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## Excavations at Sissi V

Preliminary Report on  
the 2017-2019 Campaigns

VOLUME 1&2

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## 9.3. Consuming Pottery at Early Prepalatial Sissi

### *Preliminary Observations on the EM IIA and B Ceramic deposits from the Settlement<sup>1</sup>*

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#### 1. Introduction

During the recent 2015-2019 excavation campaigns, the *Kephali* hill at Sissi yielded a number of Prepalatial deposits that can be attributed to the EM II period (*ca.* 2700/2650–2200 BCE), offering, for the moment, the earliest evidence for occupation of the settlement in the Bronze Age. The most important architectural remains dating to EM II were found in 2019, immediately to the west of the Neopalatial Court-Centred Building (CCB), on a higher terrace that is called the Upper Terrace Extension (UTE). Their excavation and description are presented elsewhere in this volume (§ 6.4). Since neither their excavation nor their study is completed, we are not yet sure whether we are dealing with one or more separate structures. An aerial photo of the remains can be found in **fig. 6.4.43**. Moreover, in the West and North-West Wings of the CCB, EM IIA and EM IIB levels were identified (§ 6.3 & 6.4). In this chapter, some of the pottery assemblages found in these different areas is presented. Observations are evidently preliminary since only part of the deposit could be studied. For an earlier appreciation of Prepalatial ceramics at the site, see my discussion in *Sissi IV*: 205-302.

#### 2. EM IIA pottery from the UTE

The UTE, located to the west of the CCB, was excavated in 2018 and 2019 under the direction of Quentin Letesson (§ 6.4). While Spaces 10.20 and 10.21 were already explored in 2018, seven additional spaces were identified in 2019 so in total there are nine (10.20, 10.21, 10.24, 10.25, 10.26, 10.27, 10.28, 10.29, 10.30) (see **fig. 6.4.43**). At present it seems that the rooms were suddenly abandoned, leaving all the material *in situ* without obvious traces of fire or later intrusions (§ 6.4). A preliminary analysis of the pottery suggests that the spaces were occupied in EM IIA, which is evidently a unique opportunity to learn more about this period. Each space has yielded good floor deposits but here only deposits from Spaces 10.20, 10.24 and 10.25 are presented.

The assemblage from **Space 10.20** includes both fragmentary and almost entirely mendable vases. Most are produced in the following ceramic wares: Black Burnished Ware, Plain Semi-Fine and Semi-Coarse Ware, both in red fabric, Pithos Ware in light fabric, and Cooking Ware. Black Burnished Ware is mainly represented by large but fragmentary shallow bowls of different dimensions, also with two handles (**fig. 9.3.1**). Both the examples a and b (18-10-6089-OB017 & OB004) illustrated in **fig. 9.3.1** have a thickened and bevelled rim. Fragments of similar shallow bowls are attested also in Plain Semi-Fine Ware in red fabric, as best exemplified by the third specimen (18-10-6089-OB002) in **fig. 9.3.1**, with a plain rim.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was first presented at the workshop *Between the mountains and the sea: exploring Sissi on Crete* organised by J. Driessen on occasion of the 2020 AIA Meeting held in Washington DC (2-5 January 2020). I want to thank J. Driessen for the opportunity to study the Prepalatial material from the Sissi settlement, and Q. Letesson and S. Déderix for sharing the relevant stratigraphic information of the deposits they respectively excavated in Zones 10 and 11. Many thanks to the *apothiki kopelles* for their help in the pottery stores of Hagios Nikolaos: C. Langohr, R. Dubois, A. Kritikou and J. Tsafou; and to S. Todaro for her precious comments on the Prepalatial pottery of Sissi. I am also very grateful to M. Devolder, P. Warren and G. Merlatti.

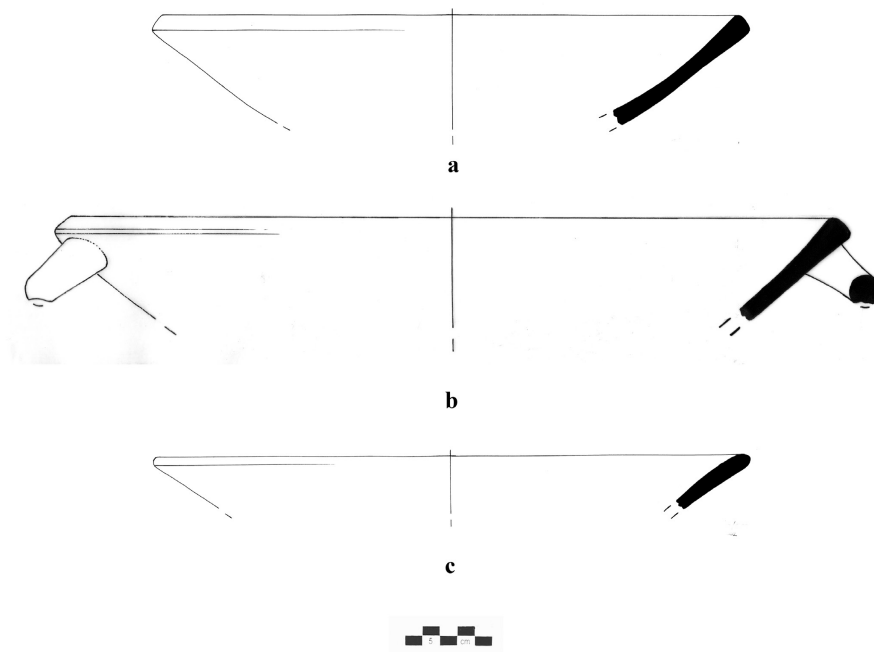


FIG. 9.3.1 LARGE SHALLOW BOWLS IN BLACK BURNISHED WARE (A & B) AND IN PLAIN SEMI-FINE WARE (C) FROM THE EM IIA FLOOR DEPOSIT OF UTE SPACE 10.20 (©EBSA; G. MERLATTI)

Pithos Ware is represented by fragments belonging to at least one vase with black dripping and to a collared jar with two opposite handles on the belly (18-10-6089-OB003 & OB009) (fig. 9.3.2). The first fragment probably belongs to a storage vessel similar to the ones found in EM IIA and IIB levels of the settlement at Myrtos Fournou Korifi (hereafter Myrtos; Warren 1972: 107, P67, pl. 37 and 109-110, P73-P78, figs 43-44, pl. 38), as well as to the pithoi retrieved from the floor deposit of the EM IIA West House at Hagia Triada (Laviosa 1972-1973: 512, figs 11-12). The second one, which preserves traces of black paint (a large horizontal band?) resembles the two-handled collared jars found in both the EM IIB levels at Myrtos (Warren 1972: 142, P580, P589, fig. 78, pl. 58) and in EM IIA deposits at Knossos (Hood & Cadogan 2011: 263, fig. 10.10).



FIG. 9.3.2 FRAGMENTS OF PITHOS WARE FROM THE EM IIA FLOOR DEPOSIT OF UTE SPACE 10.20 (©EBSA; I. CALOI)

The same Space 10.20 has also a juglet (18-10-6089-OB005) in red Semi-Coarse Ware (**fig. 9.3.3**) of the same type that occurs in Space 10.25, discussed below.



FIG. 9.3.3 JUGLET IN RED SEMI-COARSE WARE FROM THE EM IIA FLOOR DEPOSIT OF UTE SPACE 10.20 (©EBSA; PHOTO I. CALOI; DRAWING G. MERLATTI)

In **Space 10.25**, located to the west of Space 10.20, a homogeneous deposit dating to EM IIA was found. The main deposit was found on the floor while some vases, especially the juglets, come from a niche in the south wall. Most of pottery consists of juglets of different type and of one-shot cups or *raki-cups* (**fig. 9.3.4 top**), some of them found stacked into each other (§ 6.4). The latter, produced in Plain Semi-Fine Ware in a local red fabric, have a conical profile and two opposite holes below the rim, which could have been used to hang them or possibly to tie them together. I could not find exact parallels for these cups apart from a single example from non-stratified deposits in the Hagia Kyriaki tholos tomb cemetery (Blackman & Branigan 1982: 28, n. 38, fig. 9).



FIG. 9.3.4 ONE-SHOT CUPS IN PLAIN SEMI-FINE WARE AND JUGLETS IN PLAIN SEMI-COARSE WARE FROM THE EM IIA FLOOR DEPOSIT OF ROOM 10.25 IN BUILDING 1 (©EBSA; PHOTO I. CALOI; DRAWING G. MERLATTI)

The juglets are produced in Red Slipped Ware or in Plain Semi-Fine/Semi-Coarse Ware. Most juglets show a piriform shape and are made in a local red semi-coarse fabric with large inclusions of calcite (**fig. 9.3.4**). Some of them are slightly round bottomed, a feature which may be an EM I tradition, well-attested in Southern Crete, *e.g.* at Lebena (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 117 [Stage F]) and Hagia Triada (Todaro 2019: 128). The best comparisons for these juglets are in non-stratified deposits in the palace of Malia (Chapoutier & Charbonneau 1928: 48-49, pl. XXV, 3; van Effenterre 1980: 517, fig. 726). They are described as produced in a red, semi-coarse fabric with many inclusions (Chapoutier & Charbonneau 1928: 49), thus very much similar not only to the shape but also to the fabric of the Sissi specimens. Likewise, tholos tomb II of Lebena (Alexiou & Warren 2004: nn. 114-115, fig. 22, pl. 50A) has juglets with a similar, but not identical shape, which are however produced in the typical Koumasa Ware, with a dark-on-light decoration. Alexiou & Warren (2004: 74) date these stylistically to EM I.

At least three juglets from the floor deposit in Space 10.25, one from the niche (19-10-6149-OB004) (**fig. 9.3.5b**) and two from the main deposit (19-10-6170-OB018 & OB019) (**fig. 9.3.5a & c**), show a low-belly profile and a long beak. Among the illustrated juglets, two of them show a biconical shape (**fig. 9.3.5b-c**) – one on a ring base – and pellets on both sides of the neck, while the third one is more globular in profile (**fig. 9.3.5a**). The best parallels for these low-bellied juglets also come from Malia, and especially from the *Premier Charnier* necropolis (Demargne 1945: 2-3, n° 8669, 8597, pls. II, XXVIII). The Sissi juglet illustrated in **fig. 9.3.5c** also finds a good comparison in a specimen from Tholos Tomb I at Lebena, which has been stylistically dated to EM IIA (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 31, fig. 6, n° 34); it differs from the Sissi juglet by the presence of a three-legged base.

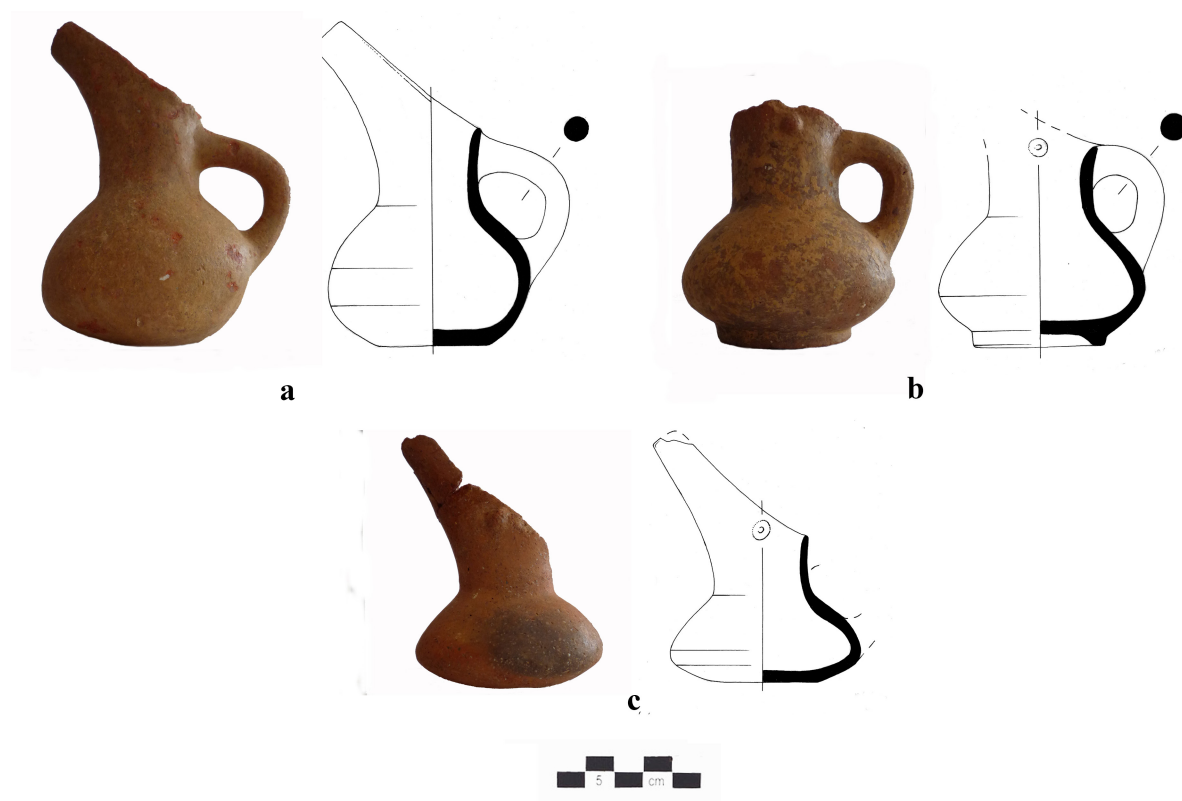


FIG. 9.3.5 LOW-BELLIED JUGLETS IN PLAIN SEMI-FINE WARE FROM THE EM IIA FLOOR DEPOSIT OF SPACE 10.25 (©EBSA; PHOTO I. CALOI; DRAWING G. MERLATTI)

**Space 10.24**, south of Space 10.25, also has juglets both in Black Slipped Ware and in Semi-Fine/Semi-Coarse Plain Ware (**fig. 9.3.6**). The Black-Slipped juglet with a low-bellied profile (19-10-6133-OB003) illustrated in **fig. 9.3.6** has a good comparison in the EM IIA Koumasa Ware juglets (from Koumasa: Xanthoudides 1924: pl. XXVI, n° 4114; from Lebena: Alexiou & Warren 2004: 31, fig. 6, n° 34-35), but only in the shape and not in the surface treatment and decoration.

The juglets in Semi-Fine/Semi-Coarse Plain Ware from Space 10.24 are mainly cylindrical in profile with a vertical handle (19-10-6129-OB001 and 19-10-6133-OB001) (fig. 9.3.6). Among the two illustrated specimens, one preserves two holes below the rim. They find their best parallel in a juglet from the palace of Malia (van Effenterre 1980: 517, fig. 724).



FIG. 9.3.6 JUGLETS IN BLACK SLIPPED WARE AND IN SEMI-FINE PLAIN WARE FROM THE EM IIA FLOOR DEPOSIT OF ROOM 10.24 IN BUILDING 1 (©EBSA; PHOTO I. CALOI, R. DUBOIS; DRAWING G. MERLATTI)

While it is not surprising that examples of EM IIA juglets, similar to those attested in EM IIA deposits of the Sissi settlement are attested at nearby Malia, it is somewhat unexpected that the best comparisons come from funerary contexts. Good parallels are indeed found not only in the *Premier Charnier* necropolis of Malia, but also in the Mesara tholos tombs, and especially at Hagia Kyriaki, Lebena, both Tomb I and II, and Koumasa.

Within the UTE rooms at Sissi, there is as yet no evidence of Fine Painted Ware and Fine Gray Ware. Despite the presence of shapes that belong to an earlier tradition, such as the juglets with an almost round bottom (see figs 9.3.3-9.4.4), the absence of Fine Painted Ware and Fine Gray Ware seems to indicate that the deposits from UTE are more at home in a late phase of EM IIA rather than in the beginning of the ceramic phase. This date appears also to be confirmed by good parallels with pottery from EM IIA Late contexts of Hagia Triada and Knossos, as well as from EM IIA deposits from the Mesara tholos tombs.

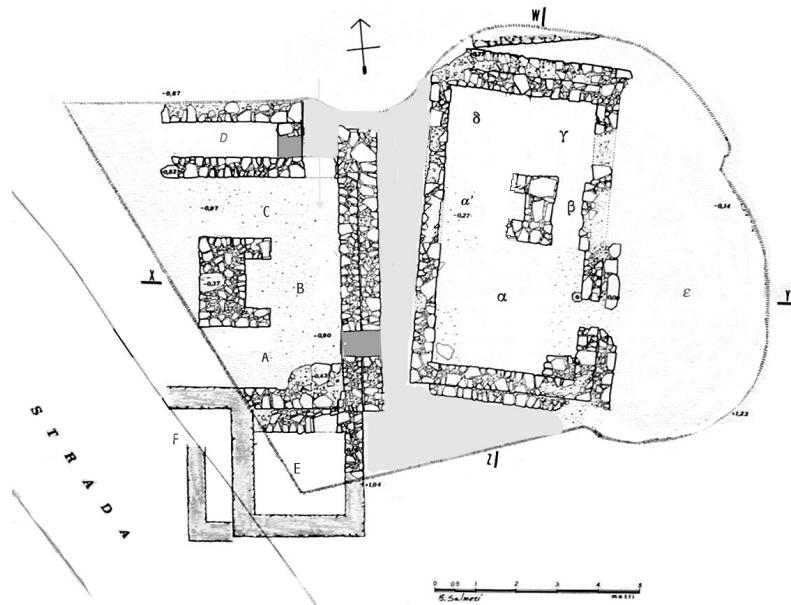


FIG. 9.3.7 PLAN OF THE WEST AND EAST HOUSES AT HAGIA TRIADA (PREPARED BY B. SALMERI AFTER LAVIOSA 1972-1973)

It is perhaps relevant to note that analogies between Sissi and Hagia Triada are not only limited to pottery, since in general, the architecture of the UTE at Sissi can be compared with the two EM IIA houses at Hagia Triada (Laviosa 1969-1970; 1972-1973), known as the West House (*Casa Ovest*) and the East House (*Casa Est*) (fig. 9.3.7). There are also comparisons with the plan of the south-east wing (*i.e.* Rooms 58-62) of the EM II settlement at Myrtos (Warren 1972: 10, 54, fig. 21; see also Whitelaw 2007 for a different interpretation). Todaro (2003: 83-84; see also 2019: 119, table 2.3) has proposed that the two Hagia Triada houses were constructed at two different moments, but within the same EM IIA Late phase. A fuller study on the architecture and finds at Sissi is in preparation by Q. Letesson and the author.

### 3. EM IIA pottery from the West Wing of the CCB

Within the CCB, on present knowledge, it seems that EM IIA deposits are mainly attested in the south part of the later West Wing (Zone 10), while EM IIB levels are primarily located in the north part of the West Wing (Zones 6 & 11). Within the later West Wing, the most conspicuous EM IIA deposits are in Spaces 10.8 and 10.19, but adjacent areas, such as Space 10.15 also have EM IIA vases, such as the lid of a *pyxis* with *pointillé* decoration produced in a semi-fine, non-burnished Gray Ware (see fig. 6.4.6b), which imitates the well-known Fine Gray Ware of the Mesara plain.

The ceramic material found in **Space 10.8** is very fragmentary but includes the following ceramic classes: Black Slipped Ware, Dark-on-Light Semi-Fine Ware, Plain Semi-Fine Ware in red fabric and in clear fabric. The assemblage is mainly characterized by shallow bowls and large bowls, with some pouring vessels, but no drinking pots. The Black Slipped Ware is represented by fragments belonging to very large bowls. Among the two specimens illustrated in fig. 9.3.8, one is characterized by a carinated profile and a thickened rim, flat on the top, while the other has a rim with triangular section and a long lug. These large bowls with a carinated/convex profile and a thickened rim are similar to examples from EM IIA deposits attested in several sites throughout Crete, such as Deposit A1 (Floor VII) of the Royal Road North at Knossos (Hood & Cadogan 2011: 137, fig. 7.3, 217), Period I levels at Myrtos (Warren 1972: fig. 140, P29 & P30), and the EM IIA Late deposits from Malia (Caloi 2019a: 328, fig. 156, 5). The distinctive long and thin lug projecting from the rim visible on the first bowl illustrated in fig. 9.3.8 seems to be well attested in EM IIA contexts from sites of North-Eastern Crete, such as the EM IIA Late deposits of the *Buildings Dessenne* at Malia (Caloi 2019a: 328, fig. 156, 4b) and the Phase II deposits of Mochlos (Brogan *et al.* 2018: 83, fig. 4.15).

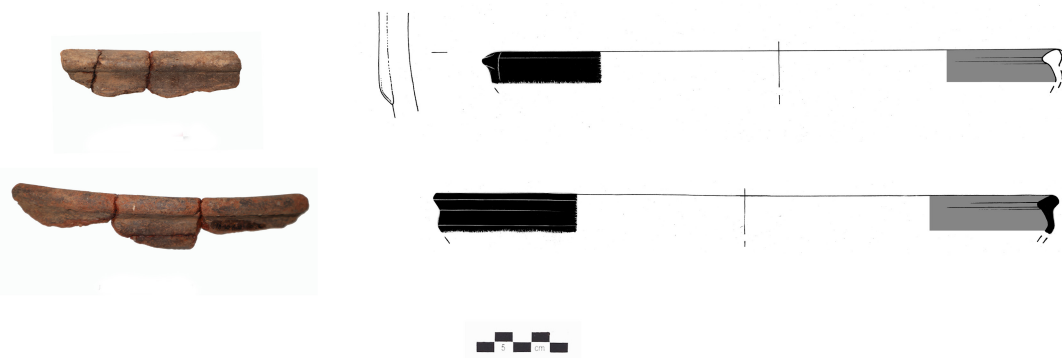


FIG. 9.3.8 LARGE BOWLS IN BLACK-SLIPPED WARE FROM SPACE 10.8 IN THE WEST WING OF THE CCB (©EBSA; PHOTO I. CALOI; DRAWING G. MERLATTI)

The same deposit in Space 10.8 also included large bowls fragments produced both in Dark-on-Light Ware in light fabric and in Plain Semi-Coarse Ware in red fabric. The example (18-10-6031-OB004) illustrated in fig. 9.3.9 has traces of red paint outside and a large red horizontal band painted below the rim interior.



FIG. 9.3.9 LARGE BOWL IN DARK-ON-LIGHT WARE FROM SPACE 10.8 IN THE WEST WING OF THE CCB (©EBSA; PHOTO I. CALOI; DRAWING G. MERLATTI)

The Plain Semi-Fine Ware from Room 10.8 is represented by the upper part of a beaked jug (18-10-6030-OB001) with a narrow, cylindrical neck and a long, straight beak (fig. 9.3.10). The fabric is very pale and does not seem a local one. The shape resembles examples from the EM IIA Early deposit of the West Court House at Knossos (Wilson 2007: 59, fig. 2.6, n° 16, 18). Very particular is also a horned handle (18-10-6028-OB004) (fig. 9.3.10), which finds a good parallel in the EM IIA deposits of the North-East Magazines at Knossos (Hood & Cadogan 2011: 244, 255, fig. 10.7, n° 1260).

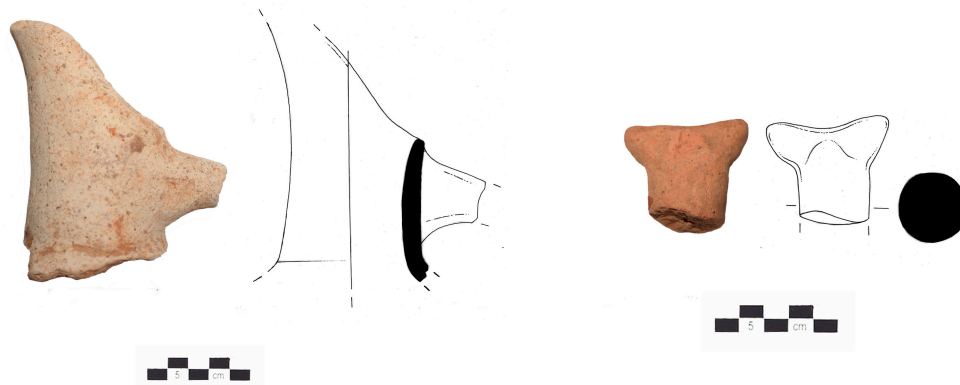


FIG. 9.3.10 JUG AND HANDLE IN PLAIN SEMI-FINE WARE FROM SPACE 10.8 IN THE WEST WING OF THE CCB (©EBSA; PHOTO I. CALOI; DRAWING G. MERLATTI)

A homogeneous ceramic deposit dating to EM IIA (probably late) was also found in **Space 10.19**, which is south-west of Space 10.8. The assemblage was excavated in different spits but seems part of a single occupation level (#6036, 6040, 6045, 6051, 6056, 6061); a small deposit from the lowest levels (#6069 & 6072) excavated in the north-western part of the room could, however, date to an early stage of the EM IIA phase.

Most of the ceramic material of the EM IIA homogeneous deposit is produced in Red and Black Slipped Ware, Dark Gray Burnished Ware, Semi-fine (local?) Gray Ware, Dark-on-Light Ware, Plain Semi-Fine Ware in red and clear fabrics, and Plain Semi-coarse Ware. The Red Slipped Ware is represented by a footed goblet (18-10-6061-OB009) (see fig. 6.4.20b) and by a fragment belonging to a bowl with suspension holes (fig. 9.3.11). Both the footed goblet and the bowl fragment are similar to shapes in Deposit A1 (Floor VII) of the Royal Road North at Knossos (Hood & Cadogan 2011: 133-136, figs 7.1-7.2, n° 188, 198, 200), dated to EM IIA Late.

The Gray Ware, which is only attested by a few fragments, is similar to the well-known Fine Gray Ware from Mesara, with two main differences: it is produced in a semi-fine fabric with dark grits and white inclusions



(calcite?) and a with a non-burnished surface. The two illustrated fragments (**fig. 9.3.11**) belong respectively to a goblet foot and to a bowl with suspension holes, both very similar to the ones in Red Slipped Ware of **fig. 9.3.11**. Further study and petrographic analysis will help to understand whether this Gray Ware in semi-fine fabric – very different both from the Fine Gray Ware produced in the south of the island and from the Gray Burnished Ware attested at Knossos – is locally produced. It seems similar to the Gray Ware in brownish gray semi-fine fabric (called Local Gray Ware) attested at nearby Malia, in the EM IIA levels both of *Buildings Dessenne* (Caloi 2019a: 326; Devolder & Caloi 2019: 250-252, fig. 131, pl. LXIV, n° 248-250, 252-255) and in the North Wing of the Palace.



FIG. 9.3.11 RED SLIPPED WARE AND GRAY WARE IN SEMI-FINE (LOCAL?) FABRIC FROM THE EM IIA HOMOGENEOUS DEPOSIT OF SPACE 10.19 IN THE WEST WING OF THE CCB (©EBSA; PHOTO I. CALOI; DRAWING G. MERLATTI)

Dark-on-Light Ware is represented by a large fragment of a handled collared jar (18-10-6040-OB026) (**fig. 9.3.12**) in light fabric. It is interesting to note that the latter is stained inside with red ochre, which may be because of contact with a red stucco floor or hints at its function. Plain Semi-Fine Ware is attested both in light fabric and in red fabric. The former is mainly represented by fragments belonging to a beehive (18-10-6036-OB006) and a collared jar (18-10-6040-OB025) (**fig. 9.3.12**), while the Plain Semi-Fine Ware in red fabric is mostly used for bowls. The collared jars illustrated in **fig. 9.3.12** find parallels in examples from the Hagia Triada houses (Carinci in preparation).

The ceramic material from the lowest levels (#6069 & 6072) in Space 10.19, although very fragmentary, includes pottery produced in Black Slipped Ware, in Semi-fine (local?) Gray Ware, and in Plain Semi-fine Ware in clear fabric. The Black Slipped Ware is represented by small fragments belonging to bowls and by two fragmentary stemmed goblets (**fig. 9.3.13**), the shape of which has comparisons in the EM IIA Early deposits of Knossos (Wilson 2007: 60, fig. 2.7, 2), Phaistos (Todaro 2019: 177, fig. 4.5, 1) and Malia (from recently identified levels beneath the North Wing of the palace).

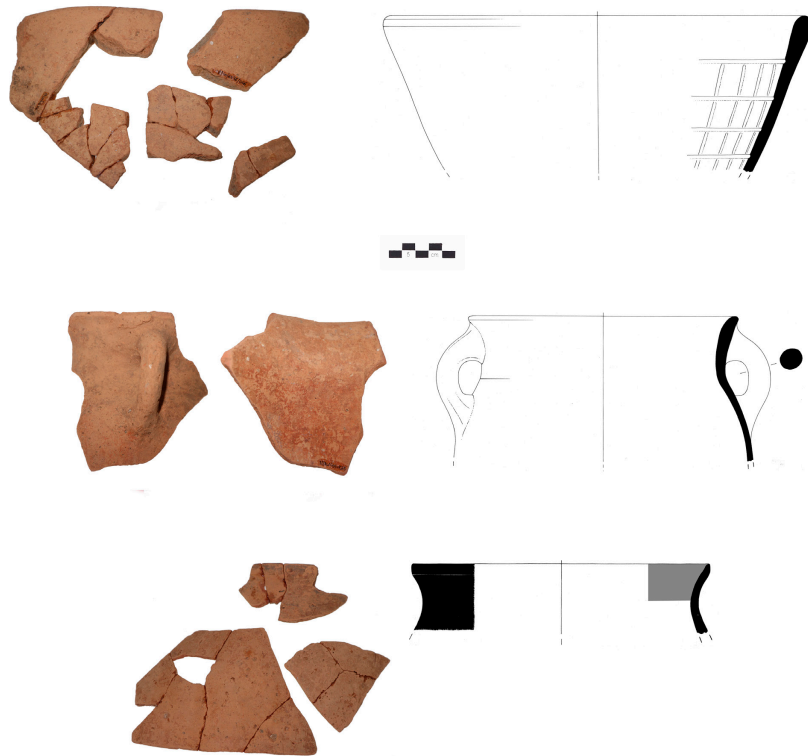


FIG. 9.3.12 PLAIN AND DARK-ON-LIGHT SEMI-FINE WARES FROM THE EM IIA HOMOGENEOUS DEPOSIT IN SPACE 10.19 IN THE WEST WING OF THE CCB (©EBSA; PHOTO I. CALOI; DRAWING G. MERLATTI)



FIG. 9.3.13 STEMMED GOBLET IN BLACK SLIPPED WARE FROM THE LOWEST LEVELS IN SPACE 10.19 IN THE WEST WING OF THE CCB (©EBSA; I. CALOI)

Summing up, the lowest levels of Space 10.19 (fig. 9.3.13) may date to an early stage of the EM IIA phase beneath the later West Wing of the CCB, while the two homogeneous deposits from respectively Space 10.8 and Space 10.19 seem to date to a later stage of the EM IIA phase. Despite the presence of some classes (e.g. Gray Ware of fig. 9.3.11) and shapes (e.g. the juglet in Plain Semi-Fine Ware of fig. 9.3.10), similar to pottery from EM IIA Early deposits of Knossos, both the Sissi deposits contain some shapes that seem more at home in the EM IIA Late phase, such as the carinated and convex bowls in Black Slipped Ware (fig. 9.3.8) and the collared jars in Semi-fine Ware (fig. 9.3.12). More study is needed for a further refining of the date of these deposits. For the moment, we suggest that they are slightly earlier than the deposits found in Spaces 10.20, 10.24 and 10.25 of the UTE, which have been preliminarily dated to the EM IIA Late phase.

#### 4. EM IIB pottery from the North-West Wing of the CCB

The spaces located more to the north in the West Wing and those in the North-West Wing of the CCB were excavated under the direction of Sylviane Déderix (§ 6.5). Prepalatial architectural remains and deposits were identified especially in Spaces 11.1, 11.2, 11.8 and 11.9 (see fig. 6.3.1). Clear evidence for an EM IIB fire destruction was found in Spaces 11.1 and 11.9 and the floor deposits in these two rooms include both imported Vasiliki Ware and a local Mottled Ware in red, Semi-Fine fabric, of which the shapes and surface treatment imitate those in Vasiliki Ware. A good, homogeneous ceramic deposit, the study of which is ongoing, was found in Space 11.1. It includes some fragmentary vases and many sherds in Vasiliki Ware, in local Mottled Ware, as well as in Plain Semi-coarse and Cooking Wares. Most of the imported Vasiliki Ware vases, preliminarily published in *Sissi IV* (figs 6.1.1-6.1.3), find their best parallels in EM IIB deposits at Vasiliki and Myrtos. The local Mottled Ware from Space 11.1 – partially also illustrated in *Sissi IV* (figs 6.1.4-6.1.8) – show shapes, decorative features and surface treatments that resemble those of local mottled vases found in EM IIB deposits at Malia (Caloi 2019a: 330-331; see also Pelon & Schmitt 2003).

The fire destruction deposit, also dated to EM IIB, in Space 11.9 in 2019 (§ 6.5) likewise includes both imported Vasiliki Ware and local Mottled Ware. Fig. 9.3.14 illustrates a jug, a spout of a long teapot and a fragment of a shallow bowl in Mottled Ware. As in the above-mentioned deposit of Space 11.1, the imported Vasiliki Ware is not much represented in comparison with the Mottled Ware produced in local red Semi-Fine fabric and imitating the typical shapes of Vasiliki Ware.



FIG. 9.3.14 JUG, TEAPOT SPOUT AND SHALLOW BOWL IN MOTTLED WARE IMITATING VASILIKI WARE FROM SPACE 11.9 IN THE WEST WING OF THE CCB (©EBSA; R. DUBOIS)

As discussed elsewhere (*Sissi IV*: 39; Driessen 2021), the presence of Prepalatial deposits stratified against the large boulder terrace wall that faces the later Central Court suggests that a monumental building already existed here in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE, the remains of which would later be incorporated into the

Neopalatial Court-Centred Building. At this moment, we do not know whether the different spaces with Prepalatial deposits formed a single rather than separate EM II structures.

## 5. Concluding remarks

The preliminary analysis of the pottery from the floor deposits preserved in Spaces 10.21, 10.24 and 10.25 of the UTE at Sissi suggests that the rooms were simply abandoned at a late stage of EM IIA, *i.e.* in the EM IIA Late ceramic phase. Whether this applies to the other spaces remains to be seen. It is interesting to add that the East and West Houses of Hagia Triada were abandoned in two different stages of the same ceramic phase, EM IIA Late (Todaro 2003: 83-84), so this is a possibility that cannot be excluded. The pottery deposits in Spaces 10.8 and 10.19 of the later CCB seem to date to an earlier phase than those studied of the UTE. Not only do the lowest levels in Space 10.19 seem to date to EM IIA Early, but the main deposits in Spaces 10.8 and 10.19 also include some classes of pottery and shapes that could date to EM IIA Early, although intermingled with some that point to a more advanced stage of EM IIA. If future study confirms this chronology, it would imply that the very first area to be settled at Sissi in EM IIA Early was the area where the West Wing of the CCB would later be constructed. This area may have temporarily been abandoned in favour of the UTE that remained occupied until its abandonment in EM IIA Late with afterwards in EM IIB another shift in location to the area of the future court centre and precisely in the north part of the West Wing, as shown by the EM IIB deposits in Spaces 11.1 and 11.9. On the basis of the preliminary dates of the pottery deposits from the CCB and the UTE at Sissi, the possible occupation of the two discrete areas throughout the EM II phase can be schematically represented as in **table 9.3.1**.

	EM IIA (Early?)	EM IIA Late	EM IIB
Court-Centred Building (CCB)	CCB West Wing		CCB North-West Wing
Upper Terrace Extension (UTE)		UTE	

TAB. 9.3.1 OCCUPATION SEQUENCE AT SISSI IN EM IIA-B

It is interesting to note that this as yet hypothetical shift of occupation from one area to another within the same settlement of Sissi is comparable with horizontal occupational shifts attested during the same period in the Mesara plain. The best example is Hagia Triada, which S. Todaro (2020: 31) sees as: “not a single site, but rather a collection of sites, *i.e.* a palimpsest of activities performed by small groups that, over several hundred years, settled intermittently at the site for some time”. This mobility has also been recognised for the EM II communities of the Agiopharango valley by Whitelaw (2001). Future study of the Sissi cemetery should take this possibility evidently into consideration and explore whether the settlement and the necropolis were intermittently or alternatively in use during Prepalatial times as supposed for some Mesara settlements with related tholos tomb cemeteries (Whitelaw 2001).