Our information concerning the prehistoric tumuli of Achaea (Fig. 1) is fragmentary, obscure and, in part, debatable. Until now we knew of three MH tumuli at Aravonitsa and another two at Mirali, while a LH tumulus also exists in Agrapidia, Chalandritsa. These tumuli, though, cannot be properly studied, because our knowledge is restricted by the limited or even non-existent excavation reports, so that the sparse data that is available cannot be used in a fruitful manner. It is worth noting that Pelon in his catalogue refers only to the tumuli from Mirali. Thus, although in Achaean funerary customs tumuli do exist, their study has hardly anything to present. In archaeological literature Achaea is often ignored, so that it appears to be lagging behind regions such as Messenia, or Attica. The situation is somewhat similar in neighbouring Korinthia, in Aitolokarnania, across the channel, in Kephallenia, the largest of the Ionian islands and in Elis, regions with little or no evidence at all.

During the LH period at least, the existence of only one tumulus in Achaea can be attributed to the restricted Mycenaean presence in the region during the early and middle stages of the period, and the almost unique use of chamber tombs at a later stage.

Recent research of three tumuli at Portes, Achaea, which date from, or at least...
continued to be in use during the Early and Middle Mycenaean times, might drastically change our picture about the use of tumuli in Achaea and its wider region. To start with, we can now be certain about the presence of a population that was using family tumuli as a matter of custom. These tumuli continue the MH tradition, which is known in Achaea from Aravonitsa and Mirali. Furthermore, our knowledge concerning the graves and the funerary practices in the region is advanced, while at the same time obtaining comparative data in relation to the rest of the Mycenaean world.

The mountainous village of Portes is situated in SW Achaea, near the border with Elis (Fig. 2). The village, in existence at least since 1697, occupies the terraced steep SW foot of Mt. Skollis (modern Santamerianiko, Santameriotiko, Santameri), which is called Portaiko in this part. During the Middle Ages it was situated a little higher in the mountain, surrounded by a fortification wall, which was guarded in 1391 by Saint Jacob of Cyprus. The name of that village was also Portes (Les Portes). The area is mountainous, there are however some fertile upland fields and pastures.

The most prominent geomorphologic feature of the region is Skollis, a three-peaked rocky massif reaching an altitude of 1016 m. Its summit, unobscured by other mountains, can be seen from the whole west Achaea, as well as coastal Aitolia. Those travelling in the Ionian Sea lose sight of Skollis only after they have sailed for a considerable distance. Thus, the region of Portes can be easily traced and Mt. Skollis must have been a reference point in antiquity, especially for sailors.

Indeed, the geomorphologic features of the region are such that the name Portes (=passing of a gateway) at least since the Middle Ages, indicates the characteristics mentioned by name. The strategic important of the region for the control
of the passage must have been recognised since prehistoric times. It is worth noting the reference of a French chronicle to Mt. Santameri as “Escuel de la montagne des Aventures”. It would be most interesting to clarify whether the name Portaiko was prior to the village-name. It is, though difficult to avoid comparing this region to its northern namesake Elian Pylos. The worship of Hades, unique in antiquity, which is implied in Homer and clearly stated by Pausanias, reflects an older tradition connecting Elian Pylos with the Gates of the Underworld and the kingdom of death. This tradition could very well be combined with the caves of Portaiko, namely the Neraidotrypa (or Kalogerotrypa) and the Korakofolia, to name a few, among several, caves occupied by hermits during Byzantine times.

The prehistoric cemetery occupies a low hill about 1500 m to the east of the village of Portes and close to a water-spring called Kefalovryso. To the north of the spring and the cemetery, in an area known as Porta Petra or simply Porta, a survey has located the ancient settlement. Sherds from all periods of the Bronze Age were collected, while its occupation continued in the Hellenistic period. In the past, E. Mastrokostas had found Neolithic remains in the nearby cave of Korakofolia.

The prehistoric settlement (Fig. 3) is situated on the summit plateau of a low hill, but later spread towards its slopes reaching Kefalovryso. The foundations of houses, though badly damaged, are still preserved on these slopes, while on the summit of the hill a considerable accumulation of deposits covers the remains. The excavation of the specific site would be of great interest to the region, since the depth of stratigraphical layers to be expected would solve many problems.

On the summit terrace of the cemetery three tumuli (A, B, C) were partly excavated. The excavation was carried out...
under particular conditions, for the tumuli had been repeatedly looted in the past and were partly destroyed. This intervention must have started during the Mycenaean period, when, due to the presence in the area of suitable rock formations, the common practice of inhumations in chamber tombs was followed. In the process of organising the cemetery of chamber tombs within the existing one, many of the tumuli graves were destroyed and their building material was re-used for walling up the entrances of the chamber tombs and for lining parts of the sides of the dromoi, where the rock was friable. Twelve chamber tombs have been excavated so far, spanning a use-period from the LH IIIA to the LH IIIC. Although the evidence is not available yet, it is possible that the cemetery was first used during the LH IIB, as is the case in many of the cemeteries in Achaea. Chamber tomb 3 lies beneath tumulus C and could be characterised as an under-tumulus monument.

Among the other finds the tomb contained an intact burial of an early LH IIIC warrior/official.

The tumuli were part of a large cemetery, whose full extent will be appreciated in due course, after the excavation of the most vulnerable chamber tombs have been completed.

**Tumulus A**

It is situated on the central part of the hill (Fig. 4). It was formed by the accumulation of brown – dark brown earth (Munsell 7.5 YR, 4/4) mixed with fine gravel and held in place by a stone ring (peribolos) that was partly uncovered in the east. This ring was made of medium sized stones, which are abundant in the area, and is preserved in places up to a height of...
of three rows. The earth accumulation had an average thickness of 0.40 m and was only preserved on the tumulus' eastern side. The small part of the deposit that has been removed was gradually becoming thinner towards the stone ring and gave no characteristic pottery. The tumulus included five tombs. To the north there are three, cut in the bedrock (A1, A2, A3), all of them plundered. Tomb A1 is architecturally intact. It is a rectangular built chamber tomb with horizontal roof, using one of the short sides as a stomion. Small slabs were used for its construction, built in horizontal rows, while three large and heavy slabs were used as a cover. Its long sides slant gradually upwards. A bronze ring was recovered from the tomb's disturbed deposit. Tombs A2 and A3 were partly destroyed. Architecturally, they are similar to A1, their main difference being that their short sides have the form of an entrance with pillars, closed by a dry-stone wall. They must have been covered in a similar way, although none of the covering slabs were found in the vicinity. This could be an indication that they were removed in antiquity. The possibility that they were shaft-graves roofed with wooden planks and other perishable materials is not likely, due to the fact that the tombs were found at a shallow depth and were definitely covered by the small deposits that had accumulated over their lip. It should be noted that there is no evidence of a tomb with a stomion roofed with perishable materials, since such an arrangement would be meaningless. As seen in the tombs in Argos, the replacement of perishable roofs by slabs was made as a matter of convenience, first in shaft graves, before or during the appearance of the built chamber tombs. Instructive is the case of tomb Π in Mycenae which is covered with an apsidal roof and had replaced a shaft-grave. Thus, tombs A2 and A3 belong to the type of rectangular built chamber tombs with horizontal roof. In the eastern part of the tumulus the remains were found of a fourth destroyed cist tomb (A4). Its sides are constructed with upright slabs and another, horizontal, slab was used for the floor. Although it was found uncovered, amidst a deposit of black-earth and probably partly disturbed by tomb-robbers, the flexed lower limbs of a primary burial were preserved, accompanied by a small golden leaf decorated with linked argonauts and a steatite sealstone, dating to the LH IIIA:2-B period. A similar, almost completely destroyed tomb, A5, was found at the southern part of the tumulus.

A few finds were recovered from the disturbed deposit covering the tumulus, which cannot, however, be associated with any of the tombs A1, A2, or A3. Among them were sherds of Vapheio cups of LH II A date (Fig. 5.1-2), the neck of a bur-
nished LH I stamnos with vertical handles and pale-reddish slip, as well as a small oval sherd (Fig. 5.3) with a pair of perforations that was probably used as a pendant.

Cist graves were built during the Late Mycenaean period, as manifested by the tombs A4 and A5. This practice, which was rather rare, yet not unknown to the rest of the Mycenaean world, was attributed by Deilaki to the “perpetuation of family traditions.” At this point, it should be stressed that we expect the forthcoming discovery of an under-tumulus chamber tomb.

‘Tumulus B

It lies at the northern end of the plateau and is covered by an accumulation of earth, the upper layer of which is black (Fig. 6). Even though the observed accumulation is not clearly associated with this construction, it covers a neatly built stone ring (peribolos), as in the case of the tumulus in Aphidna. The peribolos is constructed of small stones arranged in horizontal rows. It was unearthed by chance during the excavation and its southern section had tumbled down. Considering the fact that the peribolos is a well-built, double-faced construction, one could argue that we are dealing with a possible grave circle. It has an average thickness of 0.40 m while in height it goes beyond 1.30 m. The current research was confined to the summit of the tumulus, where three plundered cist graves had been located (B1, B2?, B3). Grave B1 was inserted in the east section of the peribolos, which was dismantled down to the level of the grave floor. The long sides of the grave were lined with large, vertically placed slabs, while the remaining parts of the peribolos served as short sides and were rebuilt with small stones. The grave was initially covered with large slabs, a number of which lay scattered in the surrounding area – including the one removed by tomb robbers, while two slabs had fallen in the interior. With the exception of a few bones recovered from the fill of the grave, there were no other finds in the interior. From the destroyed grave B2? only a few small slabs had survived that lay in alignment at the top of the fill. A fragmentary goblet (FS 264) of the LH I-IIA period and the shoulder of a small pyriform jar dating to LH IIIA were either recovered from the immediate vicinity, or from the grave itself. Grave B3 had been better preserved. It was constructed of small upright slabs that were filled in with small, dry-stone built walls of horizontal rows. The covering slabs had either been removed, or had fallen towards the interior. A small handless jar was recovered from the inside of the grave, while another example was found in the immediate vicinity. Both specimens (FS 77) are monochrome, like a few examples from Elis and from Achaea, unlike the usual dotted variety. They date to the LH IIIA period.

The better-preserved graves B1 and B3 exhibit a notable difference in construction to the ones in Tumulus A. Of course, as in the case of A4 and A5, they too attest the use of cist-graves during the Late Mycenaean period, contemporary with that of an organised chamber tombs cemetery in the same locality. However, it should be stressed that these graves do not relate to the period of construction and first use of ‘Tumulus’ B, whose investigation should continue deeper.

Tumulus C

It is situated at the eastern part of the plateau and is severely damaged (Fig. 7). There are no surface signs to indicate the existence of a tumulus, with the exception of a few traces of a ring-wall (peribolos) consisting of a row of slabs, at the eastern and northern sides. What has remained of the tumulus’ fill is a number of small piles of earth produced by tomb-robbers, consisting of mainly black deposits that have been greatly disturbed. The disturbance, however, dates to the LH I phase and continued during the Late Mycenae phase, as will be shown in due course. The extensive damage inflicted upon the fill...
and the recurrent nature of these disturbances, have not made possible the study of the site's stratigraphy. Three rectangular built chamber tombs came to light, all of them badly damaged. Tomb C1 (Fig. 8) occupies the centre of the tumulus and has very large dimensions (8 \times 1.60 m). In the process of laying down the foundations, tombs C2 and C3 were destroyed, thus C1 is the latest in date of the three. Some of the material from the dismantling of the tombs must have been used in the construction of this monumental tomb, which is made of small slabs in horizontal rows and has a stomion with pilasters at one of its short sides. The eastern of its long sides has been almost entirely dismantled, apart from a few foundation stones. Its building material, including many stones of the other sides, was removed during the Late Mycenaean period together with the covering slabs, which were not detected in the vicinity. The small slabs were reused in the dry masonry of the chamber tombs, or in the linings of their dromoi. At the rear part of the floor, below a pile of small slabs that lay in disorder (only in that part of the tomb), a few decayed bones were piled up, as if they were intentionally but carelessly covered up, either for protection or in showing respect, even though there was no apparent evidence of ancestral worship. The remains of the burial layer produced a piriform jar (Fig. 9.1), a hight-based cup (Fig. 9.2), six one-handled small jugs (Fig. 9.3), a jug with cut-away neck, six two-handled kantharoi (Fig. 9.4-5), two clay whorls and a bronze one-edged knife, dating from the LH IA to the LH II period. Tomb C2 lies directly to the east of C1. Little has remained of the tomb's construction: one of the long sides, consisting of flat stones laid in horizontal rows, is preserved at a low height, in addition to part of the stomion of one of the short...
sides that was covered with a pile of stones; the possible remains of the dry-wall. A pile of decayed bones was found on the floor of the tomb, among with five one-handled jugs, a tall straight-sided cup (Fig. 9.6), a double-handled amphoriskos with a tall base and a clay whorl, all dating to the LH IA period. Tomb C3 lies directly to the north of C1, it was of similar construction and its short side was destroyed. The tomb was found empty of its contents.

The recovery of grey Minyan ware, which is represented by a jug discovered in tomb C1 and by a double-handled amphoriskos and two jugs from the earlier tomb C2, is of considerable importance. It is characterised by the presence of both light-grey and dark-grey fabrics, as well as by the absence of well-smoothed surfaces, perhaps a local characteristic of the ware’s late appearance. Matt painted pottery has not been recorded so far. However, survivals of MH shapes, mostly of matt painted ware and of Minyan ware (to a lesser extent) are evident in the pottery finds (rim-handled jugs, jug with cut-away neck, straight-sided cup, kantharoi), while only two vases belong to the characteristic Mycenaean repertoire (FS 27, 212). The life span of this advanced phase of MH ware covers chronologically the entire LH IA period and part of LH IB. Compared to the early wares of Samiko and Makryia ‘tumuli’ in Elis, the LH I ceramics from Portes exhibit a higher degree of conservatism. That in itself is indicative of a smooth transition to the LH period, even though evidence on the MH period is still lacking. In dating the kantharoi of tomb C1 to the LH IA (-B) period and not earlier, apart from comparative finds, the material of the destroyed tomb C2 is important, serving as a terminus ante quem.

The excavation of this particular tumu-
The monumental built chamber tomb C1. Note the preserved height of one of the long sides near the stomion, which supported the adjacent dromos of CT3. Judging by that piece of evidence, we deduce that the destruction of the tumuli began in the Late Mycenaean period.

Lus can by no means be considered complete. However, two of its tombs (C1, C2) allow some insight into its use, at least during the LH period. As far as tomb C1 is concerned, we can place its construction in the LH IA phase with relative certainty. Unfortunately, we cannot determine whether it had replaced some other construction at the centre of the tumulus, and probably never will. That is because the foundations of this monumental tomb lay deeper than the floors of the pre-existing tombs C2 and C3, thus resulting in the destruction of the entire central part of the tumulus.

Conclusions

In this section, it will not be attempted to give a detailed account of all known tumuli on the mainland in order to determine similarities and differences, however crucial that may be to the present study. However, one should mention the striking similarities with the tumuli at Marathon, on which Dickinson notes that they "... are notable for their structures rather than their goods, and seem rather special". The tumulus at Agrapidia in Chalandritsa also seems similar, while the MH tumuli at Mirali and, possibly at Aravonitsa are different. In the region of Elis, many similarities are noticed with the tumuli at Samiko, so as to make us speculate that we are dealing with a relevant group. In this way, we place certain regional characteristics of funerary architecture and burial practices in western Greece to the beginning of LH period. Naturally, we should not look very far for the place of origin of these particular burial practices. Gimbutas’s and Hammond’s theory, according to which the bearers of these funerary practices in tumuli are associated with the Kurgan civilization, which spread southwards from...
coastal Albania and the Ionian islands to Attica and the SW Peloponnese, has received a lot of criticism. This is because of the great lapse of time between the tumuli that were discussed, and because of their differences in burial practices. The above argument was also questioned because it relied exclusively on the presence of tumuli, considering their mere existence crucial to the theory, while it is not.

Worth noting are the rectangular built chamber tombs A1-A3 and C1-C3. Such tombs can be found in various parts of the Mycenaean world, yet they do not belong to a deeply rooted tradition. Their appearance is roughly contemporary to tholos tombs (e.g. late MH) and as the latter, antedate the introduction of the chamber tombs. They have been found within the limits of tumuli (e.g. Argos, Vrana, Samikon, Portes) and cist cemeteries (e.g. Eleusis, Psara, Iolkos?), but they are more commonly found in small groups of two or three, or even isolated. In some cases they have been inserted in earlier constructed tumuli (e.g. Vrana, Samikon, Portes?), just like pits, cists and pithoi. One example (Tzannata) is referred to as an “ossuary” of the nearby tholos tomb. Several variations on construction, which are mainly related with dromoi, entrances and roofs, appear to be of no significance concerning their chronology. They might, however, be useful as evidence of relations and influences, or otherwise only reflect local peculiarities.

There also exist circular, oval and apsidal built chamber tombs (see below), which are clearly predominant in Messenia and Laconia and probably associate their origin with tumuli and tholos tombs.

The best known rectangular built chamber tombs are those from the area of Argos. Examples from Krokees in Laconia, Medeon of Phocis, Thebes in Boeotia, Pharsala and Pefkakia in Thessaly, the tumuli I, II and IV at Vrana Marathon, Eleusis, Delos, Archontiki on Psara, Lazarides on Aigina, Koukounaries on Paros, Lygaria on Naxos, a few tombs from the tumuli at Samikon and a single specimen from Babes in Elis, are included in the short catalogue of known sites. The “ossuary” near the royal tholos tomb at Tzannata in Poros, Kephallenia is the sole example known from the Ionian Islands, yet of considerable significance. To the built chamber type belongs the grandest of all examples, tomb P of Grave Circle B. According to Choremis, tomb 2 Niketopoulou at Karpophora is another example of built chamber tomb. Besides, the use of a stomion is also found in the cist graves T.188 and T.198 at Nea Ionia in Volos. However, one should not fail to mention the tombs with a side entrance (Gamma type) at the Eleusis cemetery, Medeon in Phokis, at Lefkandi in Euboea, grave 1 of tumulus B at Dendra, tombs I and II at Thorikos in addition to two tombs at Ayios Antonios at Pharsala. Characteristic, though of different construction, is the built side-chamber with a horizontal roof of the “Treas-ury of Minyas”, as well as the small built niche in the tholos tomb at Vasiliko in Messenia.

As far as construction is concerned, the tombs in question exhibit similarities with the built apsidal – horse-shoe shaped type. L. Parlama has already associated the Messenian apsidal tombs with MH apsidal houses and has regarded the type as clearly Messenian, nevertheless, leaving open the issue of Cretan influence, if any. The well-known Cretan monumental examples, on one hand those at Maleme, at Damania and tomb B at Praisos, and on the other hand the A and B examples at Mouliana and the tomb at Vourlia, have led Choremis to the conclusion that the tomb at Kar- pophora “faintly recalls the monumental built chambers of Crete”.

Turning to the issue of origin and appearance of the built chamber tomb on the Greek mainland, this requires thorough study and lies beyond the scope of the present paper. It should be noted that their appearance could be explained if viewed as part of a general scheme of experimentation that led to the formulation of the typical Mycenaean tombs. These changes in mortuary practic-
es had already appeared in MH III. Also, the presence of a stomion is clearly related to the practice of multiple burials and family sepulchres,\textsuperscript{109} which was gradually adopted since the late MH period. In certain cases, they have served as an alternative solution to chamber tombs, when suitable rock for cutting was lacking.\textsuperscript{110} But this is not the rule as there are cases where chamber tombs and built chamber tombs exist at the same cemetery. However, as Dickinson has argued on their origin, they seem to have much in common with the simple built cist graves.\textsuperscript{111} E. Sapouna – Sakellaraki\textsuperscript{112} also regards “the tomb at Lefkandi as linking the shaft grave with the built cist types …”. As a conclusion, built chamber tombs probably form an advanced stage of cist and (probably) shaft graves and as the latter, they were never used intramurally.

Similarities in construction are also to be found with the tholos tombs.\textsuperscript{113} Certain tombs on the Greek mainland belong to a formative stage between a tholos tomb and a built chamber monument and sometimes are referred to as “pseudo-tholoi” or “tholos-like structures”, which are free-standing or in complex tumuli. The majority of these tombs date to the LH IIIA-B period and examples are known from Alea\textsuperscript{114} in Arcadia; Arkines\textsuperscript{115} and Analipsi\textsuperscript{116} in Laconia; Vlachopoulo\textsuperscript{117}, Fourtsovysi\textsuperscript{118} and Gouvalari\textsuperscript{119} in Messenia; Keri\textsuperscript{120} in Zakynthos; Velousia\textsuperscript{121} and Oxyliithos\textsuperscript{122} in Euboea; Medeon,\textsuperscript{123} Sesklo,\textsuperscript{124} Larisa,\textsuperscript{125} Spilia,\textsuperscript{126} Rachmani\textsuperscript{127} and Anavra\textsuperscript{128} in Thessaly, and possibly in Kephallenia.\textsuperscript{129} Therefore, it should be noted that the built chamber tombs were linked to the tholos tombs and the apsidal tombs through a system of mutual-borrowing, as far as conception and construction is concerned.

The formative period of the rectangular built chamber type seems to have been of short duration and should be placed in the latest phase of the MH period, as we can see from tumulus I at Marathon and probably in the recently excavated tumuli at Samiko. The present deduction is of great significance, since at precisely the same period, the first beehive tholos tombs monuments appear, for which a mainland, and more specifically a Messenian, origin has been argued.\textsuperscript{130} Thus, the construction of the built chamber tombs should be associated with the Mycenaean period and be regarded as a new and innovative construction that can hardly be associated with the late MH period, as is the case with tholos tombs. In this respect, finds of MH tradition that may have derived from rectangular built chamber tombs could belong to the Mycenaean period, instead.\textsuperscript{131}

The evolution of the built chamber type is evident in the construction of tomb P, at Grave Circle B in Mycenae, which was reconstructed as the above type, with a saddle-shaped roof, and for which a Syrian and Cypriot origin was sought. Even though the largest rectangular built chamber tomb known so far, Tomb C1, reveals dependency on pre-existing practices, total ignorance of the beehive tholos tombs monuments or lack of technical knowledge,\textsuperscript{132} it was built on a monumental scale, equivalent to that of the tholos tombs. Is this an indication of social power and richness? Evidence concerning the cemetery in the early and middle period is still lacking, so as to safely reach such a conclusion.

Furthermore, the large dimensions indicate the transition from the custom of burying family members in groups of family sepulchres (cist and pits, tumuli) to the innovation of using a single family tomb (tholos tomb, chamber tomb), a Mycenaean custom that originated in the MHIII.

In the Geometric period, the built chamber tombs survive in several variations, even in northern Greece where they were known in prehistoric times.\textsuperscript{133} In Achaea, we are aware of two tombs associated with geometric finds: at Skoros in Chalandritsa\textsuperscript{134} and at the tumuli in the valley of Pharai.\textsuperscript{135} It is possible that in the latter area there exist three more tombs of the Geometric period.\textsuperscript{136}
Taking into account the comparative data and the pottery finds (however fragmentary they may be), the period of construction and use of the rectangular built chamber tombs at Portes should be placed within LH IA-IIA (-B?), and not earlier. However, the above dating does not necessarily apply to the construction of the tumuli, a topic to which we will return in due course, when the excavation of the deepest layers has been completed.

Summing up our discussion, we may state that the earliest phase of use of the tumuli at Portes, but not necessarily that of their construction, is placed within LH IA period (tumuli A and C) and is characterised by the construction of rectangular built chamber tombs (A1-A3, C1-C3). Built cist graves are inserted in tumuli A and B during the LH IIIA-B period (A3, A4, B1, B2?, B3) and may be regarded as simple individual tombs, while there is no evidence, so far, for the continuous use of built chamber tombs until that time.137 During the Late Mycenaean period, the practice of burying the dead in chamber tombs predominates, as attested by the presence of a chamber tomb cemetery in the same area.

The completion of the excavation is bound to lead to “safer” conclusions. Until then, all of the above should be regarded as mere speculations that lie within one’s judgement.

General Abbreviations

EH Early Helladic
FM Furumark Motif
FS Furumark Shape
LH Late Helladic
MH Middle Helladic
I warmly thank the ex-director of the 6th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Dr. Lazaros Kolonas, who has entrusted me with the supervision of the excavation. His help during the past years has been invaluable. He has attended closely all stages of the excavation and has contributed in a number of ways, from raising funds, to organizing and conducting the excavation, making decisions at crucial moments. Discussing with him and exchanging views, not only during the excavation but also in the process of compiling the present paper, has been extremely valuable to me. The undivided support of all stages of the excavation and has contributed in a number of ways, from raising funds, to organizing and conducting the excavation, making decisions at crucial moments. Discussing with him and exchanging views, not only during the excavation but also in the process of compiling the present paper, has been extremely valuable to me. The undivided support of all stages of the excavation.

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NOTE 1

NOTE 2
My colleague A. Vondhos has recently located three prehistoric tumuli, see Vondhos 1995, in print. A number of MH Minyan vases, found at the same site in the past, were either left behind by robbers or peasants, or belong to an old, forgotten excavation (as it is even now clear from an open trench), conducted in one of the tumuli by Zafeiropoulos, see Daux 1956, 291. Schachermeyer 1957, 94. Aström 1964, 100. Syriopoulos 1964, 80, 344, 378. Papadopoulos 1978-79, 34 (no. 56), 50. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 86 (B40). Zavadil 1995, 21 (A2). Triantafyllou 1995, col. 231. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 36. A few unpublished vases from a chamber tomb at Arvomitsa (?), dating to the early LH IIIC period, kept in the storerooms of the museum at Aigion, belong to another, probably contemporary, excavation, see Kolonas 1995, 486.

NOTE 3

NOTE 4
1972, 92, 395. It is not mentioned by Pelon. Its omission by Müller 1989 and Cavanagh & Mee 1998, is also characteristic. During a recent survey that was conducted in the region, I noticed other tumuli. The site is known to local inhabitants as Agrapidia, Agrapidia/Agrapidies, Agrapidoula, Agrapidíta.

**NOTE 5**


**NOTE 6**


**NOTE 7**

Years ago, a tumulus was excavated near Stratos. Today, it is covered by the waters of the Stratos dam, see Soytiadis 1908, 100. Cf. Wace & Thompson 1912, 229. Hope Simpson 1965, 92-93 (no 315). Syriopoulos 1968, 111. Wardle 1977, 161-162. Sourcet 1986, 145. Wardle 1972, 40, 96, claims that it was “apparently similar to those in Lefkas”. A pebble filled tumulus at Loutrakí Katouna, is contemporary with the grave circles R. on Lefkas. Most probably there are more tumuli, see Kolonas 1988, 173. Kolonas 1990, 140-141. Kolonas 1995c, 111. Kolonas 1997, 60-62, fig. 26. Kolonas 1998b, 15-16, fig. on p. 14 (not included in Cavanagh & Mee 1998 catalogue). Possibly in Chalkis (K.Vasiliki), see Moschos 2000, in this volume. Recently, a depas amphiky- pellon, together with a few MH and Mycenaean sherds, were discovered at Thyrereion. The presence of a cemetery there is considered possible, yet we cannot be certain, unless an excavation is conducted. However, the above vessels are normally for burial ceremonies; see Korres 1984, 55-58. Korres 1989, 235. Similar ones have come from the neighbouring burial circles R10 and R27 on Lefkas, see Dorpfeld 1910 and R27 on Lefkas, see Dorpfeld 1910, 230, 248, 302-303, pls. 64,7 and 66,2a-3. Cf. Hammond 1974a, 138, fig. 3d. Also, at Paliki in Kephallenia, see Marinatos 1932, 13, fig. 14y. Recently at Kalamaki, Achaea; see Vasilogromvou 1995, 375, fig. 29. Dakoronia 1987, 52, includes to her catalogue a tumulus at Ag. Ilia, Mesollogi.

**NOTE 8**


**NOTE 9**

NOTE 10

NOTE 11

NOTE 12

NOTE 13
See Philipsson-Kirsten 1959, 197.

NOTE 14
The animal species and the vegetation of the region are notable. The general area of Mt. Erymanthus was well-forested in antiquity. Characteristic is the following reference taken from Homer’s Odyssey (c 102-104):

Οἵ δ’ ἀρτέμις ἐσι κατ’ οὐρά ἱγωμέα, ἢ κατά Τήνυγεν περικόμενον ἢ ἐρυμᾶθον, περιμένη κάπροτι καὶ ὕκειτο ἑλάφου[

NOTE 15
Kolonos 1995a, in print.

NOTE 16
The term Porta-Portes is Latin in origin and denotes the passing of a gateway. It is probably connected with the Venetian occupation in this region. In Achaea the place-name is also known at Skoura and at Zaroúcheíka – Patras, where it has the meaning of entrance to the city, see Triantafylleou 1995, 1699. The place-name is widely attested in Greece, see Πετρέακη Χρόνια, Α’, 90 and Θ’, 200. Concerning the site Portes with a small ancient fortification, near the outlet of river Acheloös, see Mastrokostas 1963, 213. About a passage in Fithiotida with the place-name Porta, see Aforadakis 1990, 367 (no. 2565). On Portes, Portites in the Argolid, see Vagiakos 1986, 343. Portes in the region of the Bay of Navarino, see McDonald & Rapp 1972, 264-265 (no 3). Porta or Portes in a narrow passage outside Kozani, see Karamitrou – Mentessid 1993, 380-381. Variations are also known: as Bara (= doorway), at the narrow passage before Siatista, as Pyli or Porta Panaghia, at the narrow passage before Kozika at Trikala, see Ioannidaki 1983, 215. On the site Pori (= passage) with chamber tombs near Agrigapindia in Chalandritsa, see Kyparissis 1930, 87 Syripoulos 1964, 106. Triantafylleou 1995, 2228. In literature it appears with ‘ō’ (Piop), and relates to the type of rock. In my opinion, more accurate is the term Pori written with ‘ο’ (Piop), denoting a narrow passage towards Kantalo. Several place-names Pori/Poria are attested at Lygies in Achaea.

NOTE 17
A similar case known in Achaea is that of Alyssos/Alysos, a term applied to a hill’s crest prior to the foundation of the village. For its identification with Homeric Alison, see Sakellarious 1958-59, 34, note 4. A recent discovery in the area is that of a Mycenaean cemetery of chamber tombs, see Petropoulos 1990b, 135, 136.

NOTE 18
NOTE 19
“ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσθαι”, Iliad, E 397.

NOTE 20
6. 25, 2-3.

NOTE 21

NOTE 22
For the type of spring see Kiskyras 1983, 180, 182. Seven more springs in Achaea belong to same category.

NOTE 23
Triantafyllou 1995, op.cit. The place-name is perhaps not irrelevant to what Homer referred to as “πέτρη τ' Μελενίτη” (Iliad, B 617, A 757), which Strabo (8. 7. 5) finally identifies with Skoliss: “τοῦτο δ' οί μὲν Σκόλλιων καλούσιν, "Ομήρος δὲ πέτρην Μελενίτην".” And in Hesiod (74): “ἄκεκε δ' Ἔλενίτη πέτρην ποταμίῳ παρ' θόκας ἑυρίσκειν Περσόιο”, cf. Pausanias 6. 20. 16. Sakellariou 1958-59, passim. Pausanias, 5. 20. 16. Cf. Sakellariou 1958-59, passim. Xydis 1971, 149. The rendering of the village’s name in plural, since at least 1391, denotes “extent” (Porta) rather than “place” (Porta), i.e. the wider area, the region around this place (Porta). Cf. Delopoulos 1990, 195 ff. Thus, the survival of the place-name Porta at the very spot where the ancient settlement lies, which coincides with the most strategic crossing of the mountain, is quite significant, and gives weight to the identification with Elian Pylös.

NOTE 24

NOTE 25
The results of the excavation are briefly discussed below. We are very cautious in stating any far-reaching conclusions, as the investigation of the site is still in progress and this may lead to future reconsiderations and reshaping of views. The author is in the process of completing a Ph.D. diss. on the present topic.

NOTE 26
For a similar case at Dendra, see Protonotariou – Deliaki 1980, “poster” and Protonotariou – Deliaki 1990, 95. Cf. Protonotariou – Deliaki 1990a, 69. At Prosymna, see Blegen 1937, passim. Similar problems exist at Kalamaki in Achaea, where the Mycenaean cemetery of chamber tombs has developed within the boundaries of a pre-existing EH cemetery, as Vasilogamvrou 1995, 367, fig. 1. Vasilogamvrou 1995a, in print. There are other cases of tumuli that were disturbed by the construction of tholos tombs within their limits, e.g. at Voirokolia, see Korres 1984, 67-68. Korres 1989, 237. At Tourlidiota, see Marinatos 1966, 129-132, pls. 106-109, 112-114. At Loutraki in Katouna, see supra note 7.

NOTE 27
Characteristic is also the case of chamber tomb 1, see Kolonas & Moschos 1994, 231.

NOTE 28
The choice of site probably indicates that the authority exercised by the specific family group was a matter of family tradition, handed down from previous generations. See also the discussion in Mee & Cavanagh 1990, 227-228. Of course, no evidence of ancestral worship is attested at the Portes’ tumuli.

NOTE 29

NOTE 30
Moschos 1996, in print. For isolated tumuli and tumulus cemeteries see Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 25. It is the fourth tumulus cemetery in Achaea after Aravanitis, Mirali and Agr(i)apidia.

NOTE 31
Kolonas & Moschos 1994, 230. See also supra notes 29, 30.

NOTE 32
Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 26 claims that “...on hard rock, built graves might be preferred”.

NOTE 33
The term is first employed by D. Theocharis in order to describe a variation tholos tomb (“pseudo-tholos”) that exhibits similarities to the chamber tombs, see Theocharis 1964, 261. Theocharis 1966, 253. Also, Choremis 1973, 28. Dickinson 1977, 60. Protonotariou – Deliaki 1980, 152, note 138. Verdelis describes the built tombs, of similar construction, at Pharsala as "θαλαμοθεσία τετράκωνοι τόφοι" (square chamber tombs), see Verdelis 1952, 197. “- Built graves” in Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 427. C.f. Vatin 1969, 44. Pelon 1987, 107-115, pls. XXVI-XXVIII. Dickinson 1989, 133-134. Hiller 1989, 137-144. Müller 1989, 4, note 11. “Built chamber tombs” and “built tombs” in Cavanagh & Mee 1998. Dickinson 1983, 57 and Dickinson 1994, 223 prefers the terms “rectangular built tombs” and “stone-built tombs”, in the latter including the well constructed built tombs without a stromion. Müller 1994, 224ff, insists on the distinction of this certain type to built chamber tombs (e.g. tombs of square plan and corbeled ceiling) and stone-built tombs (e.g. side approach, Gamma type graves, absence of corbeling). However, the most important and most distinctive characteristic of the two categories suggested is no other than the one-side entrance and this is why the term built chamber tomb should be exclusively given preference. Useful for the variations that appear are the terms rectangular, oval, apsidal, circular, Gamma type, according to the shape of the built chamber tomb and the position of the stromion or the dromos in relation to the tomb axis. In fact, the same applies to the terminology of chamber tombs, where the shape of chamber, the form of roof and other structural details are just defining elements of this certain type. Moreover, the local or other peculiarities of tholos tombs have never led to a different terminology. The presence or not of dromos at the built chamber tombs, the corbeled ceiling and other peculiarities are of no special significance and simply reflect local architectural characteristics, solution to constructive and static problems or a different approach of this certain tomb type; issues not relevant to the present study. In fact, the presence of certain characteristics in tomb groups (e.g. Medeon, Vrana, Portes), confirms what is mentioned above and does not form the motive of further research, except for the drafting and research of local peculiarities, perhaps also of chronological differences, that are more easily determined within the necropolis.

NOTE 34
A similar tomb of the Late Geometric period at Skoros in Chalandritsa, see Mastrokostas 1961/2, 129, pl. 1536. Cf. Gados 1998, 31-32 (no. 23), 205.
The large opening of the first tomb at Pharsala (2,50m wide) seems extremely difficult to cover with slabs, see Verdelis 1952, 197. Most likely it had an arched roof, as the second tomb probably had, see Verdelis 1953, 129. The side chamber of the 'Treasury of Minyas', which is of comparable width, has been roofed with slabs, but this was a different construction, see note 99. The "built-like tomb" ("κτιστοβωλής τάφος") at Skoura in Achaia also has a large opening (2m), see note 44. For a possible wooden roof at Palki ("Sca Oikopédía"), see Marinatos 1932, 11, fig. 12. Even so, this is highly unlikely. Protonotariou - Deilaki 1990a, 78, fig. 6, describes a grave near the hospital area in Argos as a "shaft grave with a side entrance", which is rather unlikely; the term "shaft grave" is probably used instead of the term "built chamber tomb". Note also the grave on Skopelos (Cape Staphylus) where the stone slabs were laid on wooden beams, see Platon 1949, 534ff.

NOTE 36
Protonotariou - Deilaki 1980, passim.

NOTE 37
Mylonas 1972-73, 211-222, fig. 25, pls. 192-196. Somewhat similar is the case of tomb II at Eleusis, which was originally a large cist, see Mylonas 1975, 102ff, plan 114, pls. 141-143a. cf. Blackburn 1970, 216. Similar suggestion for the tomb S2 at Medeaon, see Müller 1994, 226, note 10.

NOTE 38
NOTE 45

NOTE 46
Before the completion of the excavation, it would be difficult to decide whether the accumulation of earth was intended to create a tumulus, or whether it simply served the purpose of concealing a pre-existing structure (perhaps a grave circle?) which served to define and set apart the burial ground. It should be noted that with the creation of this fill the regular access to the cemetery of chamber tombs was restored. Anyway, this fill was already there at LH IIIA period, when cist graves were inserted in the mound (see the text below). It might even be the case of a well-shaped tomb or of a damaged above ground tholos tomb (like Cretan and early examples from Messenia) of the early-middle Mycenaean tradition. Cf. Desborough 1987a, 49.

NOTE 47
Supra note 5. According to Andronikos, the covering of the peribolos in the case of Aphidna, reveals that ‘... τὸ νόμιμον τῆς κρύπτος εἶναι αναμφότερος συμβολικός Σηματίζει τὸ θεμέλιον, τὸ οποίον θα στηρίζεται τὸ 'νημείον'...’, see Andronikos 1961/2, 173.

NOTE 48

NOTE 49
Kolonos & Moschos 1994, 230-231. See also supra notes 29, 30.

NOTE 50
Tsountas 1898, 142 (Early Cycladic). At Paliokklisi in Farsala (MH), see Toutouxi 1991, 222. At Lerna (MH, LH), see Blackburn 1970, 13. At Xolos, see Theocharis D-M. 1970, 200, plan 1; cf. Schachermeyr 1976a, 60-61, fig. 10. Bazziou-Eustathiou 1985, 23, pl. 160 (T 49); 24, pl. 176 (T 50); 29, pl. 190 (T 166); 33, pl. 216 (T 188); 42, pl. 25α (T 189); 50, pl. 300 (T 198). At Lefkandi, see Sapouna – Sakellaraki 1993, 196 (tomb B). At Eleusi, see Pahyianni-Kaloudi 1979, 39-40 (T 1). At Pavlopetri Laconia, see Harding, Cadogan & Howell 1969, 123. At Marmara, see Dakoronia 1987, 39-40 (T 44), 45-46 (T 03). The shaft grave at Englianos had a vertical slab at one narrow side; this is probably an indication of a stomion (rectangular chamber tomb?), see Blegen & Rawson 1996, pis. 259-261; cf. Boyd 1999, 503-504, 510, 528-529. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 27 claims that ‘... there seems to be no significance, beyond convenience – a balance between the effort of building the wall and the inconvenience of hauling a slab some distance’. But, in Portes, the quarrying area is less than 20 m from this particular ‘tumulus’. So, the material (slabs and small stones) might have come from other nearby destroyed tombs.

NOTE 51

NOTE 52

NOTE 53
For this variation see the discussion in Dietz 1991, 277; Cavanagh & Mee 1998, passim.

NOTE 54
It is the largest, up to date, rectangular built chamber tomb. Of similar scale is the triple-grave at the later tumulus IV at Marathon (supra note 5) and the tomb at Thebes (see note 77). Comparative is also the domed like a tholos oval built tomb at Thorikos (9 X 3 m) and the rectangular F structure at Lefkas; Dörpfeld 1927, 213ff.

NOTE 55
It seems probable they were used in the construction of an elusive, as yet, tholos tomb.

NOTE 56

NOTE 57
FS 212, FM 67:3 or 78. This shape is not as popular as FS 211. Of course, it’s the first among the published material from Achaea. For the shape see Blegen 1937, pl. 195:496. Mylonas 1972-73, 67 (F–55), pl. 52α. For a similar decoration in a FS 211 cup, see Blegen 1937, fig. 105:4:07. Also in an ephorian goblet (FS 270) from Athens, see Pantelidou 1976, 83 (no 13), 86, 185, pl. 24C.

NOTE 58

NOTE 59
Cf. Dietz 1991, 200, 204, fig. 61(BE–2,3). It dates to the LH IA period, in accordance with other vessels from the same grave. In Achaea, parallels are known from Vrysiari, Thea (Rodista) and Chalandritsa, see Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1994a, 271-273, figs. 12,13,15,16, where one finds the relevant bibliography. Also, at Petroto, as my colleague M. Petrotopoulos informs me. Cf. Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1998. Minyan ware was recently recovered from the acropolis of Voanteni, see Kolonas 1998, vol. II, 608:5. At Pagona, see Stavropoulou – Gatsi 1995, 520-521. At Xirokambos in Starochori, see Petritaki 1988a, 164. At Kastria in Kalavryta, see Sampson 1997, 308. A three-handled piriform jar (FS 48) of LH IIIB-1, from chamber tomb 5 at Portes (exc. no. 1997.CT5.19), exhibits a smooth (burnished) grey surface.

NOTE 60
It belongs to early LH IA and is reminiscent of Argive Minyan ware. A similarly shaped vessel from Samiko has been dated to the
LH IIIA(?) period, see Yialouris 1965, 33 (no. 100), pl. 22. It is a LH I, see Lolos 1987, 217, 369, fig. 504b. Argive Minyan ware is known in Achaea, see Zapheiroupolou 1958, 173-174, pl. 135ef,f. Cf. Papadopoulos 1978-79, 64 (a). Also, at Xirotambos in Starochari, see Petratis 1988a, 164. Possibly from other sites, the material of which remains unpublished.

NOTE 61
Most of the vases are worn off. The straight-sided cup might have been decorated in matt paint.

NOTE 62

NOTE 63
This view may have been formed because of the probably short period of use of the early tomb C2, on one hand, and of the possibly circumstantial use of tomb C1, during the LH IA/B-LH II period, on the other. Most likely, the same family group used tombs in other tumuli at the same time, since only tomb C1 continued in use in the particular tumulus. Comparable is the case of the tholos tombs that are found in pairs, see Mylonas 1948, 74. Cf. Korres 1984a. For the continuity of local tradition of MH ware, see the discussion in Dickinson 1989, 134; cf. Mountjoy 1999, 19.

NOTE 64
All kantharoi have a small body, a trait which is characteristic of that period. Most important of them all is a kantharos with pointed handles of the late LH IA or LH IB period (Fig. 9.5). The shape is extremely rare and happens to be the second complete specimen known in Achaea, see Zapheiroupolou 1958, pl. 135. Cf. Papadopoulos 1978-79, 65, fig. 48d. Sherds of similar vessels have come from excavations in Aigion (L.Papazoglou-Manioudhaki and A. Vordhos personal communication), see Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1998. On similar vessels, see Romaios 1916, 185, fig. 8 (Thermos). Dörpfeld 1927, pl. 72.6 (Skara Letaka). Mylonas 1972-73, 191(O-192), ps. 170K, 235 (Mycenae); cf. Dietz 1991, 214 (GA-2), 215, fig. 67. A single specimen from an early grave in the inner tumulus at Vodhine (Albania), see Hammond 1971, 234, pl. 35,17. An almost similar example from the tumulus at Mikromilia-Kourou in Drama, see Koukouli – Chrysanthaki 1976, 304, pl. 245a. On the vessel’s shape, see Dor et al. 1960, 91, 133 (no. 53a,b), pl. L:53 and Maran 1992, 108, pl. XVI:2, 108:4, pl. 19-3 (2CIV). The shape of the body is very common in south Albania. Cf. Matan 1998, pl. 49. Maran and Dietz are in favour of a Thessalian origin.

NOTE 65
E.g. Mirali, Drachmani, Lefkas, Pazhok, Thorikos and Papoulia; see Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 30.

NOTE 66
This view may have been formed because the LH IIIA(?) period, see Yialouris 1965, 33. Minyan ware is known in Achaea, see Themelis 1968a, 284-285. Probably circumstantial use of tomb CI, during the LH IA/B-LH II period, on the other. Most likely, the same family group used tombs in other tumuli at the same time, since only tomb C1 continued in use in the particular tumulus. Comparable is the case of the tholos tombs that are found in pairs, see Mylonas 1948, 74. Cf. Korres 1984a. For the continuity of local tradition of MH ware, see the discussion in Dickinson 1989, 134; cf. Mountjoy 1999, 19.

NOTE 67
Dickinson 1977, 60. Cf. Wardle 1972, 39: “They are still, however, an exceptional form of burial in Mycenaean times, when tholos and chamber tombs are the normal practice”.

NOTE 68

NOTE 69

NOTE 70
See Mylonas 1972-73, 249-254.

NOTE 71

NOTE 72
According to Dickinson 1983, 57, “They are commoner than is often suggested”, but he includes in that category the well-constructed cist graves without a stomion. Cf. Müller 1994, 224. See also supra note 33.

NOTE 73
Built chamber tombs are clearly a separate tomb type and they are not “stone versions of chamber tombs” as Dickinson 1992, 225 suggests. Cf. Müller 1994, 229.

NOTE 74

NOTE 75

NOTE 76

NOTE 77

NOTE 78

NOTE 79

NOTE 80
See supra note 5.

NOTE 81

NOTE 82

NOTE 83

NOTE 84
Eustratiou 1979, 70-71.

NOTE 85
Skilardi 1987, 113.
Note 86

Note 87
See supra note 68. Other tombs probably exist, which, however, are not mentioned. The tombs possibly belong to the LH period and not to MH III, in which last period the tumulus’ construction should in all likelihood be sought.

Note 88

Note 89

Note 90
See note 37. The tombs at Ras – Shamra (Ugarit), one example at Enkoní (Cyprus), but also Egyptian tombs are believed to have been the prototypes of tomb P. Cf. Iakovidis 1991, 1042. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 47. Also, note the subterranean shrine at Hattuša (Boğazköy); see Belli 1991, 1384 ff., figs. 1-2. Of great importance is the recently recovered Mycenaean sword from this region, see Unal, Ertekin & Ediz 1990-91, 46-52. Neve 1993, 648-652, pls. 27-28. Cf. Hansen 1994, 213-215. But, this foreign inspiration looks rather unique in Mycenaean burial customs, so, Dickinson’s opinion for “another reminder of the diversity of tomb-types in early Mycenaean times”, might be correct; see Dickinson 1977, 64. For Medeion tombs Müller 1994, 229ff, who also finds influences from Near East.

Note 91
See Choremis 1973, 28-30, fig. 3, pl. 6a. Parlama justly claims that it is apsidal, see Parlama 1976, 253.

Note 92
Baziou-Eustathiou 1985, 60.

Note 93

Note 94
Müller 1994, 227-228 (T. 264), figs. 11-13.

Note 95
Saopoua – Sakellaraki 1993, 195-196. AR 1993-94, 38. Saopoua – Sakellaraki 1995, 41ff, figs. 2-4, pl. 5. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 39 (as Beta? type). This tomb is of great importance, having a roofed stonion as tholos tombs. Its date might be later than it is suggested (early Late Helladic?).

Note 96
Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 198, g. plan 18, pl. Dendra 5.3. Protonotariou – Deilaki 1990, 94, fig. 4, 6a-b.

Note 97
Mussche et al. 1963, 29-46, plan III.

Note 98

Note 99

Note 100

Note 101

Note 102
Parlama 1976, 255-256.

Note 103
The typical built chamber tombs are also known from LM Crete, cf. Syriopoulos 1983a, 383f. See also one example of LM IIIA at Ag. Triada in Blackman 1998, 111, fig. 151. Recently at Pantanassa Amariou of Late SM – Early Iron Age, see Tegou 1999, forthcoming.

Note 104

Note 105
Pini 1968, 47, figs. 92, 95.

Note 106

Note 107

Note 108

Note 109

Note 110
NOTE 111

NOTE 112

NOTE 113
See, also, Cavanagh 1971, passim. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 46: "We believe that they formed a link between tumuli and tholoi and consequently merit careful analysis".

NOTE 114

NOTE 115

NOTE 116

NOTE 117

NOTE 118

NOTE 119

NOTE 120

NOTE 121

NOTE 122

NOTE 123
See supra note 76.

NOTE 124

NOTE 125

NOTE 126

NOTE 127

NOTE 128

NOTE 129
At the location "Sta Oikopeda" in Paliki, at Litharia on Poros and at Kokkolata, see supra note 8.

NOTE 130

NOTE 131
Perhaps many of the tombs at Eleusis should be dated to the LH I period, instead of the final MH. Cf. Dickinson 1983, 60-61, note 32. The same is applied to T.164 at Argos and maybe at Lefkandi. In view of the recent discoveries at Portes, perhaps the dating of the new Samiko tumuli should be reconsidered.

NOTE 132
Müller 1994, 229 claims that the presence of built chamber tombs at Medeon «ανθελκή γυνή ζύγο...».

NOTE 133
Choremis 1973, 70-74. Koukouli – Christanaki 1992, B, 369ff., plan 68. See also similar tombs in 9th c. B.C tumuli at Roussa (Euros); Skarlatidou 1980, 432, pl. 2536.

NOTE 134
Mastrokostas 1961/2, 129, pl. 1538. Sub-geometric lekythoi were recovered from the interior. The tomb is not illustrated.

NOTE 135

NOTE 136
Zapheiropoulos 1952, 400ff.

NOTE 137
E.g. in Attica, Boetia, Phokis and Thessaly where a few continued in use or were constructed in LH IIIA-B. In all likelihood tomb A1 continued in use, since it was not destroyed in late Mycenaean times. Unfortunately, its recent looting inhibits the drawing of any safe conclusions, although a seated female figurine of LH IIIA:1 date was handed over as a find from this tomb. Note that figurines were common at Lazarides and in Eleusis LHIII graves of Gamma type.
# Bibliographical Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>AA</td>
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