

**To what extent can interconnections with the Cyclades be
identified in the Early Bronze Age Aegean through the
burial record?**

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ABSTRACT

The Early Bronze Age Aegean (hereafter EBA) is a period for which direct evidence for large-scale sailing ventures is limited. However, cultural, social and economic developments seem to occur between areas separated by the Aegean Sea. The aim of this thesis is to address the question: To what extent can interconnections be identified with the Cyclades in the EBA Aegean through the burial record? Burials are a good measure of interaction because unlike artefacts they represent social processes deeply embedded in systems of social order, cultural meaning and daily habituation. This is important as settlement evidence and domestic assemblages are often unavailable for the EBA period. Burial practices all imply direct experience, contact and extended interaction in a way that cannot be so easily presumed for other, more portable forms, for example, material culture. These elements are enduring and cannot be traded and so provide a good source for determining interconnections in the EBA period.

Cemetery evidence will be presented from the Cyclades, Crete and mainland Greece, organised by three main themes of grave architecture, burial and the treatment of the dead and ritual practices. The evidence from these three core geographical areas suggests that interconnections were clearly established through the spread of Cycladic burial customs in addition to the known evidence for trade in material culture. In particular Cycladic influence in burial intentionally provokes ideas of memory, identity, visibility, performance and destruction. The burial practices highlighting periods of sustained co-presence between people from the Cyclades and elsewhere in the Aegean. These practices are indicative of high levels of mobility that involved extended stays away from the Cycladic islands. For some this journey would be their final one resulting ultimately in burial in a location away from home. The ritual practices carried out within the burial arena are only reproduced by individuals who see these elements as their own thereby unequivocally demonstrating clear evidence for Cycladic interconnections in the EBA.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Aegean

LN	Late Neolithic
FN	Final Neolithic
EBA	Early Bronze Age (EBI, II, III)
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
LBA	Late Bronze Age

Crete

EM	Early Minoan (EMI, EMIIA & IIB, EMIII)
MM	Middle Minoan
LM	Late Minoan

Cyclades

EC	Early Cycladic (ECI, ECII, ECIII)
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Mainland Greece

EH	Early Helladic (EHI, EHII, EHIII)
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CHAPTER I**INTRODUCTION****1.1 AIMS**

The Early Bronze Age Aegean (hereafter EBA) is a period for which direct evidence for large-scale sailing ventures is limited. However, cultural, social and economic developments seem to occur between areas separated by the Aegean Sea. The aim of this thesis is to address the question: To what extent can interconnections be identified with the Cyclades in the EBA Aegean through the burial record? Although, to some extent, contact could be established between specific Aegean sites and the Cyclades in the EBA (Figure 1.1) purely through examining the spread across regions of particular types of material culture this would not reveal how and why particular types of material culture are used in different places. Material culture may be traded without direct interaction between two particular societies and without the movement of people from one place to another if third parties or traders are involved. Items may also be made locally in the style of another foreign object. If material culture were to be used to establish connections, we need to consider more than the decoration or type of item and consider the fabric and technology of manufacture.

Burials are a good measure of interaction because unlike artefacts they represent social processes deeply embedded in systems of social order, cultural meaning and daily habituation. This is important as settlement evidence and domestic assemblages are often unavailable for the EBA period. Burial practices such as the selection of the grave architecture, the disposal and manipulation of the dead and ritual practices all imply direct experience, contact and extended interaction in a way that cannot be so easily presumed for other, more portable forms, for example, material culture. These elements are enduring and cannot be traded and so provide a good source for determining interconnections in the EBA period.

This research focuses on pottery within burials but there not all graves contain grave goods such as pottery and therefore it is not always possible to establish connections

from assemblages alone. It is for these reasons along with other factors such as levels of recording and different levels of publication that pottery will be examined along with other complementary types of data. For example, some types and assemblages of artefacts had cultural significance in the EBA outside the Cyclades such as the Cycladic toilet kit, frying pans, marble vessels and figurines that were imported and imitated locally, which conveys the spread of ideas and technological processes. This does not mean that the grave goods necessarily represent Cycladic people as there are several possible reasons for their inclusion such as being seen as exotica or as traded items belonging to the dead, rather the inclusion of specific items show either an awareness of Cycladic or island life.

Questions of regional exchange, interaction, cultural change and identity are central to research on the Greek Bronze Age. The archaeological evidence for trade and the movement of material culture has provided archaeologists with some of the most compelling information concerning the nature of Aegean interconnections. Much of our attention, however, has been focused towards the end of this period in the Late Bronze Age (hereafter LBA) through evidence for trade and the comparative study of material culture (Bass 1986:269-296, 1991:69-82; Cline 1994; Cline and Harris Cline 1998; Gale 1991; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991:351-386) for example between Crete and Egypt (Bietak 1995:19-28; Branigan 1989:65-71; Cline 1999:115-144; Davies and Schofield 1995; Laffineur 1998:53-67; Rehak and Younger 1998:91-173; Shaw 2002:99-110; Wachsmann 1987; Warren 1995:1-18; Watrous 1992; Wiener 1991:325-350) and between the Aegean and Anatolia (Mee 1978:121-155, Wachsmann 1998). In comparison to other periods the EBA and particularly the Cyclades have both been relatively neglected in discussions of interconnections (Broodbank 2002; Karantzali 1996; Maran 1998; Renfrew 1972; Weiberg 2007), and much of this neglect appears to stem from the nature of publications of key EBA sites, which are presented in a variety of languages (especially Greek) which are time consuming to translate. However, these data offer an important source of evidence concerning the early nature of interconnections between the Cyclades and Crete and mainland Greece, the three core areas of the Aegean discussed in this work.

Whilst the pottery and figurines have been studied by scholars such as Broodbank (2002) and Renfrew (1972) to evaluate the spread of material culture from the Cyclades, to date no correlation has been attempted between specific features presented in grave architecture, burial and the treatment of the dead or ritual practices at cemetery sites in any work. Evidence for the spread of funerary and ritual practices could not only indicate interconnections but also the development of social relationships in the Aegean before the EBII period.



Figure 1.1 Map showing the locations discussed in this research

1.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

This research question follows previous work exploring whether state formation in Crete could be seen through burial practices (Nolan-Webster 2008). The burial data found in and around the Mesara Plain demonstrated how burial practices changed as society developed and progressed, manifesting through developments in architecture

at tomb sites. This research focussed on whether the Minoan ‘palace’ of Phaistos from MMIA impacted on the way cemeteries were used and changed over time. Findings from the research suggested that ritual activity was occurring in many forms and locations across the island all at the same time in homes, cemeteries and peak sanctuaries. Changes in cemeteries in the Mesara during the EM period in features such as ossuaries, enclosure walls, pavements and the appearance of stone altars for example at Kamilari (Branigan 1993:79) highlighted changes in society size and organisation before the construction of Phaistos. Blake (2005:113) described the changes at cemeteries as bringing about a formalisation of activities beyond simply the deposition of the deceased. Ritual practices at cemeteries involved eating, drinking and dancing as revealed through large numbers of cups found at sites such as Apesokari (Branigan 1993:78; Hamilakis 1998:120) and in the model found at Kamilari (Figure 1.2) (Branigan 1993:130-131). These practices highlighted the move away from the purely practical function of the cemetery as a place for burying the dead. The building of Phaistos and its role in society development, organisation and expansion, provided a place for communities to come together and form relationships across the Mesara. In addition to this, the palace facilitated the storage of food and olive oil for times of hardship. In conclusion, my research indicated that Phaistos not only acted as a place for community gatherings but also presented an expansion of ideas from rituals held outside the graves of the Mesara. This illustrates the important role burial practices play in reconstructing social relationships.



Figure 1.2 Kamilari model of four figures dancing (1450-1300 BC) Heraklion Museum, Crete (<http://www.cretan thematicpark.com/media/1041/32.jpg/> Accessed 28th March 2016)

The changes in Mesara architectural features at cemeteries through time resulted in further research into other EM burial practices across Crete and apparent evidence for Cycladic influences in the north of the island, especially the north east. The cemetery and burials at Hagia Photia with their Cycladic grave goods and architectural features (Davaras and Betancourt 2004, 2012) imply a link to the Cycladic islands. The implications of the evidence from Hagia Photia could possibly represent the movement of people, perhaps a Cycladic colony (Betancourt 2012b:185; Davaras 1971:397; Davaras and Betancourt 2004:5), or the transfer/local adoption of ideas. Further Cycladic evidence could be seen at other sites on Crete such as Archanes (Legarra Herrero 2012:338, 2014:72-73, 76, 87, 154-155; Myers et al. 1992:57; Sakellarakis 1977a:115, 1977b:114-115; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1999; Soles 1992:129, 131) and Mochlos (Branigan 1991:97-98, 104; Carter 2004:291; Karantzali 1996:48; Legarra Herrero 2014: 91-92, 97-106; 108-109, 112-116, 144, 147-149; Murphy 2011:28; Nowicki 1999:579; Pendlebury 1939:51; Renfrew 1972:378; Seager 1909:273-274, 1912:13, 18, 40, 76; Soles

1992:41-113; Soles and Davaras 1992:413, 416-417, 1994:391; Whitelaw 1983:337-339; Vavouranakis 2007:16, 24-25). All three sites, with others, are discussed later in this work.

Although data has been presented on individual Cycladic cemeteries (Broodbank 2002; Doumas 1977; Rambach 2000; Renfrew 1972) there has been no research to date which focuses on bringing together the Cycladic cemetery evidence to determine the extent of Cycladic influence beyond the islands. This research aims to address this. It will be more problematic to attempt with any certainty whether the sites were Cycladic colonies. Questions have been raised as to whether any movement of people in the EBA Aegean may represent colonies or extensive trade networks. However, determining whether evidence from a site represents a colony is difficult to determine. The idea of *Mischkultur* was first introduced by Mylonas (1959:162-165) and Schachermeyr (1955:1441) who looked to the artefacts from EBA sites in Attica and the Cyclades as a *Mischkultur*, or a representation of a mixed culture, of people from the Greek mainland and the Cyclades. Mylonas (1959:162-165) and Schachermeyr (1955:1441) believed that the burial customs were indicators that this mixed culture presented itself in Cycladic colonies at sites such as Aghios Kosmas and Manika. Mylonas (1959:162-165) and Schachermeyr's (1955:1441) research was based on the idea that material assemblages represent cultural groups which can prove the presence of a group of people (Childe 1929:v-vi; Nazou 2010:6). Taking this argument further, when more than one type of culture is represented at a site, Nazou (2010:6-7) suggested that different groups may have co-existed in the same place.

Like Mylonas (1959:162-165) and Schachermeyr (1995:1441), Sapouna-Sakellarakis (1987:260-262) classified the site of Manika as a Cycladic colony with possibly a small group of people arriving from the islands. Whereas, Sampson (1988c:126) viewed the Cycladica at Manika as the result of interaction through trade or exchange rather than the movement and settlement of Cycladic people. Renfrew (1972:180, 535-538) viewed *Mischkultur* as the cultural identity was less about the movement of people but more a shared influence from two geographical adjacent areas. He looked to ideas of trade and exchange to explain this shared influence. Renfrew suggested

that Cycladic objects were part of a much later idea of Cycladic influence, called the International Spirit (Nazou 2010:7; Renfrew 1972:34, 451-455). Renfrew (1972:451) looked to the EBII as being an important period for the Cycladic islands for their participation in extensive trade networks but he did not explain how the networks operated (Kouka 2008:276; Nazou 2010:8). However, since Renfrew, Broodbank (2002:287-291) has gone some way to address this. Wilson developed an idea of merging cultures by connecting the material culture from the island of Kea to the nearby Greek mainland, thereby creating a “cultural and economic bridge between the two regions” (Broodbank 1989:325; Carter 1999:289; Wilson 1987:35). Wilson’s idea is important because if he is correct the idea of imports or colonists becomes redundant for the Greek mainland (Carter 1999:289).

In addition to Attika, Gordon Childe (1925:51) looked to sites on Euboea and suggested that it was part of a north cultural group which included the islands of Syros, Siphnos and Andros. This idea was well received especially following the excavations on Kea at Ayia Irini whose artefacts were similar to items found at Manika (Carter 1999:289; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1986:140-211, 236). On Crete, it seems to be widely accepted that Hagia Photia may represent a Cycladic colony on the island. Day, Wilson and Kiriati (1998:133-149) have discussed this in some detail through the presence of Cycladic style pottery found at the site and whether the use of this type of material culture can lead to the classification of the site as a Cycladic colony. They set out to determine this through the analysis and typology of the pottery to understand whether pottery was imported, made locally by Cycladic potters or if potters were making vessels in Cycladic styles (Day et al. 1998:135). The pottery from the site was divided into two groups including a small percentage of Minoan wares, which were found to be produced locally, and Cycladic wares (Day et al. 1998:136-138). Cycladic wares were determined by shape, decoration and macroscopic appearance of the fabric (Day et al. 1998:137). Analysis of the Cycladic pottery fabrics found it was made from clay tempered with calcite and grog and fired at low temperatures, a practice comparable with the Cyclades (Day et al. 1998:138). It was therefore concluded that pottery from Hagia Photia was imported from the islands (Day et al. 1998:135) and therefore may have been seen as exotic or an expression of ethnic identity and therefore a colony (Day et al. 1998:140). Hagia

Photia is not alone with other cases of imported pottery and debates surrounding whether sites represent colonies also for Aghios Kosmas (Attica), Manika (Euboea) (Day et al. 1998:141) and Tsepi (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:358) and so issues surrounding colonies will be discussed in greater detail later in this work.

1.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AEGEAN EBA

The burial data for the EBA provides a great deal of information about the people who lived in the period, often when there is no trace of accompanying settlements. The EBA period is important both for its burial evidence and for the expansion in obsidian and metal working. The organisation and expansion of expertise in obsidian pressure flaked blade production, Carter (2003:78-79) described as being a dominant Aegean technology. The manufacture and the shipping of metal and mineral ores from the Cyclades highlight the movement of people and goods around the Aegean from the Middle Neolithic (hereafter MN) and Late Neolithic (hereafter LN) periods. On mainland Greece this is demonstrated through the presence of obsidian with burials at sites such as Lerna (Vitelli 2007:20-21) and Franchthi cave (Hatzipouliou 1996b:77; Jacobsen and Cullen 1981:83). The EBA has produced much more archaeological evidence than previous periods in the form of settlements and cemeteries.

1.4 BEFORE THE EBA PERIOD

1.4.1 On the Greek mainland

In the preceding Neolithic period in the Aegean, evidence for occupation is found on the mainland in caves (Papathanassopoulos 1996b:39-40; Perlès 2001:116; Tomkins 2009:125-153) which provided shelter for the living and places in which to lay the dead. In the later Neolithic, caves presented themselves as ideal storage facilities (Papathanassopoulos 1996b:40). Whether these caves provided a suitable permanent shelter for the living or if they offered temporary shelter for seasonal use is often

debated (Demoule and Perlès 1993:404-5; Kyparissi-Apostolika 1999:150; Tomkins 2009:129; Zachos 1999:153-4). Examples of caves being used as places of burial on the Greek mainland in the Neolithic can be seen at Franchthi (Diamant 1979:203-217; Hatzipoulou 1996a:75-76; Jacobsen 1969:343-381, 1973a:45-88, 1973b:253-283; Jacobsen and Cullen 1981:79-102; Jacobsen and Van Horn 1974:305-308; Runnels and Murray 2001:26-40; Talalay 1987:161-169; Vitelli 1989:17-29), Theopetra (Gallis 1996a:23-37, 1996b:171-174; Kyparissi-Apostolika 1996:67-68) and Alepotrypa (Papathanassopoulos 1996c:80-84; Theocharis 1974:74-81). The limited data available for the Neolithic period found in caves, however, is unlikely to represent a true picture of society on mainland Greece as only a small number of people are represented in the burial record (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:6), without status or hierarchy. The Neolithic dead were only buried with simple grave goods consisting of pottery items.

When the dead are not found in caves they were placed in shallow graves, shafts and cremations in pots, usually buried in an organised manner. Examples of other places containing Neolithic burials on the Greek mainland can be found at Kalamaki Archaia (Vassilogamvrou 2000:43-51, 2001-2004:525, 2008:249-251), Ancient Elis (Rambach 2006:63-92; http://www.yppo.gr/0/anaskafes/pdfs/Z_EPKA.pdf/Accessed 28th March 2016), Proskynas (Papathanasiou 2001-2004:541; Papathanasiou et al. 2009:223-235), Diros Xagounaki (Papathanasopoulou 2012), Thebes (Tsota 2009:863-880) and Tharrounia on Euboea (Sampson 1992:61-101, 1993b:296-297). The site of Proskynas was excavated in 1996-2000, producing seven pit burials and one pot burial from the Final Neolithic (hereafter FN) period alongside later burials from the Middle Helladic or early Mycenaean period (Papathanasiou et al. 2009:223-224). Osteological material has provided the mean adult age at death as 33.8 years at Proskynas in the Neolithic (Papathanasiou et al. 2009:227). The signs of diseases such as anemia, arthritis, enthesitis and hypoplasia were found in the individuals examined and isotope analysis from the ribs and femurs of the dead provided evidence for low iron in the diet for the adult population (Papathanasiou 2001-2004:541; Papathanasiou et al. 2009:224, 226, 228). The site of Diros (Papathanasopoulou 2012) contained a grave with three burials probably from the FN. At the site of Thebes both a settlement and cemetery were found dating from the

LN period. The cemetery produced twenty five simple pit graves which included ceramics and some anthropomorphic figurines (Tsota 2009:863-880).

The site of Tharrounia in Euboea (Figure 1.3) contained a settlement, cave and a cemetery (Sampson 1992:88, 1993b:296). The settlement was heavily eroded but once may have occupied three acres. Excavation of the site was completed by opening trial trenches (Sampson 1992:86, 1993b:296). From undisturbed Neolithic levels, fragments of vases, shallow bowls, deep vessels, cheese-pots and a base containing impressions were found alongside obsidian blades, a millstone and two grinders (Sampson 1992:86, 1993b:296). The items found from the trenches and from the surface were comparable to artefacts found in the cave from LNII period, suggesting the settlement was in use during this period (Sampson 1992:296). This pottery in the cave at Tharrounia may indicate that during LNII the cave became a place of storage once the settlement was created at the site.

The cave at Tharrounia is large. Artefacts from the LNI are most prolific in the LNIIb period and included both open and closed vessels of matt-painted ware, black-burnished ware, incised ware and white-on-dark ware (Sampson 1992:70, 1993b:289-291). Several unusual handles and lugs were found in the LNI levels, possibly belonging to 65 pots (Sampson 1993b:291). Pottery from the LNII period consists of sherds from pithoi or small or medium closed vases (Coleman 1992:274; Sampson 1993b:292). These vessels include unpainted wares, monochrome, pattern-burnished and plastic decorations (Sampson 1993b:292). In LNIIb new styles of vessels appear including rolled rim bowls, scoop vases and the cheese pot (Sampson 1993b:293). During the LNII period there are also marble and clay figurines and the representation of animals is common on handles and lugs of vases (Coleman 1977:83; Sampson 1993b:294-295). Other items found in the cave include bone implements (pendants, needles) and stone artefacts (pendants, spindle whorls) (Sampson 1992:83, 1993b:295). A large amount of obsidian blades and flint arrowheads, stone axes, millstones and grinders were also found and copper items of copper needles and tools from LNII contexts (Sampson 1992:84, 1993b:295).

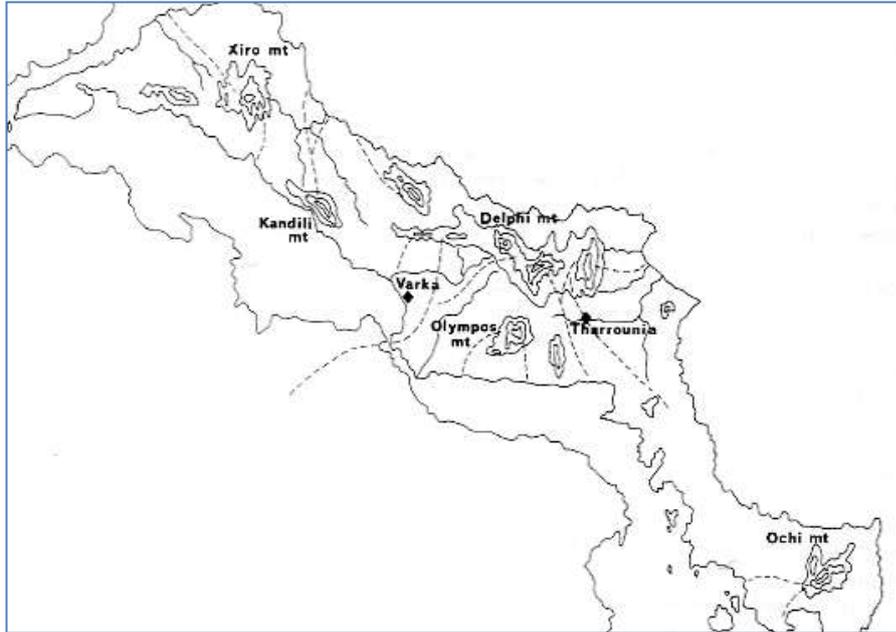


Figure 1.3 Map showing the location of Tharrounia, Euboea
(Sampson 1992:Fig 41, 1993b:279)

The cemetery (Figure 1.4) at Tharrounia is located 400m south west of the settlement, it is eroded and the deposits have been washed away but a few graves have been preserved (Sampson 1992:89, 1993b:296). There were eight graves represented in total, although two of these have been looted (graves 1 and 2) and the cover stones that once may have covered the graves have been lost to ploughing (Sampson 1992:88, 1993b:296). Graves were petaloid or trapezoidal. Grave 3 is very shallow and contained six skulls and a few small bones suggesting it was a place for secondary burial (Sampson 1993b:297). Grave 4 contained two levels with two skulls in the upper level and a contracted skeleton on the grave floor (Sampson 1993b:297). Grave 4 is of a similar appearance to grave 31 of Kephala (Sampson 1992:88, 1993b:296, 297) discussed further in Chapter III. Grave 5 contained the remains of a skeleton, the details of which are unknown (Sampson 1993b:297). Grave 6 contained two skulls with Neolithic sherds inside and outside the grave. A *Spondylus Gaederopus* shell was found nearby (Sampson 1993b:297). Grave 7 was partially destroyed but there were the remains of a skull and a few bones (Sampson 1993b:297). Grave 8 was also partially destroyed but contained various bones, Neolithic pottery and a child skull (Sampson 1993b:297). There are very few items deposited within the graves at Tharrounia except for a broken vessel and quern slab

in grave 4 and a clay spindle whorl in grave 2 (Sampson 1993b:296, 297). There are, however, large amounts of pottery, a few obsidian blades and stone implements found around the site (Sampson 1992:88).

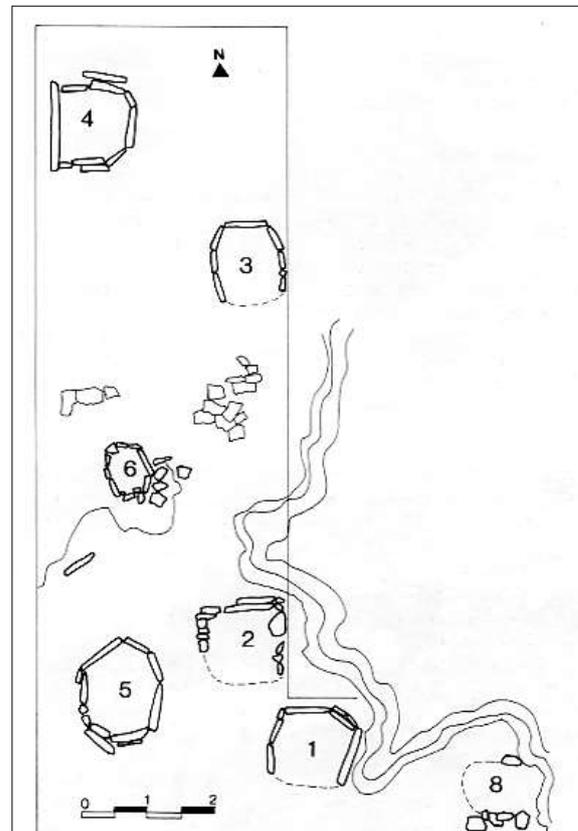


Figure 1.4 Plan of the Neolithic Cemetery of Tharrounia
(Sampson 1992:Figure 35, 1993b:237)

1.4.2 In the Cyclades and Crete

Before the EBA in the Cyclades, evidence for prehistoric occupation is starting to emerge through sites such as the settlement and cemetery at Maroulas (Kythnos) dating from the Mesolithic period (Sampson 2008a:13-17). This discovery is important as it is the earliest example of a site in the Cyclades. Maroulas will be briefly discussed in Chapter III (see section 3.6). For the Neolithic period in the Cyclades there are few sites. The Zas cave (Naxos) (Zachos 1990:29-38, 1996:88-89, 1999:153-163; Zachos and Dousougli 2008:85-95) and the recent discovery of the settlement and cemetery at Saliagos (Antiparos) which is now underwater (Evans

and Renfrew 1968; Renfrew 1984a:42), Strophilas (Andros) which includes architecture, fortifications and rock art (Renfrew 2008:3; Televantou 2008:43-53), the Neolithic settlement of Ftelia (Mykonos) (Phoca-Cosmetatou 2008:37-41; Sampson 2008b:29-36) and the settlement and cemetery at Kephala (Kea) (Coleman 1977) from the FN or the FN-EBA transition period.

On Crete, evidence for occupation of the island has recently come to light following the Plakias survey project. This project located twenty Mesolithic and five Palaeolithic sites (Carter 2014; Strasser 2013, 2014; Strasser et al. 2010:148-149, 186). From all of these sites Kephala (Kea) will be discussed in detail as it represents the first organised cemetery in the Cyclades which may offer a glimpse of where Cycladic burial practices and rituals originated. There is also some question as to the date of the site through limited radiocarbon dating which suggests a date 2876 ± 56 B.C. (Coleman 1977:32). If this data was accurate for across the site it could now place Kephala into the EBA period. For this reason and features from the site, Kephala has earned a place in this research.

Recent settlement evidence found in the Cyclades indicates that society organisation and activities on some of the islands does not seem to change significantly between the FN and the EBA. Sites such as Ftelia (Mykonos) provide evidence that the population were not living in small groups or farms, with an estimated population of 100-150 people at the site (Sampson 2008b:29). New activities start to present themselves at sites, for example, metalworking seemingly providing the main activity at Kephala (Kea) (Coleman 1977:108, 111). Unfortunately, little settlement evidence across the Cyclades is available for the Early Cycladic I period. There are a number of grave sites but only a small population represented. Later in the EBA (ECII) generally the number of cemeteries decreases compared to ECI but cemeteries which do emerge are much larger in size.

On the Greek mainland in the EBA there are settlements which relate to two of the cemetery sites discussed. This will allow a comparison to be made between the settlement and cemetery sites in the architecture and items included with burials of the dead to establish whether there are any variations between the two. Cemetery

evidence can allow us to gain an understanding of how the living were burying their dead and if grave architecture, burial practices and the treatment of the dead, and rituals in the EC cemeteries can be seen elsewhere in the Aegean. The end of the EBA (ECIII) will not be discussed in this research in any detail as there are very few cemetery sites in the Cyclades during this period. This issue is discussed further below in the Chronology section (1.5). However, cemetery sites which continue from ECII into ECIII such as Chalandriani (Syros) will be included.

1.5 CHRONOLOGY

Establishing detailed chronology for the EBA Aegean is problematic as there have been limited attempts to produce calibrated radiocarbon dates. These are combined with Near Eastern and Balkan correlations (Sherratt 2000:13) for example LN-FN to EMI/EHI/ECI in the Aegean with pre-Troy I and Troy I cultures (Manning 1995:74). Not all radiocarbon dating results, and the interpretation of dates, for some sites have been accepted. For example, Coleman (1992:260) has questioned the relative chronology for the site of Kephala produced by Warren and Hankey (1989:10, 12) which used pottery typology and radiocarbon dating to date the site. Coleman believed that the date produced of LNII is erroneously early, the result of the carbon sample coming from near the surface of the excavation, and so possibly from contaminated samples.

Davis (1992:753) and Cosmopoulos (1998:127) advocate a need for a flexible relative chronology based on a series of published deposits from settlement contexts but this approach is difficult for the EBA in the Cyclades as there are only a limited number of settlement sites. Some of the settlements that do remain include Markiani (Amorgos), Ayia Irini (Kea) and Daskalio-Kavos (Keros) are discussed below. Caution must be taken when attempting to recognise a chronology through mortuary assemblages when graves have been used across several chronological periods and may contain multiple assemblages from various dates. Some graves in which multiple inhumations have been made may contain several generations of one family or kin group buried over hundreds of years and potentially spanning several

chronological periods. Secondary burial practices may also bring earlier material into later contexts. Artefacts may also be buried with the dead from earlier periods. Pottery may be looted, smashed around the grave or no artefacts found within a burial. In these cases the decision of the excavator regarding chronology and the evidence presented for a grave will be accepted and used in this study.

Manning (1995:143-144, 2008:55-59) attempted to formulate a reliable absolute chronology for the EBA Aegean, establishing dates for the period of c.3300/2900 cal. BC to c.2000 cal. BC (Figure 1.5) however, his analysis included only a limited number of samples from a small number of sites (Manning 1995:130-131). Manning's initial research found that radiocarbon dates and formal date lists had not been published for many years by the laboratories producing the results. Manning also proposed that we need to exclude the data from certain excavated sites as they only produced single dates for example; Ayia Irini, Ayios Dhimitrios (also with poor contexts), Emporio, Kastri (Syros), Kephala (Kea), Knossos, Lebena and Mallia (Crete). Other sites were excluded for a variety of other reasons, for example, Debla was excluded for inconsistent dates, Pyrgos had EM-MM contexts but undersized samples and Skouries (Kythnos) had poorly constrained dates that were no later than ECII (Manning 1995:132-133). The exclusion of these sites severely limited the number of sites across the Aegean that had available published data that could be reliably used. The samples which were available to Manning (1995:135) were calibrated by probabilistic-based methods. This method took the probability distributions determined from single data sets, combined into total set probability using the 2-dimensional dispersion calibration method or the combined method (Manning 1995:135). Both methods have similar results (Manning 1995:135) and the EBA dates are presented in Table 1.1.

Manning's methodology and results highlight problems when establishing a chronology for the EBA. Problems are caused by a lack of site data from multi-periods sites and the types of material available for analysis. Some material, such as wood, may be reused across time periods (Manning 1995:148), and data which can only provide a *terminus post quem* for sites for data from above destruction levels. Further to this, the beginning of the EBA produces a lack of data and no correlation

between the Aegean and other areas such as the Near East until after the EBI (Barber 1987:21; Barber and MacGillivray 1984:296, 301; Manning 1995:143). Where there has been no radiocarbon dating for the start of the EBA period, Barber and MacGillivray have been consulted as to how the chronology sits with the Cycladic islands and the rest of the Aegean. Barber and MacGillivray signal that phases of the EBI are comparable, that is EMI, EHI and ECI, and so for the purpose of this research this approach has been adopted (Barber 1987:22; Barber and MacGillivray 1984:297, 301; MacGillivray 1984:75). These data are presented in Table 1.2.

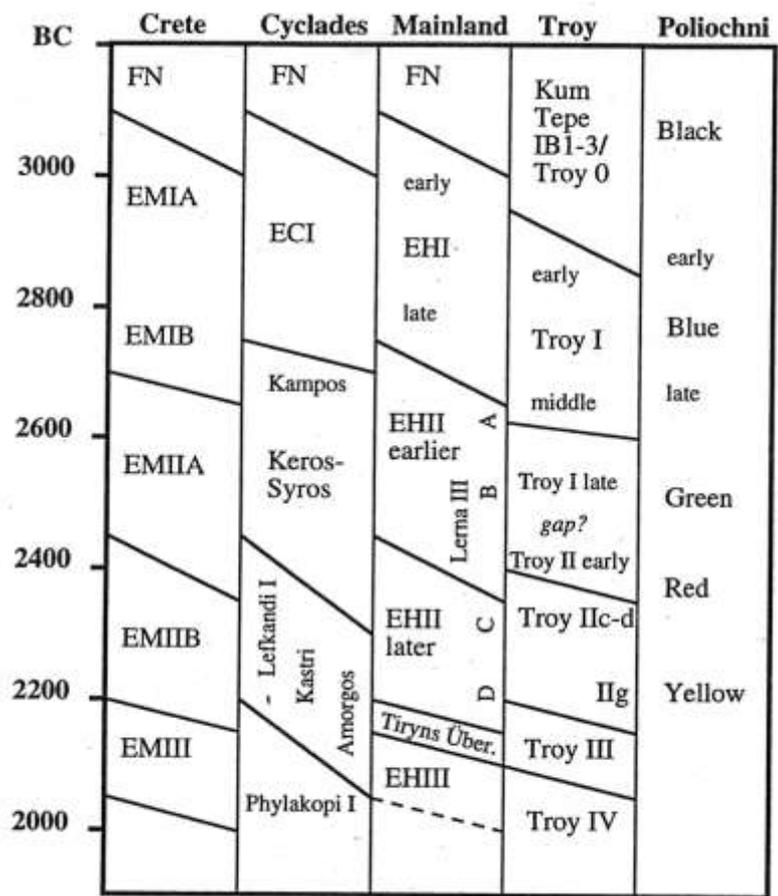


Figure 1.5 Aegean Absolute Chronology (Manning 1995:Figure 2)

Period	Date	Issues/Comments
LN and FN	Before c. 4000 B.C.	15 out of 22 samples. Only a few dates before have mid-fourth millennium dates.
EBI	c. 3300 B.C./3000 B.C.	From wood charcoal sampled. Small number of dates and determinations made many years ago. Date from Aegean-Anatolian evidence
EBII Later EBII	c. 2650 B.C. c. 2450/2350 B.C. to 2200/2150 B.C.	22 samples, most deriving from late contexts. EBI / EBII transmission dates unknown.
EBIII	c. 2200/2150 B.C. to 2050/2000 B.C.	Date from sites on the Greek mainland Similar or later to EBII. Period 'lacks cohesion' Overlap with later EBII implies period of short duration
MBA	c. 2000 B.C.	18 out of 26 dates favour this result

Table 1.1 Manning's Absolute Chronology for the EBA Aegean
(Manning 1995:143-144, 151-153, 168, 170-173)

Cycladic	Helladic	Minoan
EC I	EH I	EM I
EC II	EH II	EM II
EC IIIA	EH III	EM III
EC IIIB	MH early	MM 1A/B
MC early	MH middle	MM IIA

Table 1.2 Cycladic and Aegean Chronologies

(Barber 1987:22; Barber and MacGillivray 1984:297, 301; MacGillivray 1984:75)

The EBII radiocarbon dates which are available in Manning's 1995 study only come from two sites, Myrtos (Crete) and Lerna (mainland Greece) and even then the material represents mainly late EBII contexts (Manning 1995:143) and so can provide little information for the start of the EBA. For Crete, Betancourt (2008a:4) believed that the EMII period should be pushed back to the preceding EMI period. Establishing a chronology for the EBIII is also difficult using Manning's results (1995:151) who only produced dates for Kolonna and Lefkandi which seem inconsistent with each other. Manning's chronology does not discuss Cycladic periods in any detail instead offering only Crete and mainland data (Barber 1987:23;

Betancourt and Lawn 1984:277), which is a less than satisfactory solution to the dating problem. Manning labelled the Cycladic chronology with specific culture indicators or ceramic phases such as Kampos, Keros-Syros and Lefkandi which was different to mainland Greece and Crete (Barber 1987:22, 24). Barber (1987:24) suggested that using a culture as a label created a meaninglessly vague chronological framework that has no resemblance to other Aegean chronologies. As with the debate surrounding the start date for the EBA, some consensus must be reached as to how Aegean archaeologists wish to proceed with chronological terms for the Cyclades. For the purpose of this thesis, Barber's classification of the periods of the EBA in the Cyclades as ECI, II, III has been chosen to describe individual Cycladic periods (Table 1.3). Although using these labels may be conservative approach (Barber 1987:25) if cultural terms were to be used to describe chronological periods the situation becomes confusing with one archaeologist having a preference for one term over another, for example, Doumas (1977:12-13) uses the term Pelos-Lakkoudhes whereas Renfrew (1964:110) prefers to use the term Grotta-Pelos both describing the ECI period. There can also be discrepancies when using cultural terms to describe time periods as societies and technologies are unlikely to evolve and develop across locations at exactly the same rate and especially across islands, such as the Cyclades (Barber and MacGillivray 1984:297).

Period	Culture	Groups Defined by Material Culture
Early Cycladic I	Grotta-Pelos Pelos-Lakkoudhes	Lakkoudhes Pelos Plastiras Kampos
Early Cycladic II Early Cycladic IIIA	Keros – Syros	Syros Kastri
Early Cycladic IIIB	Phylakopi I	Amorgos

Table 1.3 Descriptions for the Early Cycladic Periods
(Barber 1987:25; Doumas 1977:12-13; Renfrew 1964:110)

Outside Manning's chronology various dates have been suggested for the EBA period, which are noted in Table 1.4. However, it is now widely accepted that Manning's original dates should be revised considerably using data from new studies that have been completed since the Absolute Chronology was published in 1995. Since Manning's publication on the chronology more data has come to light at some of the sites he discussed, for example, Kolonna (Aegina) where we now have continuous settlement evidence from the LN through to the LBA (Wild et al. 2010:1013). Recent radiocarbon dating of charred seeds and animal bones from secure contexts excavated at the site produced dates from the EBIII period. These dates suggest the EH/MH transition took place 2191-2064 BC and the MH/LH transition 1742-1623 BC, albeit with some flexibility in the chronology as the MH period possibly lasted a little longer or started earlier (Wild et al. 2010:1019).

Suggested Date for the EBA	Reference	Interpretation of dates
c. 2500 – 1950 B.C.	Hutchinson (1962:17)	Compares Crete, mainland Greece and Egypt Matz also includes Troy.
c. 2600 – 1950 B.C.	Platon (1971:325)	
c. 2600 – 2000 B.C.	Matz (1962:239)	
c. 2800 – 2000 B.C.	Branigan (1973:370)	From uncalibrated radiocarbon dates
c. 3000 – 2200 B.C.	Hood (1971:10)	Egyptian, Crete and Aegean compared. Hood continues the Neolithic into EHI and EHII.
c. 3100 – 2150/1950 B.C.	Cadogan (1976:20)	From Aegean interconnections (Egypt, Crete and Aegean) and radiocarbon dates
c. 3200 – 2100 B.C.	Renfrew (1972:22)	
c. 4000 – 2150 B.C.	Easton (1976:165)	
ca. Pre 4000/3600 B.C. – 2200/2150 B.C.	Warren (1980:498-499)	From radiocarbon and calibrated dates
c. 3100/3000 – 2050/2000 B.C.	Wiencke (2000:656)	Radiocarbon dates

Table 1.4 Some suggested dates for the EBA period

(Betancourt and Lawn 1984:277; Branigan 1973:370; Wiencke 2000:656)

Excavations carried out at Markiani (Amorgos) and Dhaskalio-Kavos (Keros) aimed to establish a secure relative chronology and to determine the nature of settlement and occupation at both sites. Markiani (Amorgos) was excavated from 1987-1989 (Marangou et al. 2006:1) and Dhaskalio-Kavos (Keros) between 2006-2008 (Renfrew et al. 2012:146). On Markiani samples were taken for radiocarbon dating in order to establish absolute dates for four phases of the settlement (Renfrew et al. 2006:71-72). No suitable samples were found for analysis from Phase I but pottery from this context is comparable to the Grotta-Pelos Culture (Renfrew et. al.

2006:76). Samples were obtained for dating and calibrated from the other three phases (Renfrew et al. 2006:71-73). Three samples from Markiani Phase II suggest this period is compatible with the ECI/II or EBI/II transition period also known as the Kampos Group in the Aegean dating to 3000-2800 BC (Renfrew et al. 2006:76, 2011:153). Five samples were taken from Markiani Phase III indicating a date of 2700-2500 BC with the ceramics corresponding to the Keros-Syros Group (Renfrew et al. 2006:77). The three samples from Markiani Phase IV was closely related to the Kastri Group falling between 2400-2300 BC (Renfrew et al. 2006:77, 2011:154).

A number of radiocarbon samples were obtained from secure stratigraphic contexts at Dhaskalio-Kavos. These were analysed using the calibration methods based on Bayesian procedures in order to determine a chronological framework (Renfrew et al. 2012:147). Three phases were established for the site. Phase A to B lying between 2634 and 2481 cal BC and Phase B to C between 2452 and 2324 cal BC (Renfrew et al. 2012:152). Phase C could therefore correspond to the Middle Cycladic period with the Early Cycladic period now pushed back to an earlier date of approximately 200 years than the dates suggested by Renfrew in 1972 (Renfrew 1972:22; Renfrew et al. 2006:80, 2011:157). However, final publication of the pottery needs to happen before this can be established with complete certainty (Renfrew et al. 2012:157).

The site of Ayia Irini (Kea) has produced evidence for a settlement at the site from the LN/FN (Period I) and the EBII (Periods II-III) (Wilson 2013:385). Ayia Irini I is placed by Wilson (1999:227) as being later than that of the FN site of Kephala, further discussed in detail in Chapter III, but not as late as EBI. This assumption is made due to the lack of EBA ceramics at the site from EBI or from the transition phase EBI/EBII (Wilson 1999:227). This idea does not take into account any possible issues of continuity in pottery styles from the end of the FN to the start of the EBA. Manning (1995:170) dated the settlement of Ayia Irini to 3786-3371 BC.

There were four building phases and two ceramic phases of the Period II-III settlement at Ayia Irini (Wilson 2013:386, 387, 398). These phases indicate a gap in occupation at the site between the LN/FN and EBII (Wilson 2013:390). Dating for

Period II is seen as compatible with EHII on the mainland and ECII in the Cyclades, the ceramics classified as the Keros-Syros Group (Wilson 1999:227, 230, 2013:410). Fine ware from Ayia Irini II and Lerna III on the mainland enable synchronisms in relative dating between the two sites (Wilson 2013:412-413). This period at the site is seen as short, occupation at the site having started later in the EBII period (Wilson 1999:229).

Period III at Ayia Irini is comparable with the late EBaII or early EBIII also known as the Kastri Group (Wilson 2013:410) shows some continuity of ceramic styles from Period II but also the appearance of some new shapes and Anatolian type vessels (Wilson 1999:229, 2013:405, 407). These new ceramics may represent a conscious decision by the inhabitants of Ayia Irini to select specific Anatolian vessels over local types (Wilson 2013:405). However, these vessels are not accompanied by signs of destruction and violence and therefore do not suggest invasion at the site. Instead, they show a preference and choice in new forms used in drinking and ritual practices (Wilson 1999:238). The presence of these Anatolian vessels at certain sites and not in others across the Aegean suggest influence and contact in Eastern Attica, Boeotia, Euboea, the Sporades (Skyros), Cyclades and South Thessaly at the end of the EBII period (Sampson 1993a:159-164; Wilson 1999:230). The distribution of these items possibly travelling from southwest Anatolia, through the Cyclades and onto other areas mentioned above (Wilson 1999:231).

As with Ayia Irini, the site of Lerna also provides evidence for various building phases which took place during the EH period labelled A, B, C and D. Remains from the site indicate a population from the Neolithic followed by a lack of evidence for EHI represented by only twenty sherds and indicating the site may have been seasonal (Wiencke 2000:27, 631). The main period of site use corresponds to EHII (Phases A, B, C and D) which sits directly above Neolithic levels (Wiencke 2000:41). The most reported phase at this site is D which is represented by the House of Tiles. The house was once an impressive mud brick two story structure with the lower five courses made of stone and a timber staircase (Wiencke 2000:215). The structure obtained its name from the tiled roof which once

completed the building. Unfortunately the house does not seem to have survived for long and was destroyed by fire (Wiencke 2000:213).

Various quantities of pottery found at Lerna indicate a change in people occupying the site represented by various styles and finishes that alter through time. The proposed chronology for the Lerna suggests a date for EHI of 3100/3000 – 2750/2700 BC but then splits the EHII into two defined periods of EHII early and late. EHII early is represented by Lerna III A-B and has a suggested date of 2750/2700 – 2500/2450 BC. EHII late is represented by Lerna III C-D and has a suggested date of 2500/2450 – 2300/2200 BC. EHIII sits between 2300/2200 – 2050/2000 BC. The EHIII at Lerna is difficult to establish except for the building of a tumulus surrounded by stones in the centre of the House of Tiles (Wiencke 2000:213). This intrusion into the house space may represent new people arriving at Lerna but this cannot be certain. There does seem to be a lack of pottery from this phase and has led to the EHIII gap theory. This gap is discussed further in the section below.

The most recent dating comes from the site of Kouphovouno, south of Sparta, Laconia. Cavanagh, Mee and Renard have reviewed the chronology for the EBA from this site by adopting a Bayesian modelling approach of radiocarbon dates (2015:2, 6). From their analysis, results from Kouphovouno and other EBA sites, six phases of the EBA have been established of EHI, EH2 Early, EH2 Middle, EH2 Late, EH3 and MHI (Cavanagh, Mee and Renard 2015:7). The estimated dating for the individual periods highlight dates for the EBA are listed in Table 1.5. Results from the project indicate a need for the EHI, EH2 and EH3 to be down-dated from earlier estimated dates with the EHI pushed back into the 4th millennium BC and the EH2 period to start in the 3rd millennium BC (Cavanagh, Mee, Renard 2015:9, 12). However, as with the chronology to the site of Lerna, discussed above, there are still some uncertainties with the dating of EB2-3 and EB3-MB transition (Cavanagh, Mee and Renard 2015:13).

Cultural horizon/period	Sites included	Suggested Lerna equivalent	95% p range for start of phase	Mean for start of phase
EH1	Eutresis Tsoungiza		3579-2935 BC	3257 BC
ECI/Lakkoudhes/Zas III	Zas		4449-2931 BC	3311 BC
Kampos Group/ECI-2	Markiani Phase II	EH1 late-EH2 Early	3238-2905 BC	3037 BC
EH2 Early	Kouphovouno	Lerna IIIA-mid B	3126-2778 BC	2951 BC
Keros-Syros, Ayia Irini III, Markiani III	Dhaskalio Phase A	Lerna IIIB late-IIIC	2897-2635 BC	2774 BC
EH2 Middle	Kouphovouno Tsoungiza	Lerna IIIB late-IIIC	2830-2566 BC	2670 BC
Kastri/EC2 late-EC3/Ayia Irini III	Dhaskalio Phase B	Lerna IIIC late-IIID	2634-2481 BC	2554 BC
EH2 Late	Lerna, Geraki	Lerna IIIC late-IIID	2586-2376 BC	2505 BC
EC3	Dhaskalio, Phase C	Lerna IV	2452-2324 BC	2392 BC
EH3	Lerna, Kolonna	Lerna IV	2399-2167 BC	2251 BC
MC1	Akrotiri A (?)	Lerna V early (?)	2432-2238 BC	2328 BC
MH1	Lerna, Kolonna	Lerna V early	2197-2096 BC	2157 BC

Table 1.5 Comparison of EH Chronology and the recent EC Chronology
(Cavanagh, Mee and Renard 2015:25; Renfrew et al. 2012:153-158)

1.5.1 The EBIII Gap

There are particular problems with the chronology towards the end of the EBA and the transition period between the EBII-III and the start of the Middle Bronze Age. Rutter first highlighted these problems when he was asked to publish pottery from the site of Lerna and noticed there was a lack of pottery from the Cyclades from the EHIII period (Davis 2013:527-528; Manning 1995:67; Rutter 1984:96). Rutter noted there was not a site in the Cyclades with continuity from EBII-MBA and pointed out that there were changes in island life in the dispersal of settlements, burial customs and changes in material culture (Broodbank 2013:537, Davis 2013:528). This gap at the end of the EBA is important as this period is ‘critical for understanding root causes of social and political change’ (Davis 2013:532). These changes are not

uniform across the whole of the Aegean and seem to affect specific areas and sites. Several scholars since Rutter have attempted to explain the gap at the end of the EBA but so far no one has achieved this.

The gap has reduced after recent discoveries from Dhaskalio-Kavos which has produced an assemblage which seems to overlap some of the earlier phases of the EHIII on the mainland (Rutter 2013:593). There also seems to be no gap for some sites on Crete and Anatolia, discussed further below. The gap may be due to the lack of data or there may have also been a reduction in the population at some sites. Davis (2013:59) has suggested this may be a result of climate change or drought, the introduction of the sail and therefore a change in overseas contact, epidemics or invasion. In the Cyclades, Barber and McGillivray (1984:75; Barber 1987:22) thought the gap may be filled by pushing the ECIII into the MC period. Through pottery typology (Manning 1995:66-67; 2008:55) they split the ECIII into two distinct periods of ECIIIA and ECIIIB with ECIIIB relating to MH and MM periods on Greece on Crete (Table 1.4). Manning (1995:71) thought the confusion across the EBIII period could be the result of cultural overlaps (Kastri, Amorgos and Phylakopi I) in the Aegean alongside some destruction event during the EBIII at some sites. This could be the case as pottery from the site of Rivari at Melos brings together two stylistic elements of EBII jugs with Phylakopi I decoration (Broodbank 2013:538).

Climate change can be excluded from possible explanations for the gap at the end of the EBA because the known climatic episode (c. 2200 BC) was probably too early to be responsible for the gap seen in the archaeological record (Broodbank 2013:539; Renfrew et al. 2006:80). Broodbank (2002:277, 2013:539) and Brogan (2013:562) have suggested the changes in the EBII are the result of sailing technology and the introduction of the sail resulting in larger vessels which could cover longer distances quicker. However, it is likely that the sail was in use much earlier than suggested by Broodbank as there is evidence for use of the sail from the 5th millennium in Persia and the 4th millennium in Egypt (Wiener 2013:586).

Wiener believed that there was a movement of new people and warfare may have been responsible for the gap (Davis 2013:531; Wiener 2013:585). The destructions

on mainland Greece and the Cyclades could have been the responsibility of attackers from other islands or mainlanders (Wiener 2013:585). He believes that Kolonna on Aegina may have played a part in these invasions, evidenced in EHIII jewellery found at the site. Wiener also considered invasions from people from Anatolia or the Balkans (Wiener 2013:585). The invasion of new people would lead to the destruction of settlements, the depletion of interactions and a reduction of population at the end of the EBA (Davis 2013:531). These new people may have brought with them new artefact types, for example, on Crete the changes in EMIII are sometimes explained by the appearance of Anatolian items. Pullen (2013:547) focussed on the changes in ceramics at the end of the EBA to see if these, which incorporated elements of metal working technology, could provide an explanation for changes between EHII and EHIII. He found that feasting was present in EHII in open spaces at sites such as Lerna but then at the end of the period the social structure changed and became more formalised (Pullen 2013:547, 550). The lack of Lefkandi I ceramics at sites in the Peloponnese indicate choices made by the inhabitants located at individual locations and not a reliance on imports from overseas.

On Crete in EMII the population of the island were actively participating in trade and the development of relationships to the East and West (Brogan 2013:555). Evidence for trade is highlighted by artefacts found on Akrotiri (Thera) where EMIIIB Vasiliki ware was found deposited with Kastri Group material, thereby confirming overseas connections between Crete and the Cyclades in EMIIIB (Brogan 2013:556). The situation then changed in EMIII when there is a significant reduction in interaction between the Cyclades and Crete evidenced through the material culture (Brogan 2013:556; Davis 2013:530). Although there is some evidence for contact between the two areas through two Phylakopi I vessels from EMIII contexts at Knossos (Davis 2013:530). The archaeology after EMII at sites on Crete becomes complex in EMIII. Many sites in the Mirabello and Ierapetra regions were destroyed at the end of EMIIIB, whilst others survived (Brogan 2013:559-560). There was also a decline at sites in EMIII with regrowth evidenced in MMIA (Brogan 2013:560). Accountability has been placed on new arrivals from the Cyclades for these changes but the lack of Cycladic material makes this idea unlikely (Brogan 2013:560).

Pottery in EMIII becomes localised which provides indication of limited ceramic exchange across the island (Brogan 2013:559).

Kouka goes further than the geographical area discussed in this research highlighting the chronological periods in the North and Eastern Aegean and western Anatolia (Davis 2013:530; Kouka 2013:569). Within these areas Kouka discusses interconnected centres which form international trading networks, highlighting evidence at Miletos from the Cyclades in EBII and EBIII (Kouka 2013:575). However, in EBIIIA Kouka (2013:573) notes that changes and the popularity of some pottery styles declines which may be an indication of the end of Anatolian trade networks in the Aegean. She views these changes in pottery as being an introversion seen through a lack of imports and the continuation of pottery in EBII styles (Kouka 2013:578). Kouka's idea therefore implies that any causes for a gap would seem to be the result of change involving the Cyclades, Crete and mainland Greece with Anatolia looking inwards rather having a central role in trade during the end of the EBA.

The available evidence would therefore seem to suggest the gap at the end of the EBII period occurred due to changes in overseas contacts. The survival of specific sites such as Mochlos on Crete in this period seems to be the result of the site's continuing development of international contacts. Elsewhere at other sites around the Aegean there is an emergence of regionalism and localism in the EBIII period (Rutter 2013:595) or a shift in overseas contacts, for example the first appearance of Minoan pottery on the mainland at Lerna dating from EMIII/MMIA (Wiener 2013:588).

1.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter I have provided an introduction to the thesis and outlined the aims of the research. I have discussed how the thesis is to focus on interconnections between the Cyclades, Crete and mainland Greece using cemetery and burial evidence and how this research developed from previous work completed. I have drawn attention

to how burial and ritual practices convey direct experience, contact and extended interaction over other, more portable items which may be traded without the direct movement of people or groups. The importance of the EBA period was then highlighted and an overview of Neolithic burial practices before the period noted for the three core areas of the Cyclades, Crete and Mainland Greece. Chronology from the EBA was then highlighted from various studies carried out from data provided from across the Aegean. Issues were then noted with regards to the EBIII gap.

In the next chapter I look to the methodology used to complete this research (Chapter II). In Chapter III, IV and V the cemetery evidence for the Cyclades, Crete and mainland Greece will be presented followed by a thematic discussion of the evidence in Chapter VI. Conclusions to the research outcome and further work will be presented in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II**METHODOLOGY****2.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the Introduction I outlined the aim of thesis is to establish the extent of interconnections in the EBA Aegean between the Cyclades, Crete and mainland Greece through the burial record. These areas have been chosen as they represent an easily definable core zone around the Cyclades, within which there is both evidence for, and at some sites an absence of, interconnections. There are necessary restrictions to the selected circumscribed geographic regions used in this research. The extent and nature of the social and economic interconnections may have covered a much wider geographical area beyond the core area selected. On the coast of Turkey at Liman Tepe, for example, there is burial evidence for interconnections with the Cycladic islands. However, covering such a large geographical spread in this research would have necessitated a less detailed and less critical analysis of individual sites in an attempt to cover a wider area and larger sample size of sites.

In this chapter I will present the methodology used in this research and how the aims and specific research questions raised in chapter I will be examined. The chapter starts with a section on data and issues for developing a methodology, leading to an examination of discussion of the theories and anthropology of death in order to explain the methodology. This will enable the identification of key themes (aspects of social practice) that emerge in the burial record. These themes will be applied to highlight particular Cycladic features in the islands and in other sites on Crete and mainland Greece.

2.1.1 Methods and data used in this research

It is impractical to provide a detailed description of every single burial from the EBA period, this has resulted in the selection and presentation of data for a select number of cemetery sites. All sites must have published data in the form of excavation

reports or extended commentary in monographs or academic journals. It was originally my intention to visit many of the cemetery sites but this proved impossible as sites had been destroyed or their locations, once described by travellers at the start of the last century, are no longer plotted on maps. As part of an original thesis plan, I undertook fieldwork on the island of Naxos in the Cyclades in 2010 with the intention of locating the cemeteries and to gain an appreciation of the landscape and topography in which the cemeteries were placed. This trip, although successful for gaining an appreciation of the overall landscape of the island, was less successful in locating the cemeteries themselves. Many of the cemeteries on Naxos had been excavated in the early 1900s by Klon Stephanos, an anthropologist not an archaeologist, who published only the vaguest accounts of his findings mostly focussed upon material culture. Early cemetery sites were not marked, descriptions of their locations in texts (if any could be found) were very vague, and the sites themselves difficult to spot in the landscape. Local people genuinely seemed unaware that there was a cemetery site near their village and so were unable to help in finding the location. Following my trip to Naxos on a visit to the British School at Athens in 2012, Christos Doumas confirmed that many sites on Naxos had been built over by the construction of new hotels or otherwise destroyed and therefore impossible to study from a landscape perspective.

The experience of this fieldwork on Naxos resulted in the use of published data for the majority of the case studies. It was possible to carry out some fieldwork on Crete. In these locations it was possible to see graves in context that lead to an enhanced understanding about the spatial distribution of cemeteries in a landscape. It has been disappointing not being able to gain an appreciation of many of the sites in the Cyclades and on the mainland as my appreciation of the cemeteries in the different locations is markedly different.

Using published data for excavations also has provided other challenges. Many of the volumes on Cycladic archaeology are produced in a variety of languages other than English (Doumas 2006a:14), and the sites were excavated and published to different standards, so the data is both inconsistent and often frustratingly difficult to use. The majority of these publications have been consulted and translated within

this work which provides a comprehensive record of available archaeological data. Some data written in Greek from 1898 and 1899 by Tsountas for excavations in the Cyclades was translated and published by Rambach (2000) who also collated data from museum records and artefacts in German. Rambach's work was cross referenced with the original publications to ensure accurate translation of Tsountas' work.

Further challenges included the lack of remaining skeletal evidence for excavated sites. Often skeletal material has been destroyed through excavation or looting, by environmental or soil conditions and sometimes either ignored or lost by the directors of excavations. There is even an account of bones being thrown into the sea on Siphnos when a schoolteacher from Kastri took his charges to the cemetery and asked the children to bring all the shiny objects to him but "if they found bones they threw them towards the gulf of Seralia" (Tsaliki 2005:152). Where skeletal remains have been recorded these have been noted and comments provided concerning treatment of the dead. Primary and secondary burial and any manipulation or modification of the human remains is discussed where present for each site. Determining the movement of people through skeletal material when it can be found in EBA cemeteries is problematic. However, a relatively new scientific technique, strontium isotope ratio analysis, is helping to establish the movement of people around the Aegean (Bartoli et. al. 2001:83-93; Nafplioti 2009:A925). One of the sites discussed in this work at Manika (Chapter V) has provided some interesting results, identifying 16% of individuals buried at the cemetery as non-locals with a geographical origin for the island of Naxos (Nafplioti 2009:A925). However, the opportunity to develop such approaches further is limited by the small amount of surviving skeletal remains from excavated EBA sites.

Hodder (1982:150-154; Díaz-Andrew et al. 2005:6) viewed material culture as being active in the creation of social relationships. Specific artefacts placed in the graves or cemeteries may provide data for the movement of ideas or people and highlight variations across sites in the goods buried with the dead. There are numerous problems that limit our ability to make sense of the material culture from EBA cemeteries in the three regions. Many cemeteries have been compromised as

artefacts have been taken illegally and sold to private collectors. There are also extensive collections in a number of national museums many of which are either unprovenanced or poorly provenanced (Sherratt 2000:4, 6). Sadly, such materials cannot be included in this research. Piracy over the years has caused problems when assessing material culture within the Cycladic islands, for example, on Amorgos. This island has allegedly produced a large number of items with no precise provenance (Marangou 1984:99, 103; Renfrew 1972:523). The number of vessels allegedly from Amorgos is also suspiciously high (Broodbank 2002:51; Sherratt 2000:7). Therefore, caution should be taken when studying artefacts from cemetery sites. One of the greatest challenges in this research was to determine what features represents Cycladic culture. Tsountas was the first to use this term in the late 19th century by labelling the material culture and it has continued to be used throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries but it will become evident through this work that the situation is much more complex than initially envisaged.

2.1.2 Defining Cycladic culture

The term culture is used to describe groups of people who have the same or similar customs, behaviour, beliefs and art. Childe (1929: v, vi) viewed the reoccurrence of associated traits seen through artefacts, burial rites and house forms as a means to define a cultural group (Renfrew 1987:24; Thomas 1999:21,22). Death is also viewed as being the origin and the centre of culture by Assmann (2005:1). Binford (1972:22; Hodder 2000:35) described culture as the extrasomatic means of adaptation for the human organism. Theocharis (1973:20) views cultures not as static but living organisms that change and move. Culture is not the same as ethnicity or race (Childe 1950:1; Thomas 1999:23) and cultures of the past cannot be defined according to modern standards (Thomas 2000:4).

When people move they do not leave their culture behind but take elements of the society with them. This can be seen with the Chinese community in Liverpool, Manchester and London who established a Chinatown in these cities. Cultural markers such as those found in cemeteries in grave architecture, burial practices and

ritual, demonstrate how migrated people may be detectable in the archaeological record where other techniques would not. When skeletal evidence is missing, DNA would not be possible and where skeletal remains are present, strontium analysis would only succeed in detecting first generation migrants and not that of subsequent generations.

There are reasons for allocating the term culture to a group or groups of people. This may be for communication or discussion, for socio-economic analysis, for allocating materials or artefacts, typology and for defining a group (Chapman and Dolukhanov 1993:10-14). Hodder (1982:151) and Plog (1975:208) argue that culture can be defined as interacting behavioural systems. Culture is very closely linked to identity. Without an attempt to define the term, the discussion of migration or analysis thereof is unlikely to follow. However, the issue is how archaeologists would define the term culture if no material culture is present. The definition of Cycladic describes the recognisable markers of people from the Cyclades but fails to acknowledge any individual aspects of Cycladic islands and the possibility that some of these may be unique to their neighbours.

Ideas and cultures from individual locations are likely to have accompanied the movement of people manifesting itself in burial and ritual practices found at cemeteries. If Cycladic people were travelling around the Aegean they would have been accompanied by ideas or objects from home. This is because they would want to remember their homeland and because culture is something to be lived and participate in rather than just to belong (Kotsakis 2008:55). Ritual processes are part of the Cycladic psyche, therefore, it follows that these aspects of Cycladic culture would accompany people on their journey to a new place.

An example of people movement and the spread of culture can be seen in post-war Australia when migration had a direct influence on funeral ritual with incoming people bringing with them burial ideas from their homeland and features that would promote their overseas success (Nicol 2000:101). In America graves of family ancestors are grouped together with others of the same ethnic group but also their location in a multi-cultural cemetery provides membership to multi-cultural America

(Matturi 1993:14; Walter 1999:49). Whether EBA society recognised their own culture as being distinctive to that of others is another issue entirely (Kotsakis 2008:55).

Although the term ‘Cycladic’ should indeed be seen to represent individual island groups with similarities in their material culture it should also be considered that these groups may demonstrate levels of individuality and diversity when choosing how to bury and represent their dead. This can cause a problem because each individual island may chose to bury their dead with specific features that could make comparing sites difficult. This will be addressed by focussing on the features that present themselves as common amongst the islands once key themes emerge.

2.2 THE THEORY OF DEATH AND BURIAL

The study of death and burial theory is a critical part of this research. This is because burial practices are intimately linked to systems of cultural meaning and therefore good indicators of identity and cultural change. By understanding the theory behind why the living select specific burial practices for the dead, and how ideas towards burial practices change over time due to external and internal factors such as the arrival of new people, greater understanding as to whether people of the EBA are moving around the Aegean and how this is represented in the burial record may be possible.

2.2.1 The definition of death

Understanding what defines when someone is dead varies between different cultures, some of which are discussed further in the ethnographic studies that follow below. However, even in modern western society a debate emerges as to when someone is classed as dead. The scientific classification of death is when there is a cessation of the heart and lung function (Gervais 1986:1) known as the cardio-respiratory criterion (Belshaw 2009:40). Alternatively, brain death even though the heart

continues beating also indicates that a person is dead (Belshaw 2009:41; Gervais 1986:2; Kothari and Mehta 1986:50) although Belshaw (2009:33) would disagree with this. The definition of death raises interesting thoughts surrounding the transplantation of human organs and when they should be removed from a body. If someone is brain dead and yet they have heart and lung function should their organs be removed? When dementia strikes a person may seem socially dead following a separation of the person and the self (Howarth 2007:182).

In law death is described in three ways: natural, civil and violent (Bardis 1981:7). A natural death is one when a person dies of natural causes, for example, when in old age. A civil death is when a person loses their civil rights when convicted of a serious crime. A violent death is one that has occurred under violent circumstances for example a murder or manslaughter. In the EBA it is not known when someone is considered to be dead, whether this is when breathing stops or if death was viewed as the final stage of the funeral that could happen years later after decomposition of the corpse. It is hoped that further exploration of the archaeological evidence will lead to a greater understanding of the processes surrounding the funeral and the practices that may have surrounded the process.

2.2.2 Death as a static state

It is tempting to view death and burial through the archaeological evidence as a static state with the dead remaining in the same grave or burial position for the rest of time. Caution must be taken not to place our own world view and modern approaches to death on any period (Pader 1982:2). This dead may undergo several processes following any primary treatment of the corpse that may have involved the physical movement of the dead. The body can also be seen to shift within the grave as decomposition and putrefaction occurs (Mays 2003:15). The field of Archaeoethanatology (Duday 2011) considers this process and how burials found today may not be a true representation of how the dead were placed within the grave in antiquity, for example, the head may move or rotate following decomposition of the ligaments (Duday 2011:17-19) that tells us further about the true orientation.

2.2.3 Understanding death in the EBA

The EBA has no written or illustrative examples of how the dead were treated or of how any ritual practices were performed surrounding the disposal of the body. There is no direct way of determining the attitudes and reactions towards death by the living for the period except through archaeological remains. Therefore, to gain a greater understanding of burial practices in the EBA various approaches are taken. Firstly, attitudes to death in modern British and European society are explored. Secondly, ethnographic case studies follow. The modern British view of death is one of detachment, the handling of the corpse by undertakers presenting a sterile view to the living. This is in contrast to tribal society, highlighted by ethnography, where the processing of the corpse is an everyday occurrence experienced by the family or close kin. By exploring these case studies a greater understanding of how societies reacted to death and the relationship between the living and the dead will become clear.

When researching burial practices consideration needs to be given to the processes affecting the body such as rigor mortis and putrefaction of the corpse (D'Souza et al. 2011:120-122; Duday 2011; Krompecher et al. 1983:1-9, 1988:27-35, 2008:157-162). These factors may influence the disposal methods of a group and any ritual practices surrounding death. This is because time is a key factor if any manipulation of the corpse is needed. Research into body decomposition provides a useful method of determining whether burials show deliberate intention by the living when it comes to disposal practices of the dead. Several factors result in the speed of decomposition of the body that may provide an understanding of burial processes with estimated timescale for each possible stage. A factor such as the amount of time a body takes to decompose and the length of time between death and burial could indicate rituals occurred around the deceased in the home or other location. Other factors such as the weight or size of the deceased, bacterial content of the corpse and cause of death (Marshall 1976:91), the clothing worn, the material of the coffin or shroud and the type of soil in which the burial is placed are all determining factors towards the speed of decomposition of a corpse (Mays 2003:17). Marshall (1976:91) advises that a

buried body can decompose back to a skeleton in ten years but a child's body will decompose in half that time.

2.2.4 Mortuary practices and the reflection of social relationships

Driessen (2012:358, 365), Schoep (2012:15), Tainter (1978:105) and Whitelaw (2004b:237) advocate that mortuary practices and funeral structures reflect social phenomena and enable an understanding of social relations of past populations. Similarly, Douglass (1969:219) and Goldstein (1981:54) argue that it is through death that the social relationships of the living are defined and expressed. Even though the dead could be considered a separate entity to the living, mortuary remains indicate that in many societies they are quite the opposite with aspects of life and death becoming intertwined within social structure. Social memory and the relationships between individuals, either alive or dead, being determinable through the cemetery evidence (Chesson 2001:7).

Hertz considers death as not only losing a single unit within a society but also that society may lose faith in itself (Hallam 1999:5; Hertz 2004:78). With the process of death reflecting and shaping social values the dead remaining part of society (Hallam 1999:5). Hallam (1999:11) argues this provides acknowledgement for the pervasiveness of the disembodied social presence of the dead both historically and within contemporary social relationships. Social relations may be seen in the EBA Aegean through the treatment of the corpse and burial of the dead. Any evidence for the treatment of the dead highlighted through the cemetery data presented in this research will lead to an understanding of social organisation and practice (Parker Pearson 2003:29, 33; Sofaer 2006:12) for a period when, as previously discussed in the Introduction, very little other societal or settlement evidence is available.

Both Binford (1972) and Saxe (1970) had very similar ideas towards the relationship between society, social structure and burial forms both using role theory (Whitley 1991:24). Each began with ethnographic evidence to create theories and interpret the relationship between people and the burial record. Binford then concentrated on

social types and mortuary patterns and his theories are popular amongst anthropologists (Whitley 1991:24) whereas Saxe (1970, 1971:39-57; Fowler 2013:512; O'Shea 1984:11-12) moved towards statistics to determine correlations between burial and society types. Saxe formed eight hypotheses surrounding death, the second of which suggested that social persona is decided and linked to social relations within a society. Binford (1971:14-15, 17, 1972:4; Fowler 2013:512; Goodenough 1965:7; O'Shea 1984:4; Tarlow 1999:10) developed Saxe's ideas further to demonstrate how social persona of the deceased or the social identity of a person in life could be a consideration of how they were treated after death (Barrett 1988:395). However, both Binford and Saxe's theories should be used with caution when attempting to establish the social relationship between the living and the dead and especially if attempting to determine any variations in status. Hodder (1982:152, McHugh 1999:1) highlights the potential for error with burials that may also distort, obscure, hide or even invert particular forms of social relationships. Burials should not be seen as being passive practices but rather dynamic and modifying, mirroring social structures through time.

In an attempt to analyse social structures Giddens developed the idea and theory of structuration (Dornan 2002:307). Giddens (1984:26-28) describes social structure as existing and only reproduced via human practices by giving people models, categories and expectations acquired from their experiences of similar processes of the past. This means every enacting of a social practice is also a potential transformation of society because people can change practices as they are enacted. Burial practices do not just reflect a social system they also play a role in either reproducing or changing that system. This means they are both a good indicator of a shared social system and of social change. An example of this can be seen when burial practices changed in Jericho in the Middle PPNB from intra-mural to extra-mural burials, moving the community towards wider involvement in death and reaffirming social values (Fletcher et al. 2008:319; Kuijt 2000:148). The secondary burial practices at Jericho and the cache of skulls highlighting increased community involvement and shared beliefs. Ritual activities surrounding death being integral to society, stabilising groups and their identity (Meskell 2000:20) and enhancing the community and counterbalancing any uncertainties (Verhoeven 2002:9). Rituals also

reinforce relationships between individual members of a group including those between the living and the dead. These rituals are seen through any extended funeral activity following primary or secondary burials and rites of commemoration surrounding the dead.

2.2.5 The transition of the corpse

Van Gennep described three phases of separation between the living and the dead (Van Gennep 1960; Douglass 1969:211; Fowler 2004:80, 2013:515; Gorer 1987:15; Metcalf and Huntington 1999:11, 29; Verhoeven 2002:13). The first was a rite of separation, the second a rite of transition and the third a rite of incorporation. The rite of separation represents the immediate death and loss by the living, the rite of transition represents the physical and spiritual transformation of the corpse and the rite of incorporation represents the dead's position and incorporation into the ancestral group. Van Gennep believed that the rites of transition were of the longest duration and most complex (Meskell 2001:33; Van Gennep 1960:146, 147) but may be used to understand key rites of passage within societies (Howarth 2007:236; Metcalf and Huntington 1999:32). As with Van Gennep, Hertz also considered a transition to another state for the dead (Douglass 1969:210; Hertz 2004:48) with the transitional phase ending following secondary burial processes (Douglass 1969:210; Hertz 2004:54-55). Hertz (2004:34) offers that it is only at the time of the second funeral, and thanks to the special ceremony, that it (the soul) will enter the land of the dead.

In many cultures the transition period of the corpse is most feared and lasts until the body has become dry. The initial period of time between the death and burial transforming the corpse into a new body (Hertz 2004:43). Once decomposition has occurred the dry body is believed to represent a depletion or removal of the spirit from the physical body (Metcalf and Huntington 1999:81). Away from western society, fear is not created through smells of rotting flesh or putrid remains of the dead. It is the dead person itself and what its soul may do to the living that presents the most danger (Metcalf and Huntington 1999:80). Once the transition is complete,

or the body has become dry, the dead may be incorporated with the ancestors in a tomb (Metcalf and Huntington 1999:112). Through this change of form it does not necessarily mean that the dead move on to another place or a belief in an afterlife.

2.2.6 The study of death in the landscape

Landscapes can provide a great deal of information towards understanding the people who once lived in them. Ingold (1993:156) advocates that landscape may be defined as the world as it is known to those who dwell within. Murphy (2011:25) describes landscapes as communicating ideologies and stressing interactions between communities, the once passive landscape now used and manipulated for the creation and maintenance of cultural narratives. Observations towards the location of cemeteries in the EBA could highlight any significance placed on the landscape. The location may also imply control over particular resources or simply reveal practicality through the use of land unfit for agricultural purposes.

Exploring cemetery space and landscape in detail may provide additional cultural markers or intra-cultural uniformity (Goldstein 1981:53) or highlight similar features in the landscape. Cemetery plans, when they are available, are useful as they can highlight the use of the landscape and the layout of the graves. Some cemeteries may show some organisation of space and provide data towards any cultural uniformity in the selection of specific locations in which to place the dead. For example, in the case of the Cycladic islands, the sea may be significant in the placement of graves and may be an indication that the water played an important part within funerary processes. Some of these ideas may transfer across a geographical region.

2.3 ETHNOGRAPHIC EXAMPLES OF DEATH AND THE PROCESSING OF THE CORPSE

To understand death in the past, attitudes towards death in various societies must first be understood to gain an appreciation of how other cultures and people interact with their dead. Only by making these observations can it be seen how the burial record enables our understanding of EBA societies and to determine how and why people buried their dead in the methods used. Sociologists view death and mortality as being a social issue embedded in cultural worlds producing varying responses to the process (Howarth 2007:2; McCray Beier 1989:43). This social and emotional response to death will first be explored in British modern society.

2.3.1 Death in modern British society

Today in Britain many people fear death and the associated social practices (Becker 1973:15; Howarth 2007:31). How people react to death will vary depending on their cosmological or religious beliefs. Although the death of someone close will obviously prompt an emotional response, we have now become detached from the practicalities and processes following death. When this detachment started has been debated over time. Leaney (1989:135) suggested the change in ideas towards death came about following the reformation of funerals and the implementation of cremation in the Nineteenth Century. Events such as the First World War and bodies not coming home for burial also resulted in a change of attitude and what Jupp (1997:146) and Walter (1997:133) describe as a privatisation of grief, moving death away from communal involvement into the home. However, in reality, the shift in attitudes and involvement in the process of death has come about through the practicalities of public health law and careful regulation as to the disposal of the body. There are also issues with families living away from home and the sick being cared for in care homes, hospitals or hospices. This has resulted in many people not dying in the family home and often carers or hospital staff being present at the death.

The detachment of the living with the process of death is highlighted by the lack of contact between a family and the recently deceased. Funeral Directors usually take care of all the funeral arrangements including preparing and embalming the body, preventing putrefaction for up to eight weeks (Chamberlain and Parker Pearson 2001:172), meaning the living never sees the body in stages of decomposition (Howarth 1997:226-227; Nilsson Stutz and Tarlow 2013:6). When a dead person is to be seen by relatives the application of makeup to the face and the body being clothed, presents the deceased as sleeping and helps to maintain the person's identity, which can bring some comfort to the living (Nilsson Stutz and Tarlow 2013:6).

In Victorian England the living had a more relaxed attitude towards death striving to keep memories of the dead alive through painting, drawings, photographs, busts and death masks (Jalland 1996:288). Sometimes, a lock of hair would be taken from the deceased and kept in a container such as a locket (Curl 1972:8; Jalland 1996:298). These images or part of the person served as a memento mori or remembrance of mortality. In some communities up to the middle of the 20th century in Britain and the 1970's in Ireland people in a community would care for a corpse. Following a death there would be a period of time while money, clothes and food were gathered for the funeral (Morris 1976:105), resulting in the dead laying in the home for many days. The cholera epidemic of 1831-2 in England brought about changes to this practice, resulting in bodies needing to be buried within twenty-four hours (Morris 1976:105-106).

In prehistory, we don't know what death was like or how people in society reacted to death. Unlike in modern day, we are unaware if any pain relief was available to the dying or if people suffered an agonising death. The poppy is depicted in Minoan iconography, for example in goddess figurines worn as a headdress (Figure 2.1) and so in the EBA the flower could have been administered. Any reaction to the process surrounding the body, for example, the putrefaction of the corpse is not known. However, it is likely that people in the EBA were used to seeing death and the body afterwards in various stages. How they dealt with these stages cannot be confirmed but possibly some temporary place of burial would be sought to enable the drying of the corpse or the removal of flesh.



Figure 2.1 Large female figurine representing the Minoan goddess with poppy headdress from Gazi. Heraklion Museum, Crete (Sakellarakis 2005:91)

2.3.2 Death in Europe

In countries such as Germany today there is less of an idea surrounding permanence or the final resting place of the dead with graves only rented in twenty year periods with clearance of remains after this time unless further monies are paid. In rural modern Greece until recently the grave was seen as only a temporary place of interment for the dead, the body being exhumed after a five year period. Family and villagers would gather in the home of the deceased and make their way together to the cemetery. Both men and women took part in dismantling and digging the grave. The dead were then removed, usually with the skull being exhumed first, and washed in wine by the local women and prayed over by a priest before being placed in an ossuary (Danforth 1982:15-21; Walter 1999:24). Food and drink was then presented to the mourners. There did not seem to be any repulsion if a grave was opened and the remains had not fully decomposed. The response was one of sadness, surprise and concern about the dead's reputation. An analysis of a person's sins that may not

have been forgotten and those of parents and grandparents may follow (Danforth 1982:22). The excavation of the dead brought with it a second funeral, marking the end of the person and removing any possibility of the dead returning to the living.

Around the larger cities of Greece, such as Athens, the availability of land is causing changes in burial practices. The time for the body being in the grave now reduced to three years rather than five. This is causing problems as many of the dead are not decomposed and so cremation may be the answer. Once a banned practice, the Greeks have now passed a law to allow Cremation, despite opposition by the Orthodox Church (greek.greekreporter.com/2016/02/24/cremation-is-now-legal-in-Greece/ Accessed 14th April 2016), in the hope of relieving pressure on land use. Before 2016 cremation could take place within a cemetery but the Greek government are now tendering for the construction of larger facilities, especially in Athens. The Greek people are yet to receive the practice with enthusiasm.

2.3.3 Exploring burial practices outside western society

Burial practices provide links to systems of cultural meaning and therefore are good indicators of identity and social change. Cemetery evidence enables archaeologists to gain an understanding of ancient societies through an appreciation of the agency surrounding the construction of the cemetery and graves along with the choices made by the living for the dead. The evidence found from cemeteries allows ideas and hypotheses to be formed as to the belief systems of societies through reconstruction of the actions carried out in and around the cemetery area (Tarlow 2002:23).

There can be no doubt, developments, such as the implementation of embalming fluids, has had an effect on the modern funeral in that there are no time constraints when a body must be buried or cremated. In warmer climates, where embalming may not be possible or because of religious beliefs, it would be expected that a body would be buried within one or two days after death. If a death happened suddenly, a grave may not be prepared. Ethnographic examples demonstrate how bodies may be placed temporarily in one location such as a tomb, house or vessel, and then

transferred to a place of permanence later. This process is known as primary and secondary burial. Primary burial often occurs, especially when a death happens suddenly or away from home, the remains are then moved into a family or ancestral tomb later on after decomposition has occurred (Bloch 1971:140-146; Fowler 2013:516). Between the primary placement of the body and the final funeral rites and feasting there may be months or years between the events (Hertz 2004:28, 53). There are also societies for which exposure is an option. The rites of exposure show the dead as being consumed back into nature through the ritual eating of the corpse by animals. Some ethnographic examples illustrating these practices are presented below.

The Merina of Madagascar demonstrate how the tomb represents a final place of permanence, although in the society, wood (usually a temporary material) is seen in a different way by the group. The Merina believed that once a person had died they were seen to leave through a wooden door of the home and enter through the stone door of the tomb (Kus and Raharijaona 2001:115). To make space in a family grave when a new place was needed for a body the previous dead were moved. The bodies were wrapped in blankets and taken outside the tomb. Members of the Merina then took part in performance rituals, dancing around with the corpse and throwing the remains in the air (Bloch 1971:159, 1981:139; Kus and Raharijaona 2001:116). The bones were then deliberately dropped that resulted in them being broken before once again being returned to the tomb (Bloch 1971:159). This breakage was to encourage the destruction of the skeleton, the dry skeleton to the Merina seen as being the depersonalisation of the dead, the ground bones of the ancestors physically coming together (Bloch 1981:139). The visibility surrounding this performance is important to the Merina who by breaking the bones are assisting the joining of the ancestors. The family visit annually the group of ancestors in the tomb thus maintaining the relationship between family and members of the wider community (Kus and Raharijaona 2001:117). The tomb plays a significant role of Merina society through the monumentality of the structure and the living's belief in making space for the recent dead. The removal of the dead and the surrounding performance seemingly brings order within the living society and in the realm of the dead.

Bloch (1971:165) implies, for the Merina, that not having a place in the tomb means an individual cannot join the ancestor group and therefore will not have a place in the wider social structure that includes both the living and the dead. This practice of removal and destruction of the skeleton outside the tomb indicates extended funerary ritual surrounding the grave site away from the sole purpose of burying the dead. The events undertaken by the living highlights a connection between the separation of the dead and a change in the state of the soul (Bloch 1971:169). The example of the Merina provide an example of a group placing importance in tomb construction and having a place in it, the practice of primary and secondary interment of the dead and ritual practices at the funeral and other times in the burial arena.

The Merina practices surrounding the disposal of the dead show how importance is placed on the living's interaction with the dead. This interaction is carried out through dancing, the dropping of bones helping to assist with breakage but also the practice allows a person to join the group of ancestors in the tomb, the group becoming one entity. The living could chose to just smash the bones and so it is significant they dance with them instead, including them in an activity usually reserved for the living. The example of the Merina may help with this research by gaining an understanding of how people place importance on the role of a tomb and the people placed in it. The group also provide ideas as to how bones were treated in order for an individual to join the ancestors and the ritual activities carried out in the cemetery area outside of funerary events. Some of these activities could be applied to periods of prehistory when not all questions can be answered through the archaeological evidence alone. The Merina are discussed further in the Emerging Recurring Themes section below.

Another example of a group using primary and secondary burial practices include the Berawan of Borneo. In this society, the body is placed inside large jars following a death before they get 'melarak' or drippy (Metcalf 1987:96). To achieve this, a body must be manipulated into the container and the shoulders cut to enable access into the narrow necked vessels. Over time the vessels are drained as decomposition occurs, similar to the removal of sediment from the same type of jars used in the community to make rice wine (Metcalf 1987:96-97). The fluid itself referred to by

the Berawan as the “wine” of the corpse (Metcalf 1987:102). The rice wine and drinking in Borneo is associated with the dead and rituals formed around the spirits of the dead. Once the body has decomposed the body is removed from the jar and buried in the cemetery. A neighbouring group, the Kajang, are thought to have once drunk the fluids released from the deceased but now it is more likely for widows to touch the end of the draining tube and put it to her lips (Metcalf 1987:101). The ritual practices and performance carried out by the Berawan people provide an example of how bodies were stored in a portable tomb before final burial (represented through the jar), burial and the treatment of the dead and the manipulation of the corpse resulting in the drying out of the body, and finally, rituals carried out by the living for the dead.

The Arè Arè group from Malaita in the Solomon Islands also practice secondary burial practices but the primary processing of the corpse involves several stages. This group initially place the dead in a wooden canoe before exposure on a nearby reef (Coppet 1981:195), probably accompanied by rituals and performance. The use of a canoe could indicate the dead were going on their final journey. The placement of the corpse in an open vessel stresses the visibility and destruction elements surrounding the disposal of the dead. The body is left for animals such as birds to eat with any remains left on the floor of the forest for the pigs (Coppet 1981:196). These pigs are then killed at a second funeral feast and then cooked and eaten by the mourners. Coppet (1981:201) proposes that these practices are seen to be life giving by the community in which the dead once lived, maintaining social cohesion and replacing ideas of decay for life. Although the initial processing of the body could be seen as a destructive activity, the main purpose is to remove all the flesh so as the skull of a person could be placed in a communal area with the ancestors (Coppet 1981:195). All of these processes highlight issues of identity, visibility, monumentality, secondary burial, organisation and performance surrounding the disposal of the dead.

This example is important for understanding why people dispose of the corpse using various methods including primary and secondary practices. The Arè Arè use several processes, some of which western modern society may find unusual,

however, each stage is seen by the Arè Arè as being necessary towards the transition of the person from one state into another. The eventual removal of the skull into a new location highlights a new state for the deceased and final stage of the funeral process. Once reaching the funeral arena and being placed in the house the dead a person had reached their final destination. This example will be discussed further in the section on Emerging Recurring Themes below.

An example of a society that takes care in the treatment and preservation of the body can be seen in the Tana Toraja from Indonesia. For the Tana Toraja, death is viewed as being part of life (Deleuze and Guattari 1988:25; Tsintjilonis 2007:173) and therefore there is an importance placed on maintaining the body and the whole person following death. The Tana Toraja people believe that the dead share their feelings with the living and in return the living talk to the dead as if they were still alive. They dress the body so a person looks asleep. The dead are viewed as being ill and able to feel everything, even having sensual desires (Tsintjilonis 2007:178, 191). The Tana Toraja believe that care must be taken of the person or they could cause havoc on the living. Practically, the body is treated with formaldehyde, washed with un-boiled water and then coconut oil is applied before the body is wrapped. Offerings of rice and fish are provided (Tjintjilonis 2007:179). Bodies are then placed in clothes and sarongs or cloth is placed over the top. As with the EBA Aegean, final mortuary rites may happen many years later after death. These start with the sacrifice of an animal such as a buffalo or pig and it is not until then that a person is seen as moving away from the world of the living, its spirit and invisible body moving towards its ancestors only to return in dreams (Tjintjilonis 2007:190-191). The Tana Toraja illustrate how maintaining the identity of the individual is important through the preservation of the corpse. The group demonstrates how a person is not seen as dead until final rituals are performed that may be many year after the event. Significantly, the main focus of the group is on the maintaining the persons identity. The living believes that the dead can seriously harm them and so it is necessary to care for the person while they are sick. The dead person remains in the home, often for a long period of time, being a visible reminder of changes in the household and community. The group also demonstrates how a large period of time

may occur between death and burial. It is only when final rites occur that a person moves from one state of the living to another of the dead.

In contrast to the examples discussed above, where the main focus is placed on the processing of the body, in some cases the main focus of the funeral is placed on the specific procurement and use of certain materials to construct a grave or surround burial practices. An example of this can be seen from the Middle Neolithic in Guernsey and Jersey where stones were seen as being important for making a grave. Bukach (2003:23, 24) advocated that the materials could express identity and negotiate power within and between communities with stones being specially selected. This is an interesting concept that demonstrates a conscious decision to transport material and an awareness of materials for a specific purpose in the burial of the dead with local stone ignored in favour of others being brought to a site. This movement of stone and any journey to collect them being part of the funeral ritual, a type of pilgrimage and continued practice through social memory. Patton (1992:394) proposes that ancient people may have especially selected stones for monuments from all parts of their territory since the cultural factors must outweigh practical considerations. The landscape producing the stones viewed as a living entity with the material having ancestral or spiritual meaning and defining groups through their relationship to resources (Cooney 1998:109; Taçon 1991:205; Tilley 1991:67, 1993).

Not all societies however use stone to indicate permanence. Bloch's (2006a:212-215) idea of permanence can be seen in the Malagasy carvings carried out by the Zafimaniry in Madagascar. These people treat wood as a permanent material and marker, highlighting their success in marriage, children and their relationship (Bloch 2006a:214). Bloch (2006a:215) describes this wood as coming from the hardest, longest-lasting trees, the name given by the Zafimaniry meaning 'to last'. The Zafimaniry's houses start out being made of flimsy wood but over time larger pieces are brought into the home to create the main posts, shutters etc. (Bloch 2006a:212, 214). These pieces are recognition of a successful life and marriage (Bloch 2006a:214). The people make carvings to honour the wood that Bloch (2006a:215) interprets as a continuation and magnification of the growth and success of the couple transcending the impermanence of life. Wood in archaeological terms is not

considered in most cases for longevity but the Zafimaniry have a very different view, associating the material as one of permanence in society. However the use of wood in death replicates the decomposition of the corpse. Wooden crosses are now commonly placed against the tomb and inscribed with the name of the dead. Thought to be an influence from visiting missionaries, crosses are made of very soft wood and so decompose quickly. The decomposition of the crosses echo earlier traditions of using a wooden pole to carry the corpse, also left outside the tomb to rot. The decay of the wood indicates the changes in the corpse and the disappearance of the soft tissue, the loss of the name on the cross incorporating the dead into the realm of the ancestors (Bloch 2006b:109-110).

The examples discussed above of the Merina, Berawan, Arè Arè, Tana Toraja and Zafimaniry highlight key themes surrounding death that are important across all societies. Firstly, is the treatment of the dead. In all examples something must happen to the corpse following death which could be a drying, exposing or preserving of the body. Once the body was completely dried, defleshed or a certain period of time had passed, it was moved to a more permanent place. Sometimes, as in the case of the Arè Arè, only the skull was moved. Secondly, a permanent place was found in which to place the dead. This could be a tomb or other significant structure that could be constructed from materials with significance to a group. Thirdly, ritual practices were carried out during all stages of the funeral from the initial treatment of the dead to the final placement of the remains. Additional practices may have also occurred in the cemetery area not connected to the funeral itself, such as dancing or feasting in the place containing the ancestors.

All the examples discussed suggest the identity of the person is important even after death and a joining of the ancestors is key to a person's continuing role within a society. The same features and themes that present themselves in the examples above can inform this research by highlighting aspects of EBA cemetery evidence to be explored in the Aegean. By looking at the key themes of how the dead were treated, what graves were constructed and the ritual practices happening at the cemeteries a deeper understanding of burial practices will be established for the

EBA. Also, by using key themes the cemetery evidence and features can easily be compared across the region. These themes are discussed in greater detail below.

2.4 EMERGING RECURRENT THEMES

The British, European and ethnographic examples illustrate how societies treat and think about their dead can vary from one group to another, however, as discussed above, all of the examples provided have some commonality in the treatment of the dead that form recurrent themes towards the study of the dead.

2.4.1 A place for the dead

Whether in modern British or European society or one of the ethnographic examples provided, all the cases have a receptacle in which to lay or place the dead. This may be a coffin, jar, bed, canoe or tomb but the living selects this place as it has specific meaning and significance to a group. In all ethnographic cases, once a period of time has passed the dead is transferred to their final place of burial and in many cases permanence, usually a grave or communal tomb. In British society there is very little time between death and burial but in other societies this may be a period of years. For many societies, the tomb represents a place of the ancestors and is central to continuing communal activity. Tombs are usually made of stone or natural rock features emphasising ideas of strength, longevity and permanence in the landscape. The methods used in constructing the graves often in contrast to the temporality of houses within settlements and specific stones may be procured for the specific purpose of building graves, for example the MN burials seen on Jersey and Guernsey.

2.4.2 The processing of the body

In the ethnographic examples provided the sights and smells of decomposition are commonplace in everyday life. The body, amongst many groups, is seen as symbolically powerful, polluting and impure (Cregan 2006:101). Death is not feared but accepted and becomes part of the social activities within the local community. In many societies, such as the Berawan of Borneo, the treatment of the body is important and the prevention of decay is facilitated through the removal of all fluids removing possible harm to the living. The corpse in its dry form is the ultimate goal for many societies and determines the amount of time before secondary burial rites occur (Hertz 2004:31). Bodily waste during the decomposition process may also be halted through embalming. Bodies may also decompose away from the settlement through the process of exposure or placed in a temporary location or primary burial.

Once the body is dried, preserved or processed in the examples discussed the dead may undergo further rituals before reaching their final destination. In Greece, the body is moved from the place of primary burial once the flesh is known to have decomposed and the bones moved to an ossuary to join the extended community which included the dead. In other societies, such as the Arè Arè and Merina, only specific bones may have survived or been selected for the final placement in the tomb. These bones usually include skulls and sometimes long bones with smaller bones left behind.

2.4.3 Celebrations or ritual activities

Ritual activities are integral to funeral processes and present themselves as a main theme throughout burial practices. Whether there is a modern British funeral which involved prayers and words over the dead in the coffin to the placing of the dead in a canoe seen with the Arè Arè in the Solomon Islands, ritual practices are part of each stage of the funeral. After the funeral ritual practices continue with visitations to the tomb or grave by the living and celebrations in the cemetery arena. Nowhere is this more obvious than with the example provided of the living dancing with the dead in

Merina society to make space in the tomb and merge the ancestors by the breaking of bones.

2.4.4 Memory and Identity

In addition to physical practices that emerge as themes, issues also arise through the study of ethnographic examples such as memory and identity. Both can be seen through the methods used to dispose of the corpse through the creation, construction or selection of a place or vessel in which to place the dead. Memory may also be seen through the selection of the receptacle, any manipulation of the corpse, how the body is placed in the grave and the retention of specific elements of the person. Celebrations and rituals surrounding society or groups, such as the Merina and Tana Toraja described above, provide ideas towards continuing interaction with the dead over an extended period of time through the dead's physical presence outside the tomb. Once the skeleton was no longer whole and bones were fragmented, the dead would then become part of the ancestors within the tomb and, in the case of the Merina, no longer dancing with the living.

According to Jones (2007:41) memory of a place is not solely in the mind but it also emerges through intersubjective experience with the material world. This memory can also be created or constructed through collective remembering. Society or social memory softens over time in the same way that personal memories do (Jones 2007:41). Like personal memories, social memories are linked, modified, adapted or change over time (Halbwachs 1993:133; Jones 2007:41-42). They are socially distributed between and within communities (Jones 2007:44) actively ongoing and recreated (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003:3). Memory is connected to remembrance and ritual and an understanding of memory must be gained before exploring agency and whether society and the people within are actively remembering or if they are passively copying a model (Lillios 2003:147). Differences in burial practices surrounding memory between cultural groups should be seen as people learning and perceiving situations differently (Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002:8). Memory in action is seen in Egypt through short-term commemoration and long term

memorialisation which includes the dead in the living society (Meskell 2001:28; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003:8).

Rituals are another way that societies form and adapt memories of events that have come to pass. They continue a form of relationship with the dead now residing in a cemetery. Hodder (1990:15) explains that rituals are generated through social life and by knowledgeable human actors using mnemonic devices including formalism and performativity. Re-enactment being crucial to the constitution and shaping of community memory (Connerton 1989:61; Meskell 2003:47). Participants in these rituals likely included immediate families or community members. These rituals start upon a death, continuing and developing over time.

The material culture placed within the graves of the deceased, chosen by a society, provides potent metaphors for the experience of memory (Jones 2007:41). Tilley (1999:264) backs this view by saying that material metaphors have a quality of destiny in that every aspect of an artefact contributes continuously to its meaning and is interdependently significant. This is true with artefacts chosen by the living to be placed with the dead, either having personal or collective significance within members of a group. When a group does not include grave goods this may be an indication of family or societal choice. The lack of grave goods does not diminish the idea of memory surrounding the dead or the relationship between the living and the person within the grave.

The inclusion of grave goods may also develop over time through changes in memory. Whether an artefact itself has specific meaning is not really important but the human action surrounding the agency of its selection is important. There is meaning, thought and care behind every item placed within a grave or left for the dead, something very personal connecting the dead to the world of the living. The same emotions, seen through ritual and collective society memory, may also occur surrounding the deceased. Of course, it could also be said that individual graves in a cemetery contain grave goods, when others do not, may indicate differences in status within a group.

Grave goods may have once been owned by the dead, used in the cemetery as items surrounding the funeral or have been presented to the dead as gifts. Artefacts may also have been placed outside the graves following ritual or community practices or performance. It is not known whether these practices and performances would occur only at the funeral or if community celebrations would happen at various other times of the year. Performances could affect and project emotion of the living and resurrect thoughts and memories of earlier ancestors. Performances at cemeteries are a way of remembering and celebrating the past, bringing memories to life as well as showing joy and emotion possibly even showing thankfulness for life, family, society and resources.

Burial practices can provide information to the identity of the dead placed in cemeteries. The creation of some items found in burial assemblages linking locations through technological processes and know-how that can also be used to understand identity. When studying burials there must be an appreciation that the deceased identity has been transferred during the mortuary process by the living (Fowler 2013:511, 522), the dead becoming a new entity following death (Fowler 2004:79; 2013:525). In modern British society the identity of the deceased is preserved through their image, the body prevented from decay with embalming fluid, the face plumped and made up to give an appearance the dead person is asleep. In the past less emphasis would need to be placed on the physical appearance of the corpse, instead individuality may manifest itself through grave inclusions. However, the interpretation of these grave inclusions can be problematic and relate to interpretations with regard to status which may not be correct. Through the study of burial evidence some information may be gained as to the identity of the people buried. Agency surrounding the cemetery sites may show how a society wished for their dead to be represented (Kotsakis 2008:51).

2.5 WHAT CAN THE EMERGING THEMES FROM ETHNOGRAPHIC EXAMPLES BRING TO A STUDY OF THE EBA?

There are some features of the ethnographic studies which cannot be looked at in this research. The emotion experienced during a funeral or ritual is not represented in any evidence. The immediate treatment of the body before reaching the cemetery possibly to preserve or dry it could not be established from the archaeological evidence. Nor could any comments be made as to whether any part of the corpse was consumed by the living. Also, any discussion of primary receptacles used in which to place the dead will not be possible for the EBA period as any used would probably be made of material such as wood, undetectable in the archaeological record today. The ritual practices surrounding any burials discussed in this work can also only be suggested by using the available data. Any practices which do not leave traces in the archaeological record are now permanently lost.

Several themes emerge from the study of British, European and ethnographic case studies which can be used in the study of cemetery evidence from the EBA Aegean. These themes include the burial and the treatment of the dead, the selection of a specific vessel or container, the construction and completion of a tomb and ritual practices from death to the final interment. To make discussion of these themes consistent throughout this research the evidence for each cemetery will be presented under three categories of grave architecture, burial and the treatment of the dead and ritual.

Grave architecture will include the creation of a grave space, highlighting the form of construction and any materials used, such as stone. Issues such as whether the stone used was specifically brought to the site or was found local to the cemetery will be explored throughout. The treatment of the dead will look to any evidence for the treatment of the dead, how the dead was placed in the grave and if all bones were selected for final burial (a feature the ethnographic examples). Signs for the movement of the body, or primary burial elsewhere will also be explored. Any evidence for cutting or the processing of bones will be highlighted here. Any grave

goods if included with a burial will be noted in this section as these may provide information towards belief in a state after death, journey or an afterlife.

Ritual in ethnographic studies can be seen during each stage of funeral activity and afterwards as annual events in the cemetery area. In this research ritual can be expanded as a theme to determine whether individual cemeteries are demonstrating any common ritual practices surrounding the disposal of the dead in the EBA Aegean. These practices may include the use of specific vessels, the implementation of features at the cemeteries which could indicate communal activity and any ritual breakage of bones or other materials, also seen in the examples provided above. Ritual features in the cemetery could imply interaction between the living and the dead away from grave architecture and burials and the treatment of the dead. The examples discussed in the ethnographic cases show how the living groups continue their relationship with the dead and after death all continue to play some role in society even after the final funeral. Visible interactions in the archaeological evidence between the living and the dead will be discussed for each site in this work. By emphasising ritual features and any commonality between the three core areas discussed this may suggest a transfer of ideas in the burial arena.

These three themes that have emerged from the examples of burial practices will help disseminate the archaeological evidence for the EBA, highlighting important features at each location. By exploring these themes we may gain a deeper insight into how the EBA population reacted to death through the practices they carried out for the dead. Patterns that emerge from the burial evidence may allow connections to be made between individual locations and enable an understanding as to the extent of interconnections in the EBA Aegean.

2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter I have outlined the research area, the theory of death and burial and the emerging recurring themes that emerge from the ethnographic examples provided. How these themes can be used to gain an understanding of EBA burial

practices was then discussed. Through exploration of these themes in the cemeteries ideas towards the extent of interconnections in the EBA Aegean will emerge. The motivation and theory behind migration was then presented and the practicalities of sailing introduced.

The next three chapters (III, IV and V) explore the cemetery evidence from the three core areas through the three main themes that have emerged from the ethnographic examples discussed of grave architecture, burial and the treatment of the dead and ritual. Chapter VI critically evaluates the evidence under the same themes with the aim of establishing the nature of the identity of the people buried in the cemeteries. Chapter VII presents a conclusion to the thesis and suggestions for further work.

CHAPTER III**THE CYCLADES****3.1 BACKGROUND TO THE CYCLADIC ISLANDS**

In the previous chapter I outlined the methodology to be used in the research. In the following three chapters I will now outline the nature of Cycladic burial practices from three locations including the Cyclades, the island of Crete and for key EBA sites on mainland Greece. Three themes have been selected under which the archaeological evidence will be presented including grave architecture, the burial and treatment of the dead and ritual.

This chapter presents the cemetery evidence for the Cyclades (Figure 3.1) from the EBA period. Throughout the following chapters the term ‘Cycladic’ will be used. This term Wilson (1987:43) describes succinctly as being culturally designated on the basis of pottery styles and geographical distribution. This can be problematic for the EBA as much settlement evidence has not been found which means the information that is available for the EBA period in the Cyclades comes from burials (Marthari 2009:41; Wilson 1987:43).

The group of islands known as the Cyclades covers a number of diverse landscapes, some islands offering natural resources such as water, fertile valleys and plains (used for agriculture), and mineral resources, whereas others islands are mountainous, contain little water and therefore, could not facilitate agricultural practices (Barber 1987:3-5; Dumas 1965:47). Occupation of the Cycladic islands is known from as early as the Middle Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods (Carter et al. 2014b:341) found through chert extraction and tool production and limited settlement remains. By the EBA many of the Cycladic islands are inhabited, with ECI people living in small settlements. These settlements grow in size but decrease in number in the ECII period, settlements occupied over a long period of time, seemingly only to decline in ECIII (Alram Stern 2004:480). The ECIII is a confusing period archaeologically on the islands with a reduction in the population and a clustering of cemeteries in some places (Zapheirpoulou 1990:24). This period corresponds to the EBIII across the

rest of the Aegean which is known for the gap in chronology, discussed in detail within the Introduction chapter. This gap is slowly closing as more dates emerge across the region from multi-period sites and the chronology becomes clearer. At the end of the EBA period there is a decline in population across many of the sites in the Cyclades and across the Aegean, and not others. The reason for this decline is uncertain (Brogan 2013:555-567; Broodbank 2013:535-543; Davis 2013:527-533; Kouka 2013:569-580; Pullen 2013:545-553; Rutter 2013:593-597; Wiener 2013:581-592).

Cycladic people were very resourceful in using the landscape and resources around them, for example, on Paros and Naxos. Both of these islands are known for their marble resources with the material found worked into vessels of various forms. Cycladic people may have also moved between islands to access resources not readily available but necessary for daily life, such as food, and to spread technical knowledge and craftworking techniques. Craftworking items and minerals found or produced in the Cyclades do not always stay on the islands. An example of this can be seen through the movement of obsidian and kaolin (material used for decorating pottery) from the Cyclades. Both materials originate on the island of Melos and can be found from as early as the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic contexts on the Greek mainland (Broodbank 2008:51; Kouka 2008:272).

3.2 INTRODUCTION TO CYCLADIC BURIAL PRACTICES

In the Cyclades there is archaeological evidence for people living on the islands from the Mesolithic period onwards but organised burial evidence in the form of cemeteries emerges from the FN period. The site of Kephala on Kea represents the earliest evidence for formalised, organised cemetery space containing burials in the transitional period between the FN and EBA in the Cyclades which Coleman (1977:103) describes as being in marked contrast to the mainland and so it is here this chapter begins. However, since Coleman wrote, new discoveries on the mainland in the last forty years highlight formalised cemetery sites emerging in the LN and FN period at Kalamaki Achaia (Vassilogamvrou 2000:43-51, 2001-

2004:525, 2008:249-251), Ancient Elis (Rambach 2006:63-92), Proskynas (Papathanasiou 2001-2004:541; Papathanasiou et al. 2009:223-235), Diros Xagounaki (Papathanasopoulos 2012), Thebes (Tsota 2009:863-880) and Tharrounia (Euboea) (Sampson 1992:61-101, 1993b:296-297). Some of these sites are discussed further in the Introduction chapter.

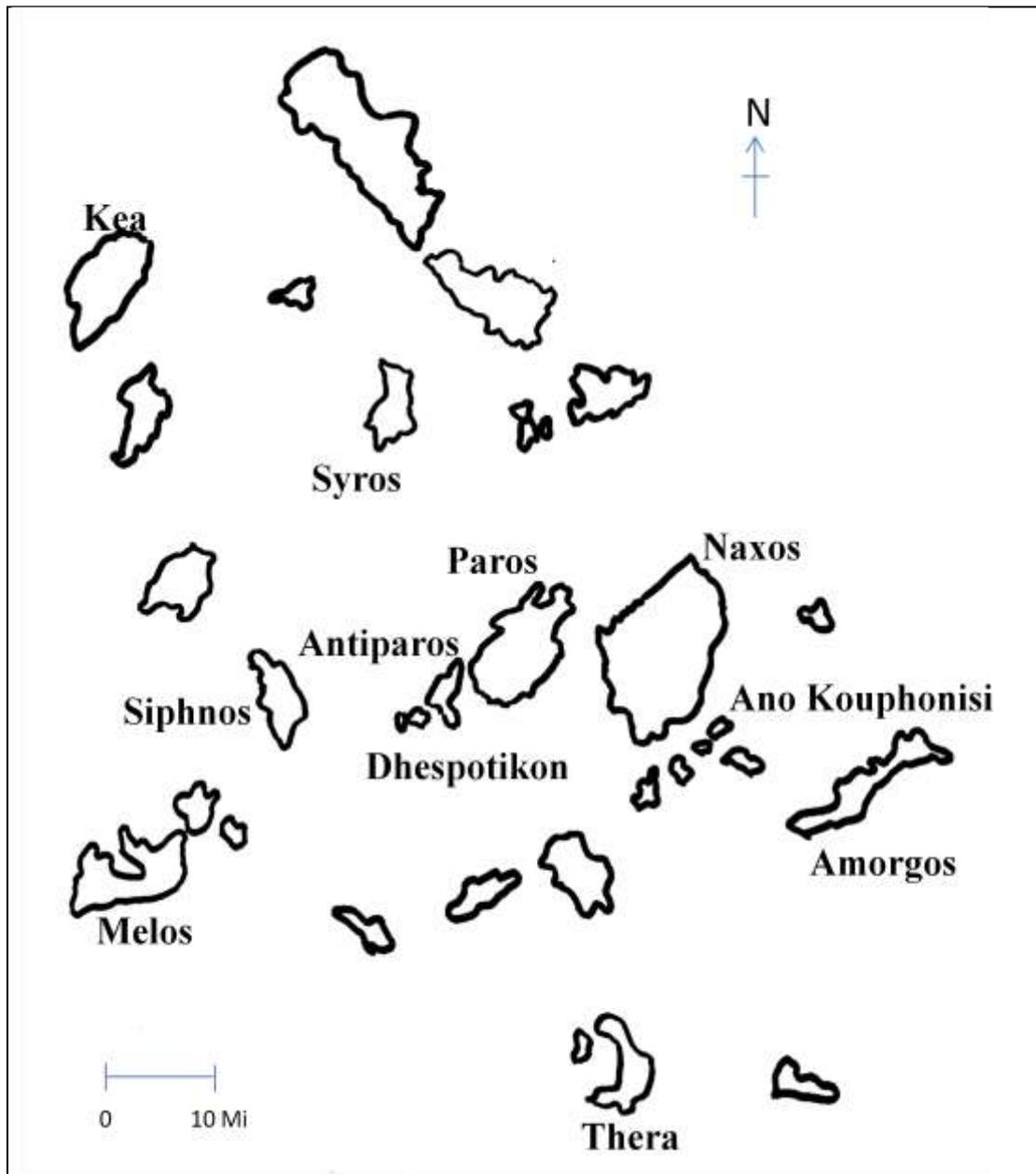


Figure 3.1 Map of the Cycladic islands discussed in this chapter

3.3 KEPHALA ON KEA

The island of Kea is located to the north of the Cyclades, close to mainland Greece. The island is mountainous with fertile land found in valleys. Kephala (Figure 3.2) is the first cemetery site in the Cyclades (Broodbank 2008:52) where settlement and cemetery evidence is found together, the cemetery sitting below the settlement. The topography of the site is important as any visitors to the site would first negotiate the dead, working their way up to the settlement before encountering the living.



Figure 3.2 Promontory of Kephala from the South (Coleman 1977:Plate 47b)

3.3.1 The settlement and activities at the site

The settlement of Kephala utilised the natural landscape (slopes, bedrock and scarp) for the construction of its houses. Today the rectangular houses which remain are not well preserved, not helped by the form of their construction without mortar and through the process of erosion (Coleman 1977:20). The size of the population at Kephala is estimated to have been between 35-50 people (Broodbank 2002:149; Coleman 1977:111; Whitelaw 1991:207-8). The placing of the settlement,

Broodbank (2002:149) proposes was reliant on long-range inter-visibility between FN sites in southern Euboea or for considerations of defence.

Excavation of the settlement at Kephala divided the site into different areas, D, E, H, J, K and L being the most noteworthy. Area D provided a number of finds including pottery, marble, obsidian and tools which Coleman (1977:26-28) implies, alongside the area's exposed windy location, could be an indication of copper working. Area E was built on the hillside and produced less finds but these did include some copper bearing ore, an obsidian blade and flake tool, a stone grinder and pottery sherds (Coleman 1977:24-25). Area H and J contained few finds but H did produce a piece of obsidian, a sherd rubbing tool and some pottery sherds and J had unstratified surface finds of obsidian and a small amount of pottery sherds (Coleman 1977:30-31). Other areas such as Area K and Area L also contained stone and pottery items. Area K contained a large amount of carbonised seeds in the lower stratum which produced a radiocarbon dating of 2876 ± 56 B.C. (Coleman 1977:32). Controversially, these dates have been presented for the possible re-dating of the site and indicate activity at Kephala closer to the EBA period.

The location of the Kephala settlement provided an easily defensible location and the site's position on a hillside produced the necessary windy conditions for metalworking and pottery production (Coleman 1977:2). Obsidian was also found at Kephala which was used extensively as a cutting tool, scraper and as projectile points (Coleman 1977:39). One of the most interesting items found amongst surface finds northeast of Area G in the settlement was the head of a large figurine with both the head and the neck preserved (Coleman 1977:43). Another two figurine heads were also found in the cemetery, one to the side of Grave 17 and the other to the side of Grave 28 (Coleman 1977:68, 94). This indicates that figurines were a feature in both settlement and cemetery areas.

3.3.2 Grave Architecture

The cemetery of Kephala was estimated by Coleman (1977:44) to have been in use for an estimated 100 years based on the sequence of graves in the Lower Cemetery. However, this estimation is only tenuous as the number of graves lost to erosion over time is unknown. The cemetery is located on the base of a sloping headland below the settlement in a rocky, steep and uninhabitable area, the topography responsible for the layout. The construction of graves varies across the cemetery (Table 3.1) and described as belonging to a 'Upper' and 'Lower' area. The location of these graves is not believed to bear any relation to status. In addition to the graves at the cemetery remains of a wall implies that there may have once been a boundary surrounding the cemetery space.

There are forty graves at Kephala represented by simple pits, cists and built graves. Built graves are made with readily available stones of schist, limestone and marble. The size of the grave and stones vary but they were covered with a large slab of schist with smaller stones sometimes wedged in between. These slabs of schist often cracked when the grave was filled (Coleman 1977:45). Platforms sit above some of the graves. Two graves have doorways, the style also seen at later cemetery sites, for example, at Chalandriani on Syros in ECII (Coleman 1977:105).

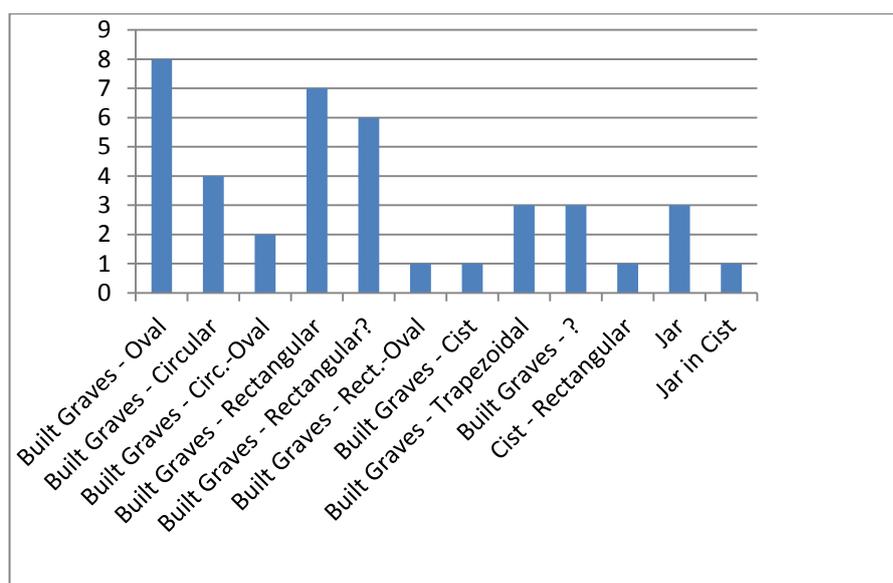


Table 3.1 Frequency of grave types at Kephala (Coleman 1977:46-47)

Graves in the Lower Cemetery (Figures 3.3 and 3.4) have no specific orientation. Some graves have been built above one another (Coleman 1977:54). Graves 1-13 are the earliest and are likely to be contemporary but there is also a sequence of three graves (4, 5 and 13) and another two (11 and 12) (Coleman 1977:54). Graves in this area are not usually situated immediately on the bedrock but have some earth between the grave and the ground and many graves across Kephala have a floor of pebbles or stones (Coleman 1977:48). This may be significant as some thought has gone into the construction of the floor, possibly for practical purposes such as drainage.

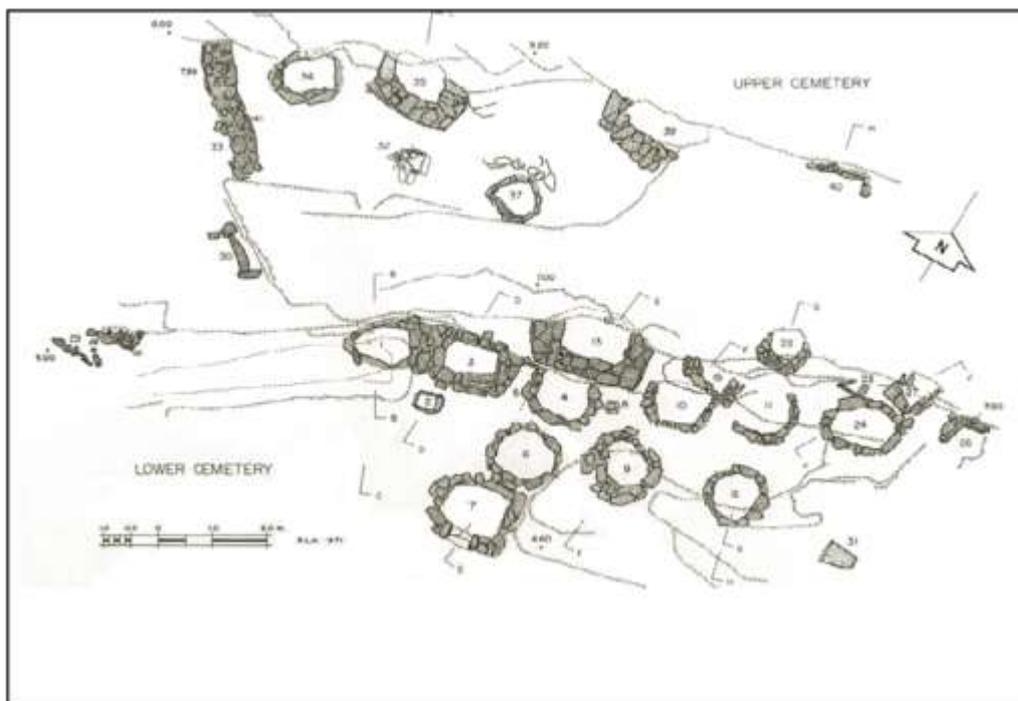


Figure 3.3 Cemetery Plan of Kephala (Coleman 1977:Plate 8)

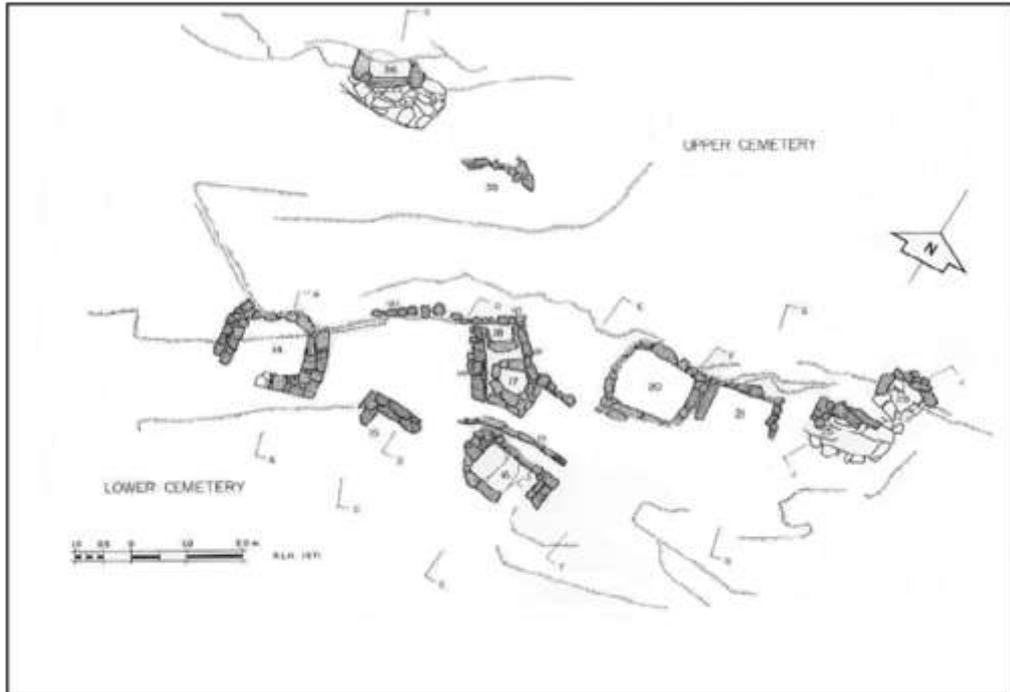


Figure 3.4 Cemetery Plan of Kephala, uppermost graves and walls
(Coleman 1977:Plate 9)

The Upper Cemetery is recorded in two parts, the western group and the eastern group, and located 2m north of the Lower Cemetery. The two cemeteries are divided by a rocky area. Coleman (1977:84) advises that the chronological relationship between the two areas cannot be determined but presumes that they were in contemporary use. The Upper Cemetery has suffered over time from erosion but contained graves of various shapes and sizes. Unlike the Lower Cemetery, graves in the Upper Cemetery are single inhumations which could represent variations in ideas towards burial practices at the site. Single inhumations in the Upper Cemetery could also represent a chronological sequence with burial practices changing over time. Unlike the Lower Cemetery, the Upper Cemetery does contain some grave goods in Grave 34 which contained a marble bowl, Grave 35 a flint scraper, Grave 36 a scoop and Grave 38 the head of a figurine. However, the majority of artefacts found in the Upper Cemetery were located outside the graves and included some burnt clay (possibly an indication of metalworking), obsidian items, three incomplete female figurines and some pottery. Two graves worthy of note in the Upper Cemetery are Grave 32 and Grave 39. Grave 32 contained the bones of an infant in a jar which lay on a bed of pebbles within a grave of the same construction type as used by the adult

population (Coleman 1977:85-86). This infers the same treatment of the dead across society. Grave 39 is notable as it contained a male skeleton whose head had been placed on a stone pillow, the only one to have been found in the Upper Cemetery (Coleman 1977:94).

3.3.3 Burials and the treatment of the dead

The forty graves at Kephala contain approximately sixty five people (Coleman 1974:336, 1977:46-47) in single and multiple inhumations (Figure 3.5), representing men, women and children (Table 3.2) (Coleman 1977:44). The two cists contained the burial of a child, the other a jar containing an infant. Another three jars containing infants, with stones on top, were placed in simple pits. Vessels found in burials are similar to those found in the settlement indicating a secondary use for containers used in daily life within the home.

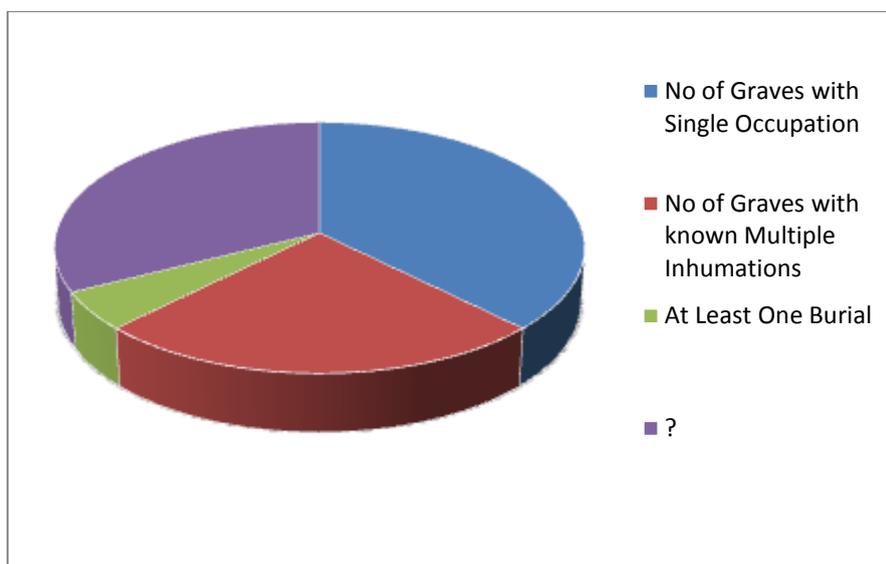


Figure 3.5 The frequency of single and multiple burials at Kephala (Coleman 1977:46-47)

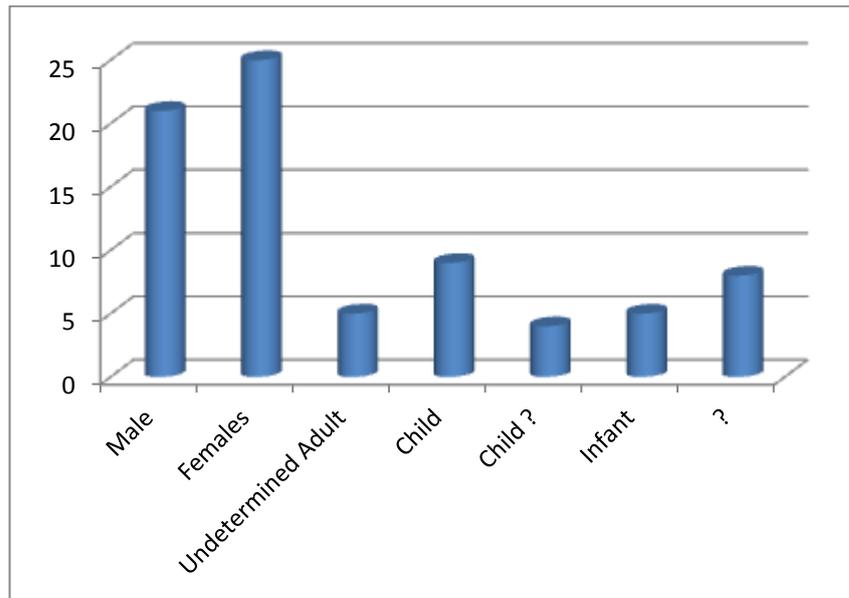


Table 3.2 The number of burials at Kephala by sex and age (Total 65+)
(Coleman 1977:46-47)

The Lower Cemetery consists of graves of various shapes and sizes, some single burials and others are multiple inhumations representing both children and adults. This could signify the increasing importance of biological kinship lineages which continued into the EBA period. Children's graves are smaller than the adult graves and multiple burials may also represent a practical solution for the disposal of the dead by reducing the amount of time and space needed for grave construction (Coleman 1977:50). The largest number of multiple burials in one grave was found in Grave 7 which held the remains of at least thirteen people (Coleman 1977:58). At Kephala the preservation of the skull seems to be an important factor in the graves where skeletal material is found. Stone pillows were found in the Lower Cemetery in some of the graves, for example in Grave 3 and Grave 10 (Coleman 1977:57, 60). The presence and location of skulls and other bone fragments indicate both primary and secondary burial practices at the site. The most fascinating skull found in the Lower Cemetery is one from Grave 11 of a man who received a wound to the head and then, Coleman (1977:61) believes, underwent an operation to remove the offending weapon (Figure 3.6).

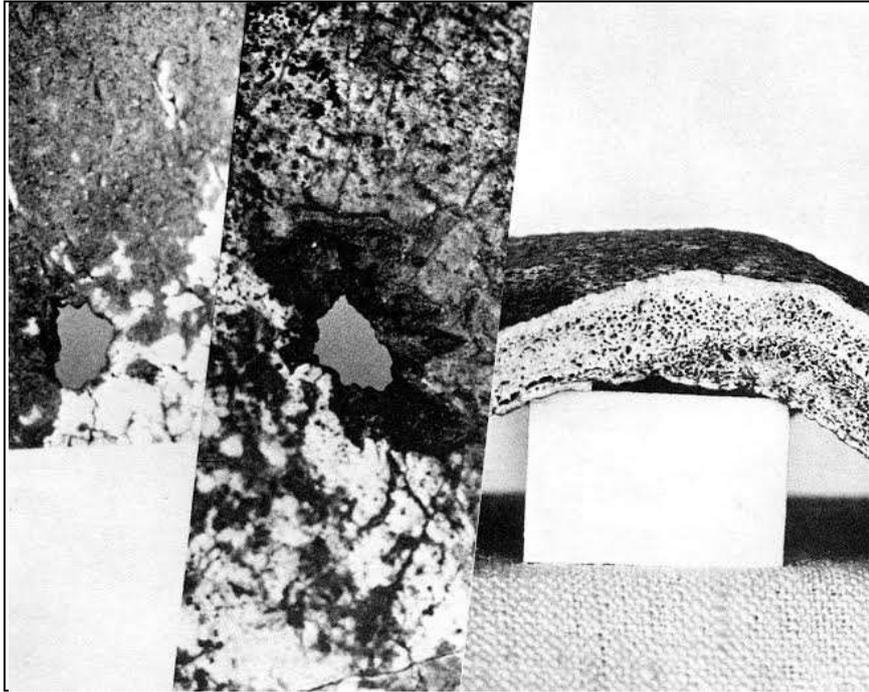


Figure 3.6 Healed head wound from a pointed projectile
(Coleman 1977:Plate 94j)

Graves of particular interest at Kephala include Grave 16 (Coleman 1977:63) which had a wall of stones set on their ends which may once have marked the space around the grave, forming an enclosure. This wall overlapped Platform 3 which sat over Grave 9 indicating the enclosure around Grave 16 came after the platform was constructed. Similar grave enclosures such as the one found delimiting the space around Grave 16 will be discussed later in this research on the mainland (Chapter V). Two of the graves (Graves 14 and 20) have had their walls bonded with white clay (Coleman 1977:45, 62, 64) which could have been for aesthetic purposes or may have held deeper significance. Graves 7 and 14 have been linked to graves on Syros as they may have been similar in form and had doorways (Coleman 1977:105). There are few grave inclusions in the graves in Kephala, items instead found placed above the graves, in the area of the Lower Cemetery.

Multiple burials in the Lower Cemetery (Coleman 1977:50) could be connected in some way to the frequency of the platforms in the same area. Coleman (1977:45) notes that there is a higher incidence of multiple burials in rectangular graves than in circular graves, the reason for this is unknown. Where only single burials are

found it is not known whether this truly represent single interments or if graves were cleared between use, the bones removed before the next person was placed in the grave (Coleman 1977:50). Coleman (1977:50) believes that some graves were intentionally only used once.

Skeletal material is well represented in some graves but only fragmentary or non-existent in some of the graves. Notable for its multiple burials is Grave 7 which contained many skulls, some in the upper level being crushed (Coleman 1977:58). Not all the skulls in this grave had corresponding skeletal material (long bones etc.) which probably represents bone selection. Some of the skulls placed in Grave 7 may represent primary burial moved from elsewhere. Without studying the bones establishing events surrounding burial would be difficult to determine, such as whether animal marks are present, which may be an indication of exposure. This frequency and preservation of the skull throughout the Kephala cemetery site may be because the head was seen as the most important element of the person. There may have also been some ritual practices surrounding the skull at the Kephala cemetery. There is a skull which seemingly had a hole made in it as part of some post mortem treatment (Figure 3.7).

Only nine graves from the Kephala cemetery contained any grave goods and only one grave contained more than one item. Coleman (1977:51) suggested that this represented a poor community but instead it could represent a more symbolic aspect of society such as their values and beliefs. When grave goods were found at Kephala, according to Coleman (1977:51), more were included in the graves of women than in those of men. The artefacts usually included in graves were pottery but there were also two marble bowls found at the site. Pottery seems to be the same as that used in the settlement and therefore probably not made especially for burial. Grave items were usually placed near the knees or feet but in one case (Grave 34) a marble cup was found next to a skull (Coleman 1977:51). A flint scraper was also deliberately deposited with the burial of a male in Grave 35 (Coleman 1977:51). Some of the graves contained scoops and obsidian. The obsidian may have been an offering but may also be an intrusive item (Coleman 1977:51).



Figure 3.7 Male skull showing hole made after death? (Coleman 1977:Plate 93q)

3.3.4 Ritual

There are seven platforms at Kephala cemetery, most located in the Lower Cemetery (Figure 3.8). These platforms are constructed from stones laid above the slabs which cover the grave (Coleman 1977:45). There is no correlation between the grave shape and the platform and it is interesting that one of the platforms, which is smaller than the others, has no grave underneath, dismissing any ideas towards their purpose solely as grave markers. Coleman (1977:45) believed these would act as an area and focus for ritual activity, for laying offerings and a place to make libations. The platforms and a retaining wall found at Kephala are the earliest examples found at a cemetery site and therefore could be seen as a precursor for features seen in the EBA at cemeteries on other Cycladic islands, Crete and mainland Greece.

Another interesting feature found at Kephala in the Lower Cemetery is a passageway cut into the bedrock called the 'dromos' (Coleman 1977:54). This dromos is not connected to any grave visible today and may have once been a cistern, however, its true purpose is unknown. A great deal of effort was made to create the dromos and further future exploration into the structure would be worthwhile. What the dromos does indicate is purposeful planning and social organisation in its construction.

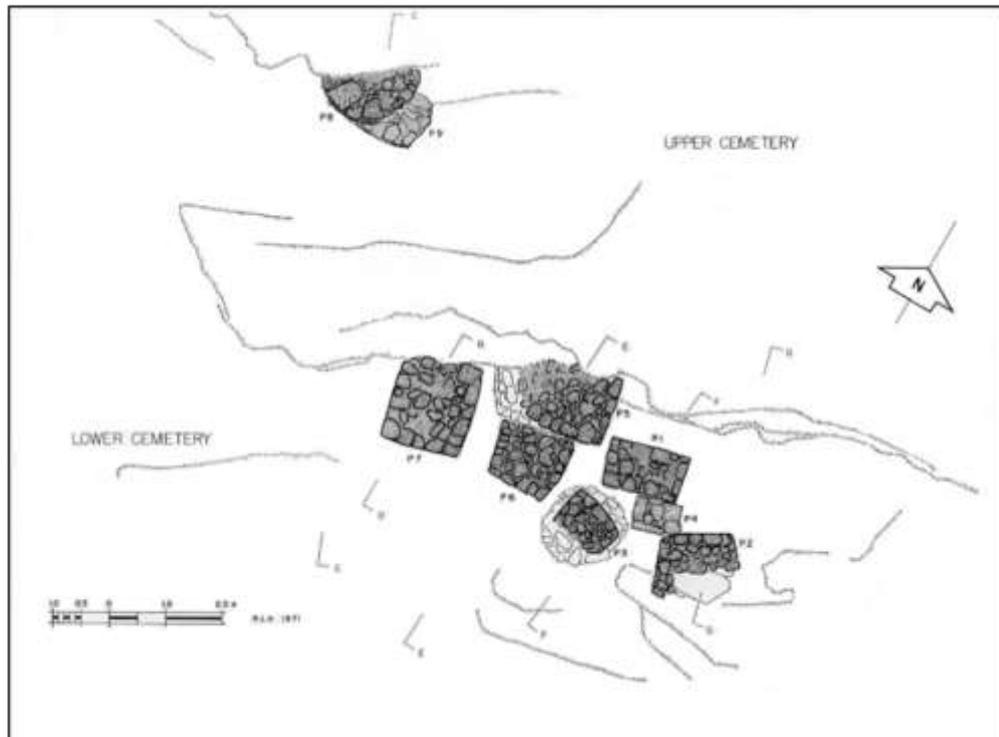


Figure 3.8 The Platforms at Kephala (Coleman 1977:Plate 10)

Coleman (1977:52) notes that in the earth around the graves small stones, animal bones and pieces of obsidian were found. Other items such as sherd-rubbing tools, terracotta figurines, bone tools, fragments of crucibles and flint tools, a stone bead, and other objects of stone and terracotta are also present (Coleman 1977:52). The most common material to be found around the cemetery site as a whole is pottery. Coleman (1977:53) indicated that items found outside the graves may have been discarded when graves were reused, placed on platforms during funerary ceremonies or even represent domestic debris which has come down the slope from the settlement. Pottery items are probably related to ritual in the cemetery. Pottery found outside the graves could be an indication of communal activity such as feasting and the discarding of vessels from ritual breakage.

3.3.5 Metalworking

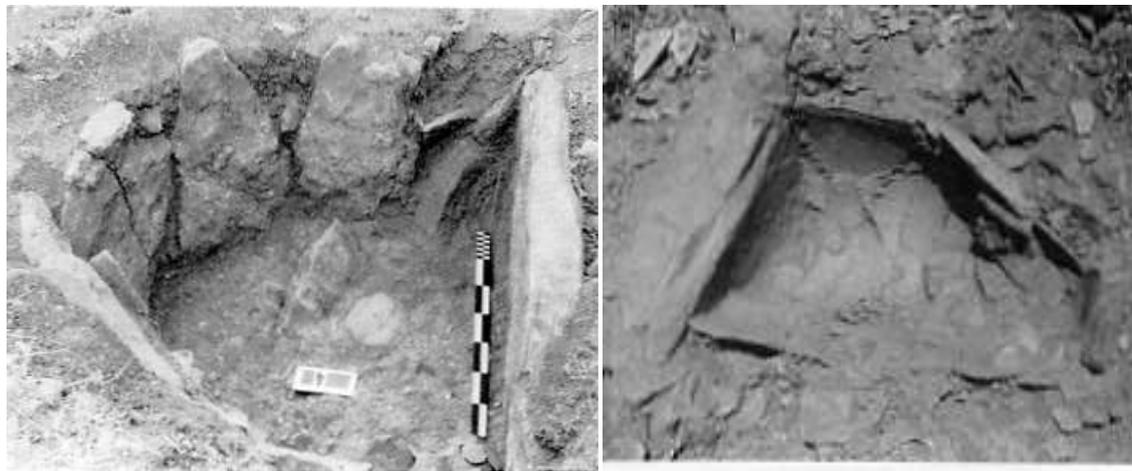
There is evidence of copper working from Kephala from both the settlement and cemetery site. Copper items have been found on the surface of the cemetery, such as tools and a pin, which were all made from pure copper (Coleman 1977:3). Further evidence of metal working is provided through small burnt clay fragments, possibly from furnace linings and slag. Massive slag heaps have been found at Kephala but also at EBA sites of Avessalos (Seriphos) and Skouries (Kythnos) (Alram Stern 2004:859; Doumas 2010:103). This evidence suggests that metal working may have been the main activity happening at Kephala (Broodbank 2002:149; Coy 1977:132).

3.3.6 Connections

Connections between Kephala and Saliagos, located on the land which joined Paros and Antiparos (Hekman 2003:6), are discussed by Davis (2001:23) and Evans and Renfrew (1968:88) with regard to connections. This is because both sites are in use before the start of the EBA in the Cyclades. However, very little connects the two with Saliagos being an earlier site than Kephala, and there are a lack of architectural and artefact similarities (Coleman 1977:98, 99; Evans and Renfrew 1968:75). Therefore, these two sites are unlikely to have shared any connections. Kephala may have had some contact with the mainland evidenced through Cycladic type pottery and a terracotta head (no 128) being excavated from the Agora in Athens (Coleman 1977:101). However, no Athenian pottery has been found at Kephala (Coleman 1977:100), an indication that perishable goods may have been exchanged between sites. Figurines found at Kephala also have similarities to ones found in Thessaly (Coleman 1977:103).

Other sites on the mainland provide evidence for connections with the Cyclades at the end of the Neolithic period. As previously discussed in the Introduction chapter, grave 4 at the site of Tharrounia (Euboea) (Sampson 1992:61-101, 1993b:296-297) provides direct parallels in its construction to grave 31 at Kephala (Figure 3.9). The site of Tsoungiza in Nemea provides evidence for occupation of the site from the EN

period but there is not a continuous sequence (Pullen 2011:17). A small settlement was found on the crown of a hill but material is not well represented other than items found in some of the excavated pits (Pullen 2011:18, 20, 894). The FN settlement has produced mainly small scoops, coarse bowls and pedestals with both scoops and pedestals widely distributed (Phelps 2004:93; Pullen 2011:25-28). Scoops are small, incised, oblique-mouthed vessels on low pedestals (Phelps 2004:114). The ones found at Tsoungiza have been compared to others found at Aria, Corinth, Athens, Sesklo and Kephala but these scoops all vary in style (Coleman 1977:101; Pullen 2011:26, 894). For example, the Kephala scoops have elaborate handles where the ones from Tsoungiza do not (Pullen 2011:26).



Grave 4 at Tharrounia, Euboea
(Sampson 1992:Fig 36)

Grave 31 at Kephala
(Coleman 1977:Plate 63d)

Figure 3.9 Grave 4 at Tharrounia and Grave 31 at Kephala

Nea Makri, excavated in 1977, provided evidence of Neolithic settlement of twelve successive phases without any break at the site (Pantelidou Gofas 1995:303). Phase 1 and 2 represented the EN period which started c. 6000 BC (Pantelidou Gofas 1995:304). Phases 3 to 8 belonged to the MN period which is estimated to have lasted over a thousand years starting c. 5700 BC and ending c. 4700 BC. (Pantelidou Gofas 1995:308). Phase 9 onwards represents the LN period with the end of the LNII dated to c 4000 BC. These changes between periods are represented in the developments in pottery styles and techniques. At the start of the EN the pottery is of a central Greece and Peloponnese type, locally produced in limited shapes (Pantelidou Gofas 1995:303). The MN continues to draw parallels to pottery used in central Greece and the

Peloponnese but there are also changes happening at the site. The MN sees the arrival of new pottery styles and the clay type used for some vessels is a similar type to those found at sites in Euboea and the Sporades (Pantelidou Gofas 1995:304). Pantelidou Gofas (1995:304, 305) describes the potters work during the MN as being careless with a lack of interest in making exact imitations, especially of ufnis ware which appears at the site at this time. The LN sees the most changes in pottery at the site with potters seeming more knowledgeable about clay and the technology needed to produce better quality vessels (Pantelidou Gofas 1995:308). The shapes remain from the earlier periods but the use of high temperatures in firing resulting in much thinner pottery. The LNII pottery shapes at Nea Makri shows direct parallels to vessels from Kea and Laurion and Pantelidou Gofas (1995:309, 310) suggests that these vessels could have been imitated from imports from these sites. However, any influence is unlikely to have been one way with Nea Makri incised ware believed to have spread outside the site to the Cycladic islands before the site was abandoned at the beginning of the EBA (Pantelidou Gofas 1995:310).

The evidence above points to connections between Kephala and mainland Greece through both architectural and pottery evidence. The burnishing of pottery may also signify links between Kephala and Tigani, Besika Tepe and Kum Tepe (Coleman 1977:107). Other materials moving around the Aegean and highlighting connections include Melian obsidian which is found on both mainland Greece and Crete and other islands in the Cyclades. The movement of obsidian indicates connections across the Aegean from very early periods. An example of obsidian from Melos found at other Neolithic sites in the Cyclades, in addition to Kephala, can be seen at Saliagos which produced blades, tanged points and waste products left from flint knapping (Evans and Renfrew 1968:76).

3.3.7 The end of Kephala

Talalay (1991:49; Broodbank 2002:150) proposed that the purpose of Kephala was to claim and utilise resources, which could have been the islands' strategic location and harbour sites, its marble source or its copper metallurgy (found in pieces of slag recovered from the site). This situation seems to change when the evidence for the

occupation of Kephala ceases. The occupants of the site may have moved elsewhere, such as Ayia Irini or onto the mainland, therefore, making the cemetery redundant. People moving to Ayia Irini seems like the most likely possibility for the disappearance of the Kephala population. However, Barber (1987:57) suggested that Ayia Irini may not have been established until later at the end of the EC period. Evidence from Ayia Irini indicates a settlement from the LN/FN (Period I) and the EBII (Periods II-III) (Wilson 2013:385) and although later than Kephala, the site is not in use from ECI (Wilson 1999:227).

There has also been some debate surrounding the evidence put forward to date the site of Kephala. The dating of some carbonised seeds from Area K in the settlement produced a date of 2876 ± 56 B.C. (Coleman 1977:32). However, only one sample of this date was recorded and therefore the whole site should not be accepted as being of this date. Artefacts from Kephala have also caused some issues surrounding the date of the site. This is signified through the worked marble vessels present at the site which could be linked to the EBA, specifically the ECI (Barber 1987:27; Evans and Renfrew 1968:88), and figurines which have striking similarities to EC heads (Coleman 1974:338).

3.4 THE EARLY CYCLADIC PERIOD

Material culture in the EC period in cemeteries consists of items which appear across island sites. These items include pottery (pyxides) (Figure 3.10), marble (vases, palettes, figurines), and obsidian (blades, flakes). Some graves from the ECI are sparsely furnished and others contain no grave goods at all which could be explained in several ways. The dead may have been buried with degradable goods, several sites were looted and so items may have been intentionally removed (possibly in antiquity), personal societal choice could have prevented grave goods or the presence of grave goods could be an indication of social ranking. It is also not known if participants at individual cemeteries had alternative methods for the disposal or interment of goods at the cemeteries, for example, primary burials in locations

elsewhere could result in pit deposits not yet discovered or items belonging the deceased may have been kept in the home rather than buried with the dead.

In the ECII period, the number of cemetery and settlement sites increase in the Cyclades (Broodbank 2002:222; Cosmopoulos 1995:31), providing comparable data between areas for the living and for the dead. In the ECII an increase in population is highlighted through the archaeological evidence. The placement of the cemeteries, sometimes close to settlement, could indicate a continuing connection between the living and the dead. Doumas (1977:31) believed this may indicate a continued membership of the dead in a viable community or that cemetery placement could be purely convenient. Establishing ownership and rights to the land through ancestry could have been an important factor when considering where to place the dead in antiquity. Cemeteries may also have been placed on unusable land, unfit for agricultural use.

3.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF EC BURIALS

After Kephala, in the EC period, an increase in formal burials can be seen in the Cyclades which represents an expansion of societies inhabiting the islands. Unfortunately, little is known about many cemetery sites through unpublished work, illicit excavations or erosion, however, when evidence is obtained there is uniformity in grave styles, usually simple cists or various forms of built graves (Figure 3.11) (Aram Stern 2004:283). Graves are rectangular or trapezoidal but there are also examples of circular structures (Aram Stern 2004:283). Simple cists are small shallow pits sometimes lined with stones (Vavouranakis 2011:102). Built graves are slightly larger and also lined but would have taken more time to construct and source materials. Graves are roofed usually by two or three slabs. Platforms are sometimes found on top of the graves or pavements are placed next to the burial chamber. Little manpower or skill was needed to construct either grave type, although the lined graves would require more knowledge and various ground conditions may require more time to construct the grave and source the stones. Marking the graves and the

landscape with platforms at the start of the EBA period is significant as this could imply ritual practices at cemetery sites.

The ECI period produces evidence for a large number of smaller cemeteries with a limited number of burials (15-20 graves common) (Doumas 1977:31) usually located in shallow graves by the sea. An attempt has been made to locate ECI settlements but locations are only determined through surface surveys and pottery scatters and have not been confirmed through excavation, for example, on Amorgos (Marangou 1984:99-103; Renfrew 1972:521-523). The ECII sees a growth in the size of cemeteries in which the number of burials increases. In the ECII period, as in ECI, cemeteries are also located close to the sea, although some were placed inland away from the coast (Alram Stern 2004:298). Graves become more variable in the later EC period with built and rock tombs starting to emerge.

In both ECI and ECII the natural landscape is used within the construction of the grave with slopes preferred as a place for burial and rocky areas used to separate grave groups in some cases (Alram Stern 2004:298). The ECIII seems to be an enigma in that after ECII there seems to be little evidence for new cemeteries until the MBA, instead some cemeteries continue on from the ECII at sites such as Akrotiri on Siphnos and Chalandriani on Syros (Barber and MacGillivray 1980:149).

Broodbank (2002:222) has noted that islands in the EC period provide evidence of specific graves being 'richer' than others in that they contained figurines and marble vessels, such as Pyrgos 103, Krassades 117, Zoumbaria 137, Livadhi 129 and Plastiras 9. However, this view should be treated with caution as inclusions may represent available material, personal choice by the living for the dead through chronological periods rather than being a direct indication of status or wealth in the EBA. For example, Paros is known for its marble and is common to place with the dead on the island, whereas this material is less frequent at other sites (Broodbank 2002:222; Getz-Preziosi 1987a:27). Where grave goods are infrequently buried with the dead and instead placed outside the grave, for example at Kephala (Coleman 1977:52-53), this does not make the people within the cemetery any less important. Instead, the lack or inclusion of grave goods should be seen as societal choice, how

people wanted to represent the dead at the funeral, or as part of the funerary ritual process to honour the dead.

There are some differences across Cycladic cemeteries between small graves, possibly child burials, and larger graves probably for adults. Often grave goods are absent in children's graves. This may be because children were not seen as full members of society. There are no metals found at cemetery sites across the Cyclades in the ECI and gold and metal items are rarely found, with only a single gold bead from Naxos dating to the ECI period (Overbeck 1984:115; Sakellariou and Papathanasopoulos 1965:66 No.6202; Stephanos 1905:224). The ECII period seems to be a different matter when some differentiation can be seen at cemetery sites such as Aplomata and Tsikniades, both on Naxos, where the inclusion of silver items in individual graves could be an indication of status. Items included with the dead will be discussed in this chapter for individual cemetery sites.

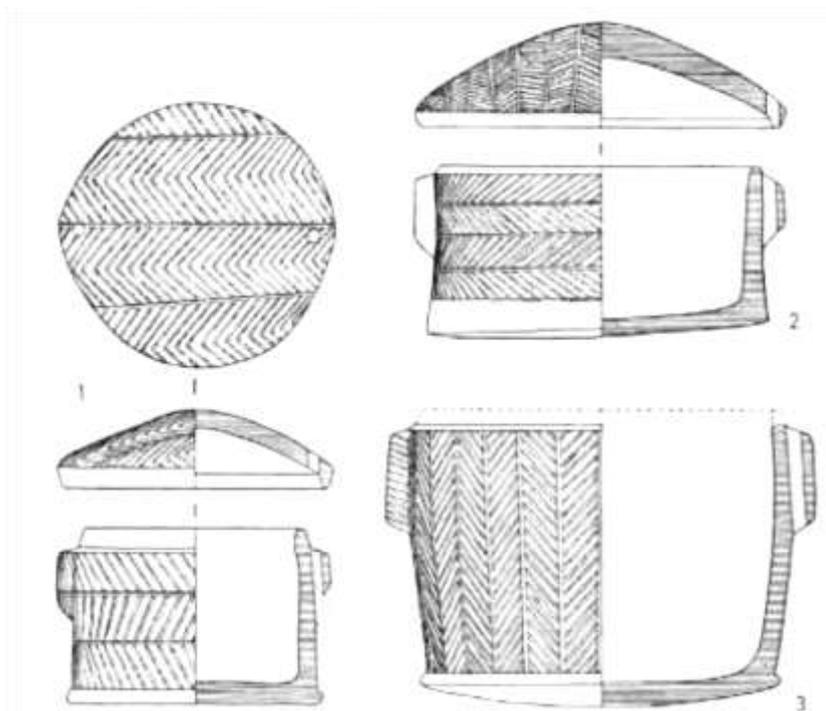


Figure 3.10 Examples of pyxides from 1. Despotikon, 2. Melos, 3. Naxos
(Bossert and Ehrhart 1965:114)

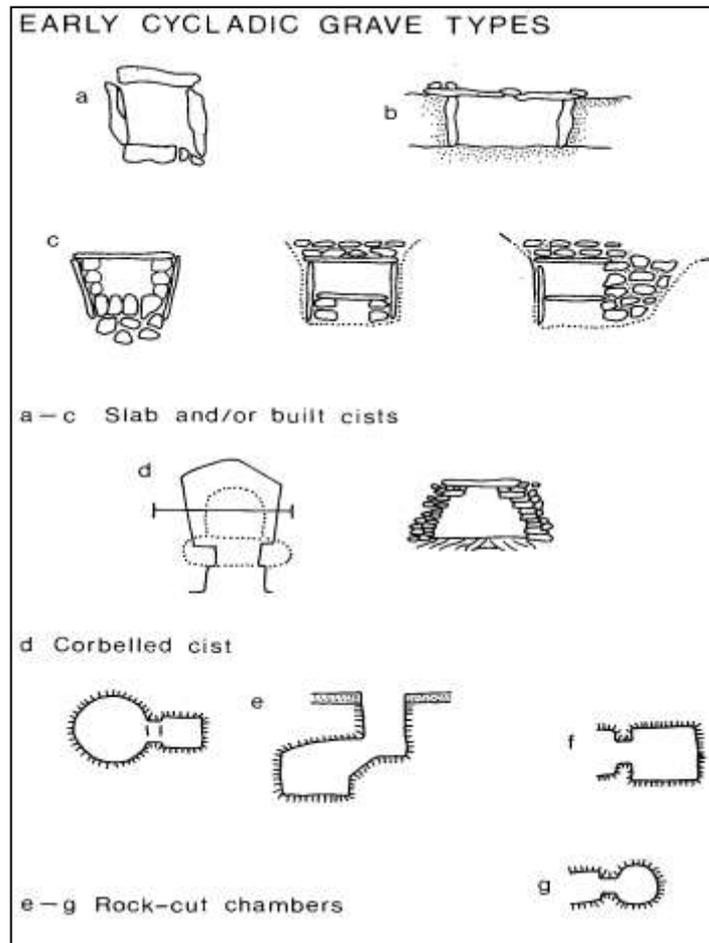


Figure 3.11 Cycladic grave types (Barber 1987:75)

Bodies in the EC period were placed in the graves in tightly contracted positions (Aram Stern 2004:299). It is unknown as to how bodies were manipulated into such small grave spaces. The body may have been tightly bound or tendons cut to enable manipulation. Bent and Garson (1884:49) argued that limbs must have been cut up before burial, however, this is difficult to determine in bones from the Cyclades as many were not studied following excavation. It is more likely that bodies were tightly bound in tightly contracted positions or buried in bags (Duday 2011:54). Bags would not survive in the archaeological record with fibres of any material easily missed in early excavations. The binding of bodies continues as a reasonable explanation for contracted burials but it may also be the case that bodies underwent primary burial elsewhere before being placed in the grave.

Burials containing more than one skull, possibly from earlier primary burials, add further to a confusing picture surrounding skeletal remains in EC burials. Exposure of the corpse may have occurred at cemetery sites, but the lack of skeletal material at many sites makes this difficult to determine. Skeletons which have been found do not show animal teeth marks which may also discount the process of exposure, unless this occurred away from animals, possibly raised on a platform. Bodies may have also been buried elsewhere in a temporary structure such as those seen and discussed by Parker Pearson (2003:24) within his work in Madagascar. There is not enough data to seriously consider exposure at EC sites. Multiple burials represent the use of graves as ossuaries at EC sites and indicate the practice of a second funeral surrounding the removal of bones from one place to another.

3.6 EC CEMETERY SITE SELECTION

Of all the Cycladic islands there are nine with published cemetery data (Figure 3.1). In an attempt to decide which islands and cemeteries should be included in this research several published works were initially consulted (Broodbank 2002; Cavanagh and Mee 1998; Doumas 1977; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979; Karantzali 1996; Rambach 2000; Renfrew 1972; Tsountas 1898, 1899). A list of cemetery sites was collated. Any sites containing less than ten graves were then discounted followed by those with a lack of published data. This approach will produce an accurate representation of available cemetery sites with published data for the EC period. The cemetery sites represented are from the islands of Amorgos, Ano Kouphonisi, Melos, Naxos, Paros, Antiparos, Dhespotikon, Siphnos, Syros and brief mention is made to Thera.

The sites chosen for discussion in the EC period in this chapter include Dokathismata and Kapsala (Amorgos), Agrilia and Tzavaris Field (Ano Kouphonisi), Kalogries, Pelos and Rivari (Melos), Aghioi Anargyroi, Akrotiri, Apendika, Aplomata, Kampos tis Makris, Lakkoudhes and Tsikniades (Naxos), Panaghia, Plastiras and Pyrgos (Paros), Krassadhes (Antiparos), Livadhi and Zoumbaria (Dhespotikon), Akrotiraki (Siphnos) and finally Ayios Loukas and Chalandriani (Syros).

Exploration of these sites will produce a comprehensive picture of the Cyclades in the EBA. The final part of the EC period is more problematic with only three sites in use between ECII and ECIIIa at Spedos (Naxos), Akrotiri and Chalandriani (Syros) (Barber and MacGillivray 1980:149), only Chalandriani is included in this research.

The sites not included for the EBA period include Kea, as the one EC site of Ayia Irini is a settlement (Barber and MacGillivray 1980:149; Caskey 1970:440; 1971:359-396, 1972:357-401, 1979:412; Davis 2001:28; Karantzali 1996:35-36; Renfrew 1972:509; Venieri 2006:207; Wilson 1987:35-46, 1999, 2013:385-434), although published and having the most well documented chronological sequence there are no burials for the ECI-III period (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:304-305; Overbeck 1984:114-118). Anaphi, Andros, Kythnos, Rheneia, Seriphos, Sikinos are not included as no EBA cemetery site remains have been found (Davis 2001:48; Marthari 2006b:302; Renfrew 1972:511, 513, 514, 523, 524).

Andros produced fortifications and rock carvings of ships from the FN or Chalcolithic at Strophilas, the largest Neolithic settlement in the Cyclades (Boulotis 2006:42; Broodbank 2008:52; Sampson 2006:35; Televantou 2006:214; 2008:43-53) and a major settlement at Plaka from the EBA and MBA but there are no burials (Televantou 2006:214). Kythnos is known for its metalworking in ECII but the island has not produced remains except at Maroulas, Loutra, the earliest settlement in the Cyclades, dating from 8600 – 7800BC (Mesolithic period) which sits out of the scope of this work (Broodbank 2008:51; Cherry 1981:44; Mazarakis Ainian 2006a:246-247; Sampson 2006:33, 2008a:13-17; Sampson et al. 2002:49-51, 63, 2010:41).

Delos, Dhonousa, Herakleia and Seriphos are not included as there is no cemetery or burial evidence (Davis 2001:47; Mazarakis Ainian 2006b:250; Renfrew 1972:514, 520). Ios was inhabited from the EBA but no burial data could be found (Domas 2006a:24; Renfrew 1972:523), including for the site of Halara Manganariou, to the south of the island cited by Davis (2001:50). The most well known site and published site on Ios is Skarkos (Alram Stern 2004:894; Cherry 1990:164; Davis 2001:50, 52; Marthari 2006b:298, 2009:41-58) but burial evidence from the EC period is

unknown. Kimolos, Pholegandros and Schinoussa are not included as EBA settlement or cemeteries have not been found (Marthari 2006b:302; Renfrew 1972:512, 520, 523; Trianti 2006:304).

Keros includes settlement remains from the EC but no cemetery has been located (Renfrew 1972:521) even though this island may have played a critical role in the EBA as a ritual centre at Dhaskalio Kavos. The special deposits found at the site producing large quantities of broken pottery, marble bowls and vessels and fragmented EC figurines (Renfrew et al. 2012:145). Mykonos is not included as no EBA cemeteries have been found, only a LN settlement at Ftelia (Renfrew 1972:514; Sampson 2006:34, 35, 2008b:29). Tenos is not included as no EBA cemeteries have been found (Renfrew 1972:513).

3.7 AMORGOS

Amorgos was first occupied in the LN or FN period evidenced through artefacts including obsidian tools, handmade vessels, a figurine, seeds, shells and bones (Marangou 2006:290). In the EBA Marangou (2006:290) advocates that Amorgos was one of the most important centres of Cycladic culture due to its harbour site of Katapola, Aigiali and Kaloteri (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:339) and its location between the Cyclades and the Dodecanese (Doumas 2006a:24). The settlement of Markiani contains houses and a fortification wall with semi-circular bastions (Hekman 2003:7; Marangou 2006:290; Marangou et al 2008:99; Rambach 2000a:223).

Accounts of Amorgos island starts with Bent (1885:15-45) who provides a nineteenth century commentary of visits to archaeological sites with a local priest and guide, Dimitrios Prasinou. This is promptly followed by brief accounts from Dümmler (1886) who travelled with the same priest and Tsountas (1898). Dümmler appeared to have carried out inspections and unauthorised excavations and this is reflected in his published accounts (Galanakis 2013:183). There is no further evidence on the island produced until seventy years later. After this time Renfrew

(1972), Karantzali (1996) and Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979) publish data on the island.

Several sites are noted from Amorgos including Aghios Georgios with a number of prehistoric graves, the number of which and period are unknown, Aghia Paraskevi, Aigiale, and Kokkina Chomata, all sites with a single grave and Arkesine with a double grave (Dümmler 1886:16; Bossert 1954:23), Dokathismata with a settlement and 20 graves, Phoinikies with two EC graves, Xilokeratiki containing an unknown number of EC graves, Kapros a cemetery with at least 20 graves (Dümmler 1886:28; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:340; Karantzali 1996:41; Renfrew 1972:522-523, 1984a:48; Tsountas 1898:165) and heavily looted (Galanakis 2013:198-99), Notina with possibly five graves, Vouni with graves (Cherry 1981:48; Evans and Renfrew 1968:74-5), Stavos with six graves and Kapsala with eleven graves (Alram Stern 2004:908; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:339-342; Karantzali 1996:41; Renfrew 1972:521-523). Rescue excavation at Aghios Pavlos, Aigiale also provided a cluster of graves containing human remains and grave goods. Sotira is described as containing EB graves by Dümmler but nothing else is recorded for the site (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:342).

Although the site falls out of the scope of this thesis for its burial data, mention should still be made to Kato Akrotiri on Amorgos which contained a settlement with two graves nearby (Renfrew 1972:157) and is of interest in this study for its unusual features. A rock fissure was located which contained smashed vessels, mostly represented by deep bowls, but there was also a clay spoon, marble bowl, sheep and goat teeth and the lower jaw of a dog or fox also found (Rambach 2000a:185). A further rocky area nearby also contained vessel fragments. Between these two rocky areas was a rectangular pit which was filled with pottery sherds, preserved vessels and large shells (Rambach 2000a:185-186). Pottery items included cups, pyxides and fragments of large vessels. Shells were placed on the heads of vessels and vessels had also been sealed with pumice (Rambach 2000a:186). There were also fragments of obsidian blades and spindle whorls and vessels which contained carbonised animal bones (Rambach 2000a:186). Some skull fragments were found below the finds mentioned above but it is not believed the two deposits are connected

(Rambach 2000a:186). This site, although lacking in burial evidence, has direct parallels to ritual practices at the earlier site of Kephala, discussed earlier, and at Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi) (3.8.2) in the Cyclades, those seen at Hagia Photia on Crete (4.3.3) and Tsepi on the mainland (5.3.3). Further reference to this site will be made in Chapter VI of this work.

Unfortunately, artefacts on Amorgos proved very popular in the 19th century with artefacts transferring to museums and private collectors (Sherratt 2000:4, 6). Items were in such demand that before Tsountas introduced the term Cycladic the EBA in the islands was known as the “period of Amorgos” (Galanakis 2013:182). For this research two sites have been selected for further study on Amorgos at Dokathismata and Kapsala as these contained more than ten graves and have published excavation data.

3.7.1 Dokathismata

Dümmler visited the site of Dokathismata on Amorgos in October 1885, publishing his findings in 1886 in German. Dümmler records the location of Dokathismata cemetery and as being found on a hillside an hour northeast of Arkesine and half an hour from the coast (Dümmler 1886:16; Tsountas 1898:165). Alongside the cemetery Dümmler (1886:16) located a settlement. However, there is some confusion as to the sites’ exact location which Galanakis (2013:183) believes may actually be found at Kornovigli. There are various reports about the number of graves in the cemetery but it is believed there were twenty graves dating to the late ECII period (Alram Stern 2004:908; Doumas 1977:25-26; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:339; Karantazli 1996:40; Renfrew 1972:522; Tsountas 1898:138). However, only those with grave inclusions were included in Dümmler’s published data.

3.7.1.1 *Grave Architecture*

Dümmler published seven graves as being from Dokathismata labelled from A-G (7) but Galanakis (2013:184-6) offers that possibly only four of these graves relate to the same site with graves D and G relating instead to two graves from Athens. Four graves seem to have been definitely excavated by him (Dümmler 1886:16-22; Galanakis 2013:184-185) as they were marked on a map of Amorgos by a cross. Unfortunately, little is known about one of the four. Following Dümmler, Tsountas excavated at Dokathismata but he only published two of the graves, Grave 13 and 14 (Tsountas 1898:154-155), probably because he found the rest of the cemetery to be looted (Karantzali 1996:40).

Graves at Dokathismata are recorded as being shallow and damaged or destroyed with parts missing, broken capstones and only the front stone visible (Dümmler 1886:16-17). The site suffered by erosion, the top soil having been washed away. Soil was present in the graves which may have been from the capstones being broken or it may represent deliberate covering of individual burials. Stone may also have been laid at the bottom of the grave as translation of the excavation describes a 'bottom cover' (Dümmler 1886:17) which could be interpreted as a stone floor. Unfortunately, no illustrations have been located for this excavation.

Tomb A is recorded in detail and dates to ECII. The grave is trapezoidal in form and measured 90-111 x 86-89cm and was only 50cm deep (Dümmler 1886:17). The grave had a floor and cover slab (Galanakis 2013:185) and was covered by six stones. Tomb B is similar in form to Tomb A (Dümmler 1886:18-19). Tomb C was damaged with only the front plate visible and parts of the cover remaining (Dümmler 1886:19, 20; Galanakis 2013:186). Little is known about the architecture for the two graves excavated by Tsountas. There is no grave information for Grave 13 but Grave 14 is recorded as being found undisturbed and quadrilateral in form.

3.7.1.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

Burials were placed in the graves in a contracted position (Dümmler 1886:17). Human bones in the form of cranium, femurs and phalanges were found in the graves but all had been heavily weathered, probably due to their exposure. In Tomb A there was more than one burial placed in the grave, initially placed in a contracted position (Galanakis 2013:185). Objects placed with the dead included a marble plate with red pigment inside, pestle and an obsidian flake, a slashed handle and a broken marble goblet with traces of blue pigment (Galanakis 2013:185, 186). Below the stone pavement and under the broken marble goblet was a pyxis (Dümmler 1886:18; Galanakis 2013:186).

There is no burial data for Tomb B except a note of grave inclusions which included a broken marble plate and ten clay pots (including an incised jug and four clay cups) (Dümmler 1886:18-19) dating to ECI-II (Galanakis 2013:186). Dümmler (1886:21) mentions seeing a grave laid out with six slabs under, or near, Tomb B containing sherds (Galanakis 2013:186) but nothing else is known.

There is no burial data for Tomb C except a note of grave inclusions including a grinding or millstone, pestle fragments, obsidian blades, terracotta disk, bronze items, some fragments of silver, spindle whorls and a masklike support for spit and the base of a large vessel (Dümmler 1886:19, 20; Galanakis 2013:186). Inclusions for this grave suggest a date of ECII-III (Galanakis 2013:186).

Grave 13 was disturbed upon excavation and contained no recorded skeletal remains. The grave did include fragments of a figurine, a bowl and pottery fragments (Doumas 1977:42; Karantzali 1996:40; Tsountas 1898:154). Grave 14 contained no recorded skeletal remains but the grave did include two female figurines, a marble figurine deliberately crushed into several pieces, a deep marble bowl, a two handled earthenware vases, small silver vase, silver diadem, single silver pin, two bronze rings and a dagger and a bottle with red pigment (Doumas 1977:42, 59; Karantzali 1996:40-41; Tsountas 1898:154-155).

3.7.1.3 *Ritual*

The inclusion of a greenish marble vessel (Dümmler 1886:18) under the bottom cover or floor of Tomb A at Dokathismata implies careful thought and significance of this item as part of the grave architecture. There are also numerous pots and pot sherds found by Dümmler (1886:19) on the surface around the cemetery. These could be the result of either grave clearance or, more likely, discards following a funeral or cemetery event. Unfortunately, little is known about these items but their presence is similar to pottery scatters found outside the graves at other sites such as Kephala and Aghios Kosmas on mainland Greece.

When Tsountas excavated at the Dokathismata he found a cut near to Graves 13 and 14 which contained fragments of figurines and vases. This area at Dokathismata is similar to other deposits found at the cemeteries such as Tzavaris field on Ano Kouphonisi (3.8.2) and the ditch at Tsepi on the mainland (5.3.3).

3.7.2 **Kapsala**

Kapsala is located on the south east coast of Amorgos and contained eleven excavated graves (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:341; Karantzali 1996:41; Renfrew 1972:523; Tsountas 1898:138) dating from the ECII period (Doulas 1977:25). Very little has been recorded for the site.

3.7.2.1 *Grave Architecture*

Graves at Kapsala are simple cists lined with four vertical slabs which contain a single burial except for one grave which contained two burials. Tsountas (1898:152-154) excavated and published five graves.

3.7.2.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

Very little skeletal data has been recorded for Kapsala. Grave 5 is known to have contained some unspecified bone and a figurine (Doumas 1977:59; Karantzali 1996:41; Tsountas 1898:152). Grave 9 contained bones to the left side of the grave, a clay vessel in the middle of the grave, three pieces of obsidian blades, tweezers, bronze needle (Doumas 1977:59; Tsountas 1898:152). Grave 10 was described as containing the remains of one person lying on a gravel layer and several other bones of another, a bronze dagger or knife, a clay cup and small pieces of a clay vessel (Doumas 1977:42; Tsountas 1898:152-153). There were no skeletal remains for Grave 11 which did contain obsidian blades (Doumas 1977:59; Tsountas 1898:153). Grave 12 was a rectangular grave and contained bones, copper and earthenware items (Tsountas 1898:153-154).

3.7.2.3 *Ritual*

Tsountas mentions slate slabs in a different part of the cemetery away from the other graves with some which may have been placed upright. This area could have been where children were buried or may have been the focus of ritual (Tsountas 1898:153). There are other upright stones also found at cemeteries, for example those marking the graves at Agrilia (3.8.1.1) and at Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi) which contains an orthostat in the burial area (3.8.2.2 and Figure 3.17).

3.8 ANO KOUPHONISI

Ano Kouphonisi is one of the smallest Cycladic islands located to the south of Naxos (Philaniotou 2006b:287). There have been EBA sherds and obsidian, but no site, found at Sirma, a figurine at Loutra and a settlement and looted cemetery at Alonistria Chousouri which contained seven graves (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:336-337; Renfrew 1972:521). The island contains three EC cemeteries with published data located to the south of the island at Agrilia, Skopelitis field and

Tzavaris field (Zapheirou 2008:188-191). From the three cemeteries, Skopelitis field is not included here as it only contains seven graves, only one of which was undamaged or unlooted (Karantzali 1996:27). Tzavaris field (Zapheirou 2008:191-192) and the largest cemetery at Agrilia, are discussed in this research.

There is some confusion surrounding the published data for the sites on Kouphonisi that must be mentioned from the outset. Conflicting information is presented with regards to key features, for example, inhumations placed by a hill is initially recorded as being at Agrilia (Zapheirou 1983:81-87) but also within published data on Tzavaris field (Zapheirou 2008:188-191). This leads to some doubt in the presentation of the information. For the purpose of this research the most recent data, published in English, is taken as the correct account (Zapheirou 2008:188-191) but even this is not without problems. A bird askos, found at Tzavaris field (Renfrew 2010:287; Zapheirou 2008:191), likely a Minoan import (Renfrew 2010:287), is then mentioned under Agrilia (Zapheirou 2008:193). The purpose of this research is not to solve a mystery that cannot be solved but to present the information as it is published.

3.8.1 Agrilia

The cemetery of Agrilia (Renfrew 1972:521) (Figure 3.12) was excavated by Zapheirou in 1969 and contained seventy two mostly undisturbed graves and twenty damaged or disturbed ones (Aram Stern 2004:888; Broodbank 2002:221; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:337; Rambach 2000a:165, 223, 2000b:223; Renfrew 1972:521; Zapheirou 1970:51, 1983:81, 2008:183). The cemetery is classed as belonging to the late ECI-II period, due to the large amount of ECI type artefacts located at the site (Karantzali 1996:27; Zapheirou 1970:51, 2008:194).

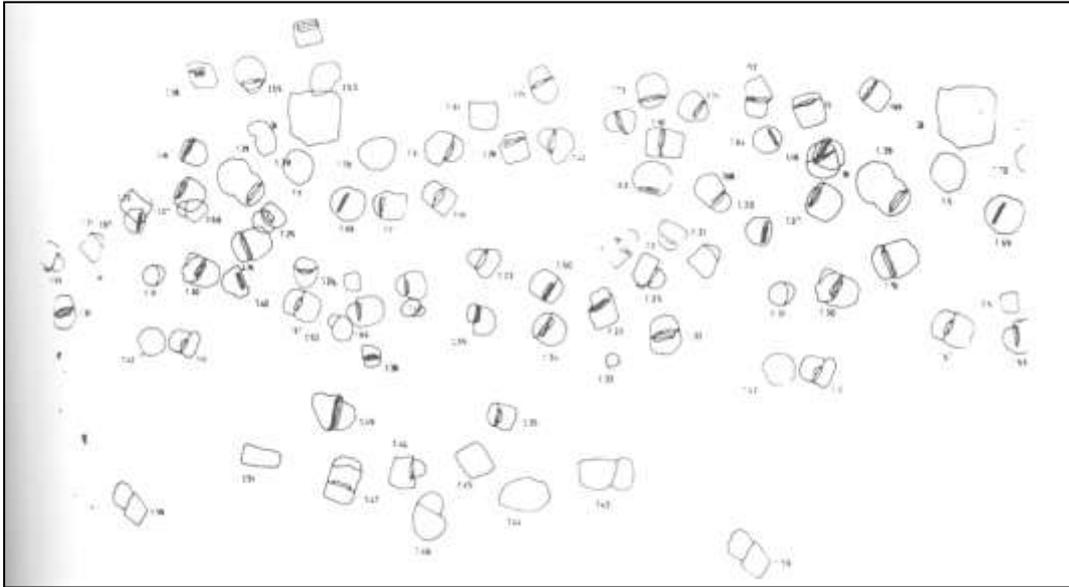


Figure 3.12 Site plan of Agrilia (no scale available) (Zapheirpoulou 1983:81)

3.8.1.1 *Grave Architecture*

Graves at the Agrilia cemetery (Figure 3.12, 3.13, 3.14) are trapezoidal or ellipsoidal cists, approximately 1.3-1.4 x 1.00-1.10 m, cut into soft rock (Alram Stern 2004:288, 888; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:337; Karantzali 1996:28; Rambach 2000:165; Zapheirpoulou 1983:81, 2008:183). Graves are in two sections, one in which to place the dead (Broodbank 2008:58; Karantzali 1996:28; Zapheirpoulou 2008:183), the other acting as a forecourt for offerings. The forecourt was paved and contained offerings such as clay vessels, stone items including obsidian, metal items, sea shells and snails (Zapheirpoulou 2008:184, 193). An upright slab divided the sections which sometimes could be seen from the ground surface and may have acted as a grave marker (Alram Stern 2004:305, 888; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:337; Karantzali 1996:28; Zapheirpoulou 1983:81).



Figure 3.13 Photograph of Agrilia (Zapheirou 1983:82)

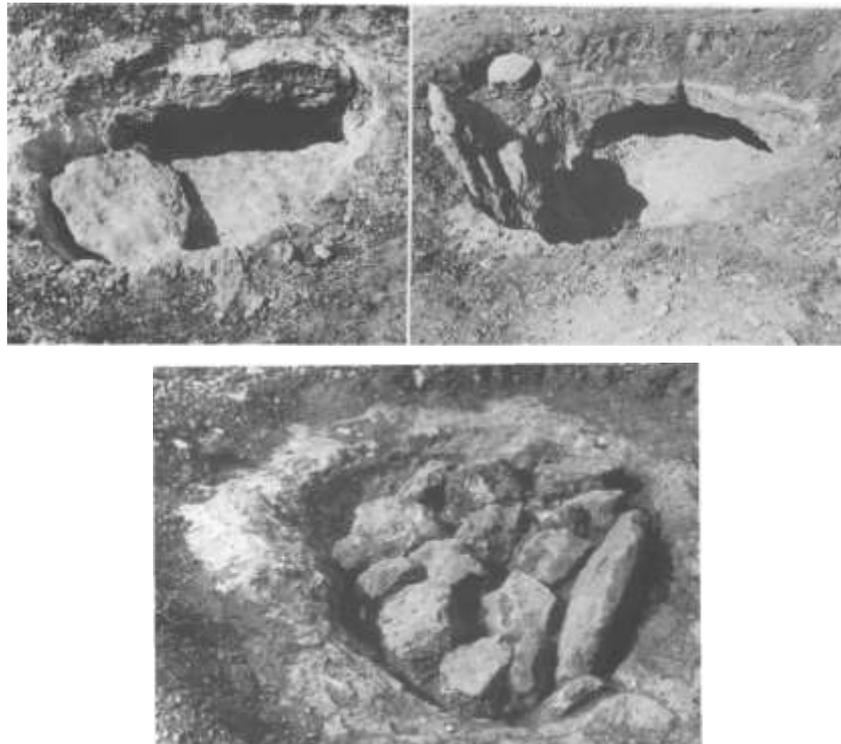


Figure 3.14 Example of Agrilia graves (Zapheirou 1983:82, 2008:184)

3.8.1.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

Due to the size of the graves at Agrilia, bodies would have been placed in a tightly contracted position with the head near the grave entrance (Rambach 2000:165;

Zapheirou 2008:183, 193). From the seventy two excavated graves, nineteen were found to be empty of any burials and many contained no grave goods (except for the lid of a pyxis). This lack of skeletal evidence and lack of grave goods may be a representation of unused graves (Zapheirou 2008:193) which were constructed before the site was abandoned. This seems unlikely. To take time out of daily life to prepare graves which are relatively easy to construct seems to be a waste of time and therefore consideration should be given to ideas towards grave clearance for the absence of remains or some pits acting as areas for ritual deposition with the dead placed elsewhere.

Well furnished graves at Agrilia contained items such as jars, stemmed/drinking cups, pyxides (various types), pedestalled bowls, bowls, frying pans, marble collared jar, palette and figurines, daggers, needles and obsidian blades (Karantzali 1996:28; Rambach 2000:165-168; Zapheirou 1983:82, 2008:184-188) and one bird pendant (Karantzali 1996:28). The stemmed cups from Agrilia are very similar to the examples found at Hagia Photia on Crete (Cultraro 2009:233). Two marble figurines were found covered by a bowl which contained red pigment (Zapheirou 1983:84, 2008:193).

Some graves worthy of note for their inclusions include Grave 13 which included sea pebbles and Grave 29 which contained a bowl which had been placed on top of the body found in the grave (Zapheirou 2008:188). Grave 52 contained semi precious stone amulets and in Grave 59 burnt crops/fruits were found (Zapheirou 1983:82, 2008:184). Grave 62 contained a pear shaped bottle and miniature bottles/small clay pots. These pots contained a blue pigment (Rambach 2000:170). Grave 63 contained a frying pan with a spiral and circle decoration, clay bowls and bottles and pyxides and copper needles (Coleman 1985:197; Rambach 2000:170-171). Unusually the grave also contained a sea horse (Zapheirou 2008:184). There are also numerous artefacts including copper daggers, spindle whorls, obsidian blades which are not allocated to specific graves (Rambach 2000:173).

3.8.1.3 *Ritual*

Graves at Agrilia contained two sections, a place for burial and a forecourt. This forecourt was covered in earth and two layers of stones were placed on the top to form a pavement (Karantzali 1996:28). On top of the pavement a pyxis or a collared jar was placed. Zapheirou (2008:184) describes these vessels as being crushed and left on the stones.

3.8.2 **Tzavaris Field**

The cemetery at Tzavaris Field (Figure 3.15) was excavated in 1970 following illegal excavations at the site, the looted graves Zapheirou (2008:188) describing as containing rich grave goods. The 1970's excavations concentrated on the area untouched by the illegal excavations in a bid to rescue the site. Tzavaris field is dated to ECII (Karantzali 1996:28), the complete number of graves excavated at the cemetery is unknown.

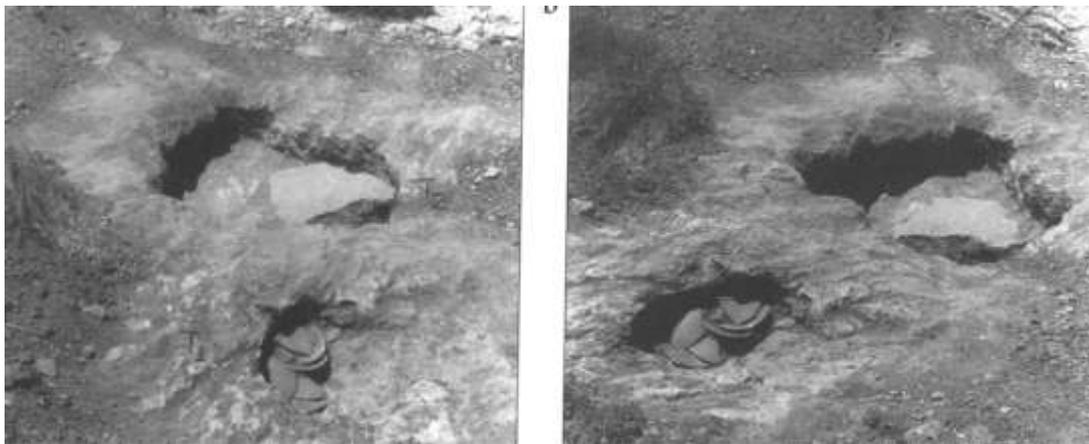


Figure 3.15 Offering pits at Tzavaris field (Zapheirou 2008:189)

3.8.2.1 *Grave Architecture*

Little is known about the graves at Tzavaris field except these are simple pits and there is evidence of a burial near the foot of a hill at the site.

3.8.2.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

The only detailed description of burial at the Tzavaris field is near the foot of the hill which represents an area of inhumation. On a flat area, two bodies had been left on the ground with broken marble and pottery vessels placed over and around the skeletal remains. These vessels were perhaps broken in antiquity (Zapheirou 2008:190). The bodies had stones placed on top of them (tumulus) and a grave marker or orthostat measuring 0.61m marked the spot (Zapheirou 1983:85, 2008:190-191) (Figure 3.16). This area of the cemetery may be an indication that primary and secondary burial was being practiced at the site.

No skeletal data for the pits were found at Tzavaris field, with only artefact data recorded. Simple pits contained various artefacts. In one pit three marble bowls were found placed over a dagger which had been bent (Figure 3.17) and a needle which had been broken in two (Karantzali 1996:28; Zapheirou 1983:84, 2008:189-190). In another pit two obsidian blades, a marble palette and an oval black stone were found under a stone slab (Karantzali 1996:28; Zapheirou 1983:84). A further pit contained a marble bowl, broken into three pieces, some pot sherds and a rounded stone (Zapheirou 2008:190). The evidence from these pits indicates that deposits were intentionally being broken as part of the rituals surrounding death.



Figure 3.16 Marked grave and enclosure wall, Tzavaris field
(Zapheirou 1983:86)

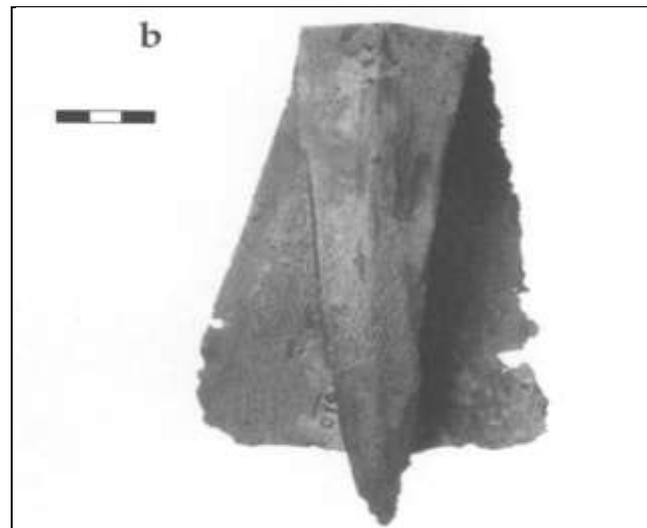


Figure 3.17 Bronze dagger (Zapheirou 2008:190)

3.8.2.3 *Ritual*

The area around the cemetery at Tzavaris field was covered in pottery sherds, marble and stone vessels (Zapheirou 2008:189). These could represent grave clearance or also may represent items used, and disposed of, during funeral activities. The

burials at the foot of the hill at Tzavaris field were enclosed by a single row of stones, separating the area away from the rest of the cemetery (Zapheirou 1983:85) (Figure 3.16). This enclosure is similar to those surrounding the graves at Tsepi in Attica (see Chapter V, section 5.3.1). Evidence of a fire was found near the entrance of the enclosure, suggesting that ritual burning may have been part of the funeral process, unusual for the Cyclades but also seen at the site of Manika (Zapheirou 2008:193).

3.9 MELOS

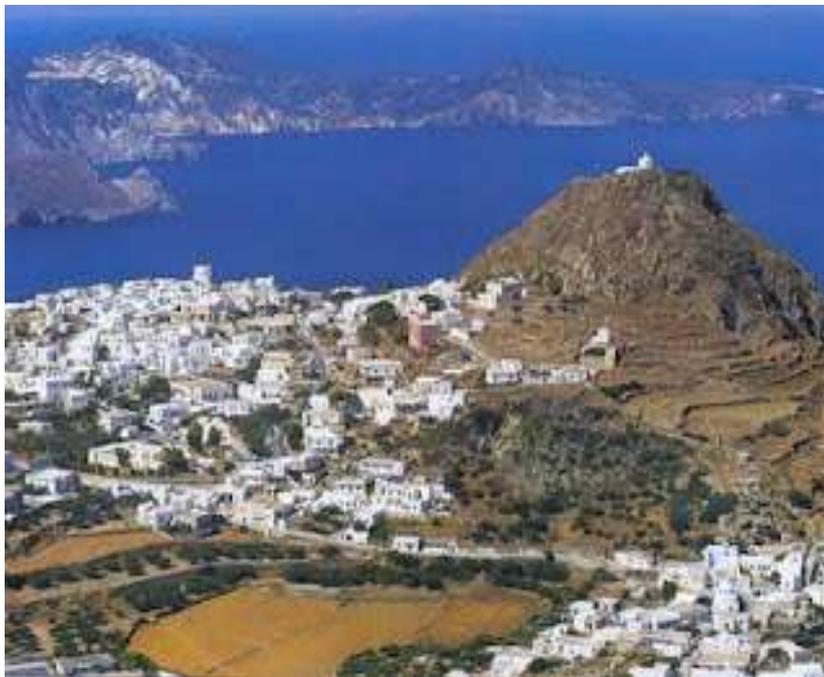


Figure 3.18 The island of Melos

(<http://fotis-beachesandseaingreece/> Accessed 30th March 2016)

The island of Melos (Figure 3.18) has a rocky landscape and has been occupied since the 5th millennium B.C. (Zapheirou 2006a:230). The island has been visited for its obsidian resource from at least the Mesolithic period (Broodbank 2002:44; Sampson and Fotiadi 2008:222) and was the preferred and only source of obsidian for tool manufacture across the Aegean found at sites such as Franchthi on mainland Greece (Cherry 1981:45; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:313). Obsidian

distribution highlights Melos' interconnections with other locations around the Aegean and wider Mediterranean from before the EBA period.

There are small settlements on Melos, many known only from surface finds (Renfrew 1982:36) from the EC period but this is likely to change in the future. Fieldwork in 1989 completed by the British School at Athens surveyed a number of EC sites, several which were already known (Davis 2001:50). The settlement of Phylakopi is probably one of the best known settlement sites in the Cyclades representing all periods of the Bronze Age (Atkinson et al. 1904; Barber 1987:28; Brodie et al. 2008:409-415; Davidson et al. 1976:219; Davis 2001:19, 73; Dawkins and Droop 1911:1-22; Evans and Renfrew 1984:63-69; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:314; Renfrew 1972:511; Renfrew et al. 2007; Whitelaw 2004a:149-166). Unfortunately cemetery evidence is lacking for Phylakopi for the EC period except for some rectilinear rock-cut tombs and simple irregular pits around the site for which the date is unknown. However, these are probably later than the EC period (Doumas 1977:49; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:314-5). When several of the pits were opened by Hogarth in 1899 all had been plundered, except one which contained a kernos, a plain vase, a geometric beaked jug and flat bottomed bowl. To the west of the cemetery Dümmler (1886:15-45) saw cist-tombs with primitive pottery lying about and Edgar (1904:236) commented that in the lower stratum pottery was like that from Pelos. No further details or data are available and so only brief mention to the site can be included here for the EC period.

There are four confirmed EC cemetery sites on Melos at Aghios Panteleimon, Kalogries, Pelos, and Rivari (Wagstaff and Cherry 1982:138). Unfortunately, Aghios Panteleimon only contains four trapezoidal graves (Figure 3.19 and 3.20) and so cannot be included in any detail here (Cherry 1982b:302; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:316; Papadopoulou-Zapheirou 1966:386-387; Renfrew 1972:512). Therefore, only Kalogries, Pelos and Rivari (Figure 3.21) are included below.

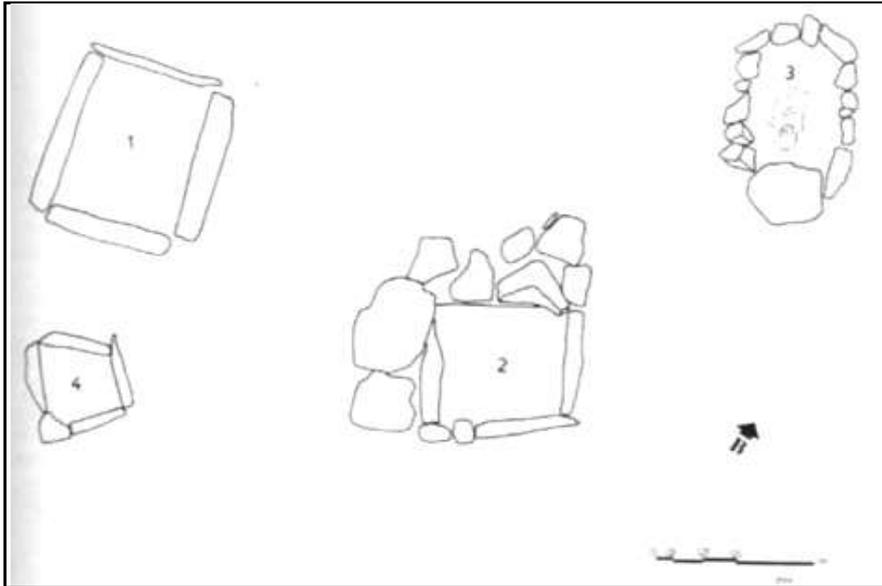


Figure 3.19 Plan of Aghios Panteleimon (Papadopoulou-Zapheirou 1966:387)

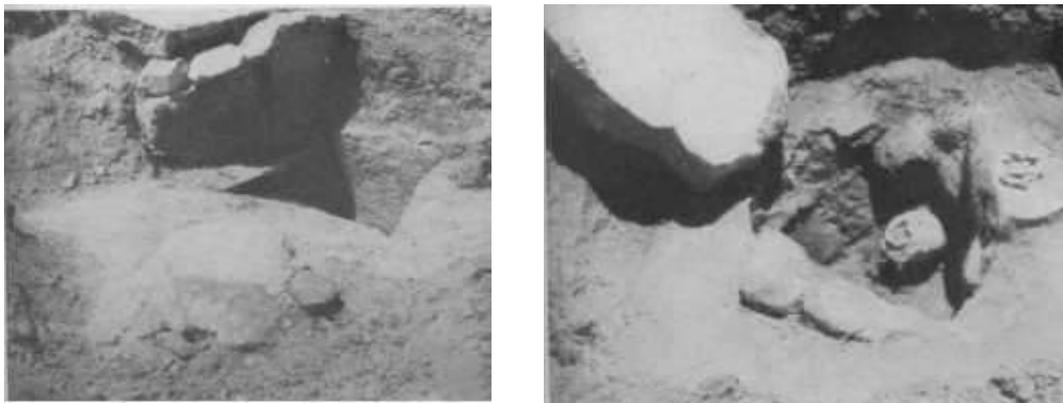


Figure 3.20 Photographs of Aghios Panteleimon
(Papadopoulou-Zapheirou 1966:407)

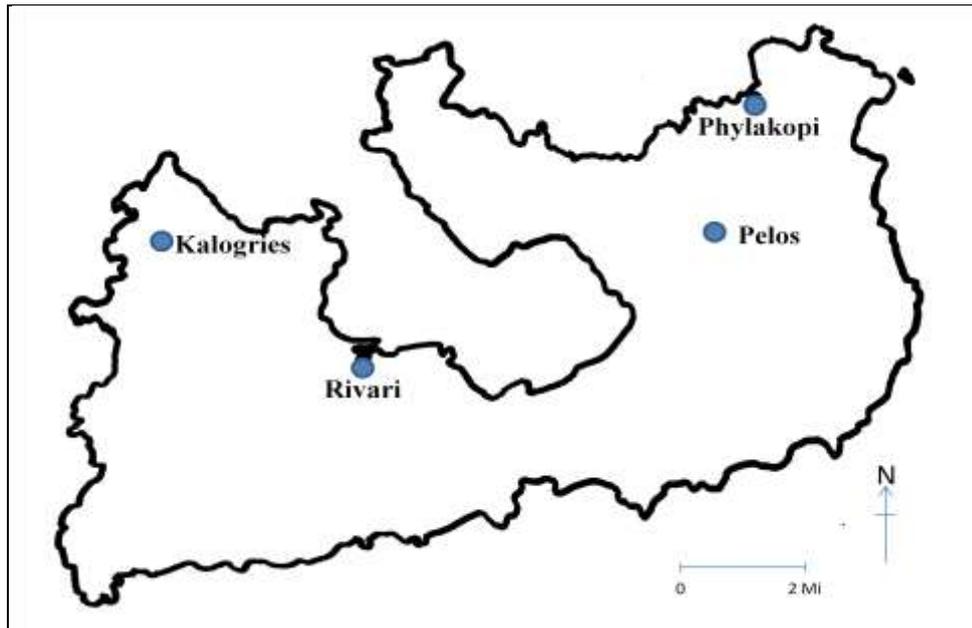


Figure 3.21 Map of sites on Melos

3.9.1 Kalogries

The small cist grave cemetery of Kalogries (Figure 3.22), containing twelve graves, was located close to a small quarry to the north east of Angathia (Cherry 1982b:308; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:316-7; Renfrew 1972:512). The graves were excavated in 1965 by Papadopoulou who also produced a plan of the site (Papadopoulou 1965:510-513), however, only a limited amount of data are available for the site and so the cemetery cannot be discussed in a great amount of detail. No settlement was found near the cemetery but the site of Samari may be connected (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:317; Renfrew 1982:36). Unfortunately, the site was disturbed before excavation with many of the graves destroyed in the 1950s by mining.

3.9.1.1 *Grave Architecture*

Graves at Kalogries are simple trapezoidal or square in form (Figure 3.23). The graves were lined with stone slabs but some of these were missing when the graves

were excavated, presenting triangular shaped structures. Three of the graves at Kalogries had pavements (2, 3, 13), the drawings implying that two of these were found at the bottom of the grave with the third placed over the structure as a platform.

3.9.1.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

No skeletal material is recorded from this site. This may be because the graves were initially damaged through ploughing (Papadopoulou 1965:510) or once bodies were exposed these could have decayed. Some artefacts were recorded from the graves which included pyxides and obsidian blades dating from the EC period. These are now located in the Melos museum (Papadopoulou 1965:509).

3.9.1.3 *Ritual*

There is some evidence for pavements at Kalogries but as very little is recorded it is not known whether these were present throughout the cemetery. The placement of artefacts in some of the graves at Kalogries provides evidence for some ritual practices surrounding funeral activity at the site.

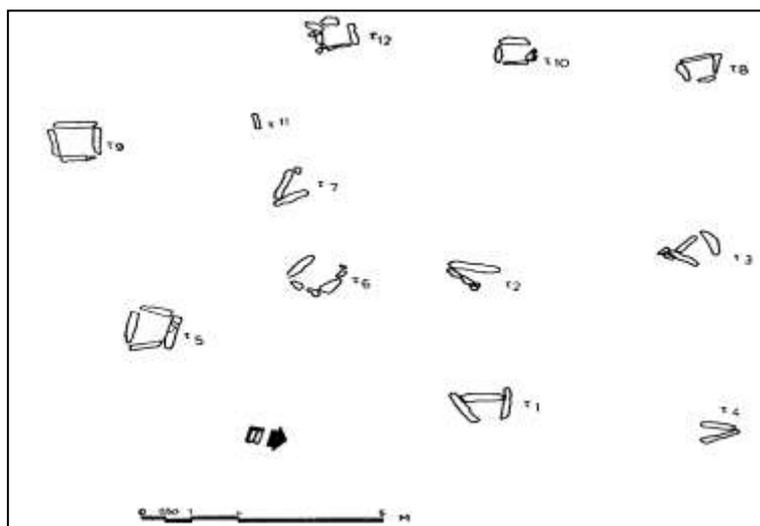


Figure 3.22 Plan of the Kalogries cemetery (Papadopoulou 1965:510)

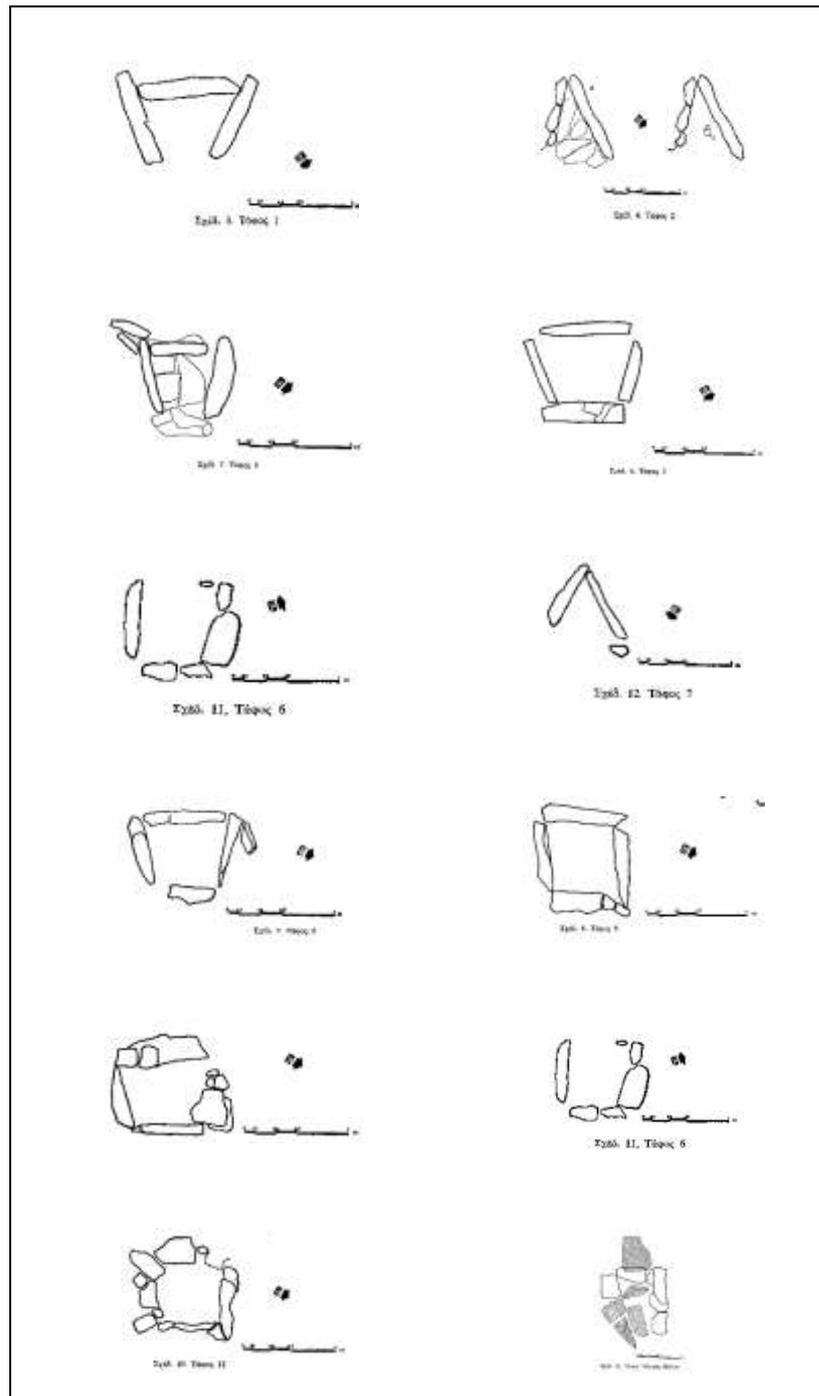


Figure 3.23 Tombs from Kalogries (Papadopoulou 1965:510-513)

3.9.2 Pelos

The site of Pelos is from where Renfrew obtained his term for the ECI period of the Grotta-Pelos Culture (Cherry 1982a:11). Pelos is an interesting site which Barber (1987:37) believes is important for its characteristic range of finds of the earlier phase of the Cycladic Bronze Age. Pelos Pyrgaki, 400m away from Pelos, may have been the settlement to the cemetery but this is unconfirmed. The cemetery at Pelos was found by chance by a peasant woman and excavated by Edgar in 1896 (Edgar 1896-7:35-44; Karantzali 1996:40).

3.9.2.1 *Grave Architecture*

The cemetery of Pelos contained in the region of twenty graves (Renfrew 1982:36). Unfortunately, the graves are no longer visible today (Renfrew 1972:512) and no site plan was created. However, there is a description of some of the graves, many of which were damaged or looted (Karantzali 1996:40). Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979:315) recorded the contents of ten tombs in their Gazetteer and Edgar excavated nine others (Edgar 1896-7:39; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:315). For this reason, the cemetery is included in this research.

The graves at Pelos were lined with local poros-stone (Edgar 1896-7:39) and the bottom of the structure was paved with thin plates of schist. A huge stone lid was placed on the top, two of which were in-situ, others possibly disturbed by ploughing. As previously mentioned, there is no overall plan available for Pelos, just some line drawing of some of the graves (Figure 3.24). There are also dimensions for one of the tombs recorded by Edgar (1896-7:39) of 80 or 90cm in length, 50 or 60cm broad and 50cm deep. The closed tombs were described by Edgar (1896-7:39) as being crammed tight with sticky mould.

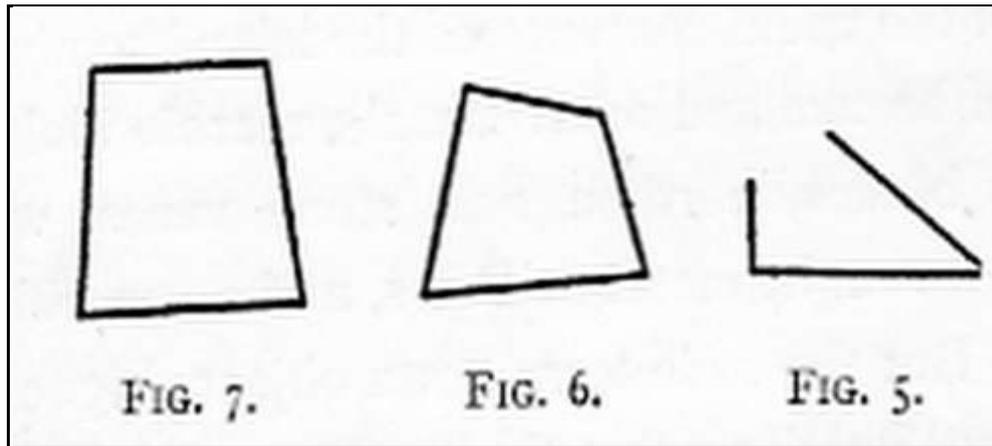


Figure 3.24 Line drawing of Tomb 7, Tomb 6, Tomb 5 at Pelos (Edgar 1896-7:41)

3.9.2.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

The skeletons at Pelos were tightly contracted in the grave. The head was usually against the west wall but orientation of the dead does not seem of importance. The dead were not lavishly furnished with artefacts with graves containing no more than two pots in individual graves. There were also pieces of obsidian and one bead of green natronagalmatolith found in Tomb 4, an unusual and rare find when Edgar excavated it in the 1800s. Another bead very similar to this one also found by Dümmler in Tomb D at Amorgos (Dümmler 1886:20; Edgar 1896-7:43).

Two of the graves, Tomb 5 and 7 excavated by Edgar (1896-7) contained multiple burials (Figure 3.24). Tomb 5 contained three skulls in the north-west corner and three more at the other end of the grave. There were no vessels with the burials. Tomb 7 contained three skulls which Edgar (1896-7:42) describes as being crushed into the northwest corner. The skulls were accompanied by obsidian blades. This crushing could be the result of the grave capstone falling into the grave but this is uncertain as the capstone was missing at the start of the excavation (Edgar 1896-7:42). Deeper down in the same grave there was another skull and a vase in the north east corner. There were also traces of two more skulls present. This implies that some of the graves at Pelos acted as ossuaries. Interestingly, burials seem to have been carried out without the inclusion of marble even though there is marble found elsewhere on the island.

3.9.2.3 *Ritual*

MacKenzie (1897:73) recalls one of the tombs at Pelos being covered in a pavement of pink and white tufa blocks. Care had been taken to present the pavement in this way, marking this grave out from the others in the cemetery.

3.9.3 **Rivari**

In 1997 a rescue excavation started at the cemetery of Rivari (Figure 3.25) following the discovery of EC vases through surface erosion in the area (Televantou 2008:209). Eleven graves were found at Rivari but unfortunately no skeletal remains were found. The cemetery dates to the ECII-III period and probably extended to many more graves, now eroded by the sea (Televantou 2008:209, 214). Following a survey of the area, Televantou (2008:214) proposed that Ayios Nikolaos, located on a low hill nearby, could be the EC settlement for Rivari.



Figure 3.25 View of the Rivari site (Televantou 2008:211)

3.9.3.1 *Grave Architecture*

Graves at Rivari were simple circular pits of different sizes (Figure 3.26) (Televantou 2008:209). The first six graves to be found were empty but the second group of five graves contained pottery sherds and obsidian blades (Televantou 2008:209). Around this second group of graves a circular wall had been constructed from natural rock which may have once been part of a rock-cut chamber which enclosed the graves (Televantou 2008:209, 211). Unlike other graves around the Cyclades in the EC period the graves at Rivari were not covered by stone slabs. Instead graves were covered in gravel and rubble placed on top (Televantou 2008:214).

Pit 3 is singled out and discussed in published data in detail. The grave is large, oval and 1m wide and 0.32-0.35m deep with its north side eroded by the sea (Televantou 2008:211). This is where the four vases were exposed before excavation commenced. In this grave fifty five clay objects and a bronze fibula of ECII-III type were found along the pit walls (Renfrew 2010:286; Sampson and Fotiadi 2008:217; Televantou 2008:211). There was a space in the centre of the grave in which the dead may have been placed, although no bones remain (Televantou 2008:211). It would be impossible to place a primary burial here, instead the grave could have acted as an ossuary (Televantou 2008:214).

3.9.3.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

There are no skeletal remains published from this site. Artefacts found in the pits are included in the section above.

3.9.3.3 *Ritual*

Close to the first group of six graves there were two circular cavities in the rock labelled Pits 1 and 2. Previous to the excavations in 1995, 37 EC clay objects including a clay model of a house on a trumpet pedestal (Figure 3.27), jugs, bowls

and collared jars were found there, now in the Archaeological Museum of Melos (Sampson and Fotiadi 2008:217, 221; Televantou 2008:209; Trianti 2006:306). Pit 3 (discussed above) may represent the collection of artefacts and the practice of grave clearance after a certain amount of time (Televantou 2008:214). This may also have been the practice at other Cycladic cemeteries such as Kephala (Kea), Dokathismata (Amorgos), Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi), Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) and Chalandriani (Syros) where evidence for the scattering of artefacts can be seen. Overall 90 items were found in the three pits at Rivari, many of which had parallels with Anatolian vessels (Sampson and Fotiadi 2008:223; Televantou 2008:214) which could correlate to changes in overseas connections in the ECII-III periods.



Figure 3.26 Plan of the Rivari site (Televantou 2008:210)

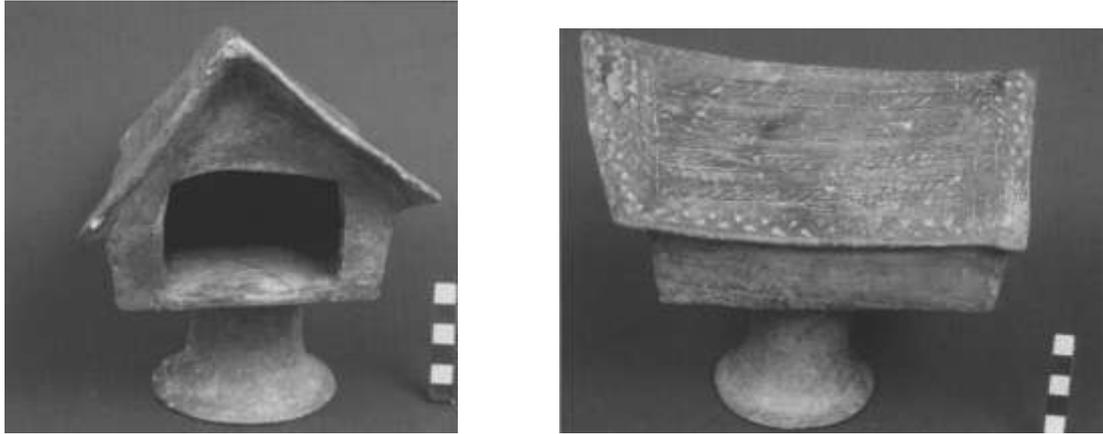


Figure 3.27 House model from Rivari (Sampson and Fotiadi 2008:221)

3.10 NAXOS

Naxos is the largest, and most fertile, island in the Cyclades (Zapheiropoulou 1990:21). Recent survey results by Carter et al. (2014:341) provide the earliest evidence for people on the island at the site of Stélida on the North West coast. Evidence has been found through the survey of chert extraction and tool production from the Middle Palaeolithic period and the Mesolithic period (Carter et al. 2014:341). There is also Neolithic evidence from the Zas cave through the presence of a copper axe and a gold strip (Cultraro 2009:229; Philaniotou 2006a:272; Sampson 2006:35) and a large amount of obsidian tools which links the material in technology and typology to Saliagos and Kephala (Zachos 1990:31). Broodbank (2008a:51) proposed this evidence as a chronology for the Saliagos culture through to the FN and ECI periods.

There are many EC archaeological sites on Naxos but few are properly excavated (Doumas 1977:13 Fig 2, 2006a:23; Philaniotou 2006a:272, 2008:203), for example, Stephanos excavated four hundred graves in eighteen cemeteries and recorded very little of his findings (Lambrinouidakis 1990:25). Many of the cemetery sites have not survived or are difficult to locate today. The ECI cemetery sites sit around, or close to, the coast and included in this research are Akrotiri, Kambos tis Makris and Lakkoudhes. Cemetery sites on Naxos from ECII included in this research include Aghioi Anargyroi, Aplomata and Tsikniades (Figure 3.28).

Sites not included, and the reason for their exclusion, are found in Table 3.3. Many sites on Naxos which could have supplied important and relevant data for this research were excavated by the anthropologist Klon Stephanos (Doumas 2006a:23) at the start of the century. Lambrinouidakis (1990:25) describes the published work by Stephanos as minimal and being far from clear. There are very limited descriptions of graves and included artefacts (Hekman 2003:5) resulting in much of the evidence for cemetery sites being lost.

Phyrroges would have been an excellent cemetery to include in this study as there could have been in the region of one hundred and twenty graves from the ECI and II periods (Doumas 1977:25; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:329; Renfrew 1972:518). Unfortunately, little is known about the site except that the cemetery is possibly close to other prehistoric remains such as fortification walls and houses. Two of the graves are known to have two storeys and to have contained simple pots (Stephanos 1905:58). Stephanos (1904:57-58; 1905:217) records that individuals were buried on their side in a foetal position. This lack of data excludes Phyrroges from this research.

Site Name	Number of Graves?	Reason for exclusion
Agioso	?	EC cist graves no dateable finds
Aila	3	1 grave ECII, others MB
Apollonas	?	Unknown number of graves excavated by Stephanos 1908. No information on architecture or bones
Avdeli (Lionas)	3	Robbed cemetery. Small grave group excavated by Doulmas
Ayiassos	1	Cist grave cemetery but only 1 grave excavated, others robbed?
Bebekos	?	Unauthorised excavation
Kameno Mitato	?	Reports of EC graves, no details known
Kanaki	?	Stone slabs in field confirm destroyed cemetery. No graves.
Karvounolakkoi	82	No recorded data located
Kastraki Mnimouria	?	ECI-II settlement and cemetery. Cemetery unconfirmed
Keli	10	Only 1 grave recorded
Kleidos	10	Unrecorded
Louros	1	Only content of a single grave known (Grave 26 from ECI-II). Silver beads in one. No other grave information published
Lygaridia	5	Total number of graves unknown, 5 EC and others robbed
Melanes	?	Small grave group. Only pre-Mycenaean pyxides recorded by Stephanos (1909:14)
Mountsouna	15	Settlement and cemetery. 15 robbed graves, no data found
Panormos	5	Small grave group
Pherendaki	?	Unknown and unpublished EC cist graves. Only 3 pyxides reported from site.
Phionda	?	Looted cemetery, no data
Phyrroges	120	Settlement and Cemetery. EC cists possibly dating to ECI-II. No record of systematic excavation. Cemetery close to prehistoric houses. Fragments of moulds at site and outside graves (Stephanos 1904:57, 60)
Polichni	6	2 ECI graves. Too few graves excavated for inclusion
Rodhinadhes	4	Too few graves. Site damages as graves are close to the surface. Site possibly dates to ECIII but too little data (4 graves) to include in this research
Roon	?	Small group of graves, the number is unknown. ECII figurine found
Spedos	25	Fortified settlement and cemetery. Unknown data for cemetery. Excavated by Stephanos 1903 and 1906 No info on graves or the dead
Vardaki	?	Illicitly excavated
Xerakrotiro	20?	Unpublished site, robbed cists

(Alram Stern 2004:282-283; Doulmas 1977:25, 29, 1990:94; Fotou 1983:15-46; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:325-334; Karantzali 1996:19-27; Lambrinoudakis 1990:25; Papathanassopoulos 1961-2:113; Renfrew 1972:517-519, 1984:47; Stephanos 1903:53, 1904:57, 58, 60; 1905:216, 1908:115, 117; 1909:14; Zervos 1957)

Table 3.3 Naxos sites excluded from this research

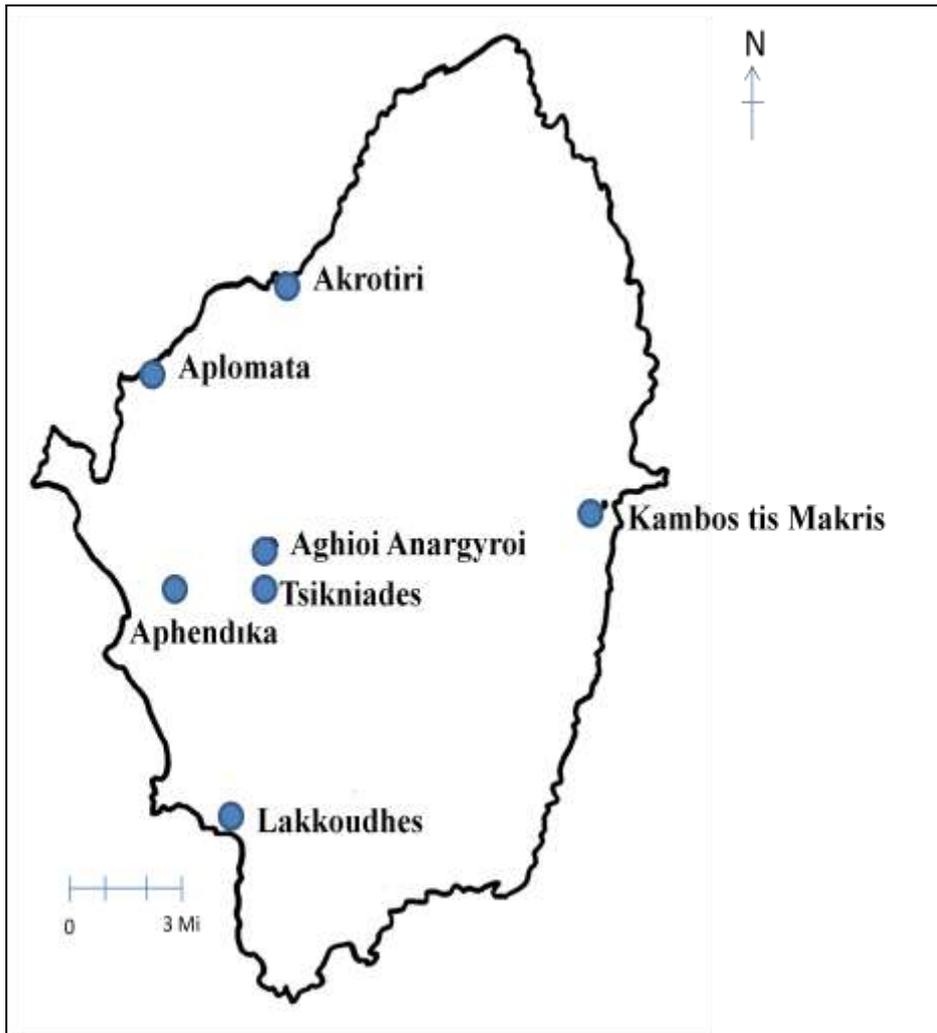


Figure 3.28 Map of Naxos showing EC cemeteries

3.10.1 Aghioi Anargyroi

The cemetery site of Aghioi Anargyroi (Figure 3.29) is situated to the east of the village of Sangri, 2km east of Tsikniades on a flat area but 50m east of a deep ravine (Fotou 1983:42; Lambrinouidakis 1990:25). The site was excavated in 1961 by Doulas and published in 1977. The cemetery contained twenty two graves, four of which had been plundered or damaged. These graves contained at least forty individuals (Alram Stern 2004:884; Broodbank 2008:59; Doulas 1977:102, 1990:94; Fotou 1983:43-44; Karantzali 1996:21; Pantelidou Gofas 2008:286; Renfrew 1972:518). There are several cemeteries in close proximity to each other in this area including Aghioi Anargyroi, Tsikniades and Rhodhinadhes. There are

problems with Aghioi Anargyroi today as it has been farmed over many years, a common occurrence, with ploughing in shallow soil damaging the site (Doumas 1977:100). There is some debate as to the dating of this cemetery. Doumas (1977:106) dates the site to the ECI-II transitional period but Barber and MacGillivray (1980:145) and data produced by Renfrew (1984:48-50) showed cemetery use in both the ECI and ECII periods. However, Tomb 5 does represent the ECI-II transition period.

3.10.1.1. *Grave Architecture*

There are two types of burial at Aghioi Anargyroi, the graves located in the north were carefully constructed and those to the south were smaller and simple (Figure 3.29 and 3.30) (Aram Stern 2004:884; Doumas 1990:94, Fotou 1983:43; Zapheirou 1990:23). The carefully constructed graves occupied an outstanding position (Doumas 1990:94), and this, along with differences in grave construction may be an indication of social differentiation (Barber 1987:77; Fotou 1983:43; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:327). However, these differences may highlight changes across chronological periods rather than necessarily representing differences in society.

Graves at Aghioi Anargyroi are trapezoidal in plan, three walls lined with stone slabs, the entrance blocked by a stone wall after burial (Fotou 1983:43). Graves are generally quite large across the cemetery, measuring over 1m in length although some are smaller (Doumas 1977:101, 1990:94; Fotou 1983:43). There were seven two-storey graves and one three-storey grave, at least eight single burials and ten graves used for multiple burials (Doumas 1990:94; Fotou 1983:44; Karantzali 1996:21).

3.10.1.2 Burials and the treatment of the dead

The dead at Aghioi Anargyroi were placed on their right side in a contracted position on a tiled floor, of one or two tiles, along the back wall of the grave with the face looking towards the entrance (Doumas 1977:101; Fotou 1983:43-44). Hands were placed in front of the face and a smaller floor slab would be used for a pillow (Doumas 1977:101). When the grave was used more than once bones were swept to one side to make room for the next burial but the skull was left in place (Doumas 1977:102). In multi-storey graves the upper levels were supported by stone walls with the lower levels acting as ossuaries (Doumas 1977:101; Fotou 1983:44). One or two slabs covered the grave followed by a soil layer above which small pebbles covered the grave (Doumas 1990:94; Fotou 1983:43).

The carefully constructed graves, or grave group 1, are numbered 1-6, 20, 21, 22 and are located in the north and north east sector of the cemetery (Doumas 1977:100; Fotou 1983:43). Tomb 21 may be an example of an ossuary as the grave contained at least twelve inhumations and was the only grave with three storeys at the site (Doumas 1977:102, 1990:94; Fotou 1983:44; Karantzali 1996:21; Philaniotou 2008:202; Rambach 2000b:50, 56; Stephanos 1910:271). The simple graves, or grave group 2, contain single burials. These 13 graves were located alongside a retaining wall to the south west (Doumas 1977:100). Grave 7 contained a smaller stone which acted as a pillow (Fotou 1983:44).

Sixteen of forty burials did not have any accompanying grave offerings, usually in graves containing multiple burials (Alram Stern 2004:884; Doumas 1977:102). Offerings included in graves are placed near the head of the deceased but there are also items placed by the feet. Fine-ware in various shapes is found inside the graves including jars, a vase, two deep bowls or cups, a sauce boat (Doumas 1977:104). The only frying pan from the site was found in Tomb 21 (Coleman 1985:192; Doumas 1977:104; Karantzali 1996:21; Rambach 2000b:50). Alongside the pottery are marble vessels of bowls, jars, cups, a rhyton, a figurine and other items including needles, small bronze tools, obsidian blades, a spoon and some beads (Alram Stern

2004:306, 884; Doumas 1977:105; Fotou 1983:45; Karantzali 1996:21; Rambach 2000b:50).

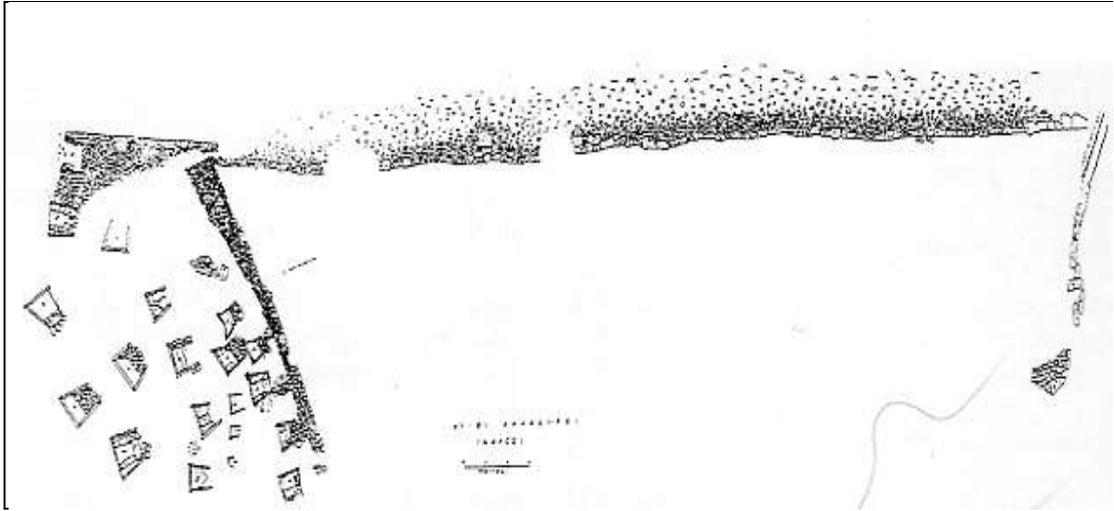


Figure 3.29 Aghioi Anargyroi graves and platform
(Doumas 2008: 170; Fotou 1983:44)



Figure 3.30 EC cist grave at Aghioi Anargyroi (Barber 1987:80)

Pottery of various types are found around the graves including coarseware vases, a pithos and storage jars, hat-like vases, an oil lamp and a large plate and a brazier

(Doulmas 1977:102-104). Some bottles from Aghioi Anargyroi are compared to similar found at Hagia Photia on Crete (Betancourt 2008b:240). Pottery may have been ritually broken at Aghioi Anargyroi seen through pottery scatters found outside the graves such as twenty one handle fragments from coarseware jars (Doulmas 1977:118). There are also some marble items, a bronze chisel and obsidian blades, spindle whorls and large quantities of schist were found in the cemetery but not associated with the graves (Doulmas 1977:118-120).

3.10.1.3 *Ritual*

Graves were marked at Aghioi Anargyroi by a border of long stones which was filled by white sea pebbles (Doulmas 1973:560, 1990:94). This marking of the graves shows the demarcation of organised cemetery space, highlighting the place of the dead within the landscape. Emphasis on the cemetery space is also made through the creation and presence of a built terraced platform and steps which is connected to the cemetery (Broodbank 2008:58; Doulmas 1990:94, 2008:170; Fotou 1983:45; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:327; Karantzali 1996:21; Pantelidou Gofas 2008:286; Rambach 2000b:53). The platform runs from the south to the east and measures 40m long and 3-4m wide (Doulmas 1990:94).

Hat shaped vases (Figure 3.31) were found between the platform and the rock ledge which may have been used as portable hearths (Alram Stern 2004:304, 884; Broodbank 2008:58; Doulmas 1977:114-117; 1990:94, 2008:170; Karantzali 1996:21). These 'hats' were decorated with triangles and zigs zags and have a round bottom. Doulmas (1977:103) argued that their lack of stability may mean they were used as braziers or incense burners, carried or placed on a separate base and connected to ritual activity (Alram Stern 2004:885; Pantelidou Gofas 2008:286). This platform and use of hat vases indicates ritual activity away from individual graves, taking place in a communal area. This provides a shift away from the individual dead towards a focus on the wider community group and centralised ritual. This is very different to other sites on Naxos, where ritual focus is placed on the

individual grave. The platform from Aghioi Anargyroi brings ideas of communal activity on a larger scale.



Figure 3.31 Hat vase from Aghioi Anargyroi (ECI-II)
(Marthari 1990:45, Doumas 1977:114)

3.10.2 Akrotiri

Akrotiri (Figure 3.32 and 3.33) is located on a promontory to the N.W. side of Naxos and was excavated by Doumas in 1962 (Alram Stern 2004:883; Doumas 1963:278-279; Fotou 1983:32; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:326; Karantzali 1996:21). The Akrotiri cemetery contained 24 graves and is dated to the ECI period with one grave belonging to ECII. Unfortunately, a further twenty four graves may have been possibly destroyed by looting (Doumas 1977:82; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:326; Karantzali 1996:21; Renfrew 1972:517). Three of the surviving graves had been plundered and others were damaged. The landscape determined the layout and groupings of the graves which were found to be in three groups separated by rocky outcrops (Doumas 1990:93; Karantzali 1996:21; Zapheirpoulou 1990:23).



Figure 3.32 View of the Chora of Naxos from the suggested location of Akrotiri
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

3.10.2.1 *Grave Architecture*

Graves at Akrotiri are trapezoidal in shape, shallow and of various sizes cut into rock, usually containing single burials (Aram Stern 2004:883; Doulas 1977:83; Fotou 1983:33; Zapheirou 1990:23). Stone slabs or dry stone walling lined the walls of the grave (Figure 3.34). Earth and stones form a platform above the grave (Aram Stern 2004:883; Doulas 1990:93; Fotou 1983:33) (Figure 3.35). Three of the graves at Akrotiri have stone paving in the bottom of the grave. Grave 13 is a double grave and has a slate floor (Fotou 1983:33). There are no pillow stones found in the graves at the site (Fotou 1983:33).

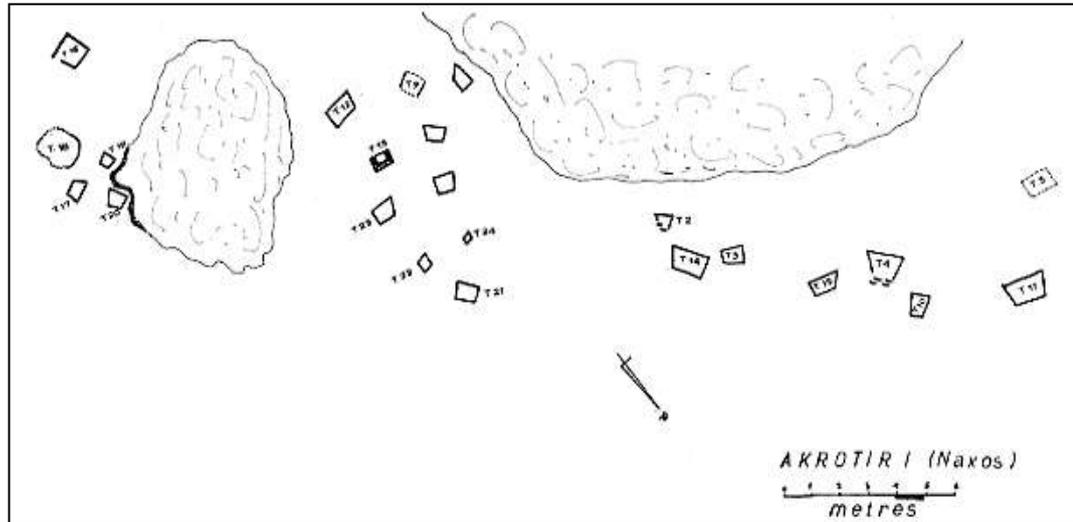


Figure 3.33 Plan of Akrotiri (Doumas 1977:33, Figure 15)

3.10.2.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

The dead at Akrotiri were placed in the graves in a tightly contracted position on their right side facing the grave entrance. However, skeletal material did not survive well. In the two-storey graves more than one burial can be found (Fotou 1983:33). Most of the graves at Akrotiri seem to represent adults with only two or three child burials found at the cemetery.

All the burials at Akrotiri, except Tomb 24 contained grave goods, mostly pottery including pyxides and jars (Doumas 1977:83; Karantzali 1996:21). There are also necklaces of shells and multicoloured stones, a grinder, small bronze objects, marble jars and figurines and obsidian blades (Fotou 1983:33; Karantzali 1996:21). The graves with the fewest artefacts contain multiple burials (Tomb 4 and 16) (Doumas 1977:83) but this may be due to grave clearance between interment episodes.

Tomb 5, 9 and 21 show a greater number of inclusions. Tomb 5 included a small cylindrical pyxis and lid, marble kandili (jar), rectangular palette and small figurine and twenty one beads (Doumas 1977:86-87). Tomb 9 included two collared jars, marble figurines, small pendant and nine beads (eight sea-shells, one stone) (Doumas 1977:88-89). Tomb 21 contained pyxides, collared jar, marble figurine, marble pestle

and implement, mortar-like vase and seven stone beads (Doumas 1977:94-95). Pottery found at Akrotiri has similar features to items found at Tsikniades cemetery, such as a spherical pyxis from ECI and later ECI or II and a cylindrical pyxis dating from ECI (Philaniotou 2008:198).

3.10.2.3 *Ritual*

Ritual practices at Akrotiri are demonstrated through a built platform over the graves (Figure 3.35) constructed from individual stones. This platform would mark the grave and could act as a focus for ritual practices within the cemetery.

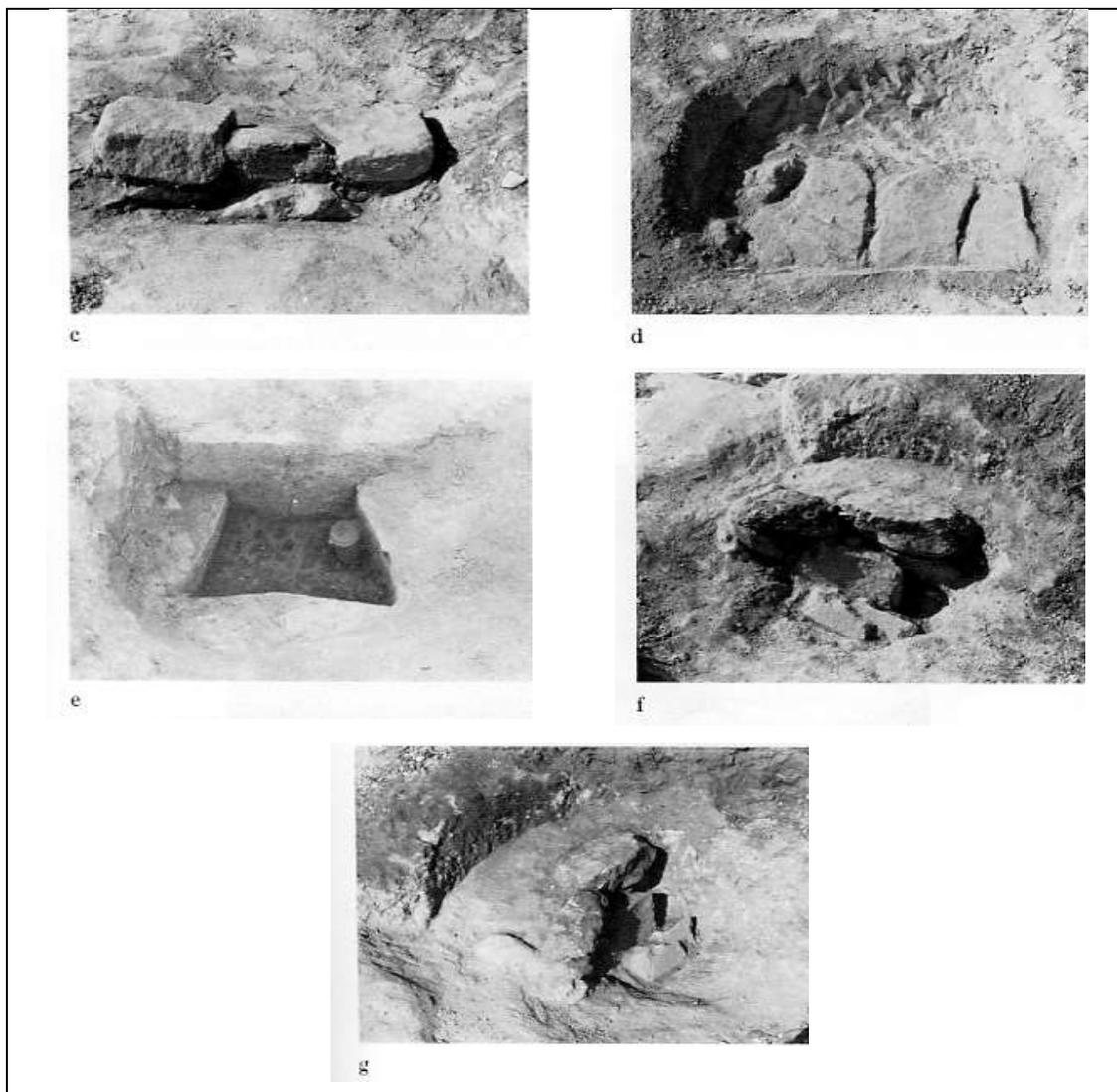


Figure 3.34 Photographs of Akrotiri graves. Tomb 19 (c-d) and Tomb 20 (f-g)
(Doumas 1977:Plate IX)



Figure 3.35 A platform over a EC cist grave at Akrotiri (Barber 1987:83)

3.10.3 Aphendika

The cemetery of Aphendika is located on a low hill with the graves built into terraces. Stephanos (1910:270-272) excavated one hundred and seventy graves at this site over an area of 100m (Fotou 1983:42; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:327; Karantzali 1996:21; Renfrew 1972:518), which represents the largest cemetery on Naxos. Unfortunately, little data has been published for Aphendika and so it is impossible to date the cemetery securely. However, the number of graves in the cemetery and the presence of a vase could represent the ECII period (Karantzali 1996:22) whereas Hope Simpson and Dickinson (1979:327) believed that the cemetery may actually date back into the ECI.

3.10.3.1 *Grave Architecture*

Graves at Aphendika are simply constructed and lined with stone slabs. Another stone slab or slabs were used to cover the grave. Above the grave roof a platform was constructed to mark the grave (Fotou 1983:42). Single and multiple burials are represented at the site (Fotou 1983:42).

3.10.3.2 *Burials at the treatment of the dead*

Single inhumations at Apendika were placed on the right side in a contracted position. In multiple burials the skull could be left in its original position and other bones moved to the side of the grave (Fotou 1983:42). Earlier burials in multiple graves could also be covered with earth and sometimes a stone slab, which acted as a new floor on which to lay later interments (Fotou 1983:42; Stephanos 1910:271).

In the majority of cases graves at Apendika only contained a single offering but some graves had no offerings at all. In a few graves there was more than one item placed with the dead (Fotou 1983:42). Offerings were placed standing, lying down or placed upside down by the face of the dead, in some cases behind the neck and in other places in the grave (Fotou 1983:42). Grave goods found at Apendika included various shaped ceramics, some small marble bowls, two or three figurines (one of a musician), some obsidian blades, a stone chisel, two stone bead necklaces and some stone beads (Fotou 1983:42; Karantzali 1996:22; Papathanasopoulos 1961-2:148).

3.10.3.3 *Ritual*

Ideas towards ritual practices at Apendika are supported through a stone platform placed above the graves. As with other sites, this platform could act as a focus for ritual activity within the cemetery.

3.10.4 **Aplomata**

Aplomata was first excavated in the 1970s by Kontoleon followed by Lambrinouidakis in 1976. A total of twenty eight graves were found but not one of these were intact as they had been disturbed by later Hellenistic and Roman buildings (Fotou 1983:23; Karantzali 1996:20; Kontoleon 1970:148, 1971:178, 1972:148-150).

The construction and size of the graves and the grave inclusions indicates a similar date to that of Chalandriani on Syros of ECII and ECIII A (Alram Stern 2004:290, 881; Barber 1987:77; Barber and MacGillivray 1980:147; Fotou 1983:25; Karantzali 1996:20, 33; Kontoleon 1970:152; Marthari 1998:19).

3.10.4.1. *Grave Architecture*

The graves at Aplomata are deep pits which have been cut into rock. They are rectangular, square and sometimes semi-circular in shape, all were multi-storey graves (Fotou 1983:25; Karantzali 1996:20; Kontoleon 1972:148-150). The walls of the graves were lined with stone slabs and these were also used for the roof (Kontoleon 1972:148, 150). Some graves lay alongside pits which may have acted as a dromos or entrance to the structure (Fotou 1983:25).

3.10.4.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

Graves at Aplomata contain more than one burial (Karantzali 1996:20; Kontoleon 1970:150). Of interest is Grave XV which contains two burials and three benches, similar to T82 at Tsikniades (Kontoleon 1972:149, pl.130b; Philaniotou 2008:197) and in the settlement at Aghios Kosmas (section 5.2.). This grave and Grave XXIII also contained red and blue pigments (Fotou 1983:25; Karantzali 1996:20; Kontoleon 1972:150). In Grave XV the blue pigment had permeated into the soil, bones and some of the items included with the dead (Kontoleon 1972:150). Grave XVIII also contained this blue pigment (Kontoleon 1972:150) but this grave and Grave XXVIII were poorly preserved.

Some, but not all, of the graves at Aplomata contained artefacts. Ceramics are rare but when present are simple items such as clay cups, bottles and bottle caps (Kontoleon 1970:151). Some of the clay vessels seem to have been deliberately destroyed (Alram Stern 2004:306; Kontoleon 1972:153). There are many marble

vessels found in the cemetery including pyxides, bottles and objects such as figurines but these are also found made from soapstone.

Grave XIII located near the S.W. corner of a Roman house contained a large number of offerings and 13 types of figurines which Kontoleon (1971:178-9) argues may represent an accumulation of items recovered from various destroyed graves. There were also some small marble goblets found at the site which were noted by Kontoleon (1971:179) and Karantzali (1996:20), however, these do not seem to be allocated to any specific grave by either. However, the way these are recorded by Kontoleon (1971:179) suggests the vessels were found alongside the figurines. In the graves shells, such as molluscs, were found alongside obsidian blades and cores (Kontoleon 1970:150, 152, 1972:154).

Frying pans were found at Aplomata one of which, from Grave XXIII, had been decorated with spirals and contained blue pigment in the interior (Coleman 1985:192; Karantzali 1996:20; Kontoleon 1972:152). Some silver spoons and bone tubes were also found in some of the graves (Karantzali 1996:20). A metal scoop was found in Grave XXIII which Kontoleon (1972:153) describes as being in the shape of a leg.

3.10.4.3 *Ritual*

Although there are no features at the cemetery such as pavements or platforms, there is evidence for ritual practices at Aplomata. The pits alongside some of the graves may have been used for ritual activity or acted as an entrance (Fotou 1983:23). Other features in the grave, such as the benches in Grave XV, the placing of grave goods and the use of pigments in or around the grave all indicate ritual practices surrounding burial. Vessels in the grave may have also been deliberately smashed (Alram Stern 2004:306; Kontoleon 1972:153).

3.10.5 Kambos tis Makris

Kambos tis Makris was excavated in 1906 by Stephanos (1906:86-89) who uncovered fifty six graves. Later, in 1963, thirty graves were discovered through illicit excavation and looting (Fotou 1983:34; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:333; Renfrew 1972:519; Stephanos 1906:86; Zapheiroupolou 1965:505). This means that at least eighty six graves once occupied the site, making Kambos tis Makris one of the largest cemeteries on Naxos (Fotou 1983:34) and one of the most poorly published.

3.10.5.1 *Grave Architecture*

Graves at Kambos tis Makris were trapezoidal shaped cists (Doulas 1977:25; Fotou 1983:34; Karantzali 1996:27; Renfrew 1972:519). Stones line the graves of various sizes, the larger graves assumed to be for adults, the smaller for children (Stephanos 1906:87).

3.10.5.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

The graves at Kambos tis Makris usually contain single burials, placed near the back of the grave with the body on the right side facing the entrance (Fotou 1983:34; Stephanos 1906:87). There were very few grave goods included with burials. Artefacts included a pyxis or a ceramic vase and some obsidian blades (Fotou 1983:34). Marble objects at Kambos tis Makris are rare being only composed of three figurines (Fotou 1983:34).

3.10.5.3 *Ritual*

Due to the lack of published data for this site, the only ritual practices which can be established surround burial practices. Bodies were deliberately placed to face the entrance and specific grave goods were selected to include with the burial.

3.10.6 **Lakkoudhes**

There are two sites called Lakkoudhes, Lakkoudhes and Lakkoudhes A (Doulas 1977:73). Both sites are located close to each other half an hour away from the South West coast of Naxos, Lakkoudhes possibly representing the earliest cemetery on Naxos (Doulas 1977:73, 1990:93; Fotou 1983:38). Lakkoudhes dating to ECI and Lakkoudhes A to ECII. Both Lakkoudhes cemeteries are of interest for their paved areas (Doulas 1977:75, 2008:170) and will be discussed together here.

3.10.6.1 *Grave Architecture*

Lakkoudhes was excavated by Doulas in 1961 with twenty five graves found (Figure 3.36) (Alram Stern 2004:881; Doulas 1977:73,120, 1990:93; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:329; Karantzali 1996:23; Renfrew 1972:518). The graves were located on a rocky slope and seem to be grouped into three clusters, divided by the topography (Doulas 1990:93; Renfrew 1972:518). Graves were topped by a small platform (Doulas 1990:93). Many graves had already been looted or damaged when Doulas excavated the site in 1961, probably due to erosion only six graves were found intact (Fotou 1983:38).

Graves at Lakkoudhes are generally trapezoidal in plan but occasionally they are rectangular (Fotou 1983:39) (Figure 3.37 and 3.38). Walls are lined with limestone stone slabs and the entrance is sealed with rubble. The roof of the grave was made of another limestone slab over which was placed two layers of flat stones forming a platform (Alram Stern 2004:882; Fotou 1983:39).

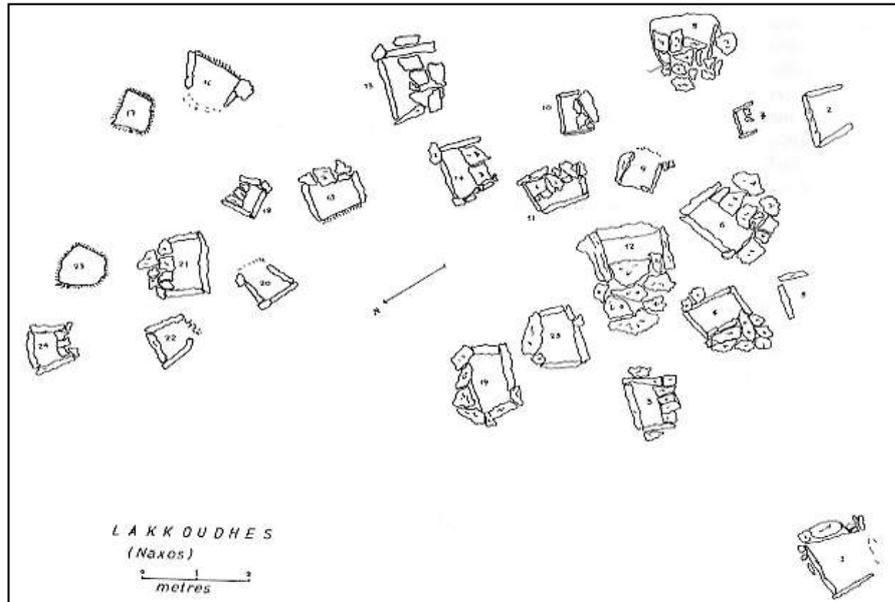


Figure 3.36 Lakkoudhes cemetery plan
(Doumas 1977:32, Figure 14; Fotou 1983:39)

3.10.6.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

Most of the graves at Lakkoudhes probably contained a single burial which would be placed on the rock floor without a stone pillow. Bodies were placed in a contracted position on the right side looking towards the entrance (Afram Stern 2004:882; Doumas 1990:93; Fotou 1983:39-40). However, skeletal material is poor and so across all graves this cannot be known for sure (Fotou 1983:39). Five graves are allocated to the burial of children (Fotou 1983:39) and Grave 16 is known to have contained at least two burials (Afram Stern 2004:882; Fotou 1983:39).

Some graves at Lakkoudhes contained no grave artefacts whilst others had items placed in the graves in front of the face of the deceased, to the left of the entrance (Fotou 1983:40). Doumas found phalanges above small jars which had been placed in front of the face suggesting these items were placed in the hand of the deceased (Fotou 1983:40). The main inclusions in the grave were ceramics of various forms such as pyxides, jars and fragments of sauceboats (Fotou 1983:40). There were also fragments of thin bronze sheet, obsidian blades and small objects made of stone or rock crystal, shells and a bone palette (Fotou 1983:40). There are no marble items

(Fotou 1983:40). Several cylindrical pyxides from Lakkoudhes have similar comparisons found at Akrotiri (Philaniotou 2008:198).

3.10.6.3 *Ritual*

Twenty metres south-west of the Lakkoudhes cemetery was a pit (possibly once a grave) which was filled with stones forming a circular platform (Alram Stern 2004:882). The platform had a diameter of three metres. Running to the N.E. and S.W. of the platforms were two ditches measuring 0.5 to 0.8m wide and 1.4m long also filled with stones, the purpose of which are unknown (Fotou 1983:40). Features such as this platform could have been intended for communal use or performance at the cemetery and are not only seen at Lakkoudhes but also at sites on Crete (Dickinson 2004:260). Excavation of the platform only produced a few shells and some coarse pottery sherds, which could have been used as part of a funeral ceremony (Fotou 1983:40).

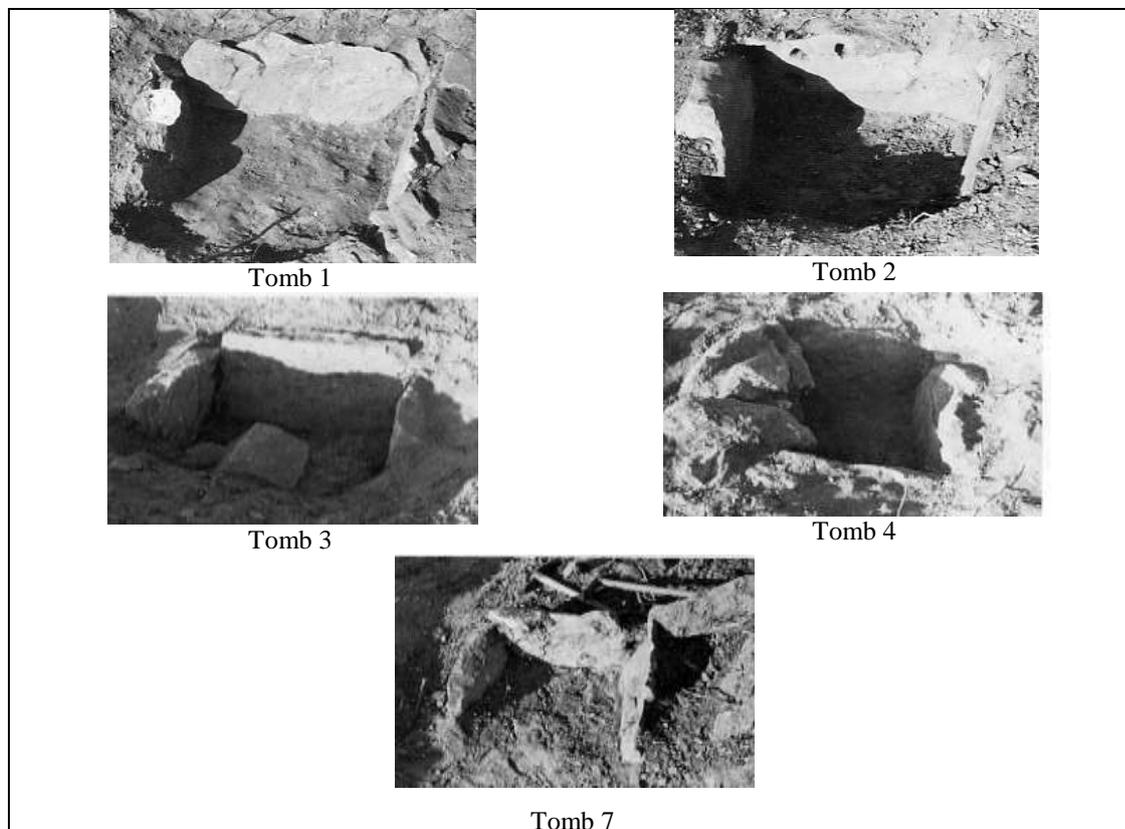


Figure 3.37 Images of Lakkoudhes graves (A) (Doumas 1977:Plate II)

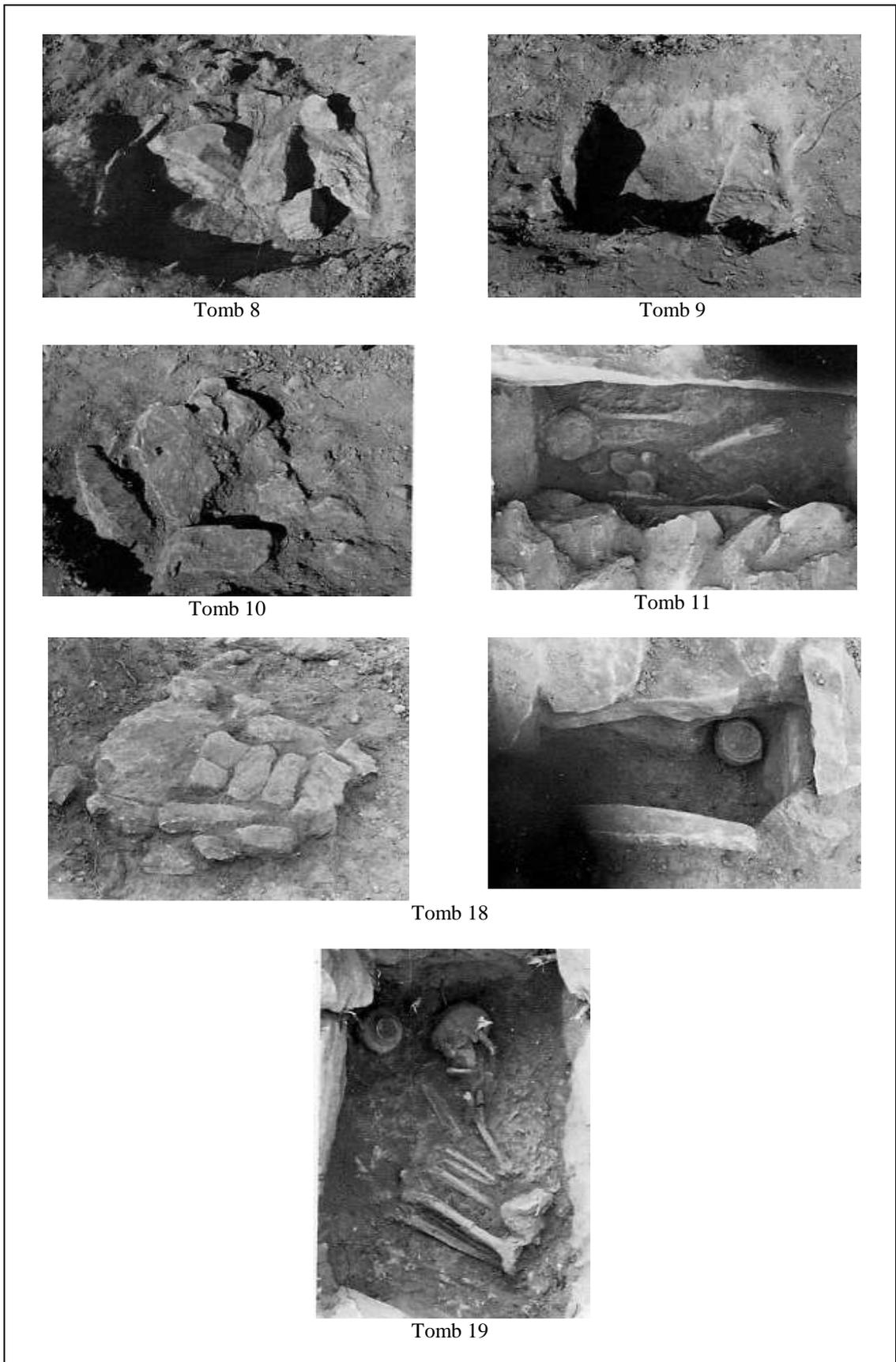


Figure 3.38 Images of Lakkoudhes graves (B) (Doumas 1977:Plate III)

3.10.7 Lakkoudhes A

Lakkoudhes A (Figure 3.39) dates to ECII and is included here as both Lakkoudhes cemeteries may have once been connected (Doumas 1977:26, 120; Fotou 1983:40; Karantzali 1996:23). Evidence is very similar to Lakkoudhes but at Lakkoudhes A there are only four graves at the site (Alram Stern 2004:882; Doumas 1977:120; Fotou 1983:40; Karantzali 1996:23).

3.10.7.1 *Grave Architecture*

Two of the four graves at Lakkoudhes A are simple pits, reminiscent of an artificial rock-shelter (II and IV), the others were two-storey structures (I and III) (Doumas 1977:120; Fotou 1983:40). Tomb I and IV were destroyed by ploughing or possibly robbed and so little evidence remains (Doumas 1977:121-122). Tomb II and III provide the most useful evidence as they were undisturbed. Tomb II is lined with stones and topped with a capstone. On the capstone were piles of stones (pavement) and a marble collared jar (Doumas 1977:121). Tomb III was intact but damaged through ploughing (Doumas 1977:122).

3.10.7.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

At Lakkoudhes A, Tomb I only produced a few bones and no skeletal remains are recorded for Tomb IV (Doumas 1977:121-122). Tomb II contained a burial which had been placed in the grave and then covered in earth before further burials were interred. Only bone fragments mixed with earth were found here. In the upper layer three skulls were found, one to the back left and another two in the back right corner (Doumas 1977:121). Skulls in these graves did not retain their original position with bones instead moved to one side of the grave (Doumas 1977:120). The only find in II was some obsidian found near the skulls to the right in the upper section (Doumas 1977:120; Fotou 1983:40). Tomb III contained two skulls on two levels to the back right of the grave (Doumas 1977:120). Offerings were placed under the skulls and

included two small pottery bowls, an obsidian blade broken in two pieces and snail shells (Doumas 1977:122; Fotou 1983:40).

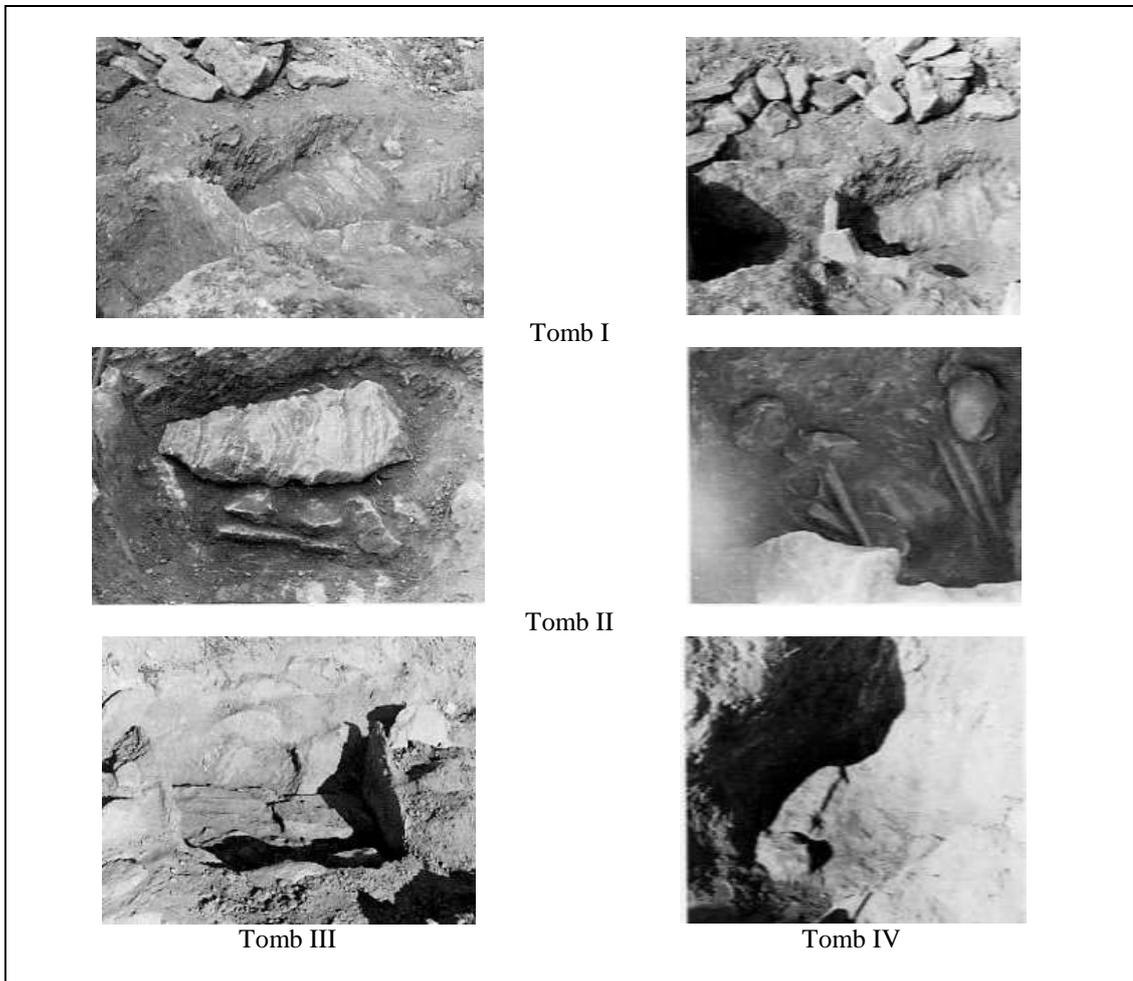


Figure 3.39 Images of graves at Lakkoudhes A (Doumas 1977:Plate XXI)

3.10.7.3 *Ritual*

Graves at Lakkoudhes A have a layer of small stones over the top of the capstone to mark the grave and to act as an area for which to focus any rituals surrounding the burials (Alram Stern 2004:304). There is also a platform to the SW section of the cemetery which had similarities to the one found at Lakkoudhes. Spiral patterns have also been found at Lakkoudhes A on the rocky area of the cemetery which have parallels to other areas of Naxos at sites such as the settlement of Korphi t' Aroniou (Doumas 1965:41-64; Lambrinouidakis 1990:25; Zapheirou 1990:23) and a

long retaining wall was also found which ran between the two cemeteries (Alram Stern 2004:882; Fotou 1983:41; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:329).

3.10.8 Tsikniades

Tsikniades sits to the west of the village of Kato Sangri on a hill slope, overlooking a fertile valley (Philaniotou 2008:195). The cemetery is on a narrow piece of land with a rocky outcrop to the west and arable land below (Figure 3.40) (Philaniotou 2008:196). No settlement for the cemetery has been located (Philaniotou 2008:203).

There have been one hundred and twenty two graves excavated at Tsikniades (Philaniotou 2008:196). Seventy one of the graves had been looted, some in antiquity (Philaniotou 2008:196). Due to this looting it is difficult to date the cemetery precisely, however, some graves date to ECI, others to ECI-II and ECII, indicating a long period of cemetery use (Philaniotou 2008:202).



Figure 3.40 The Tsikniades cemetery (Philaniotou 2008:196)

3.10.8.1 Grave Architecture

Graves at Tsikniades were simple pits of various sizes, cut into the ground with the largest side of the grave placed against the rock, the topography of the area determining the graves' location (Philaniotou 2008:196-197). In the majority of cases, the graves at Tsikniades were lined with upright stone slabs and the entrance was blocked by a dry stone wall but in the case of fourteen graves all four sides were made of upright slabs. In a further five graves one of the slab walls was replaced by a dry stone wall (Philaniotou 2008:196), sometimes reinforced with mortar. There were also two simple unlined pits with stones only used for the entrance (Philaniotou 2008:196). Many of the graves at Tsikniades were found to be damaged through ploughing, their capstones removed and the upright lining stones were broken (Philaniotou 2008:196).

Unusually, two of the graves at Tsikniades showed great care in their construction, the stone slabs which made up the sides filled with earth and rubble. This may have been a way of reinforcing the structure and has been found at other sites such as Aphentika (Doumas 1977:43; Philaniotou 2008:196; Stephanos 1910:270, 272). It is unknown, because of the level of destruction at Tsikniades, whether graves were single or multi-storey. Philaniotou (2008:197) advocated that the largest graves may have acted as ossuaries and describes T79 and T82 as being the most interesting.

T79 and T82 are both likely to have been multi-storey structures but the upper levels had been destroyed, with capstones missing and contents in piles (Philaniotou 2008:197). T79 and T82 are also of interest as they contain stone benches within the grave. T79 had two stone benches (sitting opposite each other) and T82 had three which ran around the sides of the grave, similar to Grave XV at Aplomata (Kontoleon 1972:149, Pl. 130b; Philaniotou 2008:197). T24 and T50 are also of interest and stand out from the other graves at Tsikniades as these graves are divided in the middle by parallel slabs (Philaniotou 2008:197), similar to those seen at Hagia Photia on Crete and Agrilia on Ano Kouphonisi.

Graves at Tsikniades were topped with a capstone and marked by stones, earth and sherds placed in piles, circles, semi-circles or spirals (Figure 3.41 and 3.42) (Philaniotou 2008:197). These markers could also contain stone tools, or clay pot and in some cases one of the side slabs would stick out of the grave forming a grave marker. Rows of stones placed around the capstone mark the graves and are reminiscent of those marking the graves on the mainland at Aghios Kosmas (see section 5.2.1) and Tsepi (see section 5.3.1).

3.10.8.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

Skeletal remains are lacking at Tsikniades which may be due to the large number of looted graves or soil conditions. Bones may have been moved elsewhere into ossuaries (Philaniotou 2008:202) but there is no longer any remaining archaeological evidence to support this idea.

Twenty seven of fifty one unlooted graves contained artefacts which included one or two items and seven of the looted graves contained finds (Philaniotou 2008:198). These included pottery pyxides (ECI) and jars, marble vessels (ECI-II or ECII), such as bowls which sometimes have red pigment on their surface, a few figurines and other small objects (Philaniotou 2008:198, 201). Two of the graves, T79 and T82, were well furnished with grave goods, with Philaniotou (2008:201) describing T79 as being the richest grave in the cemetery. This grave contained marble objects, obsidian blades and flakes. T82 contained ten obsidian blades, two marble bowls and small silver bowl (Philaniotou 2008:201). Three of the graves at Tsikniades contained only obsidian blades. The large quantity of obsidian found across the site of over 167 pieces may represent working of the material in the cemetery itself (Philaniotou 2008:198, 203, 207). Metal items included a small lead bead (T1) and 2 lead earrings (T37) and a single silver bowl found in T82 (Philaniotou 2008:198, 200, 201).



Figure 3.41 Grave 24 at Tsikniades, capstone surrounded by a row of stones
(Philaniotou 2008:196)



Figure 3.42 Spiral pavement at Tsikniades to the side of the grave
(Philaniotou 2008:197)

3.10.8.3 *Ritual*

The benches around T79 and T82 are very interesting. These are rarely found in settlements or cemeteries and their role in the funeral process may have been a focus for the placement of artefacts. Benches outside the cemetery arena, but connected to ritual practices within the home, can be seen at the settlement of Aghios Kosmas on the mainland (see chapter V, section 5.2).

In the case of Tsikniades it is sometimes the case that the traditional pavement or grave marker is not directly placed over the capstone of the grave but to the side of it (Figure 3.42) (Philaniotou 2008:197). This could indicate that stones were placed and graves marked well after the capstone was covered in earth and so its exact location may have been misplaced or that there is significance in this practice, extending the area of the grave, creating a separate area for the focus of funerary activity. There are other aspects of the cemetery that may indicate separate funerary activity directed away from the graves in the cemetery arena. For example areas of stones, earth and sherds not connected to any particular grave appear to have not been accidentally formed (Philaniotou 2008:197). The precise meaning behind this practice cannot be established further but could be an indication of platforms at Tsikniades similar to those found at other sites such as Kephala on Kea (3.3.2.3) and Aghioi Anargyroi (3.10.1), Akrotiri (3.10.2) and Lakkoudhes (3.10.6.1) all on Naxos.

3.11 PAROS

Paros is the third largest island and one of the most important in the Cyclades alongside Naxos due to its position in the Aegean providing access to the Greek mainland (Zapheirou 2006b:260). The island has been occupied since the EC period indicated by the remains of a few settlements and many cemeteries (Zapheirou 2006b:260-261). Paros is known for the best white marble or Parian stone in the Cyclades (Dickinson 2004:28; Schilardi 1975:83; Zapheirou 2006b:260) and ancient quarries are located at Mount Marpissa and Marathi (Zapheirou 2006b:260).

The cemeteries on Paros, Antiparos and Despotiko were excavated alongside graves on Amorgos, Syros and Siphnos by Tsountas who uncovered a total of one hundred and ninety graves in his campaigns (Hekman 2003:5; Rambach 2000a:4; Tsountas 1898, 1899). Tsountas was the first archaeologist to carry out systematic excavations, recording the size of graves and the position of skeletal remains and for this he is known as the founder of the study of Greek Prehistory (Hekman 2003:5). Although Tsountas included details of graves with artefacts and skeletal remains, those graves without artefacts are excluded from his publications. Unfortunately, this means that many graves are unrecorded.

Rambach (2000a:4) revealed that 51 of the 190 graves that Tsountas excavated contained no inclusions at all even though the graves were undisturbed upon excavation. From the 131 graves that did contain grave goods many only contained a simple clay pot. Nineteen graves also contained a few beads or obsidian blades. Rambach's observations note that from Tsountas' excavations there is little emphasis placed on ostentatious display or items of high status being placed with the dead. This represents personal choice by the living for the dead. Rambach has attempted to connect items that were recorded in museums with Tsountas excavations and has done so with some success, although some items recorded in paper museum records can no longer be physically located. Tsountas, rather than numbering graves individually at sites, instead chose to run numbers on across locations and islands. Not all numbers are represented in the sequence, for example, at Panaghia only ten graves are published from twenty three uncovered numbered between numbers 56-77. This can present a confusing picture of the available evidence.

On Paros there are many EC cemeteries including those at Aghios Nikolaos, Avyssos, Drios, Episkopiana, Galana Krimna, Glypha, Kamari, Kampos, Kostos, Levkais, Masada, Mnimoria, Panayia, Plastiras, Pyrgos (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:319). Most contain little or no available data and as a result will not be included here. To explain this, for example, at Aghios Nikolaos there are only five graves, possibly later than the ECI period (Renfrew 1972:515; Varoucha 1925-1926:98-104). Only Grave 1 is worthy of note as it contained two skulls and several marble vessels including plates and kylixes (Varoucha 1925-1926:99-100).

At Avyssos there was a settlement and cemetery, the former producing traces of copper slag (Renfrew 1972:157; Tsountas 1898:176). The cemetery, which dates to ECI-II, produced ten graves from Tsountas' excavations but only four are published. These graves included pottery, obsidian, spindle whorls and some copper slag pieces (Broodbank 2002:169; Karantzali 1996:30; Rambach 2000:38; Renfrew 1972:515; Tsountas 1898:176). The cemetery at Avyssos is no longer visible today due to erosion of the site (Doumas 1977:29; Rambach 2000:38; Tsountas 1898:160).

Little is known about the cemetery of Drios on Paros except for Tsountas (1898:139) commenting on two groups of graves arranged either side of a rocky area (Doumas 1977:30; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:320; Renfrew 1972:515; Tsountas 1898:139). A similar situation occurs with Episkopiana which is known to be a cist grave cemetery, however, the number of graves is also unknown (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:319; Renfrew 1972:515).

The cemetery of Galana Krimna is known to have contained twenty eight graves, with eleven containing grave goods but only two graves were published by Tsountas (Rambach 2000:4, 18; Renfrew 1972:515; Tsountas 1898:142). Glypha cemetery was excavated by Tsountas in 1897 and contained ten cist graves, however only four were published (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:321; Karantzali 1996:31; Rambach 2000:15-17; Renfrew 1972:515; Tsountas 1898:155-156). The cemetery of Kamari contained four cist graves and notably terracotta vases, marble figurine and cup which contained traces of red pigment (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:319; Karantzali 1996:30; Rambach 2000:39-40; Renfrew 1972:515).

Kamos contained a cemetery and the site lends its name to the Kampos pottery type. Varoucha (1925-6:98-114) comments on two of the graves and some finds from the site, which was heavily eroded by the sea (Doumas 1977:29; Renfrew 1984a:46-47). This site was not included in Renfrew's Gazetteer (1972:514). The area around Kostos was reported to have contained cist graves but when Tsountas looked for these they could not be found (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:320; Renfrew 1972:515). Levkais contains cist graves from ECI (Renfrew 1972:515; Tsountas 1898:140) but little evidence is published for the site. Massada may contain graves

but the exact location is unknown (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:320; Renfrew 1972:515). Mnimoria contained an unknown number of EC graves (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:321; Renfrew 1972:515) as the site has been destroyed or looted. Only one grave is noted by Tsountas (Rambach 2000:21; Tsountas 1898:156).

From the list of cemetery sites on Paros, three have been selected at Panaghia with twenty three graves (Hope Dickinson and Simpson 1979:32; Renfrew 1972:515; Tsountas 1898:156-158), Pyrgos containing fifty eight graves from the ECI period (Broodbank 2002:222; Karantzali 1996:30; Renfrew 1972:515; Tsountas 1898:158-160) and finally Plastiras with twelve graves (Figure 3.43) (Renfrew 1972:514).

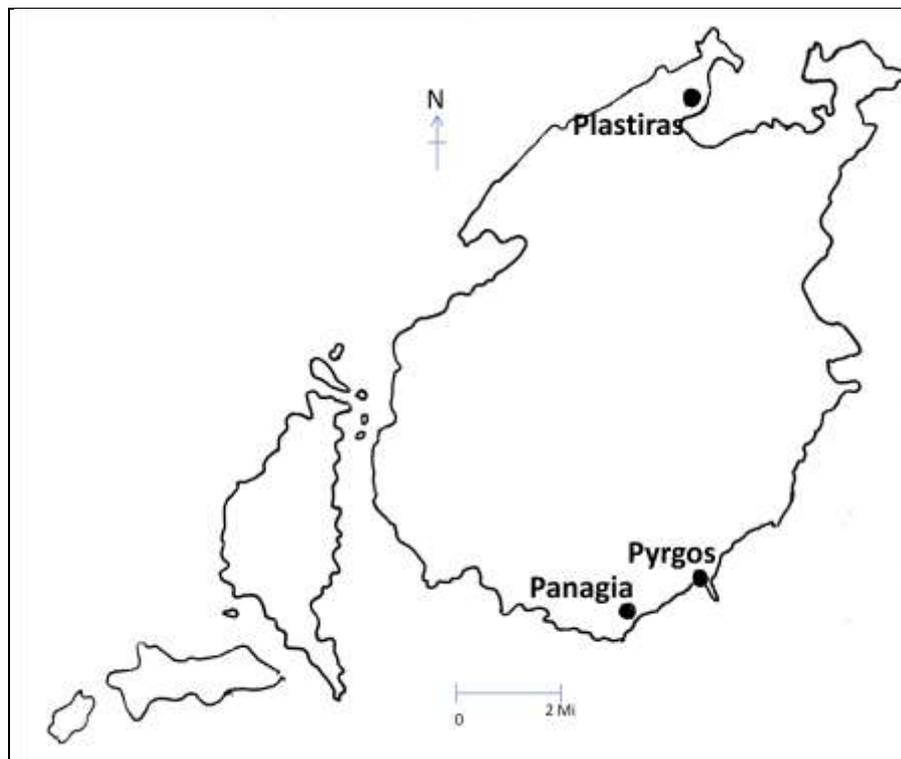


Figure 3.43 The location of selected EC cemetery sites on Paros

3.11.1 Panaghia

Panaghia is located 2km northwest of Pyrgos and contains a cemetery of twenty three graves excavated by Tsountas (1898:156-158) but only ten are published (Doumas 1977:42; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:321; Karantzali 1996:30; Renfrew 1972:515). All the graves date to the ECI period (Doumas 1977:25).

3.11.1.1 *Grave Architecture*

All that is known about the grave architecture at Panaghia is that graves were small cists with capstones. Their exact construction is unknown. Burials at the site have been recorded in some cases with graves containing single burials except for Grave 57 which contained two burials (Doumas 1977:42; Karantzali 1996:30).

3.11.1.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

Burials at Panaghia were placed towards the back of the grave, with bodies laid on their right side, with the skull placed to the left of the grave. Grave 56 contained skull fragments to the left of the grave (Tsountas 1898:156). Between the skull and the left rear corner of the grave were four stone beads, four copper wire fragments and an unspecified bone from a hand. Between the skull and the left front corner were a marble dish and on the back wall were obsidian items. By the feet of the deceased a marble bowl, obsidian blade and flakes, a shell, a pebble and lump of red pigment were found with a marble palette (Rambach 2000:21-22; Tsountas 1898:156-157).

Grave 57 had two large stones capping the tomb. Inside the grave were two skulls, both accompanied by a clay vessel (one jar and one pot) and two obsidian blades (Rambach 2000:23; Tsountas 1898:157). Grave 58 contained the remains of a skull and a clay pot placed in front of the face (Rambach 2000:23; Tsountas 1898:157). Grave 59 contained one skull placed to the left, accompanied by a pyxis and three

obsidian blades. In the front right corner was another pyxis, both were in poor condition (Rambach 2000:24; Tsountas 1898:157). The sequence of number then changes and the next grave recorded by Tsountas (1898:157) is Grave 63.

Grave 63 contained a single burial which was placed against the back wall of the grave. The skull was located in the left front corner of the grave. A footed vessel was placed in front of the face and a pyxis behind the skull. This grave is of interest as it also contains carbonised remains of organic material which could indicate burning or fumigation within the grave or the burning of offerings as part of funeral ritual (Rambach 2000:24; Tsountas 1898:157). For Graves 64, 65, 66 and 67 Rambach (2000:25) has located two marble jars and a pyxis with lid from museum records. The next grave recorded by Tsountas is Grave 68 which contained skeletal remains, a pyxis and a jar (Rambach 2000:25-26; Tsountas 1898:157-158). Grave 69 was found to have the remains of a skull to the left side of the grave and a marble vessel in the right corner (Rambach 2000:26; Tsountas 1898:158).

For Graves 71 and 72 Rambach located a footed jar and a clay vessel from museum inventories (Rambach 2000:26). Grave 73 contained a burial of a person unusually lying on their left side with a marble jar and conch shell in front of the skull (Rambach 2000:27; Tsountas 1898:158). A pyxis was located for Grave 74 by Rambach (2000:27). Grave 75 contained a burial placed on its right side with a clay pot and footed jar (Rambach 2000:27; Tsountas 1898:158). Rambach located a clay bowl which could be from Grave 76 from museum inventory (Rambach 2000:28). Finally, Grave 77 did not contain bones but may represent a child burial (Rambach 2000:28; Tsountas 1898:158). Grave 77 did however include a figurine and stone pendant (Rambach 2000:27; Tsountas 1898:158).

3.11.1.3 *Ritual*

Although no pavements or platforms are recorded at Panaghia, ritual practices are evident at the site through burial practices and the careful placement of artefacts in front of the face and by the feet of the dead.

3.11.2 Plastiras

Plastiras sits 50m from the shore line and contains twelve cist graves (Figure 3.44) (Doumas 1977:34, 96; Karantzali 1996:29; Renfrew 1972:514). The cemetery is dated to the ECI-II transitional period and was excavated in 1962 by Doumas (1977:97). In 1962 the site had been disturbed with some of the grave capstones removed, probably due to the land being ploughed. Only four graves at Plastiras were found intact (Doumas 1977:97-100; Karantzali 1996:29; Renfrew 1972:514). Vases from the site are now in the Paros museum.

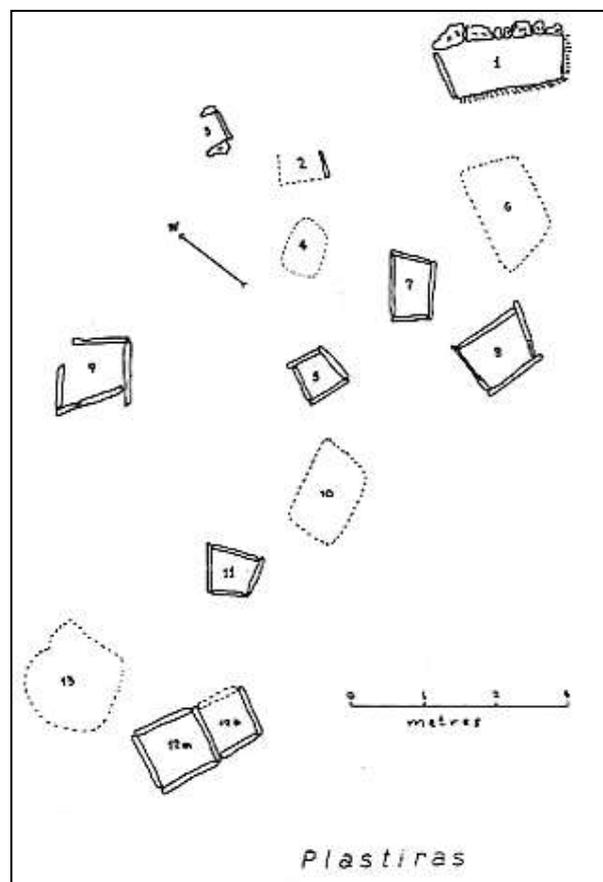


Figure 3.44 Plan of Plastiras, Paros (Doumas 1977:33 Fig 16)

3.11.2.1 Grave Architecture

The graves at Plastiras are small trapezoidal cists, two of the tombs have paved flooring and none have pillow slabs (Aram Stern 2004:891; Doumas 1977:96). Due

to the small size of the graves, bodies would have been placed in tightly contracted positions (Aram Stern 2004:891; Doumas 1977:97). Grave 6 was damaged and looted with the south side of the grave missing (Doumas 1977:98). Grave 8 was complete but the capstone had been removed.

3.11.2.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

Only three graves contain skeletal remains at Plastiras (Graves 1, 6 and 8). However, Grave 1 is a later addition to the site dating from the Roman period (Doumas 1963:283; 1977:97) and therefore will not be discussed in detail here. Grave 6 contained skeletal remains, located in the left hand corner of the grave and a marble jar in the Paros museum is believed to have belonged to this grave (Doumas 1977:98). Grave 8 contained skeletal remains which were found on a floor slab which also contained a powdery yellow substance (Aram Stern 2004:891; Doumas 1977:98). Only a single vase was found in this grave (Doumas 1977:98). Doumas (1977:97) suggested that artefacts would be placed in front of the face but it is unknown how this has been determined if little skeletal data was recovered at Plastiras.

Although empty of skeletal remains, the most notable grave for its inclusions is Grave 9. Grave 9 (Figure 3.45) is mentioned by Broodbank (2002:222) as standing out for its rich grave inclusions. An intact grave, it included a marble bowl with red pigment, two collared jars, four female figurines, some small fragments of obsidian, a bronze needle and a whetstone (Doumas 1977:98-100). The looted graves may have once contained similar items. Some of the tombs at Plastiras could have been used for children due to their size (Tomb 2, 3, 4, 5) (Doumas 1977:97), however, there is no way of establishing this through the archaeological evidence. There are no pavements found at this site.

As previously noted, most of the graves at Plastiras had been plundered before excavation. Marble could have been a popular inclusion in graves as four vessels were found in three of the graves and marble figurines are common (Doumas

1977:97) but caution must be taken as much evidence may have been lost through the looting of the site. Marble inclusions may occur because of the material's availability on the island and not necessarily as a prestige commodity. However, the difficulty in the working of marble and the skill involved signifies some meaning behind the inclusion of marble vessels even though the material may be plentiful. Pottery as grave goods is rare and of poor quality (Doumas 1977:97).

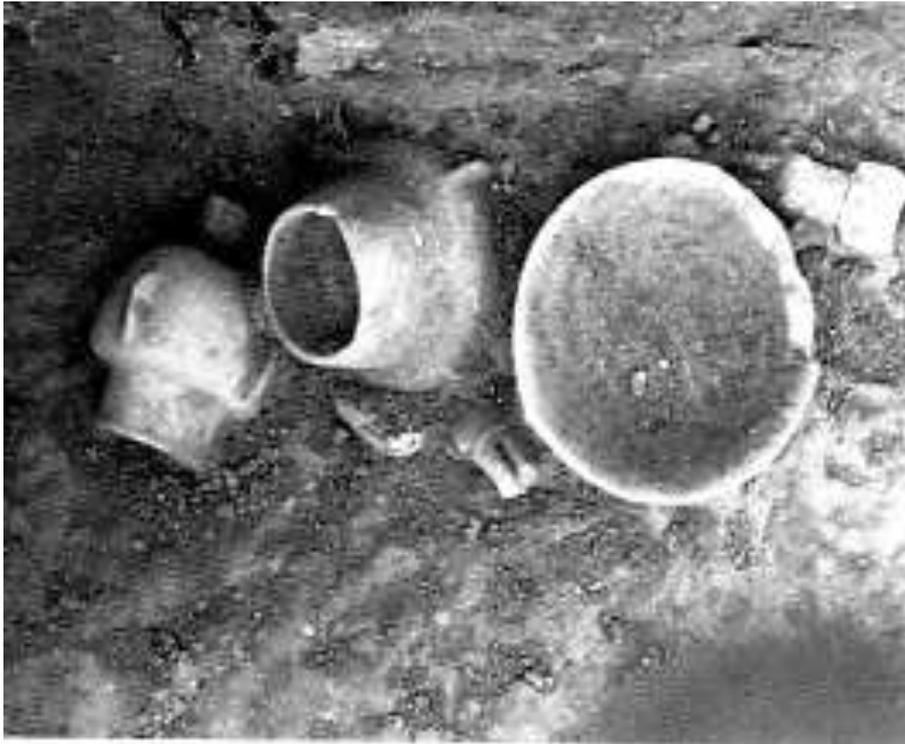


Figure 3.45 Tomb 9 artefacts at Plastiras (Doumas 1977:Plate XI e)

3.11.2.3 *Ritual*

No platforms or pavements have been noted for Plastiras, however, flooring has been found in some of the graves. A powdery yellow substance in Grave 8 and red pigments found on some of the artefacts indicate colour being used in the funeral environment.

3.11.3 Pyrgos

Pyrgos is located on the south east coast of the island and contains a settlement and cemetery. The settlement contained rectangular structures and one apsidal house (Barber and MacGillivray 1980:149; Karantzali 1996:30). The cemetery contained fifty eight graves from the ECI and ECII periods (Doumas 1977:25, 31, 42, Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:321; Karantzali 1996:30; Rambach 2000:28; Renfrew 1972:515; Tsountas 1898:149, 158-160). Today, the site is partly covered by the sea.

3.11.3.1 *Grave Architecture*

From fifty eight graves unfortunately Tsountas seems to have only recorded nineteen which he numbered between 82 to 105 (Rambach 2000:28-39; Tsountas 1898:158-160). No details are known about the grave architecture except that graves at the site are cists (Rambach 2000:28). Some of the graves are noted as being destroyed. Grave 100 was of special mention for its inclusion of a pillow stone (Rambach 2000:33).

3.11.3.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

The graves at Pyrgos do not include any recorded skeletal data. Artefacts have been published and these include pyxides or other pottery items such as small clay pots, a large number of stone beads (eight in Grave 88, two in Grave 90, three in Grave 93, eight in Grave 102 and three in Grave 105) and pendants of birds and animals (Karantzali 1996:30; Rambach 2000:30-31, 32, 34; Tsountas 1898:158-160). Marble jars were also allocated from a museum inventory to Grave 94 and Grave 104 at Pyrgos by Rambach (2000:32, 37). There was also a marble bowl and pestle located in the front of Grave 98 which contained traces of red pigment (Rambach 2000:33; Tsountas 1898:159).

Three graves seem to stand out from the others published from this site for its artefacts which should be mentioned individually. Grave 100 contained a small pyxis and two figurines (Rambach 2000:33). Grave 103 also seems significant as it contained offerings of shells, clay vessels, seven stone beads, fourteen figurines and twenty pieces of shell (Doumas 1977:59; Rambach 2000:35-36; Tsountas 1898:159-160). Grave 105 contained a pyxis in the middle of the grave containing five beads, two of which are bird shape, and shells (Rambach 2000:37; Tsountas 1898:160).

3.11.3.3 *Ritual*

Due to the large amount of missing data from Pyrgos it is very difficult to accurately comment on ritual practices at the site.

3.12 ANTIPAROS

Antiparos sits between the southwest shore of Paros and Despotikon (Zapheiroupolou 2006b:269) and would have once been connected to Paros by an isthmus (Barber 1987:11; Broodbank 2008:51; Coleman 1974:333-334; Doumas 2006a:23; Evans and Renfrew 1968:89; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:322; Renfrew 1972:503; Sampson 2006:34; Zapheiroupolou 2006b:260). Evidence for the EC occupation of Antiparos is found in cist grave cemeteries located mainly in the south (Zapheiroupolou 2006b:269) however, these fall out of the criteria of this research as they contain only a small number of burials.

Many of the graves on Antiparos were illicitly excavated. An example of some of these sites include Phira and Vaivouna, a small cemetery of eight graves (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:322; Renfrew 1972:516). Other cemeteries were reported but not excavated such as Psargoa and Georgoulas (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:322-323; Renfrew 1972:516). Bent (Bent 1885:404-410; Bent and Garson 1884:53; Vlachopoulos 2006:23) mentions opening forty graves and having interesting artefacts from two graveyards ('Site A?') but neither location is named

and no plan is available. One of these cemeteries may represent the site of Apantima, a cist grave cemetery on the east coast reported by Tsountas (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:323; Karantzali 1996:31; Renfrew 1972: 517; Tsountas 1898:140), the other could be Soros (Hope Dickinson and Simpson 1979:324; Renfrew 1972:517). Another site of Aghios Sostis was located through the stone slabs which once made up the graves now to be found as part of a field wall (Hope Dickinson and Simpson 1979:324; Renfrew 1972:517) and is 'identical to Soros' (Renfrew 1972:517) and so this site may also be a contender for Bent's excavations. Petalidhi was a cemetery also reported by Tsountas (1898:140; Renfrew 1972:31) to the south of Antiparos (Hope Dickinson and Simpson 1979:324) but little about the site is known except that it was looted and another site at Tsimindiri located between Antiparos and Despotikon contained at least one cist grave (Bent 1885:404; Doumas 1977:25; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:323; Renfrew 1972:516). The cist grave cemetery at Krassadhes, located on the west coast of Antiparos is the only cemetery to have produced published data.

3.12.1 Krassadhes

The cemetery at Krassadhes was excavated by Tsountas (1898:161) who provided an account of nine out of fifty graves he excavated (Doumas 1977:31; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:323; Karantzali 1996:31; Rambach 2000:41; Tsountas 1898:161-162). The graves were not dated by Tsountas and there is no site plan, but the cemetery is believed to date from ECI (Doumas 1977:25; Renfrew 1972:516).

3.12.1.1 Grave Architecture

Little data has been recorded for the architecture of graves at Krassadhes with the main emphasis for publication being on artefacts produced from the site. It is known that a pillow stone was located in Grave 114 (Rambach 2000:42; Tsountas 1898:161).

3.12.1.2 Burials and the treatment of the dead

Graves which did have skeletal data include single and multiple burials (Tsountas 1898:162; Doumas 1977:43). Grave 114 held a double burial with a skull to the left of the grave and the skull of the second resting on the legs of the first. The remains of a pillow stone was found to the left of the grave (Rambach 2000:42; Tsountas 1898:161). Grave goods included two clay vessels (Doumas 1977:60; Rambach 2000:42; Tsountas 1898:161). Grave 115 contained a skull found in the back left corner and nine beads, some rock crystal (Tsountas 1898:161; Doumas 1977:61) and two figurines placed in front of the face of the deceased (Rambach 2000:42-43; Tsountas 1898:161). Grave 117 contained a single skull in the back left corner of the grave with a marble vessel in front of the skull and thirteen figurines and a small marble bowl in the right hand corner of the grave at the feet (Rambach 2000:44-45; Tsountas 1898:162). Grave 117 is cited by Broodbank (2002:222) as a wealthy tomb for its finds. Grave 118 was almost square and contained a single burial with a clay pot, a deep clay bowl and obsidian blade placed close to the skull (Rambach 2000:46; Tsountas 1898:162). Grave 119 contained a single skull in the left corner with a clay pot and two stone beads in front of the face of the deceased (Rambach 2000:46; Tsountas 1898:162).

Graves for which there is no skeletal data but only artefacts recorded include Grave 112 which had been looted and contained only the fragments of two marble basins and the head of a marble figurine (Rambach 2000:41; Tsountas 1898:161). Grave 113 included a marble bowl and grey blue pebble (Rambach 2000:42; Tsountas 1898:42). Grave 116 was found empty except for two stone beads (Rambach 2000:44; Tsountas 1898:161). Grave 120 contained a pottery vessel and two reddish stone beads (Rambach 2000:46; Tsountas 1898:162). Rambach (2000:47) located a marble vessel cited as being from Grave 122 at Krassadhes but not noted in Tsountas' work.

3.12.1.3 *Ritual*

No platforms, pavements or other notable cemetery features are presented for this site. Ritual practices can be seen through the burial practices including the placing of the head on a pillow stone and careful placement of artefacts in front of the face of the deceased.

3.13 **DHESPOTIKON**

Dhespotikon lies to the south of Paros and Antiparos. There are two known ECI cemeteries, one at Zoumbaria and the other at Livadhi. Tsountas (1898:141) reported on cist graves at Panaghia but little data exists for this area and the graves are not confirmed (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:325; Renfrew 1972:517).

3.13.1 **Livadhi**

Livadhi is located by the sea on the south coast on a gentle slope (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:325). The site was excavated by Tsountas (1898:163) and there was illicit excavation at the site afterwards (Renfrew 1972:517). Zappeiropoulou may have also excavated at the site later and uncovered pyxides, collared jars and vases but no publication is known (Karanzali 1996:32). Tsountas' excavation has been used in this research for Livadhi. The cemetery dated by the artefacts found at site to have been in use in both ECI and ECII periods (Barber and McGillivray 1980:145; Doumas 1977:25; Renfrew 1972:517).

3.13.1.1 *Grave Architecture*

Graves at Livadhi were located in three groups, the first of six double graves (including Tsountas serial numbers 123-126 and 130), the second group of four simple single graves (including Tsountas serial numbers 127-129) and thirdly, eight

to nine multi-storey graves (including Tsountas serial numbers 131-133). Grave 126 is constructed of three-storeys and the upper level of Grave 123 dates from the Roman period (Rambach 2000:49; Tsountas 1898:162). As grave serial numbers indicate, not all excavated graves are represented in Tsountas' publication (Rambach 2000:48). No plan is available for any of the grave groups or for the overall site.

3.13.1.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

From grave group I, Grave 123 contained an unspecified number of bones, three obsidian blades and the head of a bone needle (Rambach 2000:49). Grave 124 contained two skeletons in the upper grave, one to the left and the other to the right of the grave but no grave goods were found (Rambach 2000:49; Tsountas 1898:162-163). The grave below contained unspecified bones, pyxides and obsidian blades (Rambach 2000:49; Tsountas 1898:163).

Grave 125 contained no skeletal remains in the upper grave but did contain fragments of marble vessels (bowls?) and two obsidian blades. The grave below contained an unspecified number of bones and obsidian blade fragments (Rambach 2000:50; Tsountas 1898:163). Grave 126 contained no bones in the upper grave but did produce a copper needle, pottery sherds and a layer of blackened soil (Tsountas 1898:163). The middle grave contained an unspecified number of bones, fragments of a skyphos, obsidian blades and a pyxis. The final grave contained more bones, some clay pot fragments and two obsidian blades (Rambach 2000:50, 51; Tsountas 1898:163). Grave 130 was mostly damaged (Tsountas 1898:163). The upper grave contained a frying pan and some unspecified bones and the lower grave again contained unspecified bones and two fragments of a pyxis and obsidian blade (Rambach 2000:51, 224).

From grave group II, Graves 127, 128 and 129, only one grave contained any burial information, Grave 128. Grave 128 contained two skeletons with skulls close to the left grave wall and a marble bowl and obsidian blade (Rambach 2000:52; Tsountas 1898:163). Grave 127 is noted as having contained two marble figurines (Rambach

2000:52; Tsountas 1898:163) and Grave 129 is mentioned by Broodbank (2002:222) as containing prestige materials including a marble jar and marble palette with traces of coloured pigment (Rambach 2000:52; Tsountas 1898:163). There were also three figurines found in the grave and two pebbles all with traces of red pigment (Rambach 2000:53; Tsountas 1898:163).

From grave group III there are only two graves recorded, Graves 131 and 133. Both graves contain multiple burials. Grave 131 is reported as almost square in shape (Tsountas 1898:163) with a sandstone stone and two further stones (one with graffiti) used to cover the grave (Tsountas 1898:164). The grave above contained the remains of at least five individuals with three skulls located to the left and two in the right rear and front corner (Rambach 2000:53; Tsountas 1898:163). Between the skulls was a pyxis with lid (Rambach 2000:53-54; Tsountas 1898:164). The grave below produced bones of a least two skeletons and obsidian blade fragments (Rambach 2000:54; Tsountas 1898:164). Grave 133 was a multi-storey grave with three levels, the top of the grave roofed by three slabs (Rambach 2000:54). The grave above contained at least five dead, three to the left, one to the right and one in the middle of the grave (Rambach 2000:54; Tsountas 1898:164). A clay pot and two pieces of obsidian were also found (Rambach 2000:54). The middle grave contained the remains of two skeletons with an obsidian blade. The lowest grave also contained unspecified bones (Rambach 2000:54; Tsountas 1898:164).

Graves at Livadhi were provided with obsidian blades and rarely with other objects (Doumas 1977:60). Although they are the most prolific inclusion, data collected and presented by Rambach (2000:48-54) indicates that although only a few items remain, there is a good spread of artefact type including fragments of a bone and copper needles (Grave 123 and 125) pyxides or fragments of pyxides (Grave 124, 126, 130, 131), marble bowls or marble bowl fragments (Grave 125, 128), marble jars (Grave 129), fragments of skyphos (Grave 126), frying pan (Grave 130), figurines (Grave 127, 129), pebbles (Grave 129) and several clay pots. Karantzali (1996:32) also reported stone beads and a human foot pendant.

3.13.1.3 *Ritual*

Although no platforms and pavements are recorded at Livadhi, ideas could be presented towards grave clearance at the site due to the top sections of multi-storey graves being empty of skeletal material. The presence of obsidian in many of the graves also highlights the importance of the material and its possible practical use in cemetery ritual at the site. Red pigment traces on vessels and stones signify the use of pigments as part of funeral practices at this cemetery.

3.13.2 **Zoumbaria**

To the north of Dhespotiko the settlement and cist grave cemetery of Zoumbaria can be found. The cemetery at Zoumbaria, located on the eastern slope of a ridge, was in use in both the ECI and ECII periods (Barber-MacGillivray 1980:145; Doulas 1977:25; Renfrew 1972:517). Tsountas (1898:163) excavated fourteen graves followed by Zapheiroulou in 1959 who excavated a further twenty (Bossert and Erhardt 1965:112-124; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:324; Karantzali 1996:31; Kourayos 2006:269; Rambach 2000:55; Renfrew 1972:517; Zapheiroulou 1960:246-247).

3.13.2.1 *Grave Architecture*

Tsountas published five of the fourteen graves he excavated at Zoumbaria (Rambach 2000:55-59; Tsountas 1898:164-165) but included little about the grave architecture except for Grave 135 which he noted had been furnished with a pillow stone on which to place the head of the dead (Tsountas 1898:164). Unfortunately, this lack of data continued with Zapheiroulou's (1960:246-247) excavation of the site, with only a very brief account of the twenty graves excavated in 1959. However, Zapheiroulou (1960:246-247) does note that tombs at Zoumbaria were trapezoidal.

Bossert and Erhardt (1965:113) also recorded details of two graves at Zoumbaria, Grave 5 and Grave 10. Grave 5 (Figure 3.46) being described as trapezoidal in shape, well preserved and undisturbed with a large stone covering the grave (Bossert and Erhardt 1965:113).

3.13.2.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

The graves Tsountas excavated contained burials placed on their right side in a contracted position accompanied by very few grave goods. Grave 134 contained a clay jar (Rambach 2000:55). Grave 135 had a skull located in the right rear corner on a pillow stone (Tsountas 1898:164) with a pyxis and lid in front. Near the rear wall was 'heaped' fifty beads, pendants and a clay jar (Rambach 2000:56-57; Tsountas 1898:165). Grave 136 contained the remains of one skull in the left rear corner with a clay jar in front of the skull (Rambach 2000:57; Tsountas 1898:165). Grave 137 contained skull fragments in the left corner with a worn clay pot, three figurines and three flat pebbles were placed in front (Rambach 2000:58; Tsountas 1898:165). Grave 138 contained the remains of a skull in the back left corner with a clay pot and two stone beads in front (Rambach 2000:58-59; Tsountas 1898:165).

Zapheirpoulou (1960:246-247), like Tsountas, also found that dead were placed on their right side, the head to the west and in a contracted position. Zapheirpoulou noted that ten tombs were empty of any grave inclusions and the remainder contained a clay vessel and a pyxis (Rambach 2000:55; Zapheirpoulou 1960:247). Zapheirpoulou also mentioned traces of an enclosure wall from a nearby settlement (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:324).

Bossert and Erhardt (1965:112-124) took part in Zapheirpoulou's excavations and published some grave information in detail (Grave 5 and 10), however, their main focus was on grave inclusions and whether pyxides could represent the burial of females, the study of the two skulls from the graves and confirmation of their sex. Grave 5 (Figure 3.46) included the remains of one person, likely female, lying on the right side with the head to the south (Bossert and Erhardt 1965:113, 117, 118). A

coarseware pyxis and an obsidian blade were found in the southwest corner behind the skull. The pyxis was similar in type to those found also on Melos and Naxos. This is now located in the Museum of Paros (Bossert and Erhardt 1965:113-114). Grave 10 contained a skull, determined by J.L. Angel to be that of a male (Bossert and Erhardt 1965:115, 117, 119-120) but little else is recorded about this grave. Except for the skulls located in Grave 5 and 10 there does not seem to be any other surviving skeletal material from the Zoumbaria excavation. Bossert and Erhardt (1965:112) suggested that the material may have deteriorated during the excavation process. The location of the skulls from Graves 5 and 10 is not known today but initially these were studied at the University of Tübingen and may now be in the Museum of Paros.

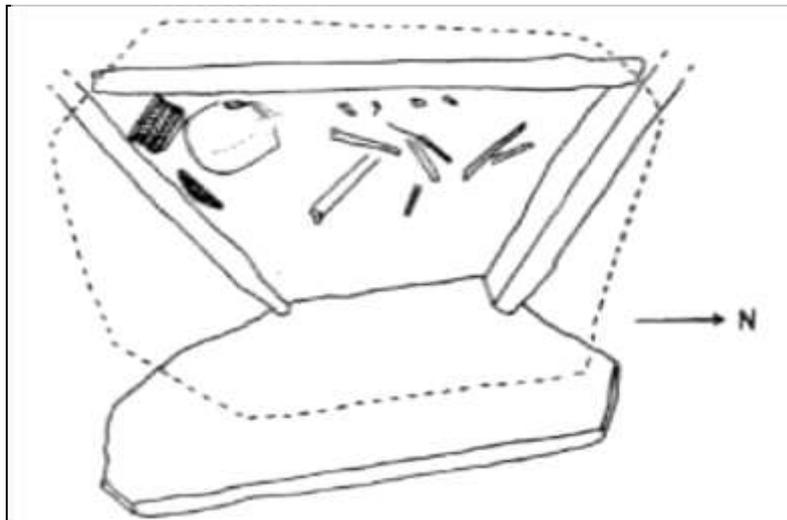


Figure 3.46 Grave 5 at Zoumbaria (Bossert and Erhardt 1965:113)

3.13.2.3 *Ritual*

No platforms or pavements are noted for Zoumbaria, however, the use of pillow stones in the graves may be a sign of ritual practices surrounding the burial of the dead.

3.14 SIPHNOS

The island of Siphnos is well known for providing evidence for ancient mining of metal ores. In the EBA the island produced silver and lead and in the later Archaic period gold was found (Alram Stern 2004:860; Doumas 2006a:22; Mazarakis Ainian 2006c:252). The most well known mineral mine was located in the area of Ayios Sostis (Davis 2001:49) which produced lead and silver and provided evidence of slag residues, large crucibles, air tubes, stone mallets, charcoal and coarse ceramics (Alram Stern 2004:860, 861).

There are two EC cemeteries on Siphnos cited by Renfrew (1972:511) at Akrotiraki and Vathy. The other EBA sites of Kastro and Aghios Andreas are settlement sites, unrelated to cemeteries (Renfrew 1972:511). The cemetery site of Vathy contains four ECI graves, two only of which are reported by Tsountas (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:312-3; Rambach 2000:64; Tsountas 1899:73) as Graves 148 and 149 with no details of the burials included. For this reason this site is not included in this research.

3.14.1 Akrotiraki

Akrotiraki was found and seemingly heavily looted in 1893. Located on a small promontory a cemetery and settlement was found near Platys Gialos (Papadopoulou 2001-2004:136-137; Rambach 2000:60; Renfrew 1972:511). Pollak (1896:210) first reported on the island and Tsountas (1899:76) undertook the excavation of Akrotiraki in 1898 but no site plan has been found.

3.14.1.1 *Grave Architecture*

The graves are described as being trapezoidal cists topped by stone slabs (Rambach 2000:60) probably dating to the ECI-ECII period (Doumas 1977:25; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:312; Renfrew 1972:511). There are various reports on the

number of graves excavated by Tsountas. Tsaliki (2005:140) mentioned twelve, whereas Rambach (2000:60-64) reported that eight were excavated. Six graves have been found from Tsountas' notes. Grave 142, 143, 145 and 146 are multi-storey graves. Grave 142 had an upper grave, trapezoidal in form, and a rectangular structure for the lower part of the grave. Papadopoulou also excavated a two-storey grave at Akrotiraki in 2001 (Tsaliki 2005:148).

3.14.1.2 Burials and the treatment of the dead

Published graves indicate single and multiple burials at Akrotiraki (Rambach 2000:60-64; Tsaliki 2005:140) arranged in three groups of three, four or five graves (Rambach 2000:60). In the top of Grave 142 two skulls were located in the left front corner and one other, the location of which is unknown (Rambach 2000:60). Between the three skulls were four clay mugs, a marble bowl and copper tweezers were found near one of the skulls. In the lower layer of Grave 142 unspecified bones were found along with a scallop shell, obsidian blade, stone beads and a chunk of red pigment (Rambach 2000:61). One of the beads was bird shaped (Rambach 2000:61).

Grave 143 had two levels containing three individuals, two fragments of marble bowls and undecorated fragments of a frying pan (Rambach 2000:62). Grave 144 did not have any skeletal remains recorded, only a frying pan (Rambach 2000:62). Grave 145 contained two levels, the upper grave had a body lying on its right side the arm of the deceased was placed under the body, the hand was placed by the head. The other arm was bent and the hand was placed by the face or on top of a frying pan as finger bones were found on the pan. A pyxis was also located in the centre of the grave with an obsidian blade. Nothing is recorded for the lower grave. Grave 146 had two levels but no skeletal remains have been recorded. A frying pan with incised decoration was found in the top grave and a figurine with half a missing head was found in the lower grave (Rambach 2000:63). Grave 147 was a single grave but contained no burial information. Only a marble figurine was found in this grave (Rambach 2000:64). The bones which were found during the excavation at

Akrotiraki were seemingly sent to Athens but unfortunately are now lost (Tsaliki 2005:140).

Papadopoulou also excavated a two-storey grave at Akrotiraki in 2001 found to be from the EC period which provided some skeletal material in poor condition of individuals placed in a contracted position (Tsaliki 2005:148). Two individuals were found in the upper grave and one (or two) in the lower grave (Tsaliki 2005:150-151). Within the upper part of the grave soil some shells and parts of a skull were discovered (Tsaliki 2005:149).

3.14.1.3 Ritual

No platforms or pavements are noted for Akrotiraki, however, ritual practices at the cemetery are represented through the manipulation of the body. The hand or hands of the deceased intentionally placed on the head or on artefacts placed in the grave.

3.15 SYROS

There are two known EC cemeteries known on Syros at Ayios Loukas and Chalandriani. A further site containing tombs but no other data was found at Krokidas and two or three graves at Pidhima (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:311; Renfrew 1972:514).

3.15.1 Ayios Loukas

Tsountas (1899:79) is known to have excavated ninety four graves at the Ayios Loukas cemetery, located on the North West tip of Syros, all except one were dated to ECII (Barber 1981:167; Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:311; Renfrew 1972:514). Unfortunately, little is known about Ayios Loukas except that graves were round or tetragonal with corbelled walls and topped by stone slabs and that

artefacts were similar to Chalandriani (Barber 1981:167; Karantzali 1996:34; Rambach 2000:68). The one grave which was thought to date to ECIIIA at Ayios Loukas contained a grey minyan bowl, a long necked jug, and two pyxides (cylindrical with lid and spherical). Barber dated the grave to the later ECIIIB period (Alram Stern 2004:872; Barber 1981:18, 173).

3.15.2 Chalandriani

The island of Syros was first inhabited in the Late and FN period to the south of the island (Marthari 2006:226). In the EBA settlement moves to the north of the island where the settlements of Chalandriani and Kastri and the cemetery of Chalandriani is located (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:310; Karantzali 1996:32; Marthari 2006a:226). Both settlement sites were located in an area with little resources, including spring water (Bossert 1967:75). Little is known about the settlement of Chalandriani, dating from the ECII period (Bouras 2010:47-52), but Tsountas (1898) placed trenches under the modern town and found remains of a settlement there (Alram Stern 2004:874; Marthari 1998:10, 22, 2014). There are detailed excavation reports available for Kastri (2300-2200 BC) the excavations of which started in 1898 by Tsountas, followed by Bossert in 1962. The settlement of Kastri is thought to date to after the cemeteries' use (Hekman 1994:52) and so no further reference will be made to it here.

The Chalandriani cemetery has been excavated by a number of people (Hekman 1994:53), officially first explored by Papadopoulos in 1861 who excavated one hundred graves, although many may have been looted before then. Papadopoulos was then followed by Stephanos in 1872-3 who excavated another fifty graves (Marthari 1998:17), neither excavator publishing any of their results in detail (Hekman 1994:53). Tsountas excavated the greatest number of graves, amounting to five hundred and forty for which there is also little information (Hekman 1994:53). Data from Tsountas' excavations was disseminated later by Rambach (Alram Stern 2004:872; Caskey 1964:64; Davis 2001:47; Dickinson 2004:211; Marthari 2014; Rambach 2000; Tsountas 1899). Bosanquet (1895-1896:141-144) excavated one

grave and then Doumas (1977:128-130; Hekman 1994:54) excavated eight to the west, most already looted.

Marisa Marthari in 2002-6 and 2008 excavated a further twenty eight graves as part of a rescue excavation (Bouras 2010:47-52). This work is yet to be fully published, however, Marthari did present her findings at a lecture in the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (May 2014). Hekman in the 1990s published the results of a surface survey of the site undertaken in 1989 (Hekman 1990:19-30, 1991:17-43, 1994:47-74, 2003) and details for the excavation of a further two graves which are also included in this work.

3.15.2.1 *Grave Architecture*

The cemetery of Chalandriani is dated from the ECII and ECIIIA period (Alram Stern 2004:290; Barber 1987:77; Barber and MacGillivray 1980:147; Karantzali 1996:33; Marthari 1998:19), producing the only examples in the Cyclades of corbelled graves in these periods, first evident from Kephala on Kea in the FN-EBA period (Hekman 1994:60). The graves at Chalandriani take the form of pits, square, rectangular, circular or semi-circular in plan, with lined walls of dry stone walling and roofed with a dome made of overlapping stones, stone in the grave used to support the head (Alram Stern 2004:289; Barber 1987:77; Bosanquet 1895:141-2; Broodbank 2008:58; Doumas 1977:47; Karantzali 1996:33; Rambach 2000:68-69; Marthari 2006a:226; Tsountas 1899:82; Zervos 1957:26).

The corbelled graves at Chalandriani contain features found in the houses of the later Kastri settlement including a lintel, door jambs, threshold and niches in the walls in which to place offerings or belongings of the dead (Alram Stern 2004:290; Doumas 1977:49; Marthari 1998:20; Rambach 2000:71; Tsountas 1899:83). Corbelled doorways were blocked from the outside with dry stone walling or a stone slab (Alram Stern 2004:289; Doumas 1977:48; Karantzali 1996:33). Not all the corbelled graves have an entrance (Barber 1987:76), implying a symbolic role for the feature.

This also suggests that the corpse was placed into the grave before the roof was built (Doumas 1977:49; Rambach 2000:71).

Tsountas noted that graves in the cemetery were located in clusters, for example four clusters in the eastern part of the cemetery (Alram Stern 2004:873; Broodbank 2008:58; Hekman 1994:54), which may be a result of topography or for protection against erosion (Barber 1987:76). However, Hekman (1994:54) argued these clusters could instead represent social units. Social organisation in EBII is defined by Renfrew through the emergence of wealth and hierarchy and distinguishing rich and poor groups (Cosmopoulos 1995:24). This would be really difficult to sufficiently establish at Chalandriani and at other sites in the Cyclades where these groupings are common. This is because much data has been lost from cemeteries (architectural, artefactual and skeletal). Initially, topography and natural features seems like the reason for grave grouping but establishing the true reason behind grave placement probably can never fully be determined.

Tsountas excavated in the region of 540 graves, describing 32 in detail (dimensions, number and location of artefacts and sometimes the position of the body) (Hekman 1994:55, 60) alongside his work on other islands (Tsountas 1898, 1899). Tsountas highlighted that before Papadopoulos' excavation a further one hundred graves had been looted by illicit excavations. Doumas' excavation of eight graves, over two days due to poor weather conditions, in 1962 belonged to the western cemetery (Doumas 1977:128; Tsountas 1899:78). Due to rapid excavation basic data has been missed, such as grave dimensions and an overall plan. Doumas' graves were located on a narrow strip of land in a row with very little top soil (Doumas 1977:128). Graves were rectangular or circular, lined with stones or slabs and had a corbelled roof.

Marthari (2014) reported on the twenty eight graves she excavated in 2002-6 and 2008 in the west sector of Chalandriani in the same area excavated by Tsountas and Doumas. The graves Marthari excavated are located on sloping ground with an enclosure wall and a ravine marking the cemetery area. The graves were found in two groups and were covered by a thin layer of topsoil. Stones were found in the soil

with pot sherds of vases which would be used for liquids. The graves themselves were cut into the bedrock and like others discovered earlier were of the corbelled type but ploughing disturbed or destroyed upper parts of the grave construction. Périboles segments encircled some of the graves (Bouras 2010:47-52).

In 1990s Hekman carried out a topographical survey of the Chalandriani cemetery area and studied the settlement remains (1990, 1991, 1994). As part of the survey he excavated four tombs which he labelled Tomb A-D (Hekman 1994:54; 2003:75-77). Tomb A was intact, circular in plan and of dry stone construction with a corbelled roof and a single large capstone on top (Hekman 1994:57-58; 2003:75). A large opening to the grave was created facing the northeast and was constructed with green schist for the lintel and upright slabs with small stones filling any gaps between the slabs and the grave wall (Alram Stern 2004:873; Hekman 1994:58; 2003:75). Outside the entrance to the grave was a dromos and a curved row of stones (Alram Stern 2004:873; Hekman 2003:75). Tomb B was in the same area, above and behind Tomb A (Figure 3.47) (Hekman 1994:58). The grave is ellipsoidal with the same walls and corbelled roof as Tomb A but with an entrance facing north. The entrance of Tomb B is constructed the same way as Tomb A with a green schist lintel (larger than Tomb A) and two upright slabs and a dromos in front (Hekman 1994:58; 2003:76). Tomb B is not as well preserved as Tomb A with soil filling the grave (Hekman 1994:58, 2003:76). Heaps of stones in the same area as Tombs A and B may be an indication of more tombs which have collapsed through the presence of green schist lintels amongst the stone heaps (Hekman 1994:55).

Tomb C was a circular corbelled grave constructed from dry stone walling and built into rock to the south (Hekman 1994:59, 2003:76). No entrance was found or any doorway. Tsountas (1899:82, 111) noted Tomb 322 as being the same in construction and two of the tombs excavated by Doumas had no entrances (Hekman 1994:59, 2003:76). Tomb D was found incomplete, with only lower dry stone course remaining (Hekman 1994:60), possibly the result of agricultural activities in the area (Hekman 2003:77). The grave was circular in plan with an entrance and two upright slabs. The entrance was blocked by a large rectangular slab (Hekman 1994:60, 2003:77). No skeletal material was included with Hekman's excavation data.



Figure 3.47 Tombs A and B at Chalandriani (Hekman 1994:58)

Around the same area as Tomb D, as with the area around Tomb A and B, there were piles of stones and green schist slabs which may be an indication of destroyed graves (Hekman 1994:60). The tombs Hekman excavated were part of two distinct grave groups, Tombs A and B to the eastern group and Tombs C and D to the western group (Hekman 1994:54).

3.15.2.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

Although Chalandriani is the largest cemetery to have been found in the Cyclades, unfortunately many of the graves are recorded in little detail, the focus being on artefacts found in the graves with little skeletal data or other features of the graves noted. All that is known about earlier excavations of the graves is that single (Doumas 1977:47-49; Karantzali 1996:33; Rambach 2000:71; Tsountas 1899:83) and multiple burials were found (Rambach 2000:71). Bodies at Chalandriani were usually placed on the left side in a contracted position, unusual for the Cyclades where bodies are (in most cases) placed on the right side (Alram Stern 2004:289; Rambach 2000:71).

Rambach (2000) has collated data produced by Tsountas' excavations at Chalandriani and has attempted to locate various artefacts recorded from the site. Not all of these artefacts could be found by Rambach in his research with some items recorded on catalogue cards but physically missing from collections. There is too much data in both Tsountas and Rambach's work to list every grave and corresponding artefacts at Chalandriani and so an overview of Tsountas' excavation has been provided below.

Tsountas only recorded the position of the body in the graves at Chalandriani for twelve tombs (Hekman 1994:63). In ten of these cases the bodies were placed on their left side and in two cases the bodies on the right (Hekman 1994:63). The dead were placed in a contracted position, often secured at the arms and legs into position by stones. Stones were also used as pillows. Once placed in the grave a roof was constructed over the grave. Some graves were found flooded by Tsountas (Rambach 2000:72). No skeletal material was examined or kept from Tsountas' excavations and Hekman (1994:61) notes that there are only a few scraps of information regarding the bodies inhumed there (Hekman 1994:61). Artefacts found in the graves were left by the head of the deceased, some behind the head, by the feet or in other parts of the grave such as in wall niches (Rambach 2000:72).

Grave 166 was a square to circular grave and the dead had been placed on the right side with stones placed on the hands and feet. A jug was located by the skull and a pyxis was found in the grave (Rambach 2000:74). Grave 172, 174, 192 and 322 were circular graves containing a body placed on its left side. Pottery in Grave 172 had been heaped by the skull and included a frying pan with incised decoration, a decorated vessel, cup, pyxis and mug (Rambach 2000:75). The skull in Grave 174 was placed on a pillow stone and two stones were placed on the hands and feet. Artefacts in the grave included marble and clay cups, a mug and frying pan (Rambach 2000:76). Grave 322 had a frying pan in front of the skull and a stone palette, knife, marble bowl, terracotta bowl, copper and two obsidian fragments at the feet (Rambach 2000:105; Tsountas 1899:73).

Grave 271 was a circular grave which contained a skull to the right of the grave. A pyxis had been placed by the head and a bone tube was near the feet, an obsidian blade was also found in the grave (Rambach 2000:96; Tsountas 1899:110). Grave 192, 242 and 264 did not contain any skeletal data. Grave 192 did contain three quadrangular slabs, frying pans, marble bowls (with blue pigment on the inside), a small clay pot and bowl and a square palette (Rambach 2000:80; Tsountas 1899:73). Grave 242 also contained marble bowls (one with blue colour), tweezers, clay pot and fragments of a bird head pin made from bone (Rambach 2000:88-89; Tsountas 1899:110). Grave 264 contained pyxides, knife/daggers, chisel, copper needle fragments, three grinding stones and chunks of red pigment to the right of the entrance (Rambach 2000:94).

Grave 205 was ellipsoid in its construction with the body placed on the left side, a vessel had been placed behind the skull. Some of the pottery items were also found by the left hand and the lower legs including a mug, a jar and a pyxis. Other items in the grave included fragments of copper tweezers and a copper pin and shells (Rambach 2000:83; Tsountas 1899:88).

Grave 307 was semi-circular with skeletal remains to the right side of the grave. Three goblets made of stone had been placed in front of the face with two figurines. Behind the head was a frying pan with a clay and marble cup inside. In the marble cup was a bone tube, another was found in one of the goblets and a third was placed in the middle of the grave. There was also a conical cup, marble cups, a marble palette and marble pestle (Rambach 2000:102-103; Tsountas 1899:111).

Graves 338, 345, 351 and 355 are described as pentagonal. The body in Grave 338 was accompanied by two pyxides and a marble bowl in front of the skull and three marble bowls, tweezers, copper spatula, two bone tubes, a clay pot and two small stone pestles near the feet. There was also a decorated clay pot and marble bowls placed before the entrance (Rambach 2000:108; Tsountas 1899:111). Grave 345 contains some unusual features. The body was placed in the grave looking towards the back wall and laid on a stone slab, secured by stones which seem to have held the arms and legs into position (Rambach 2000:72). Behind the skull was a stamped

clay pot, a figurine, marble bowl and deep marble bowl (Rambach 2000:111; Tsountas 1899:73). Grave 351 contains a niche in the back wall of the grave which contains a frying pan with incised ship decoration. The frying pan contained a bone tube and a piece of copper was underneath. A clay cup and bowl was placed in front of the skull, a clay pot behind the skull and an obsidian blade near the knee (Rambach 2000:112; Tsountas 1899:80). Grave 355 had two pots by the skull and a frying pan, three marble bowls (one with blue pigment), four copper needles, bone tube, scallop, tweezers, obsidian blade and a pin with a head in the shape of a bird (Rambach 2000:113-114; Tsountas 1899:112).

Finally from Tsountas' excavation, Graves 468 and 472 provide examples of rectangular graves. Grave 468 does not contain skeletal data but does contain a niche with a clay pot, two shells, three copper items including pins, needles and awls fragments of two finger rings, parts of a bone tube and ten perforated shells, a marble figurine, mug, six stone beads, bone needle and cylinder. In the grave itself a stone palette, a clay cup and a pebble were found (Rambach 2000:137; Tsountas 1899:73). Grave 472 contained a body placed on its right side. In front of the skull a marble vessel was found with copper items inside and two obsidian blades nearby. Clay pots were also found in the grave and copper needles, obsidian blades were found near the feet (Rambach 2000:140; Tsountas 1899:73).

When Doumas (1977:128) excavated at Chalandriani he noted that bodies were placed in a contracted position in the grave although there is no skeletal material discussed in his publication. From the eight graves excavated by Doumas, only Tomb 3 was complete but even this was damaged, the rest of the graves were looted (Doumas 1977:129; Hekman 1994:56). Tomb 3 was found with a small pottery bowl, marble stemmed cup and small bowl, a metal spatula made of bronze and a broken bone tube with stone stopper which once contained a blue substance (Doumas 1977:129), probably a pigment. The only item which was found in the eight graves away from Tomb 3 was a small obsidian blade near Tomb 8 (Doumas 1977:130), probably overlooked by grave robbers.

Marthari's excavations (2014) produced five small graves believed to belong to children although no skeletal remains are present. These graves sit close to each other and contain a conical cup in one and a conical cup and bowl in the other. The excavation produced graves without passageways and with false entrances, different to the grave type excavated by Tsountas. Single burials in contracted positions lay on the floor of the tomb. Grave 23, however, produced a corpse lying on schist. Grave 7 produced a niche in the wall in which offerings were placed for the dead.

Artefacts uncovered by Marthari include a variety of materials including pottery and marble vessels, jewellery, bronze and stone tools, some include seals, marble figurines and incised and stamped frying pans (Bouras 2010:47-52). Common objects include a clay cup or bowl or obsidian blade, no imported pottery wares were found (Marthari 2014). The amount of grave inclusions does not correspond to any ideas about social status. Well built graves often only contain a single obsidian blade. This could be an indication for the inclusion of perishable goods within the grave which no longer survive in the archaeological record. Artefacts were placed in the graves in front of the dead or in a niche in the wall (Bouras 2010:47-52).

Marthari (2014) made special reference to four tombs out of twenty eight she excavated. Grave 7, belonging to a male over thirty years lying on his left side, was rectangular in form. The deceased had a footed jar by his head and other items buried with him including two bronze needles, bronze awl and two bone pins found under the skull, close to the left shoulder. One pin had the head of a bird, the other a Cycladic figurine (the first to be excavated). The use of a niche in other Cycladic cemeteries is rare but these have been found also in the later settlement of Kastri (room 11) and paralleled in cemeteries in Naxos on Athalasso and on Crete from Hagia Photia (Chapter IV, section 4.3) and Mochlos (Chapter IV, Figure 4.32). Found in the niche were marble bowls, a scraper, a frying pan (used as a plate) and a shell.

Grave XI of a male also lying on his left side, possibly high status, contains one of only four marble figurines at Chalandriani. In addition to the figurine the grave also

contained frying pans, one of which has the decorated side presented to the deceased, and a footed jar. There are also marble bowls, bone tube, scraper and obsidian blade.

Grave IV of a female adult, has presented the first seal to be found at Chalandriani with a star represented, similar to those found on frying pans and a silver diadem found in the settlement. The grave also produced three clay vessels, a bead and a shell. The pubic triangle illustrated on some of the frying pans could represent the female form or be representative of a Goddess which Marthari (2014) believed could have been presented to someone of special status. However, Coleman (1985:204) takes an opposing view to any suggestions of decoration being significant or important in earlier excavated examples, recommending caution when considering these ideas.

Grave XXV contained a slab floor and six clay vessels, a bronze needle, three conical cups, a globular pyxis and a footed jar. The footed jar is significant as it presents the first depiction of a long boat found on an object which is not a frying pan. This could link the person in the grave to maritime activities (Alram Stern 2004:872). Across the various excavations over the years items found in the graves have been linked to Troy, Anatolia and Euboea (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:311).

3.15.2.3 *Ritual*

Although there is a lack of recorded data with regard to platforms and pavements at Chalandriani, the areas outside the corbelled graves found at the site (Figure 3.47) could act as areas for leaving offerings outside the graves. Activities surrounding the burial of the dead provide the strongest links to ritual activities at the site. Bodies placed on the left, rather than the usual position for the Cycladic islands of the right, the body having stones placed upon it on the hands and feet and the inclusion of red and blue pigments in the grave all provide some information towards the rituals which surround the burials at Chalandriani.

Artefacts placed by the hands, feet and in niches show careful consideration as to where items should be placed in the grave. Drinking activities at the Chalandriani cemetery are represented by vessel sherds outside the tombs and in vessels inside the graves, such as conical cups. The enclosure wall marks the cemetery of Chalandriani as being a special place. In the area outside the enclosure wall rock art can be seen. These depictions may have also once existed amongst and between the grave clusters at Chalandriani linking grave groups. The star and longboat motif represented on frying pans are specific to Chalandriani (Bouras 2010:47-52) and could connect, in some cases, maritime activities to the dead.

3.16 THERA

There is very little burial or settlement evidence for the EBA on Thera. There are graves noted at Phira, Aghios Ioannis Eleemon and Kalamia (Doumas 2006b:312) and graves have been excavated under pumice in the quarries to the south of Thera town which contained a ECII figurine and a EMII stone vase (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979:345; Karantzali 1996:42) but little other data for this, or other burial sites on Thera is known. However, recent work at Akrotiri is noted here as recent excavations may have uncovered a cemetery.

3.16.1 Akrotiri

The occupation of Thera started at the site of Akrotiri revealed through pottery dating from the Neolithic period (Doumas 2006b:312). Later in the EBA Akrotiri's development can be seen through pottery and marble vessels, however, settlement evidence is lacking for this period.

3.16.1.1 *Grave Architecture*

Graves are thought to be located at Akrotiri, underneath the later settlement, many presenting themselves when trenches were dug for new supports for a roof in 1969 and 1970 and the re-excavation of pits in 1999 and 2002 (Doumas 2006b:312, 2008:165, 166; Nikolakopoulou 2009:32). Due to repositioning of pillars 130 shafts were dug (Doumas 2008:166) resulting in the exploration of rock-cut chambers which contained EC pottery (Doumas 2008:166, 167).

3.16.1.2 *Burial and the treatment of the dead*

Although comparisons have been made with the chambers at Akrotiri and some of the graves in cemetery sites, at Manika, Ano Kouphonisi and Hagia Photia, very little burial data has been found in them, except for the pithos burials of children (Doumas 2008:168). Therefore, although worthy of mention in this research as a possible area for burial, new discoveries at Akrotiri cannot be considered to be a certain place of burial for people living on Thera in the EC period.

Imported pottery from Crete has been found at Akrotiri dating to EMIIA and IIB periods (Doumas 2010:103; Nikolakoupoulou 2009:33). EMIIA sherds have been found in ECII contexts and EMIIIB sherds, in greater quantities, in later ECII deposits (Nicolakoupoulou 2009:33). Although the number of Minoan sherds represents only a small percentage of the overall pottery assemblage at Akrotiri (<1%), their presence is important as there is very little evidence for imports in the EBA within the Cycladic islands (Nicolakoupoulou 2009:33). Overseas contact between Crete and the Cyclades continues until MMIIIA (Nicolakoupoulou 2009:37).

3.16.1.3 *Ritual*

Evidence for ritual practices at Akrotiri is lacking. There is evidence for the use of fire but this can only be tenuously linked to ritual in the EBA.

3.17 CHAPTER SUMMARY

A summary of Cycladic cemetery evidence presented in this chapter has been included in the next three tables (Tables 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6). The first table (Table 3.4) presents a summary of burial features at the cemeteries and includes burials (single or multiple), floors, pillow stones, platforms/pavements or enclosures and any other notable grave or cemetery features. Table 3.5 presents a summary of inclusions found in Cycladic graves. Finally, Table 3.6 presents a summary of sites which contain artefact scatters across the cemetery area outside the graves.

3.17.1 Grave Architecture

Graves in the Cycladic islands are usually simple structures, usually pits lined with local stone and then topped with a capstone. There are also built graves which show greater care in their construction with lintels for doorways and corbelled roofs, providing an impression that graves represented the houses of the dead. Flooring has been added to some of the graves on the islands of Kea, Ano Kouphonisi, Melos, Naxos, Paros and Syros. The frequency of flooring in the graves across the Cyclades in eleven from twenty five cemeteries shows that only a selective number of island groups are choosing to bury their dead with this architectural feature, illustrating diversity in Cycladic identity. Stone pillows on which to rest the skull of the dead are also noted in Table 3.4. These stones were used to rest the head of the dead and are only found in cemeteries on five of the islands: Aghioi Anargyroi and Lakkoudhes (Naxos), Plastiras and Pyrgos (Paros), Krassadhes (Antiparos), Zoumbaria (Dhespotikon) and Chalandriani (Syros).

3.17.2 Burial and the treatment of the dead

Table 3.4 supports an idea that both single and multiple burials were being practiced across the islands with some graves being used as ossuaries at many cemetery sites, for example, Pelos (Melos). Bodies in the Cyclades were placed in the grave in

contracted positions usually on the right side but, in the case of Chalandriani (Syros) on the left. In primary burials bodies would be placed through the roof, in other cases through the side of the grave. Skulls were preserved in many burials across the Cyclades with earlier burials moved to one side to make space for later interments, or skulls could also be left in their original position in the grave.

In Table 3.5 the grave inclusions found in the graves in Cycladic cemeteries have been summarised. Pottery items are found at all the cemeteries and include bowls, cups, jars, pots, spindle whorls and vases. The pyxis is the most common pottery item placed in the graves. Frying pans are only found at a limited number of cemeteries including Agrilia (Ano Kouphonisi), Aghioi Anargyroi and Aplomata (Naxos), Livadhi (Dhespotikon), Akrotiri (Siphnos) and Chalandriani (Syros). Some pottery is unspecified at the cemeteries, this is because the pottery is noted as sherds.

Marble items are found throughout the Cyclades, except for on the island of Melos, and is commonly found in the form of bottles, bowls, cups, goblets, jars, palettes, pestle and rhyton. Figurines were found at fifteen of twenty five cemeteries. Stone items are common across cemetery sites. Obsidian is found at all of the cemeteries. Millstones and grinders were found at three cemeteries and stone beads at nine. Metals are found at many cemetery sites. Red and blue pigments were found in the graves on six of the islands with shells present at cemeteries in the graves on five islands. Most surprisingly are the bone tubes known as being a feature of Cycladic graves but yet only found in the excavation data for two cemetery sites, Aplomata (Naxos) and Chalandriani (Syros).

3.17.3 Ritual

Platforms, pavements and enclosures are found as part of an antechamber, over the top of a capstone or as a larger cemetery feature. Across the Cycladic islands the use of pavements and platforms are a popular feature on specific islands and can be found on Kea, Ano Kouphonisi, Melos and most cemeteries on Naxos (except Aplomata and Kambos tis Makris). Larger communal platforms are a feature of

Naxos and found at Aghioi Anargyroi, Lakkoudhes and Lakkoudhes A. Finally, the use of benches within the graves can be seen at Aplomata and Tsikniades (Naxos) and niches are found in the Chalandriani cemetery (Syros).

Table 3.6 summarises the cemetery sites which have scatters outside the graves. These scatters could be present through grave clearance or the deliberate deposition of artefacts. Pottery scatters are found at only six cemeteries in the Cyclades including Kephala (Kea), Dokathismata (Amorgos), Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi), Lakkoudhes and Tsikniades (Naxos) and Chalandriani (Syros). The most common artefact found outside the graves is pottery but there are also marble items at three cemeteries, Kephala (Kea), Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi) and Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos). Metal items were found in the cemetery area at two sites, copper at Kephala (Kea) and bronze at Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos). Animal bones and tools are only recorded at Kephala (Kea).

In this chapter evidence for Kephala and a number of EC cemeteries which contained ten graves or more have been selected. The evidence from cemeteries has been presented by using three themes including grave architecture, burial practices and the treatment of the dead and ritual. Key features from these themes have then been summarised in the three tables discussed which include burial features, artefact types placed in the graves and the cemeteries which contain artefact scatters. These themes and the data presented in the tables highlight key features which demonstrate a diversity in Cycladic identity across the islands. These themes will form the basis for the evidence presented in the next two chapters on Crete and mainland Greece and for the discussion chapter (Chapter VI) which will follow. The next chapter looks to Crete and the cemetery evidence from the island to establish whether any interconnections can be seen through the burial record.

<u>Island/Cemetery</u>	Total No. of Graves (U = Total Unknown E = Site Eroded/)	No. of Graves Examined (G.O. = Only General observations available)	% of Features from the Cemeteries			
			Floor Sand/Stone/ Pebble (U = Total of graves with this feature unspecified)	Pillow (U = No. Unconfirmed ? = Feature generally observed)	Platform/Pavement/ Enclosure (U = No. Unknown)	Any other grave / cemetery features?
<u>Kea</u> Kephala	40 (E)	40	25%* *Pebbles also between multiple layers	5%	18% (not all connected to graves)	2 Graves with doorways like Syros Line of stone around grave 16 & 18
<u>Amorgos</u> Dokathismata	20	7	100%	0%	0%	
Kapsala	11	5	20%	0%	0%	Standing Stones
<u>Ano Kouphonisi</u> Agrilia	72	72	0%	0%	100%	Forecourts
Tzavaris Field	U	G.O.	U	0%	U	Enclosure wall
<u>Melos</u> Kalogries	12	12	17%	0%	8%	
Pelos	20	19	100%	0%	5%	
Rivari	11	11	0%	0%	100%* *Covering of rubble	
<u>Naxos</u> Aghioi Anargyroi	22	22	100%	100%* Floor used as support	100%	Large Cem Platform
Akrotiri	24	24	13%	0%	100%	
Aphendika	170	G.O.	100%?	0%	100%?	
Aplomata	28	28	0%	0%	0%	Grave benches Pits – side grave
Kambos tis Makris	86	30	0%	0%	0%	
Lakkoudhes	25	25	0%	0%	100%	Pit, circular platform
Lakkoudhes A	4	4	0%	0%	100%	Platform, spiral decoration
Tsikniades	122	G.O.	0%	0%	100%?	Grave benches Grave markers
<u>Paros</u> Panaghia	23	10	0%	0%	0%	
Plastiras	12	12	17%	0%	0%	
Pyrgos	58	19 (G.O.)	0%	U	0%	
<u>Antiparos</u> Krassadhes	50	9	0%	11%?	0%	
<u>Dhespotikon</u> Livadhi	18	10	0%	0%	0%	
Zoumbaria	34	7	0%	14%?	0%	Enclosure wall
<u>Siphnos</u> Akrotiraki	19?	7	0%	0%	0%	
<u>Syros</u> Ayios Loukas	94	G.O.	0%	0%	0%	
Chalandriani	730	72 (G.O)	U	U	0%	Niches in grave

Table 3.4 Summary of burial features in Cycladic cemeteries

<u>Island/ Cemetery</u>	Grave Inclusions				
	Pottery <i>Bottles (B) Bowls (Bo) Cups (C) Frying Pan (F) Jars (J) Pots (Po) Pyxis (Py) Sauceboat (S) Spindlewhorl (SP) Unspecified (U) Vases (V)</i>	Marble <i>Bottles (B) Bowls (Bo) Cup (C) Dish (D) Figurines (F) Goblets (G) Jar (J) Palette (Pa) Pestle (Pe) Plates (Pl) Pyxis (Py) Rhyton (R)</i>	Other Stone / Obsidian <i>Beads (B) Chisel (C) Flint (F) Grinder (G) Obsidian (O) Millstones (M) Pestle (P) Whetstone (W)</i>	Metals <i>Bronze (B) Copper (C) Lead (L) Silver (S)</i>	Other <i>Blue Pigment (B) Bone Needle (BN) Bone Palette (BP) Bone Tube (BT) Red Pigment (R) Shells (S) Yellow pigment (Y)</i>
Kea Kephala	Y (Bo)	Y (Bo, C, F)	Y (F, O)	N	N
Amorgos Dokathismata	Y (B, Bo, C, Po, Py, S, U)	Y (Bo, F, G, Pl)	Y (M, O, P)	Y (B, S)	Y (R, B)
Kapsala	Y (U)	Y (F)	Y (O)	Y (B, C)	N
Ano Kouphonisi Agrilia	Y (B, C, B, F, J, Po, Py, S)	Y (F, J, Pa)	Y (O)	Y	Y (S)
Tzavaris Field	Y (U)	Y (Bo, Pa)	Y (O)	Y	N
Melos Kalogries	Y (Py)	N	Y (O)	N	Y (S)
Pelos	Y (U)	N	Y (B, O)	N	N
Rivari	Y (U)	N	Y	Y (B)	N
Naxos Aghioi Anargyroi	Y (B, C, F, J, S, V)	Y (Bo, C, F, J, R)	Y (B, O)	Y (B)	N
Akrotiri	Y (J, Py)	Y (F, J, Pa, Pe)	Y (B, G, O)	Y (B)	Y (S)
Aphendika	Y (U)	Y (Bo, F)	Y (B, C, O)	N	N
Aplomata	Y (B, C, F)	Y (B, F, G, Py)	Y (O)	Y (S)	Y (B, BT, R, S)
Kambos tis Makris	Y (Py, V)	Y (F)	Y (O)	N	N
Lakkoudhes	Y (J, S, Py)	N	Y (O)	Y (B)	Y (S, BP)
Lakkoudhes A	Y (B)	N	Y (O)	N	Y (S)
Tsikniades	Y (J, Py)	Y (B, F)	Y (O)	Y (L, S)	Y (R)
Paros Panaghia	Y (J, Po, Py)	Y (B, D, J, Pa)	Y (O)	Y (B, C)	Y (S, R)
Plastiras	Y (V)	Y (Bo, F, J)	Y (O, W)	Y (B)	Y (R, Y)
Pyrgos	Y (Po, Py)	Y (B, F, J, Pes)	Y (B)	N	Y (R, S)
Antiparos Krassadhes	Y (B, Po)	Y (B, F)	Y (B, O)	N	N
Dhespotikon Livadhi	Y (F, J, Py, V)	Y (Bo, J, P)	Y (O)	Y (C)	Y (BN, R)
Zoumbaria	Y (J, Py)	Y (F)	Y (B)	N	N
Siphnos Akrotiraki	Y (C, F, Py)	Y (B, F)	Y (B, O)	Y (C)	Y (R)
Syros Ayios Loukas	Y (J, Py)	N	N	N	N
Chalandriani	Y (C, F, Py)	Y (B, C, F, Pa, Pe)	Y (B, C, G, O)	Y (B, C)	Y (B, BT, R, S)

Table 3.5 Summary of inclusions found in Cycladic graves

<u>Island/ Cemetery</u>	Materials				
	Pot Sherds <i>(Including burnt clay - BC)</i>	Marble <i>(Including Figurines)</i>	Other Stone	Metals <i>Copper / Bronze</i>	Other <i>Animal Bone (AB) Bone Tools (BT)</i>
Kea Kephala	Y (BC)	Y (F)	Y	Y (C)	Y (AB, BT)
Amorgos Dokathismata Kapsala	Y N	N N	N N	N N	N N
Ano Kouphonisi Agrilia Tzavaris Field	N Y	N Y	N Y	N N	N N
Melos Kalogries Pelos Rivari	N N N	N N N	N N N	N N N	N N N
Naxos Aghioi Anargyroi Akrotiri Aphendika Aplomata Kambos tis Makris Lakkoudhes Lakkoudhes A Tsikniades	Y N N N N N Y N Y	Y N N N N N N N N	Y N N N N N Y N Y	Y (B) N N N N N N N N	N N N N N N N N N
Paros Panaghia Plastiras Pyrgos	N N N	N N N	N N N	N N N	N N N
Antiparos Krassadhes	N	N	N	N	N
Dhespotikon Livadhi Zoumbaria	N N	N N	N N	N N	N N
Siphnos Akrotiraki	N	N	N	N	N
Syros Ayios Loukas Chalandriani	N Y	N N	N Y	N N	N N

Table 3.6 Summary of sites with artefact scatters outside the graves

CHAPTER IV**CRETE****4.1 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter I will present the archaeological evidence for EBA cemeteries on Crete (Figure 4.1). The cemetery sites which have been selected for discussion are located in the north and eastern Crete as they are the geographically closest to the Cycladic islands and demonstrate various burial practices. The sites chosen for discussion are Hagia Photia, Gournia North Cemetery and Gournia Sphoungaras, Mochlos and Pseira. As with the previous chapter, the evidence from these sites is presented under the three themes of grave architecture, burial and the treatment of the dead and ritual practices. The aim of this chapter is to explore the cemetery data for signs of any interconnections between the Cycladic islands and Crete in the EBA period.



Figure 4.1 Map of Crete

4.1.1 EBA burial practices on Crete

EBA burial practices are evident on Crete in a variety of forms. This section highlights burial practices across the island by region, noting key features, starting

with South Crete, followed by Central Crete and finally introducing burials to the north of the island.

4.1.1.1 *South Crete*

Burials appearing from the EM period in the Mesara, to the south of Crete, are found in circular built structures known as tholos tombs (Branigan 1970:152-178; 1993; Legarra Herrero 2009:255), which represent communal burial of the dead. The structures are of various sizes and are in use throughout the EM and the MMI period, some extending into MMII and LM periods (Branigan 1993:12). At the end of the EMIII or MMI clay coffins and large pithoi are introduced into the tholos tombs in which to bury the dead (Branigan 1993:65) signifying a move away from communal ideas of burial to a focus on the individual.

The tholos tombs in the Mesara do not bear any architectural resemblance to Cycladic graves discussed in the previous chapter. However, some ritual and social practices are present in both Cycladic and Mesara burials (Carter 1998:59). These social practices include the use of primary and secondary burials with ossuaries attached to the tholos tombs. Enclosure walls, pavements and clay items (bowls, cups, jugs plates) (Branigan 1993:67) at a number of cemetery sites also provide evidence to communal activities being carried out around the tomb area.

It is difficult to comment on how the dead were placed in the tholos as the only evidence for articulated skeletons comes from later periods of tomb use, earlier interments were damaged by looting (Branigan 1993:64). Surviving later burials were placed in a contracted position and so it could be implied that earlier burials were treated in the same way. The dead in the Mesara tombs were furnished with grave goods including pottery, figurines, metals and obsidian items some of which could provide evidence for Cycladic contact or influence during the EM period.



Figure 4.2 The Kamilari tholos and annex (Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

The most common item found in the Mesara tombs was a clay cup but there were also jugs, dishes and bowls. These vessels present themselves in large numbers at some sites with the Ayia Kyriaki tholos producing three hundred and seventy jugs and two hundred bowls (Branigan 1993:67). Stone vessels, amulets and seal stones were also a popular inclusion with over one thousand stone vessels being found across the tombs (Branigan 1993:68). Cycladic items appearing in tholos tombs and being buried with the dead of the Mesara include figurines and metal items. Figurines were found in twenty tombs and within some settlements, some being imports and others locally made (Branigan 1993:71). Metal items in the tombs are made from bronze or copper and include tweezers, razors and small scrapers all also found in settlements. The most common metal item is the dagger made also from copper and bronze (Branigan 1993:75). Copper and silver on Crete (Wilson 2008:82), was confirmed by isotope analysis as originating from the Cyclades, providing a link to the islands of Kythnos (Carter 1998:73; Stos-Gale 1989:279-292; Wiener 1991:325; Wilson 2008:83) and Siphnos (Papadatos and Tomkins 2013:370).

Cycladic EBA artefacts have been located on Crete in the Mesara in many of the tholos including Koumasa but also across sites many other sites on Crete including

Hagia Photia (Betancourt 2003b:5, Davaras 1971:392-7; Day et al. 1998:138; Doumas 2010:101; Muhly 2008:73; Pendlebury 1939:85), Knossos (Wilson 2007:56), Poros Katsambas (Day et al. 2012:136), Pseira (Betancourt and Davaras 2003b:10) and Pyrgos (Karantzali 1996:59; Legarra Herrero 2011:336-337, 2014:67; Wilson and Day 2000:50). Items found in the tholos tombs may provide evidence for trading activities or gift exchange rather than representing Cycladic people in the region. However, the working of obsidian items such as pressure-flaked blades in the area may indicate the presence of Cycladic craft workers because these were unused and manufactured specifically for burial (Carter 1998:63). Blades represent only a small percentage of the overall grave assemblage placed in the tholos tombs whereas in the Cyclades blades represent the commonest type of grave goods (Carter 1998:65; Doumas 1977:105). Any Cycladic items in the tholos tombs may also be representative of trade. Goods may have arrived from the Cyclades through the port of Kommos (Carter 1998:59) or over land through gateway sites such as Poros Katsambas before MMI (Branigan 1993:7; Wilson 2008:82). Access to the material which arrived on the north coast would be difficult, making products rare (Carter 1998:72) and emphasising the significance of chosen items placed in the tomb and the person within.



Figure 4.3 The Koumasa tholos tomb (Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

Cycladic influences in the Mesara may also include similar ritual practices surrounding the burial of the dead. Burning, for example is evidenced at Koumasa in tholos B in a hearth in the centre of the grave and at Platanos tholos A where traces of fire on the floor (Xanthoudides 1924:89) and on bones is suggested by Branigan (1970:171) to represent fumigation. Animal bones are also represented at the Mesara tombs, thought to be offerings to the dead (Branigan 1970:154). In the Cyclades animal bones are found at Kephala (Kea) (3.3), Agrilia (3.8.1.3) and Tzavaris field (3.8.2.1) (Ano Kouphonisi) and Livadhi (Dhespotikon) in Grave 126 (3.13.1) and the burning of offerings is seen at Panaghia (Paros) (3.11.1). The expansion and use of pavements in the cemetery arena may also be compared to cemetery architecture in the Cyclades and seen at sites on Crete in the Mesara such as Kamilari (Figure 4.2), Koumasa (Figure 4.3) and Platanos (Figure 4.4) (Branigan 1970:94).

The site of Koumasa also illustrates diversity through grave architecture through the construction of tholos tombs and, unusually for the Mesara, a house tomb (Tomb Gamma) at the same site. This diversity in grave architecture is also replicated at other cemeteries in northern Crete and discussed in detail later in this chapter at Mochlos and Gournia. Tomb Gamma was excavated in 1904 (Soles 1992:156) and dates to the EMIIA period (Branigan 1993:138; Legarra Herrero 2014:44 Fig.18, 54, 189; Soles 1992:155, 158). Unfortunately, the structure only partially survived. The tomb was constructed with rubble with inner and outer facing stones and measured 4.10m northeast-southwest and 4.20m southeast-northwest (Soles 1992:157; Xanthoudides 1924:32). The entrance to the tomb is missing which may be the result of it being part of the missing wall (Soles 1992:157; Xanthoudides 1924:32). Xanthoudides suggested the structure had a wooden roof with reeds or branches or alternatively the structure was open, forming an open burial enclosure (Soles 1992:157; Xanthoudides 1924:32) but bodies may have also been placed in the tomb through the roof, as suggested for the house tombs at Gournia which have no signs of entrance. Burials in Gamma were disturbed and mixed with other finds, implying the structure was used as a place of secondary burial. Only a small number of pottery vessels and some stone vases were included with this grave (Legarra Herrero 2014:44; Soles 1992:157; Wilson and Day 1994:14).



Figure 4.4 The Platanos tholos, Tombs A and B (Photographs: A. Nolan-Webster)

4.1.1.2 *Central Crete*

Evidence for burial practices in central Crete was found at the site of Archanes (Figure 4.5). This site is one of the best preserved on Crete (Soles 1992:129) and was described by Sakellarakis (1977a:115; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis, 1999) as being a fusion of inherent Cycladic and local elements which he believes can also be seen at Manika, Marathon and Aghios Kosmas sites (Chapter V). As highlighted above at the site of Koumasa in the Mesara the dead at Archanes are also buried in a number of different structures including tholos tombs (found usually in the south of Crete but with some in the north at Krasi) and house tombs (typically found to the north) in addition to shaft graves and burial mounds. The variety in burial practices at both Archanes and Koumasa may represent different cultural elements coming together (Soles 1992:131). Although there are no Cycladic cist burials at Archanes, the artefacts from the site are worthy of note as many are Cycladic and indicate some levels of contact between Central Crete and the islands between the EMII and MMIA periods (Sakellarakis 1977a:114-115; Wilson 2008:90).

The many Cycladic or Cycladic inspired items that were found at the cemetery included thirteen Cycladic figurines (Barber 1987:136; Legarra Herrero 2011:337), some imported (Legarra Herrero 2011:338) and others made locally on Crete (Sakellarakis 1977b:148). Vavouranakis (2011:105) describes these figurines and those found in the Mesara as demonstrating 'an infiltration of Cycladic cultural traits'. However, at Archanes the Cycladic continues also through the physical movement of artefacts including three stone vases made in the Cyclades, obsidian blades (Barber 1987:136) (fifty five blades in tholos Γ and nine hundred and thirty nine blades west of burial building 18), daggers, amulets, beads, seals and pins (Sakellarakis 1977a:114). An ivory figurine (Barber 1987:136) found in tholos Γ also reinforces the idea of Cycladic connections. There was also ivory found at Archanes which had been imported from Egypt (Fitton 2002:63, 100).

The presence of Cycladic artefacts at Archanes may represent refugees from the islands being buried at the cemetery (Barber 1987:137) but this would be difficult to

establish. Sakellarakis (1977a:115) goes further, suggesting that the idea of a Cycladic colony cannot be ruled out. The material evidence could indicate this but the range of burial practices across the site make comparison through the burial record problematic.



Figure 4.5 The cemetery of Archanes Phourni (Myers et al. 1992:57)

4.1.1.3 *North Crete*

The north and north east of the Crete is the main focus for this chapter (Figure 4.6). This area of Crete is the geographically closest to the Cycladic islands with some EBA settlements, such as Poros Katsambas (Doumas 2010:102; Wilson, Day and Dimopoulou-Rethmiotaki 2008:261) described as ‘gateways’ for the trading of items, such as raw materials and obsidian. For this reason, this is the area where evidence is sought for overseas connections through the grave architecture, burial and treatment of the dead and ritual practices. Not all cemetery sites can be included from this area, for example, Warren (2007:212) highlights rock-cut tombs at Gournes

which contained Cycladic artefacts but the burials at this site are found in jars. As these burials do not conform to typical Cycladic burial practices this site is not included in this research.

The site of Sissi (Driessen et al. 2009) is located 4km east of Malia on the north of the island. The cemetery contained early burials near the sea shore on terraces and one large structure on the summit of a hill. The burials by the sea shore were in the form of rock-shelters and house tombs dating from EMIII/MMIA and MMIIB (Schoep et al. 2011:41). The last phase of the cemetery produced primary burial in pithos within the house tombs (Legarra Herrero 2014:85). There is no evidence for burials after MMIIB.

At Sissi, one rectangular building was constructed after the EMIIA period consisting of three rooms (Legarra Herrero 2014:71, Schoep 2009:54; Schoep et al. 2011:41). One room was pebbled and was likely used for the interment of the dead, another was for the deposit of ceramics and the third for cult activities (Legarra Herrero 2014:75). Eight further tombs were constructed at Sissi during the EMIII period after the EMIIIB gap (Legarra Herrero 2014:75; Schoep et al. 2011:58-61), discussed earlier in Introduction chapter. Primary and secondary burials were present in the tombs with primary deposits disturbed by later burials (Legarra Herrero 2014:75). Twenty individuals including infants, children, adults and one neonate were found in building 1.10 in both primary and secondary deposits, sealed by layers of pebbles (Legarra Herrero 2014:251; Schoep 2009:53; Schoep et al. 2011:61-62). Grave goods found in the rooms at Sissi included ceramic vases, ornaments, copper, tools, obsidian and quartz.

In addition to rock shelters and house tombs along the north coast of Crete, there are also some tholos tombs, structures prevalent in the Mesara to the south of the island, and some burials in caves. An example of three caves used for burials include Charalambos, Trapeza and Pyrgos. The Charalambos cave in the Lasithi plain (Betancourt 2014) was discovered in 1976 when a road was under construction, the mass of human remains and artefacts leading to rescue excavation in an attempt to stop looting. Unfortunately, due to the lack of time, no photographs or recordings

were taken of the initial excavation. Two excavation campaigns followed between 1976-1983 and 2002-2003 uncovering many burials and deposits of pottery including some complete vessels and sherds. The vessels found were used for pouring or drinking liquids and for holding oil. There were also figurines, seals, stone and metal tools made out of copper and bronze, weapons, jewellery and six sistrums (similar to those seen at Archanes from MMIA) and obsidian, including prismatic blades, found in the cave (Betancourt, Davaras and Dierckx et al. 2008:529, 540, 550, 577; Vavouranakis 2011:98).

The Charalambos cave is only small (9m x 10m) (Betancourt, Davaras and Dierckx et al. 2008:541) but probably used from the Final Neolithic. Evidence for the mass removal of the dead from another burial site or sites into the cave seems to have occurred over two periods sometime in MMIB. The remains of the dead are represented by approximately four hundred adults and children, the bones of which were sorted before secondary deposition (Betancourt 2012b:184; Betancourt, Davaras and Dierckx et al. 2008:539, 550, 578; Chlouveraki 2008:550, 578).

Artefacts with the dead at Charalambos represent various periods from EMI onwards but the skeletal remains are thought to be from EMIII (Legarra Herrero 2014:73). The bones of the dead are thought to have been moved to the cave in the MM period (Legarra Herrero 2014:71). The bones from the cave are in good condition because of the climate in the cave. It is believed that initial primary burials may have been underground either in a chamber, tholos or another cave (Betancourt 2012b:184), preserving the bones. The outcome of well preserved bones has revealed evidence for trauma on the skulls including sixteen skulls which show deliberate injuries from missile or weapon blows, some with signs of multiple trauma and three cases of trepanation (Betancourt 2008a:578, 581; Betancourt, Davaras and Dierckx et al. 2008:539, 578, 586; Chlouveraki 2008:581, 593). These three skulls demonstrate the 'most sophisticated example of this kind of cranial surgery so far encountered in Greece' (Betancourt, Davaras and Dierckx et al. 2008:578). There are some signs of the human bones coming into contact with fire (Chlouveraki 2008:579), which would suggest some form of fumigation techniques (Betancourt, Davaras, Dierckx et al. 2008:579), such as those also seen in the Mesara tholos.

Bones at Charalambos were carefully arranged in the cave with the long bones acting as a lattice on which to place the skulls and complete pots. This arrangement of bones and artefacts indicate that both have been in the same location since the Bronze Age (Betancourt 2012b:184; Betancourt, Davaras and Dierckx et al. 2008:541-542). To study the bones, individuals were pieced together from parts found in various areas of the cave, suggesting a mixing of bones when removing them from their original place of burial. However, some vertebrae were still articulated (Betancourt, Davaras and Dierckx et al. 2008:578) which may imply various stages of decomposition perhaps at the time of bone removal. Feasting in the cave was evident through a large number of drinking vessels, jugs and animal bones but the process of the feast itself is from outside the cave where excavations produced animal bones and other paraphernalia associated with the activity. Connections between Charalambos and the Cyclades comes in the form of obsidian from Melos including prismatic blades paralleled to those found at Hagia Photia (Betancourt 2012b:185; Chlouveraki 2008:563-564; Vavouranakis 2011:98) and core fragments, flakes and geometrics also paralleled to others found in the Mesara and Archanes (Chlouveraki 2008:562). There were also Cycladic influenced figurines found at the cave.

There are some similarities between Charalambos and the Trapeza cave, also in the Lasithi plain (Betancourt, Davaras and Dierckx et al. 2008:552), in that both locations are the focus of communal burial (Legarra Herrero 2014:71, 86). Trapeza cave was in use between the FN through to MMIII. It was used as a place of burial between EMII-III to MMI and produced the remains of one hundred individuals dating from the EMII period (Legarra Herrero 2014:255; Pendlebury 1939:70; Pendlebury et al. 1939:127-128). The cave contained many artefacts but these were in heavily disturbed deposits, probably due to prolonged use of the cave (Legarra Herrero 2014:70). Amongst the artefacts there were 522 ceramic vessels, thirty five stone vases, sixteen seals, forty four tools, three daggers, eleven beads, two amulets and six ornaments (Legarra Herrero 2014:255). There were also twenty one gold objects, one silver blade, one lead vessel and copper tools (Legarra Herrero 2014:70). Fifteen figurines and the seals from the cave have been dated to EMIIIB-III (Branigan

1971:67-8, 70-1; Legarra Herrero 2014:70, 255). The presence of these artefacts and the high quantity of metals in the cave lead Betancourt (2012b:185) to suggest the site represented the changes in trade relationships between Crete in the EMII and MMI periods. This change, Betancourt (2012b:185) believes is visible through the objects and ideas that travelled to Lasithi. The skeletal remains imply, however, that not all changes may have been readily accepted. The EMII/III should therefore maybe now considered as a time of change but not necessarily of peaceful acceptance.

The Pyrgos cave, and a rock shelter next to it, contained a number of ceramic and nonceramic objects from the EMI period (Karantzali 1996:59; Legarra Herrero 2014:67; Wilson and Day 2000:50) and some EMIIA wares (Legarra Herrero 2014:67; Wilson and Day 1994:12, 34, 2000:55). Amongst the Pyrgos cave assemblage there was a significant number of Cycladic items (Legarra Herrero 2011:339). This assemblage of 150 vessels included jugs, pyxides and tankards. There were also large chalices and goblets, eleven gold and twelve copper objects, seven daggers, twelve tools, one bead, eight stone and seven obsidian items and eight figurines which date to EMII (Branigan 1971:60-65; Legarra Herrero 2014:68, 248; Renfrew 1969:19). The cave produced no small artefacts from after the EMIIA period, however, there is funerary evidence from EMIII provided by the presence of twenty larnakes (Legarra Herrero 2014:68, 248).

The cave examples provide evidence for the practice of communal burial practices outside areas such as the Mesara plain which is known for its tholos tombs. All examples provide evidence for secondary burial practices with artefacts included with the dead. These artefacts in the caves at Pyrgos and Trapeza provided significant deposits of off-island material and indicate links with the Cyclades at these sites in the EM period. In the next section I move to the north east of Crete to discuss specific cemetery evidence at the sites of Hagia Photia, Gournia North Cemetery and Gournia Sphoungaras, Mochlos and Pseira.

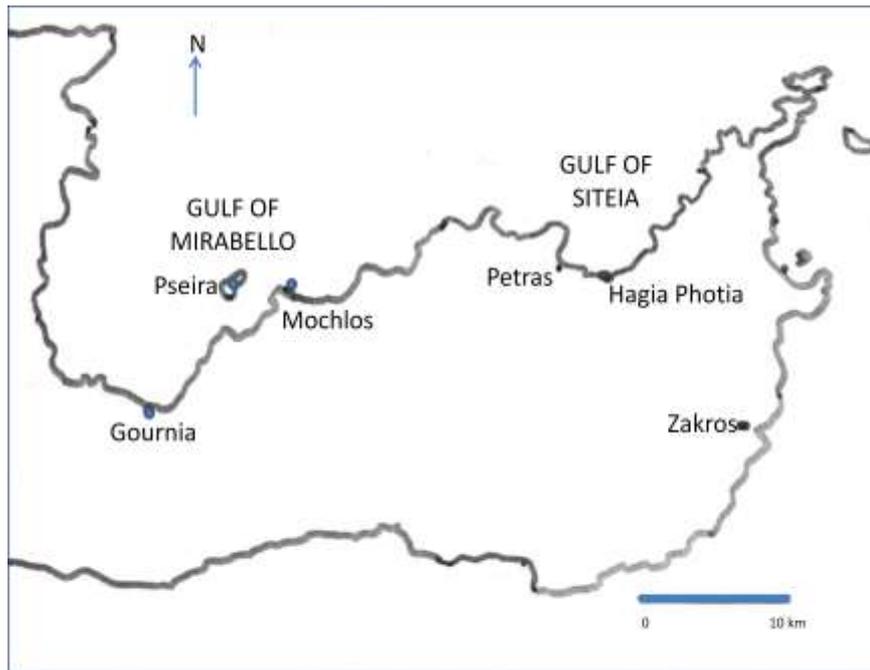


Figure 4.6 Map of sites located on Eastern Crete

4.2 HAGIA PHOTIA

The cemetery site of Hagia Photia (Figures 4.7 and 4.8) sits 150m from the modern village in the Siteia plain. It is 5km east of the town of Siteia on the shore (Wilson 2008:78). The site and cemetery of Petras (D'Annibale 2008:191-200; Papadatos 2008:258-272; Papadatos and Tomkins 2013) nearby is undergoing excavation but is known to contain house tombs and Cycladic artefacts. Unfortunately, the tombs at Petras are yet to be published and therefore cannot be included in this research. However, at a later date the relationship between the two sites should be explored as both cemeteries, Davaras and Betancourt (2012:93) believed are part of a territory overseen by the palace of Petras.

The area of Hagia Photia is thought to have been given its name from the Venetian church of Santa Lucia (Aghia Photini) which no longer exists (Tsipopoulou 1989:13-14). There has been no confirmed ancient settlement found for the cemetery, however, when Tsipopoulou (1989:19-20) carried out surface survey of the area in 1985 she highlighted some ancient occupation located on the top of a hill close to the cemetery, although no finds were located on the slope of the modern village. Hagia

Photia is likely to have been located for its view overseeing the surrounding bay and for anyone landing on the shore nearby.



Figure 4.7 The location of Hagia Photia looking towards the site from the sea



Figure 4.8 View of Hagia Photia looking out to sea and towards the Cyclades
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

Hagia Photia is the largest cemetery found on Crete for the EBA, reportedly containing c.300 graves (Day et al. 1998:133; Doumas 1977:31). Today only 263 graves remain (Betancourt 2003b:3; Davaras 1971:397; Davaras and Betancourt 2004:xxv) with others lost, plundered or destroyed. Finds from the site indicate the cemetery at Hagia Photia was in use between EMI-EMIIA (Davaras 1971:396; Day et al. 1998:133; Doumas 1976:80; Warren 2007:212), commonly known as the Kampos group period in the Cyclades (Betancourt 2003b; Doumas 2010:101; Muhly 2008:69-70). The main period of use for the cemetery sits in the EMIB period, seen through the large amount of pottery from this time. This is comparable to other sites to the north of Crete where Cycladic artefacts have been found including Knossos (EMI Well Group), Poros Katsambas and Pyrgos (Day et al. 1998:1; Manning 1995:44-48; Wilson 1994:39, 2007:56, Table 2.2; Wilson and Day 2000:55-56) an indication that contact between the Cyclades and Crete predates originally what was seen as the 'boom time' between the pair (Day et al. 1998:136-137; Renfrew 1972:338).

Some of the graves at Hagia Photia were reused and contain pottery from later periods, for example, EMII-III and LMIII. However, this does not represent the main use of the cemetery site (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:233, 234). Bintliff (1977:639-640; Whitelaw 1983:336) argues using an estimated population sizes for the EBA period of twenty bodies per century for a single family as a rough estimate that the dead at Hagia Photia represent a larger than average population for the period of cemetery use. This is highlighted by Whitelaw's study (1983:336) which explores the population at the settlement of Myrtos Fournou Korifi (Warren 1972) (Figure 4.9), located on the south coast of Crete, where there may have been only five or six families in a farmstead. These studies emphasise the differences in population between the settlement of Myrtos Fournou Korifi and the Hagia Photia cemetery and the function of the two sites. The population size at Hagia Photia is large when compared to most Cycladic cemeteries but not when compared to the largest cemetery on the islands at Chalandriani on Syros which contained approximately 650 graves (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:238; Dickinson 2004:211; Tsountas 1898; 1899).



Figure 4.9 The settlement of Myrtos Fournou-Korifi
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

4.2.1 Grave Architecture

The graves at Hagia Photia were a simple affair with three tomb types present at the cemetery including simple cist or pit graves, built tombs with burial chamber and antechamber and one small cave like tomb (Tomb 249) (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:232). The simple pits would have taken little time to construct. Graves were located just under the cemetery surface and were very shallow and narrow in their construction. The smallest grave at Hagia Photia only measured 50cm across (Tomb 160), the largest grave measuring 2 metres (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:234). Simple pits at Hagia Photia have been compared by Karantzali (1996:46) as being similar to those found at Mochlos (see section 4.5).

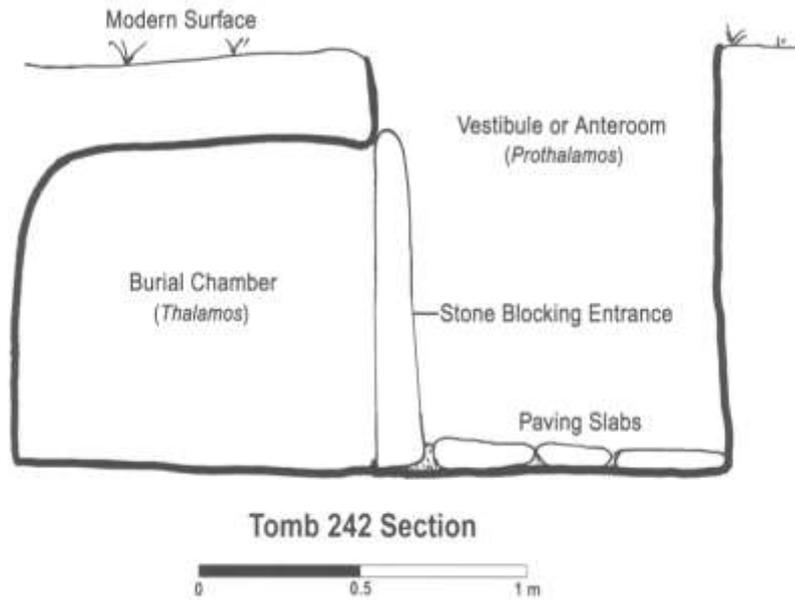


Figure 4.10 Plan of a typical built tomb at Hagia Photia
(Davaras and Betancourt 2004:233)

The first stage of constructing a built tomb at Hagia Photia would be to dig down to form an antechamber. From this chamber the earth would be excavated to construct a burial chamber (Figure 4.10). The dead would be placed in the grave and a stone would then block the entrance. This stone could be removed at a later date to allow the reuse of the grave. The antechamber in front of the burial chamber may, or may not, have been paved with irregular shaped stones (Figure 4.11-4.15). The antechamber was then filled with stones up to the ground surface. Filling the chamber with stones suggested these could be easily removed if access was required to the tomb at a later date. Interestingly, some tombs at Hagia Photia shared an antechamber which Davaras and Betancourt (2004:234) describe as being planned as sets (Figure 4.16). Tomb styles at Hagia Photia have been compared to those at Tsepi near Marathon in eastern Attica (Muhly 2008:70) (see Chapter V), Agrilia (Ano Kouphonisi), Phylakopi (Melos), Chalandriani (Syros) in the Cyclades (Chapter III) and Thermi (Betancourt 2008b:239; Harrison 2011:11; Kouka 2008:275; Vavouranakis 2011:95).



Figure 4.11 Tomb 99 at Hagia Photia. Pavement.
(Davaras and Betancourt 2004:93)



Figure 4.12 Cist grave at Hagia Photia with a stone blocking the entrance visible
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)



Figure 4.13 Cist grave from Hagia Photia with part of the burial chamber, stone blocking entrance and paving slabs visible (Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)



Figure 4.14 Cist grave from Hagia Photia with remains of capstone
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)



Figure 4.15 A typical example of a cist grave pavement from Hagia Photia
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

4.2.2 Burial and the treatment of the dead

Due to the small size of graves at Hagia Photia, bodies were placed on a pebble floor in the burial chamber in a tightly contracted position (Davaras 1971:397; Davaras and Betancourt 2004:233). However, this is difficult to determine for certain as skeletal remains are not visible in the excavation photographs, only drawn on plans.

Multiple interments may represent graves acting as ossuaries at Hagia Photia. There is no way of establishing whether these skeletal remains represent family groups as very little skeletal data has survived following the excavation (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:240). The excavation reports only describe the bones as being of a poor condition and these did not undergo further study (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:240, 2012:93). It is unknown how many bones were kept, bones may also have been destroyed or lost prior to excavation. A study of missing bones could have been made to establish whether any cuts or marking could be seen on the bones in

preparation for burial or if the practice of defleshing occurred at the cemetery as possibly seen at Pseira (Figure 4.35) (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:136). If the skulls from this excavation could be studied, the teeth could undergo isotope analysis, similar to work carried out on skeletal remains at Manika (discussed in Chapter V) which has been able to determine the origins of some of the population buried in the cemetery. Unfortunately, only a small number of teeth survive from Hagia Photia (McGeorge personal communication) which therefore would not be representative of the whole cemetery population making any analysis pointless.

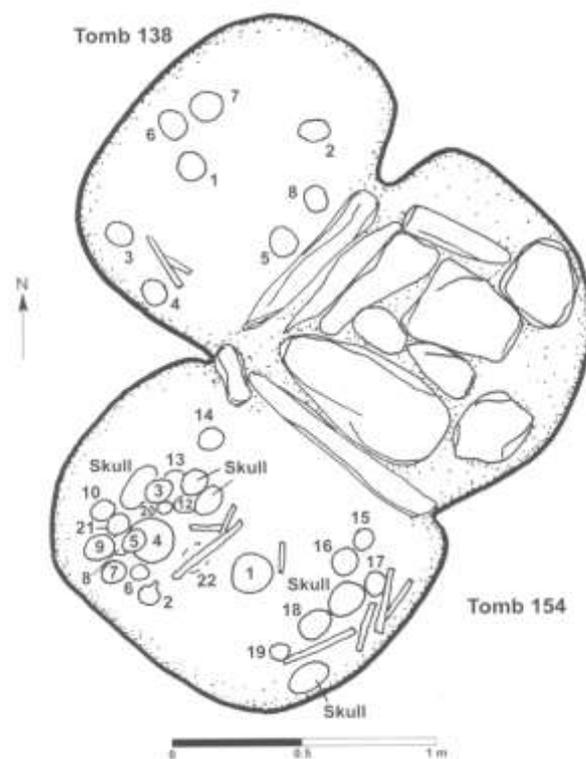


Figure 4.16 Tomb 138 and Tomb 154, an example for a shared antechamber at Hagia Photia (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:123)

After the dead at Hagia Photia were placed in the burial chamber grave goods would then be placed near the head or body of the deceased (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:240) and the burial chamber sealed by a large stone. The antechamber was then sealed with stones (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:233). Slabs would then be added over the top of some tombs to form a roof, covering the grave within. Graves with these slabs have been damaged by the slabs collapsing into the tomb burial chamber. More than one grave had two strata (Graves 2, 10, 13 and 163) (Davaras

and Betancourt 2004:240; Warren 2007:211) which could indicate family use over a period of time. The reuse of graves would be a practical way to preserve a family unit or social group after death with successive burials or tomb reuse promoting ideas towards community rather than family interment, for example, the largest tomb in Hagia Photia contains 13 burials (Tomb 163) (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:240).

Burial assemblages at Hagia Photia consists of almost exclusively Early Cycladic material (Davaras 1971:392-6; Doumas 2010:101). Cycladic vessel shapes and decoration present themselves throughout the cemetery, very different to Minoan EM pottery styles. These shapes include the small kernoi (which may have contained items such as honey or unguents) and incised bottles for liquids (Betancourt 2003b:5; Day et al. 1998:138). The Cycladic items at Hagia Photia form a funeral toilet kit buried with the dead (Davaras and Betancourt 2012:97) of bone tubes, obsidian blades and pyxides, which can also be seen at other cemetery sites found on the Cycladic islands.

A total of 1800 vessels overall of various shapes were found at Hagia Photia in the graves including the vessels mentioned above and beaked jugs, bowls, pots, cups, and double, triple or quadruple kernoi (Davaras 1971:397). Most items are catalogued as being Cycladic in style compared to only seventy three of Cretan style (Davaras and Betancourt 2012:95). The largest group of vessels date to EMIB (Davaras and Betancourt 2012:95). The presence of Cycladic items is not uncommon on Crete with other sites such as Knossos (EMI Well Group), Poros Katsambas and the Pyrgos cave all containing artefacts from the islands and confirming the EMIB date for the Hagia Photia assemblage (Manning 1995:44-48; Wilson 2007:56, Table 2.2; Wilson and Day 2000:55-56).

Pyrgos, as with Hagia Photia, is located on the north coast of Crete and is introduced earlier in this chapter. As with Hagia Photia, Pyrgos and the Kyparissi rock shelter produced some 'Pyrgos' bottles (Davaras and Betancourt 2012:115; Warren 2007:212; Wilson 2008:80), Ayios Onouphrios style and Kampos pottery (Muhly 2008:70). Pyrgos bottles and the pyxides found at many sites across Crete are both thought to be contemporary with similar items found at the cemeteries on Ano

Kouphonisi (Brogan 2013:557; Day et al. 1998:139; Karantzali 1996:46; Zapheirou 1970:48-51).

Twelve frying pans have been discovered at Hagia Photia (Davaras and Betancourt 2012:100) spread across various tombs. Eight are undecorated and four are incised (Betancourt 2012a:2). These are not used for frying as their name implies (Coleman 1985:203). Mellink (1956:53) believes they were mirrors as the vessels had a flat back and raised skillet-like rim which resembled bronze ones from Alaca Hüyük. Goodison (2006b:377) believed they may have been used for divinity purposes in mantic practices for communicating with the dead. However, Betancourt (2012a:2, 5) believes instead that these were hung on a wall within the home. However, the hole in the base may indicate a role in the pouring of libations rather than acting towards a practical purpose. The frying pans at Hagia Photia all have different decoration but all have rectilinear designs (Davaras and Betancourt 2012:101). Frying pans are also found at the Aghioi Anargyroi Cemetery (Naxos) and Manika (Euboea) (Davaras and Betancourt 2012:97, 101). The frying pans at Hagia Photia are locally produced (Karantzali 1996:47).

When pottery was sampled, using petrography and neutron activation analysis, from Hagia Photia, the nearby palace and settlement site of Petras and Poros-Katsambas (located in north central Crete), the Poros-Katsambas pottery was found to have been produced in Crete and not in the Cyclades. The pottery from Petras was found to have been from eastern Crete or Ano Kouphonisi (Cyclades) (Day et al. 2012:136) but unfortunately the provenance of pottery found at Hagia Photia was unconfirmed (Day et al. 2012:135). However, the calcite tempered fabric of the Hagia Photia pottery has been linked to pottery in the Cyclades on islands such as Amorgos, Naxos and Paros (Harrison 2011:11). Also, the site of Ftelia on Mykonos, a settlement dating to the Neolithic, provides examples of similar pottery styles to Hagia Photia in the spherical pyxis, the beaker, the collared jar and the chalice (Davaras and Betancourt 2012:98) and an obsidian workshop (Sampson 2008b:31, 35). The results of the pottery studies therefore demonstrates that clay was worked on Crete using Cycladic methods to produce the vessels placed in the graves at Hagia

Photia. This means that people from the Cyclades who understood the technical processes and Cycladic forms would need to carry out the task (Day et al. 2012:137).

Other items beside pottery within the burial assemblage at Hagia Photia include a large amount of metals, obsidian blades (several hundred) from Melos (Vavouranakis 2011:98) and some marble vessels. The metal objects include bronze items including a sword, spearhead, daggers and knives, fishhooks, adzes and bracelets (Day et al. 1998:145). There are also two lead zoomorphic pendants and pieces of pumice (Davaras 1971:397). Silver beads excavated from Hagia Photia have parallels to two hundred similar ones found in Louros Grave 26 on Naxos (Muhly 2008:73).

Graves 10 (HN2876) and 45 (HN3563) contained receptacles for metalworking in the form of crucibles (Betancourt 2008b:239; Betancourt and Muhly 2007:146; Tsipopoulou 2007:139) of a type also found at Kastri (Syros) (Muhly 2008:73). Testing of the crucibles in 2004 by Muhly (2008:73) through Laser-Induced Breakdown Spectroscopy confirmed incrustation in the crucibles of pure copper and no tin. This links the crucibles and the people from the cemetery to production of metals rather than the consumption of the material (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:18, 50-51; Doumas 2010:102). The crucibles were probably used to melt copper for casting which had already been smelted. A likely scenario is that copper was smelted in the Cyclades, transported to Crete in ingots and made into products locally. Evidence for smelting is found in the Cyclades on islands such as Kythnos through the presence of a slag heap located high on a cliff (Stos-Gale 1993:125). These crucibles are not likely to have been made only as offerings to the dead but once held a very practical purpose, possibly even buried as prestige items (Renfrew 1984:51-53, Day et al. 1998:145) or as functional items for continuous use in an afterlife.

There is a lack of Cycladic figurines present at the Hagia Photia cemetery (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:241; Dickinson 2004:239). Figurines are common in the Cyclades and so it seems unusual not to have any at this cemetery site. However, there may be a simple explanation for this. No corresponding settlement for the site has been located and it may have been through societal choice that artefacts such as

Cycladic figurines were kept for the living rather than being included with the dead and suggested by Branigan (1993:71) to also be the case also on Crete for the Mesara. A possibility also exists that any figurines are located elsewhere in a yet undisclosed part of the cemetery or in a hoard of some form. People working around Hagia Photia may not have placed particular importance in figurines, or, if they brought figurines with them from the Cyclades over a distance across the sea that these may have become too important to include with the dead. Another thought is that the Cycladic people travelling overseas may have left figurines at home or deposited them in locations elsewhere, providing a possible explanation for the Keros Hoard (Renfrew et al. 2012:145). If the people at Hagia Photia were indeed from Kouphonisi or a similar island, for example, then Keros could have been a good logistical location and stopping point on the way to Crete. Ritual deposits could be made before leaving the Cyclades for a new home in another location. However, the more likely explanation for the lack of Cycladic figurines on Crete within burials does seem to be personal choice and the availability of marble for their creation.

4.2.3 Ritual

Ritual at the Hagia Photia cemetery is represented by the use of pavements outside the grave in the antechamber and above the grave. These pavements acted as a place on which to place offerings. Larger communal pavements are not seen at Hagia Photia although there is a large flat area which could have been used for communal activities at the site. Davaras and Betancourt (2004:241; Betancourt 2003b:4) believe that the lack of altars, platforms or hoards of offerings near the graves implies a lack of ancestor worship or veneration, however, other evidence from the site would seem to indicate otherwise. Although it certainly cannot be demonstrated the dead were worshiped, graves at Hagia Photia clearly indicate a continuing connection between the living and the dead over time. The veneration of the dead may also be seen by the presence of a small niche cut into the side of Tomb 74 suggesting the importance of offerings at the cemetery (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:233) and through the presence of incense burners (Betancourt 2008b:239) found at the site.

Funeral ritual at Hagia Photia is further supported through the presence of smashed chalices on the top of some graves (Betancourt 2008a:57; Warren 2007:211). Once used for pouring libations or drinking a toast during the funeral process, the vessel may have been smashed after completion of funeral rites, the smashed vessel acting as a rite of separation (Cavanagh 1998:106; Cavanagh and Mee 1998:115; Gallou 2004:21) involving more than one person or acting to honour the dead (Mylonas 1948:72). In later Mycenaean burials, the change in funeral rites involved the smashing of vessels. This ritual practice seemed to emerge alongside changes in burial practices and a move towards single grave use. This practice of smashing vessels at Hagia Photia may possibly indicate similar changes.

Vessels may have been smashed once used at the funeral because they were seen as being polluted (Gallou 2004:21; Leach 2000:99). Seven smashed chalices were found at Hagia Photia at individual graves (Figure 4.17) (Warren 2007:211). These may have been displayed on top of the graves or placed on the pavement in the antechamber during the funeral. The chalices from Hagia Photia can be compared to similar found across the wider Aegean at Başike Tepe and Samos (Betancourt 2008a:57; Lamb 1932: 124-129), Poliochni on Lemnos (Figure 4.18) (Bernabò-Brea 1964-1976, I, TAV IX; Betancourt 2008a:57), large fruit cups from Ano Kouphonisi (Warren 1984:59; Zappeiropoulou 1984:37) and from Kum Tepe IA and IB (Betancourt 2008a:60; Sperling 1976:305-364). Vessels differ slightly in their shape but all are chalices. Haggis (1997:294, 297) believed the arrival of the chalice in the EMI represents a formal break with the Neolithic and ritually rationed items within burials. There can be no doubt that the chalices at Hagia Photia are ritual items, no communal cups were found at the cemetery but the chalices may have been used to pass around liquids or a toast to the dead amongst an assembled group.

Unfortunately, not all of the graves at Hagia Photia contained a chalice, therefore, all ritual practices may not have been the same for the dead across the cemetery. This practice may also be representative of a specific group or possibly an indication of societal status. Soles (1992: 257; Haggis 1997:298) supported the idea that pottery was a prestige item acquired by elite groups in order to display power and status in the house tombs at Mochlos. It is thought that only drinking occurred at the Hagia

Photia cemetery as part of the funeral as no food equipment or animal bones associated with feasting have been located.



Figure 4.17 EMI Pyrgos ware goblet from the cemetery at Hagia Photia
(Davaras 1997:5)



Figure 4.18 Chalice from Poliochni (Bernabò-Brea 1964-1976, I, TAV IX)

An action which occurs at both Hagia Photia and in the Cyclades is the destruction or 'killing' of items in the grave. With pottery items this is different to ritual breaking which happens at the end of a ceremony (Soles 1999:787). Killing happens with

only the vessel part damaged so as it is no longer useful to the living but becomes useful in the realm of the dead (Soles 1999:787). At Hagia Photia we see the killing of an artefact in the form of a long dagger which has been bent backwards along with many vases which have been broken (Davaras and Betancourt 2004:240). This also is found elsewhere in the Cyclades (Fitton 2002:4), for example, at Tzavaris field (Kouphonisi) (Chapter III, Figure 3.16) where a blade is intentionally bent (Zapheiroupolou 2008:190).

4.3 GOURNIA

Gournia is known for its large excavated settlement located close to the sea in the north east of Crete. There are two cemeteries serving the settlement of Gournia in the EBA (Vavouranakis 2007:31). The earliest, and largest, cemetery is at Sphoungaras (Hall 1912) and the other at the edge of the settlement, known as the North Cemetery (Soles 1992:1-40). It has been previously thought that they may represent two elements of the population with the 'elite' in house tombs of the North Cemetery and the rest of the population in the simple graves at Sphoungaras, however, differences in grave styles are more likely to represent chronological periods and distinct cultural groups as seen throughout burial practices in the Cycladic islands.

4.3.1 Gournia, North Cemetery

The North Cemetery at Gournia (Figure 4.19) was excavated by Hawes in 1901 and 1904. Hawes published the artefacts found at the site but paid little attention to the cemetery itself. Soles then cleaned and recorded the cemetery area, publishing in 1992. The North Cemetery contained one tomb and two rock shelters in use in EMII and five EMIII/MMI–MMII built tombs (Karantzali 1996:51; Vavouranakis 2007:26). There is a break in the cemetery in EMIIIB-EMIII period but this may be because some of the cemetery is missing or now destroyed (Vavouranakis 2007:26, 28).

4.3.1.1 *Grave Architecture*

Tomb I and Tomb II in the North Cemetery are located together, 4.6 metres apart (Soles 1992:3). Tomb I was a small house tomb (Figure 4.20), containing two rooms. The grave contained a pit, surrounded by walls and the structure divided down the middle (Soles 1992:4). A stone bench (not visible in the photographs today) was located along the base of the south wall (Soles 1992:7). There is no obvious entrance in or out of Tomb I which could indicate access through the roof (Soles 1992:8). There is some debate as to the date of Tomb I. Hawes dated the grave to MMI/II but the artefacts found in the pit and through grave clearance date the structure to EMII (Soles 1973:12; 1992:9). Soles put forward the idea that the earlier items may have once been buried elsewhere (Soles 1992:9).

House Tomb II (Figure 4.21), dating from MMI (Soles 1992:23) also has two rooms but unlike Tomb I has a doorway to the northwest (Soles 1992:17). Tomb II is also different in its construction as it is built directly on bedrock on a slope (Soles 1992:17). Outside the grave are two boulders which project from the south wall, accompanied by a narrow wall of stones set in mortar (Soles 1992:19). A kernos was found nearby. Soles (1992:19; Legarra Herrero 2012:343) recommended these stones should probably be identified as an cult area with an altar similar to one found at Apesokari. Consideration could also be given to these stones being part of a cemetery enclosure.

Tomb III (Figure 4.22) provided the most reliable burial evidence from the EM period. The tomb is located at the foot of the limestone outcrop and was excavated in 1972 (Soles 1973:31; 1992:28). The tomb is oblong in its construction and contains four rooms (Soles 1992:28), reminiscent of the West Terrace IV/V/VI and Complex I/II/III at Mochlos (4.4.1.1). At both of these sites the utilisation of the rock face in tomb construction seems to be significant connecting the structures to the landscape. Three of the rooms (1-3) in Tomb III are rectangular with a bedrock floor (Soles 1992:30), the fourth room probably was an extension to the structure (Soles 1992:30). Where the graves met the rock face any gaps were filled with stones and mortar creating smooth walls.

The rock shelters in the North Cemetery (V and VI) excavated by Hawes date from EMIIA, although Hawes allocated a date of MMI (Soles 1992:40). Shelter V is an opening in the rock formed by boulders (Soles 1992:36). Shelter VI is constructed the same way but larger (Soles 1992:36).

Tombs VII and VIII were originally mistaken by Hawes for houses containing intramural burials (Soles 1979:157; 1992:39) and so this is where the term 'house tomb' was born. These tombs no longer exist and were destroyed, possibly during the time the apotheke was built (Soles 1992:39). Tomb VII was a rectangular structure which contained two rooms and, like Tomb I, was probably accessed through the roof as no doorway is evident. Tomb VII contained EMII pottery and Tomb VIII was reported as being similar in construction to Tomb VII (Soles 1992:40).

4.3.1.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

Hawes did not record the skeletal remains at Gournia except to comment on house tombs being full of bones and skulls in disorder (Soles 1992:8). The cleaning by Soles and Davaras in 1971 and 1972 produced unspecified bone fragments with pottery fragments on the floor of Tomb I. A deep pit in the north west corner was excavated in 1972 which uncovered a deposit of eight broken skulls accompanied by sea shells, two pyxides, two fruitstands, four stone vases, two seals, two beads, fifteen small ivory plaques (Soles 1992:8, 9), all except the stone vases dating to EMII. This pit seems to have been intentionally created to hold the skulls and artefacts which accompanied them (Soles 1992:9). Outside Tomb I, two small vases, a miniature jug and cup (Soles 1992:8), were placed by the tomb wall (Soles 1992:8). Items found in Tomb I, in addition to the pit discovered in 1972, from Hawes' earlier excavation included pottery (bowls, bucket, cups, pyxides, fruitstands), silver (vessel and beads), gold bead, bronze tweezers and seal stones (Soles 1992:9-17).

House Tomb II was reported by Hawes as containing masses of broken bones and skulls in such poor condition that only one skull could be saved (Boyd Hawes 1905:187; Soles 1992:21). In 1971 the remains of a skull was found when grave cleaning took place. The skull was crushed and incomplete but probably belonged to a male (Soles 1992:22), four conical cups were also found in the skull dating to MMIB. Cleaning of the site also uncovered fragments of MMIA pottery (Soles 1992:22). Twelve items were published from the grave including MMI clay cup, stone vases, three pairs of bronze tweezers and a stone seal (Soles 1992:21). An unspecified amount of pottery including cups was also recorded by Hawes (Soles 1992:21-22). Outside the grave fragments of a conical cup, kernos, various sherds and a stone amulet were found (Soles 1992:22). Soles (1992:23) argues that skeletal remains found in Tomb I and II were saved at times of clearance and were set aside to make room for later interment episodes. Hawes (Boyd Hawes 1904) indicated that secondary deposits may also have been placed in pithoi or larnakes as fragments were found in some of the graves (Soles 1992:23).



Figure 4.19 Plan of the North Cemetery at Gournia
(Soles 1992: Plan 2; Vavouranakis 2007:29)



Figure 4.20a. Gournia Tomb 1. Boulder and kernos of Tomb II in the foreground (Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)



Figure 4.20b. Gournia Tomb I burial and offering pit (Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

There were four deposits in Tomb III, one in each room (Soles 1992:31). Skeletal material was located in the west corner, the bones found scattered and accompanied by pottery items. Soles (1992:31) suggested that further skeletal material may have been washed away with the walls. A total of sixteen skulls were found in the grave overall and the eight skulls found in the pit in Tomb I may have belonged to this grave (Soles 1992:31). Pottery from Tomb III dates to EMIIA and includes pyxides, bowls and a small jug. An awl and sheet metal we also found (Soles 1992:33-34).

The rock shelters (V and VI) contained scattered bones and skulls (Soles 1992:37-38) and pottery deposits including a jug, a fruit stand and pyxides. There was also a bone amulet, similar to one found at Mochlos Tomb II (Soles 1992:38). Bones were scattered in Tomb VII but found concentrated in the southwest and southeast corners (Soles 1992:40). Artefacts included three bronze daggers, some gold sheet metal and pottery (casella, tripod cooking vessel and coarse sherds) (Soles 1992:40). Tomb VIII also contained the remains of scattered bones and larnax fragments, assigned to MMI by Hawes (Soles 1992:40).



Figure 4.21 Gournia Tomb II (Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)



Figure 4.22 a. View of Gournia Tomb III (Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)



Figure 4.22 b. View of Gournia Tomb III (Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

4.3.1.3 *Ritual*

There are no associated pavements for any of the tombs in the North Cemetery at Gournia although the tombs themselves sit on a flat area of land which could have been used for communal activity and functioned in a similar way as a pavement. Ritual practices at the site in the EM period present themselves through the treatment of the dead. This can be seen where skull fragments were found alongside EM offerings in the pit located in Tomb I, seemingly the remains moved from one location to another through the presence of a MMI vessel in the pit assemblage. The evidence from the Tomb I pit indicates an importance placed on the retention of human remains across the later EM and early MM periods at Gournia.

4.3.2 Gournia, Sphoungaras

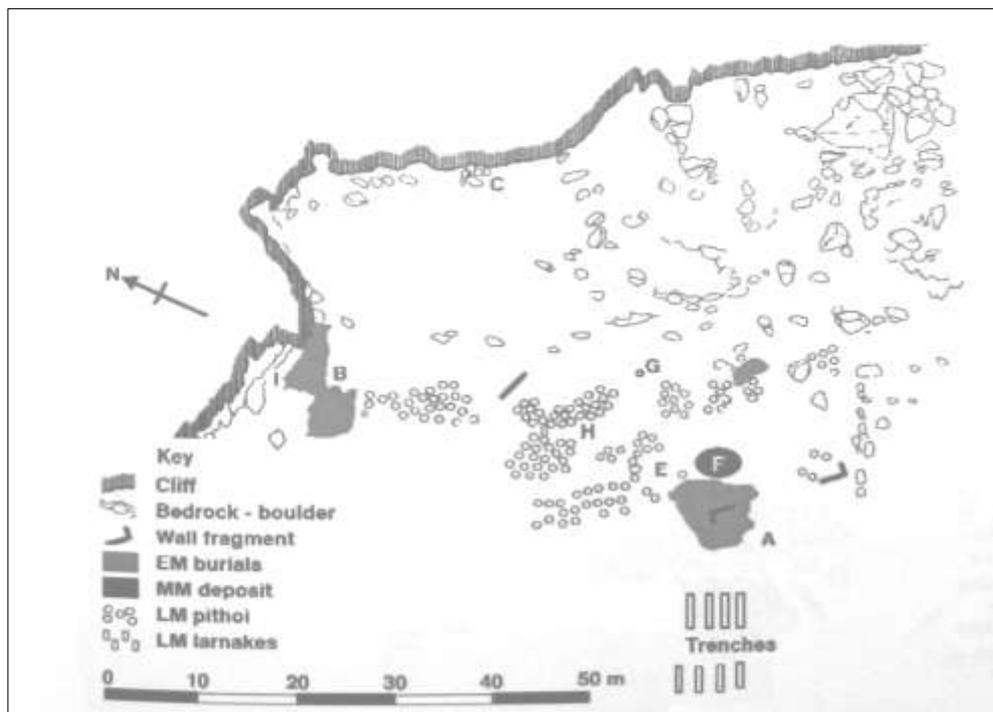


Figure 4.23 Plan of the Sphoungaras Cemetery
(Vavouranakis 2007:29 redrawn from Hall 1912:pl.XV)

The cemetery at Sphoungaras (Figure 4.23) sits on the west slope of a hill close to the settlement and harbour of Gournia. It was first discovered by Harriet Boyd Hawes in 1904 when she located three EM rock shelter burials considered to be from the EMII period (Hall 1912:43). Seager then excavated the site in 1910 and his results were published by Hall in 1912.

Sphoungaras was the main cemetery for Gournia and contains burials from the EM, MM and LMI periods (Soles 1979:156). In the EMII period, established through the pottery in Deposit A (Soles 1979:156), there are rock shelters and built graves. The later MMI period, at the time of Gournia's early town, produced simple inhumations in cists lined with stones and burials in pithoi (Soles 1979:156-157). Pithoi continued to be used into the LMI period (Hall 1912:44; Vavouranakis 2007:28). Hall (1912:43, 48) highlighted the grave architecture at Sphoungaras being similar to that at Mochlos and Pseira cemeteries.

4.3.2.1 *Grave Architecture*

The graves at Sphoungaras in the EMII period (Karantzali 1996:51) were simple cists and rock shelters. Retaining walls were built around the graves or along the slopes of the cemetery to hold back the earth (Soles 1992:2). Today, there is little evidence of the tombs which once sat in the landscape following the construction of later graves and erosion affecting the preservation of the site. No drawings or photographic evidence was recorded for individual graves, only a site plan. Comparable references are available for the grave architecture.

To understand the form of the EM graves at the Sphoungaras it is possible to compare them with written accounts from Zakros and the photographic evidence from Pseira (Hall 1912:48; Hogarth 1900-1901:143). Bodies are described as being laid on earth in cists built of small stones. Only one grave is recorded in detail from Zakros, measuring 3' 10" x 2' 8". The grave contained a well preserved skeleton placed on its left side, with knees drawn tightly up towards the chin, and arms fully extended. A single vase in grey clay with incised geometric decoration was found by

the mouth (Hogarth 1900-1901:143). The other four burials found at Zakros provide little evidence for tomb architecture due to the state of their preservation.

4.3.2.2 *Burials and the treatment of the dead*

Skeletal remains at Sphoungaras were affected by erosion at the site. Karantzali (1996:51) and Soles (1992:1) describe the burials as being primary and like those found at Zakros and Pseira, however Hall (1912:48) found it impossible to say whether they belonged to primary or secondary burials as bones were so fragmented.

Artefacts from the Sphoungaras cemetery include pottery (egg cups, cups and plates, jugs and bridge spouted bowls), pyxides with Cycladic parallels (Karantzali 1996:51), stone objects (obsidian), seals, spindle whorls, ivory tablets and a figurine, bronze tweezers and triton shells (Hall 1912:49-54; Karantzali 1996:51). Tweezers and obsidian blades are part of a toilet kit associated with the Cycladic islands which also may accompany bone pigment tubes and bronze needles for body modification (Getz-Preziosi 1987a:104-107, 1987b:70-72; Nakou 1995:13). Some gold jewellery was recovered at Sphoungaras (Karantzali 1996:51) as also found at Mochlos and two pendant chains (Hall 1912:53). Hall (1912:55) proposed there may have been the removal of grave goods over time or that grave goods were not included within, instead placed outside in the cemetery area.

4.3.2.3 *Ritual*

Due to no illustrations or photographs of individual graves it is not known whether graves were covered by a pavement or if the cemetery had a communal area for activities. The cemetery does contain evidence for food and drink consumption through the presence of cups, plates, jugs and bowls.

4.4 MOCHLOS

Mochlos (Figure 4.24) sits off the north east coast of Crete on a small island once joined to the mainland by an isthmus (Soles and Davaras 1992:413; Vavouranakis 2007:18). Being an island has not protected Mochlos from being looted with nearly all the graves plundered over time (Soles 1992:54), a fate of many other early cemetery sites. Discovered by a Turkish boatman working with Seager on Pseira who noticed traces of walls on the island, Mochlos was described by Seager (1909:273, 274) as having the best harbour on the coast and by Branigan (1991:104; Carter 2004:291; Nowicki 1999:579) as a gateway community. This is also a description given to other sites along the north coast of Crete including Poros Katsambas, controlling the exchange of goods and raw materials and even being responsible for their distribution (Warren 1984:61; Wilson 2008:82). Mochlos, in Aegean archaeology, is seen as type-site indicator for wealth and status in the EBA, its position on the east of Crete providing ideal conditions for sea trading activities (Branigan 1968:106; Carter 2004:291; Renfrew 1972:378; Whitelaw 1983:337-339). The site's location and role in overseas trade and the development of social relationships brought about through this trade described by Renfrew (1972:34, 451-455) as the 'International Spirit' in EBII (Carter 2004:296; Vavouranakis 2011:91). Trade and contact can also be seen across the Aegean in this period at Ayia Irini, Chalandriani, Grotta Aplomata and Daskaleio-Kavos (Broodbank 1989:325-327, 1993:316-318, 2000:323-342; Carter 2004:296).

The island of Mochlos is small measuring three hundred metres at its widest point (Branigan 1991:97) but yet contains more built tombs of various sizes than anywhere else on Crete. People have been living on Mochlos for a long period of time, likely from the FN to the Early Byzantine period (Soles and Davaras 1994:391). The settlement on the south coast of Mochlos we can see today dates from EMI with a growth in occupation in EMII (Soles and Davaras 1992:416-417). Population estimations suggest between two hundred and forty and three hundred and sixty people (Branigan 1991:98; Whitelaw 1983:339) may have once lived in the settlement, however, Soles and Davaras (1992:417) have reservations about this,

believing that the pre-palatial population lived in a less densely built settlement and therefore, there were less of them.



Figure 4.24 The island of Mochlos from the mainland in 2013
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

4.4.1 Grave Architecture

The cemetery at Mochlos (Figure 4.25) provides evidence from the FN/EMI to the EMIII period. The most evident tomb type in the landscape today is the house tomb, many of which are dated EMII-EMIII (Soles 1992:41) but there are also rock shelters found at Mochlos. Early excavations were published by Seager but these are lacking in any detail with regard to the tomb architecture (Seager 1909:273; Soles 1992:41). It is believed that he excavated six large chamber-tombs, cist graves and inverted pithoi (Boyd Hawes 1912:367). Later excavations began in the 1970s when detailed plans were drawn and Seager's excavated graves identified. These were published in 1992 (Soles 1992:41). There are two areas of the cemetery defined as the South Slope and the West Terrace (Figure 4.26).



Figure 4.26 The cemetery at Mochlos (Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)



Figure 4.27 The location of Tomb Complex I/II/III at Mochlos
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)



Figure 4.28 a. Tomb Complex IV/V/VI at Mochlos
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)



Figure 4.28 b. Stone walls and orthostat main entrance to the Tomb Complex
IV/V/VI (Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

Tomb Complex IV/V/VI is an unusual structure with built walls sitting against the rock face, the rooms constructed from stone (Soles 1992:51) and not incorporating the natural topography. Walls are carefully built with the entrance to IV constructed of two orthostat slabs (Soles 1992:52-53). From the entrance a rectangular room is entered with orthostat slabs lining the walls of blue-grey limestone and green and purple schist which Soles (1992:53-54) proposed to be intentionally placed for the colour contrast. Outside the complex are four steps which lead up to the structure and a paved court (Figure 4.30) (Seager 1912:40; Soles 1992:56; Vavouranakis 2007:25) and a raised terrace (Figure 4.29) which sits alongside the rock face and contained fragments of stone vessels (Soles 1992:56). As with Room IV, stones on the platform had been intentionally selected for their colour, with blue-grey, black, red and green stones present and laid in a mosaic effect (Soles 1992:57). Soles (1992:57) considers this platform to be an open-air altar.



Figure 4.29 Terrace and paved court outside Tomb Complex IV/V/VI at Mochlos
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

4.4.1.2 *The South Slope*

Seager suggested there were once Cycladic style cist burials on the South Slope at Mochlos (Boyd Hawes 1912:367; Sakellarakis 1977b:146; Seager 1912:13) but when he excavated the area he only found EM vases and fragments of stone vessels and that graves were destroyed by denudation, except one, Tomb XII (Seager 1912:13; Soles 1973:56, 57). Soles disputes Seager's ideas of Cycladic cists in favour of free-standing graves with slabs for walls, similar to those seen at Pseira. Any Cycladic cists may now sit under the waterline at Mochlos and would account for them missing in the site today. Whilst Mochlos does not have Cycladic cists it did contain a large quantity of artefacts with island parallels (Karantzali 1996:48).

In the area known as the South Slope of the Mochlos cemetery smaller house tombs and rock shelters can be found. These structures are smaller than those found on the West Terrace and in form have the appearance of small houses. There may have once been thirty four built tombs on the South Slope but many were destroyed over time just leaving their contents on the hill (Soles 1992:63). Twenty three tombs have been excavated, mostly dating from EMII (Soles 1992:63, 82) in the South Slope area. These tombs are built on terraces in the hillside and sit against the bedrock (Soles 1992:63), connecting the structures to the landscape (Vavouranakis 2007:16) (Figures 4.30 and 4.31). Tombs are made from stone and mudbrick with the use of coloured stone in lower courses and near doorways of green and purple schist (Soles 1992:64-65, 68, 80). Bodies would have been placed on bedrock in the tomb except for examples where tombs contain a level earth floor or packed earth floor (Soles 1992:69-71, 90). In Tomb X the floor was made of levelled earth near the entrance to a stone step of green schist in the centre of the grave which leads up to a higher natural level (Soles 1992:81). Tomb Γ is also notable for its plastered floor and small rounded stones and Tomb XI for its small stones, both tombs possibly demonstrating additional flooring in the tomb (Soles 1992:77). Natural crevices, alcoves and niches are used as places of display in the tombs (Soles 1992:69-71, 76). Some of the tombs on the South Slope seem to have been used in EMII, plundered and then reused, for example, Tombs IX and X (Soles 1992:82).

The empty tombs, Legarra Herrero suggests may be a result of erosion (2011:340) but this seems unlikely in all cases.



Figure 4.30 House Tombs of the South Slope of Mochlos
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

The architectural features of the tombs on the South Slope present a connection between the houses of the dead and those of the living. The differences between the size of tombs within the West Terrace and the South Slope has led to Mochlos being seen as a ranked or stratified society (Murphy 2011:28) with Soles (1992:41, 258) describing the West Terrace as being apparently reserved for a ruling elite, whilst the South Slope was occupied by the poor (Legarra Herrero 2011:342). However, caution should be taken with this interpretation.

The position of the cemetery, whether on the South Slope or on the West Terrace seems deliberately placed to overlook the mainland (Figure 4.33) but also with Pseira in sight (Figure 4.34). The tombs at Mochlos are not facing the Cyclades but it seems likely their purpose may be to oversee agricultural resources instead or to control sea routes, the elevated position of the tombs marking out control of both

land and sea. People visiting Mochlos would have a clear view of the monumental structures in the landscape which could demonstrate the inhabitants of the island asserting control over the area through the use of monumentality.



Figure 4.31 Remains of a House Tombs at Mochlos with integrated bedrock
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

4.4.2 Burials and the treatment of the dead

4.4.2.1 *The West Terrace*

On the West Terrace, in Tomb Complex I/II/III, rooms I and II contained human remains, none were articulated (Soles 1992:49). No human remains were found in Room III. Room I contained at least thirty skulls mixed with a confused mass of other bones (Soles 1992:49; Seager 1912:18; Vavouranakis 2007:25) dating from EMIIA (Soles 1992:49). Room II contained MMIII vases and bones of an unspecified date (Soles 1992:49), although the lower levels of this room are thought to represent EMII/III through the pottery inclusions. When the tomb was cleaned in 1970s stone vases, pottery sherds, bones were found (Soles 1992:50). In Room I, a stone pyxis was found in-situ and in Room II, sea shells and spouted dish were found to the north end of the grave (Soles 1992:50). Tomb Complex IV/V/VI may have been in use earlier than the skeletal data indicates. However as FN/EMI deposits of non-domestic pottery have been found below Tomb V (Pendlebury 1939:51), this may represent an unmarked burial in the area before the tomb complex was built and could confirm the cemetery's use for burials or ritual from as early as EMI (Branigan 1991:97).

In Tomb Complex IV/V/VI, Room IV was probably used as a form of mortuary chapel until receiving a burial and clay cup in EMIII (Soles 1992:57, 59). Outside this room pottery was found outside the entrance probably from the result of grave clearance (Soles 1992:57). Room V contained scattered skeletal remains, pottery and grave goods dating from EMII and EMIII thought to have been moved from elsewhere (Soles 1992:59). Room V may have been specifically designed and built as an ossuary (Soles 1992:60). Room VI was used in EMII but disturbed by the collapse of a stone wall and the addition of later MMIII/LMI potsherds above (Soles 1992:58).

In addition to skeletal material Tomb Complex IV/V/VI produced various finds. Room VI contained pottery items of teapots and a cup, a stone bowl and a bronze dagger and scraper (Soles 1992:60-61). The room also produced a silver cup with

jewellery inside (Soles 1992:60). Outside Tomb Complex IV/V/VI various pieces of jewellery (including gold beads), a stone jar and small pot and a small bronze diadem were found (Soles 1992:62). Tomkins and Schoep (2012:69) imply that the production of stone vases may have been a substantial industry by EMIIA, from the evidence found at Mochlos and other sites.

4.4.2.2 *The South Slope*

Due to the poor condition of the graves on the South Slope little skeletal material survived. Very few graves which did contain skeletal material were recorded by Seager from his excavations at the site. Seager recorded that Tomb XXI did contain many bones, the burials to the back of the grave dated to EMII and the burials to the front dating to EMIII (Seager 1912:76; Soles 1992:81, 82). Many unspecified bones were also found in Tomb VIII and fragmented bones uncovered when Tomb XVIII was cleaned (Soles 1992:104, 106). Items found in the graves on the South Slope included stone objects (goblets, saddle quern, rubber, pestle and vessels such as bowls and jars), obsidian, metals (gold) and pottery (basins, bowls, cups, goblet, jugs, pithos, lamp, teapots) (Soles 1992:63-113).

4.4.3 **Ritual**

The West Terrace is elevated from the settlement and daily life activities below which could highlight the location as a good place for ritual practices. Visitors would need to travel from the settlement area and across the South Slope to reach the terrace, similar to the travel between areas necessary at Kephala (Kea) (Chapter 3.3). The West Terrace faces towards the mainland and out to sea towards Pseira and so, due to its elevated position, any rituals taking place on the terrace may have been visible from both the land and the sea. Visitors to Mochlos by sea would be very aware of cemetery areas, the houses of the dead and those of the living.

The pavement on the West Terrace has parallels to those found on Naxos in the Cyclades. The site of Akrotiri (Naxos) also contains a platform which is 40 meters long and 3-4 metres wide attached to the cemetery and Lakkoudhes (Naxos) has a 3 metre paved area made from cobbles and a platform acting as an integral part of the cemetery (Doumas 1977:35-36, Figure 17). Not all platforms are large in the Cyclades like the one seen at Mochlos with some individual pavements or platforms instead being placed over individual tombs.

The evidence illustrates that Complex I/II/III and IV/V/VI should be considered as mortuary or ritual complexes. This may have been used for primary interment of the dead before secondary burial (Soles 1992:243), a ritual also practiced in Cycladic burials, or as an ossuary for skulls removed from earlier burials as seen through the remains in Tomb 1/II/III. Families buried on these terraces would be elevated above others in society, the dead placed significantly higher in the landscape than the living.



Figure 4.32 Remains of House Tomb with wall niche (top right corner of the picture) (Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

Tombs at Mochlos found on the South Slope highlights another aspect of ritual practice in the form of a niche placed in one of the walls (Figure 4.32), the use of

crevices and alcoves. These places may have been for offerings or to display something of importance that once belonged to the dead in the grave. Terraces constructed on the South Slope on which the tombs could sit may have also acted as places of ritual practice.



Figure 4.33 View from the Mochlos cemetery overlooking the mainland
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

4.5 PSEIRA

Pseira (Figure 4.34) is a small island, measuring only two kilometres by one kilometre, which sits off the Gulf of Mirabello in north eastern Crete. The site was occupied since the FN period (Betancourt 1999:33-36, 2004b:21; Betancourt and Davaras 2002:3, 2003:123). There is a settlement on the island which dates from the FN – EM period and sixty buildings from multi-periods can be seen today (Betancourt and Davaras 1988:207). Betancourt and Davaras (2003:136) describe the houses in the settlement as varying in size, some being very small and others large, one house containing twenty rooms (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:136) although no specific measurements are provided.

As there is little arable land in the area it is thought that island society would have been involved in commerce and fishing (Betancourt and Davaras 1988:207) Pseira taking on the role of a busy seaport (Betancourt 2004:21). The harbour of Pseira has an ideal location being protected from the north winds. Activity at the site is demonstrated though the presence of fish bones and an obsidian workshop (Dierckx 1999:211-216; Vavouranakis 2007:48). Today the island is uninhabited and inaccessible from the mainland.



Figure 4.34 View of the island of Pseira from the tombs on Mochlos
(Photograph: A. Nolan-Webster)

4.5.1 Grave Architecture

The cemetery at Pseira (Figure 4.35) sits on the south side of the island on a steep hill facing the sea. Pseira is two kilometres from the mainland in a rocky limestone landscape (Betancourt and Davaras 1988:207; 2002:7, 2003a:3) with the cemetery located in a ravine to the south of the settlement (Betancourt 1999:36, 2004b:22; Vavouranakis 2007:47). However, any view between the cemetery and settlement is obscured by hills (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:3).

Excavations of the area were started in 1910 by Richard Seager but unfortunately these were only noted in letters (Onyshkevych et al. 2002:17; Vavouranakis 2007:47). However, brief descriptions indicate that Seager excavated thirty three graves crammed with pots and dating to EMII, EMIII and MMI (Betancourt 2002a:9; Karantzali 1996:50). Recent projects have excavated or re-excavated nineteen tombs, the most common type being the cist grave of Cycladic type, lined with stone slabs (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:17; Karantzali 1996:50). These recent excavations at Pseira have indicated a date for the cemetery of FN-EMI through to MMIIB.

Cave tombs or rock shelters at the cemetery represent common burial structures on the east coast of Crete but there are also house tombs similar to the funerary structures on Mochlos and jar burials (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:3, 39, 123-129). Variations in grave architecture and the burial of the dead at Pseira may be an indication of community diversity (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:3) also present at other cemetery sites on the north coast of Crete. The cist graves in the Pseira cemetery are cut into the hillside and have suffered from erosion over time (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:124). The location of the cemetery and the graves may be significant in that the site is connected and placed directly in, and with, the landscape.

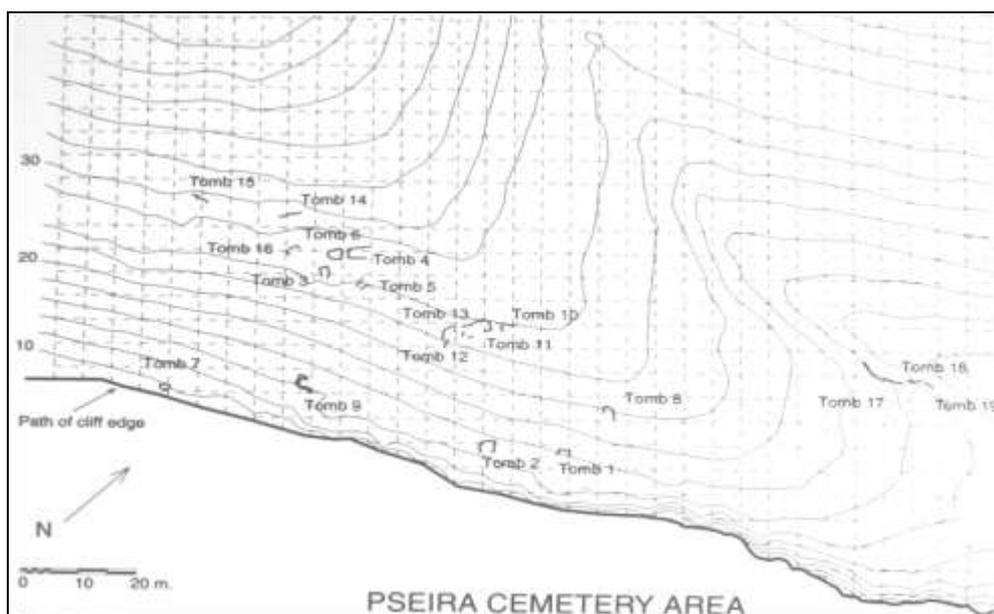


Figure 4.35 Plan of the Pseira Cemetery (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:Figure 2)

The cist graves found at Pseira were often located from their capstones which in many cases were partly visible. The graves are small, the smallest being two metres (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:124). The sides of the graves were constructed with stones or slabs usually found locally but some slabs may have been brought into the island (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:124). Cist graves at Pseira are rectangular or trapezoidal and formed from unworked stones. Graves were constructed by excavating earth from the side of the hill and then inserting stones. This excavation of the hillside resulted in some of the graves being visible in the landscape (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:35-36). The dead at Pseira were placed in the grave on the bedrock of the hill, reminiscent of Cycladic burial practices where bodies were placed on a either bedrock, stone slabs or pebbles in the bottom of the grave. However, in some cases at Pseira (Tomb 3) soil has been placed or left over the bedrock near the entrance and packed to make a firmer surface with the rest of the floor left with the bedrock visible (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:35-36). This is reminiscent of some of the graves located on the South Slope at Mochlos. Some of the graves at Pseira will now be discussed in more detail.

Tomb 3 (Figure 4.36 and 4.37) and Tomb 7 (Figure 4.38 and 4.39), although both cist graves at Pseira, are different to the others excavated at the site in their construction. Tomb 7 dates from the FN-EMIIB and Tomb 3 is of a similar date or slightly later (MM period) (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:126). They are of interesting in this research as the construction of both graves are similar to those found on Despotiko, Naxos, Paros and Siphnos (Doumas 1977:44-55). Tomb 3 was visible from above ground level and had a doorway leading to a small terrace. Tomb 7 may have been open from above or to the east (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:126).

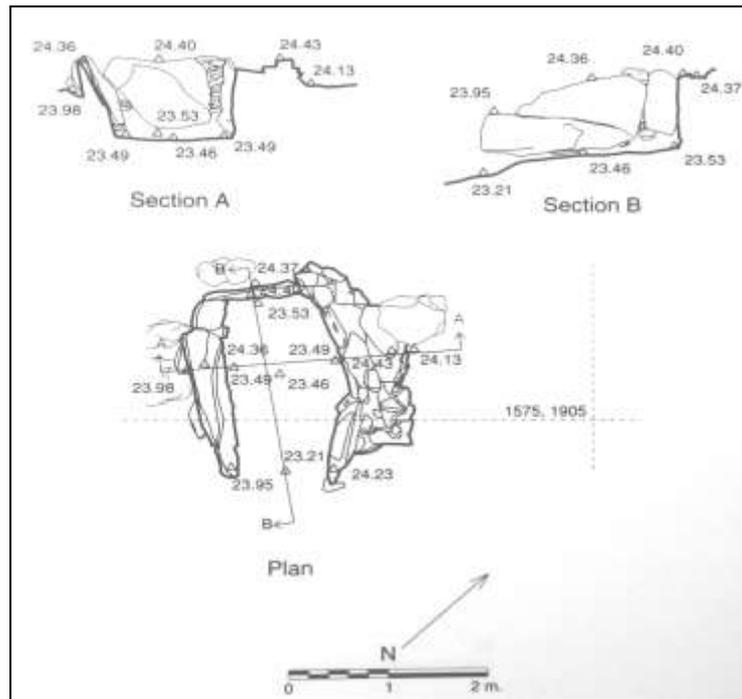


Figure 4.36 Plan of Tomb 3 from Pseira (Betancourt and Davaras 2003: Figure 5)



Figure 4.37 Tomb 3 at Pseira (Betancourt and Davaras 2003: Plate 10)

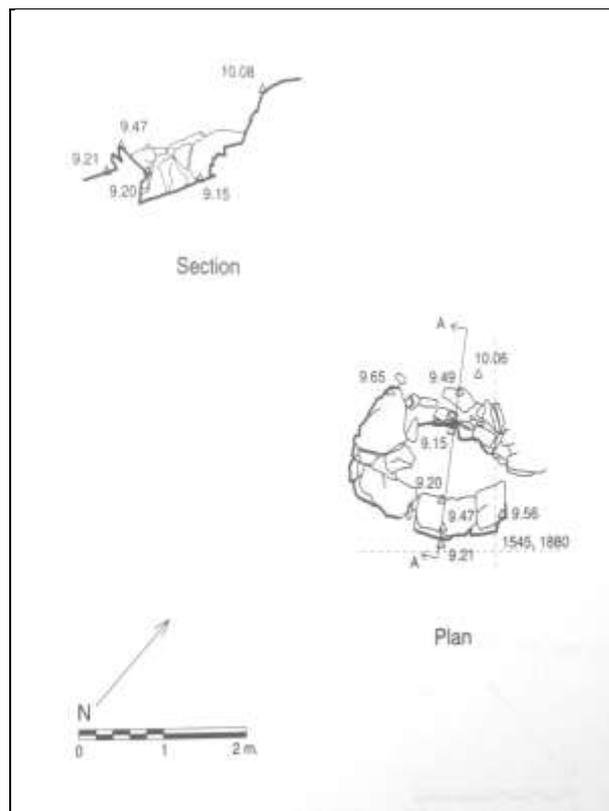


Figure 4.38 Plan of Tomb 7 from Pseira (Betancourt and Davaras 2003: Figure 9)



Figure 4.39 Tomb 7 at Pseira (Betancourt and Davaras 2003: Plate 10)

Tomb 4 is noted as being a rock shelter dated by the pottery to EMI-IIA to MMI-II. The tomb is small and no bones were found (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:39). A small terrace sat in front of the Tomb. Some of the graves at Pseira seem to have been arranged in groups for example the rock shelters of Tombs 17, 18 and 19. These tombs would be visible from the settlement (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:111). Tombs 10, 11, 12 and 13 also seem to be arranged in a cluster. This could perhaps imply that different groups are choosing to be buried together at the cemetery.

Graves at Pseira have been compared to those from Kephala (Kea) where the graves are also small with upper parts visible. At Pseira, Kephala, and other Cycladic sites (Coleman 1977; Doumas 1977; Betancourt and Davaras 2003:125) the grave goods are placed both inside and outside the graves (Coleman 1977) through possible grave clearance or their deliberate placement (Betancourt 2004:22; Betancourt and Davaras 2003:3) which means in many cases artefacts found at the cemetery cannot be associated with specific individual burials (Driessen 2010:113).

4.5.2 Burial and the treatment of the dead

Due to the small size of the graves at Pseira and the condition of the bones it is difficult to determine burial practices at the site but cist graves were probably used for secondary burial. (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:137). Burial may have involved several processes such as binding, exposure or primary burial before final interment in the Pseira graves. These practices may also have occurred at other north eastern cemetery sites such as Hagia Photia. Skeletal remains found at Pseira include pieces of crania and long bones but also many miscellaneous bone fragments which were retrieved through sieving (Arnott 2003). There was not always careful treatment of the dead, for example, Betancourt and Davaras (2003:21-23) described Tomb 2 as revealing a jumble of bones with some having the distal missing. There were also cut marks on bones (Figure 4.40) in Tombs 2, 3 and 10 which may present evidence for an injury or flesh being removed before secondary burial (Arnott 2003:159, 162; Betancourt and Davaras 2003:137). Study of the teeth analysed from samples at

Pseira indicate that graves contained both adults and children in the cemetery (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:131).

From the EM period at Pseira there was fine, phyllite and coarse pottery and some obsidian tools (Betancourt 2003b:8). Artefacts from individual burials had been carefully placed in one corner of a grave in some cases. This is also a feature of some Cycladic burials. Tomb 1 which was used from FN-EMI contained EBA finds of some fine and burnished pottery vessels (bowls, goblet and jar sherds), shells and one radius and ulna shaft from a sheep or goat. These animal bones could be a sign of food consumption during a funeral or food offerings being placed with the dead (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:7, 9). Charcoal found outside Tomb 2 from wood not readily available from the cemetery area may provide evidence of firewood being brought to the site (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:34). The lack of cooking pots also indicates these were brought to the cemetery when needed and returned to the settlement afterwards.

Scattered near the tombs at Pseira were a large number of sherds of various vessels which date from FN-EMI to MMIIA (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:10) including closed vessels, bowls, cups, goblets, jar and jug sherds. Obsidian blades and stone bowls and cups, shells, animal bone, metal items such as bronze blades, copper or bronze chisels (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:16, 29, 30) were also found.



Figure 4.40 Radius fragments from Tomb 10 with cut marks
(Arnott 2003:Plate 22c)

The tombs on Pseira cannot be compared with others nearby such as Mochlos for their wealthy grave inclusions or ideas towards status as neither site is alike. Mochlos displays two aspects of burial through the house tombs and simple cists whereas Pseira provides more of a conservative grave style, similar to graves in the Cyclades, utilising the landscape and using the earth in part of the burial enclosure at Pseira in the rock shelters. This could signal a different societal structure between Pseira and other cemeteries on the north east coast of Crete.

4.5.3 Ritual

Ritual elements of the Pseira cemetery present themselves through small terraces and enclosures outside the grave structures for example Tombs 3 and 7. These areas may have been used as a focus for ritual similar to other sites such as Kephala (Kea) and the pavements at Hagia Photia (4.2.1). These individual terraces are likely to be the forerunner to built terraces at Pseira, for example outside Tomb 4, from MMII (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:137).

Human skeletal remains and artefacts are not only found in the tombs but also from around the tombs offering evidence for grave clearance. For the later burials, the graves that do contain pottery are small, assemblages containing everyday items alongside bronze tools, weapons, jewellery and obsidian (Betancourt 1999:36). The obsidian which is from Melos is believed to have been brought to the island in an unworked state and then manufactured to produce items (Branigan 1970:185) which are later found deposited in graves. At Pseira obsidian flakes and blades are found (Betancourt and Davaras 2003:130). There is not a large quantity of foreign or overseas inspired pottery at Pseira but it does seem that people imported their pottery from other parts of Crete including Gournia (Betancourt and Davaras 2002:22; Vavouranakis 2007:48). Betancourt (2002b:21) suggested this lack of foreign objects implies little overseas contact before the MMII period at Pseira, however, this idea is flawed as it does not explain why Cycladic style cist graves are present at the site or the locally worked obsidian blades and tools. The local population seem

responsible for the creation of stone vases (Betancourt 2004:22) highlighting the prolific nature of local craftworking at the site.

4.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The evidence presented in Chapter IV, as with Chapter III, highlights the key themes of grave architecture, burial and the treatment of the dead and ritual for a select number of sites on Crete. Key features from these themes have been summarised in Table 4.1.

4.6.1 Grave Architecture

The graves which present themselves for the sites discussed on the north east of Crete are cists, house tombs and rock shelters. Cist burials are found at the sites of Hagia Photia, Gournia Sphoungaras and Pseira with evidence in the past found for similar structures on Mochlos. These cists are simple rectangular, trapezoidal or circular pits lined with stone slabs and sealed by a capstone, the same building methods found in grave construction in Cycladic cemeteries. The house tombs also found to the north east of Crete at the sites of Gournia North Cemetery and Mochlos represent more time being invested in grave construction and the use of some of these larger structures as mortuary complexes, or dedicated ossuaries, for the placement of the dead. House tombs at Mochlos are similar in form to the houses found in the settlement but some of the structures at Gournia have no doorway. This would mean the dead were placed in the grave through the roof. Rock shelters use the natural landscape to create a grave for the dead, placing the bodies in a natural gap in the rock and sealing this usually with a stone. Examples of rock shelter use can be seen at Gournia North Cemetery, Gournia Sphoungaras and Pseira.

At Mochlos burials are located on the West Terrace and the South Slope. The West Terrace holding Tomb Complexes (I/II/III and IV/V/VI). These structures are large buildings containing individual rooms. These rooms sit close, but not next to the

rock face, with the rooms constructed by stone. Tomb Complex IV/V/VI contains large orthostats to the main entrance. The South Slope in contrast contains smaller house tombs.

The chosen method of grave construction on the north east coast of Crete can be explained as personal choice of the population living at a particular site. An example of this can be seen when the house tombs were being built at Mochlos the people of Gournia Sphoungaras were burying their dead in cists (Soles 1992:2). The choice in grave style at sites such as Gournia (North Cemetery and Sphoungaras) could represent two distinct groups of people living at the site. This is not unusual as this diversity in burial practices can be seen at sites across Crete, especially at the examples discussed above at Koumasa and Archanes. At Mochlos the differences between burials on the West Terrace and South Slope could also be an indication of emerging elites (Soles 1992:258).

At Gournia Sphoungaras an architectural feature at the site can be found in the building of retaining walls which were built around the graves or along the slopes of the cemetery to hold back the earth and to prevent erosion (Soles 1992:2). This action mirrors that of the house tombs from Mochlos and Gournia where thought was given to creating a space for the dead and for adapting the landscape in which to place a lasting structure. This could be expected when creating monumental grave structures but unusual when constructing simple graves as those found at Sphoungaras. Pebble floors on which to place the dead are found at Hagia Photia but the other sites on this coast at Gournia North Cemetery, Mochlos and Pseira had bodies placed directly on bedrock.

Cemetery	Total No. of Graves (U = Total Unknown G.O. = General Observations only Available)	No. of Graves Examined (G.O. = Only General observations available)	% of Features from the Cemeteries			
			Floor Sand/Stone/ Pebble	Pillow	Platform/ Pavement/ Enclosure	Any other grave / cemetery features?
Hagia Photia	c. 300	263	29%* * Antechambers are paved. Not all chambers are planned. Small stones also visible on some photographs. Some pavements are shared.	0%	Roof slabs may have been visible from surface	The stone used to close the grave possibly also acted as a grave marker
Gournia North Cemetery	8* * inc. 2 rock shelters with multiple rooms	8	0%	0%	0%	Pit in Tomb 1
Gournia Sphoungaras	G.O.	G.O.	0%	0%	0%	Forecourts
Mochlos	23* *graves with published data. Also pithos and simple pit graves mentioned at the site	23	22%* *Figure also includes graves with packed earth floor	0%	2 communal pavements	Also two tomb complexes containing skeletal material. Use of coloured stones
Pseira	33* *Unrecorded accounts	19* *Many tombs re-excavated	0%	0%	Terrace feature outside some graves	Standing stones visible on surface Signs of burning

Table 4.1 Summary of EBA burial features for cemeteries on Crete

4.6.2 Burial and the treatment of the dead

At the cemetery sites of Hagia Photia the bones are described as being in poor condition with only a few teeth surviving today and therefore of little use for any further study. Little is also known about the bones from Sphoungaras or from the original excavation of Gournia North Cemetery except for the graves were noted as being full of bones and skulls in disorder. From this and later MMI burials accounts the procedure seems to be that primary burials were set aside following decomposition to make room for later interments. This practice is also happening in the tomb complexes on the West Terrace at Mochlos. This provides the appearance of graves having a dual purpose as a place of primary burial and also as ossuaries. Burials at Gournia Sphoungaras may have been primary although it would be difficult to confirm this.

The size of the cist graves found at Hagia Photia, Gournia Sphoungaras and Pseira demonstrate that bodies were placed in a tightly contracted position or secondary

burial was happening at the sites. Primary processing of the corpse may have followed death such as tying or wrapping of limbs or a cutting of the tendons. Some treatment of the bones found at Pseira in Tombs 2, 3 and 10 provide evidence of cut marks. Bones are also seen amongst artefact scatter outside the graves.

The dead were accompanied by grave goods at Hagia Photia, Gournia North Cemetery, Mochlos and Pseira. Artefacts from Gournia Sphoungaras and Pseira are also found outside the graves. The scattering or placement of artefacts can also be seen at other cemeteries in the Cyclades at the sites of Aghioi Anargyroi and Lakkoudhes A (Naxos). All the cemetery sites discussed above included a number of similar artefacts with the dead in or around the graves. The common inclusions are pottery or stone pyxides, other pottery (bottles, bowls, cups, goblets, jars, jugs and plates), marble vases, stone (bowls, cups, goblets and jars), obsidian, metal (bronze awl, blades, tweezers, tools, copper or bronze chisels). Shells are present at all five cemetery sites.

The less common inclusions found at the cemeteries are bone tubes, fishhooks, frying pans silver beads and crucibles from Hagia Photia and fifteen ivory plaques or tablets from Gournia North Cemetery and one from Sphoungaras. A figurine and spindle whorls were also found at Sphoungaras. Animal bones are a common feature of the Pseira cemetery. At Mochlos there are also gold items and pottery teapots found. The house tombs at Mochlos on the South Slope have been plundered so there may have once been many more grave inclusions. Considering that Mochlos and Pseira are so geographically close it is a surprise that the material of grave goods is so different between the two cemetery sites (Betancourt 1999:35). These differences indicate variations in the influences between the two.

4.6.3 Ritual

Proof for ritual at the cemeteries on Crete is shown in several ways. At Hagia Photia pavements line the antechamber and sit above the graves. A large flat area is found in the cemetery which may have been used for any communal activity. Smashed

chalices at the cemetery over some of the graves demonstrate the ritual breakage of vessels as part of a funeral process. There are also incense burners at the site which could highlight burning at the cemetery around funeral practices.

At Gournia North Cemetery ritual processes are seen through the movement of EM skulls into a MM pit found in Tomb I. Grave clearance is also found outside Tomb I with small vases placed by the grave wall. Little is known about the ritual practices at Gournia Sphoungaras as there are no pavements or platforms. However, the burial and grave clearance practices may have been accompanied by ritual elements although these could not be confirmed in the archaeological record. Grave clearance is also evidenced at Mochlos on the West Terrace outside Room IV. Room V was an ossuary which contained bones and pottery seemingly moved from elsewhere.

Pavements can provide information about ceremonial and ritual activity around cemeteries including, for larger pavements, performance such as dancing or singing. A raised pavement/platform was found at Mochlos on the West Terrace. This pavement has parallels to those found on Naxos in the Cyclades but Soles (1992:57) also compares it to an open-air altar similar to that found outside Gournia Tomb II. The site of Akrotiri on Naxos also contains a platform which is 40 meters long and 3-4 metres wide attached to the cemetery and Lakkoudhes (Naxos) has a 3 metre paved area made from cobbles and a platform which Doulas (1977:35-36, Figure 17) describes as being an integral part of the cemetery. Not all platforms or pavements are large as with the one seen at Mochlos. Some individual pavements are instead found placed over or in front of the tombs. These features can be seen at Hagia Photia and Pseira (Crete) and at Akrotiri and Zoumbaria (Naxos) (Doulas 1977:36). There is missing information for Sphoungaras as to whether pavements of any kind existed either over the tombs or as part of the cemetery.

Both cemeteries at Gournia and Pseira contain drinking vessels and provide evidence for food and drink consumption at the cemetery sites in the inclusion of cups, plates, jugs and bowls. Pseira also contains evidence of animal bones in some of the graves which could signal the consumption of food during the funeral. However, there are no cooking pots at the site meaning food may have been brought to the site prepared

for eating. There is evidence for burning outside Tomb 2 which may represent a bonfire.

In the next chapter (Chapter V) I will present the cemetery evidence from three sites on the Greek mainland at Aghios Kosmas, Tsepi and Manika on Euboea to explore the extent of connections to EBA Cycladic burial practices evident in the archaeological record.

CHAPTER V**MAINLAND GREECE****5.1 INTRODUCTION**

On mainland Greece three sites will be explored to see whether the extent of interconnections with the Cyclades can be established through the burial record. The three cemeteries discussed are at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi (Attica) and Manika (Euboea) (Figure 5.1). These three cemeteries although often included within discussions surrounding Aegean connections, for example Broodbank (2002), Renfrew (1972) and Weiberg (2007), are known for dominating the region during the Early Helladic period (hereafter EH) (Weiberg 2007:198). However, burial architecture and ritual practices at cemeteries are not widely explored. These sites have been chosen as all three are ideally placed for participation in trade in the EBA and so burials here may show signs of interconnections across the Aegean. As with the previous two chapters presenting cemetery evidence from the Cyclades and Crete three themes will be explored for each site including grave architecture, burial and the treatment of the dead and ritual.

5.1.1 Burial Practices on the Greek mainland in EBA

There are regional differences in burial practices in the EH period on mainland Greece with central and eastern parts containing extramural burials and occupants of the Argolid burying the dead within settlements (intramural) (Weiberg 2007:195). Examples of extramural burials were found from the EHI to the end of EHIIA at Botsikoula, Kandili and Lithares (Boeotia), Askitario, Aghios Kosmas, Tsepi (Attica). Manika (Euboea) cemetery was in use between EHI and EHIIB. From the EIIA to the end of EHIIB cemeteries were found at Corinth, Kalamaki, Perachora-Vouliagmeni and Zygouries (Corinthia) (Weiberg 2007:192-193).

More recent discoveries have been located at Delpriza, Ancient Elis, Kerameikos, Glyphada and Schoinas. Delpriza was discovered through rescue excavation and

produced an industrial building and cemetery of 43 graves, most dating to the Classical period except for one which can be allocated to the EHI period. This grave is an elliptical pit and was located to the south part of the cemetery. The grave is formed from the bedrock and lined with rough limestone (Kossyva 2009:336). A stone blocks the doorway and in front of the grave there was once a prothyron (Kossyva 2009:336, 355). Unfortunately, only the lower walls of the grave have survived as the top part of the structure was destroyed by farming. The architecture of this grave is similar to Chalandriani (Syros) and grave 14 at Aghios Kosmas (Doumas 1977:47-49; Kossyva 2009:355; Mylonas 1959:93-4; Fig.81, drawing 32).

The burials in the grave at Delpriza are very different to those found in the later Classical graves at the site. The Classical period graves contain extended burials in several positions whereas this EH grave has contracted burials and the remains of thirty individuals. The pit contained stacked skulls around the side of the grave and other bones were piled less carefully in the middle (Kossyva 2009:356). Grave goods were also found in the pit including obsidian blades, stone beads, ten clay vases and a marble figurine of Cycladic type (Kossyva 2009:356, 360-361). The vases included handmade spherical pyxides, a pyxis lid and a double vase with red paint, all dating to the EHI period. Interestingly, the clay for these vessels is not local to the Argolid. The style of vessels, the obsidian blades and the figurine all suggest the grave goods are from the Cyclades (Kossyva 2009:361). Therefore, the grave architecture and the treatment of the dead provide evidence for this grave as having connections to the islands. It will be interesting to see if further graves of this type emerge in any further excavations at the site and if future analysis of the skeletal material provides further data to the people buried in the grave.

A chamber tomb cemetery dating to EHI was found at Ancient Elis in 2004 (Rambach 2006:63-92). Graves were dug into the sand but as at Delpriza only the lower parts remain. This is because a digger was used on the site. Twenty four tombs were discovered at Ancient Elis containing two to sixteen individuals in primary and secondary burials. Graves were placed in two rows, which could represent different chronological periods, with the entrances facing the river. There are few grave goods, mostly represented by closed vessels, one handled cups and a

double vessel. A bone plaque and pendants of sandstone, semi-precious stones and an animal tooth were also found, highlighting links to the Cyclades. In addition to the chamber tombs, some cist graves were found at the site but these contained single burials in contracted positions without offerings. These graves were very small, leading Rambach (2006:63-92) to suggest these may be the graves of juveniles.

Two Early Bronze Age graves were found in Athens at Kerameikos and Olympieion. The grave at Kerameikos was a stone lined cist cut into the bedrock with a prothyron, or entrance to the east side (Pullen 1985:127; Knigge 1976:4-6). To enter the grave there was a step down from the prothyron into a rectangular chamber (Pullen 1985:127). The grave was found empty but has been assigned to the EBA for its architectural similarities to Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi (Pullen 1985:128).

Glyphada (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2001-2004:479-480, 2006:45-60, 2008-2009:5; 2012:13-17) was a EH cemetery, surrounded by an enclosure wall. In the cemetery the tombs were cut into the limestone and rectangular in form. Graves were placed in clusters on the side of a low hill. The entrance to the chamber was blocked by a stone. On top of tombs was a large cover slab on which, on one grave, was a four sided stone structure similar to the graves at Tsepi (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2001-2004:479-480; 2012:13-17). Graves were reused and acted as a place of primary and secondary burial, in one case, for at least twenty people. Primary burials were placed in a contracted position and secondary burials included mainly long bones and skulls (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2001-2004:479). Vessels accompanying the dead included shells, stone beads and one Cycladic figurine. To the northeast of the chamber tombs is a circular pit which is thought by Kaza-Papageorgiou (2001-2004:479) to represent a place which was used for funerary rituals. This is because it contained around 250 vessels of various shapes, both broken and intact, and small stones (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2001-2004:479-480).

Schoinas (Corinthia) was excavated in 2007 on land owned by N. Papakonstantinou (Balomenou 2013:169). The site produced an EHIII pottery and a cremation burial of an adult placed in a krater (Balomenou 2013:169, 171). The krater was covered with a simple bowl with a hole in the bottom. This hole may have been originally

intended for pouring libations as part of burial ritual activities (Balomenou 2013:170 fig. 3; www.yppo.gr/0/anaskafes/pdfs/LZ_EPKA.pdf/Accessed 9th April 2016).

In addition to the sites discussed above, other places on the Greek mainland that are seen to have Cycladic connections include Asine, Corinth (Mylonas 1959:5) and Zygouries. Zygouries had a large number of multiple burials or ossuaries and once contained rectangular graves similar to Cycladic cists. These were cleared during the Roman period (Blegen 1928:45-54; Cavanagh and Mee 1998:18, 19). Apollo Maleatas in the Argolid dating to EHI has produced simple pits covered by large slabs also similar to the Cyclades (Weiberg 2007:212) and cemeteries at Kalamaki south of Patras (Weiberg 2007:190) and Pavlopetri (Gallou and Henderson 2012:83-88) in the Peloponnese contain Cycladic elements. The grave architecture, such as the rock-cut tombs, are also comparable to sites such as Manika (Gallou and Henderson 2012:86). Due to a limited amount of published burial data for these sites these cemeteries are not included in this chapter (Mylonas 1959:5).

Some settlements such as Askitarío (Weiberg 2007:256-7), Tsoungiza and Lerna would also have been good candidates for discussion as all have features which may connect to the Cyclades. Askitarío is located on a headland similar to Aghios Kosmas and Manika on the mainland and Chalandriani (Syros) (Weiberg 2007:267) and the presence of surface finds including Cycladic pottery, including frying pans and marble, indicates possible contact with the islands in the EH period. There is also a cemetery at Lithares but very little is published for the site (Weiberg 2007:283). The EH cemetery sites selected are included in published data and contain information on the key themes explored. The first site to be discussed will be Aghios Kosmas.

5.2 AGHIOS KOSMAS

Aghios Kosmas is located in Attica on mainland Greece (Figure 5.2). The site is situated by the sea and was excavated 1930-1 and 1951 (Forsén 1992:112). In antiquity the site was known as Kolas Akra, the name today of Aghios Kosmas taken

from the small chapel in the area (Mylonas 1934:259). Aghios Kosmas is considered by Broodbank (2002:280) to represent a strategic nodal point or bottle neck located on the coast in a location which would allow control over hinterland communities.

Unfortunately preservation of Aghios Kosmas has been affected by several factors. A large amount of the site was destroyed in the Second World War occupation between 1941-1944 and then large areas of sand were removed illegally to be used in cement for building work in Athens. Reports of broken pottery and obsidian being found in mortar around the city (Mylonas 1934:268; 1959:13). The site was encroached on further by the sprawl of Athens and the construction of the airport and finally by the sea and rising seas levels which has covered parts of the site (Weiberg 2007:232).



Figure 5.1 EBA mainland sites included in this chapter

Settlement at Aghios Kosmas (Figure 5.2) provides evidence for a period of occupation which ran from the EH period (2600-2000BC) to the Late Helladic period (hereafter LH). The EH settlement seems to have been occupied over a long period with two phases of building present. Buildings are similar to other settlements in Attica, Euboea and Boeotia being square or rectangular with shared walls (Forsén 1992:113; Mylonas 1934:260; Weiberg 2007:31). Buildings in the settlement of Aghios Kosmas have been interpreted as a bakery or communal kitchen and those for the storage of agricultural equipment (Weiberg 2007:70). Manufacturing is present in domestic areas seen through obsidian blade production (Weiberg 2007:71, 72). This industry is not exclusively seen at Aghios Kosmas on the mainland but is also present at Lithares and Lerna (Weiberg 2007:72).

Dating to the last phase of the EH period House 1 is of interest as it contains a room with a bench on the eastern wall. As part of the same wall a large pithos was found secured with clay and stones and containing grape seeds which may indicate the vessel's purpose of holding wine (Mylonas 1959:38; Weiberg 2007:69). There was a small spout found near the bottom of this vessel supporting the idea (Mylonas 1959:39). Within the room a pyxis, flask shaped jug, skyphos, a two handled jar, two baskets of potsherds including fragments of small plates, spherical jugs, bowls, skyphoi and askoi were found (Mylonas 1959:40; Weiberg 2007:69). The bench in this room is significant as only another two have been excavated at Tiryns and Lithares. This has led to interpretation of this room as a place of ritual significance and somewhere for food and drink to be consumed (Nilsson 2004:153; Weiberg 2007:69, 72), highlighting ritual practices within the settlement.

Occupation of Aghios Kosmas seems to have stopped at the end of the EH period brought about through fire, signalled by a burnt fill layer over the settlement area of 0.4m (Forsén 1992:113; Mylonas 1934:260; 1959:12; Weiberg 2007:96). The site seems abandoned during the Middle Helladic period (2000-1600BC) but was later re-inhabited in the LH (Mylonas 1930:7). Today determining the size or layout of the settlement over individual time periods is difficult as some of the site sits underwater.



Figure 5.2 Plan of the settlement at Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959:Drawing 1)

Artefacts from the Aghios Kosmas settlement included vases, sauceboats and bowls, house utensils and a Cycladic figurine. Settlement pottery is similar to that found in the Peloponnese (Mylonas 1934:265) and there are fragments of vessels which may be an indication of Cycladic frying pans at the site. The pieces of frying pans which are found at Aghios Kosmas are similar to those found on Syros (Mylonas 1934:266) and one piece in particular resembles an identical piece from Kouphonisi (Karantzali 1996:181; Zapheirou 1970:51, 2008:194). Pithoi can be found throughout the settlement which have been patched with lead clamps which appear to be from the EH period but may have been used until the Classical period. Tsountas argued that these pithoi from Aghios Kosmas were stylistically similar to those found on Syros (Mylonas 1934:266).

Stone objects such as millstones and grinders are frequently found throughout the settlement. There are also spools of a type found in the Cyclades and Zygouries (Mylonas 1934:267). House E produced Cycladic items including a palette, a piece of red pigment, pieces of bone tube and a foot amulet of green steatite (Mylonas

1934:267). Obsidian is found around Aghios Kosmas in large quantities including cores, finished blades, blade fragments and chips from knapping the most prolific finds in the settlement (Weiberg 2007:7, 97). The obsidian at Aghios Kosmas brought Mylonas (1934:267; 1959:143) and Carter (1999:59) to both agree that the site was an important centre of importation, manufacture and trade of Melian obsidian. However some doubts have been raised against this idea due to the low number of obsidian cores, necessary for blade production, found across the settlement site (Weiberg 2007:97). In contrast to the amount of obsidian found at Aghios Kosmas very little metal has been found.

5.2.1 Grave Architecture

The excavation of Aghios Kosmas started in 1930 (Mylonas 1934:268; 1959:12; Weiberg 2007:246) and uncovered two cemeteries. The two cemeteries were the north cemetery, which produced cist graves along the coast and built graves inland, and the south cemetery which is now destroyed or submerged underwater. Excavation of the cemeteries was problematic as graves filled with wet mud, sand and seawater once digging started. Earlier sand removal from the area uncovered grave slabs which covered the roofs and meant that any grave goods left on top of the graves were subsequently destroyed (Mylonas 1959:13). Once the graves were exposed these were also looted. Diggers at the site also damaged roof slabs which fell into the graves and crushed some skeletal remains within.

The graves at Aghios Kosmas (Figure 5.3) are quadrilateral or trapezoidal cists made of sandstone slabs, with limestone closing slabs used for the doors (Barber 1987:136; Mylonas 1934:268; 1959:65; Weiberg 2007:302), or elliptical and semi-circular built graves made of small stones set in clay (Mylonas 1959:64). The north cemetery is a narrow area which contains thirty two graves which lay close to the surface and were constructed on slabs or walls built with small stones (Forsén 1992:113; Mylonas 1959:64). Graves face the headland or the settlement (Mylonas 1959:64).

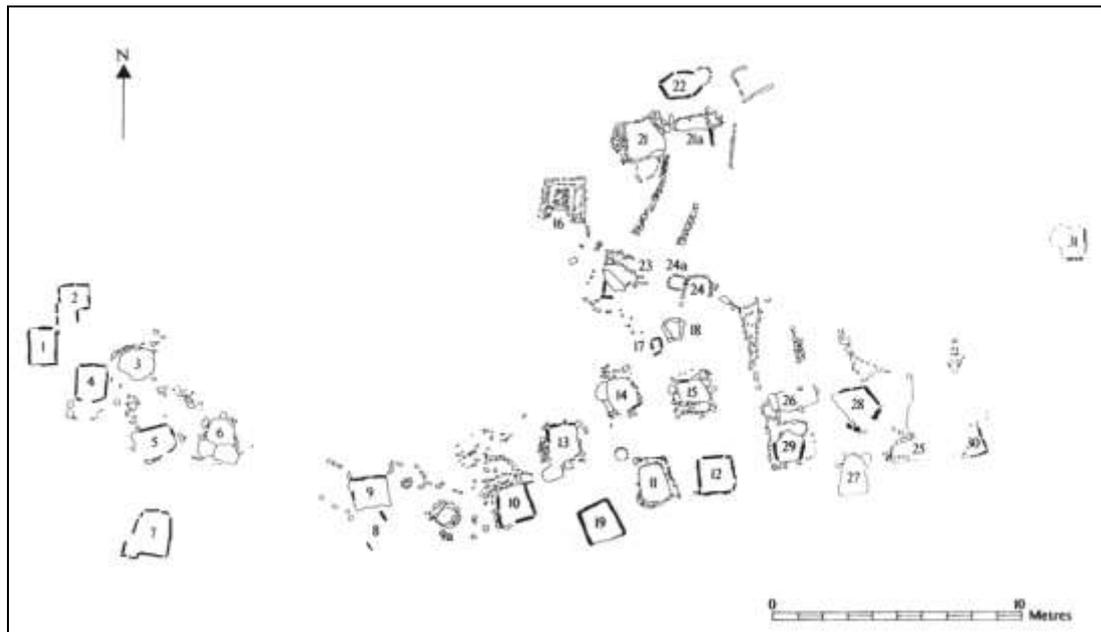


Figure 5.3 Plan of the North Cemetery at Aghios Kosmas

(Cavanagh and Mee 1998:170 Figure 3.2; Mylonas 1959:plate 48)

All graves at Aghios Kosmas were underground. The roofs of the graves were constructed from large slabs which were visible from the surface, marking the structures in the landscape. Often there was a small opening in the middle of the roof and structure placed over walls acting to counterweight the slabs (Mylonas 1959:65; Weiberg 2007:309, 377, 379). A similar arrangement can be seen in Cycladic cemeteries at Lakkoudhes, Akrotiri and Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) (Doumas 1977:63; Weiberg 2007:379). Over time the walls did not stay in place and most grave roofs collapsed into the graves in antiquity (Mylonas 1959:65). Exceptions to this roofing system are grave 20 which was roofed from side to side and Grave 13 which was covered with a single slab. Tsountas (1899:82-83; Mylonas 1934:268, 1959:65) suggested that roofs may have been mimicking houses and noted that the same roof arrangement was found at Chalandriani on Syros in that the graves were corbelled. Corbelled graves at Aghios Kosmas from EBII are of a similar type to those seen in the Cyclades at Kephala (Broodbank 2002:200). Corbelling is when stones from the side of the grave lean inwards as they reach the ground surface, eventually leaving a small gap in the roof. This is filled by a much smaller stone than capstones used in many Cycladic graves.

Mylonas (1934:268) interpreted that roofs were formed like this in order to create access into the grave for future burials or simply to create an area through which to pour libations as part of a funerary ritual. Creating air flow through the grave may have acted as a drying agent on the corpse and have assisting in the decomposition process. This would be an important factor if needing to create further space for later burials.

Many of the graves at Aghios Kosmas have entrances with lintels, thresholds (Aram Stern 2004:285; Mylonas 1959:65) and a dromos (Aram Stern 2004:286). This lead Mylonas (1934:268) to suggest the graves at Aghios Kosmas looked like the houses of the living. Thresholds or antechambers were made of stones or cut into the rock but all require a downwards step into the grave (Mylonas 1959:65). A stone was used to deliberately close the grave, an example of this seen in Grave 16 (Figure 5.4). This grave form holds strong parallels to some of the graves found at Hagia Photia on Crete (Chapter 4.3.1) with the burial on one side of the grave and a pavement on the other. The grave openings are very small for example Grave 22 is only 0.35m wide and difficult to insert a body therefore indicating entrances were symbolic (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:118) and that the dead were placed in the grave through the roof (Mylonas 1959:65, 66).



Figure 5.4 Grave 16 with stone blocking the doorway and adjoining pavement (Mylonas 1959: Figure 89)

Grave modification is another feature at Aghios Kosmas. An example of this can be seen in Grave 4 which has one corner of the grave removed in order to add a new prothyron to the original structure (Mylonas 1959:301; Weiberg 2007:301) (Figure 5.5). Grave 8 and 9 also show a grave and an ossuary sitting together. Graves 8 and 9 have been interpreted as representing a grave for primary burial (Grave 8) located next to an ossuary which holds organised and stacked skeletal remains. Mylonas (1959:89) argues that Grave 9 was constructed first but became full and so Grave 8 was constructed in which to place primary burials (Figure 5.6). Graves 8 and 9 are physically connected through a border of stones which present both graves together as a pair (Mylonas 1959:87-89; Weiberg 2007:313).

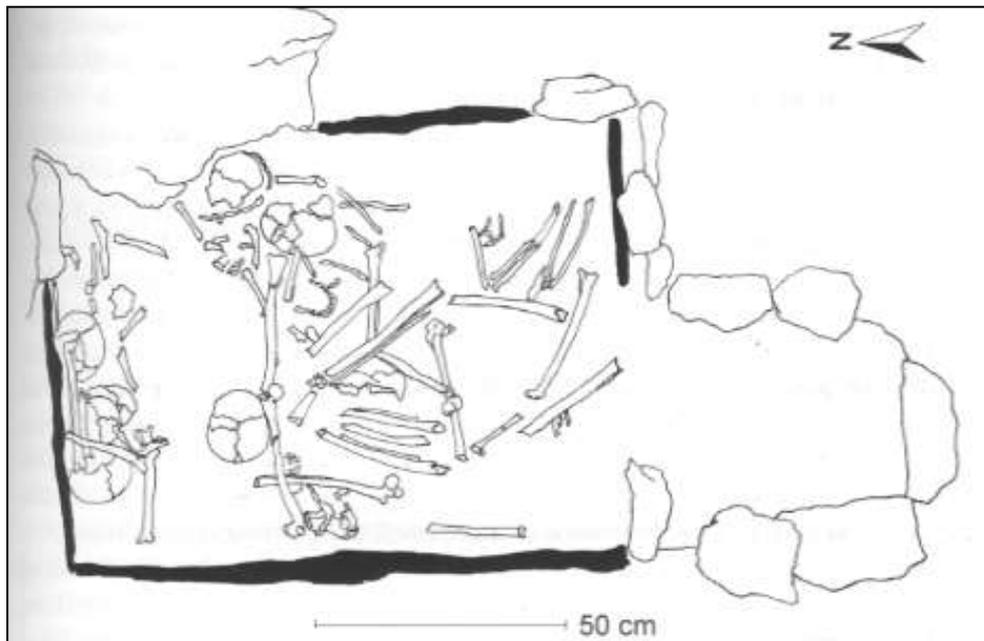


Figure 5.5 Grave 4 at Aghios Kosmas with prothyron addition (Weiberg 2007:301)

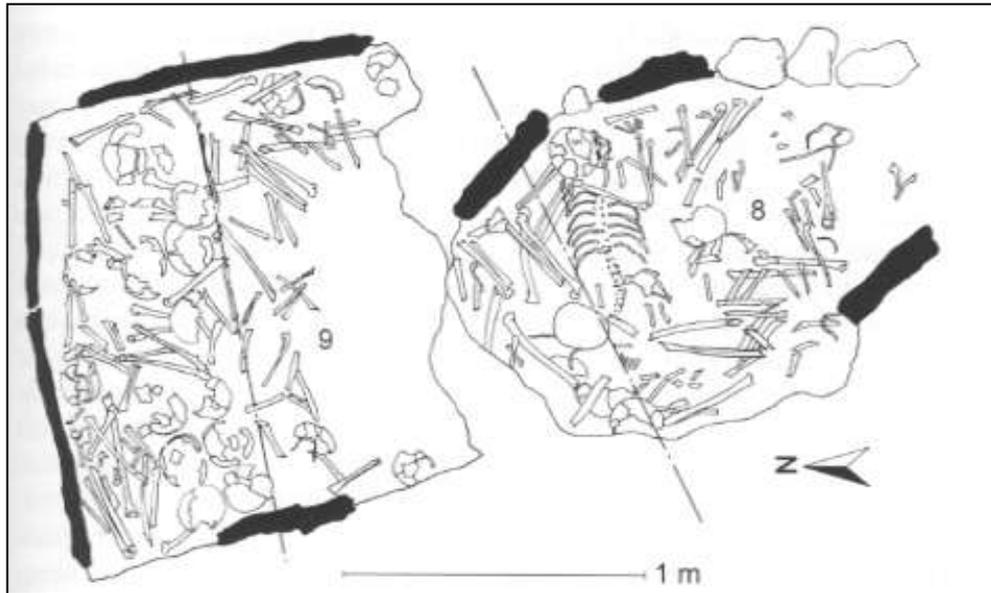


Figure 5.6 Grave 8 and Grave 9 at Aghios Kosmas
(Mylonas 1959:Figures.25-26; Weiberg 2007:313)

Each grave at Aghios Kosmas is surrounded by stones which create a border (Alram Stern 2004:285, 286; Mylonas 1959:66; Weiberg 2007:162). These are found at other sites, specifically at Tsepi (this chapter 5.3) with the marking of areas also a practice around mounds at Lerna and Olympia (Weiberg 2007:161-162). The significance of these stones is unknown but the physical border allows the graves to be located easily for future burials to take place. Stones also create separation between the graves, creating space in which to place grave offerings (Mylonas 1959:66; Weiberg 2007:161, 163, 309). Speculation has arisen surrounding the formality of the cemetery with Goldstein (1981:59; Pullen 1985:145) proposing the differentiation of mortuary space representing individual corporate groups created through lineal descent and controlling resources. Goldstein may be correct in that some graves may represent individual groups as they have been intentionally separated by walls. An example of this can be seen in Grave 5 and 6 which sit away from Graves 1-4 and Graves 8 and 9 which sit together (Mylonas 1959:82, 89). Grave 10 is also separated from Graves 9 and 13 (Mylonas 1959:90) which may represent family groups.

5.2.2 Burials and the treatment of the dead

Graves at Aghios Kosmas (Figure 5.7) contained multiple burials of between five and twelve bodies in built graves and cists. Where there are complete skeletons found in the graves then care has been taken to place the corpse in a contracted position on the right or left side and usually facing the entrance towards the settlement. Bodies at Aghios Kosmas were placed on floors covered with sand and pebbles (Afram Stern 2004:285) and occasionally schist for example in Grave 11 (Mylonas 1959:64, 91). Schist pavements on which to place the dead in the EBA can be found at the Cycladic cemetery sites for example at Pelos (Melos) (3.9.2), Tsikniades (Naxos) (3.10.8) and Chalandriani (Syros) (3.15.2).

Hands of the dead were placed usually in front of the face and heads can be found on stone pillows (Mylonas 1934:270; 1959:117), a feature also found in the Cyclades at sites such as Kephala (Kea), Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos), Pyrgos (Paros), Krassadhes (Antiparos), Zoumbaria (Dhespotikon) and Chalandriani (Syros). Bodies were in various positions, for example, the individual in Grave 6 was tightly contracted and secured into position by stones (Figure 5.8) placed likely before rigor mortis had set in (Mylonas 1934:270, 1959:83, 120). Other graves contain bodies which are more extended with legs only bent slightly, although these may represent later burials (Mylonas 1934:270). Where a full skeleton is found in a grave this seems to have been the final burial (Mylonas 1959:118) (Figure 5.9). Some analysis was carried out on the bones by Angel (1945:292-295, 391; 1954:167-179) who looked at skulls, skull fragments and long bones (Cosmopoulos 1991:33). However, his findings are not included or seen as relevant as part of this research as his main focus seems to be on the ethnicity of the population placed in the graves. Angel's techniques now replaced with strontium isotope ratio analysis of archaeological human skeletal remains at sites such as Manika (Nafplioti 2009:925) (see section 5.4.3 below).



Figure 5.7 Cist Graves 10 and 19 at Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959:Figure 72)



Figure 5.8 Last burials in Grave 6 at Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959: Figure 59)

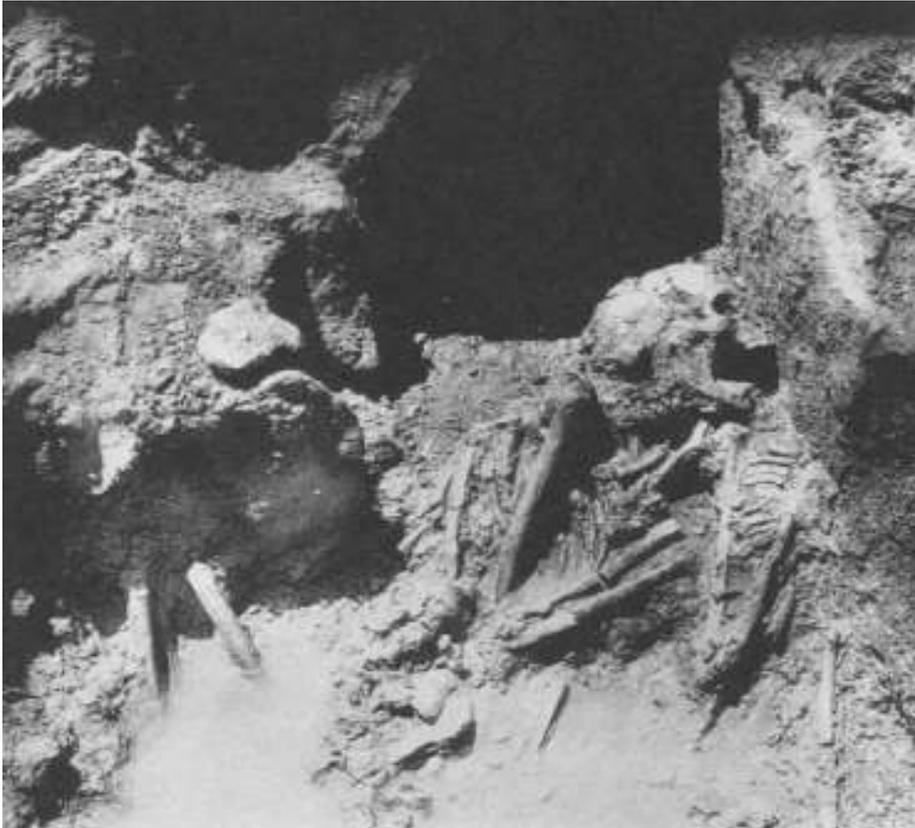


Figure 5.9 Last burial in Grave 7 at Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959: Figure 64)



Figure 5.10 Grave 3 at Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959: Figure 55)

Once decomposition occurred bones were moved to one side of the grave (for example, see Grave 3) (Figure 5.10) to make space for later interments. There are

multiple layers of bones in some graves (Grave 4) (Figure 5.11). Mylonas (1959:117) believed that graves were used for primary burial. However, photographs and plans show that graves were also places of storage for human remains, or ossuaries for specific bones, for example Grave 9 (Figure 5.12) which contained skulls and long bones. However, Mylonas does suggest that secondary burial practices may have been simultaneously practiced in the cemetery, through the primary burial of bodies in a trench near the grave until flesh had been removed. Once the process was completed the bones could be removed and piled in the corner of graves, practices seen both at Aghios Kosmas and the Cyclades (Mylonas 1934:271; 1959:118), for example at Dokathismata and Kapsala (Amorgos) (sections 3.71 and 3.72) and Aghioi Anargyroi, Apendika and Lakkoudhes (Naxos) (sections 3.10.1, 3.10.3 and 3.10.7). Bodies may have also been positioned in a tightly contracted position before being placed in a grave. The discovery of the trench containing an extended burial (Figure 5.13) is the first example found at a cemetery which goes some way to explain how and where primary burial practices could be carried out, in this case, at Aghios Kosmas.



Figure 5.11 Grave 4 Aghios Kosmas, second layer of bones
(Mylonas 1959:Figure 51)



Figure 5.12 Grave 9 Aghios Kosmas, first layer of bones
(Mylonas 1959:Figure 69)



Figure 5.13 Extended burial in the area of Grave 30 (Mylonas 1959: Figure 113)

Children at Aghios Kosmas were buried in separate graves (17, 18, 25) or in side burials to main graves (9A, 11a, 21a, 24a) and with adults (1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 15) but there were also the bones of children found in the fill above some of the graves (21) (Mylonas 1934:271; 1959:117; Weiberg 2007:210). The separate burial of children may have offered a practical solution rather than reopening a grave upon a sudden death or could represent the first of a family group to die. As the bones of children are found alongside the remains of adults it could be suggested that children were seen as full members of EH society and were treated accordingly in death.

Where there are vases in the graves, for example tiny jars and a frying pan in Grave 7 (Karantzali 1996:181), allocation to a specific individual cannot be ascertained as bones from previous burials had been moved when inserting later remains (Mylonas 1959:85). Pottery sherds found across this site, for example between Graves 11 and 12, 12 and 15 and whole vessels from Area V (Figure 5.14) include jars, sauceboats, single-handled cups, obsidian blades and chips and shells (Mylonas 1959:93). Many unfired cups were found at Aghios Kosmas which look to have been produced for drinking at the cemetery (Weiberg 2007:351). These were probably unfired as they were to be discarded after use. Mylonas (1930:7) believed vases at Aghios Kosmas had strong Cycladic influence and were probably made by the islanders who used the promontory as a base from which they distributed obsidian to the whole of northern Greece. Vessels have Cycladic parallels and could be influenced by island examples, however, the skill needed to produce them would not necessarily need to come from the Cyclades or Cycladic people, except for marble vessels which are produced locally and would need the necessary knowledge for production (Karantzali 1996:182). Sometimes the marble vessels, such as palettes, from Aghios Kosmas have traces of red pigment inside, as with those seen in the Cyclades. Palettes could be used for mixing colour (Karantzali 1996:182).



Figure 5.14 Packed Vases of Area V at Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959: Figure 110)

Most of the artefacts found at Aghios Kosmas are located outside the graves (Karantzali 1996:181; Mylonas 1930:7; Pantelidou Gofas 2008:287; Weiberg 2007:281). Cavanagh and Mee (1998:19) stated the reason for this was a lack of space for grave goods inside the grave. Artefacts at the grave site included pottery forms (skyphoi, small bowls, plates, sauceboat, cups, goblets, askos, pyxides and jars) (Mylonas 1959:68-71) which Mylonas (1959:117) interpreted as being made to deposit with the dead.

An example of a grave in which there is little space is Grave 3, a roughly circular grave which contained neatly packed skeletal remains (Mylonas 1959:74), vases and pyxides. Some vases had been placed upside down or had their openings facing towards the grave. Obsidian was placed around the grave site (Karantzali 1996:181; Mylonas 1959:75, 78). Obsidian was also found in a vase (164) in chips and blades, outside the grave and a great amount was placed around the vases and in the earth (Mylonas 1959:78). Bones were also found around the area of Grave 3 but not inside it, likely from grave clearance over time. These bones were accompanied by vases, tweezers and a figurine which was broken into two pieces (Mylonas 1934:275;

1959:75, 78). Outside Grave 4 obsidian was also found in sixty four chips and seven blades (Mylonas 1930:7, 1959:80) located in fill which covered the grave.

Frying pans, found at other EBA cemetery sites on the mainland and the Cyclades were also found at the Aghios Kosmas cemetery (Broodbank 2002:301; Coleman 1985:202-203, Mylonas 1934:272). These frying pans had been incised and were found in Grave 7 and in the area of Grave 23 (Figure 5.15), some containing obsidian blades (Mylonas 1934:272). The frying pan from Grave 7 is identical to one found on Ano Kouphonisi (Karantzali 1996:181).

Across the Aghios Kosmas site, the North Cemetery contains the most obsidian with seven cores found compared to three in the settlement (Weiberg 2007:97, 345). To the north of Graves 25 and 30 is an unusual area (marked 0 on the plan Drawing 49) (Figure 5.16) filled with obsidian blades (many broken) and an obsidian core (Figure 5.17). Area V, to the north of the obsidian context is a paved area of stones and pebbles with forty seven empty vases (thirty seven complete), many on the side, some upright and some upside down (Mylonas 1959:106). This area is discussed in more detail within ritual (this chapter section 5.2.3).



Figure 5.15 An example of 'Frying pans' found at Aghios Kosmas in Graves 7, 12 and the area of Grave 23 (Mylonas 1959: Figure 148)



Figure 5.16 Area containing obsidian and extended burial in a trench (Mylonas 1959: Drawing 49)

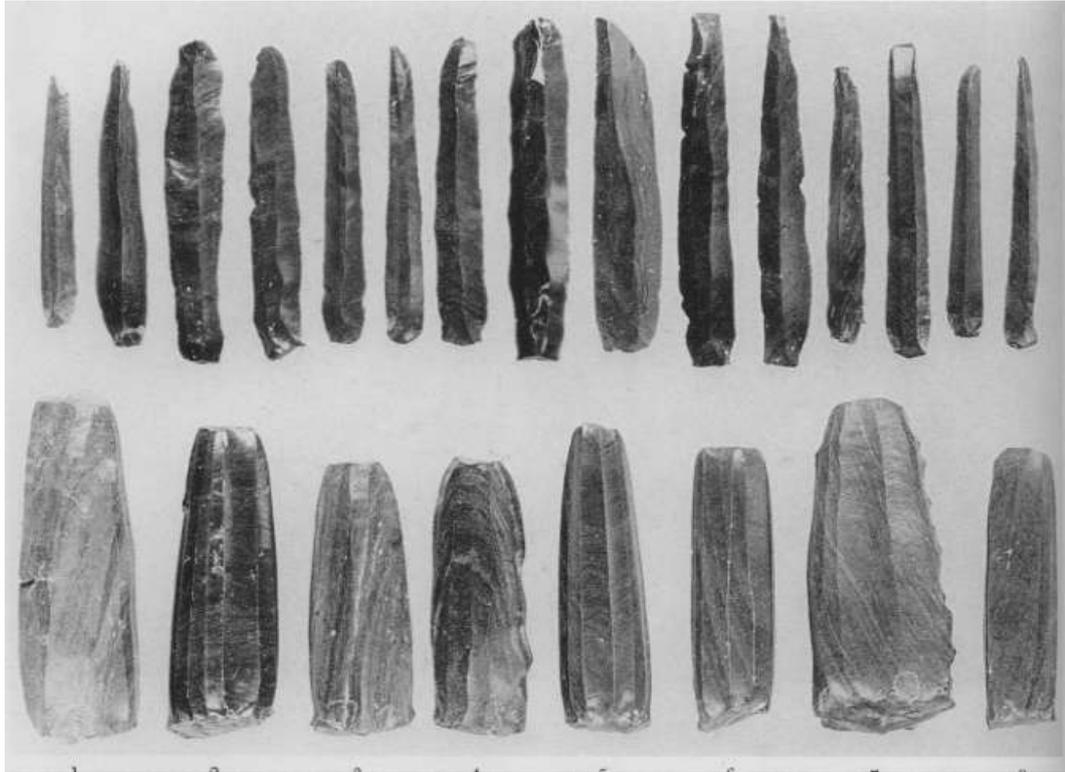


Figure 5.17 Obsidian cores and blades from Area O between Graves 25 and 30 at Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959:Figure 167)

5.2.3 Ritual

Before burial, graves in the cemetery would have been initially constructed or, for established graves, opened and any previous burials moved to one side to create space. When graves were constructed, a choice would be made as to what form the grave would take. This could be due to the amount of time available to source the material, the material available, ideas of specific groups or representations of traditions (Weiberg 2007:303). Alterations of the graves seem to represent the need for more space in which to lay the dead but also could be an indication of new ideas, and possibly different groups coming into the settlement and ultimately the cemetery.

Bodies would probably be brought to the cemetery at Aghios Kosmas from the settlement by immediate family or the whole community (Weiberg 2007:297). Later in the LBA on Crete the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus provides evidence for funerary ritual (Branigan 1993:134) and Mycenaean funerals are depicted on larnax from

Boeotia with women raising their hands to their heads in mourning (Mee 1998:166-167) but there is nothing known as yet for funeral ceremonies in the EBA.

Before burial, bodies or participants in the funeral at Aghios Kosmas may have been decorated or modified with pigments, the use of which is revealed through residues on palettes, vessels, pestles and in jewellery and tweezers (Weiberg 2007:293). Tattooing with pigments, according to Durkheim (1912:119), is the ‘most direct and the most expressive means whereby the communication of consciences can be asserted’ (Berthelot 1991:403). Therefore, it seems fitting this activity could be occurring in a funeral environment. At other sites such as Tsepi, bone tubes would hold pigments and there are traces of red colouring seen in the Cyclades (Devetzi 2008:140; Tsountas 1898:161). Body modification may be represented through traces of red paint on Cycladic figurines (Mylonas 1959:84; Weiberg 2007:342).

Bodies at Aghios Kosmas would have been placed in the grave probably through the roof surrounded by the remains of previous members of society and facing the doorway (Weiberg 2007:340). This proposal has been made as doorways to the graves are very small (Mylonas 1959:65; Weiberg 2007:318) and bones of the previous dead are sometimes placed behind the door slab (for example Grave 6) or in some cases doorways are false with the opening facing onto rock (Weiberg 2007:317), making further additions to the grave through the entrance unlikely. However, evidence at other sites, such as Manika (this chapter section 5.4), highlights that small doorways could sometimes be negotiated to insert burials. The practical issues surrounding removal of the roof slabs and cantilever arrangements would be time consuming and require several people to move heavy slabs with the possibility that movement could cause breakage, meaning that there could be some advantages to using the entrance over the roof.

Weiberg (2007:322, 332) argued the movement of bones within the graves may not be connected with the need for space but instead could be seen as a secondary ritual carried out once the flesh of the deceased had decomposed, an envisaged period of between five and seven years rather than being part of a burial process. Secondary burial practices are present at Aghios Kosmas with the likelihood that some

individuals were placed in a trench until some of the flesh had decomposed. In the same way that variations in grave construction was occurring at the cemetery it is very likely that various burial practices and procedures were happening at the same time or developing over time at Aghios Kosmas.

The dead at Aghios Kosmas were placed intentionally to face the settlement or the headland (Mylonas 1959:66). In some cases the architecture of the graves are similar to that of house design with features such as a raised threshold and curved walls (Mylonas 1959:117). This leads to the possibility that graves were seen as houses for the dead (Soles 1992:202-225; Weiberg 2007:303) or the dead could have been placed to watch over the living. The location may also present ideas of landownership and the protection of a strategic position overlooking the sea.

Ritual features at Aghios Kosmas include the area to the northwest of Grave 30, labelled Area A. This is a paved area with bone scatters. Area B is also covered in a pavement and contained two vases and other sherds (Mylonas 1959:107). To the northeast of Area B is a trench with an extended skeleton, a broken obsidian core under the elbow, a blade against the right femur, ten obsidian blades and chips beyond the ankle (Mylonas 1959:107; Weiberg 2007:345). The body was covered with sand, pebbles and broken stones and is unusual as other burials found at Aghios Kosmas are contracted. This could be viewed as an area for primary burial or as a burial of significance due to the high quantity of obsidian placed with, or close to, the deceased. The fact the area is covered with small pebbles could present a form of paved area at the cemetery (Weiberg 2007:375, 377), a similar arrangement found in the Cyclades at sites such as Lakkoudhes, Lakkoudhes A and Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) (Doumas 1977:35, 64; 2008:170).

The knapping and using of blades may have been part of funerary ritual (Carter 1999:153-159; Weiberg 2007:346). Some of the obsidian blades produced have been used and some have not. Blades are smaller than those found in the Cyclades leading Carter to suggest that people at Aghios Kosmas were aware of Cycladic mortuary practices but possibly not the technology in manufacturing extra long blades (Weiberg 2007:345).

The burial of the artefacts outside the graves is dismissed by Mylonas (1959:119) as being part of a cult of the dead but instead explained as a lack of space in the graves. The placing of objects outside the graves when they act as ossuaries could be an explanation, the item no longer having significance once the corpse is defleshed and moved to the place of secondary interment. Some of the vases found at the site were placed upside down and others have traces of burning (Mylonas 1959:68). This could indicate the use of fire or the burning of incense (Mylonas 1959:68, 120) in or following funerary ritual, significant as burning rituals have parallels to cemeteries in other locations such as in the use of hat vases at Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) (Doulas 1977:63, 103). The large number of cups found around the cemetery site could indicate drinking was part of funerary ritual. The presence of frying pans could indicate the holding of liquids or substances used in the funeral arena. Frying pans may have been for offering food to a divinity or to the dead as animal bones have been found inside seven of them at Manika (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987: 240, 264). This food could have been part of a funeral meal (Weiberg 2007:366).

The graves themselves are surrounded by stones, either to mark their location or to group the graves together. The stones suggest that marking the dead in the landscape was an important issue for society. Graves could be easily located for further interments to take place but the marking of space would also act as a focus for any ritual outside the funeral ceremony, allowing offerings to be placed outside the grave, items no longer needed or required by the living or the dead.

5.3 TSEPI

The cemetery of Tsepi (Figure 5.18) was first discovered in 1969 with twenty eight graves excavated and thirty six uncovered between 1970-73 by Marinatos (Blackman et al. 1998:14; Marinatos 1970:349-350, 364-366; Pantelidou Gofas 1997:19-22, 2008:281). After Marinatos' death in 1973 excavation at the site stopped until work commenced again between 1998 and 2002 directed by Maria Pantelidou Gofas who has subsequently published the data from both the 1970s and later excavations in one volume and in journal articles (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:353, 2015:13-15; Weiberg

2007:232). The site of Tsepi not only has been systematically excavated, it is also the oldest and one of few cemeteries in Attica which highlights uniformity in burial practices with graves arranged in rows (Alram Stern 2004:298; Cavanagh and Mee 1998:16; Forsén 1992:124; Pantelidou Gofas 2008:281, 286; Weiberg 2007:271). The cemetery was once located on the coast overlooking the sea, which today is 2.5km away. No settlement has been found for Tsepi. This may be the result of cemetery occupants once belonging to farming communities or being members of a transient society with non-permanent residences close to the cemetery (Weiberg 2007:200).

5.3.1 Grave Architecture

The site of Tsepi is complex with two stages of cist development at the cemetery (Weiberg 2007:302). Graves are built to the north and south of the site, the north seemingly of inferior construction to the south which demonstrates a greater level of skill in grave building. The north graves are covered by limestone and the space between the slabs covering the structures are filled with stones (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:357). Originally a stream ran through the site which could have made the ground soft and workable which would help when constructing the graves. Pantelidou Gofas (2005:357) describes this stream as running through the area, depositing sand and pebbles. These pebbles could then be used to line the graves (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:357).



Figure 5.18 Picture of the Tsepi cemetery with protective structure
(www.events.marathonguide.gr/ Accessed 9th April 2016)

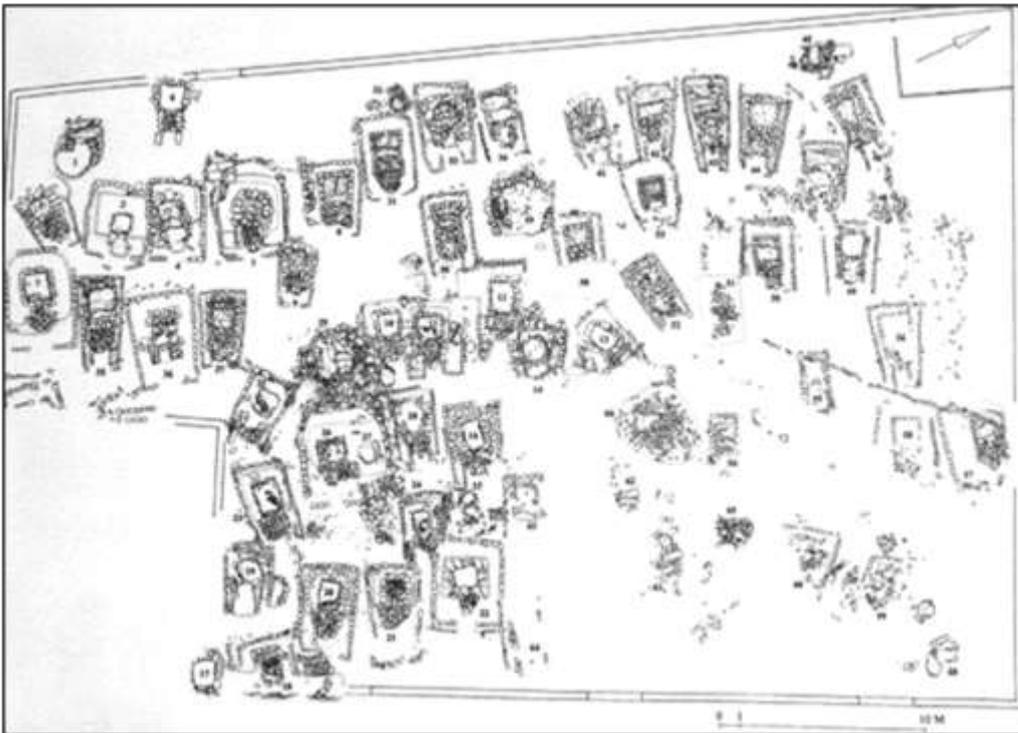


Figure 5.19 Plan of the Tsepi Cemetery (Pantelidou Gofas 2005)

A total of sixty eight graves have been identified at the Tsepi cemetery (Figure 5.19) (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:357; 2010:59; 2012:18-22; 2015:13-15), typically rectangular in form with walls of stone slabs (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:16) or dry stone walls of river stones, sourced locally (Aram-Stern 2004:550; Weiberg 2007:302). There is evidence for the modification of graves at Tsepi through the additions of antechambers and doorways (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:355; Weiberg 2007:302). A passageway, or prothyron, at the opening of the grave was sealed by a vertical schist slab (Karantzali 1996:177). Some of the passageways leading to the grave entrance were also lined with schist orthostats, marking the space. The grave was sealed by the entrance to the prothyron being filled with stones and earth. The grave was then covered by stone slabs to make a roof and covered in soil (Figure 5.20) to which a platform was added. This platform contained two or three layers of stone, possibly acting to counterweight the stones immediately placed over the top of the grave (Weiberg 2007:309). The whole area around the grave was then enclosed by an outline of stones of various sizes, also known as a peribolos (Aram-Stern 2004:550; Blackman et al. 1998:14; Karantzali 1996:177; Pantelidou Gofas 1997:19-22) a practice which may also have taken place at Aghios Kosmas (this chapter 5.2) (Weiberg 2007:311). The creation of an enclosure represents spatial separation as an important issue at the cemetery, which could be an indication of family groups. However, Pantelidou Gofas (2015:13-15) also excavated a grave in 2015 which did not have any enclosure. Little is known about Tomb 55 except for it having a built threshold to the east and no enclosure. In the same area as the entrance was a pit containing the remains of a child and young adult which has been dated to EHII (Pantelidou Gofas 2015:13-15).

Graves at Tsepi have been compared to those found in the Cyclades and on Kea in the use of schist in grave construction (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:355). Where schist is used, a likely source would have been Mount Agriliki, 2km away from the Tsepi cemetery (Weiberg 2007:302). The transportation of stones for the construction of graves happens elsewhere in the Aegean, such as at Pseira (Crete) (Chapter IV, 4.6.1) where stones used in grave construction seem to have also been transported some distance to the cemetery site. The idea that specific stones are being selected and transported for grave construction clearly demonstrates personal choice of the living

in sourcing the building material in which to house the dead. The selection of specific stones may indicate that certain materials were thought necessary to create the grave. The development at the cemetery of some of the graves (for example T3, T19 and repairs and remodelling of T43) include the modification and repair of simple cists (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:354-355; 2009:11-14; Pitt 2010:19). This is significant as it demonstrates the presence of earlier simple Cycladic style cists at Tsepi.

Some graves at Tsepi have been enclosed together using the line of stones, for example Grave 10 and 11 (Figure 5.21) (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:76; Weiberg 2007:312). These graves may have been placed together as they represent the same group but one grave became full over time and so another grave was created. This conclusion has been reached as Grave 10 represents an ossuary containing twenty two skulls, whereas Grave 11 contains approximately seven but also a complete skeleton (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:82, 90; Weiberg 2007:312). These graves could have been used simultaneously but over time parts of the dead were moved from one grave to another. Graves 8 and 9 at Aghios Kosmas (section 5.2) are another example of this practice.



Figure 5.20 Grave 36 showing roof structure
(Pantelidou Gofas 2005:215)



Figure 5.21 Graves 10 and 11 at Tsepi (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:76, 77)

Grave T22 seems to be different to the rest and shows a greater level of care in its construction and is described as superior by Pantelidou Gofas (2005:357) for its schist slabs and perfectly joined sides. This does not account for the time in which the grave was built, it may very well be the case that this was one of the latest graves to have been built at the cemetery and may demonstrate an increased level of skill in grave construction.

Other, more recent excavations have also uncovered differences in the architecture of graves. Pantelidou Gofas (2012:18-22) excavated a further two graves (Tomb 56 and 58), one of which was of typical construction for the Tsepi cemetery. Tomb 56 has all the other architectural features of the other graves and is dated to the EHI period through its pottery inclusions. This grave contained ten skulls but unusually near the entrance there was a partly moved burial with two skulls placed above its pelvis. Tomb 58 has produced some unusual features (Pantelidou Gofas 2012:18-22). The grave was lined with stones and topped by a stone slab. The threshold was lined with stones and the entrance was closed with a schist slab. However, the position of the skeletal remains suggests that this grave represents an earlier repaired tomb used as a place for the reburial of bones. Pantelidou Gofas (2012:18-22) believes that as some of the bones were articulated they were moved while some flesh remained.

5.3.2 Burials and the treatment of the dead

Careful handling of the dead seems to have occurred at Tsepi through the burial process and following decomposition of the body. Primary burial of the dead was practiced at Tsepi with the deceased placed in the grave in a contracted position, on the right side, facing the entrance stone with sometime the skull of the dead resting on a stone pillow (Alram Stern 2004:286; Pantelidou Gofas 2005:355; Weiberg 2007:338). Although two graves (Graves T14 and T33) are exceptions to this with burials located in the prothyron (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:190-201; Weiberg 2007:322). Multiple interments within the same grave are common (Figure 5.22) with larger graves having more than ten skeletons (Blackman et al. 1998:14) a practice also occurring at Aghios Kosmas and Manika. Once the flesh of the corpse

was no longer present, bones were carefully separated into groups and moved to the side of the grave to make way for further burials. Bones were usually located to the west end of the grave, however, sometimes the skull was separated from other bones and located to the south or west side of the grave (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:355), some graves having skulls lined up along the edge of the grave (Alram Stern 2004:286), for example in Grave 2 (Weiberg 2007:219).

Access to the grave is debated with Cavanagh and Mee (1998:16) and Weiberg (2007:302) interpreting interment to the grave from above, possibly shown through digging implement marks on broken roof slabs (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:192; Weiberg 2007:319, 321). However, Pantelidou Gofas (2005:354; Weiberg 2007:339) believes access was through the doorway of the grave, the last burials being placed just inside the door.



Figure 5.22 Grave 2, an example of a multiple grave used at Tsepi
(Pantelidou Gofas 2005:30)

All members of society are represented in the Tsepi cemetery with children included with adults and also placed in smaller pits dug near or within the adult burial

enclosure (Pantelidou Gofas 2005: 355; Weiberg 2007:211), for example Graves 15 and 27 (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:110-111, 176), similar to Aghios Kosmas (this chapter 5.2). The grouping of skulls discussed by Pantelidou Gofas (2005:358) could be a sign of a desire for order or could represent kinship groups as highlighted in graves such as Grave 19 which contained thirteen skulls (Alram-Stern 2004:551).

Pantelidou Gofas (2009:11-14; Pitt 2010:19) commented that skulls in Grave 43 showed signs of damage, possibly made by stones. Several adults and children's skulls also had holes in them made with a sharp tool and all skulls have the lower jaw, or mandible, missing. The contracted burial has a shattered jaw. The lack of focus or importance placed on the mandible on the mainland is evident from as early as the LN burials seen at Alepotrypa Cave. In the cave the mandible is left with primary burials and skulls from the same burials transferred into secondary contexts (Papathanassopoulos 1996a:175).

Grave 3 (Figure 5.23) is interesting as the latest burials to be added into the grave are in disorder but the earlier burials below include two skeletons, the bodies still in-situ but the skulls have been removed (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:32-41). This indicates that primary and secondary burial was practiced in the same grave (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:18).



Figure 5.23 Grave 3, burial from Tsepi with the skull removed
(Pantelidou Gofas 2005:37)



Figure 5.24 Grave 22, a well constructed grave from Tsepi
(Pantelidou Gofas 2005:157)

The burial of grave goods inside the grave is common at Tsepi, however, not all of the dead at the cemetery were furnished with goods and where graves do contain items, these vary between graves. Any vessels placed with the dead were placed in front of the body. This practice is found in Cycladic cemeteries in the graves with offerings placed in front of the face at numerous sites including Apendika and Lakkoudhes (Naxos) (3.10.3 and 3.10.6), Plastiras (Paros) (3.11.2), Krassadhes (Antiparos) (3.12.1) and Chalandriani (Syros) (3.15.2). The reuse of graves at Tsepi and at other sites containing multiple burials often means that the pottery at the site is mixed up and so dating grave structures can prove problematic. However, for Tsepi it is likely that the most concentrated period of cemetery use is in EHI/ECI (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:325-327; Weiberg 2007:190). This dating is determined through most of the pottery at Tsepi being representative of Cycladic wares found in the ECI period.

There were ten different materials found at Tsepi including numerous beads, grinding stones, palettes and a couple of large shells, pottery, obsidian and metals (Alram-Stern 2004:551; Pantelidou Gofas 2005:96, 103, 110; Weiberg 2007:337). The beads found at Tsepi are a notable feature as they were not made locally. There was also a milk tooth found in Grave 7 (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:63-68) which is comparable to one found at Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) which Doumas (1977:61) believed was worn as a necklace or amulet. The inclusion of these items at the cemetery implies that the adornment of the dead was an important feature of ritual surrounding burial at Tsepi.

The grinding stones from Tsepi are made of hard stones of a similar type found at Aghios Kosmas but are much smaller. Palettes from Tsepi are made of bone which Weiberg (2007:291) thought may have been connected to ritual practices such as the grinding of herbs or weeds. However, pigment traces found on the palettes imply their use as preparing colourants for the funeral arena. Traces of pigment have also been found at Aghios Kosmas on palettes and grinders (Mylonas 1934:267; Weiberg 2007:192) (5.2.3) and on those from the Cyclades, the palettes from Tsepi similar to that found at the Lakkoudhes cemetery (Naxos) (Doumas 1977:73-81; Pantelidou Gofas 2005:356; Weiberg 2007:292) and on Paros (Karantzali 1996:177). However,

the palettes in the Cyclades are made of marble (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:356; Weiberg 2007:343). The large shells found at Tsepi were found around Grave 12 and between Graves 13 and 14 (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:103; Weiberg 2007:294) and hint at a continuing connection to the sea and maybe symbolic communication across it.

Many pottery artefacts from the cemetery at Tsepi have Cycladic parallels including closed jars, jugs, pyxides, bowls, frying pans, lids and other shapes. Pottery seems not to have been imported from the Cyclades but instead made simply and locally (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:358). There are differences in the vessel construction, shape and decoration of the vessels at Tsepi showing not as much skill (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:356-8). Frying pans and amphoriskoi show variations in construction and decoration of impressed dots on lines indicating a local preference. These are exceptional items when compared to the other pottery and demonstrate superior decoration and fine workmanship which could be classed as a luxury item (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:358). These vessels reveal that some knowledge of Cycladic wares would be needed to make them. It could be possible that Cycladic people were making these items at Tsepi for local consumption or that locals were attempting Cycladic imitations.

Obsidian items found at the cemetery of Tsepi are limited and include fourteen blades, five flakes/chips and a tool (Weiberg 2007:344). There are no cores and so obsidian working cannot be suggested for the cemetery. Where marble items are found in the Cyclades, these are replaced by other stone at Tsepi, for example in small shallow bowls (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:356) and the palettes mentioned above. Metal bands from Tsepi have been imported and not made locally. These show a great deal of skill in their manufacture and are likely to have been seen as precious by the living gifting them to the dead at Tsepi (Pantelidou Gofas 2005:358).

5.3.3 Ritual

If Pantelidou Gofas is correct in her opinion that bodies were placed through the door of the grave the entranceway must have been open and space cleared for the burial to take place. This clearance and opening activity could have taken place before the funeral or have been part of it. If clearance happened before the funeral then the grave would be open at the start of the funeral, exposing visitors to the cemetery to sight and smells of the dead in various stages of decomposition. It was the usual practice to enclose items with the dead but other items were placed outside the graves and found in a ditch (Pantelidou Gofas 1999:38-41, 2000:33-6, 2008:281-285; Weiberg 2007:340). The items found outside the grave may have once accompanied the dead buried within or where items used within the funeral processes, either at times of burial or grave clearance.

A feature at Tsepi is a rectangular ditch used in EH/ECI period (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:285), lined with stones and similar in construction to the graves at the cemetery. The ditch measured 2.6 x 3.0m and 1.2m deep which is dug down to reach the bed of a river (Blackman 2000-2001:10; Pantelidou Gofas 1999:38-41, 2000:33-36, 2008:281). A skeleton was placed in the top layer of the pit but this is thought to be there through reuse of the space (Weiberg 2007:362). Various vessels had been placed in, or smashed outside, the ditch using pebbles. Once vessels were smashed the sherds were collected and placed in piles inside the pit (Aram-Stern 2004:301, 552; Blackman 2000-2001:10; Pantelidou Gofas 2008:282, 284; Weiberg 2007:362). There may be as many as 1000 vessels represented in the ditch and 350 have already been conserved (Pantelidou Gofas 2010:59). Many of these vessels were not of the same type as those placed in the graves and are more likely to represent household utensils, contaminated once they had been used in the cemetery (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:282, 285, 289).

Items amongst the pottery were found such as animal bones, a metal sheet and a bead. There were also some nearly intact and intact vessels which had not been smashed and were found in various positions (on their sides, upside down and upright) (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:282). At the bottom of the ditch there was a large

broken bowl holding an animal bone, small intact bowl and a pebble. Next to the large bowl were the teeth and what Pantelidou Gofas (2008:283) describes as the skull of a large animal. There were also bones in the bottom of a fruit stand, a small amphora stuck in the riverbed, and an intact bowl (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:283; Weiberg 2007:366). Many pottery items show variations in colour which indicates they were subjected to burning, however, there is no evidence this happened in the ditch itself (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:285; Weiberg 2007:362).

There is very little soil in the ditch which leads to the idea that it was open at the cemetery and during funerals. Comparisons to the ditch at Tsepi have been made with other assemblages found at Katro Akrotiri (Amorgos), Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos), Aghios Kosmas in Attica and the special deposit at Dhaskalio Kavos (Keros) (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:282, 286, 288-9). Pebbles were used at the Tsepi cemetery to line some of the graves, build the walls (for example in Grave 47) (Pantelidou Gofas 2005: 238-239; Whitley et al. 2006:14), place between layers of burials (Pitt 2010:19) and to smash vessels. This material is not just a feature of this cemetery but may also be seen at Aghios Kosmas in Area V where pebbles are placed in between cups, ten of which were broken and thirty seven with all their pieces (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:286). In the Cyclades, vessels are found smashed and complete amongst stones at the cemetery of Tsikniades (Naxos) (3.10.8) (Philaniotou 2008:197). Colour and body modification also seems to be part of the ritual process at Tsepi, seen through pigment residues on palettes (see 5.3.3 above). As colour is still visible, Weiberg (2007:342) offers that items were used immediately prior to burial.

5.4 MANIKA

The site of Manika is located 5km north-west of Chalkis (Figure 5.25) (Alram-Stern 2004:703; Sampson 1985:377; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:233) and contained a settlement and cemetery in the EBA (Sampson 1988a:114; 1993a:159). Manika was occupied from the EH through to the Graeco-Roman period (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:233) but the site has been affected by sea level rises, part of the site now

underwater (paving is visible 100m from the shore) (Sampson 1985:378, 1986a:47). Building has also affected the area with a number of small properties invading the site (Sampson 1986b:133). Modern excavation on both the settlement and cemetery commenced in 1981-2 (Sampson 1985:377; 1986a:47) as part of rescue excavation due to local developments.

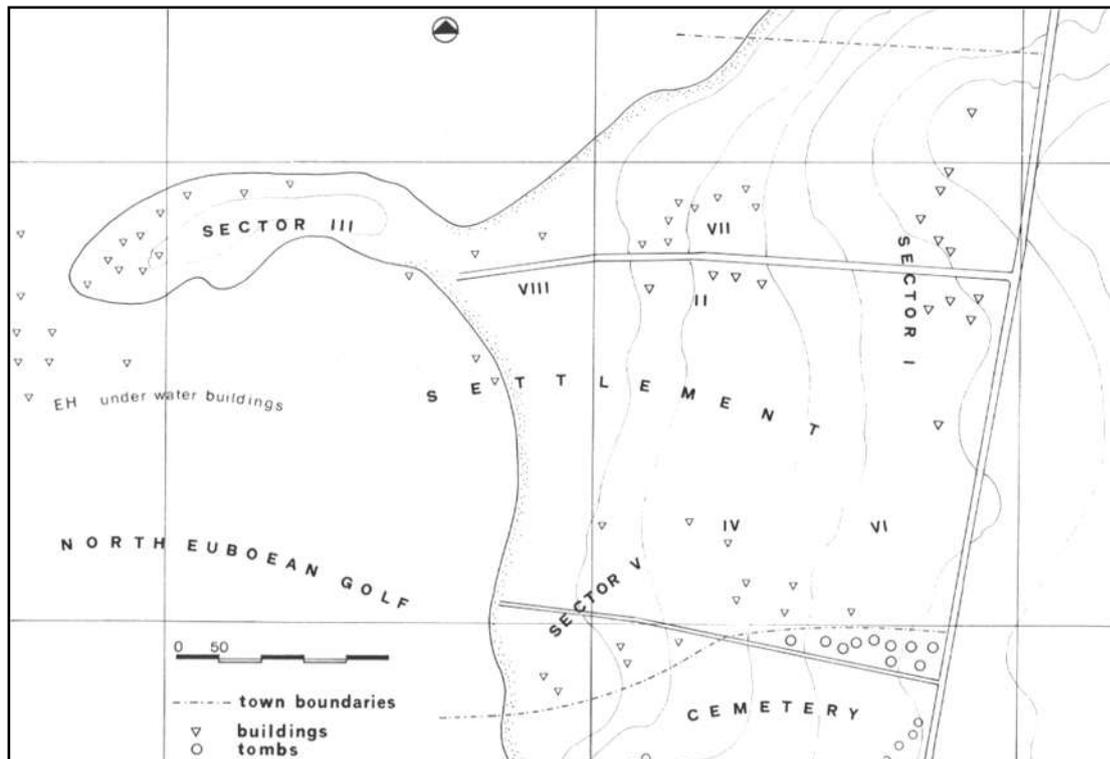


Figure 5.25 Map of the Manika area (Sampson 1985:25; 1986a:Figure 37)

The settlement of Manika, discovered by Theocharis (1953-1954), was large and once possibly occupied by 70,000 people of fifteen generations over a period of four hundred years (Sampson 1987:19; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:233) and likely covered an area of fifty hectares (Sampson 1985:377; 1986a:47). There seems to have been two periods of EH occupation at Manika (Sampson 1985:379), the main period being in EHII which Sampson then divides into EHIIa and EHIIb (Sampson 1985:380, 382, 1986a:47, 1987:20; Weiberg 2007:281). Most of the settlement dates to the start of EHII (EHIIa). The position of the settlement is ideally situated for its access to fertile agricultural areas which sit either side of its location, however, this has not been beneficial to the archaeology of the site as many areas have been

affected, and damaged, by ploughing or the planting of vines (Sampson 1985:377, 379, 1986b:133). Other archaeological remains in areas where trees are planted are better preserved (Sampson 1986b:133).

Houses in the settlement are preserved in one or two courses of stone which would be topped by mud brick. Buildings are rectangular, the thickness of the walls suggesting that some contained two storeys (Aram-Stern 2004:706; Sampson 1985:379; 1986a:48). All houses are aligned the same way with streets in between buildings (Sampson 1985:379, 380; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:236). Some of the later Manika settlement encroaches on the cemetery with house walls above the dromos of some of the graves (Weiberg 2007:249).

To the south of the site (sector V) an obsidian workshop was located by a small stream (Aram-Stern 2004:704; Sampson 1985:378, 379 1986a:47). The workshop was made up of wooden shelters built over a stone pavement (Figure 5.26) and contained thousands of obsidian pieces including flakes, tools and cores (Sampson 1985:93,101; Weiberg 2007:69). There are also milling and grinding stones located in the settlement which are made from imported stone (Aram-Stern 2004:706). Sampson (1986a:47, 50) excavated an area near the obsidian workshop which can be identified as a metal workshop which he believed was, with the working of obsidian, the reason for Manika's success.

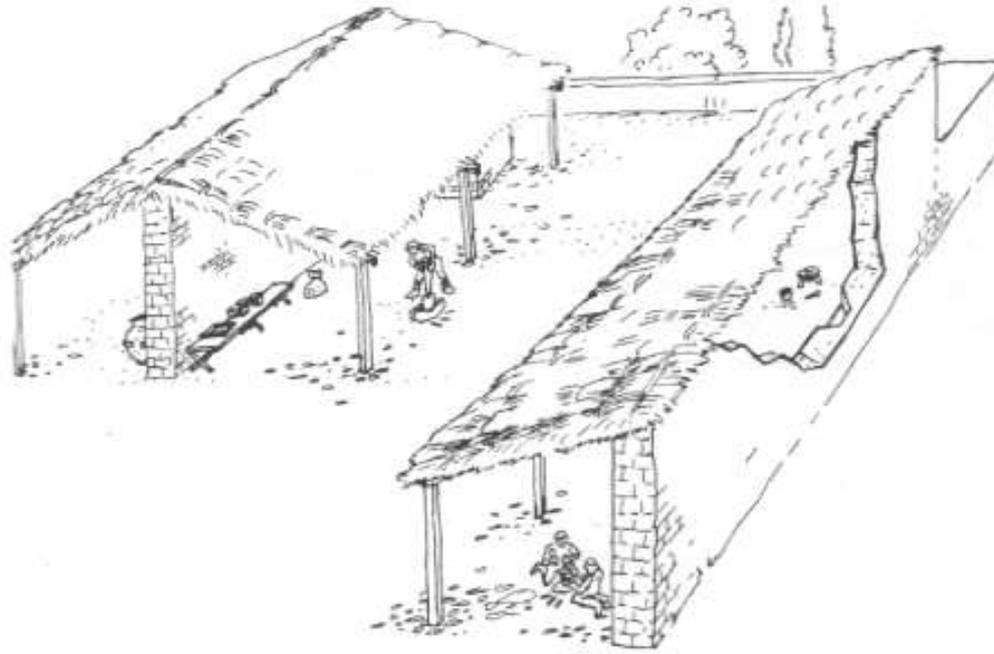


Figure 5.26 Reconstruction of the obsidian workshop at Manika
(Sampson 1985:Figure 25a, 1986a:Figure 39; Weiberg 2007:Figure 15)

Artefacts found at the Manika settlement site include pottery. This is made of red clay or of well fired light buff clay (Sampson 1985:380). Some vessels from section I have been dated to the final EHI phase (Manika I) and can also be seen elsewhere in Euboea (Sampson 1985:381; Weiberg 2007:305). Various vessel shapes have been located within the settlement of open and closed types including various bowls, large and small jars and tankards. There are also urfirnis, mostly sauceboats, dating to EHIIb (Sampson 1985:381) and marble vessels probably imported from the Cyclades, however, some may be made locally in a Cycladic style (Devetzi 2008:146; Sampson 1988a:70).

5.4.1 Grave Architecture

The cemetery at Manika (Figure 5.27) is located to the South East of the settlement and covers approximately five-six hectares (Davis 2001:38; Sampson 1985:378; 1986a:47; 1987:19) dating to the late EHI and EHII period. Excavation of the cemetery was started by Tsountas in 1903 who excavated six graves (Sapouna-

Sakellarakis 1987) followed by Papavasileiou, the Director of the Chalkis Museum who excavated fifty graves in 1910. Unfortunately, Papavasileiou did not produce a plan of the site but he did recover artefacts from the graves including frying pans, pyxides, marble figurines, some metal objects and noted that graves were in clusters and contained multiple burials (Pullen 1985:137; Sampson 1985:377, 383; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:233). There was then disturbance of the site during the Second World War noted by Theochares (1959; Pullen 1985:137) which produced a number of artefacts described by Pullen (1985:138) as marble vessels and bone pins from a number of unspecified number of tombs.

There has been extensive building in the Manika area and so much of the excavation occurred through rescue before, and around, the construction of buildings on various plots. All these factors mean that there is a fragmented recorded data for the number of burials that may have once occupied the site from Manika. It is estimated there may have been in the region of four to five thousand burials (Alram Stern 2004:287, 298; Sampson 1985:383, 384; 1987:19; 1988:126; Weiberg 2007:247). The cemetery of Manika has been excavated in recent years by Sampson (1985; 1988) and Sapouna-Sakellarakis (1987) with approximately three hundred graves excavated over time.

The areas of cemetery excavation include plots labelled as the Beligianni, Elaiotriviari, Frangou and Georgiou (with graves and houses) (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:247; Weiberg 2007:251). Graves at Manika (Figure 5.28) are chamber tombs cut into rock with a dromos and chamber. The unlined grave walls at Manika are in contrast to other lined graves seen at sites such as Aghios Kosmas (Mylonas 1934), Delpriza (Kossyva 2009:336), Tsepi (Pantelidou Gofas 2005). The most similar graves to those found in the Manika cemetery can be found at Glyphada (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2001-2004:479-480, 2006:45-60; 2008-2009:5, 2012:13-17) which also has graves cut from the limestone and has an entrance blocked with stone. However, unlike Glyphada, there is no evidence for a structure, or platform, on top of the graves. Graves at Manika have been compared to those found at cemetery sites in the Cyclades including the subterranean rock-cut chambers found at Akrotiri (Thera) (Doumas 2008:168) (3.16), Agrilia (Ano Kouphonisi) (Zapheirou)

1970:48-51; 2008:183-194) (3.8.1), Phylakopi (Melos) (3.9). On Crete, the graves at Manika could be compared to those from Hagia Photia (4.3).

The dromos and chamber at Mankia are square or trapezoidal and occasionally round, the roof is generally sloping (Aram-Stern 2004:709; Sampson 1985:384). Graves are carved from hard limestone and are various sizes, the large ones measuring 2.30m x 2.20m x 1.55m. Graves are not lined with stones nor do they have slabs for a roof, however, they are likely to have been labour intensive to create, estimating fifteen days for two experienced master-builders (Sampson 1988a:124; Weiberg 2007:307). The larger the grave, the longer this would take, the amount of time away from other activities increasing. The dromos at Manika is comparable in size to Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi but cut deeper into the rock (Weiberg 2007:319). Graves described as rich by Sampson (1987:20) contained more valuable grave goods which has been interpreted as the population being rich and poor. Sampson does not consider that the inclusion of grave goods may be due to deviation in burial practices or societal choice.

At Manika graves tend to face the north (Sampson 1987:20). Once a burial was placed in the grave the door was tightly closed and the dromos was filled with stones, similar to the graves at the Hagia Photia cemetery (Crete) (Aram Stern 2004:287; Sampson 1985:384). Graves were placed close together but unfortunately some have disintegrated over time, today some graves join together (Sampson 1985:383; 1987:19; Weiberg 2007:308). Walls were symmetrical and vertically cut which required knowledge and tools (Figure 5.29) (Sampson 1987:19-20). With so many people buried in the cemetery it would certainly make a great deal of sense for specific craftspeople being responsible for grave construction. Graves did not have markers found at other sites but these may have once existed in materials that no longer survive in the archaeological record, such as wood (Sampson 1987:20; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:245).

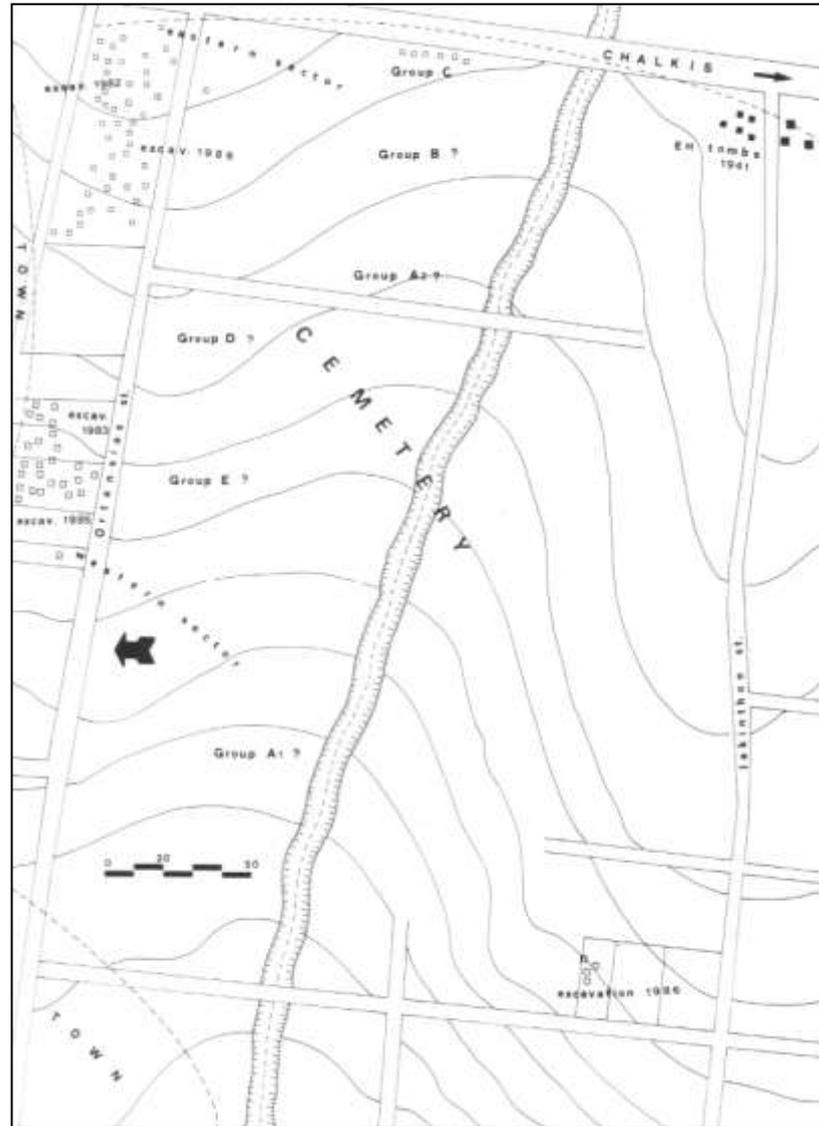


Figure 5.27 The cemetery at Manika (Sampson 1988a:Figure 28)



Figure 5.28 An example of excavated graves at Manika ([http://www.evia-guide.gr/Ministry of Culture/](http://www.evia-guide.gr/Ministry%20of%20Culture/)Accessed 9th April 2016, photograph available Sampson 1988a)

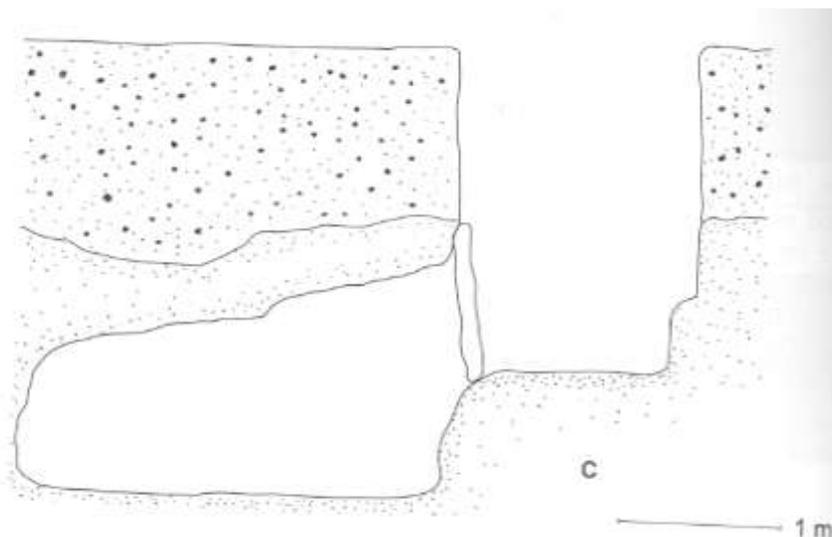


Figure 5.29 Chamber tomb construction at Manika
(Sampson 1985:Figure 49; Weiberg 2007:Figure 65)

5.4.2 Burials and the treatment of the dead

Natural conditions at Manika such as limestone and the poor conditions of the graves, has resulted in poor skeletal data (Cosmopoulos 1991:34; Davis 2001:38). However, there were some articulated burials which had been placed in a contracted position, sometimes with the head placed on a stone (Afram Stern 2004:288; Davis 2001:38; Sampson 1985:385; Weiberg 2007:340) and some burials without heads (Sampson 1985:219), all are extramural and away from the settlement (Weiberg 2007:210). There are single and multiple burials in the graves and pit ossuaries containing skeletal material representing the late EHI and two phases of EHII (Fountoulakis 1987:29; Maran 1998:81, 94-97; Pullen 1985:141; Sampson 1985:384, 385; 1987:21). The use of graves for multiple interments is probably the result of a growing population and the amount of time needed to construct a grave. This population growth may be the result of an emerging economy (Weiberg 2007:201).

Not all graves at Manika contain human remains which is argued to be the result of disintegration (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:18; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:247-248). Where more than one burial is present, previous burials were moved to one side or covered over with gravel or sand (Afram Stern 2004:288), also seen at other mainland sites, for example, Lerna, Corinth and Zygouries (Sampson 1985:219, 384) and sometimes pebbles (Davis 2001:38). Some black pebbles were included in the graves. This is significant as a black pebble was also found in a grave in Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi) (3.8.2) (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:245-247).

Bodies at Manika were placed in the grave near the back, facing the entrance or the back wall, probably to enable access through the doorway and to create more space (Weiberg 2007:339) and with stones used as pillows, similar to practices seen in the Cyclades and other mainland sites (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:246). When a grave is used more than once previous burials are moved to one side with careful consideration for the placement of the skull (Pullen 1985:141; Sampson 1985:384). Imprints on some bones in Grave 84 could signify the dead may have been wrapped in cloth before burial (Afram Stern 2004:288, 300; Sampson 1985:385; 1987:21). Children at Manika are buried with adults sometimes in pots, for example Grave 81

(Weiberg 2007:210). Children could also be buried in small hollows, for example in Grave 7 (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:239-240). The presence of children who may once have occupied a grave, but whose remains no longer survive, may also be shown through the placement of miniature vases (Sampson 1987:21).

Fifteen pits found in the Beligianni plot at the cemetery (Figure 5.30) were located close to the graves and could have acted as ossuary pits (Aram-Stern 2004:300; Cavanagh and Mee 1998:18; Davis 2001:38; Pullen 1985:138, 141; Sampson 1985:219, Figure 51, 182; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:248). One of these pits was connected to the chamber of a grave (Grave 3 and pit 9) (Aram Stern 2004:287; Weiberg 2007:326). The use of ossuaries alongside graves is not uncommon in the Aegean or on the mainland with bones of the dead also moved into associated or connected structures seen in both the Cyclades and on Crete (see chapter III and IV). Not all of the people who once lived at Manika are represented at the cemetery. This could be the result of primary burial elsewhere or exposure occurring at Manika with the survival and collection of only specific bones for final interment.

A feature of the bones at Manika is that there are many modifications in the form of cut-marks, holes and sections made following death (Aram Stern 2004:299; Cosmopoulos 1991:34; Fountoulakis 1987:29, 32; Sampson 1985:386; 1987:21). The cut marks on the bones come in the form of irregular shapes, star-shaped patterns, round depressions, lambdoid, simple and crescent marks, parallel cut marks and five trigonal patterns (Fountoulakis 1987:30) (Figure 5.31). These cut marks have been found on cranial bones, metacarpal, metatarsal, and patellae. The modification of bones with cut marks is also found at other cemetery sites at Tsepi, Argissa and Lefkandi on the mainland (Fountoulakis 1987:30; Sampson 1985:386) and from Knossos, Pseira (Arnott 2003:159, 162) and at cemeteries in the Messara plain region of Crete.

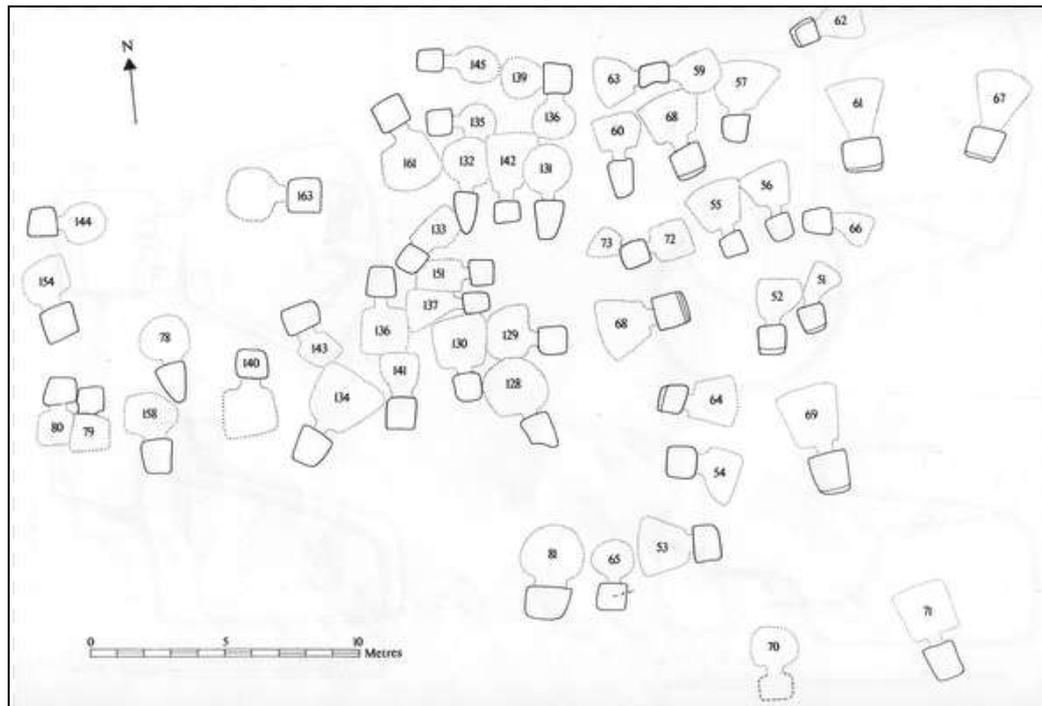


Figure 5.30 An example of some of the graves at Manika
(Cavanagh and Mee 1998:177 Figure 3.13, Sampson 1988a:157 Figure 35)

Holes (Figure 5.32) on Manika bones are ellipsoid or round and found on the bones from six graves. Fountoulakis (1987:30) describes two methods for making these holes, the first being by auger of bronze or stone, the second from a sharp thin object. Sections described by Fountoulakis (1987:31) originated from four different graves. Eight various types of sections are represented including oblique, perpendicular, angular, crescent-shaped and zig-zag. Bones sectioned include a clavicle, an ulna, three fibulae, two radii, four metacarpal bones, one metatarsal and six bones which Fountoulakis (1987:31) describes as undetermined. Sections measure from 45 to 110 degrees (Fountoulakis 1987:31), the bone modifications are symmetrical and can be found on a large number of bones in the Manika II and III phases or EHII and EHIII of the cemetery (Fountoulakis 1987:31; Sampson 1987:22). It is possible that some markings are connected to the cutting of tendons to enable the tightly contacted positioning of the corpse in the grave during a period of rigor mortis (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:18; Fountoulakis 1987:32; Pullen 1985:141; Sampson 1985:386; 1987:21). In addition to the human bones found at Manika there have also been a large amount of burnt animal bones, possibly the result of funeral feasting or as

remnants of offerings to the dead which can also be seen in the pit deposit at Tsepi (this chapter 5.3.3).

It is unconfirmed by Fountoulakis (1987) whether metal or stone implements were used in cutting of the bones from Manika. Analysis of the bones by scanning electron microscope (SEM) would be able to confirm the tools used (Greenfield 1999:798; Lewis 2008:2002) but there are no published experimental data available for the Manika samples. Pictures of bones which have been published indicate that cut marks were made by sharp metal knives or tools. This is because metal knives produce a narrow V-shaped groove or a |_| shape if a sawing action is used. The pictures from Manika (Figure 5.31) show uniform depth and spacing with clean even slicing (Greenfield 1999:804). If stone tools or obsidian was used for cutting a shallower less even cut would be found on the bone but these are not seen on the Manika samples. It is not surprising that these bones were cut with metal as it is known that metalworking was an activity at the site and blades were commonly found amongst the artefacts.

In addition to the archaeological evidence known from graves at Manika results from strontium isotope analysis is also available. This has been used to determine whether the presence of locals or non-locals could be determined through skeletal material. Using the first molar of sixty five individuals, local signatures were determined. From data gathered, Nafplioti (2009:925) demonstrated that sixteen percent of the individuals at Manika may be identified as non-locals at this site and tentatively suggested these originated from Naxos in the Cyclades or other sites geologically and isotopically similar to the latter. Sapouna-Sakellarakis believes this evidence confirms Manika as being a Cycladic colony (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:263; Zapheirpoulou 2008:192). What these data strongly indicate at the very least is a percentage of the population at Manika were non-locals, probably from Naxos or a similar island (Sampson 1988b:5; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:261), an idea which can be corroborated through independent scientific techniques (Nafplioti 2011:1569).

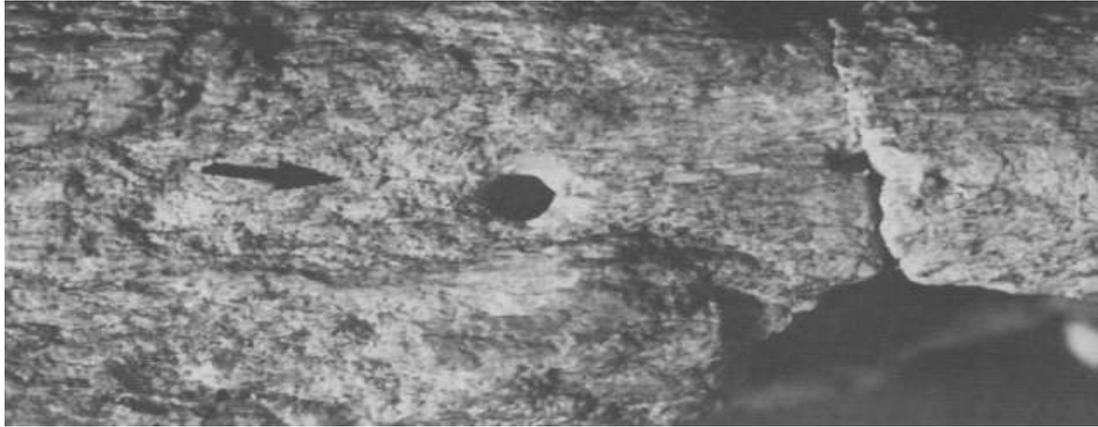
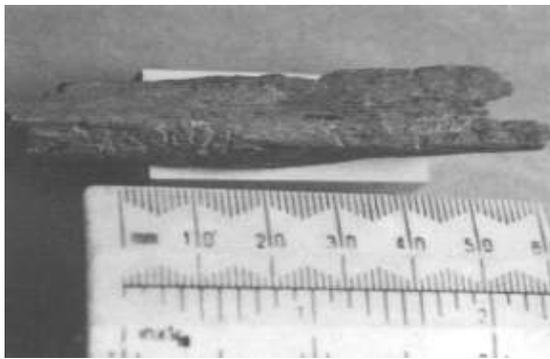
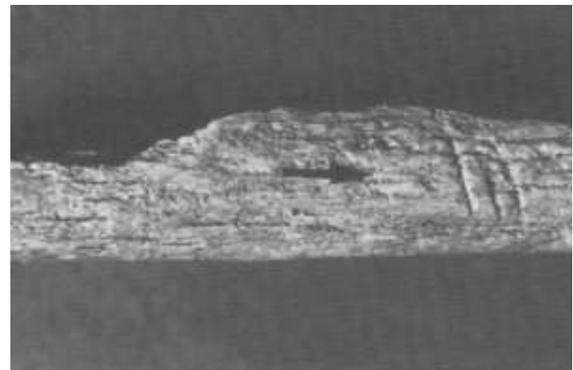


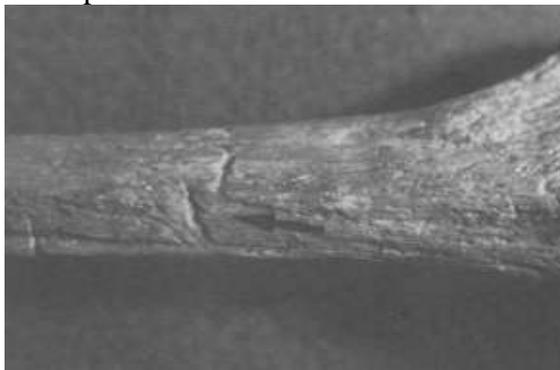
Figure 5.31 Manika, example of a round hole in a bone
(Fountoulakis 1987: Plate IV)



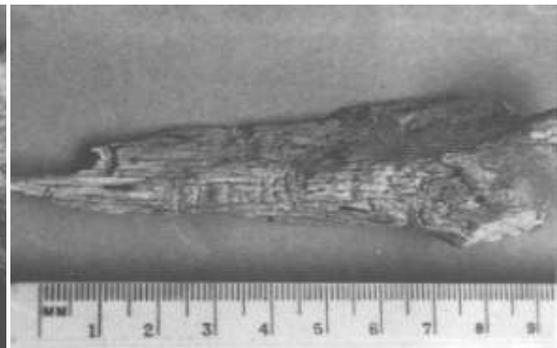
a. Manika, Fibula fragment with round impression and several cut marks



b. Manika, 3 cut marks on bone



c. Manika, 3 zig zag cut marks on bone



d. Manika, 10 parallel cut marks on bone

Figure 5.32 Cut marks on bones from Manika (Fountoulakis 1987:Plate III)

As noted above, Sampson (1987:20, 1988b:5) describes some graves as rich and others as poor. The poor graves contain no or few grave goods, rich ones have over four grave goods or graves contain valuable grave goods (Sampson 1987:21). On average however, graves only contain one to three items (Sampson 1985:382) with

seventy five graves classed as poor, nineteen moderate and thirty as rich from a sample discussed by Sampson (1987:21). Therefore, the majority of graves at Manika can be seen as having none or few grave goods included with the dead. Some of the rich graves at Manika contain more than twenty grave goods which Sampson (1987:20) proposed could be considered as belonging to important people, an example being Grave 81, a grave located close to others. According to Sampson (1987:21) the limited grave goods at Manika could be due to lack of personal property or related to customs associated with age, status or indispensability of the dead to the community.

Artefacts placed in the grave can be found placed around the body, for example near the head or feet (Alram Stern 2004:288; Sampson 1985:385). There is no one type of pottery item more prevalent than others at Manika, as at Aghios Kosmas (cup) and Tsepi (closed jar) (Weiberg 2007:354). Some items found in the graves at Manika were used in the settlement but others cannot be seen used in everyday life. An example being the one handled and two handled cups and other Cycladic items (Alram-Stern 2004:707; Katsarou-Tzeveleki and Schilardi 2008:68; Sampson 1985:233; 1988:58) which indicate a ritual function for some of the items placed with the dead. Some of the decoration and shape of the pottery from Manika contains parallels with those from Rivari (Melos) (Sampson and Fotiadi 2008:219, 220) (3.9.3).

Women and children seem to have been buried in a separate part of the cemetery at Manika and two graves may represent women and children together (Sampson 1985:385). Children's burials contain grave goods at Manika of miniature vases except for Grave 64 which has no grave goods. Sampson (1985:385; 1987:22, 23) argues that women's burials contain marble items, pyxides, clay spindles, bone tubes, beaked-spouted ewers, one and two handled cups, rubbers and jewellery. Men's funeral kit included small closed vessels, figurines (only found in a few graves) and frying pans, probably made locally with many containing bones (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:240), however, some care should be taken when attempting to analyse grave inclusions for either sex as bone preservation at Manika is poor and therefore determining the sex of individuals uncertain. At other sites around the

Aegean, items seem to be non-gender specific, for example, frying pans and bone tubes are found in women's graves in Chalandriani on Syros (Renfrew 1972; Sampson 1987:22). Interestingly at Manika there are no beads (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:236) whereas these are prolific at Tsepi and there is one bead also found at Aghios Kosmas. There is a lack of palettes and grinders at Manika which are also present at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi but bone tubes and also marble bowls, used for grinding colour in the Cyclades, still suggest the use of pigments at the cemetery (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:250; Weiberg 2007:292). Rare seal stones are also found at Manika (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:236).

Artefacts at the cemetery of Manika include vessels which are not used in the settlement, the grave goods seemingly produced for funerary use only (Sampson 1985:386) including frying pans and figurines. People chose to include Cycladic wares (frying pans and figurines) in the graves, some imported possibly for tomb use (Forsén 1992:145; Sampson 1983:74-76) and others made locally, alongside Helladic style vessels (Sampson 1987:21; 1988b:5). Marble is imported to the site or imitations of Cycladic wares produced (Sampson 1985:388). Obsidian is found in poor and rich graves with long blades of obsidian found in the richly furnished assemblages (Sampson 1987:23; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:239). Carter (1999:278) noted that blades from the cemetery were different to the ones found at the settlement in that they were longer, often unused and similar to the ones included in cemeteries in the Cyclades at Chalandriani, Spedhos, Lakkoudhes A and Avdheli. In Grave 7 in the Beligianni plot (Sampson 1985:166) many flakes and blades may have ended in the dromos when it was filled with earth and therefore it could be concluded these items were once on the surface. If this was the case and obsidian was on the surface of the cemetery this could be an indication of obsidian working or hold specific ritual significance.

There is evidence for metal working at Manika (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:236) in bronze slag and metal objects found at the site. Metal objects in the region of seventy items (Alram-Stern 2004:712) have been found in the graves and include copper daggers, copper brooches, silver tweezers (Alram-Stern 2004:712; Sampson 1985:305, 388) and pins (Sampson 1987:22; Theocharis 1953-1954:75; Weiberg

2007:291). Daggers described as tongue-like in the Elaiotrivari plot are also seen in Tholos B in Koumasa (Crete) and in the Cyclades (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:250). Tweezers similar to those found at Manika are also seen in the Cyclades and on Crete but unusually, silver ones were also located in T4 and TA14 excavated by Papavasileiou (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1987:250). Testing of the metal items from Manika by isotope analysis confirms sources in the Cyclades (including silver from Siphnos), Fienan Jordan, Laurion with also the possibility of sources of Egypt and the Troad for some items (Sampson 1986a:49; Stos-Gale et al. 1996:60, 63; Weiberg 2007:284). Some completely finished metal items may have also been imported (Konsola 1986:13; Weiberg 2007:284). Bone tubes found at Manika are considered to be imports from the Cyclades (Carter 1999:279).

5.4.3 Ritual

Variations in burial practices across the cemetery site of Manika between single and multiple burials is likely to be in response to growing population through the site's success over time. Before successive burials in multiple use graves, the entrance or dromos would need to be cleared to gain access to the doorway. Access to the grave at Manika through the roof was not possible as it could have been at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi. Compared to the other cemeteries access to the graves would be much easier and quicker.

Body modification is occurring at the Manika cemetery through the cutting and marking of bones and tendons to fit the corpse into the grave after rigor mortis had set in (Aram-Stern 2004:710; Fountoulakis 1987:32; Sampson 1985:386; 1987:21; Weiberg 2007:296). This cutting has been described by Aram-Stern (2004:710) as being in response to a fear of the dead but there may be more a more practical explanation for the practice, for example, the amount of time between the death and burial and the necessity for cutting tendons to manipulate the corpse into the grave space. Cloth marks presented on bones could indicate that bodies were wrapped tightly in cloth to keep them in position in the same manner stones were used at Aghios Kosmas in Grave 6 (5.2.3). Modification of the body is also evidenced in the

presence of bone tubes and tweezers found in the graves. As discussed earlier in this chapter this may be mimicking marks still visible on Cycladic figurines and represent the decoration of the living or the dead as part of the funeral process.

Burning seems to be a common feature of the Manika cemetery, for example, from the Beligianni excavation in 1984 sherds were burnt in Grave 1, burnt bones were found in Grave 2 and the earth was burnt in Grave 8 (Davis 2001:38; Sapouna Sakellarakis 1987:237, 238, 242). Interesting features in the cemetery include a large open space around Grave 100 (Sampson 1987:21). No platform has been found but Weiberg (2007:375) demonstrated that as graves were placed together this would have left open space in which rituals could have been performed (see also Sampson 1987:19).

5.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter I have presented the cemetery evidence for the three sites of Aghios Kosmas, Tsepi and Manika in the EBA. Key themes from the three cemeteries are summarised below and in Table 5.1.

Cemetery	Total No. of Graves (U = Total Unknown G.O. = General Observations only Available)	No. of Graves Examined (G.O. = Only General observations available)	% of Features from the Cemeteries			
			Floor Sand/Stone/ Pebble (G.O. = General Observations only)	Pillow (U= Exact No. unknown)	Platform/ Pavement/ Enclosure	Any other grave / cemetery features?
Aghios Kosmas	U (Part of cem under the sea)	32	100%* *Sand mixed with pebbles or paved	16%* *connected to complete skeletons	100%* *graves marked- slab/pavement/ enclosure	Stone Markers Area V
Tsepi	68	68	100%* *fine gravel/river stones	U	99%* *platforms/ Enclosures	Ditch
Manika	171? (U) (Site affected by developments)	G.O.	100%? G.O.* *layer of gravel or sand	U (‘in some cases’)	0%* *although the entrance before the chamber may be significant for ritual practices	Cutting of bones Burning

Table 5.1 Summary of EBA burial features for cemeteries on mainland Greece

5.5.1 Grave Architecture

At Aghios Kosmas there are two types of graves including cists and built graves, with many cists altered over time to add doorways and a prothyron (or entrance) later. The cist graves are of a Cycladic style (Mylonas 1934:275; 1959:12) in that cut slabs of stone in various sizes are used in their construction. The graves with larger slabs seem to represent earlier graves, also seen in the Cyclades with the preference for smaller slabs coming in later (Mylonas 1959:116). Graves across the Aghios Kosmas cemetery were used over a long period of time which could represent family groups but without further analysis of the human remains this cannot be confirmed. Cist graves at Aghios Kosmas have parallels to other mainland sites such as Manika and Tsepi and also with Hagia Photia (Crete) through the use of the entrance stone and paved area (Grave 16). Broodbank (2002:308) argued that only certain graves from Aghios Kosmas resemble those from the Cyclades.

Graves at Tsepi, like at Aghios Kosmas, were also originally simple pits and altered over time to create a system of formalised burial. These new and altered graves would require the sourcing of stones (schist) from a distance and greater time spent on construction. This selection and specific placement of stones would be time consuming, similar to dry stone walling today, each stone needing thought and consideration in its placement. The process would need skilled workers who over time would have gained the necessary knowledge to make stable structures by using this method. The differences between graves at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi can be seen in the roof construction. At Aghios Kosmas the roof slabs are cantilevered by stone walls constructed above whereas at Tsepi slabs are laid across the grave (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:16) and then covered with earth before being marked by a platform. Even these variations in grave roof can provide information on ritual and secondary burial practices, highlighting the importance of stone and identity diversity between the cemetery sites.

The cemetery at Manika seems much less durable than Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi as no stones are used in the construction of the graves, except in closing the grave itself, this method is also evident at some of the cemeteries in the Cyclades, for example at

Tsikniades (Naxos) (3.10.8.1), and on Crete in some of the graves at Hagia Photia (4.2.1). There are some comparisons to be made between the three mainland cemeteries. For example, some graves at Manika today overlap, maybe as a result of the breakdown of the grave walls. However, these graves may also have been intentionally joined by the burial chamber (Weiberg 2007:309). This practice of linking graves is also visible at Aghios Kosmas (Graves 8 and 9) and Tsepi (Graves 10 and 11) suggesting an intention to bring groups or individuals together. The practice of joining the dead in the grave can be seen in the use of multi-storey graves and ossuaries in the Cyclades on islands such as Dhespotikon, Melos, Naxos and Siphnos.

5.5.2 Burial and the treatment of the dead

Primary and secondary burials are shown at all the cemetery sites discussed. Bodies are placed in graves in contracted positions, also seen as standard practice in the Cyclades (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:20; Doumas 1977:54-8). Skulls of the previous dead are lined up against the side of the grave at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi (Pullen 1985:141; Weiberg 2007:219). Children at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi are buried in separate graves close to the burial of adults and within group burial at both sites (Weiberg 2007:211).

Burials at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi happened in a number of ways, with the interment of the corpse in a tightly contracted position, possibly held by the placement of stones (Mylonas 1959:83; Weiberg 2007:348), extended burial followed by secondary burial, and finally, the placing of bones in an ossuary. The use of graves as ossuaries is present at all three cemeteries. At Aghios Kosmas, the burial outside Grave 30 indicates that primary burial in one location with bones being removed to another could have been practiced across the site. Individual burial practices do not seem to relate to grave type or period of use (Mylonas 1959:119) but instead the retention of bones over time maintains its importance. This could represent a common belief in an afterlife or the preservation of the person within extended society or within a settlement of the dead. Following excavation, some

bones were kept but many were reburied at Aghios Kosmas. As the cemetery is now built over, there is little chance of these ever coming to light.

Care was usually taken when the graves were reused at Tsepi but is worth noting that two of the graves have a burial in the prothyron (Graves T14 and T33). This may be explained as people dying close together and the previous burial not having time to decompose sufficiently for the bones to be separated and moved. It may also be that the burials were carried out in a rush and so careful placement of the dead did not occur, the dead being left in the entrance to the grave instead. Skeletal material from Manika was found in poor condition but when present in the graves human remains were carefully moved to the side of the grave in multiple interments, a practice also seen in Cycladic burials. Bones from Manika present various modifications in the form of cut marks, holes and sections all made following death. This is not unique as bones have also been found with cut marks at the site of Pseira (Crete).

Evidence from Aghios Kosmas indicates that the dead were provided with grave goods inside only some of the graves (Mylonas 1959:119) but the majority of grave goods were placed outside the grave, covered only by shallow earth. This may indicate that once an individual was moved from its place of primary burial, grave goods were not seemingly needed to accompany the dead. Items may have been viewed as unclean or unlucky at this stage as they were spread over the cemetery and not taken for reuse or deposited elsewhere. Grave goods placed with, but more likely found around the dead at Aghios Kosmas, include pyxides which can be seen across the cemeteries in the Cyclades, tweezers, part of the standard Cycladic toilet kit and frying pans with direct parallels to the islands. Cycladic style figurines are found in between some of the graves which further connects the material culture from the cemetery to the Cyclades and marble vessels are being produced locally (Karantzali 1996:182). Large amounts of obsidian are also found in the cemetery and across the settlement area, which can also be seen occurring at sites such as the cemetery at Mochlos (4.4) and settlement of Poros Katsambas (Crete) (Dimopoulou 1997:433-38). Mylonas (1959:15) noted that unlike other EBA sites mentioned in this research, Aghios Kosmas settlement and cemetery, contained practically no metal objects. The evidence from Aghios Kosmas has prompted the conclusion that the

people living at Aghios Kosmas were using and facilitating trade in obsidian over metals in the EH period (Karantzali 1996:183). Metal objects no longer visible in the archaeological record.

There is a large variety of materials deposited with the dead at Tsepi. Most vessels are closed shapes, probably used for the storage and transport of goods, different to Aghios Kosmas whose residents had a preference for cups (Weiberg 2007:354). Items placed with the dead and found across the cemetery can be described as being influenced by vessels and materials from the Cyclades. Vessels with Cycladic parallels include jars, jugs, pyxides, frying pans and other shapes. These items seem to have been made locally in Cycladic styles. Obsidian items are far less at Tsepi than the amount found at Aghios Kosmas and there are metal imports. Stone items of beads and grinding stones, and palettes made from bone, together with pigments could be a sign of the use of decoration and colour in the funeral.

Artefacts found at Manika include a variety of items including cups and Cycladic style vessels of frying pans and pyxides. Imported marble items including figurines alongside local imitations were included in the graves. There were also metal items at the cemetery found in large numbers including copper (daggers, brooches) and silver (tweezers and pins).

5.5.3 Ritual

The graves at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi both contain pavements. At Aghios Kosmas this pavement is found in an antechamber and at Tsepi the pavement or platform is placed on top of the grave. Both cemeteries also have graves surrounded by a border of stones. These enclosures included childrens graves (Alram Stern 2004:303) are comparable to those found in the Cyclades at sites such as Ano Kouphonisi (Zapheirpoulou 2008:191) and place emphasis on social grouping and creating a different space for the cemetery area (Pullen 1985:145; Weiberg 2007:2000). The use of an enclosure would make locating the grave in the cemetery and its reuse much easier in addition to creating a focus for funerary ritual. Other

rituals at specific times of the year or for the movement of human remains after a specified amount of time could use the marked areas as a focus for practices such as the pouring of libations or the placing of objects around the grave.

The deposition of vessels at Aghios Kosmas can be seen in Area V (Mylonas 1959:106) which has produced pottery vessels, nearly all cups, placed on a paved surface made of stones and pebbles. Close to the pavement were three basins with traces of particulate matter from smoke, a jar and deep bowl and large vessels (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:286, 287). As with Aghios Kosmas, Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) provides a large amount of pottery from outside the graves with hat-like vases placed alongside the platform in the cemetery (3.10.1). These had been placed upside down and apparently broken there (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:286) and stones were evidently placed around the vessels (Doumas 1977:Figure XIII, g, h). The evidence from four Aegean cemetery sites indicates the use of fire surrounding burial. At Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi there is evidence for burning on bowls and other pottery sherds and in the Cyclades on Amorgos burnt animal bones are present. At Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) hat-vases may have been used as braziers (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:287).

At Tsepi a pit was located that could contain approximately one thousand items. This pit was constructed for the placement and destruction of vessels brought to, and used in the cemetery. The destruction occurred by smashing pebbles into vessels but pebbles are also used to create pavements at Aghios Kosmas, the pebble seemingly containing ritual importance in the EBA. Pantelidou Gofas (2008) compares this assemblage with those from Akrotiri and Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos), Aghios Kosmas and Dhaskalio Kavos (Keros). Akrotiri (Amorgos) is represented by crevices filled with sherds and a pit close by of similar dimensions to Tsepi which was also filled with pottery sherds and some intact vessels of small and large type including large basins, bowls, jugs and small amphora (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:286; Rambach 2000a:185-9). Some vessels also contained animal bones which showed signs of burning (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:286). Unlike Tsepi, the pit at Akrotiri contained human bones but the structure is not considered to represent a grave (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:286; Tsountas 1898:166-8).

Comparisons can also be made between the Tsepi pit and the special deposit at Dhaskalio Kavos (Keros), a site which cannot be discussed as there was no cemetery or settlement found close by. However, the deposit is worthy of mention here in relation to Tsepi as many sherds have been found including one thousand marble vessel and three hundred figurine fragments (Broodbank 2000:328; 2002:226, 229; Pantelidou Gofas 2008:288; Renfrew 1984c:28). On the surface, finds were amongst small stones and rocks (Doumas 1977; Pantelidou Gofas 2008:288). Of interest is that marble items (including figurines) were smashed at various sites in the EBA (Renfrew 1984c:28; Broodbank 2002:228).

Obsidian is found at Aghios Kosmas, Tsepi and Manika. The lack of cores at Tsepi discounts manufacture at this site. Aghios Kosmas and Manika, in comparison to Tsepi, provide evidence of craftworking activities including the working of obsidian. Obsidian can be seen as being selected and used in both settlements and cemeteries. Carter (2008b:229) advised that it is not the material found at the site representing the greatest importance but the technical know-how that would be needed to exploit it. Communities could exploit access to the material and display their skills in working flakes and blades from cores brought from the Cyclades. Having the knowledge to produce blades would make one community distinct from another (Carter 2008b:229). If the lack of cores does seem to be a problem in exploring the role of obsidian at mainland sites, Carter (2008b:233) believed that obsidian items could also be arriving on the mainland as trading items, part of a toilet kit, including prismatic blades, pigment container and tweezers rather than as through the movement of obsidian as a raw material or finished product. Some longer blades seen at EHII Manika seem to be contemporary with ones from Chalandriani on Syros, the blades possibly being traded within exchange networks (Carter 2008b:233).

This chapter has demonstrated through grave architecture, burial practices and the treatment of the dead and ritual an awareness of Cycladic burial practices in the EBA at mainland cemetery sites of Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi and Manika in Euboea. The next chapter (Chapter VI) will provide a discussion for the burial evidence presented in Chapters III, IV and V comparing and contrasting the key themes which will

enable a discussion of the nature of interconnection in the EBA Aegean as seen through the burial record.

CHAPTER VI**DISCUSSION****6.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the previous three chapters the cemetery evidence for three locations: the Cyclades, Crete and mainland Greece has been presented. In this chapter I will discuss this evidence using the same themes of grave architecture, burial and the treatment of the dead and ritual in order to provide comparative information across these regions. Collated data for key cemetery features across the three locations are noted in Table 6.1 below.

6.2 GRAVE ARCHITECTURE**6.2.1 The Cyclades**

Grave architecture can be used to establish the agency surrounding the disposal of the dead within a society, highlighting social behaviour and the culture behind burial practices. Graves in the Cyclades are usually simple structures cut into bedrock forming a pit in which to place the dead, often lined with schist slabs or local stones. Careful consideration seems to have been made to the ground conditions and the utilisation of natural features, for example, sometimes at cemeteries such as Dokathismata (Amorgos) or Tsikniades (Naxos) graves were cut into a hillside. This resulted in the the hillside becoming part of the grave structure, such as a back wall. Graves were similar in form although there were slight variations in grave type in cemeteries across the Cyclades. The choices made by a group for a particular type of building method may have been the result of either the local availability of stone or the personal preference of an individual island community that link into issues of memory and identity. Although there are similarities across the island, the graves at Chalandriani (Syros) are very different to those found on other Cycladic islands. At Chalandriani the graves have lintels, door jambs and stonework which replicate houses found in the later settlement of Kastri located close by. Furthermore, these

graves are similar to those found at Mochlos on Crete, many of which have door jambs. The construction of the graves at both Chalandriani and Mochlos may have been carried out with houses of the living in mind, representing a shared idea of providing houses for the dead.

In the Cyclades, across all of the islands, once the grave was constructed and the dead were entombed within, the structure was capped by one or more stone slabs, which were then probably covered in earth. At Chalandriani, graves are different from the norm as they have a corbelled roof. This structure is formed by the walls of the grave curving inwards, creating a small opening in the roof that was topped by a stone slab. Sometimes the stones used in roof construction would fall in the grave, destroying the burial evidence within. These capstones and the stones lining the grave are sometimes found in field walls when graves in a cemetery have been destroyed at sites such as Aghios Sostis (Antiparos) (3.12).

6.2.2 Crete

The variety in grave styles seen across the Cycladic islands continues in the north Cretan cemeteries (Chapter IV). The cemeteries discussed highlight the differences between, and in, cemetery sites but also the many similarities in burial features. At Gournia, the North Cemetery and Sphoungaras Cemetery demonstrate very different grave styles containing the dead from the same site. The North cemetery contains house tombs and rock shelters and Sphoungaras provides evidence of Cycladic burial practices in simple cists. The cemetery of Pseira contains Cycladic-style graves alongside other types in the same cemetery. The site of Mochlos, as with the North Cemetery at Gournia, contains house tombs but also features two tomb complexes and is believed to have contained cist styled graves, that are no longer visible and are considered lost. These variations in grave styles in the cemeteries demonstrate very clear ideas of the living in how the dead should be treated and what was expected within a group. These ideas emerge through the creation of specific grave architecture, the methods chosen for the disposal of the dead and the ritual practices carried out around the burial and in the wider cemetery. The individuality seen in the

choice of grave style between cemeteries which are geographically close, such as Gournia North Cemetery and Gournia Sphoungaras, possibly highlights different groups residing in the same area. The strongest links between Crete and the Cyclades are found at the site of Hagia Photia with graves that are directly comparable to those at Agrilia (Ano Kouphonisi) (Vavouranakis 2011:95). Evidence from Hagia Photia highlights a direct transfer of memory and identity through grave architecture, burial and the treatment of the dead and ritual practices between the islands and the north of Crete.

It is worth noting that at some Cretan cemeteries natural features are not always used within grave architecture as they are in the Cyclades. An example of this can be seen at Mochlos. Whereas people in the Cyclades and others on Crete use a rock face or the back of a hill as part of the grave architecture, at Mochlos the situation is different. At Mochlos, Tomb Complex IV/V/VI, demonstrates how the natural rock face has been ignored with the back and side walls of the structure built with stone instead. This is likely to be an indication of a special purpose for this structure, one that needed extra care and attention in its construction and shows diversity in the adoption of Cycladic influences. This is in stark contrast with the house tombs at Mochlos, which in most cases, use any natural resources available in grave construction, cutting into the land to form terracing. At the Gournia North cemetery, the rock face was used to form tombs and rock shelters, this activity may be a sign of a different role between graves at the site and the Tomb Complex at Mochlos.

The inclusion of the natural landscape in which to locate the Tomb Complexes at Mochlos and the Gournia North Cemetery is very similar to the environment found at the Cretan peak sanctuaries, as both the cemeteries and sanctuaries are in prominent positions and in an elevated rocky location. Although peak sanctuaries were not used as cemeteries the natural environment was the main focus for cult practices. This demonstrates that more than one form of ritual occurred on Crete, one form at the peak sanctuaries and others forms were carried out surrounding the dead.

6.2.3 Mainland Greece

On the mainland, graves at all three sites of Aghios Kosmas, Manika and Tsepi contain larger graves than those found in the Cyclades. The North cemetery of Aghios Kosmas contains cist graves that are quadrilateral or trapezoidal in shape, lined with sandstone slabs and closed with limestone. There are also elliptical and semi-circular graves that are lined by small stones set in clay and closed by roof slabs that were probably visible from the surface. Many of the graves at Aghios Kosmas have lintels and thresholds and the floor is usually laid with sand and pebbles and occasionally schist, also seen on Pelos (Melos) (3.9.2), Tsikniades (Naxos) (3.10.8) and Chalandriani (Syros) (3.15.2) in the Cyclades. Comparisons can be made between the grave architecture at Aghios Kosmas (5.2.1) and Hagia Photia (Crete) (4.2.1) and Agrilia (Ano Kouphonisi) (3.8.1.1), as all three sites have graves with a burial chamber and antechamber, sometimes with pavement, on the other. This form of grave architecture suggests a transfer of ideas between the people who used these building methods and the three sites across the Aegean Sea. The builders of graves would recognise a need for schist to be sourced and its role in the burial process. The procurement and use of the stone in this way, to line the grave or to be used to close the grave chamber, links the material and accepted methods of building in burials to ideas of memory.

At Tsepi graves are rectangular in form with walls made from stone slabs or dry-stone walls of river stones. Graves had antechambers and doorways that may have been later additions to earlier graves. Graves at Tsepi were sealed by a schist slab and the entrance was also lined with stone. Stone slabs were also used for the roof but covered in soil. Graves at the Manika cemetery contained square or trapezoidal graves but unlike Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi these are cut from hard limestone and were unlined. Graves had a dromos (entrance) in which grave goods were placed.

The differences between cemetery sites on the mainland are found in the unlined graves at Manika compared to the other two mainland sites that have lined graves. Roofs also vary across the mainland sites, for example, at Aghios Kosmas roofs are cantilevered by stone walls constructed above, whereas at Tsepi roof slabs are laid

across the grave. Cantilevering could offer a practical solution if large stone slabs could not be sourced locally to cover the whole width of the grave or to leave a slight gap between the stones to create airflow and the quickening of the defleshing of the dead. Quicker defleshing would speed up secondary burial practices between interments. Space in-between stones may have also acted as an inlet to the grave in which to pour libations, however, there is no way of establishing this for certain in the archaeological record.

The evidence from graves from the Cyclades, Crete and mainland Greece provides parallels in grave architecture from across the three areas, linking to memory and identity throughout. As noted above, although key features are represented throughout there are also individual features within the cemeteries, producing the impression of identity and diversity in elements of grave construction, including whether to line or not to line the graves with stone.

6.2.4 Materials used in grave construction

The selection of stones and specific building methods within the Cycladic islands could provide evidence for grave construction holding specific meaning to the people who built them. The manner in which stones were used represent ideas of memory, identity and permanence to the people who created the graves. The specific use of schist produces a collective memory of how graves should be constructed in the Cyclades and at other cemeteries around the Aegean. The sourcing of stones for grave construction normally comes from the cemetery locality, however, there are also cases in the EBA Aegean, such as Pseira (Crete) and Tsepi (mainland) where some effort has been made to bring stones to a site specifically for grave construction. It is also likely that some of the coloured stone used in construction at Mochlos (Crete) was sourced from elsewhere, however, some of the bedrock at the site is coloured and so this stone may be local.

The colour of the schist used in the graves at Chalandriani seems to be significant with green stone chosen to form the lintel. The colour green used in graves may

have been associated with nature but also may be connected to other materials such as the colour of unseasoned wood. The colour green could signify that the grave was seen as a place of process and change, representing the decomposing body over time as it moved from one state into another. This selection of specific coloured stones seems to indicate a greater attention to planning and a desire to procure materials that carry particular significance, possibly establishing connections between places and communities.

6.2.5 Analysis of specific grave architectural features

The quality of excavation data and publication has caused some problems in comparing the cemeteries from the three chosen areas in the Aegean region. This is exemplified in Table 6.1 where only general observations have been made at some sites for the presence of specific architectural features of graves in the cemeteries. These features include flooring, pillow stones and platforms, pavements or enclosures. Not all cemeteries include graves with additional architectural features. Instead, many cemeteries are represented by graves of very simple construction or pits.

6.2.5.1 *Flooring*

Flooring in the grave provides an example of an individual architectural feature used across some Cycladic cemetery sites and not in others. Floors in graves can be found at Kephala (Kea), Dokathismata and Kapsala (Amorgos), Agrilia (Ano Kouphonisi), Kalogries and Pelos (Melos), Aghioi Anargyroi, Akrotiri, Apendika (Naxos), Plastiras (Paros) and possibly Chalandriani (Syros). If no flooring is added to the grave the dead may be placed on a natural floor of bedrock. Floorings could take the form of a stone slab or piece of schist, sand, gravel or pebbles, the choice of particular materials is likely to have been an intentional expression. The sourcing of the materials could be linked, to an extent, to ideas of performance. A layer of packed earth may also have been added to the grave on which to lay the dead. When graves are changed into multi-storey structures new floors could also be laid, for example, the burials at Apendika (3.10.3.2) (Naxos) have a stone slab and earth placed between the storeys.

In the Cyclades, 52% of graves are of a simple construction which usually has a floor of natural bedrock and no artificial materials added to the structure. In 8% of the graves no data is known as to whether floors were present at a site. In 40% of Cycladic graves there are floors added in the grave itself or in the antechamber (Agrilia, Ano Kouphonisi) which may be constructed from sand, pebbles or schist. This percentage means that only a selective number of island groups are choosing to bury their dead with a grave floor, highlighting issues of diversity and identity within Cycladic culture. At the sites which do contain flooring it is interesting to note that only 20% of the graves have flooring. Similarly, there are 20% of the total number of Cycladic cemeteries with less than a quarter of the graves with flooring in the same cemetery but as the figures from Table 6.1 indicates, they are not a constant feature across all sites or graves on these islands.

However, there are some issues with discussing flooring in graves. At some sites, the floor is made from sand or packed earth and this may not have been noted when early excavation took place. Flooring made from these materials may have also been affected by erosion or sea water when a site is located close to the sea and graves

were exposed to the elements. Packed earth may have also been excavated as part of the grave fill removed from the grave by early excavators. Some of the graves which were looted from antiquity onwards may have also had their floor removed by opportunists. Therefore, floors that were once in place at the bottom of the grave may not have survived in the archaeological record.

Outside the Cyclades on Crete, the dead are placed directly onto bedrock in the grave. There are some pavements found at Hagia Photia in 29% of the graves in the antechamber and at Mochlos there is some treatment of the floor in 22% of the graves. On mainland Greece all three sites of Aghios Kosmas, Tsepi and Manika have flooring in the graves. The site of Aghios Kosmas had graves with sand and pebbles on the floor and at Tsepi the graves were lined with pebbles, probably from when a stream ran close to the site. The use of this material indicating the importance placed on the role of water close the cemeteries in the EBA and the pebble being an important representation of it. Pebbles were intensively used at Dhaskalio Kavos, which Renfrew (2010:290) argued had a ritual purpose, replicated at some of the EBA the cemeteries.

These numbers indicate that an emphasis is placed on the importance of the floor at mainland cemeteries, whereas in the Cyclades flooring is only important in 40% of the cemeteries in the graves or antechambers. This feature is likely to represent specific groups of people with similar ideas. However, not all flooring is uniform as various materials have been seen. Therefore, it cannot be established that only one specific group, or the movement of people, can be recognised only through this feature. Although there seems to be a shared idea between sites using flooring within these cemeteries often only certain graves may contain them, for example at Hagia Photia (Crete). This demonstrates that even within a cemetery people may be choosing specific features in individual graves and not in others. This practice may represent the movement of individuals or specific groups sharing the same cemetery space. However, the lack of surviving data at some site may also be significant to our overall view of the surviving data.

Table 6.1 A summary of EBA architectural features found in Cycladic, Cretan and mainland Greece cemeteries

Location	Cyclades													Crete				Mainland Greece														
	Kia	Amorgos		Ano Kouphoussa		Mitos			Naxos								Paros		Siphnos		Pylos		Crete				Mainland Greece					
	Kephala	Dakrymata	Kephala	Tavros Part	Kephala	Pylos	Mitos	Aghios Anargyros	Aghios	Aghios	Aghios	Kamion to Maron	Lakoutheri	Lakoutheri A	Turkades	Frangula	Pyros	Kravathes	Chrysokeion	Zambani	Ayroskisi	Ayros Loukas	Chrysokeion	Hagia Proula	Gourol North Cemetery	Gourol Spoungiras	Blockon	Phara	Aghios Konstantinos	Tripoli	Mantini	
Total no. of Graves	40	20	11	37	0	17	20	11	27	24	130	86	25	4	332	21	12	58	50	18	34	197	34	700-1000	8*	50	27	31*	17	50	171	
No. graves examined	40	7	5	72	0	12	19	11	22	24	50	30	25	4	60	10	12	19	9	10	7	7	60	72	8	50	25	10*	32	66	60	
% of features in	Columns	25	100	20	100	0	17	100	0	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	22*	0	100*	100*	100*	
	Flower niches	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Platforms/ Pavements/ Enclosures	18	0	0	100	0	8	100*	100	100	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	0

Key:

- UB Only General Observations available
- U1 Total Number Unspecified
- ?
- * Only General Comments about this feature
- See Chapter Table for further comments

6.2.5.2 *Platforms, Pavements and Enclosures*

Graves on some of the Cycladic islands had structures above the capstone known as a platform or pavement. Platforms were made of smaller stones than the capstone and were mixed with earth. Many Cycladic cemeteries have been damaged through agricultural practices or looting and so it is difficult to determine how extensive the use of pavements over the graves may have been in the EBA. The first platforms in the Cyclades were found at Kephala (Kea) which contained seven, although one of them does not have a grave underneath or nearby. This could be an indication of their role not just as grave markers within the cemetery arena but as a focus for communal ritual. Larger platforms and pavements used in a cemetery context specifically for ritual purposes are discussed later in this chapter.

Platforms, pavements and enclosures placed over the top of individual graves can be seen at 44% of the Cycladic cemeteries discussed but these are only found on four of the islands including Kea, Ano Kouphonisi, Melos and Naxos. The pavement used over a grave at Pelos contained multicoloured, pink and white stones to deliberately bring colour into the cemetery. This colour enhances the visibility of the grave in the landscape and offers a focus for performance in the cemetery area. The paving shows diversity in the choice of coloured blocks not visible at other cemeteries and therefore links into the identity of the people who built the pavement. Sometimes individual graves can be found marked with stones in other ways away from a traditional pavement including the site at Tsikniades which has stones, earth and pottery sherds placed in piles in circles, semi-circles or spirals above the grave. Unusually one of the graves has a spiral pavement located to the side, and not directly above it. Accounts of some cemeteries do not stipulate pavements over graves, for example, at Kalogries on Melos (3.9.1) there are no pavements on the overall cemetery plan but there is an indication of paving slabs on individual grave drawings. This implies that some platforms or pavements may be missing or omitted from published excavations.

From the 44% of Cycladic cemeteries with platforms, pavements and enclosures, more than half are located at cemeteries on Naxos. Cemetery evidence from 28%

Cycladic sites present data for flooring, platforms/ pavements or enclosures around the grave. On Crete, platforms are not seen on individual graves, however, there are general observations made for the cemetery at Pseira that has small terraces and enclosures outside the grave structures, for example Tomb 3 and Tomb 7. Other pavements have been found at Mochlos and flat areas of land at Hagia Photia and Gournia North Cemetery may have acted as the focus for communal activity. On the mainland, the sites of Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi both have features outside the grave. Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi are both surrounded by stones which create a border around the grave. Tsepi also has a platforms built over the grave.

Some graves at Cycladic cemeteries are not marked through formalised pavements or spirals but instead marked by a row of stones creating an enclosure area. These can be seen at sites such as Kephala (Kea), Tzavaris Field (Ano Kouphonisi), a semi-circle of stones above a capstone at Apendika and also an enclosure was found around some of the graves at Tsikniades (Naxos). These rows of stones are similar to those seen at other sites in the Aegean on the mainland discussed in this research. Graves are also marked in other ways, for example at Tzavaris field graves are marked by a large standing stone measuring 0.61m. At the site of Rivari (Melos) (3.9.3.1) graves are not covered by a capstone or pavement but instead covered in gravel and rubble. The gravel when walked upon may have been audible, creating a significant area of sound, marking out the graves from other land around the cemetery.

Data collected, and presented in Table 6.1, therefore, suggests that marking the graves in the landscape was an important feature of Cycladic cemeteries on islands including Ano Kouphonisi, Kea, Melos, Naxos and Syros. This however, does not take into account the large number of graves which have been looted on the islands over time and the possibility that pavements may have been destroyed when illegal access was made to the graves. Minimal recording and publishing of graves by some excavators may also omit details of pavements. Graves on the mainland are also clearly purposefully marked in the landscape. The graves at Tsepi have a platform placed on the top of the grave capstone, similar to those seen on some Cycladic islands. Tsepi and Aghios Kosmas can also be compared to the Cyclades and the

sites of Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi), Apendika and Tsikniades (Naxos) for its lines of stones or peribolos marking the area around the graves. There are cases of these stones forming an enclosure around more than one grave on the mainland (Graves 10 and 11 at Tsepi and Graves 8 and 9 at Aghios Kosmas), placing an emphasis on social grouping and creating a marked visible space for the paired graves within the cemetery area. This marked space was designed as a focus for cemetery ritual and performance and could be evidence for shared ideas which came about through the migration of people.

6.2.5.3 *Pillow Stones*

Stones were sometimes used in the EBA graves on which to rest the head of the deceased. Known as pillow stones, these features are only found at 16% of Cycladic cemetery sites including Kephala (Kea), Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos), possibly in Pyrgos (Paros), Krassadhes (Antiparos), Zoumbaria (Dhespotikon) and possibly at Chalandriani (Syros). It is unknown whether they were present at 8% of Cycladic cemetery sites. Even when pillow stones are recorded at sites there is only one possible site, Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) which is believed to have all graves which contained pillow stones. The other Cycladic cemetery sites which do contain graves with pillow stones equate to only less than 20% of the total number of graves with this feature. The role of pillow stones are not well discussed, but assumed to be utilitarian. However, if this were indeed the case we might expect them to be more common. Outside the Cycladic islands, there are no pillow stones for the sites discussed on Crete but they are evident on the mainland at Aghios Kosmas. This deliberate selection of pillow stones indicates some continuity between individual Cycladic sites and elsewhere in the Aegean, although these are far from being a defining characteristic of Cycladic identity.

In summary, only three cemetery sites from the 33 listed in Table 6.1 contain all three features in the same cemetery of architectural embellishment inside, or outside the grave of flooring, platforms, pavements and enclosures and pillow stones. These sites include Kephala (Kea), Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) and Aghios Kosmas

(mainland Greece) but this number does not account for possible missing data represented by features recorded as unknown for each section. Crete offers a different view to the Cyclades with the focus on communal practices over individual embellishment of graves.

6.2.6 Multi-storey graves

Usually Cycladic cists, and others discussed in the EBA Aegean, are single storey structures in which to lay the dead. However, there are some graves known as being multi-storey in the Cyclades at Aghioi Anargyroi (3.10.1.2), Aplomata (3.10.4.1), Tsikniades (3.10.8.1) (Naxos), Livadhi (3.13.1) (Dhespotikon) and Akrotiraki (3.14.1) (Siphnos). There may have once been more cemeteries with multi-storey graves but as many sites have been damaged over time, this is not possible to determine. The cemeteries with these graves use the later additional storeys as ossuaries. This is significant as the community could have made the decision to build new graves when one was used, however, they chose not to do so. This stresses an importance placed on individual, possibly family or other kin groups and maintaining a groups' memory and identity by the remains of the dead all being placed in the one place. There are also elements of performance surrounding the processes of using a grave more than once, the process of which would create a second funeral event accompanied by other post-burial rites and feasting (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:107, 111). This would involve removing the remains of earlier burials, possibly selecting particular bones and carefully placing the skull of the dead back in the grave. This may have happened on demand for grave space but equally the grave may have been cleared with time in between burial.

These multi-storey graves are not revealed at other sites outside the Cyclades on Crete or the mainland. It is likely therefore that they represent an expansion of usually a small grave structure vertically rather than horizontally in the cemetery area. Expansion of graves using pits to act as ossuaries can however be seen outside the Cyclades on the mainland, for example, at Aghios Kosmas (Figure 5.6) and in the

building of Tomb Complexes at sites such as Mochlos (Crete). Burial practices will be discussed further in section 6.3 below.

6.2.7 The antechamber

An antechamber is an enclosed area attached to the grave, divided from the burial chamber with a stone slab, an area for focussed ritual activity. In the Cyclades, antechambers are a rare architectural feature, only evident at the site of Agrilia (3.8.1.1) (Ano Kouphonisi). The antechamber at Agrilia contained broken clay vessels, metals, stone items, obsidian, seashells and snails. At the end of the funeral the antechamber would be filled and topped with another pavement. The Cycladic graves at Agrilia and Hagia Photia (4.2.1) (Crete) are architecturally similar (Alram Stern 2004:289; Broodbank 2002:221; Cultraro 2009:234), as the stone which divided the burial and antechamber in these graves may have also once been visible from the cemetery surface, acting as a grave marker in the landscape and enhancing visibility. On the mainland, the graves at Aghios Kosmas (5.2.1) and Tsepi (5.3.1) both have antechambers and the chamber tombs at Manika (5.4.1) have an area for offerings before reaching the burial chamber. The antechamber provides an area for performance and the presence of this feature at specific sites may indicate interaction or a sharing of ideas between sites.

6.2.8 The visibility of graves in the landscape

In the Cyclades, graves in the EC period were located on hillsides, at the base of hills or close to the sea. It could be considered that the location of the cemetery had some ancestral value, declaring ownership over the land through the presentation of the dead but ideas towards this for the EBA through archaeology is purely speculative. However, one site where control over the land does seem to be demonstrated is at the site of Kephala (3.3). At this site visitors needed to negotiate the cemetery before reaching the settlement above. This placement of the dead is symbolic or could have

been selected for practical purposes or to indicate land ownership by the residents of the settlement.

The placement of cemeteries in the EBA is also likely in part to be the result of a practical decision, placing the dead on land that could not be used for agriculture and utilising natural features within grave architecture. The sea, or water, may have also held some significance. This may have been as part of their belief system or representative of the role people in the Cyclades had in overseas connections. As the EBA progresses and cemeteries become much larger, the proximity to the sea seems to become less important but hillsides remain a constant in the placement of the dead. Instead of placing cemeteries close to the sea there is a utilisation of land close to other features, such as ravines, for example at Chalandriani (Syros). There is a continuation of grave placement on land unsuitable for agriculture. The placement of these graves, in harder to reach areas, would need equal, if not more, effort to construct them.

On Crete, a similar pattern follows for cemeteries as for those discussed in the Cyclades with visibility seemingly an important factor in the location of graves. As with the Cyclades, most of the sites discussed on Crete in Chapter IV, including Gournia Sphoungaras, Hagia Photia, Mochlos and Pseira are all located in a prominent position and placed to look over the sea. In the case of Mochlos, graves also have a view towards presumably agricultural land on the other side of the isthmus and across to the island of Pseira as well. Visitors travelling to Mochlos would see the cemetery on their approach to the site, be aware of the tomb complexes and house tombs and the connection between the living and the dead (see 4.4.3).

On mainland Greece the cemeteries at Aghios Kosmas, Manika and Tsepi seem to also have been strategically placed in the landscape. Broodbank (2002) describes the sites as being nodal points as they hold a good position from which to conduct overseas and inland trade. Graves are larger than those found in the Cyclades. Where a site is not located by the sea then water continues to play an important role, demonstrated in the ritual pit at Tsepi reaching down to the riverbed. This is also

mentioned in section 6.2.2 on flooring used at the same site above. The location of water close to cemeteries would serve several purposes. It could be used for washing or cleaning as part of ritual practices.

6.3 BURLIALS AND THE TREATMENT OF THE DEAD

Grave architecture and burial data are important to establish the agency surrounding burial practices within a society. Burial practices link to systems of cultural meaning and act as good indicators of identity and cultural change. The evidence presented through burial and the treatment of the dead provides useful data in establishing the presence of these indicators.

6.3.1 The placement and processing of the corpse

6.3.1.1 The Cyclades

Due to the small size of the Cycladic graves it is inevitable that some preparation of the corpse would be needed to fit a body into a grave. There is no way of determining definitively which method was used but may have involved the following: bodies may have been tied into a tightly contracted position, placed in a container such as a bag, had the tendons cut or have been wedged into position with stones. An ethnographic example has been provided in the Methodology chapter where the Berawan of Borneo cut the shoulders of the dead to allow manipulation of the corpse into a jar. The primary processing of a corpse may have occurred in a location away from the grave in a ditch or a platform until the flesh had decomposed. The fleshless body could then be removed and placed in a grave, probably accompanied by a second funeral. This highlights a temporality surrounding the initial processing of the dead with activities and ceremonies surrounding burial practices occurring long after the initial interment of the corpse. These practices can be linked to ideas of memory, identity, visibility and performance in the cemetery area.

Post-mortem changes in the body can be used in an attempt to establish how, and maybe when the funeral, following a death may have occurred. If manipulated into a contracted position the body would need to be tied either just after death or after rigor mortis had relaxed. Climatic conditions affect the speed of rigor mortis, for example, in a warm climate, such as India, rigor mortis starts to commence in two to three hours but could take about twelve hours to develop, lasts for twelve hours and then takes twelve hours to release (Deepak et al. 2011:122). Some conditions such as asphyxia, heart attacks, violent activity (Bate-Smith and Bendall 1949:47-65; Krompecher and Bergerioux 1988:33) and poisoning are known to accelerate rigor mortis. Depending on environmental conditions, after a day or two, the muscles of the body following rigor relax, allowing the body once again to be manipulated. Recent experiments on rats by Krompecher et al. (2008:161) demonstrated that by pulling the limbs, the rigor mortis could be broken but that this is only temporary as stiffness reoccurs immediately but with weaker rigidity.

Using information on rigor mortis, it is possible to determine that a contracted burial would probably occur within twelve hours of death or following at least a day after the event to allow for this manipulation to happen. The implication of this is that the body would need to be kept somewhere between death and the funeral. As there is a lack of settlements connected to the cemeteries studied, this may not have been in the home or other domestic areas. Therefore, it should be considered that death involved the movement across a number of locations. However, evidence for the use of metal blades possibly to cut tendons (leaving marks on bones for instance at Manika), could mean the body was manipulated sooner or practices may have changed over time.

In the Cyclades primary burials are usually placed on their right side in a tightly contracted position, facing the entrance of the grave. However, there are exceptions to this, with the dead placed on the left at Chalandriani (Syros) and one burial at Panagia (Paros) (Hekman 1994:63). However, the burials at Chalandriani are based on a very small number of the graves Tsountas recorded, which provided data on twelve burial positions from 540 excavated. However, even at Chalandriani, two of the twelve were placed on their right side. Sites which only contain primary

inhumations in the Cyclades include Kambos tis Makris (3.10.5.2) and Lakkoudhes (3.10.6.2) (Naxos) with many Cycladic sites containing both primary and secondary interments and seemingly the use of graves as ossuaries. An example of some of the sites which have graves containing multiple burials include Kephala (Kea) (3.3.3), Krassadhes (Antiparos) (3.12.1.2), Dokathismata (Amorgos) (3.7.1.2), Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi) (3.8.2.2), Pelos (Melos) (3.9.2.2) and many of the Naxos sites including Aghioi Anargyroi (3.10.1.2), Apendika (3.10.3.2), Aplomata (3.10.4.2) and Lakkoudhes (3.10.7.2). Two cemeteries stand out for having graves which do not have any skeletal remains: Agrilia (3.8.1.2) and Tzavaris field (3.8.2.1) both on Ano Kouphonisi, which could be an indication of grave clearance between interments. The amount of secondary burials at the cemetery sites discussed for the Cyclades shows that successive burials and the movement of skeletal remains, accompanied by ritual practices, was a common practice across the Cycladic islands in the EBA. The way bodies are processed by individual groups either through primary or secondary burial would be linked to ideas of memory and identity of a community. The processes used connected to other factors such as grave architecture, ritual practices thereby forming part of a group's identity.

6.3.1.2 *Crete*

As with the Cyclades, on Crete there is evidence for both primary and secondary burial at the cemetery sites. At Hagia Photia burials were both primary and secondary, the small size of some of the graves an indication of secondary burial or some form of processing of the corpse or the use of graves as ossuaries. The North Cemetery at Gournia provides data for both primary and secondary burials with care taken of the skull. The pit in Tomb I and early accounts of graves make reference to the structures being full of bones. The Gournia Sphoungaras Cemetery, although containing only fragmented bones suggests, due to the small size of the graves, there must have been a primary and secondary processing of the dead. At Mochlos on the West Terrace the Tomb Complex I/II/III contained no articulated remains supporting the idea that the structure was used as an ossuary in which to lay the bones of the dead, room I containing thirty skulls. Tomb Complex IV/V/VI acted as an ossuary

but room IV also contained a primary burial. On the South Slope graves accommodated primary and secondary burials indicated through Tomb XXI. At Pseira the conditions of the bones makes it difficult to determine whether primary or secondary burials were happening although some cut marks on bones (see 6.3.3.1) could indicate secondary burial practices were a common occurrence. Outside the sites discussed in detail the use of secondary burial and retention of the skull is also a feature of sites to the south of Crete in the Mesara tholoi and seen in the EMII ossuary at Archanes (Branigan 1987:48). As with the Cyclades, specific selection and the choices made surrounding the burial of the dead on Crete shows diversity and individual group identity. The retention and storage of the skulls at many cemetery sites provide links to memory are important on Crete in the EBA.

6.3.1.3 *Mainland Greece*

Cycladic bodies placed in a contracted position are mirrored in burial practices at the mainland cemetery sites (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:20; Doumas 1977:54-8) with bodies placed on the right and left side. Burials which are contracted at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi both had corpses which were held in position with stones. The role of graves at both sites take on the role of ossuaries for the dead. At Aghios Kosmas there is evidence for primary burial processes in a trench containing an extended skeleton which could represent the initial placement of the dead before defleshed bones were moved to another location. At Tsepi, burials were found in the prothyron of two of the graves. The reason for this may be that earlier burials had not yet decomposed. At Manika primary and secondary burials were occurring at the cemetery with the bones from primary burials placed to the side of the grave. Some of the graves at Manika were found empty which may also represent grave clearance between burial episodes, similar to the practices seen in rural Greek cemeteries until fairly recently.

The use of ossuaries not only offers a practical solution to the storage of the dead but it also presents an opportunity for a community or group events and celebrations. The re-opening of the grave, the possible cleaning of bones and selection and final

interment of the dead all requiring highly ritual processes, involvement by members of a community and possible ceremony performance. Grave clearance could happen many years after the initial burial, as seen in the ethnographic example of the Tana Toraja, discussed in the Methodology chapter, who preserve their dead for many years before the final burial and the removal of bones to an ossuary. The question must also be asked as to why some graves contain many skulls in the same cemetery as those that do not and why were ossuaries used at sites rather than building new graves at sites such as Aghios Kosmas (Figure 5.6)? The practice of using an ossuary must be significant and highlights the importance of one group of people staying together even after death, possibly a family or an extended family group. The surrounding of graves with a stone wall, often encircling more than one grave, at Cycladic sites such as Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi) and Aphenrika and Tsikniades (Naxos) and on the mainland at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi, further emphasises the importance of collective memory and identity. The use of ossuaries and enclosures group the dead together and they also signify the importance of the placement of the body and the graves in the landscape.

6.3.2 The treatment of the dead

6.3.2.1 The skull

It could be interpreted that the special treatment of the skull, seen at cemeteries in the EBA Aegean, may have been a development from the Greek Neolithic mainland where heads were selected and displayed away from other skeletal remains. An example of this can be found at the Alepotrypa cave where skulls were selected to be surrounded by stones making them a focal point for the living. Evidence for many of the EBA cemetery sites discussed in this research in the Cyclades, Crete and mainland Greece show care and respect for the skull over all other body parts. The skull is placed sometimes on a stone pillow within the grave or carefully placed to the side of the grave upon further burials. This is in contrast to other body parts which seem to no longer be as important. This could be because the skull was seen as representing the person and therefore preserved, whereas other bones were not.

The retention of the skull represents a continuing connection between the living and the dead which Barber (1987:76) describes as the core of a person's being. Driessen (2010:114, 115) believed that the skull represents the whole person yet each individual is not identified by the skull itself, the dead coming together to form a group of collective ancestors. Soles (1992:256) also links the skull to ancestor worship and to social ranking. These views would imply that when a person was buried and fleshed the living continued to recognise the corpse as an individual but once defleshed the skull of the person became part of a larger group of ancestors, promoting social identity. On Crete, Goodison (2006a:329) argued there is a privileging of the head in prehistoric burials to the south of the island in the Mesara Plain, an idea which may apply to the rest of Crete, for burials in the Cyclades and the rest of Aegean in the EBA.

Establishing thoughts towards ancestry in the EBA Aegean is difficult as there are very few surviving bones to test in order to establish genetic evidence or identify kin groups. However, the way skulls are placed together in groups appears to represent community identity across many of the cemetery sites discussed in this work and therefore collective identity amongst the living or the dead or both. Using ethnographic examples, noted in detail in the Methodology, such as the Merina of Madagascar who dance with their dead in order to break up the bones and join together the ancestral group or the Arè Arè who preserve the skull in a house like structure after the consumption of the flesh, indicate connections between the living and their ancestors. These examples can be used to determine that EBA people continued to have a relationship with the dead long after they had physically left the group. Whether skulls were selected due to status cannot currently be accurately determined through the archaeological record.

6.3.2.2 *The cutting or marking of bones*

As part of burial or ritual practices, the bones of the dead may have been cut or marked. In the EBA this may have been to manipulate the corpse into a small grave space. Body manipulation within various societies is presented in the ethnographic

examples in the Methodology chapter. As mentioned above, the Berawan people cut the shoulders of the deceased to fit the corpse into a vessel and the Merina who dance with the dead so as to break up the corpse and later grind the bones (2.5.3.1). The type of tool used for this purpose has not been discussed or identified. In the Cyclades many bones from the cemeteries have gone unrecorded and so it is difficult to determine whether cutting or marking the bones is common practice but at Kephala there is skull which has a hole made after death (Figure 3.8). On Crete, the site of Pseira in Graves 2, 3 and 10 provided evidence of bone cutting and across the island the practice of bone chopping has been recognised for some time (Goodison 2006a:329). On the mainland at Manika bones have been marked in a variety of ways including with irregular shapes, patterns, depressions, parallel cuts and other marks, this would seem to indicate cutting with a metal blade. However, SEM would be able to confirm this. Cloth marks are also discussed on bones at Manika (Alram Stern 2004:288, 300; Sampson 1985:385; 1987:21). There are no photographs of this but cloth marks seem unlikely and instead these markings would seem to indicate some form of scraping which would provide the appearance of multiple lines together and even some cross hatching on the bones which could have been carried out with a metal blade or a stone scraper.

Skulls with holes are also recorded at Tsepi (5.3.2) which were made with a sharp tool. Special tools may have been reserved for the cutting of the dead with specific individuals responsible for the task. From the available evidence, it is unlikely that the cutting or marking of bones is a common occurrence across the EBA Aegean. However, where the marking and manipulation of bones is happening at cemetery sites this may provide evidence of the dead still playing a role and being integral, and maintaining their identity, within society after their death. The actions of cutting the bones may link the practices to identity but also to memory and to some extent ideas of destruction. The cutting of tendons and bones would disfigure the recognisable state of the corpse, the marking of specific bones integrating the person into a group of the dead.

6.3.2.3 *The use of pigments and bone tubes*

In the EBA Aegean graves the use of red and blue pigments (cinnabar or ochre and azurite or malachite) and occasionally green pigment (Aram Stern 2004:332; Carter 2008a:121-123; Saliari and Draganits 2013:186) is found on figurines, the interior of bowls, copper needles, palettes, grinders, within bone tubes and miniature vessels (Aram Stern 2004:306). Ochre has been sourced in the Aegean from sites such as Kea, Lemnos and Thasos from the Upper Palaeolithic (Carter 2008a:121). However, cinnabar is rare with only traces found on Euboea, Naxos, Chios and Samos (Carter 2008a:122). Therefore, it is significant that cinnabar is used in a funerary context. Pigments are also found on bones and in graves in their raw form often accompanied by metal items, which Aram Stern (2004:306) advocates could be an indication of ores being connected to metalworking and body painting but this pairing may be coincidental. It may be possible that both metals and pigments appear together in the burial record at the same time.

Bodies have been decorated before the EBA in the Cyclades, marked through the presence of shells, beads and bracelets at sites such as Saliagos from the Neolithic period (Carter 2008a:120). In the EBA the presence of pigments in a grave could be an indication of decoration, body modification or a marking of the dead similar to the markings viewed on Cycladic figurines. Red pigment is only found in 4% of bone tubes (Saliari and Draganits 2013:186) and found on figurines as facial markings, jewellery and tattoos (Broodbank 2008:48, 49; Carter 1999:174). These could also have been replicated on the human body of the living and the dead (Saliari and Draganits 2013:187). However, although this implicates painting flesh, the archaeological record cannot show how these pigments were used unless evidence is found for pigments on skulls and bones, which has not been recorded. However, there was some blue pigment found in the grave soil at Aplomata in two of the graves (3.10.4.2) but the extent of the pigment is not known.

Marking of individuals could represent family or kin groups, identity and status (Carter 2008a:120), physically demonstrating memory through the practice of painting, visibility through the use of colour and performance through any painting

of the living or the corpse. Ceremonies surrounding ritual practices would involve the grinding of pigments, the use of the colour red seeming significant for its connotations with blood and emphasising its poignancy in the funeral arena. The use specifically of the red colour on figurine features, in the form of dots or vertical gashes (Carter 1999:174), would seem to indicate ritual processes such as the scratching of mourners. This practice is shown in the archaeological record from the later Mycenaean period in depictions seen on the Tanagra larnax (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:107) as part of the funeral ritual. The use of blue pigments seems to be used in a completely different way to red pigment. Traces of red pigment are mostly found in bone tubes and on palettes, whereas blue is often found in the inside of marble vessels and bone tubes. This could suggest a different, but equally likely, importance attributed to the colour blue.

Marking in the form of tattoos could have demonstrated gender, experience and status of a person or a group (Alram Stern 2004:331). These markings may represent the living community communicating with the dead and reinforcing social relationships. Nakou (1995:13) also argued that body modification and jewellery promoted ideas of creating a social image for the dead. The dead or the living being decorated in a variety of ways, would certainly convey an outward display of grief and commemoration, being recognisable by the wider community.

Bone tubes are found as part of the Cycladic toilet kit (tweezers, pigment tubes, palettes and needles), their main purpose seemingly being to hold pigments. These tubes are formed from animal bones, usually in the Aegean from the long bones of sheep and goat but from outside the area cattle bones are also used (Saliari and Draganits 2013:183). Bone tubes are decorated (Figure 6.1) in 62.5% of those found in cemeteries. From 104 bone tubes overall, 85% were located in cemeteries but only 21% of these contained pigments (Saliari and Draganits 2013:187), leading towards ideas for other purposes for bones away from pigment containers such as in textile production (Caskey and Caskey 1960:166) as needle containers (Saliari and Draganits 2013:187, 188) and even pens (Marthari 1990:52). However, bone tubes which do not contain pigments in the graves are often found close to, or by, pigment

fragments (Saliari and Draganits 2013:186) and so both could belong to a ritual context.



Figure 6.1 Example of a bone tube containing blue pigment from Naxos, the exact provenance is unknown (Marthari 1990:52).

In the Cyclades red pigment traces have been found at the cemeteries of Dokathismata (Amorgos), Livadhi (Dhespotikon), Aplomata and Tsikniades (Naxos), Panaghia, Plastiras and Pyrgos (Paros), Akrotiraki (Siphnos), Chalandriani (Syros). Blue pigments were located at the cemeteries of Dokathismata (Amorgos), Aplomata (Naxos) and yellow pigment at the Lakkoudhes (Naxos) cemetery. Bone tubes are recorded in the excavation reports at Aplomata (Naxos) and Chalandriani (Syros). On the mainland tubes are found in the settlement and cemetery at Aghios Kosmas and the Tsepi and Manika cemeteries. The presence of the bone tubes in the settlement indicate they were not only used in the cemetery area but are likely to have been part of a number of everyday items, including implements to grind pigments, therefore demonstrating some continuity in practices between the living and the dead. Stone palettes for grinding pigments, signified through residues, are found across the Cyclades. Unusually a palette made from bone was found at Lakkoudhes (Naxos). On Crete, bone tubes were found at Hagia Photia.

6.3.3 Grave inclusions

As many of the Cycladic cemeteries have been looted over time and because artefacts can be made locally in Cycladic styles, the focus for this research was not solely placed on material culture to determine interconnections in the EBA Aegean.

However, as Hodder (1982) suggested material culture is active in the creation of social relationships. Artefacts can represent ideas, preferences, memory and the identity of people, therefore, some specific items found in the cemeteries are included in the discussion here.

6.3.3.1 *The placement of artefacts with the dead*

Artefacts placed in the graves across the Aegean in the EBA are usually located in front of the face, occasionally with items behind the head or by the feet. Finger bones have been found on or around items in front of the face highlighting a practice for placing the dead person's hand on top of the grave goods at some sites. Establishing the placement of items in relation to the dead is difficult when more than one burial is present. Occasionally, in the EBA, grave goods are placed in the grave in niches, examples of this being Hagia Photia tomb 74, Tomb 26 at Lauros (Naxos) (Hekman 1994:63; Papathanasopoulos 1961-2:136-7), a house tomb from Mochlos and at Hagios Loukas (Syros) (Hekman 1994:63; Tsountas 1899:84). Benches are used in the graves at two cemeteries, Aplomata (Grave XV) (3.10.4.2) and Tsikniades (T79 and T82) (3.10.8.1) both on Naxos. Both features may replicate features available in settlements once located nearby.

6.3.3.2 *Artefacts placed inside the grave*

Some cemetery sites in the Cyclades contain no grave goods, probably due to individual group identity and beliefs. When grave goods are included with the dead these can vary across cemetery sites. Due to the number of Cycladic sites discussed these inclusions are noted by site in Table 3.5 (section 3.17). Standard items which appear as part of the funeral assemblage in the islands include pottery in bowls, cups, jars, pots, spindle whorls and vases. Pyxides are the most common pottery item placed in the graves around cemetery sites in the Aegean in the EBA. Frying pans are only found at a limited number of cemeteries including Agrilia (Ano Kouphonisi), Aghioi Anargyroi and Aplomata (Naxos), Livadhi (Dhespotikon),

Akrotiri (Siphnos) and Chalandriani (Syros). There is potentially more pottery but this has been badly reported.

Marble items are found throughout the Cyclades, except for on the island of Melos, and are commonly found in the form of bottles, bowls, cups, goblets, jars, palettes, pestles and rhytons. Figurines were found at fifteen out of twenty five Cycladic cemeteries. At Plastiras (Paros) there are a large number of marble figurines but one would wonder what value these were actually seen to have if marble was so prolific on the island, in fact, cemeteries on Paros contain the most marble artefacts of all of the islands. The value in marble vessel production may be in the producer who made an item, for example, if an artefact was made by a specific craftsperson from the Cyclades it may have been viewed as being more valuable than any made by others outside the islands. Stone items are common across cemetery sites, millstones and grinders were found at three cemeteries and stone beads at nine. Metals, including copper and bronze, are found at many cemetery sites and include items of blades, pins and tweezers. Shells are present at cemeteries in the graves on five islands and most of the other cemetery sites included in this research. Bone tubes from the graves are discussed in section 6.3.2.3 above.

Obsidian, found at many of the cemetery sites discussed in this research, comes in the form of blades, cores and flakes. Some blades were unused and others show signs of wear (Philaniotou 2008:202). The presence of obsidian in burials, although rarely discussed (Carter 1994:128, 1997:544, 1999:133), can provide data about society and burial practices as a whole. Obsidian may have been worked at the cemetery itself, been used in the preparation of the dead (Philaniotou 2008:202) and could also be an indication of manufacture processes by a local population.

Obsidian at all of the sites discussed in this work is from Melos and probably represents the earliest traded commodity in the Aegean (Aram Stern 2004:470) and was likely instrumental in the initial success and the reason for overseas contact with the Cycladic islands. Obsidian seems to be the constant feature of settlements and cemeteries before and during the EBA around the Aegean. Carter (1999:53-69; Aram Stern 2004:470-471) believed that coastal towns acted as distribution centres

for obsidian and that the material was important for social relationships, trade and gifting activities. On Crete these distribution centres can be seen in Poros Katsambas and Mochlos and on the mainland at Aghios Kosmas and Tsepi. The location of these sites would have provided strategic locations from which to trade.

Obsidian blades are seen as being part of a Cycladic toilet kit placed with the dead. Carter (1994:137; Day et al. 1998:136) suggests that the obsidian items found in graves from cemeteries on Crete at Hagia Photia and mainland cemeteries of Aghios Kosmas and Manika (Sakellarakis 1977a; 1977b, Doumas 1976, 1977) represents a specific value. This is because of restricted knowledge in production techniques towards the creation of these items. He also stated that the social position of the sites producing obsidian items would be increased through manufacture and that the placement of obsidian in the grave would provide symbolic meaning, binding a community together. If a settlement can be found for the Hagia Photia cemetery, this may provide evidence for an area used in the production of obsidian and other materials.

Obsidian has also been connected to ideas towards manipulation of the corpse into the tight space of the grave. Obsidian used to slice the tendons of the corpse, however, there is no solid evidence for this. Evidence from cut marks at Manika (Fountoulakis 1987) show metal blades were used. An experiment by Carter (1997:547-548) to test an idea that obsidian may have been used to cut hair resulted in the breakage of the blade and pieces of obsidian being also retained in the hair. This would imply if obsidian blades were used to cut tendons the breakage rate would be very high and therefore inefficient. Therefore the use of obsidian in the funerary arena is more likely to be connected with minor hair removal, such as shaving, rather than for hair cutting or for the cutting of tendons.

6.3.3.3 *Artefacts placed outside the grave*

In addition to EBA Aegean graves containing items at many of the cemetery sites, grave goods were sometimes also found outside the graves. This could be due to

various factors such as grave clearance between interment episodes or to facilitate multiple burials in a grave or cemetery, the deliberate placing of vessels outside the grave or through communal ritual practices happening at a site. Examples of items being found outside the grave are recorded in Table 3.6 (section 3.17).

Pottery scatters are found at only six cemeteries in the Cyclades including Kephala (Kea), Dokathismata (Amorgos), Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi), Lakkoudhes and Tsikniades (Naxos) and Chalandriani (Syros). There are marble items at three cemeteries, Kephala (Kea), Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi) and Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos). Metal items are found at two sites, copper at Kephala (Kea) and bronze at Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos). Animal bones and tools are only found at Kephala (Kea).

On Crete, there are vessels found outside the graves at Hagia Photia and Gournia North Cemetery (outside Tomb I). At Gournia Sphoungaras a large number of items were found outside the graves including pottery (with pyxides), imported ivory tablets, metal tweezers, shells and obsidian blades. At Mochlos, fragments of stone vessels were found on the West Terrace with pottery and stone found on the South Slope. From the cemetery at Pseira various vessels were found near the tombs including various closed vessels, bowls, cups, goblets, jars and jug sherds. There were also obsidian blades, stone bowls, shells, animal bone and metal items. From items placed outside the graves it is likely that clearance occurred at Gournia Sphoungaras and Pseira and ritual offerings were placed at Hagia Photia, Gournia North Cemetery and Mochlos West Terrace. On the mainland, the only site from the three discussed in this work where pottery was found across the cemetery area was at Aghios Kosmas.

The practice of scattering artefacts outside the graves is clearly linked to memory and identity, visibility, performance and destruction. Memory and identity being connected to the practice of grave clearance or the placement of an artefact in a specific location. Visibility is a factor in the opening of a grave and the lifting of the vessels from the tomb and the items being scattered around the cemetery area. This would provide an impression of the artefacts no longer belonging to an individual or necessary to accompany the dead. This could be a symbol of the dead no longer

being tied to the grave and now occupying another place. Visibility is further represented with performance in the processes carried out by the living in clearing the grave which may have been accompanied by some form of ceremony or ritual.

Through this research little mention of status or social organisation has been made using the grave goods because the focus here is on the influence of what is present and not status related issues. However, it is acknowledged that some overlap is inevitable as certain individuals may be more likely to acquire valuable objects for placement in the graves. Others have looked at groups at sites such as Mochlos and highlighted rich goods (Cosmopoulos 1995:24; Schoep 2012:416; Soles 1992:257-258) and to establish differences in wealth and status but as this study does not necessarily focus on prestige items, establishing status between graves and in a particular society is beyond the scope of this research.

6.4 RITUAL

Rituals can be seen in the EBA Aegean cemeteries following death, continuing and developing over time and revealed through performance rituals at the funeral and probably surrounding other events, such as the second funeral. Communal rituals are likely happening at cemeteries in the EBA Aegean in the use of individual platforms or pavements placed over the graves or in larger communal areas. This section discusses the evidence from these larger communal ritual areas, the use of fire at some cemetery sites and the, seemingly deliberate, smashing or breaking of vessels.

6.4.1 Communal activities in the cemetery

Communal rituals carried out in a cemetery are a good way to assert ideas of memory and identity. Rituals celebrate the idea of the dead no longer being part of the living group but still integral to a community, continuing to participate in a social experience (Hamilakis 1998:116-117). Eating and drinking at cemeteries would

have created an environment not only where items are consumed but also where memories are recalled and enhanced over time.

Communal areas of ritual are first found in the Cyclades at Kephala through a platform not connected to an individual grave, presenting instead the role of the platform as a place of ritual. In the EBA evidence for communal activity is found on Naxos at Aghioi Anargyroi (3.10.1.3), Lakkoudhes (3.10.6.3) and Lakkoudhes A (3.10.7.1). The cemetery of Aghioi Anargyroi had a large platform and sea pebbles marked the whole cemetery area. Lakkoudhes had a circular platform and Lakkoudhes A contains a platform and spiral rock carvings. Areas of stones found at Tsikniades (3.10.8), also on Naxos, not connected to individual graves may also be representative of a communal ritual area.

On Crete, there is an open area at Hagia Photia and outside the graves at Gournia North Cemetery which may have been the focus for ritual activity. At Sphoungaras the graves do not have a platform or pavement but they do have a terrace outside the graves on which to place offerings and to focus ritual activity. The platform and paved area at Mochlos on the West Terrace would be a focus for ritual practices outside the tombs (Branigan 1993:129-33; Day et al. 1998:135; Doumas 2008:170; Murphy 2011:36). Colour on the West Terrace, like with the pavement at Pelos (Melos) (3.9.2.3) seems an important factor used in Room IV of Complex IV/V/VI and the coloured pavement blocks of the terrace. The terrace at Mochlos seems to be comparable to the platform seen at Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) (3.10.1.3), both being accessed via steps and therefore elevated in the landscape. On the mainland at Aghios Kosmas the cemetery contained two paved areas. Area A was paved and contained bone scatters and Area B was covered in pebbles containing vases and pottery sherds, which can be interpreted as a form of pavement.

The platforms and pavements at cemeteries provide links to memory and identity. The practice of constructing a platform or pavement and the materials selected held deep significance to groups who built them. For example, some groups chose stone and others pebbles, linking the cemetery to water and to ideas of the sea. These groups believed that to carry out certain rituals, these features were necessary in the

cemetery area, unifying people in their shared beliefs. The platforms would play an integral part in ritual activities at cemetery sites and offer a place of performance. In some cases, platforms and pavements could also offer an area of destruction with evidence of vessels destroyed presented in, and around, these features.

6.4.2 Burning

In the Cyclades, traces of fire or burning at cemeteries can be seen at the sites of Agrilia and Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi), Livadhi (Dhespotikon), Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos), Panaghia (Paros) and Akrotiri (Thera) usually found on pottery items. At Kato Akrotiri (Amorgos) burnt animal bones were found, probably an indication of food consumption at the cemetery. On Crete the only burning which is seen at the cemetery sites discussed in this work is found outside Tomb 2 at Pseira in the form of a bonfire. Outside the north of Crete in the South in the Mesara there is evidence for fire at sites such as Platanos and Koumasa explained as fumigation in the tombs. On mainland Greece, burning at cemeteries can be seen at Tsepi in the ditch containing a large quantity of smashed vessels with variations in colour which signified they were subjected to burning, however, there is no evidence that this happened in the ditch itself (Pantelidou Gofas 2008:285; Weiberg 2007:362). There is also evidence for burning on vases at Aghios Kosmas and Manika. Manika also shows signs of the earth in Grave 8 being burnt. This burning may not only represent destruction but also ideas towards purification (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:112) of items used within a funerary context.

6.4.3 Deposition and destruction

Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) produced evidence of pottery destruction outside the graves. Within the scatters, handle fragments from coarseware jars were found. This is interesting as no coarseware was found in the graves and demonstrates the deliberate destruction of vessels used in the cemetery area. Within the pottery scatter at Aghioi Anargyroi some marble items, a bronze chisel and obsidian blades, spindle

whorls and large quantity of schist were evident, probably a local feature to the cemetery. The use of schist in the graves is linked to memory and identity in the cemeteries, the presence of so much of the material across the cemetery site also links schist to visibility and performance in the case of Aghioi Anargyroi. The practice of deliberately breaking hat vases may have also been practiced in the cemetery area.

The hat vases at Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) date to the ECI-II period (Barber 1987:82-83; Doumas 1977:114; Marthari 1990:45). Hat vases were found in three ways, one with a rounded bottom, the other with a flat bottom and finally as sherds or parts of vessels (Doumas 1977:144-117). All of the hat vases noted by Doumas from his excavations are imperfectly fired, mended and were found stacked at the cemetery. These vessels are thought to have acted as incense burners, used as part of a ceremony for celebrating death or honouring the deceased residing in the cemetery (Alram Stern 2004:885; Pantelidou Gofas 2008:286). The vases provide a small insight into how people may have moved around, or, focused on the cemetery landscape.

At Akrotiri (Amorgos) there were three deposit areas at the site which could represent a ritual area. These included two rocky areas and a rectangular pit. These areas contained smashed pottery (including cups, pyxides and large vessels), a clay spoon, animal bones, shells, obsidian blades and spindle whorls. These areas are not believed to be connected to burial practices as only the remains of one skull has been located in the very bottom of the pit, the later additions in a separate context, although the reuse of space may be significant. At Tzavaris field (Ano Kouphonisi) ritual practices are implied through the destruction of items such as a dagger found in pits cut into the rock. Items found in the pit included marble and pottery vessels and obsidian blades.

On Crete, ritual breakage occurred at Hagia Photia with chalices found smashed on top of some graves and the killing of a long dagger which was bent backwards. Seven smashed chalices were located on individual graves. It is not known whether these were intentionally smashed or if they were placed in a vulnerable position

exposed to the elements outside the grave which meant they were destroyed over time. If destruction did occur over time this could be significant such as representing a period of mourning. However, as chalices were broken in-situ it is likely there was intention behind the breakages. This would seem to indicate that the chalices from Hagia Photia, and those of a similar design from other locations, may have been the EBA equivalent to the Mycenaean kylix (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:115), a goblet used to perform libations and to toast the dead. The kylix was also smashed at the end of the funeral, indicating a separation between the living and the dead. Day and Wilson (2004:55; Wilson and Day 2000:59-60) when discussing the well deposit dating to EMI at Knossos highlight the presence of the pedestalled bowl and chalice. They suggest these vessels were used by participants in communal drinking activities, the chalices held with two hands and passed around a group. In EMIIA these vessels were replaced by smaller cups for drinking which could be seen to represent the use of individual cups and servings rather than larger vessels that were shared amongst members of the community. These changes in drinking practices highlight a shift in ritual practices between EMI and EMIIA. The implementation of new drinking vessels does not necessarily detract from ritual practices but do show how participants in communal ritual activities may have interacted with each other (Day and Wilson 2004:55).

On mainland Greece at Tsepi the ditch containing pottery deposits reaching the river bed provides evidence for ritual breaking of vessels. A possible 1000 vessels may be represented in the ditch with only one third so far conserved. Unlike at sites such as Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos) where pottery scatters represent a material not represented in the graves, the smashed pottery from Tsepi is of the same type as found inside the graves. It is thought that the pottery represented everyday items which may have been seen as contaminated once used in the cemetery and so consequently were destroyed. Not all pottery was destroyed completely with some vessels nearly intact and some completely intact also found in the ditch. This may, or may not, have been intentional. In addition to the pottery found in the ditch animal bones, a small metal sheet and a bead was found.

In Grave 3 at Aghios Kosmas (5.2) on the mainland a figurine was found intentionally broken. Across the site obsidian was also found broken. This breakage however may be due to the fragile nature of the material rather than being intentional. Also Aghios Kosmas Area V (5.2.3) contained a large number of cups which were probably broken intentionally indicated by the small stones and pebbles mixed in amongst them. The presence of cups implies ritual drinking at both sites and the importance of participation of the living in the funeral arena. The smashing of vessels and killing of items may have followed funeral rites, to have honoured the dead, or to have destroyed an item which was seen as polluted once used in the cemetery arena. It is known that vessels were smashed but determining why in the archaeological record is more problematic. The action is likely linked to memory, identity, visibility and destruction and could be an indication of ritual separation (Cavanagh and Mee 1998:112).

6.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter outlined the evidence presented through the three themes of grave architecture, burial and the treatment of the dead, and ritual at cemetery sites from the Cyclades, and two core areas of the Aegean: Crete and mainland Greece. The comparisons presented throughout this thesis in the grave architecture, seen in the selection of specific stones, the use of individual features such as pillow stones, flooring, antechambers and pavements highlight similarities, diversity and identity in the choices made. The evidence for burial and the treatment of the dead indicates that secondary burial was practiced at many cemetery sites, and that care was taken over the skull over all other remains. The use of ossuaries signifies a second funeral as part of the ritual activity at many cemeteries. The selection of pigments and specific artefacts placed with the dead indicates careful selection and significance in the items included, which seem to point to concepts of memory and identity. Artefacts placed outside the grave indicate clearance and ritual practices involving the wider community with the consumption of food and drink. There is further evidence for this communal activity through the presence of pavements. Several unifying concepts which emerge throughout this thesis: memory, identity, visibility,

performance and destruction, which are discussed further in the final chapter. Together these data provide conclusive evidence for Cycladic interconnections in the burial record in the EBA Aegean.

CHAPTER VII**CONCLUSION AND FURTHER WORK****7.1 INTRODUCTION**

The aim of the thesis was to answer the question: To what extent can interconnections be identified with the Cyclades in the EBA Aegean through the burial record? Burials were selected as good measure of interaction because, unlike artefacts, they are practices, deeply embedded in systems of social order, cultural meaning and daily habituation. Cemetery evidence was also chosen for this study on the EBA as the specific location of many settlements remains unknown or destroyed often in relation to building development. Where a settlement did remain in relation to a cemetery this was noted so as to determine variants in artefact types between the living and the dead and to understand whether graves represented house styles from the period.

By categorising the burial evidence from the EBA Aegean under key themes interconnections have been demonstrated through the burial record and cemetery evidence in the EBA Aegean between the Cyclades, Crete and mainland Greece. Variants in grave styles present Cycladic burial practices as ideas echoed across the islands, from simple pits to lined stone pits and multi-storeyed graves, the picture of burial contains a core idea with individual elements. Graves are sometimes adapted over time in the Cyclades, some starting out as single burials changing to hold multiple dead later. This demonstrates how the burial record can change and adapt over time and this would seem to indicate similar activities were happening outside the islands in the other two core areas through the expansion of graves in the EBA period.

The presence of Cycladic style graves at cemeteries, which also contain a variety of other grave styles, could be an indication of various groups of people or cultures living together. An example of this can be seen at cemetery sites discussed outside the Cyclades on Crete. Cists, rock-cut tombs and house tombs containing burials

from the same period represent individual choice at the cemeteries. At many of the cemetery sites discussed, where burial evidence is found, Cycladic style cist graves have been used as a receptacle for more than one person. This is also the case for other graves in the EBA which are not cist graves, such as rock shelters and the house tombs to the north of Crete at the sites of Gournia North Cemetery and Mochlos, and in the Mesara tholoi to the south of Crete. Burials are routinely placed on the right side in a contracted position in most of the burials seen in the Cyclades. Manipulation of the corpse to fit the body in a small grave space seems to be common practice and would include the body being tied or cut or being placed elsewhere before secondary burial.

Care is taken of the skull at nearly all of the Aegean EBA cemetery sites, where burial evidence is available, some graves in the Cyclades and those on the Greek mainland furnishing the dead with a stone pillow. At Mochlos buildings were intentionally constructed on the West Terrace for the purpose of storing skulls. The care taken of the head across the area is probably therefore not just a Cycladic practice but a shared belief in preservation of the skull in the Aegean which may be the result of preserving the ancestors or seen as the continuing involvement of the dead within society.

On the mainland, graves although larger than the cist graves in the Cyclades, are also architecturally comparable at Aghios Kosmas, Tsepi and Manika to those seen in the islands and this would seem to indicate that these graves also represent Cycladic influence at the cemetery sites. The movement of people out to this area from the islands probably explained by the strategic geographical location advantageous for craftwork and trading activities described by Broodbank (2002:279-80) as nodal points.

7.2 MATERIAL CULTURE

Ideas towards burial and the treatment of the dead seemed to change in the Aegean EBA with burials containing few grave goods initially, increasing over time to a

greater number and variety of funerary goods. This may be representative of increased overseas contact. Cycladic influences are present in the grave goods highlighting interconnections with the islands, for example, the inclusion of toilet items such as tweezers, razors and scrapers (Branigan 1993:74). Some items hint to maritime connections in the Aegean such as the clay boats from Mochlos (Soles 2012:187-199), Kephala Petras (Papadatos 2012:155-159) and frying pans with incised boats found at Chalandriani (Syros). The form of the frying pan found at Agrilia can be directly compared to one found on the mainland at Aghios Kosmas (Zapheirou 1970:51, 1983:84).

7.2.1 Metals

Metals from Siphnos, Seriphos and Kythnos have been found in EBA grave contexts. Metals are likely to have been smelted on the Cycladic islands and moved out to Aegean sites, supported through the presence of slag heaps at Skouries on Kythnos (Broodbank 2008:64) this would reduce the amount of weight needing to be transported in extracting the mineral from the ore. Smelting and the working of ores into finished products would have been a skilled job which could require the movement of people. From the EBA, graves contain few metal items, except for at the site of Hagia Photia (Crete), where crucibles and other items for metalworking have been found. Evidence for metalworking is also found in the settlements, such as Manika. Metalworkers would be in demand throughout the EBA but especially during EB1-II transition and the EBII when the use of metals seems to be partly responsible for economic growth (Karantzali 2008:253).

7.2.2 Obsidian

The inclusion of Melian obsidian in settlement sites supports an idea for the transport of raw materials from the Neolithic period to Crete which could only have arrived by sea, predating Renfrew's original idea towards 'International Spirit' of EBII. With obsidian working, some knapping could be undertaken before the material was

shipped outside the Cyclades but this is unlikely. Carter (2008b:233) has talked about some blades being traded commodities, however, longer blades were too delicate for moving over a distance and so would need to be produced locally. The amount of debitage at some sites and the obsidian present at cemetery sites shows an important role for the material in funerary practices as well as in settlements. The blades may have once belonged to the deceased, as some blades seem to be used or broken, or presented as essential offerings as part of a toilet kit. The presence of both metal and obsidian outside the Cyclades would seem to indicate materials from the Cyclades being transferred by Cycladic people to other locations around the Aegean before the start of the EBA, transfer knowledge and skills in addition to the resources across the sea.

7.2.3 Marble

Other materials found in the graves include marble vessels. These could be exported directly through trade after being produced on the islands by skilled craftworkers from islands such as Paros. The issue with this however is that the material is heavy and so transporting vessels in small boats may have been prohibitive. Instead sites such as Mochlos may have established themselves as stone working centres where marble and other stone could be carved. The presence of pigments inside some marble vessels would seem to indicate a use for them in ritual activities in the cemetery in the EBA.

What is interesting when looking at cemetery grave inclusions is not always what is included with the dead but what is absent. For example, both Paros and Naxos have a good supply of marble and yet graves in Naxos contain fewer marble vessels compared to Paros which has many in various styles. This indicates the deliberate selection and placement of goods, emphasising identity and symbolism within a community, also echoed in grave architecture and building techniques.

7.3 INTERCONNECTIONS

Interconnections highlighted through key themes continued through the EBI and only lasts until the end of the EBII period. In the EBIII there is a dramatic decline in inter-regional exchange (Brogan 2013:555) and Cycladic interactions with the Greek mainland and Crete (Watrous et al. 2012:33-40). On the islands the number of sites drop dramatically, the concentration being in large emporiums found at Phylakopi (Melos), Kolonna (Aegina), Kastri (Syros) (Alram Stern 2004:486). This change is probably due to two reasons, the first being the result of improvements in shipbuilding technology (Brogan 2013:562; Broodbank 2002:256-262) and the ability to sail larger boats with more shipping capacity and secondly, the ability to sail over larger distances resulting in the arrival of metals from the North East and Anatolia on Crete (Alram Stern 2004:490, 493). These factors would seem to bring about an exodus of people due to collapse of Cycladic culture (Alram Stern 2004:496; Barber 1987:137) but the situation was probably less dramatic with the population by EBIII already consisting of the descendants of islanders. People of Cycladic origin would therefore be integral to specific locations which would have carried on with any craftworking activities as before.

7.4 UNIFYING CONCEPTS AND THEMES

As previously explained, the presentation of key themes within this research allows direct comparisons to be made between Cycladic cemetery sites and those from the other two core areas of Crete and mainland Greece through architectural features, for example, pavements, floors and antechambers. Evidence from the Cyclades and the parallels to EBA sites in the Aegean on Crete and the Greek mainland highlight direct connections through the archaeological record and grave architecture, at sites such as Agrilia (Ano Kouphonisi), Hagia Photia (Crete), Chalandriani (Syros) and Pseira (Crete). Grave architecture from other cemeteries on Crete would also seem to indicate the use of Cycladic cist graves at sites such as Gournia Sphoungaras and the reported cist graves at Mochlos but it is more difficult to establish direct connections with specific individual Cycladic cemeteries for these two sites.

Murphy (2011:25) succinctly summarises the situation on Crete as Cycladic culture encoding their ideologies through burial practices and this has proved to be evident in data presented in this research.

From the three key themes presented throughout in the cemetery evidence several unifying concepts/themes emerge including memory, identity, visibility, performance and destruction. Each of these concepts/themes cross cut the three main themes and highlight fundamental issues. These themes are presented in Figure 7.1 and discussed further below.

7.4.1 Identity

In this research, most of the themes discussed relate, and are connected to, issues of identity. Burial practices are good indicators of identity. In the burial record, identity is represented and expressed through agency carried out in the cemetery arena by the living for the dead and the community in which they live. This agency is represented in all activities from the selection of material used in grave construction through to the rituals surrounding the individual burial and those involving the wider community. The dead take on the identity of the living who bury them, through the choices made on their behalf in grave architecture, the burial and treatment of the dead, and the ritual practices performed. Care should be taken when using identity to establish status or position of the dead but these issues are not relevant to this research.

7.4.2 Visibility

Visibility in the cemetery area is represented in several ways. The placement of the graves in the landscape and the act of creating the graves would be visibly recognised within members of a community. Ritual practices surrounding primary or secondary burials and the treatment of the dead and funerals such as the manipulation or decoration of the corpse using pigments would provide visible elements to the

cemetery, as would the sights and smells surrounding death, especially when secondary burial practices occur. Performance in the cemetery surrounding individual pavements and communal structures would provide the most visible, concentrated areas for focused funeral ritual which at some sites would involve eating and drinking. The evidence for burning and the destruction of vessels would provide a very visible and olfactory experience for participants in any cemeteries where these activities occurred.

7.4.3 Performance

Performance surrounds many aspects of burial. There would be elements of performance in sourcing the stones for the grave, to participation in the burial process and any secondary funeral activity. Performance in the cemeteries would also have occurred surrounding the individual graves, seen in the burial record through the construction of pavements. Communal activities are also evident in the archaeological record in surviving pavements in a number of cemeteries which suggests that the wider community, and possibly other groups, could come together for funerary and other celebrations in the EBA period. Vessels found at some cemeteries seem to indicate that these ceremonies or celebrations were accompanied by drinking, and sometimes, eating, the sourcing and gathering of supplies for this practice which would also have demanded levels of performance.

7.4.4 Destruction

Destruction at the cemeteries is seen in a variety of ways. The pavements over individual graves provide evidence of destruction as they were used as an area on which to leave or smash vessels at some of the cemetery sites. The cutting of bones could also be classed as being destructive, the knife damaging not only the soft tissue but also working its way into the bone fabric itself. The sites with artefacts outside the grave also show signs of destruction which in some cases, seems to indicate this was deliberate. Finally the use of burning at some cemetery sites found on pottery

items may not have been to destroy the pot itself but instead to remove any pollution of the vessel following its use in the funerary environment.

7.4.5 Memory

Memory has intentionally been left until last. Memory through the burial and cemetery evidence is evident throughout this research from the building of graves, to the placing of the dead and the rituals practiced at the cemeteries. The people of the EBA Aegean would, as noted by Jones (2007:41), have recreated memory of place through their activities and collective remembering presented in cemetery rituals surrounding the dead. The social aspects of death would be linked to personal memories and adapted or changed over time.

Variations in burial practices at cemetery sites and between groups in the same cemetery should be seen as differences in identity, memory and place. There are some constants throughout, and across, the EBA Aegean cemetery sites, such as the location of graves, the use of schist in grave building, grave architecture, organisation and features, treatment of the dead and ritual practices. The stone used in graves would promote ideas of memory and identity, with at some sites, stones being intentionally transported when not available locally. The sourcing of specific stone and the journey to collect them should be seen as part of the funeral ritual, a type of pilgrimage or social memory in practice. The use of these stone may have had cultural meaning, defining specific groups, in this case, people from the Cyclades, and highlighting memories created through the choice of stone. Features of grave architecture such as the organisation of the grave (floors, antechambers) and the use of pillows or pavements all provide an indication of specific memories created by individual groups. This manifests itself in some burials, for example, with some graves containing features such as pillows when others do not.

The treatment of the corpse, whether the body is buried and undisturbed or passed through a series of processes and rituals, such as the second funeral, the evidence from cemetery sites whether the dead are buried in Cycladic style cist graves or not,

shows a shared memory in the treatment, preservation and retention of the skull echoed in the Aegean and elsewhere. This treatment of the dead seems to indicate evidence of shared beliefs, ideas and memories, which would seem to be unconnected to any ideas of status in the burial arena. Ritual practices across the burial area through the use of individual pavements placed over some graves and for wider communal use can all be linked to memory.

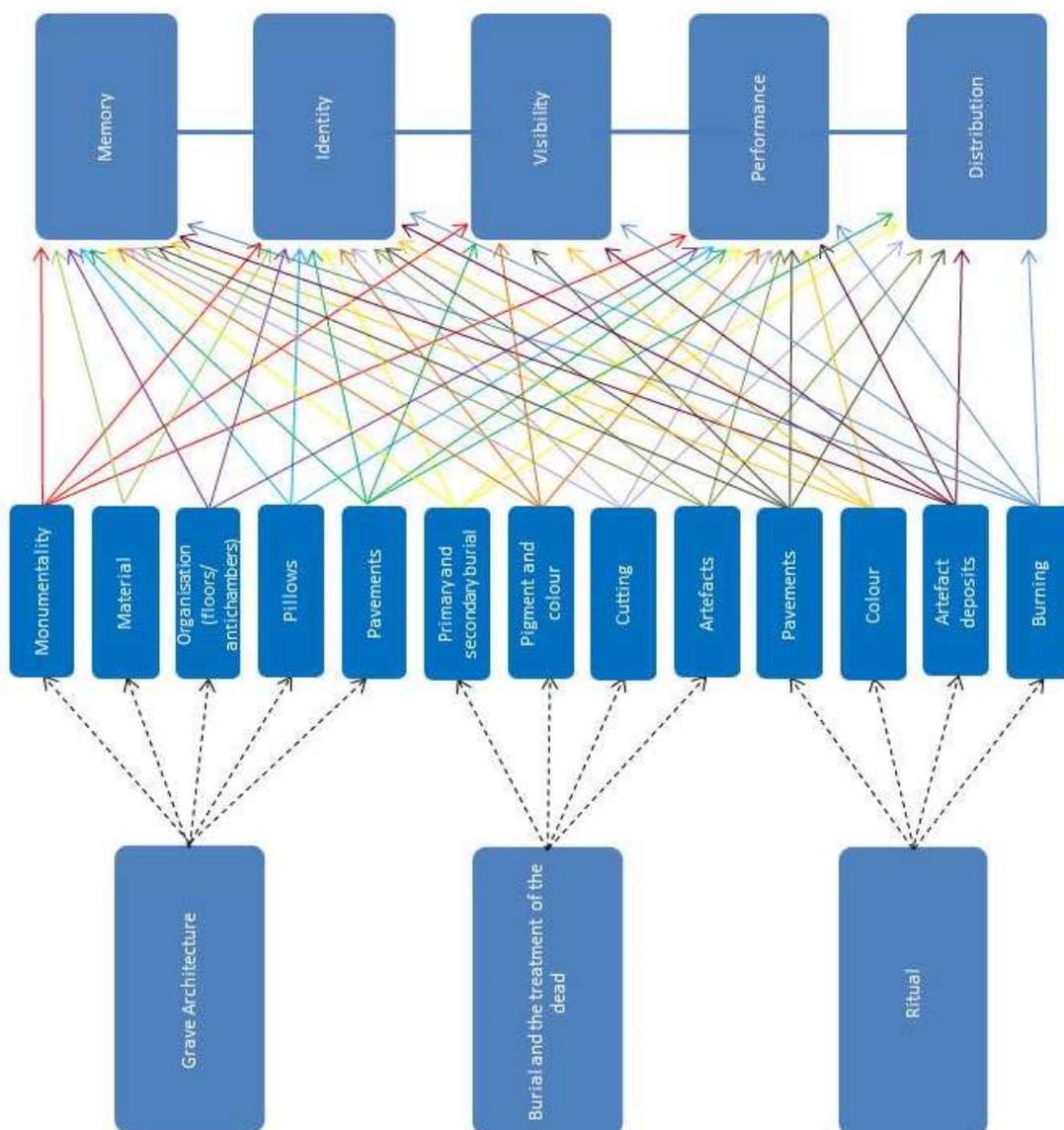
Ritual practices could not be traded but were generated by groups who lived in a society. Participations in these rituals would be crucial to shape community memory. Rituals were intrinsic to ideas of memory of a place or home and groups would look to rituals for the treatment or placement of the dead, the selection of specific items for burial which would act a potent metaphors for the experience of memory (Jones 2007:41), through to celebrations in the cemetery arena, forming a continuing relationship between the living and the dead. Performances at cemeteries are a way of remembering and celebrating the past, again reaffirming memory and strengthening the unity of a group.

Ritual practices at cemetery sites, such as the use of antechambers, platforms and pavements seen in the three core areas discussed for the EBA Aegean would seem to indicate features directly comparable to sites in the Cyclades. Examples of shared ideas concerning the influence of communal practices between sites are shown in the platforms located at the West Terrace at Mochlos and the large platform at Aghioi Anargyroi (Naxos). These features amongst others highlight shared ritual practices across the EBA Aegean and the spreading of ideas between specific locations.

Memory represented in the cemetery area is finally emphasised through acknowledgement of the cemetery space after the EBA. Examples of this can be seen in the Cyclades on Naxos at Aghioi Anargyroi when a fragment of coarse amphora, possibly an offering, was found inside Tomb 22 upper compartment (Doumas 1977:114; 2008:173). The site of Akrotiri from ECI also on Naxos is known to have remained a significant area in the later Hellenistic period demonstrated through a number of Hellenistic unguentaria and small metal objects placed on a small platform over Tomb 19 (Doumas 1977:92pl, 2008:173) and finally,

at Plastiras (Paros) one Roman grave had been made in the cemetery area (Alram Stern 2004:891; Doulas 1977:25, 96). This seems to indicate recognition of the importance of the cemetery space as a special location in the landscape and a respect for the earlier people buried in the graves.

Figure 7.1 Diagram illustrating the key emerging themes of Cycladic interconnections



7.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The burial record of the EBA Aegean provides information concerning the nature of contact, highlighting influences and the movement of people through the spread of Cycladic cultural traditions and signatures of Cycladic grave architecture, burial and ritual which cannot be traded. These data, presented in three themes, have provided a good source for determining interconnections in the EBA period. Evidence presented within this thesis highlight interconnections between specific sites through the spread of Cycladic burial customs and rituals in the EBA Aegean. The grave architecture, burial and treatment of the dead, and ritual all come together and present an idea of Cycladic identity, provoking ideas of memory, identity, visibility and performance. The burial practices highlighting periods of sustained co-presence between people from the Cyclades and elsewhere in the Aegean. The evidence provided through the burial record indicates migration or very high levels of mobility, that involved extended stays away from the Cycladic islands, for some ending in their final journey and ultimately burial, in locations away from home. Unfortunately, issues with dating, currently prevent an investigation of priority or direction of this interaction, or who exactly developed these practices first. However, the data presented here clearly indicate a spread of burial practices and ritual features out from the Cyclades to the core areas of Crete and mainland Greece in the EBA period. The ritual practices carried out within the burial arena only reproduced by individuals which see these elements as their own.

7.6 FURTHER WORK

There are four aspects of EBA burial practices that should be improved upon in order to further develop our understanding of this period. Firstly, a major priority for future work is the need to formulate a reliable absolute chronology for the EBA. This should be achieved by extensive radiocarbon dating of material already available, which has been excavated from existing sites and should be implemented in the excavation of future sites. This would create a great resource from which to establish a reliable relative chronology and therefore address the uncertainty and conflicting

reports surrounding the EBA period. Secondly, scanning electron microscopy (SEM) analysis of the bones with cut marks, from sites such as Manika, would be advantageous to gain further understanding of ritual practices surrounding burial in confirming the use of metal blades on bone in an EBA burial context. Thirdly, the further study in the use of pigments in groups across the wider Mediterranean may also be of interest to see the extent and variations in use across different sites. It would be interesting to see how frequently pigments were found outside the Aegean in the EBA to establish whether their use is an Aegean practice only, or if other groups hold significance in the use of colour in cemeteries. Fourth: the use of pavements found in cemeteries could also be extended into other areas and across time periods to analyse their use and significance amongst various groups, for instance, an assessment could be made to see whether changes in the use of pavements can be correlated to any specific events or regional changes. While this research has demonstrated interconnections during the EBA Aegean through the burial record these further studies would bring us significantly closer to confirming the practices used in ritual practices surrounding the dead from a reliably dated period.

Bibliography**Abbreviations:**

AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
Anat.Stud.	Anatolian Studies
AR	Archaeological Reports (supplement to JHS)
Arch.Delt	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
Arch.Eph	Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BAR-IS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
CAJ	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
Ergon	To Ergon tes Archaiologikes Etaireias
FSI	Forensic Science International
Hesperia	Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
JAS	Journal of Archaeological Science
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JMA	Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
PAE	Praktika tes Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
UPMTA	University of Pennsylvania, Transactions of the Department of Archaeology, Free Museum of Science and Art
WorldArch	World Archaeology

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