Gavalomouri and Vouves tombs
(Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1987, 331, fig. 1)

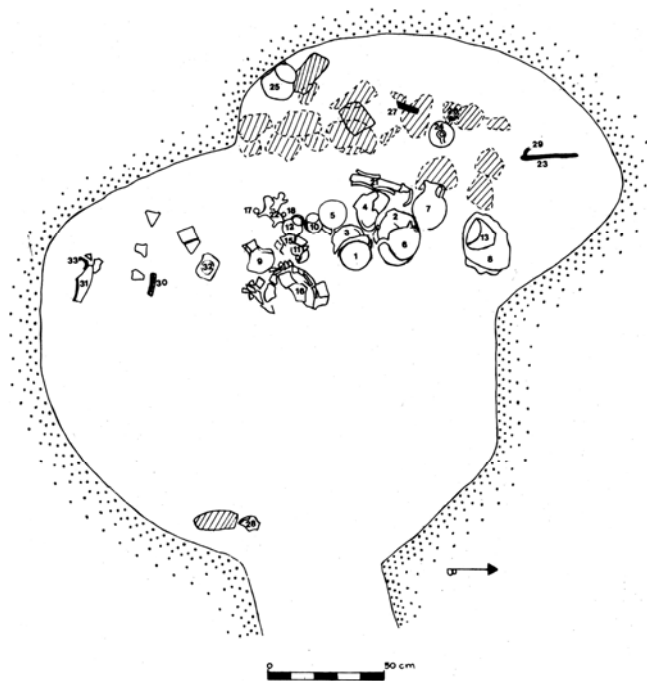


Figure 166. Plan of Gavalomouri tomb II
(Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1987, 332, fig. 2)



Figure 167. View of Gavalomouri T.II
(Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1997, plate I1)



Figure 168. View of Gavalomouri T.IV
(Tzedakis 1977, plate 201c)



Figure 169. View of Vouves tomb II
(Tzedakis 1978, plate 193b)

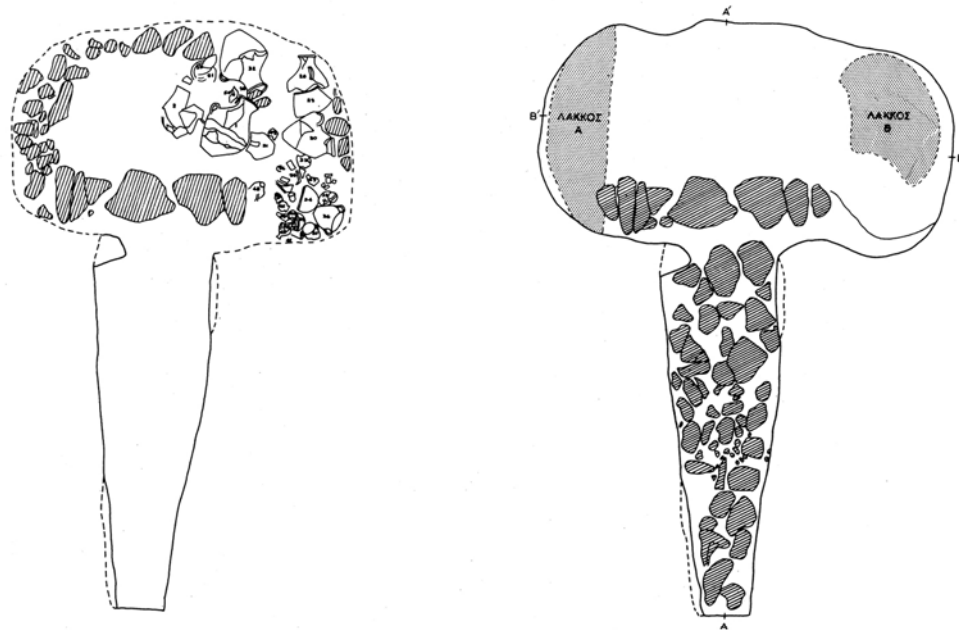


Figure 170. Plan of Vouves tomb II
(Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1985, plate 7, fig. 2)

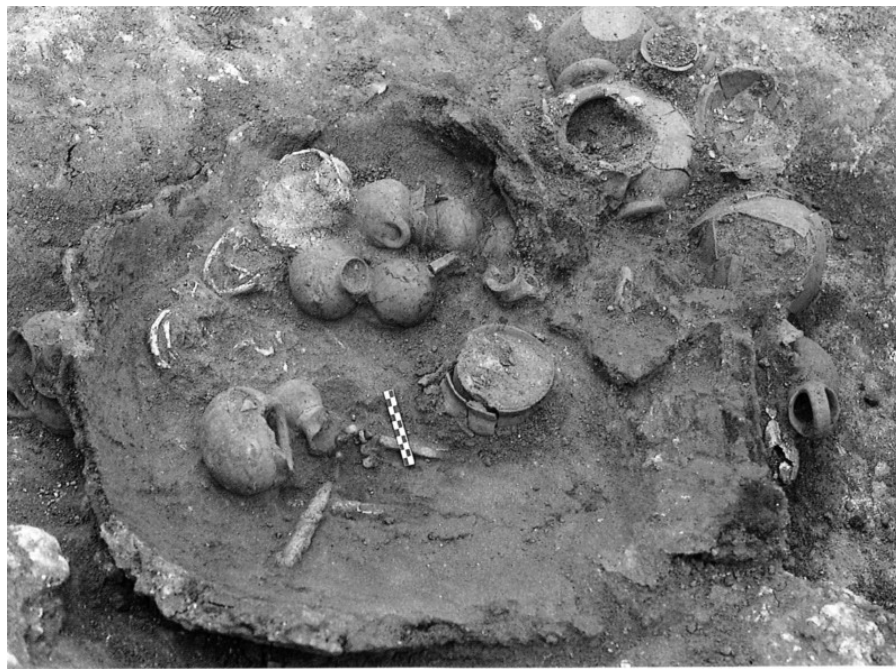


Figure 171. View of Chania pithos burial from Park of Peace and Friendship
(Andreadaki-Vlasaki 2000, 33, fig. 35)

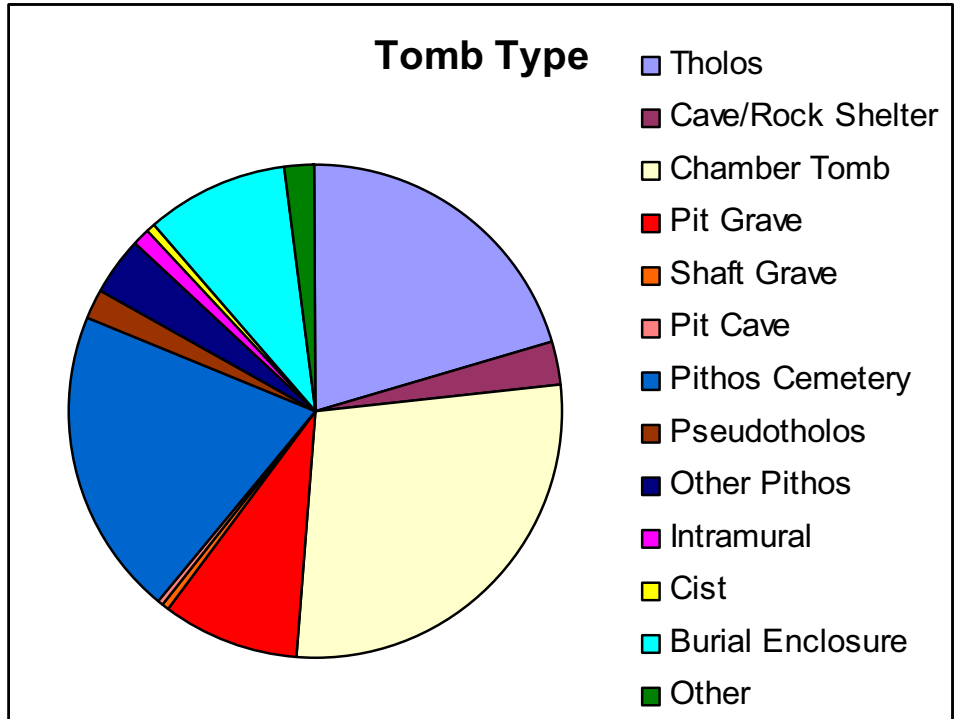


Figure 172. Relative frequency of EIA Cretan tomb types (by total number of tombs)

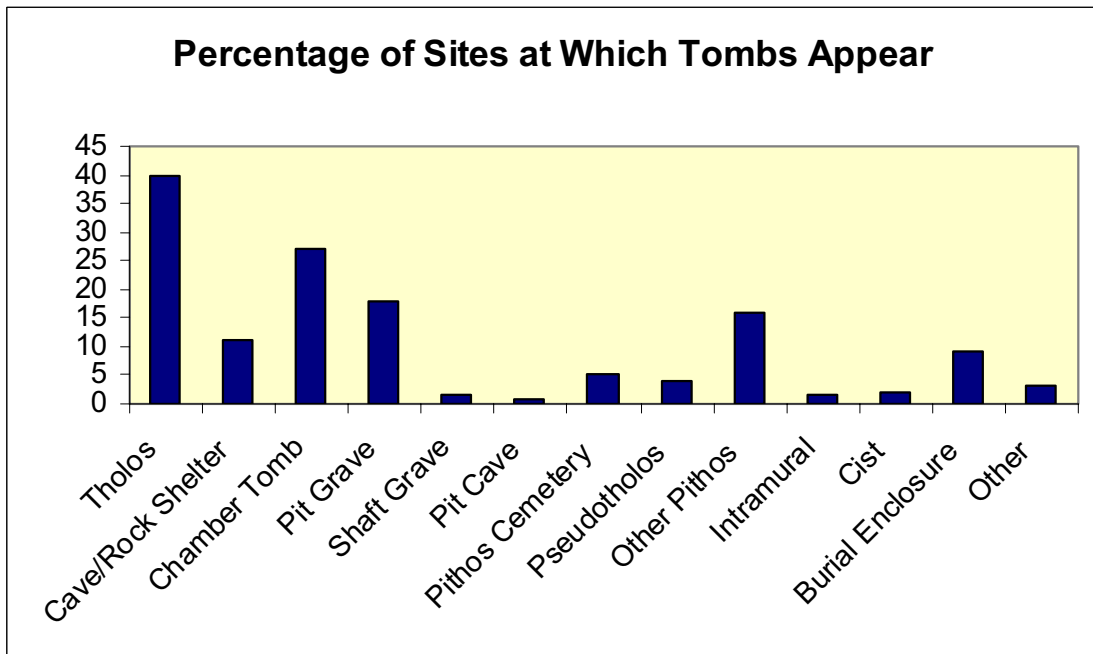


Figure 173. Relative frequency of EIA tomb types (by % of sites at which they appear)

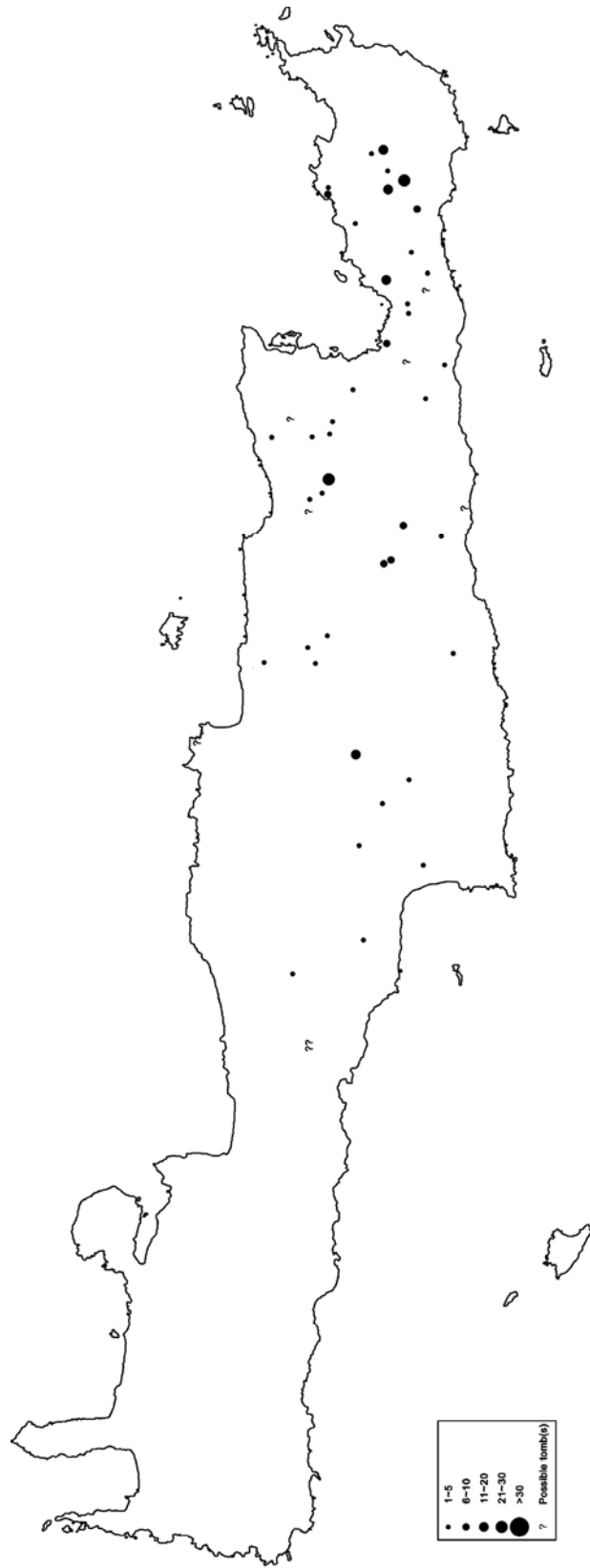


Figure 174. Map of sites with tholos tombs

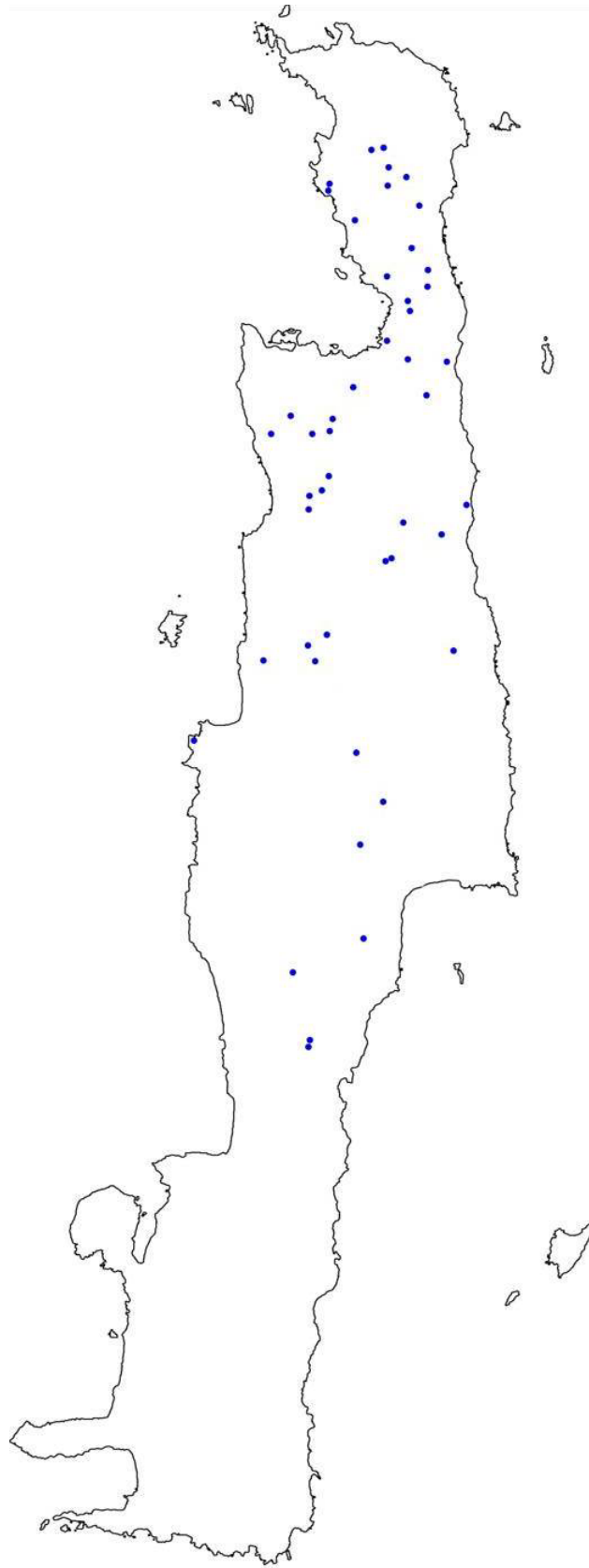


Figure 175. Map of sites with small tholos tombs

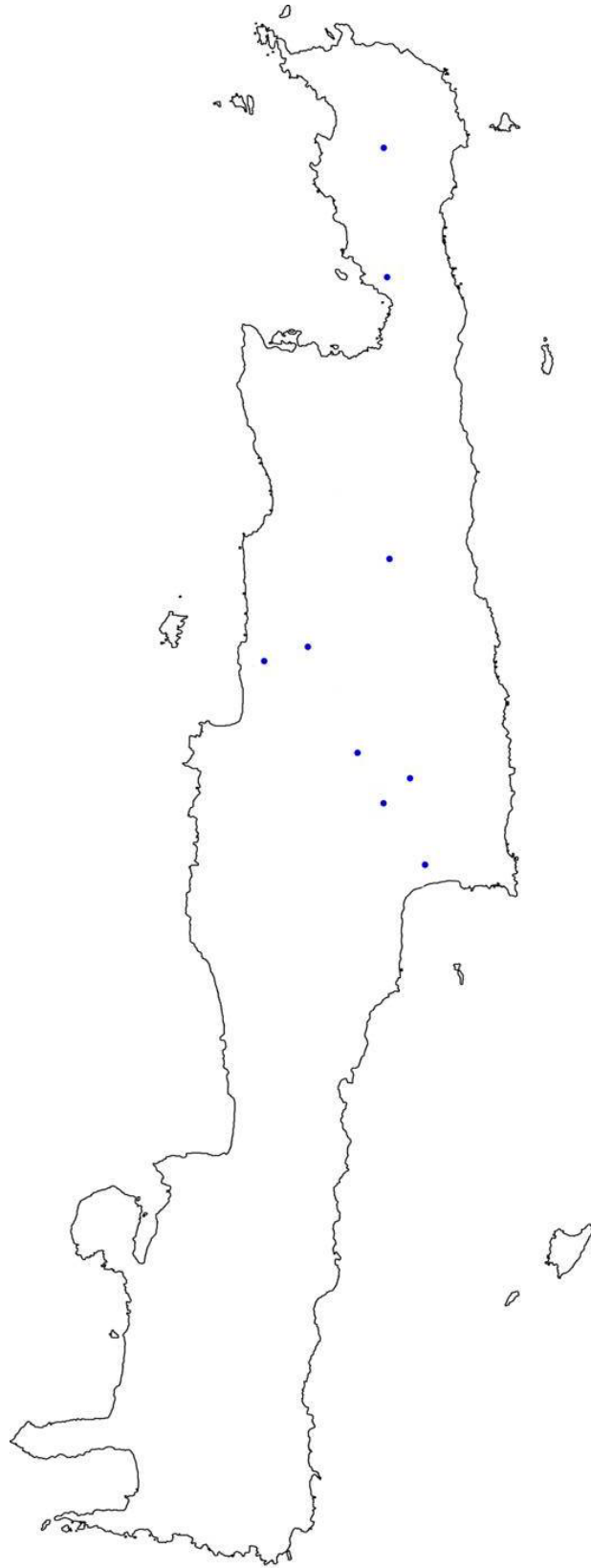


Figure 176. Map of sites with large tholos tombs

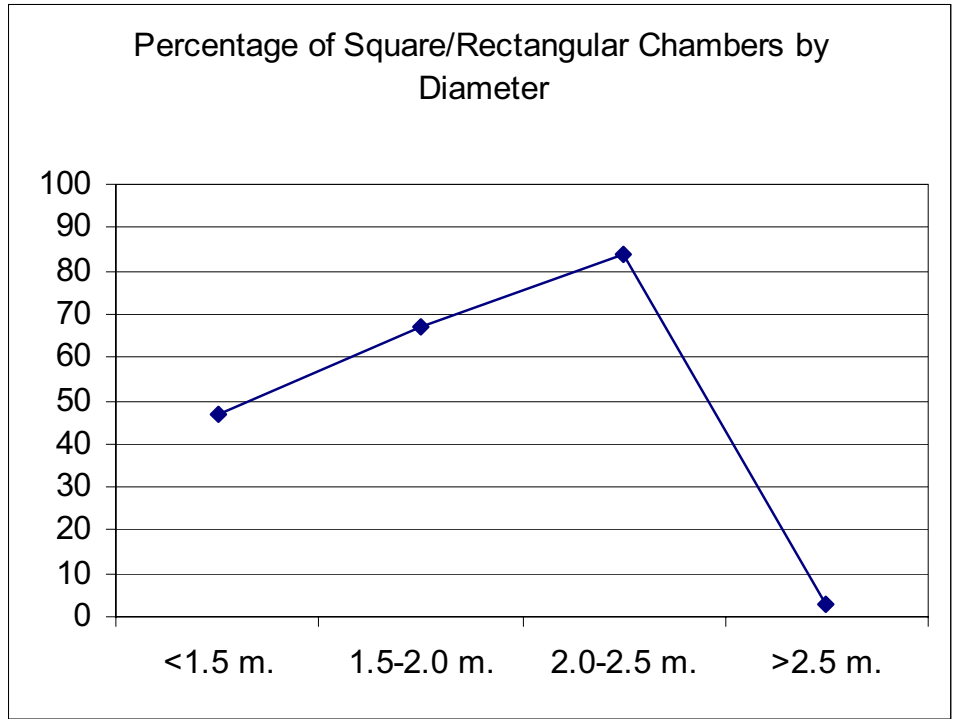


Figure 177. Percentage of square/rectangular chambers for tholos tombs

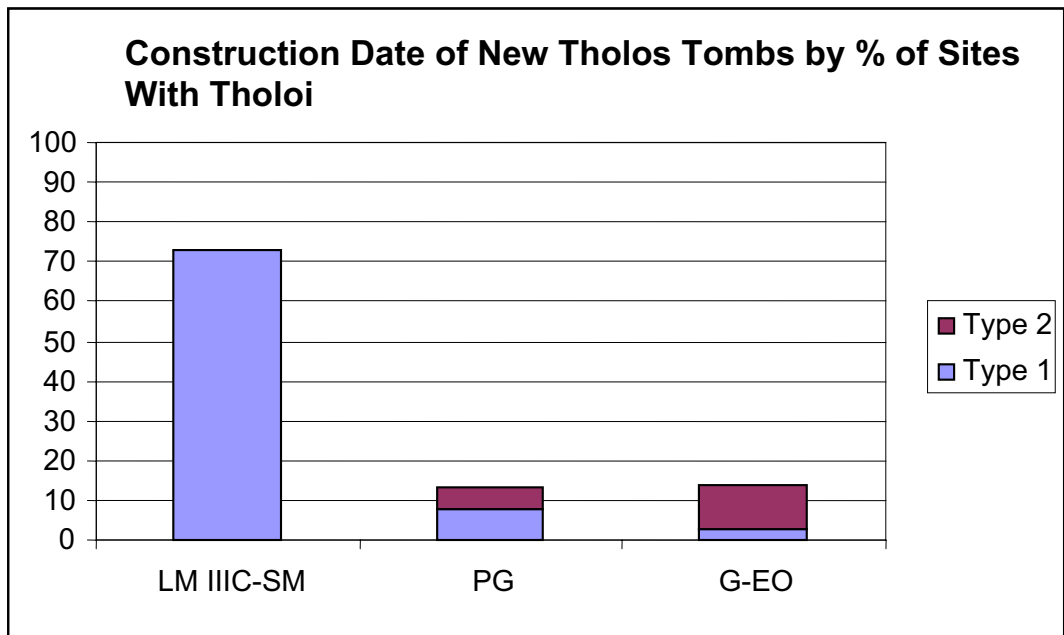


Figure 178. Date of construction of tholos tombs by site

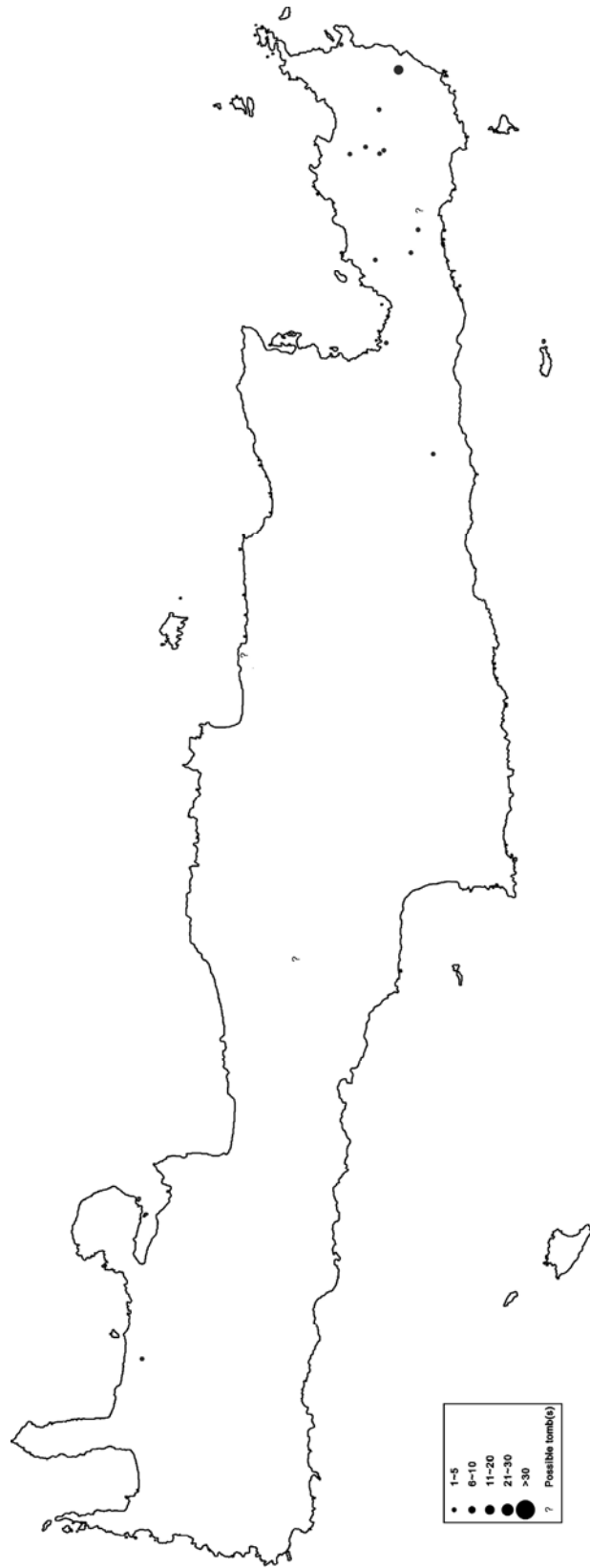


Figure 179. Map of sites with caves and rock shelters

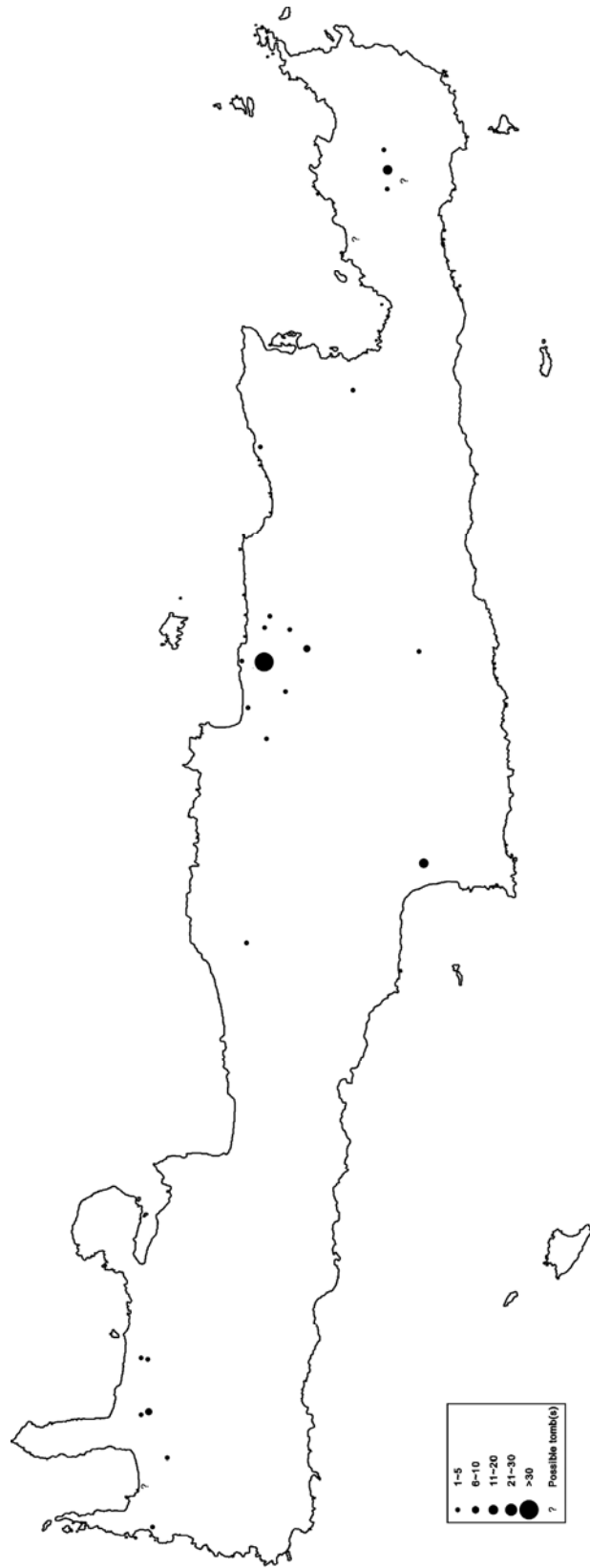


Figure 180. Map of sites with chamber tombs



Figure 181. Map of sites with pit graves

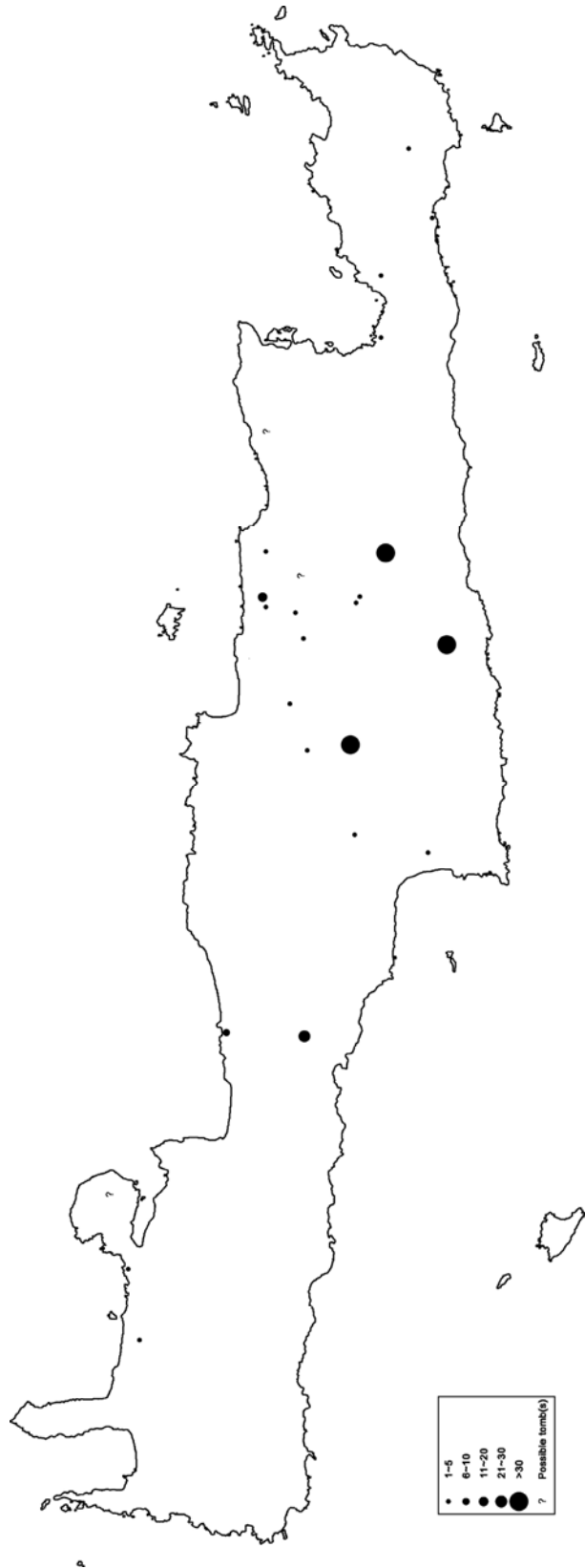


Figure 182. Map of sites with pithos burials (cemeteries and other)

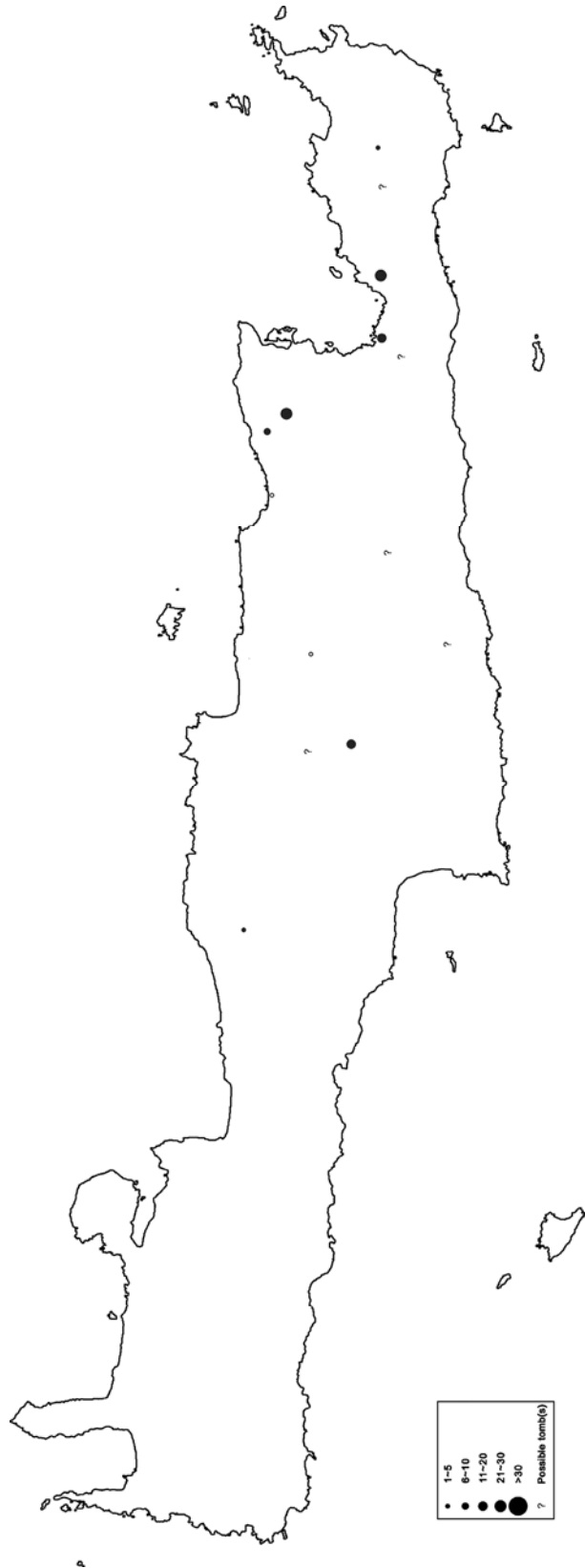


Figure 183. Map of sites with cists and burial enclosures (cist=open circle; b.e.=closed)

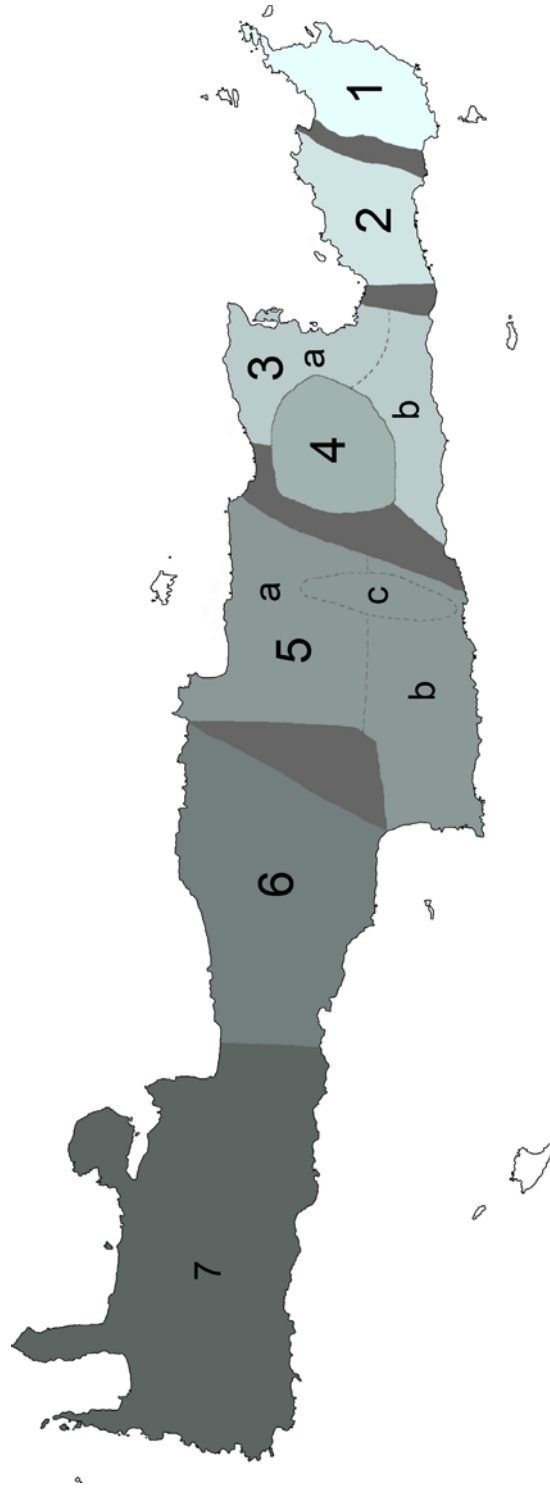


Figure 184. Map of potential burial regions
 (1-far east; 2-west Siteia Mountains; 3-Mirabello, a-northeast zone, b-south zone?; 4-Lasithi Plateau; 5-central, a-northern, b-southern, c-subregion?; 6-west-central; 7-far west; unnumbered shaded areas represent border zones)