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WHEN DIVERSITY MATTERS: EXPLORING FUNERARY EVIDENCE IN MIDDLE MINOAN III CRETE

Luca Girella

Summary

Aside from limited studies on individual cemeteries or tomb types, analysis of Middle Minoan III funerary evidence has remained in the shadow. Reasons can be found in the dearth of archaeological remains, and it is useful to remember that most of the evidence for this period, both domestic and funerary, derived mainly from sites occupied in the following period (Late Minoan IA) and destroyed in Late Minoan IB. By collecting information on tomb architecture, cemetery distribution and burial assemblages the paper aims to investigate the development and regionalism of burial practices during Middle Minoan III, and to explore aspects of the social and political landscape. In particular, the north-central and south-central Crete will be considered to be paradigmatic in understanding how burial choices were strictly related to different polities and social realities. The variety of burial practices among different regions of the island is also highlighted and provides significant evidence for the transitional stage of Middle Minoan III that saw regional shifts after the destruction of the first Palaces and before the reconstruction of new centres of power.

INTRODUCTION

Social and material cultural diversity is one of the distinct characters of the Cretan culture during the Bronze Age. For several centuries, many areas of the island experienced diverse processes of social complexity (Schoep *et al.* 2012), settlement organization (Darcque, Treuil 1990; Branigan 2001) and pottery production and circulation.¹ Although *diversity* is a quite simple concept, the term has been used to indicate variation of classes of phenomena, whereas it has been suggested it is a measure of variation (Patil, Taillie 1982; Jones, Leonard 1989). In this sense, diversity can be a useful archaeological construct, due to the structure of most archaeological data that invites quantitative description. Moreover, by measuring archaeological diversity it is possible to explore the nature of processes that regulate different phenomena in the archaeological record. Since one cannot encompass all aspects of diversity in a social realm, this paper will focus only on the *funerary diversity*, as an indicator of one aspect of social diversity.

Studies of funerary data for Neopalatial period remained almost neglected for several reasons (mainly the awkward dearth of data at disposal) (Girella 2003; Devolder 2010), whereas they have been quite prolific for LBA Crete (Pini 1968; Löwe 1996; Preston 1999; 2004; 2005; 2007), and Pre-² and Protopalatial (MM IB-IIB).³ Significantly, while Prepalatial Crete provides the majority of the information from burial and tomb data, in the following palatial periods, social and cultural aspects of Cretan communities are interwoven mostly with settlement data. Such a bottom-up perspective has generated the assumption that funerals and funerary rituals occupied a marginal role in the palatial societies. For instance, if one looks at Prepalatial Crete, the abundant funerary record reveals a considerable investment of effort in the creation of major cemeteries which also acted as social arena for the communities (Legarra Herrero 2009). Then, beside the incomplete study and publication of cemeteries, it seemed that in certain areas funerary rituals and spaces were not anymore important arena where social bonds were defined and negotiated. However, the essential difficulty in examining the record after the Prepalatial period might reside in the fact that the creation of

1 Due to the extended bibliography on this topic, only selected works focused are mentioned here: Betancourt 1985; Momigliano 2007; Brogan, Hallager 2011; Macdonald, Knappett 2013.

2 Hall 1912; Seager 1912; 1916; Xanthoudides 1924; Branigan 1970; 1993; Blackman, Branigan 1982; Soles 1992; Haggis 1993; Maggidis 1994; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Papadatos 2005; Alexiou, Warren 2004; Davaras, Betancourt 2004; Vavouranakis 2007; Vasilakis, Branigan 2010; Legarra Herrero 2012; 2014.

3 Haggis, Mook, Tobin, Hayden 1993; Betancourt, Davaras 2002; Schoep 2009; Betancourt 2012. See also Vavouranakis 2007; Legarra Herrero 2012; 2014.

palatial structures generated an intensification of symbolic display (mostly in architecture and craft production) which was not necessarily a sign of new emergent elites, but a new code of communication to maintain elite group identity.

There are two further observations about the relation between burial data and social structures. Firstly, the funerary evidence at our disposal is not reliable in reflecting the size of the urban population of a given site. Even the most significant and best documented site in MM III (Knossos) with its few tombs dated to this period and less than 100 burials detected from the published excavations is incomparably smaller than the estimated urban population during the Neopalatial period (estimated between 14,000 and 18,000 individuals) (Whitelaw 2004, 153; Preston 2013).

Secondly, the dataset becomes even smaller if one considers the limited information about the burials manipulation. Not only cumulative activities in a given multiple tomb are hard to be reconstructed, but there are also cases where manipulation of burials according to sex or even age might mirror only some segments of population (Girella, Todaro forthcoming).⁴

A third point worth stressing is the nature of grave offerings that is considerably different in terms of quantity and composition from that one of the Prepalatial and Postpalatial period.

In the light of these limits, the choice of focusing on a tricky period like MM III can be judged weird. MM III it has often been depicted as a period of instability, characterized by abandonment, renovations, and new constructions (Walberg 1992; Knappett, Schoep 2000; Girella 2007; 2010a; 2010b; Macdonald, Knappett 2013). Nonetheless, the identification of funerary codes is as arduous as gathering together the threads of the social and political history of MM III (Girella 2003). The collection of archaeological evidence does not offer a systematic representation of death, rather it puts us in the presence of a complex picture, where rituals and symbols were constantly accepted and manipulated. Another pattern that will emerge significantly is that one of *diversity*. The following presentation of data will try to understand whether *funerary diversity* can be interpreted as socially related to the political instability of the period and still if the lack or the presence of palatial structure has any manifesta-

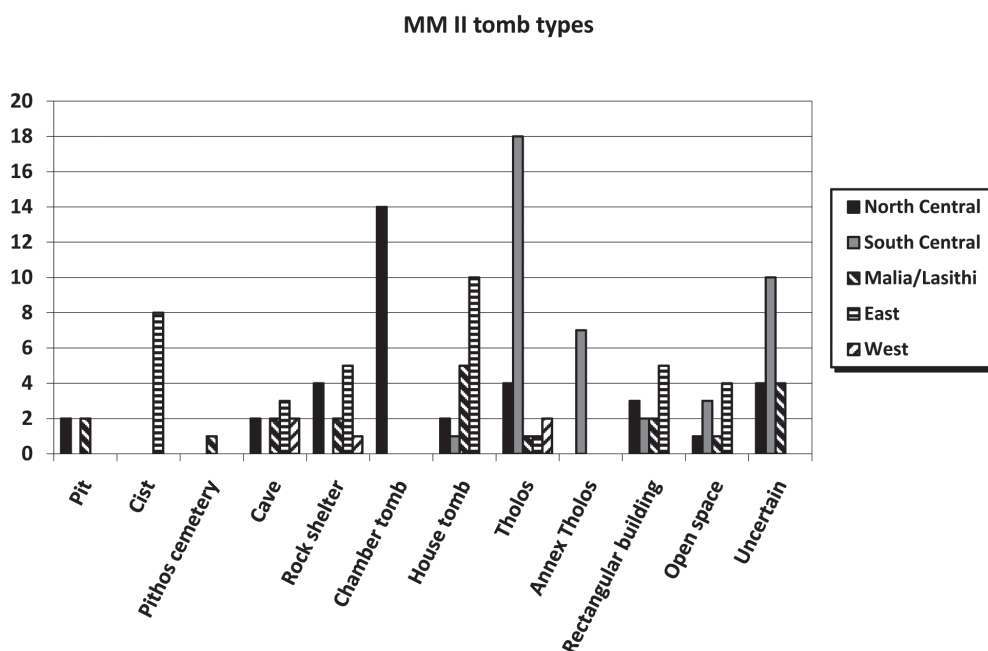


Fig. 1. Tomb types on MM II Crete (graph by the author).

⁴ That is, for instance, the case of the house tomb of Myrtos Pyrgos whose MM II and LM I levels of use contain only male burials, Cadogan 2011, 103-118.

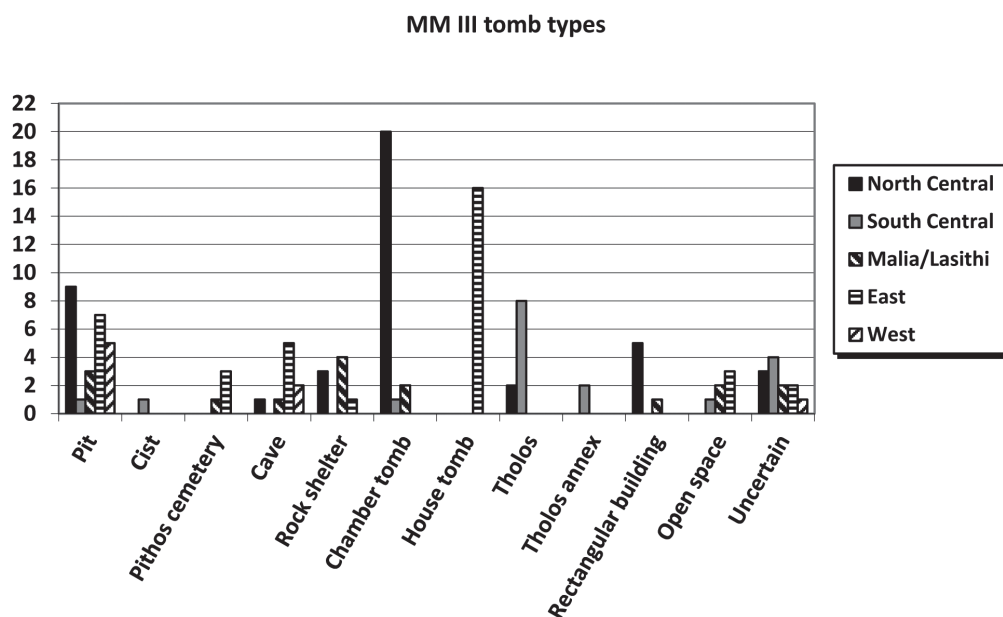


Fig. 2. Tomb types on MM III Crete (graph by the author).

tion in mortuary behaviour or if the different stories detected from single regions reflect the multi cultural groups' composition already present in Pre- and Protopalatial period.

THE FUNERARY EVIDENCE

Basic information of the funerary contexts are briefly considered at the beginning of each of the following paragraphs, whereas other data are synthesized within tables at the end of the text (Tables 1-6). A subdivision in five cultural regions is followed.

North-Central Crete

By comparing the MM II with MM III evidence (Figs. 1-3), a major variety in the first period can be observed (see also Girella forthcoming b). However, during the MM II period many tombs were abandoned – the Archanes-Phourni cemetery is the best example, and with the exception of the Knossos area, the rest of the cemeteries started a decline, leading to their abandonment within this period (Legarra Herrero 2014, 83-85). What really plays a difference in MM III is the rising number of chamber tombs around Knossos, a practice which anyway started in MM II (Preston 2013a) (Table 1). Therefore, with special reference to Knossos (Fig. 3.5), in MM III three main aspects need to be discussed: 1) the general lack of uniformity in burial practices, especially around the palace of Knossos; 2) the relation between Knossos and coastal site of Poros; and 3) the passage to LM I.

As regards the first point, the homologation of burial customs, mostly inhumations in pithoi and larnakes, in the regions north and south of Knossos is prominent, whereas when looking at tomb architecture, methods of interment, and ceramic assemblage, a high funerary variability around the palace is recognizable (Preston 2013a). Four types of burial activity can be distinguished: (1) isolated pithos burials in pits or pit caves (Cow's tomb, Acropolis); (2) isolated pithos and larnax burials in chamber tombs (Ailias, Mavro Spelio); (3) larnax burials in tholos tombs (Lower Gypsadhes); (4) inhumations directly on the floor of chamber tombs (Mavro Spelio, Upper Gypsadhes). Also significant is the use of the chamber tomb that occurs with single chambers (Hood *et al.* 1958-59, 220-224, fig. 21) and seldom with side or multiple ones, or even chamber cave (Hood 2010; Forsdyke 1926-27). A further element that highlights such diversity is the composition of the assemblages, inasmuch as

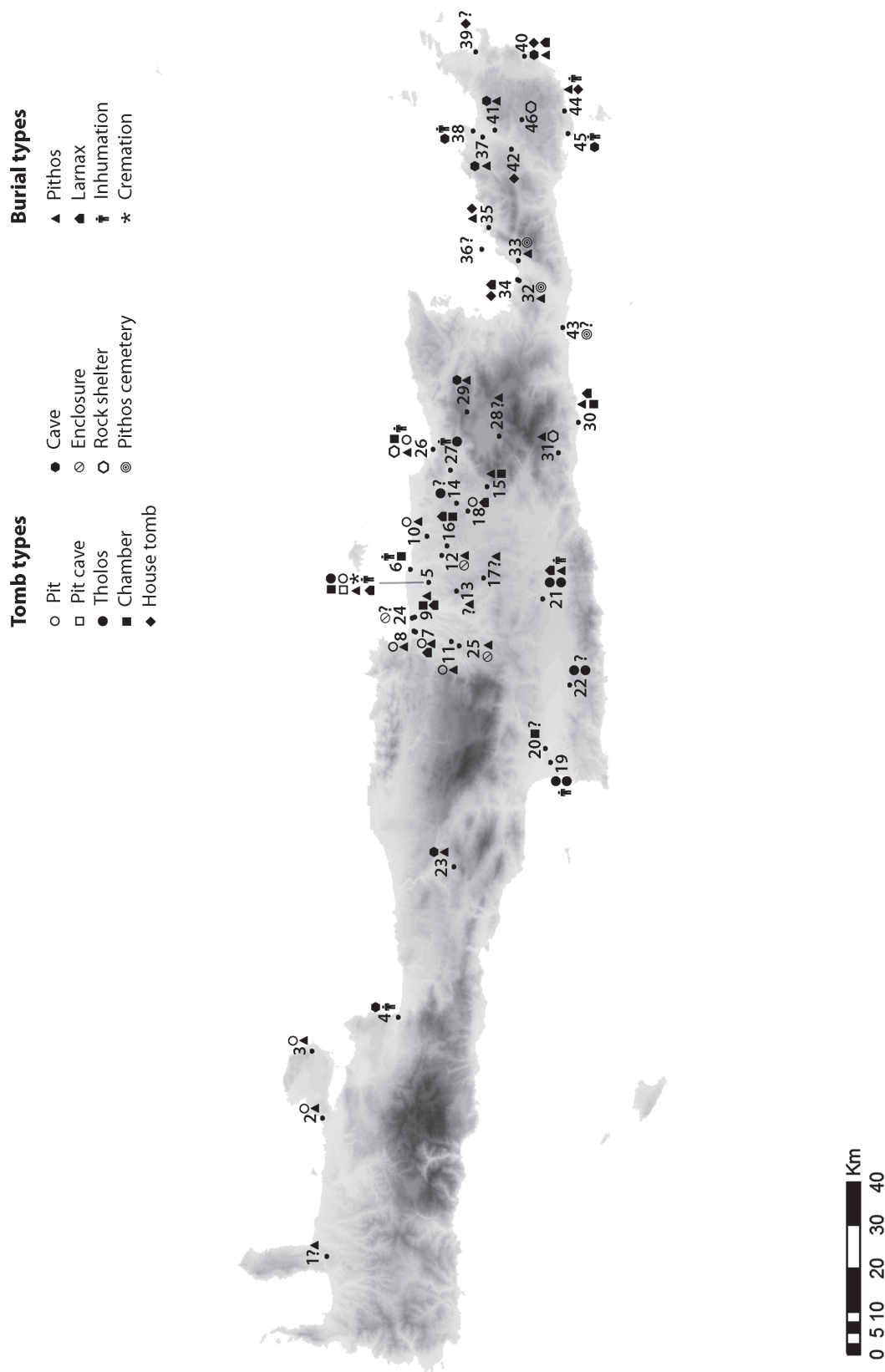


Fig. 3. Distribution of tomb and burial types on MM III Crete with sites discussed in the text. 1 Nochia/Kambos; 2 Ammoutses; 3 Chania; 4 Korakia Georgioupoli; 5 Knossos; 6 Poros; 7 Topalti/Gazi; 8 Gazi; 9 Stavromenos; 10 Anopolis; 11 Petrokephalo; 12 Aitania; 13 Archanes Phourni; 14 Kalergi; 15 Mathia; 16 Episkopi; 17 Choudetsi; 18 Choumeri; 19 Kamilari; 20 Phaistos/Phalangari; 21 Vorou; 22 Apesokari; 23 Patso; 24 A. Marina; 25 A. Myronas; 26 Malia; 27 Siderokamino; 28 Aphendis Kaminaki; 29 Trapeza/Tsermiadon; 30 Piri Phorada/Viannos; 31 Galana Charakia/Viannos; 32 Gournia; 33 Pachyanmos; 34 Sphoungaras; 35 Mochlos; 36 Psira; 37 Tsambi Piskokephalo; 38 Siteia; 39 Palaikastro; 40 Zakros; 41 Zou; 42 A. Georgios Mantalia; 43 Gra Lyghia; 44 Livari; 45 Chosto Goudouras; 46 Katalionas. © Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici NS.

many tombs lacked any artefact, others had only pottery, whereas few boasted jewellery and other prestigious items, such as seals, finger rings, ear-rings, and hatpins (Ailias: Hood 2010, figs. 16.7-9. Mavro Spelio: Forsdyke 1926-27, figs. 37-28, pls. XVIII-XIX; Alberti 2001. Upper Gypsadhes, tomb XVIII: Hood *et al.* 1958-59, 252 (XVIII,5-6), fig. 35, pls. 60b, 62-63).

Noteworthy is the variability of corpse deposition methods which may reflect differences in the social and economic structures of the groups.⁵ Tomb XVIII on Upper Gypsadhes hill, for instance, is a single chamber tomb employed for communal depositions placed directly on the floor (an extended family group?) (Hood *et al.* 1958-59, figs. 21-22, pl. 53a-b), while in Ailias and Mavro Spelio tombs corpses were located in pithoi and larnakes (Hood 2010, figs. 16.2, 4-5; Nafplioti forthcoming).

Going to the second point, in terms of funerary elaboration the case of the Poros cemetery (Fig. 3.6), whose settlement grew quite fast in the last stage of MM III, is remarkable (Table 2). The analysis of Poros funerary evidence is useful to understand the high degree of manipulation of burial symbolism by rising social groups. The following features deserve attention: the elaborate funerary architecture, namely large chambers and antechambers, staircases, corridors, niches, buttresses, spaces for offerings and ritual meals; the use of wooden biers which is an absolute novelty of this period in Crete (Muhly 1992, 149-164); the occurrence of elaborated pottery assemblages (Muhly 1992, pls. 4-10, 15-22; Dimopoulou 2004, figs. 31.4-19.), as well as imports (the Syrian seal) and religious items (the hammer axe) (Muhly 1992, pls. 31, 34). All these elements together may have probably functioned as status display and mechanisms that gave prominence to inner differences among the groups. The use of communal burials in the same space also suggests the kinship bonds of extended family groups. If one follows Whitelaw in accepting 'nuclear or minimally-extended stem families' of 5-6 individuals as a basic domestic habitation unit in urban settlements across Neopalatial Crete (Whitelaw 2001, 17-21), the problem is to understand in cases like Poros, or Ailias, whether each multiple-burial tomb represents the kinship group occupying a single household across one or several generations.⁶

Taking in consideration the third point, it is worth mentioning significant changes in burial activities with the construction of the tholos tomb on the Gypsadhes hill (with the traditional use of multiple burials in larnakes) (Hood 1957, 22-23, fig. 6 c; Alberti 2001, 171) and maybe a funerary frequentation in the area where in LM II Kephala tholos tomb will be constructed (Preston 2005) to the South and North of the palace respectively. A significant change is also at Poros, where between MM IIIB and LM I the appearance of weapons in at least two tombs is quite remarkable (Table 2).

The question whether these items really imply a Mycenaean presence already in LM I or they belonged to Cretan groups who had a special relationship with the mainland is beyond the scopes of the present article (Preston 1999). It is rather more meaningful to point out the much elaborated funerary landscape at this stage, which roughly coincides with the construction of the New Palace: aside from the cemeteries east of the palace with multiple-chambered tombs, the Kephala and Gypsadhes areas occupy now the extremities (Girella 2003, 266-267). The novelty would be the north-south axis where tombs may have worked as topographical marks, in contrast with the hidden cells of Mavro Spelio and Ailias. The two new funerary borders were located in correspondence to the road to the harbour (Poros) to the North and the access to the palace from the South, foreseeing some elements of the LM II funerary landscape (Preston 1999). On the other hand, on the coast, the evidence from Poros cemetery hints at the raise of distinct groups – not necessarily to be connected to the palace elites – which decided to select new power languages indicating probably the climate of competition among groups at the transitional stage of the palace rebuilding. Not surprisingly, a new code of representation is visible here by means of the increase in the quantity and diversity of funerary offerings, the adoption of martial characters in the grave offerings, such as the use of swords and biers. It is important to stress

5 The variability can, indeed, explain the existence of different domestic unities as well as a diverse way to gain energies for tombs construction and rituals.

6 Recently, the studies on household in Crete have produced several interpretative models, such as the nuclear families (Whitelaw 2001), the co-residential groups (when two-family household occupies one building) (Romanou 2007), and the extended households, for which Jan Driessen has indicated the 'House' as the basic corporate group (Driessen 2010a).

that the use of biers seems not to be unknown to the groups buried around the palace of Knossos and that their use in Crete started with Poros (Table 2). According to Dimopoulou, wooden coffins or biers have been found in seven excavated tombs.⁷ The tomb excavated in 1967 contained at least 3 biers, but Muhly (1990) who has studied the materials suggests that the wooden constructions in the tomb were beds made of cedar.

South-Central Crete

The main problem for this area is the lack of comparable evidence. The most remarkable characteristic of the funerary evidence is the persistence of Prepalatial burial customs and lower level of diversity of tomb types and burial methods (Girella 2003, 269-278). After a comparison with MM II, however, a drastic drop of tombs number emerges (Table 3; Figs. 1-3).

The western Mesara stands out as being different already during MM II and the changes in the funerary activity after MM IB represent a major prelude to the following MM III (Legarra Herrero 2014, 57-58). Specifically, although grave offerings are mainly represented by ceramic and stone vessels, they do refer to a selective deposition of items, that implied a change in depositional practices, with the exception of Kamilari tholos A (Fig. 3.19) (Caloi 2011; Girella forthcoming a). The special preference for pouring rituals and liquid consumption is largely embodied by palatial shapes (mostly the use of conical cups, jugs, bridge-spouted jars and carinated cups)⁸ and palatial convivial practices, that suggest the existence of groups outside the palace who asserted their nearness to palatial elites.⁹ Furthermore, the general escalation in performing collective consumption in outer spaces (Platanos,¹⁰ Haghia Triada¹¹ and Kamilari¹²) indicate the shift of communal activities to open-air spaces. Finally, burial practices show a remarkable variety of primary and secondary depositions directly on the floor, or into pithoi (often inverted) and larnakes. At Kamilari, Apesokari and Vorou A (Fig. 3.19, 21-22) tholos tombs this activity is concentrated on external annexes, where selections of bones and skulls curation are attested.¹³ Cases of possible articulated burial with missing skulls are also attested.¹⁴

From a socio-political perspective, one possible interpretation for this area can be that the shift towards a more general centralized regional, social and political organization after MM IB might have generated a similar reallocation of ritual activity from tombs to palaces. This aspects is also confirmed by the growing importance of Kamares cave that did catalyze the ritual activity of the western Mesara communities. However, at the same time, manipulation of human remains shows that specific cemeteries did remain the focus of ritual activity and witnessed an escalation of ceremonies where dead were integrated in the community life.

The reconstruction of the funerary landscape during MM III, due to the dearth of data concerning the relationships between tombs and settlements, creates some difficulty. The funerary sphere does confirm the troubles suffered by the Phaistian area after the MM IIB destruction (La Rosa 2002; Girella 2010b). In MM III investment in tomb construction was not as impressive as that observed at Knossos, and the re-use of former tholos tombs was almost the

7 Dimopoulou 1999, 28. In tomb 6 remains of a unique burial were discovered, consisting of a platform or an elevated construction made of mud bricks with imprints of carved and ribbed wooden beams.

8 Xanthoudides 1924, no. 5055, pls. VII, XXXV (Porti), no. 4150, pl. XXX (Koumasa), nos. 5102, 5120-5121, 5164, pl. XXXVIb (Porti), 85-86, n. 5702, pl. XLV (Kalathiana settlement), nos. 5713-5718, pl. XLVIa (Kalathiana settlement), nos. 6907-6909, pl. LIa (Platanos). Levi 1961-62, figs. 62-63, 115-117, 119.

9 Girella forthcoming a. Significantly, this picture reveals a more general cultural homologation as demonstrated by the evidence of Kamares cave, where preliminary vessels counting has shown the same emphasis on pouring rituals, Van de Moortel 2006.

10 Gerontakou 2003.

11 For Phaistos, see Carinci 2006; Militello 2012.

12 Levi 1961-62, 80, figs. 105-108.

13 Branigan 1987. For the skulls curation, see also Soles 1992, 247-251. For Kamilari, see Levi 1961-62, figs. 75-76, 97-98. For Apesokari tholos B, see Vavouranakis 2012.

14 With the reserve of the lack of a proper anthropological study, that would be the case of the burial found beneath a large spouted tub in the external room ΔΔ 2 at Vorou tholos tomb: Marinatos 1930-31.

rule but with a significant drop of cemeteries. Recent surveys have also added small and new information, but they lack in important details, regardless MM III and LM I are unfortunately squeezed (Watrous *et al.* 2004, 291-298, in particular table 10.2). Reoccupation of old communal tombs followed different criteria: while Vorou A and B tombs and Apesokari B show a possible re-use for burial purposes,¹⁵ not clear is the situation detected at Apesokari A and Moni Odigitria B, where MM III pottery might demonstrate only a ritual re-occupation.¹⁶ On the whole, Kamilari A and B are the clear cases showing an uninterrupted use throughout the MM period (Levi 1961-62; Girella forthcoming a).

Situations like that one at Kamilari might reveal the absence of major segmentations, such as differences of age, sex, and status. The apparent absence of personal and precious objects might indicate the will to cancel or hide rank and status differences among the deceased (Girella 2003, 271). We do not have enough data regarding artefact distributions and corpse treatment to assess what kind of *individuality* was constructed by burial assemblages.¹⁷ In any case, at Kamilari such differentiation might be envisaged in MM II and MM III thanks to the deposition of seals (Girella forthcoming a).

The new project focusing on republishing the Kamilari cemetery, the tombs assemblages and also the human bones reburied on 2009, can provide further information (Girella forthcoming a).¹⁸ The study of MM III pottery assemblages of Tholos A (the most represented period in the cemetery) enlightens patterns of continuity with the MM II, among which one can point out the emphasis on drinking and pouring vessels and specific selection of shapes (Girella 2013). Funerals, therefore, entail almost the same aspects as for the burial and the offerings composition which seem to betray a social composition with kinship relations based on clans, as it is still valid for the late Prepalatial period. In this sense, is not easy to disentangle possible social differentiations from burial records: it has been suggested that seals and also ware diversities/oppositions maybe served as way of monitoring social diversity (Girella forthcoming a).

The absence of shifts in burial practices, mainly from collective to single inhumations, such as attested at Vorou, is worthy of note, as it might reflect the absence of major segmentations, such as differences of age, sex, and status. On the other hand, the deposition of corpses in coffins at Vorou (Vavouranakis 2012, 147, fig. 3, dated to MM II) might reveal a major segmentation that is absent at Kamilari.

One preliminary conclusion is that a different funerary ideology for the Kamilari area would reflect a society organized in larger family groups. In particular, estimation of the minimum number of individuals based on the ongoing human bone analysis from Tholos A contributes to some 17 corpses per century which approaches the composition of a nuclear family of 5 to 7 members (Triantaphyllou forthcoming; Triantaphyllou, Girella forthcoming). Furthermore, individuals of all age groups – even neonates – and both sexes have been recognised from the human remains. Therefore the hypothesis of family groups to have been accommodated in tholos A can be securely supported by the preliminary results of the human bone study. Such a difference within burial methods in our perspective reflects a different composition of social groups.

Malia/Lasithi and East Crete

The evidence suggests a high variability in funerary practices for the eastern region and a general continuation of Prepalatial burial customs (Girella 2003, 278-287; Legarra Herrero 2014, 107-111) (Tables 4-5; Fig. 3.26-46). By observing the MM II evidence, one can notice a major diversity in terms of tomb types, with a special preference for cists (Pseira: Davaras, Betancourt 2004), house tombs (Gournia, Kalo Chorio, Sissi)¹⁹ and rectangular tombs (Petras) (Fig. 1), although they had drastically declined after MM IB. Special contexts are those at Petras which be-

15 Marinatos 1930-31, figs. 16, 21 (last row, first from the right), 22e, 23a, c-d, h, j, o-q, 24n-o, q, 26, 27c; Vavouranakis 2012.

16 Matz 1951, 13-22, pl. 22.2; Flouda 2011; 2012; Vasilakis, Branigan 2010, 109-110 (P 266-267, 272, 276-277, 281), fig. 49, pl. 43.

17 The use of burial within larnakes is attested at Apesokari B in MM II, Vavouranakis 2012.

18 Preliminary information on the study of human bones from Kamilari A are in Triantaphyllou forthcoming; Triantaphyllou, Girella forthcoming.

19 For Gournia North Cemetery Tomb I and II, see Soles 1992, 3-28. For Kalo Chorio, see Haggis 1996. For Sissi, see Schoep, Schmitt, Crevecoeur 2011; 2013.

tray a special connection with large rectangular buildings at Malia (Betancourt 2012; Tsipopoulou 2012). Here the picture of the decline of the large Pre- and Protopalatial cemetery – MM II material is found in small quantities in several areas [Pelon, Stürmer 1989, 101-111 (Fosseaux Trompettes); Van Effenterre 1980, 240 (Îlot du Christ)] – is compensated by the construction in MM IB of the rectangular building at Chrysolakkos, then in use during MM II (Pierpoint 1987; Soles 1992, 170-171; Stürmer 1993). This construction reflects a major shift towards the monumentalisation and concentration of burial and ritual activities according to an important acceleration of power strategy that involved the centre of Malia during MM II, as demonstrated by the introduction of a special architectural vocabulary displaying the characteristics of the later palatial architecture, i.e. ashlar masonry, column bases, as well as the Minoan Hall, the lustral basin and blocks of magazines equipped with drains (Schoep 2004, 255-259).

During MM III the preference of three different burial typologies is noteworthy (Fig. 2): (1) single inhumations in pithoi placed in simple pits or caves; (2) inhumations in pithoi and larnakes in big cemetery complexes; (3) inhumation in house tombs. The Ierapetra area seems to be characterized by the spread of large pithos cemeteries, whereas in the eastern region spaces for burials are still house tombs, caves, and rocks shelters. Bearing in mind that in the last case most of the information regards reuses in terms of offerings, one can argue that the pithos was the most widespread burial custom in East Crete (Petit 1990). The almost total absence of chamber tombs, sometimes replaced with caves is significant; however, the Malia/Vlastos (Fig. 3.26) tomb might testify contacts with the central-north area of Crete, where the use of chamber tombs was more common (Davaras 1979).

A special case seems to be Malia. The published data concerning architecture, funerary assemblages, and depositional methods are inadequate to draw a proper funerary picture. It is likely that a major shift occurred in MM IIIB by means of the reuse of former tombs: such reoccupation might be associated with the shift and the new building projects which concerned the palace and the city in the short time span between MM III and LM IA (Van de Moortel, Darcque 2006, 177-188). If this interpretation is right, it is worth of note that Chrysolakkos tombs were not occupied anymore after MM IIB (Soles 1992, 166-171), a strategy, this, that can hint at the different social composition of the elite groups between the First and Second palace period.

The real novelty of the period is the diffusion of pithos burials and large pithos cemeteries. At Mochlos (Fig. 3.35) MM III and LM I child burials were found as single inhumations in pithoi, without offerings or vessels accompanying the dead (Soles 1992, 41-113). Some of the former house tombs were reused with offerings, as remains of tableware found directly on the destruction level of former burials (EM II and III) demonstrate. The new burial system (MM III and LM IA) implied the deposition of corpses in pithoi – without any offering or personal items – that were placed in shallow pits or simple caves. Three aspects appear remarkable: (a) the passage from collective to single inhumation, (b) the drastic shortage of funerary assemblages, and (c) the almost total absence of personal objects. Furthermore, the tableware found in the Prepalatial house tombs might be interpreted as evidence for libations carried out in honour of the dead. The implications of these changes are significant, as the spread of single burials might reflect a fragmentation of kin-group bonds and the emergence of greater individualism, which is a Neopalatial phenomenon in this area. In addition, the role of rituals celebrating old tombs is crucial in understanding the intention to restore a descent line with ancestors.

The cemeteries at Pachyammos and Sphoungaras (Fig. 3.33-34) were used uninterruptedly till LM I, with a major concentration of burials during MM III (Seager 1916; Hall 1912; Walberg 1992, 133-134). Common elements are: (a) the organization of individual burials in large extramural cemeteries; (b) burials in pithoi or jars are more common than depositions in larnakes; (c) pithoi were placed in pits upside down, and in many cases pithos mouths were closed by local stone slabs (Seager 1916, 11-13); (d) occasionally pithoi were arranged in clusters, horizontally and, more rarely, vertically (Hall 1912, 58-59); (e) burial assemblages consisted of tableware, seldom of other burial gifts such as seals, bronze hairpins, bronze and lead rings (Seager 1916, pls. II, XX; Hall 1912, 67-69).

Regardless certain similarities with Anatolian burial customs,²⁰ the isonomic character of Pachyammos and Sphoungaras burials can be interpreted as the funerary expression of such a social structure: the absence of vari-

20 The problem is discussed in Girella 2003, 286, with bibliography.

ety in burial practices is suggested by the extension of the same burial custom to all segments of the population, regardless of age and sex distinctions (also identical are the orientation of pithoi and jars, of skeletons, the closing and hiding systems).²¹ The rising importance of these cemeteries fits very well with the progressive growth of the region after MM IIIA, when Gournia became a landmark in a wide region and controlled small and self-sufficient centres (Watrous *et al.* 2000, 471-483). The trajectory of this settlement complexity was in LM IA a transformation of a hierarchically organized landscape. Before LM IA, i.e. in MM III, Gournia shows signs of high town planning homologation (with small and regular living units, almost all with light wells, storehouses and workshop areas) that reveals the organization of local communities in small partially autonomous family units.

Western Crete

Any reconstruction of western Crete funerary activity is hampered by the relative dearth of archaeological evidence, as well as the unpublished character of many excavations carried out, which only survive in the form of preliminary reports (Table 6; Figs. 1-3). The data collected suggest a regional pattern, where it seems that pithos burials were usually practised. Despite the dearth of evidence also for the Protopalatial period, one can argue a substantial continuity with previous periods, which confirms a general isolation of this region of the island (Legarra Herrero 2014, 151-160). Furthermore, signs of provincialism can be noted by observing the spread of cultic activities in mountain caves, instead of peak sanctuaries, whose number gradually grows moving eastwards (Tyree 1975). In this sense, the presence of a pithos burial in the Patsos cave in the Amari valley (Fig. 3.23) is notable (Pendlebury 1939, 148, 175). It is possible to understand the lack of funerary ostentation in this area of Crete by suggesting the uniform and poor burial activity as the effect of the absence of elite groups in competition around centres of power. Unlike the situation highlighted at Knossos, a static period works against a scenario of factional competitions among groups aiming to promote or assert their status and rank. Hence a quite low degree of diversity in funerary architecture (the total absence of chamber tombs is remarkable), and manipulation of burial assemblages.

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence presented shows a significant decline of funerary contexts after MM II (Girella 2003; forthcoming b). Although the phenomenon can be also related to the turmoil derived after the destruction of the first palatial system, one can argue that MM III stands as the inauguration of a new cycle of funerary model, when probably the social and political function of cemeteries changed. Aside from general tendencies, such as a more widespread use of pithos burials in the island, there are three observations that the paper would like to address for the conclusions.

Firstly, it is possible to assert that the composition of social groups remained quite varied from Protopalatial to Neopalatial period. The fragmentary funerary landscape that emerges from the foregoing analysis follows the basic cultural diversity already existent in Protopalatial period. While the use of communal tombs might indicate the importance of lineage, the case of the cemeteries at Knossos epitomizes major segmentations. Indeed, Knossos seems to have experienced already in MM II the coexistence of different funerary languages as well as the adoption of chamber tombs. Such diversity can enlighten the existence of different social groups which can reflect on either a status difference or a cultural plurality made of people come from abroad. However, on the one hand the documentation from the rest of Crete shows a difficulty in reconstructing a complete picture (certainly due to the scanty character of burials retrieved in many site), on the other hand Knossos is the only site where funerary rituals and status display are the natural consequence of the major shift of this centre over the others. Knossos developed after MM III a significant regional administrative role to a degree that other Cretan palatial centres never did. Therefore, the Knossian funerary landscape did reflect such major leap after MM II. The difference with the rest of Crete is remarkable, even more symptomatic in LM I, and it has been explained in several ways in the recent past, by raising the possibility that corpses were either thrown into the sea or exposed inside caves.²² It is, however, important to

21 Age and sex distinction, on the contrary, might be indicated by the few personal objects.

22 A recent and useful discussion is in Devolder 2010, 65-69.

stress that the archaeological documentation cannot demonstrate so far the existence of specific practices like those above mentioned nor the diffusion of one single funerary code throughout the island.

Secondly, along the regional diversities in burial customs observed, there is a common point exemplified by the expression of *group affiliation*. It has certainly been noticed the tendency towards an *individualisation*, epitomized mostly by burials in pithoi or larnakes (Devolder 2010, 48-53; Legarra Herrero forthcoming), but, admittedly, our knowledge about the composition and social significance of these communities as well as their idea of individuality remains unclear. It has been possible, on the contrary, to observe that certain individuals did mark their individuality through a different treatment, but within the context of communal burials. The communal character of the cemeteries, therefore, seems to have been the basic ritual code of the Cretan communities. The individual treatment, though well spread on Crete, can rather mask different social explanation (social segmentation, social individuality, desire of protection), but cases such as those detected at Ailias chamber tombs or the use of pithos/larnax burials within tholos tombs (Apesokari, Vorou) are expression of the same approach to individuality which appears to be integrated within a context of a group affiliation.

A crucial role in the definition and negotiation of social identities and the reinforcement of corporate links is represented by the treatment of the human body visible through secondary burials (Girella forthcoming b). Indeed, Early and Middle Minoan funerary rituals were based on secondary funerary practices that were undertaken by the living through a multi-stage process of manipulation (Driessen 2010b; Girella, Todaro forthcoming). This started with the removal of the cranium and the contextual dedication of food offerings, continued with practices of disarticulation that were performed over time within the funerary area, and ended with the final relocation of long bones and skulls in different contexts (Girella, Todaro forthcoming). Although such practices are well discernible in Pre-Protopalatial periods, they continue into the Neopalatial period, as shown by the case of Gypsadhes/Tomb XVII (Hood *et al.* 1958-59, 220-224, figs. 21-22, pl. 53a-b) and Ailias/Tomb VII (Hood 2010, fig. 16.2a) at Knossos, where disarticulated parts of skeletons were organized in separated parts within the same tomb (Girella forthcoming b). Similarly, in the south evidence for bones and skulls retention is documented also at Kamilari tholos tomb A (Levi 1961-62, fig. 97; Girella 2011, 133). The active use of burials remains therefore unaltered after the Protopalatial period. The long-term deposition of bones and artefacts and their manipulation did continue to create a special link between the tomb and the landscape which emphasized the corporate identity and produced community cohesion (Murphy 2011, 41).

Finally, the paper has shown that two regions appear to be paradigmatic when seeking to understand how burial practices were related to different social realities. The resistance of Protopalatial burial customs in southern Crete might reveal the willingness to maintain old ceremonial practices along to First Palace ideology, especially for the Mesara that experienced the greatest troubles resulting from the destruction of Phaistos palace and a very slow reconstruction. On the other hand, in northern Crete and the area around Knossos palace, the diversity observed might be a sign of a dynamic situation, linked to a different history of the palatial building in MM III. The burial pattern hints at the complexity of the urban centre of Knossos, the existence of social stratification and inter-group ranking. The growth of Knossos power during MM III is visible if compared with the Pediada region to the south and Poros on the coast. The shift observed in the Pediada with the construction of a small palace at Galatas in MM IIIA goes along to the increase of funerary data in the region (Rethemiotakis, Christakis 2013, 104). In particular, the widespread use of pithos burials seems to be supported by the presence of pithos potting centres located somewhere between Archanes and Knossos, active during MM II and MM III and specialized in the production of pithoi for burial purposes (Knossos/Ailias, Archanes, Aitania) (Christakis 2005).

Northward, the relation Knossos-Poros explains the semi-independence of the harbour-town and the variety of funerary choices that reflect the emergence of new groups partially independent from the palace and oriented towards commercial interests. The case of Poros shows a different cultural affiliation marked particularly by the adoption of martial language. It is not necessary to see behind this shift the presence of new groups from Mainland Greece, but a different orientation of local groups towards a common language that underwent a gradual increase in Greece with the MH II shaft grave of Kolonna (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997) and in the MH III with Circle B at Mycenae (Voutaski 1995). In the next generation, scenes like those depicted in the miniature fresco of the West House at Akrotiri (Morgan 1988)

may have referred to these intercultural contacts between Mainland Greece and the north coast of Crete mediated by the Cyclades (Maran 2011; on the topic of the war in Crete, Militello 2003; Molloy 2012).

Finally, eastern Crete has revealed distinct funerary traits with the persistence of old practices (i.e. pithos burials). Old systems of burial may have continued to function as an expression of hierarchical groups, where local elites acted at a reduced level of power, and burials were not a primary forum for display. The absence of funerary ostentation in terms of funerary architecture and assemblages might be linked to the dearth of palatial centres in these two regions,²³ and consequently a modest network of exchanges, no exchange of prestigious gifts, and the resulting accumulation of wealth by the elites.

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Cemetery	Tomb type	Burial type	References
Knossos: Cow's tomb	Pit	<i>Pithos</i> burial	Evans 1901-02, 88-89, fig. 49; Hood, Smyth 1981, 53 no. 248; Preston 2013a
Knossos: Ailias VII	Chamber tomb	6 <i>larnakes</i> , 4 children, 20 skulls	Cook, Boardman 1954, 166; Hood 2010, fig. 16.2a; Preston 2013a
Knossos: Ailias VIII	Chamber tomb	1 <i>pithos</i> , 18 <i>larnakes</i>	Hood 1955, 32, figs. 1-2; Hood, Smyth 1981, no. 257; Alberti 2001; Preston 2013a
Knossos: Ailias IX	Chamber tomb	1 <i>pithos</i> , 3 <i>larnakes</i> , 1 cremation (?)	Hood 1955, 32, fig. 3; Hood, Smyth 1981, no. 257; Alberti 2001; Preston 2013a
Knossos: MS* V	Chamber tomb	Inhumations on floor, <i>larnakes</i> (?)	Forsdyke 1926-27, 256-257; Alberti 2001, 2013; Preston 2013a
Knossos: MS VI	Chamber tomb	Inhumations on floor	Forsdyke 1926-27, 259-260; Alberti 2001, 2013; Preston 2013a
Knossos: MS VII	Chamber tomb	Inhumations on floor, <i>larnakes</i> (?)	Forsdyke 1926-27, 260-263; Alberti 2001, 2013; Preston 2013a
Knossos: MS IX-E	Chamber tomb	Inhumations on floor, <i>larnakes</i> (?)	Forsdyke 1926-27, 264-269; Alberti 2001, 2013; Preston 2013a
Knossos: MS XVII-B	Chamber tomb	Inhumations on floor, <i>larnakes</i> (?)	Forsdyke 1926-27, 276-279; Alberti 2001, 2013; Preston 2013a
Knossos: Upper Gypsadhes VIII	Chamber tomb	Inhumations?	Hood, Huxley, Sandars 1958-59, 208-209
Knossos: Upper Gypsadhes XVIII	Chamber tomb	Inhumations (9) on floor	Hood, Huxley, Sandars 1958-59, 220-224; Alberti 2001, 181-182; Preston 2013a
Knossos: Lower Gypsadhes	Tholos (AS 308)	<i>Larnax</i> burials	Hood 1957, 22-23, fig. 6 c; Alberti 2001, 171
Knossos: Gypsadhes Building II	Rectangular building	Skulls and bones	Hood, Smyth 1981, no. 308; Alberti 2001, 171-172
Knossos: Acropolis	Pit (AS 139)	<i>Pithos</i> burials (?)	AA 1934, 249; AA 1935, 240
Knossos: 'isolated deposit'	Chamber tomb ?	Inhumation (warrior burial ?)	Evans 1914, 2-4, figs. 1-8; Preston 2007, 262-263, 292
Knossos: Hutchinson tomb (Monastiriako Kephali)	Rock shelter	<i>Pithos</i> burials (4)	JHS 55 (1935), 168 Hood, Smyth 1981, no. 140; Preston 2013b

23 On the base of ceramic production, see Knappett, Cunnigham (2013, 194-195) work with the hypothesis that during MM III Palai-kastro was culturally affiliated to Knossos and that the centre moved towards a kind of independence as early as LM IA.

Knossos: AS** 295	Rock shelter	?	Hood, Smyth 1981, 56
Knossos: AS 307	Shaft Grave ?		Hood, Smyth 1981, 57
Knossos: AS 313	?	?	Hood, Smyth 1981, 58
Poros T. 1: Π 1940	Cave chamber?	Inhumations on floor	Platon 1941, 270-271; Pini 1968, 80; Kanta 1980, 27; Löwe 1996, 192, no. 454
Poros T. 3: Tritonos and Ikarou streets (Π 1967)	Chamber tomb	Inhumations on floor	Lebessi 1967; Muhly 1992
Poros T. 4: Π 1979	Chamber tomb	Inhumations on floor	Muhly 1992, 28, 154
Poros T. 5: 14th Public school (Π 1986)	Chamber tomb	Inhumations on floor	Dimopoulou 1987, 528-529
Poros T. 6: Poseidonos avenue (Π 1993)	Chamber tomb	Inhumations on floor (19 burials)	Dimopoulou 1994, 708-709
Poros T. 7: Ikaros avenue (Π 1994)	Chamber tomb	Inhumations on floor (32 burials)	Dimopoulou 1994, 709-710; Dimopoulou 2004, 368, figs. 31.11-15
Poros Irakliou: Spanakis/Tritonos streets (Π 1999-2000)	Chamber tomb	Inhumations on floor	Dimopoulou 2004, 368, n. 20d; Dimopoulou 2010, 89-100, figs. 9.5-7
Poros Irakliou: Nysirou street	Pit	?	AR 2001-02, 109-110
Poros Irakliou: Midas street	Rock shelter	?	AR 2001-02, 109-110
Topalti/Gazi	Pit	<i>Pithos</i> burials 2 <i>larnakes</i>	ArchDelt 1966, 406-407, pl. 436 a-b
Gazi	Pit	<i>Pithos</i> burial 1 <i>pithos</i>	Chatzidakis 1918, 60-61
Stavromenos	Chamber tomb	1 <i>larnax</i>	AM 38 (1913), 43-45; AJA 17 (1913), 438; Pendlebury, Money-Coutts, Eccles 1935, 91
Anopolis	Pit	1 <i>pithos</i>	Chatzidakis 1918, 58-60
Petrokephalo	Pit ? [stone mark]	1 <i>pithos</i> Offerings	Pendlebury, Money-Coutts, Eccles 1935, 91
Archanes Phourni	Between Buildings 3 and 8		Sakellarakis 1971, 481, fig. 1
	Building 20	Second burials (?)	Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1977, 481, fig. 1
Aitania Pediadas	Rectangular building	<i>Pithos</i> burials (?)	ArchDelt 1998, 853; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005, 259
Kalergi Pediadas	Tholos	MM III pottery inside and outside	Pendlebury, Money-Coutts, Eccles 1935, 81, pl. 12a; Pini 1968, 48, 104; Hadzi-Vallianou 1980, 33, 40, fig. 10
Mathia Pediadas	Chamber tomb	<i>Pithos</i> burials	CretChron 1954, 515; BCH 82 (1958), 783
Episkopi Pediadas	Chamber tomb	1 <i>larnax</i>	CretChron 1963, 385
Choudetsi Pediadas	?	<i>Pithos</i> burials	BCH 91 (1967), 123
Choumeri Monophestiou			ArchDelt 19 (1964), 443, pl. 518b; BCH 91 (1967), 781, fig. 10.
	Pit ?	1 <i>larnax</i>	
Aghia Marina/Maleviziou	Rectangular building	?	Chatzidakis 1913, 43-44; Pendlebury, Money-Coutts, Eccles 1934, 91
Aghios Myronas/Maleviziou	Rectangular building	<i>Pithoi</i> , <i>larnakes</i>	Walberg 1983, 105

*MS = Mavro Spelio; **AS = Archaeological Survey (Hood, Smith 1981)

Table 1. MM III funerary contexts from North-Central Crete.

Tomb	Year	Bibliography	Bier or coffins	Swords	Daggers	Spears	Boar-tusk helmets	Chronology
1	1940	Platon 1941, 270-271; Kanta 1980, 27	Bier or coffins					MM IIIB-LM I
2	1941	Platon 1941	3 biers					LM IB-II
3	1967	Lebessi 1967; Muhly 1992	Remains of biers	Fr.	?	Fr.	1	MM III, LM I, LM III
4	1979	Unpublished, excavated by Tzedakis, Vasilakis; Muhly 1992, 183, 192; Dimopoulou 1999, 28	Bier or coffins					MM IIIB, LM IB
5	1986	Dimopoulou 1987, 528-529; Muhly 1992, 192	Bier or coffins					MM II, III, LM IA-B
6	1993	Dimopoulou 1994, 708-709; 1999, 28-29	Bier or coffins	Fr. ?	1		1 or 2	MM III, LM I (LM III)
7	1994	Dimopoulou 1994, 709-710; 1999, 28	Wooden coffin					MM IIIB, III, LM I, II
8	1999	Unpublished						?
9	1999-2000	Dimopoulou 2010						?
10	2002-03	Unpublished						?

Table 2. The chamber tombs from Poros.

Cemetery	Tomb type	Burial type	References
Kamilari A: Grigori Koryphi	Tholos tomb	Multiple inhumations	Levi 1961-62; Levi 1976, 703-741; Girella 2003; 2013; forthcoming a
Kamilari A: Grigori Koryphi, <i>α-ε</i>	Annexes	Secondary burials (β, δ-ε)	Levi 1961-62, 55-79; Girella 2003; 2013; forthcoming a
Kamilari A: Grigori Koryphi, <i>Cortile delle Offerte</i>	Open space	Rituals, offerings	Levi 1961-62, 80-91; Girella 2003; 2013; forthcoming a
Kamilari B: Mylona Lakko	Tholos tomb	Multiple inhumations	Levi 1961-62, 107-10; Levi 1976, 742-743; Girella 2003; 2013; forthcoming a
Kamilari C	Tholos tomb	Inhumations ?	Alexiou 1957; Branigan 1976; Girella forthcoming a
Moni Odigitria B (Group BA)	Tholos tomb	Inhumations?	Vasilaki, Branigan 2010, 109-110, fig. 49 (P266-67, 272, 276-277, 281)
MS* 12: Makri Armis	Cist grave ?	Inhumations ?	Watrous, Hadzi-Vallianou, and Blitzer 2004, 528
Festòs: Phalangari	Chamber tombs	Inhumations ?	ArchDelt 42 (1987), 538-542, pls. 308-16
MS 15: E of Kamilari	?	?	Watrous, Hadzi-Vallianou, Blitzer 2004, 529
MS 81: W Effendi Christos	?	?	Watrous, Hadzi-Vallianou, Blitzer 2004, 536
MS 89: Logiadhi	<i>Pithoi</i> ?	?	Watrous, Hadzi-Vallianou, Blitzer 2004, 537
MS 90: Kalivia Area	?	?	Watrous, Hadzi-Vallianou, Blitzer 2004, 538
MS 105: Aghia Paraskevi	?	?	Watrous, Hadzi-Vallianou, Blitzer 2004, 539-540
Vorou A: external annexes	Tholos tomb	<i>Pithos</i> and <i>larnax</i> burials or offerings?	Marinatos 1930-31; Girella 2003
Vorou B	Tholos tomb	<i>Pithos</i> and <i>larnax</i> burials	Marinatos 1930-31; Girella 2003
Apesokari A	Tholos tomb	Offerings, cult of dead?	Matz 1951, 13-22; Flouda 2011; 2012
Apesokari B	Tholos tomb	Inhumations?	Davaras 1964, 441; Vavouranakis 2012

* MS = Mesara Survey (Watrous, Hadzi-Vallianou, Blitzer 2004)

Table 3. MM III funerary contexts from South-Central Crete.

Cemetery	Tomb type	Burial type	References
Malia: Vlastos	Chamber tomb	<i>Pithos</i> burials (?)	Davaras 1979
Malia: <i>Troisième Charnier</i>	Rock shelter	Burial strata	Van Effenterre, Van Effenterre 1963, 60; Walberg 1983, 115-116
Malia: <i>Second Charnier</i>	Rock shelter	Burial strata	Demargne 1945, 13; Walberg 1983, 111
Malia: <i>Maison des morts</i>	Rectangular building	?	Van Effenterre, Van Effenterre 1963, 85-102; Walberg 1983, 116
Malia: <i>Tomb à Puits</i>	Pit	?	Van Effenterre, Van Effenterre 1963, 73; Walberg 1983, 116
Malia: <i>Tholos</i>	Pit	MM IIIB use	Van Effenterre, Van Effenterre 1963, 81
Malia: <i>Tomb Triangulaire I</i>	Pit	?	Van Effenterre, Van Effenterre 1963, 76; Walberg 1983, 116
Malia: <i>Fosse aux Trompettes</i>	Open space	?	Van Effenterre, Van Effenterre 1963, 82-85; Walberg 1983, 116
Malia: <i>Bord de Mer</i>	Open space	?	Van Effenterre, Van Effenterre 1963, 62-70; Olivier, McGeorge 1977b; Walberg 1983, 115
Malia: <i>Îlot du Christ</i>	<i>Pithos</i> cemetery?	<i>Pithos</i> burial (>5)	Van Effenterre, Van Effenterre 1963, 103-113; Walberg 1983, 117
Siderokamino	Tholos	MM III re-occupation?	Branigan 1993, 148; Goodison, Guarita 2005, 194-195
Aphendis Kaminaki	?	<i>Pithos</i> burial	Watrous 1982, 60
Trapeza/Tsermiadon	Cave	<i>Pithos</i> burials	Pendlebury, Pendlebury, Money-Coutts 1939, 6
Psari Phorada/Viannos	Chamber tomb?	2 <i>pithoi</i> , 2 <i>larnakes</i>	Banou, Rethemiotakis 1997, 26-28, fig. 3.1
Galana Charakia/Ano Viannos: Rock shelter A	Rock shelter	<i>Pithos</i> burials	Platon 1954, 512-513; Warren 1969, 194; Petit 1990, 53
Galana Charakia /Ano Viannos: Rock shelter B	Rock shelter	<i>Pithos</i> burials	Platon 1956, 416-417, Goodison, Guarita 2005, n. 76.

Table 4. MM III funerary contexts from Malia and Lasithi.

Cemetery	Tomb type	Burial type	References
Gournia: North Cemetery, I	House tomb	<i>Larnakes</i> or MM III re-occupation	Soles 1992, 3-17; Andreou 1978, 106; Walberg 1983, 124
Gournia: North Cemetery, II	House tomb	<i>Larnakes</i> or MM III re-occupation	Soles 1992, 17-28; Silverman 1974, 14
Pachyammos	<i>Pithos</i> cemetery	<i>Pithos</i> and <i>larnax</i> burials	Seager 1916
Sphoungaras	<i>Pithos</i> cemetery	<i>Pithos</i> and <i>larnax</i> burials	Hall 1912, 58-72; Walberg 1983, 125
Sphoungaras: Deposit A	?	<i>Larnakes</i>	Hall 1912, 46-48; Walberg 1983, 124
Sphoungaras: MM I Deposit	Open space	<i>Pithoi</i> ?	Hall 1912, 56-58; Walberg 1983, 125
Mochlos	House tomb I/II/III	MM III offerings	Seager 1912, 23-24, 37; Soles 1992, 49
Mochlos	House tomb IV/V/VI	MM III offerings	Seager 1912, 40; Soles 1992, 57-59
Mochlos	House tomb VII	MM III offerings	Seager 1912, 56-57; Soles 1992, 98-99
Mochlos	House tomb IX	MM III offerings	Seager 1912, 57; Soles 1992, 79-84
Mochlos	House tomb X	MM III offerings	Seager 1912, 57-58; Soles 1992, 82
Mochlos	House tomb XII	MM III offerings	Seager 1912, 61-63
Mochlos	House tomb XV	MM III offerings	Seager 1912, 65-66; Soles 1992, 92
Mochlos	House tomb XX/XXI	MM III offerings	Seager 1912, 74-78; Soles 1992, 82; Karetsou, Andreadaki Vlasaki, Papadakis 2001, 119, n. 98
Mochlos	House tomb XXII	MM III offerings	Seager 1912, 78; Soles 1992, 82
Mochlos	Pits	8 <i>pithos</i> burials	Seager 1912, 16, 88-89, fig. 51
Pseira: NW Area, Q27-30	Open space	?	Betancourt, Davaras 2002, 115-117
Pseira, NW Area, Q31	Open space	?	Betancourt, Davaras 2002, 115-117
Tsambi	?	<i>Pithos</i> burial	BCH 1999, 818
Piskokephalo/Siteia	Cave	<i>Pithos</i> burial	CretChron 1953, 484; BCH 1954, 154
Siteia (modern city): Old 'Itanion' Cinema	Cave	Inhumation	CretChron 1947, 634; Vavouranakis 2007, 49
Zou	Cave	2 <i>pithos</i> burials	Platon 1955, 293-294, pl. 110b
Palaiastro/Roussolakko: Gravel Ridge Tomb VII	House tomb	?	BSA 1902-03, 350-355; Walberg 1983, 131; MacGillivray, Driessen 1990, 399; Zois 1998, 58.
Zakros Mavro Avlaki	Cave	<i>Pithos</i> , <i>larnakes</i>	Platon 1999, 674-676

Zakros Pezoules Kephala, Tomb A	House tomb	<i>Pithos</i> and <i>larnakes</i> burials (600 burials suggested; 45 skulls)	Walberg 1983, 134; Soles 1992, 195-198; Platon 1999, 674, 676
Zakros Pezoules Kephala, Tomb B	House tomb	<i>Larnakes</i> burials (20 skulls)	Andreou 1978, 101-102; Soles 1992, 198-201; Platon 1999, 674, 676
A. Georghios/Mantalia	House tomb	MM III reuse	Georgoulaki 1996
Gra Lyghia/Hierapetra	<i>Pithos</i> cemetery?	2 <i>pithoi</i>	ArchDelt 1979, 405; Vavouranakis 2007, 49
Chosto/Goudouras	Cave	Inhumations on floor	Schlager, Dollhofer 1998
Katelionas	Rock shelter, 28 niches	Not found	Branigan 1998, 73-74

Table 5. MM III funerary evidence from East Crete.

Cemetery	Tomb type	Burial type	References
Chania	Pit	4 <i>pithos</i> burials	ArchEph 1948-49, 16-18
Ammoutsas	Pits (?)	<i>Pithos</i> burials (?)	ArchDelt 1961-62, 300
Nochia/Kambos	?	1 <i>pithos</i> burial	Hood 1965, 105
Korakia/Georgioupoli	Cave	Inhumations ?	Tyree 1974, 47-48
Patsos	Cave	1 <i>pithos</i> burial	Pendlebury 1939, 148, 175

Table 6. MM III funerary contexts from West Crete.

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