MORTUARY PRACTICES AND THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY AND LIFE IN PREPALATIAL CRETE: THE EVIDENCE FROM THOLOS TOMB Γ, IN ARCHANES-PHOURNI

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To my parents

SUMMARY

This thesis constitutes an attempt to approach and interpret a Prepalatial tholos tomb, Tholos Γ at the cemetery of Phourni, in Archanes, Crete, and Prepalatial mortuary practices in general, within the conceptual framework and the theoretical developments of the archaeology of death. The study follows four main stages.

The first is the study of the evidence from Tholos Γ (presented in more detail in the Appendices of Volume 2), which allows the reconstruction of the entire history of the tomb, from its construction until its excavation. Thus, Tholos Γ, apart from being one of the very few well excavated and unlooted Prepalatial tombs, becomes the only tomb the history of which can be followed in relative detail. In the second stage, a synthesis of the existing theoretical approaches to the mortuary archaeological record is attempted, and the problems, potentials, advantages and significance of the archaeology of death are examined. The theoretical framework within which we approach Prepalatial mortuary practices is also presented. The third step is a description and discussion of the mortuary practices of Tholos Γ and other Prepalatial cemeteries, and particular emphasis is given to variations, differences and changes through time and space.

The evidence presented and the conclusions made in the first three stages are used in the final stage of analysis, where an attempt is made to reconstruct the mortuary beliefs, and the horizontal and vertical organisation of Prepalatial society on the basis of the available mortuary evidence. Concerning the last two topics, we also discuss the Cycladic character of the Tholos Γ assemblage, and, more generally, the character of Creto-Cycladic relations during the early Prepalatial period.

At the end of the thesis conclusions are made on the basis of what was discussed before, and possible issues for future research are investigated.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η παρούσα διατριβή αποτελεί μια προσπάθεια προσέγγισης και ερμηνείας ενός Προανακτορικού θολωτού τάφου, του Θολωτού Γ στο νεκροταφείο Φουρνί στις Αρχάνες της Κρήτης, και των Προανακτορικών ταφικών πρακτικών εν γένει, μέσα στο ιδεολογικό υπόβαθρο και τις θεωρητικές εξελίξεις της Ταφικής Αρχαιολογίας. Η μελέτη ακολουθεί τέσσερα στάδια.

Στο πρώτο στάδιο, η μελέτη των δεδομένων από τον Θολωτό Γ, τα οποία παρουσιάζονται με περισσότερη λεπτομέρεια στα Παραρτήματα του Τόμου 2, επιτρέπει την ανασύνθεση ολόκληρης της ιστορίας του τάφου, από την κατασκευή έως την ανασκαφή του. Έτσι, ο Θολωτός Γ, εκτός από το ότι είναι ένας από τους ελάχιστους καλά ανσκαμμένους και ασύλητους Προανακτορικούς τάφους, γίνεται ο μοναδικός τάφος την ιστορία του οποίου μπορούμε να ακολουθήσουμε με σχετική λεπτομέρεια. Στο δεύτερο στάδιο επιχειρείται μια σύνθεση των υπαρχουσών θεωρητικών προσεγγίσεων για τα ταφικά αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα, και εξετάζονται τα προβλήματα, οι δυνατότητες, τα πλεονεκτήματα και η σημασία της Ταφικής Αρχαιολογίας. Παρουσιάζεται επίσης το θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο πάνω στο οποίο θα βασιστεί η προσέγγιση μας στις Προανακτορικές ταφικές πρακτικές. Το τρίτο στάδιο αποτελεί μια περιγραφή των ταφικών πρακτικών που

ακολουθούνται στο Θολωτό Γ καθώς και σε άλλα Πρανακτορικά νεκροταφεία, και ιδιαίτερη σημασία δίνεται στις διαφορές και αλλαγές που υπάρχουν στο χρόνο και στο χρόνο.

Τα στοιχεία που έχουν παρουσιαστεί και τα συμπεράσματα που έχουν διατυπωθεί στα τρία παραπάνω στάδια αξιοποιούνται στο τελευταίο στάδιο της έρευνας, όπου γίνεται προσπάθεια να ανασυντεθούν ιο ταφικές δοξασίες και η οριζόντια και κάθετη κοινωνική οργάνωση των Πορανακτορικών κοινωνιών επί τη βάσει των διαθέσιμων ταφικών δεδομένων. Σχετικά με τα δύο τελευταί θέματα, συζητείται επίσης ο κυκλαδικός χαρακτήρας του υλικού του Θολωτού Γ, και γενικότερα ο χαρακτήρας των Κρητοκυκλαδικών σχέσεων κατά την Προανακτορική εποχή.

Η διατριβή τελειώνει με τη διατύπωση συμπερασμάτων σχετικά με όσα έχουν μελετηθεί παραπάνω, και με την ανίχνευση πιθανών θεμάτων για μελλοντική έρευνα.

CONTENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

A/ ABBREVIATIONS IN TEXT

AMH	No. in the Herakleion museum
AMA	No. in the Archanes museum
AoR	Area of the Rocks
CMS	Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EC	Early Cycladic period
EM	Early Minoan period
FAF's	Figurines with Folded Arms
fig.	figure
LM	Late Minoan
MM	Middle Minoan period
pl.	plate
tbl.	table

B/ ABBREVIATIONS IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

AA	Archaeologischer Anzeiger
AAA	Archaiologika Analekta Athinon (Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών)
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AD	Archaiologikon Deltion (Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον)
AE	Archaiologiki Ephimeris (Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς)
AntK	Antike Kunst
AR	Archaeological Reports
ASAtene	Annuario della Scuola archaeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BAR Brit. Ser	British Archaeological Report, British Series
BAR Int. Ser	British Archaeological Report, International Series
BICS	Bulletin of the Institut of Classical Studies of the University of London
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
CAJ	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
CMS	Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel
ILN	Illustrated London News
JdI	Jarbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts
JPR	Journal of Prehistoric Religion
Kret. Chron	Kretika Chronika (Κρητικά Χρονικά)
MMAJ	Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal
Mon. Ant	Monumenti antichi
PAE	Praktika tis Archaiologikis Etaireias (Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας)
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici
suppl.	Supplementum

TUAS	Temple University Aegean Symposium
UCLA	University of California at Los Angeles

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. The aim of this thesis

This thesis constitutes an attempt to approach and study a Prepalatial tholos tomb, Tholos Γ at the cemetery of Phourni-Archanes, and mortuary practices of Prepalatial Crete in general, within the conceptual framework and the theoretical developments of the *archaeology of death.* As an extension to this, its aim is also to discuss aspects of Prepalatial society, economy and everyday life, assessing problems of interpretation, which have emerged over the last three decades of scholarship.

One of the few ideas concerning Prepalatial Crete, which has gained broad acceptance, repeated in almost every study, is that most of our knowledge derives from cemeteries and tombs. However, the common, frustrating conclusion is that, despite the adequate body of evidence from c.170 tombs (either tholos, house or cave tombs), the reconstruction of the Prepalatial period faces serious problems. This is due both to the quality of this evidence, and to the character of Prepalatial mortuary practices themselves (Branigan 1988; 1993; Soles 1992; Watrous 1994). The problems can be summarised as follows:

a) The Prepalatial tombs were collective tombs with continuous use for several centuries and for a large number of burials. The result of this practice was many periodical clearings of the old burial remains, including the funerary goods, during the history of use of each tomb. Consequently, the picture emerging from many tombs is rather fragmentary; the burial remains are often very disturbed and the information poor.

b) A large number of tombs, especially in S. Crete, has been looted in modern times, and the contents sold to private collections. These looting activities are sometimes extensive and well organised. They did not only break down the contextual link between the tombs and their contents, but also disturbed the stratigraphy and sometimes demolished the tombs themselves.

c) The method of excavation of a large number of tombs and cemeteries has left something to be desired and much information has not been recorded properly. Most of these tombs were excavated before the war, and much information was not recorded. Unfortunately, it is frustrating to note that, despite the developments in the discipline and methods of archaeology, this situation continued even as late as the 70's, with only a few exceptions.

d) A large number of Prepalatial tombs are not published. In most cases the excavation report is may be little more than a few paragraphs, while pottery and finds may not have been studied and properly documented.

With the above in mind, the study of Tholos Γ in Phourni provides a real challenge and an almost unique opportunity. The tomb was excavated in 1972 by Y. Sakellarakis. The detailed excavation diaries contained much information about

the stratigraphy, and the location of the finds and the burials. Moreover, all the pottery and a large portion of the skeletal material was collected, unlike many other Prepalatial tombs. All these, together with the drawings, the photographs and other recorded details, help in the faithful reconstruction of the excavation and the stratigraphy. The fact that in this thesis it was possible to interpret the stratigraphy of the tomb in a different way than the original one (Sakellarakis 1972) illustrates clearly the effectiveness of the excavation system. Last, but not least, Tholos Γ remained unlooted and almost undisturbed since the moment of the last interment, unlike most of the Prepalatial tombs.

However, Tholos Γ is only the starting point for a more general study of Prepalatial mortuary practices, and how these can be used for the reconstruction of people's life, within the theoretical framework of the archaeology of death. Since 1970, when Binford and Saxe argued for the first time about the validity and potential of the mortuary practices as indicators of social organisation, much has been written about this subject, and a large number of ideas, theoretical approaches and arguments were expressed and applied to mortuary evidence of the past and present. This literature, although extensive and important, was almost ignored by scholars of Prepalatial Crete and its mortuary practices. These practices are rarely studied within a specific conceptual framework, their interpretation usually being based on common sense and empiricism. There is a lack of reservations about the potentials and limitations of the mortuary archaeological record to reveal aspects of both death and, perhaps more important, of everyday life. For a better understanding and interpretation of Prepalatial Crete an approach within the framework of the archaeology of death offers several advantages.

First, it helps to understand that the mortuary archaeological record should stand apart from other classes of archaeological information. Thus, it becomes clear that the approach and interpretation of mortuary practices and of the evidence from cemeteries and tombs should differ from that of domestic or other non-funerary contexts. Second, the archaeology of death approach offers answers to fundamental questions, concerning the validity of the mortuary archaeological record, and the conditions under which this record must be comprehended and interpreted. Is there any direct relation between patterns of death and life, and if yes, under what circumstances? Is the organisation of mortuary ritual a reflection of social organisation in everyday life? Are there any reservations regarding the study of mortuary practices? Are there any filters in mortuary practices which can transform or alter the picture of everyday life?

Third, archaeology of death offers a fruitful conceptual framework within which it is possible to reconstruct everyday life, beliefs and social organisation by asking suitable questions of the material record itself. Are there any aspects of mortuary practices where we can observe specific aspects of social organisation or people's beliefs? How do people's lives relate to the material culture recovered archaeologically in cemeteries and tombs? What kind of social relations are developed in mortuary contexts, and which is their connection to the social relations in everyday life, outside the arena of death?

Fourth, and finally, the proposed approach offers numerous ethnographic parallels, which can be used as alternatives for the interpretation and understanding

of the patterns seen in the archaeological record. Although ethnographic examples are not a *panacea,* and cannot give definite answers (at least not without certain reservations in mind), they are important in offering alternatives and in helping us to go beyond our twentieth century "common sense", and understand better the sense of other peoples and communities, which do not belong to the modern western way of thinking.

Therefore, with Tholos Γ as a starting point, we examine the consequences of these ideas and approaches for the study of Prepalatial mortuary practices and, most important, we investigate the use of mortuary evidence in order to infer aspects of living society, such as horizontal organisation, ranking and philosophical/religious beliefs. However, this thesis is not merely the application of some theoretical ideas or of a particular framework of thinking to the mortuary evidence of Prepalatial Crete. It is the nature and potential of the Prepalatial mortuary record itself that constitutes the basis of our research. After this useful clarification we proceed with an introduction to Crete in the Prepalatial period.

2. A summary of archaeological research in Prepalatial Crete

As mentioned above, the archaeology of Prepalatial Crete is characterised by a disproportion between the evidence from domestic and funerary contexts. Only four habitation sites have been excavated relatively extensively: Debla (Warren & Tzedakis 1974), Myrtos Fournou Korifi (Warren 1972a), Vasilike (Zois 1976) and Trypiti (Vasilakis 1989). Valuable information comes also from restricted excavations and soundings in major palatial centres, at Ay. Triadha (Laviosa 1972), Mallia (Van Effenterre 1980; Hue & Pelon 1992; Pelon 1993) and Knossos (Wilson 1985; 1994). As a consequence, it is not surprising that most papers and monographs about society, economy, religion and way of life are based on the study of mortuary practices and material found in funerary contexts.

The excavation and study of Prepalatial mortuary remains have a long history, starting at the beginning of this century and having two main periods of intense activity, in the first and the second half of the century respectively. The first period covers the first two decades of this century. In 1904 the first circular tholos tomb was excavated by Halbherr in Ay. Triadha, while, in the same year, Xanthoudides started his surveys in the area. In the period up to 1918 he had discovered and excavated 15 tombs in several cemeteries, such as Koumasa, Platanos, Marathokephalo, Ay. Eirene, Kalathiana, Christos, Porti and Drakones. Most of these tombs were published in *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara* (Xanthoudides 1924), one of the most important publications for Prepalatial studies. Xanthoudides also excavated the important cave tomb of Pyrgos (Xanthoudides 1918), which together with the Gournes house-tomb (Hatzidakis 1915) were the only tombs discovered in N. Crete up to that time. By the same period five important cemeteries had been excavated in E. Crete. In three cemeteries, Mochlos (Seager 1912), Palaikastro (Bosanquet 1901; Bosanquet & Dawkins 1902; Dawkins 1903; Dawkins, Hawes & Bosanquet 1904) and Gournia (Hawes 1908), the tombs were rectangular, and Hawes introduced the term "house tomb" to describe them. In the other two cemeteries, Pachyammos (Seager 1916)

and Sphoungaras (Hall 1912), a new way of interment was revealed, inside clay burial containers: larnakes and pithoi.

A decline followed this first active period in the history of the Cretan Prepalatial archaeology, and very few tombs were discovered after 1920. Only three tholoi were excavated in S. Crete, at Vorou (Marinatos 1931) and Apesokari (Matz 1951), while in N. Crete the limited excavation activity revealed the tholos at Krasi (Marinatos 1929), the burial cave of Trapeza (Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1935-36), and three house tombs and a number of burial rock crevices at Mallia (Demargne 1945). A second intensive period for Prepalatial archaeology started in the mid-50's and continued until the end of the 60's. In S. Crete several tholos tombs were discovered and excavated by the archaeological service, such as the tombs at Lebena, Apesokari, Lasaia and Ay. Kyrillos (Alexiou 1960; 1961; Davaras 1964; 1968; Platon 1954; 1956; 1959; Sakellarakis 1968). In E. Crete several excavations revealed two house tombs in Zakros (Platon 1967), a tholos tomb in Myrsini (Platon 1959; 1963) and an extensive cemetery at Ay. Photia (Davaras 1971). In the Viannos area Platon excavated pithos and cave burials, as well as a single tholos tomb (Platon 1956). Finally, in N. Crete the excavated tombs comprised a burial cave in Kyparissi (Alexiou 1951), a tholos on Gypsades (Hood 1958), and a house tomb and some burial crevices in Mallia (Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963). Despite the intensive archaeological activity, no tomb was published, apart from the Mallia cemetery, and the only evidence is some short reports in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* and *Kretika Chronika.*

In the last three decades the number of the new excavated tombs declined again, but the standards of recording improved. Of the various surveys conducted in Crete (Watrous 1994, 698, n. 10), only two have discovered new tombs, both in S. Crete (Blackman & Branigan 1975; 1977; Vasilakis 1990b). Only a few tombs were actually excavated, such as Moni Odhiyitrias (Vasilakis 1990b, 1992), Kouse (Hatzi-Vallianou 1972), Krotos (Vasilakis 1983), Trypiti (Vasilakis 1989) and Ay. Kyriaki (Blackman & Branigan 1982). The latter comprises the most comprehensive publication for a tomb of the Prepalatial period. Additionally, in N. Crete there is the case of the Phourni cemetery, a cemetery unique in terms of size and duration of use. The excavations lasted for almost twenty years (1968-1989) and revealed a large number of house tombs and three tholos tombs, dated to the Prepalatial and the Protopalatial periods, while the published excavation reports are characterised by exceptionally detailed descriptions of the stratigraphy, the chronology and the finds (see Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, for a detailed bibliography). The only tomb excavated in N. Crete, outside the Phourni cemetery, is a single house tomb in Bairia Gazi (Rethemiotakis 1984). Finally, in E. Crete, two house tombs at Kalo Chorio (Haggis 1997), and a burial cave at Ay. Charalambos (Davaras 1982) were excavated, while of special importance is the re-study of the tombs and the funerary material from the Mochlos and Gournia cemeteries (Soles 1992).

In contrast to the limited excavation activity during the last three decades, there have been many publications. This period is characterised by a large number of papers and monographs related to Prepalatial mortuary practices and the study of objects found in Prepalatial funerary assemblages. Such works deal with pottery (e.g. Betancourt 1984; 1985; Day *et al.* 1997; 1998; Walberg 1987; Wilson & Day

1994), metallurgy (Branigan 1968a, 1974; Nakou 1995), stone vases (Warren 1969), seals (Karytinos 1997; Sbonias 1995; Yule 1980), jewels (Effinger 1996), lithics (Carter 1994; 1998), and some of them have created detailed *corpora* of material, useful for the study of Prepalatial Crete. Furthermore, important synthetic works on Prepalatial mortuary practices, religion and ritual have appeared (Pini 1968; Branigan 1970a, 1993; Marinatos 1993; Soles 1992). Thus the modern scholar of Prepalatial Crete is equipped with a large number of papers, monographs and synthetic works related to Prepalatial mortuary practices, and the next step is to use them for the reconstruction of Prepalatial society and life.

3. Crete in the Prepalatial period

Despite the large body of evidence and the particular interest over the last three decades, there are several aspects of Prepalatial Crete which remain problematic and subject to on-going debate. Two main narratives have been offered so far, to explain society and life in Prepalatial Crete, with particular reference to the emergence of states and the appearance of the first palaces: the evolutionary and the revolutionary model.

According to the former model, the Prepalatial was a period in which the first traces of social complexity, ranking and specialised production can be seen (Branigan 1984; 1988; Renfrew 1972). It was a period with continuous development, and in which the origins of the palatial system can be discerned (Branigan 1970b, 1995). The social transformations which created the conditions for the appearance of the palaces were, according to Branigan, the declining importance of the extended kin-group, the greater emphasis on the nuclear family and the individual, the growth of population, and the creation of large urban centres (Branigan 1995, 39). According to Renfrew, it was innovations in a number of sub-systems, particularly in agriculture, subsistence, metallurgy and external relations, which created a "multiplier effect" and a "positive feedback" for the development of all the sub-systems, which finally lead to the appearance of the palaces and the society which supported them (Renfrew 1972). The main argument was that these social changes, developments and transformations took place over a lengthy period of time, some of them starting as early as EM II (Branigan 1995, 39).

According to the second, the revolutionary model, development in the earlier part of the Prepalatial period (EM I-II) was relatively modest and very gradual from the preceding Neolithic period (Cherry 1981; Watrous 1994). Society was rather simple, with no evidence for social complexity and vertical ranking. Thus, the transition to the palatial society was a discontinuous *quantum leap,* which took place in the later part of the Prepalatial period, in EM III or MM IA. Watrous argued that EM III was a period of great turbulence and abandonment of many settlements, and it was in MM IA when order was gradually restored, and the island started to move towards the social complexity necessary for the appearance of the first palaces (Watrous 1994, 753).

A detailed discussion of these two models is beyond the aims of this introductory chapter, but there are two key points which have to be mentioned and taken into consideration in this thesis. First, it is noteworthy that mortuary evidence plays a central role for the argumentation of both models. For the evolutionary model mortuary practices indicate social complexity and ranking, seen in the mortuary differentiation in some cemeteries of E. Crete (Soles 1987; 1992) and the Mesara (Branigan 1984; 1995). In contrast, the evidence for mortuary differentiation and vertical social ranking has been emphatically denied by the supporters of the revolutionary model (Cherry 1981, 40; Watrous 1994, 713). It is clear that here we are dealing with the same mortuary evidence interpreted in different, almost opposite ways. However, as discussed above, the approach to this evidence is far from being adequate. Prepalatial mortuary evidence and practices, because of their ambiguities and problems, are used according to the ideas and aims of each model, without consideration of what can or cannot reveal about Prepalatial society. This makes the request for a different approach to Prepalatial mortuary practices more urgent.

Second, in both models, Prepalatial period is not approached in its own right, but in relation to what comes after, the Protopalatial period. As the name of the period indicates, Prepalatial Crete has been and is still defined by what scholars think is known about the later periods and on the basis of assumed contrasts in terms of binary opposites, such as simple v. complex or pre-state v. state (Day *et al.* 1997, 278). It is dangerous to explain the Prepalatial on the basis of such assumed and simplistic contrasts to the presumed characteristics of the later palatial system, especially since the differences between the two periods are not always clear. Recent studies in the production and intra-island exchange of pottery have clearly shown that any comparisons in the degree of social complexity between the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods is highly obscure, and that, in order to understand better the Prepalatial period, it is important to focus on the characteristics of Prepalatial society itself (Day *et al.* 1997; Kiriatzi *et al.* in press; Wilson & Day 1994).

On the basis of the above, the study of Tholos Γ appears again to be a unique opportunity. Not only is it an unlooted tomb which was well excavated and recorded, but it also belongs to an extensively excavated cemetery. Therefore, the temporal and spatial contexts are well documented, and it is possible to infer conclusions from intra-cemetery patterns, concerning horizontal and vertical organisation of society. Both issues are of crucial importance for the understanding and explanation of the Prepalatial period, either on the basis of an evolutionary or a revolutionary model. Second, Tholos Γ proved to be exceptionally wealthy in objects imported or influenced from the Cyclades or made of Cycladic raw materials, making this tomb a crucial assemblage for the study of the Creto-Cycladic relations in the 3rd millennium. Indeed, the tomb has a central role in many papers referred to this subject (Doumas 1976; 1979; Karantzali 1995; 1996; Sakellarakis 1977a, 1977b; Sampson 1988; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987). External contacts and inter-regional exchange is another important issue concerning the development and social organisation of the Prepalatial period, and Tholos Γ brings new evidence and constitutes a chance to study this topic closely. Finally, the history of use of the tomb is within the chronological borders of the Prepalatial period, with two very distinctive phases of use, in the early (EM IIA) and the late

(EM III/MM IA) Prepalatial period. It is, therefore, possible to study diachronic changes and transformations through time, in the same tomb and cemetery, and solely within the Prepalatial period.

4. Structure of this thesis

With the above in mind this thesis is organised into nine chapters. After this first introductory chapter follows Chapter 2, which is a reconstruction of the excavation and stratigraphy of Tholos Γ, with a discussion of the pottery, the finds, and their parallels. This evidence is used to date the tomb and give the "scenario", that is the historical outline of the tomb from its foundation in EM IIA, until its excavation, in 1972. Most of the primary evidence, the catalogue and the detailed description of the finds are submitted as appendices to the thesis, in Volume 2 (Appendices I-IV). Thus, for more details about the stratigraphy, the finds and their dating, the reader is referred to these appendices.

In Chapter 3 the literature related to the topic of the archaeology of death is discussed. The relevant theoretical problems, potentials, advantages and significance are examined. In the final section of this chapter the theoretical framework is presented, within which we approach Prepalatial mortuary practices. Chapter 4 is devoted to a description of Prepalatial mortuary practices, with particular reference to the case of Tholos Γ, and especially the new evidence coming from the study of this funerary assemblage. In Chapter 5 we discuss several aspects of the religious/philosophical beliefs of Prepalatial society, related to death, the dead and the afterlife. Chapters 6 and 7 examine the evidence for horizontal and vertical social organisation, first in Tholos Γ and the Phourni cemetery, and then in Prepalatial Crete, in general. Chapter 8 focuses on the Cycladic character of the Tholos Γ assemblage and the role of Archanes in the Creto-Cycladic relations during the Prepalatial period. Finally, Chapter 9 summarises what has been discussed in the previous chapters and investigates possible issues for future research.

CHAPTER 2: THE EXCAVATION OF THOLOS Γ

A/ ARCHANES AND PHOURNI

The Archanes area is c. 23 km. south of Herakleion and the N. Cretan coast, and c. 15 km. south of Knossos (figure 2). The focal point of this area is the small valley in the centre, which is the southernmost part of the larger Herakleion plain. Until very recently economy and organisation of life of the local population depended largely on the agricultural production of the valley, mainly olive oil, grapes and wine. The valley is surrounded by low and high hills and is relatively separated from other neighbouring areas. One of the few natural passes is the gorge of the Myristis rivulet which until some decades ago was the main road to Knossos and the N. coast.

The modern town of Archanes, of c. 4500 people, lies in the south part of the valley, directly on top of the Minoan settlement. The latter appears to be founded in EM II (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997) and continued almost until the end of the Late Bronze Age, with main periods of prosperity the New and Post Palace periods, when the remains of the monumental palatial building of Tourkoyeitonia is dated. To the west of the valley the mountain of Juktas rises, rather abruptly, up to the height of 811m. Due to its height and length Juktas actually dominates the landscape and the lives of the Archaniots. The mountain is an important religious centre for the modern inhabitants, as it was for the Minoans 4000 years ago. Juktas was one of the most important peak sanctuaries on the entire island, something not surprising if considered that it served not only Archanes, but also all the neighbouring sites, including the palatial centre of Knossos.

The cemetery of the Minoan settlement (figure 1) lies on the low hill of Phourni, overlooking the valley and the settlement from the NW. The cemetery was discovered in 1964 and excavated by Yiannis and Efi Sakellaraki almost continuously until 1989. It has been considered as one of the most important cemeteries in the Aegean for its size, duration of use, preservation, unlooted character, number of tombs and burials, quantity and quality of the contained funerary goods, and wealth of mortuary evidence (Sakellarakis 1994; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1991b, 1997).

Although there are still more tombs to be discovered and excavated, the available evidence shows that the cemetery was founded in EM IIA, perhaps in the same period with the settlement, and continued to be used until the end of the Late Bronze Age. The two tholos tombs, Γ and E which were built in EM II were accompanied by a large number of rectangular house tombs in the later Prepalatial period, EM III and MM IA (Tombs 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 16, 18 and 19). Towards the end of the Prepalatial period the first elaborate tombs were built (Tholos B and Tomb 3) and it seems that the cemetery becomes the burial place of the local elite, although it apparently received commoners' burials in the old house tombs, which continued to be used from the previous period. The New Palace period is not well known, since no burials have been revealed yet. However, the important secular

Building 4 shows that the cemetery was the focus of rituals and activities related to the buried ancestors. In the Post Palace period the cemetery became of exclusively royal character, since only important burials took place in a few tombs, such as Tholoi A, B and Ä, and the Mycenean Grave Enclosure.

Tholos Γ, lies in the central part of the cemetery (figure 1) and belongs to the first period of its use. Together with Tholos E, which lies further to the south, they were the first tombs erected in the area and served the burial needs of the first inhabitants of the Archanes settlement. Originally the tomb was free-standing, but in later periods (EM III and MM IA) it was surrounded by rectangular house tombs (Tombs 5 and 9).

B/ EXCAVATION AND STRATIGRAPHY

Tholos tomb Γ was excavated in July 1972, during the excavations of the Archaeological Society (Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία) in Phourni, under the direction of Yiannis Sakellarakis. The excavation was completed in July 1973 with the excavation of the entrance of the tomb and the area outside it (dromos).

The excavation proceeded with the removal of horizontal layers of earth, of various thickness. In the upper part of the filling the tomb was excavated as a whole and when the larnakes of the burial stratum appeared the tomb was divided into four quarters (Sectors A, B, C and D), which were excavated separately. The pottery was collected in separate groups from each layer and section, and several times from smaller areas of the tomb. The find spot was recorded for most of the finds and the depths were recorded regularly. The detailed diaries accompanied by many drawings and photographs constitute an excellent documentation of the excavation, and allow the reconstruction of the excavation process and stratigraphy with a high level of precision.

1. Tholos interior

Tholos Γ (plate 1a) is a typical tholos tomb, similar to those found in large numbers in S. Crete. Together with the neighbouring Tholos E and two more tholoi in Krasi they are the only examples of a Prepalatial tholos tomb in N. Crete in EM II. In contrast, c.100 such tombs have been discovered in S. Crete (Branigan 1970a; 1993). The tomb is circular, with an internal diameter of 3.5 m., and was built directly on the natural bedrock. Like all the other Prepalatial tholos tombs it was not covered by earth, but was totally visible above ground. The wall is built of large irregular, unworked stones. The entrance (plate 1b) is to the east as in almost all the tholos tombs of S. Crete (Branigan 1998, 19). It is very small and consists of three large stones (two doorjambs and the lintel) in the form of a *trilithon,* a feature seen mainly in the earlier tholos tombs, dated to EM I or EM II (Branigan 1970a, 34). A unique feature of Tholos Γ is a small opening, like a window, just above and to the south of the entrance (plates 1b, 11b). It was created during the original building of the tomb and its function is unknown. It seems not to have

been a relief opening for the lintel since it was not immediately above the lintel but to the south of it.

The earth fill of the tomb interior is divided into three separate strata (Stratum I-III) on the basis of several criteria related to the texture of the soil, the number and the size of the stones and the depth (figure 4).

Stratum I

The first stratum can be divided into three separate layers (Layer 1-3).

Layer 1: the surface filling of the tomb, consisting of brown, soft earth with a large number of stones. It contains large, flat stones fallen from the vaulted roof. These stones had fallen into the tomb in a specific order. In the upper part of the earth fill the stones were close to the tholos wall, they had inclination inwards and it is clear that they were the last stones fallen from the upper part of the tholos wall, towards the interior (plate 3a). Some of them had moved only very slightly from their original position. At a deeper level the stones continued to be inclined inwards, but they were close to the centre of the tholos (plate 2b). Large gaps were found between the stones, a feature typical of collapsed roofs.

Layer 2: pure soil of the same nature, texture and kind as Layer 1, but without stones (plate 3b).

Layers 1 and 2 contained only fragments of larnakes, a few broken human bones and nine sherds (figure 17). It should be emphasised that these finds have no relation to the burial stratum (Stratum II), since they were found at least 0.30-0.50 m. above the rims of the larnakes.

Layer 3: same texture of soil, as Layer 2, but Layer 3 again contains a large number of stones. These are smaller than the stones of Layer 1 and have also fallen from the tholos roof (plate 4a). Since they were found beneath the large stones of Layer 1 they had fallen from the upper part and the centre of the vaulted roof. In this layer appeared the rims of the larnakes (plate 4b), but the layer continues until the depth of 0.20 m. below the rims.

Layer 3 contained a larger number of finds, coming mainly from the level of the rims of the larnakes. Apart from the fragments of larnakes and some animal teeth Layer 3 contained also a skull (K14), pottery sherds (figures 18-21), an intact clay vase (V1; figure 24) and a handle from a stone vase (D2; figure 37). However, it is clear that these finds have no relation to the burials of the lower stratum (Stratum II), since they were found at least 0.30 m. above these burials. It is noteworthy that inside the larnakes had fallen stones from the vaulted roof and fragments from their walls and lids (plates 6b, 9a). In some cases the stones had fallen onto the bottom of the larnakes and it is clear that at the time of the roof collapse the larnakes had no earth fill. This observation reinforces the suggestion that the finds of Layer 3 have no relation to the burials of Stratum II, but have fallen from above during or after the collapse of the roof. The only exception is the intact MM IIB-IIIA cup (V1; figure 24) which was found right under the lintel of

the entrance, This vase is of particular importance, since it offers a *terminus ante quem* for the collapse of the roof, as will be discussed in the conclusions.

A final point has to be made concerning the disturbance of the tomb. The evidence suggests a higher degree of disturbance in the west part. This part (Sectors A and C) contained the largest number of stones from the collapsed roof, and it is characteristic that all the larnakes of this part were partly (L1, L2, L8) or entirely (L9, L11) damaged (plate 5b). Pottery reinforces this picture, since from this part of the tomb come all the LM III sherds (P16, P23-P24, P28-P30, P33-P39; figures 18-21), fragments from post-Minoan pithoi, and the fragment from a modern cup (P18).

In contrast, the E. part of the tomb (Sectors B and D) did not suffer to the same degree from the roof collapse. The fallen stones are fewer and the larnakes (L3, L4, L6, L10) are preserved almost intact.

Stratum II

There is no significant change in the texture of the soil, but the stones fallen from the roof are fewer. Stratum II is the upper burial stratum of the tomb and contains all the burial containers. It starts 0.20 m. below the rims and reaches the level of the bases of the burial containers.

Burial remains were found inside 11 larnakes (L1-L11; figure 26-27) and 1 pithos (P1; figure 27) and in the spaces outside and between them (figure 5; plates 5, 6a, 7, 8a, 9b). All the burials and the finds come from the level just above the base of the larnakes, and clearly below the stones fallen from the collapsed roof (Stratum I, Layer 3). Most of the burial containers had more than one burial (table 1). Only one, or possibly two burials were articulated and partly *in situ,* while all the others were very disturbed. In most cases only the skull, some teeth and some long bones are preserved, while a few burials were identified solely on the basis of teeth. Generally speaking, the burials found inside the burial containers were better preserved than those outside, although this was not always the rule. Only a few funerary objects accompanied the burials of Stratum II, and it is rather surprising that these artefacts accompanied only burials found outside the larnakes and the pithoi, not those found inside (table 2).

It is also rather surprising that the pottery of Stratum II consists of only two intact vases (V2-V3; figure 24). The other finds of Stratum II are three pendants (A4-A5, A22; figure 32), six seals (S1-S2, S5, S7-S9; figure 36), three copper (B1, B17-B18; figure 28), a lead (C1; figure 31) and a bone object (I5; figure 33), and an obsidian flake (O5; figure 38).

Stratum III

Stratum III lies between the bases of the larnakes and the natural rock. The texture is different from the other strata, being black, hard, with many small fragments of limestone (plate 10). The thickness of Stratum III varies, and in several parts of the tomb the stratum is nothing more than a shallow filling of the irregularities of the natural rock. The stratum was thinner in the west and north part of the tomb and thicker in the south and east part (Sakellarakis 1972, 333).

In contrast to Stratum II, Stratum III held no identifiable burials. However, it was full of small fragments of human bones and teeth. It also contained most of the artefacts found in the tomb, as well as many sherds, in total contrast to Stratum II (figure 6). Pottery (figure 21) was collected from the whole area of the tomb and there is no evidence for any particular concentration, with the exception of 76 sherds (P59) found under larnax L4.

The funerary objects were found not only beneath the burial containers, but also dispersed in the entire tomb (table 3; figures 6, 9-13). It should be emphasised that the objects found in the same sector or beneath the same larnax were not necessarily associated. Also it is certain that these objects were not related to the burials made in the upper burial stratum (Stratum II). These will be discussed in detail in the conclusions.

Apart from 239 sherds (P40-P65; figure 21) Stratum III contained two clay vases (V4-V5; figure 24), 16 copper objects (B2-B16, B19; figure 28), ten figurines (F1-F15; figures 29-31), 42 beads of gold, steatite, rock crystal and bone (J1-J38, J59-J62; figure 35), 16 gold objects (J39, J40-J46, J49-J54; figure 35), 19 pendants of bone, gold and stone (A1-A3, A6-A21; figure 32), six silver (C2-C7; figure 31), four bone (I1-I4; figure 33), six ivory (I7-I12; figures 33-34) and four stone objects (D1, D3-D5; figure 37), three seals (S3-S4, S6; figure 36), and 47 obsidian (O1-O43, O45-O47; figures 38-39) and two chert (O44, O56) chipped stone objects.

2. Entrance

The same strata occur also in the entrance of the tomb, with the exception that due to the small height of the entrance and the *in situ* preservation of the lintel the first two layers of Stratum I were not found. Between Stratum II and III there is a large flat stone, serving as threshold.

3. Dromos

In the area outside the entrance, the so called "dromos", the stratigraphy is different from the tholos interior and the entrance, since the area was filled with earth in different periods and in different ways. However, the two lower strata of the dromos (Strata IIB and III) correspond to Strata II and III of the tholos interior.

Stratum I

The destruction level of the dromos area. Brown soil, soft with many large stones fallen from the nearby walls (plate 11a). It contained only pottery sherds (P72-P103; figure 22).

Stratum IIA

With no change in the texture of the soil, Stratum IIA is distinguished from Stratum I by the lack of stones. It is also separated from Stratum I by a large capstone, placed horizontally in front of the entrance, as a projection of the lintel. In this stratum the two walls defining the dromos were erected (plate 12a). Stratum IIA contained the only larnax of the dromos (plate 12b). The base of the larnax was at the same level as the foundations of the dromos walls. Other finds of Stratum IIA are a gold ring (J55; figure 40) and five sherds (P104-P108; figure 40).

Stratum IIB

Although it displays no change in the texture of the soil, this stratum can be distinguished from the upper Stratum IIA since it is beneath the base of the larnax and the foundations of the two dromos walls, therefore it pre-dates them (plate 12a). In the west part of the dromos, below the south wall and at the point where this wall is joined with the doorjamb of the tholos, a skull was found (K42), accompanied by a footless EM III goblet (V6; figure 25). Below the opposite north wall of the dromos the jug-shaped fragment of a EM III-MM IA double vase was also found (V7; figure 25), full of shells. Both vases are significant not only because they date the burial, but also because they offer a *terminus post quem* for the erection of the dromos walls (plate 12a). Other finds of Stratum IIB are 14 sherds (P110-P123; figure 23), fragments of human bones and a few shells.

Stratum III

Stratum III lies directly over the natural rock. It is hard with many small fragments of limestone, similar to the soil of Stratum III from the tholos interior. The finds include eight fragments of obsidian blades (O48-O55; figure 40), one chert flake (O57), three gold bands (J56-J58; figure 40), and sherds from a vase (V8).

C/ DISCUSSION OF THE EXCAVATION, THE STRATIGRAPHY AND THE FINDS

This section is a discussion of the available excavation data. The primary evidence has been presented, for reasons of space, in the Appendices of Volume 2. In this volume can be found: a) a catalogue of the finds with detailed descriptions (Appendices II-III), b) a description of the burials and the artefacts according to the exact location they were found (Appendix I), and c) a detailed study of the artefacts, with parallels and chronology (Appendix IV).

During the study of the Tholos Γ assemblage valuable help came from many people. The study of the skeletal material, as well as the ageing and sexing of the burials was made by S. Triantaphyllou, who kindly gave me the permission to use the results of her study in this thesis. P. Day and D. Wilson helped me in the study and the dating of the pottery. The identification of the material of the bone and ivory objects was made by L. Poplain, except in the case of the seals, the material of which was identified with help of A. Karytinos. Finally, a detailed study of the obsidian has been made by T. Carter who kindly shared with me some of his preliminary conclusions.

1. THOLOS INTERIOR

1.1 STRATUM I: The destruction of Tholos Γ

Stratum I is related to the destruction of the tomb, the collapse of the roof and the sealing of the burial stratum (Stratum II) which lay underneath. The identification of three layers within Stratum I (figure 4) is of special importance since it shows three different phases in the destruction of the tomb and the formation of the thick, 2.20 m. deep earth fill inside and above it.

The first phase of the destruction was undoubtedly the collapse of the roof represented by the lower layer, Layer 3. The large number of stones in this layer belonged to the roof which had collapsed inside the tomb (plate 4a). These stones belonged to the central part of the vault, and are of medium size and relatively flat shape. They were found in various positions, with various inclinations and with gaps between them, all typical features of collapsed vaulted roofs. These stones destroyed the lids and the upper part of the larnakes. Fragments of several larnakes were found at a large distance from their original positions, revealing the violence of the collapse and the effect it had on the burial stratum.

The stones fallen from the roof reached the level of 0.20 m. below the rims of the larnakes. In some cases the stones were found onto the bottom of the larnakes, thus damaging not only the upper part of them, but also the burials inside (plate 6b). It is clear that the burials of the tomb had not been covered with earth before the collapse of the roof, and that the larnakes had no earth fill inside.

The pottery from the destruction level (Layer 3) can be divided into two large groups, the sherds of Red/Black Slipped Ware, dated between EM III and MM II and the sherds of LM Dark-on-Light Painted Ware, dated to LM IIIA2-B. The sherds of the first group were found scattered inside the tomb and in various depths. In contrast, the LM sherds were found concentrated in the west part of the tomb. This part suffered the most by later disturbance as indicated by the larnakes which had been partly or entirely damaged (L1, L2, L7, L8, L9 and L11). Moreover, fragments of post-Minoan pithoi were collected together with larnax L7, while from the same area comes the sherd from a modern tea-cup (P18). The case of sherds P7 (figure 17), P33 and P36 (figure 20) is also characteristic. They belong to the same LM III bowl (figure 20: Bowl 2), but the latter two sherds were found inside larnax L7, while the former in Layers 1-2, that is in a significantly higher level. The pottery was less in the east part of the tomb. The case of the two legs from the same cooking pot, P20 and P27 (figures 18-19), is very interesting, since the latter was found inside larnax L3, while the former in the area above this larnax. The above evidence suggests that the pottery of Layer 3 was related to the pottery of Layers 1-2, it had fallen from above during or after the collapse of the roof, and had no relationship with the larnakes and the burials of Stratum II, found underneath. But which sherds date the collapse of the roof: the EM III-MM II, the LM IIIA2-B, the post-Minoan or the modern?

Cup V1 (figure 24) is a key piece of evidence for the dating of this collapse. It can be dated to MM IIB-IIIA and has parallels from Anemospilia. It was found well within Layer 3, near the upper south corner of the entrance, in the open space just under the lintel (plate 8b). The fact that it was intact shows that it is unlikely to have fallen there during or after the collapse of the roof. Moreover, it was found under the lintel, so it seems unlikely to have fallen from above, but it was deliberately deposited in this place through the entrance. Whatever the case, this vase is important since it shows that by MM IIB-IIIA the entrance of the tomb had been filled with earth and stones almost up to the level of the lintel. On the basis of this evidence it is suggested that cup V1 was a deliberate deposition after the collapse of the roof, perhaps not a long period after this event. The dating of this vase suggests that this collapse may be dated to MM IIB-IIIA, and perhaps it was caused by the earthquake which also destroyed the shrine at Anemospilia and other neighbouring Protopalatial centres. It is not yet clear whether other tombs of Phourni were destroyed in the same period. However, perhaps it is not just a coincidence that the use of the cemetery appears to have ceased in the New Palace period.

If the roof collapsed indeed in the MM period, then the LM IIIA2-B pottery, the post-Minoan pithoi fragments and the sherd from a modern tea-cup are evidence for later disturbances or activities in the area, long after the collapse of the roof. From this point of view the LM III sherds cannot be a ritual offering, made in this later period through the "window" as was originally suggested (Sakellarakis 1973). As mentioned above, these disturbances seem to be concentrated in the west part of the tomb.

The thick, 1 m. deep Layer 2 found above the destruction Layer 3 could be identified as the pure earth filling which covered the tomb after the collapse of the roof (plate 3b). Finally, the large stones found in Layer 1 (plates 2b, 3a), above Layer 2, belonged to the upper preserved part of the tholos wall which fell inside the tomb much later, possibly due to ploughing, tree roots and the modern use of the area. The character of Layers 1-2 is reinforced by the mixed pottery, dated to EM III-MM II and LM III. As discussed above, one sherd of Layers 1-2 (P7) belonged to the same LM III bowl with sherds found deeper, inside larnax L7 (P33, P36). Also LM III sherd P9 (figure 17) comes from the same base as sherd P77, which was found outside the tomb, one year after the excavation of the tholos interior. These observations indicate clearly that Layers 1-2 are surface fill which formated after the collapse of the roof, at the top of the destroyed tomb, both inside and outside the collapsed tholos.

1.2 STRATUM I: The architecture of Tholos Γ

The exceptionally well preserved wall of Tholos Γ, reaching a height between 2 and 2.20 m., together with the detailed observations made about the collapse of the roof during the excavation of Stratum I, offer valuable information about the form of the roof (plate 1b). Large irregular unworked stones were used for the lower part of the wall, built in very irregular courses. The natural rock is very irregular, but no efforts had been made to level it before the erection of the

tholos wall. The latter was entirely exposed above ground, while the walls of the attached Tombs 9 and 5 functioned as buttresses. However, these walls were built very much later, in EM III or MM IA.

In contrast to the large, irregular stones of the lower part, in the upper preserved part of the wall the stones are large and flat (plate 1b), and, although unworked, they seem to have been selected deliberately for this part of the wall. These flat stones were placed with a slight overhang, clearly the start of a corbelled roof. The corbelled overhang is max. 0.40 m. at the height of 2-2.20 m., that is a vertical deviation of 1:5.5, while the diameter of the tomb is reduced from 3.5 m. at the base to 3 m. at the highest preserved point. This deviation is higher than some tombs, such as Christos, but lower than others, such as Ay. Kyriaki and Trypiti (Branigan 1993, 48). Some of these stones, more specifically those from the upper preserved part of the tholos wall, were found fallen inside the tomb, in the upper part of the earth fill (Stratum I, Layer 1; plates 2b, 3a). Finally the stones found deep inside the tomb during the excavation (Stratum I, Layer 3 and Stratum II) were also flat, but significantly smaller (plate 4a). It seems again that they were deliberately selected for the uppermost part of the wall and the central part of the vaulted roof. They were found fallen from the roof in various directions and with a downwards inclination.

The above described difference in the stones used for the various heights of the tomb wall has been noticed also by Xanthoudides in Christos (Xanthoudides 1924, 70), and it is typical in the modern *mitata,* shepherds' huts on Mount Ida (Warren 1973) and in other modern corbelled huts in Crete (Branigan 1994). In all these cases the stones used in the lower part of the building were large, irregular or rectangular, while in the upper part, where the corbelling starts, the stones become always flat. In the case of Tholos Γ it seems clear that the flat stones of the first, lower courses of the corbelling were larger than these used for the top and the centre of the roof, probably for the achievement of better stability for the corbelled roof (Cavanagh & Laxton 1982). An interesting feature of Tholos Γ is also the diameter-wall thickness ratio, which is 1:3, one of the lowest ratios among the 48 tholos tombs with available evidence (Branigan 1993, 42-3).

The above evidence indicates clearly that Tholos Γ had a fully corbelled stone roof (Sakellarakis 1972). Branigan has already suggested that most of the tholos tombs could have a stone vaulted roof, with the possible exception of some large tombs with very thin wall (Branigan 1993, 55); Tholos Γ evidence reinforces this idea.

1.3 STRATUM II: Burials in containers

All the burial containers and all the skeletal remains of the tomb were found in Stratum II. Skeletal remains were found both inside and outside the burial containers. The chronology of Stratum II comes from two intact vases and a few other finds. Jug V2 (figure 24) is dated to EM III, while jug V3 (fig, 24) can be dated either to EM III or MM IA. Jug V2 is of particular importance because it was

found directly in front of the entrance (plate 8b) and it seems to be one of the very last objects deposited in the tomb.

Of the other finds only the seals (fig, 36) can give relatively secure evidence for dating. The button-shaped (S1 and S7) and the stamp cylinder seals (S2 and S8) can be dated to EM III-MM IA, and the gable seal (S5) between EM IIB and MM I. Pendant A22 (figure 32) is made of white paste, a material used mainly in MM IA. This pendant was also found in the area of the entrance and it would be one of the last objects placed in the tomb, as jug V2. The same is true of bone object I5 (figure 33) which was found inside the entrance; it has parallels dated between EM III and MM I. Finally, the larnakes can be dated to EM III or MM IA. The other finds, that is the stone handle (D2), the copper (B1, B17 and B18), lead (C1) and obsidian (O5) objects, cannot be dated precisely, but they are not in disagreement with the dating of the finds mentioned above.

On the basis of the above evidence, the dating of Stratum II is in EM III or, the latest, in MM IA. The finds could be dated in either the one or the other period and the only secure dating is given by jug V2, dated rather safely to EM III. The dating of pendant A22 in MM IA solely on the basis of the raw material cannot be regarded as safe since white paste is a material identified very recently and its dating is based on seal typology and a few contexts of uncertain date in which it has been found (Sbonias 1995; Pini 1990a).

1.4 STRATUM III

Below the larnakes and Stratum II the texture of the soil changed dramatically, becoming harder and darker, with many small stones. Stratum III is relatively thin, not deeper than 0.20 m., while in some parts of the tomb it is nothing more than the filling of the irregularities of the natural rock. In the north and west parts of the tomb where the natural rock is at a higher level the thickness of the stratum is not more than a few centimetres. In contrast, in the east and south parts it is 0.20 m. thick, because the natural rock is in a lower level. No identifiable burials were found in this stratum, but it was full of small fragments of bones and teeth, spread all over the tomb, including the areas beneath the larnakes.

Most of the artefacts of the tomb come from this stratum, and, together with the large number of sherds, give important information for dating it. Of the 154 diagnostic sherds, 145 (94%) can be dated to EM IIA (tables 4-6). The remaining nine sherds are later, and can be dated anywhere between EM IIB and MM II. The intact vases cannot be dated securely, and only the tiny vase V4 (figure 24) has an EM IIB parallel from Myrtos Fournou Korifi; however, it is not possible to give a secure date on the basis of a single parallel. The artefacts found in the tomb support the dating suggested by the pottery. A large number of finds have parallels or affinities with objects found in the Cyclades and dated to EC II, which is thought to be contemporary with EM II and more specifically EM IIA (Warren 1984; Wilson 1994). These objects include the Cycladic figurines (F1-F12, F14; figures 29-31), the marble bowl (D1; figure 37), the gold vase-shaped pendant (A20; figure 32), the silver objects (C2-C7; figure 31), the bone drop-shaped

pendants (A9-A19; figure 32) and the bone pins (I1-I4; figure 33). The ring-shaped gold beads (J21-J24; figure 35) have parallels from Troy IIg dated to EBA II, contemporary with EM II. Some gold jewels, such as the barrel-shaped beads (J15-J20; figure 35) and the shield-shaped objects (J49-J54; figure 35) have parallels from Mochlos dated to EM IIA, although there are also parallels from the Mesara showing that such beads continued as late as EM III or MM I. The chlorite-schist object with incised decoration (D3; figure 37) has parallels from both Crete and the Cyclades dated to EM II and EC II. The rest of the finds from Stratum III have parallels from mixed EM II-MM I deposits from the Mesara or other Cretan areas. The three seals constitute a special category of finds (figure 36). Seals S3 and S6 can be dated as early as EM II, but the dating of the stamp cylinder seal S4 is a problem. This seal can hardly be accepted as a product of EM II and on current seal chronology it cannot be dated earlier than EM III. On the other hand, it is stylistically different from the EM III-MM IA seals found in Phourni, which have the same motif (rosette), although it is not certain if this difference is of chronological significance.

To summarise, there is strong evidence to show that Stratum III was different from the overlying Stratum II not only in terms of soil texture, but also in terms of dating. It seems clear that Stratum III dates to EM IIA on the basis of the pottery and the parallels of most of the finds either from Crete or the Cyclades. The only contradiction to the above chronology comes from a few later sherds (6%), dated between EM IIB and MM II, and seal S4, dated in EM III-MM I. These later finds are only a minority, and we do not think that they can put in doubts the EM IIA dating of Stratum III. Moreover, their presence within Stratum III can be explained on the basis of later clearances and disturbances. This will be discussed in more detail below.

It is important to mention also the four EM I sherds (P60-P63) revealed during the final clearing of the tomb. Although few, they are the first EM I sherds identified in Phourni and they indicate for the first time activities in the area in a period earlier than EM IIA, when the first tombs were built. However, nothing can be said about the character of these activities at the moment.

1.5 STRATUM III: The character of Stratum III

The character of Stratum III is not as obvious as that of Strata I and II. It was originally suggested that it was part of the single burial stratum of the tomb, dated to EM III, and that in this stratum were deposited the funerary offerings related to the burials made above, inside and outside the burial containers (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 183). However, on the basis of our study, Stratum III is clearly earlier than Stratum II. Moreover, the connection of the burials of Stratum II with the finds of Stratum III faces many problems not only of chronological, but also of practical character related to the associated mortuary practices.

The distribution of some finds of Stratum III in relation to the larnakes of Stratum II is informative. The heads and the legs of the three marble figurines were

found scattered beneath several larnakes or in the free areas among them without any specific pattern (figure 10). The fragments J45-J46 (figure 35), although they belonged to the same gold band, were found the former beneath larnax L3, the latter south of L10 (figure 12). Gold bands J41-J42 (figure 35), although typologically similar, were also found in different parts of the tomb, the former beneath L9, the latter north of L4 (figure 12). According to our study of the mortuary practices of Tholos Γ (discussed in Chapter 4), the larnakes were not removed, but once placed in the tomb, they were used continuously for more than one burial. If we connect the finds beneath the larnakes with the burials made inside them, as proposed originally, we have to assume, either that the finds belonged only to the very first burial made inside every larnax, or that by the time of each new burial the larnax was lifted, the burial goods were deposited and then it was replaced. Both alternatives are highly unlikely.

For the above reasons it is, we believe, clear that the finds beneath the larnakes have to be disconnected from the burials made inside them. In other words, Stratum III is not functionally related to Stratum II. This is confirmed by the strong evidence for a different dating of these two strata. On the other hand, if Stratum III is not related to Stratum II, then a new problem emerges about its character. Before defining this character it is useful to discuss several aspects and features of Stratum III.

One of the most important features of Stratum III is the fragmentary condition of a large number of the finds. The point is well illustrated by the three marble figurines (F1-F8; figure 30) in which the body and one of the legs are missing, while the other parts of the figurines, the legs and the heads were found scattered over a large area both beneath and between larnakes (figure 10). Other examples of scattered artefacts are the bands J41-J42 and J45-J46, mentioned above. Before examining this phenomenon further we need to consider the relationship of Tholos Γ with the Area of the Rocks, an area of the cemetery 10-15 m. to the SE. of the tomb (figure 1), with deep fissures of the bedrock. As discussed in Appendix III, it is probable that the head of figurine F11 (figure 31) and the missing part of gold band J43 (figure 35) have been found in the Area of the Rocks. Moreover, a gold tubular bead found in the Area of the Rocks (Sakellarakis 1978, 321, plate 195ä) is identical with beads J1-J14 (figure 35) from Tholos Γ. The close relationship between the Area of the Rocks and Tholos Γ is also reinforced by the marble Cycladic figurines; this area is the only place in Phourni, apart from Tholos Γ, where Cycladic figurines were found. Moreover, the preliminary study of the pottery from the Area of the Rocks revealed a good quantity of EM IIA pottery of the Dark-Grey Burnished Ware, similar to the pottery from Stratum III of Tholos Γ. Finally, the study of the 1000 fragments of obsidian from the Area of the Rocks reinforced the picture of a close connection between these two assemblages (Carter pers. comm.).

The character of the Area of the Rocks was quite clear from the beginning of the excavations. It was not used for burials but for the deposition of funerary material cleared from nearby tombs (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 232, 236). Although it is certain that the material from many tombs was deposited in the Area of the Rocks, the connections with Tholos Γ are the clearest.

From the above it becomes clear that the disturbance observed in Stratum III is related not to the collapse of the roof, but to clearing operations inside the tholos. Such operations explain the disturbance, the missing parts of several finds, the fragmentary condition of some others and the special relationship between Tholos Γ and the Area of the Rocks, where the cleared funerary material was deposited. The clearing operations were not selective in the sense of what was thrown out or what was left in the tomb. This is clearly indicated by the figurines, found both inside and outside the tomb. In Tholos Γ there are complete figurines as well as heads, legs, and a headless body, while from the Area of the Rocks come heads, headless bodies, legs and other parts in very different state of preservation. The whole operation seems to be rather a random removal of the soil together with the finds and the bones contained in it.

Furthermore, it seems that the disturbance was only partial and some areas of the tomb remained almost untouched, especially in the east part of the tomb. Beneath larnax L4 a large number of obsidian blades were found intact (figure 15), indicating that this area was not disturbed during the clearing operations. Some of these blades had been extracted from the same core (Carter pers. comm.) and it is clear that they were deposited together and never disturbed or removed from their original position. Another such case is the large number of gold beads found beneath larnax L10, undoubtedly belonging to the same necklace (figure 11). Finally, perhaps it is not a coincidence that all the bone pins were found beneath or around larnax L3 (A13). It is important to note that these "undisturbed" areas were in parts of the tomb where there were large irregularities of the natural rock and it was exactly in these areas where Stratum III had its greatest depth.

This observation is very important since it explains the character of the clearing operations inside Tholos Γ. It seems clear that the main aim of these operations was not to remove soil, bones or finds but to level the irregular floor of the tomb. For this reason the earth filling of the irregularities of the natural rock remained undisturbed with all the artefacts almost untouched. Such an operation could probably be related to the introduction of the burial containers in EM III; in other words, the levelling of the floor was made for the better stability of the burial containers.

A final, but important, remark concerning the character of Stratum III is that it contained many small fragments of bones and teeth, despite the fact that no identifiable burial was found. It is noteworthy that bones and teeth were found not only in the areas around the larnakes, but also beneath them. This means that Stratum III had received burials long before the placement of the larnakes.

On the basis of the above evidence the character of Stratum III could be described as follows. It was a burial stratum, earlier than Stratum II, with burials made not in larnakes but directly on the floor, and dated to EM IIA. Only small fragments of bones and teeth remained from the original burials. This burial stratum suffered one or more clearing operations before the start of the use of the burial containers, which were introduced in EM III.

2. DROMOS

2.1 STRATUM I: The destruction of the dromos

Stratum I is related to the destruction of the area outside the east part of the tomb. Indeed, it was full of large stones fallen from the nearby walls. The pottery from this stratum can be dated anywhere between EM IIB and MM II, while sherd P77 is of LM III date. The case of this sherd has been discussed above. The fact that it belongs to the same vase as sherd P9 found in the tholos interior (figure 17) shows that Stratum I was formed after the collapse of the roof, as a single deposit above the collapsed tholos, both inside and outside it.

2.2 STRATUM IIA: the burial stratum

Stratum IIA starts from the same level as the foundations of the two walls of the dromos (plate 12b). This stratum contained also the only larnax of the dromos. The pottery can be dated anywhere between EM IIB and MM II. However, the dating of this stratum depends on its relationship with the interior of Tholos Γ.

More specifically, larnax L12 occupied the entire width of the dromos, so its placement there could be made only after the end of the use of the tholos interior, otherwise it would have been impossible to make a burial or place a larnax inside the tholos. Since the tholos burial stratum (Stratum II) is dated to EM III or the latest to MM IA, this is the *terminus post quem* for the placement and use of L12 in the dromos. This is also the *terminus post quem* for the erection of the dromos walls. On the basis of this evidence the dating of Stratum IIA is between the end of the use of the tholos interior (EM III or MM IA) and the final destruction of the area (probably MM IIB-IIIA as in the case of the tholos).

2.3 STRATUM IIB

This stratum is at the same depth as the upper burial stratum (Stratum II) of the tholos interior. It lies beneath larnax L12 and the foundations of the dromos walls, so it was formed earlier. The small amount of pottery gives some evidence for dating. The pottery found in the area below the larnax is dated to various periods, but the latest is MM IIA, indicating that the larnax was placed in the dromos at the earliest in MM IIA, so the area in front of the entrance remained free until this late period. In the west part of the dromos, right in front of the entrance were found two vases which offer significant help in terms of dating; goblet V6 can be securely dated to EM III, and double vase V7 to EM III or MM IA. These vases together with skull K42 were found right below the dromos walls (plate 12a). They seem to have been placed there just before the erection of these walls and the people who built the dromos walls had knowledge of these items. This could imply that the skull and the cup were a foundation deposit, although this is not certain. Whatever the case, it becomes apparent that although larnax L12 was placed in the dromos perhaps as late as MM IIA, the dromos walls were erected in EM III or

MM IA. The latter date is more plausible since these walls are also parts of Tomb 9, which was built and used in MM IA (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 210).

2.4 STRATUM III

Stratum III of the dromos corresponds to Stratum III of the tholos interior. It is black, hard and full of small lumps of limestone. The finds are two gold bands and some obsidian and chert chipped objects; they resemble the material of Stratum III of the tholos interior and perhaps were objects used as funerary offerings. The stratum cannot be dated securely due to the absence of pottery, but it is reasonable to assume that it is contemporary with the corresponding Stratum III of the tholos interior, that is EM IIA.

D/ SCENARIO

The above discussion of the character and the dating of the various strata inside and outside the tomb allow us to reconstruct the history of activity in Tholos Γ and the area around it.

Tholos Γ was erected as a free-standing building as early as EM IIA. The four worn EM I sherds found inside Tholos Γ cannot support a construction of the tomb in such an early period, but indicate a use of the area as early as EM I. In EM IIA the only other tomb used in Phourni was the neighbouring Tholos E to the south, quite similar, but slightly larger. Tholos Γ was used in EM IIA for burials made directly on the floor of the tomb, above a thin layer of lumps of limestone which have been used to fill the irregularities of the natural rock. These burials were furnished with a large number of offerings including marble, gold, copper, silver, bone and ivory objects.

The evidence shows that the EM IIA burials and the associated material were disturbed by extensive clearing operations which included removal of soil, bones and artefacts in a rather random and non-selective way. The cleared material was transported and dumped in the deep fissures of the so called Area of the Rocks. Such clearing operations could have occurred just once or more frequently throughout the long period of use of the tomb. What seems certain is that, at least, one major operation of this kind was undertaken in EM III, just before the first use of the burial containers. During this operation soil, finds and bones were removed and deposited in the Area of the Rocks, and the floor of the tomb was levelled. These operations caused great disturbance to both the finds and the burial remains of EM IIA. The extensive clearing operations in the lower burial stratum could be best explained if seen in relation to the new use of the tomb in EM III, with burials made inside clay coffins. Because of the small entrance it is probable that the floor of the tomb had to be lowered. Also the floor of the tomb had to be levelled for the better stability of the burial containers. For this reason the earth filling of the rock fissures inside the tomb remained relatively untouched, and so did the finds contained in this filling. After these operations a large flat stone was placed at the entrance as a threshold.

The lower burial stratum was not covered with earth, and the larnakes were lain directly over it. No special care was taken for covering and sealing the lower burial stratum. Thus, the later (EM III) burial activities caused undoubtedly even more disturbance to the lower stratum. This is better illustrated by the fact that the areas of the lower stratum beneath the larnakes were almost "untouched" compared to the area of the entrance which was continuously disturbed due to the movement of people in and out of the tomb. This kind of disturbance can explain the small quantity of later sherds and the EM III-MM IA seal S4 found in the lower EM IIA stratum (Stratum III).

There is no evidence to suggest whether the larnakes were placed in the tomb all at once or over a considerable period of time. Whatever the case, it is certain that after their placement in the tomb they remained inside and they received yet other burials until the end of the use of the tomb. The latter could be placed in EM III or, the latest, in MM IA, according to the dating of the objects found in front of the entrance. There is no evidence to suggest that the entrance was closed or blocked, but there is no object from Stratum II dated after EM III or MM IA. Furthermore, in MM IA the rooms of Tomb 9 were built in front of the Tholos Γ entrance and almost blocked it. Tomb 9 had a long period of use within MM IA, as can be seen in the large number of burials (Sakellarakis 1973; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 210-2). This reinforces the view that if Tholos Γ continued to be used in MM IA, this was only for a short period.

The area outside the tomb followed the same history as the interior. There was a thin stratum (Stratum III) corresponding to the lower burial stratum of the tholos interior and above this another stratum (Stratum IIB) corresponding to the upper burial stratum of the tholos interior and dated to EM III. In EM III, or, most probably, in MM IA, two walls were built outside the tomb as projections of the two doorjambs. These walls, which defined the dromos, were built at a level higher than the larnakes of the tholos interior and overlay the two EM III-MM IA vases (V6-V7). According to this evidence it seems clear that the two walls were built after the end of the use of the tholos and they could be seen as part of an extensive building program which also included the construction of Tomb 9, outside the east part of Tholos Γ, which is dated to MM IA (Sakellarakis 1973; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 210-2).

During MM IA, MM IB and MM II burials were made in the rectangular chambers of Tomb 9, just north-east and south-east of the Tholos Γ entrance. Tholos Γ was not closed, but there is no evidence of burials or other activities in the interior during these periods. The area of the dromos was free, as indicated by a few MM IIA sherds. A larnax (L12) was placed by this time in the east part of the dromos. It probably received burial(s), but its poor state of preservation makes this uncertain.

The evidence suggests that the roof of the tomb collapsed in MM IIB-IIIA. It is possible that the collapse was caused by the intense seismic activity of the end of the Protopalatial period, which caused also major destruction in many other Cretan sites, including the neighbouring shrine at Anemospilia. This collapse caused damage to the burials and the larnakes of EM III. The tomb was never restored, but a cup of this date found intact at the upper part of the entrance was

possibly the last deliberate deposition made by the people of Archanes in this already ancient tomb, standing for more than 700 years in this part of the cemetery.

After the roof collapse the gap in the area above the interior and exterior of the tholos was filled naturally or artificially with earth. Some disturbance occurred much later, possibly in the Late Bronze Age or in historical times. It was concentrated in the west part of the tomb and its character remains unknown. The west part of the tomb continued to remain "open" and to be subject to disturbance until very recently. This is indicated by a small fragment from a modern tea-cup found at the level of the larnakes rims, undoubtedly fallen to this depth through the holes and the gaps between the stones and earth which covered the tomb until the excavation of 1972.

CHAPTER 3: PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF MORTUARY PRACTICES

A/ INTRODUCTION

The archaeologist's task is not only to describe the archaeological evidence, as we did in the previous chapter, but also to interpret and use this evidence for the reconstruction of people's society and life. Mortuary archaeological evidence is very important for this task, but its study is not without problems. Apart from the several problems which emerge and are discussed in the following chapters, there are some more basic theoretical issues concerning the relation between the mortuary archaeological evidence and the various aspects of life in the past.

It is not possible to study mortuary evidence without considering to what degree this evidence reflects people's lives, beliefs and social organisation. It is not possible to make inferences about people and society without finding the way to connect mortuary practices with life. Consequently, it is important to consider which aspects of people's lives influence their attitudes to death, and, therefore, are represented by them. Also it is necessary to think whether all mortuary practices are archaeologically visible, and to what degree. These are fundamental issues of the archaeology of death and have important consequences in the way the mortuary archaeological record is understood and interpreted. They also should be faced in every study of mortuary evidence whether from a single tomb (Tholos Γ), over a large area (Crete), or over a long period of time (Prepalatial period). The way such questions are conceptualised and answered formulates the way of interpreting the available data, the methodology of research, the reservations taken into consideration, and the conclusions drawn at the end.

For the above reasons we feel that this chapter is necessary before approaching the mortuary practices of Tholos Γ and Prepalatial Crete in general. The related literature is quite substantial, and this chapter is only a short outline of the several theoretical approaches of the archaeology of death, their influence in the study of mortuary remains, and the way they have been applied to archaeological mortuary evidence. The chapter closes with an account of the basic principles and the main framework, within which we approach, discuss and interpret Tholos Γ and Prepalatial mortuary practices in this thesis.

B/ THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Since the beginning of this century three main approaches have been introduced by sociologists, anthropologists and archaeologists for studying and interpreting mortuary evidence. They were offered by (1) the French sociologists of the beginning of the century and some modern British anthropologists, (2) the archaeologists of "processual" or "new" archaeology, and (3) the archaeologists of "post-processual" archaeology (Carr 1995).

1. Mortuary practices and beliefs about life and death

The first approach was introduced by French sociologists of the early 20th century, mainly Durkheim (1915), Van Gennep (1960) and Hertz (1960), and was followed, though not without criticism, by British anthropologists such as Goody (1959; 1962), Bloch (1971), Huntington and Metcalf (1979).

The French sociologists were the first who traced the sociological factors which determine mortuary practices. They argued that death is an important event for both society and the individual since it brings to the fore the ambiguities and contradictions of human social existence and their definition within society. Death strikes every society, challenges its cohesion, poses serious problems and disturbs the balances within it (Durkheim 1915; Hertz 1960, 77). On the basis of this notion mortuary practices are society's response to the phenomenon of death, and they constitute the efforts of society to restore the balance which was lost and disturbed by this striking event. However, although Durkheim suggested that the primary determinants of mortuary practices are of a sociological character, both Hertz and Van Gennep focused mainly on the relationship between the beliefs of a society and its mortuary practices. More specifically, they argued that the institutionalised beliefs and world views of a society are basic determinants of mortuary practices, independently from the organisation of this society (Carr 1995, 110).

Van Gennep (1960) argued that beliefs about liminality and the afterworld determine the form of death rituals as rites of passage with a tripartite structure. Hertz (1960) argued that the custom of secondary burial is determined by beliefs about the soul and its journey to the afterlife. Both scholars suggested that the links between specific philosophical/religious beliefs and mortuary practices are not entirely arbitrary, but, because they occur in many ethnographic cases, they could be regarded as laws with cross-cultural value. On the basis of this approach an archaeologist can reconstruct people's philosophical and religious beliefs through the study of their mortuary practices.

Although written at the beginning of the century Hertz's and Van Gennep's ideas influenced several recent anthropological works of which the most important and critical is that of Huntington and Metcalf (1979). They identified the problems of Hertz's approach when applied in specific cases, and emphasised the broad and general character of Van Gennep's theory as "merely a vague truism" (1979, 98). Because of the general character of these approaches they suggested that there are many other parameters, particular to specific places and periods, to be taken into account for a better interpretation of mortuary practices.

Huntington and Metcalf did not refute the Hertz's and Van Gennep's notion that beliefs about death are important in understanding mortuary practices, but they argued that the study of these beliefs is not enough. In order to answer effectively the questions about mortuary practices it is necessary to look beyond beliefs about the soul, ghosts and the afterlife and to examine basic values and concepts about the nature and meaning of life (Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 98). Beliefs about death can explain why there are death rituals, but only beliefs about life can

explain why particular rituals are adapted and not others. These ideas are important and valid additions to the earlier work of Hertz and Van Gennep. On the other hand, they follow the same basic proposition that beliefs and world views of a society are basic determinants in the formation of its mortuary practices, and, therefore, they are archaeologically detectable.

2. Mortuary practices as reflection of social organisation

The second approach was formulated in the beginning of the 70's on the basis of the fundamental work of Saxe (1970; 1971) and Binford (1971). It is often known as the "processual" approach, since it is associated with scholars of "processual" or "new" archaeology.

The scholars of this approach gave a particular emphasis to the sociological part of Durkheim's, Van Gennep's and Hertz's work, while they completely rejected the idea that beliefs can determine the form of mortuary practices. It was suggested that there is a direct link between mortuary practices and social life, and that attitudes to death reflect directly social patterns in everyday life. On this basis, Binford suggested that there is a high degree of isomorphism between the complexity of social organisation and the complexity of mortuary ceremonialism (Binford 1971, 18). Both Saxe and Binford based their ideas on the "role theory", according to which a person during his life gets various social identities or roles. When the person dies these roles are given a representative material form which can be compared between individuals. The differences in the material forms of the individuals' roles may be ranked hierarchically as divisions within the society, so social organisation can be reconstructed and measured.

The above ideas were accepted by a large number of scholars (Brown 1981; Chapman 1981a; Goldstein 1981; O'Shea 1981; 1984; Rothschild 1979; Tainter 1978), whose main aim was to create "a body of theory in order to relate the mortuary data at their disposal to patterns of human behaviour within past human societies" (Chapman & Randsborg 1981, 2). According to this approach archaeologists should formulate hypotheses in order to link mortuary practices with the organisation of the society. These hypotheses when tested in ethnographic and anthropological examples could become laws with general cross-cultural value. Thus, society can be reconstructed archaeologically, if such generalisations are applied on its mortuary remains. On the basis of this idea cross-cultural generalisations were formulated for the relation between cemetery organisation and horizontal social organisation (corporate groups) (Chapman 1981a; Goldstein 1981), energy expenditure in burial and social ranking (Brown 1981; Tainter 1978), and mortuary variability and vertical or horizontal social differentiation (O'Shea 1981; 1984). Even the most sceptical anthropologists and archaeologists, who doubted the value of general cross-cultural rules, accepted that in most ethnographic cases burial differentiation was correlated with the social status of the deceased (Ucko 1969, 270).

Some criticism of the processualists' ideas of isomorphism between mortuary data and social complexity was first expressed by O'Shea. He suggested

that we cannot assume an isomorphism between the mortuary data and social complexity because there are intermediate transformations such as failure of preservation, problems in archaeological recovery and archaeological invisibility (O'Shea 1981, 40; 1984). However, O'Shea's critique had to do only with the nature and the inefficiency of the archaeological record and not with the processual theoretical framework itself.

3. Mortuary practices as rituals

The third approach was formulated as a reaction to the ideas of processual archaeology and it is often referred to as "post-processual". This approach appeared in the 80's in the work of several archaeologists such as Barrett (1988; 1990; 1994), Hodder (1980; 1982a; 1982b; 1982c), Morris (1987; 1991; 1992), Pader (1982), Parker Pearson (1982; 1993), and Shanks and Tilley (1982; 1987). Their criticism was based on a number of ideas discussed below.

It was suggested that behind every system there is always a structure of meaning which determines the relationship between material culture and society (Hodder 1980; 1982b; 1982c). Social factors are indeed the most important determinants in the formation of mortuary practices, as processualists argued, but ideology, philosophical/religious beliefs and world views also play an important role as a filter which can distort, hide or change the real social organisation in everyday life.

The scholars of this approach have also emphasised the ritual character of mortuary practices. Funerary behaviour is a ritual and as with all rituals "the 'true' relations of everyday existence are likely to be misinterpreted and a version of the ideal model of social organisation taken for the real, at least momentarily" (Pader 1982, 44). Mortuary practices are a kind of ritual communication and action, and for this reason it is very unlikely that they are linked directly to everyday empirical experience and to everyday practical communication and action (Pader 1982, 54; Parker Pearson 1982).

The value of the "role theory" was also challenged strongly. It was suggested that it is not possible to reconstruct social organisation through the identification of roles (as processual archaeologists tried to do) because "social systems are not constituted *of* roles but *by* recurrent social practices" (Parker Pearson 1982, 100). Society not only produces social practices, e.g. mortuary rituals, but also it is carried forward by such practices (Barrett 1990, 182). Thus, the roles portrayed in death ritual, as in all rituals, "are expressions of status which must be seen as relating to, rather than 'reflecting', social position" (Parker Pearson 1982, 101).

Finally, the active role of mortuary practices was stressed. Burial rituals may be used as a part of an ideology which either faithfully represents and mirrors aspects of a living society, or distorts, obscures, hides or inverts particular social relationships (Hodder 1980, 167; 1982c, 152). The dead are susceptible to manipulation by groups or individuals as part of their social strategies, e.g. to

aggrandise, mystify, legitimise or hide status differences (Parker Pearson 1982, 112). The death ritual in general is a process during which the living reconsider their own legitimate claims of social position and inheritance (Barrett 1988, 31; 1994, 50). Mortuary practices are powerful means to reproduce and legitimate social order, and ideology often uses them as a means of denial, representation or objectification of this social order (Shanks & Tilley 1982; 1987).

The implications of the above ideas for the study of mortuary practices are very important. It was accepted that patterns in death are not passive reflections of patterns in life, of social organisation and social complexity; in the cases where they were, this is only because of, and through, the particular attitudes to death in an indirect rather than a direct way (Hodder 1980, 165-6; 1982a, 142-143). As Hodder put it clearly "in death people often become what they have not been in life" (1982a, 146). Because mortuary practices do not reflect society but are meaningfully constructed, it is always necessary to take the ideational and ideological into account (Hodder 1982a, 141). It is important to concentrate on ideology and the attitudes to death and not on the burial rituals themselves.

Moreover, it was argued that the meaning of funerary practices outside their specific historical and social context may be obscure, since it depends on many cultural values and ideologies which are specific in a particular context. Therefore, the use of mortuary remains as means to understand the societies which they represent is not appropriate through cross-cultural generalisations (Pader 1982, 201), and the need for a fully contextual archaeology is urgent (Hodder 1982a; 1982b; Parker Pearson 1993, 204).

C/ DISCUSSION

The above described approaches to the archaeological mortuary evidence differ in five points (Carr 1995, 109):

1. In the degree to which beliefs about death are considered to determine mortuary practices.

2. In whether the relations between mortuary practices and their determinants (social organisation and/or beliefs) are cross-cultural or strictly contextual.

3. In the degree to which social organisation is reflected directly in mortuary practices, or indirectly through beliefs about death and ideology.

4. In whether beliefs and world views affect mortuary practices independently of social relations.

5. In whether social relations are passively mirrored in mortuary practices, or, instead, are idealised, masked, manipulated and inverted as part of social strategies.

It is not the aim of this present discussion to evaluate the different approaches and choose "the best" for the interpretation of the mortuary practices of

Tholos Γ and Prepalatial Crete, in general. The aim is to make clear that there is a variety of ideas for studying the available archaeological material and to show that it is necessary to be aware of the problems of each approach, as well as the problems of the study of mortuary practices in general.

First, the strong critique made of the processual approach, during the last two decades, shows clearly that mortuary practices are not direct and passive reflection of social organisation and that social factors do not directly determine death rituals, but do so only through ideology and beliefs about life and death. However, it should be emphasised that social organisation as the primary and only determinant of mortuary practices was not the intended message of Binford's work. American mortuary archaeology and "processual" theoretical approach was formulated in the 70's and early 80's by a mistaken reading of Binford's conclusions (Braun 1981, 411-412; Carr 1995, 110, 117-119). Braun in his critique of Tainter's methods states clearly that "the seminal studies by Binford (1971) and Saxe (1970) did not demonstrate that mortuary ritual contents are linked mechanically to the size and composition of the group which had obligations to the deceased. Rather, they showed that the mortuary ritual program of a society constitutes a system of symbolic communication, serving as a cultural mechanism for affirming and reinforcing the continuity of social orderliness" (Braun 1981, 411). After all, Binford proposed that "other things being equal, the heterogeneity of mortuary practices...should vary directly with the complexity of the status hierarchy" (1971, 14). But, as Morris perceptively concludes, "in the real life, other things are never equal" (1991, 163), a parameter ignored by all the followers of Binford's ideas. Concerning the cross-cultural validity of some universal laws, suggested by several processual approaches, archaeologists of the processual theoretical framework in recent papers have accepted that, although much impetus comes from the ethnographic record, the key to develop our knowledge of the past can only come from understanding the archaeological record in space and time (Chapman 1995, 48).

According to the above ideas it has to be accepted that ideology, symbolism, world views and philosophical-religious beliefs about death play an important role in the formation of mortuary practices and they have always to be taken into account in the reconstruction of a society on the basis of its mortuary practices. This notion is similar in the work of the French sociologists and the British post-processual archaeologists. Both approaches recognise that social organisation *and* philosophical beliefs determine the form of mortuary practices, rites and rituals, thus they can be reconstructed archaeologically. However, there is a very important difference. For Hertz and Van Gennep philosophical beliefs, such as beliefs about the soul, afterworld and liminality can determine mortuary practices independently of social relations and structure. For the post-processual archaeologists such beliefs and world views are only an artificial symbolic framework for the manipulation of social relations and organisation. In other words they are not independent determinants, but powerful means in the social strategies of groups and/or individuals.

It is certain that philosophical and religious beliefs cannot exist outside the society which produce them, and their meaning depends on their relevant context. People create symbols and ideas for their social rituals, such as the mortuary

rituals, and through these symbols they restructure social relationships and social positions, legitimise social order, hide or distort status differences, express or alter the real social organisation. On the other hand people not only create these ideas as part of their social strategies, but they also follow them. Their actions depend on them.

Indeed, cross-cultural ethnographic surveys have shown that mortuary practices are influenced and determined by a complex mix of factors, primarily of social or philosophical/religious character (Carr 1995, 188). It is not easy to isolate aspects of mortuary practices which reflect either beliefs or social organisation, because there are no factors determining only specific aspects of mortuary practices. Social organisation, social position and social relations are often expressed not in a direct way but, rather, are filtered through the framework of philosophical-religious beliefs, world views, and their symbolic codes. On the other hand these beliefs are often peoples' own creations in order to manipulate social reality. These two factors interact together and determine the form of mortuary practices.

To conclude, it appears that the study of the archaeological mortuary evidence faces significant problems. The mortuary practices are not a direct reflection of social reality. There cannot be any laws of cross-cultural validity applicable to a funerary assemblage of any spatial or temporal context. Further, there are no certain aspects of life and society which determine specific parameters of mortuary practices. Conversely, there are no aspects of mortuary practices which can reflect only a specific number of aspects of life. Finally, the philosophical/religious and social factors do not determine mortuary practices in an independent and separable way. However, we believe that there are several ways archaeologists can use mortuary evidence in the study of the past.

First, it seems that some particular aspects of mortuary practices are determined by some factors to a higher degree than others. Ethnographic work showed that links suggested by Hertz between the treatment of the corpse and beliefs about the soul, by Tainter between energy expenditure and social ranking, and by Goldstein between cemetery organisation and horizontal social organisation are valid in many cases (Carr 1995, 191-192). Such links are indeed useful and can be used in the study of mortuary practices, but always with the reservation that these are not cross-cultural laws, but only indicatives of the possibilities which exist. They cannot be applied in every society and every spatial and historical context.

Second, when conclusions are drawn about society it should be accepted that these conclusions refer to an ideal model, a mental template of the social organisation and not the real situation. The conclusions will be about the ideational social positions, social relations and social order, that is the social organisation which the participants in a death ritual want to express. The degree to which this ideational social structure is identical to the real social organisation depends on the beliefs, the ideology and the attitudes to death which are particular and unique in a given spatial and historical context. Archaeologists can reveal the situation reflected in the mortuary practices, but they also have to identify to what degree this situation is identical to, or different from, the real situation in the society.

For this reason, the problems in the analysis of mortuary practices can be overcome only through a study of the broader spatial and temporal context. It is possible to reveal and reconstruct patterns of life through the study of mortuary practices, but the study of mortuary remains is neither the only, nor the primary way of understanding society and life of the past. The study and interpretation of the mortuary evidence has to be made only within a broader contextual study of all the available archaeological evidence from settlements, artefacts, written texts or other kinds of archaeological record, and also through the study of the attitudes to death, religious beliefs and general values of life which a society of the past had.

With the above ideas and reservations in mind we will discuss and interpret the mortuary practices of Tholos Γ and Prepalatial Crete in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4: MORTUARY PRACTICES

A/ PREPALATIAL MORTUARY PRACTICES

In all the studies about Prepalatial mortuary practices burial is regarded as a two-stage process involving (1) the *prothesis,* that is the primary burial of the corpse, and (2) the secondary treatment, ranging from a careless removal of the bones to the careful retention of the skull (Branigan 1970a; 1993; Maggidis 1994a; Murphy 1998; Soles 1992). The quantity and quality of the evidence for every stage of this process varies greatly and consideration of this is instructive before studying the case of Tholos Γ. The tombs themselves should be examined also, as an arena in which mortuary practices took place.

1. Burial facilities

Four types of tombs were used in Prepalatial Crete and these types have a specific pattern of distribution through the island. The first type, the circular tholos tomb, occurs mainly in S. Crete, in the areas of the Mesara plain and the Asterousia mountains (Branigan 1970a; 1993). About 80 tombs have been discovered, and they usually occur in cemeteries of one, two or three tholoi. Tholos tombs were overground structures of circular shape with vaulted roof. The entrance was small and almost always facing east. One or more chambers of small size were usually built in front of the entrance. The tholoi were collective tombs used for a long period and for many successive burials. Most of them were erected in EM I or EM II but their use continued, in most cases, until the end of the Prepalatial period. Very few tholoi were erected in EM III-MM I, and even fewer continued to be used after the end of the Prepalatial period.

The second type of tomb, the rectangular house tomb appeared in E. Crete as early as EM II and from EM III-MM IA spread to N. Central Crete (Soles 1992). About 55 house tombs have been discovered in these two areas. The type never became popular in S. Crete and only four possible examples have been discovered, at Porti, Koumasa and Odhiyitria (Soles 1992; Vasilakis 1992). As in the case of the tholoi, the house tombs were also built above ground. They consisted of one or more rooms and were situated either alone or with other similar tombs. There was no particular orientation of the entrance and some tombs had no entrance at all, so the interments had to be made from above. Similarly to the tholoi, the house tombs were of collective character, with continuous use for many successive burials.

A third type of burial was inside a cave or a rock-shelter. The distribution of this type depends on the availability of caves and the geology of each area. Therefore, there is only one cave tomb in S. Crete, while caves used as tombs were more common in N., W. and E. Crete (Pini 1968). The lack of caves in S. Crete has been suggested as the main reason for the appearance of tholos tombs in S. Crete and the main determinant of their circular vaulted shape (Branigan 1993, 38-39).

Caves were used as burial places from the Neolithic until the Protopalatial period, although the number of the caves which received burials after the end of the Prepalatial period is limited.

Finally, the fourth type was the interment made inside pithoi or larnakes buried in the ground, in extensive cemeteries. Such cemeteries appeared only in the later Prepalatial period (EM III-MM IA) and can be seen in the north central (Mallia), east (Sphoungaras, Pachyammos) and south (Porti) parts of the island, and the Viannos area (Galana Charakia) (Pini 1968; Platon 1954; 1956; Soles 1987).

2. Primary burial

Evidence from some tholos and house tombs shows that primary burials were indeed made inside these collective tombs. Undisturbed articulated burials have been found in tholoi at Ay. Triadha, Ay. Kyrillos, Apesokari, Vorou, Gypsades and Lebena (Branigan 1970a, 87) and in house tombs at Archanes, Mallia, Palaikastro and Zakros (Soles 1992, 244). The evidence is rather scanty, but this is due to the prolonged use of the tombs and the constant clearing of the old burial remains. There is no reason to believe that primary burials were not made in the tombs, or that the tombs were simply ossuaries where the burial remains were deposited after decomposition (Branigan 1970a, 87; Soles 1992, 242). On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that in some tholos tombs the primary burial was made in the antechamber and not in the tholos itself (Branigan 1970a, 87). Also, the same is possible in the case of the multi-roomed house tombs of E. Crete and Archanes, where one or more rooms could be used for the *prothesis* of the primary burial, while other rooms may have served as the ossuaries for the decayed skeletal remains.

By the later Prepalatial period clay burial coffins, larnakes and pithoi were introduced throughout the island and in all the types of tombs (Appendix VII): tholoi, house tombs, caves and also as single interments, buried in the ground in large open-air cemeteries. However, there is no clear evidence about the way these containers were used. The evidence from Tholos Γ, discussed in the next section, is revealing.

The primary burial was usually accompanied by funerary goods such as figurines, jewels, copper daggers, toiletry implements, seals, pendants, and clay and stone vases (Branigan 1993, 67-75). Food and liquid offerings were perhaps contained in these vases, as indicated by a few cases in which such offerings have been preserved (Branigan 1993, 76-80; Maggidis 1992a; Soles 1992, 246-9).

3. Secondary treatment

Because the Prepalatial tombs were collective tombs with prolonged and continuous use, it is not surprising that most of the evidence has to do with the secondary treatment of the dead. The various modes of secondary treatment have

been classified by Branigan: 1) selective grouping of bones, 2) selective removal of bones, 3) breaking or chopping of bones, 4) clearance of the tomb, and 5) fumigation of the tomb (Branigan 1987, 45). The above modes of treatment can be grouped in two larger categories. The first three (selective grouping, selective removal and breaking) are regarded as manipulating activities since they had no practical character and they could be ritual actions related to funerary beliefs. The other two (clearance and fumigation) are described as interference activities since they served practical reasons which had to do with the continuous use of the tomb. However, such a classification cannot be strict, since it is possible that grouping and removing of bones may have been started as a practical device for spatial economy, or that some clearing and fumigating activities could have acquired ritual or spiritual character [I would like to thank C. Maggidis for his valuable suggestions on this subject]. It should be emphasised that the above practices occurred only in the tholos, house and cave tombs and not in the open cemeteries consisting of pithoi and larnakes burials. In these cemeteries burials were made in the ground and did not receive secondary treatment.

a) Interference

Clearance: Clearing activities were very common practices due to the continuous prolonged use of all the Minoan tombs. Such operations have been attested in several tholos tombs in the Mesara (Branigan 1970a, 107; 1987, 47). In Platanos A and Koumasa E the clearance had dramatic effects since a large part of the burial deposit was removed to the antechambers or towards the internal periphery of the tombs, while the floor of the tomb was covered by earth and new interments were made above. In other tombs the clearance was of smaller scale. The cleared material was removed either towards the periphery of the tholos interior (Kamilari, Koumasa E, Marathokephalo, Vorou A), or to the outer chambers (Platanos, Apesokari, Ay. Kyriaki, Ay. Kyrillos, Ay. Triadha), or to walled trenches outside the tomb (Koumasa, Platanos, Porti), or to rock clefts in the neighbouring area (Skotomenou Charakas A) (Blackman & Branigan 1977, 51; Branigan 1993, 121-122). Surprisingly, there is no evidence for clearing operations in the house tombs of E. Crete and the only evidence has to do with small scale internal rearrangements of the bones, in the Zakros and Mochlos house tombs (Soles 1992, 145). However, it is understandable that such operations actually took place, otherwise the tomb would have become filled with the old burial remains.

Fumigation: The second practice of interference with bones was fumigation. Great fumigation fires covering the entire tomb area were not very common and the only tomb with such evidence is Platanos A. More common was the small scale localised fumigation seen in Ay. Eirene, Ay. Kyriaki, Drakones, Kaloi Limenes II, Lebena IIa, Megaloi Skinoi III, Porti and Platanos Γ. The purpose of such small scale fires is unclear, as perhaps they were not for fumigation at all, but used to cleanse, symbolically or otherwise, the bones of one or several individuals (Branigan 1987, 45). The lack of such evidence in many tombs shows that it was not a common practice. Evidence for fumigation fires is also totally lacking from the house tombs of E. Crete, as well as from Archanes, with the possible exception of Tomb 19, where incense burners and traces of carbonised wood were found (Maggidis 1994a).

b) Manipulation

Selective removal: The selective removal of skulls from the tombs has been suggested solely on the basis of indirect evidence, more specifically the absence of skulls from several tholos tombs, especially Platanos A and Vorou A (Branigan 1987, 48-49; 1993, 125).

Selective grouping: In contrast to selective removal there is more evidence for selective grouping of bones. The selected part of the skeleton was, in most cases, the skull and there are many examples of groups of skulls in tholoi: Koumasa B, Platanos B, Ay. Triadha A (Branigan 1987, 48) and Archanes E (Panagiotopoulos 1996; Sakellarakis 1975), and house tombs: Archanes, Palaikastro, Zakros, Mochlos and Gournia (Maggidis 1994a; Soles 1992, 245, 247-8). Evidence for grouping of skulls is observed also in tombs with burial containers, such as the house tomb Zakros A (Soles 1992; 198) and the tholos Vorou A (Branigan 1987, 49).

Skull retention: The above picture of deliberate manipulation of bones strongly suggests a special treatment of the skull in contrast to other parts of the skeleton. In some cases the skulls have been placed, possibly for protection, inside small containers, as in Archanes 6 and 19 (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 250), and Vorou A (Marinatos 1931, 151). In many cases the secondary deposition of the skull involved also ritual offerings made inside cups (Soles 1992, 248). Direct evidence for the association of skulls with cups comes from Archanes 7 and 19 (Maggidis 1994a; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 208), Palaikastro (Soles 1992, 248) and Vorou A (Marinatos 1931). The large number of cups found in house (Soles 1992, 248) and tholos tombs (Branigan 1970, 98-100) possibly indicates that such offerings were very common, but it is not certain whether all these cups were used exclusively during the secondary treatment of the skull, or for other stages of the burial process, too. An interesting feature is also the frequent inversion of the cup, which may be explained in religious terms as a memorial of an act with ritual character. It has been suggested that by this ritual act the offering, whether food or liquid was fixed in the earth (Soles 1992, 249; Åstrom 1987, 13).

Before leaving the subject of the skull retention it is important to add another striking piece of evidence coming not from a cemetery, but from the settlement of Myrtos Fournou Korifi in SE. Crete. A skull was found in one of the rooms of the settlement, dated to EM IIB (Warren 1972, 83). It was not accompanied by any other bones and was found in front of a tripartite structure consisting of two benches and a hearth in the middle. This altar-shaped structure, together with the type of several vases found in the room, suggest that offerings and libations may have taken place in the room, and it is probable that the skull would have some function in these rites. Warren does not exclude the possibility of a human sacrifice, but, on the basis of the evidence available from the cemeteries of this period, the worship and honouring of an ancestor seems more plausible.

Breaking of bones: The third category of manipulation, the breaking or chopping of the bones was not a common practice since it occurs only in the Ay. Kyriaki and Kaminospilio tholos tombs (Branigan 1987, 49-50; 1993, 125-126). The small size and fragmented condition of the bones seen in many tombs cannot be securely

regarded as evidence of deliberate breakage and chopping activities as suggested by Branigan, since this could be caused by the continuous use of the tombs and the constant disturbance of the previous burial remains by the later interments. As will be seen, this is also the case for the fragmented bones of the Tholos Γ lower burial stratum.

4. Rituals of non-funerary character

Apart from the usual ritual offerings of food, liquids and gifts to the dead on the occasion of the primary and secondary burial, it has been suggested that other rituals, of a more general character, were undertaken in the Prepalatial cemeteries, without relation to specific burials. There is sufficient evidence to support this idea.

First there are rooms in tombs or open areas of the cemeteries which seem to be left without burials, possibly reserved as tomb shrines. Interior shrines have been suggested for Palaikastro, Mochlos, Ay. Kyriaki and Lebena II, and exterior ritual areas for Mochlos and Gournia (Soles 1992, 237). In the tholos cemeteries of Ay. Kyriaki, Ay. Triadha, Ay. Kyrillos, Apesokari, Koumasa, Odhiyitria and Platanos, areas paved with slabs and marked off by precinct walls have also been suggested as ritual areas on the basis of their structural features and the objects found there (Branigan 1970a, 132-134; 1993, 127-128; Soles 1992, 238; Vasilakis 1992). In the MM I house tombs of Gournia II and Chrysolakkos I and the contemporary tholos tombs Apesokari A and Kamilari A an altar or kernos existed in the courtyards, in front of the tombs. In the case of Kamilari A cups were found over and round the altar.

A second category of evidence is the large number of cups, stone vases and other clay vases found in the antechambers and the open areas of the tholos cemeteries. Many of these vases were human- or animal-shaped, kernoi and double vases of strictly ritual character and have been regarded as ritual implements used in such occasions (Soles 1992, 232-234).

The above have been regarded as evidence for toasting and libation rituals, banquets, ritual dancing and bull sacrifices, not necessarily related to particular individuals and particular funeral occasions, but of a general religious, non-funerary character (Branigan 1970a, 134-138; Branigan 1998, 19-23; Hamilakis 1998, 120-121). The possible character and nature of these rituals will be discussed in the next chapter. However, it is worth mentioning that the evidence for such rituals, such as the enclosures and the paved areas appeared mainly in the late Prepalatial period (EM III-MM IA). On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that such rituals took also place earlier, especially if considered that some of the ritual implements appeared first in EM II, such as the human- and animal-shaped vases.

B/ THOLOS Γ MORTUARY PRACTICES

As discussed in the first chapter, the major problem besetting the study of Prepalatial mortuary practices is that the evidence derives from collective tombs, used over long periods of time, cleared periodically, looted in modern times, not well excavated, and unpublished or poorly documented. In the above discussion, it became clear that many aspects of Prepalatial mortuary practices remain uncertain, due to insufficient evidence. Tholos Γ has some advantages over several other Prepalatial tombs, in that it remained unlooted in modern times, is preserved in very good condition, and was well excavated and documented. For this reason a detailed study of the Tholos Γ mortuary evidence offers the opportunity to test hypotheses, throw new light and fill some gaps in our knowledge about Prepalatial mortuary practices.

1. Burial facility

Tholos Γ is one of the only seven certain tholoi discovered outside S. Crete. Four of these tholoi were built in the earlier Prepalatial period (EM I-II): Tholoi Γ and E in Archanes, and Tholoi A and B in Krasi. Three more tholoi were built in the later part of the Prepalatial and the beginning of the Protopalatial period (EM III-MM I): Tholos B in Archanes, one tholos in Gypsades and one in Myrsini. The study of the architecture of the tomb and of the evidence from the destruction level, made in Chapter 2, sheds new light on the problem of the construction of the tholos tombs and confirms previous suggestions that these circular tombs had a stone vaulted roof (Branigan 1993, 55).

2. Primary burials

EM IIA: There is only limited evidence for the burials of the lower (EM IIA) burial stratum due to the extensive clearing operations, which will be discussed below. The stratum was full of small, very fragmented bones and teeth, scattered both in the areas beneath the larnakes and around them. No undisturbed identifiable burial was revealed, which is, perhaps, not surprising, since the stratum was not more than 0.10-0.20 m. thick. A similar picture is seen in the neighbouring Tholos E (Panagiotopoulos 1996). The burials were made on a thin layer of small stones. Unlike the neighbouring Tholos E, there is no evidence for the use of clay burial containers in EM IIA (Sakellarakis 1975; Panagiotopoulos 1996), although the use of such containers made of other materials (e.g. wood) cannot be excluded. The use of the clay coffins did not become common in Crete until EM III (Branigan 1993, 65; Soles 1992, 244).

The burials were accompanied by a large number of funerary goods, such as figurines, jewels, copper artefacts, seals, clay and stone vases, and obsidian blades. The prolonged use of the tomb, the lack of skeletal remains and the disturbance due to clearing operations makes it difficult, if not impossible, to identify groups of finds and associate them with burials. In some cases objects of similar character were found closely together, such as the four bone pins I1-I4, the four silver awls C4-C7, the two figurines F9-F10 and the marble bowl D1, the

beads beneath larnax L10, and the obsidian blades beneath larnax L4. However, even in the case of these relatively undisturbed groups of finds, it is not possible to know how many individuals had been buried with them.

EM III: The significant change in the mortuary practices of EM III was the introduction of the clay coffins. In this period Tholos Γ received the burials of at least 55 individuals, made inside 11 larnakes, one pithos and the spaces in between. The larnakes were placed without any particular orientation, and the free spaces in between were not larger than 0.30-0.40 m (plates 5a, 6a; figure 5). Three larnakes (L8, L9 and L11) contained no burials, but this is probably due to disturbance. Three larnakes contained the remains of one burial (L2, L5), three had two burials (L1, L4, L7), one larnax had three (L6) and finally the pithos and one more larnax contained remains of four burials (P1, L10) (table 1).

By this time there is the first firm, although scarce, evidence for primary burials in Tholos Γ. In larnax L5 the position of the skull and the still articulated lower limbs (plate 9b) show clearly that the deceased was placed inside the larnax in a contracted position, on its left side with the head to the north, opposite the entrance and facing to the east. Some kind of articulation could be seen also in the badly preserved skeleton of L1, indicating again a skeleton in contracted position with the head to the north. These form the only direct evidence for primary burials, but they confirm that the larnakes were indeed used for primary burials. The dead had to be placed in a contracted position, since the length of the larnakes was not more than 1-1.20 m. The orientation of the burials was not according to the compass points but to the tholos entrance. It appears that the dead were placed with the head to the side opposite to the entrance.

The Tholos Γ evidence is of particular importance, since primary articulated burials have been attested in very few Minoan tombs with larnakes and pithoi (Archanes 5 and 18, Zakros A and B) (Soles 1992, 244). However, the use of containers for primary burials seems almost certain, especially in the cases where the tombs had been filled with such containers (Archanes Tholoi Γ and E, Myrsini, Vorou A, Galana Charakia). In Tholos Γ the only space large enough to receive a primary burial, even in contracted position was inside the larnakes, and this may have been the case for many other tombs, too. Moreover, there is no reason to place a large number of larnakes or pithoi inside a tomb if they are only to be used as ossuaries.

It is noteworthy that only a very small number of objects accompanied the burial remains of EM III, in contrast to what was observed for the burials of EM IIA. The possible meaning of this phenomenon will be discussed in Chapter 7.

3. Secondary treatment

As in the case of all the Prepalatial collective tombs, most of the evidence from Tholos Γ concerns the secondary treatment of the dead. From the modes of secondary treatment mentioned in the previous section, Tholos Γ gives important information about clearance, selective grouping and selective removal of bones.

a) Clearance

EM IIA: Tholos Γ received extensive clearing operations which disturbed the burial remains of EM IIA. This is indicated clearly by the fragmentary condition of the bones and many of the finds, as well as the dispersion of many similar objects, and even fragments belonging to the same object. The cleared material was disposed of in the fissures of the bedrock, in the Area of the Rocks (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 232) (figure 1). This is confirmed by the gold band, fragments of which were found in the tholos and the Area of the Rocks. It is also reinforced by many analogies between the material found in these two assemblages (Cycladic figurines, gold bead, obsidian blades, dark grey burnished pottery).

From this point of view Tholos Γ provides the first direct and secure evidence for clearing activities in a Prepalatial tomb. In all the other cases (e.g. Platanos, Koumasa etc.) the removal and dumping of burial material have been inferred on the basis of indirect evidence. In the case of Tholos Γ it is possible to know not only that clearing operations took place, but also where exactly the cleared material was disposed of. Moreover, the Area of the Rocks was used for material cleared also from other tombs of the cemetery, something indicating that the clearing operations in the tombs of Phourni were common and well organised and that there was a particular concern for the place of disposal of this material.

According to the evidence presented in Chapter 2, it appears that a major clearing took place in Tholos Γ in EM III, by the time the burial containers were introduced. The main aim of this particular clearing seems to be the lowering and levelling of the floor for the better and more stable placement of the larnakes and the pithos. However, it cannot be excluded that minor such activities took also place periodically, in earlier phases of use of the tomb.

EM III: In this phase of use there is evidence for clearance of burial remains both outside the burial containers and outside the tomb itself. First, it is certain that the burial containers were cleared, at least partially, of their previous burial remains. This is indicated by several pieces of evidence. In most of the larnakes the only part of the skeleton found was the skull, and a few long bones (plates 7-8a), while in some others (larnakes L1, L3, L7 and L10) some of the burials were represented by no more than a few teeth or bones. The clearance of the larnakes from the remains of the old burials was necessary for making space for the new ones.

Second, all the skeletal remains found outside the larnakes belonged to relocated, secondary burials, and not to primary burials as was originally suggested (Sakellarakis 1972; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997). This is reinforced by the fact that very few bones were found; usually, the only preserved part of the skeleton was the skull and, occasionally, some long bones. Moreover, the space between the larnakes was not enough for a primary burial, even in the contracted position. This shows clearly that the burials were made primarily *only* inside the larnakes and, after decay, some or all of the remains were removed and placed in the free spaces around them. This could suggest that the skeletal material, found near a larnax was

most probably the remains of burial(s), made primarily inside this particular larnax.

It is noteworthy that the funerary goods of this phase were found not inside the larnakes, but with the relocated burials outside them. In two cases the association is clear. Skull K35 was accompanied by a bone pendant (A4), a seal (S5) and a jug (V3), and burial K42 by a clay cup (V6) in reversed position. This indicates that the funerary goods were cleared out of the larnakes together with the skeletal remains.

It is also possible that burial remains were cleared out of the tomb, although the evidence is not firm. Apart from the skulls and some other parts of the skeleton, usually the long bones, no other skeletal material was identified during the excavation. Generally speaking, the skeletal material found in Tholos Γ was significantly less than what we would expect from 55 burials (a number based on the identified skulls). It is possible, therefore, that a part of the skeletal material was cleared out of the tomb, as in the case of the burials of the earlier phase (EM IIA). The majority of the pottery from the Area of the Rocks is dated to EM III, MM I and MM II, so this area received cleared material from tombs of these periods, and possibly from Tholos Γ. However, the relation between Tholos Γ and the Area of the Rocks in EM III cannot be established directly, as in EM IIA. According to the above, the clearing of EM III burial remains out of the tomb cannot be regarded as certain, but cannot also be excluded on the basis of the available evidence.

b) Skull retention

EM IIA: In contrast to the careless clearing and disposal of the burial material (bones and artefacts) in the Area of the Rocks, there is some evidence that the skulls received special treatment. In the Area of the Rocks three skulls were found carefully placed inside a natural fissure of the bedrock (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1976, 393). Near them was found the missing part of gold band J43 (figure 35), found inside Tholos Γ. This possibly shows that the skulls belonged to Tholos Γ burials and were carefully deposited in the rock fissure, after being removed from Tholos Γ. A small quantity of EM IIA dark grey burnished pottery, similar to that from Tholos Γ, was also found together with the skulls, suggesting a broad contemporaneity with the Tholos Γ EM IIA burials. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that the skulls derive from another tomb as part of different clearing or ritual activities, and that their relation with the gold band was merely a coincidence; in other words, that the skulls had been already deposited in the fissure when the material from Tholos Γ was disposed of in the Area of the Rocks. Whatever the case, it seems clear that the skulls received special treatment in contrast to the rest of the skeletal remains which were disposed without care in the Area of the Rocks.

Another interesting example of skull retention is provided by Tomb 19 (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 218-220; Maggidis 1994a; Maggidis 1994b). This is a very small, D-shape tomb, 1.85 m. by 1.95 m., with a semi-vaulted roof, founded at the edge of the Area of the Rocks (figure 1). Although it has been characterised as a tomb, Tomb 19 is probably the clearest example of an ossuary in

the Phourni cemetery. Two main burial strata were identified, the lower containing 122 skulls, the upper 71. Almost all the burials were represented only by skulls and few selected principal bones (Maggidis 1994a, 31, 34; Maggidis 1994b, 49). This suggests that they were remains of secondarily treated burials, not primary *in situ* burials. Moreover, the space was very limited for placing primary burials (1.85 m. by 1.95 m.), and it was further reduced by the large number of skulls and vases, which occupied the already limited available space. This peculiar character of Tomb 19 is demonstrated very well as, although it is the smallest tomb in Phourni, it contains by far the largest number of skulls. The density of skulls in this tomb is without parallel in any other tomb in Phourni.

The above evidence, we believe, suggests that Tomb 19 was an ossuary which received skulls and selected bones from burials made primarily in other tombs of Phourni. Tomb 19 was founded in EM III and continued to be used until MM II (Maggidis 1994a; 1994b; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 218). It is noteworthy that the erection of this ossuary is broadly contemporary with the extensive clearing operations undertaken in Tholos Γ, and, somewhat later, in Tholos E (Panagiotopoulos 1996). Also, it is contemporary with the appearance of burial containers and the erection of several new rectangular tombs in Phourni, such as Tombs 5, 6, 12 and 18 (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997). It is possible, therefore, that this ossuary was built as part of an extensive building program in Phourni, in order for the secondary treatment of the dead to become more organised and ritualised. Other skeletal remains continued to be disposed in the Area of the Rocks throughout the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods. The use of Tomb 19 as an ossuary would also explain the large number of skulls, the small dimensions and the limited space available for primary burials, as well as some other peculiar characteristics of this tomb. More specifically, it is the only tomb in Phourni built so close to the Area of the Rocks (at the edge of it), and it is the only tomb in Phourni with the entrance facing westwards, directly towards the Area of the Rocks. These peculiarities can be better explained if we accept a special relationship between Tomb 19 and the Area of the Rocks, which was the main disposal area of the cemetery.

In the light of the above evidence it is possible that Tomb 19 received burial remains, mainly skulls, cleared from Tholoi Γ and E. Although this suggestion cannot be proved with certainty, there is some evidence to support it. First, there is a broad contemporaneity between the erection of Tomb 19 and the clearing operations in the tholoi, just before the introduction of the burial containers. Second, in the basal stratum of Tomb 19 a drop-shaped pendant was found (Archanes Museum No. 74). It is identical to the eleven pendants from Tholos Γ (A9-A19; figure 32), and it is the only pendant of this shape found outside Tholos Γ. Third, a special relationship between the tholoi and Tomb 19 can be observed in the architectural form of the latter. The semi-vaulted roof of the tomb could be explained as a deliberate and conscious effort to give to this ossuary the same external appearance as the neighbouring Tholoi Γ and E. Tomb 19 is nothing more than a small tholos "look-alike" and if we accept its function as an ossuary for the skulls of the two Phourni tholoi, this peculiar shape becomes more explicable.

EM III: Evidence for special treatment of the skull exists also in the later phase of use of Tholos Γ. The only part of the skeleton found in most of the larnakes was the skull, occasionally accompanied by some long bones (plates 7, 8a). This evidence together with the fact that most of the larnakes contained more than one burial indicate that the larnakes were used not only as containers of primary burials, but also as ossuaries for the skulls and selected bones from old burials made originally inside them. In this sense the case of pithos (P1) is quite exceptional. Despite its small size the pithos contained four skulls, belonging to three adults and one child (table 1). Since the pithos is too small to receive any adult burial, even in a contracted position, it is certain that the primary burials of the three adults were certainly not made inside the pithos, but in a nearby larnax. Only the remains of the child burial could be from the original, earliest burial of the pithos. This case shows that possibly some burial containers were used as ossuaries not only for skulls belonging to burials made primarily inside them, but also as ossuaries for the storage of remains of secondary, relocated burials which were made primarily in another container. However, it seems more probable that the pithos was placed originally in the tomb in order to receive the primary burial of a child, and it became an ossuary only in a later phase.

Even when the burials were removed and placed outside the larnakes, the skull received special care. This is clear since virtually all the skeletal remains outside the larnakes belonged mainly to skulls, and occasionally to long bones. In some cases three, four or five skulls had been stuck between the larnakes and the tholos wall, and in some parts of the tomb they constituted small heaps near the larnakes. The preservation of the skull is in total contrast to the lack of other skeletal remains and indicates special treatment.

The case of skull K42 found beneath the foundations of the south wall of the dromos is also characteristic (plate 12a). It was accompanied by a small cup placed up-side-down on the ground, a kind of offering seen very often in other cemeteries (Soles 1992, 248). As discussed in Chapter 2, it is probable that the skull and the cup were a foundation deposit, made before the erection of the dromos walls. The double vase filled with shells and found beneath the opposite (north) wall of the dromos was perhaps an associated deposit of similar character. All these finds seem to be offerings related to the building program which took place outside Tholos Γ and involved the construction of the dromos and the three rooms of Tomb 9 some time in MM IA.

Inside Tholos Γ a few EM III burial goods were found together with skulls outside the larnakes. This suggests that there was a special care for the funerary goods (at least some of them) to accompany the skull even when this was removed outside the burial container, after decay.

C/ DISCUSSION

1. Summary of Prepalatial mortuary practices

Before discussing the above evidence, it would be useful to give a summary of Prepalatial mortuary practices and their main characteristics described in the previous sections.

One of the most important features of Prepalatial mortuary practices is that the tombs were of collective character. They received a large number of successive burials and were used for a prolonged period. It is also noteworthy that the tombs were over the ground and the burial itself was also made over ground. This was the case not only for the burials made inside built tombs, such as the tholoi and the house tombs, but also for those made inside caves and rock crevices.

The burial was almost always a two-stage process involving the *prothesis,* that is the primary burial of the corpse, and the secondary treatment. Various offerings accompanied the deceased during the primary burial. The secondary treatment of the corpse, after the decomposition of the flesh, was very frequent, and could have had many different forms. Usually a large part of the burial remains, including bones and artefacts were pushed away or cleared out of the tomb, and disposed carelessly in special areas. In fewer cases there is evidence for fumigation fires. Special treatment was applied only on the skulls and, sometimes, a few selected bones. The skulls were sometimes accompanied by funerary gifts, but mainly by offerings made inside cups.

Apart from the rituals related to specific funeral ceremonies, it seems that the cemeteries were the foci of the religious and other ritual activities of the settlements. The evidence suggests that non-funerary rituals or at least rituals not related to specific funerals took place in the cemeteries, in paved or enclosed areas, sometimes equipped with fixed or mobile altars.

2. Patterns in space and time

It should be emphasised that mortuary practices did not remain without changes throughout the Prepalatial period, and were not similar in all parts of Crete. The study of the changes, differences as well as similarities, through space and time is essential for a better understanding of these practices.

A comparison of the mortuary practices in the various parts of Crete reveals some very interesting patterns. More specifically, the circular tholos tombs were used almost entirely in S. Crete, with a few examples in N. and E. Crete (Archanes, Krasi, Knossos, Myrsini). On the other hand the house tombs were used only in E. Crete and from EM III in N. Central Crete as well. The burial containers which appeared in EM III-MM IA never became popular in S. Crete, in contrast to E. and N. Crete where they were very common. The above suggest clear differences between S. and E. Crete. On the other hand, N. Crete is characterised by burials in cave tombs (Kyparissi, Pyrgos) in the earlier Prepalatial period (EM I-II), while from EM III the E. Cretan house tombs were introduced (Gournes, Bairia).

The cemetery of Phourni has an interesting history, since it follows the S. Cretan tradition in the early Prepalatial (EM II), and the E. Cretan tradition in the later Prepalatial period (EM III-MM I). It is characteristic that Tholos Γ was built

and used according to the S. Cretan burial tradition, but in the later phase of use, in EM III, received burials made inside containers, a practice more frequently attested in E. Crete, whilst extremely rare in S. Crete. The same can be suggested for the entire Phourni cemetery which in EM IIA consisted of two tholos tombs (Tholoi Γ and E), as the S. Cretan cemeteries, while from EM III, when a large number of house tombs was built and the burial containers were introduced, started to look like cemeteries of E. Crete (Mallia, Gournia, Palaikastro). Even the two old tholoi (Tholos Γ and E) which continued to be used in this period, followed the new burial tradition with interments inside pithoi and larnakes.

On the other hand, it should be emphasised that the differences between the three areas are restricted to the form of the burial and the type of the grave. They do not concern the burial process, which was similar in all regions of Crete. The burials were made always above ground, inside collective tombs with continuous use for several decades or centuries. Also, in all parts of the island the burial had the form of a two-stage process, and secondary treatment and skull retention were very common. Moreover, despite the differences in the amount of available evidence it seems that both the tholos and house tombs cemeteries were the foci of non-funerary rituals and important places for the living society. The deposition of funerary goods with primary burials, and cups with the relocated skulls were practices common in the cemeteries of all the areas and of both burial traditions. Great similarity existed also in the form and character of the ritual implements, such as the animal- or human-shaped rhyta, the double vases and others.

The changes occurring in the Prepalatial mortuary practices through time are also of particular importance. It is noteworthy that while the basic notion of the burial as a two-stage process remained unchanged through the entire Prepalatial period, a change occurred in the later part of this period, in EM III-MM IA, when burial containers were introduced. This will be discussed in Chapter 6, but it should be emphasised that the burial containers did not substantially transform the burial process. This is very clear in Tholos Γ, one of the few Prepalatial tombs with such available evidence. The burial containers remained inside the tomb for a long period and were used for successive burials. They received primary burials in contracted position, but were also used as ossuaries for the remains of earlier burials. More specifically, after the decomposition of the flesh, and possibly by the time of a new interment, the remains of the earlier decayed burial were removed outside the larnax in order to make space for the new burial. Usually only the skull remained inside the larnax, at its edge. Occasionally, and when the larnax became full of previous burial remains, the skulls were removed outside and placed near the larnakes, together with the accompanying funerary goods. From this point of view the burial containers were used as small collective tombs inside the larger one, and brought no significant change in the burial process.

The only major break in the Prepalatial burial tradition is the appearance of the extensive open air cemeteries with interments inside pithoi and larnakes. They appeared in EM III-MM IA (Sphoungaras, Mallia, Pachyammos), but they became more extensive in the Protopalatial period. Their appearance marked for the first time the dissolution of the traditional way of burial. It was the first time the dead were buried in, rather than on, the ground, the first time that the dead received no secondary treatment, and the first time that burials were made inside small

individual graves which were used only once and not in collective tombs with prolonged use as in other cemeteries.

An interesting change in the mortuary ritual from the earlier (EM I-II) to the later Prepalatial period (EM III-MM IA) is in the shape of the main drinking and toasting vase. In EM I the large chalice with high foot was the commonest vase, and was replaced in EM IIA by the slightly smaller pedestalled goblet. In EM IIB was introduced an even smaller vase, the footed goblet, which continued in EM III-MM IA, with even smaller dimensions. Finally, in EM III was also introduced the footless goblet, a small vessel, similar to the footed version mentioned above. It is also noteworthy that the chalices/pedestalled goblets in EM I-IIA occurred in smaller numbers than the footed and footless goblets in EM III-MM IA. The gradual diminishing of size, and increase of number of the drinking/toasting vases from EM I to MM IA suggest significant changes in the rituals, either funerary and non-funerary, in which these vessels were used.

Another interesting phenomenon of the later Prepalatial period (EM III-MM IA) is the increase of evidence for rituals in the area of the cemeteries. Most of this evidence, such as the paved areas, the internal and external shrines, the large number of clay cups and the numerous ritual items appeared in this period (Branigan 1970a, 134-138; Branigan 1998, 19-23; Soles 1992, 241-2). Although, these rituals could have taken place earlier (EM II), the increase of the relevant evidence could indicate that in the later Prepalatial period these rituals became more organised, institutionalised or formalised than before.

3. Discussion

The above mortuary practices, as well as their changes, differences and similarities observed through time and space constitute the evidence which will be used in the following chapters to make inferences about people and society in Prepalatial Crete. Scholars of Prepalatial Crete have focused themselves on many aspects of the available mortuary evidence, such as the organisation of the cemeteries, the way of interment, the quality and quantity of the funerary goods and the nature of the funerary rituals, in order to reconstruct aspects of Prepalatial society and life: philosophical/religious beliefs, ideas and ideology (Branigan 1970a; 1993; 1998; Murphy 1998; Soles 1992), horizontal social organisation and population units (Bintliff 1977b; 1977c; Branigan 1970a; 1970b; 1987b; Soles 1992; Whitelaw 1983), vertical social organisation and ranking (Branigan 1984; Watrous 1994, 713; Soles 1987; 1992), and ethnic and cultural groups (Doumas 1976; 1977; 1979; Sakellarakis 1977a; 1977b). But is mortuary evidence sufficient to answer such questions?

As argued in Chapter 3, there is not necessarily a direct correlation between mortuary behaviour and everyday life; the study of mortuary practices reveals an ideational structure which may or may not be related to the real situation, and to different degrees, depending on the particular context. None of the existing Prepalatial studies takes these problems into consideration. There are no reservations about the comprehensiveness of the evidence or the ability of aspects

of death to provide direct information about aspects of life. Prepalatial mortuary practices are usually thought of as direct and passive reflections of every aspect of living society, and they are used in this way.

With the above in mind, our main concern in the study of Prepalatial mortuary practices in the following chapters will be not only to understand the patterns of death but also to realise to what degree these patterns correspond to the situation in everyday life. Consequently, it would be of particular importance to understand not only the changes in mortuary practices through the Prepalatial period, but also to what degree these changes are related to any transformations in society and life. Similarly, an effort will be made to explain not only why there were differences or similarities in regional and diachronic mortuary practices on Crete, but also to understand what these could mean for the organisation of people's life in these areas.

In Chapter 3 particular emphasis was given to the necessity for a fully contextual study of mortuary practices. The lack of an adequate body of non-funerary evidence from Prepalatial Crete should make us even more sceptical and critical about what mortuary practices can reveal about Prepalatial people's beliefs, social relations and way of life. The major task will be to exploit the available evidence in the best way, but also to acknowledge not only what this evidence can tell, but also what it cannot.

Within this framework, the following chapters (Chapters 5-8) examine the way Prepalatial mortuary practices can be used to infer conclusions about a number of aspects of Prepalatial society and life: philosophical/religious beliefs, horizontal social organisation, vertical social differentiation (ranking), external contacts, ethnic identity and cultural groups. Tholos Γ and Phourni will form the focal point of interest, but the conclusions and inferences will also involve the entire island throughout the Prepalatial period.

CHAPTER 5: THE RECONSTRUCTION OF PREPALATIAL MORTUARY BELIEFS

It was argued in Chapter 3 that beliefs can play an important role in the formation of mortuary practices; therefore, they may be revealed through the study of mortuary evidence. This chapter constitutes an account of Prepalatial beliefs, using the available mortuary evidence. In the first part of the chapter the discussion focuses on the structure of the burial ritual and the application of Hertz's and Van Gennep's ideas to the Prepalatial mortuary evidence. In the second part other pieces of evidence are examined, such as the form of the tombs, the nature of burial customs, the character of the rituals which took place in the cemeteries, and the relation between beliefs about death and general values of life.

A/ STRUCTURE OF THE PREPALATIAL MORTUARY PRACTICES

1. Prepalatial burial as a two-stage process

Burial in Prepalatial Crete, as described in Chapter 4, was a two-stage process through the whole island during the entire Prepalatial period. This was the case for the tholos cemeteries of S. Crete, the house tomb cemeteries of E. Crete, and the complex cemetery of Phourni in N. Central Crete (Branigan 1970a, 120; Branigan 1987, 44; Maggidis 1994a; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 246-57; Soles 1992, 243, 247, 250). Recent studies on Prepalatial mortuary practices regard this two-stage structure as indicative of several metaphysical beliefs related to death, the dead, soul and the afterlife (Branigan 1993; Marinatos 1993; Murphy 1998; Soles 1992). These interpretations are based mainly on the ideas of Hertz (1960) and Van Gennep (1960). However, they do not take into consideration either the general theoretical problems of these ideas, or the particularities of the Prepalatial mortuary record. It would be useful to examine these ideas briefly, before discussing how they have been applied to the case of Prepalatial mortuary evidence.

2. Prepalatial mortuary practices as rites of passage

The form of the Prepalatial burial as a two-stage process recalls Van Gennep's ideas about the burial rituals as tripartite rites of passage. He suggested (1960) that in the face of the striking event of death every society has to produce death rituals in order to incorporate individuals into a fixed system of culturally defined roles and statuses.

Van Gennep's ethnographic study showed that the death rituals, like all rituals, involve passage from one status to another. The passage always take place in three different and distinct stages, each stage with its own characteristic rites. Thus, there are rites of separation from one status, rites of incorporation to the new

status and rites of a liminal, transitional phase in between (Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 8). In death ritual there are first the rites of separation, during which the participants move out of their original social roles into a liminal state: the living become mourners, the deceased becomes corpse and the soul is separated from the body. The second stage involves the rites of liminality which place the participants in a marginal, extraordinary position. Finally, in the third stage, the rites of incorporation bring the participants back into their normal roles: the mourners return to their normal social life, but without the deceased, the corpse is finally disposed off, and the soul finds its way to the ancestors' world (Morris 1987, 30). The form of rites, the duration of each phase, and the nature of the rituals varies, but the basic tripartite structure was regarded by Van Gennep as a general, recurring phenomenon.

Attempts have been made to apply Van Gennep's tripartite structure of burial ritual to Prepalatial mortuary practices (Branigan 1993, 119-120; Murphy 1998, 32-35). According to this scheme, the rites of separation are represented in Prepalatial mortuary practices by the primary burial of the dead inside the tomb. The burial was accompanied by the offering of goods, food, and drink to the dead, and libations, toasts and banquets perhaps also took place. The rites of separation could involve many more rituals invisible archaeologically, either because they took place in the settlement, or because they simply did not leave any visible traces, such as the mourning songs (Murphy 1998, 33). The placement of the dead in the tomb and the accompanying rituals marked the passage of both the dead and the living to a liminal era, a transitional period, which corresponded to the period until the decomposition of the flesh. There is no evidence for the character of the rituals held during this liminal phase, although ritual dances, libations, banquets and feasts, evidenced in some S. Cretan tholos tombs are some possibilities. Finally, the rites of incorporation are represented in the case of Prepalatial mortuary practices by the secondary burial, which involved removal of the bones and the associated funerary offerings, general clearings of the tomb by the previous burial remains, fumigation fires and skull retention (Murphy 1998, 34). The secondary burial marked the incorporation of the dead into the afterworld and the return of the mourners back to the society and their normal roles within it.

It was, thus, suggested that the correspondence between the structure of Prepalatial mortuary practices and the death ritual as a tripartite rite of passage indicate the existence in Prepalatial Crete of the notion that death was a passage from one status to another and that Prepalatial mortuary rituals were the rites which marked this passage (Branigan 1993, 119-120; Murphy 1998, 32-35).

3. Prepalatial practices and the relation between the corpse and the soul

The structure of the Prepalatial burial ritual as a two-stage process corresponds also to Hertz's ideas about the custom of secondary burial. Hertz identified the participants in every death event: the corpse, the soul and the survivors (Hertz 1960, 26), and suggested that mortuary practices are determined in both their structure and content by the relation between these three participants. More specifically, the relation between the mourners and the corpse determines the

scale of the mortuary ritual, and, therefore, reflects the social position of these participants and the organisation of the society (Carr 1995, 176; Hertz 1960, 76; Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 63). On the other hand, the relations between the soul and the living, and the soul and the corpse are determined by, and thus reflect, people's religious/philosophical beliefs and world views (Carr 1995, 177; Goody 1962, 133; Hertz 1960, 37-8, 45-6; Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 63-67).

Hertz observed in ethnographic examples that the metaphysical belief for a metaphorical relation between the corpse and the soul is very common. The state of the corpse through the death process is taken by the mourners as a model of the state of the soul (Hertz 1960, 83). Until the decomposition of the corpse the soul was thought to be uncomfortable, to wander homeless and cause mischief or illness. Only after the entire decay of the flesh did the soul find its way to the afterworld. Hertz believed that the observation of corpse decomposition led to the concept of a period of liminality during which the corpse is neither fully dead nor alive, while the soul has not yet found its way to the afterworld. On the basis of this notion the recovery, ritual procession and relocation of the dried bones in a new place, that is the secondary burial, were essential practices in order to guide the soul from the living society to the afterworld. The fact that secondary burial was very common in many parts of the world was regarded as indicative that the concept of liminality was a cross-cultural generalisation which could be used to explain secondary mortuary treatment, and to infer the metaphysical beliefs of societies of the past through the study of their mortuary customs in every spatial and historical context.

The most peculiar characteristic of Prepalatial mortuary practices is the difference in the treatment of the corpse before and after decomposition. The corpse was treated with great care before the flesh vanished. It was placed inside the tomb and furnished with funerary goods, and perhaps food and liquid offerings inside clay and stone vases. After decomposition the bones and most of the offerings were swept carelessly aside and only the skull seems to be treated with some care, sometimes accompanied by offerings inside one or very few cups.

On the basis of Hertz's ideas it has been suggested that the Minoans indeed had the notion of the metaphoric relation between the corpse and the soul, as well as the idea of liminality (Marinatos 1993, 26-8; Soles 1992, 249). The dead were feared or respected when the corpse was still intact. It was thought that, during this transitional period of liminality when the deceased was neither alive, nor fully dead, the dead lived inside the tomb and their soul had not been incorporated into the world of the ancestors yet. Thus, funerary objects as well as food and drink offerings were placed with the dead during the initial interment in order to sustain them while they resided in the tomb. After the decomposition there was no need for offerings, since the deceased did not live in the tomb any more and the soul had found its way to the afterlife or the world of the ancestors; so the bones and the offerings were swept carelessly away (Murphy 1998, 35; Soles 1992, 249).

4. General theoretical problems with these ideas

Van Gennep's and Hertz's ideas, although quite influential in the last three decades, are not without problems, both in their general validity, and the way they are applied to the Prepalatial mortuary evidence.

On the basis of Van Gennep's ideas, there appears to be an interesting correspondence between the Prepalatial burial process and the notion that funeral ritual was regarded as a rite of passage with a tripartite structure (Branigan 1993, 119-120; Murphy 1998, 32-35). However, the question is whether this correspondence means that, indeed, there was the notion of death as a passage among the people of Prepalatial Crete. As Huntington and Metcalf argue, this notion is a vague truism, unless it is positively related to the values of the particular culture (1979, 98). To describe the burial process in Prepalatial Crete as a tripartite rite of passage does not reveal anything about the values of the particular society which used the tholos and house tombs and does not imply anything about the philosophical/religious beliefs and the world views of this society. Moreover, it cannot explain why this kind of ritual was practised and not another. It is a very general description and cannot give insights to the society, the people, or their attitude and response to the phenomenon of death.

Furthermore, the relevance of Van Gennep's idea is not due to the tripartite analytical scheme itself, but to the creative way it can be combined with the contextual values of a particular society in a particular space and time (Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 98). Even Van Gennep accepted that rites of passage are not universal (1960, 193), so they cannot have a general, cross-cultural value. We cannot exclude the possibility that death was conceptualised as a transition by the people of Prepalatial Crete, but this general notion cannot be the basis to explain and interpret the complex rituals and practices seen in the Minoan cemeteries. As Bloch argued (1982), neither death, nor the response to it, nor even the beliefs about it, create the tripartite rite-of-passage structure of funerary rituals. Death is related not only to afterlife, but also to life and its values, as will be discussed below (Huntington & Metcalf 1979).

Hertz's ideas about a notion of afterlife, and the concept of the metaphoric relation between the corpse and the soul have been applied to the case of Prepalatial Crete on the basis of the custom of secondary treatment. It has been suggested that these beliefs determined the secondary treatment of the dead, the skull retention and the careless sweeping of bones and offerings away. Moreover, the Prepalatial practice of secondary treatment is seen as a symbolic representation of the ambiguous, liminal state of the soul while passing from life towards some fixed eternal condition in the afterlife, or the ancestors' society (Marinatos 1993, 26-8; Soles 1992, 249).

Such a metaphysical belief can indeed explain the general custom of secondary treatment, but it is not the only alternative explanation, as seen in some ethnographic cases. While beliefs about afterlife, liminality and the metaphorical relationship between the corpse and the soul were important as determinants of secondary treatment in the Indonesian mortuary practices (Hertz 1960; Huntington & Metcalf 1979), they had no relevance in the case of the Madagascar mortuary practices (Bloch 1971; Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 97-118). The rituals of secondary burial are very important in Madagascar, and there are some

eschatological beliefs, but these are not important, explicit or central enough to provide a basis for the explanation of these elaborate rituals. Moreover, despite the secondary treatment and reburial there was no belief among the people of Madagascar that the soul travelled to an afterworld, since the dead were thought to reside always inside the tomb.

To summarise, it is clear that the ideas of Hertz and Van Gennep cannot be regarded as cross-cultural laws. Beliefs about afterlife are not necessarily present when there are rituals of secondary burial, and conversely, when we have secondary burial in the archaeological record, this does not mean necessarily that there was a belief in afterlife, or in the parallel fate of corpse and soul. Thus, it is not certain that the two-stage burial process, the offering of funerary goods, the secondary treatment of the dead and other Prepalatial mortuary practices infer necessarily any beliefs about death as a passage, the fate of the soul, the existence of an afterworld and the journey of the soul towards this world. Even if such beliefs actually existed it cannot be argued that they were central and important in the formation of the two-stage burial process and the secondary treatment of the dead.

5. Problems in the application of these ideas to Prepalatial mortuary practices.

In addition to the above general objections to Hertz's and Van Gennep's ideas, some problems may also be identified in their application to Prepalatial mortuary practices, especially in the case of the custom of secondary burial.

The burial process and the secondary treatment in the Prepalatial cemeteries have some peculiar characteristics. In the few cases of tombs from which we have a more detailed picture, such as Tholos Γ, the secondary treatment of the dead gives the picture of removal of the old burial remains in order to make space for the new burials, rather than a formal ritual which occurred due to specific philosophical/religious or eschatological beliefs and world views. From this point of view it should be emphasised that in the Prepalatial cemeteries the secondary treatment was very different from the ethnographic examples seen in the work of Van Gennep (1960), Hertz (1960), Bloch (1971), Huntington and Metcalf (1979). In these ethnographic cases the secondary treatment is accompanied by elaborate rituals, attended by many people, and had a strong symbolism and meaning, either related to beliefs about soul and the afterlife or to general values of life. The corpse is removed from a temporary disposal facility and the bones are placed inside the elaborate, permanent resting area of the ancestors. Instead, in the Prepalatial cemeteries the skeletal remains were removed to one side of the tomb, or to specific areas or rooms which served as ossuaries, or they were disposed outside the tomb. The important structure in a cemetery was the tomb for the primary burial, not the final resting place of the bones, either this was a small corner of the main funerary chamber, or a separate room, or an ossuary, or an open disposal area.

For these reasons the custom of secondary treatment in the Prepalatial cemeteries cannot be interpreted solely on the basis of beliefs about afterlife but of physical requirements, and pure practical reasons. It is suggested here that the secondary treatment and the two-stage burial process were determined by the lack of space and not by any beliefs or obligations of the mourners to their dead. This is well illustrated by the two intact burials of Tholos Γ which never received any secondary treatment. Both were found in the larnakes of the rear part of the tomb (L1, L5). These larnakes received successive burials, which were removed and cleared out periodically. However, the last burials did not receive any secondary treatment simply because these larnakes went out of use when other larnakes were placed in front, closer to the entrance.

Intact burials have been found in other tombs, too. Although few, they show clearly that the secondary treatment of the corpse was not something obligatory or dictated primarily by beliefs about the soul and the afterlife, but by practical reasons of space. If space was needed then secondary treatment was inevitable. This is reinforced also by the burials in the open cemeteries of Sphoungaras and Pachyammos. In these cemeteries the burials were placed inside pithoi and larnakes, buried under the ground, and they never received secondary treatment, simply because there was no problem of space. Even in modern Greece the secondary burial has more to do with the problem of space, than religious beliefs (*contra* Danforth 1982). In fact, the secondary treatment of the dead in the modern Greek cemeteries can be seen as an effort to compromise the problem of space (due to the constant use of small family tombs), with the Christian belief that the bones had to remain intact for the Second Coming.

To conclude, for the people of Prepalatial Crete the most important action seems to have been a proper primary burial inside the main interment facility of the cemetery. The practice of secondary treatment was dictated and determined mainly by the use of collective tombs and the consequent problem of restricted space. The ideas of Hertz and Van Gennep are only partly, or perhaps not relevant to Prepalatial mortuary practices, and cannot be applied without consideration. Although it would be wrong to exclude the possibility that eschatological-metaphysical beliefs about the afterlife, the soul and death as a transitional phenomenon may have existed, it is important to acknowledge that they were not central in the formation of the two-stage Prepalatial burial process, at least in the way described by Hertz and Van Gennep and suggested by the scholars of Prepalatial Crete. The only exception is perhaps the special treatment to the skull, which will be discussed below.

B/ PREPALATIAL BELIEFS ABOUT DEATH, THE DEAD AND LIFE

1. Beliefs about death and the dead

It was suggested above that the structure of Prepalatial burial as a two-stage process was not necessarily related to any beliefs about death, the soul and the afterlife. However, there may be other aspects of Prepalatial mortuary practices from which such beliefs can be inferred.

A strange feature seen only in tholos tombs (including Tholos Γ) is the entrance to the east (Branigan 1998, 19). This feature occurs in all the tholos tombs, everywhere in Crete and was not determined by geomorphological or other circumstantial factors. It can be safely suggested that this practice was determined by philosophical/religious beliefs, apparently related to the rising sun, but it cannot be said with certainty what these beliefs were. Many ethnographic examples show that the orientation of the tombs was an aspect of mortuary practices closely related to eschatological beliefs and world views (Ucko 1969, 272). Such examples cannot give definite answers, but they offer interesting possible explanations for the character of these beliefs, such as beliefs about sun and the sunrise (Goodison 1989, 30; Shaw 1973, 57), the orientation of the afterworld, or the journey of the soul to the afterlife. On the other hand, the house tombs of E. and N. Crete had entrances in various directions, while some did not have entrances at all, and the inhumations were made from the roof. This difference between the two mortuary traditions could imply different beliefs about death and the dead, but it is not possible to know their exact character.

Several aspects of Prepalatial mortuary practices suggest that, despite the frequent contact with the dead corpse and the skeletal remains, there were feelings of fear and stress among the living towards death and the dead. In S. Crete the tholos tombs were built near the settlement but never with the entrances facing to it. This seems to be a deliberate choice in order to avoid visual (and perhaps spiritual and metaphysical) contact between the living and the dead (Branigan 1998, 18-19). Indeed, several ethnographic examples have shown that philosophical/religious beliefs, such as the structure of cosmos, the afterlife and its location affects the regional location of a cemetery and the location of the cemetery relatively to the settlement (Carr 1995, 183). Another mortuary practice, possibly caused by the feelings of fear and anxiety to the dead, is the tiny entrances of the tholos tombs, sometimes blocked by huge slabs, as in the case of Porti and Kamilari (Branigan 1998, 25). Finally, such an anxious attitude to the dead can be seen in the use of burial containers (in EM III-MM IA) either securely closed with lids which were fastened with ropes, or covered with large slabs, or even turned upside down (Branigan 1998, 25; Marinatos 1931, 146-147, 150-151).

On the other hand, these feelings of fear and anxiety come in total contrast to the careless removal of bones after decomposition. The careless disturbance of the decomposed skeleton, as opposed to the fear and/or respect for the primary burial, indicates that the notion of the metaphoric relation between the corpse and the soul, as suggested by Hertz, was present among the Minoans (Hertz 1960; Marinatos 1993, 26-7; Soles 1992). This notion was possibly developed because of the continuous use of the tombs and, consequently, the frequent, direct observation and experience of corpse decomposition. As discussed in the previous section, the relocation of the bones had the character of a clearance rather than of a ritual. The only exception was the case of skull, which was treated with respect and care, sometimes together with a few selected bones. Such a special treatment possibly had to do with beliefs about the importance of particular anatomical parts of the corpse, or because skull was considered as an integral part of the identity of the deceased (Marinatos 1993, 26). The accompaniment of skulls with offerings made in cups or other vases (Maggidis 1994a; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997; Soles 1992, 248) indicates that rituals may have taken place during the relocation of the

skulls. Thus, skull retention was the only part of Prepalatial secondary treatment with ritual, and perhaps symbolic, character.

In the first part of this chapter it was suggested that the practice of secondary treatment in Prepalatial Crete was not determined by beliefs about death as a passage, about the soul, the corpse or the afterlife, but rather by practical reasons. On the other hand, the evidence for special treatment of the skull suggests that philosophical/religious beliefs played a significant role, but only when secondary treatment was necessary, probably in order to give special meaning and symbolism to the essential rituals which accompanied the secondary treatment of the old burials. It seems that beliefs about death and the dead did not determine the burial process, but played an important role in the formation of the associated practices, the treatment of the skull in particular.

In the above discussion we tried to infer some beliefs about death and the dead by using the available mortuary evidence. However, it is difficult, if not impossible, to go beyond these generalities and identify more precisely the character of the Prepalatial mortuary beliefs. It is not possible to know if Minoans believed in a specific kind of afterlife, a journey or rebirth of the soul, or that the deceased lived always in the tomb, etc. The lack of written texts is a great obstacle, especially if considered how little, for example, we would know about Ancient Egyptian mortuary beliefs, without the Book of the Dead, or the inscriptions on the walls of the Egyptian tombs. As pointed out numerous times before, questions about funerary beliefs cannot be answered either on the basis solely of archaeological evidence or through cross-cultural laws and ethnographic examples.

2. The relation between mortuary practices and Prepalatial religion

An important aspect of Prepalatial mortuary practices is the way they are connected with non-funerary, religious beliefs of the society. In Chapter 4 it was suggested that the cemeteries, apart from being the burial areas of the Prepalatial societies, were also places for general rituals not related with the burial of specific individuals. Such evidence includes shrines inside the tombs, external areas paved with slabs and marked off by precinct walls, and internal or external altars and kernoi fixed in the earth (Branigan 1970a, 132-134; 1993, 127-128; 1998, 19-22; Soles 1992, 237-8). Additional evidence comprises the various ritual vessels and symbols, such as human- and animal-shaped vases, snake goddess figurines, double or composite vases, vases with provocative moulded breasts, double axes and plastic phalli (Branigan 1993, 133). Possible rituals which have been suggested are: dancing, toasting, feasting, banqueting, libations and offerings made on altars and kernoi (Branigan 1970a, 134-8; 1998 19-23; Hamilakis 1998, 120-1; Marinatos 1993, 13-30; Soles 1992).

It is noteworthy that, apart from the possible household shrine in the Myrtos Fournou Korifi settlement (Warren 1972, 81) and a few possible open-air shrines in S. Crete (Branigan 1994b), the main focus of communal religious rituals in Prepalatial Crete were the cemeteries (Branigan 1993; Peatfield 1987, 90). This cannot be unrelated to the fact that the cemeteries were very close to the

settlements, sometimes only a few meters away (Branigan 1998). The religious and ritual importance of the cemeteries for the living society is reinforced also by the fact that the ritual implements and symbols used in the Prepalatial cemeteries can be also seen several centuries later in the religious iconography and practice, and in non-funerary sacred contexts, such as peak sanctuaries, open-air sacred areas and domestic or palatial shrines (Branigan 1970b, 108-9; 1993, 139; 1998, 22; Soles 1992, 241-242; Warren 1978).

From the character and the form of these symbols it seems clear that the rituals held in the Prepalatial cemeteries were related to fertility and the vegetation cycle (Branigan 1970b, 94; 1993, 127-136; 1998, 21-23; Marinatos 1993, 28-30). Whether these rituals were in the honour of Ariadne (Branigan 1993) or the Snake Goddess (Branigan 1969; Warren 1978), or a chthonic goddess, or the deified dead ancestors (Marinatos 1993; Soles 1992) remains hypothetical. However, since the symbols used in these rituals had to do with the vegetation cycle and the regeneration of nature, one thing seems very clear: the beliefs about death and the dead were strongly and closely related to general values of life, such as birth and fertility. The case of Myrtos is relevant to this point (see also discussion on p. 59). In a small room of the settlement a skull was found in front of a ritual structure consisting of two benches and a hearth in the centre (Warren 1972, 81-3). In an adjacent room, which has been characterised as shrine, a goddess figurine was found in front of a built stone altar (Warren 1972, 85-7). The existence of a skull and a human-shaped figurine in a domestic context of ritual/sacred character illustrates with the best way the interlacing of the sepulchral and the secular, and the close relationship between mortuary beliefs and religious ideology, practice and iconography.

Such a correlation of two apparently opposite things: life and death, is very common in several parts of the world, and even a short study of ethnographic examples shows the great variation in the way people conceptualised these oppositions and created religious beliefs, customs and practices to express and experience them ritually (Bloch 1971; Bloch & Parry 1982; Huntington & Metcalf 1979). It is noteworthy that the ethnographic examples suggests that it is the dead as a whole (ancestors) and the tomb which retain this power of life and are related to values such as fertility, not a particular deceased (Bloch 1971, 220-2). Thus, it is in the communal rituals related to the ancestors, in which the relation of death with life comes to the fore, not in the funerals of particular individuals. This is exactly what was observed and suggested in the case of the Prepalatial cemeteries.

CHAPTER 6: HORIZONTAL SOCIAL ORGANISATION

A/ INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Horizontal social organisation refers to the existence of distinctions between horizontally differentiated social units, with approximately equal numbers of individuals and normal demographic composition. Such distinct groups are kin-based social subdivisions such as families, tribes or clans, but also other social distinctions made on the basis of age and sex. Generally speaking horizontal organisation refers to all social distinctions not based on wealth, rank or vertical social status.

Horizontal organisation plays an essential and important role in the study of a living society, since it interferes with and determines the way a society functions, the character of the inter- and intra-societal relations between its members, and other aspects of social life. However, it should be emphasised that horizontal social distinctions and, consequently, horizontal social organisation cannot be easily identified in mortuary evidence, at least to the same degree as vertical social ranking (O'Shea 1981, 49-52; 1984, 252-254; Carr 1995, 186-188). Before presenting and discussing the evidence from Prepalatial Crete it is appropriate to examine briefly the existing theoretical background and the issues concerning the use of mortuary evidence to reconstruct horizontal social organisation.

1. The Saxe/Goldstein premise...

Horizontal social organisation has been traditionally linked to the spatial organisation of the cemeteries, an idea seen first in the work of Saxe (1970; 1971) and Goldstein (1981). Both scholars followed the idea that mortuary practices are "reflections of inter-personal and inter- and intra-group relationships, as well as a reflection of the organisation of the society as a whole" (Goldstein 1981, 57). On this basis they argued that spatial organisation of the cemeteries reflects the horizontal organisation of society and that the existence of different cemeteries, or distinct burial areas (tombs) within the same cemetery, is linked to the existence of kin-based, horizontally differentiated social groups which controlled and used the resources of a distinct area.

More specifically, Saxe suggested that "to the degree that corporate group rights to use and/or control crucial but restricted resources are attained and/or legitimised by means of lineal descent from the dead (i.e. lineal ties to the ancestors), such groups will maintain formal disposal areas for the exclusive disposal of their dead, and conversely" (Saxe 1970, 119). In other words the pressure to control vital resources forces people to claim and legitimise their rights over these resources by emphasising lineal descent from their ancestors, who used these resources in the past. Lineal descent is expressed by the exclusive use of formal disposal areas, different from one descent group to the other. On this basis, the existence of formal disposal areas, that is distinct cemeteries or distinct burial

areas within cemeteries, indicates the existence of descent groups based on lineage. Thus, it reflects and gives information about the horizontal distinctions of a society. Goldstein accepted Saxe's hypothesis, but she argued that the absence of exclusive disposal areas in a cemetery does not necessarily mean the absence of corporate group structure in the society (Goldstein 1981, 61). Formal disposal areas are only one means of symbolisation and ritualisation of lineal descent.

The Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis was highly influential, and was applied in archaeological cases by several scholars (O'Shea 1984, 250 ff.; Cooney 1983; Madsen 1982; Madsen & Jensen 1982; Chapman 1981a, 80-1; 1981b, 408; 1995; Charles and Buikstra 1983, 119-20). The basic points of the work of these scholars are: (1) formal cemetery areas correlate with sedentary subsistence strategies employed by the group(s) using the cemetery, (2) the degree of spatial structuring in a cemetery correlates with the degree of competition among groups for crucial resources, (3) corporate groups are distinguished by inclusion in separate cemeteries or in spatially distinct areas within a single cemetery, and (4) inclusion of individuals in a cemetery or in part of a cemetery implies inclusion of those individuals in the corporate group.

2. ... and its problems

The Saxe/Goldstein premise was based on ethnographic studies, and it was regarded as a classic example of cross-cultural law bridging the gap between mortuary evidence and social organisation. This was one of the main aims of processual archaeology and the archaeology of death in the 70's, as discussed in Chapter 3 (Binford 1968; 1971; Chapman & Randsborg 1981). From this point of view the hypothesis was strongly criticised by post-processual archaeologists both for its general validity as a cross-cultural law, as well as for its validity in specific cases.

Pader and Hodder presented ethnographic cases in which there is no direct relation between the formal disposal areas and locally based descent groups (Hodder 1980, 163-164; 1982a, 142-143; Pader 1982, 62-65). Although it was accepted that formal disposal areas may be correlated with corporate descent groups, many times the organisation of the cemetery is not a reflection of what actually happens in the society (Hodder 1980, 168). For example, there are cases of cemeteries used by more than one community. In some cultures people are not buried in the place they actually lived at but in the place of their origin. In some cases women were buried in their father's tomb, while in some others in their husband's tomb. The Merina people in Madagascar actually choose while alive to be buried with their spouse, parents, grandparents or even to build a new tomb (Bloch 1971). In the case of the Nuba people of Sudan changes in the social organisation were not followed by changes in the burial structure, which continued to express and reflect ideas and ideal situations which existed in the past (Hodder 1982a).

These cases show that burial practices, as all rituals, are more conservative than everyday social practices. Where an individual is buried is something very

complex and often has little to do with the organisation of the cemeteries or the ideas and situations which existed in a society. Patterns of death are complementary to, but are not mirror images of, patterns of life (Hodder 1982a, 139-40). As Sahlins showed: "the overlying descent structure is no expression of the underlying descent composition" (Sahlins 1965, 106) and "in major territorial descent groups, there is no particular relation between the descent ideology and group composition" (Sahlins 1965, 104).

3. Discussion

Despite the above problems the Saxe/Goldstein premise remains very helpful in reconstructing horizontal social organisation and should not be abandoned (Morris 1991, 151-2). Ethnographic studies have showed that, in many cases, spatial arrangement of the tombs within a cemetery is indeed determined by and, consequently, represents horizontal social organisation (Carr 1995, 182). However, it is important to accept that this is a statistical generality, rather than a cross-cultural law. Therefore, the use of the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis for inferring horizontal social organisation from mortuary evidence has to be made only within a broader contextual study (Chapman 1995; Hodder 1982a; 1982b; Morris 1991).

Finally, when using the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis, it is important to have in mind that the information inferred from formal disposal areas does not comprise descriptive statements about social reality, but relates to social structures, ideologies and ideal situations; in other words what people actually tried to say through ritual activity and burial practices (Hodder 1980; 1982a; 1984; Morris 1991; Pader 1982). The identification of one, two or more corporate groups in a cemetery and the identification of their character and demographic composition (clan, extended family, nuclear family etc.) does not mean that these were the functional groups in the everyday life of the society. As argued in Chapter 3, burial practices are powerful means through which people can manipulate, over- or under-emphasise things happening in real life (Barrett 1988; 1990; Hodder 1982a; 1982b; Morris 1987; 1992; Pader 1982; Shanks & Tilley 1982). Moreover, burial practices, as all rituals, are conservative by nature and they do not always follow the changes in living society. Thus, differences between mortuary practices and social reality are to be expected.

In this chapter the available evidence from the Prepalatial cemeteries will be examined, and an effort will be made to reconstruct Prepalatial horizontal social organisation. At first, the size, character and composition of the population unit which used Tholos Γ and other collective Prepalatial tombs will be the main focus of discussion. In a second stage of analysis these data will be used to draw inferences about Prepalatial society. The development of the Phourni cemetery will also be discussed and important conclusions will be drawn about the organisation of society in Archanes. Finally, in the last section one more subject relevant to the aspect of horizontal social organisation will be discussed: the importance of collective tombs and burial units for the living society.

B/ THE POPULATION UNIT OF THOLOS Γ

One of the major problems in the study of collective tombs is in not dealing with individuals, but only with groups of individuals. Consequently, the study of social organisation, whether horizontal or vertical, has to be based on groups rather than on individuals. This is particularly the case in the Prepalatial collective tombs, in which, due to burial customs, there is nothing more than disturbed masses of bones belonging to large numbers of individuals. Therefore, one of the first and most important aspects which have to be studied and inferred from the available evidence is the population unit which contributed to each collective tomb. It is necessary to identify the size, character and composition of this population unit, in order, at a later stage, to infer conclusions about social organisation.

1. Size of the population unit

Tholos Γ offers a unique opportunity to make a relatively precise estimate of the size of the contributing population unit. It must be emphasised that this estimate is for the upper (EM III) burial stratum, while nothing can be said about the lower (EM IIA) stratum from which there are no identified burials, but only fragmented bones. Before proceeding to these estimates, it is important to emphasise that the numbers proposed are only indicative. They cannot represent the absolute figures, but offer useful minimum estimates for the population unit which used Tholos Γ and other Prepalatial tombs.

In order to identify the size of the population unit which used a collective tomb three parameters are needed (Branigan 1987b; 1993, 82; Karytinos 1998, 81): (1) the number of dead the population unit would contribute to a collective tomb for a specific period of time, 2) the length of time the collective tomb was used, and 3) the total number of burials made in the tomb. Concerning the first parameter it is widely accepted that a nuclear family of about five to seven individuals contributes approximately 20 corpses per century (Bintliff 1977c, 83).

The second parameter cannot be precisely answered, but it is not unresolved. As discussed in the relevant chapter, the upper burial stratum of Tholos Γ was used in EM III, with a possibility to continue for a short period within MM IA. However, the tomb definitely ceased to be used before the end of MM IA, since in this period the rooms of Tomb 9 were built in front of the Tholos Γ entrance and almost blocked it. Tomb 9 had a long period of use within MM IA, as can be seen in the large number of burials in the lower burial strata of its rooms (Sakellarakis 1973; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 210-2). For the above reasons we believe that if Tholos Γ continued to be used in MM IA, this was only for a short period. The duration of EM III has been estimated as 150 years, and of MM IA as 100-150 years (Warren & Hankey 1989, 169). Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that Tholos Γ was used for a period of not more than 200 years, perhaps between 150 and 200 years.

The third parameter, the total number of individuals buried in the tomb, is the most problematic not only for Tholos Γ, but also for all the collective Prepalatial tombs, due to the absence of good excavation records. Scholars have tried to solve the problem with various methods. It has been suggested that an estimate can be made on the basis of the number of seals and daggers (Whitelaw 1983, 343, n. 16), a method with certain problems and restricted validity (Branigan 1987b). Another method is by estimating the total mass of the skeletal material. However, this estimate is very rough and may not faithfully represent the number of individuals buried in a tomb (Soles 1992, 252); moreover, very few excavators have offered such records. The third method of estimate is by using the number of skulls found inside the tomb. It is the most precise way and can give a reasonably reliable number of individuals (Soles 1992, 252). The problem is the possibility that some skulls escaped notice or were crushed and destroyed by later disturbance, or were removed from the tomb. On the other hand the skull was the only part of the skeleton which received special treatment and care after decomposition, unlike the rest of the skeletal material. From this point of view this is the most precise method of the three. Unfortunately very few excavators gave accounts of the skulls found in the tombs.

In Tholos Γ, due to the careful and well recorded excavation, and detailed study of the bones, it is possible to estimate quite precisely the minimum number of individuals on the basis of the skulls and the collected skeletal material. The upper burial stratum of Tholos Γ contained 55 individuals, of which 42 were identified by their skulls during the excavation and 13 by skulls, teeth or other bones during the study of the skeletal material by S. Triantaphyllou. It should be emphasised that Tholos Γ is the only Prepalatial tomb combining a very detailed documentation of the excavation and a detailed osteological study of the skeletal material collected by the excavators.

Moreover, Tholos Γ has another advantage, compared to other Prepalatial tombs: the estimate of individuals is not affected by the factors which have been suggested as affecting the precision of the calculations (Branigan 1987b, 305). These factors are: 1) the looting of the tomb, 2) the change in the choice or availability of grave goods through time, 3) the possibility that indicators of status were not buried only with the family heads, 4) the possibility that the rate of burial was not the same through the whole period of the tomb use, and 5) the possibility that not all members of the nuclear family were buried in the tomb (Branigan 1987b, 305).

Concerning the first factor, Tholos Γ remained unlooted in both Minoan and modern times. Some EM III burial remains were possibly cleared out of the tomb. However, since the bones were fewer than what might be expected according to the number of skulls, it appears that the skulls were not removed from the tomb, as was the case with the rest of the bones. From this point of view the estimate of individuals in Tholos Γ on the basis of skulls can be regarded as reliable, especially if compared with other Prepalatial tombs. The second and third assumption about the funerary goods are irrelevant to the Tholos Γ case, since the estimate of individuals was based on skulls, and not funerary goods or objects of status. The fourth assumption, that the rate of burial was broadly the same for the time the tomb was used, cannot be confirmed or rejected. However, the rather short

period of use makes it probable that, even if it were assumed that the rate was different through time, the affect of this on the number of the burials would not be significant. Finally, the fifth assumption that all the members were buried, can easily be confronted since in Tholos Γ all ages and both sexes are represented (table 1).

For the above reasons, the estimate of 55 individuals buried in Tholos Γ is perhaps the most precise among all the Prepalatial tombs. However, deviations cannot be excluded, caused by other factors, such as poor preservation of skulls. This is the case, in particular, for the skulls of the sub-adults. According to Bintliff (1977c, 84), basing his suggestions on the fundamental work of Russell (1958), 20-40% of the dead in pre-industrial nuclear families is of sub-adults. These are usually preserved and recognised in a tomb less easily than adults. Indeed, in Tholos Γ only seven (15%) out of 46 burials (for which the age was identified) were sub-adults, significantly less than the expected figure. Moreover, six of the seven sub-adult burials were recognised during the later osteological study, and were not identified during the excavation. If this study had not been carried out, as in the case of all the Prepalatial tombs, only one sub-adult burial would have been recognised in the excavation. A solution to the problem can be offered by adding a possible number of sub-adult burials to the adult ones. If the sub-adult burials were 20% of the total, then to the 39 secure adult burials correspond 9.2 sub-adult burials, if they were 30%, then 13.8, and if 40%, then 18.4 burials. If the average is added to the 55 already known burials, it can be suggested that Tholos Γ would have an approximate number of 69 burials, of which 21 (32%) were of sub-adults (7 already known and 14 assumed) and 48 of adults.

With this in mind the estimates of the population unit using Tholos Γ are as follows. If it is accepted that Tholos Γ received 55 burials within a period of 150-200 years, and on the basis that a nuclear family of five to seven individuals produces 20 corpses per century, then Tholos Γ was used by 1.4 families for 200 years, or by 1.8 families for 150 years. If it is accepted that the number of burials was 69 for the same period of time, then Tholos Γ was used by 1.7 families for 200 years or by 2.3 families for 150 years. Thus, it appears that Tholos Γ was used by a group between 1.4 and 2.3 families, that is about 10-15 individuals.

2. Character of the population unit

In order to define the character and composition of the population unit contributing to a collective tomb it is important to examine whether this unit is a "natural" or an artificial one, comprising individuals of a specific age, sex or social status. In most Prepalatial studies it is assumed that these population units were "natural", kin-based groups and that all the members of a group were actually buried inside the tombs (Branigan 1987b, 305). The detailed study of the skeletal material from Tholos Γ offers direct evidence to study the problem in detail for the first time.

Individuals of all ages and both sexes have been identified by S. Triantaphyllou among the Tholos Γ skeletal material, and, most importantly, they

occur in relatively equal numbers (Appendix III; table 1). Of 55 individuals, the sex has been identified in 27 cases: 15 females and 12 males. With regard to the age of death, there are two foetuses, two infants, three children, four young adults, nine prime adults, three mature adults and 23 non-specified adults. The number of sub-adults is smaller than that expected. However, as discussed above, this may be due to the differential degree of preservation and identification in the excavation. The study of the spatial distribution of the burials in the tomb (figures 7-8) indicates no special arrangement according to sex or age. The above indicates that the population unit which used Tholos Γ, and probably other Prepalatial collective tombs was of "natural" character, with normal demographic composition, and probably kinship relations between its members. The DNA analysis of the Tholos Γ bone material, which is programmed to commence in 1999, may answer questions about the character of the genetic relationships between the members of the burial group using the tomb.

C/ BURIAL UNITS IN PREPALATIAL CRETE

1. S. Crete

The population unit buried inside the tholos tombs of S. Crete is controversial. The first scholars of Minoan archaeology favoured the idea that the tholos tombs of S. Crete served large groups of individuals, such as tribes or clans (Glotz 1921; Hutchinson 1962), and the same view was followed by later scholars (Hood 1971, 140; Warren 1972, 267). Similarly, Branigan suggested the extended family group or clan group (*geni*) as the most likely population unit (Branigan 1970, 128-129; 1987b, 299). The above ideas about the size and character of the population group were not based on calculations of the burials made inside the tombs, but were assumed solely on the basis of the large size of these tombs, the masses of bones reported by the excavators and the fact that the cemeteries consisted of only one, two or three tombs.

The first effort to calculate the population unit contributing to a tholos tomb was made by Bintliff (1977c, 83-84). According to his estimates the tholoi were indeed used by clan groups consisted of 15-20, or even 30 individuals (Bintliff 1977c, 84). Calculations made by Branigan, on the basis of the few tombs for which some information was given (Lebena P1 and Vorou A), confirmed these estimates and supported the old view that the segment of population buried in each of the tholos tombs of S. Crete was a small clan, or an extended family consisting of two to four nuclear families, or 10-28 individuals (Branigan 1987b, 308; 1993, 89-95).

The above, widely accepted view was challenged by Whitelaw (1983). He suggested that the 90 rooms discovered on the summit of Myrtos Fournou Korifi did not belong to a large complex representing a social organisation based on a single large unit, clan or tribe without further subdivisions, as was originally suggested (Warren 1972). Rather he interpreted them as a settlement of five-six households, sheltering equal number of nuclear families, each family consisting of four to six individuals each (Whitelaw 1983, 332). According to this interpretation

the household/family was regarded as the basic organisational unit of the society. On the basis of this analysis Whitelaw suggested that the collective tholos and house tombs in S. and E. Crete corresponded to nuclear families, and that it was these which formed the basic organisational unit of Prepalatial society (Whitelaw 1983, 336-337). He reinforced this suggestion by estimating the burials made inside some tholos tombs on the basis of the number of seals and copper daggers (Whitelaw 1983, 342, n. 16, and 334, figure 71). More specifically Whitelaw argued that the seals and the copper daggers as objects displaying social position and status would be the exclusive possession of a specific segment of the population (mature men or family heads), representing one out of every five burials. On the basis of this rough estimate he concluded that most of the tombs were used by only one family, while the others by not more that 1.7 families.

However, this method of estimate is rather problematic, since it infers the number of burials not directly from the skeletal material, but indirectly from objects placed in the tombs. Moreover, a number of assumptions, made to support these estimates, are actually contradicted by the available evidence. The assumption that the seals were placed as objects of status with the heads of nuclear families, in a proportion of 1:5, is questionable; in Vorou A two seals correspond to 55-60 burials (1:30) (Marinatos 1931), in Tholos Γ six seals to 55 burials (1:11) and in Tholos E eight seals to 56 burials (1:7) (Sakellarakis 1975; Panagiotopoulos 1997). It was also assumed that there was no change in what was placed with the dead through time, something which was certainly not the case, since in EM III the number of the seals was certainly larger than in EM II (Yule 1980). Finally, no consideration was taken to the results of the clearings and the frequent removal of objects outside the tombs. For these reasons Whitelaw's estimates should be challenged.

Apart from the estimates made by Bintliff and Branigan, the use of tholos tombs by groups larger than nuclear families can be reinforced indirectly by the relation between settlements and cemeteries. Unfortunately, very few settlements have been excavated in Crete, but the available evidence proves helpful. In Kalathiana ten houses in the settlement correspond to two tholoi in the nearby cemetery (Xanthoudides 1924, 84-85; Branigan 1993, 111), that is a ratio of 1:5. The tombs appear to be earlier than the settlement, which is dated to the later Prepalatial period. However, there was a certain period of overlap, since the tombs continued to be used as late as MM II (Branigan 1993, 147).

The Ayiofarango survey in the west part of the Asterousia mountains also provided valuable evidence. The survey revealed an interesting spatial distribution of sites across the catchment which allowed Blackman and Branigan to conclude that the area was divided into five discrete holdings (Odiyitria, Yialomonochoro, Megaloi Skinoi, Ay. Kyriaki and Ay. Andonios) each held by one or more clan groups. Each holding had its own arable land, spring, hill shrine, tomb(s), a number of farmhouses and in two cases a hamlet (Blackman & Branigan 1977; Branigan 1993, 98-106). The pattern is very interesting since it appears that in Ay. Andonios and Yialomonochoro two farmhouses used one tholos tomb, in Ay. Kyriaki three farmhouses used one tholos, in Odiyitria one hamlet and three farmhouses used three tholoi and finally in Megaloi Skinoi one hamlet and one farmhouse used three tholoi, too. It seems, therefore, that at least two, or perhaps

three farmhouses contributed to one tholos tomb. In the case of the hamlet in Megaloi Skinoi, Branigan suggests eight to ten households (1993, 100), which correspond to two tholoi in the nearby cemetery, that is a ratio of 1:4 or 1:5. It should be emphasised, however, that the above are based on evidence coming from a surface survey, and they can be affected by several problems, such as dating solely on the basis of surface material, site preservation and identification.

Despite the above problems, it might be suggested that the evidence from Kalathiana and the Ayiofarango survey reinforces the view that S. Cretan tholos tombs were used by a burial group larger than a small nuclear family. It is also noteworthy that this evidence reinforces the analogy of one tholos per 2-5 households, given by the estimates of Bintliff and Branigan.

2. E. Crete

The situation in the house tombs of E. Crete seems radically different from that observed in the tholoi of S. Crete. The calculations of the number of burials and the estimate of the size of the burial population unit in E. Crete faces several problems. The estimates made by Soles are rather rough. However, it seems clear that generally the house tombs were used by a significantly smaller number of individuals, not more than an extended or two nuclear families, that is 10-14 individuals at the most (Soles 1992, 252-253).

Such a difference between the tholoi of S. Crete and the house tombs of E. Crete is also reinforced by other pieces of evidence. The house tomb cemeteries usually consist of a large number of tombs, and not just one, two or three, as in the case of the tholos cemeteries. Unless we accept that the E. Crete settlements were significantly larger, it seems more reasonable to suppose that the population unit buried inside a house tomb was of smaller size. Mochlos cemetery, with 22 house tombs, is a very indicative case, since it is more probable that the settlement consisted of 22 families rather than 22 large groups of individuals. Moreover, the population of Mochlos has been estimated to 220-330 (Whitelaw 1981, 339, figure 73), so the ratio appears to be 10-15 individuals per tomb. This ratio reinforces the above given estimates for the population unit contributing to the house tombs of E. Crete made by Soles. Another interesting difference between the tholos and the house tombs is in size, the latter being significantly smaller. Although this does not necessarily proves that the burial unit of the house tombs was smaller, it at least reinforces what was argued above.

The difference between E. and S. Crete was not only in the size and composition of the burial group, but also in the way the cemeteries were organised. The main characteristic of E. Cretan cemeteries is segmentation. First, as mentioned above, the cemeteries of E. Crete often consisted of many house tombs, in contrast to the S. Cretan cemeteries. Second, segmentation characterised also the house tombs themselves: in many cases they were divided into smaller compartments. In contrast, in S. Crete the entire chamber of the tholos was used for burials, without the use of internal dividing walls, apart from three possible exceptions (Kaminospelio, Merthies and Plakoura) (Branigan 1988, 245). To

conclude, it seems that E. Cretan communities were represented in mortuary practices and cemeteries in a more segmentary way than the S. Cretan ones.

3. Changes through time: the introduction of the burial containers

In the later part of the Prepalatial period burial containers (larnakes and pithoi) were introduced in many Cretan cemeteries. Two larnax lids from Tholos E (Sakellarakis 1975; Panagiotopoulos 1996), some larnakes from Pyrgos (Xanthoudides 1918) and a burial pithos from Nopigeia (Karantzali 1997, 67) can be dated to EM II, but the extensive use of larnakes and pithoi for burials started in EM III (Walberg 1987, 58).

It has been suggested that burial containers were introduced in order to protect the body from disturbances that new burials would have created and to keep some objects with the dead person (Walberg 1987, 58). However, a consideration of the way in which these containers were used, shows clearly that this was not the reason. As discussed in Chapter 4 the appearance of burial containers brought no significant change in the burial process. The primary burial, the secondary relocation of the decayed skeleton, the special treatment of the skull, the double character of the tomb as burial place and as ossuary for earlier remains, the selective removal and grouping of some bones and the clearance of the old burial remains, in other words the two-stage burial process, remained unchanged.

From this point of view the introduction of the burial containers was neither related to, nor caused by, any change in the burial process and the mortuary ritual, or perhaps the beliefs about death and the dead. Instead, it could be suggested that the phenomenon was related to changes in the organisation of the society, or, at least, in the way social organisation was expressed in the cemeteries and burial practices. It should be emphasised that the burials made inside the burial containers were not more significant in terms of social, economic or other status. The containers received both "rich" and "poor" burials, in terms of the associated funerary goods, and they were used in all types of tombs. For this reason the appearance of the burial containers probably has to do with horizontal rather than vertical social organisation.

Indeed, the introduction of the burial containers has been connected to the emergence of large urban centres, the breakdown of the kin-group or clan system and the increase of individuality in society towards the end of the Prepalatial period (Branigan 1970a, 131; 1970b, 177; 1993, 141). This interpretation has the advantage of relating the appearance of the burial containers with certain, but as yet imperfectly understood, social changes towards the end of the Prepalatial period, just before the appearance of the first palaces. However, it is not without problems. First, the repeated use of the burial containers for many successive burials and their use as both burial facilities and ossuaries indicate that they did not have any personal character. They were not associated with specific individuals, they did not belong to a particular deceased, and they were not placed in the tomb just for a specific individual. Instead, they were used as smaller collective tombs inside the larger tholos and house tombs where they were placed. Finally,

concerning the connection of the burial containers with the emergence of urban centres, it is important to note that they were used not only in large cemeteries such as Sphoungaras, Archanes and Mallia, which could indeed belong to large settlements, but also in small cemeteries with a few tombs, such as Ay. Georgios, Bairia, Zakros and Gournes.

The distribution of the use of burial containers in Crete may help to a better understanding of this phenomenon (Appendix VII). They were used in various kinds of tombs and cemeteries, and in several ways: in large open-air cemeteries (Sphoungaras, Pachyammos), in house tombs (Archanes, Gournia, Mallia, Zakros, Bairia, Vasilike, Kalo Khorio), in burial caves and rock shelters (Galana Charakia, Pyrgos, Mavro Avlaki Zakrou, Arkalies Viannou) and tholos tombs (Archanes Tholoi Γ and E, Myrsini, Vorou, Krasi, Gypsades, Viannos, Drakones, Porti, etc.). Further, they were used in all parts of the island, but mainly in the north and east.

It is noteworthy that larnakes and pithos burials never became widespread in S. Crete. From the 42 excavated tholoi only ten had burial containers (Drakones D, Porti P, Ay. Triadha A and B, Siva S, Ay. Kyriaki A, Odiyitria, Apesokari B, Vorou A, B), and even in these tombs there were only a few fragments of larnakes and/or pithoi, something indicating that the custom was neither widespread, nor common. The only interesting exceptions are the two tholoi at Vorou, which were full of larnakes and pithoi (Marinatos 1931). However, these tombs lie in the northernmost part of the Mesara area, so the extensive use of the larnakes and pithoi could be explained due to their proximity to N. Central Crete, where the custom of burial inside containers was relatively common (Phourni, Mallia, Bairia).

In contrast to S. Crete, burial containers were very common in N. and E. Crete. They were used not only in open-air cemeteries and house tombs, but also in the few tholos tombs of these two areas. It is noteworthy that burial containers were not used in all the house tombs, since they are absent from important cemeteries such as Palaikastro and Mochlos, but they can be found in *all* the tholos tombs of N. and E. Crete: Archanes Tholoi Γ and E, Gypsades, Myrsini, Viannos and Krasi. At Krasi they occur in small numbers (Marinatos 1931), but this is explained by the fact that the tomb ceased to be used in EM III, by the time burial containers had just appeared. Also, they are lacking from Archanes Tholos B, but this could be due to the use of this tomb in later periods, and the clearing of all the Prepalatial mortuary remains. In contrast, in other tholos tombs, which were built (Myrsini, Viannos) or continued to be used in EM III-MM IA (Archanes Γ and E) the interior was full of larnakes and pithoi.

From the above it seems that the custom of burial inside a container was more common in E. and N. Crete, and especially in all the six tholos tombs of these areas (Archanes Γ, Archanes E, Gypsades, Myrsini, Viannos, Krasi A), and the two tholoi of Vorou, which are geographically close to N. Crete. It appears, therefore, that the burial containers were very common in those parts of the island which were characterised by greater segmentation in mortuary practices and small burial units. According to what was discussed in the previous section, S. Cretan burial tradition is characterised by large burial units. There was a strong tradition of communal burial which can explain why the burial containers never became

popular in S. Crete. In EM III-MM IA the burials continued to be made within the large tholos tombs, as before, without any effort to divide the burial group and the internal space of the tholos chambers. In contrast, in E. Crete, in which the mortuary tradition is characterised by small burial units, segmentation in the cemetery organisation (seen in the large number of house tombs per cemetery), and segmentation in the tombs themselves (seen in the division of the tombs into small compartments), the adoption of the burial containers was more widespread. The E. Cretan mortuary tradition was adopted in the cemeteries of N. Central Crete in EM III, when the first house tombs were built in cemeteries such as Phourni, Bairia and Gournes (Rethemiotakis 1984, 296; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997; Hatzidakis 1915), and it is not surprising that the burial inside clay coffins became common in this part of the island, too. It is characteristic that in Phourni it became the normal way of burial throughout the later Prepalatial (EM III-MM IA) and Protopalatial (MM IB-MM IIIA) period.

As suggested above, the burial containers were smaller compartments within the larger collective tomb. It is possible that their function was to divide the tomb chamber into smaller compartments. Despite the fact that the tholoi of N. and E. Crete were tombs belonging to the S. Cretan tradition, the use of burial containers in the late Prepalatial period was a practice related to the E. Cretan tradition. The segmentation of the burial chamber was unknown in S. Crete, but very common in E. Crete. From this point of view, the tholoi of N. and E. Crete, including Tholos Γ, illustrate in the best way the regional differences in the way communities were structured in death ritual, during the later part of the Prepalatial period (EM III-MM IA).

A quite different case is that of the burial containers used, not inside built collective tombs, but buried in the ground, in large open-air cemeteries, in N. (Mallia) and E. Crete (Sphoungaras and Pachyammos). A similar cemetery perhaps existed in the Porti cemetery, in S. Crete. As discussed in Chapter 4, in these cases there is indeed a significant change in the burial process, since for the first time the burials were made in the ground, they were single inhumations, and received no secondary treatment. Vertical social differentiation perhaps was the factor responsible for the use of burial containers in such cemeteries (Soles 1987; 1992), but this will be discussed in the next chapter. However, it should be emphasised that in these cemeteries most of the larnakes and pithoi are dated to the Old and New Palace periods, and it seems that the custom became common only after the end of the Prepalatial period.

To conclude, the appearance of the burial containers brought greater segmentation in the organisation of cemeteries and tombs towards the end of the Prepalatial period. This feature existed long before in E. Crete, as seen in the multi-roomed house tombs, and was introduced in N. Central Crete in EM III-MM IA. It is noteworthy that the burial containers were used in all the tholos tombs of these two areas, perhaps as an effort to divide the burial chamber of the collective tomb. The introduction of the burial containers can be seen also as an increasing emphasis in the segmentation of the burial group. It would be interesting to know if there were any special relationships among the individuals buried in the same container, which differentiated them from the individuals buried in other containers, but only DNA analysis can give such pieces of information. It should

be emphasised that, although the use of burial containers was a first break to the custom of communal burial, the latter still remained powerful, since the containers were used inside collective tombs. It was only towards the end of the Prepalatial and in the Protopalatial period, when the single inhumations made inside burial containers in open-air cemeteries marked a clear break to the long established tradition of communal burial. It is mainly in these cemeteries, and in this very late period, we can observe the increasing emphasis on individuality as suggested by Branigan (1993, 141).

D/ HORIZONTAL SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN PREPALATIAL CRETE

In the above section we discussed the organisation of cemeteries and the way society was structured in the mortuary arena. It remains to examine whether the picture revealed from the cemeteries corresponds to the way society was organised and functioned in everyday life.

1. Horizontal social organisation in S. Crete

As discussed in the previous section, there are two main theories concerning horizontal organisation of Prepalatial S. Cretan societies. Branigan in his fundamental monograph about Prepalatial Crete adopted the clan system (Branigan 1988, 116-117). The tholoi were regarded as the tombs of the various clans, that is kin-based groups, of which each village may have had two or three. On this basis, society was thought to function with unilineal, kin-based corporate groups, highly localised in a specific territory, using a collective tholos tomb and sharing the same ancestors. Whitelaw, on the other hand, proposed that the organisation of the Myrtos Fournou Korifi settlement was on the basis of the nuclear family and he tried to apply this family-based organisation to mortuary practices by suggesting that each tholos tomb was used by a single nuclear family (Whitelaw 1983, 336), and that S. Cretan societies functioned with nuclear families.

These two interpretations of Prepalatial horizontal social organisation, although arriving at different conclusions, are very similar in the assumption that there is a direct link between living society and mortuary practices, and that the one reflects the other. They are both based on the assumption that the burial unit which contributed to the tholos tombs was equal and identical to the functional basic unit of social organisation. As pointed several times in this thesis such assumptions are not always or necessarily correct, and in fact in many ethnographic cases they are totally misleading.

As discussed in the previous section, the mortuary evidence suggests that tholos tombs were used by a group larger than a family, consisting of two to four or five nuclear families, and Whitelaw's estimates for the S. Cretan tholos tombs should be abandoned. On the other hand, the idea that society functioned with clans or kin-groups faces several problems. First, it is the evidence from the settlements, such as Kalathiana (Xanthoudides 1924, 84-85; Branigan 1993, 111),

Trypiti (Vasilakis 1989) and Ay. Triadha (Laviosa 1972), which suggests that the basic unit of social organisation was the household, as suggested by Whitelaw (1983).

Second, it is not certain whether the households contributing to a burial group were related to each other, nor what the character of these relations was: blood affiliation, marriage, or other. The available evidence cannot prove that the families buried in the same tomb belonged necessarily to the same clan or lineage, and were related with close kin-based relations. On the other hand, it has to be accepted that, even if the families were not kin-related, the use of the same tomb brought all the members of the burial group into a close relationship, since they shared the same burial place and the same area for their funerary rituals, and they accepted lineal descent from ancestors buried in the same tomb. From this point of view the tomb was a powerful means of artificial solidarity. Furthermore, the use of the same tomb for centuries was not only a strong link between the families which formed the contributing burial group, but also a strong point of difference from other families, belonging to other burial groups, using other tombs and sharing different ancestors.

The third problem of the clan system interpretation is that, even if the families comprising a burial unit were strongly related, and consisted of clans or other kin-based groups, this does not necessarily mean that society was organised in this way in everyday life. In other words, the organisation of the cemeteries on the basis of kin-based groups does not necessarily imply that the Prepalatial society in S. Crete functioned with lineage corporate groups. Social organisation can be, and many times actually is, something totally different from organisation in mortuary ritual and practice. Ethnographic examples of societies with collective tombs have shown exactly this (Bloch 1971; Hodder 1982a, 142-3; Pader 1982, 62-5). The place in which someone could be or was actually buried is often affected by economic, political or other social factors, and not strictly by his/her relations to the group of individuals buried in the tomb. The organisation of society on the basis of patrilineal or matrilineal descent, and of patrilocal or matrilocal residence also affects the burial place of the husband, the wife or the children (Hodder 1982b). Moreover, the existence of rules of exogamy or endogamy are very important in determining the cohesion of a population group and its successive generations through time. Finally, the conservative character of mortuary practices should be emphasised. This is an important factor in differentiating mortuary structure from real social organisation, since changes in society were not necessarily and/or immediately followed by changes in the funerary domain. To understand better the above problems we will present a particular ethnographic case: the Merina people of Madagascar.

In his detailed study of the Merina people Bloch (1971) has shown clearly that corporateness, and the existence of large, unilineal descent groups characterised the organisation of the society and mortuary practices in the past, when these corporate groups occupied discrete territories, inhabited one or a few villages and used collective tombs on their territories. However, migrations, bilateral descent, as well as pressures due to changes in the political and economic domain of society resulted in the dissolution of the corporate groups and the appearance of smaller, discrete and autonomous units within the lineage, usually

nuclear or small extended families. Despite these changes in real life, mortuary practices, and the organisation of the cemetery in particular, continue to express corporateness as an ideal situation which existed in the past. The Merina returned to their original village only in order to be buried in the ancestral tomb. As a result Merina people were buried far from the place they lived and the land they owned and used. They were buried in the same tomb with people who belonged to the same kin-based group, but with whom they had no relation during life, having lived in different places. A partial study of the Merina people solely on the basis of their cemetery organisation would reveal only an idealised social structure, totally different from what happened in real life (Bloch 1971, 217-20).

The case of the Merina cannot be considered as unique. A rather similar situation was observed by Hodder (1982a; 1982b) in the case of the Nuba people of Sudan in which, again, the study of society solely on the basis of mortuary structure would lead to misleading conclusions about horizontal social organisation. Moreover, anthropological research has shown that segmentary lineage systems, such as the clan system suggested for Prepalatial S. Crete, have a relatively limited ethnographic distribution and are ephemeral (Sahlins 1961, 341-2). They appear only within tribal systems, and under specific social conditions, mainly in contexts of intertribal competition. From the above it appears that we have to be very cautious before suggesting that the unilineal corporate groups seen in the Prepalatial tombs were the basis of horizontal social organisation in real life.

Additionally, the case of Prepalatial S. Crete presents some peculiarities which cannot be ignored, when reconstructing social organisation. All the settlements discovered in S. Crete appear to be relatively small and retain the same size throughout the Prepalatial period. As discussed above, the settlements in Kalathiana, Trypiti and Megaloi Skinoi consisted of no more than 10-12 households. The only exception seems to be Phaistos which was a large centre, not less than 300 people (Whitelaw 1981, 339; Branigan 1993, 115). Also, the distribution of sites in S. Crete from EM I to EM III-MM IA showed an increase in the number of sites rather than a growth of settlements (Sbonias 1995; Watrous *et al.* 1993). Moreover, most of the Prepalatial cemeteries consisted of one to two tholos tombs, and the number remained unchanged throughout the Prepalatial period. The only possible exceptions are the cemeteries of Koumasa and Platanos, in which a third tomb was possibly added in the later part of the Prepalatial period. Therefore, it appears that in Prepalatial S. Crete the population was not static, but dynamic, it expanded from the "parental" villages, and did not create large nucleated towns, at least until very late in the Prepalatial period.

According to the above evidence it seems reasonable to think about localised kin-groups growing over generations, and their branches expanding in nearby arable lands and establishing new settlements. Such a dynamic process favours fission in the corporate group and between the families themselves. It is exactly what happened in the ethnographic cases mentioned above (Merina and Nuba), since the original corporate group loses its localised character, and exogamy and bilateral descent alter its synthesis and cohesion. Thus, in everyday life, society functions on the basis of small discrete bilateral families, not large corporate groups. It is not possible to know if the people of Prepalatial Crete returned to their "parental" village to be buried in the old tholos tomb of their kin-

group, as seen in the case of the Merina. However, the appearance of new cemeteries and tombs from EM I to EM II and from EM II to EM III-MM I suggests that this was not the case, and that people may have created new cemeteries and tombs as the lineage expanded.

The aspect of change through time is also a very interesting and important parameter. Even if it is accepted that society in S. Crete was organised on the basis of corporate kin-based groups in the beginning of the Prepalatial period, there are reasons to believe that the situation changed towards the later part of this period. The expansion of the population, the establishment of new villages all over the Mesara, economic pressures due to contacts with outside areas, exogamy and bilateral descent, all lead to the weakening and diminishing of the importance of the corporate group. Branigan has argued convincingly that the kin-group tradition progressively weakened, something illustrated by the introduction of the burial containers in the tholoi of S. Crete in EM III-MM IA (Branigan 1993, 141; 1995). However, this phenomenon could have appeared long before we trace it archaeologically in the mortuary record. Moreover, as discussed in the previous section, the innovation of the burial containers in S. Crete never became as popular and widespread as in other parts of the island, something probably caused by the strong tradition of burial inside collective tombs, and the conservative character of the mortuary ritual.

To conclude, although the evidence from S. Cretan cemeteries indicates mortuary organisation on the basis of unilineal corporate kin-groups, the situation in everyday life was not necessarily the same. Societies organised and functioning with lineage descent kin-based groups are extremely few in ethnography, and every such society tends to become more and more segmented, and each segment to become discrete and autonomous, linked with the others only through mechanical solidarity. A means of mechanical solidarity could be the persistence in using collective tholos tombs, which belonged to kin-groups. It is suggested here that the evidence from S. Crete indicate a clear difference between society and cemetery organisation. Whitelaw was correct in suggesting that the nuclear family was the basic functional unit of social organisation, while Branigan was correct in suggesting a burial group larger than a nuclear family contributing to the tholos tombs. However, we believe that the burial and functional social units in S. Cretan communities were not identical.

2. Horizontal social organisation in E. Crete

As discussed in the previous section, E. Cretan communities were structured in mortuary ritual in a different way from those in S. Crete. It was suggested that the burial unit contributing to a house tomb had approximately the size of one to two nuclear families.

The evidence from the settlements of E. Crete is of great interest in this respect. The excavated settlements of Myrtos Fournou Korifi and Vasilike were originally interpreted as large building complexes functioning as a single large unit, without separately defined houses, households and families (Branigan 1970,

47-8; Warren 1972, 266-7; Seager 1905; 1907). However, more recent research has shown that they consisted of several small houses and that the household was the modular unit of these communities (Whitelaw 1983; Zois 1976). If the evidence from the cemeteries and the settlements are put together, it seems probable that the burial group using the house tombs in E. Crete was equal in size, and apparently identical in composition, to the functional and organisational unit of the society.

According to the above, it seems that there was a direct analogy between the structure of the cemeteries and the organisation of the society in E. Crete. Of course, it is not possible to know several aspects related to the composition and character of the Prepalatial "family". Several important parameters determining the composition of a family are unknown, such as descent (matrilineal or patrilineal), residence (matrilocal or patrilocal), rules of mating etc. Ethnographic examples have shown the range of possibilities which exist concerning the place of burial of the elders, husbands, wives, young females, children or other categories of horizontal social position.

Despite these problems it seems that the large burial units which characterise the structure of the S. Cretan cemeteries are absent in E. Crete. In S. Crete people formed burial groups larger than the basic social unit. In contrast, in E. Crete the burial groups were significantly smaller and were possibly equal and identical to the basic social unit. In the case of S. Crete, it was suggested that even if social organisation in everyday life was based on unilineal corporate kin-groups, clans, or tribes, this was only in the beginning of the Prepalatial period. In contrast, in E. Crete, society was never organised on the basis of such large kin-groups, neither in everyday life nor in mortuary practices. Families and households seem to be the functional unit in the organisation of both the everyday and the ritual (mortuary) domain of the society.

E/ THE ORGANISATION OF THE PHOURNI CEMETERY

The difference between the two Prepalatial mortuary traditions both in space (S. and E. Crete) and time (early and late Prepalatial period) are clearly illustrated in the Phourni cemetery (figure 1). This perhaps is not surprising if it is considered that Phourni is geographically in the middle of these traditions and its history can be followed throughout almost the entire Prepalatial period. E. and S. Cretan mortuary traditions were adopted and merged in Phourni, and a study of the cemetery will help to understand better their characteristics, differences, and changes through time. Moreover, the understanding of the development of the cemetery through time will help to place Tholos Γ in the context of Phourni and, most important, in the wider spatial and historical context of Prepalatial mortuary practices.

1. Historical outline

The dating of the Tholos Γ lower burial stratum to EM IIA brings significant alterations to previous ideas about the organisation of Phourni through

time and allows us to study the development of the cemetery in a new perspective. Tholos Γ was erected in EM IIA, and was used concurrently with neighbouring Tholos E, which until now was regarded as the only tomb used in the cemetery in this period (Sakellarakis 1975; Sakellarakis 1994; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997).

The two tholoi were very similar, with Tholos E being slightly larger in diameter. What remains from the first period of use of both tombs (EM IIA) is a thin layer of hard soil full of fragmented bones and teeth and a large number of finds and pottery. Despite the differences in the quality and the nature of the funerary gifts, which will be discussed in the following chapter, the general character of the material assemblage found in the lower burial strata of the two tholoi was similar. Further, there appear to be no differences in the mortuary practices of these tombs (Panagiotopoulos 1996), although the evidence is very fragmentary to confirm this suggestion.

Thus, the use of the area of Phourni as a cemetery commenced in EM IIA. A few EM I sherds found among the sherds of Tholos Γ indicate earlier use of this area, although not necessarily as a cemetery site. The cemetery in EM IIA consisted of two tholos tombs, Tholoi Γ and E. EM IIA pottery was found also in the Area of the Rocks, but it belongs to the cleared remains of the lower burial strata of Tholoi Γ and E which were dumped in this area. Phourni has not been fully excavated yet and the cemetery almost certainly continues to the north and west, so the discovery of more Prepalatial tombs cannot be excluded.

The evidence for EM IIB is very scanty in Phourni. In a recent study of the material from the Area of the Rocks we identified a few sherds possibly dated to EM IIB, while some EM IIB pottery is reported also from the area between Tombs 18 and 19 (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 383). This pottery, although small in quantity, is very significant since it shows that activities continued in the area of the cemetery in EM IIB. Moreover, well stratified EM IIB pottery from rescue excavations under the modern town of Archanes (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 383) indicates that there was no gap in the habitation of the area. However, the problem of EM IIB in Phourni still remains, since it cannot be said with certainty that Tholoi Γ and E received burials in EM IIB, while no other tomb appears to exist in Phourni during this phase. Future study of the material of the cemetery may clarify this picture.

In EM III and MM IA the evidence becomes more abundant. In both tombs, Tholos Γ and E, the earlier burial stratum was cleared and levelled and a new phase of use started. However, a significant change is observed; the burials were made in clay containers: larnakes and pithoi. Both tombs were used in the same way and there is no evidence to suggest any difference in the mortuary practices. The only difference is that Tholos E continued to be used until MM II (Panagiotopoulos 1996), while Tholos Γ ceased to be used in EM III, or early MM IA.

In these phases (EM III-MM IA) several new tombs were also erected in Phourni. These were rectangular house tombs, something indicating a clear break from the older tholos tradition. The tombs built in EM III were Tombs 5, 6, 12, 18

and 19 (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 387). Thus, the number of tombs was increased from two in EM IIA to seven in EM III (including the two tholoi). In the following phase, MM IA, more tombs were built: Tombs 7, 8, 9 and 16, while more rooms were added to Tomb 18 (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 396). Thus in MM IA at least ten tombs were used in Phourni. The number of the tombs may have been even larger, since some tombs in the west part of the cemetery are badly preserved due to surface erosion. We cannot also exclude the possibility that more tombs will be discovered in future excavations of the cemetery.

2. Discussion

From the above it seems clear that Phourni in its first phase of use (EM IIA) was organised as a typical tholos cemetery, identical to those found in large numbers in S. Crete. The cemetery consisted of two tholos tombs, which were used by two different burial units. The size and composition of these two groups cannot be identified, since nothing remains from the earlier burial stratum of the tombs (apart from many fragmented bones). However, if the suggestions made for the tholos tombs of S. Crete are accepted, the tholoi of Phourni were used by two burial units larger than a nuclear family, probably consisting of two to five families each, that is approximately 30-70 individuals altogether.

In EM III some major changes occurred, and continued also in the succeeding MM IA. These changes were the introduction of the burial containers and the erection of rectangular house tombs, both characteristics of the E. Cretan burial tradition. Phourni now becomes similar to E. Cretan cemeteries with rectangular house tombs and burials in clay coffins. The appearance of these E. Cretan elements in a tholos cemetery of S. Cretan type could mean population movements from E. Crete. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that in the neighbouring site of Knossos the main source for imported pottery in EM IIA was S. Crete (Wilson & Day 1994; Wilson 1994, 39), while in EM IIB and EM III-MM IA it was E. Crete (Momigliano 1991; Momigliano & Wilson 1996; Wilson & Day in press; Wilson 1994, 41). The above evidence shows that population movements are not the only possibility, and influences, intensive contacts, intermarriages and changes in the social networks offer alternative explanations. Perhaps it is not just a coincidence that a similar shift in the origin of the imported pottery between EM IIA and EM IIB is seen also in Myrtos Fournou Korifi (Whitelaw *et al.* 1997). This could imply that the above phenomena were not strictly localised but perhaps connected to major changes in the social networks responsible for intra-island exchange and contact in the transition from the early to the late Prepalatial period. Only future research will throw more light on these interesting phenomena.

Whatever the case, the adoption of the E. Cretan mortuary tradition indicates certain changes in the way Archanes society was structured in death rituals. Although the increase in the number of the tombs from EM IIA to MM IA could be caused partially by population growth, it seems reasonable to suggest that the most important reason was the greater segmentation of the burial population unit. Segmentation can be seen in many ways in Phourni. In all the house tombs, internal partition walls were built to separate smaller burial compartments, and in

several cases new rooms were added to the exterior. Moreover, larnakes and pithoi were used as smaller collective compartments within the house tombs, increasing segmentation.

The feature of segmentation can be seen in late Prepalatial Phourni not only in the new built house tombs, but also in the old tholos tombs (Tholoi Γ and E) which in this period started to be used in a new, different way from before: with burials made in larnakes and pithoi. As discussed in a previous section, the introduction of the burial containers in collective tombs, as Tholos Γ, brought no change in mortuary practices apart from dividing the larger collective tholos into smaller collective compartments, something suggesting greater segmentation in the tomb, and possibly in the burial unit itself. Moreover, the estimated population unit of Tholos Γ (1.4 to 2.3 families) in EM III-MM IA brings the tomb closer to the E. than to the S. Cretan burial tradition. The shift of the two tholoi (Γ and E) from the S. Cretan to the E. Cretan burial tradition illustrates clearly the changes in the way Archanes society was structured in the mortuary arena in the later part of the Prepalatial period.

F/ THE IMPORTANCE OF TOMBS AND BURIAL GROUPS

On the basis of the above it appears that the difference between S. and E. Crete was not in the organisation of society, since nuclear family was the basic functional unit, but in the way society was structured and represented in mortuary practices. However, the question remains why people in S. Crete had large burial groups, what was their significance and in what way were they related to, and affected or influenced people's lives. In order to answer these questions it is necessary to understand the role of the burial groups outside the arena of death, and to identify the aspects of life for which these burial groups were of major importance.

1. The territorial model

One of the few secure conclusions about Prepalatial mortuary practices of S. Crete is the importance of the cemeteries and the ancestors for the living. This can be seen in many aspects of the mortuary practices: 1) the proximity of the cemeteries to the settlements, 2) the use of overground tombs as obvious marks in the landscape which allowed frequent contact (visual and spiritual) between the living and the dead, 3) the funerary rituals, 4) the particular care for the corpse, before decay, and for the skull, after decay, 5) the rituals of non-funerary character, and 6) the repeated use of the same tombs and cemeteries for long periods of time.

To explain this special relationship between the dead and the living, scholars of Prepalatial Crete adopted the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis (Goldstein 1981; Saxe 1970; 1971), and Renfrew's and Chapman's territorial model (Chapman 1981; 1995; Renfrew 1976). As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, this model argues that there is a close relationship between formal disposal areas and the existence of corporate groups. These groups emphasise their lineal ties with the

ancestors through the exclusive use of such disposal areas in order to legitimise their claims over critical resources, and land ownership in particular.

Bintliff (1977a; 1977b) was the first to suggest a correlation between the tholos tombs of S. Crete and the use and ownership of land. He observed that in the Ayiofarango area there was a consistent correlation of tholoi and zones of good arable land. On this basis he suggested that there was a relationship between tholos tombs and land tenure (Bintliff 1977b, 634-637) and that the tholoi marked particular holdings of the corresponding kin-group which was buried inside them. In a recent paper Murphy also adopted the Saxe/Goldstein hypothesis and suggested that the Prepalatial tombs marked the land owned by a community and legitimised its rights to use this land (1998, 30-31). She based this idea on the observation that most of the tombs were built on locations not suitable for cultivation, many times overlooking the arable land. According to the ideas of Bintliff and Murphy, in S. Crete the land was a critical resource the tenure and use of which was in the hands of large kin-based groups. The kin-group tried to preserve tenure and control of the land by legitimising its rights over the land through the use of the same collective tomb. In order to achieve this, kin-groups placed their tholos tombs in specific locations in the landscape, where they acted as landmarks signalling inheritance, control, use and ownership of the arable land.

Before evaluating these ideas for Prepalatial S. Crete, it is important to recall that the Saxe/Goldstein premise and the territorial model have been strongly criticised, at a theoretical level (see discussion in pp. 94-96). Even Chapman himself in a recent revision accepted that "to identify these tombs as formal disposal areas, used by corporate groups with lineal ties to the ancestors, is only a very small, initial step in the process of trying to understand their variability in time and space" (Chapman 1995, 48). Apart from the problems regarding the general value of the territorial model, there is some evidence of a contextual character to show that the application of this model in Prepalatial S. Crete is not without problems. As suggested in Chapter 5, the location of the tombs and the orientation of their entrance in S. Crete was determined by the location of the settlements, as well as by metaphysical and other beliefs about the soul, afterlife, death and the dead. Many times the cemeteries were located only a few meters from the settlements (Branigan 1998). In such cases the question immediately arises: which was related to the arable land, the settlement or the cemetery?

Moreover, in the Ayiofarango area there were patches of arable land without tombs to mark them, while sometimes the only marker was a farmhouse (Blackman & Branigan 1982, figure 17). Furthermore, the distribution of the sites in both the surveys of Ayiofarango and Western Mesara showed a great dispersion of a large number of farmhouses or small habitation sites, with smaller numbers of tombs (Blackman & Branigan 1977; Watrous 1993, 224). It seems, therefore, possible that it was not the tombs which marked territories and land ownership, but the habitation sites (farmhouses or hamlets) which were actually near the arable fields. When a cemetery was near a settlement, it was not necessarily only the tombs which laid claim to the land, but also the settlement itself.

2. The importance of the burial group

The aim of the above discussion was to show that the tombs were not located in specific places in order to mark ownership of land, as has been suggested (Bintliff 1977a; 1977b; Murphy 1998). However, it must be accepted that the importance of the use of collective tombs was perhaps related to claims over land. The use of the same tomb by a group of individuals could be a way to emphasise their lineal descent from common ancestors, and therefore, to claim inheritance of the land which was possessed and used by their ancestors in the past. However, this was achieved certainly through the symbolism of the tombs as places linking the ancestors with the living and not as landmarks over arable landscapes.

Furthermore, in Chapter 5, we concluded that the ancestors and the rituals held in the cemeteries were strongly related to fertility, regeneration of nature and crop production. From this viewpoint, death and the dead could be values of great importance for the control and use of land through their symbolic link with the cultivation of land. The rituals held in the cemeteries could be powerful means for individual and/or group strategies in order to control, possess and successfully use the cultivated land. The use of implements and symbols relevant to fertility reinforced the purpose and the meaning of these rituals. As discussed in Chapter 5, such beliefs are very common in many ethnographic examples (Bloch 1971; Bloch & Parry 1982; Huntington & Metcalf 1979).

On the other hand, apart from land ownership and control, tombs and cemeteries could be very important for other aspects of social life. The use of the same tomb and the sharing of the same ancestors by a population group was also a way to define membership of this group and to emphasise a difference from other similar groups in society. The individual's right to be buried in the collective tomb of a specific group meant that he was a member of this group, and there were certain individuals to whom he could turn for assistance in life. Consequently, it defined his/her position in the social structure. Thus, tombs and ancestors were manipulated not only for claims of use, control and inheritance of the land, but also for expressing the identity of people as members of specific groups within the community, that is their position in horizontal social organisation.

Tombs were also important for the re-affirmation of the interpersonal relations between the members of a group. Particular dead individuals, or the dead ancestors as a whole, were the common referent points for the living, and their relationships were dependent upon their relations with the dead. Thus, rituals which took place in the cemeteries not only affirmed the links between the living and the dead, but also between the living themselves. From this point of view the tombs were important in retaining the cohesion of the group, and, by extension, of society itself.

Moreover, land was certainly not the only critical resource which could be claimed and inherited through the use of exclusive tholos tombs by burial groups. Other such critical resources could be vertical social status and identity, control of the deceased's personal belongings, collaboration in heavy tasks, alliances in difficult circumstances etc. The cemetery, the death rituals and the ancestors were

values which could be manipulated by individuals and/or groups for many reasons, and for several aspects of social life. In the following chapter the aspect of vertical social status will be discussed in detail.

The above are only possible interpretations for the significance of the dead, the tombs and the burial groups for the living society. It is very difficult, with the present fragmentary evidence, to fully understand why people had burial groups larger than the basic social unit, the nuclear family. It is reasonable to suppose that the reasons for this are closely related to the importance of death rituals and ancestors in life, survival and the well-being of society. Thus, the difference between S. and E. Crete could be exactly in the importance of the burial group for society. If this was inheritance of land, social status or other properties, then it would be reasonable to assume that while in S. Crete these values were controlled through, and were in the hands of, large corporate groups, in E. Crete these were in the hands of smaller units, the nuclear families.

CHAPTER 7: VERTICAL SOCIAL ORGANISATION

A/ INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The vertical social organisation of society, or simply ranking, refers to the existence of distinctions between individuals or groups of individuals based on inequality, difference and hierarchy in status. Ranking is institutionalised status inequality and the hierarchy of statuses that extend beyond age, sex, personal characteristics and intra-familial or intra-group roles, in which latter cases we speak about horizontal social distinctions (Wason 1994, 19). By inequality we mean the social evaluation of what differences are regarded as relevant in a given society or situation; the behavioural expression of those differences is social inequality (Wason 1994, 36). The term ranked society is used for societies in which positions of valued status are somehow limited so that not all those of sufficient talent to occupy such statuses actually achieve them (Fried 1967, 109). It should be emphasised that vertical social distinctions and consequently, vertical social organisation, can be identified in the mortuary evidence more easily than horizontal differentiation (O'Shea 1981, 49-52; 1984, 250; Carr 1995, 178-182), though not without problems.

Research on the topic of the archaeology of death has focused on two major issues. The first is whether there are any specific aspects of the mortuary evidence which are the most promising for revealing information about the vertical organisation of a society. The second is how these aspects can be used and evaluated in order to infer conclusions about vertical social organisation. As presented in Chapter 3, there are two major approaches regarding the social implications and meaning of mortuary evidence, usually referred as the “processual” and the “post-processual” approach.

1. The "processual" approach

According to this approach, there is a direct relation between the complexity of social organisation and the complexity of mortuary ceremonialism (Binford 1971, 18). Therefore, the social persona (overall status composite) of the deceased will be symbolised in mortuary behaviour, so mortuary behaviour will passively reflect the importance of the deceased's status. These ideas were applied by several scholars to the analysis of cemeteries (Randsborg 1974, 51; Rothschild 1979, 661; Shennan 1975, 283-284). The most important and influential work was done by Tainter (1978), who introduced the term "energy expenditure" to describe the energy expended by the living in a) body treatment, b) construction and placement of the interment facility, c) extent and duration of the ritual mortuary behaviour, d) material contributions to the ritual, and e) human sacrifice. The greater the energy expenditure in the burial ritual, the higher the social status of the deceased.

Tainter's ideas were strongly criticised by some scholars. Brown pointed to the methodological weakness of the energy expenditure measurements, because they cannot be applied to different material expressions (Brown 1981, 29). O'Shea rejected these ideas on the basis of the wrong assumption that rank differentiation will always be expressed in terms of gross levels of energy expenditure that can be detected archaeologically, something contradicted by the ethnographic evidence (O'Shea 1984, 16-20, 27-8). However, these criticisms were concerned more with the methodology than with the theoretical basis of Tainter's work. They did not deal with the basic assumption of his ideas, and the basic notion of the "processual" approach in general, that mortuary variability passively reflects the degree of complexity of a society and indicates distinctions of status within this society. Thus, the main aims of the “processual” studies are a) to identify the aspects of mortuary practices which can be used as indicators of vertical social organisation, b) to find a way to measure these aspects in order to be able to show a comparable scale of social organisation, and c) to formulate cross-cultural laws of general value, which could be applied in every historical and spatial context, in order to infer conclusions about vertical social organisation.

2. The "post-processual" approach

The above ideas were strongly challenged by scholars belonging to what is usually referred as the "post-processual" approach. This has been already discussed in Chapter 3, and here we will focus only on the aspect of vertical social organisation. Braun and Pader rejected Tainter's ideas by arguing that mortuary rituals are communication acts which use symbols of abstract character, and these abstract symbols cannot be measured or reconstructed, especially in a comparable scale of measures, as Tainter did (Braun 1981, 411-412; Pader 1982). Therefore, differences between individuals in energy expenditure of mortuary ritual will not necessarily indicate differences in the social importance of the deceased (Braun 1981, 411), and, in a more general way, they will not reflect the degree of social complexity. Thus mortuary variability is not necessarily a faithful reflection of vertical social organisation, ranking and status differentiation (Hodder 1980; 1982a; 1982b; 1982c). Ethnographic studies showed that, although complex or differentiated burial behaviour usually corresponds to a complex ranked society, the change to a less complex/differentiated burial behaviour does not mean necessarily change to a less complex, or unranked society but change in attitudes to death (Hodder 1980, 166-167).

Furthermore, people often manipulate mortuary ritual in order to distort, invert or hide the real situation, to legitimise power, emphasise social relations, aggrandise social statuses and in general, produce and express something different from what is happening in real life (Barrett 1988; 1990; Parker Pearson 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1982; 1987a). Thus, formal burial attributes cannot have a general value in space and time but they can mean different things depending on the relevant context (Pader 1982, 60-61). The context is, therefore, essential in the study of mortuary practices of every society, both in historical and spatial terms, since the symbolism of the mortuary ritual is dependent on the context which produced them (Hodder 1982a; 1982b; Parker Pearson 1993). Thus, every study

about ranking has to take into account two important aspects of the specific context: the structure of ideas and beliefs which affect and give different meanings to the social relations and mortuary behaviour, and how beliefs and ideas are manipulated as part of social and economic strategies in order to legitimise or create dominant ideologies.

3. Discussion

As discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, the post-processualist criticism is valid, especially in the sense that the mortuary archaeological record is not a passive reflection of the situation in everyday life. On the other hand, we believe that processual studies still retain some of their validity, but they have to be used with certain reservations in mind.

First, there are indeed some aspects of mortuary practices in which social distinctions and ranking can be seen more clearly. Ethnographic data from a large number of societies show that several aspects of mortuary practices frequently indicate the vertical social position of the deceased, and are good candidates for reconstructing vertical social organisation (Carr 1995, 180). Such aspects include the overall energy expenditure (as defined by Tainter), the quality and quantity (the latter to a lesser degree) of the grave goods, the spatial organisation of the cemeteries, the form and the location of the tomb. On the other hand, the way these mortuary aspects are linked with social organisation is indirect and certainly not through cross-cultural laws. The study of the historical and spatial context can show to what degree the correlation between mortuary practices and the social organisation is direct and where the former gives an obscure, distorted or inverted picture of the latter.

Second, the link between mortuary variability (e.g. in energy expenditure, form of tomb and kind of grave goods) and social ranking is valid but only at a general level (Wason 1994, 20). Elaborate differences in mortuary practices can be regarded as a safe criterion for the identification of a ranked society, but they cannot give more detailed information, such as whether ranking is related to dominance and authority, the relationship between lower and higher statuses, the character of the different statuses, or the basis of these distinctions in the society. For these details we need to know several aspects of the society and life, such as ideology, religious beliefs, economy etc. (Hodder 1982c; Wason 1994).

Finally, the connections between mortuary evidence and specific types of vertical social organisation only works one way. While mortuary variability, differences in energy expenditure and inequality in the funerary goods are useful indicators for the existence of social ranking, this certainly does not mean that the lack of such features in the mortuary data correspond necessarily to an unranked, simple or egalitarian society (Hodder 1980, 166-167; Wason 1994, 6-12).

The focus of this chapter will be to identify mortuary variability within the Phourni cemetery, which may imply ranking in Archanes society. Furthermore, in order to approach and understand better Tholos Γ and Phourni, it will be necessary

to study the evidence from other cemeteries of Prepalatial Crete and the existing interpretations of them. This latter account will be made in sections corresponding to the two parts of the Prepalatial period, the earlier (EM I-IIA) and the later (EM IIB-MM IA).

B/ MORTUARY VARIABILITY IN PHOURNI

1. The first phase of use: Phourni in EM IIA

In EM IIA, the first phase of funerary activity in Phourni, there existed two tholos tombs, Tholos Γ and Tholos E. They were used contemporaneously by two burial groups, apparently following the same burial customs. The two tombs were similar in form, plan, size, architecture and method of construction. However, great differences existed in the funerary material they contained.

Tholos Γ contained 196 funerary goods, while Tholos E only 76 (table 21; figure 7.1). In terms of raw materials, Tholos Γ outnumbers Tholos E in objects made of marble (6:1), silver (5:0), copper (23:2), gold (54:3), ivory (10:3), obsidian (47:27) and rock crystal (2:0). The difference in some categories of objects, such as those made of copper and gold, is quite substantial. In contrast, Tholos E outnumbers Tholos Γ only in chipped stone tools made of chert (1:3) and objects made of steatite and schist (4:12). From the above it appears that Tholos Γ is superior in quantitative terms not only in the total number of artefacts, but also in objects made of imported materials: gold, marble, obsidian, silver, ivory and copper. In contrast, Tholos E outnumbers Tholos Γ only in objects made of locally available materials: flaked tools made of chert, and vases, beads and seals made of steatite and schist.

Furthermore, Tholos Γ is wealthier not only in the quantity, but also the quality of the contained material. The marble objects of Tholos Γ, especially the Cycladic figurines, are of exceptional quality, while Tholos E contained only a crude marble bowl. The beads of Tholos Γ are made mainly of gold, they belong to a variety of shapes, some of them rather complex, and they are of elaborate craftsmanship; in contrast, the Tholos E beads are simple, spherical or discoid, and made of stone (apart from one gold). The bone pendants of Tholos E are of simple, tubular shape, with little modification of the raw material, in total contrast to the more elegant, drop-shaped pendants of Tholos Γ. Finally, it should be emphasised that objects of exceptional craftsmanship found in Tholos Γ, such as the copper daggers, the marble figurines and the ivory handles are totally absent from Tholos E.

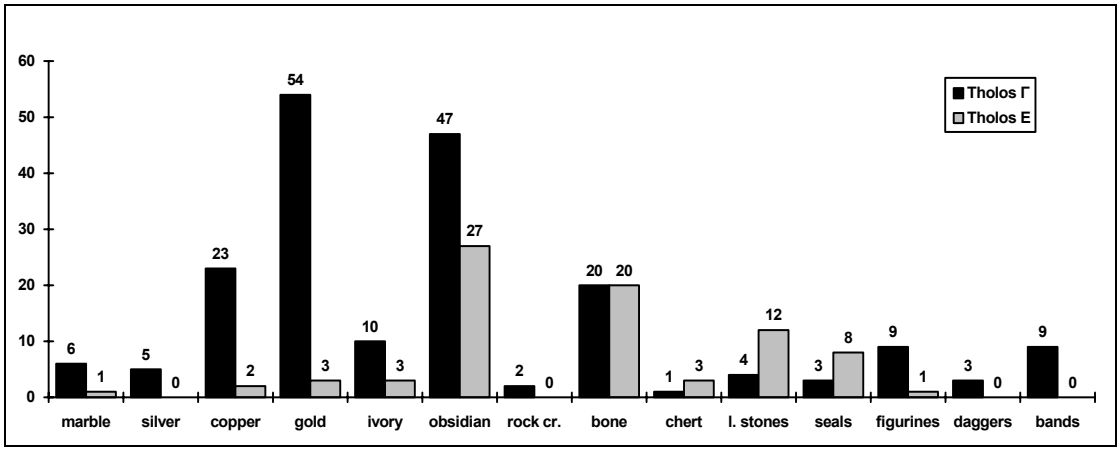

Figure 7.1. Distribution of finds in Tholoi Γ and E, in EM IIA Phourni.

From the above it appears that there was a high degree of mortuary differentiation in Phourni in EM IIA, in terms of quality and quantity of funerary goods. Tholos Γ was wealthier than Tholos E in the total number of artefacts, as well as in the objects made of imported raw materials and being of exceptional craftsmanship. However, before inferring any conclusions about social organisation on the basis of the above evidence, it is necessary to consider whether the differences in the funerary material of the two tholos tombs is a result of taphonomic or post-depositional factors. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, both tombs suffered extensive clearing operations in a later period (EM III-MM IA), and a large part of the EM IIA funerary material, including bones and artefacts, was removed out of the tombs. Might then the differences between the material remains of the two tombs be the result of these clearing activities and not due to actual differences in wealth and/or status within Archanes society?

This seems rather improbable for a number of reasons. First, the differences are qualitative (raw materials, quality of manufacture) as well as quantitative, which would seem to support the idea that they were real differences, and not due to coincidental factors related to the clearing operations. Second, the character and aim of the clearing operations was similar in the two tombs: to lower and level the floor before the introduction of the burial containers. Also the texture of the cleared burial stratum is identical: thin, hard, full of small stones and broken bones. For these reasons it is rather improbable that people cleared deliberately all the valuable objects of good quality and craftsmanship from Tholos E, but they ignored the artefacts of Tholos Γ. A third possibility could be that Tholos E was deliberately cleared of the metal objects (silver, gold and copper) for remelting and reuse. However, the difference between the two tombs is seen also to other non-recyclable materials, such as obsidian, marble and ivory. Finally, it must not be forgotten that not only Tholos E, but also Tholos Γ was cleared of its earlier material, so a large part of the Tholos Γ material is missing, too.

The above suggests that the significant mortuary differentiation seen in the funerary material of the two tombs could be only partly due to post-depositional practices. Instead, it seems to represent clear and real distinctions in wealth and/or vertical social status between the dead buried in the two tholoi.

2. The second phase of use: Phourni in EM III-MM IA

A rather different situation is observed in the later Prepalatial period. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 6, major changes occurred in Phourni in EM III-MM IA. The burial containers (larnakes and pithoi) and the rectangular, multi-room house tombs were introduced to the cemetery. Tholos Γ was used together with at least ten more tombs (Tholos E and Tombs 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 16, 18 and 19). Tholos Γ itself was used in EM III, and perhaps until an early stage in MM IA. Other tombs were built in EM III and MM IA and continued to be used until the end of the Protopalatial period. With the exception of Tholos E (Panagiotopoulos 1996) and Tomb 19 (Maggidis 1994a), most of the tombs have not been fully studied yet, so it is not possible always to distinguish between the funerary material of EM III and MM IA, and in some cases even between the later Prepalatial and the Protopalatial period. For this reason, only general observations can be made concerning mortuary differentiation in Phourni during the later Prepalatial period.

A comparison between Tholos Γ and Tholos E indicates no clear differences in EM III-MM IA, in contrast to the situation seen in EM IIA. Apart from the architecture and structure which remained the same, mortuary practices were also identical between the two tombs: both received burials made inside clay coffins (larnakes and pithoi), very similar in form. Concerning the funerary material, Tholos E is wealthier in quantitative terms, since it contained 128 artefacts, while Tholos Γ only 18 (Panagiotopoulos 1996; Sakellarakis 1975, 306). However, it should be considered that Tholos Γ was used for a shorter period than Tholos E, the latter being used as late as MM II, that is at least 150-200 years more. Indeed, seven seals, 50 amethyst, three sard and 15 quartz beads found in Tholos E can be dated securely to the Protopalatial period (Panagiotopoulos 1996), thus decreasing the finds which can be dated to the Prepalatial to 53. This number may have been even smaller since some other finds, such as obsidian and bone artefacts can be dated either to the Prepalatial or the Protopalatial period. The case of the seals also sheds light on this. Of the 12 seals found in Tholos E only five can be dated to MM IA (Karytinos 1997; Panagiotopoulos 1996), a number comparable to the six seals of Tholos Γ.

There is also no difference between the two tholoi in qualitative terms. Generally speaking, there are no objects of elaborate craftsmanship or those which indicate personal status or special social position. The only products of a more elaborate character, traditionally regarded as indicators of status (Karytinos 1998), are the seals, but even in this category of objects the two tholoi are not very different in both quantity and quality (Karytinos 1997). The above evidence shows no mortuary variability between Tholos Γ and Tholos E in the later Prepalatial period, in terms of architecture, mortuary practices, as well as quantity, quality and nature of the contained funerary goods.

Similar observations can be made for all the other contemporary tombs of Phourni, built and used in EM III-MM IA. Of course there is some sort of variability in the contemporary use of two types of tombs (tholoi and house tombs). However, there is no evidence to suggest that the house tombs were of better construction or more elaborate than the two tholoi, while their spatial distribution in the cemetery (figure 1) does not reveal any significant pattern.

Moreover, there was a high degree of similarity among the house tombs themselves in terms of form, size, plan and quality of construction. Some tombs are larger (e.g. Tombs 5, 6, 7 and 18), but none more elaborate than the others. The only tombs of special structure and elaborate size are Tomb 3 and Tholos B. It is noteworthy that these two tombs were built on top of previous MM IA tombs (Tombs 5 and 7). It seems probable, therefore, that both Tomb 3 and Tholos B were built only in an advanced stage of MM IA, at the threshold of the Protopalatial period.

Despite the introduction of the burial containers, there is no evidence for differentiation in the treatment of the corpse. Almost all burials seem to have been made inside containers, pithoi or larnakes, which were always placed inside the collective tholos and house tombs. Almost all burials received secondary treatment, something necessary since the tombs and the containers received many succeeding burials, and clearance was inevitable. Some burials have been made outside the built tombs of the cemetery, in the north part of the Area of the Rocks (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 234). However, they are too few to be commoners' burials, and it seems that they comprise bones and skulls cleared from the nearby tombs and disposed off in the Area of the Rocks, and not primary burials. Therefore, it is doubtful whether they have any social implications (*contra* Maggidis 1998, 97-8).

The same picture of low mortuary variability between the tombs of the later Prepalatial Phourni can be observed also in the case of the funerary goods. The following is not a complete and accurate account of all the artefacts found in the tombs of Phourni. However, it is sufficient to lead to some interesting observations concerning the distribution of funerary goods in the cemetery. The EM III-MM IA stratum of Tomb 19 contained 51 clay vases, a stone vase, four seals, two figurines, nine beads, 12 pendants and 30 pieces of obsidian (Sakellarakis 1976; Maggidis 1994a). The finds from EM III-MM IA Tomb 5 are a copper cutter, two ivory animal-shaped pendants, five seals, about 90 clay vases, two stone vases, one clay bull figurine and some simple stone beads (Sakellarakis 1967; 1971; 1972; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1978; 1997, 199-201). Tomb 6 was used from EM III to MM IB and contained more than 70 clay vases, two stone vases, two copper cutters, stone beads, amulets and seals (Sakellarakis 1966; 1971; 1973; 1975; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 202-5). Tomb 7 was used in MM IA and contained a pair of copper tweezers, a copper dagger, a copper and a stone figurine, eight small gold sheets, stone beads, four seals, a few clay vases and some obsidian blades (Sakellarakis 1967; 1971; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 206-8). Tomb 9 was used from MM IA to MM IIA and contained one gold sheet, eight clay vases, four bull clay figurines, two bull-shaped rhyta, one human clay figurine, and one ivory pendant (Sakellarakis 1972; 1973; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1991a; 1997, 210). The south room of this tomb contained 155 clay vases, five seals, an ivory handle, some gold bands, some pendants, some stone beads and a clay *seistron* (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1982; 1991a). Tomb 18 was used from EM III to MM II, but only the three south-west rooms were used solely in EM III-MM IA and contained three seals, four clay vases, some obsidian blades, pendants and stone beads (Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1976; 1991a; 1997, 215-218).

Despite the lack of precise chronology, and the possible role of post-depositional and other preservation factors in the formation of the above tomb assemblages, it seems clear that none of the tombs can be distinguished from the others in terms of the quantity, quality and kind of funerary goods. The main funerary gifts were clay vases, necklaces made of simple stone beads, and seals. Metal objects (copper, silver and gold) were very few, rather simple and dispersed among the various tombs. Seals, objects traditionally regarded as indicators of special social status, are also quite dispersed and can be found in almost all the tombs of the cemetery. Minor differences in wealth may have existed, and some tombs could be regarded as wealthier (Tombs 19, 18, 6 and 9), and some others poorer (Tombs 16, 12, 5 and 7), but it is noteworthy that the latter are only partly preserved due to later disturbance.

3. Discussion

There are, then, clear patterns, in both space and time, of the structure and context of Prepalatial Phourni. Although no tomb can be distinguished in terms of size, architecture, construction and mortuary practices throughout the Prepalatial period, there is a significant change in the funerary goods, from the earlier to the later Prepalatial period. In the earlier phase (EM IIA), a clear difference is observed between the two tombs used in the cemetery; Tholos Γ was significantly superior to Tholos E in terms of quantity, quality as well as nature of the artefacts. In contrast, in the second period of use (EM III-MM IA) there was no such differentiation between the tholoi, the tholoi and the house tombs, and the house tombs themselves; no tomb appears to be more elaborate, special or wealthier than the others.

These observations lead to two major themes for discussion. First, it is important to examine whether the profound difference in wealth between Tholos Γ and Tholos E in EM IIA indicates social ranking and differences of social status within Archanes society. The second issue is whether the lack of mortuary variability in EM III-MM IA and the smaller amounts of wealth deposited in the tombs indicate any changes in the vertical organisation of Archanes society and, if so, to consider their character.

Because the available evidence concerns differences in grave goods and wealth, any discussion about vertical social organisation and ranking in Archanes society has to be based on this aspect of mortuary practices. For this reason, before discussing the evidence from Phourni and other Prepalatial cemeteries, it would be useful to examine in detail the general validity of funerary goods as indicators of social differentiation, the relationship between wealth and status, and the circumstances in which differences in wealth can be translated into differences of social status.

C/ FUNERARY GOODS AND WEALTH AS INDICATORS OF SOCIAL RANKING

1. Funerary goods as indicators of social ranking

The value of funerary goods as indicators of social ranking is quite controversial. According to Binford both the quantity and the kind of the funerary goods are indicators of the social position of the deceased, and so they may be used in the reconstruction of social organisation (1971, 21-23). In contrast, Tainter concluded from his ethnographic study that grave goods are not a safe criterion for ranking, since differences in quantity and form can be due to differences in wealth and not due to distinctions in social position. Differences in wealth cannot be necessarily translated into social ranking (Tainter 1978, 121). Carr and O'Shea, on the other hand, have argued that the type and the variety of the funerary goods, but not their quantity could express vertical differentiation (Carr 1995, 180; O'Shea 1984, 250).

In most archaeological studies differences in both kind and quantity of the funerary goods have been regarded as a criterion of vertical social distinction (Whittesley 1978, 89, 98-100). In the case of Early Bronze Age Denmark it was suggested that the difference in the richness of the grave goods indicates unequal distribution of wealth, and that the latter bolsters distinctions in social status (Randsborg 1974, 51). Objects made of exotic, imported raw materials are traditionally regarded as of special value. It has been suggested also that grave goods could be indicators of a hierarchically organised society if they are associated with individuals or groups that crosscut age and sex lines (Rothschild 1979, 661). Finally, Shennan suggested that social ranking can be inferred when there is a small number of tombs richer than the others, and when some specific categories of artefacts are strictly found in these rich tombs (Shennan 1975, 283-284), thus being status symbols.

2. Wealth and Status

It is generally acknowledged that status and wealth are not identical. Markers of wealth are those items of value which everyone can possess if he has the means, while status markers are items of value (many times symbolic) which can be possessed only by those who have the appropriate status (Wason 1994, 125-126). In order to identify if differences in the funerary goods are related to differences in wealth achieved by a person during lifetime due to individual capabilities or because of his/her social status, it is necessary to distinguish between wealth and status markers. The type, quantity and distribution of the objects are valuable criteria for such distinction (Wason 1994, 126).

Another important aspect which needs clarification is whether wealth and social position are ascribed or achieved, since this will reflect the level of socio-political complexity (O'Shea 1984, 251-252; Pader 1982, 61-62). The problem becomes more complex in communal tombs, such as the Prepalatial ones, in which it is not possible to identify specific individuals. In these cases it is important to understand how horizontal social position and membership of a burial group affect the vertical social position and wealth of the deceased.

3. Funerary goods in Prepalatial Crete

The burial offerings found in Prepalatial Minoan tombs, as well as in all those of the Prehistoric Aegean, have been classified into two major categories (Branigan 1970a, 56-85; 1993, 67 ff. and 119 ff.; Doumas 1972, 62-3; Soles 1992, 226; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 253-6). The first and largest category consists of objects with a secular, personal character, which had been used in everyday life. It has been suggested that these objects were placed in the tombs as personal belongings of the deceased. The second category consists of objects which had a religious or sometimes secular character, and they had an exclusively funerary use. These objects were either implements used in funerary rituals, whether related to a specific burial or not, or offerings which in themselves were of ritual or religious character. According to the above classification several explanations have been suggested about the role of these objects in a burial assemblage and the reason for placing them in tombs.

For the artefacts of the first category it has been assumed that they were personal possessions of the dead (Branigan 1993, 75; Soles 1992, 226), so they were placed either a) in order to be used by the dead in the afterlife, b) because of an aversion towards their further use by the living, or c) in order to avoid the return of the deceased to claim his personal objects from the living (Soles 1992, 226). Thus, philosophical/religious beliefs about death, the dead, soul and the afterlife have been considered as the primary and only determinants for the placing of burial goods in tombs (Carr 1995, 177; Goody 1962, 133; Hertz 1960, 37-38; Huntington & Metcalf 1979, 65-67). With regard to social organisation, it has been argued that, since these objects were personal possessions, they directly reflected the status and the social identity of the deceased (Branigan 1993, 75; Soles 1992, 255).

On the other hand the objects of religious or ritual character have been explained as implements used during funerary rituals which may have had a connection with a specific burial or were perhaps related to a kind of funerary cult, either to Minoan deities related to death and the dead or to the ancestors buried in these collective tombs (Branigan 1970a, 117-8; Marinatos 1993, 31; Soles 1992, 249-50).

However, a more detailed study of the various categories of artefacts found in the Prepalatial mortuary contexts reveals a different picture.

3.1 Pottery-Food-Drink: The largest category of funerary goods in all types of Prepalatial tombs is the clay vases. We believe that, apart from those elaborate vases of exceptional quality and manufacture, the clay vases were placed in the tomb with the deceased not as funerary goods by themselves, but mainly as containers for offerings (foods and liquids), which accompanied the deceased during the primary or the secondary burial (Branigan 1993, 76; Soles 1992, 246-9) or were consumed in rituals of feasting and toasting (Hamilakis 1997, 120). The two vases from the dromos of Tholos Γ confirm the above suggestion; the cup contained some animal teeth, and the jug 80 shells. Additional evidence comes also

from other tombs: olive pips from Lebena and animal bones from Lebena, Krasi, Mochlos and Archanes (Branigan 1993, 77; Marinatos 1929, 124; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997, 255; Maggidis 1994a). The evidence is limited, but this is due to post-depositional problems of preservation. Food and drink were offered frequently and in large quantities to the deceased; we think that their presence and importance cannot be underestimated on the basis of the limited direct evidence (*contra* Branigan 1993, 77).

3.2 Copper objects: Copper objects constitute a common category of finds in the Prepalatial cemeteries. More than half of the copper artefacts (62%) are daggers (Branigan 1974, 155; Nakou 1995, 22) and the rest are toiletry implements, such as borers, punches, needles, tweezers, scrapers, razors and pins.

The daggers had been used during life, as indicated by the traces of re-hafting (Branigan 1968, 46). However, the occasional use of elaborate and fragile handles made of gold (Marangou 1992, 258, no. 322) and ivory, the use of soft silver rivets and the manufacture of some daggers from silver suggest that not all Prepalatial daggers were used in the heavy tasks of the everyday life, but may have been objects for special use and display. Whether they signalled the status of the family-head (Whitelaw 1983, 343, n. 16), male status, or membership in a successful group (Nakou 1995, 12, 23), it seems clear that they were prestige objects of emblematic character. The same could be suggested for the toiletry implements. Although they could have been used during life, they were also special objects of display, something reinforced by the use of ivory handles and silver rivets.

On the other hand, the copper tools found in Prepalatial tombs are very few. A chisel and a saw from Koumasa, a possible leather cutter from Marathokephalo, and ten axes and an adze from Palaikastro reinforce, rather than disprove, the rule that everyday tools were rarely used in tombs as funerary objects.

3.3 Jewels: The metal jewels of Prepalatial tombs may be classified into four categories: beads, bands, pendants and objects sewn onto another fabric, probably garments (Effinger 1996). With very few exceptions, they were made of thin sheets of gold or silver. Their fragility indicates that they were solely for funerary use (Branigan 1993, 74; Xanthoudides 1924, 48, 110). Even if these jewels had a history of use before their placement in the tomb they certainly were not worn everyday but only on specific occasions. Only the stone beads and a few clay and bone pendants, found also in domestic contexts, could have been worn in everyday life (Branigan 1993, 71, 73).

3.4 Figurines: The figurines found in Minoan tombs can be divided into three categories: schematic, naturalistic and of the Petsofa type (Branigan 1971; Soles 1992, 228-9). Figurines may not have strictly funerary use (Davis 1984, 16; Fitton 1984, 33); traces of wearing, and broken and repaired pieces, indicate that they had a period of use before their placement in the tombs (Doumas 1968, 92-94; Renfrew 1991, 98-105; Barber 1984, 14). This is reinforced by the fact that some have been found in settlements and peak sanctuaries (Warren 1972, figure 95; Rutkowski 1991). However, the figurines cannot be regarded as objects for everyday use, but

rather objects of special character, something reinforced by their association with sanctuaries.

3.5 Stone vases: Stone vases have been found in large quantities and in many Prepalatial tombs. Their absence from domestic contexts suggests a strictly funerary use. Moreover, they were too small to contain anything but a small token offering (Warren 1972, 236; Branigan 1993, 71). It has been suggested that they had the same function as the small clay conical cups, which replaced them in MM I (Branigan 1970a, 79). We believe that, as in the case of the clay vases, the majority of them were not placed in the tombs as personal possessions or funerary goods *per se,* but as containers of offerings.

3.6 Seals: These are very common in funerary contexts, appearing as early as EM IIA, but used mainly in EM III-MM IA (Karytinos 1997; Sbonias 1995; Yule 1980). They are regarded as objects of highly personal character. The existence of sealings and seals in a few non-funerary contexts indicates that the seals were used before being placed in the tombs (Hue & Pelon 1992; Karytinos 1997, 227; Pini 1990b, 37; Vlasaki & Hallager 1990, 270; Warren 1972, 226; Wiener 1990; *contra* Weingarten 1990, 105-107). However, it cannot be suggested that they were purely functional artefacts used in everyday practical activities. In the Prepalatial period many seals were made of precious, imported materials (hippopotamus ivory), and were of high quality and of large size, while in the Protopalatial period, when they started to be used more often in administration, economy and other everyday activities, they became of lower quality, smaller in size and made of locally available materials: bone, stone and white paste (Sbonias 1995, 148). It seems that in Prepalatial Crete the use of seals was in a context where status and prestige display played a more important role than function and practice (Sbonias 1995, 146-147).

3.7 Obsidian: Fine obsidian blades are a common find in the Prepalatial cemeteries (Branigan 1970, 66). Similar blades and obsidian tools have been found in settlements and they were certainly used during life. However, recent studies have shown clearly that the blades deposited in tombs were unused and made strictly for funerary use, possibly manufactured at the time of the funeral itself (Carter 1994; 1998, 63).

4. Discussion

The above indicates that the existing interpretations for the role of funerary goods in tombs and cemeteries face several problems. First, it cannot be accepted that the dead had to be, and actually were, buried with their personal possessions. Many objects found in the cemeteries served only funerary purposes (gold jewels, stone and clay vases, obsidian blades). The fact that some objects were indeed used during life does not necessarily imply that they were personal possessions of the deceased, since they could given as gifts by the mourners (Barrett 1994, 117-118; Pader 1982, 57; Pini 1968, 21), or they could belong to the burial group (e.g. family, clan, lineage group) of which the deceased was a member. Even if they were indeed personal possessions, it cannot be argued that they were placed inside

the tomb simply because an individual had to be buried with his/her possessions. This is reinforced by the fact that utilitarian objects and tools which a person definitely used and possibly possessed during his life are almost absent from the Prepalatial cemeteries. For example there are obsidian blades but not other stone tools, such as mortars, pestles, axes, adzes and grinders; there are also copper daggers and toiletry implements but not copper tools, such as saws, chisels, axes and knives (apart from rare exceptions).

Furthermore, philosophical/religious beliefs, world views and metaphysical beliefs about death, the dead and the afterlife can provide a reason only why funerary goods were placed in tombs. They cannot explain why these particular objects and not others. Even the objects with personal character, which could be possessions of the dead, were not placed in tombs simply because they had to be placed with them, but because they were thought of as appropriate for the funeral, and were selected by the mourners among a number of objects which a person possessed or used through his/her life. Thus, the selection of specific goods was determined by social factors, related to display of social status, wealth or prestige, as well as conspicuous consumption within the context of the funerary ritual. What is observed in funerary goods is social statements made by the mourners about the social status of the dead as well as of themselves.

If the above is accepted it is possible to make a new classification of the funerary goods used in Prepalatial Crete. There are objects placed in tombs because of philosophical/religious beliefs, and objects determined by social factors. The former include the clay and stone vases. They were found in large quantities in all the Prepalatial tombs and it seems that every individual had to be accompanied with clay and/or stone vases containing food and liquids, whatever his/her social position. On the other hand, the funerary goods of a more personal character are found in smaller numbers, and their placement in tombs has to do with social organisation rather than mortuary beliefs. Their main aim was to display status and wealth, by taking valuable objects out of circulation.

The difference between the two categories of funerary goods is well illustrated in their use through the two stages of the burial. During the secondary treatment, when the corpse became a skeleton without soul and personal identity, objects of the first category, that is vases with offerings, seem to be the only funerary offerings accompanying the skull (Soles 1992, 248-249). This reinforces that they were determined by philosophical-religious beliefs related to death or the afterlife. In contrast, other offerings were removed or swept carelessly away (Soles 1992, 249) since social display and conspicuous consumption were not important any more.

With the above in mind, it seems probable that funerary goods were an aspect of the funerary ritual which could be used and manipulated by the kin group and the mourners in order to indicate, create or emphasise its social position; in this way social identities, status and other social values could be inherited and transmitted from one generation to the other. As Leach observed "if graves are in any way an index of social status it is the social status of the funeral organisers as much as the social status of the deceased that is involved" (1979, 122). In this way the high status of one person (either the deceased or a mourner) influences the

status of the whole burial group. It is also possible that a burial group manipulates the funerary ritual in order to make statements about its own social position by projecting this onto the deceased. From this point of view funerary goods offer a useful, though not always direct, insight into the vertical organisation of society.

D/ EARLY PREPALATIAL PERIOD (EM II)

1. Tholos Γ and Phourni (EM IIA)

According to what was argued above it appears that the differences between Tholos Γ and Tholos E indicate differences of status within Archanes society, and not just differences in wealth achieved on the basis of personal abilities.

It is noteworthy that Tholos Γ was superior to Tholos E in objects which could be regarded as symbols of status, and objects of prestige and display, such as the copper daggers, the gold jewels, the ivory handles and the marble figurines. These objects were made of imported materials and were of exceptional quality of manufacture. Moreover, such objects were not simply more numerous in Tholos Γ, but they were exclusive to it, none being found in Tholos E. In many categories of artefacts and raw materials the difference between the two tombs was on the basis of presence or absence, not merely relative frequency. This observation reinforces the suggestion that they were objects related not only to wealth, but also to special social position. If these artefacts were only objects of wealth then we would expect to find them in both tombs, albeit in different numbers.

The absence of such objects from Tholos E suggests that special social position was not achieved, but transmitted within the burial group. It seems that only the members of the Tholos Γ burial group had the right, or the ability, to be buried with such objects. Thus, the mortuary variability seen in Phourni in the aspect of grave goods points up the existence of social ranking within Archanes society. There was hereditary inequality, since the individuals of only one burial group possessed special social positions. These positions were expressed in the mortuary ritual through the use of emblematic funerary goods. It seems, therefore, that membership of a specific burial group was the basic criterion for social position and status. Unfortunately, it is not possible to speak about individual burials, due to the collective character of the tombs and the extensive clearings of the EM IIA burial remains. It is not known how many individuals were buried with the prestige goods of Tholos Γ. Moreover, the clearing activities deprived Tholos Γ of a large number of artefacts, so any estimation cannot represent the real situation. Thus, it is not possible to infer a) the number of the individuals who had these special positions in Archanes society, b) the role of these individuals within the burial group of Tholos Γ (fathers, mothers, elders, young warriors, etc.) and c) the character of these positions within society. A possible answer to the last question is given in the next chapter.

A final point that has to be made concerns the form of the tombs and the burial treatment. Although the social distinctions and hereditary inequality of

Archanes society were expressed in the funerary goods, they do not seem to be institutionalised through mortuary variability in the tomb architecture and form. Despite the fact that some individuals in Phourni were buried accompanied by special status markers, they do not seem to be treated in a special way. Of course, a substantial part of the mortuary ritual is not preserved archaeologically. However, it seems clear that individuals of special status were buried in the tomb with the other members of the burial group. This is probably related to two aspects of social life: it indicates the strong tradition of collective burial, and also reinforces the idea suggested above, that special social statuses were achieved through the group of which the deceased was a member. For the above reasons, the individual had to be buried not in an exclusive place, but in a collective tomb. Thus, special statuses were expressed only through the use of elaborate funerary goods in mortuary ritual.

This situation is not observed only among the members of the Tholos Γ burial group, but also within society as a whole. Tholoi Γ and E were similar in form, architecture and construction, despite the difference in the social status of the corresponding burial groups and their members. Special status positions seem to have been expressed not through the use of tombs of elaborate architecture, but through the special character of the associated burial goods. This was the only aspect of funerary ritual used and manipulated by the people of Tholos Γ in order to express or emphasise the social position of their group, and also to express social distinction from the people of Tholos E.

To conclude about EM IIA Phourni, mortuary practices were an opportunity for social identities, statuses, resources and other social values to be inherited and transmitted from one generation to the other. Moreover, death was the arena in which statements about status and social inequality were made. It remains to be seen whether social inequality, as expressed in Phourni, is seen in other Prepalatial cemeteries.

2. S. Crete (EM II)

In his earlier monograph about the tombs of the Mesara Branigan suggested that the cemeteries belonged to egalitarian, unranked societies (1970). However, in a later review (1984) he argued that this was not the case for the entire region, on the basis of some important observations on mortuary practices. More specifically, it was suggested that the cemeteries in the rich and fertile plain of the Mesara, especially Platanos, Koumasa and Ay. Triadha, are very different from the cemeteries on the Asterousia mountains and the narrow south coastline, such as Lebena, Megaloi Skinoi, Chrysostomos and Ay. Kyriaki. The Mesara tombs were regarded as richer than the Asterousia in items of wealth (gold and copper artefacts, seals and stone vases), items of prestige and display (gold diadems and copper daggers), artefacts of elaborate manufacture which indicate a higher level of craft specialisation, and imported items which indicate more intensive participation in external trade. Finally, it was suggested that the Mesara cemeteries have evidence for communal rituals, while in the Asterousia cemeteries there was little such evidence.

On the basis of the differences in wealth and display markers, in the degree of the craft specialisation, in the external exchange and the communal ritual Branigan suggested that in the Asterousia mountains the society was egalitarian and unranked, in contrast to the Mesara where the village societies were more complex, ranked, with some degree of hierarchy and with leaders: "big men" or chiefs (Branigan 1984, 35). He also noted that in the cemeteries of Ay. Triadha, Koumasa and Platanos one tomb was very distinctive from the others in terms of wealth, size and construction (Branigan 1984, 35-36), something suggesting social differentiation within these Mesara communities.

However, the above ideas do not take into account the aspect of time. Most of the Mesara tombs were used from EM I or EM II until MM I or, in some cases, MM II. As discussed in a previous section, the case of Phourni indicates clear and considerable differences in the expression of wealth and status between the earlier (EM II) and the later (EM III-MM IA) Prepalatial period. It is not unreasonable to suppose such differences through time in the Mesara cemeteries, too. It is not certain whether the differences observed by Branigan between the Mesara and the Asterousia cemeteries, and within the Mesara cemeteries themselves, started as early as EM I-II or were a later phenomenon of EM III-MM I.

Concerning differentiation between the Mesara and the Asterousia, it should be noted, first, that the large paved areas for communal rituals in the Mesara cemeteries were a later feature, not earlier than EM III (Branigan 1998, 19-21; see also Chapter 4). It is noteworthy that the only enclosed paved ritual area dated before EM III is in Ay. Kyriaki, that is a site in the Asterousia and not in the Mesara. Second, the differentiation in wealth and display items between cemeteries, or tombs within cemeteries, was based on objects, a large number of which belongs or could belong to the later Prepalatial period (EM III-MM IA). Objects of EM III-MM IA date are most of the seals (especially the more elaborate ones, made of ivory), almost all of the stone vases, the long mid-ridged and mid-ribbed daggers, and the filigree and granulated decoration in gold jewellery. The stratigraphy of Platanos A is also informative in that all the long daggers and most of the gold jewels were found in the upper burial stratum, dated after EM II, while the EM II lower burial stratum contained only simple, flat triangular daggers and very few items of gold jewellery.

According to the above it appears that mortuary variability between the cemeteries of the Mesara and the Asterousia, as described by Branigan, may not have existed in EM II. During EM II the cemeteries of the Mesara were not richer in imported goods, wealth and display objects and products of high craftsmanship, and they did not have paved walled areas for communal rituals yet. Possible quantitative differences may have existed in the funerary goods, but these were not significant enough to imply differences in vertical social organisation between the two areas. The recent excavation of the Moni Odhiyitrias cemetery, in the Ayiofarango, reinforces this picture (Vasilakis 1990b, 64-5; Vasilakis 1992). The cemetery, despite extensive looting, was particularly rich in items of wealth and display as well as in products of elaborate craftsmanship.

Concerning mortuary variability within the same cemetery, Branigan suggested some degree of differentiation within the three larger Mesara

cemeteries: Platanos, Koumasa and Ay. Triadha. However, this does not seem to be a phenomenon of EM II.

In Platanos, Tholos A was indeed far richer than the other two tholoi, B and Γ (Branigan 1984, 35). However, Platanos B was almost certainly built in a later period, EM III or MM IA (*contra* Branigan 1970a, 168; 1993, 147), since it contained vases of this date, seals not earlier than EM III, and only long daggers, identical to the long daggers from the upper burial stratum of Platanos A (Xanthoudides 1924, 91-2). The absence of triangular daggers from Platanos B reinforces the view that the tomb was built later than Platanos A, after EM II. Platanos Γ, on the other hand, could have been erected as early as EM II, but it was almost entirely destroyed and any comparison with the "wealthier" Platanos A would certainly be misleading. Moreover, Branigan emphasised the exceptionally large number of antechambers of Platanos A, but these antechambers were a later construction, added to the tomb possibly after EM II. Additionally, it should be considered that most of the imported objects, the status and display markers and the products of elaborate craftsmanship from Platanos A come from the upper stratum, that is later than EM II. The above evidence clearly indicates that the picture of mortuary differentiation within the Platanos cemetery in EM II is questionable.

In the cemetery of Ay. Triadha, Tholos A is richer than Tholos B but the latter has no finds dated before EM III-MM IA and seems to be built later than Tholos A, which is dated as early as EM I or EM IIA (Banti 1930-31; Paribeni 1904; *contra* Branigan 1970, 166; 1993, 144). Moreover, Ay. Triadha B had been almost entirely destroyed in later periods, making comparison difficult. Finally, the annexes which, according to Branigan, make Ay. Triadha A distinctive, were built later, in EM III or MM IA (Banti 1930-31; Blackman 1997, 112).

In the Koumasa cemetery there are three tholoi, A, B and E. The latter was deliberately cleared of almost all its finds in Minoan times so it cannot be used in any comparison. The other two tombs, Tholoi A and B, were both in use, in EM I and EM II. They were not extensively looted (Xanthoudides 1924, 4), and they can be regarded as retaining the largest part of their contents. Koumasa B is wealthier than Koumasa A, while substantial differences are only in the clay and stone vases, the long daggers, the copper artefacts and the seals. However, the great majority of the stone vases, the long daggers and the seals are later than EM II. The amount of gold objects, pendants, triangular daggers, Cycladic figurines and beads was roughly similar. Moreover, the difference between the two tombs is only on the basis of relative frequency, not on the basis of presence or absence. The only exception is in the whetstones and the pommels, but it is not certain if these objects are of EM II dating, and it is also questionable whether they were special objects of display and symbols of status. Finally it should be noted that the differences between the funerary material of the two tombs was in quantitative, but not in qualitative terms. The burial goods of Tholos B were not more elaborate than those of Tholos A and the craftsmanship was of the same level.

To conclude, it appears that there was no mortuary differentiation between the cemeteries of the Mesara and the Asterousia, in EM II. Furthermore, it seems that mortuary variability within the same cemetery was very low during this

period. The evidence from the three most important cemeteries of the Mesara, Ay. Triadha, Koumasa and Platanos, showed that no tomb was distinct from the others in terms of construction, mortuary ritual and funerary goods. The case of the Koumasa tholoi is the most characteristic. Koumasa B appears to be wealthier than Koumasa A, something which could imply wealth differences in the local community. However, it is also possible that such quantitative differences correspond to different numbers of burials in each tomb, and were not due to distinctions in wealth. Additionally, it should be emphasised that the quantitative differences were not accompanied by qualitative ones. Artefacts of elaborate craftsmanship or made of imported raw materials, which can be regarded as prestige objects, signalling special social position (daggers, gold jewels, seals) were found in all the tombs of Koumasa, though in different quantities. This could indicate that, in contrast to Archanes, such artefacts could be possessed and used by members of all the burial groups. Therefore, it seems that there was no social differentiation between the burial groups of the Mesara communities.

On the other hand, despite the evidence for very low degree of mortuary variability in S. Cretan cemeteries, it cannot be argued that the communities in the Mesara and the Asterousia were egalitarian or unranked. The use of elaborate burial goods (triangular daggers, seals, gold jewels) suggests that some individuals may have been of special importance for the community. The difference from Archanes society is that these special social positions were open to all the burial groups, and, therefore, of achieved rather than of hereditary character. Thus, membership of a specific burial group was not a criterion of special status itself, as suggested for Archanes.

3. E. Crete (EM II)

The evidence from E. Crete is rather different. Soles (1987, 49; 1992, 255-8) has challenged the view that Prepalatial Crete was an essentially egalitarian society and that ranking appeared only at the very end of the Prepalatial period (Cherry 1983, 40). He suggested that mortuary practices in some E. Cretan cemeteries indicate social ranking in the corresponding societies. These were the cemeteries at Mochlos, Gournia and Mallia which are characterised by great differentiation in several aspects of mortuary practices: a) the disposal facility, b) the quantity and quality of the grave goods, c) the symbols of authority, and d) the treatment of the corpse (Soles 1987, 50).

At Mochlos, the cemetery consists of at least 22 house tombs (Seager 1912; Soles 1992). According to Soles, two of the tombs, built in the West Terrace of the island (Tombs I-II-III and IV-V-VI), became very distinctive as early as EM IIA. They are larger, better constructed and spatially separated from the other tombs of the cemetery, lying on the South Slope (Soles 1987, 51). Moreover, these two tombs are quite special because of the greater concentration of wealth, and the large number of products of elaborate craftsmanship and artefacts made of imported raw materials. Additionally, there is evidence that special rituals took place outside one of the tombs (Tomb IV-V-VI), as indicated by a paved causeway leading to the tomb, and a paved area with an altar found in front of its entrance

(Soles 1992, 43, n. 7, 56-7). Similar evidence for rituals is lacking from the tombs of the South Slope.

At Gournia, the cemetery was founded in EM IIA. According to Soles, two different disposal areas were in use. In the first, Sphoungaras, simple inhumations were made in the earth or, in some cases, in irregular cists built of stone, while in the second area, 200-300 m. to the north of Sphoungaras, a house tomb (Tomb III) was erected to receive burials inside its four rooms (Hall 1912; Soles 1987, 51; 1992, 28). The burials in Tomb III were special in the sense that they were made inside a tomb built above ground, spatially separated from the other burials in the nearby Sphoungaras cemetery, and furnished with a greater number of richer funerary goods (Soles 1987; 1992). It is also possible that there were differences in the body treatment, since in Sphoungaras the custom of secondary burial was not applied.

Finally, the cemetery at Mallia had a similar history of use. In EM II the cemetery consisted of two areas. The first received a large number of burials made inside natural crevices in the rock. To the west of this area, in EM IIB, a small house tomb (Ossuaire Renaudin) was erected to receive a small number of burials (Soles 1987, 56; 1992, 173, 255; Van Effenterre 1980; Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963). The burials made in this built tomb can be regarded as different on the basis of the way of interment, the form of the tomb and, possibly, the treatment of the corpse. Unfortunately nothing is preserved of the funerary material, so it is not possible to speak about any differences in terms of burial goods.

The above evidence suggests a high degree of mortuary variability in these three cemeteries of E. Crete. However, the evidence used by Soles has been put in doubt by Watrous (1994, 713). In the case of the Mochlos cemetery, the tombs of the West Terrace were certainly smaller in EM II, since rooms III and V were later additions (Soles 1992, 43-60). Moreover, some tombs on the South Slope are as a large as the tombs of the West Terrace, such as Tomb L (Soles & Davaras 1992, 420-4), and quite wealthy, such as Tomb XIX (Seager 1912, 70-4). The latter is one of the most modest tombs in Mochlos, something indicating that there was no correlation between architectural elaborateness and wealth (Watrous 1994, 713). Finally, the tombs of the South Slope suffered most from later looting activities and erosion, so the difference in the funerary material of the two areas perhaps is not real. Regarding Gournia, a settlement has been recently discovered near Sphoungaras (Watrous 1994, 713). This could imply that the two cemeteries were used by two different settlements, not by people of different status from the same settlement. In the case of Mallia, Watrous argues that the house tomb is dated to the Protopalatial period (Watrous 1994, 713).

The above problems indicate that mortuary variability in E. Cretan cemeteries perhaps was not of such high degree as described by Soles. The case of Gournia becomes indeed problematic, if we accept Watrous' argument for a settlement near Sphoungaras. However, the chronological relation of the recently discovered settlement with the Sphoungaras inhumations and the Gournia house tombs is not clear yet, and any definite conclusions have to wait for the publication of Watrous' survey in the area. In the case of Mallia, Watrous does not mention

why Ossuaire Renaudin should be dated later than EM IIB. Moreover, EM IIB appears to be an important phase for Mallia. A building of this date, recently excavated beneath the palace of Mallia (Hue & Pelon 1992; Pelon 1993), seems to be of particular importance for its architecture and contents. The excavators suggest that it was an antecedent of the palace on the basis of the identical orientation. A sealing, found during its excavation, may also suggest that the building had an administrative function. With the above in mind the appearance of mortuary variability in the Mallia cemetery in this phase (EM IIB) becomes more evident.

In Mochlos there are also safe grounds to infer mortuary variability. Despite Watrous' doubts, we believe that the tombs in the West Terrace were indeed of special character, as Soles has argued. They were distinct in terms of spatial distribution, size and construction. The differences in the funerary goods were even more striking. Objects of wealth can be found in both areas of the cemetery, but it should be emphasised that there are quite substantial differences in two particular categories of artefacts: the objects made of gold and ivory (figure 7.2; table 22).

Both materials are imported from places far from Crete, the ivory from the Levant or Egypt (Krzyszkowska 1983) and the gold from Asia Minor or Egypt (Muhly 1983). It is also noteworthy that while gold artefacts can be found in small quantities in the tombs of the South Slope, these tombs are lacking the elaborate gold diadems, with repousse decoration, which are found exclusively in the tombs of the West Terrace and can be regarded as objects signalling special status. From the above it appears that the West Terrace tombs were richer in certain categories of objects and raw materials, and the difference from the tombs of the South Slope was not only in quantitative, but also in qualitative terms. As in Phourni, and in contrast to the Mesara, there are artefacts in Mochlos the distribution of which is based on presence or absence, and not on relative frequency.

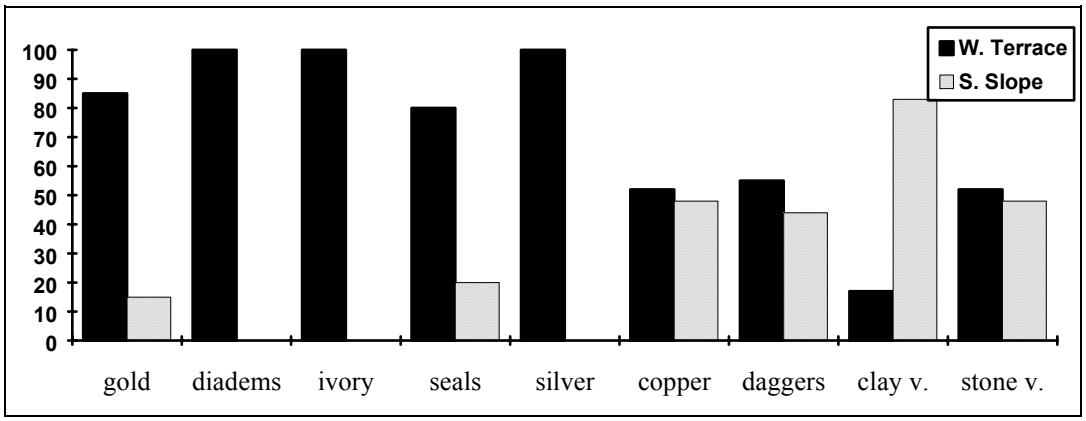

Figure 7.2. Distribution of finds in the tombs of Mochlos (in %) (after Seager 1912; Soles 1992).

For this reason, we believe that in Mochlos there were not only wealth, but also some sort of status, distinctions in the community. As argued in Chapter 6, E. Cretan mortuary tradition is characterised by small burial units, probably equal and identical to the basic functional and organisational unit of society, the family. From this point of view it appears that social status was inherited and transmitted

within the family, and that the restricted social positions could be achieved only by the members of a few families, apparently those using the Mochlos Tombs I-III and IV-VI.

It should be also noted that there is a problem of chronology, since the phases of use of the tombs in Mochlos are not always clear. In recent excavations a large quantity of gold jewels, including diadems, was found just outside Tomb IV-V-VI, and can be securely dated to EM IIB (Soles 1992, 57-8; Davaras 1975). Gold jewels and diadems were found also inside a rock cavity of Tomb I-II-III together with EM IIA pottery (Soles 1992, 49-50, figure 18). According to the above it is reasonable to suggest that mortuary differentiation emerged in Mochlos as early as EM IIA and continued at least until EM IIB.

On the other hand, it is important to emphasise that mortuary differentiation did not exist in other E. Cretan cemeteries. Mochlos and, perhaps, Mallia appear to be quite exceptional in EM II, while in other E. Cretan cemeteries evidence for mortuary differentiation is limited (Linares, Palaikastro), or problematic (Gournia).

4. Conclusions

From the above discussion it appears that mortuary differentiation existed in different forms in the various areas of Crete. In Phourni differentiation is seen only in the funerary goods. In Mochlos differentiation is seen in the funerary goods and the spatial distribution, size and construction of the tombs. In the large cemeteries of the Mesara, such as Platanos and Koumasa, there were differences in the quantity of the contained funerary material, but not in their quality and character. On the other hand, in most of the cemeteries of S. and E. Crete there was limited or no evidence for mortuary differentiation. This, at least in some cases, could be due to problems of preservation, archaeological observation and post-depositional activities. However, it seems certain that there was a great variability in the degree of mortuary differentiation and the way this was expressed, or found its way to the archaeological record.

It is also apparent that mortuary variability can be translated into social ranking and social status distinctions in the cases of Phourni and Mochlos. In both cases wealth seems to be closely related to status, and status to have been restricted and transmitted within a small number of burial groups. However, it is not possible to have a more detailed picture about vertical social organisation, for example how many individuals were of special status, how position within the social group affected status in the society as a whole, or what was the character of the social positions.

In the case of the Mesara cemeteries the situation seems to be somewhat different. The differences between the tombs and the corresponding burial units of the same cemetery are solely in the funerary goods, and are not such as to indicate clear distinctions in social status. The evidence suggests that objects of wealth, display and status could be possessed by members of all the burial groups. The deposition of objects of display, made of imported materials, and of elaborate

craftsmanship, such as gold jewels, copper daggers, ivory objects and seals could indicate that some individuals were of special social position. However, the fact that such objects were not restricted to a specific tomb suggests that the special social statuses were of achieved, rather than of inherited character and that they were open to the members of all the burial groups.

If we accept Fried's definition that a ranked society is a society in which positions of valued status are somehow limited so that not all those of sufficient talent to occupy such statuses actually achieve them (Fried 1967, 109), it seems that Prepalatial communities, such as Archanes, Mochlos, Koumasa and Platanos were ranked societies. The large number of objects of wealth, display and conspicuous consumption buried in the tombs of these cemeteries is a clear indicator that some individuals were of special importance for the community and, therefore, of special social status. What seems different between these cemeteries is the way these special social positions were transmitted.

E/ LATE PREPALATIAL PERIOD (EM III-MM IA)

1. Tholos Γ and Phourni (EM III-MM IA)

The high degree of mortuary variability seen in Phourni in EM IIA was succeeded by an entirely different picture in the second phase of the cemetery. Despite the fact that the number of tombs increased in EM III and MM IA, mortuary variability decreased considerably. As discussed in a previous section, no tomb was more distinctive than the others, either in terms of size, plan and quality of construction, or in terms of funerary goods. Further, there were no differences in corpse treatment, with almost all burials being made primarily inside burial containers and receiving secondary treatment after decay. The only difference appears to be in the contemporary use of the two old tholos tombs (Tholoi Γ and E) side by side with new built house tombs. It is tempting to suggest that the individuals buried in the old tholoi had a special social position within Archanes society, being or regarding themselves descendants of the first inhabitants of the settlement. However, there is no evidence to secure such a hypothesis.

Furthermore, the funerary goods indicate no differences between the tholoi, between the tholoi and the house tombs and between the house tombs themselves. The difference is particularly well illustrated in the case of Tholos Γ. The upper (EM III) burial stratum was far poorer than the lower (EM IIA) one. It is also noteworthy that Tholos Γ alone in EM IIA contained far more gold, silver, copper and ivory objects, as well as figurines, daggers, pendants, gold bands and beads than the entire cemetery in the late Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods (EM III-MM II). Although this could be partly caused by post-depositional factors, such as clearing operations and looting, we tend to believe that the amount of wealth buried in EM III-MM IA in Phourni was significantly less than in EM IIA.

It is difficult to accept that in late Prepalatial Archanes people became poorer. Moreover, as we argued in the introduction to this chapter, it would be a mistake to assume that mortuary homogeneity necessarily means an unstratified or

unranked society, or that a change to a less complex or less differentiated mortuary behaviour means change to a less complex or unranked society (Hodder 1980, 166-7). Rather it seems more probable that what changed from EM II was not the living conditions or the wealth of Archanes society, but rather the attitudes of people towards death and the dead. In other words, it seems more probable that mortuary practices, and especially the funerary goods in EM III-MM IA were not a means for the communication of aspects of vertical social organisation, and were not regarded as important for the expression of differences in wealth and status which may have existed in contemporary Archanes society, as in the previous phase. Apart from the numerous clay vases, only a few burial goods were used in the tombs, mainly seals and a few jewels. These could belong to individuals of particular importance. However, the distribution of these objects in all the tombs of Phourni, and in relatively equal numbers indicates that they possibly signalled special status within the burial group (e.g. head of family, elders, etc.), or that special social positions in Archanes society were open to all the groups, and were not of restricted character, as in the previous phase (EM IIA).

2. S. Crete (EM III-MM IA)

As discussed in the previous section, the mortuary differentiation described by Branigan (1984) between the tombs of the Mesara and the Asterousia was not a phenomenon of EM II, but it is not certain whether such differentiation existed in EM III-MM IA, either. In the later Prepalatial period some Mesara cemeteries become very elaborate, and, according to Branigan, the difference between the cemeteries of the Mesara and Asterousia was in four aspects of mortuary practices: a) markers of wealth and display, b) products of elaborate craftsmanship, c) external exchange, and d) communal rituals held in the cemeteries. However, we believe that the differences between the two areas were not as profound as was suggested. The recently excavated tombs of Moni Odhiyitrias (Vasilakis 1990b, 64-5; Vasilakis 1992) and the tombs from Lebena are examples of some particularly rich cemeteries in the Asterousia area, in terms of markers of wealth (gold, copper and ivory artefacts), symbols of status (gold diadems, ivory seals, copper daggers), objects of elaborate craftsmanship and external exchange (scarabs, imported raw materials). Moreover, evidence for communal rituals in paved enclosed areas can be seen in the Ay. Kyriaki and Moni Odhiyitrias cemeteries.

On the other hand, the degree of mortuary differentiation within the same cemetery certainly increased in the later part of the Prepalatial period. In the Platanos cemetery Tholos A was distinct due to the large number of antechambers in front of its entrance. It was also wealthier by far in copper and gold objects, and stone vases. Artefacts signalling status are absent (gold diadems) or extremely few (copper daggers) in the other tholoi of the cemetery. An interesting case is the necklaces, which in Tholos B consisted of stone beads, while in Tholos A of gold beads. This suggests some qualitative differences between the two tholoi of Platanos. On the other hand, it should be emphasised that Tholos B had a large number of ivory seals and was richer in seals made of stone. Similarly, in the Koumasa cemetery Tholos B was far wealthier than the other two tholoi in clay

vases and stone vases, copper objects and seals, but there were no differences in the kind, quality, craftsmanship and the general character of the funerary goods. In Ay. Triadha the damaged condition of Tholos B does not allow any comparisons between the two tombs of the cemetery.

An interesting case is the Moni Odhiyitrias cemetery (Vasilakis 1990b, 64-5; Vasilakis 1992). In the first phase of use (EM I-II) the cemetery consisted of two tholos tombs roughly equal in size. In the next phase of use, EM III-MM I, one of the tombs becomes more elaborate. Its wall was strengthened with an additional peripheral wall, three large rooms were built in front of the entrance, and an ossuary was built on one side of the tomb. Also, a paved courtyard and an enclosure wall were constructed in this phase. Although the tombs are looted and the excavated material has not been published yet in detail, the above suggests a development to a higher level of mortuary and perhaps social complexity in the local community.

A significant aspect of the mortuary practices of this phase is the rituals which took place in the cemeteries. As discussed in Chapter 4, in the later part of the Prepalatial period there is an increase in the evidence for ritual activities in the cemeteries (Branigan 1998). It was suggested that, although it is possible (and probable) that such rituals also took place earlier (in EM II), there is evidence to show that by the late Prepalatial period these rituals became more organised and formalised. It is possible, therefore, that in the late Prepalatial period these rituals were appropriated by individuals or group of individuals and became a means for expression and legitimisation of social order and power. The above described case of the Moni Odhiyitrias cemetery shows how the developments in one of the tombs was closely related to a number of changes in the layout of the cemetery, including the construction of the paved enclosed area, in which such rituals could have taken place.

The above evidence suggests an increasing complexity of mortuary practices in EM III-MM IA S. Crete. This perhaps corresponds to increased social complexity, seen also in differences between the tombs of the same cemetery, which in the late Prepalatial period became more radical and profound, with one tomb being distinct and significantly wealthier. Some individuals were buried with a number of elaborate burial goods and status markers, and apparently were of special importance for the society. It is possible, although the evidence is not clear, that these special social positions were restricted to the members of one burial group. On the other hand, it is should be noted that not every S. Cretan cemetery revealed such complexity and differentiation in mortuary practices. Although in some case this is perhaps due to problems of preservation, looting activities and later disturbances, in most cemeteries of the Mesara and the Asterousia mortuary variability remains relatively low. Amongst the excavated and published cemeteries Platanos, Koumasa and Moni Odhiyitrias are exceptional cases rather than the rule.

3. E. Crete (EM III-MM IA)

Mortuary variability in E. Crete in the earlier part of the Prepalatial period was clearly observed only in Mochlos, in the form, size and construction of the tombs, and the quantity and quality of the grave goods. In the later Prepalatial period this picture possibly continued in Mochlos, and became even more clear, since the tombs of the West Terrace (Tombs I-II-III and IV-V-VI) became larger with the addition of one more room (Rooms III and V).

In the cemetery of Mallia some sort of mortuary differentiation possibly emerged in EM IIB between the burials in the Ossuaire Renaudin and the rock crevices of the wider vicinity of the cemetery, but it is in EM III-MM IA when these differences became clear. Two house tombs, the House of the Dead and the East Ossuary were built in EM III-MM IA, while simple inhumations continued to be made in the rock crevices and pithoi buried in the ground (Soles 1987, 56; 1992, 173, 255). These burials were poorly furnished and they never received secondary treatment. Unfortunately, nothing is preserved from the interior of the built house tombs, so it is not possible to know whether the differences in the type of interment and the corpse treatment were accompanied also by differences in funerary goods. Watrous dates the Mallia house tombs in the Protopalatial period, but he does not make clear the basis on which these tombs have to be of such a later date (Watrous 1994, 713).

In Gournia the situation remains problematic if we accept that the Sphoungaras cemetery was used by the nearby, recently discovered, settlement (Watrous 1994, 713), and not by the commoners of the neighbouring Gournia settlement (Soles 1987, 56-7; 1992, 255). On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the Gournia cemetery became more complex in the later Prepalatial period. It was expanded from one (Tomb III) to at least four house tombs (Tombs I, II, VII, VIII), all being of elaborate structure, plan and size. Moreover, the fixed altar and the kernos, found just outside Tomb II, constitute the first evidence for organised rituals in the cemetery (Soles 1992, 19-20).

According to the above evidence it seems possible that Mochlos, which had already reached high levels of mortuary complexity since EM II, was followed in EM III-MM IA by the cemetery of Mallia and, perhaps, Gournia. It is possible that this mortuary complexity and differentiation can be translated into some sort of social ranking, although the evidence is not entirely clear. On the other hand, several house tomb cemeteries in E. Crete have limited or no evidence for mortuary differentiation (e.g. Linares, Kalo Chorio, Palaikastro, Zakros). Mochlos, Gournia and Mallia are rather exceptional cases among the E. Cretan cemeteries, a situation observed also in S. Crete.

4. Conclusions

As argued for the earlier part of the Prepalatial period, in EM III-MM IA it appears that mortuary variability existed in different forms in the various areas and cemeteries of Crete. In Phourni the clear mortuary differentiation seen between Tholoi Γ and E in EM IIA was succeeded by an unusual mortuary equality in EM III-MM IA. In S. Crete, in cemeteries such as Koumasa, Platanos and Moni

Odhiyitrias, mortuary differentiation can be seen in the quantity and (to a lesser degree) the quality or the kind of funerary goods, while the evidence for mortuary complexity increased from the previous period. In E. Crete, mortuary differentiation and complexity continued in Mochlos, while in Mallia and, perhaps, in Gournia it became more profound than before. In Mochlos mortuary differentiation was expressed in the spatial distribution, size and construction of the tombs, and the funerary goods, while in Mallia differentiation can be seen in the spatial distribution and the treatment of burials. On the other hand, apart from the above cases, the remaining cemeteries all over Crete bear little or no evidence of mortuary variability. It is possible that in the cases of Koumasa, Platanos, Odhiyitria, Mochlos and Mallia the mortuary differentiation and complexity corresponds to some level of social complexity. However, it should be emphasised that social complexity and ranking did not necessarily have the same form and character nor develop in the same way and through the same processes in these sites, nor were they a general phenomenon all over Crete.

In the case of Phourni we argued that it is more probable that the mortuary equality corresponded to a change in people's attitudes to death and the dead, than to a change in Archanes society to a less complex level of organisation. The smaller amount of funerary goods and wealth deposited in the tombs of EM III-MM IA suggests that the cemetery was not an arena for the communication of aspects of social status in this period. It is also possible that what changed was not the level of social complexity but the way special social positions were transmitted or legitimised, in other words the way society was organised vertically. The adoption of the E. Cretan mortuary tradition in the EM III-MM IA Phourni (see discussion in Chapter 6) suggests major changes not only in the way the people of Archanes organised their cemetery and treated their dead, but also in the way they organised their society.

Mortuary differentiation reappeared in Phourni at the very end of the Prepalatial or the beginning of the Protopalatial period. In a late stage of MM IA two elaborate tombs were built at the centre of the cemetery, after demolishing large parts of earlier tombs: Tholos B on top of Tomb 7 and Tomb 3 on top of Tomb 5 (figure 1; see also discussion in Chapter 6). Tholos B and Tomb 3 are distinguished from all the contemporary tombs of Phourni in terms of structure, shape and form. Unfortunately, almost nothing is preserved from their earliest phase of use, and it is not possible to speak about differences in the contained funerary materials. It is noteworthy that this change in the organisation of the cemetery occurred slightly earlier than or contemporary with the emergence of the first palaces. A similar, contemporary process perhaps can be seen in the Mallia cemetery, where from MM IA to MM IB two elaborate house tombs were built the one on top of the other: Chrysolakkos I and II (Soles 1992). Despite the later destruction and looting, the evidence from the architecture and the funerary goods of these two tombs suggests that they were used by the local elite of the first palace. It is reasonable to suggest that the palatial elite of Archanes, which also emerged in this period, manipulated mortuary practices and exploited the cemetery of Phourni (which was already 500 years old), to legitimise social position and authority (Maggidis 1998). The cemetery became again an important arena for the expression and legitimisation of the social order, and differentiation in aspects of

mortuary practices became a way to manifest differences within Archanes society in the period of the first palaces.

CHAPTER 8: THE CYCLADIC CHARACTER OF THE THOLOS Γ ASSEMBLAGE

A/ INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

One of the major problems of the Tholos Γ assemblage is the interpretation of the strong Cycladic influence seen in the funerary material. The discussion of the finds in Chapter 2 and Appendices III and IV showed clearly that a large number of the burial goods have some kind of Cycladic connection: either imported from the Cyclades, or influenced by Cycladic artefacts, or made of raw materials imported from the Cyclades (Sakellarakis 1977a; 1977b; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1997; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1977; 1994). It should be emphasised that all these objects were found in the lower (EM IIA) burial stratum, and consequently, the discussion in this chapter refers only to the earlier period of use of Tholos Γ.

The quantity and quality of the Cycladic elements of Tholos Γ have been regarded as without parallel in any other Prepalatial tomb, even within the Phourni cemetery itself. Tholos Γ is indeed a crucial assemblage for the study of Creto-Cycladic relations in the mid-3rd millennium. These relations are subject of an on-going debate which started very early (**Ž**berg 1933, 242; Hutchinson 1962, 139-40; Marinatos 1929, 140; Pendlebury 1939, 86; Renfrew 1964; Schachermeyr 1955, 148), continued in the 70's and 80's (Branigan 1968c; 1970b; Doumas 1976; 1979; Sakellarakis 1977a; 1977b; Sampson 1988; Warren 1984) and revived recently with the study of the pottery from Ay. Photia (Day *et al.* 1998; in press) and Cycladic objects and raw materials from other sites in Crete (Carter 1998; Gale 1990; Karantzali 1995; 1996; Stos-Gale 1993).

2. The problem of Creto-Cycladic relations

On the basis of its strong Cycladic elements the Tholos Γ assemblage was regarded as the best material evidence for a Cycladic colony of mercantile character in Crete (Sakellarakis 1977a, 152) and for the existence of Cycladic people in Archanes (Sakellarakis 1977b, 112). More specifically it was suggested that Tholos Γ received burials of Cycladic people, presumably merchants who were buried with objects imported from the Cyclades, others made in Crete under strong Cycladic influence and others unknown in the Cyclades (Sakellarakis 1977a, 152-3; 1977b, 111; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987, 261). On this basis Archanes was regarded as a kind of emporium from which Cycladic merchants exchanged and distributed their products all over Crete (Sakellarakis 1977b, 112). The existence of Cycladic people and colonies in Crete, was suggested by various scholars, even before the excavation of Tholos Γ, on the basis of large numbers of Cycladic imports (**Ž**berg 1933, 242; Hutchinson 1962, 139-40; Marinatos 1929,

140; Pendlebury 1939, 86; Platon 1966, 23, 32; Schachermeyr 1955, 148; for a review see Sakellarakis 1977a; 1977b, 94-97).

A different view was expressed by Doumas, who suggested that single Cycladic objects in Crete do not constitute evidence for the presence of Cycladic people or colonies, unless they were accompanied by other features of what he described as the "Cycladic cultural model", such as burial customs and organisation of settlements (Doumas 1976, 75; 1977, 68-9; 1979, 104). On the basis of this idea Doumas rejected the interpretation of the Tholos Γ assemblage as evidence for the presence of Cycladic people at Archanes, but he accepted the possibility of such colonies elsewhere in Crete, more specifically at Ay. Photia, where Cycladic influenced objects were found in what was regarded as typical Cycladic-type tombs (Doumas 1976, 79; 1977, 68; Davaras 1971).

According to Branigan, the Cycladic objects do not constitute evidence for the presence of Cycladic immigrants or colonies in Crete, but they indicate extensive trade between these two areas (Branigan 1970b, 184-6). Furthermore, Branigan has suggested that in N. Central Crete, where Tholos Γ lies, Cycladic culture was widely accepted by the local population and he used the term "Cycladic province" to describe this area (Branigan 1968c, 225-6; 1971, 77-8). Similarly, Warren (1972b; 1984) suggested that Cycladic objects in Crete cannot be interpreted in terms of presence of Cycladic people or colonies (except in the case of the Ay. Photia cemetery), but as products of exchange relations between the two areas. However, he argued that the Cycladic imports were not "components of a regular or large-scale or directional network", but rather "casual, small-scale or gift-exchanges, mainly between Cycladic and north Cretan sites" (Warren 1984, 61).

From the above it becomes clear that we are dealing with the same evidence interpreted in different, sometimes opposite ways. Within this framework of study, the understanding of Tholos Γ assemblage acquires special importance, but also becomes rather problematic. Which of the above interpretations is applicable to Tholos Γ and what do the undoubtedly many and strong Cycladic elements of the tomb mean? Perhaps the existence of a Cycladic colony, the presence of Cycladic merchants, the adoption of Cycladic culture, or simply exchange contacts? Moreover, we might ask what the position of Tholos Γ in the Creto-Cycladic contacts was, and what the character of these contacts was: direct, indirect, population movements, organised exchange or casual gift giving?

This chapter is aiming to answer these questions and introduce a rather different approach for the interpretation of Tholos Γ. In a first stage we will discuss the general problems and the mistaken assumptions usually made when using material culture to infer cultural and ethnic bounded entities, and the problems of interpretation which exist when this material culture derives from funerary deposits. A detailed examination of the material from Tholos Γ will follow, in order to identify the "Minoan" and the "Cycladic" cultural elements and their exact character. This will be followed by a study of the broader temporal and spatial context, first within Phourni, then in N. Crete and finally in the entire island. In the final discussion we not only interpret Tholos Γ and identify its place

within the broader context of the Creto-Cycladic relations, but also define the character of these relations.

B/ MATERIAL CULTURE, CULTURAL GROUPS AND ETHNIC IDENTITIES

1. The concept of "culture"

The existing ideas and interpretations of the Cycladic-related objects in Crete are within the explanatory framework of the "culture" approach to archaeology. This approach characterised the earlier stages of archaeology, when the main aim of the discipline was to identify archaeological cultures on the basis of material cultural traits associated with particular areas (Shennan 1989, 9). According to this approach, spatially and temporally discrete distributions of artefacts reflect the existence of distinct cultures. Thus, "culture" is an archaeological entity, consisting of a variety of types of material remains known to be contemporary, associated with one another and occupying a continuous geographical area (Shennan 1978, 113). Similarly, archaeological study in Aegean prehistory is characterised by the use of distinct cultural entities (Minoan, Cycladic and Helladic cultures), defined at the beginning of the century, and since then monopolising the way of approaching and interpreting the archaeological record and people's behaviour in the past.

A culture is usually defined on the basis of the spatial distribution of a few cultural traits and objects which were regarded as "diagnostic" in an arbitrary way, and not from all the aspects of the material; the sites, in which such "diagnostics" objects were found, were also regarded arbitrarily as "diagnostic" of a culture (Jones 1997, 16). On the basis of these ideas, the continuity in the distribution of a number of cultural traits means the existence of a specific culture within a specific location. On the other hand, discontinuities and breaks in the distribution of such objects mean the existence of boundaries between two or more cultures. Finally, cultural similarities or cultural traits attributed to a culture but found also in the areas of other cultures mean trade and exchange, contacts and interactions, influence and diffusion, or population movements and migration.

The acceptance of these ideas led the archaeologists of the "cultural approach" to a number of assumptions (Shennan 1978; 1989):

a) Cultures were regarded not only as material entities, but also as patterns of behaviour and as living organisms. In other words, they were regarded as active factors ruling individuals' lives.

b) Cultures were thought of as formal, not as functional, areas. They were regarded as areas of uniformity on a map rather than networks created by flows of people, goods and information.

c) Because "cultural archaeology" regards culture as a flowing stream with ideational norms concerning appropriate ways of acting (making pots, building

houses, burying dead, etc.) it was considered that changes in the archaeological record mean movement of people (migration) or outside influence (diffusion).

These ideas and assumptions have been criticised strongly in the last two decades. It has been suggested that this kind of approach to the archaeological record is correct if we restrict ourselves to describing these entities, but it is wrong to use cultures as a reflection of human group territoriality and behaviour (Shennan 1978, 114). Cultures describe rather than interpret the archaeological record. The spatial distributions of artefacts and cultural traits are not entirely regular and they do not follow certain rules and expected patterns (Jones 1997, 108). Moreover, spatial distribution of material culture and cultural similarities do not depend solely on human interaction but also on internal strategies and the intentions of the interacting groups. Material culture cannot be treated as a passive reflection of enculturation in a specific bounded cultural milieu; rather it is, together with style, a powerful means used by groups and individuals to emphasise or hide identity, to legitimise, express or cover social position, exclusivity or membership of population groups and other social values.

According to the above criticisms it is important to disconnect the distribution of material culture from the existence of cultural entities. Cultures cannot be identified in monothetic terms, on the basis of presence-absence of a list of traits or types. Moreover, there are no such entities as cultures, but they are the contingent interrelations of different distributions produced by different factors (Jones 1997, 109; Shennan 1989, 13). From this viewpoint the spatial distribution of cultural traits is produced in specific places for specific reasons (Shennan 1989, 13). Therefore, the study of the broader context is of particular importance in the approach to material culture of the past.

2. Ethnicity and material culture

A fundamental assumption also made by the "culture" approach is that cultures correlate with peoples and ethnic groups. Cultures were regarded as indicators of ethnicity, that is self-conscious identification with a particular social group (Shennan 1989, 5). Thus, it was assumed that different cultural traits show different way of life, different people and different ethnic groups (Jones 1997, 15). The term "ethnic group" is taken here to mean a population which a) is largely self-perpetuating, b) shares fundamental cultural values, realised in overt utility in cultural forms, c) makes up a field of communication and interaction, and d) has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order (Barth 1969, 10-1).

The correlation between cultures and ethnic groups has been challenged recently and rejected by many anthropological, ethnographic and archaeological studies. First, it has been argued that, although ethnic categories take cultural differences into account, it cannot be assumed that there is a simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences (Barth 1969, 14; Shennan 1989, 5). Moreover, it is not safe to assume that archaeological

cultures relate in any straightforward way to other aspects of social and cultural life, such as language, people, race, society, tribe (Hodder 1978b, 12; 1979, 452). Ethnic groups are rarely a reflection of the sum total of similarities and differences in "objective" cultural traits. Rather they are self-conscious/self-defining groups which are based on the perception of real or assumed cultural differences (Jones 1997, 108).

According to the above, ethnicity is not spatial variation, but the self-conscious identification with a particular social group at least partly based on a specific locality or origin. Spatial variation always exists, but it does not necessarily indicate ethnicity. The latter is a product of specific factors in specific contexts (Shennan 1989, 17) and emerges under particular circumstances of interactional, historic, economic and political character (Barth 1994, 12). Therefore, the particular temporal and spatial context have always to be taken into account in the emergence of ethnicity, and not regarded just as something passively reflected on the cultural features.

3. Discussion-The case of Tholos Γ

According to what was discussed above, cultural entities are very useful for describing material culture, but they are insufficient to explain and interpret human group territoriality, and people's actions and behaviour. For this reason it is important to accept that there are no such monothetic and bounded entities as cultures. Instead, we believe, there is a complex network of human and group interactions in which material culture is used as part of individual and group strategies in order to manipulate these interactions. Furthermore, it is necessary to disconnect material culture distribution and spatial cultural variation from ethnic groups and boundaries. There is no one-to-one correlation between cultural similarities or differences and ethnic groups. Spatial variation and difference do not necessarily indicate ethnicity, and material culture is not a passive reflection of ethnic groups and boundaries. Although the emergence of ethnicity is based on material culture differences, it comes into being under specific circumstances, and only then is material culture used actively in the signalling and symbolisation of ethnic identity.

In the light of this discussion, any *a priori* assumption that the "Cycladica" in Tholos Γ constitute evidence for the presence of Cycladic people in Archanes on the basis of the presence of some cultural traits should be avoided. The same is true of the interpretation that no Cycladic colony existed in Archanes because a presumed "cultural package" (in our case the "Cycladic cultural model") is absent.

On the other hand it is not easy to regard the "Cycladica" of Tholos Γ as "exotica", especially considering that they constitute half of the entire assemblage. As suggested above cultural similarity and difference, and material culture distribution in general, are not the result of human enculturation within a "culture" but a result of human interactions and of strategies to manipulate these interactions. Therefore, it is necessary, first, to study the strategies and intentions of interacting groups and/or individuals, and, second, to understand how material

symbols were used as parts of these strategies, rather than simply accepting that the "Cycladica" in Tholos Γ are products of gift or other kind of exchange and contact.

This is of particular importance considering that Tholos Γ is a funerary assemblage. As discussed in Chapter 3, every funeral, as all rituals, is an arena within which material culture can be actively used to communicate aspects such as social status and group identity (Barrett 1988; Hodder 1981; 1982a; Pader 1982; Parker Pearson 1982; Shanks & Tilley 1982). In Chapter 7 we argued that the artefacts which accompanied the dead were selected among many others not as personal possessions of the deceased, but in order to express, hide over- or under-emphasise what happened in everyday life. From this point of view material culture in mortuary contexts cannot be regarded as a passive reflection of society, but as an active statement made about the status, social and other identities of the deceased, and possibly of the mourners involved in the mortuary ritual. On this basis it cannot be accepted *a priori* that the "Cycladica" in Tholos Γ were possessions of the dead passively reflecting their ethnic or social identity. Rather it is important to study the particular mortuary context and understand the meaning of these objects in funerary ritual.

It becomes, therefore, clear that for the interpretation of Tholos Γ a new approach is necessary, in which ethnic and culture labels and dilemmas have to be denied, while the focus of the study has to be: a) how people behaved and acted within the broader network of individual and group interactions and interrelations, b) how material culture was used within these networks, and c) what was the meaning of material culture in ritual social arenas such as the funerary ritual. In other words it is important to understand how the "Cycladica" found their way to Crete, what were the mechanisms of the relevant exchanges and contacts, who participated and in what way, and how these objects were used in the mortuary ritual.

The interpretation of the Tholos Γ assemblage will follow two stages. The first stage is a detailed discussion of the Tholos Γ funerary material, under the perspective of "Cycladic" versus "Minoan". It should be emphasised that this discussion is of purely descriptive character, and has no relevance to the way people behaved, lived or identified themselves. Therefore, by characterising an object as "Cycladic" or "Minoan" it means that it has parallels from the Cyclades or Crete, and not that it was produced or consumed necessarily in a "Cycladic" or "Minoan" way, or that it belonged to, or was used by, Cycladic or Cretan people. This discussion will help in identifying better the character of the Tholos Γ assemblage, but for its interpretation it is necessary to move beyond typology and material culture distribution. For this reason in the second stage we will examine the broader spatial and temporal context of Tholos Γ, first within the Phourni cemetery, second in relation to other neighbouring sites in N. Central Crete, and, finally, in relation to the Cyclades and S. Crete.

C/ THE THOLOS Γ ASSEMBLAGE

The artefacts found in Tholos Γ have been discussed in Chapter 2, where parallels and chronology were given, while a more detailed description and discussion has been made in Volume 2 (Appendices III and IV). However, a different kind of analysis is necessary here, under the perspective of the ideas discussed above. The analysis will be made separately for the artefacts of Cycladic and Minoan character.

1. Objects of "Cycladic" character

For the purpose of this discussion "Cycladic" character is attached to objects either made of Cycladic raw materials, or having parallels from the Cyclades. As mentioned in the introduction, all the "Cycladica" of Tholos Γ were found in the lower burial stratum, dated to EM IIA. None was found in the upper, EM III burial stratum. This is in total agreement with what is observed in nearby Knossos, where virtually all the imports from the Cyclades (almost entirely pottery) have been found in EM IIA contexts (Warren 1984; Warren & Hankey 1989, 17; Wilson 1994, 39). The objects of Cycladic character make up more than half of the entire Tholos Γ assemblage (96 out of 175 artefacts), including the copper, silver and marble objects, the bone pins and the bone drop-shaped pendants, the gold vase-shaped pendant, the obsidians, the stone pestle and the chlorite-schist fragment.

1.1 Copper Objects

Tholos Γ contained 18 copper objects, including three daggers, one pin, a cutter, ten rivets and two non-identified fragments. Of these artefacts the daggers constitute the most important and interesting category. Daggers B10 and B11 (figure 28) belong to Branigan's type VIII (Branigan 1967, 220-2; 1974, 160, nos. 267A-B), characterised by the high pronounced mid-rib. They have parallels from Koumasa, Tekes, Zinta, Trapeza, Psychro, Vasiliki and Galana Charakia, dated from EM II to MM I. Dagger B12 (figure 28) belongs to Branigan's type III with mid-ridge, and has parallels from Krasi and Salame, dated to EM I or II (Branigan 1974, 158-9).

The manufacture of high pronounced mid-ribbed daggers requires the use of moulds and certainly more technical skills, knowledge and experience than the manufacture of simple flat or mid-ridged daggers. The importance of this feature can be better understood if seen within the broader context of Prepalatial metallurgy, and especially in relation to the manufacture and use of copper daggers in the various parts of the island during EM IIA.

The Prepalatial daggers are classified into two broad categories, the triangular and the long type. The chronological relation between the two types is not clear, but it has been suggested that the triangular daggers "become obsolete at the very time when the long daggers are developing most rapidly" (Branigan 1967, 239). It appears, therefore, that the long daggers superseded the triangular. The latter were used in EM II, although an earlier appearance in EM I can neither be

excluded, or confirmed on the basis of the available evidence. On the other hand, there is no evidence for a continuity of use of triangular daggers after EM II (Branigan 1967, 239). Their distribution is limited to S. Crete (apart from eight found in Mochlos), and in specific centres, since more than half have been found in Ay. Triadha and Platanos. The best dated examples are from Platanos A lower stratum and Lebena IIa lower stratum, which are solely of EM II date. The only triangular daggers found outside the Mesara comes from Mochlos and are also dated to EM II. It is important to emphasise that the triangular daggers were flat, and only a few (8%) had central ridge or rib.

On the other hand the long daggers were not common in S. and E. Crete during EM II. In Mochlos there are only 4 long daggers, all coming from EM III-MM I (Tomb XI: Soles 1992, 96; Seager 1914, 59) or mixed EM II-MM I deposits (Tomb XIII: Soles 1992, 91; Seager 1912, 63). In S. Crete the best evidence comes from Platanos A. Xanthoudides clearly reports that all the triangular daggers of the tomb were found in the lower, earlier burial stratum, while all the long daggers were found in the upper stratum and superseded the triangular daggers (Xanthoudides 1924, 106-7). It is difficult to establish a precise dating for the Platanos strata due to the lack of pottery, but it seems that the lower stratum belongs to EM II, while the upper one to EM III-MM I (Branigan 1970, 12, 64, 108). The stratification of the Lebena tholoi reinforces this chronological relationship between the long and the triangular daggers. The lower burial stratum of Lebena IIa, dated solely to EM II, produced only triangular daggers, while the upper stratum of the adjacent tomb Lebena II, dated from EM II to MM I, produced only long daggers. The only long daggers in S. Crete which could be dated securely before EM III are two small daggers with mid-ridge from Salame (Branigan 1974, 158, nos. 147-8). The above evidence suggests that the main (or perhaps the only) type of dagger used in S. and E. Crete in EM II was the triangular one. Also, the mid-rib and -ridge were extremely rare features in the S. and E. Cretan daggers of this phase.

In N. Crete the situation is totally different. First, all the daggers were of the long type and no triangular daggers have been found. Also, the feature of central ridge and rib was very common, in contrast to what was observed in E. and S. Crete. More specifically, in N. Cretan sites there are six flat daggers (Branigan's types I and II: four from Pyrgos and two from Kanli Kastelli; Branigan 1974, 157-8), five with mid-ridge (Branigan's type III: two from Krasi, and one from Pyrgos, Tholos Γ and Trapeza; Branigan 1974, 158-9), two with low mid-rib (Branigan's types V and VI: both from Pyrgos; Branigan 1974, 159-60) and six with high mid-rib (Branigan's type VIII: two from Archanes and Tekes and one from Zinta and Trapeza; Branigan 1974, 160). The above suggests a clear difference between N. Crete and the rest of the island during EM II. It is, therefore, reasonable to suggest that N. Crete belongs to a different metallurgical tradition from S. and E. Crete.

A study of the Cycladic daggers enlightens the problem. No triangular daggers have been found in the Cyclades and the only type used was the long one, as in N. Crete (Renfrew 1967, 9). Concerning the blade manufacture, both central ridge and rib were very popular in the Cyclades (19 daggers with mid-ridge, two with low and six with high mid-rib). It appears, therefore, that during EM II, when in S. and E. Crete the flat triangular daggers was the norm, N. Crete followed the

same tradition as the Cyclades, seen in the use of long daggers, very often with central ridge or rib. The only site outside N. Central Crete with long mid-ribbed daggers before EM III is Ay. Photia. However, the pottery and the burial customs of the site have strong Cycladic affinities, something which explains also the Cycladic affinities in the type of the daggers (Davaras 1971; Day *et al.* 1998, in press; Doumas 1976; 1977, 68).

The two different metallurgical traditions of the S. Aegean, the Cycladic and the S. Cretan have long been recognised and defined (Branigan 1974, 124; Renfrew 1967; 1972, 337-8). They developed in EBA 2, although they probably started earlier, in EBA 1 (Branigan 1974, 102-5). Their differences are not restricted only to the daggers, but also involve other categories of copper objects, such as spearheads (Branigan 1974, 162-3), chisels (Branigan 1974, 168-70), flat axes (Branigan 1974, 166) and pins (Branigan 1974, 178). The independent development of these two traditions could be better explained by the existence of copper sources in these two regions. The lead isotope analyses made in EBA copper artefacts allows the reconstruction of this important aspect of metallurgy by identifying the origin of the copper used.

In Crete copper sources are widely but not thickly spread and there is little evidence for their exploitation during the Bronze Age (Branigan 1974, 59, 62; Stos-Gale 1993, 119). The only significant source of copper is in Chrysostomos, in S. Crete. Lead isotope analysis has shown that this source was indeed exploited in the EBA for the manufacture of both triangular and long daggers found in the Mesara (Stos-Gale 1993, 119, 122-3, 125). On the other hand the same analysis showed that copper of Cycladic (Kythnian) origin was also used for the manufacture of triangular daggers, an entirely local type. The differences between the two metallurgical traditions, identified above, could be explained better if it is accepted that, at least at the beginning, the two areas developed their metallurgy independently, using only the sources which were locally available. This perhaps took place in the Final Neolithic or EM I, when the first copper objects were made in the Cyclades and the first triangular daggers were manufactured in S. Crete. It is reasonable to suppose that in S. Crete the local source of Chrysostomos gave an impetus to the local metallurgical tradition which developed its own particular characteristics. However, since many triangular daggers were made of Kythnian ores, it seems that the craftsmen of Mesara started from a very early stage to use Cycladic copper. This could possibly be because the local Chrysostomos source was small and of much lower grade than the Kythnian and could not satisfy the demands, or because the Kythnian copper was more prestigious, since it was acquired from a longer distance.

Unfortunately, no analysis has been made of the copper daggers found in Tholos Γ and other sites of N. Crete. However, the fact that N. Crete used types of daggers similar to the Cyclades strongly suggests that the raw material was of Cycladic origin. However, a comparison of the Cretan daggers to their Cycladic counterparts shows that, although similar in form, they were not identical, the former being significantly shorter and narrower than the latter (figure 42). This could imply that they were not necessarily imported from the Cyclades as finished products, but made in Crete with imported raw material. This is reinforced by the evidence for extensive copper-working activities at the coastal site of Poros, near

Herakleion, including a number of moulds for the manufacture of mid-ribbed daggers (Wilson & Day pers. comm.). The transportation of copper, rather than finished products, to Crete is also well illustrated in the above mentioned case of some S. Cretan triangular daggers, which were made locally, but of imported Cycladic copper (Stos Gale 1993).

To conclude, it seems clear that during EM IIA Cycladic copper was transported from Kythnos to Crete and was worked in various places for the manufacture of objects of different types. It is noteworthy that the copper in N. Crete was worked for the manufacture of long daggers with central ridge and rib, a technology seen also in the Cyclades. In contrast, in S. Crete Cycladic copper was worked for the manufacture of flat triangular daggers, a local type unique in S. Crete.

The above discussion of the copper objects has focused entirely on daggers. This is not surprising since 250 (62%) out of 400 copper objects from Prepalatial Crete are daggers (Branigan 1974, 155). In terms of the quantity of raw material used and taken out of circulation in tombs, this percentage is even greater since most of the other objects are borers, punches, needles, tweezers, scrapers and razors, that is small toiletry implements made of thin sheet or small quantities of copper. Thus the daggers are certainly in quantitative terms the most diagnostic and representative category of copper objects placed inside the Prepalatial tombs. On the other hand, some conclusions made for the daggers can be used also in the case of other categories of copper objects. The differences and similarities between the metallurgical traditions of S. Crete, N. Crete and the Cyclades is seen also, although not in the same explicit way, in other objects such as pins and awls. As will be discussed below, these objects are very common in the Cyclades, and have been also found in Tholos Γ and other N. Cretan sites, but they are extremely rare in the rest of Crete. This observation reinforces the suggestions made above that Tholos Γ and N. Crete, in general, were strongly related to the Cycladic, rather than the S. Cretan, metallurgical tradition.

1.2 Figurines

a) The Cycladic figurines of Tholos Γ

The figurines of Tholos Γ constitute a very important category of finds not only in quantitative, but also in qualitative terms. Eight Cycladic figurines in a single tomb is the largest number found in Prepalatial Crete, while the quality of their manufacture is of exceptionally high level. They belong to the canonical type of the so called folded arm figurines (hereafter FAF's; Renfrew 1969).

The Cycladic figurines of Tholos Γ belong to two types, according to Renfrew's typology (1969). The three marble heads F1-F3, their corresponding legs F4-F8, and the complete bone figurine F14 belong to the Spedhos variety, while the three marble F9-F11 and the small schist figurine F12 belong to the Koumasa variety. However, their classification under these broad varieties faces

certain problems and a more detailed study leads to some very interesting observations.

Heads F1-F3: (figure 30) The three heads (F1-F3) are close to the Spedhos variety (Renfrew 1969, 20; Sakellarakis 1977, 150), and are made of high quality Cycladic marble. However, they are peculiar in having indication of the mouth. The mouth is not often indicated in the Cycladic figurines, since only 43 among the many hundreds have this facial feature (Appendix VI; table 18). Of these 43 figurines only 17 are from excavations or known contexts, and the other 26 are museum purchases with uncertain provenance and dubious authenticity. For this reason the scarcity of this feature was possibly even higher. In most of these figurines (81%), the mouth is indicated by a simple incision, while only in eight by relief, as in the case of the Tholos Γ heads. It should also be emphasised that only two figurines with mouth belong to canonical types (nos. 38 and 39). The others belong to the Plastiras type, which is regarded as earlier than the canonical FAF's (Renfrew 1969, 6), or to non-canonical and peculiar types, such as the harpist or the hunter/warrior type (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 20-23). It is also noteworthy that in the Cycladic figurines with evidence for painted decoration there are painted eyes, eyebrows, nostrils or ears, but never a painted mouth (Getz-Preziosi & Weinberg 1970; Getz-Preziosi 1987, 104-8).

From the above it is clear that the indication of the mouth was not unknown in the Cycladic sculptural tradition, but it was deliberately avoided, especially in the case of the canonical FAF's. As Getz-Preziosi suggests, the absence of the mouth is a "seemingly purposeful omission, perhaps explained by the sepulchral symbolism of the figures" (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 53). Although to associate the lack of mouth with the sepulchral use of the figurines is only a speculation, the above argument is correct in giving a special symbolical meaning to the absence of this facial feature. Moreover, the presence of other facial features (relief, incised or painted) indicates that the absence of mouth was not due to any aesthetic or abstractive disposition of the craftsmen or the owners of these figurines. Consequently, the presence of this feature in the three Tholos Γ figurines could mean either that there is a meaningful break with the Cycladic convention or that the meaning attached to the mouthless Cycladic figurines was not present in the figurines of Tholos Γ.

In contrast to the Cyclades, the mouth was more frequent in the figurines found in Crete (Appendix VI; table 19). It is indicated in eight figurines (80%) of the Trapeza variety and three (75%) of the Siva variety. Both varieties are thought to be derivatives from the Cycladic FAF's (Branigan 1971, 70-72). Also 13 FAF's found in Crete (27%) have indications of the mouth. Although the percentage is low, it is significantly higher than in the Cyclades, where there are only two figurines with mouth among hundreds of canonical FAF's. In Phourni itself the indication of the mouth was a very common feature. Of the 13 FAF's with mouth indication in Crete nine (70%) come from Archanes. Also, of the 12 figurines with preserved head from Phourni nine (75%) have mouth indication. The case of Tholos Γ is even more distinctive. Six of the seven figurines with preserved heads have mouth indication; the only exception is the bone figurine (F14), in which the absence of mouth perhaps is due to the limitations of the material. To conclude, it appears that the mouth was a facial feature meaningfully omitted from the

canonical Cycladic FAF's of the Cyclades, but indicated in most of the figurines of Tholos Γ and Phourni, and many Cycladic figurines found in the rest of Crete.

Before closing the subject of mouth indication it is important to mention the case of head F3. In the discussion of the figurine in Appendix III we suggested that this head was distinct from the others in some details as well as in the manufacturing procedures. More specifically, its nose has straight sides and the transition to the face is abrupt, in contrast to the smooth, gradual transition on the other two heads (F1, F2). Moreover, there is a thin surface round the nose, slightly raised from the level of the rest of the face (plate 13). The face is unpolished, with clear traces of abrasion tools in various parts, in contrast to the other two heads. These features, although apparently insignificant, appear to have a special importance, since they indicate a completely different and peculiar history of manufacture for this particular head.

It is argued here that the narrow raised surface round the nose is the remains from the initial, original face of the figurine. The evidence strongly suggests that the figurine originally did not have a mouth, but this was created later in relief. The craftsman "shaved", or else engraved, the original surface of the face, in order to raise artificially the lips of the mouth. He also engraved the space between the two lips and between the nose and the upper lip, in order to separate them. These two areas have the most traces of working, in the form of small straight incisions in various directions. The small surface round the nose, mentioned above, was probably not removed in order to avoid the risk of breaking the nose. The whole process seems to be rather improvised, since the new face remained unpolished, with clear marks of the abrasive tool, especially in the area round the mouth. Although there are many possibilities concerning the time of this later modification and the place where this took place, one thing is quite clear: the later modification not only gave the figurine a facial feature already present in the other two heads, but also gave it a totally new meaning.

Legs F4-F8: (figure 30) These legs belong certainly to the above heads, as indicated by the similarities in material, typology and proportions, as well as the place they were found in the tomb (see Appendices I and III). However, it is not possible to attribute the legs to a specific head. Like their corresponding heads they are strongly related to the Cycladic FAF's of the Spedhos variety, but they are peculiar in that they have been worked as separate units. They became joined only above the knees, as indicated by a broken projection at the upper preserved part of leg F8. The same characteristic occurs also in the bone figurine F14 which has separated legs joined only from the point of the knees upwards.

Like the mouth indication, the feature of separated legs is almost absent from the Cycladic figurines. The canonical FAF's found in the Cyclades have either legs joined through all their length, or they are joined at the knees and the ankles leaving a cleft between these two points. There are only two exceptions, one figurine from Aplomata (Lambrinoudakis 1976, plate 195) and another from Kapsales (Tsountas 1898, plate 10,2). Two more come from private collections, belonging to the Kapsales (Getz-Preziosi 1987, plate 21,6) and the Spedhos types (Thimme 1977, no. 141). These exceptions among the large corpus of hundreds of canonical FAF's confirm rather than disprove the rule. On the other hand, separate

legs were not unknown in Cycladic sculpture, other than the FAF's. It is a regular feature in almost all the figurines of Plastiras and Louros types and very common also in the special type of the musicians (seated harpists and standing flautists) and in some non-canonical figurines (Thimme 1977, nos. 114-117).

This suggests that, as with the mouth, the separate legs were not unknown in the Cyclades, but it was a feature deliberately omitted in the manufacture of canonical FAF's. Consequently, the separate legs in the three marble and one bone figurine (F14) from Tholos Γ indicate a significant, and perhaps deliberate, departure from the Cycladic convention and tradition. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the separate legs were a common feature in the figurines of Crete. It can be found in all the figurines of Trapeza and Siva types, which are derivatives from the FAF's, in one figurine of the Ay. Onouphrios type (Branigan 1971, figure 1,7), and in two figurines from Tekes (plate 14).

Figurines F12 and F14: (figure 31) These two figurines are very peculiar due to their material. Figurine F12, despite its small size, follows all the Cycladic conventions and belongs to the Koumasa variety on the basis of the flat profile, the narrow body, the broad shoulders, the triangular shape of the head and the absence of chin (Renfrew 1969, 19). However, there are two strange features. The first is the incised indication of the mouth, the meaning of which was discussed above. The second is that it is made of schist, a material never used for figurines in the Cyclades.

Figurine F14 also belongs to the Cycladic sculptural tradition, more specifically to the Spedhos variety, as seen in the lyre shaped head, the narrow shoulders, the trapezoidal upper body, the raised thigh-tops, the curved thighs and the narrowing at the knees (Renfrew 1969, 20; Sakellarakis 1977, 150). On the other hand the figurine is rather distinctive from the Cycladic figurines in two points. First, it has separate legs, a feature also discussed above. Second, it is made of bone, a material never used in the Cyclades for the manufacture of figurines. The only examples, two heads from the Goulandris collection initially reported to be made of bone (Doumas 1984, 123, figures 145-6), are actually made of stone (Doumas pers. comm.).

Figurines F9-F11: (figures 29, 31) The other three Cycladic figurines found in Tholos Γ (F9-F11) belong to the Koumasa variety, on the basis of the absence of chin, broad shoulders, short legs and the overall proportions and shape (Renfrew 1969, 19). However, the complete figurines F9 and F10 are different from the other figurines of the Koumasa variety, since they are larger, thicker, with a complex profile and of elaborate manufacture (figure 41). Figurine F11, on the other hand, is very small, thin, with simple flat profile and of poorer manufacture. From this point of view it is closer to the Koumasa variety, as this was defined by Renfrew (1969, 19). Moreover, the difference between F9-F10 and F11 is not restricted to the profile, the size and the level of manufacture, but includes also the material. The large F9-F10 are made of Cycladic marble of high quality, while the small F11 is of marble of a different, lower quality, possibly not Cycladic. The importance of the above differences in form and material will be discussed below. It is also noteworthy that the two intact figurines have indications of the mouth, F9

as a simple horizontal incision and F10 as a small, flat, circular surface, slightly raised from the face.

Final remark: To summarise, it can be said that the Cycladic figurines of Tholos Γ, although following the strict conventions of the Cycladic sculptural tradition, break it in three specific points: the indication of the mouth, the separate legs and the use of materials (schist and bone), which were never used for the manufacture of figurines in the Cyclades.

The Cycladic figurines in Crete

As in the case of the copper daggers it is difficult to understand the importance of the Tholos Γ figurines without studying them within the broader context of the Cycladic figurines in Prepalatial Crete. A study of the different types of figurines in relation to their distribution and their material reveals very interesting patterns and leads to some important observations (Appendix V; table 20).

First, it is noteworthy that more than half of the figurines have been found in N. Central Crete. Of the 47 Cycladic figurines found in Crete, 27 have been found in N. Crete (Archanes: 17, Tekes: 7, Knossos: 1, Pyrgos: 1 and Zinta: 1), 15 in S. Crete (Koumasa: 6, Lebena: 4, Ay. Onouphrios: 2, Platanos: 1 and Mitsotakis collection: 2), 3 in E. Crete (Siteia: 2 and Vasiliki: 1) and 2 in W. Crete (Platyvola cave and Trypiti).

Concerning the material used for the manufacture of these figurines, the patterns of distribution are even more characteristic. It should be noted that the identification of the material was based on personal macroscopic examination and, in the cases where this was not possible, on the publications and the photographs. The latter must always be treated with caution, since the identification of the material is not always correct. For example the Spedhos type figurine from Koumasa (no. 21) is reported by Xanthoudides as made of limestone while the small Koumasa variety figurine (no. 24) as made of marble. Study of the figurines in the Herakleion Museum showed exactly the opposite. In 33 of the 48 figurines the identification of the material has been based on personal macroscopic examination (nos. 1-17 from Archanes, nos. 21-31 from Koumasa, Lebena and Platanos, nos. 36-43 from Tekes and Zinta and no. 48 from the Yiamallakis collection), while for the others we have to rely on the reports.

Of the 27 figurines found in N. Crete, 22 are made of high quality marble and 5 of other materials: limestone, schist, steatite, bone and marble of lower quality. In contrast, of the 15 figurines found in S. Crete, 11 are made of tufa and limestone and only two of Cycladic marble, while the remaining two (from Ay. Onouphrios) have not been examined. The material of the figurines from E. and W. Crete has not been identified, but it is reported to be marble. On the basis of the above, of the 24 figurines made of high quality marble, 22 have been found in N. Crete and only two in S. Crete, while of the 16 figurines made of other materials, 11 have been found in S. Crete and only five in N. Crete. It seems clear that not only were most Cycladic figurines found in N. Crete, but most of them were made

of high quality marble, while the opposite is the case for S. Crete, where other stones were commoner.

Crete possesses little good marble (Warren 1969, 134). Only five marble outcrops have been located so far: Matala in S. Crete, Chersonissos in N. Crete, and Xeropotamos (Renfrew & Peacey 1968), Gournia (Harrison 1990) and Chamezi (Durkin 1983) in E. Crete. Of these outcrops, Gournia is rather small, and Matala and Chersonissos consist only of some pebbles found at the beach. Only Xeropotamos and Chamezi seem to be suitable for quarrying. The marble of the Xeropotamos outcrop is of high quality, but it has not the sparkling whiteness of the Attic and Cycladic marble (Renfrew & Peacey 1968). Although marble of relatively good quality exists in Crete (Durkin 1983), it cannot be compared with the Cycladic marble and it never occurs in large quantities. This is reinforced by the fact that people of Crete, although they made hundreds of stone vases, rarely used marble as a raw material, in contrast to many other local stones, such as tufa, steatite, chlorite, serpentine and limestone (Warren 1969). A few marble vases known from Cretan assemblages, mainly Mochlos, are made of good marble, but with plenty of veins, a feature not seen in the marble figurines. The marble used for the figurines in Archanes, Koumasa, Zinta and Tekes (to mention those inspected personally) is sparkling white, of exceptional quality, without veins. Such marble can be found only in the Cyclades, and there is no reason to believe that it was from the Cretan outcrops of Chamezi or Xeropotamos. This can be reinforced by the fact that the distribution of the marble figurines, mainly in N. Central Crete, is different from the location of these two outcrops, in E. Crete. According to the above it seems that the predominance of marble in N. Central Crete and other stones in S. Crete indicates the wider use of imported Cycladic material and figurines in N. Crete, in contrast to the use of local materials in S. Crete.

Apart from the distribution of the Cycladic figurines on the basis of quantity and material, it is interesting to study their distribution according to type. As discussed above, Renfrew's typology cannot be applied without problems to the figurines of Tholos Γ, and the same is true of all Cycladic figurines found in Crete. Renfrew's broad classifications are of great value for the large Cycladic corpus, but will be avoided (except in a few cases) in the following study of the Cycladic figurines in Crete, which comprise a small and better defined group than their Cycladic counterparts. A first effort for a classification of the Cycladic figurines found in Crete beyond Renfrew's typology was made by Karantzali (1995; 1996, 156-159), who defined four categories: 1) imported, 2) imitations, 3) Koumasa variety, 4) local types. Although these categories are close to those defined below, the figurines and the criteria of each category are very different. Moreover, Karantzali did not consider the material and the spatial distribution of the figurines. Below we classify the Cycladic figurines in Crete into five categories on the basis of their features and the relation to their Cycladic counterparts.

A/ Category 1

(Appendix V; table 20, nos. 12-15, 16-19, 21, 35, 38, 41 and 44)

The first category includes all those figurines which are undoubtedly imported from the Cyclades. The best criterion to identify them is the resemblance to figurines found in the Cyclades. This category is similar to Karantzali's first category (1996, 156-157) and includes all the figurines mentioned by her, with the addition of some more from Archanes. More specifically, Category 1 includes 12 figurines, seven of the Spedhos variety, four of the Dokathismata variety, and one seated figurine.

Of the 12 figurines, seven have been found in N. Crete (Archanes: 5, Tekes: 2), three in S. Crete (Ay. Onouphrios: 2 and Koumasa: 1) and two in E. Crete (Vasilike and Siteia). The material in all the figurines (apart from the figurines from Ay. Onouphrios and Siteia which have not been studied first hand) is marble of very high quality, apparently of Cycladic origin, something reinforcing the view that these figurines were imported.

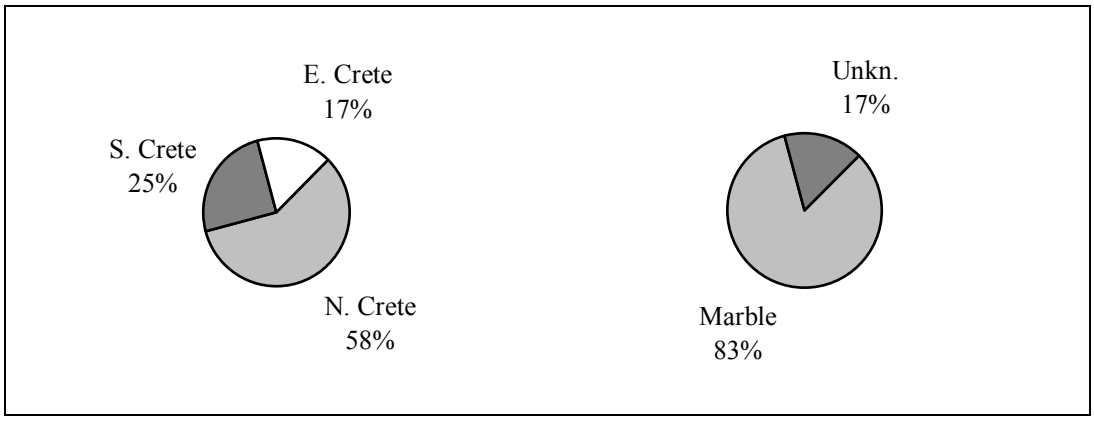

Figure 8.1. Figurines of Category 1: Distribution and Materials (n=12).

B/ Category 2

(Appendix V; table 20, nos. 1-3, 8, 11, 39 and 40)

The second category includes figurines which, although close to the Cycladic sculptural tradition, have some peculiarities inconsistent with the strict Cycladic conventions. To this category belong six figurines, all from N. Crete (Archanes: 4 and Tekes: 2). They are characterised by indication of the mouth and by separated legs. The fact that these features are on figurines found in the neighbouring sites of Archanes and Tekes could indicate the existence of a distinct local tradition in this part of Crete. All the figurines of Category 2 are made of high quality Cycladic marble, except figurine no. 8 which is made of bone.

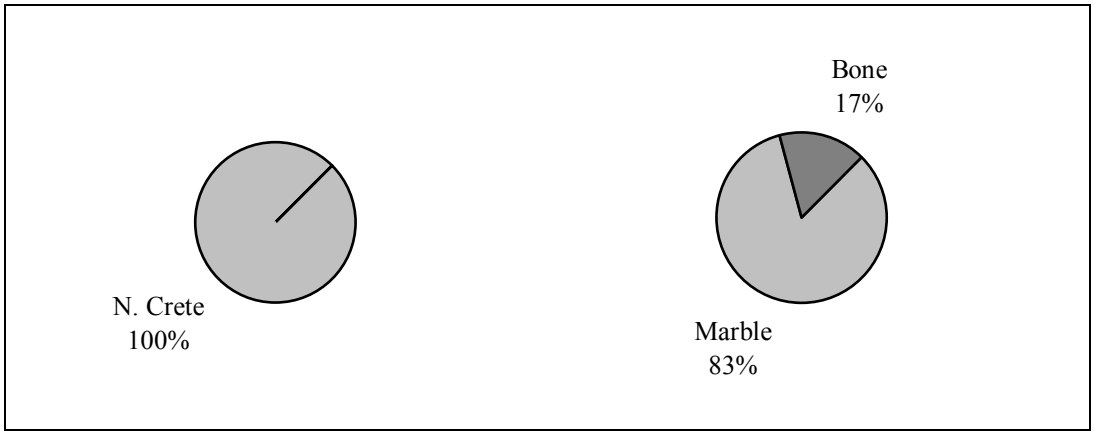

Figure 8.2. Figurines of Category 2: Distribution and Materials (n=6).

C/ Category 3

(Appendix V; table 20, nos. 4, 5, 10, 22, 36-37 and 47)

Most of the Cycladic figurines in Crete are attributed to the Koumasa variety (Branigan 1971, 61-3). However, a closer study of these figurines shows that they can be classified into two separate groups (Categories 3 and 4), each with its own special and well defined characteristics.

Category 3 includes seven figurines. These have many of the characteristics of the Koumasa variety: broad sloping shoulders, relatively short legs, absence of pronounced chin, head separated from the neck only by a light incision, no indication of the knees, and arms, legs and pubic triangle indicated by incision rather than through modelling. On the other hand they have some features which are never seen in the figurines of Koumasa variety, as defined by Renfrew. They are quite large, thick, with a complex, three-dimensional profile and four flexed points: at the ankles, the knees, the waist and the head (figure 41). Also, the craftsmanship is clearly more elaborate. It is noteworthy that all the figurines of this category are of Cycladic marble, and their distribution is very restricted: of the seven figurines, six have been found in N. Crete (Archanes: 3, Tekes: 2 and Zinta: 1) and only one in S. Crete (Koumasa).

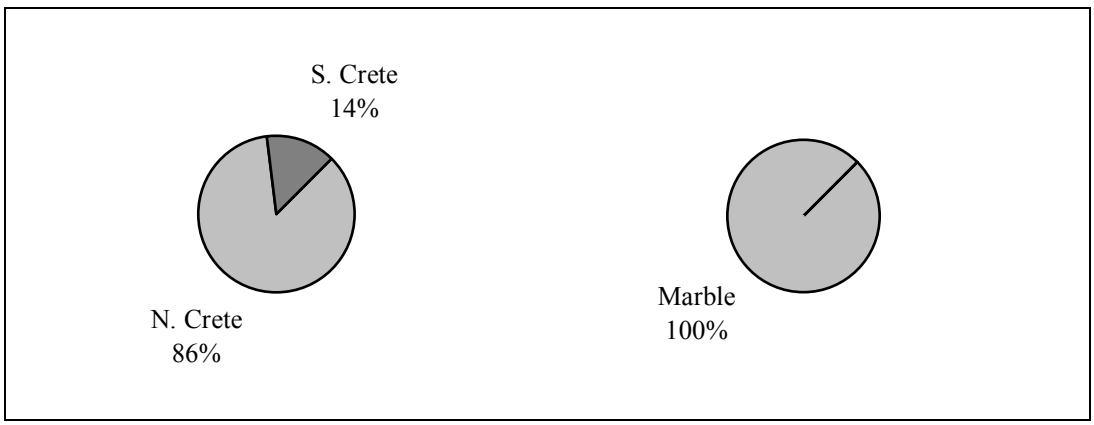

Figure 8.3. Figurines of Category 3: Distribution and Materials (n=7).

D/ Category 4

(Appendix V; table 20, nos. 6, 7, 9, 23-34, 42, 45-46, 48)

Category 4 includes 19 figurines, all belonging to the Koumasa variety as this was defined by Renfrew (1969, 19). They are different from the figurines of Category 3 in being very small and flat, with only two flexed points: at the ankles and the head (figure 41). Also they have only a few incised details and the quality of manufacture is clearly lower. The material has been inspected in 18 of the 19 cases (except in the specimen from Platyvola). Of the 18 figurines, 15 are made of various stones, such as limestone, tufa, steatite and schist, while only three figurines are made of marble (nos. 6, 9 and 34). However, this is of totally different and lower quality from the Cycladic marble used for the figurines of Categories 1, 2 and 3. Concerning their distribution, five figurines have been found in N. Crete (Archanes: 3, Tekes: 1 and Pyrgos: 1), one in W. Crete (Platyvola) and one in E. Crete (Siteia), while most of them, eleven have been found in S. Crete (Koumasa: 4, Lebena: 4, Platanos: 1 and Mitsotakis collection: 2).

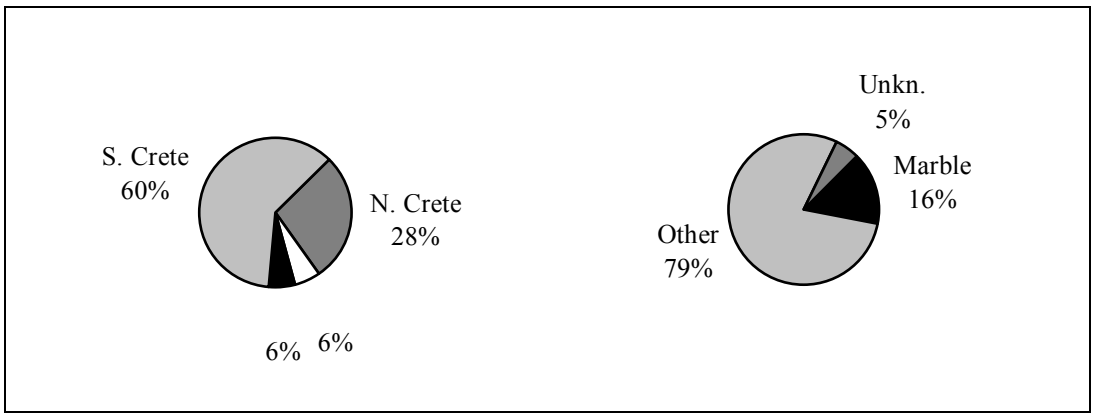

Figure 8.4. Figurines of Category 4: Distribution and Materials (n=19).

E/ Category 5

The fifth category consists of the Cretan derivatives of the Cycladic figurines (Branigan 1971, 70-3). They belong to three varieties: Trapeza, Ay. Triada and Siva. They are quite distinctive from the Cycladic FAF's but they all have arms folded across the chest. It is noteworthy that the Trapeza and Siva varieties have separated legs and indication of the mouth, two features foreign to the Cycladic convention, but very common among the Cycladic figurines of Crete, as discussed above. They are made of local stones, bone and/or ivory, materials also foreign to the Cycladic sculptural tradition. Their distribution is rather interesting since they occur in sites where no Cycladic figurines have been found (Ay. Triadha, Trapeza, Siva, Platanos), with the exception of Platanos.

Discussion

The above classification can be the basis for several important observations. First, the majority of the imported figurines (Category 1) has been

found in N. Crete. The fact that they all are made of marble is not surprising, since they are imports from the Cyclades, where the only material used was the abundant, locally available marble. The figurines of the second category are even more strictly distributed, in two neighbouring N. Cretan sites: Archanes and Tekes. Their peculiarities (mouth indication, separate legs) and their strict distribution suggests that their manufacture took place in N. Central Crete, where a local tradition seems to exist. Since all the figurines of this category were made of Cycladic marble (except no. 8 made of bone) it seems that the marble was transported from the Cyclades, not the figurines as finished products. However, despite the peculiarities and the evidence for manufacture in Crete, it has to be accepted that the craftsmen were very experienced in the Cycladic sculptural tradition.

The third category is also strictly distributed in N. Crete, with only one exception, a figurine found in Koumasa, in S. Crete (Xanthoudides 1924, plate XXI, 123; Sakellarakis 1977a, 148, figure 138). The latter is very similar to the figurines of Archanes, especially the two complete ones of Tholos Γ (F9-F10; figure 29), and it is rather safe to regard it as an import from N. Crete to Koumasa. This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that this particular figurine from Koumasa has relief indication of the mouth, a feature very common among the figurines of Archanes. The figurines of Category 3 seem to be an elaborate version of the Koumasa variety. No figurines with their features, proportions and shape have been found in the Cyclades, something suggesting that they could have been made in Crete, more specifically in N. Central Crete. This is also reinforced by the fact that four figurines of this category have indication of the mouth, a feature absent in the Cycladic FAF's. As in the case of Category 2, the craftsmen who produced these figurines were very familiar with the Cycladic sculptural tradition. Furthermore, the use of Cycladic marble indicates that the marble was transported to Crete from the Cyclades, not the figurines as finished products.

The case of the figurines of the fourth category seems even more clear. The majority was found in S. Crete and they were made of locally available materials: limestone, tufa, steatite and schist. These materials suggest that the figurines were made locally, as proposed by Renfrew (1969, 19). They have been regarded as improvised and crude imitations of Cycladic prototypes. However, as described above, the figurines of Categories 3 and 4 were very similar in proportions, outline and shape, but different in the profile, size, material and level of manufacture (figure 41). It seems, therefore, reasonable to suggest that the prototypes for the figurines of the fourth category were not Cycladic imported figurines, but the figurines of the third category. If this is accepted, then it seems that figurines produced and used in N. Crete influenced the sculptural tradition of S. Crete. The figurines of the fourth category were products of craftsmen with little and possibly only indirect experience of Cycladic sculpture and tradition. They used local materials to imitate figurines which they had seen or imported from sites such as Archanes and Tekes in N. Crete. The limitations of the material and the lack of experience were perhaps responsible for producing crude imitations, similar to their prototypes in the outline and the general proportions, but inferior in size, profile and quality of manufacture.

Finally, the figurines of the fifth category are local imitations of Cycladic figurines, very distinctive from their prototypes, made by craftsmen with only limited experience of Cycladic sculpture. Therefore, it is not surprising that they are found in sites where no Cycladic figurines have been found, and that they are made of materials never used in the Cyclades: local stones, bone and/or ivory.

Conclusions

According to the above it seems that, although a number of figurines was imported from the Cyclades (Category 1), most of them were manufactured in Crete (Categories 2-5). Such figurines were made not only of locally available materials, such as limestone, steatite, schist and bone, but also of Cycladic marble. This suggests that not only Cycladic figurines, but also Cycladic marble as raw material was transported to Crete. This agrees with what was suggested in the case of the copper artefacts, namely that it was the raw material rather than the finished products which were transported from the Cyclades. Concerning their distribution, the evidence suggests clearly the special relationship of N. Cretan sites, especially Archanes and Tekes, with the Cyclades. This is well illustrated by the fact that most of the imported Cycladic figurines (Category 1) and almost all of the figurines manufactured in Crete of imported Cycladic marble (Categories 2-3) were found in N. Crete. In contrast, S. Crete was superior only in the Koumasa type figurines (Category 4), made of local materials and being crude imitations of more elaborate prototypes.

Three points are also worth noting. First, the craftsmen working in N. Crete were more experienced in the Cycladic sculptural tradition and they had direct contacts with the Cyclades. Second, Cycladic marble as well as finished figurines very rarely found their way to S. Crete. The evidence suggests that the Koumasa variety figurines of S. Crete imitated or were influenced by figurines manufactured and used in N. Crete, and not directly by figurines imported from the Cyclades. From this point of view it is reasonable to suggest that S. Crete was only indirectly aware of the Cycladic sculpture, and only through N. Crete. Finally, it is worth noting the existence of a local sculptural tradition in N. Central Crete, seen in Archanes and Tekes, and characterised by figurines with mouth indication and separate legs (Category 2) and elaborate figurines of the Koumasa variety (Category 3).

1.3 Silver objects

Tholos Γ contained six silver objects, including a scraper, a pin and four awls (figure 31). The double-spiral formation of the upper part of the scraper (C2) evokes Cycladic parallels. The pin and the awls (C3-C7) have also numerous Cycladic parallels, in contrast to Crete where such objects were extremely scarce (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1977; Branigan 1974, 178). The importance of the pins and the awls will be discussed below.

Concerning the raw material, no analysis has been made in the silver objects from Tholos Γ. Analysis has been made in some Prepalatial silver objects,

but the samples were not typical and the results, although they point to an unknown source, are probably misleading (Stos-Gale & MacDonald 1991, 270-271). On the other hand, the analysis of Cretan lead objects shows provenance from Laurion and Siphnos (Stos-Gale & MacDonald 1991, 267-270). Since the production of lead and silver is very closely related (Gale & Stos-Gale 1981; Renfrew 1967, 4-6), and Crete itself lacks silver ores (Branigan 1968c), it is almost certain that the silver used in Crete also had provenance Laurion or Siphnos, probably the latter (Stos-Gale & MacDonald 1991, 280). Moreover, silver was widely used in the Cyclades for the manufacture of toiletry implements and jewels (Renfrew 1967; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1977) and the silver-making technology was developed quite early in the islands (Gale & Stos-Gale 1981).

A study of the Tholos Γ material within the broader context of the Prepalatial silver and lead metallurgy lead to some very interesting observations. First, it is important to emphasise the difference between Crete and the Cyclades. Despite the fact that the silver objects used in Crete were similar to those found in the Cyclades and the NE. Aegean (Branigan 1968c), silver was not very common, in contrast to gold, which was the favoured metal for jewellery, mainly beads and bands. In contrast, in the Cyclades gold was virtually unknown (there is only one bead from Phyrogges, Naxos), and silver was preferred for the manufacture of jewels and toiletry implements (Gale & Stos-Gale 1981; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1977). The lack of silver sources in Crete could be the main reason for the restricted use of silver on the island. However, large quantities of copper, marble and obsidian were transported to Crete from the Cyclades, so the restricted use of silver in Crete seems to be deliberate choice, and not dictated solely by the lack of the sources.

The distribution of silver objects in Crete is revealing. In quantitative terms, more silver objects were used in N. Crete (Branigan 1968c, 222; Vasilakis 1990a). In the sites of S. and E. Crete gold was more favoured for jewels, while the silver objects were in a minority. In contrast, in several N. Cretan sites, such as Krasi and Amnisos all the jewels and/or toiletry implements were made of silver. However, even in N. Cretan tombs such as Tholos Γ or Pyrgos there is a relatively large quantity of gold. The parallel use of gold and silver for the manufacture of similar jewels is also worth noting. Disks made of metal sheet, cut in circular shape, with two or more holes for sewing onto garments have been found all over Crete. These disks in S. Crete (Platanos) are made of gold (Xanthoudides 1924, 111, no. 486, plate LVII), while in N. Cretan sites, such as the Pyrgos Cave (Marinatos 1929, 130) and Krasi (Marinatos 1929, 120-121) they are made of silver.

To summarise, it can be suggested that, in contrast to the Cyclades, Crete uses both gold and silver for the manufacture of jewels and toiletry implements. However, there was a clear spatial variation since silver was more commonly used in the N. coast of Crete, perhaps due to influence and/or more direct contacts with the Cyclades where there were many sources of the raw material (Branigan 1968c). A strong relationship between the metallurgy of the Cyclades and N. Central Crete was observed in the copper objects, especially the daggers, and it is not surprising to observe a similar situation in the silver objects. It is not possible to conclude whether the silver objects found in Crete were made locally or imported from the

islands as ready made products. However, it is not unreasonable to suggest that at least some of them were manufactured in Crete, by raw material imported from the Cyclades, as suggested in the case of copper and marble.

1.4 Gold objects

As discussed above, gold was virtually unknown in the Cyclades, and the main metal for the manufacture of jewels was silver. Thus, it is not surprising that all the gold objects found in Tholos Γ and Prepalatial Crete in general have no Cycladic parallels. However, there is a single but very characteristic exception: the gold vase-shaped pendant (A20; figure 32). It is identical to head-pins found in Naxos (Marangou 1990, 62, plates 35, 42 & 65). However, these objects are made of silver, according to the Cycladic tradition, and not gold. The use of gold for the Tholos Γ pendant suggests that it was made in Crete. On the other hand the Cycladic influence is without doubt, especially since pendants of this type and shape have not been found elsewhere in Crete. Moreover, the Cycladic connection perhaps can be seen also in the method of manufacture. The pendant was made of solid gold cast in a mould, as its Cycladic counterparts. From the above it appears that the gold pendant is an artefact manufactured in Crete, of a material widely used in Crete, but under Cycladic influence and possibly with a mould of Cycladic type.

1.5 Bone objects

Most of the bone objects found in Tholos Γ (15 out of 20) have some kind of Cycladic connection. These are four pins and eleven drop-shaped pendants. Pins are very common in the Cyclades (Marangou 1990, 62-3; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1977, 123-125; Tsountas 1899, 101-2), in contrast to Prepalatial Crete (Branigan 1974, 178). From this point of view the presence of four bone (I1-I4; figure 33), one silver (C3; figure 31) and one copper pin (B9; figure 28) in Tholos Γ is of particular significance. The bone drop-shaped pendants of Tholos Γ (A9-A19; figure 32) are unique in Crete, but have numerous parallels from the Cyclades (Thimme 1977, 367, no. 443; Tsountas 1898, plate 8.26, 8.39 and plate 8.55; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1977; 1994). It is rather strange, though, that all the Cycladic pendants are made of limestone, not bone. This could imply that the bone pendants of Tholos Γ were not necessarily imported from the Cyclades, but made in Crete under Cycladic influence.

1.6 Obsidian

The obsidian assemblage of Tholos Γ (figures 38-39) consists almost entirely of unused blades (Carter 1998, 65-6). Moreover, some of the blades found below larnax L4 had been flaked off the same core (Carter pers. comm.). The above indicates that the working of the cores for the production of blades took place in Crete, perhaps in Archanes just before or during the burial ritual. Since the

obsidian is of Melian origin it appears that, as in the case of copper, marble and, possibly, silver, the raw material was transported from the Cyclades rather than the finished products (blades).

Although the custom of depositing unused blades with the dead started in the Cyclades, as early as EC I (Carter 1998, 61), it was adapted in the entire S. Aegean, and obsidian blades became quite common in many Prepalatial mortuary assemblages (Branigan 1970, 66). It should be emphasised that the evidence suggests that Tholos Γ has more affinities with the Cretan rather than the Cycladic assemblages in three respects. First, the tomb has a larger number of blades per burial, seen especially in the case of the 25 blades found in the same spot beneath larnax L4 (Carter 1994, 128; Carter 1998, 67). Second, the maximum and the average length of the blades is smaller than the Cycladic and closer to the Cretan assemblages (Carter 1998, 71 and table 4.4). Finally, while in the Cyclades obsidian blades were an important, functional part of the mortuary assemblage related to the body modification, in Crete and Tholos Γ there is no evidence for such practices (Carter 1998, 73). For the above reasons it seems that, although the practice and the raw material were of Cycladic origin, the production of the blades took place in Archanes, and the way they were deposited in the tomb was closer to the Cretan than the Cycladic tradition.

1.7 Stone objects

The marble bowl of Tholos Γ (D1; figure 37) is almost unique in Crete. It has numerous parallels in the Cyclades and the marble is clearly of Cycladic origin, similar to that used for the figurines. It is possible that the bowl was imported from the Cyclades, although, as discussed in the case of the figurines, the possibility that it was manufactured in Crete with imported marble cannot be excluded. There are only two more Cycladic marble bowls in Crete, from Trapeza and Knossos (Warren 1969, 77).

Some Cycladic parallels exist also for the fragment of chlorite-schist with relief decoration (D3; figure 37). However, this stone was available and commonly used in Crete (Warren 1969, 129), so a Cycladic connection cannot be supported with certainty. The same could be said for the stone pestle, which has some Cycladic parallels (Marangou 1990, 69, plate 52-3), but the similarities are not so explicit as to confirm Cycladic origin or influence.

2. Objects of "Minoan" character

Although the above discussion showed the strong Cycladic affinities of a large part of the Tholos Γ material, it is not possible to understand and interpret this assemblage without examining the rest of the material remains, as well as mortuary practices themselves. Tholos Γ contained a significant number (79) of objects without any Cycladic connection, which sit very well within the tradition of the Cretan funerary assemblages. These are five bone pendants, all the gold jewels (apart from the vase-shaped pendant mentioned above), the stone beads, the

ivory objects and the seals. Of Minoan character are also the pottery and the type of the tomb.

2.1 Tomb type

The tomb is a typical Minoan tholos tomb, identical to the c. 80 tholoi discovered in S. Crete. Unfortunately nothing is preserved from the burials of the lower, EM IIA burial stratum. However, the type of the tomb suggests that the practices were of Minoan rather than Cycladic character. Collective tombs, built over ground, and used by large burial groups were unknown in the Cyclades where the usual practice was interment in a small underground grave serving one or a very few individuals (Doumas 1977).

2.2 Gold objects

Tholos Γ is exceptionally rich in gold objects: 55 artefacts, mainly beads and bands (figure 35). From this point of view Tholos Γ is closer to the Cretan than the Cycladic funerary assemblages, since gold was virtually unknown in the Cyclades. Moreover, all the objects are within the typical Minoan repertoire and have parallels from other Prepalatial assemblages, apart from the vase-shaped pendant discussed above, and two types of beads, the ring-shaped and the tubular beads.

The ring-shaped beads (J21-24; figure 35) are unique in Crete and have exact parallels in Priam's Treasure from Troy IIg (Schmidt 1902, 236, no. 725; Antonova *et al.* 1996, nos. 78, 82, 86, 93-95, 101) and the Thyreatis hoard (Reinholdt 1993). It is a rather strange and rare type of bead, produced in a rather complex way. Their peculiarity is that the string passes through their periphery and was visible inside the interior of the ring (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1994, 65).

Although all the beads are similar in appearance, one of them (J24) was manufactured in a very different and simpler way than the others (J21-J23) (see discussion in Appendix IV). Moreover, this particular bead (J24) is made of gold of darker colour than the three other beads. The difference in colour cannot be due to taphonomy reasons, since all the beads were found close to each other, under the same larnax and in the same soil conditions. For these reasons it is likely that beads J21-J23 were made of different gold alloy, by different hands and possibly in different place and time from bead J24. It is worth mentioning that beads J21-23 are identical to the beads from the Thyreatis and Priam's hoards. This could imply that beads J21-J23 were imported as finished products, while the fourth (J24) was a local imitation. Such a hypothesis could explain the different, simpler way of manufacture and the different gold alloy of bead J24.

A similar case can be seen in the tubular beads. It is a unique type of bead and it is not clear where the influence comes from. Their method of manufacture is rather simple (see discussion in Appendix III). However, one of the 14 beads (J4) is very distinct in several aspects. It is elaborate, perfectly executed, and made of

gold of a lighter colour than all the other beads. For these reasons it appears that J4 was made of different gold alloy, by different hands, probably in a different place and time, while the remaining 13 beads were imitations of lower quality, possibly local.

The above types of beads (ring-shaped and tubular) suggest that although finished gold artefacts were possibly imported to Archanes from outside Crete, gold as raw material was also transported and worked locally for the production of jewels, sometimes imitations of imported objects. A characteristic case seems to be the vase-shaped pendant which, as discussed above, was manufactured in Crete, perhaps at Archanes, under strong Cycladic influence.

The study of the gold objects of Tholos Γ within the wider context, and in relation to the problem of the sources of raw material leads to some interesting observations. Tholos Γ produced an exceptional number of gold objects. It is the richest tomb in N. Crete and one of the richest in Crete, fourth after Platanos, Ay. Triadha and Mochlos (Branigan 1983, 19, table 1). However, such quantitative comparisons are not without problems because of the extensive looting in many S. Cretan tholoi and because of the lack of secure stratigraphical evidence in most of the Prepalatial tombs. This is clear in the case of Platanos, where almost all of the gold objects come from the upper stratum, dated after EM II. For these reasons it is better to examine and compare assemblages on a qualitative basis.

The Tholos Γ assemblage consists almost entirely of beads and bands, and the main characteristic is the absence of repouss**,** decoration. This was possibly a local N. Cretan phenomenon, since this type of decoration is lacking also from the bands of Pyrgos (Xanthoudides 1918, 166, figure 15), while it was frequently applied in bands and diadems of E. and S. Crete. In qualitative terms Mochlos is the most important site of EM II-EM III, although some of the gold objects from the Mesara are of high quality, too. Moreover, an examination of the repertoire from the different areas of Crete shows that Mochlos produced all the types of gold items found in Crete except the ring-shaped and the tubular beads (unique to Tholos Γ) and the repouss**,** cylindrical beads (unique to Platanos). Furthermore, seven types of artefacts occur only in Mochlos and not elsewhere in Crete. The above, together with the large quantities of gold objects, clearly suggest that Mochlos was a major production and consumption centre in the Prepalatial period, while the other sites of Crete were mainly consuming centres, with very small production of gold jewels. At Archanes the evidence suggests both importation of finished products from other areas, even outside Crete, but also local production of gold jewels.

Crete lacks any significant sources of gold, and the material was almost certainly imported from other areas. In the S. Aegean the only gold sources are in Siphnos. Despite the fact that they were exploited in ancient times, there is no evidence that this exploitation started as early as EBA (Wagner and Weisgerber 1985), something reinforced by the fact that gold was never used in the EBA Cyclades. Therefore, other sources outside the Cyclades must be traced. Such possible sources could be Romania, Thasos, the Troad, the Pactolus river and Egypt (Muhly 1983; Vasilakis 1990a, 37). The parallels of the Tholos Γ ring-shaped beads from Priam's treasure favour an origin from the NE. Aegean,

although this cannot be supported with certainty. Whatever the case, it seems certain that, because all these sources are far from Crete, the gold could not come directly, but only through certain areas of the S. Aegean. Since no gold artefacts have been found in the Cyclades, it is rather improbable that the islands were on the route of the gold. The only alternative is from the East, more specifically through SW. Asia Minor and the islands of Rodes, Karpathos and Kasos (Vasilakis 1990a, 46-7).

There are many links missing from this route, but it is the only geographical alternative, and is also highly probable in archaeological terms. The large number of gold items in Mochlos and the highly developed goldsmithing shows that it was possibly a major, or perhaps the most important, centre for the importation of raw gold, finished products, and associated technological knowledge. Mochlos is a site closely related to the sea and it has been already characterised as a "gateway community" (Branigan 1991). It is noteworthy that, in contrast to sites of N. Central Crete (Pyrgos, Poros, Tekes, Archanes, Kastelli, Krasi), Mochlos does not contain anything of Cycladic origin or influence, except the obsidian and possibly a few lead and silver objects, and the direct contacts with the Cyclades seem to be restricted, if any. In contrast it is a site looking more to the East, something seen not only in the gold artefacts, but also in the ivory seals, some of them totally strange to the Minoan repertoire, including a silver cylinder seal of Syrian origin (Seager 1912, 108-111). On these grounds it is reasonable to suggest that Mochlos may have been the gateway for the gold coming to Crete through SW. Asia Minor. Such a hypothesis can explain the quantity, quality and great variety of the Mochlos gold artefacts.

In Tholos Γ, despite the large quantity of gold artefacts, the level and the quality of the gold-working is not high. Almost all the artefacts are made of gold sheets and the repouss**,** decoration, seen in its most elaborate form in Mochlos, is absent. Two special types of beads, the tubular and the ring-shaped seem to be imported, while they inspired local imitations of lower quality. It seems clear that the gold was rather imported as raw material and artefacts were produced locally by inexperienced craftsmen, capable of producing only a small range of products, of lower quality than the Mochlos assemblage.

There is, therefore, an interesting contrast within the Tholos Γ assemblage: the tomb is superior to any other Prepalatial tomb, in both quantitative and qualitative terms, in artefacts related to the Cyclades, such as copper daggers and marble figurines, but it is less developed in gold metallurgy, a technology (and a raw material) of non-Cycladic character. The same is true of the entire N. Central Crete where the Cycladic connection is rather strong, while the gold artefacts are few and of low quality. On the other hand, it must not to be forgotten that Tholos Γ is the richest Prepalatial tomb in N. Crete. Although Archanes was not a major centre of production, demand for and consumption of gold artefacts was rather high. Moreover, Archanes was able to import not only raw material, but also finished products from distant areas, as indicated especially by the ring-shaped beads.

2.3 Ivory objects

Tholos Γ contained nine ivory objects: three handles (I10-I12; figure 34), three fragments possibly from handles (I7-I9; figure 33), one pendant (or figurine) (F15; figure 31) and two seals (S4, S6; figure 36). In quantitative terms Tholos Γ is a relatively rich Prepalatial tomb, and the quality of the artefacts produced is also very high, especially in the case of the handles. Typologically, the handles of Tholos Γ have very good parallels from Koumasa and Tekes.

The issue of the provenance of the raw material is quite important. It is not clear whether it was imported from the Middle East or Egypt, but it is certain that it was an "exotic" material coming from a long distance (Krzyszkowska 1987; 1988). On the other hand, it seems more likely that the raw material was imported rather than finished products. This is indicated by a semi-worked tusk found in an EM IIA deposit in Knossos (Krzyszkowska 1984, 123-5), and reinforced by the fact that the objects produced in ivory, mainly handles and seals have no parallels from outside Crete.

2.4 Various Objects

Finally, of Minoan character are five bone pendants, the stone beads, the seals and the pottery. The pottery has no Cycladic affinities at all. It is Dark Grey Burnished Ware, very common in several N. Cretan mortuary assemblages. The bone pendants and the stone beads are very simple in form and they have parallels from many Cretan sites. The two fork-shaped pendants (A7-A8; figure 32) are rather unique, but nothing indicates any Cycladic connections. Finally, the seals are artefacts typical in Cretan assemblages (Karytinos 1997; Sbonias 1995; Yule 1980), whilst extremely rare in the Cyclades (Marangou 1990, 87, figure 84).

3. Conclusions-Problems of interpretation

The above presentation of the material from Tholos Γ leads to several important conclusions and indicates clearly the problems of the existing interpretations.

The Tholos Γ assemblage is a peculiar mixture of Cycladic and Minoan cultural elements. Objects of Cycladic influence (e.g. daggers, figurines, pendants) were found together with objects of Minoan character (e.g. gold jewels, seals, ivory handles, pottery), and artefacts with good parallels from the Cyclades were deposited together with artefacts typical of other contemporary Cretan assemblages. However, this was not the only kind of cultural mixture seen in Tholos Γ. It was shown that Cycladic materials (obsidian, marble, copper, silver) were imported in raw form to Crete and were worked, possibly at Archanes or elsewhere in N. Crete, for the production of Cycladic influenced objects. In some cases, despite the fact that the produced objects were strongly influenced by Cycladic art and craft, they were peculiar and distinct from their Cycladic counterparts (e.g. figurines, daggers). Also, objects of Cycladic influence were

made of locally available materials, never used in the Cyclades (e.g. gold vase-shaped pendant, schist and bone figurines). Also, objects of Cycladic influence were deposited in a Minoan rather than a Cycladic way (e.g. obsidian blades). Last, but not least, this peculiar mixture of Cycladic and Minoan cultural elements was deposited inside a typical S. Cretan communal tholos tomb and accompanied burials apparently made in the Minoan mortuary tradition and ritual.

It becomes clear, therefore, that the interpretation of such a complex and diverse assemblage faces serious problems. As discussed in the introduction of this chapter, the Tholos Γ assemblage has been regarded as material evidence for the existence of a Cycladic colony or the presence of Cycladic people in Archanes. However, from the above description of the material remains it seems clear that the interpretation of the cultural and ethnic identity of the people buried in Tholos Γ is not so simple. If the strong Cycladic elements of Tholos Γ constitute evidence for the presence of Cycladic people in Archanes, then how can the equally strong Minoan elements be interpreted? How also can we interpret the objects which reveal Cycladic influences, but are still very distinctive from their Cycladic parallels or prototypes? Finally, how can we interpret the adoption of the Minoan tradition in the form of the tomb and the mortuary practices? According to other interpretations the "Cycladica" in Tholos Γ and in many other Cretan sites were "exotica", objects of exotic nature and value. But to what extent could these objects be "exotica", if it is considered that many were manufactured in Crete, of local or imported raw materials? Also, can we regard as "exotica" a group of objects composing more than half of the Tholos Γ assemblage?

None of the existing interpretations appear to explain sufficiently the complex and diverse character of this assemblage. The discussion in the previous section showed that these interpretations have fundamental weaknesses at a theoretical level, since they follow the misleading assumptions of the traditional "culture" approach, concerning the relationship between material culture, cultural entities and ethnic groups. The discussion of the material itself in this section showed that these interpretations also face problems when applied in the particular case of Tholos Γ. The above presentation of the Tholos Γ assemblage, although useful in a descriptive level of analysis, is not sufficient for understanding and explaining human behaviour. As mentioned several times in this chapter, in order to interpret assemblages as diverse as the Tholos Γ one, it is important to go beyond "cultures" and study the complex networks of people's interactions and how material culture was used in these networks. With this in mind it is now time to study the broader spatial and temporal context of the Tholos Γ assemblage.

D/ CONTEXTUALISING THOLOS Γ

1. Tholos Γ in the context of Phourni

In the earliest phase of its use (EM IIA) Phourni consisted of two tombs, Tholos Γ and Tholos E. A comparison of the two tholoi helps to understand better the position of Tholos Γ within the cemetery, and the position of the people of Tholos Γ in Archanes society. Such a comparison has been made in Chapter 7, but

it is necessary to repeat here some of the conclusions, especially those related to the objects of Cycladic character.

The two tholoi were similar in shape, size, architecture, quality of construction and way of use. However, there was a clear difference in the contained funerary goods. In terms of raw materials, Tholos E contained nothing made of silver, only one gold object and extremely few artefacts made of copper, marble, obsidian and ivory. In terms of artefacts, Tholos E contained only a very crude imitation of a Cycladic figurine, made of local stone, no copper daggers, ivory handles, pins, drop-shaped pendants, gold bands and toiletry implements. The jewels, mainly beads and pendants, were made of local stone or bone, were very simple in form, and the craftsmanship was of low level.

The possibility that the above described picture was due to post-depositional factors, caused by the clearings of the later periods, has been discussed and excluded in the previous chapter. It seems safe to regard Tholos Γ and its burial group as wealthier than the burial group which used Tholos E. Moreover, it was suggested that the differences in wealth between the two tombs can be translated into differences in status, since the differences were both of quantitative and qualitative character, and, in the case of objects of prestige , the difference was based on the presence or absence and not on relative frequency. Tholos Γ was wealthier in all the imported raw materials and all the objects with influences from outside Crete. It should be emphasised that Tholos Γ not only had more Cycladic related objects and raw materials, but also had more objects of non-Cycladic character, such as gold and ivory.

According to the above it is possible that the "Cycladica" in Tholos Γ were not objects reflecting ethnic identity, but rather prestige objects indicating wealth and special status. They may not be objects possessed by Cycladic people who were buried in Tholos Γ, as originally suggested, but objects of display and prestige, used in the mortuary ritual to express and emphasise differences in wealth and social status in Archanes society. Unfortunately, it is not possible to attribute these objects to specific individuals, or even to know how many individuals were buried with such prestige artefacts. So the above conclusion concerns only differences between the burial groups using the tombs.

2. Tholos Γ in the context of N. Crete

Tholos Γ appears to be a special case of a Prepalatial tomb with strong Cycladic connections, but it is not unique. There are several sites in N. Central Crete with very similar assemblages, not only in the quantity and quality of the "Cycladica", but also in the peculiar mixture of Cycladic and Minoan cultural elements.

The first of these sites, Tekes, is situated some 10 km N. of Archanes, between Knossos and Herakleion. Seven Cycladic figurines, two silver daggers and a limestone handle were accidentally found and purchased by the Herakleion Museum (Marinatos 1933). The investigation revealed nothing about their context,

and the strange character of some of the objects raised doubts about the authenticity of this assemblage. However, the comparison of these objects with the Tholos Γ assemblage leads to some very interesting observations.

Two of the figurines, although very close to the Cycladic FAF's and the Cycladic sculptural tradition, have separate legs, and the one with preserved head has relief indication of the mouth (plate 14d-e; Marinatos 1933, plate 9, right; Renfrew 1969, plate 10g-h). These Tekes figurines evoke the Tholos Γ figurines which have the same peculiarities (heads F1-F3 and legs F4-F8; figure 30). According to our classification they belong to Category 2. Although the Tekes figurines are rather crude and of a lower level of manufacture, their strong affinities with the figurines of Tholos Γ suggest the existence of a local sculptural tradition in this part of N. Central Crete. Close similarity exists also between the two complete figurines from Tekes (plate 14b-c; Marinatos 1933, plate 9, middle) and Tholos Γ figurines F9-10 (figure 29). They all belong to Category 3, that is the elaborate version of the Koumasa variety, and they are identical in the proportions, the profile, the material and the level of craftsmanship. The fourth figurine from Tekes is a very small double figurine made of steatite (plate 14a; Marinatos 1933, plate 12). It belongs to the Koumasa variety and it resembles in style and size the tiny schist figurine from Tholos Γ (figure 31). Despite the difference in the material itself, the two figurines are similar since they are made of widely available Cretan stones (steatite and schist), usually used in the manufacture of stone vases. The last two figurines from Tekes are very elaborate and have good parallels from the Cyclades (Marinatos 1933, plate 9, left and plates 10-11). However, these are the only figurines which could have been made in the Cyclades; the other five could have been produced in Crete, according to what was discussed in the previous section. It is noteworthy that apart from the steatite figurine, the others are made of Cycladic marble, suggesting that, as in the case of Tholos Γ, the marble rather than the figurines was transported to Crete.

Strong affinities between Tholos Γ and Tekes exist also in the daggers (figure 42, upper right; Marinatos 1933, plates 13-14). Although the Tekes daggers are made of silver, not copper, they belong to the long straight-edged type with mid-rib, as the Tholos Γ daggers. As suggested in the relevant discussion about daggers, the manufacture of the Tekes daggers could have taken place in Crete, not necessarily in the Cyclades. Finally, the handle from Tekes (Marinatos 1933, plate 9) is identical to the ivory handles from Tholos Γ (figure 34), with the difference that it is made of limestone.

The Tekes assemblage is clearly very similar to the Tholos Γ one in many aspects. First, there are affinities in the form, the kind and the particular features of the artefacts (figurines and daggers). Second, in both assemblages Cycladic raw materials were worked and transformed into objects locally, in Crete (marble and silver). Third, local materials were used for the manufacture of objects of Cycladic type (steatite and schist figurines). Unfortunately, nothing is known about the context of the Tekes assemblage, and the rest of its associations, as well as its precise dating. However, its close resemblance with Tholos Γ suggest that it could be an assemblage of funerary character. Its proximity to Knossos is noteworthy, especially considering that the cemetery of the Prepalatial settlement of Knossos has not been discovered yet. Whatever the case, it seems certain that Tekes and

Tholos Γ are two closely related assemblages, both in geographical and stylistical terms.

Another assemblage of unknown context comes from Zinta, near Arkalochori, 12 km SE. of Archanes. The assemblage consists of a Cycladic figurine and a copper dagger, purchased by the Herakleion Museum. The figurine, although made of Cycladic marble, is a rather crude imitation of Cycladic figurines and was probably manufactured in Crete. The copper dagger belongs to the long mid-rib type, as the daggers of Tekes and Tholos Γ, but it should be noted that its heel is of the broad type, similar to several Cycladic daggers (figure 42, upper left).

The cemetery of Krasi, S. of Mallia, is a case quite similar to Tholos Γ and Phourni. It consists of two tholos tombs, of which only one has been excavated (Branigan 1993, 148, nos. 85, 86; Marinatos 1929; Platon 1959); it is dated to EM I-II. The material evidence suggests strong relations with the Cyclades, seen especially in some clay vases, in the fact that silver was more popular than gold for jewels, in the use of awls and pins, and in the use of long daggers, some of them with mid-ridge (Marinatos 1929). On the other hand, much of the pottery, as well as the ivory and gold objects were of Minoan character. Marinatos' idea that the type of tomb derives from the subterranean tombs of Syros is not convincing, and the similarities with the Mesara tholoi are stronger. Moreover, a few burials in Krasi were made inside pithoi, a custom foreign to the Cyclades, but well attested in Crete. From the above it appears that in Krasi artefacts of Cycladic and Minoan type were placed together, in a tomb of Minoan character.

Strong Cycladic elements exist also in the burial assemblage of the Pyrgos Cave, on the N. coastline, 10 km E. of Herakleion (Xanthoudides 1918). The tomb is dated to EM I-II. A large quantity of pottery has Cycladic affinities; the so called "bottles" were definitely imported from the Cyclades, while the rest of the pottery with Cycladic affinities was either imported from the Cyclades or was produced in Crete, but with a Cycladic method of manufacture (Day *et al.* 1998, 138; in press). Cycladic connections can be attested also in the daggers which are of the long type, while two of them have a central rib (Branigan 1974, nos. 251, 401). A Cycladic figurine was found also in the tomb; it is of the Koumasa variety and made of local stone (limestone), so it was manufactured locally. On the other hand, many other funerary goods are of Minoan character, including much of the pottery and the gold jewellery. Finally the type of the tomb, its communal character and the mortuary practices, especially the use of clay coffins, are all within the Minoan tradition (Xanthoudides 1918).

A similar funerary assemblage was found in the Kyparissi Cave, 12 km SW. of Archanes (Alexiou 1951). The dating of the tomb is similar to the Pyrgos Cave: EM I-II. The tomb contained "bottles" which were probably imported from the Cyclades and also pottery similar to Pyrgos, either imported from the Cyclades or manufactured in Crete, but with a Cycladic method of manufacture (Day *et al.* 1998, 138; in press). However, as in the case of Pyrgos, the Kyparissi Cave contained a large quantity of pottery of Minoan character. Finally, of Minoan character were the type of the tomb, its communal character and the mortuary practices, such as the fires lit for fumigation purposes.

Non-funerary sites with "Cycladica" are significantly fewer, but this is not surprising taking into account the lack of settlement excavations in Prepalatial Crete. At Knossos about thirty vases imported from the Cyclades, mainly sauceboats and jars, as well as some rare examples of marble bowls, have been identified (Warren 1981, 631; Wilson 1994, 39-40). The case of the jars is quite interesting. They are relatively large, coarse vases, without decoration (Wilson 1985, 359), and it seems that they arrived as containers of imported products rather than as imports in their own right. It is noteworthy that the Cycladic imports to Knossos are rather few and of different character from what have been found in the neighbouring funerary sites (Archanes, Krasi, Pyrgos and Kyparissi Caves). However, the discrepancy is probably due to the different character of these assemblages (funerary as opposed to domestic). The majority of the Cycladic imports to Knossos are dated to EM IIA (Wilson 1994, 39).

At Poros, however, the evidence for Cycladic contacts and imports is more dramatic. Poros is on the coast, near the modern port of Herakleion and immediately N. of Archanes and Knossos. The excavations to date cover a small area, and the study of the material is still in progress. Again the Cycladic related objects are mainly dated to EM I-IIA. The first reports demonstrate clear evidence for the working of Cycladic raw materials (copper and obsidian), consisting of obsidian in all stages of manufacture (Dimopoulou 1997), and moulds and slags from the working of copper (Day & Wilson pers. comm.). According to this, Poros offers the best direct evidence for what was hypothesised earlier: it was the Cycladic raw materials which were transported to, and worked in, Crete, not finished products made in the Cyclades. Additionally, Poros has a substantial amount of imported Cycladic pottery of classic EC II types, as well as Cycladic style burnished pottery in EM I contexts which is similar to that from Ay. Photia and the Pyrgos Cave (Day *et al.* 1998, 138).

3. Discussion

The above evidence suggests clearly that Tholos Γ was not a unique case in the broader context of N. Central Crete. There are similarities with other assemblages not only in the quantity and quality of the Cycladic related objects, but also in the peculiar mixing of Cycladic and Minoan cultural elements. This is another argument against the interpretation of a Cycladic colony at Archanes. Moreover, as in the case of Tholos Γ, all these assemblages have been found in funerary contexts of Minoan character and with Minoan mortuary practices. If Cycladic people were buried in these sites we would expect tombs and practices of Cycladic type. It seems more probable that, as in the case of Tholos Γ, the material culture was not signalling ethnic, but other kinds of social identity.

Another important observation is that only a few of the "Cycladica" were actually imports from the Cyclades. Instead, Cycladic raw materials were transported to N. Central Crete and were locally transformed into finished artefacts. This appears to be true of the obsidian, the copper, the silver and the marble. It should be emphasised that the produced objects were manufactured under strong Cycladic influence, the raw materials were transformed into objects

with Cycladic affinities, and sometimes the technology was also similar to the Cycladic. This was suggested for the copper daggers, the copper and silver artefacts, the obsidian blades and the marble figurines. This suggests that the craftsmen who worked these Cycladic raw materials were certainly familiar with, and had direct experience of, the Cycladic arts, crafts and technologies.

On the other hand, a closer and detailed analysis of the produced objects, as well as of the way they were deposited suggests that the produced objects were not simple imitations or products of lower quality than the Cycladic. In most cases the "Cycladica" found in Crete were very distinct from their Cycladic counterparts. In the case of the figurines we observed the distinct proportions of the Koumasa variety, not seen in the Cycladic figurines, and the frequent indication of the mouth and the separate legs, features almost never seen in the Cyclades; in the copper daggers the different shape of the heel and the blade; in the obsidian blades the different size of the blades and the different way of depositing them inside the tombs. It was also shown the use of Cretan or other non-Cycladic materials for the manufacture of objects of Cycladic type, such as the schist, steatite and bone figurines from Tholos Γ and Tekes, and the bone drop-shape pendants and the gold vase-shape pendant from Tholos Γ. Finally, all these Cycladic related objects were deposited in tombs of Minoan type, they accompanied burials made according to the Minoan mortuary tradition, and were found together with objects of Minoan character.

The above suggest that there was a local autonomous tradition, seen in many funerary sites of N. Central Crete, for the manufacture, consumption and deposition of such Cycladic-related objects and materials. It appears that the "Cycladica" were appropriated in Crete, and acquired symbolism and meanings different from those in the Cyclades. This observation demonstrates once again the problems of regarding these objects as "exotica" acquired through trade or gift exchange. These objects could be of special character because of their form, material and way of manufacture, but certainly they were not of "exotic" nature.

To summarise the evidence from N. Central Crete, it could be said that quantities of raw materials (marble, obsidian, silver, copper) were transported from the Cyclades to N. Crete. They were worked locally under certain Cycladic influences and even techniques of manufacture (daggers, figurines, pendants). However, the finished objects were rather different from the Cycladic tradition (breaks in the sculptural conventions, different shape of daggers). These Cycladic related objects were deposited together with objects of Minoan style and character (seals, handles, gold jewellery, pottery), or even with objects of Cycladic type, but made of Minoan materials, not available or rarely used in the Cyclades (schist, steatite, gold, bone). They were also placed inside tombs of Minoan type, and accompanied burials made within the Minoan mortuary tradition.

The above evidence suggests a special relationship between N. Central Crete and the Cyclades, a relationship which has been long established in the literature (Branigan 1968c; 1971; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1994; 1997; Sakellarakis 1977a; 1977b; Warren 1984). However, it was shown that there are problems with the existing interpretations of the role of the "Cycladica" in N. Crete and the character of the Creto-Cycladic relations. Therefore, it is important to understand

how these objects found their way into the funerary assemblages of N. Central Crete and how these assemblages of mixed character were formatted. For this reason the available evidence will be considered within the broader context of exchange networks between the Cyclades and S. Central Crete during EM I-IIA.

4. N. and S. Crete

In S. Crete the "Cycladica" are significantly fewer and of different character. Two marble pyxides from Ay. Onouphrios, and one marble figurine of the Spedhos type from Koumasa are the only artefacts certainly imported from the Cyclades. However, there is evidence to suggest contacts and exchanges beyond the stage of finished products. This evidence concerns the copper daggers, the obsidian blades and the Cycladic figurines of the Koumasa type.

As discussed in the previous section, the S. Cretan daggers are different from that of the Cyclades and N. Crete (flat triangular instead of long with central ridge or rib), despite the fact that the copper used for some of these daggers was of Cycladic origin. It seems clear, therefore, that Cycladic raw material was transported to S. Crete and transformed locally into finished objects. Obsidian of Melian origin is recorded in at least one third of the Mesara tholoi. The assemblages consist almost entirely of unused blades, made strictly to be placed in the tombs, possibly just before the funerary ritual. As suggested in the case of Tholos Γ, although the practice of depositing obsidian blades in tombs as well as the material itself is of Cycladic origin, the production of the blades took place in Crete, and the way they were deposited in the tomb is different from the Cyclades (Carter 1998). Finally, concerning the figurines, most of the figurines found in S. Crete belong to the Koumasa variety. This variety is a local imitation of the Cycladic figurines, and it was suggested in the previous section that the prototypes for these S. Cretan figurines were figurines manufactured and used in N. Cretan sites, such as Archanes and Tekes.

It seems that Cycladic raw materials and artefacts, particularly copper, obsidian and figurines with folded arms were highly desirable for display and conspicuous consumption in the mortuary arena of S. Crete. It is noteworthy that such Cycladic related artefacts have been found in important and rich cemeteries of S. Crete, such as Platanos, Ay. Triadha, Koumasa and Lebena. The use of Cycladic copper for daggers has to be seen as of special importance since a large amount of imported raw material was taken out of circulation, and because daggers seem to be artefacts of emblematic character signalling special social status (Whitelaw 1983, 343, n. 16; Nakou 1995, 9-13). Obsidian blades also seem to have an "exotic" character in S. Crete, because of the material and the associated technology of pressure-flaking (Carter 1998, 72).

N. Central Crete is undoubtedly of crucial importance for the movement of these objects and raw materials, not only because of its intermediate geographical position, between the Cyclades and S. Crete, but also because it had close contacts with both areas. Apart from the close contacts with the Cyclades, discussed above, sites of N. Central Crete had also developed intense contacts with the Mesara.

Petrographic analysis of the EM IIA pottery from Knossos showed that some of the finest pottery was imported from S. Crete (Wilson & Day 1994).

It seems reasonable to suggest that the Cycladic raw materials and objects could not find their way to the Mesara without first passing through sites of N. Crete. There was a very active North-South axis upon which products and materials were moved and exchanged. The northernmost point of this axis was the Cyclades, and especially the islands with the sources of important raw materials, such as Kythnos for copper, Siphnos for silver and Melos for obsidian. The southernmost was S. Crete, where Cycladic imports, objects made of Cycladic materials (copper, silver and obsidian) or imitations of Cycladic objects were highly desirable for display in the funerary context. The "Cycladica" were certainly fewer in S. Crete and usually they were single finds in large collective tholos tombs, with many funerary goods. From this point of view, the "Cycladica" in S. Crete were exotic objects, because of their scarcity and because they were coming from a long distance, through indirect exchange. The Mesara pottery exported to N. Crete, could be one of the exchangeable commodities for these Cycladic related objects, especially if it is considered that this pottery consisted mainly of pots of luxury wares, occurring in a limited range of shapes, and having a specialised function (Wilson 1994; Wilson & Day 1994). Pottery itself had already become a commodity by EM I-II (Day *et al.* 1997; Whitelaw *et al.* 1997).

According to the situation described above the "Cycladica" found in N. Central Crete can be better understood. N. Cretan sites were in a crucial geographical position, and their frequent and direct contacts with both the Cyclades and S. Crete allowed them to participate in the social networks responsible for the transportation and exchange of raw materials, artefacts, technological skills, as well as ideas and distant knowledge. It was suggested above that the prototype for the Koumasa figurines of S. Crete were not figurines of the Cyclades, but figurines of N. Crete, more specifically those from Archanes and Tekes. It is, therefore, possible that people of S. Crete had only a distant awareness of the Cycladic world, probably filtered by the sites of N. Crete. A similar situation has been suggested also for the importation, working and deposition of obsidian (Carter 1998). Furthermore, it is reasonable to assume that N. Cretan sites were not only involved in the flow of such objects, raw materials and knowledge, but also controlled them.

Within this context the mixed and diverse character of several N. Cretan funerary assemblages can be better understood. These assemblages were not the creation of people with an *a priori* cultural label and ethnic identity. Rather they were created by people who participated in networks of intensive inter-regional exchange and contact in the S. Aegean. Cycladic and "Cycladised" artefacts, and imported raw materials were actively used in mortuary contexts in order to express and emphasise the participation of individuals or groups to these social networks.

An important assemblage for the study of Creto-Cycladic relations in the Early Bronze Age is the material from the Ay. Photia cemetery (Davaras 1971; Doumas 1976; 1977, 68-9; Day *et al.* 1998; in press). However, we deliberately avoided including the case of Ay. Photia in our discussion, for three reasons. The first is of spatial character; Ay. Photia is in the eastern part of Crete and seems to

be geographically far away from the context we discuss here, that is the context of N. and S. Central Crete. This observation becomes even more clear if it is considered that between the sites of N. Central Crete, such as Poros, Pyrgos and Archanes, and Ay. Photia there are several important Prepalatial coastal sites without any evidence for Cycladic connections, such as Gournia and Mochlos. For this reason Ay. Photia appears to be quite isolated, and certainly not related to the North-South axis which was presented above. The second reason is of temporal character; Ay. Photia is dated only to EM I (Day *et. al.* 1998; in press), while here we discuss the situation solely of EM IIA, when Tholos Γ is dated. The last reason is that Ay. Photia is a mortuary assemblage rather different from all these seen in N. Central Crete. Despite the fact that in Ay. Photia there is the same peculiar mixture of objects of both Minoan and Cycladic character, these are deposited in tombs which are more close to the Cycladic than the Minoan mortuary tradition, in terms of their size, shape and number of contained burials (Doumas 1976; 1977, 68-9). This comes in contrast to N. Cretan mortuary sites where the tombs are typically Minoan. It seems, therefore, clear that, despite its general importance, Ay. Photia is not directly related to the context presented above, and it is beyond the aims of our present discussion, that is to interpret the Cycladic character of the Tholos Γ assemblage.

5. Tholos Γ and Archanes

With the above in mind, the evidence from Tholos Γ and Phourni can be viewed under a new perspective. It is suggested that the "Cycladica" in Phourni, although not of exotic nature, were prestige objects indicating wealth and status. We believe that they were artefacts used in mortuary ritual to express and emphasise participation in the social networks responsible for the exchange and transport of Cycladic raw materials and objects from the Cyclades to S. Crete, through the N. Cretan coastline. This is reinforced by the two faces of the Tholos Γ assemblage: strong Cycladic connections in a tomb of the S. Cretan type.

According to this approach, the difference between people of Tholos Γ and Tholos E could be based on the ability to participate in these social networks of exchange and contact. It seems probable that the right and/or the ability to participate in these networks was not widely accessible, that access to these networks was deliberately restricted, and that only a small group of individuals benefited from them.

6. The "International" spirit reconsidered

It is appropriate at this point to discuss another problem arising from the approach adopted here. The evidence from the S. Aegean in the EBA 2 indicates a wide distribution of similar forms, conventions and technologies in many parts of the S. Aegean and suggests intensive contacts, exchange of raw materials and artefacts, influences in arts, crafts and ideas, and great mobility of people, goods and technical knowledge. It is widely accepted that the middle of the 3rd mil., the

EBA 2 period, was characterised by what Renfrew has called an "International Spirit", manifested mainly by the wide distribution of Cycladic prestige articles and interpreted, explicitly or implicitly, as the result of the operation of Cycladic ships and merchants in competitive long-distance networks (Broodbank 1989; 1993; Renfrew 1972, 451-5; Davis 1992, 703-4; Manning 1994, 228-9).

This idea faces two problems. Very little appears to come back to the Cyclades in return for what was exported. It is possible, however, that the exchangeable commodity was invisible archaeologically, e.g. exotic knowledge of distant places (Broodbank 1993, 326). Another important problem is that most of the Cycladic islands offered only marginal environments and could barely muster the population to organise long-distance expeditions on the scale and the frequency suggested by the available data (Broodbank 1989). Recent studies have showed that only a few nodal sites were able to fulfil such expeditions (Broodbank 1989; 1993).

According to the evidence presented in this chapter it seems plausible that people of N. Crete might have played an important role in the "International Spirit". The evidence showed clearly that what was transported was the materials in raw form, rather than the finished products. Sites on, or close to the coastline were certainly places where these materials could be imported and worked. This is reinforced by the evidence from the recently discovered site of Poros. One could imagine that, instead of waiting for such raw materials to be transported by Cycladic "carriers", the sites of N. Crete were more actively involved by arranging long distance voyages to the sources of these materials (Melos, Kythnos and Siphnos).

The evidence from the islands suggests that there was no direct, physical control over the sources of metal and obsidian since no large habitation sites have been found nearby. Instead, the control was indirect, depending on the ability of a community to organise time- and effort-consuming expeditions to these islands in order to acquire these raw materials (Broodbank 1989; Nakou 1995). As mentioned above only a few sites in the Cyclades were capable of doing this. Was it not possible for N. Cretan communities to arrange such long voyages? N. Crete was certainly more densely populated than many Cycladic islands. The estimated population of Knossos alone in EM II was between 1000-2000, so there was no demographic problem. Moreover, people from Knossos travelled to Melos to acquire obsidian throughout the Neolithic period, when the Cyclades were very sparsely inhabited. Do we have to assume that something changed in the EBA?

The above suggestion does not try to displace the people of the Cyclades from the S. Aegean sea-routes, as traditional views imply. However, it seems probable that the people of areas peripheral to the Cyclades, such as N. Central Crete, may have played a significant and more active role in the manifestation of the "International Spirit" in the S. Aegean during the EBA than has been suggested in the past.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of this thesis particular emphasis was given to four problems in the study of Prepalatial Crete and its mortuary practices: 1) the deficiencies of the archaeological mortuary record, 2) the lack of a particular framework for the analysis of this record, 3) the debate about the character and the degree of complexity of the Prepalatial period, and 4) the fact that Prepalatial Crete was approached, defined and understood on the basis of simplistic contrasts to presumed characteristics of the later palatial periods.

While it is true that the Prepalatial mortuary record leaves many things to be desired, the study of Tholos Γ, one of the very few preserved, unlooted and well excavated Prepalatial tombs, has provided a unique opportunity to observe and describe several aspects of Prepalatial mortuary practices. The detailed understanding of the stratigraphy and finds allows us to present for the first time the complete history of a Prepalatial tomb, from its construction through its excavation (Chapter 2). Direct evidence has been presented for clearing operations in a Prepalatial collective tomb, which affect our concepts not only of mortuary practices, but also of site formation processes. The study of the available evidence from the tomb and the Area of the Rocks allows the detailed description of these operations, to understand the reasons behind them, and to know what happened not only inside but also outside the tomb, where the cleared material was deposited. Furthermore, the study of the upper burial stratum adds new evidence concerning the character and the use of burial containers inside Prepalatial collective tombs. Burial containers appear not to have had a personal character, but were used over a long period of time and for many consecutive burials. They functioned both as ossuaries for old burial remains and places for primary burials, and thus they may be viewed as small collective tombs within the larger tholos or house tombs. Moreover, Tholos Γ also presents new evidence about the Prepalatial burial process and especially its two stages, the primary burial and the secondary treatment of the corpse. Such a well excavated, unlooted tomb has provided the opportunity to examine in detail existing hypotheses about the Prepalatial burial process. Thus, Tholos Γ not only has been placed in a context of burial practice through the island of Crete, but also adds to the consideration of their variability in both space (S. and E. Cretan mortuary tradition) and time (early and late Prepalatial period).

Turning to the second problem, *the lack of a particular framework for the analysis of the archaeological mortuary record,* this reconsideration has proved valuable. It is clear that an approach to Prepalatial mortuary practices on the basis of common sense and empiricism, as in most Prepalatial studies, is not appropriate or sufficient enough to interpret them and to make inferences about beliefs, society and everyday life. In contrast, an approach firmly located within the theoretical framework of the archaeology of death offers important advantages, which help to overcome the limitations and problems of this record (Chapter 1). There are two main ideas in the conceptual framework followed in this thesis. Firstly, that mortuary practices do not passively reflect everyday life. Secondly, that a fully

contextual approach is needed in order to reconstruct society and everyday life through the study of mortuary remains, and in order to understand to what degree patterns in death are related to patterns of life (Chapter 3). The analysis of Prepalatial mortuary practices within this framework leads to some important conclusions regarding Prepalatial beliefs, horizontal and vertical social organisation, and pertaining to ethnic, cultural and other kinds of social identities.

It has been suggested that Prepalatial beliefs about death and the dead were strongly related to general values of life, such as birth, fertility and the regeneration of nature (Chapter 5). On the other hand, it has been shown that to infer beliefs about death, the dead, the soul and the afterlife solely on the basis of the Prepalatial burial process (two-stage rite of passage and secondary treatment) is questionable, and cannot even explain the particularities of this process.

Regarding horizontal social organisation (Chapter 6), Tholos Γ provides important evidence, concerning not only the size of the contributing population unit in EM III (10-15 individuals), but also its character. More specifically, the study of the Tholos Γ skeletal material by S. Triantaphyllou (the only osteological study undertaken for a Prepalatial tomb) showed that the contributing population unit was a "natural" one, with members of both sexes and every age category buried in the tomb. Putting this information into context with other Prepalatial cemeteries it has been shown that the communities of E. and S. Crete were organised in different ways in mortuary ritual. More specifically in S. Crete the tholos tombs were used by large burial groups, equal to two to five nuclear families, while the burial groups contributing to the E. Cretan house tombs were smaller, equal to one to two nuclear families. On the other hand, it has been argued that in both areas the basic functional and organisational unit of the society was the nuclear family.

Burial in collective tombs seems to have been very important for many aspects of social life, such as to define membership of a social group, to define the position of the deceased in the social structure, to re-affirm the cohesion of the group and the society itself and to claim inheritance of social values (social status, identity) or physical resources (possessions, land) from one generation to the other. Finally, the study of the history of Tholos Γ and Phourni indicates a clear shift from the S. to the E. Cretan mortuary tradition in the late Prepalatial period. It has been suggested that this change may pertain to the way in which society was structured in the mortuary rituals, in other words the size and character of the population unit contributing to every collective tomb of the cemetery.

The conclusion that mortuary variability in some Prepalatial cemeteries, such as Phourni in EM IIA and Mochlos in EM II-III, can be translated into differences in social status and existence of social ranking, is of particular importance in consideration of vertical social organisation (Chapter 7). On the other hand, it has been argued that the lack of differentiation among the collective tombs of some other Prepalatial cemeteries, such as Koumasa and Platanos does not necessarily mean the absence of social ranking, but it can be due to the way society was organised vertically and/or the way social position was transmitted. More specifically, it is clear that in Archanes (in EM IIA) and Mochlos (in EM II-III) the special social positions were restricted to, and transmitted among, the

members of a particular social group, while in S. Crete these special social positions were open to all groups of society. On the other hand, the mortuary equality observed in Phourni during the late Prepalatial period (EM III-MM IA) does not seem to be indicative of a shift to a less complex society at Archanes. More likely, it was due to changes in the vertical organisation of society (the special social positions became open to all groups of society), or the way in which people expressed that organisation in their mortuary practices (mortuary practices ceased to be an arena for display of social status and order).

Tholos Γ has always been a focus for discussion on ethnicity and culture. It has been argued that material culture does not comprise a passive reflection of ethnic and cultural identities, but can acquire special meaning and symbolism in ritual contexts, such as mortuary practices (Chapter 8). Thus, the Cycladic related and influenced objects found in relatively large quantities in Tholos Γ and other N. Cretan mortuary assemblages are not taken to reflect the ethnic and cultural identities of the dead and the mourners. Rather they indicate their participation in the social networks responsible for exchange and contact between various areas of the S. Aegean in the middle 3rd millennium.

Furthermore, this analysis of mortuary evidence has been placed within the context of the "Cycladica" in N. and S. Central Crete, showing the existence of an intensive and highly active network of exchange and contact involving the Cyclades and sites in N. and S. Crete. The exchange of these artefacts and raw materials, and probably the communication of the associated ideas, crafts, technological skills and knowledge of distant places seems to have been exclusive to, and/or well organised and controlled by, specific N. Cretan sites (e.g. Poros, Pyrgos Cave, Archanes), by specific population groups (e.g. Tholos Γ burial group), or, perhaps, by specific individuals. Whilst it has often been suggested that N. Cretan communities may have played a part in these networks, this interpretation places the community of Archanes in an *active* role in the movement of Cycladic goods within the island of Crete.

Concerning the third problem, *the character and degree of Prepalatial social complexity,* our analysis of the mortuary evidence from Phourni and other Prepalatial cemeteries leads to some interesting conclusions. First, it has been shown that there is clear evidence for social differentiation and ranking in some Prepalatial communities as early as EM IIA (Chapter 7). It is noteworthy that the clearest evidence for social ranking in this phase comes from two sites, Phourni and Mochlos, which, on the basis of their geographical position and the available artefactual evidence, played a significant role in the exchange and working of imported raw materials and artefacts from outside Crete. More specifically, it has been suggested that Archanes played an important role in the exchange of Cycladic raw materials and artefacts (copper, silver, marble figurines, obsidian), and Mochlos in the exchange of raw materials coming from the East (ivory and gold) (Chapter 8). Thus, it appears that funerary goods made of these imported raw materials were actively used in the mortuary arenas of the Archanes and Mochlos communities to signal social differentiation and to communicate restricted participation in these exchanges.

On the basis of all the above evidence, we might disagree with the narratives, presented in Chapter 1, which suggest that Prepalatial society was simple, that there is no evidence for social complexity and vertical ranking, and that social complexity started only in the later part of this period (revolutionary model; Watrous 1994; Cherry 1981). On the other hand, the evolutionary, processual model which suggests that development in Prepalatial Crete was gradual, with changes and transformations taking place over a lengthy period of time, from EM II to MM IA, and leading to a peak of social complexity in the palatial period (Branigan 1988; 1995; Renfrew 1972), also seems questionable. The study of the Prepalatial mortuary evidence through time shows clearly that often the earlier part of the Prepalatial period (EM I-II) was different in many ways from the later one (EM III-MM IA). Many changes observed in later Prepalatial period, such as the introduction of the burial containers and the evidence for well organised rituals in cemeteries, should not be viewed necessarily in an evolutionary way.

Concerning the last point, the case of Phourni, possibly the only cemetery the history of which can be followed in relative detail in both the early and the late Prepalatial period, provides crucial new evidence. Its mortuary practices suggest social complexity and ranking in EM IIA, and dramatic changes in EM III. A shift from the S. to the E. Cretan mortuary tradition in EM III has been suggested, manifested mainly by the introduction of the burial containers and the appearance of the house tombs. Such dramatic changes in the way society was represented and structured, both horizontally and vertically, in its mortuary practices provide a powerful indication of deep discontinuities in social and political organisation between the early and the late Prepalatial period (Chapters 6 and 7).

For the moment, the reasons for these changes and the shift from the S. to the E. Cretan mortuary tradition in the late Prepalatial Phourni remain unknown. However, these changes have a strange analogy in neighbouring Knossos, where there is a shift in the origin of the imported pottery from the Mesara in EM I-IIA (Wilson & Day 1994; Wilson 1994, 39) to E. Crete in EM IIB and EM III-MM IA (Momigliano 1991; Momigliano & Wilson 1996; Wilson & Day in press; Wilson 1994, 41). A similar change in the origin of the imported pottery between EM IIA and EM IIB has been observed also in Myrtos Fournou Korifi (Whitelaw *et al.* 1997). It is not clear yet whether these phenomena are inter-connected and in what way. However, it seems reasonable to conclude, for the moment, that the mortuary evidence from Phourni shows no gradual transformations or developments, but rather abrupt changes in local Archanes society. A comparison between early and later Prepalatial Phourni shows differences in the characteristics of social organisation (both horizontal and vertical) rather than in the degree of social complexity. For this reason neither the evolutionary, nor the revolutionary model are sufficient to describe the history of Prepalatial Archanes.

This observation is directly related to the fourth problem, *the fact that Prepalatial Crete is always defined and understood on the basis of comparisons to presumed characteristics of the later palatial periods* (Day *et al.* 1997, 278; Kiriatzi *et al.* in press). Prepalatial histories are always written in order to describe and/or explain how the palaces and the states emerged in Crete (e.g. Branigan 1988, 247-9; Cherry 1981; Renfrew 1972; Watrous 1994, 753), while the

Prepalatial period is never approached in its own right. This thesis has been restricted to the study of the Prepalatial period and has avoided any reference to, and any comparison with, the later palatial periods. The creation of a new narrative is beyond its immediate aims. However, we believe that the best way to understand society and social complexity in Prepalatial Crete is not by comparing it to later periods, but by identifying its own particular characteristics. We believe that future research has to approach Prepalatial Crete and to explain the changes and transformations in a new way, by referring to the conditions which enabled these changes, and not by regarding the entire period as a unilinear trajectory from a simpler to a more complex (palatial) system of organisation of society, economy, ritual, religion and everyday life.

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