MONI ODIGITRIA

A Prepalatial Cemetery and Its Environs in the Asterousia, Southern Crete





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PREHISTORY MONOGRAPHS 30

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A Prepalatial Cemetery and Its Environs in the Asterousia, Southern Crete

by

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with contributions by

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For

Michalis A. Vasilakis



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Introduction and Acknowledgments

This volume presents the final report on the excavation of two Prepalatial tholos tombs and their associated remains at Chatzinas Liophyto near the Moni Odigitria (a monastery), as well as reports the results of the associated survey of the upper catchment of the Hagiopharango region in south-central Crete (Fig. 1).

The lower catchment of the Hagiopharango was surveyed in 1971 and 1972 by a team led by Keith Branigan and David Blackman. One of the sites recorded in the survey, the Prepalatial tholos tomb at Hagia Kyriaki, was excavated by the same team in 1972 following extensive but incomplete illegal looting. The reports on the survey and the excavation, together with a report on a limited survey of the south coast between the mouth of the Hagiopharango and Lasaia, were published in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* (Blackman and Branigan 1975, 1977, 1982).

The northwestern limit of the 1971–1972 survey was the Moni Odigitria itself. Had time and funds been available to survey the area immediately north of the monastery, then the Prepalatial cemetery at Chatzinas Liophyto would probably have been identified, and an archaeological catastrophe averted. As it was, Early Minoan III pottery was recorded from the site in 1975, and in 1979 large-scale illegal looting was reported. It is likely that the first illegal excavations began in the mid-1970s. As soon as looting was reported in 1979, Nota Dimopoulou was sent to undertake rescue excavations. In the spring of 1980, however, further illegal looting took place, and Yannis Sakellerakis, then Director of the 23rd Ephoria at Herakleion, gave Andonis Vasilakis the task of completing the exploration of the cemetery.

Given the enormous pressures under which the staff of the Archaeological Service operate, including further rescue excavations elsewhere to meet the threat

of illegal looting, it was no surprise that neither of the excavators were able to find the time and resources to record, analyze, and publish the excavations at Chatzinas Liophyto. During discussions in 2000, however, Andonis Vasilakis and Keith Branigan explored the potential for collaborative work to see the excavations through to publication. As a result, a program of recording, analysis, and writing was agreed in 2001, and applications for funding were submitted. Thanks to the generous support of those named below, the program was able to start in 2002. Study seasons were planned to take place in 2002, 2003, and 2004, with writing to be completed by autumn 2005. Due to the reorganization of both the Ephoreia and the Herakleion Museum as separate units, the preparation of the final plates, figures, and texts of some chapters was delayed for a year.

The delay, however, has allowed the incorporation into this volume of a report on the survey of the northwest upper catchment of the Hagiopharango, which was undertaken in 2003 by a team led by Keith Branigan and Andonis Vasilakis. The survey has allowed for the placement of the cemetery in its contemporary context, and the report on the cemetery undoubtedly benefits from having the survey published alongside it.

A program of work such as the excavation, study, and analysis of the Moni Odigitria Prepalatial cemetery and its surroundings is possible only because of the generosity and good will of several institutions and the hard work, expertise, and good will of many individuals. We take pleasure in having the opportunity to express our gratitude in a public and permanent form here.

Funding for the project was principally supplied by the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), to whom we are immensely grateful. At a personal level we are pleased to thank Philip Betancourt and Karen Vellucci for always making themselves available to offer sound advice and encouragement. Important financial support was also provided by the 23rd Ephoreia, the University of Sheffield, the British School at Athens, the British Academy, and the Trust for Mediterranean Archaeology. A debt of gratitude must be paid to the British School at Athens, the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion, and the University of Sheffield for making space and facilities for study and analysis available at Knossos, Herakleion, and Sheffield.

Many thanks to Nota Dimopoulou for allowing the publication here of her excavations of 1979, for allowing access to her excavation diaries, and for her willingness to discuss the excavations. The excavation of 1980 involved about 25 persons, and Andonis Vasilakis would like to thank the following people for their contributions to the successful completion of the work: Nikos Daskalakis, a skilled workman from Knossos, who was the excavation foreman; Sifis Kosoglou (philologist), Eugenia Lembidaki, Polixeni Arcahovitou, Eleni Giannakoulopoulou, Maria Manoura, and Prokopis Katomeris (then all students at the University of Athens) who formed the archaeological staff; 10 guards of antiquities from Phaistos, Gortyn, Hagia Triada, and Matala, under the chief guard from Phaistos, Zacharias Spyridakis who organized the workmen and the security (a role he played also at Hagia Kyriaki in 1972!); and 12 skilled workmen recruited from the nearby villages of Pitsidia, Petrokefali, Sivas, Vori, and Hagios Ioannes near Phaistos. The excavator was lucky to have the advice of Yannis Sakellarakis, who took much interest in the work and visited the site three times. His considerable experience of Prepalatial cemeteries, at Archanes-Phourni (Tholoi E and Γ) and at the tholos near the village of Hagios Kyrillos in the Mesara, was very helpful. Malcolm Wiener also visited the excavation site and expressed his interest. The restorer, Georgios Lazanakis, undertook the conservation of the ruins of the cemetery in 2003.

The survey of the area north of the monastery involved a team of 12 members in addition to the directors. Particular thanks must be paid to Colin Merrony who, in addition to laying out the survey grid and planning several sites, also took on the role of general "trouble shooter." The field walkers were: Tim Campbell-Green, Garry Badeley, Lisa Barton, Victoria Brown, Mike Garnham, Marina Giasta, David Kingsnorth, Manolis Kosmadakis, Anne Melas, Flora Michelaki, Mark Peters, and Sanne-Marie Roberts. They worked hard in the field, and spent "leisure hours" washing and sorting pottery with Nong Branigan, and they are all owed a big thank you.

Fortunately, superb accommodation was found in Sivas and provided by Georgios and Pelagia Syngelakis to whom we are very grateful, and we should also like to thank the people of Sivas for making us welcome in their lovely village.

It is of course well known that a few weeks of fieldwork yields many, many months of recording and study in the museum and storerooms. Most of the post-excavation work was undertaken in the Stratigraphic Museum at Knossos where every assistance was given by successive curators Eleni Hatzaki and Don Evely, and during Don's absence by Todd Whitelaw, and by the *phylax* of the Knossos area, Stavros Amanakis. We owe much to all of them. We are obviously indebted to the specialists who spent so much of their time recording, analyzing, and studying the various materials from the excavations—Tristan Carter, Don Evely, Flora Michelaki, Kostas Sbonias, and Sevi Triantaphyllou. Particular mention must be made of, and profound gratitude expressed to, Tim Campbell-Green for the long hot hours spent meticulously sorting and recording the mountain of pottery sherds. Like so many Aegean archaeologists, we are also indebted to Ann Thomas for her careful drawings of the vases and Pepi Stefanaki prepared additional drawings of some of them. Greco-Roman pottery from the survey was examined and researched by Jane Francis to whom we are very grateful. Throughout the process of sorting and recording the pottery sherds, the expertise and comments of many others working in or visiting the Stratigraphic Museum was of great benefit, including Colin Macdonald, Aleydis Van de Moortel, Peter Warren, and Todd Whitelaw. Additionally, through the good offices of Vincenzo La Rosa we were able to visit the stores at Phaistos and benefit from Simona Todaro's knowledge of the Prepalatial sequence there.

Conservator Spiros Liapakis reconstructed the skulls from the Ossuary. The vases were reconstructed by conservators Georgios Iliakis, Kostas Vitorakis, Tasos and Eirine Karousos, and Panagiotis Sinadinakis.

All of this work is only now available for others working in the field due to the many painstaking hours that have gone into preparing the text and illustrations for publication. Thanks are due to the specialists for their contributions in this process, submitting materials in the formats and styles required by the publisher. Flora Michelaki worked for many hours and days transcribing manuscripts from Greek into English and vice versa, and she also had initial overall responsibility for the plans, drawings, and photographs, etc., for the publication. Katie Astrinaki prepared the illustrations of the seals. The photographs of the finds are the work of Georgios Xylouris and Christos Stefanakis. Particular thanks are due to Tim Campbell-Green for his initial manipulation of the pottery drawings and plates and some of the finds photographs. We are most indebted to Martin Dearne for his editing, copy editing, and manipulation of the complete text and illustrations, carried out with his usual meticulous attention to detail. He also drew or redrew the illustrations for Chapters 1 and 8, parts of Chapters 2 and 3, and the Bronzework and Stone Vases sections of Chapter 5, and he also completed the manipulation and

layout of many of the plates. Valasia Isaakidou assisted with checking bibliographical references in Greek, and Flora Michelaki helped with other bibliographical checks. Finally we must again record our gratitude to INSTAP for taking on the publication of this project, and to its staff for their prompt response and helpful advice whenever we have needed it.

Note on Herakleion Museum Numbers

Herakleion Museum numbers, where assigned or known, are given in chapters dealing with the finds from the cemetery excavation, generally in the form of HM xxxx, omitting any material/category code as this is readily deducible from the context in which they appear. Thus HM Π 5436 for a pottery vessel is given as only HM 5436. Where there might be doubt about the material/category code, however, this is retained for the relevant entries in Chapters 5–9. Concordance B lists all of the HM numbers in alphanumeric order with their corresponding catalog numbers.



List of Abbreviations

The following standard abbreviations are used throughout this volume. For abbreviations of human bones, see Tables 102 and 103.

AMS	Accelerator Mass Spectrometry
amt1	antemortem tooth loss
AV	average surface visibility
C	counter catalog number
ca.	circa
CG	chronological group
cm	centimeters
CS	chipped stone catalog number
dia.	diameter
dims.	dimensions
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EDM	electronic distance measuring device
EH	Early Helladic
EM	Early Minoan
est.	estimate(d)
ext.	exterior
F	female
F	figurine catalog number
FN	Final Neolithic
g.	grams
h.	height
ha.	hectare
HM	Herakleion Museum
int.	interior
J	jewelry catalog number
km	kilometer
L	left
L.	length
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
M	male
m	meter
MA	mature adult
m.a.s.l.	meters above sea level
max.	maximum
MH	Middle Helladic
MISC	miscellaneous catalog number
mm	millimeter
MM	Middle Minoan
MNI	minimum number of individuals
MNV	minimum number of vessels
MSV	Warren, P. 1969. *Minoan Stone Vases*, Cambridge
NAD	notional average density

No.	number
om.	omada
OA	old adult
P	pottery catalog number
PA	prime adult
pers. com.	personal communication
pers. obs.	personal observation
pres.	preserved
R	right
S	seal catalog number
Sh	shell catalog number
SP	survey pottery catalog number
St.	stratum
ST	stone tool catalog number
SV	stone vessel catalog number
TAQ	terminus ante quem
TF	Type Fabric
th.	thickness
TPQ	terminus post quem
Tr.	trench
VERA	Vienna Environmental Research Accelerator
w.	width
wt.	weight
YA	young adult



Glossary

The text uses the following terms, which are specialized terminology or do not have exact English equivalents.

area	subdivision of a piece of landscape, usually defined by topographic features, or of an archaeological site
combing	decoration of a pot surface with a toothed comb, producing multiple parallel striations
context	homogenous archaeological deposit
hard standing	area of ground with a surfacing of rammed rubble or gravel
kouskouras	white marl
omada/omades	excavation unit(s)
phylax	guard
"poppies"	long metal pegs with a red ribbon tied around their top, used to denote significant points in a survey grid
pot boiler	large pebble, which is heated and dropped into a vessel of liquid as a way of heating it
Second Byzantine	A.D. 961–1204
skinoi	lentisk trees
slipped	solution of clay, which is used to coat a pottery vessel before it is fired
trackway	unsurfaced path
transect	minimal survey unit, in our case normally a one-meter-wide strip running from one side of a survey Field to the other
washed	suspension of clay or pigment brushed or poured over the surface of a pottery vessel before firing



Part I

Survey and Excavation



1

Survey of the Environs around the Tholos Cemetery

Keith Branigan and Andonis Vasilakis

It is obviously desirable in publishing and interpreting the results of excavations on a prehistoric cemetery to be able to relate the cemetery to the contemporary settlements that it may have served. The lower catchment of the Hagiopharango valley was surveyed in 1971–1972 (Blackman and Branigan 1977), but at that time the northern limit of the survey area was drawn at the Moni Odigitria itself, just 200 m south of the then unknown Early Minoan (EM) tholos cemetery! In order to put the excavated cemetery into its context, therefore, a second survey was undertaken in the summer of 2003 under the joint direction of Andonis Vasilakis and Keith Branigan, while cleaning excavations were also conducted at the cemetery by the former. Although the purpose of the survey was primarily to identify and record traces of human occupation of the landscape during the period of the cemetery's usage, material from all periods up to the 16th century A.D. was collected during the survey. This report records and discusses the material of all the periods represented in the surface collection, but, because the survey and its results were aimed primarily at informing the study of the Minoan cemetery, which forms the core of this volume, we have placed the important and detailed study of the Roman pottery by Jane Francis as an appendix at the end of the chapter.

Methodology

The area chosen for survey (Fig. 1) was determined by the limits of the previous survey, by the topography, and by the limitations of available time and resources. The total area enclosed within the boundaries of our permit was a little under 110 ha. In the south the boundary ran along the top of the steep slopes immediately south of the monastery, and then ran almost due west upslope. On the east the survey area was limited by the top of the steep slopes of the river gorge and followed the western fork of the river

until it hit the road to the monastery. At this point the survey boundary turned westward, following the northern foot of the hilly spur that flanks the west side of the monastery road. The boundary turned southwest before reaching Hagios Andreas, and then turned south and followed the line of two dry valleys to meet the southern boundary.

A preliminary visit to the area revealed that there were some areas within these boundaries that would be difficult to survey and probably would yield little information. The area of the monastery itself, with its buildings and paved yards, was one such, and others included some of the very steep slopes at the edge of the boundary and some areas of almost bare rock on high plateaus. Team members walked over these areas during the process of laying out the Field grid, and several of them were excluded from further investigation. We initially identified 61 ha. as our prime target area for intensive survey (Fig. 2). Three Fields (43, 50, and 57) were later left unsurveyed as experience in adjacent fields and a preliminary walk over these 3 ha. revealed much bare rock, little soil, and no artifact material. An additional three Fields (62, 63, and 64) were, however, laid out and surveyed. Team members visited and walked over other areas outside this core area, but they did not intensively survey. These areas included the 2 ha. immediately north and east of the monastery, the headland to the east of Field 7, the headland to the east of Fields 17 and 23, and the rock shelters to the west of Field 29.

The basic survey unit was the 100-m-square (1 ha.) artificial "field" (hereafter Field), the corners of which were laid out in a grid with the use of an electronic distance measuring device (EDM) in the week before the survey began. "Poppies" were set up at each corner of each Field. The rationale, problems, and advantages of the 1 ha. Field survey unit have been discussed in the light of experience with it in the Ziros survey (Branigan 1999) and are not discussed further here. The methodology was amended and improved on the basis of the Ziros experience. Similarly, because the 1970 Hagiopharango survey had included reports on geomorphology, soils, hydrology, and land use potential, no further work was undertaken in this sphere during the one year survey of the vicinity surrounding the Moni Odigitria.

The survey team consisted of 10 walkers/collectors, two supervisors (one on each wing), a surveyor, and a director (both of whom moved behind the team). The supervisors' tasks were first to identify the two farther corners of each Field and ensure that the two walkers on the flanks knew the path and direction to take. They then had to identify any logistical problems in the Field (mostly fences) and identify ways to overcome them and communicate this to their walkers. They were also required to ensure that the spacing between walkers was maintained. The surveyor's main task was to make a plot of vegetation and hard surfaces in each Field and to make an estimate of surface visibility. This was recorded on a *pro forma* as a sketch, together with other information—date, time, and direction of walking. The surveyor also recorded on the sketch of each Field any structural remains noted during walking/collecting. The director was responsible for organizing the field team, planning and executing each day's walking program, liaising with the surveyor, making an initial examination of any structural remains, and arranging the retrieval of bags of collected material.

Each Field was initially walked at 10-m intervals, and, wherever possible, all the Fields walked in a single day were walked in the same direction (usually on a north–south axis). Walkers were told to collect from a strip that was 1 m wide (transect), so that the sample of each Field was notionally 10%. Initially, walkers were told to collect all artifact material, but once they had learned to recognize Turkish and modern fabrics, these were left on the surface. Material was washed and examined during the afternoon and evening of each day, so that basic information about the quantity and the range of material from each Field was available as early as possible to inform decisions about further, more detailed investigations. Where these took place the methodology employed varied from one location to another, according to vegetational and topographical conditions and according to the questions being posed. These more intensive "on-site" investigations are all individually described below, together with the methods employed in each case. In addition to locations within the survey grid, at Vasilakis' request and in his presence, the examination of a small site located just outside the survey area (near Hagios Ioannes) was examined. Signs of recent illegal excavation had been observed there.

The material recovered during the survey—almost entirely pottery sherds—was examined,

studied, and recorded in one study season in 2004. As usual with surface survey material, the vast majority of sherds were weathered and abraded, and they were mostly coarse body sherds. All decorated sherds and rims, handles, bases, and other recognizable form elements were carefully examined, but much attention was also paid to fabrics. In this, the availability of the material from the earlier Hagiopharango survey and the excavation of the Hagia Kyriaki tholos tomb were of great help, as was also the previous intensive study of the material from the Moni Odigitria tholos cemetery. The material from these sites at least helped to identify with some confidence some of the EM and Middle Minoan (MM) fabrics. Vasilakis' wide experience with both Minoan and post-Minoan ceramics from Asterousia was also of immense value, and Jane Francis' expertise with the Greco-Roman pottery was of great significance. In addition, helpful advice and comments were offered by a number of visiting scholars at Knossos, including Don Evely, Colin Macdonald, Aleyis Van de Moortel, and Peter Warren. All dates ascribed to sherds, however, are the responsibility of the authors alone.

The Results of the First Collection Survey

In the description of the results of the survey that follows, each Field and the material recovered from it are briefly described. Each Field entry begins with a description of the main features of the Field in terms of vegetation (e.g., olive groves, rough scrub) and man-made features (e.g., road, paved area, bulldozed terrace) and concludes with the estimate of the average surface visibility (AV) in the Field. This is followed by a summary of the artifact material recorded from the Field, beginning with the total number of sherds (followed in parentheses by the number of sherds that were assigned a date). Other movable artifacts are noted, and any structural remains briefly described. Finally, the chronological pattern of the recovered material is summarized (for ware types, see Ch. 3).

Then the spatial distribution of the material across the survey area is considered, as revealed by the first collection, in four broad time periods—Prepalatial, Palatial and Postpalatial, Greco-Roman, and Medieval. The visibility factor in each Field is therefore taken into account, and the relative density of the pottery distribution within each period is examined, identifying areas of low, average, and high density in each.

Field 1

Much of the Field was occupied by a tarmac road and hard standing outside the monastery wall; there were also retaining walls and overgrown terraces. The only area of high visibility was the olive grove to the north. AV: 15%. Sherds: 62 (35). One fire-shattered "pot boiler" or polisher of dull purple sedimentary rock. The pre-Venetian pottery appears to be exclusively Minoan, and half of it is thought to be EM. This included a red burnished base sherd (EM I), two pieces of Hagios Onouphrios II Ware (EM IIA), and single sherds of probably EM II Red Color-Coated Ware and Coarse Painted Ware. Another 12 sherds were identified as probably EM by their fabric. The remaining 18 sherds appear to be Minoan fabric but cannot be dated more closely. The sherds were recovered from the areas both east and west of the road, suggesting a reasonably wide spread.

Field 2

Most of this Field was a small plantation with increasing amounts of ground vegetation toward the north. The southwest corner is open scrub. AV: 35%. Sherds: 16 (6). The handful of sherds include four probably Minoan, of which one is probably EM.

Field 3

This Field was mostly steeply sloping open scrub, rising to a rocky outcrop. AV: 65%. Sherds: 552 (509). Two threshing sledge blades in dark brown banded flint were also found. Traces of well-built walls run along the slope, and in places they run upslope. The quality of the walling, its relatively narrow width (50–60 cm), and the appearance of

upslope "returns" all suggest that these are the remains of terraced buildings rather than agricultural terrace walls. A wider (1 m), more roughly built wall could be traced for about 20 m, running downslope southeast of the rocky outcrop. Its location prevents it from being identified as a terrace wall, but it appears to have been part of a boundary system also identified in Fields 6, 62, and 64. In the vicinity of the house walls there was a considerable quantity of Second Byzantine (A.D. 961–1204) glazed sherds (28). Minoan pottery was more widely spread across the Field and included at least 17 sherds identified as EM, six MM, and six tripod legs of varying shape. Most of the remaining pre-modern sherds appeared to be Minoan. Further work was undertaken on this Field, and the pottery is discussed and described in greater detail below.

Field 4

Almost the whole of this Field was occupied by an olive grove, although the tarmac road crossed the southwest corner, and a deep ditch used as a tire dump projected into the Field. AV: 90%. Sherds: 297 (180). Modern sherds were plentiful, but the remaining material included a few Second Byzantine sherds, 50 (later) Roman sherds, and at least 26 Minoan sherds (found mostly in the western part of the Field).

Field 5

This Field was dominated by the continuation of the plantation from Field 2, with thick ground vegetation. The road crossed the northeast corner of the Field, beyond which was an olive grove. AV: 20%. Sherds: 70 (47). Two threshing sledge flints were found in the olive grove. The only recognizable material among the pre-modern sherds were seven Roman fragments, including a ribbed jug handle. These all came from the area of the olive grove.

Field 6

Field 6 was mostly open scrub on east- and northeast-facing slopes, having a portion of plantation having poor surface visibility in the northeast corner. AV: 60%. Sherds: 217 (151). A broad wall foundation (ca. 1 m wide) ran diagonally downslope from the southwest corner for about 40 m. Pre-modern pottery included a few Second Byzantine sherds, but it was mostly Minoan coarse ware. Only one EM fine ware sherd (Gray Burnished) was identified, but there were 10 coarse ware sherds of EM fabric.

There were four black washed wheelmade MM sherds and a tripod leg with a flattened oval section.

Field 7

Two thirds of this Field was open scrub sloping gently southwest where an olive grove occupied the rest of the Field. AV: 45%. Sherds: 51 (37). A small chunk of poor quality chert was also recovered. Of the pre-modern pottery, four sherds could be identified as Roman and 16 as Minoan, including one brown burnished EM I–II piece.

Field 8

The tholos cemetery occupied part of the southern end of Field 8. Much of the remainder of the Field was olive grove with good visibility, but a collapsed and overgrown boundary wall, a heavily used vehicle track, and heavily vegetated rising ground in the northeast corner reduced the average visibility. AV: 65%. Sherds: 60 (34). Other material included a dark gray flint threshing sledge blade, a fragment of human skull, and a fragment of bone. Of the pre-modern sherds, there were one Second Byzantine, three Roman, and eight Minoan (all coarse).

Field 9

This field was almost entirely olive grove, although the road crossed the northwest corner, beyond which was heavy scrub. AV: 85%. Sherds: 265 (141). A fragment of a glass stem (Roman?) and a threshing sledge blade were also recovered. The pre-modern pottery included 88 Roman sherds, of which 24 were fine wares, including four African Red Slip Ware rims and the rim of a flagon. Minoan sherds included eight wheelmade black washed

MM pieces and 40 coarse ware fragments. There were also five Second Byzantine sherds.

Field 10

This Field was quite varied terrain. Most of its southern half was occupied by the north end of the plantation found in Fields 2 and 5, flanked on the east by the road and the north by a disused trackway. The northern part of the Field was scrub covered steep hillside. AV: 25%. Sherds: 33 (23). The handful of pre-modern sherds included five Roman and 12 Minoan coarse ware.

Field 11

The southeast corner of the Field was occupied by the extreme northwest corner of the plantation with poor surface visibility. The rest of the Field was mostly scrub-covered, east-facing slopes. AV: 65%. Sherds: 17 (13). There were eight Minoan coarse ware sherds.

Field 12

Most of Field 12 was thick scrub, but an olive grove occupied the southwest corner, and a very steeply sided and thickly vegetated ravine projected into the east side. AV: 50%. Sherds: 30 (26). A broken limestone rubber (worn, slightly concave) was also recovered. The small quantity of pottery included 16 coarse Minoan sherds and seven Roman (of which six were fine ware).

Field 13

Field 13 consisted of three contrasting areas. The northwest was olive grove, the south and east heavy scrub, and the northeast was a steeply sided ravine with dense, impenetrable vegetation. AV: 55%. Sherds: 34 (27). The small sample of sherds included two Second Byzantine, four Roman, and 14 Minoan, mostly coarse ware body sherds but including a fine LM IIIB everted rim, a MM handled bowl, a tripod leg, and four EM II sherds.

Field 14

The tarmac road ran north–south and divided Field 14 almost equally. To the east of the road was an olive grove, through which ran two hardened trackways, while west of the road the ground sloped upward and was covered with light scrub. AV: 65%. Sherds: 45 (27). The small sample of sherds included three Roman and 10 Minoan coarse ware pieces.

Field 15

This Field included the small, flat top of a rounded, steeply sided hill, the slopes of which were covered with vegetation of varying density. AV: 50%. Sherds: 34 (34). A saddle quern was also recorded on the summit of the hill where small pits had been dug and fragments of narrow walling could be seen. There was no modern pottery, and only one possible Roman sherd. The rest of the pottery was Minoan, including a MM pithos rim, one wheelmade sherd in fine ware, five sherds in Hagios Onouphrios I fabric (but with no trace of painted decoration), and three joining sherds from the rim of a collared jar, probably EM I/IIA. Further investigations were conducted on this site and are reported below.

Field 16

This was essentially a small, dry, south-facing valley flanked by moderately steep slopes covered with light scrub and occasional shrubs. AV: 60%. Sherds: 18 (14). The only identifiable sherds were 11 Minoan coarse ware, one MM brown washed wheelmade, an EM brown washed handmade, and one EM coarse painted handmade.

Field 17

This Field was divided diagonally almost in half, that to the east of the fence was gently sloping open scrubland, and that to the west was an abandoned arable field covered with tall weeds. AV: 40%. Sherds: 53 (46), and one piece of tile. Short lengths of three well-embedded house walls

(apparently part of a single small building) were seen toward the southeast corner of the Field. The pre-modern sherds were almost equally split between Roman and Minoan, the latter including only coarse ware body sherds.

Field 18

This Field was occupied by an olive grove on the west side and abandoned, heavily overgrown, arable fields on the east. Hardened trackways ran along the southern and western sides. AV: 40%. Sherds: 96 (94). There were 44 Roman sherds (mostly fine ware) and 33 Minoan (all coarse ware but for one MM black washed sherd).

Field 19

About 40% of this Field was occupied by an olive grove (on the west), divided in two by a trackway which ran from the southwest to the northeast corner of the Field. The ravine in Field 13 continued into the southwest corner of Field 19 and was flanked to the north by quite dense scrub. Beyond the track to the north was a young conifer plantation planted in plowed soil. AV: 55%. Sherds: 122 (114). The sherds included about 80 Minoan, mostly coarse ware among which 15 were identified by fabric as EM. There were two tripod legs and a fragment of a MM III–Late Minoan (LM) I high-handled hole-mouth jar. There were also about 20 Roman sherds.

Field 20

The eastern two thirds of this Field were occupied by an olive grove, separated by the tarmac road from the sloping scrubland to the west. AV: 75%. Sherds: 50 (50). A total of 35 Minoan coarse ware sherds (including eight thought to be MM) and eight Roman sherds were identified.

Field 21

An east-facing slope of increasing steepness to the west levelled onto a summit and was covered with light scrub. AV: 60%. Sherds: 207 (206). Most of the sherds (60%) came from transects 1–3 on the summit and steep slope at the west. All were Minoan but for one Modern, and they included recognizable MM forms and fabrics. Transects 1–3 were intensively rewalked and an intensive collection took place on the summit where the remains of a building were clearly visible. Further details are provided below.

Field 22

Most of Field 22 was a west-facing slope, quite steep, with light scrub, but on the east of the Field was the flat summit of the hill (extending into Field 21). AV: 55%. Sherds: 109 (108). The pottery, mostly (80%) on the upper slopes just below the summit, was all Minoan but for one Modern sherd.

Field 23

Most of the eastern half of this Field was occupied by an olive grove flanked to the north and west by abandoned and much-overgrown arable fields. The extreme northeast area was covered with quite thick scrub. AV: 55%. Sherds: 169 (164). There were 30 Minoan sherds including two tripod legs, but the pottery was dominated by fine reddish-orange Roman wares.

Field 24

This Field had extremely varied vegetation—olive grove, grassy formerly arable land, thorn bush scrub, and light scrub and grass—and a hardened trackway leading to the small church of Hagios Georgios with its compound and abandoned garden. AV: 50%. Sherds: 268 (265). Minoan material was dominant with almost 140 sherds identified, coming mostly from transects 5–9 on the bottom slopes of a low, flat-topped hill. There were many sherds of MM coarse ware, two tripod legs, and a fragment of a pithos with a finger-impressed cordon. There were also almost 80 Roman sherds, found mostly on the flat ground of transects 1–4.

Field 25

This Field was mostly the eastern and southern slopes and the summit of a low, flat-topped hill. The lower slopes had been plowed and young trees planted, but the upper slopes were steep and densely covered with shrubs. The summit was very densely vegetated. AV: 20%. Sherds: 192 (192). All the identifiable material was Minoan, including much MM and some LM. The field was rewalked, and a further visit was paid to this hill in September 2005, and the results are given below.

Field 26

Field 26 was divided into eastern and western halves by the tarmac road. East of the road the west slope of the low hill was very densely covered with scrub and shrubs, but to the west a gentle east-facing slope was only sparsely vegetated. AV: 40%. Sherds: 52 (50). Apart from two probable Roman sherds, the pottery was Minoan, from six or seven EM through MM to at least MM III.

Field 27

A uniform Field of lightly vegetated east-facing slope rises more steeply and is more overgrown at the western edge. AV: 40%. Sherds: 14 (13). Minoan coarse ware, including two cooking pot rims and a MM jug base.

Field 28

The top end of a small dry valley has slopes that are quite steep and moderately vegetated. AV: 40%. Sherds: 39 (22). Remains of a modern rectangular lean-to structure against a rock face in the northwest corner were the focus of the Modern sherd spread. Elsewhere, a few MM and Second Byzantine sherds were collected.

Field 29

The upper west slope of the dry valley and the plateau above it were within Field 29, which also contained open scrub. AV: 45%. Sherds: 16 (1). At the extreme southwest corner a low rock face had remains of small rock shelters, and further shelters were noted and briefly explored to the west. They revealed no artifact material at all. Sherds were few and very small and abraded but for a single Minoan jar base.

Field 30

Most of the central areas of Field 30 were occupied by olives, with the northwest corner well grassed. The eastern edge of the Field was occupied by a terrace wall, flanking trackway, and, beyond that, rough scrubland. AV: 65%. Sherds: 283 (247) and 16 pieces of tile. Almost 190 sherds of Roman pottery were recovered from this Field, mostly on transects 6–9, but there were also 20 Minoan, mostly coarse ware, sherds.

Field 31

The church of Hagios Georgios stood at the southern end of this Field, surrounded by its relict gardens and olive grove. To the west of the church steep slopes leading to a small ravine were densely covered with scrub and in places with impassable shrubs. To the north abandoned arable land was overgrown. AV: 30%. Sherds: 208 (194) and a dozen pieces of tile. A collapsed, two-room, modern, stone building stood just southwest of the church on the slopes. All but a dozen sherds and all the tile fragments were collected from transects 1–5 on the east side of the Field. Most (about 70) were Roman, but there were a dozen Minoan sherds.

Field 32

This Field was very difficult to walk, being mostly steep slopes/ravine covered with very dense vegetation and only the edge of an olive grove on the extreme west edge providing decent visibility. AV: 10%. Sherds: 21 (17). A dozen Minoan sherds included five MM.

Field 33

The western two-thirds of Field 33 was occupied by a lightly vegetated east-facing slope, bordered on the east by the tarmac road. East of the road was the corner of an olive grove and the densely vegetated northwest corner of the flat-topped hill. AV: 54%. Sherds: 60 (60). Just over half of the sherds were collected from a section exposed by the road construction. This section was later drawn and collected, and this is reported below. All the pottery was Minoan, mostly MM, but a handmade hole-mouth jar appeared to be EM.

Field 34

This Field was occupied by an east-facing slope, steeper at the west side and with a low rock face on the north side. Surface vegetation was generally quite light. AV: 60%. Sherds: 10 (7). A silver coin of A.D. 1659 was found on the western edge of the Field. Although there was little pottery, it included three sherds of Final Neolithic (FN).

Field 35

Field 35 was a shallow bowl with lightly vegetated slopes all around it. AV: 55%. Sherds: 51 (47). All the identifiable pottery was Minoan and included three small sherds of Final Neolithic.

Field 36

This Field was a bare, flat plateau with little soil, much bare rock, and poor scrub. AV: 40%. Sherds: 19 (11). Most of the few pre-modern sherds were small, but they included six Minoan coarse ware fragments.

Field 37

A steep rocky slope separated the eastern half of the Field—a gentle, lightly vegetated slope—from the western half, which was a flat shelf of land with moderate surface vegetation. AV: 45%. Sherds: 121 (118) and five pieces of tile. But for three Minoan sherds, the pottery was Roman.

Field 38

A terrace wall running southwest to northeast divided grassy, relict, arable land in the east from an area of well-spaced young trees to the west. On the western edge of the Field a rock face and small ravine were overlooked by a scrub-covered flat shelf. AV: 40%. Sherds: 56 (48) and three pieces of tile. A rim from a fine small glass bowl (Roman) was recovered. Minoan sherds slightly outnumbered Roman.

Field 39

The tarmac road ran diagonally from southwest to northeast. To the east of it was flat, well-vegetated scrubland, and to the west a more open east-facing slope. AV: 40%. Sherds: 54 (53). Pottery was found mostly in the northeast quarter and included about 30 Minoan and 20 Roman sherds.

Field 40

An east-facing slope was partly grassed and partly scrub. AV: 40%. Sherds: 9 (8). A handful of Minoan coarse ware.

Field 41

An east-facing slope, across which ran an old trackway, was covered with moderate scrub. AV: 50%. Sherds: 27 (27). The sherds were all Minoan, including seven identified as Final Neolithic. This Field was rewalked, and the results are discussed below.

Field 42

A flat plateau crossed by a new trackway that was cleared down to bedrock were contained within Field 42, which was also covered with moderate

scrub. AV: 50%. Sherds: 16 (15). The sherds were all Minoan coarse ware.

Field 43

Not surveyed (see above, p. 4).

Field 44

Field 44 was almost flat and mostly lightly grassed since plowing/bulldozing for planting trees? A steep slope intruded into the northwest corner of the Field. AV: 65%. Sherds: 269 (250), and three pieces of tile. Most of the pottery was Roman, but 53 sherds were identified as Minoan, including three EM.

Field 45

A steep rock face on the east fronted a flat area of scrubland. AV: 55%. Sherds: 47 (43). There were a dozen Roman sherds, the rest being Minoan coarse ware.

Field 46

The western two-thirds of this Field were a scrub-covered, east-facing slope that was flanked on the east by the tarmac road. Beyond the road was flat, lightly vegetated ground and the corner of an olive grove. AV: 50%. Sherds: 4 (4). This Field was remarkably unproductive!

Field 47

An east-facing slope of increasing steepness to the west had moderate scrub cover. AV: 50%. Sherds: 24 (24). Most of the sherds were Minoan coarse ware, but there were four Final Neolithic sherds and a base sherd from a fine black-glazed juglet(?) probably of Hellenistic date.

Field 48

This Field contained the steep south-facing slope of the highest hill surveyed and the southern end of the hill's flat summit. Vegetation was moderate, but only a little soil was on the summit. AV: 45%. Sherds: 18 (17). On the summit of the hill, traces of a perimeter wall were noted, and at one point walls were set at right angles to it. Sherds were mostly Minoan coarse ware, three of which could be ascribed to the Final Neolithic by fabric. The summit of the hill fell mostly in Field 55, which was subjected to further investigation, and the walls found in Field 48 are further described and discussed below along with those in Field 55.

Field 49

This Field had mostly flat ground with modest scrub cover. AV: 50%. Sherds: 4 (3). Another unproductive Field.

Field 50

Not surveyed (see above, p. 4).

Field 51

A flat terrace was partly bulldozed for planting trees; it was backed by a steep rocky slope to the west. AV: 50%. Sherds: 198 (189), and eight pieces of tile. A flint flake was found on transect 9. There were almost 130 Roman sherds (including Arretine and African Red Slipped Ware), but there were also 60 Minoan including MM.

Field 52

This Field was mostly occupied by an olive grove with lightly scrub-covered slopes to the east and a steeper rocky slope to the southeast. AV: 80%. Sherds: 30 (29). The sherds were mostly Minoan

coarse ware but included three MM color-coated sherds and four Roman. A black-slipped base-ring sherd may be Hellenistic.

Field 53

Mostly open scrub on an east-facing slope was flanked to the east by the tarmac road, beyond which was the edge of an olive grove. AV: 55%. Sherds: 4 (4). The only notable sherd was a piece of black-slipped base-ring ware, which joined that from Field 52. They came from the same olive grove.

Field 54

This Field was an east-facing slope of increasing steepness to the west, with light vegetation. AV: 55%. Sherds: 13 (10). Eight Minoan coarse ware sherds (one Final Neolithic?) and two Roman. Part of this Field was rewalked in the further investigation of Field 55 and is reported below.

Field 55

Most of Field 55 was the flat summit of a hill with thin soil and moderate scrub cover. The western slope of the hill was similar, but the steep northern slope was more lightly vegetated. AV: 60%. Sherds: 8 (8). A perimeter wall could be traced around the summit of the hill. The sherds were all small and abraded but appeared to be Minoan coarse wares. The perimeter wall and the absence of any post-prehistoric pottery suggested that further investigation should take place in this Field, and this is reported below.

Field 56

A west-facing slope had light scrub vegetation. AV: 50%. Sherds: 6 (6). The sherds, all Minoan coarse ware (one FN?), were small and abraded. The eastern part of the Field was rewalked as part of the further work in Field 55 and is reported below.

Field 57

Not surveyed (see above, p. 4).

Field 58

A shallow east-facing slope had light vegetation. AV: 45%. Sherds: 0.

Field 59

North-facing slopes had light vegetation. AV: 55%. Sherds: 8 (7). Four Roman and three Minoan coarse ware sherds.

Field 60

A shallow east-facing slope had moderate scrub cover and was fringed by the road and a parking area. AV: 35%. Sherds: 1 (0).

Field 61

Sloping ground had moderate scrub cover except the northwest corner where an olive grove had thick grass ground cover. AV: 45%. Sherds: 0.

Field 62

This Field was difficult to survey because it was fragmentary with patchy scrub, steep ravine sides with dense vegetation, impenetrable shrub, and the corners of two olive groves. The northern edge of the Field included the southern part of the tholos cemetery. AV: 35%. Sherds: 53 (41). No sherds were collected from within the excavated area around the tholoi. Sherds were mostly Minoan coarse ware but included one MM brown color-coated sherd and one EM everted rim with a brown wash, as well as eight Roman sherds.

Field 63

An east-facing slope was quite rocky but with light vegetation. AV: 60%. Sherds: 86 (85). This field and Field 64 were added to the survey in the closing days in order to explore the western fringe of the pottery spread in Fields 3 and 6. They were both walked at 15 m intervals by a team of six. The sherds were all Minoan and included about 20 recognizable MM pieces.

Field 64

The northern half of the field was a shallow slope to the north, fringed by a steeper slope to the west. The southern half was a steep south-facing slope. Vegetation was thin on the south slope and thicker on the north. AV: 50%. Sherds: 214 (207). The wide, roughly built wall seen in Field 3 was picked up in Field 64 from the corner of the rocky knoll and continued westward before turning north and running slightly downslope. This was the same wall as also appeared in Field 6. In addition, terrace walls and traces of small house walls were seen on the slopes at the western edge of Field 64. Sherds were separately collected from here, and a report on this material is given below. Finally, a few traces of terrace walls were seen on the steep southern slope. The sherds from Field 64 were almost all Minoan and included about 20 recognizable MM sherds, three tripod legs, and three pithos rims. About 80% of this pottery was found on the southern slope. This material is discussed further below.

The Spatial Distribution of Sherds in the Survey Area

In order to interpret the evidence of the sherds found lying on the surface in the first collection, we examined all the sherds and ascribed as many as possible, with varying degrees of confidence, to one of four periods—Prepalatial, Palatial and Postpalatial Minoan, Greco-Roman, and Medieval. The sherds of each period were then totalled, and an average density per Field for each period was established by dividing the total number of sherds of each period by the number of Fields surveyed. This was then converted into an adjusted or notional average density (NAD) by multiplying the figure by two (because the average visibility across the 61 Fields was 50%). The NAD for the four periods varied a great deal—Prepalatial was four, Palatial and Postpalatial was 70, Greco-Roman was 38, and Medieval was two. The Medieval figure, one suspects, was partly depressed by some field walkers declining to pick up glazed sherds, which, at a glance, they assumed to be modern, despite instructions to the contrary. But even allowing for this possibility the figure is surprisingly low.

The notional density for each individual Field, in each period, was then calculated taking into account the visibility in each Field. The notional density in each period in each Field was then compared to the notional average density for that period and rated accordingly. The ratings given were as follows:

Very High	more than 10x the NAD
High	between 6x and 10x the NAD
Above Average	between 2x and 5x the NAD
Average	between 50% and 2x the NAD
Low	between 0% and 50% of the NAD

The Fields with above-average (and higher) ratings were plotted onto the survey map and considered along with any other evidence (structural remains and non-ceramic materials) to identify potential "hot spots" or sites that might repay further, more intensive work. The plots for the Prepalatial and Palatial periods are shown in Figures 3 and 4.

The principal focus of Prepalatial material appears to be in Fields 1, 3, and 19, with above average density also recorded in adjacent fields (4, 6, and 13/26). The above-average density in Field 15 is associated with some structural remains, while the above-average densities in Fields 41 and 47 are

notable for their FN/EM I sherds. Palatial material is concentrated in Fields 3 and 25, each with an above-average density in an adjoining field (64 and 24, respectively). There are traces of structural remains on both sites. Field 21 has significant structural remains associated with its above-average density. The focus of Greco-Roman material was very clearly the long stretch of flat land above and immediately west of the river course in Fields 23, 30, 31, 37, 44, and 51 (all high density), with above-average density recorded in the adjacent Fields 18 and 24 (Fig. 5). The only notable concentration of Medieval sherds was in Field 3 (very high), with an above-average density in the adjoining Field 6. There was a lesser concentration in Fields 4 (high) and 9 (above average).

Second Collections and Intensive Survey on Selected Sites

Using the data generated by the first (10%) sampling, a number of Fields or specific locations within Fields were selected for further investigation. Since the principal purpose of the survey was to place the tholos cemetery in its contemporary context, priority was given to locations used in the Minoan period. The results from each Field or Site are described and discussed below, and an assessment made of the significance of each location. Most of the pottery, even diagnostic sherds, does not lend itself to illustration, but a small selection of material is shown in Figure 6 (Final Neolithic), Figures 7 and 8 (from Sites 3A, 15A, 21A, 25A, and Kephali Hagios Ioannes), and Figure 9 (Roman). Where structural remains allow us to identify a specific location, we refer to a Site (identified by its Field number followed by the letter A), e.g., Site 25A; otherwise locations are referred to simply by their Field number. Cataloged sherds are identified by the letter S for survey and the Field or Site number (or KHI for Site 70) followed by a catalog number, thus **SP3/12** or **KHI/64**.

Two of the highest concentrations of Prepalatial material, in Fields 1 and 19, were not investigated further, and the reasons for this must be stated. In both cases the proportion of Prepalatial material was not recognized in the initial sorting of the material in the field, but only subsequently during the more detailed examination of the pottery in the study season. This was because the Prepalatial material was mostly (in the case of Field 19, entirely) represented by coarse wares.

Site 3A/64A

Sherds and structural remains are spread across Fields 3 and 64 (to the southwest of the tholos cemetery), which can be divided into five discreet areas. Area 1 is a steep east-facing slope overlooking the monastery. Area 2 is a rocky outcrop at the top of this slope, and Area 3 is a very steep south-facing slope running westward from below the rock outcrop. Area 4 is a gentle northeasterly-facing slope located north and west of the rocks, and Area 5 is the rocky lower slopes of a steep east-facing hill that fringes the west side of Area 4 (Field 64).

Area 1 revealed traces of both along-slope and upslope walls, mostly about 60–70 cm wide, which appear to be the remains of terraced buildings. The area was quite thickly strewn with sherds, the majority of which were of the Second Byzantine period. It appears that the principal settlement area in the Medieval period was on this slope overlooking the site of the monastery. This area was not further investigated nor was the area of the rocky outcrop, which revealed neither structural remains nor notable quantities of sherds.

Area 3, given its steepness, yielded a large quantity of sherds in the first collection and was rewalked at 7 m intervals. Traces of along-slope walls were noted, some of large blocks. These look like terrace walls, but given the quantity of pottery recovered there it seems likely that the terraces were for occupation rather than agriculture, and there were occasional suggestions of narrower along-slope and

upslope walls. Altogether about 550 sherds were collected from the slope. Prepalatial material included:

SP3/1. Sherd of Hagios Onouphrios II Ware.

SP3/2. Sherd of Hagios Onouphrios II Ware.

SP3/3. Sherd of Hagios Onouphrios II Ware.

SP3/4. Sherd of Hagios Onouphrios II Ware.

SP3/5. Sherd of Hagios Onouphrios II Ware.

SP3/6. Fragments of an EM II fine buff-burnished jug.

SP3/7. EM II goblet base.

SP3/8. EM II–III red-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/9. EM II–III red-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/10. EM II–III red-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/11. EM II–III spouted bowl.

SP3/12 (Fig. 7). EM III–MM II shallow bowl.

About 40 coarse ware sherds also were confidently identified as Prepalatial. Five tripod feet (Fig. 7:**SP3/**), ranging from circular to flattened oval in profile, probably include some Prepalatial examples. Distinctive Palatial material was scarcer but included:

SP3/13. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed vessel.

SP3/14. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed vessel.

SP3/15. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed vessel.

SP3/16. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed vessel.

SP3/17. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed vessel.

SP3/18 (Fig. 7). Brown-washed, closed-mouth jar probably of MM IIB.

SP3/19. Late conical cup of MM IIIA:1.

SP3/20. Handled, black-slipped cup, possibly LM I.

SP3/21. Fragment from an LM III stirrup-jar spout.

Some of the coarse ware fabrics paralleled those found on Site 21A, which was predominantly MM in date (see below).

Area 4 was also rewalked at 7 m intervals and yielded a further 78 sherds but no traces of house walls. The total number of sherds from this area (which includes the north part of Field 64) was about 370, most of which were Minoan. Distinctive sherds were all MM, including:

SP3/22. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/23. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/24. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/25. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/26. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/27. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/28. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/29. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/30. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/31. Sherd of wheelmade, black-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/32. Sherd of wheelmade, red-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/33. Sherd of wheelmade, red-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/34. Sherd of wheelmade, red-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/35. Sherd of wheelmade, red-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/36. Sherd of wheelmade, red-washed cup/bowl.

SP3/37. Fragment from a Barbotine jug.

SP3/38. Bridge-spouted bowl.

There were also four tripod feet and a pithos rim. Coarse ware fabrics again paralleled those from Site 21A.

Finally, on the western fringe of Area 5, we located three terraces on which were the remains of house walls. The walls were about 50 cm wide, and on the lower terrace traces of three parallel walls were along the slope separated by spaces of 1.7 m and 2.3 m. The middle terrace had a front and rear wall and an upslope return; the building would have been about 7.5 m wide, but its length is unknown. The third terrace was fringed by a wall, which ran upslope for about 12 m before turning northward along the slope. It was traced for another 15 m. No house walls were seen on this third terrace. Only 15 sherds were recovered (from the lower and middle terrace), one of which was modern. The remainder were mostly Minoan coarse wares but included:

SP3/39. Wheelmade, brown-washed sherd.

SP3/40. Rim of a bowl that looks like FN–EM I in form, but it is made of a hard, dull red fabric.

The coarse ware sherds were mostly made of a pinkish-buff fabric with small red and brown grits.

The fabric seems to be of EM–MM I date in the Hagiopharango.

The interpretation of Site 3/64 is that occupation there began no later than EM II and was initially focused on the steep south-facing slope (Area 3). One or two small houses may have been built just above this on the terraces in Field 64. In the MM period occupation expanded onto the flatter ground west and north of the rocks (Area 4), though the steep slope seems still to have been occupied. Distinctive later material is scarce, but occupation into the Second Palace Period cannot be ruled out.

Site 15A

Site 15A is the flat top of a small, rounded hill about 250 m northwest of the tholos cemetery; the summit is only about 25 m across (Pl. 1). A small pit revealed that looters had examined the site and exposed traces of a flimsy wall, but they had not pursued the excavation. A second collection on the site was conducted at 2 m intervals and traces of three structures were recorded.

Structure 1 was a 50-cm-wide wall traced for about 5.5 m near the northeast edge of the summit; no return walls were visible.

Structure 2, just northeast of the center of the summit, was revealed by the looters' pit. Walls about 40 cm wide were traced on three sides, indicating a small building 2 m wide and at least 2 m long. A saddle quern lay inside the structure (Pl. 2).

Structure 3, in the southwest quadrant of the summit, was at least 5.5 m long and 2 m wide and comprised at least two rooms. Three walls, all apparently well built and about 50 cm wide, were traced.

The second collection added 123 sherds to the 34 recovered in the initial survey, but 84 of these were very small and indeterminate. Of the remainder, seven were Medieval and the rest Minoan. Diagnostic sherds included:

SP15/1 (Fig. 7). Three joining sherds from a collared jar with a cream wash on a soft, orangish-red fabric with few small rounded grits. A painted red band runs around the shoulder. EM IB–IIA.

SP15/2. Five sherds in the local Hagios Onouphrios I fabric (pinkish-buff with small red and brown grits and a thin white wash).

SP15/3. One red-washed and one brown-washed sherd in handmade buff fabric, probably EM II–III.

SP15/4. Rim in Cooking Pot Ware from a scoop or bowl.

SP15/5 (Fig. 7). Rim from a large jar in hard buff-brown fabric, MM?

SP15/6. Sherd from a pithos with a slashed cordon.

SP15/7. Sherd in wheelmade white fine fabric, MM?

The remaining sherds were coarse wares including two in a sandy gray fabric (EM), and about two dozen in the pale buff-white coarse fabric common in the tholos cemetery. The coarse fabrics found on the adjacent MM Site 21A were almost entirely absent.

Other finds included the saddle quern already mentioned, which was made of a fine limestone block about 40 cm long, a worn oval "rubber" in a gray sedimentary rock (12 x 9 cm), and a broken pottery "rubber" in a soft dark red fabric (8 x 6.5 x 2.5 cm).

Site 15A was the site of a single small house with one or two outbuildings, established probably in EM I, and probably occupied in EM II. The two MM sherds may well be strays from the adjacent Site 21A.

Site 21A

Site 21A is situated at the southern end of the flattened summit of a north–south ridge, about 350 m northwest of the tholos cemetery (Pl. 1). It was noted during the laying out of the Field grid, with sherds and walls clearly visible. It was obviously a site to which we would have to return, and during the initial survey no sherds were collected from the area of the walls. Subsequently we laid out a 1-m grid over the area in which walls were visible (measuring 10 x 11 m), and sherds were then collected and recorded in each grid square. A plan of the visible walls was also made (Fig. 10).

The visible wall remains are best preserved on the south and west sides (Pl. 3), but other walls were clearly visible. The least well preserved appears to be the east wall. The walls are well built with a facing of stone blocks and a core of small lumps of stone and earth. They are mostly 75 cm wide, although three inside walls are nearer 60 cm, and one is 90 cm. A building about 10 x 9.5 m is clearly defined, with at least six discreet interior spaces or rooms (Fig. 10).

Room 1 lies on the flat summit, but the other rooms are all on the steep east-facing slope, and the difference between "floor" level in Room 1 and in Room 6 is more than 3 m. It seems certain, therefore, that there must have been two floor levels in the building. Given that the "floors" in Rooms 3 to 6 appear to be sloping, and given the shape of Rooms 5 and 6, we think it likely that these rooms were basement rooms or cellars and that above them lay the principal rooms of the house. There could have been an open veranda over Room 6, but that is entirely speculative. It seems likely that the main entrance to the building was in the west wall, possibly at the almost central point where no wall stones could be seen. There may well have been a doorway into the cellars in the east wall, but direct access to the cellars from inside may have been through a low door in the northeast recess of Room 1. In this case Room 2 would have been a ramp (or possibly have had wooden steps) leading down to Rooms 4 to 6.

In addition to loose sherds, the remains of two large storage jars were noted. They had been truncated, but the bases still stood, apparently embedded firmly in situ in Rooms 1 and 4. The base of each was about 25 cm in diameter. Sherds from these vessels were collected separately from other sherds in these grid squares and not included in the grid square totals. Altogether 39 sherds of Vase A in Room 1 were collected, and 16 (generally larger) sherds from Vase B in Room 4. Sadly, no rim or handle sherds were found in the vicinity.

From the grid squares we collected 267 other sherds, an average of 2.4 per m^2. There were no sherds at all in 23 squares, but the number in other squares varied from 1 to 12. The distribution of the sherds is shown in Figure 11. The sherds from each square were bagged and recorded separately, and the sherds were divided into fine wares, large jars/storage vessels, and cooking pots. Only 96 sherds could be attributed to one of these categories, the remainder being small coarse-ware sherds that might have come from a variety of vessels (bowls, dishes, platters, jugs, small jars, etc.). The distribution of sherds in these three categories is also shown on Figure 11.

The distributions shown in Figure 11 suggest some tentative conclusions. It must be kept in mind that, if it is correct to envisage an upper floor over Rooms 2 to 6, then the sherds found there will include any material from rooms on the upper floor. However, given that those rooms will have had artificial floors of wood (perhaps covered with clay?) and must surely have had more daylight than the basement rooms, it seems likely that they will have been kept cleaner of broken debris than these cellars, and "contamination" of the deposits in these rooms will have been relatively limited. Almost 59% of the sherds were found in the northern half of the building. Sherds from large storage vessels were concentrated in this part of the building (85%), whereas 66% of the fine ware sherds were found in the southern half. The quantity of sherds and their relative density in each of the rooms is approximately as follows:

Room	Area	Sherds	Density
1	20 m^2	38	1.9
2	5.5 m^2	15	2.7
3	12 m^2	8	0.7
4	12 m^2	26	2.2
5	6.5 m^2	14	2.2

It will be seen that the only significant variation from the average density of 2.4 sherds per m^2 is in Room 3, which has very few sherds. Perhaps this room was used for the storage of products that did not require pottery containers. The north side of the building, and in particular Rooms 4 and 6, seems to have been the focus of storage in large jars, a point emphasized by the two jar bases found in situ as much as by the distribution of jar sherds.

In addition to the careful collection of the sherds within the walls of the building, we also undertook a second collection from a 50-m-wide strip immediately downslope of the building, collecting at 5 m intervals and in 20-m-long units over a distance of 100 m. This collection was undertaken partly to increase the size of the pottery sample—and hopefully increase the quantity of diagnostic sherds—and partly to identify the spread of debris from the building. Sherds were quite prolific over the entire length of the Field, but they were particularly numerous between 30 and 70 m along the transects. The building is located between 45 and 55 m along the transect, so it appears that debris from the building spread out in a fan as it tumbled downslope. A total of 377 sherds were collected in this operation, making a total of 544 sherds from the site. The sherd material, as usual, is mostly