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Edited by Signe Isager and Inge Nielsen



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The cover illustration depicts the theatre of Delphi.
Photo by R. Frederiksen, see p. 135, Fig. 1.

Prehistoric Tumuli at Portes in Achaea. First Preliminary Report*

“SOMETIMES REMEMBER BUT SOMETIMES FORGET”

Ioannis Moschos

Our information concerning the prehistoric tumuli of Achaea (Fig. 1) is fragmentary, obscure and, in part, debatable.¹ Until now we knew of three MH tumuli at Aravonitsa² and another two at Mirali,³ while a LH tumulus also exists in Agr(i)apidia, Chalandritsa.⁴ 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 archaeo-

logical literature Achaea is often ignored, so that it appears to be lagging behind regions such as Messenia, or Attica.⁵ The situation is somewhat similar in neighbouring Korinthia,⁶ in Aitoloakarnania,⁷ across the channel, in Kephallenia,⁸ the largest of the Ionian islands and in Elis,⁹ 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,¹⁰ and the almost unique use of chamber tombs at a later stage.¹¹

Recent research of three tumuli at Portes, Achaea, which date from, or at least

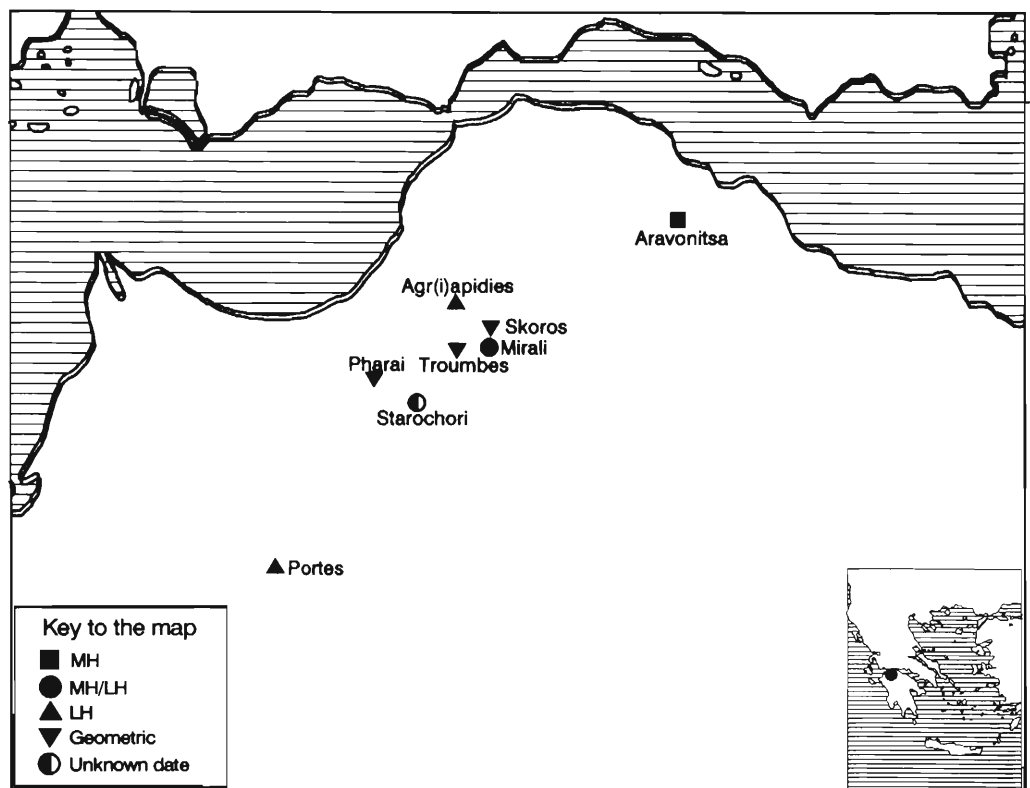
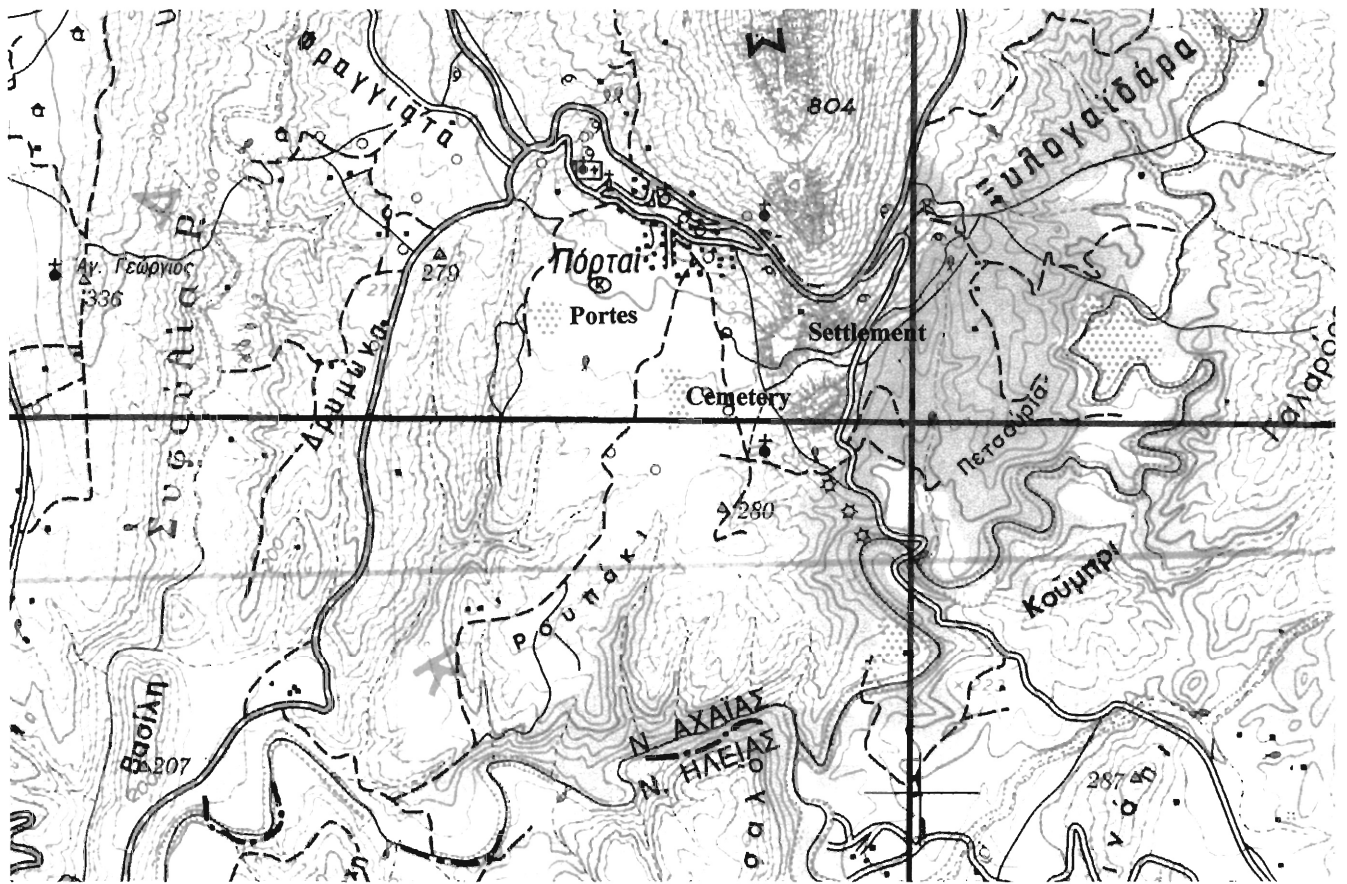


Fig. 1. Prehistoric and Geometric tumuli in Achaea.



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 Aravonitisa 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 village¹², in existence at least since 1697, occupies the terraced steep SW foot of Mt. Skollis¹³ (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.¹⁴

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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ The strategic importance of the region for the control

Fig. 2. Portes. General plan of the area.

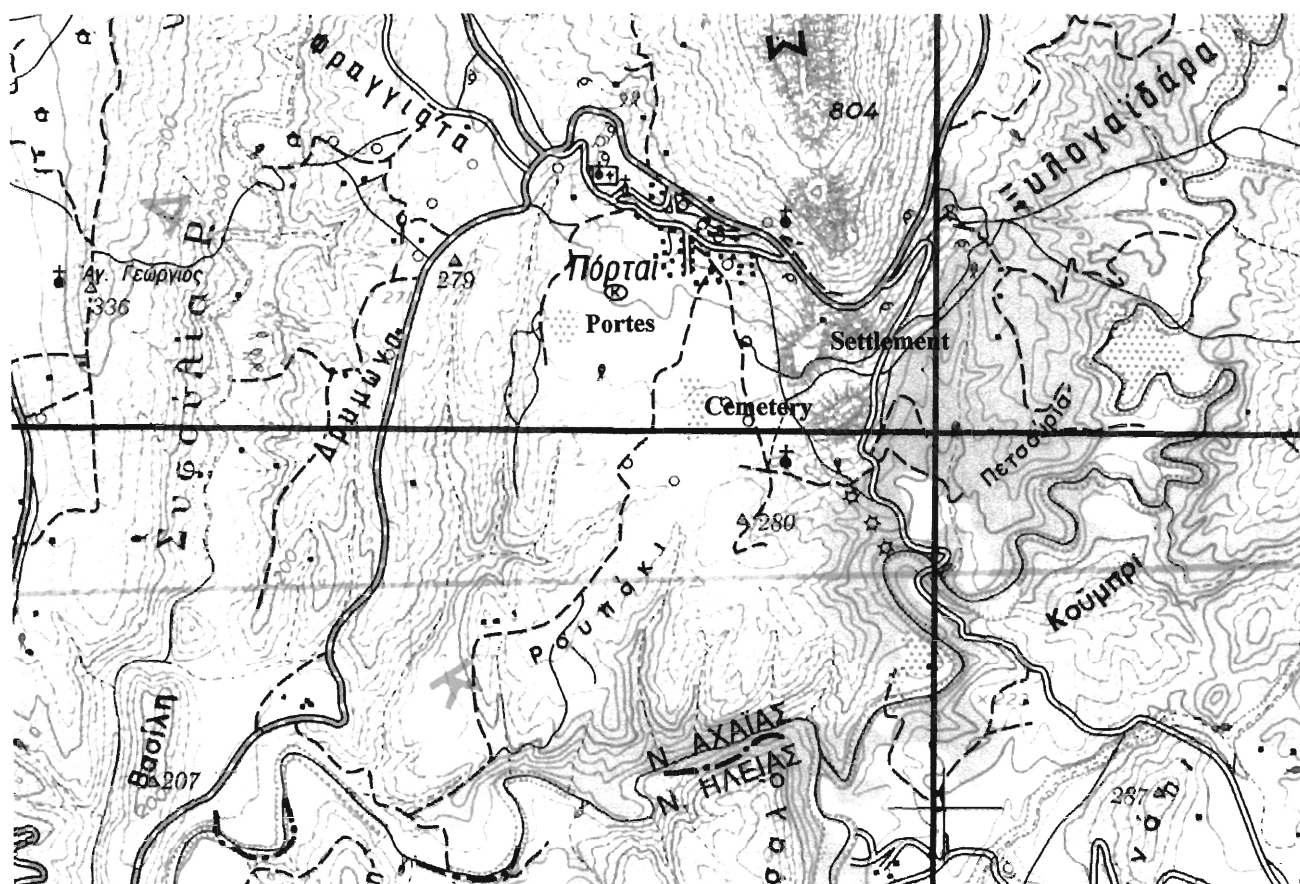


Fig. 3. Mt. Skollis and the extensive Bronze Age settlement, as seen from the east end of the prehistoric cemetery.

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.¹⁷ It is, though difficult to avoid comparing this region to its northern namesake Elian Pylos.¹⁸ The worship of Hades, unique in antiquity, which is implied in Homer¹⁹ and clearly stated by Pausanias,²⁰ reflects an older tradition connecting Elian Pylos with the Gates of the Underworld and the kingdom of death.²¹ 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.²² To the north

of the spring and the cemetery, in an area known as Porta Petra²³ 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 Korakopholia.²⁴

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.²⁵ The excavation was carried out



Fig. 4. General view of Tumulus A as seen from the east. The excavated part of the peribolos is visible.

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-used²⁶ for walling up the entrances²⁷ 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.²⁸ Among the other finds the tomb contained an intact burial of an early LH IIIC warrior/official.²⁹

The tumuli were part of a large cemetery,³⁰ 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

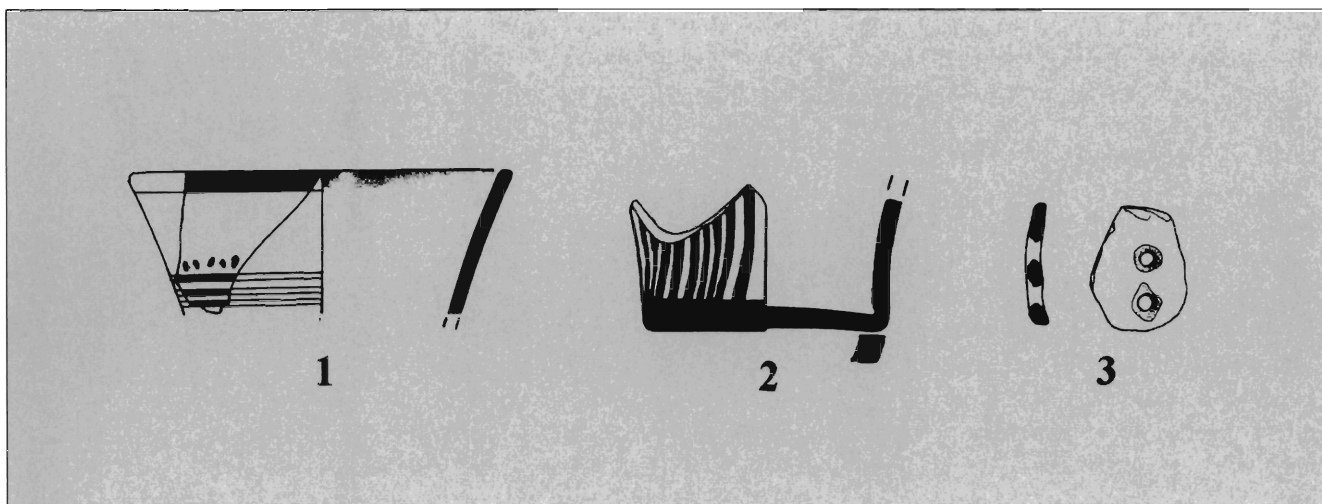


Fig. 5. Finds from tumulus A.
1-2: sherds of Vapheio cups
(LH IIA). 3: pendant (?).

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.³¹ To the north there are three, cut in the bedrock (A1, A2, A3),³² all of them plundered. Tomb A1 is architecturally intact. It is a rectangular built chamber tomb with horizontal roof,³³ 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 pilars,³⁴ 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,³⁵ since such an arrangement would be meaningless. As seen in the tombs in Argos,³⁶ 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 *P* in Mycenae which is covered with an apsidal roof and had replaced a shaft-grave.³⁷ 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 slabs³⁸ and another, horizontal, slab was used for the floor.³⁹ 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,⁴⁰ 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 IIA date⁴¹ (Fig. 5.1-2), the neck of a bur-

nished LH I stamnos with vertical handles and pale-reddish slip,⁴² as well as a small oval sherd (Fig. 5.3) with a pair of perforations that was probably used as a pendant.⁴³

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,⁴⁴ was attributed by Deilaki to the “perpetuation of family traditions”.⁴⁵ 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,⁴⁶ it covers a neatly built stone ring (peribolos), as in the case of the tumulus in Aphidna.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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,⁴⁹ 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 piri-form 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.⁵⁰ The covering slabs had either been removed, or had fallen towards the interior. A small handleless 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 Elis⁵¹ and from Achaea,⁵² 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.⁵³ 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 Mycenaean period, as will be shown in due course. The extensive damage inflicted upon the fill

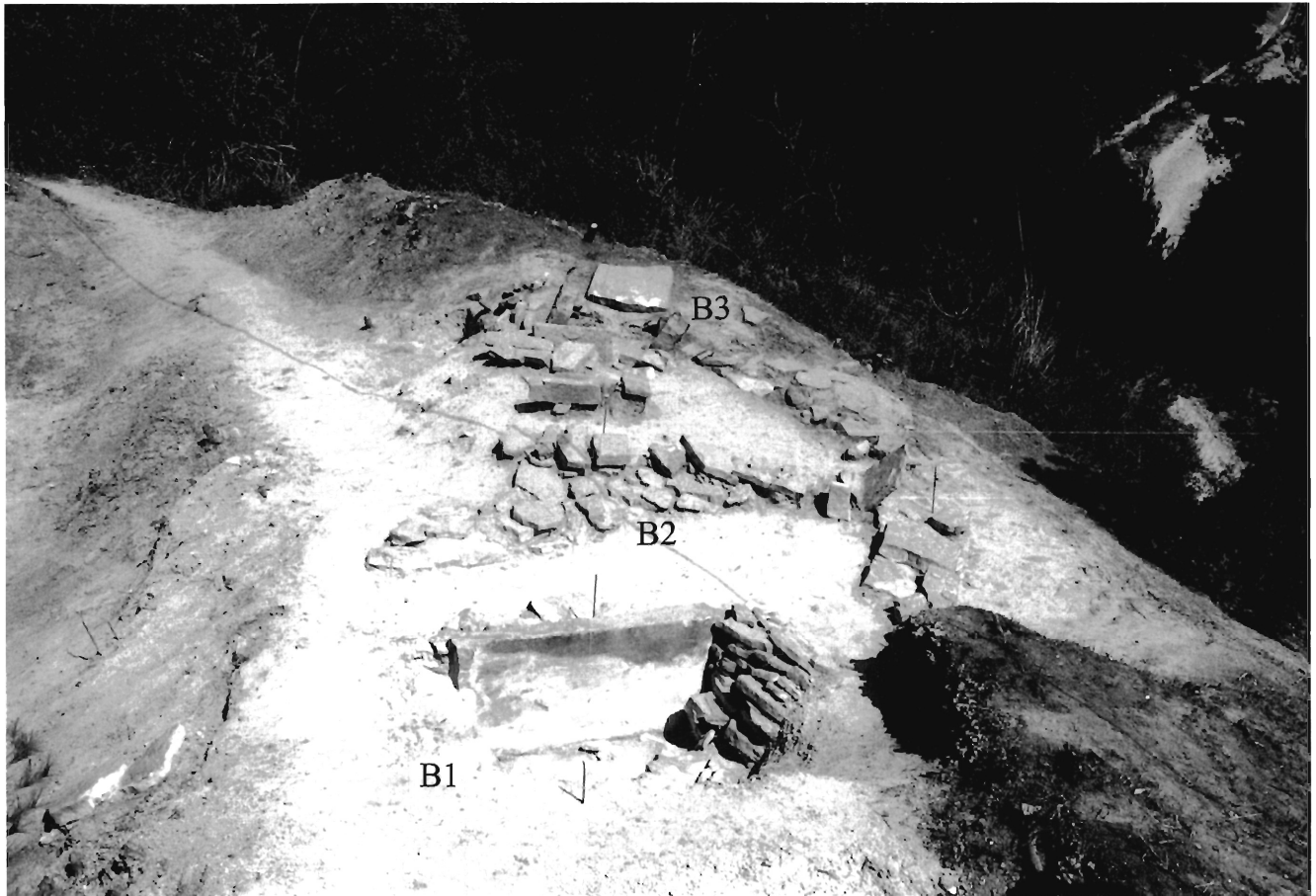
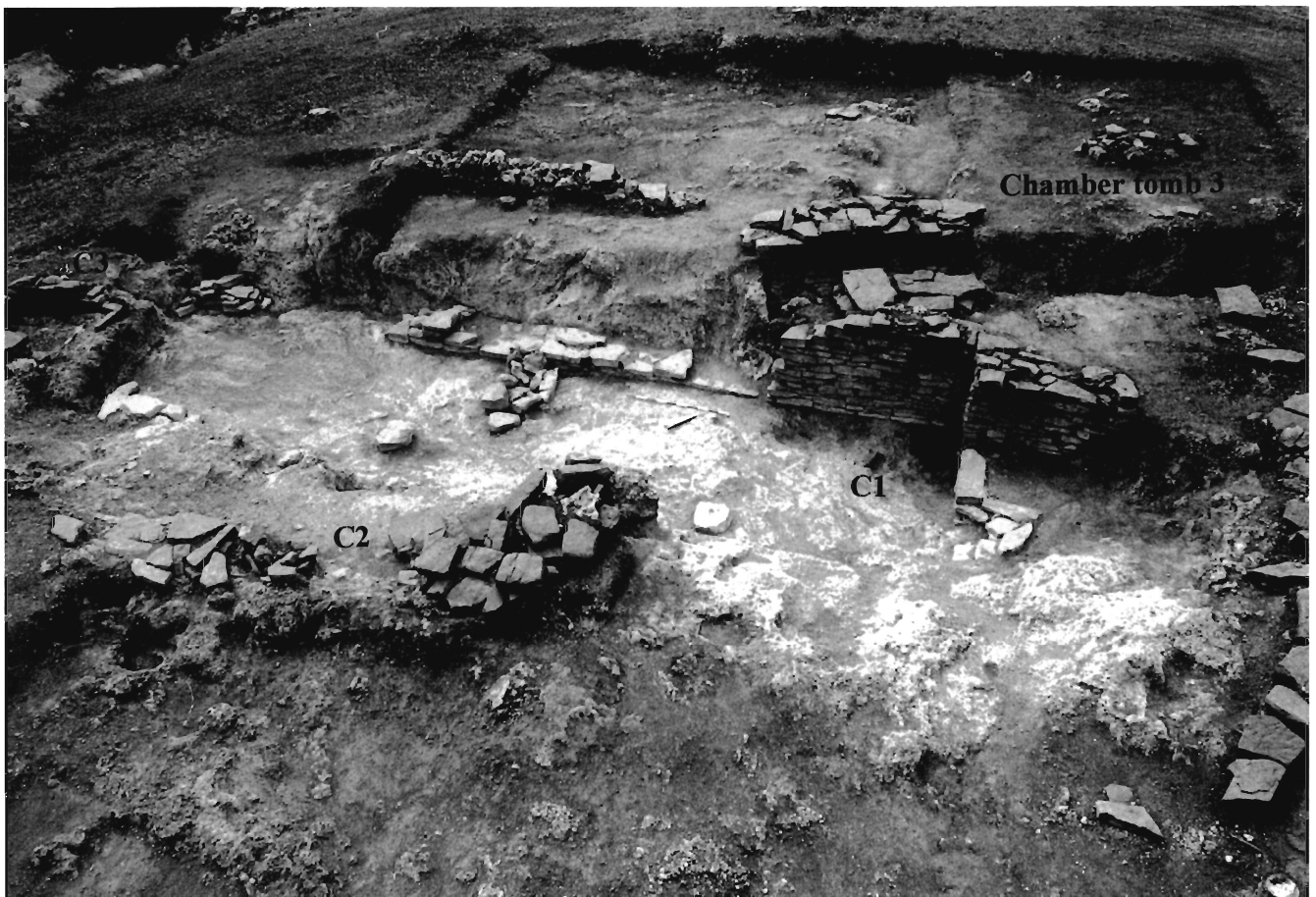


Fig. 6. General view of 'tumulus' B as seen from the east. Notice below the cist grave B1, founded on the peribolos.

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 dimensions⁵⁴ (8 × 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.⁵⁵ 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 jar⁵⁶ (Fig. 9.1), a high-based cup⁵⁷ (Fig. 9.2), six one-handed small jugs (Fig. 9.3), a jug with cut-away neck, six two-handed 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-handed jugs, a tall straight-sided cup⁵⁸ (Fig. 9.6), a double-handed 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 jug⁵⁹ discovered in tomb C1 and by a double-handed amphoriskos⁶⁰ 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 recorded⁶¹ 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 Makrysia 'tumuli' in Elis,⁶² the LH I ceramics from Portes exhibit a higher degree of conservatism.⁶³ 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,⁶⁴ 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-

Fig. 7. General view of the destroyed tumulus C, as seen from the east. Notice on the right side the peribolos made of a simple row of stones.



Fig. 8. The monumental built chamber tomb C1. Note the preserved height of one of the long sides near the stonion, 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,⁶⁵ 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 tumuli⁶⁶ 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 Dickinson⁶⁷ notes that they "... are notable for their structures rather than their goods, and seem rather special". The tumulus at Agr(i)apidia 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,⁶⁸ 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,⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰ The above argument was also questioned because it relied exclusively on the presence of tumuli, considering their mere existence crucial to the theory,⁷¹ 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.⁷² Their appearance is roughly contemporary to tholos tombs (e.g. late MH) and as the latter, antedate the introduction of the chamber tombs.⁷³ 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.

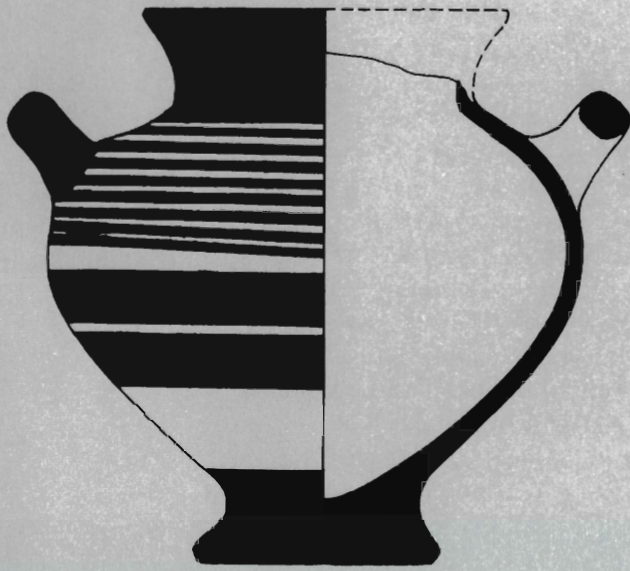
The best known rectangular built chamber tombs are those from the area of Argos.⁷⁴ Examples from Krokees⁷⁵ in Laconia, Medeon of Phocis,⁷⁶ Thebes⁷⁷ in Boeotia, Pharsala⁷⁸ and Pefkakia⁷⁹ in Thessaly, the tumuli I, II and IV at Vrana Marathon,⁸⁰ Eleusis,⁸¹ Delos,⁸² Archontiki on Psara,⁸³ Lazarides on Aigina,⁸⁴ Koukounaries on Paros,⁸⁵ Lygaridia on Naxos,⁸⁶ a few tombs from the tumuli at Samiko⁸⁷ and a single specimen from Babes⁸⁸ in Elis, are

included in the short catalogue of known sites. The “ossuary” near the royal tholos tomb at Tzannata in Poros, Kephallenia⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰ According to Choremis, tomb 2 Niketopoulou at Karpophora is another example of built chamber tomb.⁹¹ Besides, the use of a stomion is also found in the cist graves T.188 and T.198 at Nea Ionia in Volos⁹². However, one should not fail to mention the tombs with a side entrance (Gamma type (*type I*) at the Eleusis cemetery,⁹³ at Medeon in Phocis,⁹⁴ at Lefkandi in Euboea,⁹⁵ grave 1 of tumulus B at Dendra,⁹⁶ tombs I and II at Thorikos,⁹⁷ in addition to two tombs at Ayios Antonios at Pharsala.⁹⁸ Characteristic, though of different construction, is the built side-chamber with a horizontal roof of the “Treasury of Minyas”,⁹⁹ as well as the small built niche in the tholos tomb at Vasiliko in Messenia.¹⁰⁰

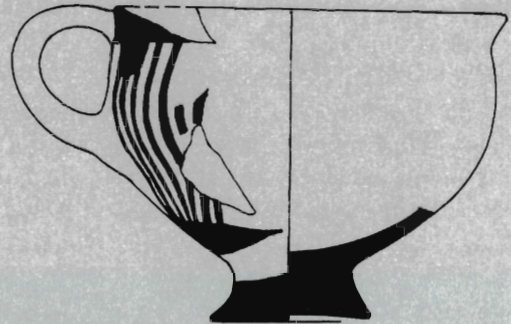
As far as construction is concerned, the tombs in question exhibit similarities with the built apsidal – horse-shoe shaped type.¹⁰¹ L. Parlama¹⁰² has already associated the Messenian apsidal tombs with MH apsidal houses and has regarded the type as clearly Messenian, nevertheless, leaving open the issue of Cretan influence,¹⁰³ if any. The well-known Cretan monumental examples, on one hand those at Maleme,¹⁰⁴ at Damania and tomb B at Praisos,¹⁰⁵ and on the other hand the A and B examples at Moulia and the tomb at Vourlia,¹⁰⁶ have led Choremis¹⁰⁷ to the conclusion that the tomb at Karpophora “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 study¹⁰⁸ 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 practice

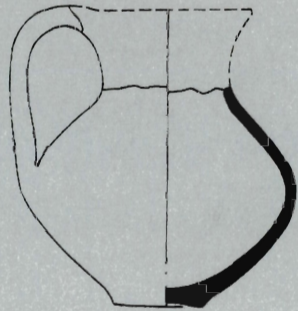
Fig. 9. Finds from tumulus C. 1-5: pottery from tomb C1. 6: straight-sided cup from the earlier tomb C2.



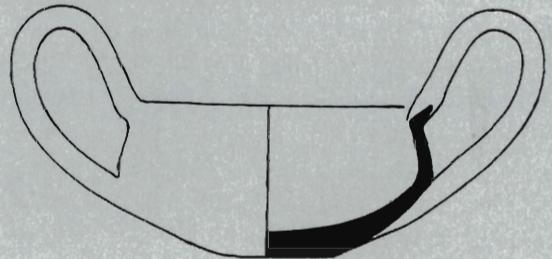
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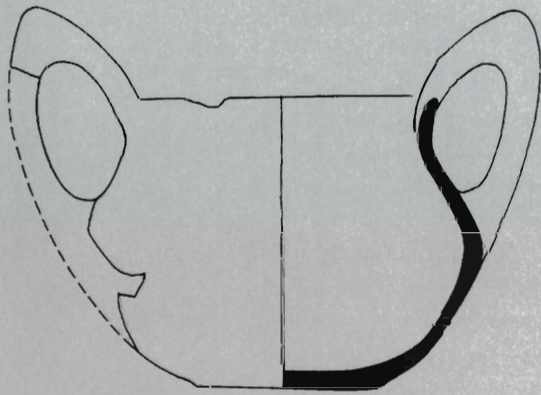
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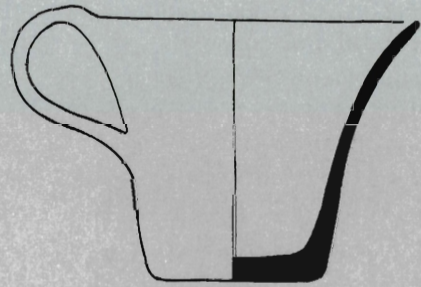
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6

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,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.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.¹¹¹ E. Sapouna – Sakellarakis¹¹² 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.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 Alea¹¹⁴ in Arcadia; Arkines¹¹⁵ and Analipsi¹¹⁶ in Laconia; Vlachopoulo¹¹⁷, Fourtsovrysi¹¹⁸ and Gouvalari¹¹⁹ in Messenia; Keri¹²⁰ in Zakynthos; Velousia¹²¹ and Oxylithos¹²² in Euboea; Medeon,¹²³ Sesklo,¹²⁴ Larisa,¹²⁵ Spilia,¹²⁶ Rachmani¹²⁷ and Anavra¹²⁸ in Thessaly, and possibly in Kephallenia.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.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.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,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.¹³³ In Achaia, we are aware of two tombs associated with geometric finds: at Skoros in Chalandritsa¹³⁴ and at the tumuli in the valley of Pharai.¹³⁵ It is possible that in the latter area there exist three more tombs of the Geometric period.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

Notes

* I warmly thank the ex-director of the 6th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and now general director of 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 the ex-director of antiquities, Dr. I. Tzedakis and that of the ex-secretary general of the Greek Ministry of Culture, Mr. G. Thomas, who ensured, out of personal interest, sufficient raising of funds for the 1997 rescue excavation, is hereby greatly acknowledged. On matters of chronology, I have discussed the dating of the material with S. Dietz and J. Maran. L. Kolonas, prof. Th. I. Papadopoulos and prof. G. S. Korres offered constructive suggestions and made necessary alterations to the text; I am greatly indebted for their time and consideration. The archaeologists M. Gazis and K. Soura have participated in the excavation. My warmest thanks are also due to the well-experienced excavation technicians D. Evangeliou, S. Pittas, S. Tsamis, A. Anastasopoulos, E. Konstantinopoulos and K. Antonopoulos, devoted and tireless associates. The map of Fig. 1 was laid out by the topographer Ch. Marinopoulos; K. Iliogamvrou has sketched the vases of Figs. 5 and 9. M. Logodoti has offered invaluable help in the Archaeological Library at Athens University. The translation of the Greek text was undertaken by M. Kamoulakou and M. Gazis, while the revision of the English text was done by C. Barton.

NOTE 1

Those reported at Pavlokastro – Tsaplanéika as four-sided tumuli by Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 224 and by Syriopoulos

1964, 483, are not tumuli, as also shown by Kyparissis 1935, 70. Cf. Triantafyllou 1995, col. 2114; Syriopoulos 1964, 542, wrongly reports a tumulus at Tsoukaléika; The presence of Geometric tumuli or tholos tombs is reported in the hillocks of Troumbes Chalandritsa, see Kyparissis 1928, 110–111. Kyparissis 1929, 89–91, Figs. 4–7. Kyparissis 1930, 83. Cf. Vermeule 1960, 14, 17. Ålin 1962, 64. Åström 1964, 101. Syriopoulos 1964, 106, 482. Papadopoulos 1978–79, 29 (no. 24), Fig. 19. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 89 (B 50). Schachermeyr 1980, 256, 257. Dakoronia 1987, 53. Zavadil 1995, 22–23. Gadolou 1998, 31, 84, 203–205. French 1971, 180 reports a LH IIIA animal figurine from Troumbes; At the location Lalikosta of Pharai, a Geometric tumulus was excavated, see Zapheiroopoulos 1957, 117. Zapheiroopoulos 1957a, 69–70. Cf. Syriopoulos 1964, 481ff. Åström 1964, 104. Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 224. Schachermeyr 1980, 257. Lewartowski 1989, 62. Zavadil 1995. Papadopoulos does not refute Mycenaean presence in the region, see Papadopoulos 1978–79, 30 (no. 31); Zavadil 1995, 21 (A1) includes to her catalogue a LH (?) tumulus from Kamates – Palomylos, according to Neratzoulis (Neologos Patron, 21.10.1930) and Thomopoulos (Thomopoulos 1950, 122, note 1). But the evidence is striking; cf. Åström 1964, 106, 109. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 86 (B41). My colleague M. Petropoulos informs me that he is excavating a tumulus at Starochori (Aghios Ioannis). It probably dates to prehistoric times. Geometric tumuli are also reported from Skoros Chalandritsa, see Yialouris 1960, 138. Mastrokostas 1961/2, 129, pl. 153ff. Cf. Daux 1961, 682. Snodgrass 1971, 171, 211. Zavadil 1995, 21–22. A Late Geometric tumulus at Katarraktis (Lopesi), see Zapheiroopoulos 1956, 197ff. Cf. Papadopoulos 1978–79, 31 (no. 35).

NOTE 2

My colleague A. Vordhos has recently located three prehistoric tumuli, see Vordhos 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 Zapheiroopoulos, see Daux 1956, 291. Schachermeyr 1957, 94. Åström 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 Aravonitsa (?), dating to the early LH III C period, kept in the storerooms of the museum at Aigion, belong to another, probably contemporary, excavation, see Kolonas 1995, 486.

NOTE 3

Tumuli A and B, see Zapheiroopoulos 1952, 398–400, figs. 4, 8. Cf. Vermeule 1960, 4 (no. 12a). Åström 1964, 106. Syriopoulos 1964, 80, 342, 344, 378. Howell 1974, 76. Wardle 1972, 40. Pelon 1976, 79 (7A, 7B), fig. 1. Cavanagh 1977, 65. Dickinson 1977, 94. Papadopoulos 1978–79, 30 (no. 32), 50. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 90 (B 55). Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 224. Dakoronia 1987, 55. Müller 1989, 23, 37, fig. 10. Zavadil 1995, 25–26 (A7), 113–114. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 30, 38. I think that they probably belong to the transitional period, rather than to MH.

NOTE 4

It contains “τάφους παλαισιότους”, see Kyparissis 1930, 85, fig. 10. Cf. Åström 1964, 101. Syriopoulos 1964, 482. Hammond 1976, 151, map 25. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 89 (B50). Dakoronia 1987, 52. As justly noted by Papadopoulos, the finds belong to the LHI–II period and not to the Dark Ages, see Papadopoulos 1978–79, 29 (no. 25) 59, 95, fig. 19. Cf. Maran 1988, 341ff. Rutter 1993, 789. Papazoglou–Manioudaki 1994a, 272, note 25. Papadopoulos 1995, 203–204. Zavadil 1995, 23–24 (A5), 140ff., wrongly dates it to LH III C–Dark Ages?. Cf. Desborough

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 Agriapidia, Agrapidia/Agrapidies, Agrapidoula, Agrapiditsa.

NOTE 5

Especially see Pelon 1976, *passim*. *MESSE-NIA*: Marinatos 1953, 250. Marinatos 1954, 311-316. Marinatos 1955, 254-255, pl. 97b. Marinatos 1960, 112 ff. Marinatos 1964a, 92-93, pl. 85b-γ. Marinatos 1966, 121-128, pls. 100-105, 110-111. Parlama 1972, 262-264, plan 3, pls. 198-199. McDonald & Rapp 1972, 266-267 (no. 14). Korres 1975, *passim*. Parlama 1976, 253-256. Korres 1980a, 311-343. Korres 1980b, *passim*. Korres 1980c. Korres 1980e, 456ff. Korres 1980f, 658-659. Korres 1980/83, 232, 234ff. Korres 1984, 11-79, figs. 1-6. Korres 1984a, *passim*. Korres 1987, *passim*. Korres 1988, 224ff. Korres 1989, *passim*. Korres 1990, *passim*. Korres 1996, in print. Also see the excavation reports of G.S. Korres in *Praktika* and *Ergon* since 1974 ff. Cf. Syriopoulos 1964, 413-414. Wardle 1972, 39-40. Schachermeyr 1976a, 52ff. Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980-81, 226-229. Voutsaki 1985, *passim*. Müller 1989, *passim*. Voutsaki 1992, 73. Zavadil 1995, 49ff. Kilian – Dirlmeier 1997, 97ff. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, *passim*. Voutsaki 1998, 50, fig. 3.2. Boyd 1999, *passim*. *ATTICA*: Aphidna, see Wide 1896, 388-402. Cf. Tsountas & Manatt 1897, 385-386. Ålin 1962, 111. Syriopoulos 1968, 80. Blackburn 1970, 193-195. Pelon 1976, 80. Dickinson 1977, 34, 95, 97. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 197, 220 (F54). Brea 1985, 49. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 30, 39; Athens, see Skias 1902, 123-130. Cf. Syriopoulos 1968, 316. Immerwahr 1971, 52-53. Pantelidou 1976, 166. Pelon 1976, 79-80. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 200 (F1). Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 39; Vrana (Marathon), see Marinatos 1970, 7-11. Marinatos 1970a, 68. Marinatos 1970b, 158-163. Marinatos 1970c, 351-357. Marinatos 1970d, 9-18. Marinatos 1970e, 109-117, fig. 3, pl. II. Marinatos 1972, 184-190. Marinatos 1974, 107-113. Cf. Wardle 1972, 39. Themelis 1974, 242-244. Pelon 1976, 82. Schachermeyr 1976, 246-250, figs. 66, 67, pl. 39. Schachermeyr 1976a, 35, 96, fig. 16. Dickinson 1977, 96. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 218 (F49). Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 231. Korres 1980g, 720-721. Maran 1992, 319ff. Kilian – Dirlmeier 1997, 91ff, figs. 52-56. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 30, 39, 44, 58, 80, 91,

98; Thorikos, see Servais – Soyez 1972/76, 61-67. Müller 1989, 22. Müller 1994. Müller 1995, *passim*. Müller 1997, 82ff. Cf. Schachermeyr 1976a, 37, fig. 2. Dickinson 1977, 60, 62-64, 81, 96. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 209 (F25). Kilian – Dirlmeier 1997, 88ff, figs. 49-51. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 39.

NOTE 6

No certain tumulus. Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 223 speculates on the existence of a tumulus in Aghioi Theodoroi and Dakoronia 1987, 56 in Galataki. For a possible tumulus at Corinth (North Cemetery), see Rutter 1990, 455-458; cf. Blegen et al. 1964, 1. Lambropoulou 1997, 138-143.

NOTE 7

Years ago, a tumulus was excavated near Stratos. Today, it is covered by the waters of the Stratos dam, see Sotiriadis 1908, 100. Cf. Wace & Thompson 1912, 229. Hope Simpson 1965, 92-93 (no 315). Syriopoulos 1968, 111. Wardle 1977, 161-162. Soueref 1986, 145. Wardle 1972, 40, 96, claims that it was “apparently similar to those in Lefkas”. A pebble filled tumulus at Loutraki 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* amphikyPELLON, together with a few MH and Mycenaean sherds, were discovered at Thyreion. 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 Dörpfeld 1927, 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. 14γ. Recently at Kalamaki, Achaia; see Vasilogamvrou 1995, 375, fig. 29. Dakoronia 1987, 52, includes to her catalogue a tumulus at Ag. Ilias, Mesologgi.

NOTE 8

Possibly at the locality “Sta Oikopeda” in Paliki, see Marinatos 1932, 10 ff., figs. 12-16; cf. Wardle 1972, 40, 111. Dickinson 1977, 60. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 191 (E33). Souyoudzoglou – Hay-

wood 1986, 59, note 2. Souyoudzoglou – Haywood 1990, 138-139. Sotiriou 1997, in print. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 62-63, 80. A tumulus (?) at Same, see Marinatos 1964, 26-27, fig. 4, pl. 5:3-5; cf. Hammond 1974, 191. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 190 (E30). Possibly at the location Litharia in Poros, if we are not dealing with a tholos tomb, or a well-type tomb, see Sotiriou 1991, 168. Kolonas 1995b, in print. Blackman 1997, 44. Kalligas claimed that there was a tumulus above the MH graves at Kokkolata, see Kalligas 1977, 116-125. Kalligas 1983, 83, note 15. Cf. Wardle 1972, 111. Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 234. Dakoronia 1987, 55. Müller 1989, 26 (note 124), 39. On the contrary, Korres has convincingly argued against the above view and has shown that we are simply dealing with a MH cemetery, see Korres 1991, 191-199. Cf. Korres 1979, 421, note 22.

NOTE 9

The existence of the old excavated tumuli at Samiko and Makryisia has been doubted, see below note 48. Samiko: see Yialouris 1965, 6-40, 185-186, pls. 5-25, plan 1-2. Papakonstantinou 1981, 148-149. Papakonstantinou 1982, 133-134. Papakonstantinou 1983, 109-110. Papakonstantinou 1983a, 287-306. Cf. Daux 1956, 290. Schachermeyr 1957, 94. McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 23. Andronikos 1961/2, note 93. Ålin 1962, 79. Syriopoulos 1964, 479. Hammond 1967, 90, note 6. Schachermeyr 1971, 409, pl. 90. McDonald & Rapp 1972, 302-303, pls. 5-1, 7-3. Wardle 1972, 40. Blegen et al. 1973, 72, 153, 154. Parlama 1974, 55. Hammond 1974, 191. Howell 1974, 76. Korres 1975, 363. Pelon 1976, 77-78 (T. 5). Hooker 1976, 55-57, 235, pl. 4. Dickinson 1977, 60. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 101 (B92). Papahatzis 1979, 206-210. Liagouras 1980, 261-268. Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 224-225. Korres 1980b, 444. Korres 1980e, 458. Dietz 1980, 73. Sakellariou 1980, 90ff. Polychronopoulou 1980, 90. Korres 1981, 79-80. Hope Simpson 1981, 95 (D68). Iakovidis 1981, 21, note 21. Hiller 1982, 202ff. Hood 1986, 54ff. Korres 1987, 737-738. Lolos 1987, 216-217a, figs. 490-511. Dakoronia 1987, 50, 51, notes 18, 31. Syriopoulos 1987, 232. Herrmann 1987, pl. 112. Müller 1989, 22, 24, 37, fig. 10. Korres 1990, 10-11. Korres 1991, 194-195. Zavadil 1995. Papadopoulos 1995, 203. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 30, 38, 44, 58, 62, 80. Boyd 1999, 678-691. Makryisia: see Themelis 1968, 126-127. Themelis 1968a, 284-288, pls. 121-128, plan 1. Cf. Blegen et al. 1973, 153. Korres 1975, 363. Pelon 1976, 78 (T.

6). Schachermeyr 1976a, 57. Dickinson 1977, 34, 60. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 99 (B86). Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, op. cit. Korres 1980e, op. cit. Hope Simpson 1981, 95 (D 64). Lolos 1987, 218–219a, figs. 512–627. Dakoronia 1987, 51. Müller 1989, 22, 37, fig. 10. Zavdil 1995. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 44, 57. Boyd 1999, 705–708. Agrapidochori: see Themelis 1965, 216–217, plan 2, pls. 244y–248. Hammond 1974, 192. Dietz 1980, 74. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 93 (B66), 386. Olympia (Pelopio), see Syriopoulos 1968, 322–323. Protonotariou – Deilaki 1978, 229–234. Syriopoulos 1987, 232, 233. Kyrieleis 1988, 23–24, pls. V, VI. Kyrieleis 1990, 184, fig. 10. Tumuli are also reported from Mageira, Aghios Ilias, Olympia (Altis), Aghiorghitika, Kavkania, Ladhiko, Bouchi-oti, Tsaléika, see Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, passim. Müller 1989, 37. Zavdil 1995, 28–48, 105, 114–115, 123–127, 142–143. Boyd 1999, passim.

NOTE 10

Wace 1946, 631. Papadopoulos 1978–79, 183. Cf. Papadopoulos 1976, 407. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 75. Papadopoulos 1991, 32. The picture gained by the article of Vermeule was misleading, see Vermeule 1960, 1–20. Cf. Ålin 1962, 63–68. Desborough 1964, 97–101. Dickinson 1977, 95. It is now more clear that the coastal and inland Achaea was of interest to the Mycenaean period from the beginning. To the sites of the Early and/or Middle Mycenaean period should be now included Vounteni, see Kolonas 1998, vol. II, 607–612. Kato Sychaina, near Vounteni, see Stavropoulou – Gatsi 1994, 221–222. Pagona, within the limits of Patras, see Kotsaki 1987, 137. Kotsaki 1988, 149. Stavropoulou – Gatsi 1989, 121–122. Stavropoulou – Gatsi 1995, 514ff. Alexopoulou & Stavropoulou – Gatsi 1996, in print. Stavropoulou – Gatsi 1998, in print. Petroto, see Petropoulos 1989, 132. Petropoulos 1990, 499–504, plans 1–2. Petropoulos 1991, 249ff. Cf. Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1994, 200. Kontorli – Papadopoulou 1995, 114, fig. 8. The cemetery at Kallithea (Laganidia) near Patras, see Papadopoulos 1987a, 89ff, fig. 103. Papadopoulos 1987b, 69ff, pls. 58–63. Papadopoulos 1988, 24ff. Papadopoulos 1988a, 32ff. Papadopoulos 1989, 23ff. Papadopoulos 1996, 7. Papadopoulos 1999, 270, pl. LVIII. Cf. Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1994, 200. Kontorli – Papadopoulou 1995, 113, fig. 6. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 58. Katarrachia at Riolo (Lappa) see Petritaki 1988, 166. Vasilogamvrou 1998, in print. Aigion, see Papazoglou 1982, 149. Petropoulos 1990a,

137. Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1998. The cave-site at Kastria, see Sampson 1997, 309–310, 327–328, 336–337, pl. 10, plans 81.792, 84.799. The cemetery at Nikoleika in Aigion, see Petropoulos 1991a, 156. Petropoulos 1995, in print. I believe that the early phase of the building at Katarraktis (Drakotrypa) should be dated to the Early Mycenaean period, rather than to the MH, see Zaphiropoulos 1957, 115. Zaphiropoulos 1958, 167. Cf. Dickinson 1977, 23. Papadopoulos 1978–79, 30 (no. 33), 45–46. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 89 (B51). Concerning other new sites, see Rizakis 1992, passim. Kolonas 1995, 468ff. Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1994a, 269ff. Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1998. See also note 44.

NOTE 11

Papadopoulos 1978–79, 62, 127ff. Papadopoulos 1991, 31.

NOTE 12

On the history of the region, see Triantafyllou 1995, col. 1699–1700, 1861–1864, 2291–2292. Cf. Thomopoulos 1950, 314 (note 1), 330.

NOTE 13

See Philippson–Kirsten 1959, 197.

NOTE 14

The animal species and the vegetation of the region are notable. The general area of Mt. Erymanthos was well-forested in antiquity. Characteristic is the following reference taken from Homer's *Odyssey* (ς 102–104):

Ὀῖη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἶσι κατ' οὖρα
 ἰοχέαιρα,
 ἦ κατὰ τῆς ἡγέτον περιμήκετον ἦ
 Ἐρύμανθον,
 τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὠκείησ'
 ἐλάφοισι·

NOTE 15

Kolonas 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 Zarouchléika – Patras, where it has the meaning of entrance to the city, see Triantafyllou 1995, 1699. The place-name is widely attested in Greece, see *Ἡπειρωτικά Χρονικά*, A', 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 Fthiotidha with the place-name *Porta*, see Afroudakis 1990, 367 (no. 2565). On *Portes*, *Portises* in the Argolid, see Vagiakakos 1986, 343. *Portes* in the area of the Bay of Navarino, see McDonald & Rapp 1972, 264–265 (no. 3). *Porta* or *Portes* in a narrow passage outside Kozani, see Karamitrou – Mentessidi 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 *Koziaka* at Trikala, see Ioannidaki 1983, 215. On the site *Pori* (= passage) with chamber tombs near *Agr(i)apidhia* in *Chalandritsa*, see *Kyparissis* 1930, 87. Syriopoulos 1964, 106. Triantafyllou 1995, 2228. In literature it appears with 'ω' (Πωρί), and relates to the type of rock. In my opinion, more accurate is the term *Pori* written with 'ο' (Πορί), 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/Alis(s)os*, a term applied to a hill's crest prior to the foundation of the village. For its identification with Homeric *Alision*, see Sakellariou 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

Pausanias, 4.36.1, 5.3.1, 5.18.6, 6.22.5, 6.25.2. Strabo, 8. 3.24–29. Sakellariou 1958–59, 44. Marinatos 1968, 173. For comparison to neighbouring *Armatova*, see Themelīs 1965, 215. Cf. Papandreou 1924, 97. Meyer, v.s. *Pylos*, *RE*, col. 2133–2134. Sperling 1942, 79. Daux 1968, 832 ff. Der Kleine Pauly, vol. 4, col. 1249–1251. Papahatzis 1979, 388ff., note 1. Korres 1982a, 114. Themelis 1965, 218, note 9, relates the word *Pylos* to the place-name *Portes*. The association of *Portes* with *Elian Pylos* has been suggested first by Kolonas, see Kolonas 1996, in print. Kolonas 1998a, in print. Judging by the finds of the chamber tomb cemetery, the region lies within *Achaeon* domain. That is not against the suggested identification with *Elian Pylos* as Strabo (8. 3.10) reports that Mt. *Skollis* was “ὄρος πετρῶδες κοινὸν Δυμαίων τε καὶ Τριταίων καὶ Ἠλείων” (a mountain common to *Dyme*, *Tritaia* and *Elis*). Besides, in Late Mycenaean times the regions of west Achaea and north *Elis* were one and the same.

NOTE 19

“ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκίεσσι”, *Iliad*, E 397.

NOTE 20

6. 25. 2-3.

NOTE 21

Sakellariou 1958-59, 44, note 4, for the relevant bibliography. Cf. Syriopoulos 1983, 68-69. Syriopoulos 1987, 230, 233. Kolonas 1998a, in print.

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 “πέτρῃ τ’ Ὀλενίῃ” (*Iliad*, B 617, A 757), which Strabo (8. 7.5) finally identifies with Skollis: “τοῦτο δ’ οἱ μὲν Σκόλλιν καλοῦσιν, Ὀμηρος δὲ πέτρην Ὀλενίην.” And in Hesiod (74) : “ὄκειε δ’ Ὀλενίην πέτρην ποταμοῖο παρ’ ὄχθας εὐρέως Πεῖροιο”, cf. Pausanias 6.20.16. Sakellariou 1958-59, passim. Pausanias, 5.20.16. Cf. Sakellariou 1958-59, passim. Xydīs 1971, 149. The rendering of the village’s name in plural, since at least 1391, denotes “extent” (Portes) 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 Pylos.

NOTE 24

Mastrokostas 1967, 216. Mastrokostas 1968, 138. Cf. Schachermeyr 1976, 79.

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 – Deilaki 1980, “poster” and Protonotariou – Deilaki 1990, 95. Cf. Protonotariou – Deilaki 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, see 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 Vaidokoilia, see Korres 1984, 67-68. Korres 1989, 237. At Tourliditsa, 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

See Kolonas 1995, 474-475, fig. 2. Kolonas 1995a, in print. Kolonas & Moschos 1995, in print. Kolonas 1996, in print. Kolonas 1996a, 7, figs. on p.7. Moschos 1996, in print. Tomlinson 1996, 15. Touchais 1996, 1170-1171. Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1998. Papadopoulos 1999, 268, 271-272, pl. LIXa,b. For a LM IIIC stirrup jar from this tomb, see Moschos 1996, in print and Kanta 1998, 44-45.

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 Aravonitsa, 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 – Deilaki 1980, 152, note 138. Verdēlis describes the built tombs, of similar construction, at Pharsala as “θαλαμοειδείς τετραγώνους τάφους” (square chamber tombs), see Verdēlis 1952, 197. “-Built graves” in Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 427. Cf. 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 *stomion*. Müller 1994, 224ff, insists on the distinction of this certain type to built chamber tombs (e.g. tombs of square plan and corbelled ceiling) and stone-built tombs (e.g. side approach, Gamma type graves, absence of corbelling). 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 *stomion* 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 corbelled 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. 153b. Cf. Gado- lou 1998, 31-32 (no. 23), 205.

NOTE 35

The large opening of the first tomb at Pharsala (2,50m. wide) seems extremely difficult to cover with slabs, see Verdellis 1952, 197. Most likely, it had an arched roof, as the second tomb probably had, see Verdellis 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" ("κτιστοειδής τάφος") at Skoura in Achaea also has a large opening (2m.), see note 44. For a possible wooden roof at Paliki ("Sta Oikopeda"), 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 Staphylos) 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 $\Pi\tau 1$ 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 Medeon, see Müller 1994, 226, note 10.

NOTE 38

Cavanagh & Mee 1998, *passim*. These tombs are known since the EH III period. The type is frequent in the MH period, found mainly in central Greece, see Blackburn 1970, 14 (no. 1), 284-285, fig. 3. Cf. Blegen & Wace 1931, 28ff. Mylonas 1951, 64ff. Dickinson 1983, *passim*. Dakoronia 1987, 61-62, notes 5-10. Nordquist 1987, 91ff, 97. See also Mylonas 1975, 205ff. Polychronopoulou 1980, 19-20, 59ff. Of a similar type are tombs Π and $\chi 1$ at the tumulus at Aphidna in Attica, see Wide 1896, 388-402. Cf. Pelon 1976, 80-82 (T. 9), pl. XXI:1-2. At the tumulus at Asine, see Dietz 1980, *passim*; cf. Dietz 1975, 157ff. At the tumuli Γ and $\Sigma\Gamma$ at Argos, their use continued during the LH IA-IIIa period, see Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 31-59, 191. Similar tombs are also known from the rest of the Mycenaean world, as for example at Nea Ionia in Volos, see below notes 44 and 50. Also, notice the tombs at the later tumuli at Pogoni and other sites in Epirus, see Andreou 1979,

239. Andreou 1980, 303-307, plan 2, pls. 145b-147. Andreou 1981, 271-273, pl. 163b. Andreou 1982, 259, pl. 161. Andreou 1982a, 54-60. Andreou 1983, 229-230, pl. 95y. Andreou 1994, 233ff. Andreou & Andreou 1994, 82ff, Figs. 22, 23, 31, 32, 34, 40, 41, 45. Cf. Papadopoulos 1987, 141. Cist graves in the A grave circle at Antrona, see Papakonstantinou 1994, 171ff.

NOTE 39

Holmberg 1944, 25, fig. 26 (of MH times). Verdellis 1952, 191. Theocharis D-M. 1970, 201. Chantziagelakis 1982, 226. Chantziagelakis 1983, 195 (T. 172). Cf. Baziou-Eustathiou 1985, 18 (T40). At Mazaraki and Elaphotopos in Epirus, see Vokotopoulou 1969, 179-181, 191; cf. Papadopoulos 1976a, 278. At Kefalovryso in Natfaktos, as my colleague H. Kolia informs me. At chamber P of Grave Circle B, see Mylonas 1972-73, 217. Also known from the floor of tholos tombs, e.g. in the case of Kakovatos (B), see Pelon 1976, 220-221 (Th. 28B), pl. CII:1. At Karpofora, see Choremis 1973, 46, 62-65, 70, 72. In chamber tomb A at Kallithea in Patras, see Papadopoulos 1978, 123, pl. 101a. At Vrohisa in Elis, see Vikatou 1996-97, 309. From the floor of rectangular built chamber tombs at Karfi – Crete, see Pendlebury et al. 1937-38, 100ff.

NOTE 40

CMS, V, Suppl. III, forthcoming.

NOTE 41

FS 224, FM 64:5, 78:3. Mountjoy 1986, 33-34, fig. 34.

NOTE 42

Mylonas 1972-73, 55 (T-20), pl. 43y. Cf. Dietz 1991, 192, fig. 58 (AI-3).

NOTE 43

For similar amulets, see Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 83-84, note 181, pl. T53, 1-2. For similar perforated rhomboidal finds of ivory of non-reported use, see Mylonas 1972-73, pl. 22a, b. Clearly, we are not dealing merely with a perforated vase sherd.

NOTE 44

The existence of a tomb at Skoura in Achaea has been known for years, see Mastrokostas 1960, 144. Cf. Åström 1964, 107. Papadopoulos 1978-79, 33 (no. 52). Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 106. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 80. Mastrokostas has described it as «κτιστοειδής» ("built-like"), perhaps in order to point out that it is not a cist grave, as has prevailed in literature. Unfortunately the exact place of the tomb

is ignored. Also note a pit grave at Drimalleika in Krimi, with one side built, see Petropoulos 1985, 135; cf. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 80. Pit graves and cist tombs of the LH IIIA-B period are reported from Arnouga (Kantalos) in Kalavryta, see Sampson 1997, 361. Intramural burial (LH IIIB) at Katarraktis (Ag. Athanasios), see Zaphiropoulos 1958, 172. Cf. Papadopoulos 1978-79, 59-60. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 36. Intramural burial in a cist grave at Aigion, see Papazoglou 1982, 149. Also, a child burial of sub-Mycenaean or Geometric times, see Papazoglou 1984, 95. Earlier cist graves are also known in the region, as in the case of two graves in Thea (Rodista), which are not sub-Mycenaean as originally thought, but belong to the MH/LH I period, see Dekoulakou 1973-74, 381-382, Fig. 247. Cf. Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1994, 200, note 181. Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1994a, 272, Figs. 14-19. Five MH tombs have been discovered in Patras, see Papakosta 1980, 193 and Petropoulos 1990, 495, 514-515, note 3. An intramural cist at Pagona, see Stavropoulou – Gatsi 1995, 518, plan 2, Fig. 7. At Aigion, pit graves and cist tombs of MH/LH period within and outside a peribolos, see Petropoulos 1990, 508 and Petropoulos 1990a, 137. A MH tomb at Krathio in Aigialeia, from which a Minyan kantharos was derived, see Papadopoulos 1978-79, 36-37 (no. 67-68), 50. Recently, also at Nikoleika in Aigion, see Petropoulos 1996, in print. A MH intramural pit or cist at Teichos Dymaion, see Mastrokostas 1966, 159; cf. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 37. For the distribution of cist graves, see relevant bibliography in Dickinson 1977, 59-60, 65. Cf. Snodgrass 1971, 180-182. Desborough 1964, 33. Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 139ff. Dickinson 1983, 62 and notes 41-45. Syriopoulos 1983a, 393. Mee & Cavanagh 1984, *passim*. Dakoronia 1987, 61ff. Vanschoonwinkel 1991, 184, 187-188. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, *passim*. Also add: Nea Ionia in Volos, see Injesiloglou 1981, 252, pl. 151b-y. Chantziagelakis 1982, 225-226. Baziou-Eustathiou 1984, 140, 142, pl. 448. Cf. Baziou-Eustathiou 1985, 17ff., plans 1-17, pls. 13-30. Baziou-Eustathiou 1991, 1183. Baziou-Eustathiou 1993, 59-60. Kynos, see Dakoronia 1993, 218. Athens, see Alexandri 1976, 26 (T. I, II), pl. 318-y. Karagiorga – Stathakopoulou 1979, 16-17 (T. I - VIII). Vravrona, see Kakavogianni 1984, 45. Epirus, see Tartaron & Zachos 1994, 63ff, table 1 and Andreou 1976, 202. Cf. Soueref 1986, 113-115. Papadopoulos 1987, 137ff., pl. XXXVa-b. Papadopoulos 1987c, 361. Andreou 1994, 233ff. Also in Albania, see Bejko 1994, 110-111.

NOTE 45

See Protonotariou – Deilaki 1966, 246 and note 22. According to Dickinson 1983, 62 it was mainly attributed to the continuity of Mycenaean tradition. Cf. Desborough 1964, 37–40, 70. Styrenius 1967, 161–162. Vokotopoulou 1969, *passim*. Snodgrass 1971, 173, 177–184. Papadopoulos 1976a, 278. Dakoronia 1987, 65–66. Mee & Cavanagh 1990, 242.

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 period, or even earlier. Such a case would be of particular interest to the region of Achaea.

NOTE 47

Supra note 5. According to Andronikos, the covering of the peribolos in the case of Aphidna, reveals that “... το νόημα της κρηπίδος είναι αναμφιβόλως συμβολικών Σημαίνει το θεμέλιον, το οποίο θα στηριχτεί το ‘μνημείον’...”, see Andronikos 1961/2, 173.

NOTE 48

For the distinction between grave circles and tumuli see Korres 1991, 191ff. He describes the ‘tumulus’ at Samiko as a Grave circle and the ‘tumulus’ at Makryisia, which is of comparable construction to ‘tumulus’ B at Portes, as a tholos tomb, see *ibid.*, 194–195. Korres 1975, 363. Korres 1980b, 444. Korres 1981, 79. Cf. Korres 1980e, 458. Korres 1987, 737–738. On the contrary, Dickinson 1977, 60 and 1983, 61 regards them as tumuli, while he mentions the different view expressed by Iakovidis. Cf. Iakovidis 1981, 21, note 21. Other authors, too, believe that they are tumuli, see Dietz 1980, 73. Müller 1989, 22, 37. Papadopoulos 1995, 203. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 44. See also Dakoronia 1987, 51, 58–59 (notes 18, 31). Papakonstantinou in Korres 1990, 11 regards the burial structure

at Samiko as a well-shaped tomb and compares it to tumulus III from the same region.

NOTE 49

Kolonas & Moschos 1994, 230–231. See also *supra* notes 29, 30.

NOTE 50

Tsountas 1898, 142 (Early Cycladic). At Paliokklisi in Farsala (MH), see Toufexis 1991, 222. At Lerna (MH, LH), see Blackburn 1970, 13. At Iolkos, see Theocharis D.–M. 1970, 200, plan 1; cf. Schachermeier 1976a, 60–61, fig. 10. Batziou–Eustathiou 1985, 23, pl. 16α (T. 49); 24, pl. 17α (T.50); 29, pl. 198 (T. 166); 33, pl. 216 (T. 188); 42, pl. 25α (T. 189); 50, pl. 306 (T198). At Lefkandi, see Sapouna – Sakellaraki 1993, 196 (tomb B). At Eleusis, see Pahygianni–Kaloudi 1979, 39–40 (T.1). At Pavlopetri Laconia, see Harding, Cadogan & Howell 1969, 123. At Marmara, see Dakoronia 1987, 39–40 (T. E4), 45–46 (T. Θ3), 61. 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, pls. 229–231; 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

Yialouris 1966, 171, pl. 182e. Papathanasopoulos 1969, 149, pl. 147e. Parlama 1974, 40, pl. 31στ. Cf. Mountjoy 1999, 378, fig. 131:31. Unpublished material from Chelidoni and Ag. Triadha.

NOTE 52

Papadopoulos 1978–79, 84 (group A). Kolonas 1998, vol. II, 511–512; vol. III2, pls. 179.501, 180.503, 182.513. Cf. Mountjoy 1999, 407, fig. 142:14.

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 × 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

FS 27, FM 76:3. Cf. Marinatos 1953, 248, fig. 9. Yialouris 1965, 23–24, pls. 14ζ–η, 15α (no 48–50). Pantelidou 1976, 62–64, 177, pl. 9α–6. Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, pl. 39:5. Lolos 1987, 286ff.

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 (Γ-55), pl. 52e. For a similar decoration in a FS 211 cup, see Blegen 1937, fig. 105:407. Also in an ephyrian gobblet (FS 270) from Athens, see Pantelidou 1976, 83 (no 13), 86, 185, pl. 24ζ.

NOTE 58

Mylonas 1972–73, 66 (Γ-53), pl. 52α. Cf. Dietz 1991, 160, fig. 48:AB-10(2), note 371 (with the relevant bibliography). Spyropoulos 1973, 265–266, pl. 2188. Yalouris 1965, pl. 14a. Cf. Lolos 1987, 233ff. Mountjoy 1999, 374:10, fig. 128:10.

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 Vrysari, 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. Petropoulos informs me. Cf. Papazoglou – Manioudaki 1998. Minyan ware was recently recovered from the acropolis at Vounteni, 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:στ. Yet, it belongs to LH I, see Lolos 1987, 217, 369, fig. 504b. Argive Minyan ware is known in Achaea, see Zapheiropoulos 1958, 173-174, pl. 135α,β. Cf. Papadopoulos 1978-79, 64 (a). Also, at Xirokambos in Starochori, see Petritaki 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

Yialouris 1965, 36; Themelis 1968α, 284-285.

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 Zapheiropoulos 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 Lefkas). Mylonas 1972-73, 191(O-192), pls. 170ξ, 235 (Mycenae); cf. Dietz 1991, 214 (GA-2), 215, fig. 67. A single specimen from an early grave in the inner tumulus at Vodhinë (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. 245α. 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

See Pelon 1976, 99-115. Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 133-138. Dietz 1980, 73ff. Dakoronia 1987, 48-60. Müller 1989. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, *passim*.

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

Papakonstantinou 1981, 148-149 (T. XI of tumulus 2 and T.VII of tumulus 3). Papakonstantinou 1982, 133 (T. IV of tumulus 2).

NOTE 69

Gimbutas 1961, 193ff. Gimbutas 1974, 133. Gimbutas 1979, 113ff.; Hammond 1967, 96ff. Hammond 1972, 243ff. Hammond 1974, 191, fig. 17.2. Hammond 1976, 118; Sakellariou 1980, 90ff.

NOTE 70

See Mylonas 1972-73, 249-254.

NOTE 71

Häusler 1981, 59ff. Cf. Wardle 1972, 38ff., 40. Schachermeyr 1976, 276. Dickinson 1977, 34. Dietz 1980, 71,73-74. Korres 1980e, 458. Korres 1988, 227-228. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 29, note 91.

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 1994, 225 suggests. Cf. Müller 1994, 229.

NOTE 74

Protonotariou – Deilaki 1966, 239-247, pls. XL-XLIV. Deshayes 1966, 104 (T 26), pls. XI,2 and XCVII,8. Cf. *BCH* 83, 1959, 774;

Protonotariou – Deilaki 1980, 54-59. Cf. Protonotariou – Deilaki 1990a, 78, fig. 7. Also, at Perseus or Alexander the Great side-street, see Banaka – Dimaki 1991, 96 (tomb 164).

NOTE 75

Waterhouse & Hope Simpson 1960, 103. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 112 (C 14). Boyd 1999, 777.

NOTE 76

Sotiriadis 1907, 111. EFA & Constantinou 1964, 223. Vatin 1969, 27, 44-45. Müller 1994, 223ff. Müller 1995. Müller 1997, 82ff. Cf. Dickinson 1977, 60, 65. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 255 (G 51). Korres 1980h, 240-241.

NOTE 77

Christopoulou 1986, 388. Cf. Dickinson 1989, 134. Faraklas 1996, 223.

NOTE 78

Verdelis 1951, 156, plan III. Verdelis 1952, 197ff., fig. 13. Verdelis 1953, 128-131, pl. II, fig. 9. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 290 (H48). Voutsaki 1992, 101.

NOTE 79

Wolters 1889, 262-269. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 274 (H 2). Voutsaki 1992, 101.

NOTE 80

See *supra* note 5.

NOTE 81

Mylonas 1932, 53-57, figs. 32-33. Mylonas 1975, 205ff; cf. Blackburn 1970, 216.

NOTE 82

Gallet de Santerre 1958, 93-94. Syriopoulos 1983a, 377 (LXXXIII).

NOTE 83

Karelli et al. 1983, 6-11. Karelli et al. 1984, 2-5. An additional tomb from the excavations of 1985, see Achilara 1991, 1351-1353 (Tomb B). Cf. Achilara 1986, 10-11. Catling 1988, 61. Tsaravopoulos & Zafiriou 1995, 2, 5, fig. on p. 2; On older reports, see Charitonidis 1961/2, 266, pl.321γ-ζ. Daux 1962, 878. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 371. Dickinson 1983, 62.

NOTE 84

Eustratiou 1979, 70-71.

NOTE 85

Skilardi 1987, 113.

NOTE 86

Zapheiropoulos 1965, 505-506, pl. 640f.
Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 333.
Syriopoulos 1983a, 380 (LXXXVII:9).
Vlachopoulos 1995, 10, 283, 636.

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

Daux 1959, 658. *Atti e memoria del primo congresso internazionale di micenologia*, vol. 1, 1968, 177. Dickinson 1977, 65. McDonald & Hope Simpson 1969, 130. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 99 (B88).

NOTE 89

Kolonas 1993, 150. Kolonas 1994, 21.
Kolonas 1997a, 28.

NOTE 90

See note 37. The tombs at Ras – Shamra (Ugarit), one example at Enkomi (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 Ünal, 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 Medeon 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

Mylonas 1966, 89, fig. 110. Mylonas 1975, passim. Cf. Blackburn 1970, 216. Schachermeyr 1976a, 94-95, fig. 15. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 197, 203-204 (F9).

NOTE 94

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

NOTE 95

Sapouna – Sakellaraki 1993, 195-196. *AR* 1993-94, 38. Sapouna – Sakellaraki 1995, 41ff, figs. 2-4, pl. 5. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 39 (as Beta? type). This tomb is of great importance, having a roofed *stomion* 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

Theocharis 1964, 261. Theocharis 1966, 253-254, pl. 245a. Cf. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 292 (H 57).

NOTE 99

Schliemann 1881, 17-39. Tsountas and Manatt 1897, 126-129. Bulle 1907, 85-87. Orlandos 1915, 51-53. Pelon 1976, 233-237 (Th. 33), pls. CX-CXV. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 236-7 (G1).

NOTE 100

Valmin 1927-28, 190-201, 214-216, pls. IX, X:1. McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 234. Pelon 1976, 217-219 (Th. 27), pl. XCIX. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 173 (D 220). Boyd 1999, 658-662.

NOTE 101

Waterhouse & Hope Simpson 1961, 131, 132. Marinatos 1955, pl. 97f. Marinatos 1966, 121-128, fig. 2, pls. 100-105, 110-111. Korres 1974, 142-143. Korres 1975, 349. Korres 1975a, 478-482, pl. 317f. Korres 1978, 326-332, note 2, fig. 1, pls. 197-198. Korres 1980d, 132-137, 149-150, pls. 105a, 106a, 115-116. Korres 1991, 195-196 and notes 10-12a. Harding, Cadogan & Howell 1969, 123 (C.G. 14), fig. 8. Parlama 1972, 262-264, plan 3, pls. 198-200. Also, note the "circular" tomb at the location "Sta Oikopeda" in Paliki, for which a wooden roof is being suggested, see Marinatos 1932, 11, fig. 12.

NOTE 102

Parlama 1976, 255-256.

NOTE 103

The typical built chamber tombs are also known from LM Crete, cf. Syriopoulos

1983a, 383ff. See also one example of LM IIIA at Ag. Triadha in Blackman 1998, 111, fig. 151. Recently at Pantanassa Amariou of Late SM – Early Iron Age, see Tegou 1999, forthcoming.

NOTE 104

Davaras 1966, 185ff., pls. 155-161. Pini 1968, 46, fig. 94. On Cretan examples, see Papadimitriou 1954, 253-257; Mylonas 1972-73, 221, note 2. Cf. Davaras 1985, 625, figs. 1-5.

NOTE 105

Pini 1968, 47, figs. 92, 95.

NOTE 106

Xanthoudidis 1904, 22ff. Desborough 1952, 269-270. Desborough 1964, 177. Pini 1968, 48.

NOTE 107

Choremis 1973, 30. Similar suggestion for the tomb at Lefkandi, see Sapouna – Sakellaraki 1995, 46.

NOTE 108

The imperfectly formed and blocked entrance, leading to the *periboloi* of the EH cists (lined with upright slabs) at Tsepi in Marathon, is remarkable, see Marinatos 1970b, 281, fig. 4. Pantelidou – Gofa 1997, 19-22, figs. 7-11. Pantelidou – Gofa 1998, 18-23, figs. 4-11. Cf. Travlos 1988, 225-6, figs. 273, 274. Blackman 1998, 14, fig. 22; Papachristodoulou 1971, 140ff. Tsountas 1899, 74, 79-84. Cf. Barber 1981, 167-179. Barber 1994, 79, 82. Mylonas 1959, 64ff. Cf. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 16; Belmont & Renfrew 1964, 397-398. Doumas 1963, 279. Cf. Renfrew 1972, 179, 514. Doumas 1977, 44-46 (type B1, B2), 47 (type E), 128, figs. 29-31. Doumas 1988, 25. Coleman 1977, 47-48, 58 (T. 7), 62 (T. 14), 105, pls. 13, 15, 19, 20, 59, 60g,h. Overbeck 1977, 120, 129-130. Dümmler 1886, 21. Klön 1908, 116. Pelon 1987, 113, 114, pls. XXVI-XXVIII. Cf. Vermeule 1964, 80. Mylonas 1966, 89-90. Hiller 1989, 138, 142. Dickinson 1989, 135. Dickinson 1994, 222-223. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 16, 29, 46-48, 54, 64.

NOTE 109

Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 29.

NOTE 110

Cf. Mastrokostas 1960, 144. Waterhouse & Hope Simpson 1961, 134-135. Theocharis 1964, 261. Dickinson 1977, 61. Dickinson 1983, 62. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 46.

NOTE 111

Dickinson 1983, 57. But on p. 64 notes that the “shaft grave and rectangular built tomb derive from cist and pit”; cf. Dickinson 1977, 51. Dickinson 1989, 133. Dickinson 1994, 222-223. See also Vermeule 1964, 80. Mylonas 1966, 89-90. Pelon 1987, 112-115. Müller 1994, 228. Cavanagh & Mee 1998, 29.

NOTE 112

Sapouna – Sakellaraki 1995, 46.

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

Waterhouse & Hope Simpson 1961, 130. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 77-78 (B8).

NOTE 115

McDonald & Hope Simpson 1961, 130. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 110-111 (C 9).

NOTE 116

Romaios 1956, 185-186. Romaios 1957, 110-111. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 123-124 (C58). Boyd 1999, 718ff.

NOTE 117

Marinatos 1964a, 89ff. Marinatos 1965, 204-205. McDonald & Hope Simpson 1969, 152. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 136 (D 25).

NOTE 118

McDonald & Hope Simpson 1964, 233. Korres 1975b, 137ff. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 139 (D 34).

NOTE 119

Marinatos 1954, 311. Marinatos 1958, 187. Marinatos 1959, 174. Marinatos 1960, 115. Marinatos 1960a, 195. Marinatos 1961, 174. Marinatos 1963, 114. Korres 1974, 139. Korres 1975, *passim*. Korres 1975a, 431-484. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 139 (D 35). Boyd 1999, 313ff.

NOTE 120

Dontas 1966, 325, pl. 334e. Agallopoulou

1972, 65. Agallopoulou 1973, pls. 113-114. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 193 (E 39).

NOTE 121

Papavasileiou 1907, 114ff. Papavasileiou 1910, 42. Sackett et al. 1966, 69, fig. 11. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 231 (F 89).

NOTE 122

Papavasileiou 1907, 114ff. Papavasileiou 1910, 24, 29. Sackett et al. 1966, 73, 74, fig. 13. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 232 (F 93, 94).

NOTE 123

See supra note 76.

NOTE 124

Thessalika 1, 74. Hunter 1953, 142, 151. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 275 (H4).

NOTE 125

Megaw 1962-3, 24. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 281 (H 22).

NOTE 126

Theocharis 1969, 165ff. Theocharis 1969a, 223. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 284 (H 31).

NOTE 127

Wace & Thompson 1912, 25. Hunter 1953, 12, 41, 182, 198. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 284 (H 32).

NOTE 128

Seferiadou 1896, 247. Wace & Thompson 1912, 208. Hunter 1953, 16, 232. Ålin 1962, 145. Hope Simpson & Dickinson 1979, 294 (H 63).

NOTE 129

At the location “Sta Oikopeda” in Paliki, at Litharia on Poros and at Kokkolata, see supra note 8.

NOTE 130

Korres 1975, *passim*. Korres 1982, 143, 145ff. Korres 1984, 69ff. Korres 1988, 225-228. Korres 1989, 237. Korres 1996, in print. Cf. Dickinson 1977, 61. Dickinson 1983, 60, 64. Hiller 1989, 143. Voutsaki 1998, 42ff. G.S. Korres has suggested a con-

nection between tholos tomb and MH tumulus, see Korres 1989, 236; cf. Howell 1992, 37.

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 «ἀνέβαλε γὰρ λίγο ζ ...».

NOTE 133

Choremis 1973, 70-74. Koukouli – Chri-santhaki 1992, B, 369ff., plan 68. See also similar tombs in 9th c. B.C tumuli at Rous-sa (Evros); Skarlatidou 1980, 432, pl. 2536.

NOTE 134

Mastrokostas 1961/2, 129, pl. 1536. Sub-geometric Iekythoi were recovered from the interior. The tomb is not illustrated.

NOTE 135

Zapheirooulos 1957, 117. Zapheirooulos 1957a, 69-70. Syriopoulos 1964, 481ff. Papadopoulos 1978-79, 30 (no. 31). Lewar-towski 1989, 62. Zavadil 1995, 27 (A8). The sole find reported among the skeletal material was a loom weight. The tomb is not illustrated.

NOTE 136

Zapheirooulos 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

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger	BullLund	Bulletin de la Société Royale	MeditArch	
AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology (<i>Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών</i>)	des Letters de Lund			<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
ADelt	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον	CMS	Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel	OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
AE	Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς	Dodoni	Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων	OpAth	<i>Opuscula Atheniensi</i>
Aegaeum	<i>Annales d'archéologie égréenne de l'Université de Liège</i>	EAZ	Ethographisch – Archäologische Zeitung	PAA	Πρακτικά Ακαδημίας Αθηνών
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>	EEFSPA	Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών	ΠΛΑΤ <u>Ω</u> N	Δελτιον της Εταιρείας Ελλήνων Φιλολόγων, Εν Αθήναις
AkorrbI	<i>Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt</i>	Ergon	Το Έργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας	Prakt	Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung</i>	JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>	Πυρφόρος	Διηγησιαία Έκδοση Εθνικού Μετσόβιου Πολυτεχνείου
AR	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>	JMAA	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology</i>	RE	Pauly – Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
Archaeologia	Αρχαιολογία Τριμηνιαίο περιοδικό, Αθήνα	LAB	<i>Institute of Archaeology Bulletin, University College London</i>	SIMA	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
ASAG	<i>Archives Suisses d'Anthropologie Générale, Genève</i>	Kr. Chron.	Κρητικά Χρονικά	Thessalika	Αρχαιολογικόν Περιοδικόν Δημοσίευμα, Volos
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>			TUAS	<i>Temple University Aegean Symposium</i>
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>				

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Ta Ψαρά 67-68-69, 10-11.
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