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Final Neolithic Crete and the Southeast Aegean: Supplement 1

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This work is the first in a series of articles intended as supplements to the book entitled "Final Neolithic Crete and the Southeast Aegean", published in 2014. Although the book was released only a year ago, it represents the state of research of early 2013, and in the meantime some new data have come to light which are relevant to the analysis of the transition between the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age in the south Aegean. Additionally, I have realised that some elements of material culture, in particular pottery and stone tools, require more detailed presentation and richer illustration than so far possible. My book was focused on the topography of individual sites, settlement development, the role of landscape in settlement patterns and new territorial organization of the island, and the processes which were behind the dramatic changes of settlement location during the fourth millennium BC. This analysis was complemented by the publication of basic surface evidence (essential for reliable dating), but due to space restrictions the pottery and stone tools were illustrated in the book in the form of drawings only. However, a more detailed photographic presentation is needed to support some of the proposed hypothesis, and to allow other colleagues to develop their opinions on the interpretation of this material.

Introduction

There are two main aims of the first Supplement in this series. The first is to update the Gazetteer published in the book entitled *Final Neolithic Crete and the Southeast Aegean*,[1] which originally included 172 sites. Such a prompt upgrade seems useful because the newly discovered sites may further support, or, alternatively, considerably revise my earlier interpretation of some of the problems discussed in the book. Ten new FN sites in Crete are presented here, with the numbers (173 to 182) being the continuation of the Gazetteer published in the book (1 to 172). Additionally nine sites are mentioned where some finds may indicate an FN phase, but the evidence is too scarce or uncertain yet, to allow inclusion of these sites in the Gazetteer. The sites in this group (A to I) are worth further investigation. A few sites are also added to the list of LN IIb (FN II)–EB I sites on Kasos' northwestern coast.

Among the new sites are some important cases for the reconstruction of settlement patterns during the FN I, FN II and EMI early periods, which were unfortunately missed during my earlier investigations (e.g. the sites north of Pilalimata and below Moni Kapsa), Surprisingly, this group includes also sites well known for different periods of occupation (mostly LM IIIC) – I visited these frequently in the past, without noticing the much earlier evidence. The revisiting of the LM IIIC–G sites published in the book entitled *Defensible Sites in Crete, c. 1200–800 BC* (2000) will be continued,[2] with the main aim being to verify the chronology of all pre-LM IIIC phases only briefly mentioned in the book of 2000, where they were not the focus point of my research. In this latter group are Kera Sidherokefala, Krya Agios Georgios, Myrsini Kastello, and Agios Stefanos Kastello. All of them hold very defensible and strategic positions, the characteristics explaining their selection by LM IIIC people. The presence of FN and early EM I evidence here further supports my interpretation of the process of dramatic settlement change during these periods, as proposed in the *Final Neolithic Crete and the Southeast Aegean* book. The identification of FN and early EM I sherds among much more numerous pottery from later periods was possible at these

[1] NOWICKI 2014a.

[2] NOWICKI 2000.

sites only recently thanks to my improved knowledge of characteristic features of FN and early EM I pottery.

Wherever FN and/or EM I early pottery was noted at these LM IIIC sites, I re-evaluated another class of surface evidence (chipped stone) too, as it probably belongs to this newly identified earlier chronological context rather than the main LBA/EIA phase of occupation. Interesting features have been already noted regarding the innovations in chipped stone industry, the chronological and geographical diversity in obsidian appearance versus local chert and quartz use during both FN phases (FN I and FN II) and at the beginning of the EM I period.[3] The scarcity of obsidian and its replacement with other kinds of stone in some, but not all, regions of Crete observed during the FN period, must be linked to the substantial changes of settlement patterns between the LN and EM I early periods. However, the question of how should we read these "anomalies", so poorly documented as yet, is a matter that should be properly studied in a broader geographical context.

All the available evidence from Crete and the regions east of it indicates that settlement changes were probably caused by internal and external insecurity arising from conflicts between different groups of people, including substantial groups of immigrants arriving from beyond the island – and not, as recently strongly advocated by Tomkins by "a marginal colonization".[4] Regarding the latter hypothesis, first of all the FN II colonization was not "marginal": it affected almost every part of Crete, but targeting particularly the coastal and fertile areas, which were often already inhabited since the LN period. If the FN settlement expansion was a locally born phenomenon, with its roots in the Cretan LN development, then more continuity should be observed between its first (FN I) and the second (FN II) phase in terms of habitation site location and settlement organization. This is not the case, and at present, the FN I phase, in many parts of Crete, looks more like a retreat to defensible locations than as the initial step towards expansion to "marginal lands". A strong separation between FN I and FN II settlement patterns is perhaps not obvious in the Knossos region and part of the Mesara, which show more continuity throughout the entire FN period (ca. 3700/3600 – 3100 BC), but it is very clear in the East Siteia Peninsula, the Ierapetra Isthmus and in some areas of West Crete. The sequence and character of settlement changes between LN, FN I and FN II speak strongly against Tomkins' hypothesis of the indigenous spread of local Neolithic population without any intervention from beyond Crete. The FN I sites show a common retreat to defensive locations at some secure distance from the coast (as for example Katalimata, Azoria, Anatoli Pandotinou Koryfi, Pyrgia above Chersonisos, and Gortina), with Faistos being rather an exception.[5] The FN I settlements, especially in the Mesara and the Ierapetra Isthmus, do not mark a new "colonization", but only the relocation to defensible places of the old LN population, which had lived until then on the plains or on low hills on the edges of the plains, as the LN site at Mitropolis and some evidence from the neighbourhood of Gournia and from Vasiliki Kefala indicate. On contrary, the FN II expansion, although visible in all the geographic zones, was much focused on the coastal areas, with oversea contacts being an important element of the new settlement system. It cannot be accidental that in some areas, as for example the East Siteia Peninsula and the southern coast of the Rethymnon Isthmus, nearly all coastal points offering convenient natural harbours, few occupied earlier, were taken by FN II settlers. The population boom seen in the FN II (but not before) cannot be explained on the basis of available evidence concerning the settlement patterns, as a local Cretan phenomenon, with central Crete, and especially the Knossos region being the starting point of such a settlement expansion and so-called "marginal colonization".

The local LN Cretan population is too small to be seen as responsible for the FN II demographic explosion, especially given that the FN I period does not show any significant growth that might explain this development. The only other explanation of the phenomenon is a large scale migratory process, or rather processes, with immigrants coming from the east, throughout the eastern and the southeastern Aegean. Such an explanation is additionally strengthened by the other changes in material culture, which are most significant neither at the beginning of the FN nor at its end, but between the FN I and FN II. The hypothesis of migrations is strongly supported by the settlement changes similar to those recorded in Crete which have been observed in the Dodecanese and on the Anatolian coast (e.g. on the Reshadiye and Bozburun Peninsulas), a fact completely

[3] D'ANNIBALE 2008; HAGGIS et al. 2007, 682–695; NOWICKI 2014a, 298–300.

[4] TOMKINS 2008, 14.

[5] According to the recent geological studies in the area of Faistos, the hill in the fourth millennium BC was situated a few hundred metres from the sea, GHILARDI et al. 2012.

ignored by Tomkins in his defense of internal "marginal colonization".

Now, we may return to the problem of the uneven distribution of Melian obsidian between the northern and southern coast of Crete. Large scale movements of numerous groups of people, some of which arrived from beyond the earlier established Aegean obsidian trade network, may have caused changes in and/or at least temporary disruptions of these networks. Melian obsidian was clearly one of the primary raw materials traded within the region and its distribution must have been affected by any changes in the network's efficiency. The exploitation of this material did not stop during the turbulent centuries of the fourth millennium BC, but some change in preference between two different sources (Dhemenegaki and Sta Nychia), during the FN and at the beginning of the EM I, has previously been noticed.[6] In parallel to these changes at the starting point of the distribution process, we can expect some alterations at the end of the process - at the destination points. Some areas experienced a significant crisis in Melian obsidian acquisition, as can be deduced not only from the very small number of obsidian finds, but from the large amount of chipped stone of other kinds. This indicates that the decline in obsidian appearance does not reflect a general decrease of chipped stone use, but that obsidian was replaced by the local, or relatively near-at-hand, raw material. Some preliminary remarks on this problem were already made in the book Final Neolithic Crete and the Southeast Aegean,[7] but certainly much more attention should be paid to this category of evidence, especially to non-obsidian chipped stone. More systematic work on the subject is needed to propose a more comprehensive explanation of the processes behind the regional and chronological differences in the chipped stone industry. An initial attempt to present more of this material is proposed in this article.

Here, I come to the second aim of these supplementary papers, which is to enrich the amount of information on the finds, especially pottery and stone tools. This presentation will cover mainly catalogued sites, but occasionally evidence from sites which do not belong to the category of settlements/hamlets/houses included in the Gazetteer (such as caves) will be illustrated as well. When, in the past, I made comparisons between different sites and regions, I often faced the criticism that a single sherd, a single stone, or a single site do not constitute any convincing argument in comparative studies. That is true, but I hope that continuing and systematic research will allow me to consider together all these single objects and single sites (both, those published here and those scheduled for future presentation), building the reliable base essential for more thorough studies on the Neolithic-Early Bronze transition in the South Aegean. As past research indicates, what is most needed at the moment are not new theoretically-orientated ideas, which often drift far away from available evidence, or completely ignore this evidence,[8] but a solid database covering not only pottery, but also other elements of material culture and settlement organization; not only in Crete, but also in the neighbouring regions. If some new hypotheses are to be proposed they should be at least checked against (if not based on) the existing published evidence. They cannot be verbal statements, as exemplified in the most recent paper by Tomkins.[9] Tomkins' analysis of settlement relocation during FN I, the defensibility of FN I and II settlements, and the expansion of settlement during the FN II periods, all without giving a single site example apart from Knossos, makes little sense. The relocation of settlements to defensible positions in the Ierapetra Isthmus was first empirically attested by the excavation at Monastiraki Katalimata,[10] then by a series of sites identified on the basis of surface material (Vainia Stavromenos, Pano Chorio, Anatoli Pandotinou Koryfi),[11] and then additionally strengthened by the excavation at Azoria.[12] Tomkins does not refer to any of the publications on these sites or to the more general phenomenon of change, as if the latter had been deduced purely and solely on the analysis of Knossian Neolithic pottery. Tomkins seems to treat all the above sites as "dots on maps"[13] – yet the number of published fragments of the pottery from those sites is larger than the number of so far published pottery fragments from contemporary strata at Knossos.[14]

6 D'ANNIBALE 2008, 192.

7 NOWICKI 2014a, 298–301.

8 As for example TOMKINS 2014. Tomkins states on one hand that "the settlement data are sufficient, in some cases, to provide glimpses of patterns and development within the long FN period", but on the other hand he completely ignores data concerning settlement changes which was comprehensively published long before the time of Tomkins' writing.

9 TOMKINS 2014.

10 NOWICKI 1994, see also NOWICKI 1999, NOWICKI 2006, and NOWICKI 2008.

11 NOWICKI 1999, 576, NOWICKI 2002, 29–32.

12 HAGGIS et al. 2007, 668–695.

13 TOMKINS 2014, 355.

14 See for example TOMKINS 2007, fig. 1.12 and 1.15, with only 53 pottery fragments illustrated for the strata representing the FN I and FN II periods.

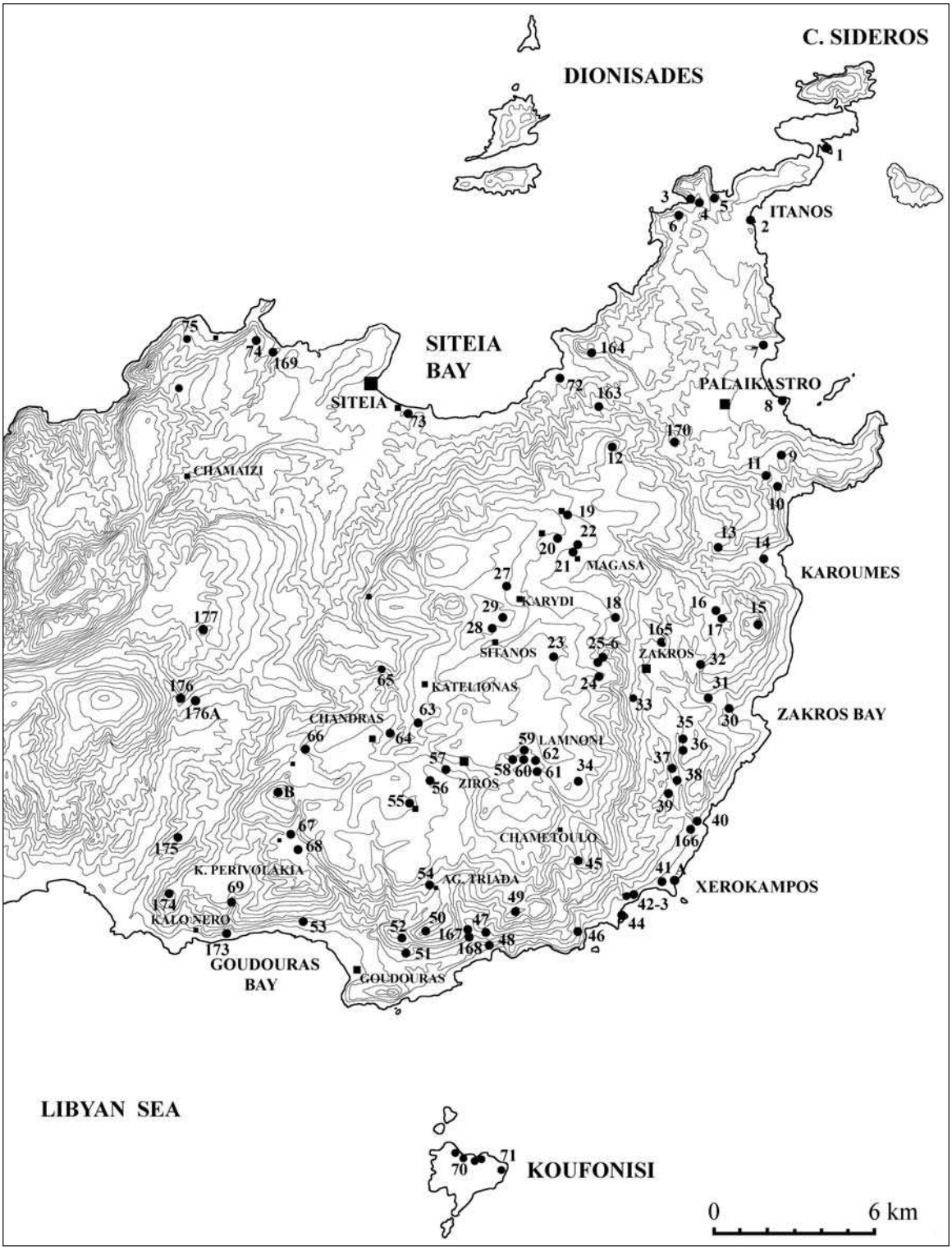

Fig. 1. Map of East Siteia Peninsula with Final Neolithic sites

Fig. 2. Moni Kapsa (Site 173) from south

The Gazetteer – Supplement 1 (Figs. 1, 9 and 11)

173. Moni Kapsa (Fig. 2)

In my recent book on the Final Neolithic in Crete I wrote "Almost nothing is known about FN II settlement in the Siteia region west of the Kapsa gorge."[15] Field investigations in 2014 have changed this picture considerably by identification of several new important sites in this region. The first site is located on a low coastal terrace, immediately west of the Kapsa gorge, ca. 100 m north of the sea, and about 30 to 40 m north of the road leading to Goudouras from the west. The site is located on a gently slope, much eroded and destroyed by modern activity. There are some terrace walls visible on the surface, but nothing that could be with certainty identified as FN house remains. FN II–EM I early pottery is scattered over an area ca. 40 m in diameter. About 30 sherds, three chipped stone pieces (two black chert and one obsidian) and several ground stone tools were recorded.

The location of this site is similar to the location of the sites at the mouth of the gorge at Xerokampos North Alona.[16] There, however, the low-lying settlements were complemented by upper sites situated on the higher terraces, immediately north of them, which were well defended by cliffs from the sea direction. The Kapsa site can be easily reached from the coast, it is tempting, therefore, to propose the pattern similar to that recorded at Xerokampos Alona, i.e. with a lower settlement overlooked by an upper more secure site. However, the best area for the location of an upper and defensive settlement here is the rocky terrace now occupied by the Kapsa Monastery. Searching the area around the monastery has not brought any positive results, but the upper sites at the Alona gorge mouth were of small sizes and if a similar pattern applied to the FN II cluster in the Kapsa area the upper site may have been completely destroyed by the monastery buildings.

174. Kalo Nero Alona (Fig. 3)

The site is located on the highest hill in the southwestern extension of the East Siteia Plateau (410 m asl). The hill dominates the entire Makrygialos coastal plain and the inland leading valley of Pilalimata-Lithines. Here, on the very summit, around the concrete column of a datum point, and on two terraces immediately east of it, the surface is scattered with numerous MM II sherds. These come mostly from cups, but several fragment of jugs/jars and tripod vessel legs were recorded as well. Only two eroded fragments may have came from human figurines. The site is also covered with sea-pebbles, especially numerous close to the western edge of the summit. There is no doubt that Alona was used as a peak sanctuary in the MM II or MM I–II period, as it was already suggested by Paul Faure.[17]

The site's history, however, has another, much earlier phase. Several FN II–EM I early sherds and chipped grey chert (Pl. II A) were seen on the highest summit-terrace and on the terrace immediately east of it, over an area ca. 30 m in diameter. A few Red Ware FN II sherds (Pl. VI A) and more chipped chert were seen on the slightly lower terrace about 200 m northeast

15 NOWICKI 2014a, 273.

16 NOWICKI 2014a, 119–121 and 240.

17 FAURE 1969, 176.

Fig. 3. Kalo Nero Alona (Site 174) and Amygdokefala (Site 175) from northeast

Fig. 4. Amygdokefala (Site 175) from southwest

of the summit. No architectural remains were noticed. The scarcity of the FN II evidence indicates that the site of this period represents a small and short-lasting occupation by a single house or a hamlet with house(s) built probably of perishable material.

175. Lithines Amygdokefala (Figs. 3 and 4)

This site is situated in the southern part of the summit of the rocky ridge which towers over the southern entrance to the Lithines-Siteia valley when approaching

Fig. 5. House remains at Amygdokefala

the valley from the Pilalimata and Diaskari direction. It lies about 4 km northeast of Diaskari and 3 km southwest of Lithines, 2.17 km north of Kalo Nero Alona, the closest FN II settlement so far identified in this region. The hill has steep slopes on three sides, with a more gentle ascends on the northern side only. Natural defensibility, as well as visual dominance in the region between the coast and the Lithines valley, must have been the main reason in the selection of this place for an extensive FN II settlement. The main part of the settlement is located on an extensive terrace immediately southwest of the highest summit, which is marked with a concrete column of a datum point. The area about 50 by 30 by 40 m is densely covered with remains of stone built houses (Fig. 5) and very numerous potsherds. Pottery is also scattered on a slightly lower terrace to the south, southeast, and east over an area ca. 80 by 20–40 m. Here, in the eastern part of this lower terrace some architectural remains can be also seen on the surface. Thus, the "core" area of the settlement, with compact-built houses can be estimated as covering about 2000 m^2, but the total size of the site, with buildings more spaciously scattered around can be estimated for at least 4000–5000 m^2, probably somewhat more. The site would be either at the the top of Class B2 or in the lower group of Class B1, according to the size classification proposed in *Final Neolithic Crete and the Southeast Aegean*,[18] with the estimated population of about 10 to 12 families.

Pottery is frequent and belongs to the Red Ware Fabric Group of FN II date – identical to the pottery known from other contemporary sites in the East Siteia region. Among the diagnostic pieces were strap handles, ledge-lug handles, rims of open bowls and collar-necked jars (Pl. I: 175.1–12). All chipped stone represent local grey chert (Pl. II B), the same as recorded in most of the FN sites in the southern part of the East Siteia region (Pls. II C and II D), but very different from the chipped stone selection on the southern coast of West Crete, where it was dominated by black (or dark grey) chert and white quartz (Pl. III A and III B). No single obsidian piece was noticed. Ground stone tools were extremely rare, with a few cobble stones, and fragments of rubbers.

This site is the westernmost settlement with material culture identical to the East Siteia FN II settlement group.

[18] NOWICKI 2014a, 249.

Fig. 6. Lithines Andromyloi (Site 176) from northeast

Fig. 7. Krya Agios Georgios (Site 177) from northwest

176. Lithines Andromyloi (Fig. 6)

This is a large LM IIIC–PG (and later) settlement, which occupies a defensible ridge about 3 km west of Lithines village. The ridge is well protected on its west and south by cliffs and on the east be a steep slope, on the north it joins other hills. Well preserved remains of substantial buildings are visible on the highest terraces, in the southern extension of the ridge. Pottery here is mostly of LM IIIC date, but some later sherds (PG, G?) are also visible around. Also here, on these highest terraces, a number of FN II–EM I early sherds and three obsidian pieces were recorded. The association of these obsidian pieces with the FN II–EM I phase of occupation is uncertain, however, because in the same area a few sherds, probably of EM II date, were also seen.

176A. Lithines Agios Ioannis

This site is located in a flat area, covered with an olive grove, 550 m east southeast of Site 176 and 100 m south southeast of the church of Agios Ioannis. Numerous fragments of FN II pottery of the Red Ware Fabric Group, with cores dark grey to black, and an obsidian flake, were seen over an area ca. 50 m in diameter. In the same olive grove, pottery of EM and MM date can be also seen, but the scatter is much larger than the FN one.

177. Krya Agios Georgios (Fig. 7)

This rocky knoll holds a particular important strategic position between the Siteia-Lithines valley and the

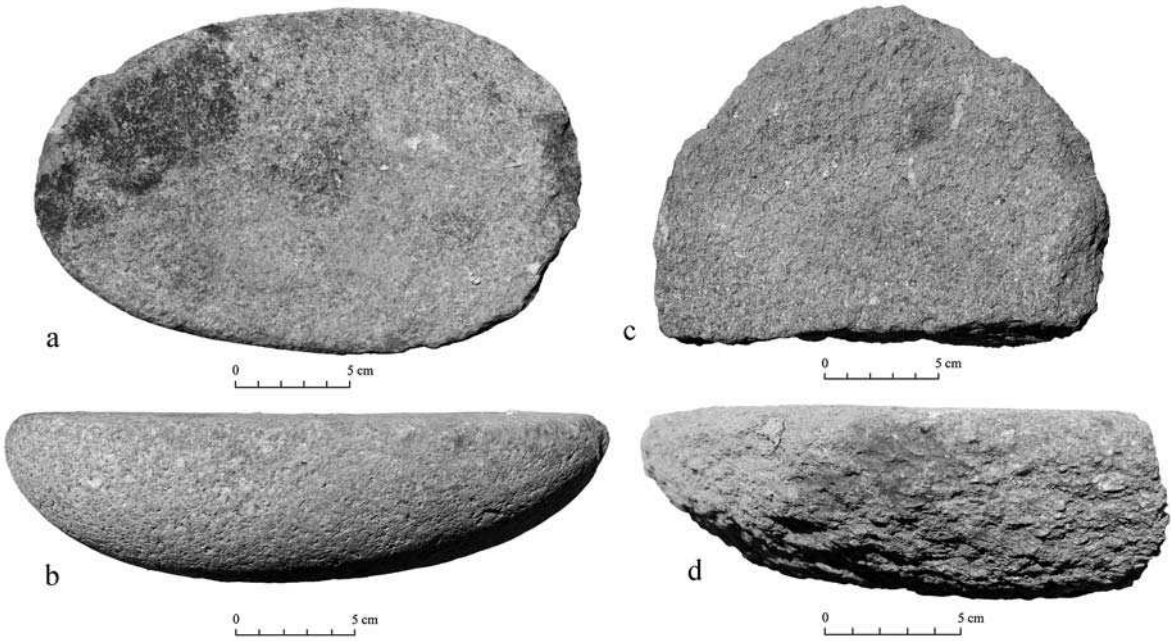

Fig. 8. Querns from Krya Agios Georgios

eastern edge of the West Siteia Mountains. It is naturally well defended by cliffs on all sides, and has around plenty of arable land, water and pasturage areas. Now somewhat isolated and remote, in the past it formed the centre of its own settlement catchment. It was a large LM IIIC defensible settlement and a Venetian stronghold.[19] The ridge was occupied on several occasions before the LM IIIC period; among the most diagnostic pottery fragments were those of MM II and FN date (Pl. VIB). FN sherds are numerous, especially in the area between the church and the gate in the Venetian fortification. Although this early material is much eroded some sherds may represent the FN I period, though FN II and probably the very early EM I can be also seen. Two quernstones, one of the saddle oblong type (Fig. 8a and 8b), and another of a more circular shape, seem to represent the FN–EM I type rather than later ones (Fig. 8c and 8d). The round type seem more common at the FN I sites, a conclusion which finds support in the chronology of the surface pottery.

178. Agios Stefanos Kastello[20]

A crescent-like summit is well protected on the north and east by cliffs, but on the west and south the hill descends with old agricultural terraces. Like many LM IIIC – G defensible settlements it had a much earlier history, which is often hidden by the huge disproportion between EIA and other earlier periods pottery visible on the surface. The revisiting of the site allowed, however, an identification of the FN – EM I early phase on the summit of Kastello. The most characteristic and most frequent is pottery of the Calcite-Tempered Fabric Group, which is probably of EM I date. This kind of pottery is rather rare in this part of Crete. Several sherds of red fabric with large chunks of white quartz and some organic temper look earlier, however. A flake of obsidian, found close to the summit, can be linked to this phase of occupation rather than the later one.

179. Myrsini Kastello (Fig. 9)

Kastello (ca. 350 m asl) rises high above the coastal plain, which extends between Mochlos and Chalinomouri on the plain's eastern side. The summit of this coastal rocky ridge has been so far known for its LM IIIC – Geometric (Archaic?) occupation.[21] It was mentioned by P. Faure as Geometric, Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic.[22] During the most recent visit, however, I was able to identify two other earlier periods of

19 NOWICKI 2000, 63 – 64.
20 NOWICKI 2000, 71 – 72.
21 NOWICKI 2000, 103 – 104.
22 FAURE 1960, 196 and Fig. 1 on p. 195.

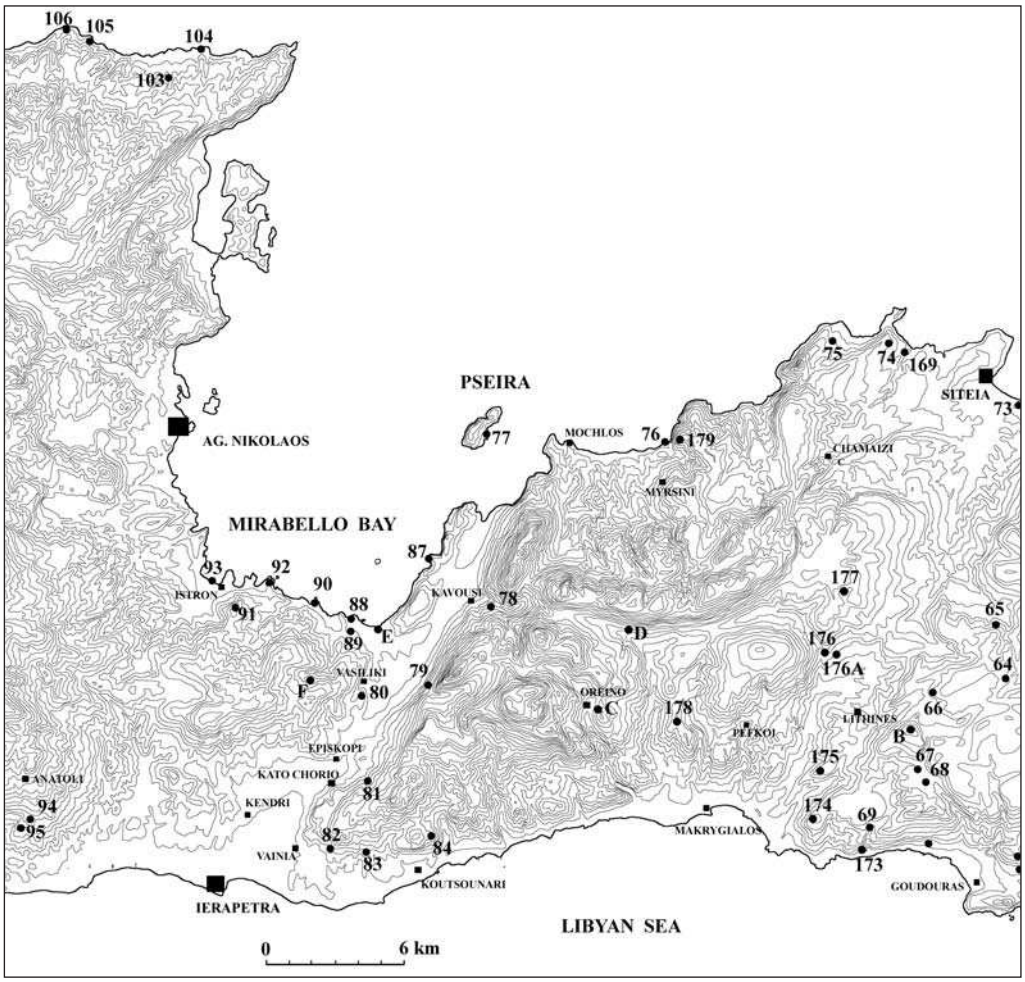

Fig. 9. Map of West Siteia, Mirabello and Ierapetra Isthmus with Final Neolithic sites

Fig. 10. Myrsini Kastello (Site 179) from south

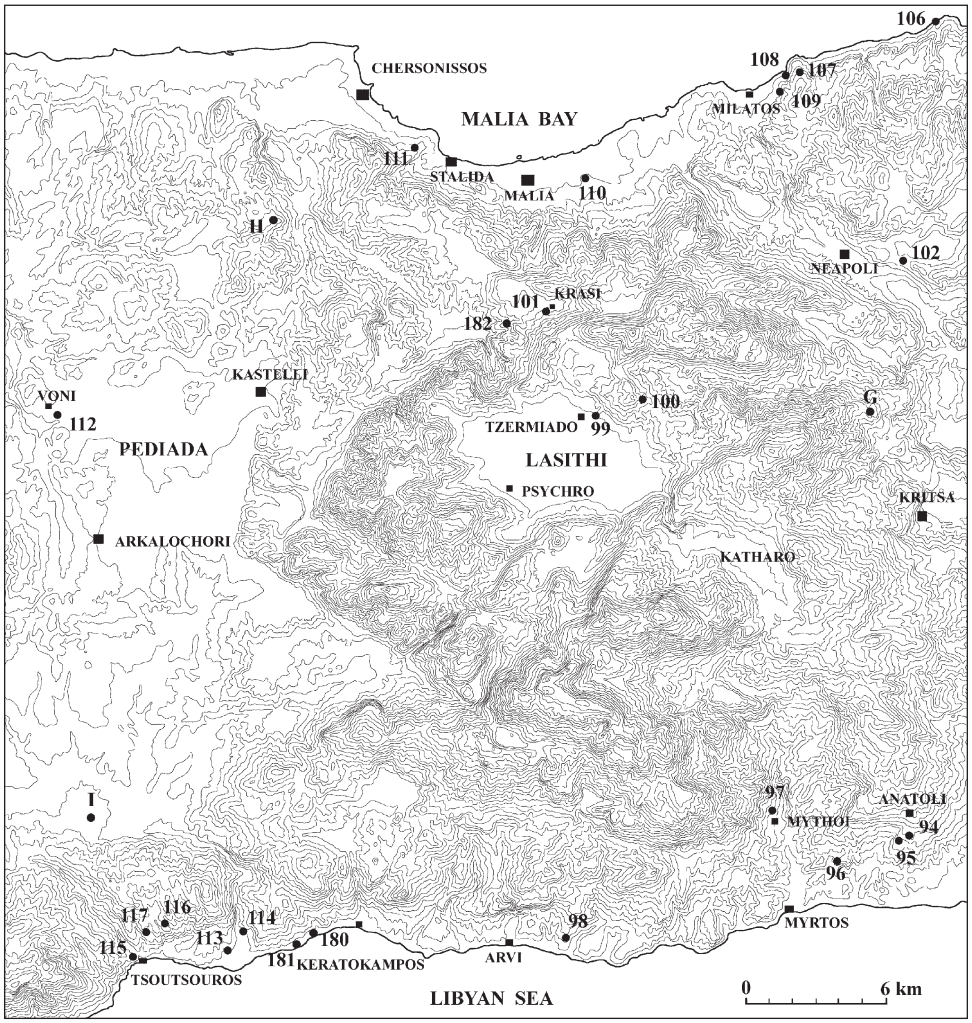

Fig. 11. Map of Lasithi and eastern part of central Crete with Final Neolithic sites

occupation. A large number of sherds belongs to the MM II period, probably contemporary with the MM II phase of Monastiraki Katalimata.[23] Pottery of this period is restricted to the very summit of Kastello and can be seen over an area of about 30 by 40 m,[24] within and around remains of what looks like an oval or semi-oval stone-built structure. Because the majority of surface evidence is of LM IIIC–PG date, the early (MM II) dating of this construction, though tempting considering the closeness of two other similar MM structures at Chamaizi and at Pyrgos, between Myrsini and Mouliana, is uncertain without excavations. The most interesting observation relevant to the subject of this paper is the identification of the pottery of the Calcite-Tempered Fabric Group, certainly not later than early EM I, and of some sherds of other fabrics which can be dated to the FN and early EM I period. One obsidian blade recorded on the summit may belong to either of two early periods: FN–EM I or MM II. Because this site is situated immediately above the FN II/EM I coastal settlement on the western side of the Chalinomouri stream-bed, the chronological and functional relations between the sites are an intriguing question.

180. Chondros Kastri Skourocharako

This site is situated on the coast, at the base of a rocky ridge, called Skourocharako, about 1 km east of Keratokampos Kastri (Figs. 11, 12 and 13).[25] Only four EM I sherds were found on the ridge's small terraces, more

[23] NOWICKI 2008, 45–52.

[24] The extension of the LM IIIC–PG settlement can be estimated as about 15 000 m^2, NOWICKI 2000, 104.

[25] BATTEN 1995, 12.

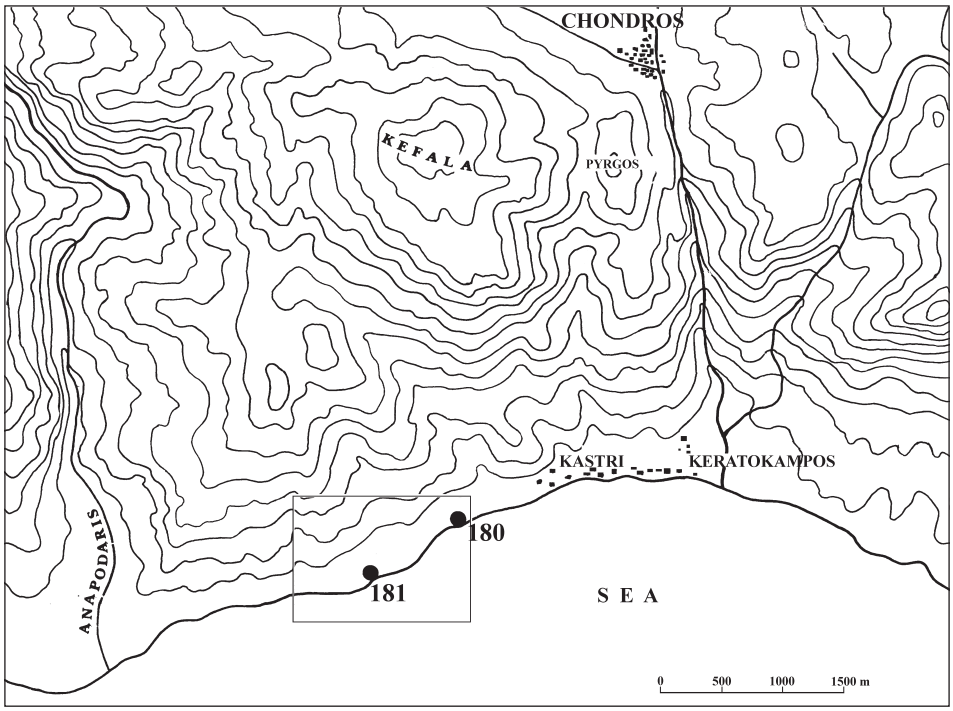

Fig. 12. Map of the Chondros–Keratokampos area with Sites 180 and 181

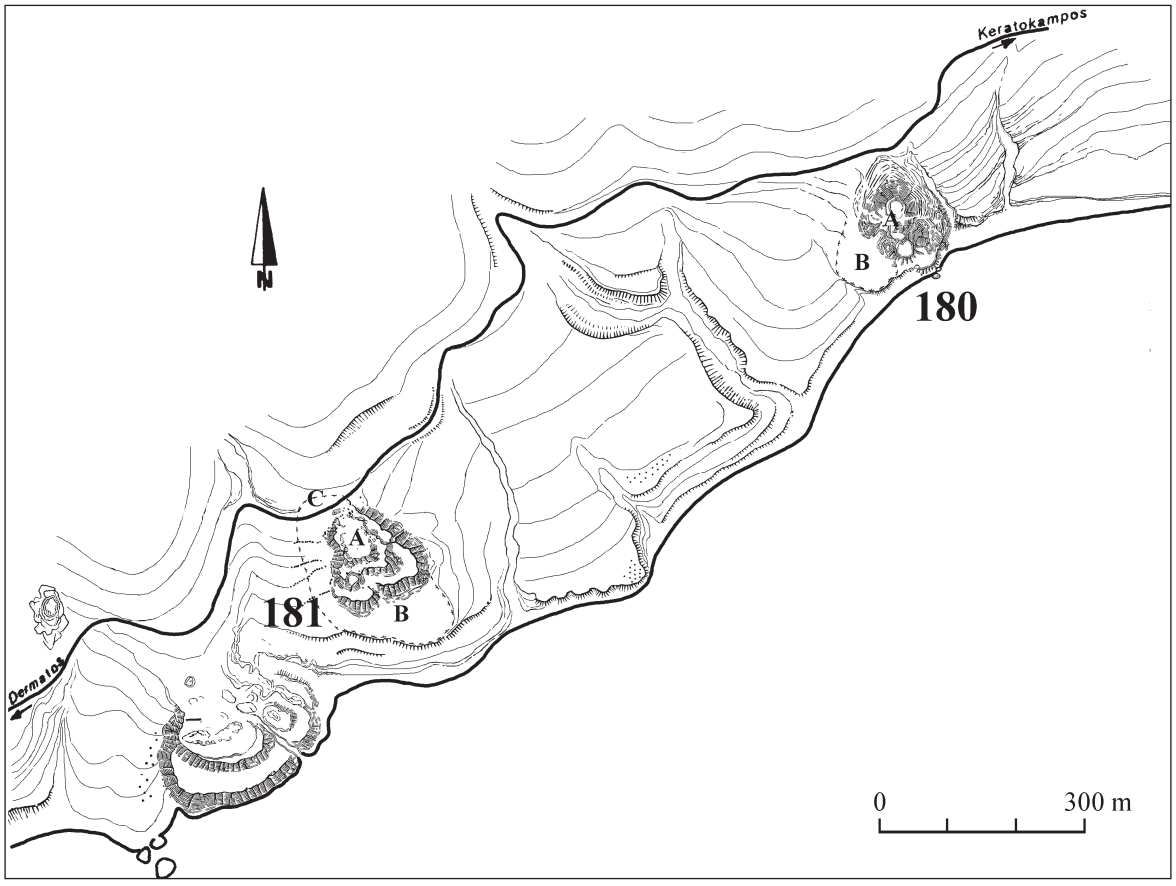

Fig. 13. Map of the coastal area southwest of Keratokampos with Sites 180 and 181 (after Batten 1995, Figs. 3 and 4)

Fig. 14. Chondros Kastri Listis East (Site 181) from west

pottery was seen on the terraces immediately west of the ridge (Fig. 13). Among the sherds were two or three of FN II date (Pl. I: 180.1), ten of EM I date, and five or six post-EM I (EM II?). On the same terrace were two chipped red chert pieces and one cobblestone tool. The amount and distribution of finds do not allow estimation of the size of this site. Its upper part on the ridge seems to be much eroded, and the lower part on the foothill has been badly destroyed by erosion and human activity. The site may represent a small settlement inhabited by a few families only. Its foundation are probably in the FN II period, but the main phase of occupation was the transition between the FN II and early EM I period.

181. Chondros Kastri Listis East (Fig. 14)

Another small FN II-early EM I site is situated in the same coastal strip east of Keratokampos Kastri, on a rocky flat-topped ridge, about 600 m west of Skourocharako (Fig. 13).[26] Three small FN sherds were found on the top of the ridge, more FN II and early EM I sherds (Pl. I: 181.1) were identified over an area ca. 20 by 30 m, below the ridge on the western slope, south and below the road Kastri–Tsoutsouros. A freshly exposed pottery deposit was seen on the northern escarpment of the road. The pottery fabric differs from the typical Red Ware of East Crete, being characterized by a large amount of limestone and phyllite large inclusions; red slip is well preserved on some sherds, which must date to EM I early.

182. Krasi Siderokefala (Fig. 15)

The identification of an FN pottery at this site was the biggest surprise of all so far revisited LM IIIC sites earlier investigated in the context of the defensible Dark Age settlements.[27] The quality and quantity of this material leaves no room for doubts that there was a proper and probably extensive habitation site on the summit of Siderokefala during the FN and perhaps in the very early EM I period. All the FN sherds were recorded in the central highest part of the ridge, where in the gap between rocky spurs natural terraces look to the south and north. Pottery has a very characteristic yellowish red to red, and yellowish brown to brown fabrics, often with the surface cracked and large inclusions of quartz and phyllite (Pl. VI C, D and E and Pl. I: 182.1). One fragment had a well preserved wiped surface. There are some similarities between the pottery from Siderokefala, the Neolithic Trapeza Ware from Pendlebury's excavation, and the Red Ware Fabric Group of FN II date, but the exact chronological relation between Siderokefala and Trapeza cannot be proposed yet. The dating of the site to FN II (with some continuation into the very beginning of EM I ?) seems to be the most secure at the

[26] The site was first mentioned by Victoria Batten: BATTEN 1995, 11.

[27] NOWICKI 2000, 155–157.

Fig. 15. Krasi Siderokefala (Site 182) from east

moment, but the possibility that the site originated earlier, and represents the period of the FN I to FN II cannot be excluded. More comparable pottery from the region around Mochos, Krasi and Kera is needed to establish a more reliable chronological sequence between the sites in this region. Nevertheless, it is obvious that Siderokefala is considerably earlier than the tholos tomb at Krasi, and probably earlier than the earliest material from the settlement on the summit of Armi, immediately east of the tomb.[28] Apart from pottery, a piece of schist pendant (?) with two pierced holes (Pl. I: 182.P1), similar to the examples known from Palaiochora Nerovolakoi,[29] a stone lid, and a saddle quernstone can be associated with this early phase of Siderokefala's occupation.

The sites where probable FN pottery was noted, but the amount of the material and its uncertainty do not allow inclusion at present into the Gazetteer

A. Xerokampos Farmakokefalo

This site is situated on the coastal terraces immediately northeast of the Trachilos peninsula, and southwest of the excavated part of the Hellenistic site. A few FN II and EM I early sherds were seen on the lowest terrace by a little bay with a small sandy beach immediately east of Trachilos. This evidence may indicate that there was already some activity at this bay before a more intensive occupation started at some point between late EM I and EM II – the periods which are represented by much more numerous pottery fragments – and continued through the MM and LM periods.

B. Etiani Kefala

A large number of MM II sherds were seen in a bulldozed area immediately west of the telecommunication station, which destroyed much of the Kefala summit, a few tens of metres west of the concrete column marking a datum point. These are mostly cups, but some fragments of jars/jugs were also noticed. In general the surface material here is similar to that recorded on Prinias, Ziros Rizoviglo and Kalo Nero Alona, and may indicate the existence of a small peak sanctuary.[30] Several chipped flakes of local grey chert (Pl. II C), which were found in the area around the telecommunication station, however, do not belong to the same phase of the site use. They must be much earlier, probably of FN or early EM I date, at latest. A few sherds may be of the same date, but they were very small and eroded fragments. The chert belongs to the same group as that

[28] NOWICKI 2014a, 180.

[29] NOWICKI 2014a, 476, Pl. 64:151.P1 and P2.

[30] RUTKOWSKI 1988, 78–79.

recorded at other FN sites in the same region, namely Kalo Nero Alona (Site 174, Pl. II A), Sargou Kefala (Site 50 Pl. II D) and the site of Lithines Amygdokefala (Site 175) (Pl. II B).

C. Oreino Kastri

An important LM IIIC settlement on the rocky ridge of Kastri, ca. 1 km east of the Orino village, was first mentioned by Pendlebury,[31] and later, in the 1980s, it was studied by the author.[32] Twelve sherds dated generally to the FN II–EM I periods were noticed on the Kastri highest terrace and its lower part enclosed by a fortification wall, the latter either of MM II or LM IIIC date. For the lack of comparable pottery representing separate FN and EM I assemblages in this region, it seems to be prematurely to classify this site in the Gazetteer.

D. Chrisopigi Korakia

This site is situated on a rocky ridge which rises in the mouth of a little gorge, about 20 minutes' walk from Chrisopigi (Roukaka), east of the village.[33] At least six sherds were found which can be dated generally to the FN II–EM I period. The fragments, however, are small and eroded, and for the reason given above it is uncertain whether they can be dated to the FN period. The later (EM I or even EM II) dating is also possible. The pottery fabric is similar or identical with that of some early sherds recorded at Oreino Kastri (see above). Both the sites should be farther monitored because their positive identification will yield the first evidence for such an early presence of settlements in this mountainous part of East Crete.

E. Pacheia Ammos Chalepa

Remains of a large EM I–II settlement can be seen on the northern coast of the Ierapetra Isthmus, a few hundred metres east of the Pacheia Ammos beach, as far east as the construction of an unfinished church. A small part of this settlement was excavated more than a decade ago by E. Hadjidaki and M. Tsipopoulou, but nothing has been published yet. A substantial part of the surface material indicates that the site covered already in the early EM I period an area along the coast at least 300 by 50–60 m, and probably more. Together with this frequent early EM I pottery a few sherds were noted which looked more FN II than EM I. It is possible, therefore, although the actual evidence is weak, that the origin of this coastal site may have been contemporary and related to the settling of the inland FN II–EM I site on the Kefala hill, immediately south of Vasiliki village, 3.5 km south of Chalepa. Even earlier, of FN I date, is an illustrated rim fragment (Pl. I: E.1) of the very characteristic fabric, greenish grey in section with well burnished dark brown surface, paralleling a large group of FN I pottery from Monastiraki Katalimata.

F. Asari

This is an important LM IIIC defensible settlement situated deep in the gorge running from the Gournia coastal plain to the inland Asari valley situated about 2 km south of Gournia.[34] Apart from LM IIIC pottery and wall remains the site yielded also some pottery of MM date. On my recent visit, I recorded a few sherds which were not later than early EM I, but some of them may date to the FN II period. These were seen not on Kefala's summit itself, but on its southern slope.

G. Tapes Kato Kastello

This ridge, situated about 0.7 km north of Tapes village, was a large LM IIIC defensible settlement, with some evidence also indicating MM use of the place.[35] Remains of houses of this date can be traced all over the vast flat summit of the ridge over an area ca. 2 ha. Three small and eroded fragments of probable FN pottery were recorded on the highest terrace of Kato Kastello.

H. Kalo Chorio Maza

The hill of Maza (ca. 450 m asl) rises about 1 km southeast of Kalo Chorio, on the eastern edge of the Pediada region, above the deep valley which separates central Crete from the Lasithi Mountains. The entire

31 PENDLEBURY 1939, 385.
32 NOWICKI 2000, 73–77.
33 NOWICKI 2000, 72–73.
34 NOWICKI 2000, 106–107.
35 NOWICKI 2000, 123–125.

Fig. 16. Palaikastro Lidia Kefala (Sites 170 and 170A: see the Gazetteer in Nowicki 2014a)

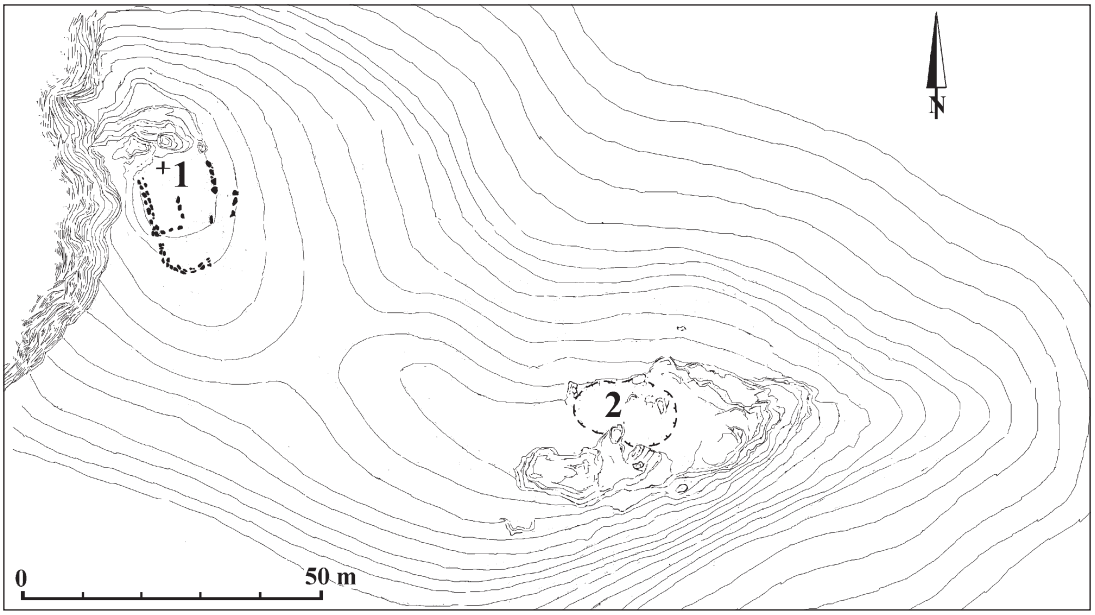

Fig. 17. Plan of the northern part of Lidia Kefala. (1) FN II–EM I site, (2) MM peak sanctuary

summit is densely covered with remains of walls and pottery which date primary to the LM IIIC, PG and G periods.[36] When looking for the place where N. Platon excavated a cult place of the peak sanctuary type in the 1940s, I found a concentration of MM II sherds, mainly cup fragments, and numerous pebbles around the rocky elevation on the northwest edge of the hill, which faces the Potamoi valley. Together with this MM evidence were a few FN–EM I sherds, an obsidian blade and several pieces of chipped dark grey and black chert, and quartz.

I. Kasteliana Kastello

The vast summit of this characteristic hill, rising from the Mesara plain,[37] is covered with enormous amount of ancient and medieval pottery and ruins of a Venetian castle, which makes searching for prehistoric evidence very difficult. Nevertheless, the earliest occupation of the site can be deduced from two fragments of FN pottery, one rim fragment of a probably EM I early jar, and one chipped greenish grey chert, which were found in the eastern part of Kastello.

[36] NOWICKI 2000, 175–177.

[37] NOWICKI 2000, 183.

Fig. 18. The entrance to the Voivoda Cave between Ziros and Katelionas (on the left) from west

Some Remarks on Other Sites

Two important FN–EM I early sites had been identified on the hill of Kefala, on the western edge of the Palaikastro plain (Fig. 16), shortly before the book on Final Neolithic Crete was handed over to the publisher.[38] Because it was too late to illustrate the sites and their diagnostic potsherds in the book, here some of these missing elements are published (Figs. 16 and 17, and 22: 170 and 170A). The topographic situation, and especially the relation between the northwest site (Site 170A) and the newly identified MM II peak sanctuary on the northeast edge of Kefala, is shown on Fig. 17.[39]

In the book of 2014 I wrote "The almost complete absence of open-air settlements of this date [LN and FN I] in the East Siteia Peninsula needs some explanation, especially since the region was extremely densely populated during the FN II period... LN or FN I material can be identified only in three caves in this region: Skales, Voivoda and Pelekita. No relevant material, however, has been published yet, therefore a more precise dating of these caves' use within the LN–FN I periods is difficult".[40] No new sites have been identified, which would clarify the situation in this part of Crete during the pre-FN II period, but two of the aforementioned caves were investigated in the 1980s and it is worth to remind some of these investigations results.[41]

The Voivoda cave (35°05.275' N, 026°07.696' E, 630 m asl) is situated on the southern slope of the Xykefalo hill, above a small valley between Ziros and Katelionas (Fig. 18). The pottery studied during our earlier investigations indicated the Late Neolithic as the period of occupation, substantially preceding the FN II phase, and most probably also in some distance from the FN I, at least as the latter is known from the pottery excavated in the Ierapetra Isthmus. Well burnished sherds, mostly red, brown and black in colour, were numerous, although non-burnished fragments were also recorded. The earliest chronological position of the Voivoda pottery in the sequence: LN, FN I and FN II can be easily noted especially when comparing this pottery (Pl. IV A–C) with the FN II Red Ware from the East Siteia Peninsula (Pl. IV D–F), but also with the FN I material from Katalimata (Pl. V A), Anatoli Pandotinou Koryfi (Pl. V B), and the site above Chersonissos (Site 111; Pl. V C). Some fabrics and treatment of the surface can be compared, however, to the LN or FN I pottery known from several unexcavated sites, such as Kastelli Psilo Kastelli, in Mesara (Pl. V D).

38 NOWICKI 2014a, 242–243; NOWICKI 2014b.
39 NOWICKI 2014a, 243.
40 NOWICKI 2014a, 252.
41 RUTKOWSKI and NOWICKI 1986, 160–162; PAPADAKIS and RUTKOWSKI 1985.

Fig. 19. The entrance to the Skales Cave (on the right), on the northern edge of Praissos. from west

The Skales Cave (35°07.742/748'N, 026°05.162/171'E, 180 m asl)[42] lies in an upper part of the cliff (Fig. 19) on the northern edge of the massif occupied by the ancient Praissos sites. The access to the cave requires some effort, when descending down the cliff, and the entrance is additionally hidden by vegetation and rocks fallen from above. This location may suggest that the site was used in the Late Neolithic, and perhaps in the Late Minoan III period, as a hiding place, but not a proper habitation site. Such a conclusions is additionally supported by a low ceiling of the cave with the height of the main chamber between 1.0 and 1.20 m. During the Geometric period the front part of the cave was used for burials. The post-Neolithic activity destroyed badly the Neolithic contexts, which were only slightly better preserved inside the cave. Two chipped chert/flint pieces were recorded during the excavation in 1983,[43] and one chipped chert tool was seen by the author during the next visit in the 1990s. A single querstone was found on the flat ground immediately above the cave, but its dating is uncertain and the relation with the Neolithic use of the cave cannot be proved. Neolithic pottery unearthed during the 1983 excavation numbered only about a dozen of sherds, three fragments were catalogued, but unfortunatelly no one of them illustrated. They were well burnished in the range of colours between reddish brown and dark grey and black. Three Neolithic sherds, seen by the author on the surface two decades after the excavation, were of LN or FN I date, similar to the material from Voivoda, but nothing indicated any FN II activity.

Kasos

Few remarks should be added to those on the sites identified along the northwestern coast of the island, west of the airport, and on the site of Chelatros.[44] First, LN IIb/FN II–EB I sites continue far beyond the monument of 1824, along the coast to the southwest. The distance between the farthest northeastern and southwestern clusters (Clusters 1 and 20) is 3.77 km.[45] Cluster 20 is located far beyond the southern edge of the coastal plain, on a relatively steep slope which ascends

[42] Two slightly different GPS readings are given here as read from two different instruments; the differences are caused due to the location of the cave in the face of a cliff in the upper part of the gorge.

[43] PAPADAKIS and RUTKOWSKI 1985, 133.

[44] NOWICKI 2014a, 352–353.

[45] Previously I estimated the length of this coastal zone with LN IIb–EB I sites for about 2.5–3.0 km, see NOWICKI 2014a, 363.

Fig. 20. Southwest coast of Kasos with FN Clusters 19 and 20

to the rocky summits of South Kapsalos (Fig. 20). The FN II/LN IIb–EB I pottery between the clusters is more frequent than I previously suggested. Chipped stone is very numerous all over the entire area covered by clusters with a number of concentrations within or beside clusters. The most common stone is dark grey to black chert of a good quality, but the second seems to be Melian obsidian (Pl. III C: 5 and 6) which in some clusters is more common than grey and light grey chert (Pl. III C: 1–3). On the other hand red chert, so frequent in Karpathos (Pl. III D: 1), is very rare. One flake of Giali obsidian (Pl. III C: 4) is the closest find of this kind to the single piece of Giali obsidian recorded in eastern Crete on the ridge of Itanos,[46] and the several possible pieces recorded at Petras.[47] Giali Obsidian is also common on Karpathos (Pl. III D: 2).

Cluster 16 continues about 100 m farther to the west-southwest from the site centre, as recorded previously in the book of 2014, up to the road leading from Fry to Ag. Konstantinos and to Agia Marina. The total size of this cluster can be now estimated for about 120–140 by 50–60 m and the new centre with a concentration of chipped stone (mostly dark grey chert, but also light grey chert, several Melian obsidian pieces, including one broad blade, and one flake of Giali obsidian (Pl. III C:4) was recorded at 35°25.002' N, and 026°54.078' E. The presence of a handle in the Calcite-Tempered Fabric Group/Marble-Ware, together with numerous Melian obsidian pieces, in this newly recorded part of the cluster may not be accidental. In Crete, Melian obsidian and the Calcite-Tempered Fabric Group/Marble Ware have similar (overlapping) geographical range, which on the southern coast is roughly drawn east of Goudouras and west of Palaiochora. A large number of chipped stone was noticed this time at Cluster 6. As usually, the majority was black chert, but recorded were also Melian obsidian, red chert, light brown chert and bluish-grey chert.

At least five new clusters were identified.

Cluster 17. 35°24.282' N, 026°53.551' E, alt. ca. 8 m. This is most probably an extension of Cluster 11 which is situated about 170 m farther to the south-southwest. There is a gap in a pottery scatter between these two clusters for a distance of about 30 to 40 m, but it may be the result of an erosion. The most dense concentration of LN IIb/FN II pottery was recorded on a coastal terrace over an area ca. 30 m in diameter, on the western side of the road, between the road and the sea. Occasional sherds can be seen towards the sea for a distance of about 50 m, but the site continues along the road towards Cluster 11 for at least 100 m or more. Among the diagnostic sherds was a cheese pot rim.

Cluster 18. 35°24.086' N,026°53.317' E, alt. ca. 7 m. Six LN IIb/FN II sherds found on a coastal terrace immediately above a small beach, ca. 200 m from the monument of 1824, 500 m and 224° from Cluster 17, and 350 m and 57° from Cluster 19.

46 NOWICKI 2014a, 82.
47 D'ANNIBALE 2008, 192.

Fig. 21. Enclosure wall on the eastern side of Chelatros (Kasos)

Cluster 19. 35°23.982' N, 026°53.120' E, alt. ca 10 m. A dense scatter of LN IIb/FN II pottery over an area ca. 30 m in diameter was recorded around a ruined field-house, on a coastal terrace protruding into the sea, on the western side of a small ravine. Among the diagnostic pottery fragments were: a base of a cheese pot, a couple of rims of thick-wall bowls, a rim of a large jar, and a rim fragment with a knob below the rim. No chipped stone was noticed.

Cluster 20. 35°23.798' N, 026°52.823' E, alt ca. 20 to 30 m. This site is so far the westernmost one in the entire group of LN IIb–EB I sites along the northwestern coast of Kasos, and lies in a distance of 3.77 km and 223° from Cluster 1, and 560 m and 229° from Cluster 19. It is situated on a steep slope about 60 m from the sea above the rough coast without any coastal plain below. Pottery was noticed in an area ca. 50 by 80 m immediately below a field enclosure and on the first two terraces within it. The wide scatter of pottery can be the result of intensive cultivation as indicated by remains of terraces, and does not necessarily indicate the true extension of the site. It is more probably that an isolated house or a hamlet of two or three houses were located on this slope, in the zone between the coastal plain and the mountainous core of the southern part of Kasos – therefore, in between the arable land and mountainous pasturages. No chipped stone and no ground stone tools were seen.

Cluster 21. 35°24.063' N, 026°53.722' E, alt. ca. 65–70 m. A light scatter of LN IIb/FN II–EB I early pottery on a slope of the hill, high above the coastal plain and above Clusters 11 (430 m, 303°) and 17 (490 m, 328°). A single lug-handle of the LN II type was found about 200 m southeast of this cluster on a slope at an altitude of about 120 m.

Chelatros. 35°20.378' N, 026°52.258' E. The site was described by Melas and briefly mentioned in my book.[48] It is located on a coastal terrace elevated about 10–15 m above the sea, immediately above a small beach of the bay of Chelatros. My previous visit took place immediately after the site had been badly bulldozed and freshly exposed sherds were scattered all over the place. Now, surface pottery is represented by smaller and much eroded fragments. Some new remarks, however, can be added following the most recent visit to the site. First, a dense pottery scatter covers an area ca. 60 by 50 m, which can be regarded as an approximate size of the settlement. Remains of a wall, very different from the usual field and terrace walls, can be seen on the eastern side of the terrace (Fig. 21); it runs from the southern escarpment to the north. The construction and position of this wall suggest a kind of defensive enclosure, similar to those which are well attested in

[48] MELAS 1985 xxx; NOWICKI 2014a, 351 and Fig. 275.

the East Siteia region during the FN II and EM I early periods. The site of Chelatros had a different character from the sites in the North coast cluster. Here we have a proper settlement which, concluding from the surface pottery was inhabited during the LN IIb/FN II and EB I period. One type of pottery of a very good quality, light brown to yellowish brown, hard, with thin walls and a metallic sound when hit on rock, is very similar to some pottery from Karpathos Moulas and Karpathos Sikelao. There are, however, several pottery features difficult to explain in the broader archaeological context of Chelatros, together with Karpathos, on one hand, and East Crete on the other. The vessel handles are mainly of the Anatolian and Dodecanesian types, heavy, oval or circular-oval; no strap handles were noted, which are so common in FN II Crete, more than occasional in the same period on Karpathos, and present also on Kasos in the Northwest Coast Clusters. One crescent-lug handle can be compared to the Cretan examples from the Xerokampos coast. Obsidian is very frequent at Chelatros, though some chert (grey and red) appear on the surface as well. To sum up, the site of Chelatros, located on a low terrace at a sheltered bay on the southern coast of Kasos shows a different topography, different history and somewhat different characteristics of surface pottery than the group of sites along the northwest coast. In general the pottery from the northwest coast shows more similarity to the FN II pottery from East Crete, especially within the Red Ware Fabric Group, whereas the pottery from Chelatros is somewhat closer to the Dodecanesian and Southwest Anatolian LN IIb/LCh 4 groups. Chelatros belonged to the group of coastal settlements which were probably founded in the LM IIb/FN II period (in the last centuries of the fourth millennium) and continued into EB I or even longer. In this group were probably also Karpathos Moulas and Karpathos Sikelao, on the western coast of the island. They constituted part of a trade network, with Melian obsidian being one of the most important or (more probably) the best visible product of this trade. A scarcity of the Marble Ware, so common during this period in a large area of the southern Aegean, including the Cretan sites, as for example Palaikastro Kastri and Xerokampos Kastri, is notable – another problem in the distribution pattern of pottery in the late fourth and early third millennium BC.

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Appendix

SITE	DATE	SIZE CLASS	ALT	LONGIT. N	LATIT. E
173. Moni Kapsa	FN II EM I	C1/C2	20	35º01.202’	026º 03.005’
174. Kalo Nero Alona	FN II EM I	?	410	35º 02.015’	026º 01.394’
175. Lithines Amygdokefala	FN II	B1/B2	360	35º 03.167	026º 01.643’
176. Lithines Andromyloi	FN II EM I	?	380	35º 05.733’	026º 01.545’
176A. Lithines Agios Ioannis	FN II	?	250	35º 05.602’	026º 01.871’
177. Krya Agios Georgios	FN I? FN II EM I	?	610	35º 07.097’	026º02.214’
178. Agios Stefanos Kastello	FN II EM I	?	500	35º04.375’	025º58.302’
179. Myrsini Kastello	FN II EM I	C1?	350	35º11.035’	025º57.375’
180. Chondros Kastri Skourocharako	FN II EM I-	C2?	25	35º59.706’	025º21.759’
181. Chondros Kastri Listis East	FN II EM I-	?	3+	35º02.328’	025º21.439’
182. Krasi Siderokefala	FN II EM I	C1/C2	600	35º13.867’	025º27.423’
A. Xerokampos Farmakokefalo	FN II? EM I	?	3+	35º02.328’	026º13.853’
B. Etiani Kefala	FN II EM I-	?	715	35º04.160’	026º04.048’
C. Oreino Kastri	FN? EM I?	?	810	35º04.674’	025º55.285’
D. Chrisopigi Korakia	FN? EM I?	?	520	35º06.260’	025º56.376’
E. Pacheia Ammos Chalepa	FN I? FN II EM I	?	0–3	35º06.655’	025º48.877’
F. Asari	FN II EM I	?	350	35º05.219’	025º46.750’
G. Tapes Kato Kastello	FN	?	790	35º11.678’	025º37.220’
H. Kalo Chorio Maza	FN II EM I	?	450	35º16.262’	025º20.902’
I. Kasteliana Kastello	FN II EM I	?	400	35º02.703’	025º15.615’

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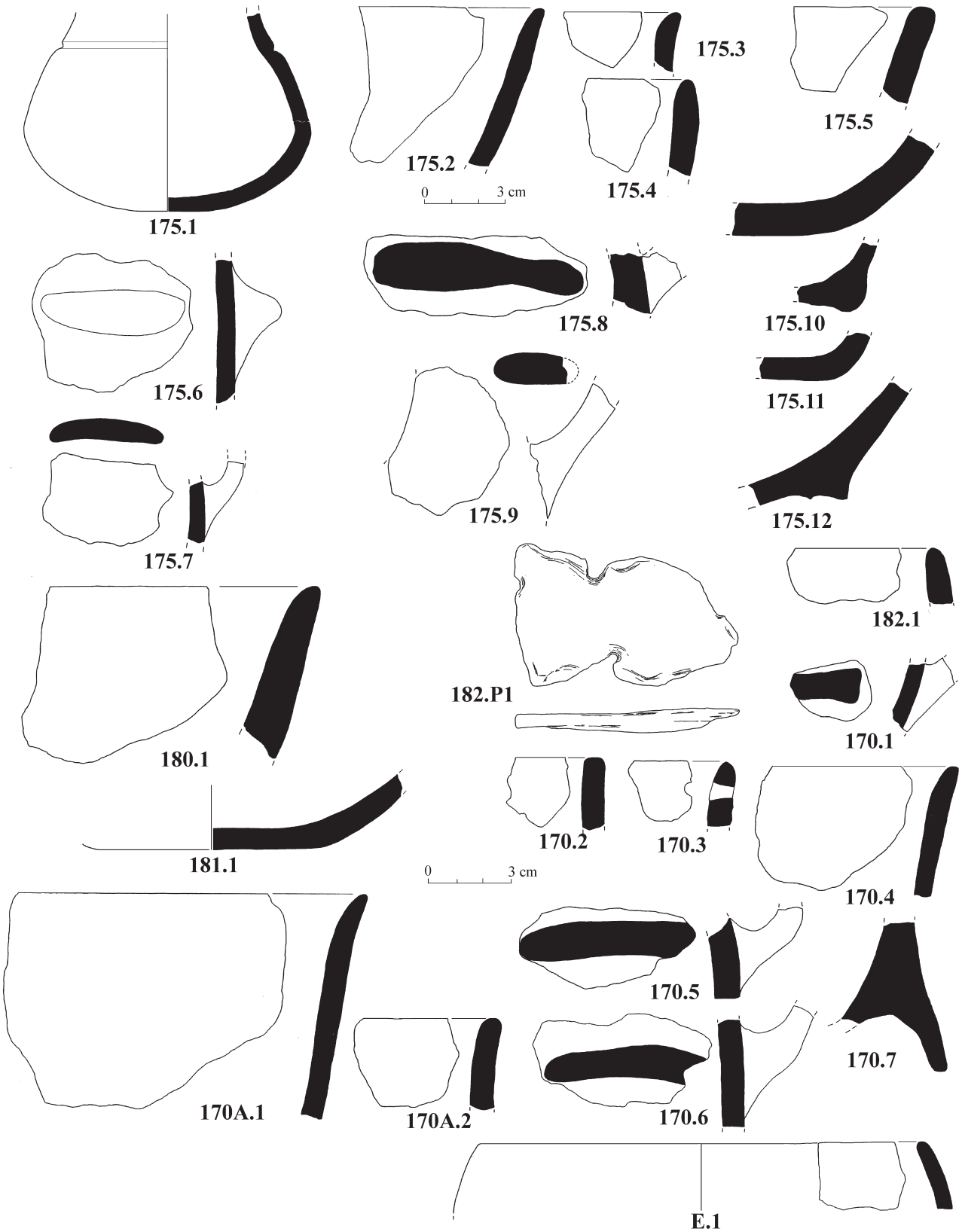

Plate I. Final Neolithic pottery from Lithines Amygdokefala (175.1 – 12), Kastri Skourocharako (180.1), Kastri Listis East (181.1), Krasi Sidero-kefala (182.1), Palaikastro Lidia Kefala South (170.1 – 7), Palaikastro Lidia Kefala North (170A.1 and 2), and Pacheia Ammos Chalepa (E.1); stone pendant (?) from Krasi Siderokefala (182.P1).

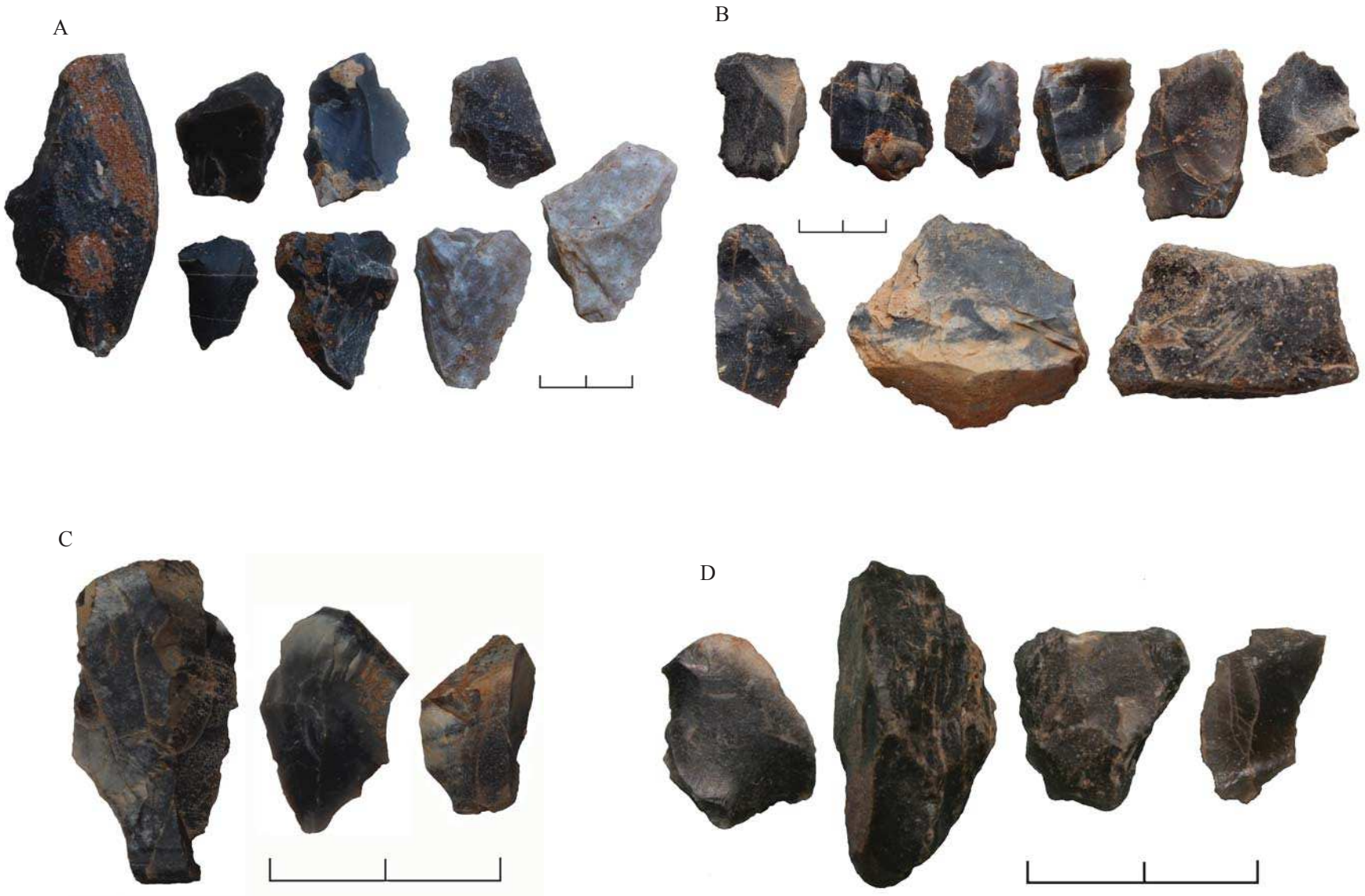

Plate II. A – Chipped stone from Kalo Nero Alona (Site 174); B – Chipped stone from Pilalimata (Site 175); C – Chipped stone from Etiani Kefala (Site B); D – Chipped stone from Sargou Kefala (Site 50, see Nowicki 2014a)

Plate III. A – Chipped stone from Sellia Kefala (Site 141, see Nowicki 2014a); B – Chipped stone from Skaloti 1 (Site 144, see Nowicki 2014a); C – Chipped stone from Kasos Cluster 16 (see Nowicki 2014a, 353); D – Chipped stone from Karpathos Arkasa Palaikastro (see Nowicki 2014a, 343)

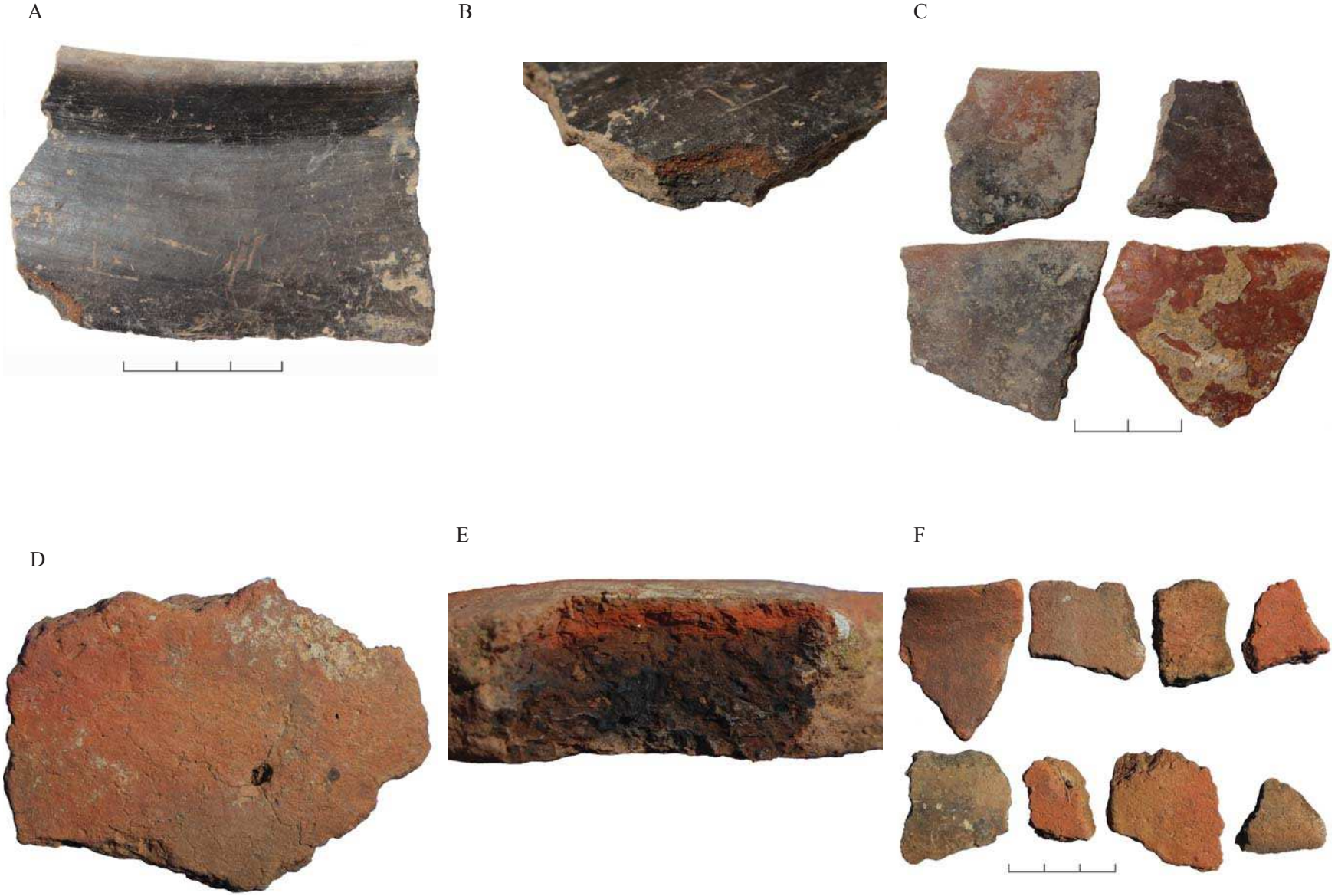

Plate IV. A – Pottery from the Voivoda Cave; B – Pottery from the Voivoda Cave; C – Pottery from the Voivoda Cave; D – Pottery from Ziros Rizoviglo; E – Pottery from Ziros Rizoviglo; F – Pottery from Ziros Rizoviglo

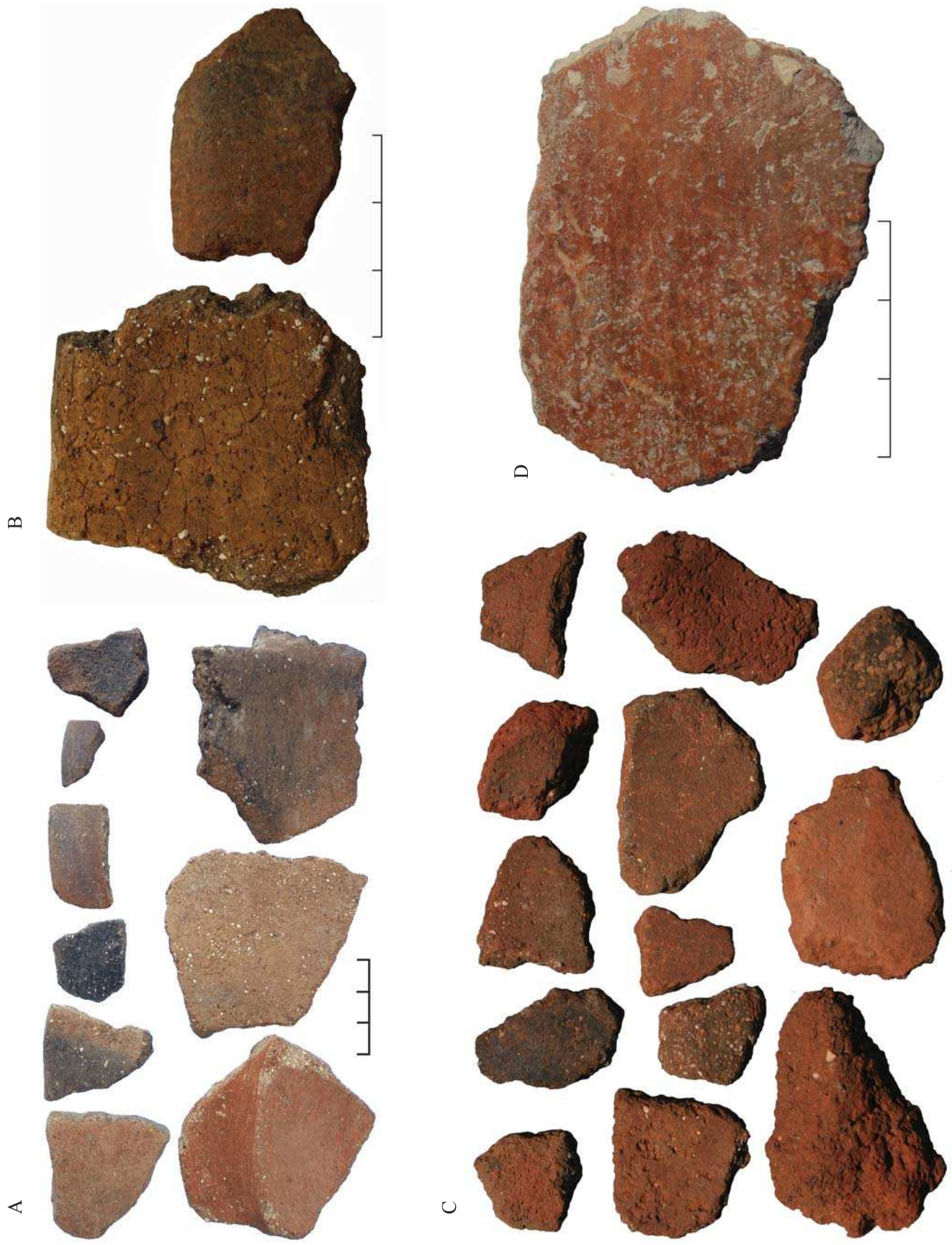

Plate V. A – Pottery from Katalimata; B – Pottery from Anatoli Pandotinou Koryfi; C – Pottery from Chersonissis (Site 111); D – Pottery from Kastelli Psilo Kastelli

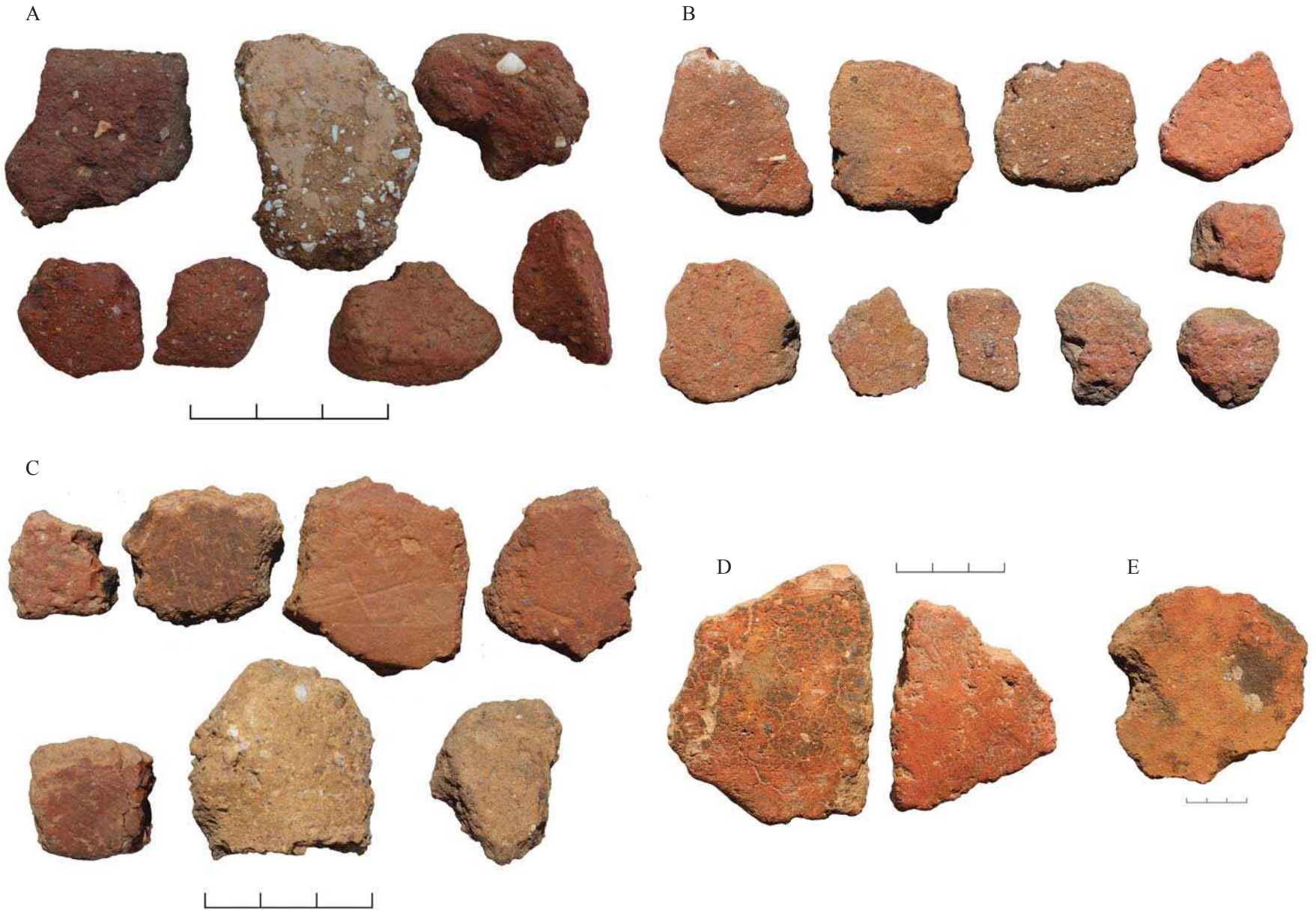

Plate VI. A – Pottery from Kalo Nero Alona (Site 174); B – Pottery from Krya Agios Georgios (Site 177); C – Pottery from Krasi Siderokefala (Site 182); D – Pottery from Krasi Siderokefala (Site 182); E – Pottery from Krasi Siderokefala (Site 182)