

ΤΕΡΨΙΣ

STUDIES IN MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY
IN HONOUR OF NOTA KOUROU

Edited by

Vicky Vlachou and Anastasia Gadolou

ÉTUDES D'ARCHÉOLOGIE 10



ΤΕΡΨΙΣ

STUDIES IN MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY
IN HONOUR OF NOTA KOUROU

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CRéA-Patrimoine

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B-1050 Bruxelles

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ISBN: 9789461360649

Printed by Le Livre Timperman

Layout: Nathalie Bloch (CRéA-Patrimoine)

Detail of sphinx panel: Krater from Mavriki. Aigion Museum no 801

This volume is published with the financial support of the A.G. Leventis Foundation, the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), the Centre de Recherches en Archéologie et Patrimoine (CRéA-Patrimoine) and the Cultural Foundation of Tinos.



Cover

Attic Late Geometric II skyphos (Athens NAM 784), from the Dipylon Grave 7. Workshop of Athens 894. Reproduced after permission of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund. Drawing by Vicky Vlachou.

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2017



Nota Kourou and Thanasis Kouros at Aghia Moni (Paphos), in front of the Cypro-Syllabic script of the 4th century BC mentioning the Paphian king Neoklis.
Photo by Maria Iacovou.

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Katerina Romiopoulou
Nicolaios Chr. Stampolidis
Konstantinos Tsakos
Athena Tsingarida
Olga Tzachou-Alexandri
Didier Viviers
Evangelos Vivliodetis
Eleni Zimi

FORWARD

Athena Tsingarida

It is a great pleasure to welcome this volume in honour of Nota Kourou in the archaeological series of the Centre of Archaeological Research and Culture Heritage (CReA-Patrimoine) of the Université libre de Bruxelles. The publication in the collection of the CReA-Patrimoine reflects the warm and fruitful relationship built up between the Centre, Nota and several of her former students since several years.

I first met Nota when she came at ULB as an invited Professor at the International Chair of Greek Archaeology Eleni Hatzivassiliou. During her lively stay in Brussels, she inspired with her enthusiasm and deep knowledge of Early Iron Age Aegean and the Mediterranean a large audience of students and scholars. On a personal level, I discovered, beyond the well acknowledged expert in Greek archaeology, a person of great kindness, deep sensitivity and generosity.

The preparation of this volume was undertaken by Anastasia Gadolou and Vicky Vlachou, helped by many colleagues. Both Anastasia and Vicky are known in Brussels. While still a curator at the National Museum of Athens, Anastasia delivered a lecture at ULB in the frame of our International seminars on Pottery studies in a session organized with the collaboration of our colleagues from the Museum, specialists in the field of ancient ceramics. Vicky joined the CReA-Patrimoine in 2012 in the frame of a postdoctoral project (European

Social Fund) undertaken in collaboration with the University of Athens and Nota Kourou. She is now a post-doctoral research fellow of the Belgian National Research Fund (FNRS) at ULB and shares with us her sound knowledge of Early Iron Age pottery and her lively energy.

I would like to thank both Anastasia and Vicky along with all contributors for achieving their task within a tight schedule. The essays reflect the wide-ranging fields of expertise of Nota extending from Aegean Greece to the Mediterranean World. The editors brought into light a significant scholarly publication that goes far beyond a simple tribute. The important number of papers written by former students, now colleagues, further illustrates the strong ties built by a talented professor who combined human and teaching qualities. The result is a moving token of respect, gratitude and friendship dedicated to Nota.

On façonne les plantes par la culture, et les hommes par l'éducation. ... Nous naissons faibles, nous avons besoin de force ; nous naissons dépourvus de tout, nous avons besoin d'assistance, nous naissons stupides, nous avons besoin de jugement. Tout ce que nous n'avons pas à notre naissance, et dont nous avons besoin étant grands, nous est donné par l'éducation.

Jean Jacques Rousseau
Émile ou de l'Éducation, extrait

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS OF JOURNALS

AAA – Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών

ΑΔ Α/Β – Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον (Α = Μελέτες, Β = Χρονικά)

ΑΕ – Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς

ΑΕΘΣΕ – Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας

ΑΕΜΘ – Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη

ΑνθρΑρχΧρον – Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά

ΑρχΕυβΜελ – Αρχεϊον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών

Εγνατία – Εγνατία. Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας

ΕΕΦΣΠΘ – Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης

ΕλλΚερ – Πρακτικά Επιστημονικών Συναντήσεων για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική

ΕπετΚυκλΜελ – Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Κυκλαδικών Μελετών

Έργον Το Έργον της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας

ΚυπΣπουδ – Κυπριακά Σπουδαί

Μακεδονικά – Μακεδονικά. Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν της Εταιρείας Μακεδονικών Σπουδών

ΠΑΑ – Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών

ΠΑΕ – Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας

AAIA Bulletin – The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens Bulletin

ActaArch – Acta Archaeologica (Copenhagen)

ActaAth – Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae) (formerly SkrAth)

ActaHyp – Acta Hyperborea. Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology

Aegaeum – Aegaeum. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège

AIONArch – Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientali di Napoli. Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico. Sezione di archeologia e storia antica

AntW – Antike Welt: Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte

AJA – American Journal of Archaeology

AJP – American Journal of Philology

AM – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung

AnnArchStAnt – Annali del Seminario di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico: Sezione di archeologia e storia antica

AntCl – L'Antiquité classique

AntK – Antike Kunst

Antiquity – Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology

AnzWien – Anzeiger: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philologisch-historische Klasse

AR – Archaeological Reports

Archaeology – Archaeology Magazine

ArchDelt – Archaiologikon Deltion

ArchEph – Archaiologike Ephemeris

ArchEspArq – Archivo Español de Arqueología

ASAtene – Annuario de la Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente

AttiMGrecia – Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia

BAAL – Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises

BABesch – Bulletin antieke beschaving: Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology

BANEA – British Association for Near Eastern Archaeology

BAR IS – British Archaeological Reports, International Series

BASOR – Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique

BdA – Bollettino d'Arte

BÉFAR – Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome

BICS – Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London

BMMA – Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

BMusHongr – Bulletin du Musée hongrois des beaux-arts

- BSA – *The Annual of the British School at Athens*
- CahByrsa – *Cahiers de Byrsa*
- CAJ – *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*
- CCEC – *Centre d'Études Chypriotes - Cahier*
- CCJB – *Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard*
- ClAnt – *Classical Antiquity*
- ClBull – *The Classical Bulletin*
- CQ – *Classical Quarterly*
- CR – *Classical Review*
- CRAI – *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris)*
- CretChron – *Kretika chronika: Keimena kai meletai tes kretikes istorias*
- Eirene – *Eirene: Studia graeca et latina*
- Enalia – *Ενάλια*
- Glotta – *Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache*
- Gnomon – *Gnomon. Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft*
- GRBS – *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
- HASB – *Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars Bern*
- Hesperia – *Hesperia. The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
- Horos – *Ἡρός. Ἐνα Αρχαιογνωστικό Περιοδικό*
- IJNA – *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*
- IstMitt – *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Istanbul Mitteilungen*
- JaarbAkAmst – *Jaarboek van de Akademie te Amsterdam*
- JanthArch – *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*
- JAOS – *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JAS – *Journal of Archaeological Science*
- JdI – *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
- JHS – *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JIAN – *Journal internationale d'archéologie numismatique*
- JMA – *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
- JRA – *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
- JRAI – *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
- KADMOS – *Zeitschrift für vor-und frühgriechische Epigraphik*
- Kernos – *Kernos. Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique*
- MarbWPr – *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*
- MarM – *The Mariner's Mirror*
- MB – *Madriider Beiträge*
- MededRom – *Mededeelingen van het Nederl. Historisch Instituut te Rome*
- MeditArch – *Mediterranean Archaeology. Australian and New Zealand Journal for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean World*
- MÉFRA – *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité*
- Minos – *Minos. Revista di filologia egea*
- MM – *Madriider Mitteilungen*
- MMJ – *Metropolitan Museum Journal*
- Mnemosyne – *Mnemosyne. A Journal of Classical Studies*
- MonAnt – *Monumenti antichi*
- MonPiot – *Monuments et Mémoires Fondation E. Piot*
- NSc – *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*
- OAI – *Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut*
- OlForsch – *Olympische Forschungen*
- OMRO – *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden te Leiden*
- OpArch – *Opuscula archaeologica*
- OpAth – *Opuscula Atheniensia*
- OpAthRom – *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome*
- OpRom – *Opuscula Romana*
- PACT – *Pact. Revue du groupe européen d'études pour les techniques physiques, chimiques et mathématiques appliquées à l'archéologie*
- Pallas – *Pallas. Revue d'études antiques*
- Pharos – *Pharos. Journal of the Netherlands Institute at Athens*
- Prakt – *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaialogikis Etaireias*
- ProcAmPhilSoc – *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
- PP – *La parola del passato*
- RA – *Revue archéologique*
- RB – *Revue Biblique*
- RBPhH – *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*
- RdA – *Rivista di Archeologia*
- RDAC – *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*
- REA – *Revue des Études Anciennes*

REG – *Revue des Études Grecques*
 REJ – *Revue d'Études Juives*
 RendLinc – *Rendiconti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*
 RM – *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
 RStFen – *Rivista di Studi fenici*
 SIMA – *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*
 SIMA-PB – *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature: Pocketbook*
 SMEA – *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*
 StEtr – *Studi Etruschi*
 StTroica – *Studia Troica*
 Talanta – *Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society*
 TelAviv – *Tel Aviv: Journal of the Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology*
 TMO – *Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée*
 Topoi – *Topoi. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World*
 WorldArch – *World Archaeology*
 WS – *Wiener Studien*
 ZÄS – *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
 Zephyrus – *Zephyrus. Revista de prehistoria y arqueología*
 ZPE – *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

ABBREVIATIONS OF EXCAVATION SERIES AND REFERENCE WORKS

Agora – *The Athenian Agora*
 Alt-Paphos – *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Zypern*
 ArchHom – F. Matz and H.G. Buchholz (eds), *Archaeologia Homerica* (Göttingen 1967–)
 CEG – P. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculorum VIII-V a. Chr. n.*, Berlin and New York, 1983.
 CIG – A. Boeckh et al., *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, Berlin 1828-1877.
 CIL – *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Berlin 1893-
 CIS – *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
 CMS – *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*
 COS – W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger Jr. (eds), *The Context of Scripture*, 3 vols, Leiden - New York - Köln 1997-2002.

ClRh – *Clara Rhodos*
 CVA – *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Paris 1923-
 DarSag – Ch. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, Paris 1873-1919.
 Délos – *Exploration archéologique de Délos faite par l'École française d'Athènes*
 EAA – *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale I–VII* (1958-1966)
 EG – M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca I* (1967), *II* (1969), *III* (1974), *IV* (1978), Roma.
 Eretria – *Eretria. Fouilles et recherches*
 FGrHist – F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923-
 ICS – O. Masson, *Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris, 1961, réédition avec compléments, 1983.
 IG – *Inscriptiones graecae*, Berlin 1895-
 Isthmia – *Isthmia. Excavations by the University of Chicago under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
 Kerameikos – *Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*
 LGPN – P. M. Fraser και E. Matthews (eds), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 1987-
 LGPN IV – P. M. Fraser και E. Matthews (eds), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names IV (Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea)*, Oxford 2005.
 LSAG2 – L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece, (revised edition by A. W. Johnston)*, Oxford 1990.
 LSCG – F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Paris 1969 [École française d'Athènes, Travaux et mémoires 18]*.
 OIForsch – *Olympische Forschungen*
 PBF – *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*
 RE – A. Pauly και G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1893-1978.
 RES – *Répertoire d'Epigraphie Sémitique*, Paris 1900-1905.
 SEG – *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*, Leiden 1923-
 SwCyprusExp – *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*
 Tarsus – *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus*
 ThesCRA – *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*

INTRODUCTION

Vicky Vlachou and Anastasia Gadolou

*Μνημοσύνης δ' ἑξαῦτις ἐράσσατο καλλικόμοιο,
ἐξ ἧς οἱ Μοῦσαι χρυσάμπυκες ἐξεγένοντο
ἐννέα, τῆσιν ἄδον θαλίαι καὶ τέρψις ἀοιδῆς.
Hesiod, *Theogony* 915-7*

The present collective volume is offered in honour of Nota Kourou, in celebration of her distinguished academic contribution to the archaeology of the Early Iron Age Aegean and the Mediterranean. Nota Kourou received her BA in Art History and Classical Archaeology at the University of Athens and then her MA and DPhil in Classical Archaeology at Oxford University, Somerville College. She served at the Department of Archaeology of the University of Athens for more than thirty-five years until her retirement in 2012. As a visiting professor, she has lectured at the Université de Lausanne, University of Bern, University of Geneva, Université de Fribourg, Sorbonne, Paris I and the École Pratiques des Hautes Études, Università degli Studi di Milano, Università Orientale di Napoli, Università di Firenze, Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz, University of Cyprus and the American University of Beirut. As an Onassis Scholar in 2005, she lectured in a number of Universities in the U.S.A. (New York, Columbia University; Austin, University of Texas; Tampa, South Florida University; Columbia, University of Missouri). As the 2005 AAIA Visiting Professor, she lectured in Universities in Australia (Sydney, University of Sydney and Macquarie University, Brisbane, The University of Queensland, Armidale, The University of New England, Newcastle, the University of Newcastle).

Throughout her academic carrier, she has been engaged in a variety of scholarly subjects, tackling crucial problems of the Early Iron Age and attempting to get answers to issues related to the Aegean and the wider Mediterranean area. She started with **iconography** under the wise guidance of N. M. Kontoleon and later of Sir John Boardman. Even then, the focus of her research was always on the social background and the relations between

the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, as implied by iconography. Following her doctoral dissertation on Sphinxes and the relevant *LIMC* articles, she produced a number of studies highlighting issues of Early Orientalizing Greek art and its possible Cypriot and Near Eastern sources of inspiration.

As a confessed admirer of J. N. Coldstream's work, she frequently focused on **pottery**, producing a number of studies on crucial ceramic issues of several classes of Geometric pottery. With her publication of the Aigion crater in 1979, she succeeded in defining a new Orientalizing phase in the evolution of the Thapsos class vases still unparalleled and barely known in Greece, but well attested by then in Sicily and Italy. The identification of an Attic workshop of small handmade vases in the tradition of the "Argive Monochrome Ware" in 1987, followed by an investigation of their function and distribution in later articles, remains an important addition to the study of handmade wares. Her monograph on the Southern cemetery of Naxos and its pottery in 1999 constitutes a major contribution to Cycladic studies: it provides a stable base for the study of Naxian ceramic workshops of the Middle Geometric period. The identification of a local Naxian workshop closely following the Cesnola Painter in an earlier study had given new directions not only in the study of that workshop, but also to matters of contacts between islands or painters. Her CVA for the Attic Geometric amphorae in the Athens, National Museum in 2002 offers a complete account of the shape's typology and evolution in the Early Iron Age. A number of smaller studies on particular classes of Attic Geometric amphorae made earlier or later have identified several Athenian Geometric workshops and have concentrated on their distribution, and

consequently on Athenian contacts, all over the Aegean and beyond.

In several of these studies, she turned to science to investigate the provenance of ceramic wares at a time when not everyone thought it a useful or sound approach. She retains to the present her confidence in the validity of **scientific investigation**, as is demonstrated in two large joint projects with Vassos Karageorghis and others, one on limestone figurines published in 2002, and another on clay figurines that appeared in 2009. Through a number of other studies, she has contributed considerably to the study of clay figurines, their typology, iconography or their function and symbolism. She started in 1994 with a joint study of Cretan clay figurines from Patsos and continued with various classes of Cypriot and Aegean figurines, putting an emphasis on the question of continuity-discontinuity with the Bronze Age past and the interplay between the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean.

This approach has led her to **issues of contact between the Aegean and the Eastern or Western Mediterranean**. Here she has deliberated at length on the importance of Cypriot trade during the transitional years of the so-called “Dark Ages” and the resulting close contacts with the Aegean. Phoenician presence in the Aegean had its place too in her studies: a number of joint investigations have identified Phoenician *cippi* in Crete and elsewhere, with special weight being given to a Cypro-Phoenician presence in Crete, Rhodes and elsewhere in the Aegean.

Her field work on Tenos has contributed greatly to our knowledge of early Tenian and Cycladic society with the identification and discussion of the Cyclopean wall at Xobourgo and the small sacred pyre in front of it, named the “Pro-cyclopean sanctuary”. A re-study of the building identified as the Thesmophorion and its comparison with the Pro-cyclopean sanctuary constitutes a principal contribution to our understanding of the evolution of open-air shrines of the early Cyclades. The large numbers of undergraduate and postgraduate students that have participated in her excavations brings us back full-circle to her University career, which is closely linked to the creation of the pottery collection and mainly the Cypriot Collection at the University Museum in Athens. Nota has been an enthusiastic teacher and to use a favorite expression

of hers she has been *happy to have a large number of excellent students now serving in the Archaeological Service or teaching at various Universities all over the globe*.

In preparing this volume – as a surprise to Nota – we had to confine our invitation to a much smaller number of contributors than we – and no doubt she – would have liked to. As it would have been impracticable from the point of view of publication to produce a volume even heavier than this one, we would like here to apologize to anyone who feels unjustly left out. Over forty former doctoral students – many of them now leading academics in their own right, colleagues and friends have contributed papers on topics that relate to the diverse fields of interests Nota has pursued. The invited authors were not asked to address specific research questions, but rather to contribute research topics they wanted to present in honour of Nota. These are organized in five parts, embracing pottery studies and topography, interconnections in the Aegean and the Mediterranean, archaeological approaches to cult and rituals and epigraphy. Each section focuses on more than one concern in the study of early societies, presenting and discussing fresh interpretations and new ideas based on old and new material alike. From Early Cycladic Naxos, through the Early Iron Age Mediterranean and Archaic Aegean to Roman Euboea, the key theme running through the different approaches of every contributor is the understanding of ancient societies, highlighting the dynamics in studying aspects of the archaeology of the wider Mediterranean region.

Pottery studies lay emphasis on the production of ancient ceramics and thus the work of potters and painters, and equally on the iconography and the relation between image and use in different contexts. The papers of the first section approach issues of pottery workshops from different aspects and try to answer distinct questions. Stylistic analysis offers the appropriate framework in tracing the work of single potters or workshops active in Attica (J. K. Papadopoulos, M. Pipili), in Corinth (K. Neeft), in the Cyclades (Ph. Zapheirou), and equally on Cyprus, as demonstrated by the cases of Salamis (A. Georgiadou) and Palaepaphos (V. Karageorghis). Scientific investigation has proven a powerful tool for approaching and understanding craft production and highlighting factors that leave

little trace in the archaeological record (E. Aloupi and A. Lekka). Shape and decoration strongly depend on the influences exerted by the varied population groups that produced and used them. In this way, stylistic changes and the circulation of specific pottery types eventually lead us to a better understanding of social and cultural transformations (A. Gadolou, G. Bourogiannis, J. Perreault). In the second part of the first section, contextual approaches are extended to pottery studies, dealing with cult and rituals in sanctuaries (S. Huber, L. Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa), with funerary rituals and mortuary expressions (M. Marthari, V. Vlachou, L. Bournias), and convivial drinking at the symposion (D. Williams and N. Massar). The two papers by E. Simantoni-Bournia and A. Hermary provide the necessary framework for mapping established routes of communication between the Aegean, Crete and the Sicilian coast and identify cultural entanglements one with another.

The second section of this volume brings together six papers that offer a comprehensive synthesis of the evidence from six distinct regions: the Saronic Gulf (N. Polychronakou-Sgouritsa), Hephestia on Lemnos (E. Greco), the Cycladic islands of Kythnos (A. Mazarakis Ainian) and Tenos (M.-F. Billot), Laona at Palaepaphos (M. Iacovou) and Euboea (P. Karvonis). Each paper presents an attempt to recreate the historical background, dating as early as the Post-palatial period, through the Early Iron Age, Archaic and Classical periods and up until the Roman occupation. In the third section, eight contributions deal with issues of mobility and interaction between the Aegean and the Mediterranean, an area where Nota Kourou has contributed significant studies. The discussion of imports and exports of pottery, metal vessels and various artefacts (H. Matthäus, M. D'Acunto, B. d'Agostino, M. Tiverios) constitutes an effective path for tracing patterns of interaction, alongside maritime trade. The resultant transmission of ideas in the local craft productions (X. Charalambidou, M.-C. Lentini) further underlines the operating networks and the dynamics that shaped them. The activity of the Phoenicians in this process cannot be neglected, as it has been argued by N. Kourou and is discussed in this volume by Ch. Ioannou. The contribution of P. Themelis brings us to an issue closely linked with navigating in the Mediterranean, that of the history of the ship emblems (ακρόπρωρα, ακροστόλια).

The past decades have seen the rise of interest in approaches to cult and rituals through archaeological finds. In the fourth section, six papers introduce new approaches in ritual studies from an archaeological perspective. Domestic (O. Pilz), funerary (K. Reber) and cultic (G. Papasavvas, I. S. Lemos) contexts provide the necessary framework for tracing ritual activity. The two papers that conclude this section underline the performative aspect of rituals (M. Mikrakis, A. Leriou) in the artistic expression of both the Aegean and Cyprus. The idea running through the final section of this volume is neatly summarized in the title of C. Morgan's contribution, "Writing for Friends". This section introduces new interpretations of an 8th-century Euboean *graffito* from Oropos (P. Valavanis) and the earliest Achaean *dipinto* in the form of a metrical text placed on an oinochoe (C. Morgan). Preliterate Aegean seals of the 3rd millennium BC (A. Vlachopoulos) were incorporated in this section for their capacity to act as an early form of communication and understanding. In the last contribution of this volume, Ch. Kritzas explores the symbolic value of some archaic graffiti in linking the dangers of wine consumption to erotic desire.

Although different issues and problems are addressed by all the authors in this volume, most of the papers refer to or are inspired by Nota's papers and lectures, all gathered in a volume that we hope will inspire *Terpsis* and stimulate the mind of the readers in different ways. We would like to express our gratitude to all the contributors to this volume for their willingness to accept our invitation, for being discreet in not revealing anything to Nota and for their congenial co-operation during its publication processes. We are grateful to the scientific committee for reviewing all papers included in this volume and for their unfailing and positive response to any difficulties that arose throughout. Many thanks are due to Dr. Helena Vlachogianni and Dr. Don Evelyn for their valuable assistance with the language editing of the Greek and English papers. Equally, to Dr. Maria Chidiroglou, responsible for the photographic archives of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, for providing the photograph of the Attic skyphos (inv. 784), which is illustrated on the cover and for all the photographs of artefacts included in this book that are stored in the National Archaeological Museum. Our thanks are most certainly due to

Nathalie Bloch (CREA-Patrimoine) for so nicely and efficiently producing this heavy tome.

We were fortunate to have the assistance of a colleague and long-time friend of Nota and Thanasis to prepare a detailed and comprehensive list of Nota's own publications, from 1971 to the present. We thank Evangelia Simantoni-Bournia for the eagerness with which she accepted and for producing the list of publications that follows and concludes our introduction. We are extremely grateful to the A. G. Leventis Foundation, the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), the Cultural Foundation of Tinos (ITHII) and the two anonymous financial supporters for so generously undertaking all the costs of this publication. We would like to express our gratitude to the Pro-

Rector of the Université libre de Bruxelles, Prof. Didier Vidiers and the co-directors of the CREA-Patrimoine (Centre de Recherches en Archéologie et Patrimoine), Prof. Athena Tsingarida and Prof. Sébastien Clerbois for accepting the present volume in the series of the *Études d'archéologie* and for providing valuable assistance throughout the preparation of the volume.

Three generations of pupils and colleagues have been inspired and influenced by Nota's own scholarship, kindness and readiness to help and advise. We consider this volume as a symbol of our great appreciation of her as our teacher, our friend and our colleague. Nota remains intensively active in research, fieldwork and a voracious reader: we hope that *Terpsis* will be enjoyed!

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Evangelia Simantoni-Bournia

EUBOEAN IMPORTS IN THE GEOMETRIC NECROPOLIS OF IALYSOS*

Matteo D'Acunto

THE GEOMETRIC NECROPOLIS OF IALYSOS

The several necropoleis of Ialysos, a city of the Dorian *tripolis* in the north-west part of the island of Rhodes, were extensively excavated between 1916 and 1934, during the period of the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese.¹ The University of Naples 'L'Orientale' undertook the task of re-publishing them under the auspices of the Ephorate of the Dodecanese and the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens.

In a recent contribution, d'Agostino has set forth the changes which occurred around the middle of the 8th century BC both in the geographical distribution of the cemeteries and in the composition of the burial offerings. They are clear: though the burial groups themselves are relatively few and scattered in the area, dating from the Late Protoegeometric until the end of Middle Geometric II.² From the middle of the 8th century BC an extended necropolis gradually developed at Ialysos. In 1926 and 1927, Jacopi excavated a homogeneous core of 56 burials in the southern sector of the Tsambico plot at the foot of the Philerimos hillside.³ Study, in progress by the author, of both imported and local pottery has made it possible to distinguish three phases in the progressive horizontal development of the Tsambico South plot: the end of Middle Geometric II, Late Geometric I (c. 750-720 BC),

and Late Geometric II (c. 720-690 BC).⁴ In the Tsambico South plot the burial customs are these: for the adults primary cremation in a pit marked by four holes, one at each of the four corners; and inhumation in *enchytrismos* for infants, children and adolescents.⁵ All age groups are represented, from infants to elders. This pattern expands the earlier formal burial rules: a strong selectivity had distinguished the preceding periods.⁶ Tsambico South is a family plot, to judge from the wide age-range of the dead, and from the homogeneous and progressive build up of the burials.

EUBOEAN IMPORTS: LATE GEOMETRIC I

In the Tsambico South plot, a number of Euboean imports, dating from c. 750 until 700 BC, were found.

A skyphos from tomb LI (393) is so attributed from its fabric (Fig. 1-2).

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11648. Shape: vertical rim, not differentiated; globular body; concave base; thin walls; horizontal handles, of circular section. Decoration: painted rim; band between the handles with a central metope flanked by groups of vertical lines; in the metope a St. Andrew's cross with single dots in the four quadrants; in the side panels three stacked rows of small vertical dashes; handles painted on outside;

* I am pleased to offer Prof. Nota Kourou this small gift, dealing with two fields, Early Iron Age Rhodes and Euboean Geometric pottery, on which her scholarly authority has greatly contributed to our knowledge.

1 On the Italian excavations, see Maiuri 1923-1924; Jacopi 1929; Laurenzi 1936; cf. Gates 1983; Livadiotti and Rocco 1996, 40-51; D'Acunto 2014. For the recent excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service, see Grigoriadou, Giannikouri and Marketou 2001; Pharmakidou 2004; Philimonos-Tsopotou and Marketou 2014, 68.

2 d'Agostino 2006 (= d'Agostino 2010-2011, 239-247); cf. D'Acunto 2014.

3 Jacopi 1929, 84-109 and 131-146.

4 On Rhodian Late Geometric pottery and chronology, see Coldstream 2008, 274-287 and 329-330; Coldstream 2003, 247-249 and 251; and also Johansen 1957, 84-169; Papapostolou 1968; Cook and Dupont 1998, 17-25. I suggest that Rhodian Late Geometric starts at c. 750 and ends c. 745-680 (Coldstream's proposal was at c. 680 BC) and I introduce a distinction between a Late Geometric I and a Late Geometric II phase.

5 On the burial customs in Ialysos, see Maiuri 1923-1924, 331-334; Jacopi 1929, 10-13; Laurenzi 1936, 10-19; Gates 1983, 22-32; Grigoriadou, Giannikouri and Marketou 2001; d'Agostino 2006; D'Acunto 2014.

6 d'Agostino 2006; cf. D'Acunto 2014.

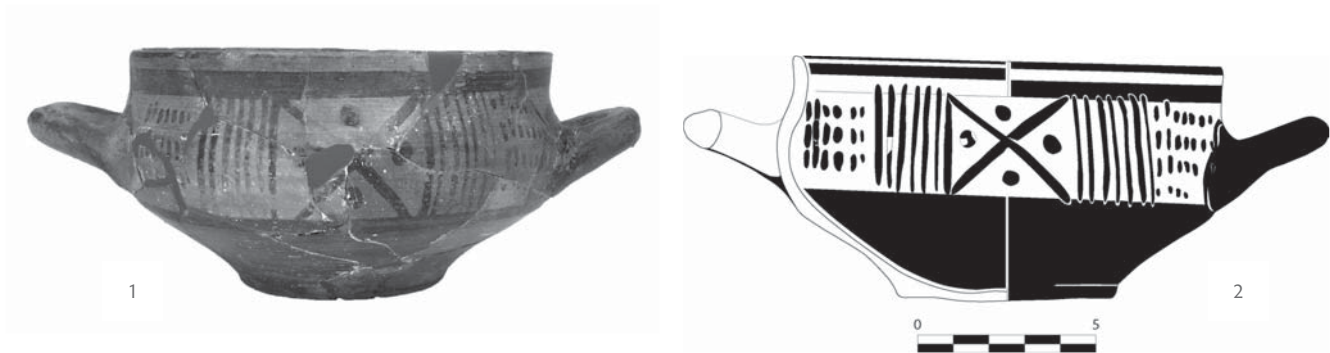


Fig. 1-2. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum (inv. 11648), from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LI (393): Euboean skyphos (750-735 BC), H. 6.5 cm. Photo by the author, drawing by N. Sergio.

interior of vase painted, with a reserved band under the lip. Clay: burnt, white inclusions. Paint: brown. Preservation: fragmentary and with few gaps. Size: H. 6.5 cm; Diam. 16 cm. Bibliography: Jacopi 1929, 85-87, figs 75 and 77; Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and L  derrey 2008, 80, note 400.

Having undergone cremation, the surface of the vase is burnt and the original colour of the clay is unrecognisable; no mica is visible. According to the recent typology of Eretrian Geometric pottery established by Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and L  derrey, the globular shape and small size of this skyphos make it a type SK 2: this has a wide diffusion during the local phases of Middle Geometric II (800-750 BC) and Late Geometric I (750-735 BC) and tends to disappear during Late Geometric II (735-700 BC), just as in contemporary Attic pottery. The vertical lip, low and not distinguished from the body, and especially the stretched profile of the belly and the rather narrow base all point to a Late Geometric I date in the Eretrian sequence.⁷ This chronology fits with the sequences suggested for Lefkandi and in general for Euboean pottery.⁸ The decoration of the Ialysos skyphos parallels the layout seen on several Euboean one-metope bird skyphoi. This type is considered by Coldstream to begin in late Middle Geometric II, to judge from Italian contexts,⁹ while in the Eretrian sequence it appears slightly later, just at the beginning of Late Geometric I, and is concentrated in this phase.¹⁰

7 Cf. Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and L  derrey 2008, 74-75, pl. 89.

8 Boardman 1980, 62-66; Coldstream 1982, 24-27.

9 Coldstream 1982, 24-27, pl. 1; cf. Kourou 2005, 504.

10 Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and L  derrey 2008, 79-80. According to d'Agostino (2010-2011, 231), the beginning of their production may be contemporary with Attic Late Geometric Ia, i.e. 760-750 BC.

Our skyphos may be considered as a variation of this type, as can be shown by comparison with a skyphos from Cyprus: this too has two lateral panels that bear three rows of dashes, stacked vertically. It differs, however, in the central metope: here there is the usual bird motif.¹¹ The lip of the Cypriote example is low and has a double painted line; the belly is more rounded and the foot is wider than that from Rhodes. The shape of our skyphos is actually closer to another one-metope bird skyphos from Cyprus.¹² A variation/development of this decorative system is the three-metope one, as illustrated by an example from Chalkis. Here the two lateral metopes are closed on the outer side by a group of vertical lines and have only two series of dashes inside, while the central metope has the bird.¹³

That the central ornament with the St. Andrew's cross and single dots in the four quadrants constitutes an alternative to the bird motif is shown by two skyphoi from Tarquinia, both belonging to the one-metope type with horizontal lines at the sides:¹⁴ namely skyphos Selciatello Sopra 93 with the St. Andrew's cross and dots, and Selciatello Sopra 174 with the bird.¹⁵

11 Gjerstad 1977, 27, no 61, pl. 6.9.

12 Gjerstad 1977, 27, no 59, pl. 6.6.

13 Andreiomenou 1984, 48, no 34, figs 13 and 19.

14 This type is common in the workshops of Chalkis (Andreiomenou 1984, 65 ff.), but it was produced in Eretria as well: cf. Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and L  derrey 2008, 79, 124, no 167, pl. 41 (Late Geometric I); Kourou 2010, 356.

15 Paoletti 1986, 411-412, figs 3-4; Coldstream 1982, 25, pl. 1c; d'Agostino 2010-2011, 231. A skyphos from Pontecagnano of the same type has in the central metope the St. Andrew's cross without dots in the fields: Bailo Modesti and Gastaldi 2001, 43, T. 6500.1, fig. 9, pl. 3.8;



Fig. 3-4. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum (inv. 11624), from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb CII (387). Euboean skyphos (750-720 BC), H. 6.5 cm. Photo by the author, drawing of the opposite side by N. Sergio.

In Eretrian pottery the St. Andrew's cross occupying a metope appears in Late Geometric I, and perhaps earlier: the same motif as on the Ialysos skyphos, i.e. the St. Andrew's cross with single dots in the quadrants, is drawn in the two side panels framing a central band with parallel zig-zag lines on a globular skyphos, perhaps going back as early as the end of Middle Geometric II (certainly not later than the beginning of Late Geometric I).¹⁶ This same motif is reminiscent, albeit in a simplified form, of the characteristic quatrefoil with single motifs in the quadrants that is the typical central element of the three-metope scheme of Attic Late Geometric Ib, and which was taken up by the Late Geometric Atticizing workshops in Euboea, the Cyclades and other regions.¹⁷

Therefore, the skyphos from tomb LI (393) has to be dated, according to the Eretrian chronology, to Late Geometric I, i.e. c. 750-735 BC. This chronology is confirmed by another vase included in the burial offerings of this tomb, i.e. a Rhodian Geometric lekythos. Coldstream dates this lekythos, which is particularly elaborate both in form and decoration, to the first part of Rhodian Late Geometric.¹⁸ Moreover, the cremation LI (393) is close to the one that seems to be the earliest tomb of the Tsambico South plot that is L (390). The latter contains the earliest type of the bird kotyle, bearing a meander in the upper panel. This type is dated by Coldstream to the end of Middle Geometric II, a little before

cf. d'Agostino 2001, 19.

16 Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 80, 118, no 9, pl. 6.

17 See e.g. Coldstream 2003, 112-115, 192-193, 212-213, figs 34b-c, 61a-b, 69b. Cf. Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 80.

18 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11647: Jacopi 1929, 85-86, figs 75-76; Coldstream 2008, 282.

750 BC, according to Rhodian chronology.¹⁹ The offerings of tomb LI (393) are fairly representative of the objects to be located in any relatively 'rich' burial of the Tsambico South plot. In addition to the two vases mentioned above, there are two Black-on-Red II (IV) jugs imported from Cyprus,²⁰ a Black-on-Red jug imitating the Cypriote type,²¹ a two-handled Black-on-Red I/II (III/IV) juglet, again an import from Cyprus,²² an iron dagger,²³ and a gold-foil object, possibly a diadem.²⁴

Nearby the cremation burial L (390) is the pithos burial CII (387).²⁵ It contained the inhumation of a child. This tomb included a few fibulae along with another skyphos, which has already been recognized as Euboean by Descœudres (Fig. 3-4). Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11624. Shape: open and rounded body; straight, slightly everted lip; concave bottom; horizontal handles, of circular section. Decoration: on the lip inside and outside three horizontal lines; between the

19 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11642: Jacopi 1929, 84; Coldstream 2008, 277-279, no 1, pl. 61c.

20 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11649-11650: Jacopi 1929, 85-88, figs 75 and 78; type Gjerstad 1948, Black-on-Red II (IV), jug 14b.

21 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11651: Jacopi 1929, 85-87, fig. 75.

22 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11652: Jacopi 1929, 85-87, fig. 75; Karetsou and Stampolidis 1998, 168, no 147; types Gjerstad 1948, Black-on-Red I (III) jug 3b, and Black-on-Red II (IV) bottle 2.

23 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11653, lost: Jacopi 1929, 85-87, fig. 75.

24 This is not listed in Jacopi 1929, but is mentioned in the *Excavation Diaries* (9 October 1926).

25 Jacopi 1929, 132.

handles runs a band delimited by a group of four vertical lines; between is a wavy line flanked by dots, perhaps a 'dotted' serpent; lower belly and base exterior painted; inside, reserve band at third of the way; two lines on the handles. Clay: reddish (Munsell: 2.5 YR 6/6). Paint: brown on white slip. Preservation: fragmentary. Size: H. 6.5 cm; Diam. 13.2 cm. Bibliography: Jacopi 1929, 132-133, fig. 125; Descœudres 1976, esp. 45, pl. 4, Beil. 7; Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 81, note 403.

This skyphos shows the characteristic Euboean reddish clay with white slip.²⁶ Compared with the Eretrian sequence, it is close to a roughly conical type without a lip, which is introduced at the end of Late Geometric I²⁷ and then evolves into the entirely conical type with straight vertical rim and lip (SK 7), peculiar to Late Geometric II.²⁸ The Ialysos skyphos is still early in the Late Geometric sequence, judging from its rounded body and slightly differentiated lip; it also is in accordance with Boardman's classification of the Xeropolis pottery.²⁹

The wide panel between the handles is occupied by a wavy line flanked by dots. The dot drawn on this wavy line close to its left end seems to represent the head: thus we might have here a debased version of the 'dotted' serpent, the well-known ornament of long bands on Late Geometric Attic, Early Protocorinthian, as well as on other output.³⁰ The simple ornament of the wavy line surrounded by dots occurs on skyphoi from Eretria, and from Xeropolis at Lefkandi in the Late Geometric layers, in examples assigned to the first phase.³¹ In the well-dated Eretrian sequence, this motif appears on the skyphoi in Late Geometric I and continues into

Late Geometric II: a published item of the latter phase seems to date slightly later than the Ialysos one, because of the stretched profile of its belly and the clearly distinguished lip.³² This ornament is also part of the Cesnola Painter's repertoire: it is drawn on the shoulder of the two oinochoai in the Metropolitan Museum of New York attributed to his own hand.³³ In this way an ancillary motif, useful for decorating long bands on vases sporting a more complex decoration, becomes the main ornament occupying the central panel on skyphoi.³⁴ The motif appears on early Late Geometric Attic pottery both in more complex systems of decoration, e.g. in the Hirschfeld Painter's repertoire,³⁵ and on skyphoi where it occupies the central band.³⁶ This last suggests again that Attica was the source for this Euboean ornament.³⁷

All told, the shape of the skyphos from Ialysos combined with its decoration argues that it belongs to the turn of Late Geometric I and Late Geometric II, in terms of the Eretrian chronology: one that is in accordance with the topographical position of tomb CII (387) in the Tsambico plot, namely in the Late Geometric I section, by the Rhodian chronology, i.e. 750-720 BC.

26 On the features of the clays in Euboean productions, see Descœudres 2006-2007, 6, note 33 with bibliography.

27 Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 74, 124, no 176, pl. 42 (from a Late Geometric I pit).

28 Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 83, pl. 89.

29 Boardman 1980, 62-66, esp. 62-63, banded lips; cf. Coldstream 1995a, 260-263.

30 Cf. Coldstream 2008, pl. 13c: Attic Late Geometric IIa; 106, pl. 21c: Early Protocorinthian; pl. 30a: Argive Late Geometric II. On the Rhodian pottery cf. the amphora from Exochi of the beginning of the 7th century BC: Johansen 1957, no A1, 12-14, figs 5-7; Coulié and Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, no 15-1, 168-169.

31 Cf. Andreiomenou 1975, 216, pl. 58γ; Boardman 1980, 62, no 106, pl. 46.

32 Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 81, 130, no 313, pl. 64. Cf. also the Late Geometric II example from the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros, which appears to be later because of the shape and the decoration: Verdan 2013, no 255, 16, pl. 89 (from a Late Geometric I-II pit).

33 Inv. 74.51.838; 74.51.5885: Kourou 1998, 169-170, fig. 2; Moore 2004, pl. 50. Cf. the same ornament on the shoulder of the hydria from Chalkis: Coldstream 1971, pl. 1b-c; Martin Pruvot, Reber and Theurillat (eds) 2010, no 33, 94-95.

34 Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer, Léderrey 2008, 81.

35 Coldstream 2008, pl. 8e-f.

36 Cf. Langdon 1976, 57, no 212, pl. 18: here considered as Middle Geometric II, but probably slightly later (cf. Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 81, note 402). For late Attic examples, see Geroulanos 1973, pls 8 and 49.4-5.

37 On the relationships between Attic and Euboean pottery with reference to the 'Cesnola' style, see Kourou 1998, 174-175.

Fig. 5-6. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum (inv. 11867), from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LXIV (448). Euboean kotyle (c. 720-710 BC), H. 8.3 cm. Photo by the author, drawing of the opposite side by N. Sergio.

EUBOEAN IMPORTS IN LATE GEOMETRIC II BURIALS

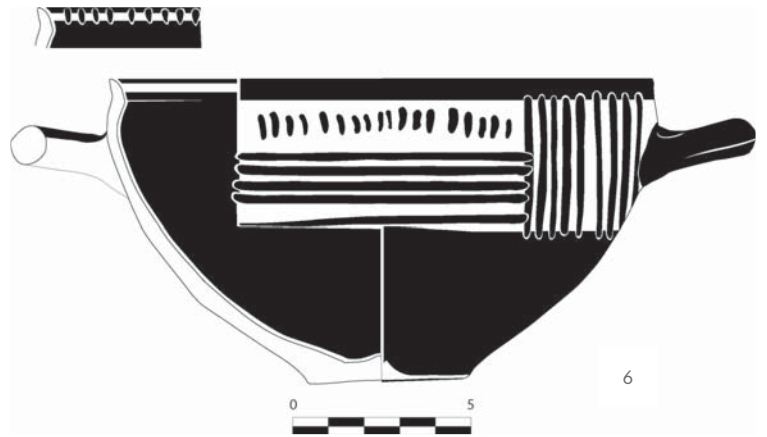
Also to be considered as a Euboean import is a kotyle from the cremation tomb LXIV (448) (Fig. 5-6).

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11867. Shape: slight and vertical rim/lip differentiated from hemispherical body by a nick; with flat base, also differentiated; horizontal handles, of circular section. Decoration: between the handles, panel contains a horizontal row of floating dashes above five horizontal lines, irregularly drawn; all flanked by sets of nine vertical lines; solid paint below, down to base; outside of the handles painted; inside fully painted except for a reserved band below the rim with groups of vertical bars. Clay: white and black inclusions, and vacuoles. Paint: brown with red spots on creamy slip. Preservation: complete with attached handles; burnt surface. Size: H. 8.3 cm; Diam. 15 cm. Bibliography: Jacopi 1929, 107-108, figs 101 and 138 (here erroneously referred to tomb CXXXI [441]); Papapostolou 1968, 95-96, pl. 44a.

The same kotyle has been erroneously ascribed to tomb CXXXI (441) in the publication by Jacopi.³⁸ The mistake was due to confusion with the kotyle from tomb LXIV (448), which carries the same inventory number 11867. In fact the vase is not reported in the *Excavation diaries* of tomb CXXXI (441), and the drawing published in Jacopi 1929, fig. 138, corresponds perfectly to the above-described item.

The prototype of the Ialysos kotyle is the well-known Corinthian Late Geometric kotyle Aetos 666,³⁹ with some modifications in the shape and the decoration.

The Ialysos kotyle is burnt, so the colour of the clay has changed. It appears to be an import because the wall of the body is shorter when compared to the



deeper and heavier ones of some local productions. In East Greece an imitation of an Aetos 666 kotyle was found in Smyrna. It is similar in the handling of the rim, but has bars on the handles: it has been considered as local.⁴⁰ The Ialysos kotyle, however, is certainly Euboean. Indeed, Euboean imitations of the Late Geometric Corinthian prototype are commonly found in the homeland and abroad, at sites linked with the Euboean East-West colonization and commerce, such as Eretria⁴¹, Lefkandi⁴², and Amathus,⁴³ also Al Mina,⁴⁴ Aeolian Kyme,⁴⁵ and Pithekoussai.⁴⁶ The relatively wide

40 Coldstream 2008, 297, pl. 63c.

41 Descœudres 1976, pl. 1, discussion 46-47; Boardman 1952, 2-3, fig. 1, pl. 1; and recently Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 28, 87-91, pls 104-105 with references to other pls.

42 Boardman 1980, 66, nos 200-204, pl. 50.

43 Coldstream 1987, no 12, 25-26, pls 9 and 13; Coldstream 1995c, no 14, 204-207, fig. 4 (erroneously no 13); Gjerstad 1977, no 85, 28-29, pl. 8.4.

44 Kearsley 1995, several fragments at 13 and 41-44, pl. 1.

45 Frasca 1998, 276-277, figs 9-11.

46 Coldstream 1995a, no 88, 261-263, fig. 4, pl. 30

38 Jacopi 1929, 143-144, fig. 138.

39 Coldstream 2008, 101, pl. 19j; cf. recently DeVries 2003, 145-154, with full bibliography.

production and circulation of Euboean imitations and variations of the Aetos 666 kotylai are due to the Corinthianizing trend: this, together with Attic influences, characterizes Euboean Late Geometric pottery.⁴⁷ Invented at Corinth, this Late Geometric drinking vessel was widely appreciated. In comparison with the relative standardization of the Corinthian prototype, the Euboean imitations of kotylai Aetos 666 show more morphological and decorative variations.⁴⁸

The kotyle from Ialysos preserves the hemispherical shape of the Corinthian prototype, but it tapers more towards the bottom, as do some Eretrian examples.⁴⁹ All in all it differs from its Corinthian prototype in a number of aspects:

the slight nick: this is present on several Euboean imitations of kotylai of Aetos 666 type (so, strictly speaking, they are not 'kotylai', when compared to the lipless Corinthian prototype);⁵⁰

the outer side of the handle is painted: this parallels Euboean examples that have deep or shallow horizontal painted band/bands on each handle (the Corinthian prototype usually has vertical bars);

the reserved band with groups of bars, inside, just under the lip (Corinthian Aetos 666 is usually fully painted inside).

These three features are present on several Euboean Aetos 666 variations;⁵¹ they represent a form of traditionalism, as they reflect the Corinthian prototype preceding the Aetos 666: i.e. the protokotyle going back as early as the end of Middle Geometric II.⁵²

with discussion.

47 Coldstream 2008, 192; Descœudres 2006-2007, 5; Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 28, 87-91.

48 On the Euboean imitations of Corinthian kotylai, see Coldstream 2008, 191; Coldstream 1995a, 261-263; Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 87-91, with bibliography.

49 Eretria, Archaeological Museum 2: Descœudres 1976, 46, pl. 1; Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 123, no 120, pl. 31 (Late Geometric I-II pit); cf. the black kotyle no 323, 130, pl. 66 (Late Geometric II pit).

50 Cf. Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 28, 87-88.

51 See *supra* notes 41-46.

52 Descœudres 1976, 46; Coldstream 2008, 191. Cf. Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 28, 87-88, pl. 92, Type K02. On the Corinthian protokotyle, see Coldstream 2008, 97-98 and 101-102, pl. 18e; and recently DeVries 2003, 145-154.

Recent publication of Eretrian Geometric pottery provides further evidence for establishing the chronology of Euboean imitations of the Corinthian protokotylai/kotylai: such appear in Eretrian pits dating to the turn of Late Geometric I and II, and become more numerous during the latter phase, i.e. c. 735-700 BC. Their production goes beyond the limits of the Corinthian prototypes.⁵³

Our kotyle is a debased version of the Corinthian prototypes: the Aetos 666 chevrons, tightly enclosed within the framing lines, have here become dashes floating in the field. In Euboean pottery closer imitations were managed. From this point of view the Ialysos kotyle is similar to a Euboean import from Amathus dated by Coldstream to 725-700 BC.⁵⁴ On the Ialysos vase one may also remark on the quick and irregular drawing of the lines, especially the horizontal ones. Therefore, our kotyle is certainly a Euboean Late Geometric II import.

The other burial offerings of the tomb give further chronological indications. They are: 1) a one-handled cup decorated in the *Kreis und Wellenband* or *Spaghetti* style, whose introduction marks the beginning of Late Geometric II (720-690 BC) in the Rhodian pottery;⁵⁵ 2) a Bichrome IV jug imported from Cyprus;⁵⁶ 3) a local unpainted aryballos;⁵⁷ 4) a local aryballos completely painted (in the Tsambico South plot this type usually occurs in the tombs dated to the end of Middle Geometric II – Late Geometric I);⁵⁸ 5) a fragmentary bird askos completely painted, perhaps local;⁵⁹ 6) a tridacna shell valve imported

53 Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 87-91, pls 92 (types K01 and K02) and 104-105, with former bibliography on the chronological questions.

54 Coldstream 1995c, no 14, 204 and 206-207, fig. 4, pl. 18.2.

55 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11868: Jacopi 1929, 108, fig. 102, bottom-left corner. On the KW/*Spaghetti* style aryballois as chronological markers cf. the cemetery of Pithekoussai: Ridgway 1992, 60-62; Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 7.

56 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11869: Jacopi 1929, 107-108, fig. 101, below at the centre; type Gjerstad 1948, Bichrome IV Ware jug 7a, fig. 33.

57 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11870: Jacopi 1929, 107-108, fig. 101, centre towards left.

58 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11871: Jacopi 1929, 107-108, fig. 101, centre towards right.

59 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11872: Jacopi 1929, 107 and 109, fig. 101, left of centre.

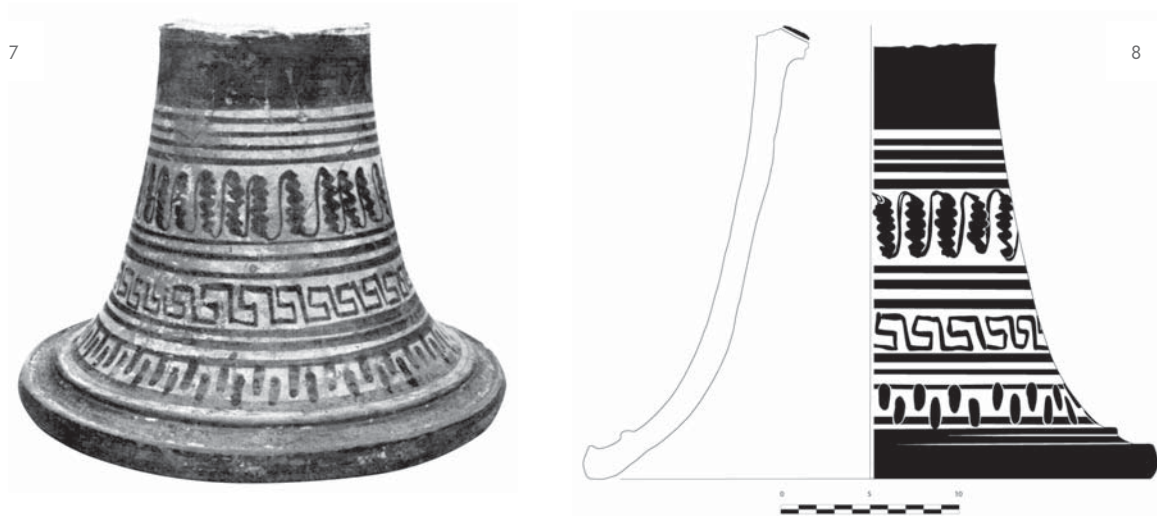


Fig. 7-8. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum (inv. 11725), from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LIII (406). Euboean crater (720-700 BC), H. 25.3 cm. Photo by the author, drawing by N. Sergio.

from the Red Sea;⁶⁰ and 7) six bronze fibulae.⁶¹ The latest vase of this context, i.e. the *Kreis und Wellenband* cup, establishes the chronology of the burial to the beginning of Rhodian Late Geometric II, c. 720-710 BC; on account of its debased style the Euboean kotyle may be roughly contemporary.

Among the Euboean imports in the Tsambico plot, the crater from tomb LIII (406) stands out. Only the pedestal is preserved (Fig. 7-8).

Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11725. Shape: high pedestal of trumpet shape; lower rounded edge, above it a rib. Decoration: the upper part of the pedestal carries a deep, painted band; under it three bands with decoration, between groups of lines: in the upper one is a continuous motif constituted of a thick vertical wavy line with connecting S-tangents; in the middle band single line of meander; in the lowest band vertical dashes, attached alternatively to the upper and lower bordering line. Clay: compact, brick-red core and pink surface (Munsell: 7.5 YR 8/6; 2.5 YR 6/4); white and black inclusions, and vacuoles; no mica is visible. Paint: brown on creamy slip (also inside the foot). Preservation: pedestal almost complete

with a small part of the belly. Size: H. 25.3 cm; lower Diam. 32 cm. Bibliography: Jacopi 1929, 89 and 91, fig. 81.

Tomb LIII (406) belongs to the Late Geometric II phase of the Tsambico plot and is a primary cremation. Unfortunately, it was disturbed prior to the excavation: its Late Geometric offerings were confused with those from an overlying tomb dated to the first half of the 6th century BC.⁶² To the Late Geometric burial belongs a golden band with a geometric decoration, probably a belt.⁶³ The crater does not show any sign of burning, thus suggesting that it was not placed among the objects on the funeral pyre, as was the norm for almost all the other vases and artefacts from Ialysian cremations. Therefore, it can be argued that the crater was a grave-marker for the tomb and was perhaps used in burial rituals.

The macroscopic analysis of the clay, the decoration and the shape all support the hypothesis that it is a Euboean import. This type of pedestal, decorated with bands between lines, is well established in the Late Geometric Euboean production: during this phase Euboean pedestalled craters continue

60 Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11873: Jacopi 1929, 107 and 109, fig. 101 at the corner top right. On the tridacna shells from the Red Sea, see Blinkenberg 1931, nos 551-562, cols. 42 and 175-182, fig. 22-23, pl. 17 and 19-21; Coulié and Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 82-83, 208-209, no 36.

61 Inv. 11874, lost: Jacopi 1929, 107 and 109, fig. 101.

62 This confusion is demonstrated by the *Excavation Diaries* dated 29 August 1927. To the later burial belong: Inv. 11727, clay lebes (Jacopi 1929, 89, pl. 3); Inv. 11728, Laconian black-painted amphora (Jacopi 1929, 89); Inv. 11729, Corinthian alabastron (Jacopi 1929, 89 and 93, fig. 83); Inv. 11730, Ionian kylix of B2 type (Jacopi 1929, 89, pl. 1).

63 Inv. 11726: Jacopi 1929, 89 and 92, fig. 82.

the tradition of the Middle Geometric II ones, i.e. reflecting the Attic type II, though they show a tendency to increase the height of the pedestal and to enrich its decoration.⁶⁴ A similar form is seen on the crater from the Artemision of Delos, attributed to the hand of the Cesnola Painter, although it is in fact earlier.⁶⁵ Several craters from the Late Geometric necropolis at Pithekoussai show a comparable shape and organization of the decoration in band/bands between groups of lines: the closest parallels are local products, following the Euboean tradition.⁶⁶

The quality of the crater from Ialysos is made evident by its rich decoration, the considerable height (it had to be c. 65-70 cm tall) and the rib at the base of the foot. Such a rib occurs earlier in the two craters attributed to the Cesnola Painter, i.e. the New York and the Delos ones.⁶⁷

On the Ialysos crater the main upper band is decorated with a peculiar and uncommon ornament: this motif occurs also both on the lip fragment of a Euboean Late Geometric crater found in the recent excavations of Cumae in Campania, under my direction, and on the neck of a Late Geometric amphora from the new excavations of Zagora on Andros. This ornament is a mix of two motifs, often found on Late Geometric Euboean pottery:

1) thick vertical bars with wavy interconnecting tangents.⁶⁸ This is already widespread in Euboean Late Geometric I in the stylistic *koinè* of the Cesnola

Workshop; it is of Attic origin.⁶⁹ It continues into Euboean Late Geometric II.⁷⁰

2) an ornament with vertical thick wavy lines. This is well established in Euboean pottery at the end of the 8th century BC. It is especially common on large amphoras with a broad neck, an ovoid body and a tall conical pedestal: it demonstrates a predilection for the foot and the neck.⁷¹ Its appearance in the second part of Euboean Late Geometric II is illustrated by several amphoras found in Eretria⁷², Lefkandi⁷³ and Pithekoussai⁷⁴. This decoration and shape shows connections existing between Euboea, the central Cyclades ('Parian') and Boeotia, in a phase during which the Attic influence in Euboean pottery has diminished.⁷⁵ In the local pottery of Pithekoussai the ornament with vertical thick wavy lines is seen on a Late Geometric II fragment of a pedestal, possibly from a crater.⁷⁶ In Late Geometric II Pithekoussan pottery, another related ornament decorates the shoulder of some oinochoai: oblique wavy lines floating in the band.⁷⁷

On the pedestal of the Ialysos example, the central band is decorated by a single-line meander. This ornament might, of course, be descended from the long-established Euboean tradition of the Atticizing meander that is in evidence from Middle Geometric until Late Geometric, or it may also reflect a new influence coming in from Attic Late Geometric II.⁷⁸ However this single-line meander is different from the more or less elaborate Middle

64 On the evolution of the crater in Eretrian and Euboean pottery, cf. Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 91-95.

65 Museum of Delos B 4209: Dugas and Rhomaios 1934, Group Bc no 8, 87, pl. 44; Gisler 1993-1994, pl. 15-16a. On the Cesnola Painter and his *koinè* style, see Coldstream 1971; Gisler 1993-1994; Kourou 1998; Descœudres 2006-2007, 6-7; Aloupi and Kourou 2007, 289-294.

66 Compare especially Buchner and Ridgway 1993: Sp 1/5, 697, pl. 235 and CCVI; T503, no 1a, 504, pls 148 and CCIII; Sp 1/7, 698, pls 236-237 and CCVI; for a Euboean import but with different shape, see S 1/9, 698, pl. 238.

67 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 74. 51.965, from Kourion: Gisler 1993-1994, pls 1-2; Kourou 1998, fig. 1; Moore 2004, 79-84, pls 46-49. For the Delos crater, see *supra* note 65.

68 See e.g. the following variations: Coldstream 1971, pl. 3d-e; Gisler 1993-1994, figs 14-15, pl. 15; Andreiomenou 1975, pl. 59; Boardman 1980, no 314, pl. 57; Andreiomenou 1981, pls 30, 43, 50.

69 Coldstream 2003, 192 and 201; Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, no 177, 125, pl. 42; no 186, 125, pl. 44; Verdan 2013, no 193, 14, pl. 80.

70 Coldstream 1995a, nos 106-107, 264-265, pl. 31; cf. Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer, Léderrey 2008, no 122, 123, pl. 31 (Late Geometric I-II); no 297, 29, pl. 61 (Late Geometric I-II).

71 Coldstream 2008, 190; Coldstream 2003, 194-195.

72 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. 12856, 'from Eretria': Coldstream 2008, 190, pl. 41e; Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, no 355, 53, pl. 73; pl. 75B.

73 Boardman 1980, nos 315-316, 71, pl. 57.

74 Coldstream 1995a, no 105, 264-265, pl. 31.

75 Coldstream 2008, 178, 190 and 202; Descœudres 2006-2007, 5.

76 Buchner and Ridgway 1993, T503, no 1a, 504, pl. 148 and CCIII (or amphora).

77 Buchner and Ridgway 1993, 399, 477, 550, T354 no 1, T474 no 1, T553 no.1, pls 129, 137 and 165.

78 Cf. Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 95.

Geometric- Late Geometric Atticizing ones: it thus may reflect an ornament introduced from Corinth. Indeed, it has been suggested that the Thapsos class of ceramics could have influenced contemporary Eretrian pottery.⁷⁹ Coldstream believes that in contemporary Boeotian pottery the single-line meander together with other ornaments may have been absorbed from the stock range of the Thapsos class.⁸⁰ This influence may go back earlier than the end of the 8th century BC, back to the Corinthian Late Geometric phase of the Thapsos class: for example, in Pithekoussai, a burial of the end of Late Geometric I (750-720 BC) contains a lekythos of the Corinthian conical type, but probably of local production, on whose shoulder is drawn a single-line meander.⁸¹

On the Ialysos crater the lowest band is decorated by vertical dashes, alternately pendent and upright. Late Geometric Euboean pottery makes use of this ornament,⁸² which goes back to the Middle Geometric tradition.⁸³

Therefore, this monumental Euboean crater, probably used as grave-marker on tomb LIII (406), should be dated c. 720-700 BC. The closest parallels for the shape and the organization of decoration of the pedestal are Pithekoussan craters, which are inspired by contemporary styles from the motherland. Its decoration shows a style no longer under Attic influence, but one that combines earlier motifs with new trends, demonstrating connections with other regions, such as Boeotia and Corinth.

In the Tsambico plot the burial offerings of the earliest tombs, from the end of Middle Geometric II – Late Geometric I, include also five

black skyphoi.⁸⁴ Macroscopic inspection suggests that the bulk of said black skyphoi comprises local productions, though I am inclined to recognize a Euboean fabric in at least one item, whose surface is burnt: Inv. 11644, coming from the above-mentioned Tomb L (390) of the end of Middle Geometric II.⁸⁵ Along with this/these example/s from Ialysos, d'Agostino has recognized as possibly Euboean a black skyphos found in a grave in Cameiros, dating to about the middle of the 8th century BC.⁸⁶ According to him, the black skyphos from Tomb M in Exochi might also be an import: the vase was restored in antiquity,⁸⁷ as is the case also for this Ialysian example, Inv. 11644.

MORE EUBOEAN IMPORTS TO RHODES AND RHODIAN ONES TO EUBOEIA

Among the Euboean imports in Ialysos are also two high-quality Late Geometric figured craters. One of them, just recently published, is from an unknown context excavated by the Italians: the central panel on both sides of the vase depicts a helmeted warrior covered by the Dipylon shield: he holds a pair of spears and leads by his side a couple of horses.⁸⁸ I suggest a Euboean fabric too for the fragment of another crater from the votive deposit of the Athena sanctuary on the acropolis of Ialysos, now on display in the new exhibition of the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes: the figured panel represents two mounted horsemen with helmets and oval shields, and a helmeted archer on foot⁸⁹. These two craters confirm that high level Euboean pottery was imported to Ialysos: products of the Cesnola workshop *milieu* and its followers;

79 Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 95; cf. no 330, 130, pl. 67.

80 See Coldstream 2008, 209, notes 7-8; Hampe 1936, no V11, 23, pl. 21c and no V4, 21, pl. 18d; this ornament continues in the Orientalizing vases: cf. Hampe 1936. On the single-line meander in the Thapsos class, see e.g. Neeft 1981, figs 2 and 5: craters and skyphoi where the single-line meander is drawn on the main panel or on ancillary bands.

81 Buchner and Ridgway 1993, T161, no 4, 204, pl. 63. For this type, cf. Coldstream 2008, 101, pl. 19d.

82 Cf. Boardman 1980, 71, no 297, pl. 56; Boardman 1952, 6-7, no 16, pl. 2; Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, 127, no 230, pl. 50 (Late Geometric I-II); 129, no 303, pl. 62.

83 In the Eretrian pottery, cf. Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, no 37, 197, pl. 13 (Middle Geometric II – beginning of Late Geometric I).

84 1) Cf. *infra* note 85. 2)–3) Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11688 and 11689, Tomb 401 (CXI): Jacopi 1929, 138 (Late Geometric I). 4)–5) Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11690 and 11691, Tomb 402 (CXII): Jacopi 1929, 138 (Late Geometric I).

85 Jacopi 1929, 84.

86 Tomb 82, close to the temple A: Jacopi 1932-1933, 194-195, no 3, fig. 232; d'Agostino 2006, 61; Coulié and Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 245, no 82-1.

87 Johansen 1957, 46, 49, no M3, fig. 106; d'Agostino 2006, 63.

88 Patsiada, in Coulié and Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 246; cf. Kourou 2014, 83.

89 Rizzo 2007, 35, fig. 3, who considers it of Rhodian fabric.

these display decoration that relates to the owning of horses that typified their warrior elites.⁹⁰

This tally of Euboean imports to Rhodes could be increased, probably significantly, by the reappraisal of vases found in the old excavations, such as Exochi and Lindos: chevron and black skyphoi await fresh appraisal to establish if they might be from Euboea or to belong to other regions which produced them too.

The relationship between Euboea and Rhodes during the Geometric period needs to be approached from the other side too, i.e. what Rhodian imports made it to Euboea and to the Euboean colonies. This is a complex and substantial matter: one should, on the one hand, make a survey of the distribution of the KW aryballoi in Euboea and Euboean colonies; and, on the other, the question needs to be faced as to which East-Greek region is responsible for the main production of the bird kotylai, whose most famous exempla are the Nestor's Cup from Pithekoussai and its inscribed 'twin' found in Eretria.⁹¹ I support the theory which attributes most of their production to North Ionia.⁹² I mention here but a single interesting case: from an Middle Geometric II – early Late Geometric I pit in the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria comes the fragment of the neck and mouth of a jug, which has been perceptively identified by the editors as an East Greek imitation of the Cypriote jugs with ribbed neck: an item assuredly produced in the Dodecanese, either on Kos or on Rhodes.⁹³ The latter island and especially Ialysos might be a good candidate as the description of its clay as fine, soapy and pink-beige in colour could be that of the common Ialysian clay. For example, a quite close parallel in shape and decoration is the above-mentioned lekythos Inv. 11647 from Late Geometric I Tomb LI (393).⁹⁴ The interest of this find lies first in its type, which is not usually exported outside Rhodes and Kos, and then in its

90 On the Euboean horse mastership, cf. now Simon and Verdan 2014.

91 Buchner and Ridgway 1993, T. 168.9, 219, 743-759, pls CXXVI–CXXVIII, 72-73; Johnston and Andreiomenou 1989.

92 Kerschner, in Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen and Niemeier 2002, 63-92, 97-99; cf. Coldstream 2008, 478-479.

93 Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer and Léderrey 2008, no 68, 120, pl. 20.

94 See *supra* note 18.

early date, as perfume vases produced on Rhodes are not usually traded before Late Geometric II, when the mass production of the *Kreis und Wellenband* aryballoi start.

RHODES IN THE CYPRO-PHOENICIAN AND EUBOEAN NETWORKS

These Euboean imports to Rhodes all concern bowls and craters for the consumption of wine by the elites. Their number and high quality confirm the picture that in the Geometric period Rhodes was a focal point along the maritime routes linking Euboea with Cyprus and the Levant, as it is also well supported by many Euboean vases of the sorts found in Cypriote and Levantine sites.⁹⁵ Our evidence of Euboean pottery on Rhodes centres on the period of 750-700 BC, but the lack of earlier evidence may simply reflect the very few known archaeological contexts on the island belonging to Late Protogeometric–Middle Geometric II.⁹⁶ Indeed this lacuna might be filled by a reappraisal of vases from former excavations. This could be so in the case for two fragments of a (?) pendent-semicircle skyphos found in the recent Greek excavations in the Koukkia plot of the necropolis of Ialysos: it relates to the canonical type of pendent-semicircle skyphos, which is different from the Rhodian lipless variant, having a single group or two distinct groups of pendent semicircles.⁹⁷ Furthermore, it is possible that several fine Late Protogeometric, Middle Geometric and Late Geometric Ib Attic vases,⁹⁸ as well as a kantharos in the style of Attic

95 See especially Coldstream 1987; Coldstream 1995b; Coldstream 1995c; Karageorghis 2002, 143-173; Flourentzos 2004, 213-214 and 227-228, pls 11-12; Coldstream and Bikai 1988; Boardman 1990; Boardman 2002; Luke 2003; Lemos 2004, 228-229; Descœudres 2006-2007; Kourou 2012.

96 Cf. d'Agostino 2006.

97 Grigoriadou, Giannikouri and Marketou 2001, 395, fig. 45; cf. Kourou 2014, 80-81, note 28. For the Rhodian type, see three items: two from Cameiros (Inv. 14084-14085; Jacopi 1932-1933, 191-192, no 3, fig. 227) and one from Vati in the Lindian territory (Papachristodoulou 1983, 14, fig. 4).

98 Cf.: 1) the fragment of a Late Protogeometric Attic circle skyphos from Cameiros: Coulié and Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, no 79, 244, fig. top right. 2) the Attic amphora from a tomb from Ialysos, Laghos plot, dated at the turn of Middle Geometric I and II: Grigoriadhou, Giannikouri and Marketou 2001, 392, no 1, fig. 41a; cf. d'Agostino 2006, 60. 3)–4)

Late Geometric Ib and considered as Cycladic,⁹⁹ and all coming from Rhodian contexts, might imply an indirect trade-route through the Euboean and Cypriote networks.¹⁰⁰ As Kourou has suggested, the Subprotogeometric style which characterizes Rhodian pottery during the Early Geometric and Middle Geometric phases might reflect a privileged link the island enjoyed with Euboea, combined with the prevalent Cypriote influences and some Attic ones.¹⁰¹

On Rhodes the complementary aspect is the wealth of Levantine and Cypriote imports and imitations, which show an articulated system of relationships with Cyprus and the Levant.¹⁰² According to Coldstream, the great number of imitations of Cypriote and Phoenician perfume flasks in Ialysian ceramics leads inexorably to the hypothesis that local production of perfumes of Cypriote and Phoenician character begun in Ialysos under the influence of Phoenician immigrants.¹⁰³ In the context of this general view, Kourou has convincingly argued, on the one hand, for the crucial role of Cyprus in the system of relationships between the Eastern Mediterranean and Rhodes; whilst on the other, she has illustrated how a close Cypro-Phoenician connection existed, which impacted upon Early Iron Age Rhodes.¹⁰⁴

The beginning of the local production of the *Kreis*

und Wellenband aryballoi in Late Geometric II is a qualitative leap in the Rhodian and especially Ialysian fabrics of perfume-containers:¹⁰⁵ they were traded all around the Mediterranean Sea. It is clear that during this earliest phase most of them were handled within the Euboean and Cypro-Phoenician networks. The Rhodian/Ialysian perfumes, bottled in the KW aryballoi, became the commercial alternative to the massive phenomenon of Corinthian perfumes traded in the Early Protocorinthian aryballoi.¹⁰⁶ The commercial competition between the two groups is well illustrated, to refer to but one well-known case, by the high numbers of both classes of aryballoi in the Pithekoussan necropolis of Late Geometric II.

The question we must ask is whether during the Geometric period, which sees the Euboeans and the Phoenicians as the main protagonists in this maritime complex,¹⁰⁷ some Rhodians on their own ships might have also made moves towards the Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean and the West. This takes us back to the *vexata quaestio* on the traditions relating to early Rhodian shipping and colonization to the West. According to Strabo (XIV, 2, 10 C 654), this activity would go back to a period before the beginning of the Olympic Games.¹⁰⁸ From the available archaeological picture, this tradition is not confirmed: rather the qualitative leap of Rhodian native enterprise has to be put at the beginning of the 7th century BC, the time of the foundations of Gela in Sicily (689/688 BC) and of Phaselis in Lycia (691/690 BC).¹⁰⁹

Euboean imports on Rhodes come to an end at c. 700 BC, just as in many other sites connected with the Euboean network of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods.¹¹⁰ Phoenician and Cypriote imports to the island, as well as local imitations of

two Middle Geometric II Attic skyphoi from Tomb 83, close to the temple A of Cameiros: Jacopi 1932-1933, 201, figs 240-241; d'Agostino 2006, 61; Coulié and Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, no 80, 244. 5) Late Geometric Ib kantharos from T. LVI (414): Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 11747: Jacopi 1929, 96 and 98, fig. 91; it has been attributed to Attic fabric by Kourou (2014, 82-83, note 40), while Coldstream (2008, 286, note 1, cf. pl. 10c) considered it as a Cycladic product following the style of Attic Late Geometric Ib; this kantharos is an 'antique' because tomb LVI (414) may be assigned to Late Geometric II.

99 From Ialysos, Tomb 51 Marmaro: Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 15579: Laurenzi 1936, 173, fig. 161, bottom row, no 3. It is considered of Cycladic fabric both by Coldstream (2008, 286, note 1) and Kourou (2014, 82-83, note 41).

100 Cf. Kourou 2014, 83.

101 Kourou 2014, 83.

102 Cf. especially Coldstream 1998; Kourou 2003; Kourou 2004; Karetsou and Stampolidis 1998; Kourou 2014.

103 Coldstream 1969; Coldstream 1998.

104 Kourou 2003; Kourou 2014, 81-88.

105 On the KW aryballoi, see Johansen 1957, esp. 155-161; Coldstream 1969, 3-4; Coldstream 1998, 256-259; Coldstream 2008, 276; Bourogiannis 2009, 120.

106 D'Acunto 2012, 200-215.

107 On the Euboean and Phoenician network along the Mediterranean Sea, see Coldstream 1998; Kourou 2008; Kourou 2015.

108 On this topic, see recently Marton 1997.

109 For a synthesis on Rhodian colonization and trade, see D'Acunto 2015, with bibliography.

110 For a survey of Euboean pottery abroad, see Descœudres 2006-2007: fig. 4; table 5 shows the distribution of Euboean pottery during the 7th century, including a number of pieces dated to around 700 BC, cf. note 2.

them, continue on the other hand throughout the 7th century and well into the 6th century BC. They are accompanied by the imports from a broad range of Greek regions and from Egypt, caught up in the wider framework of the trade systems established by the East Greek cities, in which process Rhodes is closely involved.¹¹¹ But this is another story...

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111 On the relationships established by Rhodes during the 7th and 6th centuries BC, see Kourou 2003; Kourou 2004; Coulié and Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014; esp. Kourou 2014, 83-88.

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