EXCAVATIONS AND SURVEY AT KAVOUSI, 1978–1981

(Plates 73–80)

The Kavousi Project was conceived for the purpose of restudying a number of sites excavated in the early years of the twentieth century by Harriet Boyd (Hawes) and Edith Hall (Dohan) under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies. These sites are located in the area of the modern village of Kavousi at the eastern end of the Bay of Mirabello in East Crete (Fig. 1). The area is particularly important because it lies at the northeast edge of the Isthmus of Ierapetra, the shortest and lowest passage on the island between the Aegean and Libyan Seas. The passage is bordered by the foothills of the Dictaean massif on the west and the Siteia Mountains on the east (Pl. 73:a). The modern village of Kavousi is the starting point for three roads leading through the Siteia Mountains to far eastern Crete. One, which extends along the coast to the north, is the route of the modern road. The second, a Turkish kalderim, runs up through the high pass above Avgo to the east. The third, also a kalderim, climbs to the upland plain of Thrifti to the south, from which one can travel east, south, or down to the Isthmus of Ierapetra below to the west. North of Kavousi a plain stretches from the village to the sea three kilometers away. To the west, the plain extends five kilometers to Pacheia Ammos.

HISTORY OF THE EXCAVATIONS

The antiquities in the Kavousi area (Fig. 2) were first identified by Sir Arthur Evans on his trips to eastern Crete in 1896 and 1899.1 He noted evidence for a settlement on the Kastro and was able to obtain for the Herakleion Museum a cache of objects found in a tholos tomb or tombs at near-by Plai Tou Kastrou. When Harriet Boyd, a student at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, came to Crete in 1900 looking for a site to excavate, he recommended the Kastro to her. After an exploratory trip in Central and East Crete, she decided upon the Kavousi area.2 On May 10 she received her permit “as representative of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens to excavate in the name of the Cretan Government.” With the assistance of Jean Patton, a botanist, Aristides Pappadias as foreman, and his mother as housekeeper, Boyd excavated from mid-May to mid-June.3

2 Harriet Boyd Hawes, “Memoirs of a Pioneer Excavator in Crete,” Archaeology 18, 1965, pp. 94–101. This description of her first season in Crete has been excerpted from unpublished writings and letters.
3 Harriet A. Boyd, “Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, in 1900,” AJA, ser. 2, 5, 1901, pp. 125–157 (Boyd, “Kavousi”). Other works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:
Brock = J. K. Brock, Fortetsa, Cambridge 1957
Kanta = A. Kanta, SIMA, LVIII, The Late Minoan III Period in Crete, Göteborg 1980
Fig. 1. Map of East Crete showing the Isthmus of Ierapetra
Following a week of trial trenching near the sea in the area of Ayios Antonios (St. Anthony's), where she found only scattered Bronze Age sherds, she moved the excavations into the mountains south of the village. A week's excavation at Azoria Hill was again disappointing. Building foundations, some of them circular in shape, appeared but were not easily interpreted. Hazzidakis later suggested to her that the circular remains might be foundations of windmills, although the walls lying under them were likely to be ancient.\(^4\)

The third week was spent on the Kastro (Pl. 73:b), a peak jutting out over the Avgo pass at the north end of the Thrifti range of the Siteia Mountains and reached from the Thrifti road. Here she uncovered “the castle”, an Iron Age settlement of 13 rooms on at least seven levels overlooking the pass.\(^5\) The tomb(s) recorded by Evans at Plaï Tou Kastrou on the lower slope to the south (Fig. 2) must have belonged to its residents. Boyd later saw some 80 vases, collected from these tombs, in the Herakleion Museum.\(^6\) On a ledge just east of the tombs was a shrine, where seven terracotta animals, mostly bulls, were found.\(^7\) A kilometer to the southeast is the completely preserved tholos tomb at Skouriamenos (Fig. 2).\(^8\) The last week of excavation was spent at Vronda (Thunder Hill) located west of the Thrifti road where it turns at the church of Ayia Paraskevi (Pl. 73:c). A second Iron Age settlement and its cemetery were discovered there. Parts of buildings and walls of the settlement were uncovered on top of the hill; eight tholoi were found on the slopes below.\(^9\) Shaft graves, dated to the Early Orientalizing period by a small Protocorinthian lekythos, were discovered at Chondrovolakes (Great Boulders), a locality halfway between the village and Vronda (Fig. 2).\(^10\)

In the following year, 1901, Harriet Boyd returned to Kavousi to excavate for the

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\(^7\) A catalogue and photograph are published in Boyd, "Kavousi," pp. 149–150, pl. 5. A somewhat similar shrine, containing figurines ranging in date from PG to Early Classical, was found by Alexiou at Pachliztane Agriada; cf. S. Alexiou, « Ἱερον παρὰ τῷ Καβοῦσι ἱεραπέτρας», _Kηρυχρον_ 10, 1956, pp. 7–19.

\(^8\) A plan and drawing of the tomb and a catalogue, one drawing and four photographs are in Boyd, "Kavousi," pp. 143–148, figs. 8–11, pls. 3, 4. Other illustrations are in Levi, “Lo stile geometrico cretese,” _ASAtene_ 10–12, 1927–29, figs. 620, 621, 628, 644; _idem, "I bronzi di Axòs," ASAtene_ 13–14, 1930–31, fig. 31; _idem, Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete_ (footnote 6 above), pl. 5.

\(^9\) Boyd, "Kavousi," pp. 131–136, figs. 2–4, pls. 1, 2. Each tomb is described with a catalogue of the finds excepting the pottery. There are only a general description and two photographs of the pottery because Boyd, the holder of the Agnes Hoppin Memorial Fellowship in 1899/1900, reserved the publication of these vases for the Hoppin Fellow of the following year, Lida Shaw King, but King developed other interests and the publication was never made. Other illustrations of the artifacts are in Desborough, _op. cit._ (footnote 6 above), pls. ΑΓ':4, ΛΔ':1; Blinkenberg, _op. cit._ (footnote 6 above), figs. 33, 42, 58; Sapouna-Sakellarakis, _op. cit._ (footnote 6 above), pl. 5, nos. 147, 149; pl. 6, nos. 171, 172; pl. 7, no. 203; pl. 8, nos. 223, 224.

American Exploration Society of Philadelphia.\(^\text{11}\) She was assisted by Blanche Wheeler, Aristides, and his mother. They began at Avgo, the mountain valley on the road leading east from Kavousi. Evans had noted a “Cyclopean” wall along the road there. Boyd uncovered the foundations of a building of the Late Bronze Age and other scattered remains in the area.\(^\text{12}\) Four tholos tombs at Aloni (Pl. 73:d), a locality now known as Skala, a hundred meters below the Kastro, were discovered by Blanche Wheeler.\(^\text{13}\) While at Avgo, Boyd was informed of a site with walls and Minoan sherds, the type of site she had been seeking for two years. She sent out an advance party to test it; with the report of streets and houses she moved her expedition to Gournia and never returned again to dig at Kavousi.

In 1912, while waiting for suitable weather to begin her season at Vrokastro, Edith Hall excavated briefly in the Kavousi area. She discovered “several rectangular chamber-tombs” at Kamara Tholou Episkeptin (modern Kamara Tou Tholou; Fig. 2) just north of Kavousi, which contained fragments of bones and small stirrup jars, and an Early Minoan cave at Ayios Antonios near the sea.\(^\text{14}\) No further excavations were conducted in this area, although Pendlebury and Schachermeyr recorded Bronze Age sherds in the modern village.\(^\text{15}\)

In 1951, George Sekadakis, the owner of the fields where the Vronda tombs are located, discovered a ninth tholos several terraces north of the group excavated by Boyd. He cleared the tomb, sending the artifacts to the museum in Ierapetra.\(^\text{16}\) A tenth tomb in the same area was excavated by the authors in the summer of 1981 and is published preliminarily here.

**THE KAVOUSI PROJECT**

Although ancient sites in the area of Kavousi range in date from Early Minoan to Late Roman, the Project has concentrated (and will continue to do so) first and foremost on the Early Iron Age sites in the mountains south of town along the road to Thrifti. These are the sites for which the area is best known: the Kastro, Plai Tou Kastrou, Skouriasmenos, Aloni, and Vronda. Since few Early Iron Age settlements and cemeteries on Crete have been published, these places are frequently cited as type sites, from which major deductions are made and conclusions formed. Yet neither the architecture nor the associated artifacts have been fully published. For instance, Boyd only gives the relative position of the tombs at Vronda by means of a series of lines and publishes the pottery from them in two rather indistinct


\(^{13}\) Boyd, “Gournia,” pp. 15–17, figs. 7, 8. Also Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* (footnote 6 above), fig. 29; Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *op. cit.* (footnote 6 above), pl. 3, no. 50. Only three objects from these tombs were photographed and described; however, Boyd’s notebook of the 1901 excavations at Avgo and Aloni contains descriptions and drawings which have enabled the authors to locate the tombs for publication now. Boyd’s journal of 1901 and Blanche Wheeler’s letter to her brother, Alan, written at Kavousi May 29, 1901, also contain descriptions of Aloni. We wish to thank the Smith College Library for permission to study and use this material.


\(^{16}\) N. Platon, *<Xroniká>, ΚρητήςΧρόνον* 5, 1951, p. 445; *idem, <Χρονικά>, ΚρήτηΧρόνοι* 8, 1954, p. 516. Platon calls the locality in which the tomb was found by the name of Xerambela. But it is in fact on the lower slopes of the Vronda spur.
photographs. She offers neither a plan of the area, nor plans of the individual tombs, nor a full discussion of the ceramic material and other associated objects. Accordingly, we established the Kavousi Project in order to survey the area, map the locations of the various sites, draw the plans of the buildings and tombs, and publish the artifacts from them with the aim of presenting as accurate a picture as possible of the ancient inhabitation at Kavousi. In order to do this we have consulted the unpublished papers and the 1901 Avgo excavation notebook of Harriet Boyd as well as the published reports. We have studied and are in the process of preparing the pottery and other artifacts in the Ierapetra and Herakleion Museums for full publication. And in the summer of 1981, we cleaned the tombs at Vronda and Aloni and excavated a new tomb at Vronda to act as a control against the earlier work. We also excavated a Late Minoan (LM) III tomb at Ridopoulia just east of the modern village on the road to Avgo (Fig. 2). These excavations were carried out with the kind cooperation of Costis Davaras, the Ephor of East Crete, with permission from the Greek Archaeological Service, and under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies. We offer here a preliminary report on our ongoing work on the Early Iron Age remains, concentrating on the material from Vronda and Aloni, and a complete report on our work at the LM III site of Ridopoulia.

**Vronda**

Of the eight tholos tombs excavated by Harriet Boyd in 1900, we were able to locate and identify five, as well as the tomb excavated in 1951 and reported by Platon (see footnote 16 above). Boyd gave to her tombs both number and letter designations; the numbers indicate those tombs that still retained some of their contents, and the letters refer to those that were empty. The use of two different systems seemed awkward, and for the sake of consistency we have applied consecutive Roman numerals to all the Vronda tombs. On the new plan of the site (Fig. 3), the tombs that have been located by us are marked by a solid circle; the position of any that could not be found has been estimated from Boyd’s sketch and marked by a dotted circle.

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18 To date, two phases of the Kavousi Project have been accomplished. Phase I: complete study of the previously excavated material, including all the vases and metal objects that are still in existence in the Ierapetra and Herakleion Museums. This phase was funded by grants from the Graduate School and Office of International Programs at the University of Minnesota and by a grant from the American Philosophical Society. Phase II: survey of the Kavousi area and excavation and cleaning of the tombs at Vronda and Aloni. This second phase was funded by a Faculty Development Grant from the University of Tennessee, a Faculty Development Grant from the College of Wooster, and a grant from the American Philosophical Society. The authors would like to thank the American Philosophical Society, the Universities of Minnesota and Tennessee, and the College of Wooster for their kind support. The Epimeletria Stravouna Apostalakou served as a representative of the Greek Archaeological Service. The maps for this report (Figs. 2, 3, and 9) have been made by Gerald W. Johnson, Department of Civil and Mineral Engineering, University of Minnesota, and the drawings have been inked by Sylvia Ruud. Some of the photographs were prepared by Duane Bingham.
Fig. 3. Map of Vronda
We intended merely to clean the tombs in order to measure, draw, and photograph them, but, in fact, we found that only the interiors had been excavated. We therefore cleaned the tops of the tombs to define their fullest extent and cleared the entrances and "dromoi" which had been left undug.

The Vronda tholoi were all built in a similar fashion. First a pit was cut 1.20–1.60 m. into the *tsakali*, the distinctive white and friable native soil of this area.\textsuperscript{19} In this pit the walls of the tomb were then constructed of local unworked limestone or conglomerate, loosely set together with mud mortar. The stones at the bottom of the walls tend to be of more regular shape and larger, while the upper courses, each set in slightly from the last, are irregular and of varying size. In each tomb a stomion was carefully constructed, and in front of the entrance a short (\textit{ca.} 1.0 m.) rectangular trench was cut into the *tsakali* to serve as an abbreviated dromos (pseudo-dromos); only rarely was this trench lengthened or lined with stones to form a true dromos. Several of the tombs are quite well preserved with an average diameter and height of 2.0 m. and are more massive in construction than had previously been thought, but with little regularity in their layout. Each tomb is discussed individually below.

\textit{Vronda I} is not well preserved and has the shape of an irregular circle (Pl. 74:a) with an exterior diameter of 2.80 m. and an interior one of 1.64–1.68 m. Some of the bedrock had been cut away around the exterior; the bottom had been carved out of the *tsakali* and an earth floor then laid over it. The entrance, on the west, was through a long (1.50 m.) dromos, crudely lined with stones and leading into a stomion. There may have been an elaborate façade wall across the top of the stomion, but its presence is difficult to determine, since this area has been considerably disturbed. The stomion was blocked with earth, with two large flat stones laid horizontally, one on top of the other, in similar fashion to Vronda VI (see p. 401 below and Pl. 74:e).

Boyd found no pottery in this tomb, but in the cleaning we found some sherds, including a fine Protogeometric (PG) skyphos rim with handle stump (V1; Fig. 4), rims of kraters and a kalathos, pithos fragments, and plain body sherds. In the dromos there were also skyphos and pithos fragments and coarse body sherds. All this material is consistent with a date in the 11th to 10th centuries B.C.

Better preserved, \textit{Vronda II} also forms a circle irregular in shape (exterior diameter 2.60–2.80 m.), with its entrance on the northwest through a stomion which in this case does have an elaborate façade wall (Pl. 74:b). There is no true dromos, only a pseudo-dromos formed by the ends of the stones projecting beyond the lintel. A short trench had been cut into the *tsakali* in front of the entrance, which was filled up after the burial. In front of the stomion at the level of the bottom of the lintel was a large flat stone, and above this were more earth and a tumble of stones. Like the entrance of Vronda I, the stomion was found blocked with earth and two additional flat stones.

Boyd found three skeletons, 13 vases, and other objects in this tomb.\textsuperscript{20} Of the vases, only one (V2) can now be securely identified as coming from Vronda II.\textsuperscript{21} This is a Subminoan

\textsuperscript{19} In all cases the tombs had been previously disturbed, and it is now impossible to determine precisely the ancient ground level. Most of the pits, however, seem to have been dug out of relatively even ground, while only a few (Vronda X and possibly Vronda IV) were dug out of sloping terrain.

\textsuperscript{20} Boyd, "Kavousi," p. 132, pl. 2.

\textsuperscript{21} Others may be pictured in Boyd, "Kavousi," pl. 2. None of the metal or terracotta objects can be found.
Vronda I, II, and IV: vases V1-V8
lentoid flask (Fig. 4, Pl. 76:a) with a short, slightly flaring neck and a single round vertical handle from rim to shoulder. The decoration is quite worn, but traces remain on the body of concentric circles with a large filled circle in the center. Its lentoid shape may have been copied from Cypriot prototypes.\textsuperscript{22} We found almost no additional material inside the tomb, but there were fragments of an Early Protogeometric (EPG) skyphos (V3; Fig. 4), sherds from four other cups or skyphoi, and a possible kalathos fragment in the dromos.

Even though \textit{Vronda III} was the best preserved architecturally of those tombs dug by Boyd, she found nothing in it, nor were we able to locate it in two separate attempts in 1978 and 1981. It may well be that, because of its good state of preservation, stones from it were used in the modern field houses now at Vronda. \textit{Vronda IV}, however, is preserved (Pl. 74:c); it is very irregular in shape, partly curved, but with one right-angled corner which allows us to call it a crude rectangle with exterior measurements of 3.20 × 2.60 m. The entrance is on the northwest, through a stomion with an elaborate façade wall and a fine large lintel block. There is no proper dromos, but a pseudo-dromos was created by cutting out the bedrock and \textit{tsakali} in front of the stomion. On the north side of the façade is a wall running parallel to the pseudo-dromos, a peculiar feature not found in any of the other tombs, and perhaps representing part of a small temenos wall which may have surrounded the tomb to delineate the burial area. The pseudo-dromos was found covered with a tumble of stones which may have fallen from the terrace above the tomb.

If the identification of this tomb with Boyd’s no. 3 is correct, it was found intact, and since it is the only tomb in which all the contents were found undisturbed, it might be well to repeat Boyd’s description of their arrangement:

The tomb remained as it had been left almost three thousand years ago. Looking in, we saw a large pithos, whole, lying upon its side surrounded by vases, with four skeletons stretched out beside it, their heads toward the south, away from the dromos. Three of the skulls are well preserved, the fourth is partly disintegrated. In the jar there were no bones—nothing, in fact, save earth, a small quantity of black ash, a broken fibula, and three pieces of iron blade. There was no regularity in the placing of the vases; some of the smaller were set inside larger ones. Forty vases were handed out through the “window” made by the pick, but it was necessary to open the tomb from the top in order to remove the pithos without breaking; for although the huge jar must have been brought in through the dromos, it could not be taken out that way with safety. With the vases were found parts of iron swords and spear-heads, a clay whorl, and a soapstone whorl; and when the earth which had drifted into the tomb was sifted it yielded a bronze bracelet, five bronze fibulas, and a bronze ring.\textsuperscript{23}

Of the 40 vases, only 18 now survive in the Herakleion Museum together with four of the bronze fibulas and the bronze bracelet. The existing vases range in date from Subminoan (SM) to Protogeometric B (PGB) and suggest a fairly long period in which the tomb was used.\textsuperscript{24} The presence of four skeletons, if they were buried at different periods, would also

\textsuperscript{22} Cf. Brock, p. 34, no. 312, pl. 21 (from Tomb L). See also Hall, \textit{op. cit.} (footnote 14 above), p. 150, fig. 89; H. W. Catling, “Late Minoan Vases and Bronzes in Oxford,” \textit{BSA} 63, 1968, pp. 114–115, no. 21, and fig. 5; M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett, \textit{Lefkandi}, I, \textit{The Iron Age}, London 1979, pl. 261:f (this example, however, is Late Protogeometric [LPG] in date).

\textsuperscript{23} Boyd, “\textit{Kavousi},” pp. 133–134.

\textsuperscript{24} V. R. d’A. Desborough (\textit{Protogeometric Pottery}, Oxford 1952, p. 268) suggests (but with reservations) that the oinochoe and one-handled flat cup illustrated by Boyd (“\textit{Kavousi},” pl. 1, middle row) as from Tomb 3
argue for the tomb’s continued use. A selection of four of the most representative of the vases is illustrated here (Fig. 4, Pl. 76:b–e). The earliest is V4, an askos (Pl. 76:b) with a low pedestal foot and globular body and with the decoration of hatched triangles on its shoulder and top. The vase has some LM III characteristics, but its date is probably Subminoan, as indicated by a good parallel from Vrokastro. Also Subminoan is a handmade (except for the base) bird vase (V5; Pl. 76:c) with the decoration, on its body, of double triangles between vertical bands. Slightly later (EPG) is a stirrup jar (V6; Pl. 76:d) with a globular body; the decoration is worn in places but consists of crosshatched triangles on the shoulder followed by three vertical lines which are part of another motif, now missing, but perhaps forming the triglyph for a metop panel. Later still (PGB) is a jug-aryballos (V7; Pl. 76:e) with bands and multiple triangles on the belly and a hatched, leaf-like pendant triangle with double spirals on the shoulder. These four vases indicate that the contents of Vrokastro IV are not at all homogeneous but range from early SM (V4) to PGB (V7), suggesting a continued use for the tomb throughout these periods.

During our work in 1981, we found only a few non-diagnostic body sherds in the tomb, but just outside was a pottery dump possibly from the earlier excavation or cleaning on the site. Most of these sherds come from pithoi (one with a rope pattern) and coarse wares, including one tripod leg. The pseudo-dromos also contained much pottery, including a fine one-handed cup (V8; Fig. 4) and a number of rims from kraters and kalathoi. Half of a small carved stone lid was also found, of the sort usually associated with Minoan sites, possibly an heirloom.

(our IV) might be Geometric. The oinochoe unfortunately no longer exists, but the cup does (Herakleion Museum inv. no. 1971). Its shape and decoration are similar to that of two cups from Tomb II at Fortetsa; cf. Brock, pp. 92–93, nos. 989 and 1003, pl. 73. Brock dates these two cups to after his PGB phase. The similarity of the Kavousi cup to the two Fortetsa examples tends to support Desborough’s tentative dating and suggests that Tomb IV might have continued in use into Cretan Early Geometric, that is to say to the end of the 9th and beginning of the 8th centuries B.C.


26 Desborough (loc. cit. [footnote 23 above]) calls V4 late Mycenaean, but it should be considered, rather, within the context of local developments in ceramic style in East Crete, most notably at Kavousi and Vrokastro. Subminoan, thus, is probably a more accurate term for V4, one that is confirmed by its similarity to the Vrokastro example just cited.

27 Boyd, “Kavousi,” pl. 1, middle row, third from right; Desborough, op. cit. (footnote 6 above), p. 253, no. 37 and pl. ΛΔν:1. For similar decoration, see M. Seiradaki, “Pottery from Karphi,” BSA 55, 1960, p. 27, fig. 20 (left), pl. 11:b (M11).


29 Boyd, “Kavousi,” pl. 1, middle row, third from left. The shape of V7 is not exactly paralleled elsewhere. It is much squatter than a lekythos and, with its handle attached directly to the rim, more like a cross between a jug and an aryballos. The closest parallel is a PGB lekythos from Fortetsa (Tomb OD); cf. Coldstream, op. cit. (footnote 6 above), pl. 51:b.

Fig. 5. Plans and section of Vronda V
Vronta V (Pl. 74:d) is the best preserved of all the Vronta tombs, lacking only one or two courses, and was found with two very large stones fallen in from above. Its base is square (3.10 m. on the exterior) in shape (Fig. 5) and begins to become a red paint circular in the second and third courses. The entrance on the south-southeast is through a well-preserved stonion with a good façade wall; the large (0.83 x 0.26 m.) lintel still has three courses of stones preserved above it. The stonion, like those of Vronta I and II, was found blocked with earth and with two large flat stones. The tomb has a pseudo-dromos created by stones projecting from the façade and by a long trench cut out of the tsakali in front, in order, perhaps, to lengthen the pseudo-dromos without using additional building materials. Above this trench were found several large flat stones like the one in front of Tomb II, and above these were earth fill and tumble.

Boyd found this tomb entirely empty, but cleaning yielded a large number of sherds, including fragments of a large decorated pithos (V10; Pl. 76:f) of Geometric date and a smaller pithos with incised wavy lines. In the area in front of the stonion were found, amongst other fragments, a krater rim and the upper part of a skyphos (V9; Fig. 6).

Vronta VI is in the shape of an irregular circle (exterior diameter 2.80-4.0 m.) with its entrance on the west (Pl. 74:e). Again, it has a stonion with a good façade wall, but only a short trench cut into the tsakali in front forms a pseudo-dromos. The stonion was found blocked with three flat stones and earth like those in Vronta I, II, and V, and in front of the entrance, at the level of the bottom of the lintel, was a large flat stone like those in Vronta II and V. The tomb is well preserved on its south side but the upper corners of the north side have been robbed out. Boyd also found this tomb empty (see footnote 30 above), and cleaning yielded only a few non-diagnostic sherds; two krater rims were found in the pseudo-dromos.

Vronta VII and VIII were found by Boyd in poorly preserved condition; this may account for the fact that they have vanished without a trace and cannot now be located. In Vronta VII, Boyd found a total of 18 vases, of which four can be identified, and a number of bronze and iron objects. These vases, of which three are presented here (Fig. 6, Pls. 76:g, h, 77:a), range in date from SM to PGB with a continuation into Cretan Early Geometric—Middle Geometric; the tomb thus exhibits a period of usage somewhat similar to Vronta IV. The earliest vase is a canonical Subminooan stirrup jar (not illustrated); this is followed by a small belly-handled amphora (V11; Pl. 76:g) with hatched triangles on the neck, compass-drawn concentric semicircles on the shoulder, and a wavy line on the lower belly. The presence of compass-drawn semicircles may date V11 to PGB. Somewhat more problematical is a jug (V12; Pl. 76:h) whose ovoid body and short, almost straight neck

32 Boyd, "Kavousi," pp. 134–135, pl. 2. Other vases from Tomb VII may be illustrated in pl. 2, but their provenience cannot be verified. Only one fibula can now be found.
33 Boyd, "Kavousi," pl. 2, bottom row, third from left. The shape of V11 is paralleled by two examples from Tomb P at Fortetsa; cf. Brock, p. 121, nos. 1397 and 1404, pl. 103. Brock calls this shape a pyxis, but it has closer affinities with the amphoriskos.
34 For similar shape, cf. G. Rizza and V. Santa Maria Scrinari, Il santuario sull' acropolis di Gortina I, Rome 1968, p. 16, fig. 25 (PG jug).
Fig. 6. Vronda V, VII, and VIII: vases V9, V11-V14
represent a change from the loose globular shapes of SM–EPG and may indicate that it belongs to a somewhat later period (PGB). The decoration, unfortunately, is quite worn, but one vertical line is preserved on the shoulder; this may belong to a vertical panel of crosshatching. Quite different in shape is V13 (Pl. 77:a),\textsuperscript{35} a lakaina with short stripes on the top of the rim and bands on the body. This is a late shape and may indicate use of the tomb as late as the mid-8th century (Cretan MG). Again, as with Vronda IV, the contents appear not to form a homogeneous group. Vronda VIII yielded only 10 vases, of which now only one (V14)\textsuperscript{36} can be identified. V14 (Fig. 6, Pl. 77:b)\textsuperscript{37} is a stirrup jar of SM date with shoulder decoration of concentric arcs divided into quadrants. Whether or not the history of Vronda VIII parallels that of Vronda VII is difficult to determine, since the other nine vases are either missing or cannot be identified with certainty as coming from the tomb.

Vronda IX, excavated by the local landowner, lies to the north down the slope of Vronda (see footnote 16 above). Although well preserved when excavated, only one corner of this rectangular tomb is still visible today (Pl. 74:f). It appears to be the same general size as the other Vronda tombs. The landowner and his son remember the dromos toward the north, and they recall that there were three skeletons, one with its head resting in the entrance. The landowner removed the whole vessels to the Ierapetra Museum; the sherds and bones he threw back into the tomb, and he hid several iron knife fragments in the terrace wall. In 1981, we cleared the tomb and were able to recover many of these sherds and bones (not all, since an olive tree has been planted near the center of the tomb) and to reconstruct about 25 whole or nearly complete profiles, in addition to the vases originally removed to the Ierapetra Museum.

These original vases were reported as being either 19 or 23 in number, although the landowner, Mr. Sekadakis, remembers 54, including one with the painted decoration of an archer shooting a bird. Three rings were also reported as coming from the tomb, although these can now be reclassified as stone whorls. Of the vases, 20 can be securely identified from a photograph taken by the landowner just after excavation; five representative examples are presented here (Fig. 8, Pl. 77:c–g). Vronda IX is ceramically perhaps the most important of all the tombs since it provides the most complete sequence from SM to EG. The variety of vessel types is greater as well, including a bird vase, a stirrup jar, and a lenticoid flask similar to those already illustrated. The tomb also yielded 18 cups, 3 skyphoi, 1 kantharos, 11 inochoai, 4 jugs, and 4 amphoriskoi. The kantharos (V15, Pl. 77:c) has the bell shape and dipped monochrome decoration common from EPG onwards.\textsuperscript{38} The stemmed

\textsuperscript{35} Boyd, “Kavousi,” pl. 2, bottom row, right. For closest shape, see Brock, p. 52, no. 525, pl. 35 (Tomb X). This Fortetsa example is, however, a skyphos which Brock dates to his Mature Geometric (MG) period. Other parallels belong to Late Geometric (LG); cf. Brock, p. 73, no. 809, pl. 50 (kotyle from Tomb VII).

\textsuperscript{36} Boyd, “Kavousi,” pl. 2, middle row, second from right. Other vases from the tomb may be illustrated in pl. 2.


\textsuperscript{38} Its shape is similar to Attic kantharoi of the period; cf. Desborough, \textit{op. cit.} (footnote 23 above), pl. 12, no. 2026. See also J. N. Coldstream, “Knossos 1951–61: Proto-geometric and Geometric Pottery from the Town,” BSA 67, 1972, p. 65. The bell shape is also common with skyphoi; cf. Brock, p. 33, pl. 21, no. 303 (from Tomb L). Brock calls his example a krateriskos, but its shape is more akin to skyphoi.
cup (V16; Pl. 77:d) is bell-shaped with exterior and interior monochrome brown paint; the flat cup (V17; Pl. 77:e) is also monochrome coated. One of the amphoriskoi (V18; Pl. 77:f) is of exceptional quality with a horizontal chain of crosshatching in the handle zone. Its globular shape and crosshatched decoration are similar to PGB vessels from Fortetsa and suggest a similar date for our example.39 Likewise, a number of the oinochoai can be paralleled by PGB examples from Fortetsa. One representative oinochoe is illustrated here (V19; Pl. 77:g); it has a rather baggy, globular body decorated with plain bands on the shoulder and upper belly. In summary, the sequential use of Vronda IX can be seen from the following vases:

- SM bird vase, stirrup jar, and lentoid flask (not illustrated but similar to V5, V6, V14, and V2 already presented)
- EPG kantharos (V15) and cups (V16, V17)
- PGB amphoriskos (V18) and oinochoe (V19)
- EG neck amphora with maeander pattern on shoulder (not illustrated)

Although all the Vronda tombs are similar in size, their shape varies considerably; rounded and rectangular tombs seem to appear in equal numbers. Vronda V is a bit more regular than most and is also unusual in its southern orientation, for the others all face north to west. The majority have an elaborate façade wall in front over the stomion (these walls are straight and do not curve with the walls of the tomb), but only Vronda I has a true stone-lined dromos. The others have a pseudo-dromos created by the projection of the walls of the stomion beyond the lintel and by short trenches dug in the tsakali. Vronda IV has a slightly more substantial pseudo-dromos which is actually cut out of the bedrock.

From the excavation of the entrances, we can reconstruct the sequence of events during the closing of the tombs. First, the stomion was blocked with earth and by two or three large flat stones, laid horizontally. Then, the short trench in front was filled with earth to the level of the bottom of the lintel, about 0.50–0.60 m. above the floor. At least three of the tombs (Vronda II, V, VI) had large flat slabs in front at this level. What function these performed is unclear; possibly they served as a sort of roof (whether real or symbolic) over the pseudo-dromos. Possibly also they served as a paved surface for some part of the burial ritual. In nearly all the tombs (Vronda I, II, IV, V), the area in front contained fragments of drinking vessels (cups, skyphoi) and kraters and kalathoi (although never whole ones). These may have been deposited (and possibly broken) after some ritual drink or libation. Above this level, there was a tumble of stones, possibly a cairn or marker for the entrance.

39 Alternatively, V18 could be called a flat-based skyphos. For similar shape, cf. Brock, p. 38, nos. 361 and 369, pl. 26 (from Tomb OD). Brock calls his two vases from Fortetsa pyxides, but they are rather more in the nature of flat-based skyophoi. Both vases are PGB and suggest a similar date for V18. For decoration, cf. Brock, p. 172, motif 5j. Also, S. Marinatos, «Προσογλευμετρικά και γεωμετρικά εὑρήματα έκ Κεντρικής και Ανατολικῆς Κρήτης», Δελτ 14, 1931–32, p. 6, fig. 6, nos. 3, 4; N. Platon, «Ἀνασκαφαὶ περιοχῆς Σητείας», Πρακτικά, 1955, pl. 111a, top right; Desborough, op. cit. (footnote 23 above), pl. 19, no. A 1455 (from Rheneia).

40 The spout of V19, as shown in Plate 77:g has been incorrectly restored. It juts out too far and makes the vessel into a jug when, in fact, the curve of the preserved rim by the handle indicates that it should be the trefoil lip of an oinochoe, as shown in the corrected drawing in Figure 8. For similar shape, cf. Brock, p. 27, no. 237, pl. 17 (from Tomb V), and pp. 37–38, nos. 351, 374, 376, pl. 26 (from Tomb OD). Also, Platon, op. cit., pl. 111a, third from right, bottom.
It is uncertain if the stomia were meant to be functional. The entrances are low (0.50–0.60 m. high) and narrow (0.42–0.72 m. wide), and it would be difficult to bring a body into the tomb through one of them, especially when the trench outside was short (e.g. Vronda II). Burial may have been made by removing the upper courses of the beehive superstructure and lowering the body down; but if this occurred, surely the entrance was left uncovered to exhibit the façade. It seems likely that the façades were meant to impress the spectator, if only during the burial ceremony itself.

The ceramic material from the Vronda tombs indicates three general periods of use:

1. SM–EPG: Vronda II, IV, VII, VIII, IX. Vronda I?, VI?
2. PGB: Vronda IV, VII, IX. Vronda I?, VI?, VIII?
3. EG–MG: Vronda V, VII, IX. Vronda IV?

By far the most widespread period appears to be SM–EPG, although this is somewhat misleading, since the material from Vronda II is fragmentary and that from Vronda VIII, with the exception of V14, cannot be identified with certainty. Most of the tombs, however, do span the SM–EPG and PGB periods; the heaviest use, determined by the greatest number of vessels, occurred in the PGB period. Two tombs (Vronda VII, IX) and possibly a third (Vronda IV) were used throughout all three periods. And one (Vronda V) appears to be Geometric only, as is seen by the Geometric sherds from within and perhaps also by its regularity of construction and different orientation.

In order to exercise control over Boyd’s earlier work at Vronda, we excavated in 1981 a new tomb (X) in the area. Vronda X is located to the north of Boyd’s group (Fig. 3). After clearing off the vegetation and the stones of a modern terrace wall which had been built over the tomb (Pl. 75:a), we laid out a trench 4.0 m. square and oriented north-south (Pl. 75:b).

The top and the limits of the tomb were easily definable since the native tsakali was quite different from the brown soil associated with the structure itself. On the top, the tomb appeared to be in the shape of a rough circle (diam. 2.80–3.00 m.), although the interior was that of a horseshoe, with the square end at the north (Fig. 7). In constructing the tomb, the stones were evidently laid against the tsakali; there is probably no good outer face, although we did not excavate the outside for fear of collapse. The capstone and top few courses were missing, but otherwise the tomb was well preserved. The entrance is on the north, through a long (1.0–1.04 m.) stomion (Fig. 7). The lintel was missing, but a large flat stone was found near by which could have served the purpose. In front of the stomion, a trench had been dug into the tsakali (Pl. 75:c).

The upper part of the interior was found filled with loose earth and stones (level 4; Fig. 7), with very little pottery, mostly non-diagnostic coarse ware. The stones were not the large ones which might have fallen in from the walls, and the whole fill appears to be material which sifted in or was thrown into the tomb over a period of time. Below this was a hard and rubbly layer with stones (level 5; Fig. 7, Pl. 75:d) which contained a PGB sherd with a horizontal chain of crosshatching (V20; Fig. 8, Pl. 77:h), as well as some green-glazed Byzantine pottery. Perhaps this layer represents material which was thrown back in after the grave was robbed. Level 5 gave way to a layer of earth containing large stones and a number of animal bones, some of them burned (level 6; Fig. 7). These stones may represent either
the collapse of the roof or a deliberate fill after robbing. Two fragments of PGB decorated pottery were found, along with a Byzantine yellow-glazed base. The floor was probably at the bottom of level 6, although it was hard to recognize owing to the disturbed nature of the
interior. Just below this level, at the termination of the walls, was a pit dug out of the tsakali (Fig. 7). The level of the dromos floor seems to have been slightly above (0.10–0.16 m.) that of the tomb; on the dromos floor were found a fragment of a PGB bowl and a skyphos handle, along with a large quantity of small stones, which may have formed part of the blocking of the stomion.

Clearly the tomb had been thoroughly looted, and not even many sherds had been left. At least one sherd from level 5 joined one from the surface, confirming that the contents were removed and the sherds scattered. There is no indication, however, that the dromos had been robbed.

The pit, 0.80 m. deep (Pl. 75:f), was cut into the tsakali below the walls and was filled with a great quantity of stones of all sizes, a little loose earth, and a large number of animal skeletons (level 7; Pl. 75:e). Preliminary study by Sheilagh Wall of Bristol University has shown that most of these animals were dogs, including puppies, with a lesser quantity of fox or marten and a few donkey bones. Some of the dogs, at least, must have been thrown into the pit whole, since the skeletons were fully articulated. They were not arranged neatly, but lay in various contorted positions, both horizontally and vertically through the fill. The stones seem to have been thrown in at the same time, possibly to cover up the bodies. Very little pottery was found in this fill; one fragment from the top of level 7 joined with a sherd from level 6, but the latter may easily have slipped down. Except for a few rims and bases, the pottery was non-diagnostic. This level, however, did yield the fragment of a bronze pin.

Below the loose stones and animal bones was a layer of softer, gravelly earth which extended to the tsakali (level 8); this represents the surface on which the animals were thrown. Level 8 also contained very little pottery, but what was found included a spout from a stirrup jar or duck vase and a fragment decorated with a guilloche pattern. A number of stones at the very bottom appeared to resemble some sort of small structure (Pl. 75:f), but no clear plan was discernible. The practice of digging a pit below the tomb and then putting in a dirt floor was observed in some of the other Vronda tombs, but nowhere is there a parallel for such a deep pit as occurs in Vronda X.

The history of Vronda X is difficult to reconstruct owing to the lack of artifacts from within. Sherds of PGB date were scattered throughout the fill. The best of these is V20 (Fig. 8, Pl. 77:h), a body sherd with a horizontal chain of crosshatching similar to that on the amphoriskos (V18) from Vronda IX. It has been argued that V18 belongs to PGB; the similarity of the decoration of V20 with that of V18 would suggest that the former also dates to the same period and indicates that the tomb was used in the PGB period. Whether or not Vronda X was built earlier in SM–EPG, in keeping with the majority of the others, is impossible to determine. It is similar architecturally in its materials and methods of construction and in the presence of a pit beneath the floor, and logic would suggest that it had a history similar to the other tombs, with the exception of Vronda V which appears to be later. The most interesting feature is the deep pit dug out of the tsakali beneath the walls. In places, the pit extends outward as much as 0.10 m. under the walls; this relationship indicates that the pit was dug before the tomb was constructed and argues for the contemporaneity of both tomb and pit.
It is not clear why the dog skeletons were thrown into the pit. If the pit were dug when the tomb was constructed, then it would be logical to suppose that the dogs were thrown in at the same time. Since the pit clearly extends under the tomb’s walls, it seems likely that it was dug first, then filled with dogs and rubble, and the tomb constructed over it with the burial(s) made on the floor over the pit. A second possibility, that the dogs were thrown in after the tomb was robbed, cannot be ignored, although it would be hard to explain why, if this were the case, the pit extends under the walls. We do not know when the tomb was robbed, but the presence of green and yellow-glazed Byzantine pottery suggests a date after the 11th–13th centuries after Christ.41 If the robbers dug out the entire tomb, including the pit, then the dogs might have been deposited afterwards.

Evidence for the burial of dogs in the ancient world, although not common, does exist; remains of these animals are occasionally found with human interments in the tholoi and chamber tombs of LH–LM III.42 The practice survives the Bronze Age and continues into the Geometric period,43 but afterwards, with the exception of isolated examples, it appears to die out. It has generally been assumed that these dogs were sacrificed to accompany and serve their masters in the afterlife.44 Close parallels, both geographic and chronological, to the dog burials of Vronda X can be found in the burial of animals, usually dogs with horses or donkeys, in pits at Prinias45 and Knossos,46 all dating from SM to Geometric. The pit in KMF Tomb 79 is particularly close, since human burials were made above it.47 It seems likely, therefore, that the dog burials of Vronda X represent part of the sacrifice for the deceased and that dogs were thrown into a pit which was dug and filled before the actual tomb was constructed. A more complete study of these bones will undoubtedly contribute additional information to our knowledge of dog burials on Crete.

41 The sherds are small and poorly preserved, but the glazes look like those of the Middle Byzantine period.
46 A bothros between Tomb F and a Geometric tomb at Teke contained an almost complete skeleton of a donkey mixed with dog and cow bones; cf. Catling, op. cit. (footnote 27 above), p. 16.
47 Tomb 79 at KMF contained a dog and two horse skeletons; above these was a secondary burial containing, amongst other vessels, two Early Orientalizing (EO) ash urns; cf. H. W. Catling, “Knossos, 1978,” JHS-AR, 1979, p. 50.
Boyd found four tholos tombs in 1901 at Aloni (now called Skala) below the peak of the Kastro (Pl. 73:d). We were able to locate and clear three of these: Aloni I, Aloni II, and Aloni IV (Fig. 9). No traces of Aloni III were found, but it was presumably one of those described by Blanche Wheeler in a letter to her brother (see footnote 13 above). She writes of the third and fourth tombs as small beehive structures, crushed in at the top where they were covered with a single slab. Sixteen perfect vases were found in one (unspecified), 15 in the other, as well as a large bathtub-shaped coffin made of coarse clay. Other finds mentioned include bronze pins, a gold ring, a bronze spear point, and pieces of knives, all still unwashed but dated by the shapes as Geometric. None of the pottery or other artifacts can now be identified with certainty.

Aloni I is certainly the largest tomb of those at Aloni or Vronda and second in size only to the tholos at Skouriasmenos. Although the notebook shows the structure as complete in plan, only the south side and part of the east and west walls are now preserved (Pl. 78:a). The tomb is rectangular in plan (Fig. 10), and the walls, which are constructed of the local flat schist, are more densely packed and have more courses than the Vronda tombs. The rectangular base begins to round into the circular, beehive superstructure in the fifth and sixth courses. The notebook drawing shows a short (1.0 m.) dromos, no longer in existence, to the north.

The notebook also reports a number of finds from within the tomb. These include two bronze bowls, 22 spindle whorls, one glass bead, one stirrup jar, two ceramic human heads, two animal-head spouts, fragments of pottery, one broken fibula, and three more fragments
of fibulas. The human heads may possibly be those now attached to a strainer (A21; Pl. 78:b) which Boyd subsequently published along with the two animal- (horse-) head spouts. These are the only two items that can be securely assigned to Aloni I. Their unusual nature makes it hard to date this tomb; matters are made more difficult by the fact that the cleaning in 1981 yielded only a few non-diagnostic body sherds. The strainer looks late in date, possibly Geometric. The size of Aloni I and the greater sophistication of construction over its counterparts at Vronda would also argue for a Geometric date. The presence of a stirrup jar, however, if correctly identified, suggests an earlier date, although the vessel might have been used as an heirloom.

Aloni II is another rectangular tholos; now only the south side and parts of the east and west walls are preserved (Pl. 78:c). The base begins to become circular in the second and third courses. The short (0.62 m.) entrance (it is not clear whether this is a stomion or a true

48 Published in Boyd, “Gournia,” p. 17, fig. 7, as from Aloni I. No mention of a strainer with anthropomorphic handles is made in the notebook.
dromos) runs across the slope of the hill to the west. Boyd found two pits in this structure and records in her notebook that three jugs and fragments of a thin bronze plate were recovered from within. Cleaning in 1981 produced only a few non-diagnostic body sherds.

Aloni IV was found in a poor state of preservation, with only the wall on the north side still standing (Pl. 78:e). Since a shallow pit had been dug into the bedrock to build the tomb, its outline was still visible. A short dromos or a long stomion (1.20 m.) served as the entrance on the west. During cleaning we found a fairly large amount of pottery on the floor, including many pithos fragments with rope, double-rope, and chevron designs. In the fill near the dromos, on the west side of the tomb, were fragments of a monochrome cup (A22; Fig. 8) and a skyphos, and on the east side were fragments of a skyphos (A23; Fig. 8) and a tall jug with a slender shape similar to that of an Early Orientalizing oinochoe (S25; Pl. 78:f) from the tholos at Skouriasmenos (Fig. 2). The presence of this jug suggests a possible LG date for Aloni IV.

Because the tombs are so poorly preserved, it is difficult to draw comparisons among them or with the Vronda group, but a few observations can be made. Like those at Vronda, the Aloni tombs are entered generally from the west or the north. Their shapes seem to be more regular than those at Vronda, with a predominately rectangular plan, and they are also larger in size.

Dating the Aloni group is a problem, since Boyd did not publish much of the material, nor can it still be found. The vessels which were published (the strainer and horse-head spouts) are unusual and difficult to date. The stirrup jar recorded as coming from Aloni I would suggest an SM–EPG date comparable to the first phase at Vronda, but the jug found in 1981 is probably LG. The history of the Aloni tombs may parallel the three phases suggested for Vronda, namely SM–EPG, PGB, and EG–MG. This last phase, which is poorly represented at Vronda, is a major one at Aloni and extends into LG, indicating that when use of the Vronda cemetery ceased, the one at Aloni continued for another half century. The Aloni tombs probably served as the cemetery for the Kastro, as did the tombs at Plaï Tou Kastrou (Evans’ tombs) and at Skouriasmenos. The settlement on the Kastro, although occupied in PG times, is primarily Geometric.

Plaï Tou Kastrou and Skouriasmenos

Of the original 117 vases from Evans’ tombs on Plaï Tou Kastrou, 88 still exist in the Herakleion Museum. These range in date from SM–EPG to LG–EO. The tholos at Skouriasmenos had been systematically looted over a long period of time when Boyd visited the ridge in 1900. She found four whole vessels still within the tomb and was able to locate three others which were being used by the local villagers. These seven are also now in the Herakleion Museum and represent a homogeneous group belonging to the Late Geometric–Early Orientalizing period. Two representative vessels are illustrated here;49 these are an LG ovoid pithos (S24; Pl. 78:d) and the EO oinochoe (S25; Pl. 78:f) already mentioned. The tombs at Plaï Tou Kastrou and Skouriasmenos are particularly important since they add a fourth phase (LG–EO) to the three provisionally established at Vronda and indicate that

49 Others are illustrated by Levi, opp. cit. (footnote 8 above).
there are four main periods of activity at Kavousi between the 11th and 7th centuries B.C. During the first two phases, the ceramic material generally bears little resemblance to developments at Knossos and other areas of central Crete. The practice of inhumation and the use of stone-built tholoi also diverge from what occurs at the Knossos cemeteries (Fortetsa, KMF, Teke) where cremation in chamber tombs or pit graves is the norm. It is possible, therefore, that our SM-EPG and PGB phases belong to a true Eteocretan period in which developments occur independently from central Crete. And it is not until the third, or Geometric, phase that we see relations with other parts of the island developing at Kavousi.

RIDOPOULIA

On the ridge called Ridopoulia across a torrent bed and east of the modern village of Kavousi (Fig. 2) a number of rock shelters were called to our attention. Two of these, which lie on opposite sides of a terrace on the north slope of the ridge, were said to have contained burials. In one of the two tombs, Ridopoulia II (Pl. 79:a), a clay larnax and a number of pots, probably of LM III date from the description, were found by the local landowner. Of the other tomb, Ridopoulia III (Pl. 79:b), no indication now remains of what its contents might have been.50

50 The local landowner, Mr. Grammatakakis, was the chief source of information about these two tombs. According to him, the tomb on the east side of the terrace (our Ridopoulia III) was excavated by his father and
A third rock shelter, Ridopoulia I, found above and to the southeast of this terrace, was investigated by us, and, although robbed, is also thought to have contained a burial, possibly of LM III date. This tomb is in a cavelike recess under an overhanging outcrop of rock (Pl. 79:c). The front of this recess was partially closed off by two large stones, one at either side of the opening. The outside limit of the tomb was clear, however, because of a deposit of cobble-sized stones around the edges (Fig. 11). This deposit of stones may have served as a packing for a wall in front, or it may represent the surface on which the tomb was built. The same deposit of cobble-sized stones was also found within the recess, along the south and southeast sides, where the stones sloped up to the bedrock and helped to fill in holes in the rock (Pl. 80:a).

The recess formed by the bedrock of the cave and the deposit of cobble-sized stones was roughly oval in shape and measured 1.40 m. (north-south) by 1.04 m. (east-west; Fig. 11). Along the east side, two low spur walls protruded from under an overhang of rock on the cave wall. These spur walls formed a rough rectangle measuring 0.62 m. by 0.44 m., possibly having served to support a larnax or pithos (Pl. 79:d). A large number of pithos sherds (R9; Fig. 13) found in and around the tomb were perhaps from a burial jar; no larnax fragments were recognized.

Some probes were made beneath the cobble-sized stones at the southeast side of the recess, where we found large holes in the bedrock filled with extremely hard soil, like stereo, but containing many sherds of non-diagnostic coarse pottery. It would seem from this deposit that the cave had an earlier use and that it had been partially filled in before the cobble stones were laid and the burial made. There is no clear indication of the date of this earlier use.

Although the tomb had been robbed, apparently recently, some fragments of pottery were recovered from inside the tomb and others were found scattered around the exterior, mixed with modern debris. Some had been gathered by the local landowner and secreted near by. The majority of the fine sherds recovered came from a single vessel, a straight-sided alabastron (R1; Fig. 12, Pl. 80:b), and there were many fragments of a second similar vessel (R2; Pl. 80:c). Although common on the mainland in LH IIIA2–B, the shape is rare on Crete, particularly after LM IIIA1; a close parallel, however, both in shape and decoration, can be found from a tomb at Gournes of LM IIIA2 or IIIB date. Also of interest is a small globular jar (R3; Fig. 12) with lustrous red paint on the exterior. Most of the pottery is undecorated, but one fragment (R4; Fig. 12, Pl. 80:d) has running spirals of a type which finds most parallels in the LM III period, although such spirals do begin as early as LM IB.

Richard Seager; he remembered no details of the discovery, nor was it ever published. The second tomb (our Ridopoulia II) he claimed to have dug himself, approximately 35 years ago (1945/46), and he said that the pottery and larnax were sent to either Marinatos or Platon at the Herakleion Museum. No record of this material has been found in the Museum.

51 A short spur wall was found blocking the southwest side. The construction of this wall, of loose stones without any mortar, looked suspiciously modern, and the discovery of modern glazed pottery beneath the wall confirms it as a recent construction.

52 A. Furumark, Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification, Stockholm 1972, Shape 94.

53 Kanta, p. 279.

Other fine wares (Fig. 12) include closed vessel fragments (R5), a conical cup (R6), and various other parts from cups and bowls (R7, R8).

If the tomb dates to LM III, as the little diagnostic pottery suggests, then there is a surprising scarcity of typical LM III shapes. Particularly surprising is the absence of kylix or stirrup-jar fragments, since these two are the most common LM III forms, particularly in tomb groups.\(^{55}\) There are, however, no shapes or motifs which would clearly indicate an earlier date, and the material is most likely not post-Minoan, since conical cups like R5 (Fig. 12), for example, do not often occur after the Bronze Age. The only possible explanation for the absence of typical LM III forms is that the vessels were removed by the tomb robbers, who left the alabastron merely because it was so shattered. Another interesting observation about this group of pottery is that it contains a high percentage of coarse ware (Fig. 13) for a grave group, including pithos fragments (R9), portions of closed (R10) and open (R12, R13) vessels, and the upper part of a krater (R11; Fig. 13, Pl. 80:e), although possibly some of this coarse ware could have been left from the earlier use of the rock shelter.

The rock shelter, Ridopoulia I, despite its lack of characteristic tomb pottery, is still most reasonably identified as a tomb, because similar shelters on the terrace below, most notably Ridopoulia II which contained a larnax burial, served as tombs. Larnax burials in rock shelters were a customary form of burial during the LM III period in the Isthmus of Ierapetra; they are well attested at near-by Pacheia Ammos\(^{56}\) and Gournia.\(^{57}\) Therefore, it appears that the locality of Ridopoulia is the site of the cemetery of an as yet unknown LM III inhabitation site in the Kavousi area.

RIDOPOULIA: CATALOGUE

All measurements are in meters.

**R1.** Straight-sided alabastron  
Fig. 12, Pl. 80:b  
Max. pres. H. 0.087; D. rim 0.15.

Mended from many small sherds into four large fragments, preserving profile from rim to mid-body and one handle; base missing. Fine, hard clay, sandwichlike, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6)\(^{58}\) on edges, pink (7.5YR 7/6) at core. Pink (7.6YR 7/4) slip. Streaky, now flaking, red (2.5YR 5/8) to reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) paint.

Sides slightly concave; sharply carinated shoulder; wide neck, slightly flaring rim; at least one round horizontal handle at juncture of body and shoulder, rising above shoulder. Horizontal bands on body; wavy line on shoulder; neck painted inside and out; handle painted.

**R2.** Straight-sided alabastron  
Pl. 80:c  
Max. pres. H. 0.078.

Two large fragments from shoulder and body, 22 non-joining body fragments; no neck, no handles, no base. Rather fine clay with dark stone inclusions, especially on the surface; sandwichlike, reddish yellow (5YR 7/6) on the edges, brown (7.5YR 5/4) at core. Pink (7.5YR 8/4) slip. Lustrous reddish yellow (5YR 7/6) paint, worn.

Body has slightly concave sides; sharply carinated shoulder. Horizontal stripes around body and juncture of shoulder.

Similar to R1 but larger.

\(^{55}\) Kanta, p. 244.


\(^{57}\) Boyd, “Gournia,” p. 20; Kanta, p. 140.

Fig. 12. Ridopoula I: vases R1–R8
R3. Small globular jar

Max. pres. H. 0.068; D. rim est. 0.06.

Mended from seven fragments, preserving profile from rim to lower body; base, half of body, most of rim, handles missing. Fine, hard, reddish yellow (7.5YR 8/6) clay. Lustrous red (10R 5/8) paint, badly worn on exterior.

Globular jar with short, wide neck and flaring rim. Wheel-ridging on interior. Monochrome exterior; inside has streaks and blobs of paint.

Cf. Kanta, pl. 61:8 (LM IIIA2).

R4. Fragment of closed vessel

Mended from four sherds. Fine, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 8/6); creamy, very pale brown (10YR 8/4) slip. Lustrous, but worn red paint (2.5YR 4/6).

Running spirals above bands.


Date: LM III(?)

R5. Fine wares: closed vessels

a (Fig. 12). Four joining fragments from shoulder, one from rim and handle of a jug or jar. Hard, gritty, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) clay; crackled, very dark gray (7.5YR N3/0) paint. Short, slightly flaring neck, round vertical handle from rim to shoulder.

b. Single sherd from rim and handle of jug or jar like R5a. Fine, hard, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay with inclusions. Possible traces of paint, but worn and encrusted. Flat, vertical handle, narrow at rim, widening below.

c (Fig. 12). Rim fragment of jar with outward-thickened rim. D. est. 0.16. Sandy yellow (10YR 8/6) clay, red (2.5YR 4/6) paint; surface badly encrusted.

d. Fragment of rolled rim. D. est. 0.18. Fine, yellow (10YR 7/6) clay, traces of red paint.

e (Fig. 12). Half of raised base. D. est. 0.095. Gritty, hard, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Black-to-red streaky paint on exterior.

f (Fig. 12). Fragment of ring base. D. est. 0.08. Fine, hard, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6). Traces of red paint. Grooves around attachment to body.

g (Fig. 12). Fragment preserving half of flat base. D. 0.06. Fine, hard, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6), with uneven surface. Surface encrusted, but apparently no paint.

h (Fig. 12). Flat base, less than half preserved. D. est 0.07. Very fine, hard, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) clay. Glossy red (2.5YR 4/6) paint. Bands around base on exterior.

i (Fig. 12). Fragment of slightly raised base. D. est. 0.05. Fine, hard, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) clay; possible traces of black paint. Grooves on interior, concentric circles on bottom.

j. Flat base. Fine, soft, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with traces of red paint. Whorl-shaped impression on bottom.

k. Four flat bases, 3 of reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) clay, one of very pale brown clay (10YR 8/3).

l. Fragment from neck. Hard, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) clay with inclusions. Crackled black paint. Blobs of clay added on interior where neck meets shoulder.

m. Two fragments from base of neck. Soft, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) clay, rather sandy. Glossy black paint. Two incised grooves around base of neck.

n. Fragment from base of neck. Fine, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6); black paint at base of neck.

o. Fragment from joint of body and neck. Gritty, very pale brown (10YR 8/4) clay, worn red paint. Band at joint.

p. Fragment of neck with handle attachment. Fine, hard, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6).

q. Fragment from body and handle attachment. Soft, reddish yellow (7.5YR 8/6) clay, badly encrusted; possible yellow slip (10YR 8/6). Black paint, almost entirely worn off. Bands below handle and band around attachment of round handle.

r. Fragment from near attachment of neck of jug or jar. Fine, very pale brown (10YR 8/4) clay. Band of black paint and collar at base of neck.

s. Fragment from near attachment of neck of jug or jar. Hard, pink (7.5YR 7/4) clay, coated with black paint on exterior, now worn. Four ridges below joint.

R6. Conical cup

H. est. 0.062; D. rim 0.09; D. base 0.04.

Half of base preserved and profile up to near rim; non-joining rim fragment and body fragments. Semifine, hard clay, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) in color, rather gritty, with inclusions. No slip, no paint.

Flat base, conical body, straight rim. Ridges on exterior up to near rim.
R7. Fine wares: cups and bowls
a (Fig. 12). Nine fragments from the same or similar cups, including tiny fragment of rim and ribbon handle. Very pale brown (10YR 7/4) clay, fine and hard. Worn, streaky black paint inside and out.
b (Fig. 12). Three fragments from rim. D. est. 0.06. Soft, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, fine, with inclusions. Dark reddish brown paint (5YR 3/4).
c (Fig. 12). Rim fragment. D. est. 0.10. Hard, very pale brown clay (10YR 8/4) and creamy slip inside and out; glossy, thick red paint (2.5YR 4/8). Band below rim on exterior.
d (Fig. 12). Three rim fragments. D. est. 0.17. Fine, soft, very pale brown clay and slip (10YR 7/3).
e (Fig. 12). Rim fragment. D. est. 0.08. Hard, very pale brown clay (10YR 8/4); traces of black paint inside and out.
f. Fragment of vertical rim. D. est. 0.11. Hard, very pale brown clay (10YR 8/4); red paint (2.5YR 4/8) inside and out.
g. Three non-joining vertical rim fragments. D. est. 0.05. Fine, hard, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6); thick, glossy red paint (10YR 4/8). Possible traces of added white on interior.
h (Fig. 12). Two joining and three non-joining fragments comprising half the flat base of a cup; rim and upper body missing. D. base est. 0.05. Medium hard, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6); surface worn and encrusted. Dark red (10YR 3/6) paint, badly preserved inside and out.
i. Fragment of carinated cup. Hard, reddish yellow (7.5YR 8/6) clay; traces of black-to-red paint inside and out. Incised grooves around carination.

R8. Fine wares: miscellaneous
a (Fig. 12). Fragment of vertical rim and round vertical handle attached at rim. Very pale brown (10YR 8/4) clay; worn black paint inside and out.
b. Fragment of vertical rim. D. est. 0.08. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/8) clay; dark reddish brown (5YR 3/3) paint.
c (Fig. 12). Four round handles, three of pale brown (10YR 8/4) clay, one of reddish yellow (5YR 6/6).
d (Fig. 12). Flat vertical handle. Very pale brown (10YR 8/4) clay; black paint inside and out.
e. Body sherd of fine, yellow clay (10YR 8/6); glossy red band on exterior, black monochrome interior.
f. Six body sherds with bands in black or red paint.
g. 108 non-diagnostic body sherds of fine ware.

R9. Coarse pithos fragments
a (Fig. 13). Three non-joining fragments of rim; three joining fragments, and one non-joining, of base; 14 body sherds. D. rim est. 0.35, D. base est. 0.32. Flat base; flat rim, outwardly thickened, with groove around bottom. Very coarse, strong brown clay (7.5YR 5/6) with dark stone inclusions and pale yellow (2.5YR 8/4) slip.
b (Fig. 13). Fragment of rim and three non-joining body sherds. D. est. 0.32. Coarse, reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6), gritty, with inclusions. Black paint on exterior.
c (Fig. 13). Rim fragment. D. est. 0.36. Very coarse, red (2.5YR 4/4) clay, with inclusions.

R10. Coarse ware: closed vessels
a (Fig. 13). Rim of jar. D. est. 0.15. Very coarse, gritty and friable clay, dark red (2.5YR 3/6) with white inclusions; black at core.
b (Fig. 13). Folded-over rim from hole-mouthed (?) jar. Gritty red (2.5YR 5/6) clay.
c (Fig. 13). Rim fragment. Reddish brown clay (5YR 4/3) with white inclusions.
d (Fig. 13). Rim fragment. D. est. 0.22. Gritty, red (2.5YR 5/6) clay with stone inclusions.
e. Fragment of flaring rim, outwardly thickened. Gritty, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) clay.
g (Fig. 13). Rim fragment. D. est. 0.04. Dark gray (2.5YR N4/0) clay, with white inclusions.
h (Fig. 13). Vertical rim from jar or jug. Red clay (2.5YR 5/8). Grooves on interior.

j. Two joining and two non-joining fragments of neck or shoulder of straight-sided alabastron (?). Hard, gray (7.5YR N5/0) clay with white sand inclusions.
k. Fragment from leg of tripod. Very coarse, red (2.5YR 5/6) clay with stone inclusions.

R11. Coarse krater Fig. 13, Pl. 80:e
D. rim est. 0.20.
Four joining sherds from rim and handle of krater; 6 non-joining sherds. Coarse light brown (7.5YR 6/4) clay, very pale brown (10YR 7/4) slip. Black paint, badly worn.
Fig. 13. Ridopoula I: vases R9–R13

R12. Coarse wares: open vessels
a (Fig. 13). Rim of bowl. D. est. 0.17. reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, gritty, with stone inclusions. Traces of red paint. Ridges on interior and exterior.
b (Fig. 13). Rim fragment. D. est. 0.09. Semicoarse, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) clay with white and black sand inclusions. Painted?
c (Fig. 13). Rim fragment of shallow bowl. D. est. 0.09. Semicoarse, very pale brown clay (10YR 7/6) with dark inclusions. Possible traces of red paint.
d. Rim fragment of shallow bowl. Coarse, reddish yellow (5YR 5/6) clay with white inclusions.
e. Rim of bowl(?). D. est. 0.12. reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay; black paint.
f (Fig. 13). Rim fragment of shallow bowl. D. est. 0.80. reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay.
g (Fig. 13). Rim fragment from large bowl. Very coarse, red (2.4YR 5/6) clay with white and black inclusions.
h (Fig. 13). Rim fragment of basin. Very coarse, red (2.5YR 5/6) clay with white and dark inclusions.
i (Fig. 13). Rim fragment from basin. D. est. 0.30. Sandy, reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6) clay with white stone inclusions.

R13. Coarse wares: miscellaneous
a (Fig. 13). Flat base. D. 0.03. reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay.
b. Fragments of 11 flat bases. Coarse, red (2.5YR 5/6) clay.
c. Fragment from near bottom of small base. Coarse, reddish brown (5YR 4/3) clay.
d (Fig. 13). Fragments of two horizontal lug handles of coarse, red clay (2.5YR 4/6).
e (Fig. 13). Fragments of 6 coarse, flat handles of red (2.5YR 4/6) clay with white inclusions.
f (Fig. 13). Fragments of 6 coarse, round handles of red (2.5YR 4/6) clay with inclusions of reddish yellow (5YR 5/6) clay.
g. Two elliptical handles of reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6) clay.
h. Fragment from top of jar(?).
i. 152 non-diagnostic, coarse body sherds.

R14. Glazed wares
a. Fragment of glazed rim. D. 0.34. Fine, hard, brown clay (7.5YR 5/4); white and olive-yellow (2.5YR 6/6) glaze, inside and out.
b. Fragment from joint of neck and shoulder, sharply carinated. Coarse, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) clay, brown glaze.
c. Two fragments of white porcelain.

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59 The order of authors’ names listed below is arbitrary, since all three have contributed equally to this article.
4. a. Siteia Mountains behind plain and village of Kavousi, from north

b. Kastro from Vronia, from west

c. Vronia from path to Kastro, from east

d. Aloni from west
a. Vronda I from south

b. Vronda II from southwest

c. Vronda IV from west

d. Vronda V from south

e. Vronda VI with blocking in stomion, from west

f. Vronda IX from northwest

a. Vronda X before excavation, from north

b. Vronda X in 4.0 m. trench, from north

c. Vronda X: level 5, from north

d. Vronda X from south

e. Vronda X: level 7 with dog bones, from north

f. Vronda X: interior pit from north

a. Vronda II: lentoid flask **V2** (Subminoan)
b. Vronda IV: askos **V4** (Subminoan)
c. Vronda IV: bird vase **V5** (Subminoan)
d. Vronda IV: stirrup jar **V6** (Early Protogeometric)
e. Vronda IV: jug/aryballos **V7** (Protogeometric B)
f. Vronda V: decorated pithos fragment **V10** (Geometric)
g. Vronda VII: belly-handled amphora **V11** (Protogeometric B)
h. Vronda VII: jug **V12** (Protogeometric B)
a. Vronda VII: lakaina V13 (Geometric)
b. Vronda VIII: stirrup jar V14 (Subminoan)
c. Vronda IX: kantharos V15 (Early Protogeometric)
d. Vronda IX: stemmed cup V16 (Early Protogeometric)
e. Vronda IX: cup V17 (Early Protogeometric)
f. Vronda IX: amphoriskos V18 (Protogeometric B)
g. Vronda IX: oinochoe V19 (Protogeometric B)
h. Vronda X: decorated sherd (Protogeometric B)

a. Aloni I from northeast

b. Aloni I: strainer A21 (Geometric)

c. Aloni II from north

d. Skouriasmenos: ovoid pithos S24 (Late Geometric)

e. Aloni IV from west

f. Skouriasmenos: oinochoe S25 (Early Orientalizing)
a. Ridopoulia I: cobblestones in interior, from north

b. Ridopoulia I: fragment of straight-sided alabastron R1 (Late Minoan III)

c. Ridopoulia I: fragment of straight-sided alabastron R2 (Late Minoan III)

d. Ridopoulia I: fragment of closed vessel R4 (Late Minoan III)

e. Ridopoulia I: fragment of coarse krater R11 (Late Minoan III)