Middle helladic and early Mycenaean mortuary customs in the southern and western Peloponnese

Michael John Boyd

PhD
The University of Edinburgh
1999
Volume II
Contents

Volume II

Appendix One

Site catalogue

Format of Catalogue Entries

Site Catalogue

1: Finikoúnda 282
2: Evangelismós 285
3: Methóni Nisakoúli 286
4: Mesohóri 291
5: Yálova Paleohóri 293
6: Píla 294
7: Dhiódhià & Stréfi 296
8: Handrinóú Kissós 297
9: Karatsádhes Loutró 311
10: Gouvalári (Koukounára) 313
11: Koukounára Akónes 348
12: Koukounára: From Fitíés to Livadhíti 352
13: Kamínia 362
14: Papoúlia Ayos Ioánnis 380
15: Plátanos 401
16: Korifásio 405
17: Voídhokiliá 409
18: Tragána Violútsa 434
19: Solinári Tourlidhítsa 444
20: Tragána Kapouríka 449
21: Léfki 450
22: Pírgos Tsouká 460
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Volimídia</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Englianós</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Dhivári</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Halkiás</td>
<td>533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Roútsi</td>
<td>534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Kánałos</td>
<td>552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Válta</td>
<td>553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Nihória</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Dhára</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Paleohória</td>
<td>585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Milióti Ayos Ilías</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Kámos</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Peristeriá</td>
<td>593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Kopánaki</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Málthi</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Vasilikó Xeróvrisi</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Psári</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Filiatrá Ayos Hristóforos</td>
<td>671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Filiatrá Stómio</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Kaplání</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Káto Samikó Klidhí</td>
<td>678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Kakóvatos</td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Makrísiá Arnikatáraho</td>
<td>704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Makrísiá Ayos Ilías</td>
<td>705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Miráka</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Mátira</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Armátova</td>
<td>716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Voúrvoura Análipsis</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Pellána</td>
<td>724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Menelaion</td>
<td>736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Vafió</td>
<td>741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Amikléon</td>
<td>752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Yeráki</td>
<td>753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Ayos Stéfanos</td>
<td>755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>EpidHAVros Limirá</td>
<td>768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Pavlopétrí</td>
<td>772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Sikéa</td>
<td>774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Krokeéés</td>
<td>777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Kíthira</td>
<td>778</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix Two

Unexcavated, undated and LHIII tombs

INTRODUCTION 788
Undated tholos tomb 788
Unexcavated tholos tombs 789
Tholos tombs thought to date to LHIII or later 790
Miscellaneous other possible funerary sites 792
Late Mycenaean chamber tombs 794

Appendix Three 806

A general consideration of the middle helladic ‘tumulus phenomenon’

Appendix Four 810

General Illustrations

Bibliography 833
Appendix One

Site catalogue

Format of catalogue entries

Most site catalogues provide no more than a few lines of information per site (for example, Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979; Siriopoulos 1995). The aim is usually extensive and complete coverage. Here the scope is rather more restricted. Only sites that might be dated MH-LHII and which fall within the modern nòmos (county) boundaries for Messinía, Lakonia and Ilía are included, and only those sites which seem to be funerary in nature. This includes one or two sites that are primarily settlement sites but which have associated burials.

In general each entry covers architectural details as well as stratigraphy (where any information is available). Each entry also attempts to reconstruct from the excavation report what was found at each site. Without detailed contextual information this often amounts to reconstructing context from narrative details - and here 'context' can only be broadly defined. Given the emphasis throughout this thesis of material culture (including architecture) as an actively constituted element of practice, the recovery of context for material culture is of central importance to interpretation.

Each catalogue entry is structured under the following headings:

- Heading and site number.
- 1:200,000 map reference: since I have visited as many of these sites as possible, and as many of them are difficult to find, directions are included for the benefit of future researchers. Older publications (for example, the Gazetteer: Hope Simpson & Dickinson
1979) make reference to the 1:100,000 map produced by the British during the war; but many village names have changed, and the 1:200,000 series is much more up to date with roads. Moreover, the 1:200,000 series is the smallest scale map which the public may buy freely in Athens. A complete set is maintained in the library of the British School at Athens.

- Description: a one line description of the relevant elements at the site.
- Directions: where I have visited the site, I provide here complete directions, usually assuming that one is using a car.
- References: these are to primary work at the site, either excavation or survey; also included are wider surveys such as the Gazetteer (Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979) or the work of the University of Minnesota Messenia Expedition (McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 1964, 1969). References are not given to work on the site that is not primary (for example Pelon’s thesis: 1976). Where more complete reference is required, it may be found for work before 1979 by checking the reference in the Gazetteer (Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979); the recent catalogue produced by Siriopoúlou (1995) contains references up to 1995.
- Publication: this entry is intended to give the reader an immediate feel for how well the site is published, and what sort of report comments are based on. Categories are obviously subjective and open to question, and may not be rigorously applied; they are intended only to give an idea of the nature of the main reports:
  - short final - an excavation that has been reported on briefly, typically in a journal.
  - detailed final - full publication, usually in monograph form.
  - detailed preliminary - longer preliminary reports with more detail.
  - survey - typically a one or two paragraph note of the discovery of the site during survey, with no later excavation (or no published note of excavation). Where intensive sampling has been carried out, this is noted.
- Excavation: a brief note of excavation history.
- Setting: location of site in relation to geography and site topography.
- Architecture: description of excavated architectural features.
- Finds: description of contexts of finds, and finds, including burials.
- Chronology: discussion of dating evidence for the site.
- Comments: these are usually restricted to brief discussions of controversial or unusual aspects of the site; not interpretations of practice at the site, which are to be found in the main text of the thesis.
Finikoúnda

1:200,000 map reference: Finikoúnda is 1°54′40″E 36°48′40″N Messinia.

Description: the antiquities near the modern village include a probable burial mound, a settlement site, and a possible tholos tomb.

Directions: see illustration 12, McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 248) but note that on their sketch, B is the area of the mound and C is the tholos tomb (there are mistakes in the text).

References: McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 247-248); Ylalóurís (1967, 207); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (151); Korrés (1982a, 231).

Publication: unexcavated - survey (non-intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: a burial mound was supposedly located on one of the hills behind the village (B on McDonald & Hope-Simpson's illustration 12), and a simple statement by Ylalóurís ('An intact mound was noted in the region of Finikoúnda') may confirm its existence. It was not apparent when I visited the area in 1994. A destroyed tholos tomb was thought to be located at the headland (marked C on McDonald & Hope-Simpson's illustration 12; A1.1.3).

Architecture: the mound ('possible prehistoric burial mound') is not at all described by McDonald & Hope Simpson or by Hope Simpson & Dickinson. In the area of the tholos tomb, McDonald & Hope Simpson noted 'large squared blocks'. These may have disappeared through recent terracing operations; I noted a possible lintel block, visible dimensions about 2m x 1m (A1.1.4).

Finds: none.

Chronology: no information.

Comments: none.
A1.1.1. View southwest from site of tumulus to coast and Ayla Anállpsis (habitation site on promontary).

A1.1.2. View southeast from site of tumulus to coast and position of possible tholos tomb. Note elevated position of tumulus above coast.
A1.1.3. View from site of tholos tomb west along coast to Aylia Análipsis habitation site.

A1.1.4. Possible lintel of tholos tomb. Scale: 2m.
Evangelismós

1:200,000 map reference: Methóni is -2°1′e 36°49′20″n Messinia.

Description: MH burial mound.

Directions: said to be 1.4km along the road from Methóni toward the village of Evangelismós, just after the turning to ‘Finiki’. It is above and to the left of the road, damaged by a track.

References: Korrés (1982a, 231).

Publication: unexcavated - survey (non-intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: dissected country above the coast.

Architecture: the mound has been damaged by a road cutting, leaving less than half of the monument intact. The surviving height is about 1m, and diameter about perhaps about 5m. Little architectural is visible in the section.

Finds: middle helladic pottery is evident, along with much later (Hellenistic?) material.

Chronology: middle helladic.

Comments: I only had a few moments to look at this monument and did not record any specific observations.
Nisakoúli (Methóni)

1:200,000 map reference: Methóni is -2°0'45"e 36°49'20"n Messinia.

Description: 'middle helladic' altar closely associated with burials; pithos burial amid habitation.

Directions: Nisakoúli is a tiny island located in the southeast of the bay of Methóni, about 300m from the east cliff shore of the bay.


Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: excavations on the island were briefly carried out by Horémis: he excavated an area of 171m², apparently in a single T-shaped trench measuring 15m north to south and 15m along its central east-west axis (calculated from A1. J3). The fill was only 20cm to 40cm deep, as can be seen in Horémis' photographs (for example, A1. J5, A1. J6), and this in combination with the discovery by McDonald & Hope Simpson of late helladic sherds suggests that later remains may have been eroded. There is little information as to where on the island the trench was situated ('the top of the island') and how much of the surface area 171m² might represent; I have not had the opportunity to visit the island. In recent years a major underwater excavation project, largely unreported, has been uncovering the remains of a middle helladic village or town between Nisakoúli and the coast.

Setting: Kraft & Aschenbrenner (1977, 25-26 & 33-34) describe the island as 50m north to south and 70m east to west, 13.2m above sea level (A1. J1-2). The island is formed of thick layers of sandstone. They postulate that the island is subject to intense erosion, and once formed the point of a promontory which had disappeared into the sea by the middle ages, either through erosion, rising sea level, or both. They report the depth of water around the island as 1.3m.
Architecture: In the east central part of the trench Horémls found what he took to be an altar (A1.3.6), and the remains of several burials. The altar was formed of a dog-leg wall, not joined at the angle (so really two walls, both about 1.3m long and surviving to three or four courses of flat stones). Three graves lie between the altar and another construction (A1.3.5), a building which had mostly eroded into the sea.

Finds: within the altar were stones, bones, tusks and deer horns, all showing signs of burning, black soil that Horémls also took as burned, and pottery fragments (matt painted, black minyan, grey minyan, dark on light and adrlatic) which Horémls suggested were late middle helladic (A1.3.7-8). No stratigraphy was reported, but this mass presumably represents the remains of a number of fires. The discovery of part of a double cup (A1.3.7) was taken to indicate a sacred character; but otherwise the only evidence that this structure is an altar is the burned organic material and its obvious proximity to the burials.

One burial pithos was found (A1.3.4), a second burial was contracted in a pit, and a third pit is mentioned, full of bones along with bits of iron which suggest it should date much later. Burial pithos sherds had been collected from the island two years previously.

Of the recent underwater excavations little is known, but a child’s burial in a pithos is mentioned by Spondíl and Kazlánls.

Chronology: middle helladic; Howell (1992, 76 and 78) mentions without any context or detail that MHII and MHIII pottery has been found on the Island.

Comments: the child’s burial excavated in recent years may well correspond to similar burial practices noted at other sites such as 37: Máltí or 57:Ayos Stéfanos; that is, a burial located within settlement, or within an area recently used for settlement. The burials noted on Nisakoúli itself are located at a point that would have been the highest point of the town on the seaward side. This, and the existence of the possible altar, may well indicate that they were placed in an unusual position.
A1.3.1. Nisakoúli looking southwest. Prehistoric habitation lies between the island and the coast.

A1.3.2. Nisakoúli looking southwest.
A1.3.3. General plan of excavated trench (after Horémis 1969, plan 1).


A1.3.6. The ‘altar’ after excavation (after Horémis 1969, figure 6).

A1.3.7. Fragment of double cup, from altar deposits. After Horémis 1969, figure 5.

A1.3.8. The ‘altar’ before excavation (after Horémis 1969, figure 2).
Mesohóri Gdhti Rahi

1:200,000 map reference: Mesohóri is -1°59'45"e 36°52'45"n Messína.

Description: one or two possible mounds.

Directions: Leaving Mesohóri and heading south, after about 500m a track runs off to the right. After a very short distance (about 200m) a small ridge is visible south of the track. The mound is presumably that visible on top of this crest. A destroyed church is located nearby, to the north.


Publication: unexcavated - survey (non-intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated

Setting: the mound is set on the crest of a low ridge. The sea is visible along with a large area of the surrounding fertile ridgeland.

Architecture: the mound is described as being eroded and partly fallen into the ravine, about 15m diameter and 2m high. When I visited the site in 1996, while seeming quite well defined on top of the ridge, the mound was small (visible diameter less than 10m; A1.4.1). Further erosion may well have occurred since McDonald & Hope-Simpson's visit.

About 100m further along the track there is another mound on the right side of the road. Its dimensions are very roughly 30m x 15m x 2.5m; there is a trench roughly in the centre, fairly new, about the same size as that on the first mound. There is other evidence of digging. The sections in the trench show that the upper part of the mound at least is made of earth and small stones. No anthropogenic material was seen.

Finds: In published reports all of the pottery fragments found were middle helladic, although pithos was not noted. When I visited the site no artefacts or bones were visible. A trench about
1m x 0.5m x 0.7m had been dug on the west side, but again no artefactual or bone material was evident.

**Chronology:** middle helladic.

**Comments:** neither pithos nor covering slabs, the usual criteria for identifying middle helladic burial mounds in the publications of McDonald & Hope-Simpson, were noted: it is therefore possible that the character of this site is unrelated to burial.

---

A1.4.1. Mesohóri mound.
Yálova Paleohóri

1:200,000 map reference: Yálova is -2·1°20″e 36·57′n Messinia.

Description: four possible tholos or burial mounds.

Directions: the mounds are said to be 500m east of the west end of the ‘Dhappa’ (or Kanónía?) ridge, rising above Yálova, and on a parallel ridge to the north.

References: McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 242); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 142).

Publication: unexcavated - survey (non-intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: the ‘Dhappa’ ridge rises immediately to the east of the village of Yálova. To the west lies coastal plain, ridgeland to the north, and a small valley to the south: the point is quite conspicuous, but the exact location of the monuments in question is unknown to me.

Architecture: no information.

Finds: none.

Chronology: no information.

Comments: the mounds are merely mentioned in an entry dealing primarily with an LHIII settlement site, and do not seem to have been visited by McDonald & Hope-Simpson.
Píla

1:200,000 map reference: Píla is -1°59'e 36°57'n Messínía.

Description: a probable middle helladic burial mound.

Directions: travelling west from Píla, take a dirt road on the right leading to the foot of the 'Dhappla' or Kanónla ridge at its eastern end and climb to the top. It is said to be 120m west-northwest of the Vigles site.

References: McDonald & Hope Simpson (1969, 149); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 141-142).

Publication: unexcavated - survey (non-intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: the probable location of the mound is the top of the ridge at its eastern end. There are very clear views of the coastland north and south, including all of Navaríno (A1.6.1), while the land to the east is higher dissected ridgeland and visibility is restricted. The point could be regarded as liminal between the coastal plain and the inland plateau.

Architecture: the mound was described as a knoll whose ploughed centre revealed hard white clay above stones. The summit of the east end of the ridge, where there is a very slightly raised area with ploughed white material (perhaps stone rather than clay) scattered around, is a likely spot for the mound (A1.6.2); if so, it has been completely ploughed away.

Finds: bones and pithos fragments were observed by McDonald & Hope-Simpson; in the area I identified as likely to have been the location of the mound, no material was visible, although a single piece of eroded bone could be observed in the ground. Much of the surrounding area is thinly scattered with sherds.

Chronology: middle helladic.
Comments: I am not clear that I have indeed located the mound described in the publication. The mounds of this site and 5: Yálova Paleohori seem to have been located at opposite ends of the ridge. See further comments in postscript, page 851.
Dhiódhia & Stréfi

1:200,000 map reference: the village is -1°51'15"e 37°4'45"n Messinia.

Description: tholos tomb at Dhiódhia; unexcavated tholos at Stréfi; one other likely tholos.

Directions: I have not visited this site. Said to be 1.2km south of Dhiódhia at 'Pournária'. Stréfi tholos 500m south at 'Garalovoúni'. Another mound ('Armakádhia') lies in between.


Level of publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: the tholos at Dhiódhia was excavated by the Eforía; the Stréfi sites are unexcavated - the Garalovoúni tholos was attacked by tomb robbers in 1992.

Setting: no information.

Architecture: the chamber of the Dhiódhia tholos was 4.2m in diameter and its preserved height was 2m. The stomion was up to 2.2m long. The stomion was blocked on the outside by a wall 1.95m high and 1.15m wide. The dromos was damaged by a road cutting. The unexcavated tholos at Stréfi Garalovoúni may be up to 8m in diameter. The Armakádhia mound is said to be 'low'.

Finds: between twelve and fifteen individuals' remains were noted within the Dhiódhia tholos, including articulated skeletons and collections of bones. Finds included pottery and bronze artefacts (razor, knives and pins). Bronze age sherds were collected at Garalovoúni. Sherds of bronze age and Hellenistic and Roman date were collected from Armakádhia.

Chronology: The date of the Dhiódhia tholos is given as 'LHI-IIA to LHIIIA-B' (Arapoyianni) or 'LHI-III A' (Hatzi-Spillaropoúlou). The other sites are undated save 'bronze age'; LHIII sherds were collected from Garalovoúni in earlier surveys.

Comments: the three published items on the excavated tholos tomb are extremely brief.
Handhrinoú Kissós

1:200,000 map reference: -1°54'40"e 36°57'30"n Messinía.

Description: burial mound of middle helladic (?) and Mycenaean date.

Directions: The position of the village of Handhrinoú is marked in the central Messenian landscape by the conical hill of Profitis Ilías. The location of the site is said to be about 300m southeast of the main road (Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, 138). Approaching from the west, drive through the village and turn right onto a red ash track at a very sharp bend at the end of the village. This will take you most of the way. The mound is located at the very edge of the ravine separating cultivated land here from the hill, and leading toward the village.

References: Marinátos (1966); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1969, 151); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 138); Korrés (1975b, 95); Lólos (1985, 160).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: the mound was excavated by Marinátos in a single season.

Setting: to the east lies relatively flat land (A1.8.7), now cultivated, but to the west or southwest the mound looks upon the conical hill of Profitis Ilías (A1.8.1, A1.8.6), a landmark visible from large areas of the central Messenian plateau. The mound is separated from the hill by a ravine (A1.8.5), and it is balanced on the edge of a precipitous drop.

Architecture: at the time of excavation the mound was 12m in diameter and estimated to have originally been between 3m and 4m in height (plan, A1.8.8). It contained four or perhaps five burial structures (the uncertainty is due to damage caused to the mound by the landowner immediately prior to excavation). These structures are of uncertain form, but each consists of one or more layers of stone forming a sub-rectangular or sub-circular peribolos.

---

1Marinátos subtitled his report 'Οριστική δημοσίευσις' - 'final publication'. The report, about 500-600 words in length, while admittedly having more than the usual quota of drawings and photographs, can hardly be said to meet the standards required of a final publication, even in 1966.
The nature of these constructions is unclear. Hope Simpson & Dickinson compare the mound and the graves with mound A at 10:Gouvalari, implying that the grave peribolos might be the remains of collapsed small tholos tombs. The excavator does not raise this possibility in his report, and in general the structures seem too superficial to constitute tholos foundations, although the possibility at the moment cannot be excluded. 'Grave peribolos B', for example, looks like a small bounded platform (like the 'mounds' of 43:Káto Samikó Kliðhi), which might later have been covered by the upper section of the mound. The question of the nature of these constructions is complex, and cannot be fully resolved on the basis of the information currently available.

'Grave peribolos A' survived in part only, having been damaged by the landowner, but the section that survived (A1.8.9-10) seems to show two layers of stones with earth and material culture remains in between. The lower stone layer is flat and might seem to form a floor, while the upper stone layer is curving, rising from the 'floor' level at the sides to a low height in the middle (perhaps 50cm or so), forming an arc. It is therefore possible that a platform of stone was used, perhaps for burials, although no bone was found in the portion of A that remained intact, and then covered with earth and stone to form a small, low mound.

'Grave peribolos B' seems to have been the largest, measuring about 3.5m by 2m; it was not fully excavated. One photograph in particular (A1.8.12) shows that the peribolos is clearly a built wall, but the stones within the peribolos could equally have fallen or be part of some kind of covering. One large stone was present in the northern section.

'Grave peribolos G' (A1.8.13-14) seems circular, with diameter about 1.5m, although the excavator described it as 'rectangular'. This ephemeral construction may have consisted of one or two layers of stones outlining a sub-round or sub-rectangular pit.

'Grave peribolos Δ' (A1.8.16-17) was only partly preserved, and is the least described or illustrated in terms of its architecture. Again, it may simply have been a stone-lined pit.

Marinátos excavated an area between constructions Γ and Δ (A1.8.22), and on the basis of the presence of some small stone slabs inferred a cist grave once containing the burial of a child; no remains were found to substantiate this.
Finds: the fill of 'grave peribolos A' contained a goblet, a piriform jar and four alabastra (A1.8.12). Three of the alabastra and the piriform jar are said to have been located against the wall, perhaps represented in the section drawing (A1.8.9). A weight or spindle is also noted; no bones were found.

'Grave peribolos B' was found to contain very little material: in the eastern half there were scattered and broken human bones in three distinct layers down to a depth of 60cm, but no pottery or artefact was found (the grave was not completely excavated). In the western section there was a jaw of a calf.

In 'grave peribolos Γ' two layers of disarticulated skeletal material were noted, each representing the remains of a single individual, the lower burial apparently later, cutting through that above. At the feet of the lower burial were a beaked jug and a cup. Two other jugs, not mentioned in the report, are illustrated (A1.8.14-15).

'Grave peribolos Δ' was only partly preserved, but against its short north side it held the largest number of items. The stratigraphy or distribution of finds is not described (save A1.8.16), but the bones are again said to have been in disorder. Six small pots were illustrated (A1.8.18), and a bronze knife was said to have come from the destroyed section of this grave.

Besides the finds within the 'grave periboloi', there were three pithos burials in the mound. One of the pithos was destroyed by the landowner, but the other two were found in situ near the centre of the mound (A1.8.19). The relationship between the pithos and the stone structures is unclear; it may be that the pithos were originally laid in pits with stone outlines at surface level, as is perhaps suggested by the plan (A1.8.8); or it may be that the stone structures simply post-date the pithos. The larger pithos, pithos E, was not fully excavated and its content is unknown, but the smaller pithos, Z, is thought to have been about 70cm high and contained the bones of a single individual (A1.8.20-21). Marinatos comments on the difficulty of placing a corpse in such a small pot, and noted that the skull was excavated resting on the feet. It seems at least possible that the corpse had already decomposed when it was placed in the pot, or else that the corpse was dissected in order to place it inside.

2 In the text of his report, Marinatos refers to three alabastra, along with a fourth alabastron and another pot collected by the landowner. In his sketch of the section through peribolos A (A1.8.9), three alabastra and the piriform jar appear to be represented.
**Chronology:** the ceramic evidence suggests a date range LHIIA-IIIA2/B (Lólos). The question of the date of the pithol has not been addressed. The contents of grave A probably represent only LHIIA material, and grave Γ is also likely to date to LHII; the contents of grave Δ are later, but may contain one or two earlier items. If the pithol date to LHII or III, then the evidence would suggest a construction date of LHII for the mound, with later reuse; if the pithol are earlier, then they presumably date the mound, and the stone constructions would be secondary.

**Comments:** the late date suggested for this mound sets it aside from other excavated burial mounds in the region and from the general assumption that funerary construction of LHIII are likely to be tholos or perhaps chamber tombs. Excavation is incomplete and there is every possibility that the foundation date for this mound should be earlier.

There is a number of poorly understood funerary monuments in the area of Handhrinou:

- A mound at Aeláki, 1 km east of Kissós, was noted by Marinátos (1966, 121) but not excavated. He felt that it had been badly damaged by erosion and the plough, but that it had contained cist graves of the middle helladic period.
- At ‘Aios Athanásios Handhrinou’ another middle helladic mound was noted in 1971, damaged by a mechanical excavator. This mound is also unexcavated (Karayórga 1971).
- In the village of Handrinóu itself, McDonald and Hope Simpson were informed (1961, 245) that a tumulus had existed before the second world war, but had since been destroyed. The villagers had seen bones.
- A small tholos tomb was excavated in the late sixties at a place called Yenitsarl, outside the village of Platanóvrosi near Handhrinoú, by Horemis (1968, 156; 1969a, 145). With a diameter of 2.1m, it was very small indeed; nothing was apparently found inside, but at least three other such tombs went unexcavated nearby. There were Mycenaean surface sherds around the tombs, but the excavator preferred to place it in the protogeometric period on the analogy of tombs at Karpofóra (30:NIhória). The excavation and publication of this tomb was extremely cursory.

The excavation and study of these monuments, as well as completion of the excavation of Kissós, would allow for an understanding of the mound and its place in the local context.

A1.8.2. View of mound from north.

A1.8.5. View northwest from Kissós mound. Foreground: ravine; to left, bottom of Profitis Iliás.

A1.8.6. View west over ravine to Profitis Iliás.
A1.8.7. View east from mound.


A1.8.16. 'Grave peribolos Α'. After Marinatos 1966, figure 5.


A1.8.22. Burial, possibly in cist, between 'grave periboloi' Γ & Δ. After Marinatos 1966, plate 104α.
Karatsádhes Loutró

1:200,000 map reference: approximately -1°42'30"e 37°15'50"n Messinia.

Description: middle helladic graves.

Directions: '800m east of Loutro and immediately north of the Xerlas river' (Hope Simpson & Dickinson); 'ca. 500 m. E-SE of Loutro, in an olive grove ... a very tricky spot to locate' (McDonald & Hope-Simpson).


Publication: unexcavated - survey (non-intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: no information (I have not visited this site). The graves are amid a settlement site covering about 200m x 200m.

Architecture: a number of cist graves was exposed in 1947 by stream diversion, but these had since been covered again. One cist was drawn by McDonald & Hope Simpson (A1.9.1), showing the use of both pithos fragments and stone in its construction. Other cists were said to have been covered by stone slabs.

Finds: pithos fragments and bones.

Chronology: EH-MH.

Comments: none.
KARATSADHES·(LOUTRO). SECTION OF TOMB

Koukounára Gouvalári

1:200,000 map reference: Koukounára village is -1°57'40"e 36°58'20"n Messinía.

Description: a large middle helladic and early Mycenaean cemetery with at least seven funerary mounds, and two tholoi in a mound separated from these. Three excavated mounds contain one, three and ten tholos tombs respectively. Part of a series of sites ranged along the Potámi tou Arápl, sites 10-13.

Directions: from Kremmidhía village, first follow directions to 13: Káminía, then follow the road roughly southward. Shortly the road becomes unpaved. Carrying on should bring you to the site, although it is very easy to get lost: keep the river gorge to your right. Gouvalári is clearly marked in the relatively flat landscape by the presence of a large round tree, many times taller than the surrounding olives: the tree can be used as a guide. An alternative approach from the opposite direction involves crossing the Potámi tou Arápl from Koukounára village (see the directions for 12: Fitiés to Livadhíti) and going as far as Fitiés. From here the only option is to walk parallel to the edge of the Potámi. Again the large tree will act as a guide to the position of the site.

The archaeological area lies within the land of Mr K. Koukís, who has enclosed his land with thick hedges. Those without official permission from the Eforía In Olimbía may well be turned away.

Once there, Korrés’ mound A is located just to the north of the house and very close to the track. It is not clearly visible since it is now covered with dense undergrowth. Marinátos’ two tholoi are located close to the edge of the gorge. Only the larger is easily visible and accessible, the smaller again is overgrown. At least one other mound, complete with clear signs of (recent) excavation, is visible between these tholoi and mound A; I did not have the opportunity to walk the area thoroughly.

The small tholos tomb Pollá Dhéndhra is not on Mr Koukís’ land. From the large tree, walking approximately in a line perpendicular to the Potámi, it is about 100m-200m, located in the ground at a field edge, unmarked and difficult to locate.

Publication: short preliminary for all except mound A, tombs 4-10 (detailed preliminary).

Excavation: Marinátos excavated the two larger tholoi over several seasons, and investigated two other mounds, excavating one and abandoning the other. A third mound was opened by the landowner around this time. Marinátos also excavated the Pollá Dhéndhra tholos. Korres excavated two mounds.

Setting: no plan of the archaeological area has been published, and my two visits were (of necessity) brief, and so the topographic relationships between the monuments is largely unknown. However the general area in which they are set is quite clear. The defining geographical feature is the gorge of Potámi tou Arápl, or Gouvalári, a stream bed carved deeply into the bed rock and forming a largely impassable feature. The two larger tholoi tombs are set in a mound that is itself set on the highest point of land on the east side of the gorge. From the edge of the gorge eastward the land drops in a low ‘valley’ or dell and they rises again at the edge of the archaeological area (perhaps about 250m distance). On this further edge is set mound A. The positions of other mounds within the area are unknown, save that I observed one on the ‘valley’ floor.

The gorge appears to be a complete barrier to east-west communication at this point and for some distance north and south; it cuts a swathe through this area of the Messenian landscape. The two larger tholoi sit opposite an early Mycenaean akropolis on the other side, where Marinátos excavated evidence for habitation in the form of apsidal structures. Unless some sort of wooden or rope bridge were employed to span the 30-40m gap, a long walk would have been necessary to move from one side to the other1. Other sites (11: Akónes, 12: Fitiés to Londariti, and 13: Kaminía) are located along this landscape feature.

1 It is about 2 hours from Koukounára village to the site by crossing the gorge near 12: Fitiés.
Architecture:

**Mound A**

The mound is located at the edge of the flat land, about 20m west-southwest of the large tree, constructed on the side of the slope, so that its height is not apparent from the east side, and today it is easy to miss. The published plan (A1.10.1) indicates a diameter of about 30m east to west and about 18m north to south. Some part of the mound at least is to be found at a lower level, the western tombs located downslope from the eastern ones. A stretch of walling perhaps originally part of a peribolos (6.1m long, 55cm wide and 50cm high; A1.10.34) and located north of tomb 3 would appear, from its arc, not to include the western group of four tombs, suggesting that perhaps the eastern group of six tombs formed one mound, while the western group of four tombs were built in a different construction below. However the peribolos, if continued on its apparent arc, would dissect tomb 5. The nature of the context within which these tombs were built is therefore unclear.

**Tholos 1 (A1.10.2):** the chamber was about 2.9m in diameter and up to 1.1m in surviving height. The entrance was 75cm - 84cm wide on the north side of the tomb. The stomion was badly damaged. The construction material was flat and rounded stones.

**Tholos 2 (A1.10.3):** the chamber was 3.05m in diameter; no other dimensions are given. From the plan (A1.10.1) the stomion would appear to be about 1.2m wide and 1.5m long. The walls of the stomion seem to form a continuous progression from the walls of the chamber, rather than being set at an angle to them, which is an architectural peculiarity. Small flat and rounded stones were used. One lintel stone was found collapsed in the stomion. There were two grave pits in the floor in the eastern half of the tholos.

**Tholos 3 (A1.10.6-8):** this is the least described of all the tholoi, and the smallest, the diameter of its chamber being 1.55m. The stomion was to the north, 60cm high, and surviving to about 50cm long by 50cm wide, judging from the plan.

**Tholos 4:** this tomb was structurally almost intact, since only a small part of the apex of the vault was missing. Few dimensions are given, but the drawing (A1.10.6) indicates a diameter of about 3.5m, and the height was probably about 3m. The stomion, to the southwest, was 1.25m wide at the bottom, 90cm wide at the top; the lintel was 95cm long and 82cm wide. A façade was formed by the extension of the stomion walls perpendicularly, forming a total width.
of 3.32m to 3.82m (wider at the top than the bottom), 1.21m to 1.32m high (A1.10.8). This architectural peculiarity is mirrored in the façade of the tomb in mound B.

The interpretation of the façade depends on the existence of a dromos. Only tomb 10 has a dromos, and the cuttings in front of the façade of tomb 4, evident in A1.10.8, I take as purely a product of the excavation, rather than being an excavated dromos. If these assumptions are valid, then the stone façade would lie along the line of the surface of the mound, perhaps slightly recessed. It would form an alternative to the dromos in its function of drawing the focus of one approaching to the entrance and chamber. It may even have been linked somehow with the mound peribolos, assuming that the peribolos did indeed run around the complete mound (or tombs 1-6).

An unusual construction within the chamber, described as a ‘stone n’, was 80cm high and filled with earth. The excavator speculates that the tomb collapsed in its second phase of use (LHIIIA2-IIIB) and was rebuilt, the collapsed stoned gathered up to form the n. Further discussion of this feature is foregone because its period of use is outside the remit of this study.

Tholos 5 (A1.10.9): of irregular oval shape due to pressure on the walls, the plan would indicate a diameter of 2.1m to 2.8m. The stomion, unexcavated, was thought to be to the east. The lower southern courses of walling are interwoven with the northern courses of walling of tomb 6, suggesting that they were built simultaneously, although the finds suggest that 6 is later than 5. A pit in the centre of the tomb measured about 1m x 50cm.

Tholos 6 (A1.10.10): this tomb had a diameter of about 3.48m and round chamber. Its entrance, though destroyed, was to the northeast, and was just over a metre wide; details are sketchy. A cist (A1.10.11), 1.2m x 20cm, was made of upright slabs and located in the southern half of the chamber.

Tholos 7 (A1.10.15-16): the chamber was about 4m in diameter, constructed using alternating layers of large, flat stones and smaller stones. The stomion, to the south-southeast, was about 1.2m wide and covered by a lintel of length 92cm. The natural slope of the earth is much greater with the tombs of the western group, so the tholos may have been partly dug into the slope. Nonetheless, the walls of the tholos appear to have been quite thin. Entrance to the tomb had been forced through the southwest section of walling at some time in the distant past.
Tholos 8 (A1.10.18-19, A1.10.21): the chamber is 3m in diameter. Built higher in the mound than the other three of this group, it overlaps considerably with tomb 10, having been constructed when the latter had collapsed, and touches both 7 and 9 (A1.10.21). There is no apparent entrance, but it should be found to the west.

Tholos 9 (A1.10.22): smallest of the western group, the chamber diameter is about 3m. Many of the stones have been removed in recent years as building material, and because of this the position of the entrance is unknown. A pit was located in the east-southeast sector. The lower layers of stones in the walls were only 30cm thick, but were thicker above foundation levels.

Tholos 10 (A1.10.24-27): the diameter of the chamber was 4.73m, and one photograph (A1.10.25) shows some of the surviving height of the chamber. The stomion, to the northeast, was 92cm wide, 1.72m high on the left, 1.6m high on the right. It was covered by a lintel of 1.1m x 1.5m. A large piece of slate had been placed vertically in front of the stomion (A1.10.27). The status of the dromos is unclear. In its apparent representation on the plan, it is 3.66m long and 2.13m wide, but it is not described or even explicitly mentioned in the report. It is clearly offset from the centre of the chamber. There were three layers within the tomb, the lower one unexcavated; in the middle layer there were two pits, one of which (A1.10.29) measured 1.6m x 66cm, and in the upper layer there was one pit.

Mound B

Mound B, south of A, contained only one tholos tomb (A1.10.36), characterised by its excavator as ‘horseshoe-shaped’ - hence not perfectly round. The nature and size of the mound is not discussed, but the tholos was small and unusual. The largest surviving height of the chamber, which had collapsed, was 1.85m. The photograph suggests a floor level diameter of between three and four meters. The stomion was 1.18m wide and 1.18m deep, surviving to heights of 61cm (left) and 48cm (right). The excavator does not mention a dromos, but an entrance façade is formed by walling each side of the stomion, which survived to 60cm high. There are no further details, but it is compared to a similar feature at the entrance to one of the tombs of mound A (tholos 4). Here the total length of the façade exceeded three metres. Without further information about the relationship between the tomb and the mound, we cannot say whether this feature was visible at the edge of the mound, or buried within it. The stomion was not blocked up with stones in the usual way. There was one pit on the floor of the tomb, at least 1.75m long.
Mound 2

Unfortunately the excavation of this tumulus is dismissed by its excavator in a half paragraph (Marinatos 1959, 175). The mound contained three small tholos tombs. All three were smaller than 3m in diameter, and said to be without entrances\(^2\). One of the tholos is noted as being 2.75m in diameter and 1.15m high; another of the tholos had a flat upright stone set in it (A1.10.38).

**Tholos 1**

Both tholos 1 (A1.10.39-42, A1.10.44) and tholos 2 appear to be set in a mound, the larger (number 1) occupying the southern half of the mound, and its dromos running south, the smaller (and earlier) occupying the northern half, its dromos running north. Tholos 1 had a chamber of diameter 6.25m, with walls preserved to 2.2m. The floor of the chamber was cut out of bedrock, but the dromos and an area of the chamber floor running in from the dromos were cut a further 50cm deeper into the rock (A1.10.39, A1.10.41). This cutting in the chamber was 4.5m long, and varied from 1.4m to 1.9m wide, with an apsidal end in the chamber. The walling of this tomb was of large flat blocks.

**Tholos 2**

The chamber of the northern tomb had a 5m diameter, and the stomion was 1.83m tall, although the lintel did not survive. The floor of this chamber had not been altered and so was slightly sloped. The northern tomb is now inaccessible, and no useful photographs have been published (A1.10.45). Korns briefly reinvestigated this tomb in 1973, clearing the walling of the stomion and determining the direction of the dromos north-northwest. Marinatos' excavation diary (Korns 1977a, 241) records a deepening in the stomion, as in the southern tomb, with two shallow furrows continuing into the chamber for 60cm to 70cm (as at 27:Roútsí tholos 2). The walling of the tomb was less well built than tholos 1.

\(^2\) Marinatos' examination was obviously cursory, and given that Korns states in a number of cases in Mound A that the location of the entrance was unclear until the final stages of the excavation, it is likely that Marinatos simply overlooked the entrances for these three tombs. See also chapter eight, page 234, note 6.
The chamber (A1.10.49) is of 4.75m diameter, and the walls survived to 1.2m in height. The stomion, to the south, was 1.85m deep (long), 1.1m wide on the outside and 95cm wide at the chamber. The stones are small and flat.

**Finds:**

**Mound A**

No finds were noted in the matrix of the mound.

**Tholos 1:** the tomb contained twelve separate deposits of human bone, most of them probably in disarticulated form. The photograph (A1.10.2) shows two articulated burials in the east and west parts of the tomb; the contracted burial to the east, an adult male, is considered the latest in the series. That to the west, a mature female, was covered with a large stone. The other burials were also found around the periphery at varying depths, but are not described in detail. Finds mentioned include a bronze knife, flint arrowheads and pottery, but these are not described or related to burial contexts.

**Tholos 2:** the deposits in the eastern half of the chamber were well preserved and excavation revealed three layers as well as two pits in the floor. One of the pits contained an articulated skeleton (and possibly the remains of another skeleton), while the other contained four skulls and other disarticulated bones. In the layers above, four collections of bones were noted in the lower layer, four in the middle layer, and seven in the upper layer. In the southeast section of the upper layer six skulls had been piled one on top of the other, and the excavator further suggests that skull had been selectively gathered and deposited elsewhere in the tomb. Few artefacts were recovered: one ewer was found underneath a skull, and a knife is mentioned. Most of the bones were found near the periphery of the chamber, and the disturbance of the western half of the chamber is presumably linked to the entrance there; twenty skulls in total were found.

**Tholos 3:** two skulls next to each other, along with a few bones in the south and west parts of the chamber, constitute the only reported finds in this tomb.
Tholos 4: at least three periods of use are indicated by the deposits within this tomb, and the later two are beyond the remit of this study. Only deposits in two pits in the floor might date before LHIII, but as no material culture was recovered this is uncertain. One pit contained the remains of a child and the other was not excavated.

Tholos 5: within the tomb there were various collections of disarticulated bones, in a pit (1.14m x 0.47m, measured from the plan: A1.109) in the floor, around the periphery, and higher in the fill. Pottery is said to be associated with all of these, mostly of later Mycenaean date. From low in the fill there was a Vafi6 cup, dated LHI-II. The floor of the tomb was relaid at least once. There are no further details.

Tholos 6: there were two layers of burials, the material in the lower dating to LHIIIA1 at the earliest, thus making all of the remains in this tholos outside the remit of this study. Excavation is incomplete.

Tholos 7: the wall in the southwest area, and the contingent fill, had been disturbed at some point in the distant past. Two main layers were excavated: an upper layer of fill, in which both disarticulated and articulated skeletons were present, along with material of the late Mycenaean period; and a lower layer, excavated only in a small section near and in the stomion. There were twelve skulls in the upper layer, either alone or associated with other bones. In the lower layer, a group of skulls and bones was found with a number of LHI-II sherds. Three separate bone concentrations were noted in the small area excavated to the floor.

Tholos 8: this tholos was constructed in late LHII or early LHIII, and all the finds within are LHIII in date; it is therefore outwith the remit of this study.

Tholos 9: there were two layers within the tomb, the upper dated late Mycenaean, the lower LHI-II. Only three burials belong to the lower layer, one articulated near the centre of the floor, and two disarticulated skeletons in a pit in the east-southeast part of the tomb, near the wall (A1.1023). An LHI Vafi6 cup was found in the pit, placed above the bones, along with two arrowheads; another Vafi6 cup was found on the floor. The skulls in the pit were placed next to each other, and only certain of the long bones had been placed with them. A broken stone axe head and a broken bronze tweezers were found a little above the pit, and another cup above these.

---

3 Lólos 1985, 167 and caption to figure 230; this corrects what is probably a typographical error in Korrés' report: 1975a, 456.
Tholos 10: there are three main levels of fill in the chamber. The lowest level, the original floor, is unexcavated, and so there is no clear indication of the date of the earliest material. The middle floor had two pits, one containing an extended skeleton with no other material, and covered by slabs (A1.10.29). The other pit, much deeper and extended in front of the stonlon, contained three skulls and other bones, along with pottery and other items. These included a pot, of diameter 19cm, that contained other bones (presumed to be animal).

The upper floor was 1.1m below the level of the lintel. It was formed by laying yellowish earth over earlier deposits. Four articulated and supine skeletons lay on the surface of this third floor, or just below it, not associated with other items. One of these, to the south, lay just above four other skulls: one at its right hand and three at its left; these skulls were not associated with other bones. One of the articulated skeletons lacked its skull. Six further skulls were located in the northwest part of the tomb (A1.10.30). Between two skulls in the north part of the tomb was found a large Vafiō cup (15.5cm high; A1.10.32). Other pottery of LHI and LHII date was also found in this layer. Twenty skulls in total were recovered from the tomb. The collapse of the tomb occurred soon after the skeletons were placed on the floor, as the stones fell directly onto the bones, damaging them.

Mound B

There is no information about finds from the matrix of the mound. Inside the tholos tomb there was a burial in a pit of a 35 year old woman, judged to be the last of the tomb, but undated. The pit also contained a small pot and two spindles. There were also two groups of disarticulated skeletons in the chamber, suggested by the excavator to have been disinterred from the pit. Above the east-central group were found a sandstone whetstone, length 7.45cm, two whetstones, length 10.5cm and 19.7cm (A1.10.37 right), and a pin, length 10.5cm, while nearby were three arrowheads. A Vafiō cup and a jug, along with a stone axe head, were found with the southern bone group.

Mound 2

Beyond noting coarseware ceramic and broken bones, almost nothing is recorded of the finds from the mound or its three tholos tombs.
Tholos 1

There is little information concerning the disposition of finds within this tomb; much of the fill was disturbed in later times, as witnessed by the paraphernalia of later cult (A1.1043). Marinatos notes 'a few skulls', sherds of palace style jars, abundant fragments of gold leaf, parts of boars' tusk helmets, and many scattered semi-precious stones.

Tholos 2

Again there is little information on the disposition of finds, but about 50 boars' tusks, some gold fragments, and pottery are recorded, including at least three palace style jars (A1.1047-48), a matt-painted jug (A1.1047) and a pithos. Sherds from tholos 1 & 2 were conflated in Hóra Museum in 1962, and so in most cases it is now no longer possible to determine which tomb a piece may have come from. Lólos (1985, 169-171) describes a number of LHI-II items in the Museum that might belong to either tomb.

Pollá Dhéndhra

The cursory description of this excavation indicates that 'eleven or twelve' skulls were found, one contracted intact burial without a skull, and one skeleton lay on a slab near a dog skull. Pottery is noted.
Chronology: finds from all periods from late middle helladic to LHIIIC are known from these tombs.

Mound A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Evidence/comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tholos 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>MH-LHI</td>
<td>Said by Korrés to be the earliest tomb in the mound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tholos 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No data (one artefact probably late Mycenaean A1.10.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tholos 3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tholos 4</td>
<td>Early phase</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Pre-LHIIIa2 - excavation incomplete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tholos 5</td>
<td>Early phase</td>
<td>LHI-II</td>
<td>Vafló cup; excavation incomplete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tholos 6</td>
<td>Early phase</td>
<td>LHIIIa1</td>
<td>Excavation incomplete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tholos 7</td>
<td>Early phase</td>
<td>LHI-II</td>
<td>Excavation incomplete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tholos 8</td>
<td>Late phase</td>
<td>LHIII</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tholos 9</td>
<td>Early phase</td>
<td>LHI-II</td>
<td>Two LHI Vafló cups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tholos 10</td>
<td>Early phase</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Unexcavated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A1.10.1. Chronological information for Mound A.

Tholos 8, high in the mound, overlaps tomb 10, which must already have collapsed when it was built, and touches tombs 7 and 9. Given a date of collapse of late LHII for tomb 10, this is the earliest possible construction date for tomb eight. Finds in the tomb are LHIII in date.

Other tombs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Evidence/comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mound B</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(MHIII-</td>
<td>Pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>)LHI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mound 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>No data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gouvalári 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>LHI-III</td>
<td>Pottery (LHI-IIA pithoid amphora A1.10.46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gouvalári 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>MHIII-LHIII</td>
<td>Pottery (MHIII: pithos; LHI: matt-painted jug, A1.10.47 left; LHIIA: palace style jars, A1.10.48 right, A1.10.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollá</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>? (LHIII)</td>
<td>Statement of Marinátos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhéndhra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A1.10.2. Chronological information for tombs at 10:Gouvalári (except Mound A).
Chronology: general comments

The chronology of these monuments is unclear for two reasons: first, reporting of some of the early excavations is inadequate, and second, some of the excavations remain incomplete. Nonetheless, it is possible to make some confident statements concerning the evidence in general.

First, though perhaps least relevant to this study, is the revelation that most, if not all\(^4\) of these tombs were used in the LHIII period. There is extensive evidence of use and reuse in this period covering LHIIIA, LHIIIB and occasionally LHIIIC. Those using the mounds at this time clearly felt that the burial structures were comprehensible in terms of how funerals ought to be carried out, and this applies equally to the larger and the smaller tholos.

Second, there is a good deal of evidence for early dates of construction for the tholos tombs. Of the two larger tholos, both were constructed in LHI or (for tholos 2 at least) at the end of the middle helladic period. Of the smaller tholos, that in Mound B and in Mound A numbers 1, 5, 7, 9 and 10 were certainly or probably built in the MHIII-LHI period, on the evidence of early pottery. Of the others, only tomb 8 of Mound A can convincingly be said to date to the late Mycenaean period in terms of construction; for the others, either information is unavailable or excavation is incomplete.

Although without proper study of the finds it is far from clear, it seems possible that there were two main periods of use for these tombs: an initial intensive use in MHIII-LHI, which toward the end of LHI and into LHII becomes much less intensive, and then more intensive use again in the late Mycenaean period. The pattern would be slightly different for the two larger tholos, which continued to be used regularly in LHIIA and into LHIII.

The tholos at Pollá Dhendhra is dated LHIII on the basis of undescribed and unillustrated artefacts by its excavator. In the same article he dates the similar tholos at 32:Paleohóri as LHIII: recent study of the pottery from that tomb suggested an LHI-II date for its construction. In the light of the large number of tholos tombs in the Gouvalári area constructed in the period MHIII-LHI, there seems no reason not to believe that Pollá Dhendrá might also be early; only a new study of the finds can answer this question.

---

\(^4\) Certainly not Mound A tholos 10 and the tholos in Mound B.
Comments: although not rich in terms of artefactual finds, the Gouvalári complex is one of the most informative of early Mycenaean sites in Messinía. A thorough survey combined with completion of excavations and full publication would do much to advance the understanding of early Mycenaean mortuary practices within a local context.


A1.10.6. Plan of tholos 4 in mound A. After Korrés 1975a, figure 1.

A1.10.8. Tholos 4, mound A. After Korrēs 1975a, plate 306β.

A1.10.9. Plan of tholos 5, mound A. After Korrēs 1975a, figure 1.
A1.10.10. Plan of tholos 6, mound A. After Korrés 1975a, figure 3.

A1.10.11. Cist burial in tholos 6, mound A. After Korrés 1975a plate 308γ.


A1.10.15. Tholos 7, mound A. After Korrés 1974, plate 110β.

A1.10.17. Tholos 7, mound A. Burial in eastern half of chamber. After Korres 1975a, plate 309α.

A1.10.18. Tholos 8, mound A. After Korres 1975a, plate 309β.

A.10.20. Knife from tholos 8, mound A. After Korrés 1975a, plate 310β.

A.10.21. Walling of tholos 8 (above) and 10 (below), showing that tholos 8 was built after the collapse of tholos 10. After Korrés 1975a, plate 310α.
A1.10.22. Tholos 9, mound A. After Korres 1975, plate 312α.

A1.10.23. Tholos 9, mound A. Pit with collected bones, two skulls, and LHI Vafió cup. After Korres 1975a plate 312β.


A1.10.34. Mound A. Section of peribolos wall. After Korrés 1975a, plate 317α.

A1.10.35. Detail of walling of tholos tomb in mound A (tomb number not known).


A1.10.42. Gouvalári tholos 1. Stomion from chamber. Scale: 2m.
A1.10.43. Gouvalári tholos 1.
Deer skeleton from upper fill (post-Mycenaean). After Marinátos 1959, plate 147β.

A1.10.44. Gouvalári tholos 1 after excavation (Marinátos 1959, plate 147α).

 Blocked stomion. After Marinátos 1959, plate 149α.
A1.10.46. LHI-early II A pithoid amphora from tholos 1. After Korrê's 1978a, plate 196B. 
Dating: Lölos 1985, figure 218.

A1.10.47. 
Left: matt painted jug from tholos 2. 

A1.10.48. 
Palace style jars from tholos 2. 
After Marinâtos 1960, plate 151B. Date: both LHIIA (Lölos 1985, figures 220 & 221).

A 1.10.50. View over the site of Gouvalári looking west toward the Potámi tou Arápi and the site of Kataraháki. Gorge marked by line of trees in middle distance.
A1.10.51. Akropolis of Kataraháki. View south to southern promontory of akropolis. To east (left), gorge of Potámi tou Árápi and Gouvalári.

Koukounára Akónes

1:200,000 map reference: Koukounára village is -1°57'40"e 36°58'20"n.

Description: two tholos tombs.

Directions: In Koukounára village there is a sign pointing to the Akónes tombs on the road northeast to Kremmiddhia. Passing along this road, after 300-500m there is a large tree on the left, said to be 300 years old. About 100-200m beyond this, there is a sharp bend in the road to the left. Turn right off the road here, walking east: the tholoi are about 100m into this field.


Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: both tholoi were fully excavated by Marinátos.

Setting: the tholoi lie in relatively flat land on the western side of the gorge of Potámi tou Arápi. They are about 500m distant from the akropolis site of Kataraháki to the southeast, and 10:Gouvalári on the opposite side of the gorge. In a straight line the tholoi are about 200m distant from the gorge. They are 15m apart, one in a mound, the other underground (as at 12:Fitiés). The chamber of tholos 1 is to the north, with dromos running from it to the south; 15m distant the dromos of tomb 2 runs south to the chamber of the tomb.

Architecture: tholos 1 (A1.11.1) was set in a mound 3m high when excavated. The stomion (A1.11.2) was to the south, 1.95m high and 2.4m long. Its width was 1.32m at the bottom and 1m at the top, narrowing to 1.2m at the bottom and 0.66m at the top toward the chamber. There were two lintels. The chamber diameter was 6.2m, and Marinátos records a preserved height of the chamber walls of 2.5m, now no longer well preserved. Near the entrance there was a pit, 2.2m x 0.9m x 0.95m.

The stomion of tholos 2 is 2.3m long and 1.2m wide; the chamber diameter is 5.4m and the surviving height just over a metre (A1.11.4-6).
Finds: finds in tholos 1 were heavily disturbed by post-Mycenaean practices, mainly apparently in the geometric period. A group of five skulls and another of eight were found at 80cm and 50cm above the floor respectively, but finds on the floor were not described. The pit contained a seal and a bronze knife (A1.11.3), but no bones. Few ceramic finds are mentioned.

The finds in tholos 2 are not described in detail or context, and in any case the tomb seems also to have been used extensively in post-Mycenaean times.

Chronology: no find earlier than LHIII is mentioned for tholos 1, although the pottery is not described or illustrated in detail. Finds in tholos 2 date from LHII to LHIII. Both tholoi had been severely disturbed in post-Mycenaean times, and this in combination with their cursory reporting means that the evidence for date is insubstantial. Their presence in the funerary landscape of the Potámi tou Arápi, only 500m distant from 10:Gouvalári, means that an early date of construction is at least possible.

Comments: of the Potámi tou Arápi group, these are the only two known tholoi on the west side of the gorge.

A1.11.3. Akônes 1: knife found in pit. After Marinátops 1963, plate 89γ.

A1.11.5. Akónes 2.

A1.11.6. Akónes 2, dromos and stomion.
Koukounára: Livadhíti to Fitiés

1:200,000 map reference: Koukounára village is -1°57'40"e 36°58'20"n.

Description: several sites on the eastern side of the Potámi tou Arápi, running between the villages of Kremmidhía, Koukounára and Stenoslá. Two tholos tombs at Fitiés, an unexcavated mound south of this, a tholos tomb at Livadhíti, and at least one other unexcavated tomb in the area.

Directions: from the central platía area of Koukounára village, take the east running track (not signposted, but the other three choices are signposted to Shinnolákka (south), Stenoslá (west), and Kremmidhía (north)). The track leads down into a pass through the gorge and up the other side (it might be passable for cars in the summer). One approaches a T-junction and a large farmhouse. The house is built on top of a mound, which may be partly visible in the yard. Turning right, the tholos of Livadhíti (Londariti or Leondári) is visible within an enclosed field about 500m along the track on the left, situated to the south of a farm building. Also in this area, on the other side of the track, Mr I. Zondanós pointed out to me an area that he said was the location of another unexcavated tholos tomb. Turning back, return to the farmhouse and follow the track northeast until there are two sharp turns. The two tholoi of Fitiés are in the field here, one in a conspicuous mound. (One can then go on to Gouvalári and Pollá Dhendhra on foot from here, not following the path but skirting the edge of the gorge northeastward, always using the large tree as a guide to direction. See Instructions in 10: Gouvalári).


Publication: short preliminary (Livadhíti, Fitiés 1); detailed preliminary (Fitiés 2).

Excavation: the excavated tombs were investigated in a single season by Marinátos; Korres later completed the excavation of Fitiés 2.

Setting: these tombs form part of the series strung out along the Potámi tou Arápi (see 10: Gouvalári). The Fitiés tombs are located very approximately 2km south of 10: Gouvalári. Fitiés 1 and 2 lie 20m distant from each other, very close to the edge of the gorge, in flat land;
a short distance south (perhaps 200m) there is a house built on top of a mound or a collapsed tholos tomb. 750m south of the Fitiés group is the Livadhiti tomb, set in a mound and about 150m from the edge of the gorge; another tomb is thought to lie close by. The land here is also flat.

**Architecture:** the chamber of the Livadhiti tomb (A1.12.1-3) was 4.62m in diameter, built of small flat stones (up to 40cm long and 17cm thick). The entrance was to the west, 1.04m - 1.09m wide and 1.76m long, and the chamber survived to 1.15m in height. There were two niches either side of the entrance. The mound had been partly flattened to make a threshing floor in recent times, and so rose only 1.2m above the surrounding landscape.

Fitiés 1 (A1.12.4-6, A1.12.9), set in a mound, had a stomion (to the southeast) 2.4m long, 1.2m wide at the bottom, 1.05m wide at the top, with two surviving lintels (2.6m x 90cm and 1.5m x 70cm x 35cm) and space for a third. Slightly larger stones made the façade of the doorposts, and the blocking of the stomion survived to four courses, but filling the entire length of it (A1.12.9). The diameter of the chamber is 6m and the surviving height 2m. There was a pit 'the length of a person' and about 60cm deep in the floor.

Fitiés 2 (A1.12.10-13), built underground, was discovered by the fact that one of its lintels was visible on the surface; there was no mound, and the vault had collapsed. The chamber was 5.9m in diameter, the walls 65cm thick, and the stomion, facing again southeast, was excavated to a length of 2.3m, which included a part of the dromos. The stomion was 1.3m wide at the bottom and 1.16m wide at the top, 1.74m tall, covered by two lintels (1.84m x 1.26m x 0.94m and 1.12m x 0.62m), and the blocking wall was intact up to 83cm. The wall was constructed of mixed flat and rounded stones.

There are no architectural details of the unexcavated tombs.

**Finds:** In the Livadhiti tholos eight skulls were found at floor level, and no articulated skeletons. Skulls and bones were found in the two niches. One alabastron (noted as LHIIIA) was found intact, other sherds were described as dating to the LHI-II period.

In the pit in Fitiés tholos 1, at one end, was found the skeleton of a child, in contracted position, with two gold bands around the head (A1.12.7) and two alabastra (said to be LHIII)A set at an angle 90° to their bases. The excavator suggested that the alabastra were placed thus to indicate the act of anointing the head of the child. Two layers of burned soil
extended over the whole chamber 10cm and 20cm above the floor. Nothing was found on the floor, and higher levels contained animal as well as human bones. Fragments of gold leaf (A1.12.8), silver wire, and arrowheads were noted.

The chamber of Fities 2 had apparently been broken into and disturbed in its west and northwest section shortly after World War II. There was one intact burial on the floor of the tomb, and one behind the walling of the stomion, both of which were of LHIIIB date. Three skulls and bones collected by Marinatos in his partial excavation are suggested to be earlier. One extended burial of the LHII period was discovered below the level of LHIII activity. The skeleton lay on its back with one hand on its chest. Abundant water had damaged the skeleton and artefacts. Near the feet were a small silver spoon, a large alabastron and a one-handled kylix, and another alabastron and kylix were paired on the right side of the corpse, while somewhere nearby was a palace style jar. Around the head had been a necklace of blue beads (or perhaps these beads had been attached to a veil), while one sard and one intricate gold bead were found nearby. The corpse also bore a cylinder seal of sardonyx around its neck. On the left side of the corpse were found one clay and one steatite spindle, and a bronze mirror with handle; at the left hand were two bronze knives with ivory handles and a pin. There was a bronze ring on a finger of the left hand and one yellow flint arrowhead under the corpse. There were two bronze scale pans, one at the head and one 79cm away from the lowest surviving part of the legs. Some of these finds: A1.12.14.

Chronology: The Livadhiti tholos was dated LHI-II by Marinatos, on the basis of sherds that he collected; other pottery in the tomb he thought LHIII. Fities 1 is also dated on the basis of statements by Marinatos about sherds: LHIIIB-III. However, Korres stated that Fities 1 was slightly earlier in date than Fities 2; the burial described above in Fities 2 is clearly LHIIA in date. Leaving aside these observations of the excavators, it would seem most likely that all three tombs were built in the early Mycenaean period, although there is not enough evidence to be more specific.

Comments: Korres states that the lintel of Fities 2 that had been visible prior to excavation 'probably' came from the area of 10: Gouvalari. If so, this symbolises the links between the funerary sites in the area. If it be accepted that Fities 1 is slightly earlier in construction than Fities 2, then the significance of building the latter underground may lie in a desire of those involved in the construction to emulate the first tomb but not to diminish its presence in the landscape. This logic might also apply to the 11: Akónes pair, but the chronology at that site is unclear.


A1.12.3. Livadhiti tholos tomb (mound in central middle distance).


Kamínía

1:200000 map reference: Kremmídhlia is -1°56′e 36°59′30″n Messenía.

Description: a large mound with five small tholos tombs and four burlal pithol; another possible mound or mounds nearby; part of a series of sites ranged along the Potámi tou Arápi, sites 10-13.

Directions: from Kremmídhlia village, make a right turning at 'Kafé to Kéndron' and follow the road to Fourtsóvrisl spring, where there is the tiny church of Ayos Nikólaos. At this crossroads, turn right and follow the road for about 500m. The mound is cut by the road and so unmissable on the right. There is an alternative road from Velanídhia, which also leads to the spring and on to the mound. The road carries on after the mound to 10:Gouvalári.


Publication: detailed preliminary.

Excavation: excavated over several seasons by Korrés; excavation incomplete.

Setting: the Kamínía mound is the most northerly of the excavated funerary sites set along the line of the Potámi tou Arápi In central Messinía. It is set on the eastern side of the gorge, about 100m from It; In this area and further north the sides of the gorge are generally less steep and impassable. A second mound is said to be In the vicinity of the excavated mound; there is a natural-looking knoll a few metres to the south. This area of the landscape is less flat, but a few hundred metres further south along the track there is a vantage point over the flat Messinía plateau.

Architecture: the dimensions of the mound (A1.13.4) were measured In 1975: 18.7m east to west, 13.9m north to south, and 4m high. The north to south dimension has been reduced by the creation of the road. In 1980 the following dimensions were given: 20m x 15m x 3.5m. Aside from the remains of a later, probably Byzantine, construction on top, this artificial mound, built largely of heaped up earth, contained five small tholos tombs, and the unexcavated northern section of the mound may well contain more tholos tombs. The tombs
are located in the western, southern, and eastern half of the mound, and generally quite high (that is, rather than being buried deep and low in the mound, they are quite near the surface and top of it). All five were very similar in construction, dimensions and situation.

Tomb 1 (A1.1. ß 12-14): located in the south section of the mound, this tomb was damaged by the cutting of the road; its vault, however, is best preserved of all, intact in the northern half of the tomb almost to its apex. It is constructed in small, flat stones with earth between; in plan, the courses have two stones’ thickness. Its diameter is estimated to have been 3.2m to 3.4m; its height does not appear to have surpassed 2m. The stomion was obviously located toward the outside of the mound, and was destroyed by the process of road construction.

Tomb 2 (A1.1. ß 16-17): situated just to the east of tomb 1 and also damaged by the cutting of the road, tomb 2 is the least well preserved of the mound, consisting of a low semicircular wall, now in great danger from erosion. Each layer consists of two parallel series of stones, one inner and one outer. The diameter of the tomb was estimated at 2.7m and the surviving height after excavation was 1.45m. The missing stomion would have been to the south or southeast.

Tomb 3 (A1.1. ß 18-22): in the east part of the mound, this tholos was undamaged by road cutting. It retains the normal features of a tholos tomb: chamber, stomion and dromos. The plan suggests a maximum diameter of 2.5m. The dromos, if such it be, appears from the plan to extend for 4.7m and to be about 1.3m wide. The dimensions of the stomion are given by the excavator: the lintel, broken, is 72cm x 50cm x 12cm; the stomion below it was blocked with earth and stones (about 1m of earth below the lintel, below which a blocking wall of 48cm depth; the earthen filled area of the stomion contained a large stone, 50cm high and 80cm across). The width of the stomion was 83cm. The right side of the stomion was well built with alternating thick and thin stones in the upper layers, to a depth (length of stomion) of 43cm; the height was 1.23m. The left side was badly damaged in the visible part; the stomion has not yet been excavated.

Tomb 4 (A1.1. ß 24-26): set in the south part of the mound, the full plan of this tomb survives, including chamber and stomion, though lacking a dromos. The tomb was well preserved, save for the collapse of the vault. The inner diameter of this tholos is 2.7m, the surviving height 1.9m, although excavation is incomplete. The blocking wall of the stomion was 95cm long, and that presumably agrees with the depth (length) of the stomion; the width at the floor is 92cm. The stomion walls are preserved to heights of 1.03m and 96cm. There was no lintel. There was a deep pit on the northwest-north-northeast-east side of the chamber.
Tomb 5 (A1.J30-32): this tomb is located a little lower than the others, on the southwest side of the mound. The eastern part of the chamber is partly preserved, while the western part with the presumed stomion has disappeared through erosion. The maximum diameter, measured from the plan, would appear to be 2.1m; the surviving height should be 1.25m.

Finds: two large pithos burials were located on top of the mound (A1.J38-11). They were found in a trial trench 70cm under the remains of the Byzantine building. They were quite badly damaged but their form and content was clear. Both had covering slabs at their mouths and appear to have been bedded with a few stones, and pithos 1 had some stones under the mouth to protect it. Their mouths both faced west, their bases east. They appear to have been about 25cm apart.

Pithos 1 (A1.J39 left), to the south of number 2, was about 1.75m long, and badly fired. It was broken into many sherds but better preserved underneath. It contained a single, originally articulated, contracted skeleton lying on its right side and with the head at the mouth end, and with the hands at the face. The bones occupied a space 1.05m long. The only artefact was a bronze ‘tool’, not illustrated. Stones of 92.5cm and 70cm in length had been placed under the mouth and as covering slab.

Pithos 2 (A1.J39 right) was 1.58m long and was also broken in sherds. A skeleton taking up about 1.1m in length was found inside, with the head toward the base, originally articulated, and in contracted position with one hand at the face and another at the hip, lying on its side. There may have been another, earlier burial in the pithos, but this is far from certain. Animal bones (spinal column) were also found, but no artefact. The mouth of the pithos was supported by stones and closed by a slab of length 70cm.

Tomb 1: the stones of the fallen vault were found in a layer that extended from 1.05m to 1.6m deep from the uppermost surviving part of the vault. The fill under this layer seems to have been mixed up to the extent that distinct layers were not present. A number of disarticulated bones and skulls was noted, along with ceramic of all periods from LHIIA to LHIIIIB (A1.J315). Three small bronze finds were also made: knife, tweezers and a bead. The remains of at least six individuals seem to have been present in the tomb. Excavation remains incomplete.

Tomb 2: the finds from this tomb were few. Stones from the collapse of the vault were found at 60cm below the upper surviving part; at 90cm, there were a few remains of bones, and
some more at 1.2m; not associated with these, a skull was found on the floor in the west part of the tomb. Sherds are mentioned but these are neither described nor dated.

**Tomb 3:** two pithol (numbered 3 and 4) were wedged into the outer walling of this tomb. Pithos 3, northwest in the tholos, was wedged by the outer stones of the vault, while pithos 4, about 2m east of it, was more deeply embedded. Their mouths were turned into the tholos: the tholos stones may have been intended to provide support for the mouths. Both were badly damaged and seem to have been a little smaller than the two pithol in the centre of the mound. Pithos 3 was empty, while number 4 has not been examined. The pithol must have been foundation deposits, as they are located at the back side of the tholos, so deep in the mound. Perhaps they were present in the mound before the construction of the tholoi, and were displaced by the building of this tomb or others, and for that reason incorporated in the fabric of tomb 3, their content perhaps being removed to the floor of the tomb at the same time.

The excavation of this tomb is incomplete and early Mycenaean layers have not been reached. The tomb was used in the Classical (and possibly Hellenistic) periods; and excavation revealed evidence of burning, sacrifice, and deposited pots (A1.13.23). Below 1.65m, a layer dated to LHIII was discovered. At least three heaps of disordered bones were found in this layer along with Mycenaean sherds. Five skulls were found in the south-southwest part of the tomb, and other collections of bones at this level.

**Tomb 4:** the fallen stones of the vault formed a layer between 1.3m and 1.46m below the surface. Below this there was a deposit of pottery in the northeast area of the tomb described as ‘two undecorated vases, a squat jug and a low cup with incurved walls’ (Lólos): these were not associated with bones, and may represent the last deposit in the tomb before the collapse of the vault. A burial, articulated but lacking the skull, was found in the centre, at a depth of 1.7m, not associated with any pottery. The area below the burial was not excavated, but the rest of the tomb around the periphery was, uncovering a number of collections of bones at slightly greater depth than the central skeleton. Right of the entrance was a skull with two long bones and some smaller bones; next to this was a skull; next to this another collection of skull and bones; next to this (opposite the entrance, at the back of the chamber) was a skull with some bones, a Vafió cup and broken bronze tweezers; next to these was a pit containing three further skulls, numbers of bones, and sherds of three Vafió cups and one other pot, along with a bronze shallow cup and a clay spindle. Some animal teeth were noted and bits of a skull were noted nearer the centre. Some finds are illustrated: A1.13.27-29.
Tomb 5: the complex remains of the tomb suggest at least five burials: three skulls distributed around the walls of the tomb, one collection of bones, and one articulated burial without a skull (A1. J.33): this skeleton had a small, single-handled decorated cup in its inner left thigh. Nearby, but perhaps not associated with it, were three pots (one cup and two others). Among the bones mentioned above were a cup and other sherds. Isolated elsewhere were a cup, a spindle and four arrowheads. There were also sherds of a pithos. The excavator believes that the entire tomb had been ‘cleared out’ before the deposition of the articulated burial, but that the other skulls and bones are remnants of the previous content.

Chronology: the two central pithoi of the mound are dated, by style and by the bronze artefact in pithos 1, to the late MH period, or to the MH/LH transition; the question of the date of the pithos embedded in tholos 3 has not been addressed, but there is no suggestion that they are any later in date.

The tholos tombs are also probably early constructions. Tomb 4 contains only early material, possibly all LHI, in what appears to be a fairly closed deposit. The pithos in tomb 5 and the pithoi embedded in the fabric of tomb 3, if useful in dating the construction of those tombs, should make them MHIII-LHI constructions. Finds in tomb 5 are all LHIIA in date, where information is available. Excavation is incomplete in tombs 1, 3, 4 and perhaps 5, and investigation of the mound itself is incomplete.

It seems clear that the mound was constructed in the MHIII period and used initially for burials in pithoi. Very shortly thereafter a number (possibly more than five) of tholos tombs was constructed around its periphery. These were used in the MHIII-LHI period, continuing in use in most cases into LHIIA, and some of them were reused in late Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean periods.

Comments: none.
A.1.13.1. Aerial photograph of Kaminia, showing mound cut by road, peripheral tholos tombs, and two pithoi. After Korres 1980, plate 103.

A.1.13.2. Kaminia mound from southeast. Tholos tomb 1 in centre of photograph.

A1.13.5. View south from Kaminia across plateau to Handhrinou (8: Kissós), marked by conical hill of Profitis Ilias.


A1.13.31. Kaminia, tholos tomb 5 chamber. Scale: 1m.

Ayos Ioánnis Papoúlia 14

1:200,000 map reference: -1°59'e 37°1'n Messinia.

Description: burial mound with many pithos burials, a layered construction, and a horseshoe-shaped central cist that was found empty. Other mounds in the vicinity. Tholos tombs reported in the village.

Directions: proceeding west from Papoúlia, about 100-150m after the dirt road becomes tarmac, the tiny white chapel of Ayos Ioánnis is visible on the right (north) side of the road. It is approached by a short dirt track. The tumulus is in front of the church. The site is in fact nearer to Plátanos than Papoúlia, being about 200m or 300m east of the sign that announces the end of Plátanos village.

References: Marinátos: 1954, 1955; Korres: 1978a, 1980, 1988. This site is one of the most widely quoted and mentioned of all those in this catalogue; selectively, McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 240; 1964, 239); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 144); Korres (1976b). Extremely full references up to 1980 are given by Korres in his reports (1978a, 326 note 1; 1980, 129 note 1).

Publication: detailed preliminary.

Excavation: the site was partly excavated by Marinátos in the 1950s, and studied intensively by Korres in the 1970s.

Setting: somewhat inland from the western Messenian coast, the site is located in the plateau. The immediate surroundings are flat (A1.14.6), but the location is at the highest level of the ridge on which it is situated. Visibility is difficult to assess because of the surrounding olive trees.

The mound is set in a cemetery of mounds, which itself forms part of a middle and late bronze age landscape stretching from Plátanos to Papoúlia. At 15:Plátanos there are two or three other burial mounds; in Papoúlia village there are three LHIII small tholoi and a cist grave, and survey indicates considerable habitation (McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 240; 1964, 239). Marinátos said that there were twelve mounds 'in the area' of 14: Ayos Ioánnis Papoúlia; Korres lists four, with appropriate directions. I have seen none of these four. One is at a place called...
Arabóstreta, where surface survey by Korrés' team in 1988 recovered pithos sherds. No plan of the antiquities in the area has been published, and no-one has been able to re-locate all of Marinátos' twelve mounds, some of which have no doubt been levelled by modern farming techniques.

**Architecture:** there are three published plans of the mound. The first (A1.14.1), published in 1954, is very incomplete, but for many years was the only published plan, and has been widely reproduced. Korrés published another plan, in fact drawn at the end of the 1955 season but never published, in 1976 (A1.14.3), and then in 1978 published his own plan of the site (A1.14.5). These three drawings are of invaluable aid in understanding the progress of the investigations. All three are however deficient in the eastern part of the mound, which is perhaps the crucial area for the understanding of the main phases. Korrés' plan of 1978 does not include the full excavation that he went on to make of this eastern area. An aerial photograph goes some way to alleviating this problem (A1.14.7).

The site consists of a mound of about 13m diameter north to south and 14m diameter east to west, judging from the plan. The mound is a layered construction, each layer consisting of marl overlain by carefully set flat stones (A1.14.10-11). There are three layers: the lowest and earliest forms the first phase of the mound (A1.14.13-15). In this lowest layer, sandy earth was heaped up to form a very low mound, probably up to or just above the level of the central construction - about 70cm above the ground. This was covered by a layer of stones, which would have formed a striking contrast with the surrounding landscape. The diameter of this original mound may have been about 9m.

The central feature of the lower layer is the well-known 'horseshoe-shaped construction' (A1.14.16-17), an apsidal cist with interior dimensions given by Marinátos as 2.2m long, 1.25m at its greatest width, toward the back, and 1.1m wide at its single east 'entrance', or opening. He recorded a height of 80cm, above a floor that had been excavated 12cm into the natural surface; there were four courses of flat stones. The construction was roofed by flat slabs (A1.14.18) and at least partly closed at its entrance by drystone walling. The slabs of the roof were broken, perhaps at the time of the construction of the later mound. Outside the entrance, Marinátos describes an oblong compartment, and east of it there was a 'little altar': these areas are not very well understood. In the 1955 plan (A1.14.3), the stones closing the entrance are drawn in place, and stones to the north and east, although disorganised, might seem to form an oblong area. The 1978 plan (A1.14.5), and especially the aerial photograph of the horseshoe-shaped construction (A1.14.15), seem to show clearly a line of stones extending north from
the southern part of the horseshoe, angled slightly away from the line of the entrance; but the stones in Marinátos’ plan are not present. They are visible in a picture published by him (A1.14.13). The altar, however, is nowhere illustrated, and the excavations in this area in 1980 have not been published with a plan, leaving this important area not well understood.

The initial phase of the mound therefore consists of the building of the horseshoe-shaped construction and its surrounding mound. The horseshoe-shaped construction is primary in the construction sequence and not the result of a later intervention (as the tholos tomb in the mound at Voidhokiliá is). Professor Korres confirmed this to me when I asked him in 1995. The most obvious analogies for this first phase are to be found at Vraná in Attikí, where Marinátos in 1969-1970 excavated a cemetery of mounds including a horseshoe-shaped construction similar to this one.

The second construction phase of the mound is formed by the upper two strata, consisting in a layer of marl above the first stone layer, then the second stone layer, a third layer of marl, and finally the third stone layer (A1.14.11). The total height of the mound at this point reached 1.34m, and probably at least 1.5m in reality, given that the higher points of the mound were badly damaged by villagers in 1954. The difference in height between the second and third layers is in places only a few centimetres.

Functionally, the second and third layers seem to have been designed for the many large burial pithoi that were inserted in them. Burials in this phase encompassed not only the pithol, but also cist graves and at least one pit grave. In many cases it would seem that the stones of the third layer, and the earth underneath, were removed for the insertion of the burial pithol (A1.14.19). Regularly, the mouths of the pithoi were stopped by upstanding slabs, and the necks were supported by surrounding drystone constructions (A1.14.22-23, A1.14.25).

There is a possibility that there was also an outer peribolos (as at 17: Voidhokiliá). Korres records its presence only as northeast of the mound and ‘east of pithos 11’, and offers no further description. Such a peribolos may belong to either main phase of use of the mound, and suggests that the mound may at one point have been covered in a final, upper layer of earth,

---

1 Marinátos excavated four mounds (A4.30-31), and noted at least three others under the buildings of Vraná village (A4.29). He makes casual reference to the excavation of one of these in one sentence: ‘At the south end of the excavation we uncovered one such grave - a horseshoe-shaped construction with two stone slabs as stelai. The grave was completely empty’. Marinátos 1970, 10. His photograph (A4.32) suggests many similarities with 14: Ayos Ioannis Papoulla, and mound II at Vraná has a similar layered construction (A4.33).
which would have also covered the pithol. This is an Important point, because the appearance of the phase II mound otherwise would be that of a flattened hemisphere with regular radial protrusions of the mouths of the pithol (aptly described by Marinátos as resembling cannon arranged around a central node.

Finds: the fill of the central construction was empty of artefactual or bone material when excavated by Marinátos. In the ‘oblong compartment’ outside he found traces of fire, a pig bone, and some other smaller bones. East of this, at his ‘little altar’, there were further ‘traces of sacrifice’. The fill of the chamber is related by Marinátos to the later mound, suggesting that if anything were originally to be found in it, it was removed at the time of the enlargement of the mound. There are therefore almost no finds from the first phase.

The second phase includes a number of burials in pithol, and some other burials. These are listed below, as far as can be reconstructed from the reports: details are often sketchy where excavated by Marinátos rather than Korrés.

**Pithos 1:** fragmentary, at the south periphery of the mound. It lay in a cavity in the third stratum on top of the stones of the second, its mouth projecting beyond the edge of the mound. Nothing is published about the content.

**Pithos 2:** fragmentary, lying south-southwest in the periphery. It lay in a cavity in the third stratum on top of the stones of the second, covered by stones. Only part of the third layer was removed: part of the pithos lay on third layer stones. No details of the content are known.

**Pithos 3:** the longest of the mound (2.18m; A1.14.21), lying west-northwest in the periphery. It lay in a cavity in the third stratum on top of the stones of the second, its mouth (47cm diameter) stopped by a stone, projecting considerably above the mound (A1.14.20). Again there are few details of content: a clay spindle is noted.

**Pithos 4:** fragmentary, lying west in the periphery. It was 1.42m long and had been repaired with lead. It lay in a cavity in the third stratum on top of the stones of the second layer. The pithos contained scraps of bones, re-examination of which suggested to Korrés that a single corpse had been inserted head-first into the pithos.

**Pithos 5:** 1.95m long, lying north-northeast in the periphery. There was an opening in the base. It contained a contracted burial with the head toward the bottom; a second skull lay at the
knees of the skeleton. It lay in a cavity in the third stratum on top of the stones of the second layer; the mouth was not preserved.

Cist 6: just southwest of the bottom of pithos 5, about 55cm x 33cm, judging from the 1978 plan (A1.14.5), containing children’s disarticulated bones, without any material culture items, judged by Marinátos to be ‘Christian’; Korrés suggests it may be later than the main period of the mound. While some Slavic burials may be disarticulated, they are often found with associated artefacts (W. Bowden, personal communication). On the other hand, there are many examples of middle and late bronze age disarticulated burials lacking grave goods. It is therefore at least possible that this grave should date to the period of use of the mound.

Cist 7: between three and four metres west-northwest of the mound, 2m x 1.1m according to the 1955 plan (A1.14.3), 2.23m x 0.82m according to the 1954 plan (A1.14.1). There is no information about its content. Dated ‘Christian’ by Marinátos.

Cist 8: east-northeast at the edge of the mound, 1m x 0.72m according to the 1978 plan (A1.14.5). It damaged the underlying grave 25, and is regarded as ‘Christian’.

Cist 9: about 50cm west of pithos 5, not represented on the 1955 or 1978 plans, 60cm x 30cm judging from the 1954 plan (A1.14.1), disarticulated bones and no finds. The dating criteria are as grave 6.

Cist 10: just southeast of the bottom of pithos 5, 30cm x 15cm judging from the 1954 plan (A1.14.1), containing disarticulated bones and no finds. The dating criteria are as grave 6.

Pithos 11: 40cm north of the northmost point of the mound, fragmentary. The bones were in disorder in 1978, but this may be the result of the 1954-1955 excavations, and no other description is available.

Pithos 12: 1.2m south of the southmost point of the mound, fragmentary. No other details are available.

Pithos 13: lying southwest in the periphery, fragmentary and damaged by cist grave 22. It is unusual among the pithoi of the periphery in that its bedding punctured both the upper and the middle layer of stones. No detail of the content is available.
Cist 14: between 50cm and 60cm wide and 75cm to 95cm long, judging from the published plans. The cist contained three joining fragments of a grey minyan pot, late middle helladic; no other details are available. However it may be that this is the cist that Marinatos singled out as being the only MH cist of those found at the mound (presumably on account of the sherds). If so, then Marinatos said that the cist contained a single contracted inhumation.

Pithos 15: with an aperture in its base and the mouth supported by a drystone construction. It was located deep in the mound southeast of the entrance of the horseshoe-shaped construction. A fragment of pottery was found underneath the mouth and dated late middle helladic. The corpse in this pithos had an obsidian arrow in its chest which Korres compares to finds in the Kefalovriso 'shaft grave' (at 23: Volimidhia) and to shaft grave IV at Mycenae (1978a, 329-330 and notes). The mouth, oriented to the south-southwest, was supported by a drystone construction and closed by a slab. There was an aperture in the base of the pithos.

Cist 16: 45cm x 22cm judging by the 1954 plan (A1.14.1), located 3.4m south-southeast of the mound, lying next to the much larger cists 17 & 18. Characterised as 'Christian' by Marinatos.

Cist 17: 1.87m x 0.6m judging by the 1954 plan (A1.14.1), or 1.5m x 0.7m, according to the 1955 plan (A1.14.3), located just south of number 16 and just north of number 18. Characterised as 'Christian' by Marinatos.

Cist 18: 1.72m x 0.52m judging by the 1954 plan, or 1.5m x 0.7m, according to the 1955 plan, which looks a little less careful in this case, located south of number 17. Characterised as 'Christian' by Marinatos.

Cist 19: this pithos was buried deep in south-southeast periphery of the mound close to pithos 15, and hence well preserved; it is not shown on any published plan. It was 1.45m long and had an opening in the base. Its mouth, up to 56cm in diameter, was protected by a drystone construction and covering slab that supported and surrounded it (A1.14.23). The pithos itself was covered by two slabs. Inside remains of two individuals were found (A1.14.22). One, the first inhumation, had had its bones disarticulated and moved to one side at the time of the interment of the second, whose legs seem to have been bound together. The pithos contained two pots, a late MH kantharos and a jug, the kantharos at the face of the second corpse and the jug near the knees (A1.14.24).
Cist 20: 1.9m long, with walls of three slabs on each long side, and one slab on each short side, and with three covering slabs. A well-preserved extended burial was found inside (A1.14.32). It damaged pithos 21, and so is therefore later, but there were no finds to date it.

Pithos 21: in the eastern periphery of the mound, badly damaged by cist grave 20 (A1.14.32). Its mouth was supported and surrounded by drystone walling that rested on the third layer of stones and reached a height of 60cm above it; the mouth itself was destroyed by the later cist. There was an aperture in the base of the pithos. The grave contained a single contracted inhumation with the head to the bottom of the pithos. Korrés suggested that some of the stones above and around the pithos might have been placed deliberately to protect it.

Cist 22: lying southwest in the periphery and damaging pithos 13. It measured 1.95m x 0.5m, and contained two extended skeletons, one older than the other and disarticulated. There were no finds and so it is undated.

Pithoi 23 & 24: two pithoi lying in a single grave cutting of length 1.45m (A1.14.25). The cutting ran radially from centre to outside, and was probably located in the east-southeast periphery of the mound, partly running beyond its edge. The pithoi were set lengthwise in the pit, mouths toward the outside and the mouth of 23, closed by its covering slab, abutting the base of 24. Both pithoi were closed by upright slabs. Pithos 23 (A1.14.27) was 64.5cm long, its mouth 28.3cm wide, and it had four handles. Pithos 24 (A1.14.28) was 49.3cm long, its mouth 24.5cm wide, and it had two handles. Both pithoi were decorated in two or three registers with diagonal parallel lines (A1.14.26). The pithoi contained infant bones, but no information on numbers of individuals or state of preservation is available. The state of the bones was too bad to determine whether the bones were articulated. In one of the pithoi² was a small ewer (height 12cm; A1.14.29).

Burial 25: an extended burial without pithos or cist, and without any accompanying artefacts (A1.14.31). It was damaged by the construction of the late cist grave 8, and so it is at least earlier than that, but it is otherwise undated.

² Said to be pithos 23 (Korrés 1980, 147) or pithos 24 (Korrés 1980, 142).
Marinátos noted that in one (or more) of the cists there was a number of skulls.

**Chronology:** the chronology of the mound is problematic and has not been resolved. Marinátos believed that it should be dated to the EH-MH transition, based on a vessel found by the villagers whose context is unknown (A1.14.30); this vessel is likely to be MH in date (see discussion in chapter one). Korrés also found EH fragments in his 1978 excavation. Nevertheless, the majority of artefacts is middle helladic in date. Some of the evidence is set out by Korrés in his 1980 publication (page 143-145). The pithoi themselves he regards as being late middle helladic, in contrast to the earlier pithoi in the 17:Voidhokiliá mound. Many of the (few) other items are said to be MHIII also, although some in the 1978 report are regarded as MHI, and MHII is also certainly present (asserted by the excavator and Howell: 1992, 76).

Korrés' most recent assertion is that the entire mound should be MHIII in date (Korrés 1984, 149): 'It is certain that the horseshoe-shaped cenotaph at Papoulía belongs to the advanced phase of the MH period'. This is difficult to sustain in the face of statements by Howell (1992, 73, 76) and Korrés noting the presence of MHI and MHII pottery. The great similarities in burial customs between 17:Voidhokiliá (securely dated MHI) and 14:Ayos Ioánnis Papoulía seem rather strange if the latter is regarded as MHIII. The chronology of the mound therefore remains doubtful.

The cist graves of the mound are largely undated, regarded by Marinátos as early Christian. One, number 14, held a few fragments of late middle helladic pottery, which might make it middle helladic, but the pottery could just as easily have been redeposited there if the cist were much later. Finally, 'Roman' tiles are mentioned as having been disturbed by the villagers, undoubtedly tile graves often found, for example at 21:Léfki. Other cists may have been destroyed by their activities.

There is one radiocarbon date from the mound (P-2855 Papoulla-1978-1; Hurst & Lawn 1984, 215): 3420±60bp. Korrés quotes this date in calibrated form as 1850-1770±70bc; but in the Radiocarbon article it is given as 1880-1675bc. Using a more recent calibration curve, however, the calibrated date should perhaps be in the range 1760-1634bc (so MHIII-LHI, table 1.1). The sample was of charcoal and ash and probably from the area in front of the horseshoe-shaped construction, as described by Korrés (marked on the 1978 plan 'ιχνη κατώθεως'); however, the Radiocarbon article suggests that it is from a niche in the centre.
of the north wall of the horseshoe-shaped construction. If so, this niche is not described in the publications. In any case, the date concurs exactly with late middle helladic and suggests that any cult activity in front of the horseshoe-shaped construction could be dated to that period, although little confidence can be placed in a single radiocarbon determination.

Comments: none.

\[\text{Calculated by the University of Washington Quaternary Isotope Lab Radiocarbon Calibration Program version 3.0: Stuiver et al. (1993). The date range I have given is with a single standard deviation; with two, the range would be 1882-1526BC (so MHII-LHIIA, table 1.1).}\]


A1.14.10. Ayos Ioánnis Papouíla. Western section of mound showing overlain layers of flat stones. Upper layer visible to the left, middle layer to the right. After Korrés 1980a, plate 107β.


A1.14.15. Ayos Ioánnis Papoúlia. Centre of mound from above, showing central horseshoe-shaped construction, original mound (lower layer) around it, the two upper layers of the later mound, and (bottom left) pithos burial 19. After Korrés 1980, plate 106α.


Plátanos

1:200,000 map reference: Plátanos is -1°59'30"e 37°1'n Messinia.

Description: three MH burlil mounds, part of a group of sites around Papoúlla, Ikléna and Plátanos.

Directions: approaching Plátanos from the west, one of the mounds may be found at the sharpest bend in the road, which is also marked by a roadside shrine and a farm track. The mound is on the inside of the bend in the road. (This should be McDonald & Hope Simpson's number 2).


Publication: unexcavated - survey (non-intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: McDonald and Hope Simpson found two mounds in the area west of Plátanos: the first said to be 700m west, the second 1.2km west. I was only able to find the second. There is a third mound, located by Korres, 1km west of Plátanos, on which a house is said to have been built in 1962 of the stones in the mound. The area is generally the interface between the highly dissected ridge land off the coast and the central Messenian plateau. The mound that I have seen is located at the end of a low ridge (A1. /5.3).

Architecture: the mound that I visited is situated at the end of a low ridge which the road curves around. The diameter seemed to be 13m from east to west and 10m from north to south. The height cannot be more than 3m, and taking into account its position on a slope, may be somewhat less. Nevertheless, as the photograph (A1. /5.1) makes clear, this is an indisputably human artefact and well defined in the landscape. At least at the top its major component is stone and it has probably been added to by field clearance. Equally, ploughing and erosion around it have certainly reduced its diameter and made it seem more well-defined.
McDonald & Hope Simpson's number 1 is said to be 12m in diameter and 3m high, while their number 2 is said to be 22m in diameter and 4m high. Both are said to be burial mounds, while Korrés' mound could be either a burial mound or a collapsed tholos tomb.

**Finds:** There is abundant ceramic lying on the mound that I have visited. However, the majority of it would appear to be very modern (mostly tile). Only a few pieces appear to be prehistoric, but middle and late helladic are definitely among these. There is also a pile of extremely weathered bone lying on the surface, but these could easily be recent.

Korrés records finds of middle helladic pithos at the mound noted by him. McDonald & Hope-Simpson note pithos fragments and cover slabs at their two mounds.

**Chronology:** MH-LH.

**Comments:** this monument, the other two associated with it in this entry, and the monuments mentioned at 14:Ayios Ioánnis Papoulía, would appear to be built into a ceremonial landscape stretched throughout this area of Messinia, in the regions of Papoulía and Plátanos, north to 27:Roútsi, and perhaps also including the area south near Ikléna, at least for the late Mycenaean period.

---

*As confirmed by Dr P. Sarrf when we visited the monument together.*
A1.15.1. Mound near Plátanos. Scale: 2m.

A1.15.2. View west from mound near Plátanos.
A1.15.3. View south-southwest from mound near Plátanos.
1:200,000 map reference: the village is -2°2'e, 37°0'5"n Messinia.

Description: medium sized tholos tomb, constructed in late MH times. Variously referred to as Korifásio, Osmánaga or Haratsári.

Directions: on the main road south from Korifásio, there is a small industrial complex (a builder's yard?). About 150m south of here, there is a greenhouse to the right and a fenced area of land to the left. At the end of the fence a track leads past a house, after which point the site is signposted. It is situated at an intersection of three telegraph lines 80m south of the last signpost.

References: Kourouniótís (1926); Blegen published some of the pottery (1954); Korrés (1976a, 1977a, 1982c); Lólos (1985, 172-178); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 242); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 130-131).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: Kourouniótís excavated the tomb in a single season, and the report is extremely brief; Kórrres re-examined it by clearing out recent fill, but was unable to pursue a projected excavation of the dromos and stomion, not excavated by Kourouniótís.

Setting: the tomb is set in the coastal plain, a good distance from the sea and at the foot of the first ridges leading up to the central Messenian plateau. It is close to the foot of the Englianós ridge. The tomb is underground, but may originally have been covered by a small mound. The area was perhaps the location of an EH settlement site.

Architecture: the chamber (A1.16.1-3) is about 6m in diameter and about the same height; the stomion to the northeast is 1.5m deep, 1.95m wide and 2.75m high, covered by three unworked lintel blocks. The whole length of the stomion was blocked with a wall of small stones; this was not excavated.
Korrés notes that there appear to be two distinct contexts in the fabric of the wall: upper stones are a different colour than those below. Korrés suggests that the tomb may have collapsed and been rebuilt: such a collapse might have occurred in the late LHI or early LHII phase; however, the difference may simply be due to differential exposure.

**Finds:** Kourouniôtis excavated a think black layer at 1m above the floor and thought this was the burial layer. In fact it is the level of later cult in the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods (as confirmed by Korres). At this time the content of the tomb was thoroughly disturbed. No contextual data were preserved by the excavator.

Finds included a double cup, bowls, and jugs; most of it was in middle helladic rather than Mycenaean styles, and obviously missing items are objects such as Vafló cups, for example. Given the conditions of excavation, perhaps not too much can be read into this: there is no real sense of how far the published material can be said to represent the content of the tomb.

**Chronology:** the early date of this tomb was established in 1954 when Carl Blegen published some of the pottery. Lólos confirms the date of this pottery as late MH (presumably MHIII) and early LHI, with the latest pieces falling to the LHI/II transition. Without contextual information, speculation on different phases of use is groundless.

**Comments:** this tholos tomb now fits with a general context of tholos construction in MHIII Messinía rather than forming a specific point of origin.

---

5 Not really visible in the photographs included here, but I can confirm this phenomenon is visible in the field.

 Voidhokiliá 17

1:200,000 map reference: -2°3'30”e 36°57'50”n Messinia.

Description: an LHI tholos tomb set within an earlier MH burial mound, itself set on the remains of an EHII settlement site (successor to a neolithic site).

Directions: taking the main north road from Pilos, Voidhokiliá is signposted left along an unmade road. On arriving at the coast, turn right to reach the bay. The monument can be reached by crossing the stream on foot and climbing to the top of the ridge. It is hidden among trees and bushes. Ancient Pylos, the cave of Nestor and the castle above can be reached by walking around the bay.


Publication: detailed preliminary.

Excavation: the mound was attacked by clandestine excavators in 1923. Marinatos partly excavated the chamber of the tholos tomb in 1956; Korres carried out a full excavation in the 1970s.

Setting: the site is located at the north end of the Bay of Navarino (A1. 17.1-6). A low rocky ridge is pierced by the sea at one point, and the sea flowing inward has caused the creation of the half-moon shaped Bay of Voidhokiliá. The ridge continues southwest and is the site of rich archaeological remains: ancient Pylos, the neolithic cave of Nestor, and a mediaeval castle (A1. 17.5). The northeast part of the ridge is relatively flat on top, and is occupied by the remains of settlement and the later mound and tholos. The setting is visible from far around, and commands a wide view: to the north, the height of Ayos Nikólaos is the site of another middle helladic mound; to the southeast, the Bay of Navarino and most immediately Osmánaga lagoon; and further east extends towards 16:Korifásio. Although the site is located on a widely visible landmark, the immediate approach from below renders the monuments invisible until one has climbed level; approaching from the north, there is a large flat area, where Korres has speculated settlement may have been located.
**Architecture:** the funerary monuments are located on a flat area of limestone that is scarred with hollows or pits. The entire area was taken up with an EHII (and neolithic) settlement (which is not described here). Most of these hollows were filled in with earth, pebbles or detritus either during the period of the EHII settlement or as a result of the abandonment and destruction of it.

A low mound (A1.17.7-9), perhaps not more than 1m high, was heaped up of the abandoned EHII settlement after some time, probably in the early MH period. Its diameter ranges from 13.7m to 15.2m and it was demarcated by a line of stones of circumference 46m. Although these are characterised as a peribolos wall by their excavator, they are little more than a single line of unworked stones, although larger than the stones on top of the mound and deliberately placed. The constitution and stratigraphy of the mound is extremely complex, not only because of its genesis from settlement material, but also because of repeated later interventions. Its basic form is that of a single mound of mixed earth and settlement débris covered with a layer of stones. Korrés believes that much of the southern and central parts of the mound underwent considerable alteration in LHI when the tholos chamber, stomion and dromos were constructed. This explains the extension of the mound on the southwest and the apparent multiple periboloi there; it also explains the disposition of the pithol, as mentioned below. The mound seems to have undergone morphological change during each pithos burial, however, since it seems that in general the stones where the pithos was to be placed were removed and placed outside the peribolos, thus extending the radius of the mound in that particular area. This in particular explains the odd form of the northern circumference. There is also likely to have been an outer peribolos, of diameter about 25m. This has been located in a few areas (but not on the published plan, which was made before the completion of the excavations). It seems that the area between the peribolos of the mound and this outer peribolos was for the most part strewn with pebbles just as the surface of the mound. The date of this addition is unknown: it may have been part of the original architecture. Thus the overall appearance of the monuments is of a low, stone-covered mound with a surrounding stony periphery.

In the LHI period the centre of the mound was excavated in order to create the space for a small tholos tomb (sometimes called the ‘tomb of Thrasymedes’; A1.17.7-9, A1.17.30-31); the south part of the mound was also heavily disturbed, which included the removal and reburial of some pithoi, as detailed below. The tholos is built mainly of sandstones, taken from the beach below, with a few limestones, especially in the stomion, and it is entirely above ground. Its diameter is 4.93m to 5.03m, the circuit of the walls fairly irregular and particularly
flattened on the east. This causes the stomion to be asymmetrical in relation to the chamber, seeming to favour the east side. Given that the estimated original height of the mound is little more than 1m, the tholos would presumably have protruded from it by three to four metres. The mound was however built up a little around the tholos at the time of its construction, up to the current surviving height of 1.95m. The chamber contained a cist \((A1.IZ34)\) made of flat slabs set on edge that protruded from the floor in the northeast quadrant, creating the impression of a box on the floor. The box was not symmetrical, with dimensions of 63cm to 73cm x 38.5cm to 42.5cm. It protruded up to 22cm from the floor. The stomion is about 2.35m long and about 1.3m wide, narrowing to 1.2m wide toward the top; the stomion survives to a height of up to 1.29m, and obviously no lintel is in situ \((A1.IZ33)\). The ‘dromos’ of the tomb, the area of the mound cleared in front of the stomion, is about 7.8m in length and 2.2m in width. The nature of this dromos remains unclear; it is presumably simply an approach to the stomion cut in the low mound. The floor of the chamber after excavation was found to consist of cavities in the bedrock \((A1.IZ32)\), which had been filled with EH settlement debris and covered with two earth floors.

There are no details of the architecture of mound B.

**Finds:** the middle helladic burial tholos are here numbered as on the published plan. Numbers 2, 3 and 8 are not funerary and seem to belong to an EH storeroom; pithos 9 is also probably early helladic.

**Pithos 1 (A1.IZ12-14):** this pithos was 1.76m long (originally 1.8m to 1.85m); it was found 1.06m above the rock surface, and just under the surface of the mound: this is higher than the others, and the surrounding matrix is certainly the result of the construction of the tholos - there is no stone covering here. Given this and its location less than 1m from the stomion of the later tholos, Korres suggests strongly that the pithos was exhumed in the construction process and reburied just to the right of the stomion. Like all of the pithol, it is placed horizontally with the mouth roughly oriented toward the outside of the mound and the base toward the centre. The mouth was originally covered by a slab that fell away; the mouth was badly broken, as was the body, which contained a fill derived partly from EH contexts, but two items of pottery, one identifiable as an early MH kantharos, were found within, along with a few unidentified human bones.

**Pithos 4 (A1.IZ18-19):** the placing of this pithos broke the northern line of the peribolos of the mound. The surviving length was 1.13m, although the top was missing; the surviving width
was 93cm. The pithos is largely outside the area of the main mound, its base resting where two stones of the peribolos were removed. The pithos contained two burials, one contracted and one disarticulated. The pithos was placed in the mound after number 12, nearby, because it occupied the space where the stones removed during the interment of pithos 12 had been placed. This, and the shape of the base, suggests that the pithos may belong to a later phase than MHI; within the pithos, however, an early minyan sherd may belong to a pot buried with one of the dead, suggesting an early date.

Pithos 5 (A1.17.13-14): this pithos is situated next to number one and had perhaps been reburied along with it when the tholos was constructed. It was about 1.47m long, 95cm wide, with an aperture of 50cm diameter at the rim, and was similarly placed horizontally with base toward the centre. No covering slab for the mouth was found. One contracted corpse was found inside, along with a grey minyan kantharos, said to be early, a ‘black burnished flask’ at the knee, and a knife, 26.5cm long, with silver pins (A1.17.15).

Pithos 6 (A1.17.21): this pithos is located in the southeast quadrant of the mound, like numbers 1 & 5, but much further from the centre, and indeed outside the peribolos line. The base is toward the centre, the mouth to the outside, like all the others. Its surviving length was 1.64m, and Korrés estimated its original length at 1.8m. No cover slab was found, and part of the rim was missing. Two dead were found within, resting in a contracted position, head toward the bottom. The first, which was female, had been placed on a bed of multi-coloured sea-pebbles; the second was interred later, at which time the bones of the first were placed to the side, disturbing the pebble floor.

Pithos 7 (A1.17.22): the pithos was badly decayed and was damaged during excavation. It survived to a length of 1.89m and 90cm width. It was placed with its mouth on the line of the peribolos of the mound, where the stones were removed. An area had been cleared for it, and this area was marked by boundary stones lined up around, clearly differentiating it from the stone covered surface of the mound. Stones from this cleared area were placed outside the peribolos, extending the mound at this point. The pithos held one probably male skeleton, which was found toward the top of the pot. Korrés speculates that this pithos was removed from the centre of the mound during the construction of the tholos chamber and reburied in the northwest quadrant, and that during this movement the bones gathered at the bottom. With the corpse were a bronze knife, a grey minyan kantharos, a small pot of ‘adriatic’ ware (A1.17.20 left), a bronze pin, and a silver hair ring. Many pebbles inside the pot suggest the possibility that the skeleton originally lay on a pebble floor.
Pithos 10 (Al. 17.23): this pithos survived to a length of 1.79m and a width of 1.13m, located in the northwest quadrant of the mound toward the centre. It was placed on a bed of stones, unlike the other pithoi, which leads Korres to speculate that this pithos is also among those reburied during the creation of the tholos tomb. A cover slab was found near the mouth. The pithos contained a few human bones, some animal bones, probably bos, and several artefacts: three pots, one of which was a grey minyan kantharos.

Pithos 11 (Al. 17.24): this pithos is located on the east axis of the mound. The stones of the capping of the mound were removed when it was placed there; these were arranged to the east of the mound to create a kind of threshold for the pithos. The stones of the peribolos were also removed. The mouth of the pithos was stopped by two covering slabs: the outer was 73cm long and held in place by a stone construction. The inner slab was artificial, made of cement and pebbles, may well have protruded above the surface of the mound as a marker. The base of the pithos lies against the layer of stones raised up around the tholos tomb above the original level of the mound: Korres believes that the builders of the tholos were careful not to extend these stones over the pithos. The pithos contained one skeleton and a grey minyan kantharos (Al. 17.17) which seemed to be in a higher layer and so might not be contemporary with the burial. The mouth of the pithos was broken, perhaps before interment.

Pithos 12: this pithos lies a little to the north of the chamber of the tholos tomb, and south of pithos 4, than which it is stratigraphically earlier. The mouth was covered with a slab that was held in place by other stones. The stones from the capping of the mound, removed to make way for the pithos, were placed to the north, outside the peribolos, and in the area later occupied by pithos 4. The surviving length of pithos 12 was 1.55m. Few skeletal remains and no artefacts were found within. No further details are available.

Pithos 13: this pithos was destroyed by the intervention of tomb robbers in 1923, who dug a trench through the area where 13 was interred. During his study of the disposition of this trench, Korres found sherds of the pithos, bones believed to have come from its occupant (or occupants), and sherds of early grey minyan pottery. The pithos was located in the northeast quadrant of the mound.

On the peribolos of the mound at the south-southwest point where the walls of an EH storeroom are located, a depas amfikpellon or 'double cup' (described generally by Howell: 1992, 60, 74, 77) of the later MH period was located (Al. 17.25). For Korres, this vessel
should be linked to funerary rites and witnesses the continuing use or acknowledgement of the mound in the later middle helladic period. Moreover, he felt it had been removed from a point further west during the construction of the tholos tomb.

Two other middle helladic graves were located. One was an unusual pit grave located in the south of the mound just to the east of the later 'dromos', and just outside the peribolos of the mound (A1. 17.25, A1. 17.28-29). The pit was rectangular (length 1.53m) and was surrounded by large unworked stones. A rabbet on the north and east sides suggests that the grave was originally provided with a wooden roof, although it does not seem to have been very deep. The floor was thickly (at least 5cm) bedded with multi-coloured sea pebbles, 1cm to 2.3cm in size. These may also have been scattered over the corpse, which was a single contracted adult female, who was wearing a silver hair ring. Bones of an embryonic human suggest the dead person had been pregnant. Two small pots were placed next to the face, one of 'adriatic' ware (A1. 17.20). The skeleton’s head was to the south.

East of the mound a second grave was located (A1. 17.26-27). This was a cist grave with two contracted burials, lying east-west with skulls to the west. These were also placed on a pebble-strewn floor. One pot of middle helladic date was located behind the skull of the southern burial.

The other principal finds to be described are associated with the tholos tomb. The chamber was excavated in 1956 to floor level, although Korres subsequently discovered that this floor level was not the earliest of the tomb. Few details were published then, but Korres has given details from Marinatos’ excavation notebooks.

The chamber was badly damaged by the incursion of 1923 and by earlier interventions in the hellenistic period. In total Marinatos excavated seven or eight burials along with the remains of a whole ox. All of these were around the edge of the chamber (the 1923 trench runs through the chamber from northeast to centre to west). In the northwest quadrant were two articulated adult skeletons and the head of a child; at the north wall was another skull; in the east was the stone box and another skull, along with the ox. Of the box or cist (A1. 17.34) little is known: items said to have been found ‘near’ it include a gold papyrus cutout, a steatite spindle and another item of steatite, another spindle, two LHIIIB pots, one sard and two faience beads, and small bits of bronze. Bits of skull and bone were preserved in the box. An LHI cup was found in the northeast quadrant; four gold bands were found near the skull of a child in the northwest quadrant; many beads, belonging perhaps to necklaces, and other small finds are noted briefly.
Near the ox skull and bones Marinátos found and removed a pile of stones that he felt might be an altar. 22 flint and obsidian arrowheads found on the floor near the entrance were dated middle or late Mycenaean by Korres. The stomion was blocked, and kylix sherds are noted nearby, along with a Vafló cup and a pot dated LMI.

Lólos (1985, 179-181) examined the early pottery from the chamber. He notes as LHI a cup from the east part of the chamber, LHI fragments from the stomion, and a Vafló cup and other fragments from outside the entrance; one LHIIA fragment was recovered in the chamber. One plain ladle from the chamber may be early.

The floor that Marinatos excavated to was strewn with multi-coloured sea pebbles both in the chamber and the stomion. In excavating it Korres found five further arrowheads, at least one of which was of very high quality. The pebble floor was removed to uncover the natural rock surface, with its filled in cavities (A1.1732), above which was the LHI floor of the tholos. Two further arrowheads were found on this floor, and including finds elsewhere, the final total for the tomb was 42. The large central hollow was found to have been excavated and filled in with material out of context of all periods from neolithic to late Mycenaean: the latter was represented by a broken LHIII figurine. Although few other details are available, sherds of all periods from LHI to LHIIIB are represented in the finds from the tomb. All of the cavities in the floor, save the large central one, contained EH débris, except that under the cist, which contained bones, sherds and evidence of burning, the chronology of which is not made clear.

Korres hypothesised that a second MH burial mound was located on the crown of the hill of Ayos Nikólaos, 350m to the north of mound A. The evidence for this consists of the use of apparently ancient pithos fragments in the matrix of the church walls and the discovery of a single pithos that was investigated in 1953 and again in 1980, along with observed 'adriatic' ware sherds on the crown of the hill. The pithos was partly destroyed by the church (A1.3736), but contained the remains of a single skeleton. The surviving length of the pithos is 1.2m and originally it should have been 1.7m to 1.8m in length. There was little visible evidence of a mound in 1995, when I visited the church. A third mound may have been located at the nearby site of 25: Dhívoli.

**Chronology:** an exact understanding of the history of the mound is not yet possible, although many details have been published. Its original diameter of about 14m, surrounded by a line of stones, is relatively clear; but other details, such as the outer peribolos and various other partial lines of stones are neither dated nor clearly understood. In outline, however, the general history
of the mound is as follows: at the start of the middle helladic period, the mound was heaped up of the settlement débris of the EHII period, and covered with a cap of rounded stones; at least nine burial pithoi were interred in the mound, in roughly horizontal position with their bases to the centre and their mouths to the outside. These pithoi were not elaborately bedded, lacking built supports for their mouths, but some had cover slabs for the mouth and some were placed in pits marked out by lines of stones. Stones removed during the interment of pithoi were generally placed outside the mound in front of the pithos, perhaps thus forming a marker. If there was any central construction, no evidence of it has survived. The burial period seems to have been earlier, rather than later, middle helladic, on the basis of early grey minyan sherds in some of the burials, but it is not entirely excluded that some burials may have taken place later in the middle helladic period, perhaps especially pithos six.

In the LH1 period some pithoi were exhumed and reburied away from the centre and south of the mound; a small tholos tomb was built with its chamber in the centre and its stomion to the south. This tholos is unusual in many regards, being founded on the ground and protruding by up to three metres from the mound, which was heightened around the chamber; the stomion was short, and the dromos was little more than a flattened approach to the stomion. Of the finds from the tholos we know relatively little; ceramic of most periods is represented but in small amounts, and little contextual information survives. There appear to have been two floors, but the laying of the second, pebble floor seems to have included a clearing of the chamber, to judge by the lack of finds when Korres excavated it. The central hollow may well have been used for burial, but its excavation is virtually unrecorded.

Chronologically there is a gap between the early MH pithos burials and the early LH tholos tomb. This need not be a difficulty; the mound may well have fallen out of use, and have been rediscovered in the early Mycenaean period. Alternatively, and this is perhaps hinted at by the discovery of the depas amfikipellon (A1.17.25), said to be of later MH years, the way the mound was used may have changed, so that it became a focus of non-intrusive ritual. Nevertheless, in this case one would have expected the discovery of more material that could be assigned to later MH years.

The chronology of the mound is based on early middle helladic sherds from a number of burials, some forming complete kantharol (kantharos sherds from pithoi 1, 5, 7, 10 & 11; other grey minyan sherds in pithoi 4 & 13). Pithos 4 is stratigraphically later than pithos 12, but it contains early grey minyan sherds. Only pithos 6 might be later; it was placed well outside the periphery of the mound, and its burials rested on a bed of sea pebbles, as did that in
the nearby pit grave. The pebbles alone cannot be used to indicate date, as they were also used much later to form the second floor of the tholos tomb, and were used in pithos 7, which contained early sherds.

The chronology of the tholos tomb is also obscure. Pottery of all periods is represented, but little is known of context, and in all probability successive intrusions in the Hellenistic period and in modern times have done much to damage such information. The LHI pottery does, however, suggest its construction in LHI, and its unusual form, and its setting within an earlier monument, all agree with such a suggestion.

Comments: given that the mound is early, its similarity to other such mounds, in particular 14: Ayos Ioannis Papouilia, is strange. These two mounds share many common factors: they are of similar size, they both contain a central construction, and both contain pithoi that face radially outward. The structure of the mound at 14: Ayos Ioannis Papouilia is better known, and is more complex than that at 17: Voidhokiliá. The central construction at 14: Ayos Ioannis Papouilia is primary in its sequence; at 17: Voidhokiliá the tholos is later, but its construction may well have obliterated some predecessor. The similarities are difficult to dismiss, and if other mounds could be found where similar burial traditions were apparent, this might go some way to bridge the chronological gap between the two.

A1.17.2. Voidhokíliá. Mound on limestone outcrop; beyond, bay of Voidhokíliá and Navarino. To right, Cave of Nestor and ancient Pylos.

A1.17.4. Bay of Voidhokillá from Cave of Nestor. Voidhokillá mound indicated by grey area amid maquis on far limestone outcrop; mound B indicated by church above and to the left.


A1.17.6. Voidhokillá. The bay from the Cave of Nestor.

A1.17.8. Section through mound. After Korrés 1978a, παρένθετος πίναξ IB'.


A1.17.25. Voidhokiliá. Left: area of later stomion with funerary pithoi 1 & 5 and the MH stone enclosed grave. Above: double cup found between the pithoi and the grave (see also A1.17.14). After Korrés 1978a, plate 203α (left) and 1996 (right).


A1.17.32. Voidhokilia: floor of chamber of tholos tomb, showing cavities in surface. Scale: 2m.

A1.17.33. Voidhokilia: interior of chamber and possible lintel stone. Scale: 1m.

1:200,000 map reference: the village is -2°3' e 37°0'40" n Messinía.

Description: Two large tholos tombs at the end of a ridge.

Directions: from the village square, take a concrete path to the church; pass through the grounds of the church and keep on the track for about a kilometre, bearing left. The site can be quite tricky to locate.


Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: the stomion of tholos 1 was excavated by Skías, the chamber by Kourouniótis. Marinátos returned to the site in the 50s to excavate the second tholos and the dromos of the first; Korrés returned in the 70s for a prolonged cleaning and measuring operation that included sieving of the spoil of the earlier excavations. For tholos 1 in particular the early date of the excavations precludes any secure statements about the disposition of the fill of the chamber, which was in any case the result of human activity over several long periods.

Setting: the tholos are located at the southwest end of a ridge that runs parallel with that on which the palace of Nestor is situated (the Englianós ridge). It is on this ridge that the site of Vouroúlia (mentioned below) and the tumuli of 21: Lefki (2.5km to the north) and 20: Tragána Kapourika are situated. The ridge is thus one of the principal routes from Navarino Inland. The tholos enjoy a spectacular view of this coastal area (A1.18.12; today impeded by tree cover). As the published drawing (A1.18.1) shows, tholos 2 is positioned at the apex of the end of the ridge, its dromos pointing southward; tholos 1 is placed further north, on the east side of the ridge, its dromos pointing nearly eastward. The positioning and orientation of the tholos relate both to the plain below and to the ridge above, already by this time dotted with funerary monuments.
Architecture: both tholos are built of rough sandstone, with cut blocks in the stomion. Tholos 1 varies between 7.2m and 7.3m in diameter and survived to 3m in height when it was first excavated. The stomion is of large cut sandstones in neat layers (A1.18.2-3). The lintel is formed of three blocks, of which two are in situ (A1.18.5). The central lintel is 2.3m x 1.32m x 60cm, the Inner lintel is 2.7m x 1.26m x 60cm. This inner lintel is slightly curved with the wall of the chamber. The third block lay broken in the dromos: it was only 1.84m x 82cm x 47cm. The stomion is 2.8m deep (long) at the floor, and because of the corbelling of the chamber wall is 3.15m long at the top. It is 2.9m high and 1.45m (Kourounlóttis) to 1.52m (Korrés) to 1.7m (Marinátos) wide. The dromos is 9.5m long (A1.18.4), declining steeply and then suddenly horizontal 1.5m before the stomion. There are two furrows (A1.18.7), beginning in this flattened area, proceeding through the stomion and 50cm into the chamber. Each is 25cm wide and 30cm deep, and they are 53cm to 57cm apart, and are 3.65m long. The dromos is unlined, but there is a kind of false lining where the dromos meets the stomion. It is of unworked stones and at no point extends more than 86cm into the dromos. Korrés believes that the tholos was not buried in a mound, but that the upper part protruded from the ground and was covered in a clay lining; Marinátos believed that the tomb was surrounded by a mound.

In the floor of the chamber were four pits (A1.18.6). One of these to the right on entering was 2.1m x 65cm x 80cm with a slab covering and a second slab layer 40cm below. A second pit was located left on entering, 2.05m x 70cm x 1.15m; beneath this was a deeper grave 1.5m x 70cm x 60cm. Another pit 90cm x 35cm deep was located near the left of the entrance; there was a fourth pit.

Tholos 2 varies from 7.1m to 7.2m in diameter and survived to 3.25m in height when excavated. The stomion was almost completely destroyed, but is 1.35m wide and built of cut sandstones, generally smaller than tomb 1. The dromos was unlined and 7.5m long, varying in width from 2.25m to 2.55m (A1.18.12-13). The floor of the stomion is lower in level than that of the chamber, and it continues thus into the chamber forming a pit 1.5m wide for 3.5m (A1.18.14). Korrés believed that a short stretch of walling to the east of the tomb constituted a peribolos wall for a mound around the tomb, although two trenches elsewhere could not locate its continuation. There were three or four pits in the floor of the chamber (A1.18.14).

Finds: In both cases the excavations revealed little stratified deposit, and the early date of the excavations of tomb 1 hampers matters further. Both tombs were standing and used intensively.
In the Hellenistic period, of which I report nothing here, save that this occupation caused severe damage to Mycenaean layers.

In tholos 1 many skulls and other bones were found at a level at least 1m above the floor. The first pit, to the right on entering, was covered in a layer of ash 70cm thick, assumed to have been used in ritual fires. Pottery within, accompanying two burlals, appears very late or post-bronze age. The second pit, located left on entering, lay under a similar ash heap and contained late pottery and one dead. Beneath this was a deeper grave apparently interfered with and containing bones, ash, palace style pottery, bits of gold and glass paste. A third pit left of the entrance contained boars' tusks; the fourth pit contained only human bones.

Marinatos excavated the dromos and found many kylix feet and stone arrowheads, fragments of gold and bronze foil, obsidian blades, fragments of flint, and part of a bronze knife. In the flat section of the dromos in front of the stomion was a shallow pit that contained a hoard of bronze items (A1.18.9, A1.18.11). These were two large pots, one three-footed, covering smaller items as follows: under the amphora, two arrowheads, a short sword and two knives, a razor, a mirror, a cup with two handles; under the three-footed vessel, a cup, two discs, and 13 parts of weapons and tools. All were crushed and badly corroded; it is unclear whether they had been deliberately compressed. A second bronze hoard was found in the north furrow (A1.18.10). These included a footed vessel, a bowl, a ewer, a knife, two razors and a flat vessel. Some were finely decorated. These items are undated.

In Korrès' cleaning of the tomb many sherds, arrowheads, beads and fragments of finds were collected, among them a reasonable quantity of obsidian and flint flakes, fragments and blades. This stone-working industry is said by Korrès to belong to some previous EH occupation of this site.

In tholos 2 few Mycenaean finds were made either in the chamber or the dromos. One LHI cup is known from the dromos; Lólos mentions an LHI cup, and it is unclear whether this is the same item. Of the four pits in the floor, most contained Hellenistic material; one contained late Mycenaean material and is cited by Marinatos as the first example of a Mycenaean cremation pit, as he felt it contained clear evidence of a pyre. None of the material predates LHIII. Despite the lack of detail, Korrès reports that tomb 2 can be dated marginally earlier than tomb 1 on the basis of the finds.
Chronology: the abundance of LHIIA palace style fragments in tomb 1 and architectural similarity between the tombs suggests that both were built at around the same time in LHIIA.

Comments: It is clear that we can say almost nothing about these tombs in the early Mycenaean period on the basis of finds, as all finds seem to have been out of context. It would be very interesting to know the date of the items in the two bronze hoards in tomb 1, since the most obvious, although not certain, conclusion is that these are foundation deposits.

The architecture of the tombs is almost identical, in size, construction material and quality of finish; the stomion and façade of tomb 1 has a more monumental appearance. It is therefore tempting to assume that both had the same architect and were built at the same time or within a few years of each other; it is however possible that tomb 2 was built some time later in imitation of tomb 1.

In the absence of clearer indications from the tombs themselves, it remains to set them in their local context. The tholos may be set amid the ancestral connotations of EH settlement, and they are set in a ridge that already had funerary associations through the middle helladic mounds mentioned above. The site of Vouroúlia1 a little to the north may itself have had a ritual association.

1 Marinátos excavated a single room of what he presumed to be a larger building, the rest of it apparently lost through erosion on a steep slope. Details of dimensions and walling are not given. Within the room were many intact or broken pots that had been stacked in rows on top of another. About 120 pots were fully or partly mended, and the total was in the region of 200 (Lólos 1985, 62-63). The scant details are immediately reminiscent of the storerooms filled with pottery at Englianós, although of a much later period.

Interest in the site has centred on the pottery itself, and the meaning of the site has hardly been a matter for debate. Marinátos called it a ‘storeroom’, and it was later suggested, on the basis of one unusual pot and some sea shells (tritons) that it was a ritual deposit (Schachermeyr 1962, columns 214-215 et 276). Korrés (1977a, 234) and Lólos both dismiss the idea: the vessels do not seem special, and the tritons may have been food. I would suggest, however, that while the room itself was not for cult practices, the vessels stored there may have been used in a repeated, ritual manner (in much the same way one must imagine the Englianós vessels were later used).
A1.18.1. Plan of excavations at Tragána. Tholos tomb 1 lies to the north, tholos tomb 2 to the south. After Korrés 1977a, figure 2.


A1.18.5. (Below) Tragána: tholos tomb 1. Lintel stones from below: central (left) and outer (right). After Korrés 1976a, plate 177β.


**Solinári Tourlidhítsa**

**1:200,000 map reference:** -1°53' e 36°56' n Messinia.

**Description:** tholos tomb.

**Directions:** 'About one kilometre southeast of Solinári' (Marinatos 1966, 121).

**References:** Marinatos (1966, 121, 129-132); Korres (1986, 84; 1988, 37); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1969, 151); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 137).

**Publication:** short final'.

**Excavation:** The site was excavated by Marinatos in 1966 and 1967.

**Setting:** this badly preserved tholos tomb was covered by a low elongated mound up to 40m in length. Recent surface survey has shown the presence of many sherds of middle helladic type in the vicinity of the mound, and re-examination of Marinatos' finds showed that this material was also found in the original excavation.

**Architecture (A1.19.1):** the dromos was stone lined (A1.19.4-5), preserved to 2.75m at one point; it was 1.7m wide and at least 3m long. The stomion is unique in that it appears to be triangular in section or corbelled, at least as far as the published section and photographs suggest (A1.19.1, A1.19.4). The stomion survives to a height of about 1m; it is about 2.75m long (deep); on the outside it is about 1.35m wide at the bottom; at the centre, it is 1m wide at the highest surviving point; on the inside it is about 1.15m wide at the bottom. The chamber (A1.19.2-3) is 5.1m in diameter and the walling survives to only 1.3m high. There were substantial remains of two blocking walls in the stomion (A1.19.4), one at the inside and one at the outside. These were rough blocking walls, while the rest of the construction was of the usual flat stones. White stones had been fitted into the interstices in the stone lining of the dromos (A1.19.5).

---

1 Although no longer than Marinatos' usual reports in Praktiká, he calls this report a final publication (as with 8:Kissós; see site 8, note 1).
There were three pits in the chamber, each near the periphery, one left, one right and one at the back of the chamber. The left pit was 1.1m x 60cm x 40cm deep in dimensions; the right 1.1m x 50cm x 50cm deep. The pit at the back was larger: 2.2m x 1m x 1.6m deep. It had three covering slabs, the largest of which was 1m x 50cm x 12cm in size.

**Finds:** Sherds from the tomb were not published or studied, save for three repaired items, which were illustrated. One was a kylix 'of Ephyraean type' found in the larger pit (A1.196 left). Another was a large jar. The third was a small handleless cup (A1.196 right). For these last two no context is given. Sherds were found in the other pits, but no bones.

Post-Mycenaean interference in the tomb, in the shape of sacrifice and cult activity, had penetrated to the floor throughout the monument, which essentially means that its appearance to us is not the product of the bronze age, but of a much later period.

**Chronology:** finds of LHIIB-LHIIIA are present certainly in the tomb, but otherwise no clear dating is possible. MH-type finds are likely intrusive from surrounding settlement remains.

**Comments:** the stomion is interesting. Marinatos says that it looks like it originally met at the top to form a triangular or corbelled section. Assuming that this is not due to inward pressure from the mound or earthquake damage, in terms of architectural technique this may fulfil a similar function to the relieving triangle seen in larger tombs; it is unclear how it could work, however, a point perhaps reinforced by the complete collapse of the tomb. The tomb at 38: Kopanaki seems also triangular in section of stomion.


Tragána Kapouríka

1:200,000 map reference: approximately -2°2'45"e 37°1'20"n Messinía.

Description: middle helladic burial mound.

Directions: Although I have walked the length of the Tragána-Ambelófito ridge, I have not seen remains of this mound. Said to be 1.5km (McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961) or 2km (Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979) north of Tragána, damaged by the line of the new road (which is marked on the 1983 1:200,000 map, but not on the 1963 version).


Publication: unexcavated - survey (non-intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: at the Tragána end of the Tragána-Ambelófito ridge. About 1.5km south of the most southern of those mounds grouped under 21: Léfki.

Architecture: a mound (no further Information).

Finds: cover slabs and MH pithos fragments.

Chronology: MH.

Comments: this mound was destroyed by the building of the current track from Tragána to Ambelófito. This site should be grouped with the mounds at 21: Léfki, and there is no doubt a possibility that further mounds lie undiscovered or destroyed on this ridge.
Lefki Kaldamou

1:200000 map reference: 123 (see below) is -2°2'e 37°2'40"n Messinfa.

Description: six (or more) middle helladic burial mounds.

Directions: the sketch map published by McDonald & Hope Simpson (A1.21.2) is misleading, at least partly because the line of the road has changed. The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project has surveyed this area, and a new map of the tumuli on the ridge has been published (A1.21.1), although only five of the six were located. Starting from within the village of Ambelófto, the turning for the track that runs along the ridge is on the outside of a tight bend. You pass a church on your left as you leave the village, and another 700m later. The first of the tumuli, 123, is located a further 1km along the track, the road cutting through it and exposing a section to your left. The second, 124, perhaps 200m from the first, about 26m off to the east of the road, is cut into by an álóni. The others are less easy to find. The location of 127 is said to be along a side track leading off from the main one just (about 30m) after one passes by 124. 126, the furthest south, is noticeable because it is still very tall, and currently (1994) has a wooden construction on top. It is located to the right of the road (42m west) and behind an agricultural building. 125 is some distance to the west of the road, on the far side of a distinct drop, about 200m from 126. It is cut into by an álóni, clearly visible from 126. Even when one has seen these tumuli before, they can be difficult to find again, and all are quickly disappearing through erosion and the action of farmers.


Publication: unexcavated - survey (non-intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: these mounds are set along the length of the ridge and on top of it (for example, A1.21.9), with the exception of 125, which is set on lower ground to the west, on an outcrop.
from the ridge. I have examined four mounds: 123, 124, 125 and 126. I have seen what could be the Pilos Project's 127, but it does not seem to me to be a tumulus.

Nigel Spencer offers the following equivalences between the mounds marked on the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project map and the original McDonald & Hope Simpson map:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRAP</th>
<th>McDonald &amp; Hope Simpson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Architecture:** 123, the most northerly of the mounds, stands today cut in half by the dirt road (A1.21.4). Its height above the road is barely greater than the surrounding land (total height above the road about 1.5m). Its presence is revealed by the sandstone slabs that seem to be characteristic of these mounds, and by eroding bone in the section. The diameter is to be estimated at 10m. Much of the original height has clearly been lost, for at the west end a slab has been revealed and eventually slipped (or been moved) from its position. Stone slabs have been roughly collected and piled near the road, presumably as a result of field clearance below (to the east). There is no clear contour to the east and no apparent edge of the mound. The section revealed no evidence of a peribolos. Neither is it to be thought that the mound was covered with stones: it would appear that the stones were used for the graves only. McDonald & Hope Simpson measured this mound as 10m x 8m x 2m.

124 (A1.21.5), famously photographed in the Minnesota Messenia Expedition's final publication (A1.21.6), is now in danger of disappearing completely. Since I first visited the site in 1994, so much of the mound has been destroyed that probably only a quarter remains in situ (A1.21.7-8). It is now about 2m high and its original diameter seems to have been 16m, estimating from the visible remains. McDonald & Hope Simpson offered the following dimensions: 13m diameter, 3m high: this accords well with what remains today. The northern section has been destroyed by an álóni (A1.21.7), constructed before my first visit; the southern section has been destroyed some time between August 1994, when I visited the mound with Nigel Spencer, and May 1996 (A1.21.8). The new section created by the recent destructive activity has revealed a stone construction, probably a built cist grave, close to the

---

1 I was shown these mounds by Nigel Spencer and by Charles Watkinson, to whom I offer my thanks.
centre of the mound (A1.27.10-12). Plenty of the stones or ‘cover-slabs’ characteristic of these five mounds were visible. If even a slight understanding of this site is to be achieved, excavations must take place before what remains disappears forever.

126 (A1.27.16-17) seems unusually tall, perhaps 4m high on its north side, but less on its south side. McDonald & Hope Simpson suggest 16m x 13m x 5m. On the south side there is a flattened agricultural area which runs up to a low stone wall probably built recently as a retaining wall against the mound (rather than being a peribolos wall). No section is exposed on this mound. The mound has the appearance of a flattened top area with relatively sheer drops from the centre to a lower point. The top has been used recently for a farmers’ wooden hut. A few ‘cover slabs’ are visible.

125 is the only one of this group not directly located on the same ridge. It is substantially destroyed by a road on one side and an álóni on another. It is very difficult now to suggest where the centre or edges might have been (McDonald & Hope Simpson give dimensions of 25m x 15m x 5m - a height of about 1m might be accurate today). What might have been a cist cover stone has fallen into the álóni (A1.27.13). A little further east, seemingly far from where the centre might have been, there is a drystone construction, half visible, that looks as if it might form a horseshoe, rather like the one in the centre of 14: Ayos Ioánnis Pápoúlia, but rather smaller. It might equally be a more recent construction. This area has more of the ‘cover slabs’ than any of the others, enough in fact to form a covering for the complete mound, again like 14: Ayos Ioánnis Pápoúlia; this is complete speculation given that they are all now piled up or formed into a wall.

There is no visible architecture at the supposed location of 127 (A1.27.18). McDonald & Hope-Simpson give dimensions of 13m x 10m x 5m. On this mound, and also on McDonald & Hope-Simpson’s number two, said by them to have been destroyed by an álóni, I have no information.

**Finds:** In the section revealed at 123 bones are visible near the centre. More bones are visible at the point where the slab had moved at the west end. No pithos or other artefactual evidence is currently visible, and pithos fragments were not noted at this mound by McDonald & Hope Simpson.

At 124 neither bone nor material culture was noted in association with the possible cist construction. One or two pieces of bone were visible in the northern section, but I did not see...
any pottery that seemed prehistoric. Pithos fragments were not noted at this mound by McDonald & Hope Simpson.

At 126 in 1994 Nigel Spencer and I noted a single sherd that might have been middle helladic. Pithos fragments and sherds were noted by McDonald & Hope Simpson.

At 125 in the section exposed by road cutting there is a tile grave, presumably of Hellenistic or Roman date (A1.21.15). The space between the tiles is now devoid of its contents. Bone has been revealed where the possible cover slab has fallen into the aióni. McDonald & Hope Simpson noted pithos fragments and sherds.

At the possible location of 127 there are Roman sherds in a nearby (modern) drystone wall. At this and at their mound 2, McDonald & Hope Simpson noted pithos fragments and sherds.

**Chronology:** MH.

**Comments:** McDonald & Hope-Simpson almost forty years ago noted that the mounds were 'being rapidly eroded by cultivation'. Their claimed heights of about 2m to 5m for these mounds are not apparent today, and at 124 in particular the attacks of the farmers are clear. This, and the controversy over the date of these mounds (appendix three), makes it absolutely imperative that the remnants of these mounds are excavated before they disappear entirely in the next decade or so.

Spencer has noted a number of general considerations with respect to these mounds. Their position on top of the Ambelófito-Tragána ridge is no doubt significant, three of the four having a clear view of the palace site (possibly already significant in the MH period; A1.21.3), and there is a great deal of intervisibility between the sites. 125 is the odd one, without a view of the palace and probably only intervisible with 126. The three prominent mounds are so by virtue of being placed at very high points on the ridge. All of the mounds are within a few moments walk of each other.

A1.21.2. (Left) Plan of mound locations according to McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, Illustration 9).
A 1.21.3. Lefki Kaldámou: view southeast to palace from mound 123.


A1.21.15. Lefki Kaldámou, mound 125: tile grave of Hellenistic or Roman date. Scale: 40cm.


1:200,000 map reference: approximately -2.3°e 37°4’n Messinía.

Description: a possible middle helladic burial mound.

Directions: ‘ca. 2 km. W-SW of’ Pírgos (McDonald & Hope Simpson).


Publication: unexcavated - survey (non-intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: on the crown of the ridge to the north of the Tragána-Ambelófto ridge of sites 20: Tragána Kapourika and 21: Léfiíl.

Architecture: McDonald & Hope Simpson reported a diameter of 9m to 12m and a height of 5m. They noted ‘cover slabs’. The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project on their first visit to the site measured it as 14m in diameter, but by 1993 bulldozing had reduced it to 5.4m in diameter and 3.5m high.

Finds: McDonald & Hope Simpson noted bones, fragments of pithol, two MH sherds, and Roman or Byzantine pottery. PRAP noted Roman and later tile, bones from two separate inhumations, amphora fragments, and glazed sherds.

Chronology: the two sherds recovered by McDonald & Hope Simpson are described, one as being matt painted and the other as being imitation minyan. Unless McDonald & Hope Simpson were completely wrong in this diagnosis, there was clearly an MH component to the history of the mound, just as there is clearly a Roman, Byzantine and possibly Turkish component to its history. Davis et alii suggest that this mound has no MH component simply on the basis that they did not find MH sherds, whereas they did find later sherds. This clearly overlooks the discovery of two MH sherds by McDonald & Hope Simpson (unless they were
mistaken); in any case the MH component of the mound might easily not be represented among the finds of a surface collection.

Comments: see further comments in appendix three and postscript, page 851.
Volimidhia

1:200,000 map reference: -2°0’0”e 37°30’0”n Messinía.

Description: at least 34 LHI-III chamber tombs and another grave.

Directions: from the archaeological museum in Hóra go north for a few hundred metres. A road left (signposted for the tombs) leads (after about 100m) to the Angelopoúlou and Mastorákl tombs, south of the road, the Vorlá tombs north of the road, and following the road for a few hundred metres, the Koroníou tombs. Back on the main road, the Kefalóvríso tombs are located about 100m north of the turnoff, mostly under the road. Follow the road north for the Kefalóvríso spring.


Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: the majority of the tombs were excavated by Marinátos in the 1950s and 1960s. Two tombs were excavated in the early 1970s and one in 1990 by the Eforía. Another tomb was excavated in recent years but is not yet published.

Setting: In contrast with many tombs in this study, and in contrast with the expected setting for a chamber tomb cemetery in a slope, these tombs are located on flat or gently sloping land on a plain to the north of modern Hóra. The tombs are named according to landowner, but this grouping does not reflect any physical separation, save that the Koroníou tombs are distant from the rest. The Kefalóvríso group, for example, is separated from the Régas tomb and Vorlá 2 only by the road, and indeed Kefalóvríso 7 is so far under the road as to be on the northern side of it, and Kefalóvríso A and B are located on the north side. Other unexcavated tombs are known, it is likely that many more tombs have not yet been discovered, and a good many may have been destroyed and not recorded during house-building activity before Marinátos’ arrival.

There is a remarkable consistency in the settings of the tombs. Those in the Angelopoúlou group are clearly set in a line, their dromol to the west, and in most other cases dromol are also
to the west, with few known exceptions (mostly in the distant Koroníou group). The Angelopoúliou and Mastoráki tombs form a line about 100m south to north. The Vorlá group is scattered over an area about 100m to the east of this line, and the Kefalóvriso tombs and Vorlá 2 are located about 50m east of this again. The Koroníou tombs are located about 200m to 230m north of the Kefalóvriso group, or 200m northeast of the northern end of the Angelopoúliou group.

**Architecture:** the architecture of the tombs is extremely consistent: the chambers are almost all circular at the base and rise to an apex, creating a section very similar to that of a tholos tomb (for example, Kefalóvriso 4 - A1.23.12). Some of the Kefalóvriso tombs have less regular plans (for example, Kefalóvriso 5 - A1.23.15). The stomia are little more than openings in the rock (for example, A1.23.37), in all cases (as far as I know) less than 1m deep (long), and usually blocked with a drystone wall; the dromoi are generally short and steep (for example, A1.23.31), their sides cut vertically (so not wider at the bottom and tapering to the top, in contrast with many chamber tomb dromoi elsewhere). The tombs are dug in soft limestone on almost flat surfaces.

Many of the tombs were reused in post-Mycenaean periods, often entered by puncturing the chamber above the apex (if the chamber had not collapsed accidentally; A1.23.33). Occasionally this reuse involved the partial removal of the blocking wall.

**Kefalóvriso 1:** this refers in fact to two graves, not chamber tombs but pit or cist graves, rather large and of unusual form. It is difficult to be sure of the architecture of these tombs, despite two published plans, a section, and several photographs. Marinátos describes the larger grave as a ‘shaft grave’ with some certainty (‘ἀνήκει είς τούς λακκοκεῖδείς τάφους (Schachtgräber, Shaft-graves)’; 1964, 79). The key to understanding the form of the graves lies in the considerable quantity of flat stones removed during the excavation, mostly from the west side (visible in a published photograph: A1.23.3; and shown in the published plans: A1.23.1, A1.23.18 left). These Marinátos seems to interpret as a collapsed drystone construction from the upper part of a shaft grave, specifically stones placed on top of wooden slats placed across the grave. This is not particularly easy to understand. Alternatively, examination of the plans and photographs suggests that, particularly on the west and south sides, the stones form a horseshoe-shaped construction similar to that known from the centre of the 14: Ayos Ioánnis Papoúlia mound or from Vraná in Attikí (see 14: Ayos Ioánnis Papoúlia note 1 and illustration A4.32). A crucial difference is that the grave pit here is clearly a pit dug in earth and not an overground built construction. Nonetheless it seems possible that this grave
consists principally of an earthen centre, with a dug out pit forming the grave, and a layer of stones above the earth forming a covering over and around the earth and the pit in the centre: in other words, a small mound or tumulus. It is further likely that the entire construction was at some point covered with earth. The photograph (A1.233.3) seems to suggest that excavation was incomplete to the north and east.

Whatever the exact format of the grave, what is clear is that there is a stone surround, so it was built, and it was clearly roofed in some way with stones.

Immediately to the south-southeast of this grave (less that a metre distant) was a second grave, also described by Marinátos as a ‘shaft grave’, and nearby a circular pit. Marinátos does not describe these, and the published photographs (A1.232), taken after the completion of excavations, does not help in understanding its exact form or its relationship to the grave to the north. Visible stones suggest however that a similar structure is at least possible. Marinátos noted that the grave had been damaged by later construction.

The pit of the first grave is 3.2m long by 1.25m wide, and on the basis of the published section (A1.2318 left) is about 1m deep. The whole structure, as far as excavation has uncovered it, extends over an area at least 2.75m (east to west) and 3.5m (north to south). The southern grave, on the basis of the published plan and section, is 2m x 1.25m x 75cm. The circular pit to the south of the grave is about 50cm in diameter and perhaps 20cm deep.

It seems that excavation was not extended around these structures to the north and east (partly because of the road), so it is possible that other graves were located nearby. Moreover the nearby chamber tomb Kefalóvirso 6, likely to be one of the earliest of the Volimidhia tombs, and so perhaps very close to these two graves in date, is located directly to the northwest of the large tomb, the dromos of Kefalóvirso 6 parallel and next to the grave.

Kefalóvirso 2 (A1.237-8): this tomb was orientated with the chamber to the south and the dromos to the north, under the modern road. The dromos was only partly excavated, but contained a niche sized for burials and closed with a slab, on the west side. The diameter of the chamber was 3.7m and the height is 3.55m, heightened by the collapse of eroding rock. The entrance, to the north, was 1.7m high and 1.1m wide. In the west part of the chamber were one or two pits; there were nine niches around the periphery of the floor. The second niche on the east was covered with a slab, and one of the others with ‘crude brick’.
Kefalóvriso 3: this tomb is also located under the road. Its orientation is not recorded. The dromos is unexcavated. The chamber is 4.25m to 4.3m in diameter. The dimensions of the stomion are not recorded, but the intact blocking wall was 70cm to 75cm thick at the bottom and 40cm to 45cm thick at the top (A1.23.10 left). There were three pits in the floor and eight niches around the periphery.

Kefalóvriso 4 (A1.23.11-12): the diameter of the chamber, which had been punctured at the top, is 3.8m, and its original height should have been about 2m. The chamber walling at the door is almost vertical. The width of the stomion is 92cm at the bottom, 87cm at the top, height 1.29m, depth (length) about 75cm. The dromos, 2.15m below ground level at the façade, is 1.75m wide at that end and 1.35m wide at the outer end. The chamber is to the east and the dromos to the west. There were three pits in the floor of the chamber, one roughly covered with stones. Each is oriented east-west, pit one in the centre, pit two in the north periphery, pit three in the south periphery.

Kefalóvriso 5 (A1.23.13 left, A1.23.15): the diameter of the chamber was 3.6m; the chamber was damaged by the water channel above. This tomb, like most of the others of the group, is located under the road, and it is oriented with the chamber to the north and the dromos to the south. The dromos is 3.2m long and 1.4m wide. There was a pit in the floor and two niches in the periphery. A niche 43cm above floor level proved to lead to the chamber of Kefalóvriso 7. According to the published plan (A1.23.15), the tomb is without any stomion, the dromos leading directly to the chamber. The chamber is also shown to be somewhat longer on the axis of the tomb, north to south, than east to west (approximately 3.7m north to south and 2.9m east to west).

Kefalóvriso 6 (A1.23.16, A1.23.18): like numbers 5 and 7, this tomb is also oriented with the chamber to the north and the dromos to the south. The chamber is circular but flat at the stomion; it is 3.2m in diameter. The stomion, as judged from the plan (A1.23.18) is about 1.15m wide and about 20cm deep (long); its height is not known. The dromos looks to be about 2.5m long. Inside the chamber there were two pits in the floor and three niches around the periphery. The chamber had completely collapsed. The tomb was contiguous with Kefalóvriso 1.

Kefalóvriso 7 (A1.23.15): only the chamber of this tomb was discovered, from an opening in the chamber of Kefalóvriso 5. The chamber was partly excavated without discovering the
location of the entrance, which must lie to the southwest or south. It was damaged by the water channel.

Kefalóvriso A (A1.23.19 right, A1.23.20): this tomb lay on the north side of the road and was oriented with the chamber to the north and the dromos to the south. The dromos and stomion were not excavated; the drystone blocking wall of the stomion survived intact. The diameter from north to south was 3.7m and east to west 3.85m; the roof was damaged but the original height was calculated at 2.4m. The stomion was 1.2m high and 98cm wide. There were five pits dug in the floor at the periphery and a further pit partly dug also into the wall as a niche. Dimensions of pits: pit 1, 1.3m x 35-50cm x 40cm; pit 2, small, 50cm deep; pit 3, 70cm x 35cm x 20cm; pit 4, 90cm x 40cm x 30cm; pit 5, 62cm x 50cm x 30cm.

Kefalóvriso B (A1.23.19 left): also on the north side of the road, oriented in the more usual way (chamber to the east, dromos to the west). The chamber was intact, 2.65m high and diameter between 3.75m and 4m. The dromos and stomion were not excavated. The stomion was 1.2m high, lower width 1.2m, upper width 1.1m, and blocked with a partly collapsed drystone wall. There was a niche in the wall at the southwest, which had also been blocked with a drystone wall. There were four pits in the floor around the periphery. Dimensions of the pits: pit 1, 1m x 50cm x 30cm; pit 2, 1.85m x 45cm x 23cm; pit 3, 1.5m x 45cm x 20cm; pit 4, 1m x 50cm x 20cm.

Angelopoúlou 1: the diameter of the chamber was 5.9m east to west and 6.1m north to south. The chamber had collapsed; the surviving height was 2.2m. The entrance was not excavated. There were two pits in the floor, one at the back opposite the entrance 2m long, 0.85m wide and 0.6m deep, the second to the left of the entrance, 1.4m x 0.45m x 0.4m.

Angelopoulov 2 (A1.23.21, A1.23.23): the diameter of the chamber was *3.9m, the surviving height *2.55m; the upper part of the chamber was damaged. The dromos, to the west, descended in five steps to a flat area before the entrance. The floor is carved more deeply to the north and the south, leaving a central strip running east-west across the chamber at the height of the stomion. As this tomb was completely open in post-Mycenaean times, there is no way of knowing if this feature relates to any Mycenaean period of use.

1 I follow the published plan in this observation (A1.23.19 left, but in the text the door is said to be to the northwest.
2 Dimensions marked with an asterisk (*) are rough approximations based on autopsy.
Angelopoulou 4: the diameter of the chamber was *5.1m and the surviving height *3m; the upper part was damaged. There were eight pits in the floor around the periphery of the tomb.

Angelopoulou 5 (A1.23.24): the diameter of the chamber was *4m, surviving height *2.25m; the top of the chamber was damaged. There was a side chamber in the dromos, on the north side, of the same shape as the main chamber, about *1.3m in diameter and *1m in surviving height. The photograph shows the entrance blocked by a single slab.

Angelopoulou 6: the top of the chamber was damaged; no other information.

Angelopoulou 7: the top of the chamber was damaged; no other information.

Angelopoulou 8: there were two niches at the back of the chamber. The blocking wall was complete and the roof undamaged.

Angelopoulou 9: the roof was undamaged, but the blocking wall was incomplete. There was a side chamber in the dromos, to the north.

Angelopoulou 10: the diameter of the chamber was at least 4.5m (the excavation was incomplete) and surviving height 2.35m; the upper part of the chamber had been damaged. The dromos was 1.55m wide at the entrance, and it was excavated for 3m; the excavation was incomplete. The stomion was 1.7m tall, 1.3m wide at the bottom and 1.1m wide at the top; the entrance was blocked with a drystone wall.

Angelopoulou 11: the diameter of the chamber was 4.6m and it survived to a height of 2.4m; the upper part of the chamber had been damaged. The stomion was 1.8m high, 95cm wide at the bottom and 80cm at the top. The dromos was 1.95m wide at the entrance to the tomb, and was excavated 2.5m to the west, but the excavation was not completed. The blocking wall of the door survived to a height of 1.2m. Marinatos mentions a shallow pit in the dromos. In the chamber there were 10 niches in the wall around the periphery of the floor, and a pit in the middle, 1.75m x 0.65m x 0.28m, possibly post-Mycenaean in date.

Mastoraki 1: this tomb lies somewhere to the north of the Angelopoulou group. There are no architectural details save that there were three pits in the floor and two niches in the wall.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V1</th>
<th>V1a</th>
<th>V2</th>
<th>V3</th>
<th>V4</th>
<th>V5</th>
<th>V6</th>
<th>V7</th>
<th>Rigas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diameter of chamber east to west</td>
<td>4.90</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>(3.10)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diameter of chamber north to south</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>(3.10)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>3.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surviving height of chamber</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>(2.35)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated original height of chamber</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>(2.35)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height of stomion</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>(1.40)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width of stomion</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>(0.90)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depth$^3$ of stomion</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of dromos</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>8.20</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>5.60</td>
<td>5.60</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width of dromos at stomion</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width of dromos at outer end</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.23.1. Dimensions (in metres) of the Voriä and Rigas tombs according to rough measurements taken in the field. Dimensions for V2 could not be obtained in the field and those given above are taken from Marinatos (1952). Marinatos does provide some dimensional data (particularly for tombs 1 & 7); where this differs from my measurements, it is noted below under the appropriate tomb entry.

Voriä 1 (A1.23.28-30)$^3$: Marinatos' measurements for this tomb differ slightly from mine as follows: diameter of chamber, 4.8m; height of chamber, 3.25m; stomion 1.75m high, 1.1m wide at the top and 1.2m wide at the bottom; length of dromos 7m, width at stomion of dromos 2.15m, and at the outside over one metre. The chamber was intact; the floor was not level, but slightly deeper to the back (east) of the chamber. In the floor the back of the chamber was a pit 1.9m x 0.8m x 0.4m, and around the periphery were nine niches. About two thirds of the blocking wall of the stomion was preserved at the time of excavation (A1.23.29 left): this was of carefully placed flat stones.

To the north at the middle of the dromos was a second, smaller chamber, Voriä 1a (A1.23.30). Marinatos' dimensions are: largest diameter of chamber, 3.15m, smallest, 2.7m; width of stomion, 0.7m, surviving height 0.9m. There was a pit in the floor, and the entrance was blocked to its surviving height at excavation. The blocking wall was said to be well built, as the blocking wall of the main chamber. The roof of the chamber was completely collapsed.

Voriä 2: those dimensions reported by Marinatos are given in the table above. There was a pit in the floor opposite the chamber, with a stone slab covering. The slabs rested on a lowered level of the floor, presumably causing the upper surface of the slabs to be flush with floor level. There were three niches in the periphery of the floor. The blocking wall of the door was preserved intact and the dromos (to the northeast, unlike the east-west orientation of most tombs) was not excavated.

---

$^3$ That is, the distance from the façade of the tomb to the chamber through the stomion.

$^4$ The tombs named 'Voriä' were described in earlier reports under the name 'Tsouléa'.

Appendix One 23:Volimidhia

468
Voriä 3: the dromos of this tomb, not excavated, ran south from the chamber, so again not in the usual east-west orientation. In the west wall of the chamber was a niche, beside which was a pit running north to south. Three other pits in the floor had the same orientation, and there was also a small round pit ('vôthros'). Pit 2 was covered with slabs, and pit 3 was so originally: one survived in situ. The niche was also covered with a slab. The chamber roof had collapsed or been punctured.

Voriä 4 (A1.23.31-33): the chamber had collapsed or had been broken into. In the floor were a pit and five round pits ('vôthrol'), and an unknown number of niches around the periphery.

Voriä 5 (A1.23.34): the roof of the chamber had been damaged but not collapsed completely in the Roman period. Inside the chamber were six niches in the periphery and two slab-covered pits (A1.23.35).

Voriä 6 (A1.23.37): this chamber tomb was intact when excavated, the top damaged during excavation. The stomion was completely walled up. The slope of the conical apex was less pronounced than in most other tombs. There were two pits, one in the north half of the chamber, one in the south.

Voriä 7 (A1.23.38-39): Marinátos provides the following dimensional data for this tomb: diameter of chamber, 5.25m; height of stomlon 1.45m, width at bottom 1m, upper width 0.89m; length of dromos, 5.75m, height of façade 2.75m, width of dromos at façade 1.75m, width of dromos at outside, 1.29m. Thickness of blocking wall at bottom 80cm to 90cm; at top, 58cm to 60cm.

This tomb was almost intact when excavated; Roman building work had intruded into the dromos and a small part of the chamber. The blocking wall of the stomion was also intact. There were no niches or pits in the floor of the tomb.

Rigas tomb (A1.23.41-42): the report on the rescue excavation of this tomb notes a dromos length of 3.9m, width at façade of 1.95m, and width at outer end of 1.5m. The chamber contained four niches and five pits.
Koroniou 1: there are no architectural details in the published reports, save that there was a second chamber opening off the dromos to the left, and that this chamber was attached to a third.

Koroniou 2: this is described as a very small tomb, with a dromos 1m long and the chamber only 1m below the surface. Marinatos speculates that the chamber may have been finished with a stone upper half, since it did not rise to a peak.

Koroniou 3 (A1.23.44 left): the chamber is 5.3m in diameter and rises 2.5m above the floor to the characteristic Volimidhia apex: that is, in the centre of the roof there is a conical hollow, whose sides rise at a much steeper angle than the sides of the chamber. This feature is present in most if not all of the Volimidhia tombs where the apex is preserved; since it is usually assumed that the tombs are carved from the bottom to the top, it is unlikely to have been used in the construction process with a string to mark out a perfect circle. The dromos is 5.3m long, 1.25m wide at the outside and 1.75m wide at the entrance. The stomion is 1.2m high and 1.1m wide at both top and bottom; it is 70cm deep (long) at the bottom and 1.1m at the top. The stomion was partly blocked with a wall 55cm high and 50cm deep. There were seven niches and shallow pits around the periphery of the floor, and three deeper grave pits in the floor, one on each side of the door and one at the back of the chamber.

Koroniou 4: no information.

Koroniou 5: the diameter of the chamber now is about *2m. No other information save that the tomb is small and was not found intact.

Koroniou 6: the diameter of the chamber was about *2.5m and the visible length of the dromos is *3m. No other information save that there was a second smaller chamber off the dromos that contained fourteen niches, some above floor height.

Finds: information for some tombs is much more detailed than for others (to the extent that tombs Angelopoülou 7 & 9 are not described at all). Additional evidence for pottery is given by Lólos (1985, 196-207), and in all cases where he describes a pot I have preferred his terminology and chronology below. Many of these tombs were used in the late Mycenaean period, and often much later. In what follows, finds post-Mycenaean date are mentioned only in passing. Where the published evidence allows for distinction, I will describe MH and LHI-II finds in detail and mention later levels. Often, however, the level of detail in the publication makes it
difficult to separate early and late Mycenaean layers or burials. Marinatos occasionally notes the presence of broken kylikes in the area of the walling of the stomion. I take this to be a regular feature, except perhaps for those few tombs not reused in LHIII.

**Kefalóvriso 1**: the smaller of the two graves contained the remains of two contracted skeletons, without other items (A1.23.2). The small round pit was empty.

The disposition of finds in the northern grave was clearly the result of more than one event (A1.23.1, A1.23.4 left). One skeleton seemed to be more or less articulated, lying on its right side with the legs drawn up to about 75° to the trunk. It was located with head to the north, in the northern two thirds of the pit, and centrally east to west. There is no detailed description of the other remains, but to judge from the plan and photograph there was another skeleton at a slightly lower level under the first, and possibly a third; other bones are mixed with material culture to the west side of the pit. Therefore at least three and probably more individuals are present.

Excavation recording (or at least reporting) was not based on context, but in addition to Marinatos' list (by type) of artefacts recovered in the excavation, many are illustrated on the plan and in the photograph (A1.23.1, A1.23.4 left). These allow us to reconstruct a minimum of three contexts: the articulated corpse and its associates, the items against the west wall, and the lower strata, presumably partly damaged by the final inhumation and probably not forming a single context. In what follows, all of the Identifications of items and their positions is based on comparisons of the excavation photograph and the plan against photographs of individual items and rare contextual statements by the excavator. Therefore, it is possible that errors in identification have been made.

Most clearly associated with the final inhumation is the collection of 41 flint arrowheads, clearly (as the plan shows) placed in a bag at the face of the corpse. Two were found on the skull itself. Also in this area were flint and obsidian fragments and flint cores (A1.23.6). Other items perhaps associated with this inhumation include the double cup ("δεπάς δισφιτκύπεκλον"), number 6 on the plan, one of six found in this grave. These included examples in red, yellow or grey clay, and some were decorated (A1.23.4 right). These cups are known in Messinia from both funerary and settlement contexts, and from Ayos Stéfanos in Lakonía (Lóios 1985, 331-333). At Nihória they are found in MHII and MHIII contexts but not in late helladic (Howell 1992, 67, 74, 77; Dickinson 1992, 478). A narrow whetstone with a hole at one end, found to the west of the face of the corpse, may have been associated with it.
The collection of material at the west side of the tomb included a krater (number 10 on the plan). To the north of this were two double cups, numbers 11 & 12, number 12 smaller with one cup placed in one of those of number 11. Both were overlain by disarticulated bones. At a lower level was a skifos, number 19, which contained two smaller pots. South of these were two other large pots. Number 8 was upturned, and number 7 is a large bowl containing an arched handle with a rimmed hole in the centre (A1.235 right). Marinatos suggests this unusual shape is related to the spinning process (to entwine two threads in one). East of these two was another bowl, number 9 (probably A1.235 left): Inside the bowl were four small cups attached to the inner walling close to the top. A double cup (16) was located under number 7, perhaps from an earlier event. Number 9 may well have been associated with the final inhumation rather than the material against the west wall.

In the southwest section of the grave, west of the krater, were a double cup (3) and a broken jug (4). Elsewhere, in the northeast of the grave, were a kantharos and a rounded jug with spout and arched handle. A little south of these was another rounded pot, not identified.

Other material found in the grave includes a bronze knife among the bowls and double cups to the northwest, three clay and one steatite spindles, three other bronze knives, and a small piece of ivory (knives: A1.234 right).

Kefalóvriso 2: the niche in the dromos (A1.237) contained a single LHIII extended inhumation, and above this an inhumation of post-Mycenaean date. In the chamber much of the fill (A1.238) contained post-Mycenaean material, including evidence for animal sacrifice. On the floor were two extended skeletons of unknown date. Under one of these was a pit containing four cups and a jar of early LH1 date. Of the eight niches, the two left of the entrance were empty. The other six contained bones and pottery. That immediately right of the entrance contained an LH1 Vafí cup. Skulls and other pots were found on the floor; most of the pottery from the floor dates LHIII, but Lólos notes one jug illustrated by Marinatos (1964, plate 91g) is LH1-II. Some early pottery is illustrated: A1.239.

Kefalóvriso 3: this tomb was not reused in post-Mycenaean times, and on excavation the fill in the chamber was nowhere more than 35cm high. Two of the pits in the floor were empty, and the third contained a supine burial associated with an LHII squat jug (A1.2310 centre). There were two skulls in the north of the chamber. Of the eight niches around the periphery, 'some' contained fragments of bones or skulls. One contained three cups, a jar and a jug, all LH1 in...
date, and two bronze knives, two whetstones, and two pestles. Another contained an LHI Jar. Another contained two arrows, one obsidian and one green serpentine. A knife with traces of wood on the handle was found in another niche. Two other pots were found on the floor of the chamber (A1.23.10 right, dated LHIII A by the excavator).

Kefalóvriso 4: two skulls and an LH III cup were found in the northern pit. Other late Mycenaean finds are noted. The tomb was also used in post-Mycenaean times.

Kefalóvriso 5: at least four pottery items were found in this tomb, all LHI in date (three jugs and a cup; A1.23.13 top right). No information about findspots is available. At one point on the floor (A1.23.14) was a skull and other bones associated with two whetstones (A1.23.13 centre right), five boars' tusks (not sliced to use in helmets; A1.23.13 lower right) and a simple serpentine axe head (A1.23.13 centre right). Other skulls are noted in the tomb.

Kefalóvriso 6: there is no description of the finds in context. Marinátos lists numbers of bones and skulls, a bronze pin, and at least seven pots are known (A1.22.16-17): an LHI cup, an LH IIIA jug, two other early jugs, an askos, and a goblet, found broken among the stones of the entrance. The last item was an alabastron, probably LH III in date.

Kefalóvriso 7: there are almost no details from the excavation of this tomb. Two pottery items are mentioned, a cup and a feeding bottle dated 'no later than LHI' (Lólos 1985, 207). Marinátos notes 'many skulls'.

Kefalóvriso A: the remains of many burials were found in this tomb, but few other items. The fill above the floor was only 12 cm deep. One articulated and two disarticulated burials were found in the centre and at the walls on each side respectively. All five pits contained disordered bones, except perhaps pit 2, said to have contained two superimposed burials. In pit 1 were three obsidian and three flint arrowheads. In the niche, along with some long bones, was an LHI Vafló cup.

Kefalóvriso B: the description of finds and findspots for this tomb is quite detailed and it seems that early material is restricted to pits in the floor. The first pit contained mixed bones and a skull along with one obsidian and one flint arrowhead, a bronze knife, and a goblet and a cup of LH III date. Pit 2 contained disordered bones and a skull and an LH II Vafló cup. Pit 3 contained...

---

5 'δοντικότριπτάς'.
an extended supine burial, but no other item. It may well be later than LHIII in date. Pit 4 contained two skulls and bones and a shallow cup without a handle. This last is undated. In the one niche there was a skull and mixed bones, along with an LHIIA shallow cup, another cup and a bronze knife. At floor level two skeletons were found extended right of the entrance and another was thought to be located to the left. At this level all of the pottery seems to have been LHIII and so no further description is offered here. The excavator mentions material that had been moved, but no description is given.

**Angelopoúlou 1:** this tomb was used in post-Mycenaean times as well as in the later Mycenaean period. In one of the pits was a skeleton on its back with legs drawn up (A1.23.22 left); a bone item on the chest had been used to hold cloth in place. In the other pit were more bones, human and animal. Neither context is dated, but presumably they are the result of the later use of the tomb. Other finds listed outside the pits are six stone arrowheads, two steatite spindles, a cylindrical agate stone, and LHII and LHIII sherds.

**Angelopoúlou 2:** this tomb was used in post-Mycenaean times, and little was preserved of earlier periods. Marinátos notes a few Mycenaean sherds.

**Angelopoúlou 4:** Marinátos provides no details of the finds from his excavations in this tomb, save mentioning finds of the Roman period. Lólos mentions an LHI Vašió cup and an LHI/IIA squat jug, the latter at least found within a niche.

**Angelopoúlou 5:** again no description of finds and contexts is given by Marinátos. He mentions a bronze double axe, other bronze objects, and bits of amber, all presumably bronze age in date, as well as Geometric period pots.

**Angelopoúlou 6:** a burial high in the fill should be associated with Roman material at this level. Lower were two other burials in pits in the floor, with both Mycenaean and later items. The entire disposition of the tomb is therefore a product of post-Mycenaean times. Marinátos found a hoard of piled up pottery (A1.23.6), possibly all Mycenaean, likely collected and redepósited (perhaps from other tombs, since there were about 50 pots) in the post-Mycenaean period. Lólos records no early pottery.

**Angelopoúlou 7:** Marinátos gives no description of his excavations here. Lólos records two LHI items, a Vašió cup and a jug, from this tomb.
Angelopoúlou 8: tomb 8 was intact with only 10cm of fill above the floor. At the back of the chamber near the niches there was a pile of human bones. Left of the entrance was an extended skeleton on the floor. 24 pottery items had been set in a line on the floor, starting with a three-handled jar at the right shoulder of the skeleton. Lólos notes three other LHI items, two Vafío cups and a jar, and an LHI/IIA cup.

Angelopoúlou 9: Marinátos again does not describe this excavation. Lólos records three items, an LHI Vafío cup, and LHI jug, and an LHI/IIA jar. The last item was found in a niche.

Angelopoúlou 10: this tomb was used in post-Mycenaean times, and much of the fill results from that period. The excavation of the chamber was not complete. Three skeletons were found on the floor, but it is not clear to which period they belong.

Angelopoúlou 11: again the disposition of the interior of this tomb seems to result from post-Mycenaean times. A burial in a pit in the centre of the chamber was judged likely to be post-Mycenaean in date. The ten niches contained bones and skulls, as well as 'insignificant' items. 47 or more skulls were found in the chamber, but their (re)deposition probably dates to the post-Mycenaean period. Lólos notes an LHI Vafío cup as likely to have come from this tomb.

Mastorákí 1: this tomb had been completely opened at various times in the past and no specifically Mycenaean finds are recorded in the short report.

Vorlá 1: this tomb was almost intact on excavation. One extended skeleton lay in an upper layer (only a few centimetres thick), and in a pit were three skulls. A group of LHIII pottery mixed with bones lay above the pit. The nine niches contained skulls and bones but no artefacts. No pre-LHIII material is mentioned. In the side chamber of the dromos an LHII alabastron was discovered. Two extended skeletons were placed in a pit in the chamber.

Vorlá 2: the roof of the tomb was damaged in the Roman period and the chamber was full of deposits of that period. The pit on the floor is not recorded as containing any finds. Part of the skeleton of a child was found on the floor associated with a feeding bottle; elsewhere a skull was found. Each niche contained bones and skulls, adolescent and infant but no adult bones. One niche contained some broken pottery. The scant material from the tomb is dated LHIII.

Vorlá 3: of the three pits, one contained a bronze spearhead, a chisel, and arrowheads of stone and bronze, as well as four LHIII pots. Deeper in the pit were two 'embracing' skeletons. Pit 2
contained one extended skeleton. Pit 3 contained seven skulls and nine pots. The niche contained several bones. Most material seems to have been removed from the tomb at some point in the past.

**Voriä 4:** five skulls were present in the niches, and a feeding bottle was also found. In the shallow pit on the floor was a skeleton. Other Mycenaean pottery remains were recovered from the floor.

**Voriä 5:** this tomb collapsed in the Roman period. The Mycenaean fill was seemingly of LHIII date, and included two groups of pottery (A1.2.3.36), spindles, silver wire and other items. The contents of the niches was not described. Of the two pits in the floor, one contained a partial skeleton (A1.2.3.35) and the other the disordered bones of an individual. No items are mentioned with these two burials. There were 'six or seven' skulls in the chamber.

**Voriä 6:** the chamber was intact and the floor covered by only 15cm to 20cm of fill. Two extended skeletons were found on the floor, with a pile of skulls and bones near the back of the chamber. Two other individuals were represented on the floor. Of the pits, one to the north contained two skulls and LHIIIA ceramic. That to the south contained two skulls, other bones, and LHIIIA-B pottery, as well as a bronze dagger. Lower was another skeleton. No specifically early evidence is recorded.

**Voriä 7:** the chamber was intact and the tomb undisturbed since its closure in the late Mycenaean period. There were no pits or niches, but on the floor there were bones and pottery, all of which seems to date to the late Mycenaean period (A1.2.3.40).

**Rigas tomb:** no items have been illustrated from this tomb, and the excavator offers no dates. The tomb seems to have been used many times. The niches around the periphery are said to have contained mixed up bones and pottery, but there is no further description. Above the floor in the fill was a skeleton associated with a pot. In the five pits of the floor there were mainly disarticulated bones, although two also held complete skeletons. There were artefacts (pottery and arrowheads) in three of the five pits. On the floor of the chamber were two skulls, other bones, and various items including a kylix base and part of a psi figurine. These items are presumably LHIIIA-B in date, as perhaps are most of the items mentioned. Earlier material may well be present in the tomb, however.
Koroniou 1: there are no details of finds, save general statements that there were skeletons extended on the floor and interred in pits, and that bones were present with a few finds in the niches. Marinátos notes some LHI sherds.

Koroniou 2: Marinátos mentions LHIII pottery from this tomb. Above the floor was an extended burial and four other skulls, while at a lower level a number of bones and skulls, the latter situated around the periphery. Twelve pots are mentioned, and the remains of bronze knives.

Koroniou 3: this grave had been investigated in 1929, without extant report. Bones and skulls are noted in the seven niches and shallow pits, including five skulls in the niche to the right of the entrance. One of the shallow pits contained two LHI jugs (A1.23.43 left and right). Another contained some flint arrowheads, and others were found immediately outside it in a burned patch, all 'obviously never used'. Close by was a flint core. Of the three grave pits in the floor, that to the left of the entrance contained an extended inhumation but no other items. That to the right contained a female skeleton. The pit at the back contained two skeletons, one above the other and with opposite orientations (A1.23.45, A1.23.46). Found with the upper skeleton, but perhaps not associated with it, were a feeding bottle and a goblet, the latter LHIIA in date (A1.23.47). A skeleton associated with an LHIII jar was found on the floor. Another pot, mentioned by Lólos but not by Marinátos, is said to date to LHIIIB.

Koroniou 4: no information.

Koroniou 5: arrows and other stone items are mentioned in connection with this tomb.

Koroniou 6: Lólos describes one Vaňó cup, LHI in date, from this tomb. Marinátos' description of his excavations is limited to the content of one of the fourteen niches of the side chamber in the dromos. He characterises this collection as an artisan's toolkit (A1.23.48). It comprised a hard stone ball, a sandstone pestle, a sandstone grooved grindstone, a 'stone tile that was the right-angle', a grindstone with a round hole, a bronze chisel with attached bone handle, a bronze knife with trace of wooden handle, another bronze chisel and a bronze awl.

Chronology: the following table presents a chronological analysis of material from the tombs in terms of presence and absence. It is based on dates given by the excavators in their reports, supplemented by the observations of Lólos. Often pottery is not dated in reports, so in this
Table the absence of a mark does not mean that the tomb was definitely not used in that period. Where a mark in the table is not solid, this indicates that the period is not certainly indicated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MH</th>
<th>LHI</th>
<th>LHII</th>
<th>LHIIIA-B</th>
<th>LHIIIC-Sub-Mycenaean</th>
<th>Post-Mycenaean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kefalóvrizo 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kefalóvrizo 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kefalóvrizo 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kefalóvrizo 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kefalóvrizo 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kefalóvrizo 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kefalóvrizo 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kefalóvrizo A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kefalóvrizo B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelopoulos 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelopoulos 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelopoulos 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelopoulos 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelopoulos 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelopoulos 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelopoulos 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelopoulos 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelopoulos 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angelopoulos 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mastoraki 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vorliá 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vorliá 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vorliá 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vorliá 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vorliá 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vorliá 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vorliá 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rigas tomb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koroniou 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koroniou 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koroniou 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koroniou 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koroniou 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koroniou 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.23.2. Chronology of Volimídia tombs.

Although in the above table MH is represented only at Kefalóvrizo 1, which is not a chamber tomb, in fact middle helladic style pottery is present in many tombs, and is usually regarded by Lólos as LHI in date. Some of this pottery is however likely to date to MHIII, indicating either that one or two of the Kefalóvrizo tombs were built before LHI, or that some of their content came from other, older contexts.

---

6 One item dated LHI-II.
7 One alabastron ‘probable’ LHIII A.
8 Mention of sacrificed animal bones.
9 Marinátos mentions ‘two or three sherds’.
There are, however, other indications than pottery for chronology. Relatively few objects made of metal or bone have been found, and no systematic study has been undertaken of them. But the architecture itself provides a considerable clue to the construction date of the tombs. Despite the secure presence of LHI pottery in only 14 of the 34 known tombs, a good case can be made for a construction date centred on LHI for the whole cemetery. The use of almost all of these tombs in the LHIII period, not to mention later periods, has led (as Marinatos recognised) to certain characteristic factors, such as the presence of early pottery in niches while later pottery is found in the chamber at large. This tendency to interfere with and move the detritus of past activity has almost certainly led to the removal of material from tombs in these later periods. At least some of the tombs without LHI or LHII ceramic can be assumed to have previously contained such material in those periods.

The stereotypical (within this group of tombs) and idiosyncratic (within the greater number of all Mycenaean chamber tombs) nature of the architecture also argues strongly for a specific construction horizon for all of the tombs. Certain specific skills, rather differently specialised than other chamber tomb construction skills, were required to build these tombs. While it is of course possible that such skills were maintained locally for a period of 400 years or so, it is perhaps easier to see the construction period limited to 100 or 150 years, specifically at the time when most other circular (tholos tomb) burial monuments were being built in Messinia. It may be relevant that the later (LHII-III) chamber tombs of Engilihanos, a mere 4km south of Volimdhia, do not follow the Volimdhia architectural principles but rather are much more like ‘ordinary’ chamber tombs, as are the more distant Thoúrta chamber tombs of the LHIII period (appendix two). It is therefore my judgement that all or almost all of the tombs were constructed in LHI-IIA; a few in the Kefaldviso group were probably constructed in MHIII. Also perhaps relevant to this discussion is the presence of only one identified LHIIB vessel from Volimdhia, perhaps suggesting that the cemetery went out of use at this time, and was only brought back into use in LHIIIA. It must be stressed however that the pottery of Volimdhia has not been exhaustively examined, and the difficulty of identifying LHIIB pottery among the sites in this catalogue is not restricted to Volimdhia.

Comments: Vorl 2 is unusual in containing mainly pre-adult inhumations; most or all contexts date to LHIII.

10 Of three known items, two are LHI and the third is ‘LHI or LHI/early LHIIA’.


A1.23.13. Volimídia: Kefalovriso tomb 5. Entrance (left), and finds from the chamber (right). After Marinatos 1965, plates 116β, 120β, 119α & 144β.

A1.23.15. Volimídhia: Kefalóvriso tombs 5 (right) and 7 (left). Plan and section. After Marinátos 1965, figure 2.

Below: finds from the chamber, after Marinátos 1965, plates 120ε & 120δ.


A1.23.20. Volimídha: Kefalóvriso tomb


A1.23.41. Volimidhia: Rigas tomb. Scale: 2m.


A1.23.43. Volimidhia: finds from Koroniou tomb 3. Left and right, from shallow pit in the floor. Middle, from pit and burial to right of entrance. After Marinatos 1952, figure 3.


Englianós

1:200,000 map reference: -2°1′45″e 37°1′50″n Messinia.

**Description:** three tholos tombs, a chamber tomb and a 'shaft grave' near the later 'palace'.

**Directions:** The 'Palace of Nestor' is signposted from the main Hóra to Pilos road, about 3km south of Hóra. Tholos 4 is visible from the car park, about 100m northeast of the palace. The Vayenás site is 140m south of the palace but not currently visible. Tholos 3 is about 1km further southwest. It is to the west of the road, near the old kilometre stone 204 (not the new kilometre signs).


**Publication:** detailed final.

**Excavation:** tholos III was excavated in three weeks in 1939; tholos IV over 50 days in 1953; and tholos V over 43 days in 1957.

**Setting:** the 'Palace of Nestor' is located on an eminence (A1.24.10; A1.27.1) on the crest of a ridge that runs northeast-southwest, one of a series of parallel ridges running toward the bay of Navarino. All three tholos are set on this ridge, the Englianós ridge. Tholos IV lies about 70m northeast of the northeast gateway set in the LH1 wall surrounding the palace mound (A1.24.9); the dromos of the tomb seems to be more or less exactly aligned with the stairway of the entrance. Tholos V is 140m southwest of the palace, along the crown of the ridge and close to the highest point before the ridge drops to a lower level. Tholos III is about 1km further south, along the lower part of the ridge (A1.24.3). The 'shaft grave' is set within the palace mound, at close to the highest point and in the centre west (under the later room 97). Chamber tomb E8 is about 400m west-southwest of the palace, set in the side of an outcrop from the ridge (with other later tombs).
Architecture:

Tholos III (Káto Englianós)¹

The tomb (A1.24.1-2) was built in a natural slope. The unlined dromos, running southwest to northeast, was 8.1m long and 2.25m to 2.35m wide. In digging the fill of the dromos the excavators noted the stratigraphy, which seemed to show four distinct levels, each separated by a thin carbonised layer (A1.24.2, A1.24.6). The obvious interpretation is that there were at least three reopenings of the tomb, and that fire was a component in opening or closing rituals. The final reopening removed a much smaller volume of earth than the others, each of which had attempted to open the whole dromos.

The stomion (A1.24.4-5) was 3m deep (long), 3.1m tall and 1.65m wide. Only part of the lintel was found. Remains of two periods of blocking wall were found; these have not been related to the stratigraphy in the dromos.

The diameter of the chamber (A1.24.7) was 7.66m to 7.71m. The walls were of unworked stone, some flat and some irregular. The wall was preserved to 2.5m to 3m in height. One pit was found at the centre of the tomb, 1.27m x 0.43m to 0.55m x 0.45m. A second pit near the southeast wall was 1.3m wide, 2.7m long and 1.3m deep, of irregular shape.

Tholos IV

The dromos (A1.24.10-12), running from southwest to northeast (as tholos III), was about 10.5m long and 4.4m wide, and unlined. There is a drop in floor level of 70cm running toward the doorway. There were numerous layers of earth and stone in the dromos; some of these layers could be seen to correspond directly with different layers in the blocking wall. One particular level seemed to exist at 1m above the original floor. The stomion is about 4.55m high, 2.25m wide and 4.6m long; one of the assumed three lintel blocks survived in situ (3m x 2.3m x 0.45m). The façade (A1.24.12) and interior of the stomion is built of partly-dressed stonework; each parastade is about 1.5m wide. A blocking wall 2m thick filled the central part of the stomion; it had been partly dismantled in the past so that there was a gap of up to 1m

¹ 'Tholos 1' and 'Tholos 2' would refer to previous excavations in tholos 1 at 18:Tragána and in the tholos at 16:Korifásio.
below the lintel. Different stone building operations were apparent in the blocking (A1.24.13).

The maximum diameter of the chamber (A1.24.15) was 9.35m and it survived up to 4.9m in height; the vault has since been restored. The walls are built of flat unworked stones. An elongated pit curved around the west side of the chamber (A1.24.16 left): 9m in length, about 1m wide and 1.4m deep. A built cist rested against the southeastern wall (A1.24.16 right). It was made of dressed blocks, 2.24m long, 1.06m wide and 47cm high, rising from the floor of the tholos.

**Tholos V**

It consisted of a semicircular peribolos wall enclosing an area of burials with a distinct floor and four pits (A1.24.19-22). The wall was at most 60cm thick, and survived to two courses in only a small area. To the south the wall and all traces of it disappeared; there was no indication of stomion or dromos, and because the area had been used as an alóni, the levels that would have held fallen stones were missing.

Pit 1 (or 'pit A')² was located toward the west-centre of the circle; it was about 1m x 1m and sub-rectangular to amorphous in shape (A1.24.23). Pit 2 ('pit b') was elongated north to south, about 70cm to 80 cm wide, at most 2.4m long, and perhaps about 40cm deep (A1.24.24). The sides were not regular. Pit 3 ('pit l') was a large area of the east side of the circle (A1.24.20). In its largest extent it is roughly sub-rectangular about 2.7m north to south and 2.4m east to west. An oval area to the southeast is deeper about 1.5m north to south and 1.1m east to west is slightly deeper. Pit 4 ('pit m') was extended east to west and measured 1.7m x 64cm x 35cm (A1.24.34).

Blegen initially interpreted the site as a tholos tomb (1958, 178), but the slightness of the walls and the lack of any kind of dromos or stomion persuaded Taylour in the final report to adopt the idea of the grave circle. The suggestion was that the walls were a peribolos built to a certain height (arbitrarily supposed to be 1.5m) and then the whole covered with planks of wood. This explanation was necessary because the site clearly preserved floor deposits, especially in the northeast sector, that would not be possible had a tumulus been thrown directly on them. The

---

² I use the enumeration that Taylour uses in the final report, but this does not agree with the published plans and sections.
lack of collapsed stone material also suggested the ‘grave-circle’ idea. Taylour was aware of the weaknesses of the argument but felt that the tholos alternative was equally weak.

To the objection that there was not enough collapsed stone material, the simple answer is that the levelling of the area to create the alómi removed most of that material. A height of about 30cm above the tholos floor is quite acceptable in this regard; many collapsed tholos tombs have fallen stone material at higher levels. The landowner moreover had built a small building and terrace wall out of this material.

The lack of stomion and dromos is explained by the loss of the southern half of the circle. Given that the entire structure is above ground, the dromos is likely to have been short or non-existent; the lack of larger stones in the vicinity suggests an undeveloped stomion. Since this tomb is presumed to be very early in date, these sorts of details should present no problem. As for the slightness of the walls, Pelon (1976, 397) offers comparison with tholos 3 at 35:Peristeriá, whose walls he states to be 40cm to 50cm thick. Peristeriá 3 did, however, have a very long stomion. Finally, Pelon and Korrés (1976b: 361-365) both point out that the surviving stones of the walling are faced inward: a smooth appearance is achieved on the inside, but unfinished on the outside. This is normal for tholos tombs. An explanation of the architecture in terms of tholol seems much easier to support than an explanation in terms of an otherwise unattested type of tomb.

'Shaft grave'

The ‘shaft grave’ (A1.24.37-38) was located some 15cm to 20cm below the floor in room 97 of the later palace, obvious to the excavators because of a depression in the floor. It was up to 1.05m deep, 1.05m to 1.12m wide and 1.53m to 1.56m long. Two long walls and one short (the northeastern) are lined with neatly built flat stone walls. The southwest short wall is lined with a slab that is wedged into place by smaller stones. The two long walls are lower by one course than the short built wall (and apparently the grave cut), thus making a shelf for cover slabs or planks. One large stone assumed to be a cover slab was found in the bottom of the grave (A1.24.37 left). Also in the bottom of the grave was a neatly built flat stone platform (A1.24.37 right), not touching any wall but on the southeast side of the floor, 1.2m x 47cm x 18cm.
Although the excavator recognised in the lowered long walls a shelf for laying cover slabs, nonetheless this does not seem to conform to the strict definition of a ‘shaft grave’, where the built cist should lie at the bottom of a wider shaft.

**Chamber tomb E8 (A1.24.39)**

The dromos (A1.24.40 top) is 7m long and 2.9m deep at the chamber end; it is 1.36m wide at the mouth and 1.67m at the chamber entrance. There were niches in the dromos on both sides: that on the east side is 1.6m from the entrance to the chamber and 45cm above the floor of the dromos; it is 85cm high, 2.4m long, and 20cm deep (that is, extends 20cm from the surface of the east wall of the dromos eastward into the earth); that on the west (A1.24.40 bottom left) is 1m from the entrance to the chamber and 65cm above the floor of the dromos; it is 90cm high, 2.7m long, and 20cm deep. The niches were walled up with irregular stones.

The dromos cut through limestone above and clay below, and the entrance to the chamber cut through clay alone. The entranceway or stomion is 1m deep (long) and 1.95m high; the width at the floor was 87cm, but 85cm above the floor the width increases to 1.25m, because the east parastade had been cut away. The lintel of the stomion was formed by the limestone above the clay in which the door was cut. Stratigraphic observations suggested to the excavator that the removal of the east parastade occurred at a time when the door was recut at a higher level. The stomion was filled with the usual blocking wall of irregular stones, which seemed to have partly collapsed into both dromos and chamber.

The oval chamber was 3.5m to 3.75m in diameter; no height is recorded, and the rock above was removed during the excavation. In the floor there were two pits and one niche. The niche, to the east, was 2.01m long, 60cm high, and dug into the chamber wall to between 47cm and 67cm. It was blocked by irregular walling. Pit 1 on the west side of the chamber was 1.24m long, 59cm wide, and 48cm deep. Pit 2 to the northwest was 1.15m long, 51cm wide and 37cm deep.
Finds:

**Tholos III (Káto Englianós)**

Two skulls and two other bones were found crushed under collapsed stones in the doorway, along with fragments of pottery and other items. In the chamber joining fragments of pottery could be found in the upper and lower fill; there is no detailed recording of stratigraphy. The lower level of fill contained the skull and half the body of a bovid, and a large part of an ovicaprid; these presumably represent later sacrifice or feasting in the tomb. The excavator suggested the tomb had been deliberately destroyed by invaders.

The central pit contained three skull fragments, other bones, beads, sherds and stones, all in disorder. The second pit near the southeast wall contained bones and stones.

The report lists a large number of pottery and other items from the fill, but their findspots are mostly unrecorded, and little attempt has been made to interpret the material.

**Tholos IV**

Scraps of pottery and fragments of gold were found in the dromos. Remains of an ivory object were found in the upper part of the blocking wall. From a section built of dressed blocks, two gold rosettes and other small gold and other objects or fragments were found.

Fallen stones from the vault of the chamber were largely missing. There was therefore no clear break between the fill of the chamber and accumulated earth above the collapsed vault. The excavator speculated that much of the collapsed stone might have been removed when an alóni was built above the tomb; if this was the case, the collapsed stone would have gathered at a height of 5m or above, that is, at the time of collapse the fill in the chamber would already have reached 5m. This may indeed have been the case (earth may have seeped through the interstices in the stonework, aided by rainwater); the implications of this are taken up under ‘chronology’ below. The alternative is to assume that the removal of collapsed stones occurred in antiquity and in relation to activities that involved the contents of the chamber. This is made more likely by the discovery of two likely components of the apex of the vault below the floor, in the fill of the curving pit. Although small scraps of bronze and other very small finds were made higher in the fill, it appears that only in the final 1.2m of fill above the floor were significant finds made.
Various levels within this last 1.2m seem occasionally to have been recognised but are neither described in detail nor drawn. In general the impression of the excavator was one of confusion, with no intact contexts. In the long pit in the floor were several cut stones, a number of small gold decorative items, such as a figure of eight shield, a bronze ring and some weapons of bronze and other small items; no bones are mentioned. Similarly in the cist no bones (save one stray) were found, but small gold and bronze objects were collected along with some amber beads. The pottery from the excavation comprised four restored vessels (a palace style jar, an ovoid jar, and two jugs) along with sherds ranging In from middle helladic to LHIII styles, principally undecorated.

The lowest level of the tomb comprised a layer 20cm to 35cm thick lying directly on the floor. This layer was devoid of artefacts and therefore consists of earth filtered through the stonework after the construction and initial period of use of the tomb. Under this layer and on top of the floor a large amount gold leaf was collected, leading the excavator to suggest that the central area, and perhaps more, of the tomb was carpeted with gold leaf. Other finds on the floor included gold foil ‘cutout’ artefacts, rosettes and beads, but only one human bone.

A selection of gold small finds is portrayed in A1.24.18.

Forty skull fragments in the tomb relate to at least 17 individuals (ten adult males, six adult females, and one child). In general, however, very few bones were recovered, and no intact graves or piles of disarticulated bone were found.

**Tholos V**

The excavator describes the discovery of many displaced Items In the levels Immediately below the surface of the alóni. This stratum of disturbed earth was about 30cm thick and was the result of modern cultivation. Immediately underneath lay what seem to have been floor deposits, along with the four pits. These pits are described In turn below.

**Pit 1 (A1.24.23):** this seems to have represented a single Interment. Inside the pit was a pithos (49cm in length, diameter of mouth 31cm, middle diameter 42cm) containing a single burial, which may or may not have been articulated. Also within the pithos were three ivory pins, bronze wire with attached silver fragments, four silver half diadems (A1.24.36), an ivory plaque, perhaps from a sword handle, and an enigmatic circular tube ('quolt') wrapped in gold leaf. Outside the pithos, In the pit, were a bronze cauldron or pan upturned and lying on the
pithos, a 'rapier' bent through 90° at about half its length, curving around the pithos at a low level, and a knife.

**Pit 2 (A1.24.24):** this pit contained the extended burial of a young man, along with the remains of a second person. The young man was extended on his back and the bones and skull of a disarticulated skeleton were arranged near the centre of the burial. The left hand lay on the pelvis and may have held the bronze mirror found in that area. Other finds were an arrowhead, a bronze awl with an ivory handle, a phi figurine (A1.24.24 top left) on the skeleton's chest, a knife, an askos, a bronze bowl and a glass bead.

**Pit 3:** much of the disturbed material in the cultivated first 30cm was found above this area. The west side of the pit was filled with bones in an area 2.25m x 0.85m. Ten skull fragments were included among many other bones.

The slightly deeper southeast area contained a pithos (62.5cm in length, mouth 32cm in diameter, greatest diameter 47cm; A1.24.25) which seems to have been set upright rather than on its side. The mouth had been covered with a flat stone. Inside was probably a single disarticulated burial, along with a knife, four bronze pins (associated with clothing by the excavator) and a single boar's tusk, unworked save it was pierced with two holes. At the bottom of the pithos was a fragmentary silver shallow cup. Beside the pithos was a number of bronze artefacts (A1.24.26-28). A bronze cauldron, conical in shape unlike that in pit 1, lay beside the pithos, and underneath it were a knife, whetstone, and three daggers. Between the pithos and the cauldron were four 'rapiers', said to be similar to shaft grave examples. Nearby were ivory pommels, boars' tusks and ivory, obsidian and amber fragments.

In the north central part of pit 3, between the bones to the west and another large jar to the east, was a large palace style jar (length 70cm, diameter of mouth 32cm, largest diameter 50cm; A1.24.29-30). Its base was set in a small pit made to receive it, and a shallow cup lay nearby. The palace style jar had been repaired at least once using lead rivets. A skull along with a few bones were found at the bottom of the jar, but no other items.

In the northeast part of the pit lay an unusual spouted jar of apparently Cretan type (62cm long, largest diameter 45cm; A1.24.31-32). The mouth had been closed by a thin square 3 The total number of rapiers from this pit as described in Taylour's text does not agree with the number in his catalogue. I follow the text description.
slab, and the jar lay on its side. Inside was a contracted articulated burlal and a small deep cup. Beside and underneath this jar were three 'rapiers' (all blades bent, two to 90°), a knife and a dagger (A1.24.33).

Pit 4 (A1.24.34): this pit contained the disarticulated remains of at least five Individuals. Six knives or daggers were found, five at the top of the deposit and one at the bottom. The only other finds were a whetstone and a gold diadem broken in four parts and scattered.

Much material was found outside of the pits in the context of what appear to be floor deposits, especially in the well preserved northeast section. Some finds noted here include fifteen pottery items (mainly alabastra), 159 beads, presumably from necklaces, and a set of items interpreted as a scale, comprising bronze balance beam and bronze pans (A1.24.35); but few or no human bones.

'Shaft grave'

Remains of material culture were found in the grave, but it had clearly been thoroughly emptied at some point before or during the construction of the palace. Some bone fragments were found, but it is unknown if they are human or animal. Other finds consisted of eleven beads of amethyst and two of gold, one in the shape of a helmeted male head. Other beads and fragments were found, along with one ivory and many pottery fragments. It was unclear to the excavators whether the pottery they found belonged with funerary deposits or came in with general fill when the grave was closed after its content was removed. Pottery from middle Helladic to late Mycenaean was found.

Chamber tomb E8

No finds were recorded in the niches in the dromos. In the chamber, burral remains, including two articulated skeletons, were found at varying heights above the floor, associated with late Mycenaean pottery. On the floor there were two sets of articulated leg bones and some fragmentary bones perhaps belonging to a child. Pottery was scattered and broken on the floor. The niche contained one supine skeleton and three items: a jug at the skull, an alabastron at the right leg, and a terracotta spindle whorl. A conical cup was found upside down outside the walling. The excavators regarded this as a single-instance context. Pit 1 contained one supine skeleton and three small pots at the feet, two beads and a terracotta spindle whorl. Again this was regarded as a single-instance context. Pit 2 contained mixed bones and two broken skulls,
four vases, a bronze knife and a 'terracotta button'. The excavators note the careful arrangement of the contents.

**Chronology:**

**Tholos III (Káto Englianós)**

The earliest pottery is an LHIIA alabastron, but the majority of the pottery is LHIIIA or LHIIIB, and so the final state of the tomb derives from that later period. LHIIA is the latest likely construction date, but it may even have been built before that.

**Tholos IV**

Finds ranging in date from middle helladic to late Mycenaean were found in the tomb. The first phase is clearly represented by the finds on the floor under the level of filtered earth. There is no precise clue to the date of this layer but its general comparability to other Messenian sites should surely suggest LHI. This date is confirmed by the presence of LHI pottery items. Nor is there any clear idea of the length of time of this phase of use. What is clear, however, is that all portable finds save the smallest were later removed. It may be that they were removed to the pit and the cist. The filtered layer had been penetrated at many points and so perhaps some objects were removed from the floor after the earth had been deposited, but it seems likely that most or all were removed before that point. It seems therefore likely that the tomb was used for a relatively small number of burials whose remains were removed to the pit and the cist, and perhaps from the tomb altogether, before the tomb entered a period of disuse.

After the period of disuse, during which time the layer of filtered earth was slowly deposited, there are two possibilities: either the tomb collapsed, or it was reused. The latter seems the more likely suggestion, especially given the presence of LHIIA pottery in the form of a palace style jar. After this reuse the tomb is likely to have collapsed.

The state of the fill in the chamber is the result of repeated and deep interventions in a considerable depth of fill. These interventions almost certainly should be placed within the LHIIIB period, the time of the floruit of the later palace. It is clearly inconceivable that a large tholos tomb, albeit collapsed, should have existed 140m north of the palace and not have been interfered with by those inhabiting the palace. It seems most likely that the removal of the collapsed stones from the roof, the interventions in the fill, and the excavation of the pit and
cist should have occurred at this time. This would explain not only the removal of objects from the tomb as a whole, but also the removal of the bones: the bones of the ancestors would have had as much, or more, 'value' to the Mycenaean Inhabitants of the palace than any objects of gold. The removal of the bones also proves that the final state of the tholos was not the result of repeated instances of 'tomb robbing', as suggested by the excavator.

**Tholos V**

The general disposition of finds does not suggest a very long period of use, but the total number of Individuals (at least 27) and the number of disarticulated burials suggests intensive use. There is a possibility that some bones might have been brought from elsewhere to be reburied here, especially in the bone pit. The lack of bones strewn across the floor increases this possibility, since elsewhere it is usually the case that even where bones are gathered up stray bones are often found throughout the tomb. The objects in the tomb are dated by Lólos between MH and LHIIIIA1. LHI-III objects are found on the floor, and earlier objects are found in specific contexts: the pithos burials. The phi-figurine in pit 2 is generally dated LHIIIIA1 (the date of the latest pottery in the tomb; French 1971, 109), but since it is possibly the earliest known example of such a figurine, it might be a little earlier. It may well be that the LHIIIIA1 objects represent a last act in the tomb at the LHII-III transition.

*Shaft grave*

This grave clearly predates the room under which it was found, but there is no specific dating evidence. The MH-LHIII pottery within could easily have come from surrounding contexts and so is not admissible as dating evidence. The likelihood is that it dates to the late middle helladic or early Mycenaean period.

**Chamber tomb E8**

Finds above the floor were dated to the late Mycenaean period, while remains on the floor include LHIIA, LHIIB and LHIIIIA1. The contents of the niche were dated LHIIB and regarded as a single-instance context. Pit 1 was similarly regarded as a single-instance context to be dated to the LHII period. The content of pit 2 was more mixed but included LHII artefacts.

**Comments:** none.

A 1.24.3. Englianós: tholos tomb III. View southwest from tholos to coast and Bay of Navarino.


Dhivári

1:200000 map reference: Voidhokílía is -2°3'30"e 36°57'50"n Messínía.

Description: burial mound containing at least one MH pithos burial.

Directions: 'near the northwest bank of Dhivári bay ... and right next to the road that goes from Petrohóri to Voidhokílía' (Kaltsás). That stretch of the road is rather short, so the site must be very close to 17:Voidhokílía and on the coast.

References: Kaltás (1981, 1982).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: rescue excavation by the Eforeí after olive planting; two seasons.

Setting: coastal; no details.

Architecture: the mound is not described; a peribolos wall apparently formed the shape of a trapezium. There is no reason to believe this wall is prehistoric.

Finds: perhaps as many as 21 graves of post-Mycenaean (Hellenistic?) date were excavated. In the northwest corner of the mound at a level lower than the other graves was found a middle helladic pithos. Its mouth was supported (or covered) by two slabs. Inside was a single burial and a ewer.

Chronology: the pithos and ewer are dated middle helladic; all other aspects of the site are later (Hellenistic?).

Comments: although detailed evidence is lacking, there are only two possible interpretations. The clearest interpretation is that the site represents a middle helladic burial mound reused and reshaped in the Hellenistic period. More excavation might be expected to reveal further middle helladic burials. The only other explanation, rather less likely (especially given the excavator's observation of the relative depth of the middle helladic deposits), is that a middle helladic burial
pithos was removed from some other context (the nearby mounds at 17:Völdhokillá, for example) and reburied in a later Hellenistic mound.
Halkiás Aeliás

1:200,000 map reference: Halkiás ls -1°50’45”e 37°21’20”n Messinía.

Description: two tholos tombs probably dated LHII-IIIA.

Directions: 'in the hills above Dorlon, at Aelías'.


Level of publication: short preliminary (newspaper report).

Excavation: rescue excavation.

Setting: unknown.

Architecture: both survived to 2m in height and had diameters of 3.9m to 4m.

Finds: Much bone material was preserved, taken by the excavator as a sign of long use. No details of individual burials or groupings is given. Many individual finds are noted in passing: whole pots, steatite spindles, two sealstones, a bronze knife, glass and faience beads, four flint arrowheads. There are possible traces of settlement in the vicinity.

Chronology: the date given in the report is LHIIIC-IIIA, presumably a mistake. I assume that the date for these tombs is LHII-IIIA (but it might conceivably be LHII-IIIC).

Comments: there is almost no information on these tombs.
Roútsi

1:200,000 map reference: Mirsinohóri is -1·59'20"e 37·1'30"n Messinia.

Description: two tholos tombs and three burial mounds.

Directions: leave the Pilos - Hóra road about a kilometre south of Hóra, where Mirsinohóri is signposted. Just before entering the village there is an unpaved road to the left. Follow this road for perhaps 1km until a small building, probably built of stone spoil from the tholos tombs, is prominent on top of the ridge. The uncovered tholos tomb is within about 25m of this hut. When I last visited this site in 1997 the concrete replacement lintel had collapsed and the tomb appeared to be in a dangerous condition. On previous visits the tomb was intact. To find the Kaloyeropoúliou mound, return to the road and continue for perhaps 200-300m. The mound is extremely prominent to the left of the road, which curves around it.


Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: the tholos tombs were excavated by Marinátos in the 1950s; Korres carried out a small supplementary excavation on tholos 1 in 1989. The three mounds were briefly investigated and excavated by Marinátos before working on the tholos tombs, and Korres carried out a small supplementary excavation on the Kaloyeropoúliou mound in 1989.

Setting: these mounds are located to the east of the Englianós ridge and are separated from it by a deep gorge. The general location is that of a broad ridge-top. Within a short distance to the southeast are the sites around 14: Ayos Ioánnis Papoulia.

The stone mound is said to be 500m west of tholos. The tholos are within 20m of each other. The site of tholos 2 has been filled in. Both tholos are downslope of their dromol, although the slope is very slight. The Kaloyeropoúliou mound is not intervisible with the tholos.
Architecture:

Kaloyeropoúlou mound

The mound (A1.27.1) is earthen without peribolos or stone capping and its diameter varies between 20.4m and 25.8m. Marinátos excavated in the northeast quadrant, uncovering a cist tomb (A1.27.6-7) with a pebble-strewn floor and a pit for a funerary pithos. Korrés' excavation uncovered another pithos, 2m long with drystone walling support for the neck and a cover slab (A1.27.4-5). Near the centre of the mound was a roughly horseshoe-shaped pit with a stone outline surround on top (A1.27.2-3). It is irregular in shape and about 2m long, and perhaps up to 1.5m wide and over 1m deep. Elsewhere was a small cist 1.2m x 40cm x 63cm deep.

Yorgopoúlou mound

There are no details of the architecture of this mound save that burial pithol and cists were found; McDonald & Hope Simpson noted 13m diameter and 5m height, with a clay capping.

'Stone pile'

'Simply a stone pile' (Marinátos); McDonald & Hope Simpson noted that it was 12m in diameter and 4m high.

Tholos 1

This structure had been open and used as a byre; it was by far the better preserved of the two, and after the excavation its roof was restored; the replacement lintel collapsed between 1994 and 1996.

There is little description of tholos 1. Based on published plan (A1.27.10), the diameter should be about 5.4m, chamber (A1.27.12) surviving height 1.9m, stomion about 1.4m to 1.5m wide, façade 2m wide, and stomion (A1.27.11, A1.27.13-14) 2.2m high and 2.2m deep (long). These figures are approximately in agreement with the estimations of Pelon (1976, 199); Korrés mentions that the dromos was not fully excavated.
The dromos to the northwest was unlined and the stomlon was neatly built of flat stones; there were several phases of rebuilding in the blocking wall. Marinátos claimed evidence for a relieving triangle. Recent excavations uncovered a niche in the eastern half of the chamber under the foundations, and showed that the dromos had been dug down at a steep angle into the rock, the chamber then carved out underground like a chamber tomb, and the walls built up inside from the bottom (much as at Kókla in the Argolid: Demakopoulou 1990). The lintel is at the level of the ground surface.

Tholos 2

The diameter of the chamber was 5m and its surviving height up to about 1m (plan and section, A1.27.15). The dromos (A1.27.17 top left), running toward the northwest (as did that of tomb 1) is of unknown length; its width toward the stomion was about 2.4m, the width of the façade. The left (on entering) parastade of the stomion was preserved to a height of 1.45m, the right to 1.3m; the width of the stomion was about 1.3m, its depth (length) about 1.6m, and the lintel was missing, as was most of the walling of the chamber.

The architectural history of the tomb is rather complex. There appear to have been two separate construction phases. The architecture described above was constructed in the first phase; the second phase, not much later, saw a refoundation of the tholos at which time the dromos was dug out anew and to a deeper level (1m deeper at the outside end, 1.3m deeper at the façade), but narrower than before: the excavator noted a ‘bench’ 20cm wide running along the north (left on entering) side of the dromos, at the outer end of which burned remains suggested a hearth. The interpretation of these remains must be that, first, the dromos was dug and used as the entrance to the tomb, and that while open a large fire was lit at the outside end at least once or perhaps regularly; then the dromos may or may not have been filled in; then the dromos was dug out again, considerably deeper but 20cm narrower, leaving the ‘bench’ with the remains of the fire on the north side: it is unclear whether the fill above the ‘bench’ was intact or absent at this time.

These events are mirrored in the stomion and chamber. In the second phase the stomion was also 1.3m below its original level, while in its final state the floor of the chamber was at several levels (A1.27.17 bottom): a ‘bench’ on the southwest side seems likely to represent the original floor level, while most of the rest of the floor was dug out 80cm deeper. The stomion was 50cm deeper than this, and continued at that depth into the chamber, forming a pit as at 18: Tragána or 10: Gouvalári. This ‘pit’, the continuation of the dromos into the chamber, is
about 1m long and about 1.25m wide. At the end in the centre it splits into two furrows (again as noted at the sites mentioned above; visible A1.27.17 bottom and on the plan, A1.27.15). Judging from the plan (as with many of the measurements given here), the southwest furrow appears to be up to 1.8m long, while the northeast furrow appears to be about 1m long. There were two pits in the tomb. Pit 1, to the southeast (the back of the chamber), appears to have been about 2.1m long and 90cm wide, judging from the plan, which also suggests architectural details that are not mentioned in the various reports (there is a dividing line across the pit at one third its length, and its northwest side appears to consist in a drystone wall, not present on any other side, and not extending into the southern third, where some other feature is present). The pit was covered with squarish slabs. The second pit is oddly shaped, about 2.4m long and 1.6m wide at its widest, and 1m deep. The floor contains a more regular rectangular pit, about 90cm wide but only 20cm deep (these figures are all estimated from the published plan and sections).

The simplest reconstruction of the architectural history of the tomb is to suggest that the tholos was constructed regularly and then closed up, after which it was later reopened, at which point, by accident or by design, the dromos, stomion and part of the chamber were dug up to 1.3m deeper, while most of the rest of the chamber was lowered by 80cm. The two pits also belong to this second phase. The lowered floor levels so undermined the structure that it collapsed fairly shortly, but not immediately, afterward. Nonetheless, one feels that it ought to have been obvious to those opening the tomb that undermining the foundations could only lead to rapid collapse, and it is something unknown elsewhere. Korrès (1982b), in a detailed study of this tomb, suggests that the second phase followed a collapse of the first phase architecture. He suggests that the tomb was rebuilt with a lower vault, the deepened chamber making up for lost height in the vault. He suggests that the 'bench', that is the undeepened part of the floor on the southwest side, was left to support the superstructure, and that originally this may have also been present on the opposite side, but that it was eliminated when pit 2 was dug. Benches are of course known from chamber tombs, and the tholos at Köklı in the Argolid (Demakopoulou 1990); in the latter case however, the bench is a much more deliberate thing: neatly built of stone and plastered. The Roütsi example is just earth at the original level of the floor.
Finds:

Kaloyeropoúlou mound

Except for the discovery of a pithos, there is no information on finds from the earlier excavations, which were not extensive. Korrés' excavation uncovered the second pithos (A1.274-5) which contained one contracted and poorly preserved skeleton with no other items. Three pottery items were found at the 'entrance' of the horseshoe-shaped pit (so at the 'open' end of the horseshoe): a double cup, a cup and a strainer. The cist contained four skulls and some other bone fragments. EH pottery collected from the fill of the mound suggested to the excavator that, like I7: Voidhokillá, this mound was heaped up of the detritus of (much) earlier settlement.

Yorgopoúlou mound

'Cists'.

'Stone pile'

Nothing was found in this mound, although it would appear that excavations were not extensive.

Tholos 1

Finds from the tomb were scanty, and no contextual information of any sort is provided. Marinátos mentions a group of LHII pottery in the northern part of the chamber, and another (LHIII) in the southern part. Small finds included gold leaf, gold beads, a bronze pin and stone arrowheads. There was also a large bronze vessel ('frying pan') associated with human bones and a corroded silver vessel. Lólos lists three cups and an askos from this tomb, but without context.

Recent excavations in the niche in the chamber uncovered some metal items: these comprised a type-A sword, a strange helmet or crown with crossed bands, a bronze cup, and small fragments of gold and silver. No bones were found with these items.
Six burials thought to be late Roman or early Christian in date were found in and around the dromos.

**Tholos 2**

Directly above the tholos Marinátos found the skeleton of a calf in association with Hellenistic and Mycenaean palace style sherds; but no other indication is given of Hellenistic interference within the tomb itself. There is virtually no information on the content of the fill above the floor. A few finds were made in the dromos: a bronze double axe and several pots, including at least two and perhaps up to four oval-mouthed amphorae, and six Vafió cups. The pottery came mainly from the area of the entrance, probably in the dromos but right in front of the façade. Later pottery clearly brought from inside the tomb (several sherds were found to join with items recovered inside the tomb) was found at a high level, at the top of the (otherwise undescribed) blocking wall; perhaps the amphorae and cups were used in toasting ceremonies, while the rest of the pottery was removed from contexts inside the chamber and partly deposited at the level of the top of the blocking wall. At this level a fragment of a gold band was also found.

No finds are noted from the ‘bench’, and so from the first period of use of the tomb, but other contexts from the second period of use seem to have been relatively untouched. Near the centre of the chamber lay the remains of an adult male (A1.27.19-20), extended but perhaps lying on his right side. Items associated with the burial were found to his right, save a strange two-pronged hook. The items piled up on his right side had been damaged by the collapse of the roof. They include ten swords and daggers, a spear head, an ivory-handled mirror, a possible leather sword sheath, two cylinder seals, twelve other beads and twelve pottery items. These last are not described, and the published photograph of the burial reveals little, save sherd and what appear to be two conical cups near the feet. Some at least of the illustrated LHIIA or LMIB vessels must have come from this burial.

Pit 1 (A1.27.18), at the back of the chamber, was covered with stones. It contained the articulated skeleton of a female about 15 years old. The only finds listed are the beads from a necklace around her neck and a ‘glass bead seal on the right arm’ or ‘a glass prism imitating amethyst ... by her right arm’. Parts of an alabastron were also found in this pit. There were no other finds and no indication is given of previous burials in the pit, although the description may be incomplete, given the discrepancies between published texts and drawings noted under architecture above.
On top of pit 2, set upside down on the covering slabs, was a palace style amphora. The pit contained one partly articulated burial (the upper half of a supine skeleton) and at a lower level the disarticulated remains of three or four other persons. The following material was associated with the half skeleton: on the platform (the raised area in the southwest part of the pit), at the skeleton’s left hand, an inlaid dagger with nautili, and thirteen gold buttons, which the excavator related to the dagger’s belt (A1.27.21, A1.27.16). Also near the left hand, but probably not on the platform (because not present in A1.27.21) were a mirror and a bronze dagger with gold decoration and gold rivets nearby. The second inlaid dagger, with cats, was found at the right shoulder, possibly laid between arm and trunk during the inhumation (A1.27.23). The dead wore an amber necklace, and amber beads were probably associated with one of the other skulls. Other finds from the pit not associated with the upper corpse include two silver vessels (A1.27.22 left), gold leaf, a gold spoon, beads of gold and other material, gold ring, ivory, a spear, a tripod, a ‘flesh hook’, gold and silver pin with amethyst head.

Two ivory pyxides and an ivory comb were found near the door of the tomb. Other objects known to have been recovered on the floor include further palace style jars and ‘other great vases’, ‘sunk before and nearby the entrance’ (Korres). Five alabastra are known to have been found on the floor. Arrowheads were found at several points on the floor, including in the stomion. Finally, in the triangular area between the two pits, a ‘table of offerings’ was found. It was painted red and bore the representation of an octopus.

**Chronology:** the mounds are middle helladic constructions but no further precision is possible. It is unclear whether any form of use continued in the early Mycenaean period. Without any detail or context Howell (1992, 76) affirms that MHII pottery is present in the tumuli of Roütsi: presumably it is to the three pots placed at the ‘entrance’ to the horseshoe-shaped pit that he refers.

Both tholos tombs were built in LHI at the latest, and may possibly have been built as early as MHIII. Tholos 2, in particular, betrays evidence of two clear phases of use, the later of which may have begun in LHI. Early pottery was mainly found in the area of the façade, but was also known from inside the chamber, while Korres contends that some of the gold finds in pit 2 are MH in date. Four items from tholos 1 are also datable to LHI. Weaponry (type-A swords from both tombs), and the gold inlaid daggers, generally very comparable to shaft grave examples,

---

1 It is possible that the ‘stone pile’ is not anthropogenic and should not be listed with the other two mounds.
further attest to an early date. Most datable finds from tomb 2, however, are LHIIA/LMIB in date. Both tombs seem to have continued to be used until LHIIIA, although in the case of tomb 2 the evidence for this is unclear, and in view of the architectural evidence for the swift collapse of the tomb, and the fact that much pottery was smashed in this collapse (and hence had not been covered by a deposit of earth by that time), and given the largely undisturbed condition of the extended grave on the floor, I would suggest that later use of tomb 2 would have been extremely restricted in scope.

**Comments:** given that the 'cenotaph' or horseshoe-shaped pit of the Kaloyeropoúlou mound was found empty, but that the three pots were found near the 'entrance' (the short straight side), there is a strong hint of ritual activity, perhaps similar to the remains from in front of the horseshoe-shaped construction in the centre of the 14: Ayos Ioánnis Papaníla mound.

However the floor of tholos 2 came to be in the state in which it was finally abandoned, the architecture would have acted on the visitor in a particular manner. On entering, rather than having to negotiate the relatively flat space of other tombs (albeit perhaps completely occupied with the remains of previous activities), one would be led to the centre and facing the area of the extended burial, which in effect would be a platform. To the right would be the higher space of the 'bench', while to the left, at a lower level but still above the level on which one was standing, would be the covering slabs of pit 2. Hence, unlike other tombs, where the floor was a space continually open to reworking, the floor of tholos 2 was highly regionalised, with different areas clearly marked as such by their architecture.

A1.27.2. Routsi: Kaloyeropoulou mound. Central cist structure. Scale: 2m.
A1.27.3. Rouïtsi: Kaloyeropoûlou mound. Central cist structure from side. Scale: 2m.

A1.27.4. Rouïtsi: Kaloyeropoûlou mound. Pithos number two, showing mouth supported by drystone construction, and base to rear. After Korrês 1996.

A 1.27.6. Roútsi: Kaloyeropoulou mound. Possibly the cist excavated by Marinatos. Scale: 2m.
A 1.27.7. Roútsi: Kaloyeropoúlou mound. Possibly the cist excavated by Marinátos. Scale: 2m.

A 1.27.8. Roútsi: Kaloyeropoúlou mound. Pithos installation from rear, showing drystone walling originally around pithos mouth and closing slabs. Scale: 2m.

A 1.27.9. Roútsi: Kaloyeropoúlou mound. Pithos installation from side, showing drystone walling and closing slabs. Scale: 2m.

A1.27.11. Rouïsi: tholos tomb 1. Right side of stomion from within chamber. After Korres 1977a, plate 141β.


Káналos

1:200,000 map reference: -2°6'30"e 37°3'15"n Messinia.

**Description:** two middle helladic burial mounds.

**Directions:** I have been unable to locate this site.

**References:** Alcock, Bennet & Davis (1996); Papakonstandinou (1982a); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 236-237); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 134).

**Publication:** unexcavated - survey (intensive).

**Excavation:** unexcavated.

**Setting:** no information.

**Architecture:** McDonald & Hope Simpson describe the Káналos mound as 9m in diameter and 4m high. Different layers were visible in the section. Hope Simpson & Dickinson suggest the mound might cover a tholos. In 1982 a mound (apparently a different one) was destroyed (Papakonstandinou 1982) and large slabs were observed. No further details are available.

**Finds:** bones and MH-LH pottery were observed at the destroyed mound.

**Chronology:** MH-LH.

**Comments:** the destroyed mound is reasonably certainly a prehistoric burial mound.
Valta Kastráki

1:200,000 map reference: the village is -2·5°40”e 37·6°15”n Messína.

Description: a middle helladic burial mound and a later Mycenaean burial site.

Directions: unknown.

References: Alcock, Bennet & Davis (1996); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1969, 145-146); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 147).

Publication: unexcavated - survey (Intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: the habitation site itself is formed of the saddle between two small hills. There doesn’t seem to be an artificial element to these hills as McDonald & Hope-Simpson hint. No sign of a burial mound was located, although some areas were almost inaccessible in dense shrub.

Architecture: the suggested MH burial mound is not described by McDonald & Hope Simpson and could not be located in the 1994 Intensive Pylos Regional Archaeological Project survey (of which I was a part). The damaged tomb noted by McDonald & Hope Simpson was also noted by PRAP. It consists of a stone arc visible in section. It does not seem regular enough to be a tholos tomb, and lack of stone nearby should confirm this. The three burials might rest under a small stone-capped mound.

Finds: the destroyed tomb had bone eroding out of the section in three discrete areas, almost certainly representing three distinct burials. In addition, sherds were collected from two of the three burials; these seemed to be from the same vessels described by McDonald & Hope Simpson. The burial to the right seemed to be among the arc of stones.

McDonald & Hope-Simpson noted pithos fragments from their supposed MH mound, and another possible pithos burial at another point.

Chronology: MH for the mound; LHIIIA1 for the destroyed burial.
Comments: the destroyed mound reported by McDonald & Hope-Simpson is certainly the damaged mound or tholos located by PRAP. The MH mound reported by McDonald & Hope Simpson may well simply have been a natural feature exhibiting sherds from the settlement.
Nihória and surroundings

1:200,000 map reference: -1°48'40"e 37°0'20"n Messínía.

Description: small tholos tombs in the vicinity of settlement, MH-LHIII and later.

Directions: travelling from Kalamáta to Pilos, after Rizómiló the road climbs steeply up the side of the Nihória ridge. Once on top, take the turning signposted to Karpofoúra. A little down this road a country road to the left leads to the site (and may be signposted). Most of the tombs are no longer visible.


Publication: short final except the ‘little circle’ - detailed final.

Excavation: the ‘little circle’ was excavated as part of the excavation of the larger LHIIIA2 tholos tomb of Nihória by a University of Minnesota team in the early 1970s. The other tombs were excavated by Horémis in 1967 and 1969, and Parlamá in 1971. Further identified tombs are unexcavated.

Setting: Nihória is located on a ridge above the coastal plain 2km inland from the northwestern arc of the Gulf of Messínía (A1.10.1). The setting consists of promontories and steep ravines exploited by the settlement area. A full description is given by Lukermann and Moody (1978, 78-79).

The tombs are set to the west of the settlement site of Nihória at several points. The ‘little circle’ and the LHIIIA2 tholos tomb are located at the western end of the settlement and of the ridge (‘area 1’ of the excavation), at the head of the Vathkrema, a very steep ravine (A1.10.3). The Tourkokívoura or Nikitopoúlou group, 70m to the west, consists of six tombs set in a (probably) natural knoll (A1.10.15) or short ridge; the Véves tomb is located 70m southeast of this. The Akónes mound is not precisely placed by should lie a very short distance south of this general area.
The Tourkokivoura area is described as a 'low hill' and not as an artificial mound, and this is more or less confirmed by the drawing of the area (A1.10.15). This shows that the hill rises about 5m above the surrounding area. Tomb 3 seems centrally situated just to the north of the crown, while tombs 2, 5, 4, and 1 radiate around it. The hill forms a ridge running east to west between the 99m and 98m contours, while the crown is elevated above 100m. Further west along this ridge is situated tomb 6. In every case except for the central tomb 3, the dromos is oriented downslope. Tomb 3 was probably (although this is by no means certain) retained by an artificial mound, whereas the others were built into the slope.

Other mounds noted in the Nihórla survey (Lukermann & Moody) were numbered 4, 5, and 6 and all located in the same general area. A chamber tomb of 'LHIIIB' date was located in the village of Rizómilo, below the Nihórla ridge. All of Nihórla sites are placed on routes of movement by Lukermann & Moody.

Architecture:

'Little circle'

The 'little circle' is located to the east of the LHIIIA2 tholos tomb (A1.10.4) during whose construction its walls were partly damaged (A1.10.2). The floor of the building is about 2m above that of the tholos. It is preserved to a height of only 1.2m, and its maximum diameter is 2m. Since the west part of the circle was destroyed during the building of the tholos, the tholos walling now forms the west blocking of the circle (A1.10.6). The walls are 50cm thick and are partly dressed on the inside.

The only evidence for roofing was a layer of fallen stones (A1.10.9) just above the 'mass burial' (described below). The thickness of this layer is not mentioned in the report. Above this layer the circle was filled with mixed earth and stones, perhaps from the time of the construction of the mound over the tholos. There is no evidence at all of an entrance. If there was one, it must have been located in the western portion of circle, where it was destroyed by the tholos.

The average diameter of the six eastern tholoi in 10:Gouvalári mound A is about 2.82m, the smallest being 1.55m in diameter. The smallest tholos of the five in the 13:Káminia mound is about 2.1m in diameter. Moreover, of contemporary or earlier tholoi at Nihórla, some are not much more than 3m in diameter (see below). Without a doubt, if one were to interpret the

Appendix One 30:Nihórla 556
little circle as a tholos tomb, it would rank among the smallest; but size alone cannot determine that this construction was not originally tholos-like.

There is no evidence of corbelling in the surviving walling (a slight intum to the east is attributed to downslope pressure). Since the highest surviving height is only 1.2m, this again cannot determine that the building was or was not a tholos. Given that there are sufficient numbers of small tholoi in Messinia (and elsewhere: for example, the badly known tholos of 51:Análipsis, or at Mikri Toúra: Hope Simpson & Waterhouse 1961, 132-135), whereas there are no other obvious architectural formulae into which this construction could fit; the burden of proof ought to rest with those who would suggest that this is not a small tholos tomb.

The presumed entrance of this small tholos would be to the west, completely destroyed by the construction of the larger tholos. This would mean an approach probably uphill to an obvious mound. The stomion and dromos would have been undeveloped, like the others in the vicinity.

The floor of the tomb contained a pit 1.8m long x 0.5m wide x 0.4m deep. Outside the tomb, on the south side, there was a burial pit 1.8m long and 60cm wide (A1.30.7). Some stones of the tholos were removed to accommodate the pit, thus suggesting that it post dates the construction of the tholos.

Véves tholos

This tomb (A1.30.13-14) was discovered during road construction which caused it serious damage. The reconstructed diameter is 5.1m with the dromos to the southwest. The dromos is 2.4m long. The walls were built of small partly worked slabs, 60cm thick with greatest surviving height 70cm. A shallow (20cm deep) pit was noted in the centre of the chamber; other pits are mentioned but not located or described.

---

1 McDonald, in his section of the report (Shay et alii 1992, 226), suggests it looks like a well, and compares it to a mass burial in a disused well at Argos described by Kritzas (1972 - note page 200-201, not 220 as stated in Shay et alii page 230). There is however, no suggestion that the Nihória construction is a well, so the comparison is more to the mode of burial, for the 'mass burial' at least.

2 As stated by the excavator; in fact it appears that the stomion is 2.4m long, and the dromos, if any, was unexcavated.
This tomb was only partly preserved, one angled wall apparently forming one short and one long side of the chamber (A1.30.16-17). The excavator compares it to the tetragonal tholos tombs of Crete; but there is no evidence that the tomb was nearly so well built, nor even sign of stomion or dromos. It seems more likely that this is simply a very damaged canonical tholos tomb. The location of the tomb, built into the slope of the knoll, is similar to tombs 4 and 5, which certainly are tholos tombs. The excavator hints that the fill contained numerous stones fallen from above. The walls are 45cm thick and survive to 60cm height; the diameter of the tomb may have been as much as 4m.

This tholos had a diameter of 3.4m, with walls 0.5m thick and surviving to a height of 0.8m (A1.30.18-21). The stomion located to the west is 1.5m long and 0.9m wide; the dromos is undeveloped. The stomion had been blocked and to the north of it the tholos wall had been opened with a rectangular cutting. A peribolos, at a height 0.8m above the foundation of the tholos, and consisting of only one row of stones, had an apparent diameter of 7m. 40cm below the level of the foundations was the top of a cist, covered with slabs (A1.30.22). The cist was about 1.6m long, 60cm wide, and 80cm deep (below its covering slabs); it appears to have been built of the same flat stones as the tholos.

This tholos (A1.30.24, A1.30.26) was 3.4m in diameter, its walls surviving for two thirds of their length to a height 10cm to 80cm and a thickness of 50cm. The entrance was presumably located in the damaged south side. In the west central section was a pit, covered by slabs, about 1.4m long and about 70cm wide, as it appears on the plan.

About half of the chamber of this tholos survived, the stomion and dromos missing. The diameter is 5.2m, surviving to 80cm in height (A1.30.29).
The tholos (A1.JO.31-32) is situated about 20m from the main group. The chamber is 3m in diameter and its stomion is 1.6m long, with undeveloped dromos. The walls survive to 0.9m height in places. A wall, 4.8m long, lies to the east of the tomb. The surviving section appears straight and so is unlikely to be the remnant of a peribolos. The slab paving of the west side of the chamber is reminiscent of similar features in protogeometric tombs in the immediate vicinity, and so is likely to be a late addition. The south section of the chamber is taken up with a pit, 1.51m long, up to 55cm wide, and 35cm deep.

Akónes

A artificial mound 3m in height and of unreported diameter contained three large apsidal structures and a cist tomb (A1.JO.33-34). Apsidal structure I (A1.JO.35) was about 3.8m long by about 2m wide, with apse to the east (most likely to the centre of the mound). It is made of small slabs and varying stone types, and survived to a height of 1.45m. An entrance on the short west side was blocked. The roof was of large slabs and the walls may well have been partly corbelled, although this is not clear.

Apsidal structure 3 (A1.JO.37) was similar in shape and size to tomb 1, maximum dimensions being 3.1m x 2m. In between these two structures was a small cist tomb (tomb 2, 1.35m x 0.55m) with a slab floor (A1.JO.36). The other feature, a third apsidal structure (that is, presumably, apsidal structure 4), should have been about 2.5m in internal width and at least the same in internal length.

Unexcavated sites

Two mounds and a possible tholos are mentioned in the Nihória survey (sites 4, 5 & 6); it is unclear which of these might correspond to excavated sites published later (site 4 may well be the Akónes site described above). Site 5 is a 'mound of compacted red sand', while site 6 is the remains of a tholos tomb. The chamber tomb (site 13) is not described.

---

3 The excavation report places the entrance on the 'south' side, but the blocking of small stones was said to be between two larger stones acting as parastades. This description fits the situation illustrated on the west side in A1.JO.33 and A1.JO.35; the apparent opening in the apse in the southeast area is not blocked, and is described in the text as the result of later intrusion.
Finds:

‘Little circle’

At the bottom of the pit in the floor was a single extended inhumation (apparently of an adult female; A1. J0.10 left), and above her the disarticulated bones of at least 10 individuals: three adult males, three adult females, one adult of indeterminate sex, and three children. There is no certainty that this pit represents the initial area of interment, since it might well be a secondary construction. The bones (save those of the articulated skeleton) might have been deposited after a period elsewhere on the floor of the tomb. The only certainty is that the first burial in the pit was a single articulate inhumation. It may be that the other bones were then immediately gathered and piled on top of the inhumation, or it may be that the disposition of the material in the pit was the result of a number of depositional episodes, as postulated by the excavator.

One complete squat jug was found at the lower left leg of the intact skeleton in the pit, while fragments of a Vafió cup and a conical cup were found elsewhere in the pit and outside it.

Aside from the pit, the floor of the tomb held various other groups of interments. Below the ‘mass burial’ and perhaps part of it were the disarticulated remains of four children; on the floor at the south was an extended female adult without skull (A1. J0.10 right); and at least eight other individuals (two children, five adult males and one adult of indeterminate sex) were dispersed in the south and east parts of the circle (A1. J0.11). Some of these bones showed obvious signs of post-articulate rearrangements, where skull and long bones were deliberately positioned. Most of the interments were represented by only parts of their skeletons, and the numbers of individuals are minimum numbers.

The only stratigraphic evidence within the layers of burials seems to separate the interments of the ‘mass burial’ from those below. Those in the pit obviously were at a lower level than the floor of the tomb. Above the ‘mass burial’ was the layer of apparently fallen stones.

The ‘mass burial’ itself consists of at least eight interments (A1. J0.8, A1. J0.12): two children, five adult females, and one adult male. The interments are not arranged in any obvious manner, but rather the disposition appears to be the result of a single episode in which the bodies were dumped fairly unceremoniously into the tomb. The lowest burial is that of the adult male (A1. J0.12 right), who was lying on his back with his legs contracted, his left arm curled around a large stone, his right perpendicular to his trunk, and his head at an angle. While
this is neither an extended nor a contracted burial, it clearly also does not represent post-depositional rearrangement. The parts of the body that are missing also do not appear to be explicable through later deliberate disarticulation. The other burials were dumped on top of the adult male at the same time. All are in a similar state of being apparently randomly positioned.

The composite picture of this burial (A1.JO.12 left) shows that all of the bodies lie in the west-central part of the tomb. No member of the burial reaches the east side. If we accept the suggestion that the dead were thrown in from above in a single episode (Shay et alii 1992, 219, 228) then the dead were probably flung in each from the same point above by the same person casually aiming in the same direction. The detail that some of the dead were lying face down with their arms in front of them confirms this suggestion. Examination of the bones apparently did not suggest that the dead were victims of accident or violent death; neither did it suggest any particular disease as the cause of death, although that is the favoured explanation of the pathologist (there is no published reference). Three of the dead had their hands close together, providing the merest hint that they might have been bound.

The fact that the dead are all piled to the west does leave a suspicion that they might not have been thrown in from above. Given the position adopted here that some sort of entrance existed to the west and that the tomb was roofed, it ought to at least be considered whether the dead were pushed inside through an entrance. The sort of manhandling clearly indicated by the remains would perhaps be consistent with this explanation, and their concentration at the west would then be explained by the fact that they were simply pushed into the tomb with little concern for where they would be deposited, hence piling up near the entrance.

The final detail is the layer of stones above the dead. It seems clear that either the roof was removed, or partly removed, and the dead thrown in from above, followed by the stones of the roof; or else the roof collapsed, or was made to collapse, some time very soon after deposition through a western entrance. Much of the noted compacting of the remains and fragmentation of the bones must be due to the impact of this layer of stones. Either way, assuming this layer of stones is the remains of the roofing, there is here a sense of closure almost always lacking from Mycenaean tombs: the mass burial was to be the final interment in a tomb which was not to be entered again. Its time as a place where people could enter and interact with the remains, which had clearly gone on in the previous period, had come to an end.

Aside from the sherds associated with the pit, the tomb contained only small sherds regarded as intrusive.
The burial pit outside the tomb (A1.70.7) contained a single supine skeleton of a young adult female. No artefacts were associated with the skeleton, although the fill of the pit contained sherds regarded as intrusive. One sherd, from an LHI goblet, is suggested by the excavators to have come from an artefact previously deposited in the 'little circle', although this is supposition.

Véves tholos

The remains of at least six individuals were present in the tomb; these were located at six discrete points around the periphery and were presumably disarticulated. 45 complete pots were reconstructed from sherds, and the excavator noted that sherds from the central pit would often join with those from elsewhere in the chamber. Sealstones, small gold finds, seventeen steatite spindles, a bronze disc and a lead object were among other items noted in the chamber (contextual information is not available).

Nikitopoulos 2

The disarticulated remains of four individuals were found heaped up and toward the edge of the chamber (A1.J0.16), lying underneath a layer of fallen stones. Artefacts were found with some of the bones. The absolute number of finds recorded is very small, amounting to three pottery items, three bronze items and two steatite spindles; these finds are dated outwith the period of study of this thesis.

Nikitopoulos 3

Two 'layers' were noted in the tomb. The first, at the foundation level (A1.J0.18), had three bone groupings, at the wall roughly left, right and opposite the entrance, along with scant ceramic and bronze remains. 40cm lower further heaps of bones were found representing at least six individuals (A1.J0.20), along with various ceramic and small finds. Two further heaps of bones were found on or among the slabs of the pit (A1.J0.19, A1.J0.22), while within the pit at a depth of 30cm there were two skulls, and at a depth of 80cm an extended skeleton with the head to the west (A1.J0.20, A1.J0.23). More disarticulated bones were found above the skull. No other finds were made in the pit. The stratigraphic evidence is limited, and cannot be used to date different phases of tomb use. A minimum of 15 persons is indicated for this tomb.
Nikitopoúlou 4

There were three groups of remains on the floor of the tomb, gathered near the wall (A1.30.26). At the southeast, three skulls and associated bones were gathered with two cups and a jug; at the west two broken skulls and associated bones were gathered with a cup (A1.30.27); at the north one skull and bones was associated with an alabastron, a jar and part of a jug (A1.30.28). In the pit, immediately under the covering slabs, was a thick layer of sherds, whole pots, bones and a bronze pin (A1.30.25). Cups, jugs and jars were among the shapes represented. Elsewhere in the tomb a ewer was found outside the pit near the centre, and a clay spindle, bronze ring, four flint arrowheads and twelve beads are also noted.

Nikitopoúlou 5

No bones were found in the tomb, and very few finds were noted save for a single findspot against the wall to the northwest, at which point a small hoard was recovered (A1.30.30). It contained 27 sard beads and one sard scarab, an amethyst bead, six disk rosettes and parts of a seventh, two faience and sixteen silver beads like spindles, a silver double axe, and other silver fragments from jewellery.

Nikitopoúlou 6

The only human remains were those of a single individual, extended in the pit in the south of the chamber (A1.30.31). Finds all post-date the period of study for this thesis, and so description is omitted.

Akónes

Tomb 1 contained four heaps of bones associated with both Mycenaean and later material, and one extended burlal, with which were two knives and seven sard and rock crystal beads. In tomb 3 one supine skeleton was noted on the west side associated with a cup and a small vessel of closed shape; elsewhere a tweezers was found. The cist tomb contained only a few bones, and finds are not reported from the third apsidal structure.
Unexcavated sites

From site 5, stone, pottery and bones are apparently present in the section; from site 6, 'much pottery and skeletal material'; nothing recorded from site 13.

Chronology: the chronology of the 'little circle' is determined only by the scant pottery finds within and its physical relationship to the LHIII tholos below. The west part of the tomb had been destroyed by the construction of the tholos walling, which in turn became the west blocking of the little circle. The date of the larger tholos as determined by its excavators (Wilkie & Dickinson 1992, 246-247) is LHIIIA2-LHIIIB2. The possibility that its construction might be earlier should however be borne in mind. Of the material in pit four, for example, little could be closely dated, but six sealstones were noted as being probably LHII. Elsewhere, early material is regarded as being intrusive (the area had been occupied since MH times, so stray sherd material can be expected). It is at least possible that the larger tholos was built before LHIIIA2, but there is little positive evidence for such a hypothesis. In any case, the damage to the west section of the 'little circle' must date to LHIIIA2 at the latest.

Identifiable pottery in the 'little circle' is noted as dating MHII-LHII (Dickinson in Shay et alii 1992, 224), but this is mostly regarded as intrusive. One early (LHI) piece (P3000) was found outside the monument, in the grave pit at the south wall. The date of this burial is not determined, and the LHI goblet fragment may have been introduced from elsewhere by accident or design. The fragments and squat jug from the pit are all LHIIA in date, and on the scant evidence available it would seem that the construction, use and abandonment of the tomb should all have occurred within LHIIA.

The Véves tholos contained pottery ranging in date from LHI to LHIIIB. Most of the pottery falls in the LHI-II date range, and there can be little doubt that the tomb was constructed and first used in LHI.

Of the six tombs excavated in the Nikitopoúlou group, number one is excluded on the ground of being post-LHII in date, both from its architecture and its finds. Number two is likely to have been a tholos tomb, although it is badly damaged; its finds are all LHIII in date, but it may be reasonable to assume that it was built at the same time as the others. Finds in number three are similarly mostly LHIII in date. The finds in tomb four are of MHIII or MHIII-LHI date, with the exception of the finds with the northern group of material which is uniformly dated LHIIIA2, and the ewer in the middle of the floor, dated LHIIIA1. The finds from tomb five are all

Appendix One 30: Níhòria
MHIII-LHI in date, although they obviously only come from a single context. Finds in tomb six range from LHIII through protogeometric; the laying of the slab floor may well have coincided with a clearing out of the tomb during which earlier evidence was lost.

In general, and leaving aside Nikitopoúlou 1, the chronology of these tombs is obscured by the condition in which they were excavated. In terms of early dating, tomb 4 is the best example. The preserved evidence seems clearly to indicate use in the MHIII-LHI period followed by a period of reuse in LHIIIA, a pattern matched at architecturally similar sites such as 13:Kaminía and 10:Gouvalári. Tomb 5 also contains early material, but its context is such that it might represent a later instance of redeposition. The other tombs do not preserve convincing evidence of an early date in their finds. In the homogeneity of their architecture and the clear unity of purpose in the location around the crown of the Tourkokívouro knoll, however, it seems likely that the construction dates for these tombs should all be in the MHIII-LHI period⁴. Given the heavy occupation of the adjacent settlement site throughout the middle and late bronze age, and in later periods, it should not be surprising that these tombs again and again attracted the attentions of those living in proximity to them.

The middle helladic sherds found in the matrix of the Akónes mound make it likely that it was constructed in an area previously site of MH settlement. Finds in apsidal structure 1 include apparently early knives, while pottery in apsidal structure 3 is of LHI date. The mound had been heavily interfered with in post-Mycenaean times, obscuring the evidence for sequence of use.

The Nihóría survey sites are generally dated MH-LH, save the chamber tomb dated LHIIB.

Comments: the unusual apsidal form of the burial structures in the Akónes mound suggests a more or less conscious imitation of the MH apsidal house form; other horseshoe-shaped constructions are known (most obviously from 14:Ayos loânnis Papouília) and the arrangement of the structures, with the open ends apparently placed to the outside, apses to the centre, is reminiscent of the ‘spoked’ arrangement of pithol in mounds at 14:Ayos loânnis Papouília and 17:Voítokilía. These observations would support the early date for the structure, perhaps even suggest that it should predate LHI.

⁴ Perhaps given its separation from the others in the group tomb six might be a later construction.
Tombs in the area not otherwise recorded here date to the late Mycenaean or protogeometric periods; these, all excavated by Horémis, are the Tsagdí group (each horseshoe-shaped graves with slab floor, less than 2m in length, dating LHIIIC to protogeometric) 100m northwest of the Nikitopoúlou group, the Lambropoúlou tomb (tholos form, but apparently (?) roofed with slabs; slab floor, dating LHIIIB to protogeometric) about 600m northeast of the Nikitopoúlou group, and the tomb found in Rizómilo village (unknown form, LHIIIA to protogeometric). From these brief details it emerges that the tombs with slab-lined floors are a late feature.

Section through Tholos and Little Circle


A1.30.5. Nihória: little circle from above. UMME tholos wall to right.


A1.30.31. Nihória:
Nikitopoúlou tholos tomb 6.
Plan, after Horémis 1973,
figure 12.

A1.30.32. Nihória:
Nikitopoúlou tholos tomb 6.
Chamber of tomb, with
section of (protogeometric)
paved floor. After Horémis
1973, plate 16β.

A1.30.33. Nihória:
Akhónes
mound.
Plan, after
Parlamá
1972, plan 3.


Dhára (Fráma)

1:200,000 map reference: approximately -1°49’ e 37°2’ n Messínia.

Description: tholos tomb.

Directions: unknown.


Publication: short preliminary.


Setting: no information.

Architecture: the chamber was 6.75m in diameter and badly destroyed by the landowner, surviving to 1.3m in one place. The dromos was 5.8m in length.

Finds: 25 pots were collected. Animal bones were found in the Mycenaean layer but no mention of human bones. Various small finds were also collected.

Chronology: finds dated to LHIIIA-B, but according to the excavator ‘the chronology of the construction of the tomb in LHII is very probable because of the presence of certain characteristic details’.

Comments: none.

A1.31.2. View southwest to region of Dhára.
Paleohória

1:200,000 map reference: approximately -1.59’15”e 36.58’n Messinia.

Description: tholos tomb.

Directions: unknown (‘2km west of Koukounára’: Marinatos).

References: Marinatos (1961, 174-175); Korres (1976b, 349); Lólos (1985, 166); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1969, 150); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 140).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: the tholos tomb was excavated in 1961 by Marinatos.

Setting: unknown (50m north of a hill or knoll with a view of Korifásio and the Bay of Navarino).

Architecture (A1.J2.1-2): the stomion was to the south, 1.45m long (deep) and 90cm to 1m wide. The chamber is 3.4m to 3.6m wide, greatest surviving height 50cm, width of walling 30cm. The chamber was filled with stones, presumably from its collapse (A1.J2.1).

Marinatos believed that this was not a tholos tomb, the walling being too slight. Korres notes the presence of burials and remains on the floor (rather than in pits, cists or pithol) and the presence of a stomion, and suggests that these two factors make it more likely that this is indeed a destroyed tholos tomb.

Finds: the bones were found scattered and broken singly and in groups; at least 17 individuals were present, as counted from crania. One group of bones at the back of the tomb, opposite the entrance, included seven skulls. Few finds are mentioned, but these include part of a neolithic stone axe, a steatite sealstone, a goblet, a ewer and a stirrup jar.

Chronology: Marinatos dated the tomb late Mycenaean, including LHIIIIC. Both Korres and Lólos note the presence among the finds of an LHI-IIA goblet (Korres: late LHI; Lólos: early
LHIIA). The size and form of the tomb make it architecturally similar to the MHIII-LHI examples at Gouvalári (site 10) and Kamínia (site 13).

**Comments:** the excavation report is very brief. It would seem likely that an early tholos tomb was rediscovered in the LHIIIB period (when the hilltop 50m to the south was occupied) and reused. It is at least possible that other monuments might be present in the area.
Milióti Ayos Ilías

1:200,000 map reference: Milióti is -1·54°5°e 37°4°20"n Messína.

Description: possible middle helladic burial mound.

Directions: I could not locate this site ('600m northwest of Milióti' - McDonald & Hope Simpson; 'c. 1km northwest' of Milióti - Hope Simpson & Dickinson).

References: McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 246); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 137).

Publication: unexcavated - survey (non-intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: no information.

Architecture: a mound about 17m to 20m in diameter and 4.5m high. Stone slabs were visible. Another mound is noted 80m distant to the north.

Finds: pithos fragments.

Chronology: MH.

Comments: none.
Kámbos

1:200,000 map reference: -1°30'50"e 36°56'15"n Messinía.

**Description:** very well built medium to large tholos tomb; also a probable LHI 'treasure' in the vicinity.

**Directions:** travelling south from Kalamáta to Areópoli, one passes through the village of Kámbos. The tholos is located in a low ridge which one finds just before the road begins to steeply climb toward the castle of Zarnáta on the south side of the village. On top of the ridge is a distinctive tower house (A1.34.2).

**References:** Tsoúndas (1891). A summary treatment of the finds is given by Hope Simpson (1957, 236-239). McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 251); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 166).

**Publication:** short preliminary.

**Excavation:** the tomb was excavated by Tsoúndas in 1891.

**Setting:** the tomb is set in a low mound or knoll. Far from being in a prominent position, it is completely overshadowed by the Zarnáta hillside above. Survey has not found evidence for settlement elsewhere on the ridge or higher in the area of the later fort.

**Architecture:** Tsoúndas neglects to report the diameter of the chamber (A1.34.1), and Hope-Simpson's estimate of 8.5m (based on the fact that the bottom of the tomb in the 1950s was filled with mud, as it is today) may be just a little high. The walls as Tsoúndas found them stood to 3.25m, the tholos having collapsed at some point in antiquity. The masonry in both the chamber and the stomion is of very high quality (A1.34.3), comparable with tholos 1 at Peristería or some of the tholoi of Mycenae. Dimensions given by Tsoúndas are as follows: stomion, height 2.65m, depth at ground level 3.09m, at lintel level 3.62m (the difference caused by the curve of the vault), width at ground level 1.64m, at lintel level 1.5m; lintel, comprising three stones, the outer 2.84m x 0.85m x 0.47m (thickness), middle, width 1.07m, inner, width 1.75m. Tsoúndas noted remains of a relieving triangle above the stomion on the outside. The inner lintel slab was rounded perfectly with the curve of the tholos on the
Inside. Stones in the stomion are generally larger than those in the chamber wall. The dromos was 12.85m long and 2.18m wide, and apparently lined with rough stonework and clay, although this feature is today no longer apparent.

**Finds:** The inner disposition of the tomb is badly described, but Tsoúndas suggests that most of the grave goods were removed from the tomb immediately after the collapse of the vault. Some bones are mentioned, but not described. The few finds are briefly described by Hope Simpson (1957, 238) and are on display in the National Museum in Athens. These include two Cretan lead statuettes, possibly of a goddess and worshipper, and seals, beads, gold leaf, 'a bronze ear scoop', twenty paste ornaments, forty steatite buttons, fragments of ivory and of gold wire, animal teeth, and pottery fragments undescribed.

Under this heading I also mention the Sotirianika treasure (for which see fully Hope Simpson 1957, 239-240). This consists in a number of gold objects recovered from looters in 1938. Although Hope Simpson managed to locate the findspot for the treasure, this seems to have been where it was hidden after it was looted, rather than its original provenance. The balance of probability would however suggest that it came from somewhere in the vicinity. The treasure included three gold vessels comparable to examples from the Mycenae shaft graves (A1.344), and so it seems reasonable to suggest that we are here dealing with a very rich late middle helladic or early Mycenaean grave or grave complex, whose evidence is presumably lost forever.

**Chronology:** the two Cretan lead statuettes 'should be dated not later than the LHII period'; the other finds Hope Simpson suggests are LHIII, but without any detailed analysis or comparanda. Since no pottery is preserved from the tomb its date is unknown. Two sherds observed in the excavation dump by McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 251) were suggested to be LHII-IIIa and LHIIIa-b. The tomb cannot be dated LHIII on architecture alone, since large, well built tholoi of LHII and even LHI date are known in Messinia, and indeed six of the nine tholoi at Mycenae are dated to LHII. A construction date within LHII seems almost certain for this tholos.

The Sotirianika treasure should date to MHIII-LHI.

**Comments:** none.
A1.34.1. Kàmbos: chamber from above.

A1.34.2. Kàmbos: dromos, façade and stomion.
A1.34.3. Chamber and stomion. Scale: 2m.

**Peristeriá & Kokorákou**

1:200,000 map reference: approximately -2°0'e 37°17'n Messinia.

**Description:** large middle helladic burial mound; nearby early Mycenaean cemetery with at least five tholos tombs and several smaller graves amictid some remains of settlement.

**Directions:** follow the signs east from the main Pilos to Pírgos road about 2km north of Kíparissía.


**Publication:** detailed preliminary.

**Excavation:** the three tholos tombs of the hill of Peristerlá, the large wall near tholos 2 & 3, the mound of Kokorákou, the East House with seven cist burials, and other test trenches were excavated by Marinátos in the 1960s. Korres in the latter half of the 1970s continued the excavations, concentrating on tholos 3 and the nearby wall, other buildings on the akropolis, and he discovered and excavated south tholos tomb 1, the peribolos around tholos 1, and the grave next to that peribolos. The fifth tholos tomb was discovered in 1989.

**Setting:** the tombs are set on two neighbouring hills high above the Soulima Valley and the Kíparissía River, close to the western end of the valley and the coast (A1.35.1). There is no direct approach from the valley, nor are the positions of the tombs visible from below. The hill of Peristerlá is formed of a high point to the north, whence southward the slope runs at a fairly steep angle (A1.35.7); to the north, however, and at the northwest and northeast points, the hill drops away in sheer or near-sheer drops (A1.35.5-6). Thus the hill and the tombs face southward, and it is from the south that any direct approach is likely to be made. Beyond the hill to the south is a low range of mountains, and it may be that Peristerlá is located at the end of a route from those mountains to the Soulima Valley.
As to the location of the monuments on the hill itself (A1.35.3), the large tholos is located toward (but not at) the top of the hill, while tholol 2 & 3 are located to the south and west of it, at a lower and less steep area. South tholos 1 is located about 96m south of these again (A1.35.24).

The mound of Kokorákou is set on a higher hill 500m to the west of Peristerlá which forms a ridge running north to south, with the mound set on or close to its highest point. There is no direct or easy route from Peristerlá to Kokorákou: the modern road winds up to Kokorákou from the west, skirts the top of the hill, then winds down and west to Peristerlá before turning south to the mountains.

The fifth tholos tomb is said to be located 280m along the road from the fence around the site.

Architecture: the architecture of each of the funerary monuments will be described below in approximately chronological order.

The mound of Kokorákou

This mound (also known as 'Koukirikou') was between 16m and 20m in diameter, and up to 4m high, although it was founded on a natural eminence that added to its height. It was ringed by a rough wall 1m to 1.3m wide and two or three courses high, the stones said to have come from the Klparissia River far below (A1.35.8 top left). It is unclear how much of the mound was excavated by Marinátos, certainly not all of it; of the structure of the mound the only detail is the observation that at 85cm to 90cm below the surface there was a thin burned layer, and below that only natural earth: so it may be possible that the top metre or so is the artificial element in this otherwise natural knoll. The mound was completely destroyed by the landowner in 1970, precluding further investigation.

The MH/LHI grave

This grave is 2.47m (north to south) x 2.5m (east to west) in inner dimensions, and 2.75m x 2.7m including walling, its shape sub-round or sub-rectangular (A1.35.10-16). It was shallow, not much more than about 55cm from the top of the surviving lining stones to the floor; the sides were built of carefully placed flat stones, the floor was strewn with fairly large pebbles (A1.35.15); the whole was covered with thin slabs, which were found broken at the time of excavation. These slabs do not seem each to have extended from one side to another, so they
either lay on top of an earth fill, or directly on top of the inhumations: Korres notes that the slabs were found just above the burials, as if they had collapsed on top of them, and suggests that the slabs were supported on wooden beams. Cultivation damaged the tomb on the west and southwest sides, and covering slabs were absent in that area. The pebble floor was thickest in the centre of the tomb, where there were no burials, and thinner under the burials, suggesting that part of the floor would be removed to accommodate an interment. This floor was observed to continue under some of the lining stones so it may be that a pre-grave floor was reused, or more likely it was laid over the entire pit and then the walling built on top of it around the sides.

**South tholos tomb 1**

This slight construction was preserved only in its foundation levels (A1.35.25-28). The diameter of the chamber was 5.08m, and when excavated was filled with the collapsed stones of the vault (A1.35.26). The presence of a stomion and lintel all but proves that this was indeed a tholos tomb, and not some sort of burial circle, but it seems that the tomb was built almost entirely above ground, the structure maintained only by the clay used to bind the stones in the interstices, some of which was recovered in the excavation. The stones of the foundation were rounded, presumably limestones, those higher often sandstone (so lighter). The foundation wall looks to have been no more than 50cm to 60cm thick and consisted of two lines of stones with smaller stones in the middle. Cultivation seems to have led to the removal of many of the stones of the vault (the remains were excavated only 10cm to 20cm below the modern ground surface). The stomion survived to a length of 2.38m and was originally at least 2.7m; it was 1m wide and perhaps part or all of the floor was a pebble layer. The lintel survived in fragments.

**Tholos tomb 3**

The diameter of tholos 3 (A1.35.52-53) is 6.9m and its greatest surviving height at excavation was 2m, although much of the walling had collapsed to foundation level (A1.35.33-35). The construction material was the usual flat stones. The north part of the floor was bedrock, but in the south a layer of clay was used to correct for the natural decline of the bedrock. The stomion (A1.35.32, A1.35.36-39) was located to the west and thus dromos and stomion run along the slope rather than into it (such as tomb 2 to the east). The stomion was up to 3.9m in length and at the entrance to the chamber was between 1.69m and 1.73m in width, and the walls of the stomion at the entrance survived to a height of six or seven courses of rough flat stones (68cm to 73cm). Careful study of the stomion stratigraphy in the more recent excavations showed that there was a floor level above bedrock in the original
construction (as is normal), with one course of stones laid as foundation below this level. This is significant in that it shows that the pit (described below) is secondary to the construction of the tomb. The dromos has not been excavated, but is thought to be unlined.

At some point after the construction of the tholos a long (8.4m) pit was opened along the length of the stomion and into the chamber (A1.35.37, A1.35.40). The stomion was excavated to bedrock and then a new floor created of earth, making the pit 15cm to 20cm deeper than the previous floor level. In the chamber the pit was 2.8m long and 90cm wide. The pit was much deeper in the chamber, about 80cm deep near the entrance, rising toward the surface near the centre of the chamber (the last 90cm of the pit), where some stones might have marked the end. Remains of what seems to have been a blocking wall for the stomion, founded on bedrock, were 1.26m long and 48cm broad, but no higher than the original floor of the stomion.

**Graves in settlement contexts**

Marinatós excavated nine small graves associated with apparently domestic structures. Two were located in the area to the north of tholoi 2 & 3 and the ‘circle’ (the ‘North House’); the other seven were in the ‘East House’, to the east of tholos tomb 1 (A1.35.51). All were slab lined cist graves, described as children’s graves. There is no precise information as to the location of these graves and their relationship to the surrounding architecture.

**Tholos tomb 2**

Tholos 2 (A1.35.52-53) has a chamber (A1.35.54) of interior diameter 10.6m, surviving to 3.5m in height. Two low stone constructions on the east side of the chamber were initially interpreted as altars (A1.35.56), but might rather have been concerned with supporting the walling on this side, which indeed eventually collapsed under the pressure from without. The stomion at the chamber (A1.35.58) was 2.5m wide at the bottom and 1.6m wide at the top and completely blocked by a wall only marginally less well constructed than that of the tholos itself, which was made of the usual flat stones. A second, earlier blocking wall was detected in the stomion. The length of the stomion was 5.15m; at the dromos the stomion was 2.35m wide at the bottom, 2.15m wide at the top (A1.35.57). The dromos was 9.15m long and 2m wide, and 3m below the surface of the ground at the stomion. The dromos runs from south to north toward the tomb, and thus is cut into the slope, rather than along it as is the case with tholos 3. There is a drain in the stomion and dromos, covered with slabs (A1.35.57 left).
Nonetheless the tomb seems to have been regularly flooded, and deposits of mud were noted in the chamber. At the far end of the dromos there was a second closing wall, 1.4m thick, and the fill of the rest of the dromos on excavation proved to consist of disordered stones.

**Tholos tomb I**

The interior diameter at the floor of this extremely well-built tholos tomb is 12.03m to 12.04m \( (A1.J5.62) \). In places the chamber wall survived to 5m at the time of excavation, and its 1972 restoration (Karayörga 1972) created an apex at 8.5m; it was probably somewhat higher in antiquity. The stones of the chamber are much larger than those of the other tholoi and partly dressed to create a flat interior appearance for the wall \( (A1.J5.65) \). They are also much more like blocks than the slabs used in the other tholoi. In section the fill of the chamber suggested that the eastern half of the chamber collapsed first, and the stones of the western half collapsed on top of those \( (A1.J5.63) \); above these was an earth fill taken by Marinátos to be the remains of a mound above and around the tholos (on which more below). The floor is the conglomerate stone of the hillside.

The stomion \( (A1.J5.66-71) \) was 5.5m in length, and 5.1m high; at the dromos end it was 2.2m wide at the floor and 2.33m wide at the ceiling. It is built of large partly-dressed blocks \( (A1.J5.70-71) \), and at its façade in the dromos sawn blocks were used \( (A1.J5.66-67) \), creating a façade much like those at the later Mycenaean tholoi of Klytemnaestra and Atreus. These sawn blocks are not flat facing outward, but have slight recesses in the inner halves of their faces; this may have related to a doorway, or to the half-columns known from Mycenaean, although no column bases were found. On the left side, the eighth and ninth blocks (from the floor) on the left sides of their faces bear ‘mason’s marks’: on the eighth, the double-axe; on the ninth, a branch or arrow design \( (A1.J5.67) \). Along the length of both walls of the stomion Marinátos detected clay or plaster that he believed had been used as a complete coating for the walls. The stomion was found blocked by a rough wall rising to over half its height (2.8m) at the entrance \( (A1.J5.66-67, A1.J5.69) \), which was repeated at the chamber end; in between the space was filled with earth and rubble. 20-30cm above this level a second, less carefully built wall was partly preserved at the façade, and above this earth filled the space to the lintel. The lintel \( (A1.J5.68) \) was formed of three massive carved stones, and there is a possibility that there was a relieving triangle above the lintel.

The dromos \( (A1.J5.64) \) was 28m long and 3.3m wide, and its sides were lined with rough, rounded stones only for a distance of 1.9m from the façade \( (A1.J5.66) \).
The tholos was built in an area previously occupied by settlement in the form of the ‘East House’. The mound that was heaped up around the tomb included a great deal of debris from this preceding phase. Marinátos assumed that the mound covered the tholos, and that the upper layers of fill in the tomb originated in the collapse of the tholos and the mound above it. Korres however believes that the mound, although substantial, reached only to the level of the lintel of the tomb, and that above this level the structure of the tholos was maintained by clay in between the stones, and a clay coating all around the apex. A small amount of this clay was noted in Korres’ small-scale excavations in the tomb.

The (substantial) mound was retained by a peribolos encircling the entire structure (A1.J5.72-74). This has been uncovered to a length of 55m (not even a third of its presumed total course) and undoubtedly originally completely surrounded the monument. Because of the slope and the length of the dromos, the mound and its peribolos are not circular, but rather are elongated to the south, downslope (A1.J5.61). Very roughly, the diameter of the peribolos should be about 35m to 40m east to west, and 45m to 50m north to south. The wall itself is 1.8m to 6m in thickness and made of rounded stones, save the outer façade which is carefully built of flat stones, up to four or five courses high as it survives.

The tholos under the road

Almost nothing is known of the architecture of the tomb, as it was discovered in 1989 under the road constructed to the site in 1964. Part of the road was damaged thus revealing a small part of the tomb. One lintel block (1.45m x 90cm x 15cm) was noted.

The ‘circle’

This enigmatic structure (A1.J5.32) attracted the attention of Marinátos and Korres because of its size and proximity to tholos tombs 2 & 3. Earlier suggestions that it formed a peribolos to pre-tholos shaft graves in the manner of the Mycenaean shaft graves, or that it was the retaining wall of a massive mound built to cover both tholos 2 & 3, have been discounted. In reality two distinct sections of different phase are present, and the wall certainly post-dates tholos 3, as the excavation of the stomion of that tomb has shown clearly (the construction of the wall destroyed the upper section of the stomion: A1.J5.36-37). The construction material of the wall includes material originally part of tholos 3, and it is founded at a higher level. The separate southern wall also post-dates tholos 2, inasmuch as it cuts across the dromos. It seems just feasible that this structure (or structures) might form a peribolos around tholos 2, built after the...
destruction of tholos 3, but Korrés' research makes it more likely that in fact the walls are unrelated to the primary construction phase of either tomb. As post-tholos constructions they may not be entirely unrelated to the tombs (Korrés suggests that they function to separate burial and settlement areas on the hill).

Other constructions on the hill

Both Marinátos and Korrés opened numerous small and large trenches, and discovered evidence of occupation all over the hill, ranging from the MHIII/LHI phase represented at the East House, through LHIII and into the historical period. Part of what may have been a monumental wall was excavated by Marinátos to the southwest.

Finds: finds from each monument will be described below in the same order as above.

The mound of Kokorákou

Marinátos excavated the remains of a pithos burial in the northwest periphery of the mound (A1.35.8). Only about half the pithos was undamaged. Its mouth was to the north, so toward the outside of the tomb; the surviving length was 1.42m. Leg bones, the bones of an arm, and skull fragments indicated to Marinátos the presence of a single contracted adult skeleton with the head toward the base of the pithos. Sherds of a second pithos were noted in the east periphery of the mound, and a few sherds in the middle might indicate a third, or have been displaced from the second, which the villagers were said to have destroyed some time before. Korrés collected sherds from the vicinity of the destroyed mound, and speculated that at least three and probably more pithoi had been interred in the mound. Marinátos also found joining sherds of a Minyan krater in the burned layer, the only non-pithos find mentioned for the mound.

The MH/LHI grave

The finds consist of a number of discrete disarticulated burials and items associated with them, along with one or two other artefacts, and finds above the cover slabs associated with the construction of the contiguous peribolos for tholos 1 (see tholos 1 architecture above; A1.35.9).
Interments: the earliest interment was found lying along the eastern section of the north wall of the tomb (A1.JS.17), between 11 cm and 30 cm below the pebble floor of the tomb. The laying of the pebble floor above had damaged the skull. The bones were disarticulated, as all the burials of this tomb, and occupied a space 50 cm along and under the foundations of the north wall. The bones of at least two and perhaps more individuals were present, although the second (or more) lacked a skull and other bones. Found with this interment was a goblet with one raised handle (A1.JS.18 left, visible in excavation photograph A1.JS.17), in the middle area of the burial, set upright (at 70° or 75° to the floor) and containing eight gold foil circles with papyrus-shaped pendants and a linear tube (to allow for sewing onto costume? - A1.JS.18 centre). The interment also included a type A sword that had apparently been burned (A1.JS.19). It was bent to a 90° angle, and both its point and the handle were missing. It was 87 cm long. Two rivets from the handle were found at different points in the grave. Under a part of a pelvic bone a chert blade, 10.1 cm long and worked along both edges, was found (A1.JS.18 right).

The following were found on or slightly dug into the pebble floor. In the northwest part of the tomb (under slab number one: A1.JS.10, A1.JS.12) were found the handle of a bronze item, a bone pin 9.1 cm long, 22 gold circular discs, similar to those described above but without the papyrus-shaped pendant sections, thought by Korrés to have been placed in the grave in a small wooden box, and six gold foil bands. Next to these under slab two was found a 'bronze lance-shaped item'. A few centimetres to the east were found three further gold discs, a clay spindle, a bronze 'obelisk' and a small flint along with middle helladic sherds. Close by was a middle helladic pot like a kantharos, again set upright in the floor, within which were folded four gold bands and a gold cup, two-handled and like a kantharos (A1.JS.20-21). Two other MHIII pots were found close by. All of these finds were close to a group of bones (group Σ) which was not described (A1.JS.12).

Other bone groups were located in the southwest (group A, perhaps a single individual - A1.JS.23), west-southwest (group B, at least four individuals - A1.JS.23), east-northeast (group H, at least two individuals - A1.JS.22), and east-southeast (group Θ) parts of the tomb, all illustrated in A1.JS.11. Other known groups of bones not illustrated were located north (group Δ) and northeast (group Z) in the tomb. Those on the east are said to be located slightly above the floor of the tomb. The general southwest area had been disturbed by cultivation in its upper layers, and so the following finds may relate either to group A or B:

---

1 'χαλκον λογειδες άντικειμενον': Korréς 1976c, 488.
gold band, a bronze knife in 14 bits, a bronze chisel, a gold bead, five gold filings, other bits of bronze and silver, and potsherds. Generally in the east part of the tomb were found a gold sheet, a bit of bronze, a bronze handle fragment, and a bone bead. Arrowheads were found throughout the tomb, including in the centre, where there were no burials. 20 elements in a gold necklace were also scattered over the floor of the tomb, nine close to group H.

One further interment was located above the covering slabs of the tomb. In the centre was interment E, consisting of the leg bones of a single individual lying outstretched on top of covering slab 12 (A1.35.13). This, unlike those within the tomb, seems to have been a single inhumation rather than a secondary burial, and is associated by Korres with the creation of the peribolos around tholos tomb 1. In the north part of the tomb, lying on top of covering slab 3, there were perhaps other remains, as suggested by the published plan (A1.35.10). Other isolated finds are noted from above the covering slabs.

South tholos tomb 1

The finds of south tholos 1 are not systematically described in the preliminary reports, but their findspots are well illustrated (A1.35.25). Three discrete extended inhumations in the centre of the tomb are the latest dated (A1.35.27), found slightly deeper so perhaps dug into the floor. With each was a pot: with the eastern inhumation (number 39), head to the north (the other two to the south), was an LHIIB alabastron. The centre inhumation (number 40) was also associated with an alabastron (not dated or illustrated), and the west (number 14) with another pot (again, not dated or illustrated). In what seems to have been a separate act, above the feet of the east inhumation (39) were placed two pots dated LIII A1(?) by Korres and LHIIB-III A1 by Lólos. This is the last observable event in the tomb before its destruction.

Aside from the three extended inhumations, there was a number of other burials represented by disarticulated skeletons in pithoi, in a pit, or on the floor, mostly around the edges of the tomb. There were three pithoi (numbers 15 & 17 on the southwestern periphery and number 1 on the northeastern periphery). In number 15 (A1.35.30) there were no bones: they may have dissolved over the years. Number 17 (A1.35.30) contained a ‘few bones’, while in number 1 there were more including the jaw bone (A1.35.29). The sizes of these pithoi are not noted, but they seem smaller than those of about 2m from MH burial mounds (such as Kokorákou above).
Among the other finds is a group of bones (number 20) in the north part of the periphery and close to the entrance: with these was a LHI one handled kylix. In the east part of the periphery was an LHIIA rhyton (number 6; A1.35.31 left); it is unclear what this is associated with. Another LHIIA pot (number 31; A1.35.31 centre) was found in the southeast periphery. An LHI (or LHI-early LHIIA, according to Lólos) Vafió cup, number 12, was found in the southeast part of the tomb (A1.35.31 right).

One group of bones (number 21) was found next to the extended burial 14, and so may have been placed there either as a result of that burial (so moved to make room for it) or placed there at the time of burial in order to form a physical and conceptual association. Another group was found in a pit in the south of the tomb, apparently three individuals forming numbers 46, 47 and 48. As for the other finds represented on the published plan, no details are given in the reports. Numbers 19 and 25 in the northwest section and close to the stomion seem to represent further bone groups; the rest of the finds are located in the eastern and southeastern sections and seem to consist of relatively isolated or small deposits of artefacts.

**Tholos tomb 3**

Marinátos found very little on the floor of the chamber. Sherds in the fill he took to be post-destruction deposits, but from these he was able to make up some pots (four plain cups and a bowl). The disarticulated bones of mainly one person, but including skull fragments of a second individual, were found in the entrance where stones of the blocking wall had been removed (A1.35.41). Two jars (one pithoid, one oval-mouthed, both LHI: Lólos 1985, 212a; A1.35.42) and gold leaf fragments were associated with these bones. Korrés found a few small mixed human and animal bones in the southeast part of the chamber. Within the stomion there was a number of finds, all part of a fill presumably introduced in the period after the collapse of the tomb and during the construction of the circle: these finds included sherds of LHI and LHIIA, a silver or lead covered bronze sword rivet, three fragments of Ivory, a fragment of worked obsidian, tiny bits of gold leaf, and an amber bead. As Korrés speculated, this material seems likely to have come from disturbed contexts within the chamber.

There was no bone material in the pit, but otherwise the finds were spectacular (A1.35.43). There was a large amount of gold leaf, so much that Marinátos got the impression that the bottom of the pit might have been lined with gold leaf. There were three gold cups, two of the Vafió type (A1.35.45-46) and the other a shallow, one handled cup (A1.35.44). These were found crushed, and were not far below the surface near the centre of the tomb. Close by
was a gold band or diadem, 10cm long (A1.35.47). There was also a silver cup, very badly preserved. All the other finds were gold impressed items, in the form of tritons, rosettes, birds and insects (A1.35.48), similar in style and quantity to finds from some of the Mycenaean shaft graves. There was also gold wire, and objects like miniature gold pipes (A1.35.49). Only a small selection is illustrated in Marinätos’ publication, but a large amount is on display in Hóra Museum. Much of it must originally have functioned as part of funerary garb. Most of the material was probably in the deeper, western section of the pit. The cups and diadem, along with a number of beads of amethyst and other materials, and 30 flint and obsidian arrowheads (A1.35.50 bottom), were found nearer the centre of the tomb in the shallow section of the pit (A1.35.43).

Graves in settlement contexts

Nothing was found in the children’s graves save their skeletons. No description was given, but they were all said to be aged from two to seven years at death.

Tholos tomb 2

Contextual details of the finds of tholos 2 are lacking. The chamber seems to have been filled with the débris of the collapse of the vault as well as mud from periodic flooding in the chamber. From the first excavation season (and hence from the southern half of the tomb) Marinätos notes beads of amber, fragments of bronze, broken human bones, an abundance of gold filings, and sherds of palace style jars. Excavation in the northern half of the tomb in a later season produced evidence of post-Mycenaean interference as deep as 1m above the floor of the tomb. Other finds were various objects of bronze and gold, gold leaf, gold impressed items, amber and amethyst beads, amber plaques and clay figurines (A1.35.60). Much gold leaf, gold impressed items and amber was found in the dromos at the entrance in a burned layer associated with the earlier blocking wall of the stomion. This context stretches from the stomion into the dromos to 1.5m, and is associated by Marinätos with the flow of mud and water from the chamber, carrying off material from the floor (A1.35.59). Finds of gold leaf, gold impressed items, amber, amethyst and bronze are noted at other points in the stomion and dromos.
Tholos tomb 1

Under the collapsed stones in the chamber a layer of Classical and Hellenistic finds was noted by Marinätos, suggesting both that the tomb was known and used at that time, and that its collapse happened in the Hellenistic period at the earliest. This layer is up to 30cm thick; at the entrance it was 1.6m above the floor, and was found throughout the chamber, descending as low as 30cm above the floor at the back. Mycenaean finds below this level include gold leaf, gold and semi-precious stone beads (A1.35.76 left), and LHIIA pottery sherds (A1.35.77). One section of Impressed gold originally attached to something showed a number of human figures, the style and scene similar to the Ayla Triádha harvester vase, as noted by Marinátos (A1.35.75). LHIII kylix feet were also found. Under the foundations at one point Korrés discovered LHIIA palace style sherds. In general, Marinátos believed that almost all the content of the tomb was removed in the LHIII period (on the basis of the presence of LHIII kylix feet).

The tholos under the road

The bones of a burial, sherds, and the handle of a bronze cup were collected in the brief 1989 examination.

Chronology: the mound of Kokorákou is the earliest of these funerary monuments, dating to the MHI/II period, according to Korres (1984, 147).

The MH/LHI grave, containing only bones that, whether originally deposited within this grave or elsewhere, nonetheless were in secondary contexts, contains material of the MHIII and LHI periods. Three distinct chronological hypotheses can be suggested:

- the grave was built in LHI and used over a fairly short chronological horizon, its material content being fairly chronologically homogenous (MHIII-LHI);
- the grave was built in MHIII, used for an Inhumation or Inhumations (perhaps represented by the remains now called group I'), then repeatedly reused for reburials of bone groups into LHI;
- the grave was only ever used for reburials of bone groups from elsewhere, and might therefore equally have been built either in MHIII or LHI, perhaps much of the material coming from the earlier contexts elsewhere.
Lólos (1985, 212a-212b) suggests that four ceramic vessels cannot be more closely dated than 'the late MH-LHI range'. On the basis of the present evidence there is no way to validate any of these chronological hypotheses.

South tholos 1 contains material in the range LHI-LHIIIA1. It was therefore likely constructed in the LHI period. The burial chamber as excavated seems to be a product of the LHIIB period, with a final deposit of two pots dating to LHIIB or LHIIIA1. Henceforth no further deposits were made in the tomb, presumably because of its collapse.

The material in tholos 3 (the gold finds, and the two pottery items with the displaced burial) is basically LHI in date. Other pottery said by Marinátos to be MH and coming from fill associated by him with a post-destruction mixing of contexts is in fact quite likely to be from funerary contexts within the tomb, as sherds from mixed settlement contexts would be unlikely to mend into whole pots. These plain pots can presumably be regarded as part of the MHIII-LHI corpus of material and therefore do not necessarily alter an LHI date for the tomb.

The graves from the East House and the area north of the 'circle' are all set within settlement contexts dated to the LHI (or MHIII-LHI) period (Lólos 1985, 42-53). There is no guarantee however that the graves do not post-date the settlement.

Tholos tomb 2 is dated to LHIIA by the palace style jar fragments found in the chamber. However, at best this chronology is insecure because of the general lack of information about the contexts of finds in the tomb. The gold decorative material does not at first glance look any different from that of tholos 3, which is LHI in date.

The construction of tholos 1 is also presumed to be LHIIA, especially in this case in view of the palace style sherds found under the foundation. The few finds of the chamber also allow for this date. Relatively little can be said of the history of the tomb after foundation, since so little of its content has been preserved. Marinátos suggested that most of its content was removed in the LHIII period, but its continuing use into the Hellenistic period makes it possible that the nature and positioning of the finds may be owed to any period between LHIIA and the Hellenistic period.

The only dating evidence noted for the tholos under the road is the handle of the bronze cup, said to be LHII in date.
Comments: the size of the surviving pithos in the Kokorákou mound, incomplete at 1.42m, suggests that the pithol of the mound were large, like those at 14: Ayos Ioán尼斯 Papoulla or 17: Voiðhokilliá, to the latter of which they are closer in chronology.

The finds of south tholos 1 consist solely of pottery items (no metal, bone, amber, and so on); some of these are however unusual, such as the LHIIA rhyton (number 6; A1.35.31 left).

Tholos 3 seems to fall wholly in the LHI period and perhaps had a very short period of use. Only two burials are known, and as Korres speculates these were presumably interred in the tomb for a time and then gathered up, disarticulated and redeposited in the entrance as part of the construction of the long pit in the stomion and chamber. The gold finds may well have been originally associated with these burials, but details such as the almost gold-lined effect in the pit suggest that the gold items entered the tomb at the time of the creation of the pit, and so the pit is their first and only context of deposition.

The discovery of the fifth tholos tomb outside the akropolis area, coupled with south tholos tomb 1, suggests that funerary structures may well be widely scattered in the Peristeriá area. A thorough survey may well locate further structures and remains.
A1.35.1. View from Kokorákou to Peristeriá; Soulima valley in distance. Reconstructed dome of tholos tomb 1 visible in the centre of the picture.


A1.35.4. Peristería: view of hill from close to Kokorákou (compare A1.35.1). Tholos tomb 1 and peribolos visible at centre of photograph.
A1.35.5. Peristeriá: view northwest along Soulima valley to coast.

A1.35.6. Peristeriá: view east along valley. In foreground: precipitous drop that characterises the northern area of the hill.

A1.35.7. Peristeriá: view southeast to low mountain range.
A1.35.9. Peristeriα: western peribolos of tholos tomb 1 with (centre) the MH/LH grave, (right) the mound of the tholos tomb, and (left) ‘stone pile 2’, later domestic remains. After Korres 1976c, plate 259γ.


A 1.35.26. Peristeriá: south tholos 1 before excavation, showing the collapsed stones of the vault. After Korrés 1976c, plate 266α.

A 1.35.27. Peristeriá: south tholos tomb 1. After Korrés 1976c, plate 268α.


A1.35.32. Peristeri: 'circle' and tholos tomb 3. Stomion of tomb below later 'circle'; walling of chamber in background.

A1.35.33. Peristeri: tholos tomb 3. Chamber of tomb from north: stomion to right of picture, under surviving section of 'circle'. Chamber walling to left.

A1.35.34. Peristeri: tholos tomb 3. Surviving eastern section of chamber walling.

A 1.35.36. Peristería: tholos tomb 3 and 'circle'. Section illustrating (left to right) the pit in the chamber, the remnant of the blocking wall of the stomion, the back of the stomion, the western section of the 'circle', and the façade of the tomb (the front of the stomion). After Korrés 1976c, figure 9.

A 1.35.37. Peristería: tholos tomb 3. The pit in the chamber, remnant of the blocking wall, the stomion, and the overlying 'circle'. After Korrés 1977b, plate 174b.
A1.35.38.

A1.35.39.

A1.35.40.

A1.35.42. Peristería: tholos tomb 3. LH I amphorae found with the burial in the blocking wall of the stomion. After Marinatos 1965, plates 133a & 133β.

A1.35.43. Peristería: tholos tomb 3. The pit in the chamber under excavation, with gold finds exposed. After Marinatos 1965, plate 132a.
A1.35.44. Peristeriá: tholos tomb 3, pit. Gold shallow cup number 1 as found and restored. After Marinatos 1965, plates 136α & 137β.


A1.35.56. Peristera: tholos tomb 2. Chamber of tholos tomb during excavation, showing two constructions originally postulated to be altars, but more likely to be supports for the walling, which is caving inward under pressure from the surrounding earth. After Marinatos 1962, plate 96β.

A 1.35.59. Peristería: tholos tomb 2. Selection of finds, probably all recovered from dromos in front of stomion in context associated by excavator with wash out from the chamber. Gold foil, gold cutouts, and (left) amber beads. After Marinatos 1962, plates 99α, 99β, 100β, 100γ & 98γ.


A1.35.63. Peristeria: tholos tomb 1. Section through tholos tomb showing that the collapse of the chamber occurred first on the right, as shown by the line of stones declining to the centre and covered by a layer of clay, either from the mound or directly covering the original exterior; then on the left a second line of stones and clay declining to the centre shows the successive collapse of the left side of the chamber. The section suggests a fill of earth between the two layers of stone at the centre, making it possible that the left side did not immediately follow the right. After Korres 1977b, figure 1 & Marinatos 1960, plate 159β.
A 1.35.64. Peristeriá: view south along dromos of tholos tomb 1.

A1.35.66. Peristería: tholos tomb 1. Façade and (left) blocking wall; short lining of dromos visible at sides. 'Masons' marks' on eighth and ninth blocks on left parastade. (Left) after Marinatos 1960, plate 158β.


A 1.35.71. Peristeri: tholos tomb 1. Stomion: right side, and short lining of dromos. Taken from level of lintel.


A1.35.75. Peristeriá: tholos tomb 1. Gold impressed foils from chamber, showing scene similar in style to Ayia Triádha harvester vase. After Marinátos 1965, plate 128γ.


Kopanáki

1:200,000 map reference: -1°54'40"e 37°17'20"n Messinia.

Description: three tholos tombs.

Directions: Going toward Kopanáki, turn right (east) off the road at a point about 200m before it meets the railway. Continue east for 160m when you meet fully excavated mound B'. Mound A, with a covered hole in the top, is 40m further east, while mound C is about 100m south or southeast of A, across a low rise.

References: Valmin (1928); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 233); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 177).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: one of these tholoi was excavated by Valmin in 1927.

Setting: these three mounds are set close to the bottom of the Soulima Valley in relatively flat land, north of the river (A1.36.2-3). Mounds A & B (40m apart) are intervisible while C (100m distant) is hidden by a low rise. Given the relatively flat nature of the landscape here in the bottom of the Soulima Valley, this may be a deliberate arrangement.

Architecture: Valmin reports the height of mound B as 5m, and its diameter must have been at least 20m (A1.36.1). It is today very much reduced in dimensions. The diameter of the chamber was 5.35m, its greatest surviving height 2.5m; a kind of bench ringed the chamber (A1.36.6), 30cm wide and 12cm to 18cm high, built of flat stones on the outside and 'sand' on the inside (hence perhaps a kind of cist ringed the tomb). The tholos now, like one of the two Valmin excavated at Malthi, is completely devoid of stones, and is only visible as an outline in the scant remains of the mound.

1 These designations are as given by McDonald & Hope Simpson.
The entrance was toward the northeast, the stomion apparently triangular in section like that of 19:Tourlidhita (A1.35.4). It was 3.5m long (deep), 1.2m wide at the outside, 1.1m at the inside; it survived to a height of about 1.8m, at which point it was 30cm wide. There was no trace of a blocking wall, but since the fill contained mixed sherds of Mycenaean and Hellenistic periods down to the floor, the stomion had clearly been open in the Hellenistic period. The floor of the stomion had a stone-built drain, 6.5m long (hence extending 3m into the dromos) and declining 75cm from inside to outside. It was 50cm deep, triangular in section, formed of flat stones in the floor resting on two flat stones meeting underneath to form the triangle. The dromos was walled with small stones, and was preserved to 4.5m in length and a width of 1.7m. The dromos was originally longer.

Of the other mounds, little information is available. Valmin dug a trench in mound A (A1.36.2) and reported ‘a short wall of small stones and sun-dried bricks’, but was unable to continue excavation. All of the mounds are quite low (except B originally); mound A is not much more than 2m high, although its diameter might reach 17m. Today, however, the crown of the mound contains a circular hole less than 1m in diameter and covered with corrugated iron. This possibly represents a recent clandestine attack.

Finds: very few sherds were found in the dromos; a coin of 5th century BC date was found under the first stone of the drain. As noted, the stomion was full of mixed hellenistic and Mycenaean sherds. There seems to have been plenty of post-Mycenaean material in the chamber, and perhaps a kind of floor 85cm above the original floor level with later remains. The original floor contained no pits and produced few finds, although the excavator noted sherds of LHII and LHIII pottery, one gold and one bronze ring, and other bronze fragments. Many of these finds come from the bench. Collected and fragmented skeletal material was recovered from this bench, indicating at least four individuals and probably more. Valmin felt the chamber had been open until its collapse in the Hellenistic period.

Chronology: the date of the tholos in mound B is far from clear; as excavated, its internal disposition was very much a product of post-Mycenaean times. The motifs illustrated on fragments of pottery (Valmin 1928, figure 7) seem to be LHII, perhaps LHIIA, so this is probably the latest likely construction date. Of the other two mounds, no information is available.

Comments: the drain in tholos B is interesting. If its purpose was to keep the tholos free of standing water, then it did so by conducting water toward a lower part of the dromos, whence
presumably it could drain away. This suggests, however, that the tholos was built at a high level within the tumulus, the end of the dromos representing ground level. This is more or less borne out by Valmin’s plan and sections and his photographs of the excavation (A1.36.1, A1.36.5). Even if the tholos were built within the mound above original ground level, what is even stranger is the possibility that water would need to be drained from a tholos thus built. Surely it would drain away naturally? Moreover, given that the kind of fill that builds up in tholos tombs is the very fine particles that filter through from the interstices in the stones of the vault above, perfect for making mud, I also wonder that the drain, if it functioned as imagined, wouldn’t get clogged up with mud and need regular cleaning (which would need regular unblocking of the stomion, assuming that it ever was blocked up). Of course, these problems may well be applicable, and have not been realised by the architect in advance. One tentative alternative is the suggestion that the drain was not intended for such mundane purposes. It is at least conceivable that it was used for libation rituals conducted around the entrance in the chamber, the liquid draining out to the dromos, where perhaps others were waiting; it is even possible that sacrificial blood might be poured out of the chamber in this way.

A1.36.1. Kopanáki tholos tomb B: plan and section. After Valmin 1928, plate V.

A1.36.3. Kopanáki mound C from south.


A 1.36.7. Map of region around 37:Máthi, showing all tholos tombs excavated or noted by Valmin. After Valmin 1928, figure 5.
1:200,000 map reference: -1°50' e 37°16'10" n Messinía.

Description: Intramural pit and cist burials of middle helladic and Mycenaean date in a large, possibly fortified, hilltop settlement; two LHIII tholoi nearby (for the latter, appendix two).

Directions: on the main route through the Soulima Valley, turn to the south at a sign for Málthi. The road skirts right around a large, almost conical hill, on top of which is the settlement site. After a short distance a dilapidated sign points right to the tholos tombs (this sign had finally collapsed in 1996). The preserved tholos Is conspicuous by its corrugated covering which, unfortunately, prevents any access. The other tholos, or rather the mound that once contained it, is a little further north. There doesn't appear to be a very easy way to reach the top of the hill; from the sign, turn left and climb upward and northeast.


Publication: detailed final.

Excavation: excavated by Valmin in 1927, 1929, over ten weeks in 1933, and 1934.

Setting: the graves are set within the Inhabited area of a hilltop in the Soulima Valley. The hilltop location mirrors that of 35: Peristerí further to the west: a commanding view of the valley in a northerly direction, and its height gives it good views all around (A1. 37.1-2).

Málthi's enclosure wall, 1.5m to 3.5m thick and preserved up to 1m in height, pierced by five gateways, encloses an area about 140m x 80m (A1. 37.10). The wall is probably middle helladic, and the main occupation begins in the middle of the period (MHII on the Nihóría notation: Howell 1992, 75-76). The settlement consists of a honeycomb of interconnecting rooms, drystone of limestone blocks, strung across the site and particularly built up against the wall. The contemporaneity of structures cannot be shown on the available evidence. The village covers the MHII-III periods, and continues into the Mycenaean period, at least as far as LHIII. The overall plan seems an amalgam of all these periods.
Architecture and finds: Valmin excavated forty six graves within the walls, and one outside. These graves were all, except for two pithos burials, inhumations in pits or cists. The large majority were children, and most graves were single, although some were reused. Almost all were located within the walls of rooms inside the settlement.

There seems little point here in repeating Valmin's detailed description of each grave. The following table is modified from his 'diagram of the graves' (1938, 235). For reasons set out below, I have removed his attributions of chronology. As for architectural typology, I have allowed the following descriptions:

- pit - unlined grave cutting
- pit with stone outline - Valmin's 'graves with a complete or a partial frame of one row of low stones'
- cist - with either drystone built sides or slabs
- pithos

The orientation refers to the orientation of the grave, not of its occupants. The groupings are based on analysis of the distribution of the graves (A1.7710).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave number</th>
<th>Grave type</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>General location</th>
<th>Number of individuals</th>
<th>Position of skeleton</th>
<th>Adult or child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>ESE-WNW</td>
<td>Central group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>SE-NW</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>NNE-SSW</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>NE-SW</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>NE-SW</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>NE-SW</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>NE wall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>NE wall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>SW corner</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>SW corner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>SW corner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>NE-SW</td>
<td>SW corner</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>SW corner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Pithos</td>
<td>SW corner</td>
<td>SW corner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>Central group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>Central group</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>Central group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>E wall</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>Central group</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>SW corner</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>SW corner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Pithos</td>
<td>SW corner</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>NE-SW</td>
<td>NE wall</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>NE wall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>NNE-SSW</td>
<td>SE corner</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>SE corner</td>
<td>SE corner</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>SE corner</td>
<td>SE corner</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>SE corner</td>
<td>SE corner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>SW-NE</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>SE-NW</td>
<td>N group</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NE-SW</td>
<td>N central</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>E-W</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>W wall group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.37.1. Graves at Málthi.

1 For which see also 57: Ayos Stéfanos.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave number</th>
<th>Grave type</th>
<th>Number of individuals</th>
<th>Adult or child</th>
<th>Dimensions (height x width x depth)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>205cm x 75cm x 32cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>unknown x unknown x 30cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>53cm x 28cm x 22cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>42cm x 38cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>140cm x 75cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>80cm x 38cm x 34cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>62cm x 35cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>128cm x 44cm x 12cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>195cm x 65cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>47cm x 24cm x 19cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>80cm x unknown x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>65cm x 34cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>60cm x 19cm x 20cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>85cm x 22cm x 24cm (upper part only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>48cm x 38cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>95cm x 35cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>50cm x 29cm x 13cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>44cm x 23cm x 21cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>115cm x 42cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>80cm x 42cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>105cm x 56cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>pit/stone outline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>55cm x 28cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>45cm x 18cm x 22cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>62cm x 26cm x 20cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>56cm x 28cm x 36cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>48cm x 25cm x 18cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>65cm x 28cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>48cm x 25cm x 28cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>34cm x 20cm x 12cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>65cm x 28cm x 26cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>62cm x 23cm x 34cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>65cm x 18cm x 22cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>75cm x 20cm x 35cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>60cm x 50cm x 32cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>148cm x 28cm x 28cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>38cm x 18cm x 16cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>64cm x 39cm x 32cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>65cm x 58cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>38cm x 14cm x 18cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>150cm x 110cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>60cm x 30cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>54cm x 32cm x unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>68cm x 38cm x 32cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>pithos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>pithos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.37.2. Dimensions of graves at Mälthi.

**Chronology:** the first problem of interpretation is chronology. Valmin’s understanding of coarsewares was flawed; in particular, the type of pottery that he called ‘Adriatic’, and which he thought was present from neolithic through to late helladic, is a type of middle helladic domestic ware that continues, with most middle helladic wares, into the Mycenaean period. We
can, on the other hand, assume that his interpretation of painted Mycenaean pottery was relatively sound.

There is one great difficulty in the dating and understanding of material culture remains within intramural graves that is not present in tombs outwith settlement contexts. This is that the very act of digging a grave in an area of land long occupied throws up the detritus of previous habitation; after the burial, as the grave is (presumably) filled with the material that had been excavated from it, the immediate context surrounding the corpse is ‘contaminated’, at least from the chronological point of view, with earlier material.

By far the vast majority of these burials was either buried without the specific deposition of intact pottery, or any pottery that was deposited has subsequently been broken and was not recognised as the sherds of an entire vessel during excavation. Valmin dated his graves on the basis of the pottery found inside them. The bases on which we can now reinterpret his conclusions are missing: sherds are not preserved, photographs were not published; plans were published without sections, and positions of sherds that Valmin used to date the graves are not recorded, or recorded vaguely.

We can be sure of a few things. First, at least some graves are definitely late helladic. The pottery of graves XXIII and XXIV was illustrated, and on the basis of those illustrations Lólos (1985, 149-151) dates the graves either LHI or LHI/IIA. Grave XXIV is the single outstretched inhumation of a child, while grave XXIII contains two children’s skeletons, one above the other. In each case the pottery was carefully placed in the grave, not thrown in. There may also have been a necklace in grave XXIII. These seem to represent fairly well closed LHI (or LHI/IIA) contexts.

The only other grave recorded as having a specific pottery item with it, as opposed to random sherds, is grave I. Again this was the grave of a child. The item is a feeding bottle (illustrated: Valmin 1938, plate XIX.8). Judging from the illustrations given by Mountjoy (1993, figures 91, 132 & 166), although the shape of this example is not paralleled (in particular the angular shoulder) it is clearly closer to LHIIIA1 and LHIIIA2 examples than to middle helladic. Hence I would provisionally date this grave LHIIIA.

The overall chronology of Máithí seems to encompass the MHII & MHIII periods, but exclude MHI (Howell 1992, 73), as well as continuing through late helladic.
This is as far as one can go in terms of secure dates for the graves. For the rest, Valmin’s practice was to date on the basis of the latest sherd in the fill. Although this might have seemed fairly logical in 1938, it is clear today that this cannot produce very accurate results. The problem is that most of the graves are dated using coarse pottery sherds. Valmin’s understanding of these was flawed, but even today there are no firm criteria for distinguishing between middle helladic and early Mycenaean date among middle helladic style sherds (chapter one). It is likely that at least some of the graves dated by Valmin MH on this basis should be early Mycenaean. Moreover, in the first Mycenaean period, say, the digging of a grave may well have brought up many middle helladic sherds from below, but the digging itself might not introduce any contemporary rubbish. Hence the redeposited sherds in the grave might considerably predate the actual date of the grave.

The other criteria suggested by Valmin for chronology are even more problematic. One of these is the basic difference between supine and contracted inhumations. It is suggested as a vague rule that later inhumations will be supine while earlier will be contracted. The classic example of this comes from the Mycenae grave circles (although Valmin was writing before the discovery of circle B). This might be suggested by a general comparison between the burials of the prehistoric cemetery and those of circle A. In circle B, however, Milonas specifically rejects the possibility that contracted burials precede extended ones, citing the examples of graves I and Z (Milonas 1973, 406). As Milonas hints, in circle B space might have become scarce, and the need to bury in that particular locale might have overcome the desire to create a grave large enough for an extended inhumation.

The positioning of the corpse in the grave is as much a matter of choice as any other aspect of the funeral. The widespread practice of contracted inhumation in the middle helladic period presumably reflects tradition and choice, as worked out by mourners in individual situations. If there is a change to extended inhumations in the late helladic period, this can first and foremost be related to the use of the corpse for display (John Barrett, in conversation, but citing a forgotten source). If one thinks of the spectacular displays of the grave circles of Mycenae, this does make sense. In particular much of the gold leaf from those burials appears to be ornamentation from the funerary cloak or shroud, which is perhaps best displayed on an extended corpse. This gold leaf, as is apparent from these catalogue entries, is certainly not restricted to Mycenae. Many burials in tholos tombs are extended rather than contracted, perhaps bearing this hypothesis out.
Graves at 37:Máithi, however, are mostly of infants, and mostly lack accompanying artefacts: the difference between extended and contracted inhumations cannot be used as a chronological indicator at this site.

Beyond the difference between contracted and extended inhumation practices is the architecture of the grave itself. Valmin's analysis of the graves based on his own chronology makes it clear that there is no relationship between his date and the type of grave. Pits and cists are more or less equally present in each period. Again there is no reason to think that there could be a simple relationship between architecture and date. The reasoning behind the choice either to use a simple pit or something more elaborate is something that we cannot recover. For what it's worth, the two well-dated examples XXIII and XXIV are both cists with drystone built walls, not otherwise evidenced on the akropolis.

For all these reasons the chronology of the graves excavated by Valmin is a fairly intractable problem that simply cannot be solved. They can be broadly dated to the middle helladic and late helladic periods, and one can suggest that the majority fall between MHII and LHII; but in reality it is perfectly possible that most of them might belong to a fairly short chronological horizon pretty much anywhere within that broad range.

Comments: children were placed in thirty six\(^2\) of the graves, only seven\(^3\) contained adults (three others were empty; grave XXXVII contained two adults and one child and grave XXXVIII contained the remains of at least eight - presumably - adults). Although there was no systematic study or recording of the bones, the impression is that the majority of the children were young, confirmed by the drawings (A1.37.3-5). At 37: Ayos Stéfanos the numbers are evenly mixed between adults and children; further afield, the ratio of children to adults at Asine is about 3:2 (Nordquist 1987), and the numbers of children at Lerna are also high (Blackburn 1972). It is widely recognised that child burials make up a large part of simpler types of middle and late helladic burials (for example, Dickinson 1994, 222). Even so, the numbers at Máithi are so great that one could suggest that intramural burial was normally practised for children, and rarely for adults. In this sense the 37:Máithi data fit well with the data from the extramural burials of Messina, which are generally adult.

\(^2\) Valmin's 'diagram of the graves' (1938, 235) omits information about the pithos burial XXX, which elsewhere (page 207) is said to contain the bones of an infant; likewise, XXVI contained a child's burial, although disiecta membra of other (presumably adult) burials were found higher in the grave.

\(^3\) Grave XXXIX is noted in the text as that of an adult (page 190).
There is little to be gained from a study of the distribution of the graves (A1.17.10). Concentrations are to be found in the southeast (four examples) and southwest corners (eight examples) of the citadel, along the northern wall (12 examples, plus a further five in the northeast corner), in the west central section (12 examples), and near the centre (six examples). Graves are rare on the eastern side. In general they are to be found within rooms, usually in the floor but occasionally in the walls. They are almost never located in open areas. Valmin's observations on stratigraphy are inadequate for analysis, so graves cannot be placed within a sequence of use of the room, nor can we be certain of Valmin's attributions of function to rooms. It would seem likely that graves would be placed in rooms during periods when they were otherwise disused, but examples of intramural burial in inhabited areas are not unknown (Çatal Hüyük, for example: Mellaart 1967), especially of children.

There is no relationship between the groupings and grave architecture or position of the skeleton. All variations occur in each grouping. The adult burials are not concentrated in any one area. In general, of the variables presented in the table above, there are no correlating factors at all.

Numbered as right. After Valmin 1938, plates XIV-XV.

Vasilikó: Xeróvrisi

1:200,000 map reference: -1°49’30”e 37°15’45”n Messinia.

Description: one excavated tholos and possibly another located nearby.

Directions: driving east through Vasilikó, turn right onto a track just before the road crosses the railway. Follow this track and stop at the point where it turns away from the railway. Walk beside the railway passing the 9.6, 9.4 and 9.2 markers. Here is an old guard or signal box, and the tholos is 10m to the east of it.

References: Valmin (1928); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 234); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 173).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: the tholos was excavated by Valmin in about 18 days in 1927.

Setting: the tholos is situated in a slight slope in the relatively flat land in the bottom of the Soulima Valley (A1.38.2). Now the site is little more than a large hole in the ground, although some parts of the walls are still visible (A1.38.4). The second mound is variously said to be 250m to the northwest, 250m to the southwest, or 150m to the southeast (A1.38.2).

Architecture: parts of the chamber wall survived to 2.75m, but other parts had been completely removed for building material (A1.38.1, A1.38.3). The diameter was 6.5m. The construction is of flat stones, with Valmin noting larger stones toward the bottom, and a general roughness of construction. Larger slabs are noted at the level of the lintel. The walls varied in thickness from 80cm at the bottom to 1.25m at the highest preserved point.

The lintel was formed by two blocks each about 2m x 1.3m x 30cm. The blocking wall seems to have run the whole length of the stomion, but did not reach bottom, but was 50cm above it, nor did it reach the level of the lintel, but was about 60cm to 1m below it (A1.38.6 left). The stomion is 2.75m long (deep), 2.05m high, 98cm wide on the outside, and 52cm wide at the chamber. This narrowing is attributed by Valmin to seismic activity, and he points out that it is
narrower toward the bottom, rather than toward the top, which would be more usual. The lower blocks of the stomion are said to be large and the construction good.

The dromos, which runs along the slope rather than perpendicular to it, was not completely excavated because it ran toward the railway line. Valmin estimates a 12m to 15m length, and notes that the walls had to be shored up at the stomion end. This shoring up took the form of a simple retaining wall, 3.4m long, and abutting the stomion walls, thus removing the parastade effect.

There was thought to be a large cavity 3m long and 60cm deep in the floor. In the wall 2.75m to the right of the entrance was a niche, situated 1.15m above the floor, and 75cm high, 1.5m deep, 70cm wide at the chamber end and 40cm wide inside (A1.78.3 A1.78.5). The niche had a lintel 2.25m long above. It had been blocked by a rough wall.

At the second mound 'walls, built of big slabs' were noted.

Finds: Mycenaean material below the blocking wall in the stomion suggested that the wall was a late addition (Hellenistic, according to the excavator). The suggested large pit in the floor was empty, but the niche in the wall contained a layer of earth 20cm deep, in which were (possibly burned) human bone fragments in disorder. Fragments of a palace style jar (A1.78.6 right) were found scattered just above the floor (and also in the stomion, under the blocking wall), but other finds at this level of animal and bird bones suggest intensive post-Mycenaean use. The excavator notes that not the smallest fragment of jewellery was to be found.

Chronology: the only datable Mycenaean item from the tomb is the LHIIA palace style jar, although 'stirrup vases' are among the other pottery listed; this at least suggests a period of use from LHIIA until LHIII; the tomb was reused in the historical period.

Comments: none.

A1.38.2. Vasilikó tholos tomb: view southeast from tomb, possibly in direction of second tholos tomb.
A1.38.3. Vasiliko tholos tomb: chamber, stomion and niche after excavation in 1927. After Valmin 1928, plate IX.


Psári Metsíki

1:200,000 map reference: Psári is -1°50' e 37°20' n Messinia.

Description: two tholos tombs set on a hilltop with other antiquities.

Directions: from the main square of (Káto) Psári, take the road on the right leading into the hills. At a junction with a signpost, take the middle route and follow the road until you reach the church of Ayla Anna. Hence follow a dirt track roughly south until you reach the tholos.


Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: excavated over several seasons in the 1980s by the Eforfa; subject to periodic attack by tomb robbers.

Setting: from the south end of Metsíki, the limestone hill that rises above the village of Psári, the spectacular view south is of Psári in the foreground, with the vast expanse of the Soulima valley beyond, and the sea in the background (A1.39.1). The sight is framed by the hills on both sides and behind (A1.39.2-3), placing this site on the edge of two landscapes. The acoustics are particularly striking: the enclosure on three sides seems to cause sound from the valley and village below to be audible with unusual clarity - church bells and goat cries punctuate the silence of the hillside. The setting is among the highest and remotest in the study area. Neither of the tombs is located close to the very end of the promontory, but they are located in prominent areas, on the ridge top and in the southern half.

The second tholos is about 100m northeast of the first. One small circular construction lay 40m north of tholos 1, associated with a possible cist grave; a second such circular construction was located 135m southwest of tholos 1. Finally, in the east-southeast part of the hill, where the best view of Soulima and the valley ahead to Psári may be found, there is a stone arc or platform of 8-10m diameter.
The hill is very bare of soil, the limestone uncovered in many places; but aside from the outcrop there are many piles of small limestone boulders that seem sometimes more, sometimes less likely to be anthropogenic (some of these are spoil of the recent excavations).

Architecture: tholos 1 (A1.39.4-5) appears to have been built on a cleared area of limestone and then entirely covered by a mound. The diameter of the chamber (A1.39.4-5, A1.39.8) is given as 8.05m at 1m depth from the pre-excavation surface; the diameter at floor level is greater. The vault had collapsed. The floor was made of compacted earth that had been laid to level the sharply uneven surface of the bedrock. The surviving height of the chamber is at most 3.3m. The stomion is 4.9m long, and the dromos about 6m (A1.39.7) - the shortness of the dromos depending on the diameter of the mound, which should be about 30m. Both stomion and dromos are made of neatly fitted drystones, and the mound itself is largely of limestone boulders. The outer end of the dromos was defined by a drystone construction (A1.39.7), about 60cm high, that turned out to be part of a low peribolos around the mound. This peribolos was one of three stone ‘boundaries’ or perhaps layers within the mound: further investigation may be required to ascertain whether the mound is formed in layers like 14: Ayos Ioannis Papoulla or mound 2 at Vraná in Attika. The width of the dromos at the edge of the mound is 3m and narrows to 2.35m at the stomion. The stomion is 3.6m tall at its highest, but only 2.85m at its outside façade; its width varies from 1.8m at floor level to 1.45m at the height of the lintel. Of the lintels, only one survived in situ, its dimensions 2m x 1.6m x 45cm. Seen from the dromos, the façade of the stomion presents the characteristic appearance of two parastades and a narrowing toward the top. It was blocked by well-constructed walls at both ends (A1.39.6) which, added to the peribolos wall at the end of the dromos, make for three closing walls for the whole entrance. The walling at the outside end of the stomion reached to the full apparent height of 2.85m and was composed of blocks considerably less regularly laid than the neatly cut parastades it fit between. No apparent succession of building phases was noted for this wall. The walling of the chamber entrance survived to 1.5m in height, was 1.3m thick, and its width varied from 1.8m below to 1.6m above. The floor of the stomion was continuous with that of the chamber, of the same compacted earth.

The dromos of tholos 2 runs roughly east whereas the dromos of the first runs roughly west. Tholos 2 is largely unexcavated; its chamber has not been opened, although there has been a little work on the stomion. Today its most visible feature is a large lintel in situ, resting on top of

1The data given here are taken from Hatzf (1985, 105). They refer to the ‘η εξωτερική δεύτερη ξερολακθιά’. As all other details seem to make it clear that it is the inmost wall that is being referred to, I can only assume that the ‘ζ’ in ‘εξωτερική’ is a misprint for ‘α’.

Appendix One 39: Psíri 664
the walls of the stomion on what is now the ground surface (A1. Ir9.9). Trials in the stomion in 1986 suggested it would be about 3.6m long.

One of the two circular constructions, that 40m to the north of tholos 1 was excavated (A1. Ir9.10). Its outer diameter was 2.3m, inner diameter 1.5m, and so its walls were substantial in thickness, but seem not to have been higher than 10cm. The floor was formed of a layer of white pebbles, under which was a pit 50cm deep. Finds showed that this construction was a hearth (below). There are no details of the possible cist found nearby, save that it was walled on three sides. The second, unexcavated, circular construction appears to be of the same diameter as the first (possibly A1. Ir11). The stone arch is also unexcavated; it is about 8m to 10m in diameter.

Finds: the finds from the excavation were not spectacular (the intrusion by robbers in May 1983 may not have been very successful in terms of material). The upper layers of the chamber contained late Mycenaean pottery mixed with later material and (presumably) the construction material of the collapsed chamber. The material from the floor of the chamber included human bone in fragments and Mycenaean pottery, but extremely broken up, seemingly without recognisable contexts. This lower fill included fragments of two alabastra noted as LHIIA, and parts of two piriform jars.

The earliest sherds of the tomb were found on the floor of the dromos, where along with pottery of LHIIA date there were examples of 'Adriatic' ware. Two types of fill were noted in the dromos, but the findspots of the pottery were not described in relation to these fills. The early pottery is mostly Vafió cup fragments. The sherds found in the stomion are not described, save that they included both decorated and undecorated types, and were Mycenaean. Worked and unworked flint and obsidian were also noted in the dromos and stomion, along with the ubiquitous clay spindles and in the dromos the head of a clay idol (perhaps LHIIIA1 in date).

In all areas of fill, dromos, stomion and chamber, the excavator noted plentiful evidence for flint and obsidian working. A few examples of completed artefacts were recovered, but sifting of fills resulted in the collection of a considerable amount of flint and obsidian débitage. The presence of unworked flakes is especially interesting, indicating that either the raw material was worked in the tomb, or that the débitage was brought thither from elsewhere (perhaps close by outside). Flint considerably outnumbered obsidian but the latter seems to have been present in significant amounts and in all deposits. The floor of the chamber, formed of stamped earth to fill the natural hollows in the limestone bedrock, was excavated in places to reveal fills of burned
material again containing flint and obsidian waste. This may be regarded as a kind of foundation deposit.

Finds from trials in the stomion of tholos 2 are not closely described, but included early Mycenaean ceramic. In the pit of the first circular construction were bone, charcoal, sherds and flint. Trial trenches in the general vicinity found further Mycenaean pottery, animal bones, tiles, charcoal and further flint débris. From the circular arc of stones more flint débris and coarse pottery were found.

**Chronology:** while deposits in the chamber of tholos 1 are quite severely disrupted, the presence of LHI and LHII pottery suggests an early date for the construction of this tomb, most likely at the end of LHI. There is no reason to believe the construction date of tholos 2 should be any different. The two circular constructions, however, might easily be related to later cult activity at the site; this is not certain, however, and they might well be relics of Mycenaean practices rarely sought at other tholos sites.

**Comments:** none.


Filiatrá Ayos Hristofóros

1:200,000 map reference: Approximately -2°6'30"e 37°8'20"n Messínía.

Description: tholos tomb.


Publication: no excavation report (newspaper report).

Excavation: no information.

Setting: no information.

Architecture: no information (tholos tomb).

Finds: no information.

Chronology: LHII-III.

Comments: the newspaper Rizospastis, on 11 October 1984, under the heading 'Archaeological finds at Filiatrá', reports the following:

Important archaeological finds of the 14th and 15th centuries BC came to light during work to open a country road in the region of Ayos Hristofóros near Filiatrá. The study that followed the first finds uncovered part of a Cyclopaean wall and a circular construction that is in all probability a tholos tomb. A whole settlement of the Mycenaean period has probably been discovered.

The newspaper report conveys no further information, and to my knowledge no other report of this site has appeared. The settlement is presumably that visited by McDonald & Hope-

---

1 This cutting is preserved in the Library of the British School at Athens.
Simpson, and reported by them as a large middle helladic and LHIII site. The dates reported in the newspaper should presumably be translated to LHII-III.
Filiatrá Stómion

1:200,000 map reference: -2°08'30"e 37°11'10"n Messinia.

Description: trial trenches by the Eforia of Olimbía in the wake of construction work revealed MH habitation and a burial.

Directions: said to be 600m west of the Kiparissía to Pilos road and three kilometres north-northwest of Filiatrá.

References: Hatzi-Spiliopoulos (1991) for the excavation, and short notices in Αρχαιολογικών Δελτίων (Hatzi & Kokotáki 1985; Hatzi 1986a, 1987b); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1969, 133-4) with a map; and Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 149).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: excavated over several short seasons by the Eforía.

Setting: the settlement is located very close to the shore above the outlet of the Filiatrá river into the sea (McDonald & Hope Simpson 1969, Illustration 4; A1.41.1).

Architecture: the single excavated grave was located amidst the remains of settlement, mainly of the MH period (principally MHII with several subphases). The excavations uncovered a burial in a pit of a strongly contracted adult female, one hand at her jaw, the other on her stomach. A layer of beach pebbles had covered (and marked?) the grave, and there was a small pile of stones near her feet (A1.41.2).

Finds: No artefacts were found with the burial.

Chronology: sherds above the burial were said to have been late MH, those below it very early MH.

Comments: the settlement remains consisted of rectangular buildings with stone foundations 50cm or 60cm wide. More than one MH phase is represented; finds were made of millstones, blades of obsidian, and pottery.

Kapláni

1:200,000 map reference: Kapláni is -1°52'e 36°49'n Messinia.

Description: two tholos tombs.

Directions: 'on the summit of Vígla between Kapláni and Zlzáni'.


Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: one of the tombs was attacked by illicit excavators; In response an excavation, concentrating on the second tomb, was carried out by the Eforía over two months in 1993.

Setting: Vígla is described as an isolated and inaccessible hill. This appears to be an upland setting. The tombs were close to each other.

Architecture: the diameter of the chamber of the excavated tomb (A1.42.1) varies from 5.3m to 5.5m and the surviving height is 2.2m (A1.42.2). The construction material consists of flat stones. The floor contained a single cist or pit grave, 1.52m long, 30cm wide, and 20cm deep. The stomion is extremely narrow (40cm wide) at the entrance, and 1.65m high and about 2.7m long (A1.42.3). The stomion is wider at the dromos end, and was blocked by a stone wall. The dromos follows on directly from the stomion (so there is no façade), is 5.7m long, and stone lined throughout. A single lintel survived at the inner end of the stomion, 1.7m x 90cm x 20cm. The other tomb is said to be similar in architecture to the first.

Finds: the finds are described as poor and fragmentary, and included scraps of gold, four gold rosettes, and several beads. The cist contained two articulated skeletons, lying extended with the head of each at the feet of the other.

Chronology: LHIIA, but the finds have not yet been studied.

Comments: I assume this site is not that recorded by McDonald & Hope-Simpson as 'Aylos Nikolaos (Exochikon)' (1969, 154).

A1.42.3. (Left) Kaplání excavated tholos tomb. Dromos and stomion. After Arapoyiánni 1993, plate 140C.
Káto Samikó Klidhí

1:200,000 map reference: -2°7′30″e, 37°33′Ilía.

Description: cemetery group of four or five mounds and one or two tholos tombs.

Directions: The directions given by MacDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 230) and repeated by Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 101) are a little misleading; the site is not near the Káto Samikó railway station. The isolated hill Klidhi is visible from the national road on the west about 1km or 2km south of Káto Samikó, and it can be easily recognised not only from published photographs (for example, A1.4J.1), but also because it is the only hill to rise above the coastal plain on that side of the road. Leaving the road at Káto Samikó, travel toward the railway station there, cross the tracks and follow the road until a junction is reached. Turn left into a criss-crossing network of farm tracks in the coastal plain. The hill is clearly visible.


Publication: short final (mound A); short preliminary (Klidhi cemetery).

Excavation: the first area of the prehistoric cemetery at Klidhi to be excavated we may call mound A; it was excavated by the Eforia in 1954, at which time there was no evidence of other burial structures. Four other burial structures and a tholos tomb were excavated by the Eforia in 1981, 1982 and 1983. These excavations remain incomplete and the exposed areas are suffering badly from erosion.

Setting: Klidhi is a jagged akropolis rising sharply out of the coastal plain a very short distance from the sea (A1.4J.2, A1.4J.4); the surrounding landscape is barely above sea level. Surface survey on the akropolis showed material of early, middle and late helladic types; there is also a 'cyclopaean' wall (A1.4J.2 right), which is said to run from the top to the akropolis east into the plain and up to the nearby classical akropolis of Samikon, dating to late MH or early LH. The main group of excavated mounds lies at the eastern foot of the akropolis (A1.4J.9), very slightly above the level of the surrounding plain; the other excavated tomb (mound A) lies about 200m to the north of this (A1.4J.1). It is said by McDonald & Hope Simpson to be
situated on a 'large tumulus ca. 50 m. in diameter and ca. 5 m. in preserved height', although it is difficult to confirm this today; the site is currently part of a citrus grove.

**Architecture:**

**Mound A**

The architecture consists of a peribolos wall, up to 60cm high and 50cm wide, surviving only in an arc of about 2m (about one eighth of the circuit), but whose remains were traced for most of the original outline (A1.43.3). The walling is said to be of medium to large stones; a 'significant' number of stones was found in the fill of the mound. The inner diameter of the complete circuit should be 5.5m. The greatest damage to the structure had occurred to the south, where the landowner had dug into it; its form before excavation is described as 'horseshoe-shaped'.

The excavator interpreted the remains as a funerary mound with stone peribolos (much as 46:Makritis). Korrés (1976b, 363) suggested that this mound and the tomb at 46:Makritis were better interpreted as tholos tombs. The resolution of this question depends on the interpretation of the deposits as much as the architecture, and so will be discussed below.

**Mound 1**

The architecture of this and the other recently excavated mounds is barely described in the preliminary reports. It consists of a stone peribolos surrounding an internal diameter of 5.4m (A1.43.10-11). The peribolos would appear to be about 50cm thick and made of largish stones. Two circular constructions were apparently built inside this peribolos, although these are neither described nor illustrated.

**Mound 2**

There is no information on the architecture of this mound (A1.43.12). Three cist graves lay in a spoked fashion, running from the centre of the mound to the edge. The largest had two built altars at each end; a third built altar was located outside another of the cists. All the cist graves were covered by slabs.
Mound 3

There is again little information about the architecture of the mound, although a stone periphery is mentioned. There was a central cist grave, said to be the largest of all those in the cemetery, and covered by three slabs. It was compared in form to the central construction in the mound at 14: Ayos Ioánnis Papóúlia.

Mound 4

Excavation is incomplete; the mound may have contained a cist grave.

Tholos tomb (mound 5)

The tholos was covered by a mound retained by a low stone peribolos 14.6m in diameter. The tholos is 5.65m in diameter, surviving in height to 2.4m, its wall 60cm thick (A1. 43.14). It had apparently not been interfered with since its collapse, and the many stones that had fallen were found in the fill. The dromos and stomion, to the east and passing under the farm track, remain unexcavated. There were three grave pits in the floor, which was strewn with gravel, and three ‘shaft graves’.

Finds:

Mound A

The positions of various graves and bone groups is shown on the plan (A1. 43.3), but the description of the stratigraphy is unclear. The stippled features in the plan represent ‘bands of crumbly sandstone’; otherwise the fill of the tomb was sandy earth. Many stones were found in the fill of the mound. The graves and finds shown on the plan were not all found at the same level: the depth of each is shown on the plan. Thus graves 6, 7 and 13, located next to each other in the north section of the tomb, were found at depths of 70cm, 1m and 1.2m respectively.

1 The numbering on the plan is thus: A = 1, B = 2, Γ = 3, Δ = 4, E = 5, ΣE = 6, Ζ = 7, H = 8, Θ = 9, I = 10, IA = 11, IB = 12, Π = 13, IA = 14.
Isolated items found in the tomb outside these contexts included an alabastron, two cups, and a dipper; sherds are reported throughout. A selection of finds, as displayed in the museum at Olímbia, is shown in A1.43.8.

Mound 1

One of the circular constructions contained two contracted skeletons and no artefacts, the other one contracted skeleton and no artefacts. In the north part of the mound, a child’s grave without artefacts was covered by small stones and parts of pithos, the head being covered by a larger stone. Two pots were found close to the peribolos, which their excavator took as evidence of tomb cult.

Mound 2

In the largest cist there were two articulated skeletons and other disarticulated bones, along with three pots, a whetstone and some arrowheads. Outside a Vafió cup and a dipper were associated with the ‘altars’. Another cist contained disarticulated bones and three pots, a bronze knife, obsidian arrowheads and clay spindles. Five other groups of bones and three more pots
were found near the top of this cist. The third cist was damaged by construction works, but contained at least one articulated skeleton (A1.4.13). A fourth cist contained two contracted skeletons along with a kantharos and an amforiskos, a flint blade and a clay spindle (A1.4.12). Remains of other burials were noted.

**Mound 3**

There was at least one pithos burial in this mound, containing a jaw and some teeth near its opening. A piece of 'adriatic ware' pottery was associated with it. Within the central cist there were two contracted skeletons with a ewer and a cup. The upper strata of the mound contained many Vaštó cup fragments.

**Mound 4**

No Information.

**Tholos tomb (mound 5)**

The upper fill of the tholos contained MH and EH sherds, along with the remains of the clay capping of the tomb. Seven burials were found on (or above) the floor; the three pits contained mixed disarticulated bones; of the three 'shaft graves', one contained a skeleton with worked boars' tusks lying around the skull, while there is no information on the others. At least 70 pots were found (A1.4.14), in ten different shapes, along with a bronze tweezers, bronze wire, bronze rivets coming originally from a knife, sealstones, a sard necklace, clay and stone spindles, obsidian arrowheads and blades, and flint artefacts. Two intact and articulated burials remain on the floor today (1996; A1.4.15), decaying and barely protected by corrugated iron sheets that have damaged the skulls.

**Chronology:**

**Mound A**

Each pot was treated individually by the excavator in the final publication, and assigned a chronology; this has been revised by Lólos. The early pottery ranges in date from MHIII to LHII, and the latest items date to LHIIIA2-B. The finds from grave 12 are clearly late (LHIIIA
according to Yialoúris); other late graves are number 9 and possibly 7 (this only on the basis of a late date for a steatite spindle) and 8.

**Mound 1**

The artefacts associated with the peribolos are LHIIB In date, but otherwise there is no chronological evidence.

**Mound 2**

All of the pottery recovered from the various burials is MHIII In date, except for the two items associated with one of the altars, dated LHII.

**Mound 3**

The two items in the cist are MHIII in date; the pithos is undated, but the associated adriatic ware sherd is presumably MH in date.

**Mound 4**

No Information.

**Tholos tomb (mound 5)**

Items recovered from the tholos are dated from LHI to LHIIIA2.

**Comments:** there is little to be said about the results of the recent excavations since so little is known of them.

The nature of ‘mound A’ is open to question. As noted already, its excavator believed it to be a small burial mound with a low stone peribolos, while Korrés has suggested it might be a tholos tomb. Only a small part of the wall was *in situ*, and a stolon and dromos could easily have been located at the southern, damaged part of the mound. The excavator noted the presence of a large number of stones in the fill that might conceivably be the remnant of a collapsed vault.
The main evidence lies not in the architecture, but in the nature of the deposits in the mound. Of the up to fifteen individuals represented in the mound, only two skulls survive. Most graves consist of mixed long bones, predominantly of the lower parts of the body, and few seem to be the remnant of intact skeletons, but rather a result of post-inhumation disarticulation. While it is not impossible that these bones were buried as disarticulated heaps in their own grave pits dug into the surface of the mound, in fact these kind of deposits are much more easily formed in tholos tombs. It is within the chamber of the tholos that the opportunity exists for bones to be disarticulated, mixed and perhaps buried in pits. The chamber of the tholos also provides the arena where an action like the concerted removal and relocation of skulls can easily take place; it is much less easy that to imagine each individual burial in a mound being exhumed, the bones mixed up, and skulls removed. Moreover, the presence of a few individual pots not associated with burial, explained by the excavator as due to the action of tomb robbers, is perhaps more easily explained in the context of a tholos chamber than in the context of the matrix of a mound. I therefore agree with Korres that this tomb likely represents a tholos tomb.

Having come to this conclusion, one ought examine the other mounds in the cemetery in the same light. Mound 5 is already recognised as a tholos tomb, and was so before it was excavated in depth: the excavator was therefore competent to judge between tholos and stone peribolos. Moreover, the peribolos of the other mounds seem to be complete circles, thus ruling out the presence of a stomion and dromos. Finally the presence of cist graves in each of the mounds mitigates against the mounds being tholos tombs, as these are not found in tholos 5, in mound A, nor in tholos tombs generally. It also seems clear from published photographs that these are not tholos tombs.

The similarity and proximity of the architecture is however striking. If mound A is a tholos tomb, its construction date must be as early as any other, in MHIII, while the (perhaps better built) example of mound 5 must be LHII at the latest. The other graves are also MHIII constructions, suggesting that over a relatively short period those using the cemetery sought to build circular tombs of different kinds. The presence of multiple burial in the large cists of these mounds is also a link in terms of burial practices between the mounds and the tholos.

The late 'grave' 12 in mound A was reported as a grave, the excavator explaining the lack of bones as due to the corrosive effect of water. The two items found in the pit were a rhyton and a ewer, and so lacking a corpse perhaps a better explanation is that the pit was dug for cult reasons in LHIIIA, the ewer and rhyton used in a libation ceremony. The floor of the tholos, if
such it be, at that time may already have risen through the filtering of sand into the tomb through the interstices in the walling of the tholos.

The evidence of LHII pottery found at the ‘altars’ in mounds 1 & 2 is also of interest. At that time tholos 5 and mound A were still in use, while the other mounds were generally out of use; the activity at the ‘altars’ shows that the mounds and their content were still woven into the understandings of those using the monuments.

A1.43.1. General view of Káto Saniiko Klidhi from classical Samikon. The prehistoric akropolis is visible amid the surrounding coastal plain, with the middle helladic cemetery on its eastern slopes and mound A to the north. After Papakonstandinou 1981, plate 85α.
A1.43.2. Left: akropolis of Káto Samikó Klidhi from north, showing setting on coastal plain. Right: 'cyclopaean wall', after Papakonstandinou 1982, plate 84β.

A 1.43.4. Káto Samikó Klidhí: akropolis from mound A.

A 1.43.5. Káto Samikó Klidhí: mound A.


A1.43.9. Káto Samikó Klidhi: excavated area of MH cemetery. Tholos tomb on left, marked by tree, mounds to right.


Kakóvatos

1:200,000 map reference: -2°4'15"e 37°27'30"n Ilía.

Description: three tholos tombs near to ‘palatial’ akropolis site.

Directions: driving north along the main coastal highway from Pilos to Pírgos, turn right onto the road for Kalidona. The site is signposted left shortly after this. The site is fenced.

References: Dörpfeld (1907, 1908, 1913); finds published by Müller (1909); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 230-231); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 101-102).

Publication: detailed preliminary.

Excavation: the three tholos were excavated over two seasons in 1907 and 1908.

Setting: Kakóvatos lies on the sweeping coast of Ilía (A1.44.1), roughly equidistant between Olimbía to the north and the Soulima Valley sites to the south. The area encompasses a fertile coastal plain (A1.44.3) and includes a little to the north the site of 43: Káto Samikó. The low hill or akropolis on which the Kakóvatos site is located is one of a chain along the east edge of the coastal plain, and the land is more mountainous further east (A1.44.4-5).

Dörpfeld located an large non-funerary site in addition to three tholos tombs. He excavated a number of rooms, including one with storage pithol and one corner of walling that was built of large stone blocks (A1.44.6). Until the excavation of 24: Englianós beginning in 1939, this site was thought to be the Homeric Pylos, as Dörpfeld himself argued; the site remains one of the most enigmatic of this western province, partly because the akropolis excavations were not published in as detailed a fashion as the tholos tombs. When they visited the site, McDonald & Hope Simpson defined an inhabited area 90m x 200m.

The three tholos tombs are located to the northwest of the akropolis (A1.44.2), on what Dörpfeld suggests, quite reasonably, was the main route from the sea and plain to the akropolis. Each is at a different level, tomb C being almost at the level of the akropolis, B lower, and A at the lowest level. The dromoi all point roughly south, and it may be that they all ended on a
route to the akropolis. Today the natural route to the akropolis is directly behind tombs A & B. Tomb C was recently filled in and covered with a private driveway.

Architecture: all three tombs had collapsed long before excavation commenced. In addition, they had been victim of quarrying for stone by locals in comparatively recent times. Thus today the two visible tholoi are almost bereft of walling, some of which stood up to 7m tall until not long before excavations, according to Dörpfeld’s information.

Tomb A

The chamber is 12.12m in diameter (plan and section, A1.44.7-8). The cutting into the ground for the chamber was 13.5m in diameter, 2.5m into the ground toward the stomion, but 5.5m into the ground at the back. The walling is of flat limestone slabs with earth in the interstices interpreted as a kind of clay mortar by Dörpfeld. He thought that the vault might not have been built on the usual principle because the stones seemed to turn inward and downward, and he thought the roof might have been more of a true vault than a corbel. The condition of the stones might, however, be explained by inward pressure from the mass of the earth, and in any case it is recognised that the stones of tholoi tend to slant downward (Cavanagh & Laxton 1981). The thickness of the wall varied between 75cm and 1.1m (A1.44.9).

The stomion (A1.44.10), as usual, was built of slightly larger stones, 2.25m wide and 4.85m long (deep); one surviving lintel fragment was of pebble conglomerate. The stomion was blocked with a wall of rounded pebbles surviving to 1m in height, 2.75m deep (into the chamber). The dromos was unwalled, 8m long, 3m wide at the façade, 2.5m wide at the outside. There was a pit in the chamber to the right of the entrance, 2m x 70cm x 1m, perhaps originally covered with slabs found nearby.

Tomb B

The diameter of the chamber is about 9m, and its floor was paved with slabs of limestone in rectangular, triangular and trapezoidal shapes, which had mostly survived in situ (A1.44.14; plan, A1.44.13). The chamber wall varied in thickness from 55cm to 80cm and the cutting in the rock was 10.6m in diameter, 3m to 4m deep. Quarrying had badly damaged the tomb, and removed the stomion completely. The dromos was unwalled, and any remains of a blocking wall in the stomion went with the stomion.
Tomb C

This had also suffered very much from recent quarrying. Only two areas of walling, 60cm high, survived. The diameter of the chamber was estimated at 10.15m to 10.35m. There was a pit right of the entrance, dimensions 2m x 75cm c 50cm (A1.44.16; plan A1.44.15).

Finds:

Tomb A

The pit seems to have been largely bereft of finds: Dörpfeld mentions two sherds. The floor of the chamber was strewn with finds in a clay and sand layer up to 15cm thick. Müller reports up to 10,000 sherds found in tomb A. There is little contextual information, but finds included many items of gold, such as a toad and an owl, beads, rings, cutouts and much gold foil. An iron ring, some silver and bronze, up to five hundred pieces of amber, much ivory, faience and wood are also reported. Weaponry seems rare in this tomb: one bronze and 40 flint arrowheads, two broken blades, and some worked boars' tusks from the familiar helmets. Fifteen complete or mended palace style jars were found in the chamber, along with fragments (A1.44.11-12); one was found in the dromos. One or two fragments of Vafíó cups were collected from the dromos and the chamber (these were identified by Lólos, who suggested that they are intrusive in these contexts: 1985, 214). Very little skeletal material was collected from the floor level: at least one individual was identified. Two others were found higher in the fill, without any accompanying items, but below the much higher Roman burials.

Tomb B

Finds from the tomb were less spectacular than A, in a layer of sand just above the floor. These included gold discs and seashell shapes, lapis lazuli, four glass beads, faience fragments, a 21.6cm long bronze needle covered in gold, and a sword 92cm long with a decorated handle. There were two palace style jars in the chamber and one was recovered from the dromos.
Tomb C

The pit contained some material, such as gold foil compressed in one corner. The tomb generally contained a few items such as gold and amethyst beads and some amber. One palace style jar and fragments of others were found within.

Chronology: The chronological relationship between the tholos and the akropolis site is obscure; much of the pottery from the 1908 excavations on the akropolis is LHIIIB, according to McDonald & Hope Simpson, and the tholos themselves seem to be securely LHIIA in date (Lólos 1985, 213-215), with little to suggest any other period of use.

Comments: the site of Kakóvatos is in such a sorry state of preservation today that it is difficult to bracket it mentally with such sites as 35:Peristería, 24:Englianos or indeed Mycenae. Several circumstances make it very comparable to these sites. The first is the relationship between the tholos and the non-domestic buildings nearby. Dörpfeld rightly pointed out that the tholos are on a route from the plain up to whatever was to be found on the akropolis. The second is the scale of the tholos: they belong with the most monumental of early tholos in terms of scale. A third circumstance may seem to be content, although the richness of the finds is at least partly due to the accident of preservation.

The apparently closed nature of the deposits in the tombs is difficult to understand, given the longevity of use of the site. Each tomb seems to have been constructed at about the same time, around the start of LHIIA or perhaps at the end of LHI, and deposition seems to have ceased before the end of LHIIA. Dörpfeld’s description of the stratigraphy of tombs A & B, where finds seem to have been restricted to a noticeable layer 10cm to 15cm thick on the floor, suggests that later interference was minimal (Roman burials took place much higher in the fill). The general paucity of skeletal evidence also tends to suggest that the tombs were not regularly reused. Given that occupation seems to have continued at the site (or, if interrupted, the site was reoccupied long before the end of the Mycenaean period), the most reasonable conclusion in the face of the evidence is that the tombs collapsed fairly soon after construction. The noted thinness of the walls hints that, monumental as they are, these tombs may not have been well designed. A single incident such as an earthquake may have brought both A & B down. Tomb C, where Dörpfeld said he could not recognise any stratigraphy, might have lasted a little longer or been used more intensively. In no tomb, however, Is there a clear suggestion of use beyond LHIIA.

Appendix One 44:Kakóvatos
The slab pavement of B is unique (paralleled by some of the protogeometric tombs of 30:Nihória, as Pelon points out: 1976, 352). Pelon suggests it was an ‘expensive’ feature not to be repeated. Dörpfeld did not search under all of this floor for other evidence.

The contrast between this site and 43:Káto Samikó a little to the north could not be greater. Here we have an instance of monumental tomb building as a strategy in sacralising the landscape near a particular building complex. At Samikó the tombs are all much smaller in scale, and the tholos tomb(s) come at the end of a longer period of funerary activities; it represented the continuing use of an older cemetery in a newer form. The landscape at Samikó was already sacred through years of tradition.

A1.44.1. Kakóvatos: location of excavations (tholoi marked A, B & C). After Dörpfeld 1907, VIII.
A 1.44.2. Kákovatos: view of tholos tombs from excavations on akropolis. Positions of tombs marked A, B & C. After Dörpfeld 1908, plate XV.

A 1.44.3. Kákovatos: view northwest from akropolis to coastal plain and sea.

A 1.44.4. Kákovatos: view northeast from akropolis inland.
A 1.44.5. Kakóvatos: view southeast from akropolis.

A 1.44.6. Kakóvatos: monumental masonry on akropolis. Scale: 1m.

A 1.44.7. Kakóvatos: tholos tomb A. Section, after Dörpfeld 1908, figure 3.

A1.44.10. Kakóvatos: tholos tomb A. Stomion from chamber, during excavation. After Dörpfeld 1908, plate XVI-1.

A1.44.11. Kakóvatos: tholos tomb A. Palace style jars numbers 2 & 8, found during excavation. After Müller 1909, plate XVIII.
A1.44.12. Kakóvatos: tholos tomb A. Palace style jars numbers 12 & 13 from the excavation. After Müller 1909, plate XX.


A1.44.15. Kakóvatos: tholos tomb C. Plan after Dörpfeld 1908, figure 5.
Makrísia: Arnokatáraho

1:200,000 map reference: Makríšia is -2·7'e 37·37'n Ilía.

Description: rectangular built grave.

Directions: near the hill 'Babés', about 1km west of the village of the same name or 1km east of Makrísia.

References: Yialóúris (1968, 177); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 99-100); for full references see Siriopoúlou 1995, 208.

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: near the hill ‘Babés’, on the left bank of the Alfeíos river.

Architecture: 'a destroyed rectangular built grave', presumably a cist grave with stone-built walls.

Finds: 'LHII vases'; a dagger found nearby might have come from the tomb.

Chronology: LHII.

Comments: the tomb was discovered and broken into by villagers before it was seen by Yialóúris, who did not excavate it. There is no other published information.
**Makríssia: Profitis Ilías**

1:200,000 map reference: Makríssia is -2.7° e 37.37′ n Ilía.

**Description:** LHI burial mound.

**Directions:** 'an akropolis 700m west of Makríssia village', 100m southeast of the church of Profitis Ilías.

**References:** Thémelis (1968a, 1968b); Papathanasópoulos (1970); Lólos (1985, 218-219a); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 229; 1969, 130); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 99).

**Publication:** short final.

**Excavation:** the tomb was discovered by local children who dug into it and destroyed much of the evidence. It was excavated in a single day by Thémelis.

**Setting:** akropolis site; survey suggests occupation of the whole hilltop in the MH and LHIII periods.

**Architecture:** the architectural remains of this tomb consist of an arc of wall (A1.46.1-3), surviving up to 60cm in height and 45cm in width. Only about one third of the presumed circuit survived, suggesting an original diameter of 4.7m. The tomb is set in a slope, the surviving arc upslope (A1.46.2). The stonework consists of rough flat stones (A1.46.3).

No other details were recorded, save a single pit dug out of the underlying sandstone close to the centre of the presumed circle. From the plan (A1.46.1), this pit appears to be about 0.6m wide and about 1.2m long.

The tomb was published by its excavator as a tumulus, the surviving section of wall representing the remnants of a peribolos meant to retain the mound; explicit comparison is drawn with the (one then known) mound at 43:Káto Samikó Klidhi (Mound A). Korrés in 1976 stated 'the so-called mound at Makríssia is very clearly a tholos tomb and the similarly described mound of Samikó rather ought to be a tholos as well' (1976b, 363).
The scant recording of the brief excavation and the destroyed nature of the evidence leaves little evidence to hand in choosing between these interpretations. Tumuli of this date (LHI-II) are rare, although that in itself does not exclude the possibility; the diameter is also rather small, and there is no description of what may have lain outside the walls. On the other hand, the diameter would be within the normal range for a tholos tomb of this date in the western Peloponnese. The setting (A1.46.2) does suggest that the walls were not deeply bedded in the sloping ground. On balance, however, I am tempted to believe that this construction was a tholos tomb. The missing entrance is downslope, which would be appropriate.

**Finds:** the objects discovered in the illegal excavation amounted to 20 whole Mycenaean pots (or 40: Lólos 1985, 218) and several bronze items, such as daggers. In the 'proper' excavation of the pit, a single skeleton was uncovered, perhaps in a contracted position, although 'few bones' remained *in situ* (A1.46.4). There is no information as to whether this grave had been disturbed by the children, and there is no other information about the fill of the tomb.

**Chronology:** all the pottery is recorded as belonging either to the LHI or LHIIA phase, and this applies to the other finds as well. Much of the pottery is said to be of 'middle helladic tradition'. Lólos records that three vases found with the burlar were LHI in date. He examined fifty complete or nearly complete pots in Olimbía Museum, along with sherds from 22 other pots. Lólos, who in 1985 stated that he was soon to publish the pottery from the mound, says definitively that the tomb dates from early LHI and continues in use until late LHII.

**Comments:** the similarity of this tomb to the first mound excavated at 43: Káto Samikó Kildhi is discussed in the catalogue entry for that site.

---

1 Cavanagh & Mee (1998, 57-58) list eleven examples at six sites. Excluding mounds originally constructed in the middle helladic period (I include the Vraná mounds in this group), we are left with this site, one of the mounds at 43: Káto Samikó Kildhi, 8: Kissós, and some of the mounds from Mármara in central Greece (Dhakorónia 1987).

A1.46.2. Makrisia: mound or chamber after excavation. After Themelis 1968a, plate 121α.
A.46.3. Makrisia: detail of walling of peribolos or chamber. After Thémelis 1968a, plate 121β.


A.46.5. (Below) Vafió cup. After Thémelis 1968b, figure 3.
There is no site 47.
Miráka

1:200,000 map reference: -2°4’20”e 37°38’20”n Ilia.

Description: at least eight intramural cist graves, probably middle helladic.

Directions: go past the entrance to the Olimbia excavations away from the village, follow the road east and after a short distance (1.5km) there is a fork in the road. The hill rests between the fork; the north road goes to Miráka.


Publication: short final.

Excavation: excavated by Dörpfeld.

Setting: the site is set on an akropolis (A1.48.3) overlooking the flat valley bottom and the later site of Olimbia (A1.48.4). The hilltop has good views of the valley west and south, but north and east faces the mountains. The trees there now make observations difficult. The climb is steep but the summit is relatively flat.

The brief excavations in the early part of this century produced fragments of walls and eight graves (A1.48.1-2). The graves were located in the south trench on the hilltop and were not found in areas that were specifically interior spaces.

Architecture: published plans of two graves (A1.48.2) show that they were made of slabs: they were all made thus. One is 25cm by 47cm, the other 34cm by 66cm. None of the graves is significantly bigger than this, according to the site plan; they may well all be children’s graves, as Dörpfeld suggested.

Finds: no information.

Chronology: middle helladic (for the graves and the excavated settlement remains; McDonald & Hope Simpson noted LH material during survey).

A1.48.3. Miraka: view of akropolis from west.

Description: a burial mound (?) with four or five funerary pithoi.

Directions: ‘200m south of Máyeira on the east bank of the Kladeos’.

References: Ylaloúris (1966, 170); Thémelis (1967, 211-212; 1969); McDonald & Hope Simpson (1969, 128); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 96-97).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: brief excavation by Thémelis.

Setting: no information.

Architecture: a low ‘hill’, presumably an artificial mound (not stated by the excavator), was damaged by road cutting. The mound is perhaps 4m high, judging by the photograph (A1.49.1 top).

Finds: a hellenistic cist burial was excavated at a depth of 2.5m. Above this grave there were four funerary pithoi: one was up to 1.6m long, some had stone constructions supporting their mouths, and all contained bones, those of a child in one case. Another broken pithos was found on a pile of stones heaped by the road (A1.49.1 bottom). A shallow kylix was found in pithos 2; pithos 4 is illustrated: A1.49.1 middle.

Chronology: the (few) finds were said to be Mycenaean; the pithoi in size and in the description of the constructions around their necks could well be middle helladic.

Comments: Ylaloúris (1966) and Thémelis (1969) both refer to a site called Klóúpla, where six (or five) burial pithoi were found, and dated by associated pottery to the LHIIIB period. No other information is available about this site; I assume that it is a different site from the one under discussion.
In considering interpretation of this site, the following problems should be taken into account: 1) the excavator does not attempt to describe or closely date his finds; 2) there is no plan or section of the mound, save the photograph; 3) the excavator has not indicated whether the mound is artificial.

This may well be a middle helladic\(^1\) mound which had been rearranged in the LHIII period, but until some further report and study of the finds is carried out there can be no further interpretation of the site.

\(^1\) This dating is also adopted by Müller (1989), following Schachermeyr et alii (1971). She also assumes that the mound is artificial.
Armatova

1:200,000 map reference: -2°11'15"e 37°53'45"n Ilia.

Description: some middle helladic burials.

Directions: now under water.

References: Coleman (1969); Howell (1968); Thémelis (1965); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 93).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: archaeological survey and excavation was conducted in the region of the Peneus river in advance of the construction of the Peneus dam as an international collaboration between various foreign schools and the Greek authorities in the years 1966 to 1969 (Megaw 1968).

Setting: no information.

Architecture: possible burial mounds, cist graves.

Finds: see below.

Chronology: middle helladic.

Comments: Thémelis (1965) reports the excavation of three burial mounds, many of whose occupants were certainly of later periods, but the discovery of middle helladic pottery in at least one of the mounds raises the possibility that middle helladic mounds were reused in the later period.

Coleman (1969), leading the American contingent, reports the discovery of five graves at the east end of the hill of Armatóva near the (now submerged) village of Agrapidohóri. One of these, a 'simple interment', had a single middle helladic grey minyan kantharos, but the others
were undated by lack of associated items. One of these graves was however a tile grave, clearly much later in date.

Howell (1968), for the British School at Athens, reports a possible middle helladic pithos burial on top of a hill. The area excavated was insufficient to make any further statements. At another site trial trenches revealed stones that may have made up a tumulus, with pithos fragments. Another mound nearby was said to have contained bones, but may have been late.

There is little that can be said about this archaeology.
Voúrvoura Análipsis

1:200,000 map reference: -1.16°e 37°20'n Lakonia.

Description: LHII tholos tomb and a number of smaller tombs, some of which were described as small tholoi.

Directions: Turn east from the Spárti-Trípoli highway at the turning for Voúrvoura, just on the border between Lakonia and Arkadhía. The chapel of Aya Análipsis is about 2km along this road and 4km before Voúrvoura. Leave your transport here and walk west. The tombs are located on a hill lower than the post-bronze age remains.


Publication: detailed final.

Excavation: the large tholos was briefly excavated by Roméos in 1954, the others in 1956 and 1957.

Setting: the Mycenaean remains are situated on a hill to the west of and lower than the hill of Análipsis. The deep and steep gorge of the Sarandapótamos Is behind the two hills to the north, and the most conspicuous geographical feature of the area. The large tholos tomb, which is the only remaining visible tomb, is built into a mound and faces approximately southeast (A1.51.3). A reasonable search failed to locate the other tombs, but this is hardly surprising since Krígas reported that in 1978 only one or two of the small tholoi were visible. Eight small tholoi were excavated in the vicinity of the large tomb; a ninth was excavated on the river bank below. A cist tomb was also excavated, in the area of the nearby later settlement.

1 The notices published by the excavator were extremely brief, but the tombs were the subject of a PhD thesis (Krígas 1984) which, although written long after the excavations, represents a detailed publication. This publication cannot, however, make up for the deficiencies in the original recording of the excavations.
Architecture:

Large tholos

The diameter of its chamber is said to be 8.65m, and the height from the floor to the highest point of fill (or the mound) had been 5.5m (A1.5/1-2). The chamber survived to 4.8m in height. There were two pits in the floor, one 1.8m x 80cm x 85cm deep, the other 70cm x 39cm. The height of the stomion was 2.2m, its length 3.4m and its width 1.05m, and the lintel slab was 1.75m x 1.45m x 35cm. The stones used in the construction were small and uncut, although those in the lowest courses were larger; the lintel adapted to the curve of the chamber. Traces of a dromos were not discovered².

Small tholos and cist tomb

In 1956 Romalos excavated seven small tholos tombs, all of diameter about three metres, and a further two the following year. Only one of the tholos had a dromos, but all had stomia. Since all were found preserved only in their lowest levels, their vaulted nature is assumed rather than assured. They were also assumed to be covered by tumuli. No further information is available (one photograph was published: A1.5/5); the cist tomb is not described.

Finds:

Large tholos

A few damaged palace style jars were put together from fragments found in the fill (A1.5/4). Sherds, bone fragments and boars' tusks are reported outside the pits, but apparently there was nothing within. The items found on the floor included boars' tusks (certainly from a helmet), pieces of bronze, gold leaf, a gold necklace, beads, seven stone and ten bronze arrowheads, an ivory comb, horses' teeth, and stone axes (the axes and teeth may well originally come from neolithic deposits below the tomb). High in the fill a geometric pot was found, and a much later burial took place under the stomion.

²Krtugas gives a series of slightly different measurements for this tomb: diameter 8.2m, surviving height 4.7m, stomion 3m long and 1.05m wide, lintel 1.75m x 1.45m x 40cm, large pit 1.8m x 80cm x 90cm deep, small pit 70cm x 40cm x 50cm deep.
Seven pots were mended, and described. These included the palace style jars (four in total), a ewer, a kylix, and an alabastron. Study of the finds from the excavation by Krías brought to light other palace style jar fragments.

There are few details of stratigraphy, and the general impression is that, apart from the two pits, there was only one floor level used for burials, which was used in the LHII period and then not used again.

Small tholoi and cist tomb

The material from the tombs was not published. Krías describes six items, three of which are late Mycenaean. The earlier items consist of a Vafió cup, a three-handled pyxis, and an open shape. These last three were said to have come from a child's grave, although the point is unclear. Other finds included small type-B swords and other knives, bronze arrowheads, steatite spindles, a jasper sealstone, and four clay figurines.

Chronology: The large tholos seems to date from LHIIA, although Krías suggested it might be an LHI construction on the basis of the projected early date of one of the mended pots. The tomb may well have collapsed in the LHII period, and any LHIII material is likely to have come from high in the fill.

Most of the material from the other tombs is unpublished and undescribed. It is clear the some items are late (the three late Mycenaean pots are said to date to LHIIIA2, and we can also note the presence of four figurines in this regard). But earlier material is also present, including the type-B swords which could be LHIIIA1 at the latest, and should be earlier (Sandars 1961). Schachermeyr, who seems to have had a look at some of the material, or at least to have obtained further information from the excavator, says that the material is datable from LHI to LHIIIB. This date was repeated by Howell and by Dickinson (1977, 89).

Comments: none.


A1.51.5. Analysis: one of the small tholos tombs. After Roméos 1956, plate 80α.
Pellána

1:200,000 map reference: the village is -1°23'40"e 37°12'30"n Lakónia.

Description: at least six chamber tombs.

Directions: about 800m north of the village.

References: excavations at the site have been reported by Karahálios (1926) and Spirópoulos (1982a, 1983). Hope Simpson & Waterhouse (1961, 126-128); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 123).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: one tomb was excavated ('uncovered') by Roméos, who did not publish any notice of it; another was excavated by Karahálios in 1926. The remainder were excavated in the 1980s by Spirópoulos, who has published two brief and incomplete descriptions of the excavations.

Setting: the tombs are cut into a low but occasionally sheer sandstone hill (called 'spiliés' locally, showing that the presence of the tombs has long been known). I have produced a very rough sketch map (A1.52.1) showing the relative positions of the tombs: the dimensions attested by this sketch should not be relied on too heavily. The four northerly tombs are at a similar height in the hill, while that to the south is at a lower level and that between the southern one and the others is at a much higher level. Other chamber tombs are suspected but not excavated elsewhere in the area, 400m east of the excavated tombs at Tripórali (A1.52.2 left). The tombs are spread over an area about 120m in length. As there is no coherent numbering system I number the tombs from north to south, 1 to 6.

Architecture: where available, published details are repeated below; otherwise approximate measurements based on on-site observation are offered.

Tomb 1: (numbered 4 by Spirópoulos). There are no published dimensions but a published plan suggests a circular chamber of diameter 6.7m. The stomion is 1.2m wide and 1.6m deep (long). The dromos at the façade is 1.7m wide and at least 6.5m long (A1.52.6). The
published drawing (A1.52.5) shows four numbered pits and one niche. The largest pit is about 2m x 1m; the others are smaller. The chamber and stomion have completely collapsed (A1.52.4).

**Tomb 2**: (numbered 2 by Spirópoulos). This magnificent monument has a chamber of 10.05m diameter (A1.52.8-10); the roof has collapsed but the carved part of the chamber is preserved to some considerable height (perhaps 3m?) and the gaping hole climbs upward to the level of the hill, perhaps 6m. The stomion is 2.6m long and very tall with what Spirópoulos describes as a relieving triangle: in fact, the roof of the stomion is a triangular carving; it is relatively narrow (A1.52.7). The dromos is said to be 12.7m long (I estimated it at 14.5m on site; there may have been further cleaning during Spirópoulos' unreported second season of digging) and 2.55m wide at the façade (2.1m at the outer end). The height of the dromos at the façade is nearly 6m. No pits are reported from the tomb.

**Tomb 3**: (numbered 3 by Spirópoulos). No report has appeared of the excavation of this tomb. I estimate a chamber diameter of about 6m, again circular (A1.52.12). The dromos is about 6.5m long (A1.52.13 right). Two cuttings are visible in the floor near the entrance (A1.52.13 left). The chamber roof and the lintel (the rock above the stomion) have collapsed. An apparent niche above the floor of the tomb suggests reuse in later times.

**Tomb 4**: (numbered 1 by Hope-Simpson & Waterhouse; A1.52.2 top right). This tomb has a stepped dromos 4.5m long about 1m wide (A1.52.15 right). The chamber is about 6m wide (A1.52.14). The stomion is triangular at the top like tomb 2 and is 2.5m high. The ceiling has survived and is rounded except at the apex, where a conical section is carved out at a different angle (A1.52.14); the height of the chamber is 5m. This is similar to the carving of the tombs at 23: Volimichdia.

**Tomb 5**: (numbered 2 by Hope-Simpson & Waterhouse; A1.52.2 bottom right). Much of the environment of this tomb has been dug away or eroded. It was excavated by Roméos who did not publish anything from it. Rock survives outside to the right and contains a niche of sorts (A1.52.16 right); evidently this was much better preserved when Hope-Simpson & Waterhouse visited the site in the 1950s. The circular chamber is 4m in diameter and about as high (A1.52.16 left). There are two pits and a niche inside.

---

1 I was unable to make more than guesses in relation to this tomb as it was waterlogged when I visited it.
Tomb 6: some distance from the others (about 30m) and on a different orientation: the other dromos run from chamber to outside east-northeast - west-northwest; tomb six is oriented north-south (the chamber to the north; A1.52.17). It is also at a much lower position than the others. It is again circular and carved from rock, but very little survives. The chamber is about 4m in diameter, and traces of stomion/dromos survive 2-3m in length. Nothing is published of this tomb (it is mentioned by Spirópoulos, 1983: 116).

Cuttings were observed in the ground to the right of tombs 2 & 3; Spirópoulos mentions a pit which he called tomb 1.

Finds: In general, very little is known of the finds of Pellána. Of Roméos' tomb (number 5) the only information is that it was empty save some Mycenaean pottery in a grave pit. Karahállis mentioned and illustrated the material he found in his tomb (number 4), which Hope-Simpson & Waterhouse discuss and date to LHIIIA (and possibly LHIIIB). Pottery, beads and a figurine were found throughout the tomb; bones in disorder were found in four pits, representing in each case more than one individual.

Of the four recently excavated chamber tombs only two have been treated in print in any sense. The northern tomb (number 1) contained bones in its five burial pits and pottery, some of which is LHIIIB; there are almost no details.

The largest tomb (number 2), second from north, contained mainly earlier material. It too had been reused in ancient times (2nd century BC to 2nd century AD), and its content much disturbed. The fragmentary description of the interior indicates only LHII pottery, and in particular in the northwest part of the chamber a collection of artefacts was found in relatively undisturbed condition. These included two palace style jars, a lump of meteoric iron, two alabastra (A1.52.11), and some bits of gold foil, which were present in small amounts throughout the tomb. Pottery of the 'early Mycenaean years' (LHI?) was found in the dromos.

No information is available on any finds from tombs 3 or 6.

Chronology: the pottery found in tomb 2 is of LHIIA date, and so this may well date the tomb, although perhaps LH1 pottery was found in the dromos. In terms of architecture, although tomb 2 is of unique dimensions, all of these tombs are closely similar to the tombs at 23:Volimidhía, raising the possibility that they date from LH1 in general. It must be noted that pre-LHIII pottery has only been noted from tomb 2, but against that we can note that...
publication has been extremely selective and pre-LHIII pottery may well be among the unpublished finds of any of these tombs.

**Comments:** the possible connection between this site and Volimídhla deserves consideration. It is of course possible, given the chronological evidence as it stands, that the large tomb was built in LHIIA, perhaps by specialists brought from Messílna specifically for that task, and that the five (or more) smaller tombs were built by locals in imitation of the larger one. In that case, the other tombs could easily be of LHIII date.

Against this, the close similarity in detail (particularly the use of the conical apex and the smoothed carving of the walls) allows for the possibility that all of the tombs were built in LHII or even LH I, by an architect or architects who had worked in Messílna.

Tomb 2 is the largest known chamber tomb. The others nearby are also large, a chamber of five to six metres in diameter being comparable to the larger chambers at Volimídhla. Tomb 2 is much larger again, and represents the greatest achievement of chamber tomb architecture. The finds of late hellenistic to early roman material in the chamber presumably attest to the survival of the chamber until that period, through a combination of good fortune and the great skill of the architect. This tomb must be regarded as comparable to tholos tombs, at least in the senses of skill and labour for construction, or impact on the visitor, or on the scale of possible activities inside and around.

The dromos is comparatively short, owing to the local conditions; the façade is 5.6m high and the stomion itself is probably nearly four metres tall; it is only 2.6m long (deep) and narrow. The impression that this tomb makes on approach is not really comparable to the Treasury of Atreus or even to tholos 1 at Peristería; nevertheless, it is significantly more impressive than almost all chamber tombs.

The top of the stomion is triangular in shape, as with others in this cemetery (tomb 4, tomb 3; in the other cases the top of the stomion is now missing, and given the homogeneity of architecture in this cemetery we can assume that all the stomia were of this shape). Spirópoulos refers to it as a ‘relieving triangle’, having in mind the triangular openings above the lintels of a minority of (usually) late tholos tombs, designed, at least from the architectural point of view,

---

2 The most impressive of all ‘chamber tombs’ is the tholos tomb at Kókla in the Argolid (Demakopoulou 1990). Here a chamber tomb in most respects similar to others in its cemetery, though deeper and perfectly round, was made a tholos tomb by building up the walls inside the rock cutting.
to protect the lintel stone from the great weight of the monument. In this case the shape might be conventional.

Pellanes

chamber tomb cemetery
Lakonia, Peloponnesse.
Sketch map by MJ Boyd.

0 10 20 metres
north

A1.52.1. Pellána: sketch plan of chamber tomb cemetery. Numbered 1 (top) to 6 (bottom) in this entry.

A1.52.3. Pellána: dromoi of tombs 3 (left), 2 & 1.
A1.52.4. Pellána: chamber tomb 1 from above.


A1.52.8. Pellána: chamber tomb 2. Chamber and stonion from above.


Menelaion

1:200,000 map reference: -1·16'e 37·4'n Lakonía.

Description: six middle helladic graves in the area of the later Mycenaean settlement.

Directions: leaving Sparté on the road to Tripoli turn Immediately right after the bridge over the Evrótas. Turn left 3km further on at a sign for the Menelalon. Leave your transport at the church of Ayos Ilías and follow the footpath.


Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: excavated as part of the programme of investigation of the Mycenaean site in the mid-1970s and again in 1980.

Setting: the Menelalon ridge on the east side of the upper Evrótas Valley (A1.53.4-7). The ridge rises 60m to 100m above the valley and is free standing, separated from adjacent ridges and hills by valleys and saddles. One burial was found at the northern end, the Menelalon proper, while the other were found on the Aëtos peak 200m south.

Architecture: the burial under the later 'mansion' was found in a pit (no details). On the Aëtos hill (A1.53.1) were excavated two kilns, cutting into one of which was a burial. Three further burials were found nearby. One lay on a pebble floor, and two others were marked by small stones on edge at the head and feet. Part of this group was a monumental tomb, said to be the earliest of the five, and one later burial partly overlies it. This is a true shaft grave (A1.53.2-3), although the pit at the bottom is not lined with stone, and it is small: the photograph suggests dimensions of about 2m x 50cm for the burial pit, and at least 1m x 3m for the upper shaft. Six oblong slabs lay on the ledge at the bottom of the upper shaft.

Finds: no finds were noted with the burial under the mansion; those on Aëtos hill were contracted burials, and the burial in the shaft grave was found with a gold fragment and a clay
spindle. A textile impression on the skeleton implied either clothing or that the body lay on cloth.

**Chronology:** the burial under the mansion pre-dates that LHIIB construction. The excavator suggests an MH date; pre-mansion occupation of MHIII, LHI and LHIIA date have all been identified without structural evidence. The two kilns were MHII, the burial cutting them likely MHII or MHIII in date. The other burials were generally in an MH context, but there is no direct dating evidence. The shaft grave is said to be the earliest of the five, and one of the others overlies it.

**Comments:** as at Mycenae, although obviously on a much lower scale, we are faced with an important later site whose earlier occupation is evidenced only by burials and pottery. One should not necessarily read too much into the presence of a shaft grave at the site, but it does make the parallel with Mycenae (and indeed with 24:Englianós: witness the ‘shaft’ grave in room 97) all the more apposite.


A1.53.5. Menelaion: view north along ridge, Evrótas river to west.

A1.53.6. Menelaion: view southwest over Evrótas valley to Taýyetos.

1:200,000 map reference: -1°15'20"e 37°1'15"n Lakonía.

Description: monumental LHII tholos tomb.

Directions: the site is signposted from the village of the same name.

References: Tsoundas (1888; 1889, 136-172); Davis (1977) discusses the Vafió cups at length; Hope-Simpson & Waterhouse (1960, 76-80); Hope-Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 109).

Publication: detailed preliminary.

Excavation: excavated by Tsoundas in 1888.

Setting: the tholos tomb of Vafió is situated close to 53: Menelaion and 55: Amikléon in the Spartan plain, set into the side of a low hill (A1.54.1). Southeast of the tomb is the site Paleopiryl, where surface sherds indicate a large LHIII settlement, but only three fragments might be LHII (the Laconia Survey did not re-examine this site).

Architecture (A1.54.2): the dromos runs at an angle about 30° from north along the side of the hill. In this way it has a rather curious aspect of appearing to run along the side of the rise rather than into it, as is more usual. It was measured at 29.8m long and almost certainly stone-lined for its whole length (one side was when excavated; the other was lined to a shorter length, due to quarrying. Much stone has been removed from the monument since its excavation almost 110 years ago, so that the dromos is now a mere outline in the earth: A1.54.5). The dromos was 3.18m wide at the outside, and 3.54m at the façade. The floor level of the dromos was covered with a thin layer of pebbles.

The stomion is 1.93m wide at the dromos (A1.54.4) and a little narrower at the chamber (A1.54.6); the depth (length) is 4.56m at the floor, and it seems to have survived up to

---

1 I made a note of this angle on-site; note, however, that Hope Simpson & Waterhouse suggest the dromos runs east (A1.54.1).
about 3.5m, judging from Tsouïdas' plan. It was built of large, neatly cut stones, and there was lime or plaster in the joints. The right (north) wall of the stomion appears bent or irregular to accommodate the large pit inside the stomion. This pit takes up about half the stomion on the outside, and is 1.93m across the stomion, 1.6m to 1.8m into it (further on the right), and 1.9m deep. There was no evidence at all of a blocking wall, although Tsouïdas suggests that some of the stones found in the dromos might have gone to make up a blocking wall outside the stomion, in the dromos.

The chamber (A1.54.3) is 10.15m to 10.35m in diameter and was in places preserved up to 3m in height. The fill consisted mainly of the fallen stones of the chamber. As is usual, the stones in the chamber were smaller than those of the stomion; they are still large, however, and unlike the flat stones used regularly for tholos construction in Messinia (A1.54.7). The floor was very uneven, perhaps due to the attentions of the villagers, who reported to Tsouïdas tales of buried treasure (and a hidden tunnel to the river!) On the right side of the chamber, toward the back, but fairly central, was located a cist tomb, 2.25m x 1.1m x 1m, the sides built of slabs, the bottom lined with stone, and the top covered with slabs.

Finds: two bits of gold leaf, a broken amber bead, and pottery fragments were found in the dromos, scattered around, along with evidence of burning. The pit in the stomion contained debris from the collapse of the stomion, suggesting that the pit was open at that time. At the bottom was a layer of ash, but no other finds are reported; nothing else was found in the stomion.

The chamber seemed to Tsouïdas covered everywhere in charcoal, and there were a few scattered bones: no complete skeleton or collection of bones, and those found may have been human or animal. A wealth of small finds is reported scattered on the floor, although little pottery, and that undecorated, was found. The small finds included many seal stones and gem stones, gold buttons, cut outs and discs, much gold leaf, two gold rings, and (probably) remains of a boars' tusk helmet.

The cist was found largely empty of fill, as silt had not filtered through the stones: the finds were set in a 10cm to 15cm layer at the bottom. If there was a skeleton inside, it had completely decayed. Tsouïdas infers the presence of a skeleton from the positions of various objects within the cist being suitably placed to go with a corpse. The cist contained a stunning array of material culture, almost certainly the result of a single instance of practice, and never
reopened after closing. The material within is similar in nature, quantity and disposition to the shaft graves, with the exception that pottery is present here in only small amounts.

The content of the pit (A1.54.8-14) included a gold Inlaid dagger with swimming figures and another gold dagger, seven bronze knives, one (type-A?) sword 94cm long, two bronze spearheads, about 80 amethyst beads and an unknown number of sealstones, three rings, of gold, iron and bronze, two axes, nine lead discs, various silver and bronze items, various stone vessels, four pots, two silver (A1.54.10-11) and two gold cups, among other items. The gold cups are the famous Vafiō cups, with repoussé decoration of bull-hunting scenes (A1.54.8-9).

One each was placed at the probable position of the left and right hands, along with one silver vessel at each hand, and a heap of sealstones at each hand. The amethyst beads were found at the presumed position of the neck.

Chronology: the pottery in the cist is dated LHIIA by Furumark (1972, 49, where he notes the presence of 'three or four' palace style jars in the dromos in fragments). Popham (1973, 272 and note 16; 1974, 219 note 23) points out that pottery within the cist provides a chronological indication for the pit only, and that the disposition of the floor of the tomb is the result of an extended period of use. He dates some of the pottery from the dromos to LHIIB or perhaps LHIIIA1, and suggests that the tholos continued to be used to some degree into LHIII. The construction date is likely to be LHIIA at the latest.

Comments: the lack of pottery from the chamber is unusual. Given the early date of the excavation, one might be tempted to conclude that it was simply not recorded or saved, but the recording of pottery from the cist and from the dromos mitigates against this, and unpainted pottery is mentioned. This evidence, coupled with the lack of a skeleton or bone heaps from the chamber, suggests that much material was removed in a fairly systematic manner during the LHIII period of use of the tomb. Alternatively, it may be that careful recording only began with the discovery of the riches in the cist (compare Tsoundas' report of his excavations at the tholos tomb of 34:Kámbos, which is much more cursory).

A1.54.3. Vafió: chamber, stomlon and dromos from above.

A1.54.4. Vafió: dromos and stomlon from above.
A1.54.5. Vafló: dromos.

A1.54.6. Vafló: stomion from chamber.

A1.54.7. Vafló: detail of walling in chamber. Scale: 2m.


A1.54.15. Vafio: dromos of tholos tomb.

Amikléon

1:200,000 map reference: the village is -1°17′e 37°1′20″n Lakonía.

Description: two cist graves and one pit, MHIII-LHI.

Directions: at the church of Ayia Kirlaki, east of the village.

References: Tsoúndas (1892); Calligas (1992); Hope Simpson & Waterhouse (1960, 74-76); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 108-109); for full references to work at this site, refer to Siriopoúlou (1995, 464).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: excavated by Tsoúndas in 1890.

Setting: the Amikléon is located on a range of hills in the Spartan plain, close to 53:Menelaion and to 54:Váfio. Two cist tombs were located 8m northwest of the altar within the sanctuary; a third grave was found 10m east of the former church of Ayla Kirlaki.

Architecture: the first two graves were cists, built of flat slate and covered with slabs. One was oriented north-south, the other east-west. The third grave was a pit. Hope-Simpson & Waterhouse report a possible pithos burial (150m south-southeast of Ayla Kirlaki).

Finds: Inside the north-south tomb were two cups, and it was undisturbed. There is no information on skeletal material. Of the other cist there is no information. In the pit there were two cups and a bronze knife. There is again no information on skeletal material. Bones were found near the pithos noted by Hope-Simpson & Waterhouse.

Chronology: the cups from the north-south grave were middle helladic, while those from the pit were early Mycenaean, and the knife from the pit can be dated MHIII-LHI.

Comments: none.
Yeráki

1:200,000 map reference: -1°0'50"e 36°59'40"n Lakonla.

Description: akropolis site with three middle helladic (?) cist graves.

Directions: the akropolis is located within the village.

References: Wace & Hasluck (1905); Wace (1910); Hope Simpson & Waterhouse (1960, 85-86); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 111).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: excavated in 1905.

Setting: a flat topped akropolis east of the Evrótas Valley in foothills of Mt Páron (A1.56.1-3).

Architecture: three cist graves. These have not been described, and a brief examination of the excavation day book (in the Archive of the British School at Athens) suggests that information about them was not recorded. One is reported as having slab sides.

Finds: the slab-sided grave contained a bronze pln and two vessels; the other two contained no items. One of the other two was a child's grave; each grave contained one skeleton.

Chronology: MH (MHIII according to Hope Simpson & Waterhouse).

Comments: there is very little information about these graves.

1 Or conceivably four; compare Wace (1910, 75) (=3) with Wace & Hasluck (1905, 98) (=3 or 4?).

A1.56.2. Yeräki: view southwest from akropolis.

A1.56.3. Yeräki: view southeast from akropolis.
Ayos Stéfanos

1:200,000 map reference: -1°5’ e 36°49'40" n Lakónía.

**Description:** MH/LH settlement site with intramural burials.

**Directions:** the site is difficult to locate: it can be found at the above co-ordinates; see also Hope-Simpson & Waterhouse 1960, figure 19.

**References:** Taylour (1972), Catling (1974, 15-16; 1975, 15-17; 1978, 31-33); Hope Simpson & Waterhouse (1960, 97-100); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 112-113).

**Publication:** detailed preliminary, and short preliminary for more recent work.

**Excavation:** excavated in 1959, 1960 and 1963 and then again in 1973, 1974 and 1976; excavations remain incomplete. The complexity of the stratigraphy and the sheer numbers of burials has hampered excavation work so that there is no clear overall idea of the site.

**Setting:** these burials are set within the remains of settlement. The site lies about 2km from the sea (A1.57.1) and is a flat-topped hill in the Elos plain (A1.57.2). Two main trenches, areas A (A1.57.3) and D (A1.57.12), and several smaller trenches were opened during excavation.

**Architecture, finds and chronology:** about 100 burials were discovered in the first three seasons of excavation, and many more in subsequent work. They are found from all of the periods of occupation of the site: EHII, MH, LHI-II, LHIII. In the table below I summarise the MH-LHII burials described in the 1972 preliminary report, and afterward I mention some of those picked out for special mention in the later brief summaries. The table below is based on Taylour’s ‘table of burials’ (pages 237-239), somewhat simplified, and includes some burials of rather doubtful date. Some burials are illustrated: A1.57.4-11 and A1.57.13-15.

---

1 Given the numbers of burials covered here, it is easier to present the data in tabular form, and treating architecture, finds and chronology strictly separately would have required unnecessary repetition.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave</th>
<th>Grave type</th>
<th>Orient - sion</th>
<th>Number of dead</th>
<th>Position of skeleton</th>
<th>Adult /child</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Items with burial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>2 MH pots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>2 fragmentary MH pots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>pit/stone</td>
<td>WSW-ENE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>MH fragments not definitely associated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>infant</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>infant</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A14</td>
<td></td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A15</td>
<td></td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A18</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A19</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>Pot (MH?) and terracotta 'button'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carnelian bead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A21</td>
<td></td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>Bronze pin in two fragments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A22</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>5 MH pots; bronze pin, ear-rings, ring, and bracelet; 14 carnelian beads; one bone needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A23</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NNW-SSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A24</td>
<td>cist?</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A25</td>
<td>pit/stone</td>
<td>NNW-SSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A26</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A28</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>WSW-ENE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>extended/disarticulated</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH/LH</td>
<td>Bronze dagger, tweezers; bone pin &amp; toggle pin; 35 obsidian blades &amp; one flint needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A29</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>WSW-ENE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>MH/LH</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A30</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>WSW-ENE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A31</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NE-SW</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>extended/disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>3 MH pots; bone toggle pin; terracotta button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A32</td>
<td>pit/stone</td>
<td>NE-SW</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended/disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A33</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>Infant</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>MH pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A34</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D4</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>LHI</td>
<td>LHI pot; bronze knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D5</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>LHI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D6</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>infant</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>LHI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D7</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>2 pots (Minoan?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D8</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D9</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D11</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>NE-SW</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>LHI?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D12</td>
<td>pit/stone</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>LHI?</td>
<td>Miniature bronze 'chisel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D13</td>
<td>pit/stone</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>LHI?</td>
<td>flint saw above burial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D14</td>
<td>pit/stone</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>LHI?</td>
<td>LHI pot (vaflou cup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D18</td>
<td>pithos</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>infant</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>pithos probably MH; MH sherds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D19</td>
<td>pithos</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D20</td>
<td>pithos</td>
<td>NE-SW</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I have simplified the classification of grave architecture to cist, pit, pit with stone surround, pithos, and rock cutting. The 'pit with stone surround' category is also known from 37: Malthi. Even cists seem rarely provided with cover slabs, so the majority of graves, whether pit, cist, or pit with stone outline, are simply covered with earth after the burial.

Using database analysis techniques, it is quite easy to show that no two of the above categories are related: in other words, for example, there is no correlation between grave type and date, or position of skeleton and age, and so on. Any category under the above headings can be found associated with any other category from those headings in the same grave.

Of the 63 graves in this sample, artefacts were found with 21 - exactly one third. In many cases these could be used to date the graves. Taylour's dating criteria are not always made clear: where grave goods are absent or do not give a clear indication, he occasionally relied on related material or on the context of the grave in its surroundings. Chronological analysis shows that 20 of the graves are dated MH securely, and 23 others are thought to be MH; four are either EH or MH; four are either MH or LH; one is LHI, and ten others are thought to fall in the LHI period or (in one case) LHI-II. The main conclusion is the same, whether one looks only at

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave</th>
<th>Grave type</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Number of dead</th>
<th>Position of skeleton</th>
<th>Adult/child</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Items with burial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D22</td>
<td>pit?</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>infant</td>
<td>LHI?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sheep or goat bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D23</td>
<td>pit?</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D24</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>adult male</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D25</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>NE-SW</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>adult male</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D26</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D27</td>
<td>pit</td>
<td>ENE-WSW</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended child</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D28</td>
<td>pit?</td>
<td>WNW-ESE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted child</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1</td>
<td>pit?</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>infant</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
<td>MH pithos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT7-1</td>
<td>cist?</td>
<td>WNW-ESE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT7-2</td>
<td>cist?</td>
<td>WNW-ESE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>MH?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT7-3</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>adult female</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
<td>Incised cover slab; MH sherds; lead strip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT7-4</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated child</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT7-5</td>
<td>cist</td>
<td>NW-SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>adult female</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
<td>Incised cover slab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B6</td>
<td>pit/stone</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 MH pots; 2 obsidian arrowheads, one flint saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B10</td>
<td>cist?</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>infant</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B11</td>
<td>cist?</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>infant</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B16</td>
<td>cist?</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>disarticulated</td>
<td>infant</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B17</td>
<td>pit?</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>extended</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>LHI/II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B18</td>
<td>pit?</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>infant</td>
<td>MH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B20</td>
<td>cist?</td>
<td>N-S</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>MH/LH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B21</td>
<td>cist?</td>
<td>W-E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>contracted</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>MH/LH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

securely dated graves, or one takes all suggested dates: MH burials outnumber LH by a wide margin.

34 of the skeletons are of adults, and 33 are of children or infants. Of 18 infant skeletons, only three were thought to be articulated; much of the disturbance might be due to the extremely fragile nature of such young skeletons. Of 15 child skeletons, six were disarticulated. Of the 34 adult skeletons, by contrast, only seven seemed to be disarticulated. Most disarticulation seems to have been the result of later burial in the same area, although not necessarily into the same grave. Only three graves were reused: A21, A28 and A31, all with artefacts. The 21 graves with artefacts generally contained one or two pots and occasional other items. A28 contained most items, including 35 obsidian blades and various bronze items. Taylour felt that a sacrifice or feast was held over A31 when open and some later incidence of burning after it was closed.

The following table represents an attempt at a contextual analysis of the graves in their setting:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grave</th>
<th>Trench</th>
<th>Location features</th>
<th>Contextual relationships</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Close to wall al</td>
<td>Burial likely to post-date wall</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Between walls ag and ah in a yellow earth layer</td>
<td>Burial post-dates walls</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>A6</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Centre, overlies stones, likely open area</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A11</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Beside wall am</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A12</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Wall au, close to skull 11</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A14</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A15</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Close to wall au</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A18</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Close to burial 22</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A19</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Under collapse of wall av</td>
<td>Burial predates collapse of av, may predate construction of av</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A21</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Three burials close to or under wall ar</td>
<td>Possibly predate wall ar, but stone may simply have fallen</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A22</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Close to burial 18</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A23</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Close to wall aw and other cists</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A24</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Close to wall al</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A25</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Close to burials 28 and 30</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A26</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A28</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Shares cist wall with 30</td>
<td>Unknown (30 later?)</td>
<td>MH/LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A29</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH/LH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A30</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Shares cist wall with 28</td>
<td>Unknown (28 earlier?)</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A31</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Close to wall AE</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A32</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Close to burial 31</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A33</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Close to wall ad; above burial 34</td>
<td>Original deposition likely to predate burial 34, but skeleton removed from when 34 interred</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A34</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Close to wall ad; below burial 33</td>
<td>Interred after removing 33</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D4</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Close to unidentified wall</td>
<td>Probably removed from D7</td>
<td>LH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D5</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>Probably removed from D7</td>
<td>LH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D6</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Next to wall be</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>LH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D7</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Close to D11, walls bf &amp; bb</td>
<td>Taylour says D7 interrupts wall bb</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D8</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Paving overlies cist</td>
<td>Paving later</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D9</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Close to wall bb</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grave</td>
<td>Trench</td>
<td>Location features</td>
<td>Contextual relationships</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D10</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Found on wall bc</td>
<td>Wall appears to be continuation of bc; and skeleton clearly on top of it. But report suggests wall is somehow related to burials ('party wall'). Suggest wall is settlement remains.</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D11</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Grave cut in rock, stones placed around later</td>
<td>Stone surround goes over lower limbs and is later than original construction (but not necessarily later than the closing of the grave).</td>
<td>LHI?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D12</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>LHI?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D13</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Close to wall bc</td>
<td>Unknown, burial likely later</td>
<td>LHI?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D14</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Close to wall bc and wall bn</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D15</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Position unclear</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D16</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Close to end of wall bc</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>LHI?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D17</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>On top of grave 25</td>
<td>Likely reinterment after removal from grave 25</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D18</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>In area between walls bl &amp; bm; north of grave 25</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D19</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>At an unnamed wall</td>
<td>Seems to overlie and cut into wall</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D20</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Close to wall bo</td>
<td>Cuts into wall bo</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D21</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Under stones (of collapsed cls?) ; close to unnamed wall</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>LHI?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D22</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Close to 20 and hence wall bo; lay on paving</td>
<td>Post-dates paving</td>
<td>LHI?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D23</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Close to wall bn</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D24</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Close to burial 13 and wall bo</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D25</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Under burial 17; at juncture of walls bl &amp; bm</td>
<td>Burial 17 likely removed for this burial; Taylour says burial disturbs wall</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D26</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Close to burial 27</td>
<td>Probably removed by burial 27</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D27</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Partly under wall bo</td>
<td>Burial predates wall bo?</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D28</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Near 'hearth'</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D--</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>No data - west of 28</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1</td>
<td>G1</td>
<td>Central in trench</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT7-1</td>
<td>TT7</td>
<td>On top of TT7-3</td>
<td>Likely removed from TT7-3 when that burial interred</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT7-2</td>
<td>TT7</td>
<td>Southwest of TT7-1/3</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT7-3</td>
<td>TT7</td>
<td>Below TT7-1</td>
<td>Likely removal of TT7-1 for this burial</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT7-4</td>
<td>TT7</td>
<td>Above TT7-5</td>
<td>Likely removed from TT7-5 when that burial interred</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT7-5</td>
<td>TT7</td>
<td>Below TT7-4; close to wall cf</td>
<td>Likely removal of TT7-4 for this burial, relationship to wall unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B6</td>
<td>B11</td>
<td>Under collapse from wall hh</td>
<td>Predates wall hh</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B10</td>
<td>B11</td>
<td>Close to B11 &amp; B16</td>
<td>Contemporary with B11 &amp; B16?</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B11</td>
<td>B11</td>
<td>Close to B10 &amp; B16</td>
<td>Contemporary with B10 &amp; B16?</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B16</td>
<td>B11</td>
<td>Close to B10 &amp; B11</td>
<td>Contemporary with B10 &amp; B11?</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B17</td>
<td>B11</td>
<td>Under stones</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>LHI/LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B18</td>
<td>B11</td>
<td>Close to wall hh</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B20</td>
<td>B12</td>
<td>Under occupation floor at east end of wall hs</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH/LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B21</td>
<td>B12</td>
<td>Close to walls fx and ge and under 'several' floors</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>MH/LH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A.57.2. Contextual relationships in excavation data from Ayos Stéfanos.

I discuss and interpret table A.57.2 in chapter six.

Much less detail is available from the summary reports of later excavation. The following graves are mentioned in the MH-LHII range:
from the 1973 season, a number of MHIII burials of Infants is noted. One adult burial in a
cist with three MHIII pots is illustrated (A1.57.11). One child burial had two LHI/IIA
cups.
from the 1974 season, one adult and three infant burials are noted, among MHIII and LHI-
II contexts. Four further infant burials are probably late helladic.
from the 1976 season a shaft grave, of the true type with sunken roof, was discovered. The
pit was built of large stones and covered with four slabs; one adult extended burial was
found inside, with no objects. The grave is dated before the construction of a MHIII/LHI
building. Another burial in a cist and contracted post-dates the use of the building. Elsewhere
three Mycenaean infant burials are noted. Other burials were certainly excavated
but not described.

Comments: the settlement at Ayos Stéfanos is very imperfectly understood. Only a tiny
fraction of the assumed Inhabited area has been excavated, from which, at least for the earlier
excavations, complete building plans were not recovered and relationships between contexts and
strata were difficult to interpret. The exact contexts of the graves is therefore unclear. They are
certainly Intramural burial Inasmuch as they are located in the midst of settlement. Whether
individual burials were placed in then-used or then-disused areas is much less clear (an
interpretation is offered in chapter six). The sheer number of burials for a relatively small area
suggests quite strongly that Intramural burial was normal, at least for the middle helladic period.
It is just possible that in the early Mycenaean period fewer people were buried Intramurally, but
this might equally be explained by a shift in settlement (or burial) emphasis away from the small
area excavated.
A1.57.1. Ayos Stéfanos: view south over plain to coast.

A1.57.3. Ayios Stéfanos: plan of burials in trenches in area A. After Taylour 1972, figure 3.

A1.57.5. Ayos Stéfanos: graves A5 (left) and A17 (right). After Taylour 1972, plates 40a & 40b.

A1.57.6. Ayos Stéfanos: graves A23 (left) and A29 (right). After Taylour 1972, plates 40d & 40f.


1. Bronze earrings.
2. Bronze hair-pin.
3. One-handled cup.
4. Carnelian beads.
5. Biconical incised jar.
7. Two-handled goblet.
8. Cylindrical cup.

A1.57.10. Top: grave ttVll-3. Burial and (left) incised cover slab. Left: incised cover slab from grave ttVll-5. After Taylour 1972, plates 43g, 44e & 43h.

A1.57.13. Ayos Stéfanos: pithos burial in D area (left), and graves D17 & D25 (after Taylour 1972, plates 44d & 44c).


Epídhamvros Limirá

1:200,000 map reference: approximately 0°41’40”e 36°43’40”n Lakonia.

Description: three chamber tomb clusters, dating LH-IIC.

Directions: not recorded.

References: Hr(stou (1956); Dhimakopoúlou (1968); Dickinson (1977, 63-64 and note 34); Hope Simpson & Waterhouse (1961, 136-137); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 117).

Publication: short preliminary; detailed final for the pottery only.

Excavation: excavated by Hristou in 1956.

Setting: the akropolis of Epídhamvros Limír3 (A1.58.1) is set directly on the east coast of the Maléás peninsula a few kilometres to the north of Monemvasía. The tombs are set in the sides of a low ravine (A1.58.2). Hristou excavated three tombs at the church of Ayla Trláðha; at a place identified only as Vamvaklá another tomb was excavated; and at Paleókastro an unknown number of tombs was investigated. The three Ayla Trláðha tombs are marked on the Hope Simpson & Waterhouse sketch just southeast of the church at the east and of the ravine, In the south slope; the Vamvakiá tomb may well be that mentioned at Ayos Ioánnis and so marked on the sketch (its description by Dhimakopoúlou is close to that of Hope Simpson & Waterhouse In their note 157); the Paleókastro tombs would presumably then be those marked further up the Ayla Trláðha ravine and on its north slope.

Architecture: the Vamvakiá tomb and the three Ayla Trláðha tombs were of similar plan. Each had a short, stepped dromos (stepped at Vamvakiá, probably stepped at Ayla Trláðha); each ran south into the slope with a main chamber at the end of the dromos and a second chamber on the left (east) side. Chambers tended to be elliptical in shape. Plans and sections of tombs A & B at Ayla Trláðha (A1.58.3) suggest the following approximate dimensions:

- tomb A, south chamber east to west, 2.6m; north to south, 1.7m; height, 1.3m; east chamber, diameter 1.6m; stonlion of south chamber, height 80cm, width 70cm, depth
20cm; stomion of east chamber, height 90cm, width 70cm; dromos width 1.3m, surviving length 1.5m, probable original length 2.2m; three probable steps at north end, each 20cm high;

- tomb B, south chamber east to west, 3.4m; north to south, 2.3m; east chamber possibly of slightly larger dimensions; stomion of south chamber, width 80cm, depth 20cm; stomion of east chamber, probable width 80cm, depth 20cm; dromos width 1.3m, surviving length 1.8m.

The tombs at Paleókastro do not have side chambers. The sketch (A1.58.2) suggests at least six tombs further up the ravine, making a total of ten.

There are some details of the excavations. The four tombs of Ayla Triádha and Vamvaklá proved to have pits in the floor of the south chamber, and sometimes niches in the wall; but the side chambers had neither. Tomb B at Ayla Triádha had four pits and one niche in its south chamber.

**Finds:** Hristou remarks that the tombs had been subject to repeated recent illicit excavation. Excavation seems to have proceeded carefully in tomb B of Ayla Triádha, but elsewhere, the excavator judging that the contents were too damaged to be worth investigation, and excavation seems to have been cursory. Perhaps only one of the Paleókastro tombs was investigated. The pits in tomb B contained bones (probably disarticulated, although this point is not explicit) and one or two items (two stirrup jars, a bronze knife and spearhead, two beads of sard and eleven buttons of steatite and clay); twenty eight pots were found on the floor. The pits were covered by slabs. The second chamber contained bones and sherds. Tomb A, which had been damaged by recent tomb robbers, contained three intact pits, but little information is given of the contents (several pots).

Dhimakopouólou published the pottery from the tombs, but without any contextual detail. As it is not even known from which tombs individual items came, there is little point in listing them (Dhimakopouólou’s numbers 7 & 12 are noted as coming from Paleókastro).

**Chronology:** Dhimakopouólou suggested dates ranging LHIIA-IIIC in her publication of the pottery. Dickinson looked at the pottery, including some unpublished items, and suggested many of them were LHI. I follow Dickinson in what follows.
There are 86 catalogued items from the tombs. Two date to LHI (catalogue numbers 3 & 64), sixteen to LHIIA (1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 49, 51, 52), one to LMIB (2), and two to LHIIB (13 & 14). All periods of LHIII are also represented. There is little point in listing these here since details of context are not available, save that numbers 7 and 12 are noted as coming from Paleókastro. Dickinson examined unmended sherd material and noted that much more LHI was present.

Comments: the recording of the excavations was lamentable, so little detail is available and too few details are available of the interior disposition of the tombs to make any interpretation about funerary rites or periods of use.

Architecturally the tombs exhibit a number of irregularities. The two illustrated tombs are very small; an adult could not stand up in the chamber of tomb A, for example. The side chamber is a feature familiar from 23:Volimidhia, as is the roughly circular (rather than roughly rectangular) shape of the chamber (but these tombs do not seem to have been well carved rounded tombs like 23:Volimidhia and 52:Pellána). Added to this is the likelihood of a construction date in LHI for most, if not all, of the tombs, and the possibility of the presence of Minoan pottery, all of which features are familiar from Volimidhia. The proximity of the tombs of 62:Kíthira may also be significant.


A1.58.4. Remains of tomb in vicinity of Ayla Triádha.
Pavlopetrí

1:200,000 map reference: -0°43′45"e 36°31′n Lakonía.

Description: thirty seven intramural cist graves of uncertain date.

Directions: I have not visited this site.


Publication: unexcavated - survey (intensive).

Excavation: unexcavated.

Setting: the site is located deep in the eastern peninsula of the Peloponnese, about 22km south-southwest of Monemvasia, on the west coast at the west side of the bay of Vátika. Underwater survey between Pavlopetri Island and the mainland produced an extensive town plan for a well preserved settlement site.

Architecture: the cist graves are 37 in number, with slabs for sides. The covering slab is present in only some cases. The average size is 62cm x 37cm. As the authors note, graves 14 and 34 make use of house walls in their architecture, meaning that the houses came first.

Finds: pithoi were seen in two graves (A1.59.1); no other pottery or item is associated with any grave.

Chronology: the tentative conclusion of the surveyors was that the town should be dated LHIIIB and that the cist graves were probably of the preceding middle helladic phase. Two underwater chamber tombs are Mycenaean, while the smaller chamber tombs on the shore are of the type known from Mániaka (early helladic II-III). Pottery covers all periods of the bronze age, but middle helladic is the least prevalent. The dating evidence was, however, extremely inconclusive:

the attribution of the cist graves is a greater problem. One must decide whether they belong to the probably Mycenaean settlement now visible, and are therefore
genuinely intramural; or whether they are Middle Helladic intramural burials of an earlier settlement; or whether they were dug down into the remains of the probably Mycenaean settlement and are, say, Submycenaean or Protogeometric. Harding et alii 1969, 140.

Excavation would be required to solve these chronological problems.

Comments: the cist graves could be of any date and their relationship to the architecture around them is far from secure.


Sikéa

1:200,000 map reference: the village is -0°46′40″e 36°45′50″n Lakonia.

Description: one excavated chamber tomb in a larger cemetery.

Directions: located in or near the modern town cemetery and damaged by road building.


Publication: short preliminary.


Setting: no information (other chamber tombs in the area).

Architecture: the chamber is rectangular, 3.76m x 2.75m x 2.64m, with dromos to the south or southwest\(^1\) (A1.60.1). The stomion was blocked by drystone walling, and from the published plan appears to be about 1.6m wide and 1.7m long. The dromos appears to be 2.3m wide at the stomion. There were eight pits in the floor, each covered with slabs. Number VII appears also to have formed a niche in the back of the chamber, about 3m long and 1m wide.

Finds: five groups of pottery and were noted in the chamber; two of the groups were placed with disarticulated bones. Graves I, III and VIII contained mixed bones; additionally, grave I contained four bronze items (a sword, a razor, a knife and a tweezers), grave III contained three buttons and some sherds and grave VIII contained a cup. The other graves contained articulated inhumations, V, VI and VII containing a single skeleton, IV containing two skeletons side by side, and grave II with a single articulated skeleton and other bones at the feet of the first. These graves did not contain artefacts.

\(^1\) On the published plan the dromos is to the southwest, and so the tomb runs southwest to northeast; but throughout the description the excavator talks as if the tomb runs south to north.
Chronology: pottery of all LHIII periods is present in the tomb, but the date of its construction and first use is problematic.

The only pottery claimed to predate LHIII is the ewer found above grave III (A1.60.3). This is said in the report to date to LHIIA, and this determination is attributed to H. Catling. However, in his report of the excavation in *Archaeological Reports* for that year, Catling dates the pottery of the tomb to LHIIIA-C (1980, 32), and he has kindly informed me that the ewer is unlikely to be of LHIIA date. The shape of the ewer appears to be FS120 and in examining examples and diagrams in *Furumark* (1972) and *Mountjoy* (1986, 1993) I am unable to find any reason to date it before LHIIIA2 or LHIIIB. The decoration is, however, not illustrated in any of these sources.

The sword in grave I (A1.60.2) is also dated to LHIIA by the excavator. Catling, in reporting this tomb, describes it as ‘Sandars’ Type C’, which must have been a misprint for ‘Type D’. Kilian-Drlmeier (1993, 58 note 5) lists it as Type D variant 1a, and similar to an example from Ayos Ioánnis Knosós, dated LMII2. This would allow a date of LHIIIB for the sword. Its context (mixed bones and other metal artefacts in a pit) is reasonable for an early interment later reinterred in the pit. Given that it is the only such early artefact in the tomb, it is of course possible that it was introduced at a late date from some other context. The architecture of the tomb is also rather unlike any other pre-LHIII chamber tombs within the study area. Most of the disposition of the interior is in any case the result of LHIII practice.

In conclusion therefore the construction of the tomb may be placed in the LHIIIB period, but the only remnant of its use at that time is the Type-D 1a sword. This would suggest that the first use should be close to the end of the LHIIIB period.

Comments: none.

---

2 I am very much indebted to Dr Catling for pointing this out to me.

A 1.60.2. Sikéa: type-D1a sword from chamber. After Steinhauer 1974, plate 189ε.

A 1.60.3. Sikéa: LHIIIA2 or B ewer. After Steinhauer 1974, plate 189γ.
Krokeés

1:200000 map reference: -1°10'15"e 36°53'n Lakonía.

Description: an LHII-III cist grave.

Directions: I have not visited this site (see Hope Simpson & Waterhouse 1960, figure 19 - page 104).

References: Hope Simpson & Waterhouse (1960, 103-105); Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979, 112).

Publication: short preliminary.

Excavation: excavated by Hristou, probably in 1956, and never published.

Setting: the site is situated on the hill ‘Kameas’ 300m southeast of modern Krokeés, about 10km northwest of 57: Ayos Stéfanos.

Architecture: the tomb consists of a deep grave, 3m x 1.5m x 2m, originally covered by slabs, and built of flat stones. It is described as a ‘shaft-grave’, but there are no further details of construction (hence no clear confirmation that it consists of a lower burial area with a roof supported on a ledge as at Mycenae or Lérna).

Finds: pottery from the tomb is said to be LHII-III, and traces of chamber tombs and ‘abundant’ LHIII sherds are known from elsewhere on the hill.

Chronology: LHII-III.

Comments: none.

1 Implied by Hope-Simpson & Waterhouse’ note 158.
Kithira

1:200000 map reference: -0°39'40"e 36°13'30"n Attiki/Pireás.

Description: Minoan chamber tombs along with urban site and peak sanctuary.

Directions: I have not visited this site.

References: Staïs (1915); Benton (1932, 245-246); Hope Simpson & Waterhouse (1961, 148-160); Coldstream & Huxley (1972, especially chapter 7); Petrákos (1977); Onasoglou (1990).

Publication: detailed final (Coldstream & Huxley) and short preliminary.

Excavation: one tomb excavated by Staïs in 1915, nine by The Kythera Excavations from 1963 to 1965, one by Petrákos in 1977, and one by Onasoglou in 1990.

Setting: while this catalogue entry principally refers to the site of Kastrí, other tombs from the island are mentioned below; the island is briefly described in chapter one. Kastrí itself is located on the east coast of the island, most of the tombs having been found on a hill ('Asprogas') to the east of the akropolis of Kastrí, and others to the north on the slopes of a ravine (A1.62.1). Of the tombs near Kastrí investigated by The Kythera excavations, four had been more or less badly damaged by road cutting. The other group of five tombs was located about 250m to the north on the Asprogas hill. This second group consisted of tombs where pre-existing caves had been adapted for use as chamber tombs.

Architecture: the tomb opened by Staïs, located near the main town of the Island, was illustrated by Hope-Simpson & Waterhouse (A1.62.2). Both it and its near neighbour seem to have been approached by a ramp rather than a dromos, and so both are rather chambers cut in a vertical or near vertical face. The entrance was blocked by stones. The chamber of Staïs' tomb lacks a simple rectangular or circular aspect: rather, there is a side chamber to the left, the back of the main chamber is curved, while to the right the chamber is straigh-sided save for a niche near the entrance. The other tomb is rectangular (or more exactly trapezoidal).
At Kastrí, of the southern group damaged by road building, tomb A (A1 62.3-4) consists of a central chamber approached by a dromos from the east; the dromos is about 2.5m long and 75cm wide (all measurements based on the published plan), the chamber about 3m northwest to southeast and 2m northeast to southwest. It is irregularly shaped and about 1.5m high. There are three side chambers to the northwest, southwest and south. That to the northwest is rounded, the others squared. Each has diameter/length/width below 2m and height 1m to 1.5m. Each chamber is joined to the central one by a stomion. No other information is available; the rock cutting work is said to be ‘good’.

Of the other tombs in this group, tomb C (A1 62.5) was badly damaged and only partly excavated. The chamber had been blocked. The general shape and dimensions of the tomb are difficult to gauge. Tomb J (A1 62.11), situated immediately to the north of tomb C, was only partly investigated and also damaged. It consisted of at least three burial chambers off the main chamber. Tomb D (A1 62.6) was also very badly damaged, but again parts of three chambers survived. One of these (Dz) was of 1.5m to 2m varying diameter, another (Dy) was about 2m square and perhaps 1.5m high.

Of the northern group of tombs F (A1 62.8) and G (A1 62.9) were both single, squared chambers: the dromos area was not excavated. The chamber of tomb F was squared, about 2.2m x 1.8m x 2m. The chamber of tomb G was almost exactly the same size, perhaps a little lower. The so-called “tomb B” was a dromos to a tomb never built. Tomb H (A1 62.10) consists of a central chamber and four side chambers. These lie to the east and south, while the dromos is to the west. The side chambers ranged in shape from sub-round to rectangular, with diameter or side length from about 1.5m up to 2m; the central chamber was about 3m in diameter. Later alterations make it difficult to gauge original shapes and sizes.

The most impressive of the Kastrí tombs is tomb E (A1 62.7). It consists of a central chamber roughly 2.5m square and a little under 2m high with six side chambers ranged round from southeast through north to southwest, the dromos to the south. The stomion, hardly narrower than the dromos, was blocked by large stones; the dromos was stepped, and may have been a ramp rather than a rock cutting (the point is unclear). All the chambers are more circular than square, and the smallest is about 1.5m in ‘diameter’, while the largest is as much as 2m. All the entrances have thresholds about 10cm above the floor and the excavators note the careful cutting of the doorways. These doorways do not appear to have been blocked. The floor was strewn with beach pebbles and some parts of the chamber at least were originally stuccoed.
Of the more recent excavations, one is not described, but the other had three side chambers, of which two were excavated (A1.62.12-13). The chambers were trapezoidal with side lengths 1.7m to 1.9m and average height 1.7m. Stomia were up to 1m long (deep) and 65cm wide; the dromos was 4m long.

**Finds:** In Staïs’ tomb there were two dead in the main chamber, associated with some pottery and a steatite jar of LMIIIA date. The dead were in disarray, although Staïs felt they had been laid out lengthwise originally. Other pottery was found in the left chamber.

In tomb C, the chamber had been blocked and some finds were made 10cm above the floor of the chamber: bone fragments from a child’s skeleton in different areas. A large amount of pottery was recovered, mostly cups and bowls. Tomb J contained bones representing at least five individuals. Pottery included some whole stacked items and some material in the fill, but contextual information is largely lacking in the report. In tomb D the central chamber (Dy) contained large amounts of pottery at floor level, much of it stacked up, with a few fragments of bone. The pottery was mostly cups, jugs and bowls. The left chamber (Dx) was empty. The right chamber (Dz) contained more pottery and bone fragments.

There were no finds from tombs F and G. A few finds in the dromos of tomb B included about 50 conical cups in fragments. Tomb H was also empty of prehistoric finds, having been reused in Roman and Byzantine times.

Finds from tomb E are drawn on the plan. The excavators remark

> As the plan shows, bones were scattered in disarray throughout the tomb and no respect was given to fleshless skeletons. Vases were indiscriminately smashed, and joining fragments from them were found widely separated from each other. Some whole vessels were piled against the west wall to about forty centimetres above the floor.

Coldstream and Huxley 1972, 223.

Much of this is due to the Minoans users of the tomb rather than ‘tomb robbers’.

Finds in recent excavations included piled-up marble plaques, along with pottery and human bones.
Chronology: finds generally range from MMIII B to LMIB in date; items in Staïs' tomb were dated LMIIIA, and other LMIII objects or contexts are often noted, suggesting reuse at that time; Roman and other periods are also regularly represented.

Comments: none.
A. CHAMBER TOMBS AT LIONI

B. CHAMBER TOMBS AT KASTRI


INTRODUCTION

This appendix gathers brief information on certain or possible funerary sites that have not been included in the main catalogue of this thesis. The data are grouped under the headings of undated tholos tombs, tholos tombs thought to date to LHIII or later, unexcavated tholos tombs, miscellaneous other unexcavated possible funerary sites, and late Mycenaean chamber tombs.

UNDATED THOLOS TOMB

Mourlatádha, Messíná (A2.1), Marinátos 1960, 205-206.

Located 200m northeast of crown of LHIII palatial or settlement site of Mourlatádha. Built in slope of hill. Diameter 4.8m, preserved height 4.6m, expected original height 6m (corbelling does not begin until level of lintel). Entrance 1.8m high, 1.05m wide below, 85cm wide above. Blocking up to 60cm, less well built above that, top 35cm empty. Dromos lined with stones for length of 3.1m from façade. Entire fill of chamber is post-Mycenaean, with very large number of sacrificed animals. Even on the floor there are no Mycenaean remains. Shaft grave in floor: pit 1m under floor, at bottom of which built cist with covering slabs. Cist contained child’s bones. No date for burial or any aspect of tomb.
Epla Anthefa, Messinia (A2.2-5). Korrés 1977b, 1978c.
Unexcavated tholos tomb, located 600m west of the akropolis of ancient Thourla, modern Ellinikó. Up to 25 chamber tombs are known to have been located on this akropolis (recent excavations, Blackman 1998, 52). The dromos is at least 7.75m long, and the stomion is about 5m long (deep) and about 1.7m wide. Described by Korrés as ‘the best constructed tholos tomb in Messinia’, the stomion is constructed of cut stone blocks, which project into the chamber with their ends cut at an angle to form a flat face. The lintel also appears to be a cut stone block. No dating evidence. Two other mounds on a ridge to the east are thought to cover tholos tombs. They are both 10m in diameter and 4m to 5m high.

Tholos tomb more or less completely destroyed through illicit excavation. About 2km west of 36: Kopanaki tholos tombs.

Marinatos examined this tomb in 1958 but his plans to excavate it did not come to pass. It was completely intact in 1946, when the landowner removed the keystone, lowered himself into the tomb, and removed a bronze cauldron (likely to be LH-I-Il date, LHIIIA1 at the latest: Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 155-156) and a sword. The landowner later destroyed the northern half of the tomb. No architectural details are available, save that the construction material was the usual flat stones, but in this case partly worked on the inside faces.

Mándhra Hazmá, Messinia. McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 234.
Unexcavated tholos tomb. The outline is apparently clear, 13m in diameter and dromos 11m long running east-northeast. If the estimation of diameter is correct, this would be the largest tholos tomb in the study area (the external diameter may however have been quoted).

A likely tholos tomb of small dimensions (possible diameter 3.5m) was noted under an alóni; its excavation was planned for 1993 (report unavailable at the time of writing this thesis).

Appendix Two
Mesopotamos Tourkokivouro, Messinia, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 245.
Unexcavated tholos tomb. Mound 13m diameter, up to 3m high. Dromos possibly to northwest. Illicit excavations; possible find of bronze cauldron. No further information.

Midhen Vigla, Messinia, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 244.
Two unexcavated tholos tombs. Located on the high ground immediately above Navarino to the north of modern Pilos. One mound is 20m in diameter and the dromos is discernible to the north. The second is 50m distant to the north.

Tholos tombs thought to date to LHIII or later

Chamber 6m diameter, many bone groups and finds including pottery, knives, a razor, other bronze objects. Extremely brief report. Almost certainly one of the tombs listed under Arkines, below, as unexcavated. Said to be of late Mycenaean date.

Two tholos tombs. A: 4.7m diameter, 3.75m preserved height, 2.8m stomion length, 2.65m length dromos. Rough construction. Pottery possibly LHIII A. Other finds bones, beads, bronze nail, 'gold relief ornament in the shape of an oenochoe'. Tomb B: no finds, no details. Two other small tholos possibly located in the vicinity (one of which almost certainly later excavated as Arna, above).

3km south of the Palace of Nestor, half-destroyed by road cutting, recently completely destroyed. Diameter thought to be 2.35m, possible original height 1.75m. Few scattered bones at floor level, maximum two individuals. One empty pit. Pottery protogeometric, some objects of iron.

Valmin in 1926 excavated two tholos tombs at the western foot of the akropolis (one exceptionally well preserved), and at least one other existed in the near vicinity. The material recovered from these tombs was apparently uniformly late Mycenaean. In
terms of architecture the tombs exhibit certain features that might be taken to confirm a late date: relieving triangles, lintels of a single stone, and stone-lined dromos. Architectural details, tomb 1: dromos 13.5m long, 2.35m wide, stone lined; stomion 3m deep (long), 3m high, width 1.6m at the outside, 1m at the inside, single limestone lintel 2.5m x 3m x 40cm, relieving triangle about 1m tall and 1m wide; chamber 6.85m diameter, height 5.8m. Tomb 2: dromos 12.5m long, 2.2m wide, stone lined; stomion 2.6m deep (long), 2.8m high, width 1.6m outside, 1.3m Inside, single broken lintel 2.5m x 2.9m x 30cm, assumed relieving triangle, stone drain in stomion floor; chamber diameter 5.75m, surviving height 3.5m, single pit in floor. Both tombs seem to have preserved few intact contexts, and what little material has been published appears to be LHIII. Tholos 2 has been almost completely stripped of its stone between excavation and the present, while tholos 1 is preserved under a covering erected by the Eforfa.

Diameter 6.6m, original height thought to be 5.6m. Height of stomion 2.15m, maximum width 1.23m. Originally four lintel blocks. Dromos 8.9m long, 1.78m wide, lined with stones. Two pits in chamber and two shaft graves in chamber. Periods represented in finds: LHIII A2-LHIIIB2 for pottery, suggestion of earlier dates for other items. Numerous finds of artefacts and human bones from pits, shaft graves, and chamber floor.
A number of other tombs at Nihória has been dated to the protogeometric period. The Lambropouliou tholos tomb is located about 1.5km northeast of most of the other Nihória tombs. The entrance was 96cm tall and up to 84cm wide; the irregular chamber was up to 2m in diameter, and was intact on excavation, although the height is not recorded. The floor was paved with slabs, a feature of protogeometric tombs (or of protogeometric modifications to tombs) in this cemetery. The tomb contained one extended and three heaped up burials. Artefacts were dated to ‘dark age’ and protogeometric. Other artefacts found in the field were dated LHIII C-PG. Elsewhere at Nihória three horseshoe-shaped built tombs of PG date were excavated.

Located outside village of Papoúlia. Diameter 4.4m, preserved height 1.5m, stomion 2.2m long, 80cm wide, dromos 1m wide and more than 3m long. Dromos lined with stone only at façade, for 1.25m. Two pits in tomb, at least ten individuals present. Ceramic said to be late Mycenaean, but not described or even examined.
Pagodlia village, Messinia. Marinatos 1954, 315-316.
Two tholos tombs. First badly damaged, perhaps 3.6m diameter but only up to 50cm preservation of walls. Disordered bones, pottery and bronze objects. Second tomb not described, again badly damaged. Finds limited to steatite spindle and sherd of stirrup jar. No bones. 80m between the two tombs. A pit beside the first may have held sherds perhaps originally coming from the tomb. Ceramic, undescribed, said to be LHIII.

Diameter 2.92m to 3.1m, height probably 2.8m. Pillaged just before excavation; had been intact. Stomion 1m long, 83cm wide below, 50cm above, 1.2m high. Six pots published LHIIIA-B, but these had mostly been found by the pillager. Another tomb thought to be in the vicinity.

MISCELLANEOUS OTHER POSSIBLE FUNERARY SITES

The following list does not claim to be exhaustive and moreover some of these sites, on excavation, would certainly turn out not to be archaeological, not to be funerary, or to be post-Mycenaean in date. References are generally given to a single source for each site; further references can be found by consulting the principal reference given. This list, and the list of late Mycenaean chamber tombs that follows it, is based on the extensive surveys of Hope Simpson (1957), Hope Simpson & Waterhouse (1960, 1961), and McDonald & Hope Simpson (1961, 1964, 1969); the catalogues of Hope Simpson & Dickinson (1979), Shipley (1996a) and Cavanagh & Mee (1998); and reports in Archaeological Reports and Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον.

Messinia

Aristodiðímon Tourkoskotoméno. McDonald & Hope Simpson 1964, 235.
Possible tholos mound 5m high.

Destroyed tholos tomb. Presumably located close to recently excavated examples at 42:Kaplání.
Tholos mound, up to 2.5m high, with visible lintel 2m x 80cm. Close to Perlisterí.

Handrínoi Koubé, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 245.
Two possible burial mounds.

Hoúrou (Pisáski), McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 238-239.
Two possible tholos tombs. Same general area as Englianós protogeometric tholos tomb (above).

Ikléna, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 241.
Three possible tholos tombs at two different sites.

Kalívla Páno Horió, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1969, 144.
Destroyed tomb with LHIII finds. Possible tholos nearby.

Kinigóu Avarínítsa, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1964, 233; 1969, 150-151.
Burial mound, possibly Mycenaean or possibly Roman.

Destroyed tholos tomb. Could not be located by McDonald & Hope Simpson.

Lámbeňa Tourkokfvouro, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1964, 235-236; 1969, 157-158.
Possible tholos tomb.

Longá Kafirió, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 248.
Possible tholos located under church.

Nerómilos Viglísita, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 246.
Tholos mound 33m in diameter and 5m high. I sought this mound in 1994 and could not locate it.

Pigádhla, Hope Simpson 1957, 240.
Human bones found with MH or early Mycenaean pottery in a ?cave.
Ilia

Two possible tholoi.


McDonald & Hope Simpson do not mention early material in their reports, but Hope Simpson & Dickinson refer to ‘traces of MH tombs’ as well as offering LHI-II among the date range for the site. It is likely that Hope Simpson & Dickinson’s ‘traces of MH tombs’ is based on Thémelis’ (1968c) mention of a number of middle helladic sherds ‘in all probability from graves’ found in a trench dug at the foot of the hills (see Thémelis 1968c, especially the plan showing the area - plan 1, and page 170).

Kafkaniá Fengaráki. McDonald & Hope Simpson 1969, 129.
Cist tombs, apparently late Mycenaean.

LHI sherds and bone fragments handed over to the authorities are the only remains of a destroyed tomb of unknown architecture.

Lakónia

Possible small tholos tomb. LHIII pottery found.

Late Mycenaean chamber tombs

Again, this list is not exhaustive. Sources are as quoted for the previous category.

Messinía

Chamber tomb destroyed in road cutting. LHIIIc pottery.
Dhiavolitsi Louïses. McDonald & Hope Simpson 1969, 143.
Destroyed chamber tomb with one skeleton and LHIIIIB pottery.

Six LHIII chamber tombs (in addition to the LHII example described in 24:Englianós).

Up to 25 chamber tombs, some excavated and dated LHIII.

Five chamber tombs, two excavated, LHIIIIB or later.

Late Mycenaean chamber tombs.

Nine certain and four possible chamber tombs, presumably LHIII in date; dug in three areas.

Mádhena Ayos Konstandinos. McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 156.
A single late Mycenaean chamber tomb destroyed in road widening; at least one burial.

Destroyed Mycenaean chamber tomb.

Lakonía

Six chamber tombs.

Chamber tombs.

Possible chamber tombs, LHII-III pottery found on slopes below.

Appendix Two 795
Avia Trládha. Blackman 1997, 44.
Forty or more LHIIIA-C chamber tombs.

Possible chamber tombs.

'Ganganla'. Hope Simpson & Waterhouse 1961, 139.
Two chamber tombs.

Chamber tombs.

Seven chamber tombs, likely of LHIII date; possible tholos mound.

Four chamber tombs.

Chamber tombs at several sites.

Péfkes. Blackman 1997, 47.
Three LHIII chamber tombs.

One excavated chamber tomb and others unexcavated.

Chamber tombs.

Excavated but unpublished LHIII chamber tomb.

Two possible chamber tombs.
LHIII chamber tomb.

Alepohóri, French 1993, 27.
LHIII A2-B chamber tomb and cist.

Two chamber tombs.

Dhásela Koutsohera, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 229-230.
Three excavated chamber tombs LHIII A-C. Two possible tholoi.

Fióka, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1969, 128.
LHIIIB vases from destroyed (chamber?) tomb.

LHIII A-C chamber tomb cemetery.

24(?) chamber tombs.

Kladheos, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1969, 129.
Two large chamber tomb cemeteries; seven excavated contained LHIIIA-B material in one, ten excavated contained LHIIIA-C material.

Two chamber tombs.

Makrisia Kainá, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 229.
Four chamber tombs, two excavated with LHIIIA-B material (Mee & Cavanagh 1998, 85: 23 chamber tombs, but no new reference).

Chamber tomb.
Chamber tombs at various sites.

Olimbia Museum, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1969, 128-129.
Thirteen LHIII B chamber tombs.

Plátnos, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1969, 128.
Three LHIII B-C chamber tombs.

Stryfi, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1969, 128.
Two chamber tombs.

Trípes Paleókastro, McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 227.
Chamber tomb cemetery.
A2.2. Epia Antheia tholos tomb, Messinia. Right side of stomion, looking along wall to unexcavated chamber. After Korrés 1978c, figure 6.


A2.11. Málthi tholos tomb II. Dromos, façade and stomion after Valmin 1938, figure 40.

A2.12. (Below) Málthi tholos tomb II. Chamber, after Valmin 1938, figure 43.
A2.13. 30: Nihória: UMME tholos.

A general consideration of the middle helladic ‘tumulus phenomenon’

In the appendix to the first printed preliminary report of the *Pylos Regional Archaeological Project* (Davis et alii 1997, 485-488) a warning is issued to those that would seek to interpret the middle helladic burial practices of Messinia:

Reinvestigation [of two mounds previously identified by McDonald & Hope Simpson] ... emphasizes the dangers lurking for anyone who attempts to make sense of the published distributional patterns of tumuli in Messenia without initiating new fieldwork. These two examples by no means stand alone.  

Davis et alii 1997,487.

The two mounds reinvestigated by PRAP, 22:Pírgos and Koukouyéra (McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 240) were originally identified as a middle helladic burial tumulus and a tholos mound respectively. Koukouyéra, now mostly destroyed by bulldozing, has been shown to be a natural knoll, which might have been suspected from the statement of the original Investigators that ‘no surface pottery is apparent’. Other sites where no pottery was collected should be placed under equal suspicion.

This is not the case with 22:Pírgos, however. In 1961 McDonald & Hope Simpson located the mound and collected what they described as the base of an imitation minyan goblet and a matt painted handle from another goblet, along with other sherds that they recognised as Roman or Byzantine. They also noted pithos fragments eroding out of the sides of the mound.
PRAP visited the mound on a number of occasions, and saw it in differing states of preservation, as bulldozing has reduced it to a central cylinder core. From the sides of the mound they recovered Roman and Byzantine pottery and noted tiles of Hellenistic and later dates. They found neither pithos nor prehistoric pottery. Their conclusion is that the mound (which they deem a natural knoll) was used only in historical times and should not be regarded as a middle helladic burial tumulus (Davis et alii 1997, 486-487).

One of the major problems that PRAP faced in designing their survey was the apparent loss of almost all of the sherds picked up by McDonald & Hope Simpson in the UMME field seasons of the late 1950s and 1960s (Shelmerdine, in conversation). This means that the two pieces of middle helladic pottery collected on the mound are no longer available for inspection, and have not been published. The question therefore settles on the perceived competence of McDonald & Hope Simpson as ceramic typologists. In the case of 22: Pirgos, there are two questions to be asked: did they correctly identify the two pieces of pottery that they described as middle helladic, and did they correctly identify the pithos fragments that they saw eroding out of the mound? In respect of the second question, the implication in PRAP’s rejection of 22: Pirgos as a middle helladic site is that McDonald & Hope Simpson misidentified hellenistic (or later) tile as middle helladic pithos. The implication in the first question is simply that the two sherds were post-bronze age. PRAP offer no suggestions as to what these sherds might be.

The question is crucial for the interpretation of all unexcavated burial mounds. Tile graves of later periods have often been noted in these mounds (for example, A1.27.15), and indeed some mounds are dated to the historic period on the basis that only historical material has been found in them. If McDonald & Hope Simpson were incompetent in distinguishing tile from pithos, and their attributions of finer pottery are questionable, then most of the known tumuli should be regarded as historical rather than prehistoric.

I would like therefore to gather the evidence, such as it is, in order to pursue this question. The most important observation must be that the middle helladic tumulus, as variable in form as it is, does in fact unquestionably exist as an archaeological phenomenon: this is clear from the excavated examples. Moreover the mode of burial in these mounds, although variant from site to site, does include examples of both pithos burial and burial in cists. Therefore the first point to note is that, on the basis of published excavation evidence, there are precedents for middle helladic burial tumuli with pithos and cist burials in western Messinia.
Published observations of workers other than McDonald & Hope Simpson confirms that some unexcavated tumuli are of MH date. The destruction of a burial mound at 28:Kánalos in 1982 led to the observation that large slabs, bones, and MH-LH pottery had formed part of the matrix of the mound (Papakonstandinou 1982). The mound at 2:Evangelismós was discovered by Korres in 1982, after his excavations at sites such as 14:Ayos Ioánnis Papoulía and 17:Voidhokíliá, and so his observations of middle helladic pithos sherds should presumably be competent. A third mound at 15:Plátnanos is further observed by Korres to have contained middle helladic pithol. A report from 7:Dhiódhía & Stréfi mentions bronze age as well as later sherds.

Finally, my own observations and those of others in my presence must add to this list. At 2:Evangelismós, for example, I with Dr Kallíope Sarfí observed bronze age pottery eroding from the section through the mound, with later pottery also present. We also observed Mycenaean pottery at 15:Plátnanos. I noted bronze age pottery sherds on the Dhápla ridge (sites 5 & 6). I and Nigel Spencer noted a fine ware fragment that may have been middle helladic at 21:Léfki mound 126.

The reuse of middle helladic burial mounds in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is a clearly established fact. Few mounds seem to have been untouched during those later periods, and this pattern of interference is also evidenced in numerous tholos and chamber tombs. In field survey, therefore, the discovery of post-bronze age sherds alone is not proof that a mound was not constructed in the middle helladic period.

The opposing evidence is equally formidable. Of the tumuli within the PRAP study area, all could either not be found, or if found presented no datable prehistoric object. Moreover, the inability of later workers (myself included) to relocate mounds on the basis of McDonald & Hope Simpson’s sketch maps or other instructions has made their many identifications seem doubtful. The action of modern farming has undoubtedly contributed to the loss of these sites.

I believe, however, that many, but not all, of the identified tumuli were correctly identified in the past. The proper recognition of the importance and reuse of these monuments in later periods, and the fact that some of them may wholly date to later periods, has been strongly evidenced by PRAP and is welcome; but the inability of surface survey to locate prehistoric artefacts on an unexcavated mound, or looking at the section of a damaged mound, does not make a strong case for a purely historical date of use. The number of middle helladic artefacts that one might expect to retrieve from such a site is small: the review of evidence from
excavated sites has shown that burial acts do not rely on large amounts of material culture. The more visible presence of later artefacts in these mounds merely reflects the greater use of material culture in the burial rites of later periods. In some of the mounds, if pithos burial were not practised, it is possible that no middle helladic material culture might be present, in a mound nonetheless first used in that period. Although we may rue the fact that we cannot check the findings of McDonald & Hope Simpson by inspection of their pottery, until a programme of excavation (badly needed for reasons of conservation as well as research) is undertaken to really seek an understanding of how, and indeed when, these sites were used, we must to a greater or lesser extent rely on the findings of previous workers, which must - for the time being - stand.

See further comments in Postscript, page 851.


A4.5. Area under study.
A4.6. Area under study, with approximate locations of sites listed in Appendix One.
A4.7. Area under study, with approximate locations of middle helladic sites listed in Appendix One.
A4.8. Area under study, with approximate locations of late helladic I sites listed in Appendix One.
A4.9. Area under study, with approximate locations of late helladic II sites listed in Appendix One.
A4.11. Late helladic I sites in the Peloponnese. After Siriropoulou 1995, map 39.
A4.13. Sites in the vicinity of Potámi tou Arápi (Gouvalári), Messína.


A4.20. Plan of chamber tomb cemetery at Upper Yipsades, Knosos, Crete: after Hood et alii 1959, figure 1.


NOTES

Where reference is made to a later edition of a book, the original date of publication is given in brackets.

Every effort has been made to refer to works in Greek using the orthographic system of the original publication.

Volume numbers for the Πρακτικά τῆς Ἁθήνας Αρχαιολογικής Ἐταιρείας were wrongly printed between issues 104 (1945-1949) and 139A’ (1984). The correct numbers are given here.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Arapoiánn, X. 1990: ‘Βολιμίδια’, Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον 45Β’1, 120.


Blackburn, E. T. 1970: Middle Helladic Graves and Burial Customs, with Special Reference to Lerna in the Argolid. University of Cincinnati: unpublished PhD.


Cadogan, G. 1994: 'An old palace period Knossos state?', In Evely et alii below, 57-68.


Cavanagh, W. G. & Mee, C. 1990: ‘The Location of Mycenaean Chamber Tombs In the Argolid’, In Hägg & Nordquist, 55-64.
‘Αρχαιολογικών Δελτίον 24Β’1, 155-161.

Dabney, M. K. & Wright, J. C. 1990: ‘Mortuary customs, palatial society and state formation
Darby, H. C. (editor) 1944-1945: Greece. Three volumes. London: Naval Intelligence
Division.
Laffineur, R. below, 185-205.
Davis, J. L., Alcock, S. E., Bennet, J., Lolos, Y., Shelmerdine, C. W. & Zangger, E. 1996: The
Pylos Regional Archaeological Project: Internet Edition. University of Michigan:
http://classics.lsa.umich.edu/PRAP.html.
Regional Archaeological Project Part I: Overview and the Archaeological Survey’,
Hesperia 66, 391-494.
Demakopoulou, K. 1990: ‘The Burial Ritual In the Tholos Tomb at Kokla, Argolis’, in Hägg &
Nordquist below, 113-123.
Dhellarías, A. 1969: ‘Αρχαιότητες και Μνημεία 'Αρκαδίας καὶ Λακωνίας’,
'Αρχαιολογικών Δελτίον 24Β’1, 139.
Dhimakopoulou, K. 1968: ‘Μυκηναϊκά γέγεια ἐκ θαλαμοειδῶν τάφων περιοχῆς
of the British School at Athens 67, 103-112.
Dickinson, O. T. P. K. 1974: ‘The Definition of Late Helladic I’, Annual of the British School at
Athens 69, 109-120.
Förlag (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XLIX).
Dickinson, O. T. P. K. 1982: ‘Parallels and contrasts in the bronze age of the Peloponnese’,
Oxford Journal of Archaeology 1, 125.
Athens 78, 55-67.
below, 467-617.


Hatzi-Spillioúlou, G. 1992a: 'Στρέφι', Αρχαιολογικών Δελτίων 47B'1, 125.


Horémis, A. K. 1968: 'Πλατανόβρυση', Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίων 23Β'1, 156.


Howell, R. 1992: 'The Middle Helladic Settlement: Pottery', in McDonald & Wilkie (editors) below, 43-204.


Karahállos, T. 1926: ‘Θολωτός τάφος ἐν Καλυβίοις Πελλάνης’, Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολογικόν 10 Παράρτημα, 41-44.


Korres, G. S. 1977b: “Ανασκαφαί τῆς Πυλίας’, Πρακτικά τῆς εν 'Αθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας 133, 130-134.


Korres, G. S. 1984: ‘The Relations between Crete and Messenia In the Late Middle Helladic and Early Late Helladic Period’, in Hägg & Marinatos above, 141-152.

Korres, G. S. 1987: "Εργασίαί επί ολικού εκ Πυλαίαν", Πρακτικά της Ετήσιας Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 142, 105-106.

Korres, G. S. 1988: "Εργασίαί ανά την Πυλαίαν και Τριφυλίαν", Πρακτικά της Ετήσιας Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 143, 37-42.


Kourouniotis, K. 1912: 'Πύλου', Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογική 51, 268.


Kourouniotis, K. 1926: 'Περί τού θολωτού τάφου Όσμανάγια Πύλου', Πρακτικά της Ετήσιας Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 80-81, 140-141.


Kritzas, H. V. 1972: 'Οδός Ηρακλέους 51 (οικόπεδον Αλεξ. Ξενάκη)', Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον 27b, 200-201.

Kyrieleis, H. 1990: 'Neue Ausgrabungen in Olympia', Antike Welt 21, 177-188.


Marinatos, S. N. 1952: 'Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Πύλω', Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν 'Αθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας 107, 473-496.


Marinatos, S. N. 1954: 'Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Πύλω', Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν 'Αθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας 109, 311-316.


Marinatos, S. N. 1957a: 'Ἀνασκαφή ἐν Πύλω', Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν 'Αθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας 112, 118-120.


Marinatos, S. N. 1965: 'Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Πύλῳ', Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν 'Αθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας 120, 102-120.
Marinatos, S. N. 1966: "'Ανασκαφαί ἐν Πύλοι', Πρακτικά τῆς ἑν 'Αθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 121, 121-128.


Onasóglou, A. 1990: 'Κόσμημα', Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον 45B'1, 81-83.

Papakonstandinou, E. 1981: 'Κάτω Σαμικό', Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον 36B'1, 148-149.

Papakonstandinou, E. 1982a: 'Ταργαλάνοι', Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον 37B'1, 135.

Papakonstandinou, E. 1982b: 'Κάτω Σαμικό', Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον 37B'1, 133-134.


Petrákos, V. H. 1977: 'Κόθηρα', Ἀρχαιολογικοὺς Δελτίου 32Β1, 43.


Shanks, M. 1993: ‘Style and the design of a perfume jar from an archaic Greek city state’, *Journal of European Archaeology* 1.1, 77-106.


---

Bibliography

Siriopoüliou, K. T. 1994:
'H προϊστορική κατοικησις της Ελλάδος και η γένεση του Ελληνικού έθνους.
Τόμος Α'. Athens: 'Η εν 'Αθήναις 'Αρχαιολογική Έταιρεια.

Siriopoüliou, K. T. 1995:
'H προϊστορική κατοικησις της Ελλάδος και η γένεση του Ελληνικού έθνους.
Τόμος Β'. Athens: 'Η εν 'Αθήναις 'Αρχαιολογική Έταιρεια.

Skias, A. N. 1909: "Ανασκαφή εν Πύλω τη Μεσσηνιακή", Πρακτικά τής εν 'Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρειας 64, 274-292.

Sotirládhis, G. 1910: "Ανασκαφαί εν τή Λακωνική", Πρακτικά τής εν 'Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρειας 65, 277-278.


Spirópoulos, T. G. 1982b: 'Σπαρτιά (Αρνα)', Αρχαιολογικών Δελτίων 37Β'1, 111-112.


Postscript, October 1999.

(Page 295) The site of the mound at 6: Pila was recently rediscovered during survey undertaken by Professor Korrés (June 1999). The author was also present. Numerous pithos sherds were collected, but no other material. The site is considerably higher than the candidate described on pages 294-295.

(Page 461) The remnant of the mound at 22: Pirgos was excavated by the Eforla in 1998 (X. Arapoyänni, public lecture, Athens 1999). One middle helladic pithos burial was found, along with other ‘christian’ burials.

(Page 809) The results of the excavation at 22: Pirgos, noted above, obviously strengthen the arguments and observations of Appendix Three.