

UNIVERSITY OF THESSALY
DPT OF HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY
AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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**REGIONAL STORIES
TOWARDS A NEW PERCEPTION
OF THE EARLY GREEK WORLD**

**Acts of an International Symposium in honour
of Professor Jan Bouzek**

Volos 18-21 June 2015

**EDITED BY
ALEXANDER MAZARAKIS AINIAN
ALEXANDRA ALEXANDRIDOU & XENIA CHARALAMBIDOU**

VOLOS 2017

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CONTENTS

PREFACE	11
ABBREVIATIONS	13
PART I	
Alexander Mazarakis Ainian (University of Thessaly) <i>The ARISTEIA Project: "The Social Archaeology of Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Greece"</i>	17
Georgios D. Chiotis (The Archaeological Society at Athens), Chrysostomos Apostolou , Themis Dallas (University of Thessaly) <i>Behind the Scenery: Setting up the Research Platforms</i>	35
Jan Bouzek (Charles University, Prague) <i>Koine of Early Iron Age Geometric Styles</i>	41
Antonis Kotsonas (University of Cincinnati) <i>Sanctuaries, Temples and Altars in the Early Iron Age: A Chronological and Regional Accounting</i>	55
Yannis Nakas (University of Ioannina) <i>From the "Black Ships" to the Trireme: Ships and Shipbuilding in the Early Iron Age Mediterranean</i>	67
PART II. REGIONAL STUDIES	
Xenia Charalambidou (Swiss School of Archaeology in Athens/British School at Athens) <i>Viewing Euboea in relation to its Colonies and Relevant Sites in Northern Greece and Italy</i>	85
Jan Paul Crielaard (VU University Amsterdam) <i>The Early Iron Age Sanctuary of Karystos-Plakari (Southern Euboea) and its Wider Context</i>	127
Irad Malkin (Tel Aviv University) <i>Eretrian, Euboean, and Greek Networks: Colonisation and Collective Identity</i>	145
Alexandra Alexandridou (Free University of Brussels-ULB) <i>Some Insights into the Early Attic Society (10th-7th Centuries BC)</i>	155
Floris van den Eijnde & Michael Laughy (University of Utrecht, Washington & Lee University) <i>The Areopagus Oval Building Reconsidered</i>	177
Olga Kaklamani (University of Athens) <i>Early Iron Age Cyclades through the Funerary Evidence</i>	197
Stavros Paspalas (Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens) <i>Zagora and the Wider Aegean</i>	231

CONTENTS

Afroditi Vlachou (University of Thessaly) <i>Ritual Practices and Social Organisation in Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Peloponnese</i>	249
Anastasia Gadolou (Greek Ministry of Culture) <i>The Formation of Religious Landscapes in Achaia during the Early Historical Era (10th-7th Centuries BC): Political Structures and Social Identities</i>	279
Zaharoula Papadopoulou (University of Thessaly) <i>The Funerary and Habitation Evidence of Central Greece: A Discussion on the Early Iron Age Social Organisation.</i>	293
Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (University of Heidelberg) <i>The Oracle Sanctuary of Apollo at Abai (Kalapodi) from the Bronze to the Iron Age</i>	323
Eleni Karouzou (University of Oxford) <i>Thessaly from the Protogeometric to the Early Archaic Period (1100-600 BC)</i>	343
Anne-Zahra Chemseddoha (University of Toulouse) <i>New Perspectives on the Burial Customs in Macedonia during the Early Iron Age</i>	381
Stelios Damigos (Westphalian Wilhelm University of Münster) <i>Early Aitolia: Three Regional Stories and their Material Traces.</i>	395
Franziska Lang & Anne Sieverling (Technical University, Darmstadt) <i>Micro- and Macroregional Processes in Early Iron Age Akarnania and Beyond</i>	409
Matteo D'Acunto (University of Napoli «L' Orientale») <i>The Protogeometric and Geometric Necropolis of Ialysos (Rhodes): Burial Customs, Commerce and Society.</i>	437
Michael Kerschner (Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna) <i>The Spatial Development of Ephesos from ca. 1000 – ca. 670 BC against the Background of other Early Iron Age Settlements in Ionia.</i>	487
Florence Gaignerot-Driessen (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg) <i>The Rise of the Polis in the Mirabello Region, Crete: Sites and Settlement Patterns (10th-7th Centuries BC)</i>	513
Sveva Savelli (Direzione Generale Archeologia, Rome) <i>Before and After the Greek Colonisation: Some Notes on Greek-type Pottery Productions in Sybaris and Lokroi Epizephyrioi.</i>	529
Emanuele Greco (Italian Archaeological School, Athens) <i>The Poleis of Magna Graecia and Sicily: Some Observations.</i>	543
Massimo Osanna (Soprintendenza Speciale per Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia) <i>Migration and Mobility in the Iron Age Southern Italy: New Approaches to Cultural Encounters on the Ionian Coast</i>	549
Alexandra Villing (British Museum, London) <i>Greece and Egypt: Reconsidering Early Contact and Exchange</i>	563
Eleftheria Pappa (University of Sao Paolo) <i>Social Histories of the Early Greek Presence in the 'Far West': Commodities, Traders and their Impact.</i>	597

PART III. ARCHAEOMETRICAL AND BIOARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Adamantia Papadopoulou (University of Sheffield)	
<i>Demographic Properties in Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Aegean and the Mediterranean: The Case of Northern Greece</i>	605
Katerina Trantalidou (Greek Ministry of Culture)	
<i>Active Responses of Early Iron Age Aegean Communities to their Natural and Social Environment: The Evidence from the Animal Bones</i>	633
Tatiana Theodoropoulou (UMR 7041-ArScAn, Paris)	
<i>Regional Stories, One Sea: Towards Reconstructing the History/ies of Fishing and Marine Animal Exploitation in the Early Greek World</i>	669
Evi Margaritis (McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge / Cyprus Institute, Nicosia)	
<i>Domestic and Ritual Use of Plants in Early Iron Age Greece</i>	681
Yorgos Facorellis (Technological Educational Institute of Athens)	
<i>Radiocarbon Dating of Early Iron Age Greece: An Overview</i>	693

CONCLUDING REMARKS

James Whitley (Cardiff University)	
<i>Afterword: Regional Stories towards a New Perception of the Early Greek World</i>	723
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	731

PREFACE

The ARISTEIA three-year research project entitled “The Social Archaeology of Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Greece”, aims at offering an afresh approach and extensive study of the archaeology of the Greek World since the beginning of the first millennium BC until the end of the seventh century BC, by promoting multidisciplinary research with the application of modern technology, archaeometric and bioarchaeological analysis and studies. These goals, described in my following paper in this volume, was a joint endeavor since it benefitted from the collaboration of several scholars, senior and junior, as well as a number of supporting specialists and technical staff.

The database was designed after several discussions between all the members of the team and executed by Giorgos Chiotis. Chrysostomos Apostolou undertook, with great success, the difficult task of the GIS applications and the numeric redrawing of all the published plans. The web interface of the database is the work of Themis Dallas, who collaborated closely not only with me but also with the above mentioned. Dr Jean-Sébastien Gros assisted us with technical advices.

Yannis Nakas and Natalena Zachou undertook the execution of hundreds of drawings, especially of the case studies chosen for the project. Markos Mazarakis Ainian was responsible for the 3D reconstructions of the EIA settlement at Oropos. Ourania Hysichidou was responsible for all the photographs and their digital processing. Angelos Angelidis retrieved the statistical information required and produced the necessary quantitative graphs. Konstantinos Kalfountzos had the responsibility of providing assistance on technical matters related to the hardware and software used throughout the project.

Thanks are due to the following scholars, junior and senior, were assigned the task to assemble, treat and enter the records of the settlements, cemeteries and sanctuaries in the database: Dr Alexandra Alexandridou (Attica), Dr Manuel Arjona (Western Mediterranean), Dr Xenia Charalambidou (Euboea and Northern Greece), Stelios Damigos (Western Greece), Olga Kalamani (Cyclades and Black Sea), Eleni Karouzou (Thessaly), Dr Antonis Kotsonas (Crete), Maria Koutsoumpou (East Greek islands), Dr Eva-Maria Mohr (Asia Minor), Elia Nikitopoulou (Magna Grecia and Sicily), Zacharoula Papadopoulou (Central Greece), Olga Prappa (Megarid), Afroditi Vlachou (Peloponnese); Dr Vicky Vlachou assembled all the data concerning one of the main case studies of the project, that of the EIA settlement at Oropos; Yannis Nakas tackled issues related to trade and networks. It should be stressed that a few researchers worked on a voluntary basis, assisting members of the project: Eleni Chatzinikolaou (North Africa, Dodecanese and North Aegean, as well as editing of various entries of the database), Dr Anne-Zahra Chemssedoha (Northern Greece), Vera Sichelschmit (Asia Minor) and Dr Sveva Savelli (Magna Grecia and Sicily). I also wish to thank Foteini Kalai, Evagelia Kolofotia, Eleni Koulaftaki, Polyxeni Livogianini, Vicky Polymeropoulou, Malamati Prapa and Akis Profillidis, students of the University of Thessaly who participated in the final check of records in the database.

I also wish to thank several scholars, mostly senior, who undertook the interdisciplinary studies: Prof. Yorgos Facorellis (Archaeometrical data), Dr Evi Margariti (archaeobotanical data), Ada-

PREFACE

mantia Papadopoulou (physical anthropological data), Dr Tatiana Theodoropoulou (sea mollusks and related data), Dr Katerina Trantalidou (zooarchaeological data).

The general coordination of the members of the team was assigned to Dr Alexandra Alexandridou and Dr Xenia Charalambidou. Both undertook also the task of editing the present volume, together with me. Their contribution to the success of the research project has been invaluable. As a more personal confession, I wish to stress that it is thanks to the devotion of Alexandra that both the research project and this volume have been successful.

Invaluable was also the contribution of the two archaeologists who were responsible for all the logistics and the practical matters concerning the project, as well as the contacts with the members of the team and the Research Council of the University of Thessaly: these tasks were undertaken with great responsibility, consistency and effectiveness by Olga Kaklamani and Olga Prappa. Thanks are also due to Kostas Mitrakopoulos and Ioanna Charalambous-Moisidou who were responsible for the management of the logistics of the Research Council, and mediated between the university and the General Secretariat of Research and Technology (ΓΓΕΤ). My sincere thanks go also to Professor Michalis Zouboulakis, director of the University of Thessaly Press, for helping to overcome several practicalities. Last but not least I express my gratitude to Professor Jan Driessen, for supporting in an invaluable way the project.

The Laboratory of Archaeology of the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology of the University of Thessaly hosted in its premises several of the activities related to the project and supported with its infrastructure the researchers.

The current volume contains the papers both of the members of the research team as well as those of invited scholars that were read during the International Symposium entitled “Regional Stories towards a New Perception of the Early Greek World”, held at the University of Thessaly in Volos, from 18-21 June 2015, thus marking the closure of the research program. The aim of the symposium was on one hand to present original overviews, mostly geographical, of the current data from the entire Greek World, dating from the tenth to the end of the seventh century BC, based partly on the results of the research of the members of the “ARISTEIA” project or thanks to the expertise of the invited scholars. A second aim of the symposium, was to present new evidence from important current excavation projects, thus highlighting the data published up to now. The topics of the papers were drawn from the three axis of the “ARISTEIA” research project (Settlements, Sanctuaries, Cemeteries). The regional diversities or homogeneities, the interaction between the Greek and indigenous communities, the study of the Early Greek World independently from the chronological “divide” of ca. 700 BC, the rise of the polis, were some of the suggested lines of inquiry. The symposium was also an occasion to honour an eminent scholar of the Early Iron Age, Professor Jan Bouzek. It is hoped that this printed joint volume, together with the interactive database available in the web (aristeia.ha.uth.gr), will offer a continuous stimulus for further research and studies towards a better perception of this crucial and long period of Greek civilisation.

Alexander Mazarakis Ainian
Volos, 31 October 2017

THE PROTOGEOMETRIC AND GEOMETRIC NECROPOLIS OF IALYSOS (RHODES): BURIAL CUSTOMS, COMMERCE AND SOCIETY

Matteo D'Acunto

History of research

The Italian occupation of Rhodes, along with the Dodecanese, lasted from 1912 until 1947 formally (in fact only until 1943; and under a British protectorate for 1945-1947). The Italian military presence was accompanied by a wide cultural program involving archaeological excavations and restorations of the ancient and medieval sites of the island. The purpose of this activity was to legitimise the military occupation by means of a cultural façade: the program was part of a historical-political strategy, linking the present with the past of Rhodes (Barbanera 1988, 100-101, 126-127; Beschi 1988; Petricioli 1990, 149-167, 200-206; Livadiotti & Rocco 1996; D'Acunto 2014a, 52-55).

Ialysos lies near the coast in the north-western part of the island (**fig. 1**). Its PG, Geometric, Archaic and Classical necropoleis were widely investigated by Amedeo Maiuri, Giulio Jacopi and Luciano Laurenzi from 1914 until 1934. After 1915 the finds were exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes, housed in the beautiful medieval building of the Hospital of the Knights (Maiuri 1921; Maiuri & Jacopi 1928, 17-43, 129-143; Jacopi 1932; 1934).

These cemeteries were published in the volume of the *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene* of 1923-1924, and in the series of *Clara Rhodos*, volumes III and VIII (Maiuri 1923-1924, 83-85, 257-341; Jacopi 1929; Laurenzi 1936). We still benefit from the decision, made then by the Italian archaeologists, to make a quick and full publication of the burial contexts with their offerings. As a result, we are even now able to reconstruct each burial tomb with its grave goods, further assisted by their accurately-kept manuscripts – both the excavation diaries and the lists of finds by tombs – and including their inventory numbers assigned in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes (these precious manuscripts are now preserved in the Archives of the Archaeological Department of the Dodecanese).

On the other hand, though, that same speedy publication often did not encourage a precisely-worded identification of the items, whilst the photographs of the objects tend to be indistinct, and their drawing somewhat free-hand. Taken all in all, these failings make much of the publications unsuited to the needs of modern scholars. Recently other scholars have reconsidered parts of these contexts and objects. I. Papapostolou (1968) has studied the Geometric vases. Ch. Gates (sine datum) has made an important general survey of the cemeteries of Ialysos and Kameiros, focusing mostly on the burial customs of 625-525 BC. Above

all, we owe to Nicolas Coldstream the general organization of Rhodian pottery in his monumental *Greek Geometric Pottery*, as well as a clear definition of the Cypriot and Phoenician imports and local imitations set against the historical background of the relationships established between the island and the wider eastern Mediterranean (Coldstream 1969; 1998; 2008, 262-287, 477-479). The products of the eastern Mediterranean and their associated problems have been reconsidered by N. Kourou (2003; 2014, 80-83), G. Bourogiannis (2009; 2012a; 2012b; 2013), E. Farmakidou (2009)¹ and myself (D'Acunto 2008-2009; 2014a; in preparation). Several groups of material from those Rhodian cemeteries, mostly concerning Phoenician and Cypriot imports as well as local imitations, have been republished in the catalogues of exhibitions dealing with the relationships between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean in the EIA (Stampolidis & Karetsou 1998; Stampolidis & Karageorghis 2003; Adam-Veleni & Stefani 2012). Links between Rhodes, the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant have been profoundly investigated on the occasion of the exhibition recently organised in the Louvre Museum by A. Coulié and M. Philimonos-Tsopotou (*Rhodes. Une île grecque aux portes de l'Orient. Du XVe au Ve siècle avant J.-C.*): its catalogue is an important point of reference for the archaeology of the island, including new and excellent publication of many objects from the Ialysian necropolis (Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014). The University of Napoli 'L'Orientale', under the direction of Prof. Bruno D'Agostino and myself, has taken on the task of republishing the finds from the cemeteries of Ialysos excavated by the Italians. This project is run with the scientific and logistical support of the Ephorate of the Dodecanese and the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.² Its scientific importance lies in the opportunity given to republish the burial offerings in association with their tombs. Our understanding may thus now go beyond the correct evaluation of this or that single object, necessary and valuable though this is, to make possible a more precise dating and one set in its context. The opportunity also exists to explore their burial customs as a means for understanding Ialysian society as a whole.

The first result of our work is Bruno D'Agostino's article on Rhodian PG and Geometric burial customs, published in the *Studies in Honour of David Ridgway* (D'Agostino 2006; 2010-2011, 239-247). A volume dedicated to the full publication of the PG and Geometric necropolis is being prepared by myself: the present article is intended as a synthesis of this huge work, to which the reader should refer for all the details (D'Acunto in preparation).

Ialysos: the Mycenaean period and the Dorian problem

From the archaeological point of view, Ialysos is clearly the main settlement on the island in the Mycenaean period.³ The Mycenaean installation on Mt. Philerimos has not yet

1. In her publication she advances an interesting, more articulate perspective: in the analysis of the Rhodian flasks of Cypriot type in the EIA, she suggests that a former Mycenaean tradition was enriched during the LPG and Geometric periods by fresh Cypriot influences.

2. I owe my warmest thanks to the former Director of the Ephorate of the Dodecanese, Dr. Melina Philimonos-Tsopotou, the present one, Dr. Anna Michailidou, as well as the archaeologists, especially Eleni Farmakidou and Toulia Marketou, and all the staff for their generous and expert help. I would also like to thank the Director of the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, Prof. Emanuele Greco, for his constant support to the project. I owe my warmest thanks to Prof. Bruno D'Agostino, a very good companion of several Rhodian missions, for his constant help and stimulating ideas in our common work.

3. See esp. Benzi 1988b; 1992 and for a general synthesis on Mycenaean Rhodes see recently Benzi 2013, 511-519, 523-527.

been located, but several important Mycenaean objects of a cultic character come from the later votive deposit of the Athena sanctuary (Marketou 2009, 74-76). Most of the evidence, however, comes from the plain, where the settlement of Trianda continues to survive at least until LH IIIB (Benzi 1988a; Marketou 1988). The necropoleis on the low hills of Makria Vounara and Moschou Vounara, the furthest outliers of the Philerimos hill into the plain of Trianda, give the best picture of the local Mycenaean elites through their burial customs (**fig. 2**) (Benzi 1992; Girella 2002). The common Mycenaean tomb is usually composed of an irregular rectangular chamber, entered by a dromos of triangular section cut in the rock, and aligned with the door of the chamber. Some of the chambers were provided with niches, others with benches or beds, yet others with holes cut into the floor. Multiple burials, normally inhumations, are the rule, with the exception of a few cremations during LH IIIC (Benzi 1992; Girella 2002).

The fall of the Mycenaean palace system seems to be mirrored in several ways in the general fate of the Rhodian cemeteries during LH IIIC. There is a decrease of weaponry in the tombs (Girella 2002, 130-135, Table II). Clay analyses show that during this period most of the vases are no longer imported from the Argolid, but locally produced or imported under the influence of Crete (Benzi 2013, 511-519). On the other hand, a new conspicuous trend of imports – scarabs, cylinder seals, bracelets, ivory and luxury objects – appears from the Near East and Egypt, perhaps via Cyprus. From this last island bronze tanged mirrors, tripod stone mortars and at least one steatite cylinder seal were imported (it is often uncertain whether these artefacts were imports from the Levant or Cyprus). As against this influx, few vases from Kaloriziki have been considered as Rhodian imports.⁴ We will find this strong connection again during the EIA.

The recently discovered cemetery of Agia Agathe, close to the village of Malona, in the Lindian territory, shows the burial customs of a small elite group at the end of the BA (Advanced and Advanced-Late LH IIIC) (Zervaki 2011; Zervaki, in Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 190-197) and the relationship they enjoyed with the external world of the time. Here two new tomb types are in use: a debased version of the former Mycenaean chamber tomb, characterised by an apse-niche entered from a pit, all cut in the rock (pit-cave type), and the individual cist grave, cut in the rock. Another new and important aspect of the Agia Agathe cemetery is the appearance of individual graves for adults and infants in both burial types: it is well-known that this phenomenon characterises the SM phase in other regions of Greece (cf. Desborough 1964, 33-40; Lemos 2002, 7-8). An eminent individual female tomb of the pit-cave type (T. 3) contained a set of vases of the Advanced/Advanced-Late LH IIIC (ca. the last decades of the 12th-first third of 11th centuries BC, according to the traditional chronology) and a luxury group of objects imported from the eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus/the Levant/Egypt (Zervaki, in Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 190-197, nos. 22.1-20). A lekythos of an alabastron shape, probably a Cypriot Proto-White Painted Ware import stands out among the vases (Zervaki 2014, 772-773, figs. 7-8; Zervaki, in Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 197, no. 22.28; Kourou 2014, 81; cf. Bourogiannis 2012b, 66-67). Therefore, this context sheds some light on the existence of Mycenaean emergent elites at the end of the Bronze Age, still involved in trade with the eastern Mediterranean, especially with Cy-

4. Åström 1988; Girella 2005, 136-138; Benzi 2013, 523-527; Kourou 2014, 80-81. For the Cypriot tanged mirrors see Benzi 1992, 182; Zervaki, in Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 193, cat.no. 22.9; cf. Catling 1964, 224-225, type II a-b, pl. 40a-f. For the Cypriot tripod stone mortars, see Buchholz 1963, 6, A7-A8; Benzi 1992, 206. For the Cypriot steatite cylinder seal from T. 67 in lalysos, see Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, 388, cat.no. 576, pl. 15.

prus: people who were also willing to adopt the new types of individual burials. The latter aspect opens important, as yet unsolved questions on how to interpret the complex changes of Rhodes in the transition from the BA to the EIA.

As to the following SM phase, the Rhodian evidence is scanty and still uncertain. Zervaki has assigned to this phase the end of the Agia Agathe cemetery (Zervaki 2011; Zervaki, in Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 190-197). S. Dietz attributes to the SM – as being post-Mycenaean but not yet PG – two vases from southern Rhodes.⁵

On Rhodes the tradition of a Mycenaean and pre-Dorian presence focuses on the territory of Ialysos and is mirrored by the existence, during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, of a toponym called *Achaia polis* located on the Philerimos hill (IG XII.1 677; Ergias, *FGrHist* 513 F1 = Ath. VIII, 61, 360 E; Zenon, *FGrHist* 523 F1 = Diod. V, 57, 6-7).

In the literary tradition the *tripolis* of the island – Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos – was the result of the so-called Dorian phenomenon (Musti 1986, 56-60; Hall 1997; Nielsen & Gabrielsen 2004, 1196-1204). The Dorian problem still remains an immense open question, lurking behind the history and archaeology of the LBA/EIA period of the Dodecanese islands, and of the two Greek cities, Knidos and Halikarnassos, opposite on the mainland of Asia Minor (for a general overview, see D'Acunto 2015).

The question of the archaeological gap on Rhodes at the beginning of the EIA (EPG-MPG)

After the end of LH IIIC-SM a gap occurs in the archaeological record of sites on Rhodes. The earliest EIA tombs from Ialysos and Kameiros date from LPG, which is ca. 940-900 BC (see *infra*). Some sherds and pins from the acropolis of Lindos, for which an up-to-date description and photographic illustration would be welcome, have been assigned to LPG and EG (Blinkenberg 1931, nos. 821-840, cols. 233-240; for their chronology, see Desborough 1952, 229-232; Kourou 2003, 250). The traditional explanation of this phenomenon is that the island was deserted during the earliest phase of the Iron Age (see e.g. Desborough 1952, 232-233; Benzi 2013, 519, 540-541).

A decrease of population may be possible. But can we really believe that the island has been deserted? I am very sceptical about this possibility, while the problem of the archaeological gap of the beginning of the EIA in Rhodes has to remain open until new finds resolve the matter. Assuming the SM phase does exist on Rhodes, then in terms of absolute chronology this gap might be reduced to 80/100 years (if we rely on the recent scientific/archaeological chronologies for the transition from the SM to the PG that is dated to ca. 1020 BC)⁶. The present lack of archaeological finds might simply be accidental, perhaps the result of the post-depositional conditions. It is known, for example, that the PG and Geometric burials of Ialysos on the plain lie metres deep below alluvial deposits.⁷ From a more general point of

5. Dietz 1984, cat.nos. 12502 and 12501 ('unpublished items having Rhodes as provenance'), 88-90, 115, 120 n. 350 with the bibliographical references, figs. 114-116.

6. See recently Toffolo *et al.* 2013 (for the sequences of Lefkandi, Kalapodi and Corinth); Fantalkin *et al.* 2011 (for the Near East stratigraphy); Deger-Jalkotzy & Bächle 2009, and esp. Jung 2006 (for the end of LH IIIC); Weniger & Jung 2009; cf. D'Agostino in press.

7. Jacopi 1929, 10 (the tombs may reach 4 m deep), 18 with the adjacent geological map, 54, fig. 45, 116-117, fig. 110, 148, fig. 141; Laurenzi 1936, 11 (the tombs may reach 2.50-3 m deep, with an alluvial layer of 1.00-

view, the Rhodian case appears not so different from that in several other regions of Greece where we still lack EPG and MPG contexts (for an overview, see Lemos 2002, 8-26, 230-241).

Snodgrass (see especially 1994, 175-216; 2000) has pointed out that this apparent decrease in the archaeological record in the Greek Dark Age, may depend on other phenomena, such as a different organization of people in the landscape, their increased mobility, and pastoralism. For Rhodes the EIA record is mainly based on cemeteries. Formal burial at the beginning was extremely selective: only a very few high-ranking individuals had the right to be formally buried (D'Agostino 2006; cf. D'Acunto 2014a and *infra*). These new funerary habits are surely the result of the new socio-political order emerging from the deep changes in the way of life at the beginning of the EIA.

The archaeological gap is less clear on Kos: both the cemeteries of Serraglio, which occupies the area of the LBA settlement, and of Halvagia contain tombs going back as early as MPG.⁸ The large cemetery of Serraglio, holding tombs of high-level sub-adults and of low-level adults, shows continuity until ca. 720 BC. Furthermore, according to Morricone, in the few cases when it was possible to investigate the city at the transition from the LBA to the EIA, the lowest layers of the EIA immediately overlay the latest layers of the LBA, without any clear stratigraphical discontinuity. They might contain even earlier PG pottery (Morricone 1978, 46-47). Therefore, this apparent archaeological gap at the beginning of the PG period on Kos, and probably too on Rhodes, could result from both the partiality and chance of our record, as well as from the new socio-political organization of the EIA societies, which left less and strictly selected evidence, especially from the point of view of cemeteries which constitute the majority of our finds.

The necropolis of Ialysos from LPG to MG

In PG and Geometric Ialysos no dwellings have been systematically excavated, thus the location and the development of the settlement remain uncertain. To my knowledge the only slight evidence is the reference in the Italian *Excavation Diaries* of 1923 to 'avanzi dell'abitato arcaico' ('remains of the Archaic settlement') on the slopes of the Philerimos hill above the small plateau of Platsa Daphniou.⁹

In Ialysos LPG-EG tombs constitute very small groups, distributed far apart from each other: Platsa Daphniou and Annuachia on the foothills of Mt. Philerimos, Tsimoiroi and Marmaro on the plain (**fig. 3**) (D'Agostino 2006; cf. D'Acunto 2014a). As suggested by D'Agostino, these scattered groups of tombs may reflect a settlement organization in clusters, both on the hills and on the plain, one still not nucleated (D'Agostino 2006, 59). The Ialysos burial customs appear to be completely new, and differ from those of the LBA. Secondary cremation in an ash-urn is the ritual adopted for the adults. Inhumation in a pithos (enchytrismos) or in a pit is the ritual for the sub-adults. The excavated tombs dating to LPG-EG are only eight in number. Just two may be attributed to sub-adults by the burial ritual: an enchytris-

1.50 m), 64 (the depth of the tombs is from 2.50 until 4.00 m); Farmakidou 2004, 167 (EG tombs in the Tsambico plot were found at 4.52 m deep, under a thick alluvial layer). Cf. also Farmakidou 2009, 107-108.

8. Morricone 1978, T. 6 Serraglio, 70-74, figs. 52-58; T. 42 Serraglio, 229-230, fig. 461; T. 47 Serraglio, 240-243, figs. 499-502; T. B Halvagia, 296-297, figs. 633-636. For a tomb which is transitional from MPG to LPG, see *ArchDelt* 42, 1987, *Chr.*, 624, pl. 352. Cf. Lemos 2002, 17, pls. 29-30.

9. *Excavation Diaries Ialysos*, 1923, sketch, published by D'Agostino 2006, fig. 2.

mos and a pit burial.¹⁰ This low number and in particular the unbalanced ratio of adults/sub-adults (unless due to chance and the paucity of the finds) might reflect a select access to formal burial. The set of offerings in the tombs shows a clear polarization by gender, emphasizing the socio-political role of the dead (D'Agostino 2006). In male tombs offerings make reference to war (weapons) and to the banquet (tools for cutting and roasting the meat, together with few vessels for pouring and drinking wine): thus, they belong to the category of the EIA 'warrior graves'. Female tombs, on the other hand, contain a conspicuous set of vases, even several items of the same shape, as well as various imports and jewellery, thus stressing the opulence of the oikos and its external relationships.

A small family group is buried in the Marmaro plot on the plain (Laurenzi 1936, 161-166; Lemos 2002, 23; D'Agostino 2006, 57-58). LPG tomb 44 is a male burial, of the 'warrior' type (fig. 4). The ashes were collected in a coarse amphora, whose mouth was closed by an oenochoe (fig. 5).¹¹ As the oenochoe is unburnt, it might have been used in the burial ritual: perhaps for extinguishing the pyre by pouring the wine on the smouldering ashes, as in the ritual described in the Iliad on the occasion of Patroklos' funeral (*Il.* 23.236-238). Similarly, in the necropolis of Pithekoussai an unburnt and complete oenochoe is usually buried in the secondary phase of the cremation ritual, together with other vases and offerings that were burnt and fragmentary, having been earlier placed on the pyre (Ridgway 1984, 63). The oenochoe is still in a pure LPG style: its decoration on the shoulder is made of upright and carefully drawn semicircles, including fully painted hourglasses (cf. Lemos 2002, 23, 71; Coldstream 2008, 262-264). The metal offerings were all in iron: a sword, a spearhead with its sauroter, a knife with the curved blade, a kind of sickle, and a spit (Laurenzi 1936, 164-165, fig. 152; D'Agostino 2006, 57-58).

The female tomb, Marmaro 43,¹² is slightly later (fig. 6): its pottery is decorated in the EG style (first half of the 9th century BC), a continuation and transformation of the PG Dodecanesian style (Coldstream 2003, 45-46, fig. 11; 2008, 265-267). This EG style is characterised by specific features: together with the common PG ornaments of circles and semicircles, there is a massive use of hatched lozenges, triangles and hour-glasses. The LPG-EG Rhodian style shows influences both from LPG Attic and from Atticizing pottery from the Argolid, as well as from contemporary White Painted productions in Cyprus. Cypriot influence on Rhodian pottery is reflected by the imitations of some shapes, such as the bird-animal askos and the pilgrim flask, and by the preference in the decoration for hatched lozenges, triangles and hour-glasses.¹³ Vases from tomb Marmaro 43 show some features, which reflect a departure from the pure PG style, while being more reminiscent of the EG phase: thus, the high foot of the tall skyphos, typical of the PG, is replaced by a low conical foot,¹⁴ and the semicircles of the neck-handled amphoriskos are less carefully drawn, as they are roughly

10. The enchytrismos is T. CXLI (470) Platsa Daphniou: Jacopi 1929, 146-147, 149, fig. 142; D'Acunto 2008-2009; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 228-229, cat.nos. 59-60. The pit burial is T. 2 Tsimoiroi: Farmakidou 2004, 171-174, figs. 4-5; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 276, cat.no. 127 (erroneously numbered by myself among the adult tombs: see D'Acunto 2014a, 56; the dead was about six years old: I owe the right information to Eleni Farmakidou).

11. The latter vase is Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15549: Laurenzi 1936, n. 1, 164-165, fig. 152.

12. Laurenzi 1936, 161-164, figs. 149-151; Lemos 2002, 23 ('transitional stage from LPG to Geometric'); D'Agostino 2006, 58; D'Acunto 2014a, 56-59, fig. 24; Farmakidou, in Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 176-183, cat.no. 18.1-15.

13. For Attic and Atticizing influences, see Coldstream 2003, 45-47; 2008, 263-267; Kourou 2014, 81-82. For Cypriot influences cf. Bourogiannis 2012b. I deal with these aspects in D'Acunto in preparation.

14. See the skyphoi Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15536, 15537a-d: Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014,

drawn three-quarter circles which partly do not engage with the lower band.¹⁵ The tall and richly decorated amphora with the double-arched handles, used as a cinerary urn, is clearly influenced by Attic products, as is shown by its shape and decoration (**fig. 7**). This last is composed of sets of concentric circles filled with Maltese crosses; these motifs are delimited by bands filled with chains of crosshatched or black-painted lozenges in the Dodecanesian manner.¹⁶ The plump body and the carefully drawn circles and in general all the decoration are still in the PG manner (cf. Coldstream 2008, 266) and thus suggest a date for the burial just at the beginning of the EG, in the early 9th century BC (a date for the amphora earlier than the other vases of the tomb, i.e. still in LPG, is not inconceivable).

The offerings of this female burial stress the opulence of the oikos. It contained six two-handled skyphoi¹⁷ and three amphoriskoi (two of the neck-handled type,¹⁸ and one of the belly-handled type¹⁹). The gender markers are: a bone object in the shape of a scoop, decorated with incised circles, which is a pendent and might have been used for the application of cosmetics (the alternative interpretation is an amulet);²⁰ three bronze fibulae, which may be usually considered as indications of female dress – probably the Dorian peplos – when there are more than one in Rhodian tombs;²¹ and four bronze pins, in which the long distance of the globe from the head seems to be of a PG inspiration (perhaps fitting in with the possible LPG date of the belly-handled amphora).²² The offerings also include three objects in faience: a statuette of Bes (now lost),²³ a pendant in the shape of a rosette,²⁴ and a pyramidal seal, again a pendant, on whose base two striding lions are engraved.²⁵ These have been imported from the eastern Mediterranean, probably from the Levant; a possible alternative source for the seal is Cyprus, as it recalls a Cypro-Phoenician type.²⁶ For this seal Coldstream perceptively drew a parallel with the two ivory seals buried in the Athenian EG II tomb of the 'Rich Lady of the Areopagus'. Though both the Attic examples have a suspension hole and

178-179, cat.nos. 18.4-7. On the chronological implication of this aspect, see Coldstream 2008, 266; cf. Lemos 2002, 23.

15. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15533: Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 181, cat.no. 18.10. For the deterioration of semicircles during EG on Dodecanesian vases, see Coldstream 2008, 266.

16. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15532: Coldstream 2003, 46-47, fig. 11; 2008, 264-266, pl. 58a; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 176-177, cat.no. 18.1.

17. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15536, 15537a-ε: Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 178-179, cat.nos. 18.4-7.

18. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15533, 15535: Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 180-181, cat.nos. 18.8-10.

19. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15534: Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 180, cat.no. 18.8.

20. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15547: Laurenzi 1936, cat.no. 16, fig. 150 below, centre (amulet); Desborough 1952, 226; Lemos 2002, 182 (amulet); Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 183, cat.no. 18.15.

21. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15542 and without number: Laurenzi 1936, 163, cat.nos. 9-10, fig. 150 right. On the Rhodian fibulae – a massive presence in the tombs and sanctuaries, thus showing the importance of the female dress in the sacred and funerary rituals – see Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978 and before Blinkenberg 1926.

22. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15543 a-c (only three of them are now preserved): Laurenzi 1936, 163-164, no. 12, fig. 150; on the chronology of the pins still in the PG tradition, see Lemos 2002, 106 (LPG); Coldstream 2003, 46-47.

23. Laurenzi 1936, 163-164, cat.no. 15, fig. 150 down right: only the lower part of the figure with the legs was preserved.

24. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15544: Laurenzi 1936, 164, cat.no. 13; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 182-183, cat.no. 18.14.

25. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15545: Laurenzi 1936, 163-164, cat.no. 164, figs. 150 down left and 151; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 182, cat.no. 18.13.

26. See discussion in D'Acunto in preparation. For the type of the seal, see Gubel 1987; cf. Bourogiannis 2012b, 71, n. 42.

one of them has a pyramidal form, just like the Ialysos one, yet their ornamentation is in the Geometric tradition and therefore they are local products.²⁷ In these two rich female tombs, Athenian and the comparable Rhodian, the richness and the outstanding status of the oikos is further emphasised, in the funerary perspective, by the seals: a personal belonging of each 'rich lady', it is the explicit marker of her household properties. Finally, the imports from Cyprus should be considered: namely the two barrel-juglets buried in the tomb. They belong to the short-life White Painted II production:²⁸ perfume vases, once containing this much appreciated Cypriot product.²⁹

Other early imports from the eastern Mediterranean were found in LPG-EG tombs of Ialysos: probably the two hemispherical bronze bowls used as lids of the cinerary urns of the male tombs in the Tsimoiroi plot (T. 1)³⁰ and in Annuachia (T. 98) were imports from Cyprus, but for the second one cannot judge as it is now lost.³¹ The necklace made of faience beads and a single bronze pendant from the female tomb in Tsimoiroi (T. 2), were also imported from the eastern Mediterranean, probably from the Syro-Palestinian coast.³² As mentioned above, Ialysos had already enjoyed a close connection with Cyprus and the Syro-Palestini-

27. Coldstream 2003, 56-57, fig. 13d; on the famous context and the two seals, see Smithson 1968, 115-116, cat.nos. 79-80, pl. 33.

28. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15538a-b. Different opinions on the origin and the relative chronology of the two vases have been expressed by scholars. According to L. Laurenzi (1936, 163, no. 6), they were local imitations of Cypriot prototypes; this opinion was shared by E. Gjerstad (1948, 264), who considered them as a close imitation of a Cypriot White Painted II prototype, as well as by K.F. Johansen (1958, 128). The possibility that they were true products of Cyprus has been advanced by N. Coldstream, first cautiously (Coldstream 2003, 46-47, fig. 11 e-f: "... two barrel-jugs from Ialysos gr. 43 ... may well be Cypriot imports"; before then, see Coldstream 1969, 2, pl. 1b-c: "An early Geometric grave group, Marmaro Grave 43 at Ialysos, contains a pair of barrel-jugs ... which are close copies, if not imports, of Cypro-Geometric II"). Later Coldstream was more definite (Coldstream 1999, 111: "In that rich single burial [see T. 43 Marmaro], two identical small barrel jugs of advanced White Painted II character were found with a large group of local pottery at the very earliest stage of Rhodian Geometric, soon after 900 BC"). Cf. Papapostolou 1968, 81, n. 16 (who considers them perhaps as imports, as their clay does not seem to be Rhodian); Kourou 2014, 82 (who assigns them to Cypriot fabric). Recently, G. Bourogiannis has suggested from their fabrics a Cypriot provenance for only one of them (15538a), while the other one (15538b) would be rather a Phoenician imitation of the Cypriot prototype; he also attributes both vessels to White Painted III phase rather than II.

My belief is that they are both Cypriot imports. Indeed, their clay, even if not perfectly identical, is close in several points and may fit, to my knowledge, with Cypriot clay. The colour, in both cases is pale brown (Munsell 10YR 8/3), if we exclude the parts where the original colour has been altered by the firing on the pyre. Moreover, in both cases, the surface is quite purified (a wash), while the inner is quite porous and characterised by small white and black inclusions. The kinship between the two vases is evident and their slight differences may simply depend on factors, such as the variability in the production processes, a different place/workshop of production in Cyprus and also the deformations, which they underwent when they were put on the pyre in Ialysos. I also uphold the *communis opinio* expressed by most scholars that the two vases fit better with the White Painted II, probably with an advanced stage of this phase, as suggested by N. Coldstream (though I appreciate that the differences between some types of White Painted II and III pottery are often quite nuanced): cf. Gjerstad 1948, White Painted II, Jug 2, pl. XIII.2, which is closer in the profile of its neck than Gjerstad 1948, White Painted III, Jug 2, pl. XIX.2 (whose neck is more flared). In the same chronological perspective, the context of T. 43 Marmaro is coherent with a date of the two Cypriot barrel-juglets still in the Cypro-Geometric II phase: on this aspect, see Coldstream 1999.

29. For a general overview on this aspect, see D'Acunto 2012, 196-2015; cf. Bourogiannis 2014.

30. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum M 1603: Farmakidou 2004, 167, 169, cat.no. 5, fig. 3e. On this class of bronze bowls and on their Cypriot provenance, see Matthäus 1985, 71-108.

31. It is now lost, but is recorded in the *Excavation Diaries Ialysos*, 1923, in the register of finds of Tomb 98.

32. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum D 378: Farmakidou 2004, 172-173, cat.nos. 9-10, fig. 5i, θ; Triantaphyllidis 2014, 276-277, no. 127. On the faience in EIA Rhodes, see Triantaphyllidis 2014.

an region just before the archaeological gap of the LH IIIC. This strong link of Rhodes with the eastern Mediterranean will remain a constant phenomenon during the next centuries.³³

During the EIA, the initiative was mainly in the hands of the Phoenicians and Cypriots, on one side, and with the Euboeans, on the other (Coldstream 1998; Kourou 2008; 2014, 83; 2015). Rhodes, thanks to its geographical position, was a good stopping point between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean littoral. These early eastern Mediterranean imports in the cemetery of Ialysos can be paralleled with many items in the Lefkandi tombs: faience, jewellery, bronzes and clay vessels, among them the perfume flasks.³⁴ Concerning the perfume containers, the two Cypriot barrel-juglets from the Marmaro plot are just slightly later than a Bichrome juglet from the LPG Tomb 22 of the necropolis of Palia Perivolia from Lefkandi: the latter is one of the earliest imports from Cyprus to Greece after the end of the Mycenaean period.³⁵ In the much earlier T. 46 (EPG) of the cemetery of Skoubris in Lefkandi a Syro-Palestinian juglet was found.³⁶ There are thus signs enough that show that the Rhodian elites were early involved in this Cypro-Phoenician and Euboean trade network of the EIA.

The other female grave of this phase is an inhumation in a pit of a sub-adult of about six years:³⁷ T. 2 in the Tsimoiroi plot on the plain in a spot not distant from Marmaro: this was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service and recently published by Eleni Farmakidou (2004, 171-174, figs. 4-5; cf. D'Agostino 2006, 241 [here Koukkia plot]). The wealthy nature and plentiful repetition of the offerings reflect the same burial custom for females as did T. 43 at Marmaro: four skyphoi on tall conical feet, two of them decorated with a series of irregularly drawn hatched lozenges,³⁸ one with concentric circles;³⁹ two small jugs, decorated by lozenges on the shoulder;⁴⁰ an amphoriskos decorated by semicircles on the shoulder;⁴¹ a one-handed flask whose lentoid shape and decoration (four hatched triangles radiating from a square at the centre) reflect Cypriot prototypes;⁴² the above-mentioned faience necklace with the single bronze pendant, probably imported from the Syro-Palestinian region;⁴³ and two iron spheres.⁴⁴ The context is dated to the EG (900-850 BC), probably to an advanced stage, as suggested by the shape of the vases (such as the open profile of one of the skyphoi⁴⁵), as well as by their decoration (the irregularly drawn lozenges and the semicircles of the amphoriskos, which are roughly drawn three-quarter circles, overlapping with the lower band).

33. Coldstream 1969; 1998; Stampolidis & Karetsou 1998; Kourou 2003; 2004; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014 and esp. Kourou 2014. See *infra* for the discussion of several aspects and classes of materials.

34. See the syntheses of Popham 1994; Lemos 2002, 226-227; Martin-Pruvot *et al.* 2010, 57-64 (I. Lemos), 88-92.

35. Eretria, Archaeological Museum 9664: Popham *et al.* 1980, T. 22 (19) Palia Perivolia, 350, pl. 270a; Lemos 2002, 227, pl. 41.4; Martin-Pruvot *et al.* 2010, 88-90, cat.no. 16.

36. Eretria, Archaeological Museum inv. no. 8461: Popham *et al.* 1980, T. 46 (3) Skoubris, 126, pl. 106, pl. 270b; Lemos 2002, 11, 227, pls. 13.2, 106.1; Martin-Pruvot *et al.* 2010, 88-89, cat.no. 15.

37. On the age see *supra* n. 10.

38. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 22678, 22679: Farmakidou 2004, 172, cat.nos. 3-4, figs. 5γ,δ.

39. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 22677: Farmakidou 2004, 172, cat.nos. 3-4, fig. 5ε. Of the fourth item only the foot is preserved: Rhodes, Archaeological Museum Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 22678: Farmakidou 2004, 172, cat.no. 2, fig. 5β.

40. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 22680, 22681: Farmakidou 2004, 172-173, cat.nos. 5-6, figs. 5σ,ζ.

41. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 22676: Farmakidou 2004, 171-172, cat.no. 1, figs. 5α.

42. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 22682: Farmakidou 2004, 172-173, fig. 5η. On the Cypriot prototypes see Farmakidou 2009 (cf. n. 9); Bourogiannis 2012b, 72-73.

43. n. 74.

44. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum M 1621: Farmakidou 2004, 172-173, cat.no. 11, figs. 5ι,α.

45. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 22679: Farmakidou 2004, 172-173, cat.no. 4, figs. 5δ.

Another burial of this phase (T. 1) has been found in the same spot of Tsimoiroi, clearly linked with the other tomb by family ties (Farmakidou 2004, 167-171, pls. 2-3; cf. D'Agostino 2006, 241). This is a secondary cremation of a male adult, a 'warrior', whose ashes were buried in a big belly-handled amphora, richly decorated on the belly, the shoulder and the neck by bands filled with sets of hatched triangles, lozenges, together with debased semicircles and rows of pendent tongues on the shoulders.⁴⁶ The style of the amphora is consistent with that of the vases from the former burial, dating it to the EG. A hemispherical bronze bowl, placed upside down, probably an import from Cyprus, covered the mouth of the amphora.⁴⁷ Again, as is the rule in male tombs, the number of pots is reduced: in this burial to merely a circle skyphos on a tall foot, whose profile of the belly suggests again a quite advanced stage of EG.⁴⁸ The panoply is the richest of all Rhodian 'warrior' burials (D'Agostino 2006, 59): two iron spearheads (one of them of considerable size), a bronze spearhead, an iron sword, and an iron short sword with bronze hilt.⁴⁹ Among the offerings there were also two iron knives, two bronze rings, four iron rings, a bronze fibula, as well as bronze sheets and other parts which may be from the covering of a wood container, together with fragments of a casing in bone and fragments of iron nails.⁵⁰ The owner of the tomb appears to be an eminent warrior-chieftain as shown by the rich panoply and the presence of a bronze weapon together with the iron ones: the inclusion of the bronze spearhead among all the other iron weapons (except for the hilt of the short sword) recalls the panoply of the 'prince's tomb' in the Eretria West Gate cemetery (T. 6).⁵¹ For this famous burial, Bérard has advanced the tempting, if not verifiable, hypothesis that the bronze spearhead, being so distinct from the iron panoply, might have the parallel function of a sceptre, thus combining its symbolism of an offensive weapon with that of a sign of political power.⁵² Preliminary anthropological analyses of the deceased of T. 1 Tsimoiroi have indicated that he died at an age between 18 and 25 years old (Farmakidou 2004, 171), which would give a quite young age for the admission to the class of warriors-chieftains.

Two adults tombs were found in Kremastì at different times. T. 98 was discovered by the Italians in 1923 on the terrace of Annuachia, on the hill overlooking the church of Kremasti.⁵³ It is a male burial: a secondary cremation in an amphora, the only offering to be preserved (the others are now lost).⁵⁴ The offerings included the above-mentioned bronze hemispherical bowl, probably used as a lid of the cinerary urn, as well as a spearhead, an arrow, a knife and other fragments all in iron. The decoration of the amphora – semicircles carefully drawn

46. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 22674: Farmakidou 2004, 167-168, cat.no. 1, fig. 3a.

47. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 22674: Farmakidou 2004, 167-169, cat.no. 5, fig. 3ε, who convincingly recalls Cypriot parallels.

48. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 22674: Farmakidou 2004, 167-168, cat.no. 2, fig. 3β.

49. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum M 1604-1608: Farmakidou 2004, 167-169, fig. 3.

50. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum M 1609-1619, D 377: Farmakidou 2004, 167-170, fig. 3.

51. Bérard 1970, 13-17, esp. pl. 42 (bronze spearhead); Blandin 2007, 43-45, pls. 63-71; Martin-Pruvot *et al.* 2010, 263-264, 296-297, cat.nos. 276-283.

52. Bérard 1970, 16, fig. 3, 17, cat.no. 6.17, pl. 10.42; 1972. While, we may no more follow his hypothesis that the bronze spearhead is a Mycenaean keimelion: it has been rather considered as a Halstattian/Italic spearhead (Bettelli 2001). Then, it is possible that it was exchanged as a gift by some Italic/Central European elites with the Eretrian counterpart or through intermediary transitions. On the bronze spearhead, see also Blandin 2007, vol. II, 45, cat.no. 18, pl. 71.2; Martin-Pruvot *et al.* 2010, 296-297, cat.no. 283.

53. See *Excavation Diaries Ialysos*, 1923: date 5-9-1923, 'Tombe n. 15 – Anfora funeraria 98'. Unfortunately this tomb was not published by the Italians. See Papapostolou 1968, 82-83; Papachristodoulou 1983, 12, 15; D'Agostino 2006, 59.

54. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 6523: Papapostolou 1968, 82-83, pl. 38a.

on the shoulder, double line of Xs on the neck and in general the light ground style – suggests a chronology still in the LPG. The other tomb from Kremasti was found in 1949 and is a female burial.⁵⁵ Again the secondary cremation was placed in a cinerary urn, a neck-handled amphora. The amphora bears semicircles, which are roughly drawn three-quarter circles and partly do not engage with the lower band, and by a row of pendant tongues in the East Greek manner on the shoulder (see Coldstream 2008, 265), and a zig-zag band on the neck. The other vessels were two skyphoi, decorated respectively by irregularly drawn hatched hourglasses and lozenges; their low foot together with the decoration of the amphora assigns this burial to the EG. The other offerings were two pins with the shank in iron and the globe in bronze, together with other evocative finds: some metal raw lumps and three spindle whorls in a hard black stone, probably imported.

The last tomb dating to this early phase is the enchytrismos of a child, T. CXLI (470) in Platsa Daphniou, a small plateau on the lower slopes of Mt. Philerimos (a location similar to that of Annuachia, but quite far off from the same).⁵⁶ Several vases constitute the burial offerings: a krater, whose tall foot is preserved, decorated by a series of semicircles on the lower side;⁵⁷ two lentoid one-handled flasks ('pilgrim' flasks), whose belly is decorated by radiating hatched triangles, local imitations of eastern Mediterranean and more precisely Cypriot prototypes (**fig. 8**);⁵⁸ an askos with bird's body and animal's head, decorated with hatched hour-glasses, recalling the Dodecanesian imitations/variations of again mostly Cypriot prototypes;⁵⁹ and three joined amphoriskoi (only two are preserved), decorated by pendent hatched triangles.⁶⁰ On the basis of the clay and the ornaments, all these vases appear to be local products. Their decoration suggests a chronology in EG, but, I would suggest, still at the very beginning of it (as demonstrated, for example, by the carefully drawn semicircles of the krater, which still reflects the LPG style).

The most intriguing offering in the tomb of Platsa Daphniou is a female bell-shaped figurine (**fig. 9**).⁶¹ Its deposition in an infant tomb clearly implies a ritual act and a symbolic meaning: it might represent either a figure of importance (the mother?) or a goddess of the death (Persephone/Kore). The figurine is a remarkable testimony of Greek EIA coroplastic. It was surely modelled by a craftsman from Ialysos or at least from Rhodes, as suggested by the clay and the ornament of the common Rhodian hatched hour-glasses and square, together with concentric circles including a series of dots. The wheel-made body of the figurine has common grounds with those produced by potters, something, which is characteristic of the Aegean and Cyprus between the end of the BA and the beginning of the EIA. The shape of the body seems to reflect Cypriot influence too, whilst in the details and structure of the

55. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum: Papachristodoulou 1983, 15; D'Agostino 2006, 59.

56. Jacopi 1929, 146-147, 149, fig. 142; Coldstream 2003, 46; Farmakidou, in Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 228-229, 298, cat.nos. 59-60, 165.

57. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11965b: Jacopi 1929, 147, cat.no. 6.

58. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11962-11963: Jacopi 1929, 146, 149, cat.nos. 2-3, fig. 142; Bourogiannis 2012b, 72-74, figs. 5-6; Farmakidou, in Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 228-229, cat.no. 60. On the Cypriot prototypes for the Dodecanesian lentoid flasks, see Farmakidou 2009; Bourogiannis 2012b, 72-74.

59. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11965: Jacopi 1929, 147, 149, cat.nos. 5, fig. 142; Bourogiannis 2012b, 74-75, fig. 7; Farmakidou, in Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 228, cat.no. 60. On the EIA askoi, bird-animal vases and their Cypriot prototypes, see Kourou 1997, 97-99; 2005, 248-251. For the Rhodian and Koan items see Bourogiannis 2012b, 74-79.

60. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11964: Jacopi 1929, 146-147, 149, cat.no. 4, fig. 142.

61. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11961: D'Acunto 2008-2009; Farmakidou, in Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 298, cat.no. 165; D'Acunto 2014b, 69-72, figs. 1-4, with all the references.

head the statuette shows similarities with EIA Cretan figurines. On the other hand, it differs from the Euboean products, as the differences with the head of the Lefkandi centaur show.

After this group of LPG-EG tombs, in the span of one hundred years evidence in Ialysos is limited to only one tomb (**figs. 10-11**). This was recently excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service in the Laghos plot (T. 3), on the plain, quite close to both Tsimoiroi and Marmaro (Grigoriadou, Giannikouri & Marketou 2001, 391-395; D'Agostino 2006, 60). It adopts, for the first time in Ialysos, the burial ritual of the primary cremation in a roughly rectangular pit, which is characterised by four holes at the corners.⁶² In Ialysos this type of burial ritual becomes the rule for adults from the 8th until the middle of the 6th centuries BC (while in Kameiros it continues to be adopted until the second half of the 6th century BC). Compared with LPG-EG Ialysos tombs, the change is from secondary to primary cremation. In this tomb type it is clear that the burial took place on the same spot as the pyre: the rectangular pit corresponds to where the funerary bed had been positioned; the skeleton and the offerings, both more or less burnt, were not moved from the spot, where they had been consumed in the pyre (cf. Coldstream 2003, 250). The interpretation of the characteristic four holes at the corners has raised debate. They have been interpreted as the negative traces of the feet of the funerary bed: it is easy to believe that these holes housed the feet of the funerary bed – they are roughly circular, are usually four and occupy the corners of the pit (e.g. Gates 1984, 22-23; Grigoriadou, Giannikouri & Marketou 2001, 397).

T.3 Laghos is a female burial, whose richness is stressed by its grave offerings: an electrum diadem with geometric decoration in repoussé, lying near the skull (thus, once worn on the head),⁶³ two bronze spirals with a gilded surface,⁶⁴ an electrum ring,⁶⁵ a bronze pin⁶⁶ and seven bronze fibulae, which clearly fastened the dress of the female on the pyre.⁶⁷ The offerings included a coarse loomweight,⁶⁸ a local aryballos or lekythos of Cypriot type with the ridge on the neck⁶⁹ and a neck-handled amphora, which has been recognised by D'Agostino as an Attic import dating from the transition from MG I to II (around 800 BC).⁷⁰ Attic imports in Rhodes go back to the PG: the fragment of an Attic LPG circle skyphos with zigzag under the rim came from Kameiros;⁷¹ two MG II Attic skyphoi come from Tomb 83, close to the temple A of Kameiros.⁷² Later an LG Ib kantharos from T. LVI (414) from the Tsambico plot in Ialysos has been argued to be of Attic fabric by Kourou.⁷³ Laghos tomb 3 has also yielded two two-handled lekythoi (or flasks), of the Cypriot type with a ridge where the handle joins

62. On this burial ritual, see esp. Gates (sine datum), 22-24; Laurenzi 1936, 11-12; Stampolidis 1996, 118; Grigoriadou, Giannikouri & Marketou 2001, esp. 395-399.

63. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum M 1560: Grigoriadou, Giannikouri & Marketou 2001, 393, cat.no. 7, fig. 42.

64. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum M 1561: Grigoriadou, Giannikouri & Marketou 2001, 394, cat.no. 8, fig. 3.

65. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum M 1562: Grigoriadou, Giannikouri & Marketou 2001, 394, cat.no. 9, fig. 43.

66. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum M 1566: Grigoriadou, Giannikouri & Marketou 2001, 394, cat.no. 10, fig. 44a.

67. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum M 1567-1573: Grigoriadou, Giannikouri & Marketou 2001, 394-395, cat. nos. 11-17, figs. 44β-n.

68. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum MA 1167: Grigoriadou, Giannikouri & Marketou 2001, 393, cat.no. 5, fig. 41σ.

69. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 19159: Grigoriadou, Giannikouri & Marketou 2001, 393, cat.no. 5, fig. 41ε.

70. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 19161: Grigoriadou, Giannikouri & Marketou 2001, 392, cat.no. 1, fig. 41α; D'Agostino 2006, 60.

71. Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, cat.no. 79, 244, fig. top right.

72. Jacopi 1932-1933, 201, figs. 240-241; D'Agostino 2006, 61; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, cat.no. 80, 244.

73. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11747: Jacopi 1929, 96 and 98, fig. 91; Kourou 2014, 82-83, n. 40, while Coldstream (2008, 286, n. 1, cf. pl. 10c) considered it as a Cycladic product following the style of Attic LG Ib.

the neck, both imported from Cyprus:⁷⁴ they are decorated with the characteristic Cypriot Black-on-Red technique with groups of concentric circles and lines painted in black over the red lustrous slip (they are from the Cypriot BoR I(III) phase).⁷⁵ One of these jugs has the drill holes of an ancient repair: the quality of the Cypriot vessels in Black-on-Red was surely highly appreciated, thanks to their thinness and elegant ornament.

A Rhodian version of the same shape belongs to the same context.⁷⁶ It is decorated with concentric circles enclosing a reserved cross on the shoulder and on the belly, here still in the PG tradition, and stars on the shoulder panels, which reflect the characteristic ornaments of the MG pottery of Attica and other regions (like the Cyclades). On the belly, the panels are framed by chains of circles that remind Cypriot decoration on such vases. On the shoulder the panels are framed on both sides by a tree, perhaps a version of the 'tree of life', popular in the Near Eastern/eastern Mediterranean iconography. PG representations of trees (tree of life?) are known on Euboean pottery, among them the one painted on the deservedly famous krater from the Toumba building,⁷⁷ but these depictions are significantly different from that of T.3 Laghos, which is moreover much more recent in date. Rather the representation of the lalysos vase recalls Cypriot depictions of palm trees which are more or less contemporary: for the general shape of the tree, see a cup from Lapithos in White Painted I;⁷⁸ for the zigzag on the trunk, a jug in White Painted IV from the Pieridis Collection⁷⁹ and a jug in Bichrome IV in New York.⁸⁰ Therefore, the local or anyway Rhodian potter of this jug appears to be familiar with the Cypriot prototypes, both due to their shape and decoration. He skillfully modifies and enriches them by including motifs of the PG tradition, still in vogue at that moment in the local pottery, as well as with new MG ornaments of Attic or Atticizing origin.

In general, the context of T.3 Laghos may illustrate, at least in miniature, the processes in place at a central moment of the MG: the external relationships of the local community are shown not only by the imports, but also by the significant impact on the local productions by the imitation of the Cypriot type of perfumes jug. In lalysos, such local imitations of the Cypriot perfume containers, together with other shapes for other functions, will be a massive phenomenon in the second half of the 8th century BC. On Kos – which provides a significant parallel for the Rhodian phenomena – the local imitations of Cypriot jugs with the ridge on the neck (perfume containers) appear at the beginning of the MG, i.e. just after the middle of the 9th century BC. During the MG phase they are still being decorated with the Geometric ornaments drawn from the local repertoire; afterwards, in the LG (745-720 BC) local

74. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 19160, 19162: Grigoriadou, Giannikouri and Marketou 2001, 393, cat. nos. 3-4, fig. 41γ,δ; Farmakidou, in Coulié and Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 229, cat.nos. 61-62.

75. On this pottery class, the work of reference is now Schreiber 2003, who has demonstrated that the bulk of the production of Black-on-Red is essentially a Cypriot phenomenon (cf. Iacovou 2004); for a different view: Gjerstad 1948, 68-73. For the two vases from lalysos, cf. Gjerstad 1948, Black-on-Red I(III) Jug 1b, pl. XXV.7 (cf. Jug 3b, pl. XXV.10).

76. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 19158: Grigoriadou, Giannikouri and Marketou 2001, 392, cat.no. 2, fig. 41β; Farmakidou, in Coulié and Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 230-231, cat.no. 64.

77. 1) Krater from the building of Toumba, MPG: Catling & Lemos 1990, 25-26, 110, cat.no. 327, pls. 17-18, 54-56; Lemos 2002, 49, pl. 74. 2) Andreadis Collection 77, from Skyros, lentoid flask, probably of Euboean origin, probably LPG: Lemos & Hatcher 1986, 335-336, fig. 16; Lemos 2002, pl. 97.4. 3). From the cemetery of Toumba: Calligas 1981, fig. 4.

78. Karagheorghis & Des Gagniers 1974, 356, cat.no. XXV.e.1; Iacovou 1988, 52, cat.no. 20, figs. 46-47.

79. Karagheorghis & Des Gagniers 1974, 372-373, cat.no. XXV.e.14.

80. New York, Metropolitan Museum 74.51.510: Karagheorghis & Des Gagniers 1974, 208-209, cat.no. XVIII.10.

productions will also imitate the typical Cypriot Black-on-Red technique and ornaments, thus showing an intensification of the Cypriot influence.⁸¹

A glimpse into the LPG-MG burial customs of Kameiros: analogies and differences from Ialysos

It is interesting to compare the burial customs of Ialysos with the contemporary ones of Kameiros (only some 25 km off). Here, during the LPG-MG, small and outlying groups of tombs have been excavated: the necropolis of Patelles is far to the east of the acropolis,⁸² some tombs are on the acropolis⁸³ and a group is close to temple A, on a small hill halfway between the acropolis and the shore.⁸⁴ As suggested by D'Agostino, comparably to Ialysos, this topographical distribution of the cemeteries may indicate that the settlement was still not nucleated.

The power was in the hands of the warrior-princes, whose tombs were characterised by the presence of weapons, as illustrated by tomb LXXXII (2) of the group near Temple A (ca. 750 BC): it yielded a straight sword, a curved single-edged sword, a spearhead with a sauroter, all in iron.⁸⁵ The grave-goods included a rich set of vases too: a large Rhodian krater on a tall foot of the Attic type II, decorated in the panel by concentric circles including a St. Andrew's cross (a revival of the PG ornament) and birds and stars;⁸⁶ a second krater, a local product of smaller size, without a foot and with a simpler decoration;⁸⁷ a carinated cup with a vertical handle, which is decorated by an elaborate ornament including the 'tree' motif related to the East Greek style of the bird kotylai;⁸⁸ a Mycenaean monochrome footed cup with one vertical handle;⁸⁹ a black skyphos, which has been attributed by D'Agostino to Euboean production;⁹⁰ fragments of two lekythoi of Cypriot type;⁹¹ and two trefoil oenochoai of Cypriot type (with round body and cylindrical/conical neck), though these are Rhodian imitations. The last items copy the technique of the Cypriot prototypes in Black-on-Red too: one is dec-

81. This picture is made clear by the bulk of the cemeteries of Serraglio and other necropoleis excavated by the Italians and published by Morricone 1978, on the Cypriot pottery, see esp. 405-408; with the revisions made by Coldstream 1998, 255-256; see recently Bourgiannis 2000; 2012a; 2013. See also the important finds from the recent excavations in the cemeteries of Kos and Kardamaina by the Greek Archaeological Service, which enrich the picture of Cypriot imports and local imitations in well-dated contexts: Bosnakis 2001; Skerlou 2001.

82. For a general picture of the cemeteries of Kameiros, see D'Agostino 2006; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014; esp. D'Acunto 2014a. On the cemetery of Patelles, see Jacopi 1932-1933, 118-132; Desborough 1952, 227; Lemos 2002, 182, n. 352; D'Agostino 2006, 57.

83. Jacopi 1932-1933, 189-192, T. LXXX; cf. Coldstream 2008, 267, pls. 59e-f, h (MG). Also Jacopi 1932-1933, 204-205, figs. 244-245 (sporadic amphora: EG). Another tomb was found by A. Biliotti on the acropolis: cf. Furtwängler 1886, 136. On the excavations of A. Biliotti and A. Salzmann in Kameiros, see Coulié 2014.

84. On this cemetery, see Jacopi 1932-1933, 193-203; D'Agostino 2006, 60-66; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014. On temple A and its *stipe*, whose objects were mixed with those from the votive deposit of the Athena sanctuary on the acropolis, see Jacopi 1932-1933, 223-365; Bernardini 2006; D'Agostino 2006, 64-66.

85. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum: Jacopi 1932-1933, 195, 201, fig. 232; D'Agostino 2006, 61.

86. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 14734: Jacopi 1932-1933, 193-195, cat.no. 1, figs. 232-234.

87. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 14735: Jacopi 1932-1933, 193-195, cat.no. 2, figs. 232, 235.

88. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 14737: Jacopi 1932-1933, 194-195, 197-198, cat.no. 4, figs. 232, 236-238.

89. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 14738: Jacopi 1932-1933, 195, 198, cat.no. 5, figs. 232.

90. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 14736: Jacopi 1932-1933, 194-195, fig. 232.

91. Now lost: Jacopi 1932-1933, 201 ("furono ancora raccolti i frammenti d'una punta di lancia e di tre coltelli in ferro [they correspond to the above mentioned spearhead, straight sword, curved single-edged sword and sauroter], nonché i resti di due piccole lekythoi a corpo sferoidale di tipo cipriota").

orated by groups of lines and concentric circles, while on a shoulder panel a warrior covered by a round shield is illustrated (the shield reproduces the traditional PG ornament of the semicircles, including the St. Andrew's cross).⁹² Good chronological markers of the tomb are the black skyphos (the Rhodian contexts with this shape belong to the end of MG II and LG I, i.e. according to the local chronologies 760-720 BC), the main krater and the carinated cup, which give a chronology to ca. 750 BC or just after. The full assemblage of the vessels specifies the social role of the deceased in the ritualised consumption of wine (see the two kraters, the oenochoai and the drinking cups), in relationship to the main protagonist of trade (see the Euboean black skyphos) and, perhaps, indicating a link with the past (the Mycenaean cup). His role as a warrior is made abundantly clear by his weapons, and the explicitly drawn image of the armed man on the oenochoe. Two gold diadems decorated in repoussé with Geometric ornaments, explicit status markers, complete this image.⁹³ The rich set of vases as well as the gold diadems reflect a significant difference from the burial customs prevalent in Ialysos: here male tombs are characterised only by the warrior-hero type of grave-goods, while offerings of the Kameirian tomb suggest a wide spectrum of other aspects, which define the power of the 'prince'.

Another aspect, in my opinion, should be taken carefully in account: as no trace of bones was found in this tomb (as indeed for the other burials of this cemetery) (Jacopi 1932-1933, 193), we have no anthropological information on the dead. Since Kameirian chamber tombs often received more than one burial (usually inhumations) from the LG II until the second half of the 6th century BC, we cannot be sure that this is not the case of T. LXXXII (perhaps two secondary cremations?). Should that be so, the grave offerings could belong to a couple, a male and a female.

To complete the account of this tomb, it is important to consider the five holes cut in the floor of the chamber: four of them were empty, while the fifth contained the two gold diadems (Jacopi 1932-1933, 201; D'Agostino 2006, 61, figs. 3-6). In my opinion they cannot correspond to the four-corner holes of the primary cremation ritual common on Rhodes: their number is wrong (five instead of the canonical four), their arrangement is incorrect and asymmetrical (in the sketch made by the excavator they form a semicircle rather than a rectangle, D'Agostino 2006, fig. 5) and it would be impossible to light a pyre in a small chamber like this. It is worth recalling that Mycenaean tombs of Rhodes have sometimes holes cut into the floor.

When compared with Ialysos, the cemetery of Kameiros shows another difference, i.e. the presence of two small chamber tombs with a dromos: T. LXXXII and T. LXXXIII (3); the smaller is dated to MG II by the two above-mentioned Attic chevrons skyphoi (Jacopi 1932, 201-202; cf. above n. 72). Coldstream's and D'Agostino's tempting hypothesis is that these two tombs were rediscovered and reused Mycenaean chamber tombs (Coldstream 2003, 95-97; D'Agostino 2006, 61). Good evidence in favour of this hypothesis would be the presence of other Mycenaean tombs excavated on the acropolis by Salzmänn between 1858 and 1865, as well as the Mycenaean cup included among the grave offerings of T. LXXXII.⁹⁴ Unfortunately, the location of those Mycenaean tombs on the acropolis remains uncertain. Furthermore, the cup of T. LXXXII here is not the only case of deposition of a Mycenaean vessel in EIA tombs

92. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 14739: Jacopi 1932-1933, 195, 198, cat.no. 6, fig. 232; Bourogiannis 2009, 117-118, fig. 2; 2014, 109, 111, figs. 59-60; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 232, cat.no. 65. The other oenochoe: Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 14740 (Jacopi 1932-1933, 195, 198, cat.no. 6, fig. 232).

93. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 14741-14742: Jacopi 1932, 199-200, cat.no. 7, fig. 232; on the diadems cf. D'Acunto 2008-2009, 46-47.

94. D'Agostino 2006, 61. On the Mycenaean tombs excavated on the acropolis: Benzi 1992, 418.

of the Dodecanese: other examples – heirlooms or vases found by opening previous graves – are the Mycenaean footed cup from the enchytrismos CXIII (403) in the Tsambico plot in Ialysos (LG),⁹⁵ another found in a LG II tomb of the cemetery of Papatislures in Kameiros⁹⁶ and the LH IIIA1 piriform jar from the much earlier child grave 10 Serraglio in Kos (LPG), within the ruins of the Mycenaean settlement.⁹⁷ Coldstream (2003, 95-97) envisages the alternative hypothesis that the idea of the chamber tomb might be borrowed from contemporary Crete.

But this second hypothesis is not in fact necessary because the rock-cut chamber tomb at Kameiros remains a current grave type from the LG II until the second half of the 6th century BC. Is this a funerary choice made by some Kameirian groups, seeking a deliberate tie to the Mycenaean past through the burial customs? This hypothesis is also tempting, if we consider that these chamber tombs usually contained the inhumation of one or more adults in a fully extended position, who were laid on the floor or, less often, on one, two or three benches cut in the rock.⁹⁸ Several aspects then of these graves seem to recall Mycenaean funerary traditions: the typology of the chamber rock-cut tomb and the burial ritual, which may involve several inhumations of members of probably the same family. The adoption by these Kameirian groups of multiple inhumations in chamber tombs is remarkable, in that it is at variance with the general tendency by the other Rhodian communities (including some Kameirian groups) of the same period (8th-6th centuries BC) in adopting primary cremation in single graves for the adults. Comparably to Ialysos, the communities of the Lindian territory adopt for adults the uniform ritual of primary cremation in the rectangular pit too, in which often the four corner holes were preserved: in the MG tombs of Vati,⁹⁹ in the tombs of Exochi (end of MG II-first decades of the 7th century BC)¹⁰⁰ and later in Vroulia (7th-first half of the 6th century BC).¹⁰¹

It is beyond the scope of the present work to pursue the question of defining the specific reasons behind the choice of members of the Kameirian community to adopt either the primary cremation or the inhumation in chamber tombs. One last aspect of the chamber tombs deserves to be pointed out: some of them replace the horizontal dromos with a vestibule given a more vertical treatment. This recalls to a certain degree the ‘pit-cave’ type of chamber tomb, which appears in the late LH IIIC–SM cemetery of Haghia Agathe (see above). Did the Kameirians rediscover tombs of this phase? Or is there some continuity (undocumented to date) from the latest chamber tombs of the end of the BA down to those adopted by some groups at Kameiros? The attractive hypothesis is that some groups at Kameiros brought into play a strategy in the burial customs, by deliberately making reference to a far Mycenaean past. It is impossible to say, if this difference has something to do with a separate trajectory followed by the Kameiros community at the transition from the BA to the EIA, or whether it merely expresses different choices in the strategies of their burial customs. It is further impossible to know, if this funerary behaviour, if echoing past practices, has anything to do with the vicissitudes that characterize the end of the ‘Mycenaean’ system in Rhodes and the beginning of the ‘Dorian’ one.

95. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11705: Jacopi 1929, 139, cat.no. 3, pl. 2.

96. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 13711: Jacopi 1932-1933, T. VII Papatislures, 34, cat.no. 5, 40, fig. 33.

97. Desborough 1972, 175-176, fig. 25; Morricone 1978, 86, no. 1, fig. 79. On the deposition of Mycenaean vases in EIA tombs of Rhodes and Kos, cf. Farmakidou 2009, 108.

98. On the chamber tombs see Gates sine datum, 24-28, figs. 1-2; Jacopi 1931, esp. 12-17; 1932-1933, 9-16.

99. Papachristodoulou 1983; Coldstream 2003, 380-381; *Ancient Rhodes: 2400 years*, cat.nos. 106-111; D’Agostino 2006, 62-63; Farmakidou 2009.

100. Johansen 1957; Coldstream 2003, 247-253; 2008, 267-287; D’Agostino 2006, 63.

101. Kinch 1914; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014; esp. Bundgaard Rasmussen & Lund 2014, 49-50 (S. Schierup).

Another divergence from lalysos is the higher number of infants/children formally buried, even during this early phase. Among the five tombs of the necropolis close to the temple A, three were those of infants/children, as suggested by the burial ritual, i.e. a small sarcophagus and two enchytrismoi (we have no anthropological information from this cemetery because no trace of bones survived).¹⁰² In the Patelles necropolis, eight of the 11 tombs are inhumations of sub-adults, i.e. new-borns/children/adolescents: enchytrismoi,¹⁰³ pit graves¹⁰⁴ (both burial types are in use in lalysos¹⁰⁵), or sarcophagi delimited and covered by slabs (a type of tomb not documented in lalysos).¹⁰⁶ These distinctions of burial types may reflect peer groups by age among the wider sub-adult category (e.g. the enchytrismoi might have been for the new-borns and infants), as well as other kind of choices, now impossible to establish without precise anthropological information.

In the necropoleis of Kameiros of this phase, adults were buried in chamber tombs (in the cemetery close to the temple A), as well as in primary cremation pits (in the same cemetery,¹⁰⁷ in that of Patelles¹⁰⁸ and probably in the disturbed tomb on the acropolis¹⁰⁹). Regarding the second ritual, in a burial in Patelles, the cremation area was delimited by stone blocks, which also preserved two of the canonical holes on one side (it was thus a monumental version of the primary cremation pit with the four holes).¹¹⁰

In conclusion, some aspects of the burial customs connect Kameiros with lalysos and Lindos, while others detach Kameiros from the other two centres. On the island of Rhodes, a regional district within the Dodecanese, the three 'Dorian' centres act as neighbouring but

102. Jacopi 1932-1933, 193-203: T. LXXXI (1), 193 («piccolo sarcofago in pietra locale»); T. LXXXIV (4), 202 («tomba a pithos anforario ... era probabilmente destinato all'inumazione d'un neonato, di cui però non si è trovata traccia»). A second enchytrismos is not listed in Jacopi 1932-1933, but is drawn on the sketch as no. '6': D'Agostino 2006, fig. 4.

103. Jacopi 1932-1933, 118, fig. 132: T. XXXVI, 119-121 («tomba a pithos per deposizione d'infante»); T. XXXVIII (4), 122 (new-born: «L'essere il corpo del vaso immune da asportazione denota trattarsi d'un cadaverino di neonato»); T. XLIII (9), 128, 130 (new-born: «anfora per deposizione di neonato»).

104. Jacopi 1932-1933: cemetery of Patelles T. XXXV (1), 119 (pit grave of an infant: «tomba a fossa ... conteneva gli avanzi di uno scheletrino di non più di 2 anni»); T. XLII (8), 128 (pit grave of a baby: «tomba a fossa ... Conteneva i resti d'un bambino»); T. XLIV (10), 129-130, fig. 147 (pit grave of a baby/adolescent: «tomba a fossa ... conteneva solo lo scheletrino di un fanciullo»).

105. The pit grave type is documented by the T. 2 in Tsimoiroi.

106. Cemetery of Patelles, T. XL (6): Jacopi 1932-1933, 125-126, fig. 140 («scavata nella roccia v'era una fossa di forma rettangolare ... entro la quale era calato un piccolo sarcofago in pietra locale, rozzamente lavorato, coperto di uno scheggione di pietra pure porosa ... Il sarcofago conteneva i resti di un bambino di non più di tre anni ...»). Also, cemetery of Patelles, T. XLI (7), see Jacopi 1932-1933, 127-128: in this case no bones were preserved but the small size of the sarcophagus and the burial type, which in Kameiros is reserved for babies, suggest that this is a tomb of an infant/child (as suggested by Jacopi 1932-1933, 127-128: «consisteva in un piccolo sarcofago di poros, coperto da uno scheggione della stessa pietra. Esso era pieno di terra, ove non si riscontrarono resti di ossa né di vasi od oggetti del corredo. Quest'ultimo consisteva in una ruvida pignatta a due anse, i cui resti si osservarono all'esterno. Trattasi probabilmente di sepolcro di neonato»).

107. Jacopi 1929, T. LXXXV (5), 203 («area di cremazione sconvolta»).

108. Cemetery close to temple A: T. LXXXV (5), see Jacopi 1932-1933, 203. Cemetery of Patelles: T. XXXVII (3), Jacopi 1932-1933, 121 (tomb without grave-goods); T. XLV (11), 1932-1933, 130-132 («tomba a cremazione superficiale ... sconvolta»).

109. Jacopi 1932-1933, 189-192.

110. T. XXXIX (5): Jacopi 1932-1922, 118, 123-124 («grande area di cremazione con abbondanti ceneri e carboni ... Dal lato di Sud-Ovest, era delimitata da un filare di pietre, continuato alle due estremità ad angolo retto ma subito interrotto in seguito a probabile asportazione delle pietre causato dai lavori dei campi. Due delle pietre sul lato conservato presentavano incavato un pozzetto, probabilmente destinato allo stesso uso degli analoghi pozzetti osservati in cremazioni ialissie e camiresi ...»: this is a strong evidence that the holes were intended to house the legs of the funerary bed, cf. above).

autonomous components. The burial customs reflect identity strategies, both linking and differentiating the three communities.¹¹¹

The necropolis of Ialysos from the end of MG II until LG II

Returning to the cemeteries of Ialysos, the middle of the 8th century marks a clear change, which could reflect the transformation of the local community and its settlement pattern in the context of the complex processes of the birth of the polis (cf. D'Agostino 2006, 63-67). In the evolution of the three Rhodian poleis of Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos, the importance of the 8th century BC as a turning point, and especially the critical moment of the middle decades, has been masterly demonstrated by Nota Kourou, from the point of view of the great sanctuaries and their dedications (mostly the Athena sanctuaries on the three acropoleis), and by Bruno D'Agostino in the field of the necropoleis and the burial customs (Kourou 2003, 251-257; 2014, 81-83; D'Agostino 2006).

At Ialysos and starting from the end of MG II (i.e. just before 745 BC, the beginning of LG, according to the Rhodian Geometric ceramic chronologies, see below), there are no more small and scattered groups of tombs distributed across the territory of Ialysos. Instead an extensive necropolis arises from the foothills north of Mt. Philerimos towards the sea (D'Agostino 2006, 63; D'Acunto 2014a, 56-61). The earliest groups of tombs excavated by G. Jacopi are set close to the foothills in the neighbouring plots of Tsambico South (tombs L [390] – LXIV [448] and CI [386] – CXXXIX [464]: end of MG II-LG II)¹¹² and Drakidis South (from the end of LG II onwards).¹¹³ It is clear that now an unambiguous delimitation of an area outside the city has been made, one assigned to the necropolis as from that moment: this definition will be respected until the end of the city (the necropolis continued uninterrupted until the 4th century BC, after the Rhodian synoikismos of 408/407 BC). As said above, no early houses have been systematically excavated in Ialysos (as is generally true on Rhodes, with the few exceptions of Exochi and of the later and peculiar case of Vroulia, a settlement with a trading character¹¹⁴). But we may yet hazard that this topographical planning of the necropolis reflects a broader nucleation process of the urban area (D'Agostino 2006, 63-64). We may suggest that the settlement area was located on the hills and slopes of Mt. Philerimos and Prophitis Ilias.

A similar situation, at least partly, may be envisaged for Kameiros: around the sides of the acropolis, at varying distances from it, develop the wide cemeteries of Papatilures (south and close to the foothills of the acropolis) and of Kekraki (north-east and at a certain distance from the acropolis): both start in the LG (during this phase Patelles is still occupied¹¹⁵). Later begin those of Fikellura (north-west and at a certain distance from the acropolis) and of Makri Langoni (north-east and quite far off from the acropolis).¹¹⁶

111. This perspective has been suitably emphasised by Bruno D'Agostino (2006, 67).

112. Jacopi 1929, 84-109 (primary cremations, excavations 1926-1927), 131-146 (enchytrismoi, excavations 1926-1927).

113. Jacopi 1929, for the location, see the general plan.

114. Kinch 1914; Johansen 1957, 1-11. The mercantile function of the settlement of Vroulia has been convincingly argued by Kourou 2003, 255-257; cf. Schierup, in Bundgaard Rasmussen & Lund 2014, 49-50.

115. Cf. Jacopi 1932-1933, T. XLV (11), 129-132, fig. 148, that was found disturbed and probably included grave offerings from two graves: an EG burial and a LG II one.

116. Cf. D'Agostino 2006, 63-64. On the cemetery of Papatilures, Jacopi 1932-1933, 17-103. On that of Kek-

Before discussing the changes characterizing the burial customs in Ialysos from ca. 750 BC, it is important to deal with the chronological questions regarding the earliest tombs in the plots of Tsambico South and Drakidis South. Imported Corinthian pottery does not appear before the MPC phase, i.e. there is no MG, LG and EPC. Thus the chronological sequence of these tombs is not readily worked out. An absolute chronology for some may be established on the basis of imported vases from other regions, as well as by local imitations. I shall give here a resumé of these chronological markers (for a detailed analysis see the publication of the PG and Geometric necropolis of Ialysos: D'Acunto in preparation).

First of all, the early type of the East Greek bird kotyle is decorated in its panel by the running meander: this is, according to Coldstream's system, still in the MG tradition and dated by him before the beginning of LG (Coldstream 2003, 247-248; 2008, 277-279, 479, pl. 61c). The LG phase of the pottery begins on Rhodes and generally in East Greece around 745 BC (Coldstream 2008, 273-274, 286-287, 330). This type of bird kotyle is found among the grave-goods of tomb L (390), which appears to be the earliest burial (or one of the earliest) of the new cemetery of Tsambico South plot.¹¹⁷

The absence/presence in the tomb of local aryballoi or other shapes decorated in the so-called Spaghetti Style (in German as KW, from Kreis- und Wellenbandstil) is an important chronological marker in the Tsambico South plot. As Johansen (1957, 157) remarked, they appear in the advanced LG tombs of Exochi. In the necropolis of San Montano at Pithekoussai they appear in the LG II phases, in conjunction with the Early PC globular aryballoi (Buchner & Ridgway 1993; cf. Ridgway 1984, 76 ff). Therefore, the presence of the Spaghetti Style is a LG II chronological marker. Consequently, I suggest dividing the Rhodian LG into two distinct sub-phases, LG I and LG II, but in a more precise way than Coldstream, who had already remarked for some vases that they could refer to either an early or an advanced stage in LG (Coldstream 2008, 274-287). My proposal is to place LG I between 745-720 BC and LG II to 720-690, with a synchronism with Early Protocorinthian. I also propose the raising of the end of the Rhodian LG by a decade beyond Coldstream's proposal (ca. 680): this is for several reasons, among which is the coexistence of the Rhodian chronological marker for LG II, the globular Spaghetti-style aryballos, with its Corinthian counterpart, i.e. the globular Early Protocorinthian aryballos (D'Acunto in preparation). In the Tsambico South plot the aryballoi and other small perfume vases are completely painted black during LG I.¹¹⁸

Several Euboean imports are useful for distinguishing LG I from LG II: for example, the Euboean low skyphos from tomb LI (393) is LG I, according to the Eretrian sequence,¹¹⁹ and the krater from tomb LIII (406) is LG II, ca. 720-700 BC.¹²⁰

Black monochrome skyphoi appear in MG II-LG I tombs of Tsambico South (see below). Finally, several chronological indications may be derived from the evolution of the local LG style.

raki, Jacopi 1931, 341-376; 1932-1933, 104-117. On the necropolis of Fikellura, Jacopi 1932-1933, 179-188. On the cemetery of Makri Langoni, Jacopi 1931, 43-340.

117. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11642: Jacopi 1929, 84, cat.no. 1; Coldstream 2008, 277-279, cat.no. 1, pl. 61c. To this item, already known, may be added a second unpublished example, which is probably from the same tomb: Inv. 11642bis (D'Acunto in preparation).

118. See e.g.: Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11618, from T. CI (386) Tsambico (Jacopi 1929, 131-132, cat. no. 6, fig. 126 left center, pl. 2); and 11694, 11695, from T. CXII (402) Tsambico (Jacopi 1929, 139, cat. no. 4, pl. 2).

119. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11648: Jacopi 1929, 85, 87, cat.no. 2, figs. 75, 77. I am preparing an article on the Euboean vases from the necropolis of Ialysos: where the relevant analysis and the bibliography. On the chronology of Eretrian Geometric pottery, see Verdán *et al.* 2008, 105-111.

120. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11725: Jacopi 1929, 89, 91, cat.no. 1, fig. 81.

If we combine these and other pottery chronological markers, the chrono/topographical development of the Tsambico South plot is quite clear and coherent (even if, of course, the dating remains uncertain for those burials where grave-goods are absent or non-diagnostic). The Tsambico South plot is a unitary cluster of tombs, which progressively expands with time, whilst maintaining a topographical coherence: the earliest MG II tomb (L [390]) was subsequently surrounded by a ring of LG I burials; later again, a large and homogeneous group of LG II tombs was progressively created next to the LG I tombs.¹²¹ This LG II phase spills over into the Drakidis South plot, whose earliest tombs go back as early as the late LG II. In the Drakidis South plot the chrono/topographical development of the necropolis is not as unilinear as in the Tsambico South one, but this matter goes beyond the chronological limits of the present paper (namely LG II). In general, the agglutinative process of growth in the Tsambico South cluster of tombs suggests that these individuals were linked by kinship: it should be interpreted as a family plot.

In the Tsambico South plot the burial rituals reflect a horizontal division of the Ialysian society in well-defined age classes: the primary cremation in the pit with four holes at the corners was reserved for adults, while, the enchytrismos – the inhumation of the body in a vase, often cut open in order to get the corpse in – was applied sub-adults, from new-borns to adolescents (**fig. 12**) (on the enchytrismos ritual see Gates *sine datum*, 28-29). This burial custom will be in use in Ialysos until ca. 550 BC, when for the adults cremation will be replaced by inhumation (Gates *undat.*, 22-24, 29-31). The Tsambico South plot totals 54 tombs (Jacopi 1929, 84-109, 131-146); no anthropological analyses of the cremated adults exist, naturally. For the inhumations there are only the suggestions made by the Italian archaeologists – such are included in the publication of *Clara Rhodos III*, but sometimes more detailed versions appear in the *Excavation Diaries* of 1926-1927: these remarks concern the height of the body and its approximate age. On the basis of this data, we are not able to build a precise quantification of the ages represented in the cemetery, but the general picture is quite clear. There are 18 cremations (adults)¹²² and 36 enchytrismoι (sub-adults).¹²³ For three of the enchytrismoι, Jacopi explicitly specifies that they are adolescents (“adolescente”/ “fanciullo”)¹²⁴ and, as we will see, the relatively rich set of their grave offerings, clearly pointing out incidentally the gender of the individual, supports this age identification. So if we add the latter number to the 18 cremations, we have 21 burials of adults plus adolescents (39%), while the 33 tombs of new-borns/babies/children accounts for the rest (61%). On the basis of this ratio (roughly 2:3), it is worth recalling Morris’ well-known study (Morris 1987) on the transformations in Athenian burial customs from ca. 1000 to 500 BC – especially his focus on the change in formal burial at Athenian cemeteries during this long span. He drew attention on the anthropological and ethnographic studies on infant mortality rate in pre-industrial societies, which is very high and fairly constant.¹²⁵ The ratio of the Tsambico South plot is close to one scenario applicable to pre-industrial societies quoted by Mor-

121. On the list of LG I and II burials from the Tsambico South plot I refer the reader to D’Acunto in preparation.

122. Jacopi 1929, 84-109: tombs L (390) – LXIV (448).

123. Jacopi 1929, 131-146: CI (386) – CXXXIX (464), including also later tombs from the Tsambico North and Drakidis North plots. For a complete list of all the 36 enchytrismoι of the Tsambico South plot dated to the MG II-LG II, see D’Acunto in preparation.

124. T. CI (386): Jacopi 1929, 131-132 (“pithos per inumazione di adolescente”); T. CIX (399): Jacopi 1929, 137 (“pithos per inumazione di adolescente”); T. CXII (402): Jacopi 1929, 138-139 (“pithos per inumazione di fanciullo”).

125. See also the important work by M.A. Cuozzo (2003) regarding the Orientalising necropoleis of Pontecagnano.

ris: that is two youths/adults for three infants/children (Morris 1987, 58). So in the lalysian cemeteries, if we rely on the available evidence (accepting, of course, that we cannot know if this is representative or not of the entire sample), before the middle of the 8th century BC strict selection was the norm for accessing formal burial. However, during the second half of the 8th - beginning of the 7th centuries BC, the Tsambico family plot offers a full demographic range of all ages. This picture is also demonstrated by the high rate of burial for newborns/infants from this plot, who are explicitly identified by Jacopi as “neonati” or “infanti”. These new-born/infant individuals are usually buried in amphorae without grave-goods, as in T. CXXXVII (462);¹²⁶ or they are provided with just very few: as for T. CXXXIX (464) (**fig. 12**), which contained a small plate and two cups, one in local Red Slip ware.¹²⁷ Clearly, these infants are not yet considered as complete social individuals, even if they have the right to the formal burial.

In the burials of sub-adult females (*enchytrismo*) a general tendency is quite clear: female-specific grave-goods tend to develop as the child grows, in step with its age. For example, the grave-goods of the female baby (“*bambina*” according to Jacopi’s terminology) of LG I tomb CIV (389) are a one-handed cup, a hemispherical cup, both local, two bronze fibulae (one miniature), a few faience beads from a necklace and a faience statuette of the Egyptian goddess Nefertum, probably imported from Egypt (**figs. 13-14**).¹²⁸ The LG I tomb CI (386) of a female adolescent (“*adolescente*” according to Jacopi’s terminology) contained a rich set of local vases (two skyphoi, three one-handed cups, a hemispherical cup, a black aryballos, a miniature jug and two plastic vases, unfortunately lost), a mass of faience beads from necklace/s and three bronze fibulae (**fig. 15**).¹²⁹ The grave-goods of these two burials of female sub-adults, taken with their ages as generically indicated by Jacopi, are appropriate to the different ages of the two individuals, baby and adolescent: their level of maturity could be highlighted in the funerary practices by the quality and the number of gender markers, which, for its part, reflected the gradual process of acquisition of feminine attributes. Indeed, as several anthropological, ethnographic and also archaeological studies confirm, the person’s life passed through a number of steps – infant/child/adolescent –, before the most important transition to adult: in this progression, with the most important stages marked by rites of passage, he/she became in time a social individual.

Returning to the formal burial, its apparently abrupt change around the middle of the 8th century BC should reflect a profound socio-political change in the lalysian community. This hermeneutic perspective has been suggested by Morris (1987) for Geometric Athens: during LG I, tombs of youths/adults dominate, thus suggesting a restricted access to formal burial, while during LG II a more balanced ratio exists between the youths/adults and the infants/children. He believes that this change may be connected with the socio-political phenomena of the emergence of the city-state.

In the Tsambico South plot, another significant change, which becomes the rule, is the general disappearance of weapons from the grave-goods, i.e. the disappearance of warrior graves. An important exception is T. LIV (407) of LG II, whose grave offerings included a long iron spearhead together with other iron objects (unfortunately, all are now lost): “*framenti vari di ferro: accetta (an axe or a carpenter’s tool?), punteruoli, tondini ripiegati a fer-*

126. Jacopi 1929, 146-148, figs. 140-141 (“*anfora per inumazione di infante*”).

127. Jacopi 1929, 146-148, figs. 140-141 (“*pithos per inumazione di infante*”).

128. Jacopi 1929, 133-135, fig. 128 (“*pithos per inumazione di bambino*”).

129. Jacopi 1929, 131-132, figs. 123-124 (“*pithos per inumazione d’adolescente*”).

ro di cavallo (spits?) ecc".¹³⁰ This outstanding context (a primary cremation of an undoubted male) contained also a bronze cup (unfortunately lost: an eastern Mediterranean import? from Cyprus?), fragments of bronze fibulae and a rich set of vessels: three local lekythoi of Cypriot type, six oenochoi, mostly local imitations of Cypriot prototypes, a fragment of an unidentified vase with a graffito (again, unfortunately lost) and a weight of coarse fabric.¹³¹ The weaponry is here reduced to a single spearhead, supported perhaps by the spits which, with their reference to the consumption of meat, remain still in the warrior grave tradition. The burial does show, however, a clear departure from the previous austere warrior-burials in its adoption of a 'rich' set of grave offerings: here it follows the contemporary novel habits.

Around the middle of the 8th century BC then, the role of the warrior tends to disappear from the funerary environment. In the Tsambico South plot, there are no more clear markers for the deceased male, but female tombs continue to contain grave offerings, like jewellery and other personal ornaments. As D'Agostino (2006, 64-67) has suggested, the absence of weapons from the male tombs could reflect a social process that saw the lessening of the individual authority that 'warriors' commanded in a pre-polis phase. Such a patent change would reflect the emergence of the city-state, in which power was wielded no longer by a 'princely' few.

In Ialysos the turning point of ca. 750 BC is also indicated by the beginning of the votive activity in the sanctuary on the acropolis of Mt. Philerimos: the first *ex-votos* excavated from the *stipe* go back this early:¹³² the creation of the civic sanctuary, dedicated to the patron goddess, Athana/Athena, marks a significant moment in the emergence of the polis.

Similar processes are seen in Kameiros, where in the extensive necropoleis of Papatilures and Kekraki, starting from the LG, and afterwards in those of Fikellura and Makri Langoni, male burials generally contain no more weapons. D'Agostino has focused on the intriguing case of the small necropolis close to the temple A, which ends in the second half of the 8th century BC.¹³³ Slightly later, the setting-up of a civic cult is made clear by the deposition of votive objects (from at least the middle of the 7th century BC, as two cast griffin protomes from cauldrons demonstrate) and by the building of temple A.¹³⁴ In this way, he suggests, the power of an eminent group was neutralised by the creation of a civic cult on the spot formerly occupied by their elite necropolis (D'Agostino 2006, 64-66). As for the main sanctuary on the Kameirian acropolis, dedicated to Athena, unfortunately the excavators combined many of the votive objects found in the *stipe* close to temple A with those found in the votive deposit of the acropolis (Jacopi 1932-1933, 223-365). But, as the earliest votive objects go back to the mid-8th century, becoming abundant from the last quarter of this same century, the establishing on the acropolis of the sanctuary dedicated to the patron goddess of the city must be broadly contemporary with the parallel phenomena on the acropoleis of Ialysos and probably of Lindos.¹³⁵

130. Jacopi 1929, 90-91: 11714 (iron spearhead: length 0,50 m); 11724 (other iron objects).

131. Jacopi 1929, 90-91, 94-95, figs. 84-86.

132. On this chronology for the beginning of cult on the acropolis sanctuary, see D'Agostino 2006, 64, n. 12. I share D'Agostino's opinion. On the sanctuary on the acropolis of Ialysos and its *stipe*, see Martelli 1988; 1996a; 1996b; 2000; 2003; 2009; Livadiotti & Rocco 1999; Rizzo 2007; Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 62.

133. To the LG goes T. LXXXV (5), in the light of the style of the elaborate pyxis of Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 14749: Jacopi 1929, 202-203, fig. 243; on the chronology of the vase: Coldstream 2008, 274, pl. 62a.

134. Ch. Bernardini has indicated that the two griffin protomes were found surely in the votive deposit close to temple A: Bernardini 2006, 65-67, cat.nos. 59-60, pl. 14. Cf. D'Agostino 2006, 64-66.

135. As convincingly demonstrated by D'Agostino 2006, 64. Coldstream suggested that the cult of Athena on the acropolis could go back to the 10th century BC, in the light of the PG pottery that was included among the

In the LG necropolis of Ialysos, the grave offerings in both male and female burials indicate on the whole the external relationships of the community: trade and links with the eastern Mediterranean (Cyprus and Phoenicia) in one direction, and with the Aegean (mainly, Euboea) in the other.

This set of relationships appears to have remained strong since the earliest burials of the Tsambico South plot. Typical are the grave-goods of T. LI (393), a LG I primary cremation (Jacopi 1929, 85-88). Three vases are imports from Cyprus in the Black-on-Red technique, characteristic for their thin walls, the bright red slip and the peculiar decoration of concentric circles in black; a two-handled lekythos in BoR I(III)/II(IV) (**fig. 16**)¹³⁶ and two oenochoai in BoR II[IV] (**fig. 17**).¹³⁷ The skyphos is an Euboean import: its low shape and the decorative system – a central metope including a St. Andrew's cross and single dots in the quadrants, and side panels with series of dashes – indicates a date in the LG I phase of Eretrian/Euboean pottery, i.e. 750-735 BC.¹³⁸ A common Ialysian product of this period is the imitation of BoR Cypriot jugs, as is the item from this tomb (**fig. 18**).¹³⁹ When compared to the Cypriot prototypes, this type of vase has lost the peculiar thinness, globular body and cylindrical neck. The paint too is coarser: the red slip has become a true paint and the black decoration forgoes the precision and elegance of the originals. The other vase from the burial is a lekythos, imitating the Cypriot ridged-neck type, but in a complex way, with redundant ridges on the neck.¹⁴⁰ A Geometric decoration is drawn on the shoulder, in a position typical of the Dodecanesian Geometric pottery (Coldstream 2008, 278): the central panel is decorated by a complex 'Tree' motif (characteristic of the East Greek bird kotyle) between two bands with battlement and zig-zags. The other two grave-goods of the tomb were a decorated gold band (a diadem?)¹⁴¹ and an iron knife.¹⁴²

This wide-flung pattern of external links with the eastern Mediterranean, as well as the massif local imitations of mostly Cypriot prototypes and decorations, is even more characteristic of the LG II phase.¹⁴³ Grave offerings from two primary cremation burials will serve to illustrate the point: T. LXIV (448)¹⁴⁴ and T. LVIII (422).¹⁴⁵ T. LXIV (448) contains a lekythos imported from Cyprus, in the Bichrome IV style (**fig. 19**).¹⁴⁶ A tridacna shell comes from the Red Sea: a luxury import, well documented in other Rhodian sites, such as the acropolis at

materials published by the Italians (Coldstream 2003, 329; 2008, 263; cf. Desborough 1952, 227-229). But these fragments may be rather the result of the frequenting of the area at that time or the destruction of earlier tombs, which are documented on the acropolis (see above).

136. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11652: Jacopi 1929, 85, 87, cat.no. 6, fig. 75; Stampolidis & Karetsou 1998, 168, cat.no. 147.

137. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11649, 11650: Jacopi 1929, 85, 87-88, cat.nos. 3-4, figs. 75, 78; Stampolidis & Karetsou 1998, 152, cat.no. 109.

138. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11648: Jacopi 1929, 85, 87, cat.no. 2, fig. 74. The vase is discussed in detail in my article on the Euboean vases from the Tsambico cemetery, see above.

139. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11651: Jacopi 1929, 85, 87, fig. 75; Bourogiannis 2009, 119-120, fig. 7.

140. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11647: Jacopi 1929, 85-86, figs. 75-76.

141. This object, now lost, is recorded in the *Excavation Diaries Ialysos*, 1926, T. 393. It may be identified with that reproduced in the photo of the burial offerings: Jacopi 1929, 85, fig. 75 on the left, while he does not mention the item in this publication.

142. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11653 (now lost): Jacopi 1929, 87, cat.no. 7.

143. On these imitations see Coldstream 1969; 2008, 275-277; Bourogiannis 2009.

144. Jacopi 1929, 107-109.

145. Jacopi 1929, 99-103.

146. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11869: Jacopi 1929, 107-108, cat.no. 3, fig. 101 lower center.

Lindos.¹⁴⁷ A kotyle is imported from Euboea:¹⁴⁸ this is an LG II, debased Euboean imitation of the well-known kotyle of the Aetos 666 type. As in our case, some Euboean versions of this type still retain the nicked rim and the groups of bars drawn inside it, features peculiar to the MG II Corinthian protokotyle. The floating dashes in the panel reflect the departure, introduced by Euboean potters, from the original chevrons motif of the Corinthian products. In the same tomb two aryballoi (one of them is still of the LG I black-painted type),¹⁴⁹ a fragmentary bird askos¹⁵⁰ and a one-handed cup¹⁵¹ are local productions. The cup is decorated in the Spaghetti style, which develops in Ialysos during the LG II phase. This local style is based on the Cypriot one on the White Painted IV pottery: it is typified by the motifs of the ‘Spaghetti’ (groups of wavy lines ending in concentric hooks), of the tremuli (groups of parallel wavy lines) and of the concentric circles, all of them usually painted with a matt pigment, which often tends to fade (Johansen 1957, 155-161; Coldstream 1969; 2008, 276). The one-handed cup with flat base is a common shape in the local repertoire.

The other LG II context, T. LVIII (422), contains an even richer and articulated set of grave-goods, which no doubt reflects both the status of the dead and probably complex burial rituals. The metal objects include two silver spirals, several bronze fibulae, a bronze ring and a silver ring.¹⁵² A big jug/oenochoe, of which a fragment of the body is preserved, is an import from Cyprus in White Painted IV.¹⁵³ An import from Phoenicia is the typical mushroom-topped lekythos (**fig. 20**).¹⁵⁴ Most of the other vases are local productions in styles and techniques imitating the Cypriot ones, i.e. the Black-on-Red and the Spaghetti style, and refer both to eastern Mediterranean shapes, as well as to local Geometric shapes: ridged-neck lekythoi of Cypriot type in Black-on-Red¹⁵⁵ and Spaghetti style,¹⁵⁶ Spaghetti-style aryballoi,¹⁵⁷ several other types of perfume flasks in the Spaghetti style, oenochoi with a plastic head on the neck imitating a Cypro-Levantine type decorated in BoR technique (**fig. 21**),¹⁵⁸ a krateriskos without a foot (a Greek shape) in the Spaghetti style.¹⁵⁹ There is also a tall ampho-

147. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11873: Jacopi 1929, 107, 109, cat.no. 6, fig. 101 top right. On the triadacna shells from Rhodian contexts, see Blinkenberg 1931, cat.nos. 551-562, cols. 42 and 175-182, figs. 22-23, pls. 17 and 19-21; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 82-83, 208-209, cat.no. 36.

148. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11867: Jacopi 1929, 107-108, cat.no. 1, fig. 101 lower right. For the analysis of this vase, see my article (in preparation) on Euboean vases from Ialysos.

149. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11870-11871: Jacopi 1929, 107-108, cat.no. 4, fig. 101.

150. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11872: Jacopi 1929, 107, 109, cat.no. 5, fig. 101 left.

151. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11868: Jacopi 1929, 107-108, cat.no. 2, fig. 101 lower left.

152. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11800-11804 (now lost): Jacopi 1929, 103, cat.nos. 22-24.

153. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11798: Jacopi 1929, 102, cat.no. 20, fig. 93 centre towards the right.

154. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11774: Jacopi 1929, 99-100, cat.no. 1, fig. 93; Adam-Veleni & Stefani 2012, 131-132, no. 56; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 234, cat.no. 68. This vase has been considered as a local imitation of the Phoenician prototypes, while I consider it a true import. Indeed, despite the difficulties resulting from its burnt surfaces, it shows the peculiar features of the Phoenician originals, such as the weight (local imitations are lighter) and the clay, which is rich in inclusions and vacuoles, with a smoothing of the surface, all reminiscent of the Phoenician mushroom-topped lekythoi. On this class, see esp. Culican 1982; Bikai 1987; Peserico 1996.

155. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11778: Jacopi 1929, 99-100, cat.no. 1, fig. 93; Bourogiannis 2009, 118-119, fig. 3.

156. E.g. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11775: Jacopi 1929, 99-100, cat.no. 2, fig. 93.

157. E.g. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11777, 11781, 11783, 11784: Jacopi 1929, 99-101, cat.nos. 3, 6, 7, fig. 93.

158. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11791, 11792, 11793: Jacopi 1929, 100-102, cat.nos. 13-15, fig. 94; Coldstream 1969, pl. 2a-c; Bourogiannis 2009, 119, fig. 5.

159. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11787: Jacopi 1929, 99, 100, cat.no. 9, fig. 93 at the center.

ra, a krater decorated with concentric circles (still in the PG tradition)¹⁶⁰ and again a krateriskos, this time on a tall foot,¹⁶¹ a shape repeated among the grave offerings of this burial among the redundant presence of perfume-containers. A handmade statuette is modelled in the LG style: a head, characterised by a big prominent nose, a round eye with engraved pupil, a small mouth, distinct sides to the face and tresses (the last already conforming to the Daedalic formula).¹⁶² This representative human presence here, probably a male, recalls the female statuette in the EG tomb at Platsa Daphniou. Human figurines are also buried in later lalysian tombs: their symbolic pregnancy and ritual purpose is clearly an important aspect, but its meaning cannot be specified.

The Cypriot and Phoenician connection: trade and immigrants

The strong links between the eastern Mediterranean and Rhodes, in particular lalysos, have been dealt in detail by Coldstream (esp. 1969; 1998), Kourou (esp. 2003; 2004; 2014) and Bourogiannis (2009; 2012a; 2012b; 2013).

Among the grave-goods of the Tsambico South plot, imports from the Syro-Palestinian coast to lalysos are the mushroom-topped lekythoi, which were traded all over the Mediterranean sea for their perfumed contents, start from the end of the 8th century BC: there are several such items in LG II burials (**fig. 20**).¹⁶³ This type is imitated by local potters starting from the beginning of the 7th century:¹⁶⁴ the copying of the shape could also imply that their perfumed contents were also being reproduced.

A wide phenomenon is the imitation of eastern Mediterranean shapes and decorative techniques in Rhodes and especially in lalysos. An interesting case is the local production of juglets (an item was found in T. LVI [414])¹⁶⁵ and oenochoai with flat or trefoil mouth (three of them were found in T. LVIII [422]),¹⁶⁶ whose neck has a plastic female head (the so-called “androposop” vases). I believe that the direct Eastern prototypes of these lalysian imitations are not the Syro-Palestinian ones (as the well-known aryballos from the LG II T. 215 in Pithekoussai),¹⁶⁷ but rather the Cypriot ones: the oenochoai from tomb LVIII (422) have a decoration in BoR with concentric circles, and a globular body and cylindrical neck, which are closer to the Cypriot productions.¹⁶⁸

160. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11795, 11796: Jacopi 1929, 101-102, cat.nos. 17-18, fig. 95.

161. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11788: Jacopi 1929, 99, 101, cat.no. 10, fig. 93 lower center.

162. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11794: Jacopi 1929, 100, 102, cat.no. 16, fig. 94; D'Acunto 2014b, 72-74, figs. 5-9.

163. See the above mentioned one from T. LVIII (422). The enchytrismos burial CXXXII (442) contained a second item: Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11850, see Jacopi 1929, 144, no. 1. Another one was included in the grave offerings of T. IX (213) in the Drakidis South plot: Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 10559, see Jacopi 1929, 39, cat.no. 4, fig. 24 left.

164. E.g. the local lekythos from T. XVII (251) from the Drakidis South plot: Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 10649: Jacopi 1929, 45, cat.no. 1, pl. II; Bourogiannis 2009, 120-121, fig. 10.

165. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11741: Jacopi 1929, 94, 98, cat.no. 2, fig. 90; Coldstream 1969, pl. 2d-e; Stampolidis & Karetsoy 1998, 194, cat.no. 213.

166. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11791, 11792, 11793: Jacopi 1929, 100-102, cat.nos. 13-15, fig. 94; Coldstream 1969, pl. 2a-c; Bourogiannis 2009, 119, fig. 5.

167. As suggested by Coldstream 1969, 3, pl. 2f. On the Syro-Palestinian vase from Pithekoussai, see Ridgway 1984, 76-77, fig. 12; Buchner & Ridgway 1993, 276, cat.no. 4, pls. CXXXVIII, 93.

168. Cf. e.g. a Cypriot vase with a plastic head on the neck in the Museum of Paphos: Stampolidis & Karetsoy 1998, 194, cat.no. 212.

Indeed, in Ialysos the Cyprus connection is very strong. Cypriot oenochoi in Black-on-red were appreciated as pouring vases for their refined technique, their thin walls and the elegant decoration with the lustrous red slip and the concentric groups of circles in black paint: three of them come from the Tsambico South plot, two from T. LI (393) (**fig. 17**)¹⁶⁹ and another one from T. LVII (415),¹⁷⁰ all of them to be referred to the Cypriot phase of Black-on-Red II(IV). Ialysian imitations of them reflect what we may call a true fashion style, a Cypriot taste, but these imitations never reach the quality of their prototypes: the shapes are less regular and less elegant; the red slip becomes a true paint and assumes a rather orange colour; the black paint is thicker. Finally, in many cases, when the black colour flakes away, it takes with it the underlying orange slip.

Another Cypriot BoR vase was reproduced by Ialysian potters, i.e. the lekythos. An imported item is the above-mentioned two-handed lekythos from T. LI (393) of LG I (**fig. 16**). Local one-handed imitations are those from T. LVIII (422)¹⁷¹ and T. LVI (414) (**fig. 22**),¹⁷² both cremations of LG II.

In the Ialysian repertoire the BoR technique is not applied only on Cypriot shapes, but also on exclusively Greek: this is the case of a low skyphos (a shape still in the MG tradition) found in the LG I enchytrismos T. CIII (388) (**fig. 23**).¹⁷³

With the Spaghetti-style aryballoi, the impact of the Cypriot shape and ornamentation takes quantum leap, turning out on a massive level. This started from LG II through trade contacts, as the former imitations of mostly Cypriot originals were produced for the domestic market of Rhodes.¹⁷⁴ Johansen has demonstrated that the Rhodian Spaghetti style imitated a Cypriot White Painted IV prototype. Some Rhodian aryballoi still retain the ridge on the neck of the Cypriot prototypes,¹⁷⁵ but most have disposed of it, thus becoming closer to the shape of the globular Early Protocorinthian Corinthian aryballoi, probably because they competed with them in the perfume market (**fig. 24**) (D'Acunto 2012, 200-208). So-called Spaghetti motifs, alternating with tremoli and concentric circles on the shoulder, and the zig-zag on the neck all imitate the Cypriot specimens, but the local productions also demonstrate several stylistic variations from their prototypes. As these vases were perfume-oil flasks, there is no doubt that in Rhodes, from LG II, large-scale local production of perfumes was undertaken (cf. Coldstream 1969; 1998): the imitation of the Cypriot shape suggests that the content too was an imitation of the Cypriot perfumes (D'Acunto 2012, 200-204). Cypriot perfumes were famous and had a long history of specialised production already before the EIA (Belgiorno 2007; 2009; 2012; Cultraro 2012, 182). A tempting hypothesis, which needs

169. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11649, 11650: Jacopi 1929, 85, 87-88, cat.nos. 3-4, figs. 75, 78; Stampolidis & Karetsou 1998, 152, no. 109.

170. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11753: Jacopi 1929, 97, 99, cat.no. 1, fig. 92; Stampolidis & Karetsou 1998, 152, cat.no. 110.

171. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11778: Jacopi 1929, 99-100, cat.no. 1, fig. 93; Bourogiannis 2009, 118-119, fig. 3.

172. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11742: Jacopi 1929, 94, 98, cat.no. 3, fig. 90; Coldstream 1969, pl. 1g-h.

173. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11629: Jacopi 1929, 133, cat.no. 2, pl. 1; Bourogiannis 2009, 119, fig. 6.

174. On the Spaghetti-style aryballoi, see esp. Johansen 1957, 155-161; Coldstream 1969, 3-4; 2008, 276; cf. also Blinkenberg 1931, cols. 300-308; Jacopi 1931-1932, 38, 43; Papapostolou 1968, 84-97; Martelli 1988, 105; Coldstream 1998, 256-259; 2003, 232; Grasso, Pappalardo & Romano 2004; Stampolidis 2009, 96; Bourogiannis 2009, 120.

175. Lund, aryballos from Rhodes: Johansen 1957, 158-160, fig. 223, for the Cypriot prototype cf. fig. 224 and Gjerstad 1948, White Painted IV Jug 4, cf. for the decoration 3b, pl. XXVIII.4, 3b; Blinkenberg 1931, cols. 303-304, figs. 40-41.

to be verified by analysis, is that these Rhodio-Cypriot perfumes on Rhodes might have been made with the local roses (rose-oil was one of the most prized perfumes in antiquity).¹⁷⁶

These Rhodian Spaghetti-style perfume-vases, from the last two decades of the 8th century BC, became integrated into mainstream trade all around the Mediterranean Sea, mainly in this first phase by means of the Euboean and Cypro-Phoenician networks. They are found from East Greece to the Aegean, from continental Greece to Italy (Etruria and Greek colonies) across to coastal Spain.¹⁷⁷ It is clear that they were much appreciated perfumes, successful competitors of the extensively exported Corinthian ones on the international market (D'Acunto 2012, 200-2015).

To complete the picture of LG II Ialysian pottery, the pervasive character of the Spaghetti style in the local production must be emphasised: it goes well beyond the several shapes used as perfume-containers – mostly globular aryballoi –, together with lekythoi of Cypriot type with ridge on the neck, as well as lekythoi with conical body and several other variations of these types. It infests almost all other shapes of the local repertoire, independently of their functions, such as the consumption of wine.

Finally, it must be stated that both Spaghetti-style perfume containers and other shapes decorated with these patterns are present hugely more in Ialysos than in Kameiros and in Lindos.

These aspects, all combined, strongly support Coldstream's hypothesis that the Spaghetti-style aryballoi demonstrate a production of perfumes of Cypro-Phoenician character installed on Rhodes by eastern Mediterranean metoikoi, whose centre of production had to be based in Ialysos (Coldstream 1969; 1998. Cf. Bourogiannis 2009, 121-122; 2014).

Coldstream (1969, 1, 5) has also drawn scholarly attention to the Rhodian myths referring to the presence of Phoenicians on the island and, in particular in Ialysos. The Rhodian historian Ergias (*FGrHist* 513 F1 = Ath. VIII, 61, 360 E) refers to the tradition, according to which the Phoenicians settled on Rhodes, before telling the myth of Phalanthos and his followers who, occupying a very strongly fortified city in Ialysos called Achaïa, were able to hold out a long time against the siege laid by Iphiklos. The second interesting passage is by Zenon (*FGrHist* 523 F1 = Diod. 5, 57, 6-7), again a local historian: he mentions, at the end of a long passage recalling the divine and mythical genealogies of Rhodes, the myth that Phoenician Kadmos put ashore at the island a little after the time, when Rhodes was divided among the three eponymous founders of Lindos, Ialysos and Kameiros. He founded there a temenos dedicated to Poseidon and left some Phoenicians as overseers of the sanctuary. These men mingled with the Ialysians and continued to live as fellow-citizens; from them the holders of the inherited priestly office were drawn. This passage mentions also the tradition that Kadmos dedicated a cauldron at the sanctuary of Athena in Lindos, carrying an inscription in Phoenician letters, which were first brought from Phoenicia to Greece. It is interesting to observe how this tradition reproduces in a mythical form some typical ancient mechanisms of how a foreign presence in another land was handled. The first step is a presence in a sanctuary: in the Greek world and in general in the ancient societies the sanctuary, and more precisely one in a trading community, acted as the guarantor of the physical safety of foreigners and their commerce. In this tradition one can observe that Poseidon is a good candidate for the possessor of such a sanctuary, one that involves exchanges with foreign-

176. D'Acunto 2012, 203. Cf. Massar 2008, 100, for the perfumes produced on Rhodes at the end of the 7th and 6th centuries BC.

177. For a survey, see e.g. Stampolidis & Karageorghis 2003, 297-301, cat. nos. 271-288.

ers and in particular Phoenicians. A subsequent stage is referred to in Zenon's passage: the mingling of the Phoenicians with the Ialysians, which gives them the right of a true integration in the local community as fellow-citizens.

If Coldstream's hypothesis is accepted, eastern Mediterranean groups must have made their appearance in Ialysos at some particular moment (cf. Bourogiannis 2009; 2012a; 2012b; 2013; 2014). They established a commercial enterprise to produce perfumes in the Cypriot manner: one of the side-effects of this was a strong, mostly Cypriot, influence on the local pottery. Judging from the grave offerings of the burials in the Tsambico South plot, the local community had to be closely involved in this process and was changed as a consequence of it.

Based on the present archaeological evidence, it would be risky indeed to suggest a precise chronology for their arrival in Ialysos. We could say, very succinctly, that close relationships with the eastern Mediterranean and especially with Cyprus are constant, starting with the first evidence available to us in the EIA (and in fact even before). Cypriot influences on the local pottery also seem continuous, beginning the same moment. From the latter point of view, we can recognize an intensification around the middle of the 8th century BC (with the beginning of the BoR imitations), culminating in the last two decades of the century (with the production on a massive scale of the Spaghetti-style aryballo). The latter moment is the true quantum leap: now the influences on local pottery result from a new production system, well-organised so as to introduce the Rhodio-Cypriot perfumes into a wider international trade network. We may, of course, guess that this marks the start of a different level and kind of interaction between the local community and the Cypro-Phoenicians groups, who were already frequenting and perhaps settling on Rhodes.

A second vital question, in understanding events both locally at Ialysos and in general in Rhodes, is: who are the protagonists of these intensive exchanges/forms of mobilities, the Phoenicians or the Cypriots? This is a likewise tricky subject that demands a cautious and nuanced answer in the light of the complex processes characterizing trade networks and the mobility of groups of foreign people.

As we have seen, on Rhodes and especially in Ialysos, the Cypriot connection is very strong and pervasive: Cypriot influences on Ialysian and, in general, Rhodian pottery is clearly prevalent, when compared with the Phoenician one, although this last is present too (D'Acunto in preparation; cf. Bourogiannis 2009; 2012a; 2012b; 2013). In his first paper dealing with the question (1969), Coldstream suggested that the immigrants in Ialysos could be Phoenicians, but in a later work (1998) he partly changed his perspective, advancing the hypothesis that they could be the Phoenicians who had formerly been installed in Kition (respectively Coldstream 1969 and 1998, 258-259). With this second solution, clearly, he intended to reconcile the prevailing Cypriot influence on Ialysian pottery with the Rhodian traditions referring to Phoenicians. As a matter of fact, there is a strong Phoenician presence in Cyprus too, even if the precise outline of the phenomenon is still much debated among scholars: not least the nature of the Phoenician presence in EIA Kition.¹⁷⁸ On the other hand, Kourou has, recently, put forward, with strong arguments, the suggestion that the Cypriots played an independent role, not necessarily one in the Phoenician's shadow (as in Coldstream's perspective), in the EIA trade networks (see especially Kourou 2008; 2015; and, with reference to Rhodes,

178. I only mention here Karageorghis' synthesis of 2002, 143-149, with all references; the publication of the Phoenician and later levels of the Kition temple in Karageorghis *et al.* 1999-2005; and the different perspective of Smith 2009.

Kourou 2014, 80-88). In lalysos, the latter perspective is strongly supported by the combination of the overwhelming Cypriot influences on local pottery with their predominant preference for vessels for perfumes of a Cypriot character. It is worth recalling that, as suggested by Pugliese Carratelli (1990, 34-35, 41, 92-94. Cf. Mazzarino 1947, 259, 267-268), the ethnic name Phoinikes in early Greek sources can carry a twofold meaning: in some cases it referred only to the people of the Semite cities along the Syro-Palestinian coast (mainly Tyre and Sidon), while in others it embraced a larger area of the eastern Mediterranean, including the Anatolian people of Caria and probably also Cilicia and Cyprus: in this way, "Phoenicians" might have a meaning similar to the Medieval term "Levantine's".

With lalysos, then, the Phoenician component does not oppose to the Cypriot: both were integrated into a common commercial system. Again, this perspective has been clearly delineated by Kourou and it may be illustrated by an example she presented for Rhodes: the statue of a sphinx dedicated at the small suburban sanctuary of 'la chapelle' in Vroulia (perhaps a trade sanctuary close to the harbour) was made of Cypriot limestone, though it carries a Phoenician inscription. Therefore, this Cypriot statue must have been dedicated by a Phoenician or by a Cypro-Phoenician.¹⁷⁹

Phoenicians might well be integrated at a certain level in the community of lalysos, as strongly suggested by the partially preserved Phoenician graffito on a fragment from the body of a vase found in T. XXXVII (344) Koukkia: the word 'kd', which means 'the container' (also known in Greek as κάδος), is preserved. Another body fragment from the same tomb and certainly the same vase has a partially preserved Greek inscription with the usual formula of possession of the vase - [...]νοϛ ἡμί - thus suggesting the tempting hypothesis that this was a true bilingual inscription in Phoenician and in Greek.¹⁸⁰ This burial context is dated by other grave offerings (among them local imitations of Corinthian piriform aryballoi, two North Ionian bird bowls and Spaghetti-style aryballoi of the latest type) to ca. 630-610 BC (Jacopi 1929, 63-67).

To sum up, in the close relationships developed between the lalysian community and the people of the eastern Mediterranean, and especially regarding the local production of perfumes of Rhodo-Cypriot character that probably involved the integration of immigrants into the local community, Cypriots played their own and leading role within the more general network of Cypro-Phoenician joint ventures.

The Euboean connection and the Cypro-Phoenician network

The existence of a network closely involving Euboeans is illustrated by the imports in the lalysian cemetery and at other Rhodian contexts. In addition to the above-mentioned LG I skyphos from T. LI (393) and the LG II kotyle from T. LXIV (448), these items include a skyphos from T. CII (387)¹⁸¹ and a krater from T. LIII (406) (**fig. 25**).¹⁸²

In the Tsambico South plot the burial offerings in the earliest tombs of the end of MG II-

179. Kourou 2003, 255-257, fig. 4; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 236-237, cat.no. 71; and esp. Kourou 2014, 84-86.

180. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11459: Jacopi 1929, 66-67, fig. 56. I refer to Bourogiannis & Ioannou's study (2012, 10-11).

181. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11624: Jacopi 1929, 132-133, cat.no. 1, fig. 125. On this and the other Euboean imports the reader can refer in detail to my article in preparation.

182. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11725: Jacopi 1929, 89, 91, cat.no. 1, fig. 81.

LG I include also five black skyphoi.¹⁸³ Macroscopic inspection suggests that the bulk of these skyphoi is comprised of local productions, though I am inclined to recognize a Euboean fabric in at least one item, whose surface is burnt: inv. no. 11644, coming from T. L (390) of the end of MG II.¹⁸⁴ Along with this/these example(s) from Ialysos, d'Agostino has recognised as possibly Euboean a black skyphos found in the above-mentioned grave in Kameiros, dating to about the middle of the 8th century BC.¹⁸⁵ According to him, the black skyphos from Tomb M in Exochi might also be an import: the vase was repaired in antiquity,¹⁸⁶ as is the case also for this Ialysian example, inv. no. 11644.

The Rhodian contexts of the black skyphoi, both imports and local imitations, support the hypothesis of an early date (end of MG II-LG I, i.e. ca. 760-720 BC) for the well-known example in Copenhagen, said to be from Rhodes but without indication of the exact provenance: its graffito of Korakos is in very early epigraphic characters.¹⁸⁷ A macroscopic inspection of the clay does not seem to me to fit with the common features of Euboean productions, though it may well be Rhodian.¹⁸⁸

Two LG figured kraters of high-quality are among the Euboean vases found in Ialysos too. One of them, recently published, is from an unknown context excavated by the Italians (Patsiada, in Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 246; cf. Kourou 2014, 83). I suggest a Euboean fabric too for the fragment of another krater from the votive deposit of the Athena sanctuary on the acropolis of Ialysos, still unpublished and now on display in the new exhibition of the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes.

These Euboean imports confirm that Rhodes was included, as a main stopping point and partner, along the main maritime route of the Euboeans towards Cyprus and the Levant, as is also well supported by many Euboean vases found in Cypriote and Levantine sites (about these imports, see recently Luke 2003; Lemos 2004, 228-229; Descœudres 2006-2007; Kourou 2012). In this general context the production of Rhodo-Cypriot perfumes in Ialysos enters into the Euboean and Cypro-Phoenician commercial system extending towards the West. The main traders of these perfumes will have been the Euboeans, together with the Phoenicians.

An important and again elusive question is whether during the Geometric period, with the Euboeans and the Cypriots/Phoenicians as the main protagonists in this maritime network, some Rhodians traded on their own ships too. This takes us back to the *vexata quaestio* on the traditions relating to early Rhodian shipping (see recently Marton 1997). According to Strabo (XIV, 2, 10 C 654), this took place in a period before the beginning of the Olympic Games. From the available archaeological data, this tradition does not seem to be confirmed, as only very few vases of possible Rhodian production have been found outside the island before the beginning of the large-scale production and export of the Spaghetti-

183. 1) See *infra* n. 184. 2)-3) Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11688 and 11689, T. 401 (CXI): Jacopi 1929, 138 (LG I). 4)-5) Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11690 and 11691, T. 402 (CXII): Jacopi 1929, 138 (LG I).

184. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum: Jacopi 1929, 84, cat.no. 3, pl. 2.

185. T. LXXXII (2), close to the temple A: Jacopi 1932-33, 194-195, cat.no. 3, fig. 232; D'Agostino 2006, 61; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 245, cat.no. 82.1.

186. Johansen 1957, 46, 49, cat.no. M3, fig. 106; D'Agostino 2006, 63.

187. Copenhagen, National Museum 10151: Guarducci 1987, 75-76; Jeffery 1990, 356, cat.no. 1, pl. 67; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 245, cat.no. 82.2.

188. Its clay is pink with infrequent white and black inclusions. The black paint is matt over a creamy wash. Its shape is quite different from the other black-painted skyphoi found on Rhodes in terms of the clearly distinct lip. I owe warm thanks to Dr. B. Bundgaard Rasmussen, responsible for the Classical Antiquities in the National Museum of Denmark, for giving me permission to study the vase outside of its showcase.

style aryballoi in LG II (720-690 BC).¹⁸⁹ Rather the quantum leap for native Rhodian enterprises should 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) (for a synthesis on Rhodian colonisation and trade, see D'Acunto 2015). In general, caution is necessary: it is impossible to identify all the actors and the mechanisms of the commercial transactions simply from the provenance and distribution of artefacts, as these goods underwent complex processes of exchange with many and different protagonists. So the 'silence' of Rhodian archaeological evidence abroad before 720 BC will be but a part of the reality (even if a major part), not its totality.

The bird kotylai in the lalysos cemetery: their chronology and place of production

A last class of pottery is worth discussing in the present paper, i.e. the so-called bird kotylai, which date in the lalysos cemetery from the end of MG II to the end of LG II.¹⁹⁰ Coldstream established their development, mainly based on changes in the decoration. The distinction now claimed in the lalysos cemetery between an LG I and an LG II phase may add greater precision to the development of bird kotylai, both in terms of relative and absolute chronology (Coldstream 2008, 278-279). The earliest type found in lalysos is from tomb L (390) and dates to the end of MG II (**fig. 26**). Two items from this burial are decorated with the MG system of the panel with hatched meander hooks on the upper band.¹⁹¹

Kotylai from LG II burials of lalysos show several variations. In the same primary cremation, T. 51 of the Marmaro plot (the same plot with the three above-mentioned LPG-EG tombs), three of them were found, unfortunately in fragments. The first kotyle still maintains the decoration with meander hooks occupying the central panel in the upper band, although it also introduces a metope-system, in which the two lateral panels contain a lozenge.¹⁹² A second bird kotyle from this tomb shows the mature four-metope system on the upper band, but it still lacks the 'classical' bird.¹⁹³ The last item has two upper bands: a zig-zag and a row of birds in silhouette, reflecting the Early Protocorinthian prototypes of the soldier-birds.¹⁹⁴ This is the latest chronological marker of the funerary context, which contains also a much earlier micaceous kantharos, probably Cycladic, still in the style of Attic LG Ib (750-735 BC).¹⁹⁵ This burial has to date to the LG II: probably in the first part (ca. 720-700 BC).

189. A possible case of a Rhodian export (the alternative is a Coan production), perhaps more specifically of lalysian fabric, is the Cypriot-type lekythos found in Eretria, in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros, in a pit containing vases with a chronological range from MG II to the beginning of LG I (i.e. 800-735 BC, according to the Eretrian chronology): see Verdan, Kenzelmann Pfyffer & Léderrey 2008, 120, no. 68, pl. 20.

190. On this class see Coldstream 2003, 247-248, fig. 78b; 2008, 277-279, 479, pl. 61a-d; and recently Kerschner 2002, 63-72; Martelli 2012, 19-22, and n.36 with bibliography. For a detailed analysis of the class with reference to the Rhodian examples: D'Acunto in preparation.

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

192. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15574: Laurenzi 1936, 172-173, cat.no. 2, fig. 161; Papapostolou 1968, pl. 37a.

193. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15575-15576 (?): Laurenzi 1936, 172-173, fig. 161.

194. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15573: Laurenzi 1936, 172-173, cat.no. 1, fig. 161; Papapostolou 1968, pl. 37. On the evolution and chronology of the birds in EPC pottery, see Coldstream 2008, 105, pls. 20h, 21e.

195. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15579: Laurenzi 1936, 173, fig. 161, bottom row, cat.no. 3. It is considered of Cycladic fabric both by Coldstream (2008, 286, n. 1) and Kourou (2014, 82-83, n. 41).

Among the grave offerings of another two burials of the LG II phase – T. LXII (444) (**fig. 27**)¹⁹⁶ and T. LVII (415)¹⁹⁷ – are two bird kotylai of the more advanced ‘classical’ type with the four-metope system including the bird in one of the central panels.¹⁹⁸

The bird kotylai from Ialysos also include at least four unpublished examples from the *stipe* on the Athena sanctuary of the acropolis, now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes. They illustrate different types of decoration. This Ialysian corpus is completed by an LG II squat oenochoe from T. III, whose ornament refers to the same class (see *infra*).

The question of the site/sites/region where East Greek bird kotylai and other shapes in related style were produced is important. The number of these kotylai, found in Ialysos, had given rise to the traditional hypothesis of a Rhodian, possibly Ialysian production (Coldstream 2008, 279). Recently chemical analyses of several bird kotylai together with bird bowls found in Ionia, North Ionia, Aeolia and the West have been undertaken by Hans Mommsen in the Laboratory of Bonn and the class has been the object of a detailed study by Michael Kerschner (see esp. Kerschner 2002, 97-99, cat.nos. 11-19, 21-25, figs. 11-17, pl. 1; Kerschner & Mommsen 2009). The conclusions of their studies is that most of the bird kotylai, as well as the later bird bowls, were specialised productions of North Ionia, especially the centres on the peninsula of Klazomenai. A very recent piece of research was able to confirm that an important centre for their production was Teos on the Klazomenian peninsula (Kadioğlu *et al.* 2015, 349-353). Coldstream himself, in the second edition of *Greek Geometric Pottery* (2008), had adopted this perspective (Coldstream 2008, 478-479. Cf. also Coulié 2013, 58).

From this point of view, which I share, it is important to remark that many bird kotylai have been found in North Ionia together with neighbouring Ionia (especially, in Miletos and Ephesos). For example, among the many kotylai found in Smyrnae (Bayrakli-Alt Smyrna) the full evolution of the decoration, with more and also possibly earlier varieties than seen in Ialysos itself, is attested (Özgunel 1978, pls. 3-4).

On Rhodes, most of the bird kotylai have been found in Ialysos (in the necropolis and in the *stipe* of the Athena sanctuary on the Philerimos acropolis), while just few of them were recovered in Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, cols. 251-252, cat. nos. 872-873, pl. 38) and a squat oenochoe with carinated body and straight lip comes from Kameiros (in the British Museum).¹⁹⁹ Therefore, if the items found in Ialysos or at least some of them turn out not to be local, then the hypothesis that Rhodes was a main centre for the production of this class must be questioned. Unfortunately, no clay analyses have been made on the examples from Ialysos: most of them, found in the necropoleis, are from cremations, thus making the inspection of their clays even less reliable without scientific support.

Two of the bird-style vases from Ialysos are not burnt. The first is the squat trefoil oenochoe from LG II Tomb III, showing a very rich decoration on the shoulder.²⁰⁰ The other vase of this class, with no burnt surface, is the bird kotyle from the LG I burial LIX-436 (although this is a primary cremation), which boasts a complex decoration organised in four bands (**fig. 28**).²⁰¹ Although I am aware that a macroscopic examination may be misleading, yet the or-

196. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11586: Jacopi 1929, 105-106, cat.no. 1, fig. 99.

197. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11754: Jacopi 1929, 97, 99-100, cat.no. 2, fig. 92.

198. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11857, 11860: Jacopi 1929, 105-107, cat.nos. 2, 5, fig. 99.

199. London, British Museum, inv. no. GR 1860,0404.10: Johansen 1957, fig. 209; Coldstream 2008, 277-279, cat. no. 24, pl. 61a; 2010, 57, cat. no. 189, pls. 82-83.

200. Rhodes, Castle of the Knights, Archaeological Exhibition 1422: Maiuri 1923-1924, 263, fig. 163.

201. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11833: Jacopi 1929, 102-103, fig. 96; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou

ange clay of the kotyle and the pink one of the oenochoe, some large white inclusions in the kotyle, and the appearance of their brown paint do not in my experience recall local products: they seem rather to relate to those vases of the 'orange serie' classified by Mommsen and Kerschner among the North Ionian bird kotylai (esp. Kerschner 2002, 66-72; Kerschner and Mommsen 2009, 137, 145). Furthermore, some of the burnt lalysian kotylai are quite mica-ceous, another exceptional characteristic of the local clay for products of the end of MG II and LG periods: see the two MG II kotylai from T. L (390) and examples from T. 51 Marmaro.

My macroscopic inspection is now supported by the archaeometric analyses made by H. Mommsen on the above-mentioned oenochoe from Kameiros in the British Museum, which refers to the North Ionian group of Teos:²⁰² the clay and the paint of the British Museum oenochoe recall especially those of the kotyle from T. LIX (436) of lalysos.

Therefore, a group of bird kotylai and the oenochoe in the related style found in lalysos have to be imports from North Ionia too, while I do not deny the possibility that the lalysian corpus of bird kotylai might include local imitations too.

Nestor's Cup from T. 168 of Pithekoussai, a bird kotyle, in its ornament recalls a transitional type from LG I to LG II. It sports four metopes without a bird: in one metope the meander hook is the final revival of this MG motif. Its context is dated by the EPC aryballo to the beginning of LG II (but it could be that the kotyle itself could be slightly earlier). Its famous inscription is engraved, after firing, in the Euboean alphabet and, therefore, surely by a Euboean: rendered in verse, it reflects several aspects of the Homeric epos (Buchner & Ridgway 1993, T. 168.9, 219, 743-759, pls. CXXVI-CXXVIII, 72-73; Bartoněk & Buchner 1995, 146-154, fig. 1a). It is well-known that, in making reference to Nestor's metal and richly decorated cup of *Iliad* 11.624-644, this inscription proves in some way the circulation of Homeric epic, in oral or in written forms, at the time of the burial, i.e. at ca. 720-710 BC. That this vase type may have something to do, in some way, with the birth of epic poetry in Greece is suggested by the fragmentary 'twin' bird kotyle found in Eretria, whose inscription recalls that of Nestor's cup in its employment of a similar formula as well as by its metric structure in three lines (Johnston & Andreiomenou 1989; Bartoněk & Buchner 1995, 190-192). If the bird kotylai from lalysos (or at least some of them) are not Rhodian but rather North Ionian, this conclusion would not be without significance also in the wider perspective of the epic question. In my opinion, Nestor's Cup and the one from Eretria are very likely not Rhodian (this is the *communis opinio*), but probably imported from North Ionia too. This region and its nearby areas are closely involved in the complex phenomenon of the birth of the epic. Many traditions link Homer and the Homerids with Smyrnae and Chios, just opposite the Klazomenian peninsula (Kirk 1985, 1-4). I limit myself here to Kirk's (1985, 3) authoritative opinion: 'The Smurne connexion, by contrast, managed to maintain itself in the tradition even without such an assumed family connexion' (i.e. with reference to the rhapsodic guild called the Homeridai in Chios); 'perhaps that had something to do with the presence of Aeolic forms in the predominantly Ionic dialect-mixture of the epic' (as Smyrnae, a borderline city between North Ionia and Aeolia, was an Aeolic foundation which became Ionic early in its history). We should be clear that the North Ionian connection of these two famous bird kotylai concerns only the two vases, and not the authors of the inscriptions, who were the true protagonists of the epic connection. These had to be Euboean: and thus provide addi-

2015, 246-247, cat.no. 84.

202. See Villing, A. & Mommsen, H., Rhodes and Kos: New Observations on East Dorian Pottery Production of the Archaic Period in preparation: I owe my warmest thanks to Dr. Alexandra Villing for this important information.

tional evidence for the possible role of Euboean poets in the diffusion of the Homeric epic.²⁰³ Therefore, the likely change of manufacturing address from Rhodes to North Ionia of the two famous vases of Pithekoussai and Eretria does not affect in substance the Euboean perspective through which their inscriptions have to be considered. It would add but a little to the understanding of those fundamental documents, leaving open the possibility that the provenance of the vases might have a link, in some way (through the Euboean authors of the inscriptions?), with a region so vital for the birth of epic.

Conclusion: a glimpse into the 7th and 6th centuries BC

After the first quarter of the 7th century the necropolis of Ialysos undergoes another change. Euboean imports to Rhodes come to an end ca. 700 BC, just as in many other sites that were connected with the Euboean network in the PG and Geometric periods.²⁰⁴ Phoenician and Cypriote imports to the island, as well as local imitations of them, continue on throughout the 7th and well into the 6th century BC. New classes of materials appear in the tombs which show new external links being forged as the result of the new patterns in international trade.

Rhodians are thereafter more active as protagonists outside their island through the colonial foundations, starting with Phaselis in Lycia and Gela in Sicily. At the same time, they are strongly involved in the East Greek emporia, together with the other Dorian, Ionian and Aeolian cities (see Kourou 2014, 83-88; D'Acunto 2015). Together with the main Aeolian, Ionian and Dorian cities of East Greece and with its own colony of Phaselis, we find Rhodes participating in Amasis' reorganization of Naukratis (Hdt. 2.178, 1-2): for the first time Rhodes appears abroad as a unity. Although it is difficult to see this Egyptian episode as reflecting any formal pan-Rhodian organization *ante litteram*, i.e. before the synoikismos of 408-407 BC, yet this apparent integration is a novelty destined to bear future fruit²⁰⁵ in the context of the long-established political and cultural compartmentalisation of the island into the three old Dorian cities of Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos.

The political division of the island into three city-states; their membership in the league of Dorian Hexapolis together with Kos, Knidos and Halikarnassos, which gathered in the sanctuary of Apollo Triopios on the tip of the Knidos peninsula;²⁰⁶ their strategies of identity and/or unity; the cultural compartmentalisation of the island; the networks linking the three centres and their trades along the Mediterranean sea: taken in all, these different aspects show the complex history of Rhodes and its transformations, thus offering much matter of thought in the perspective of a *Regional Story* in early Greece.

203. On the role of Euboea in the diffusion of the epic, see Cassio 1995; 1998, with a different perspective from West 1988, who attributed a greater centrality in the birth of the epic to Euboea.

204. 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 ca. 700 BC, cf. n. 1.

205. On the historical implications of this episode see esp. Gabrielsen 2000; Malkin 2011, 69-95.

206. For the Dorian Hexapolis and the sanctuary of Apollo Triopios: D'Acunto 2015, with bibliographical references.

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THE PROTOGEOMETRIC AND GEOMETRIC NECROPOLIS OF IALYSOS (RHODES)

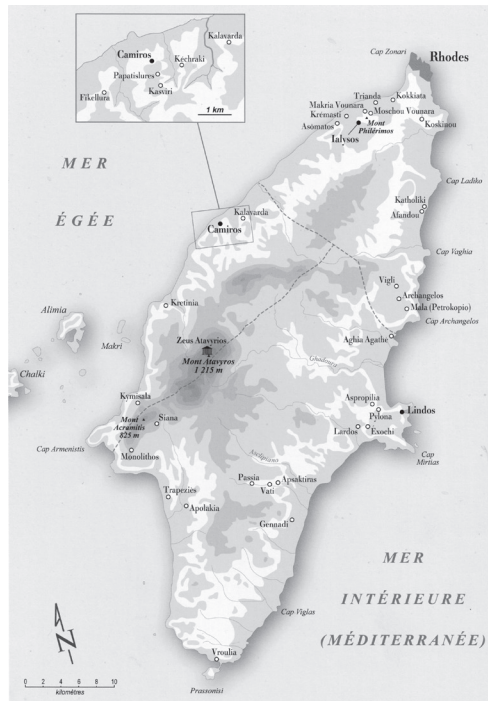


Fig. 1. Map of Rhodes (Coulié & Philimonos-Tspotou 2014, 321)

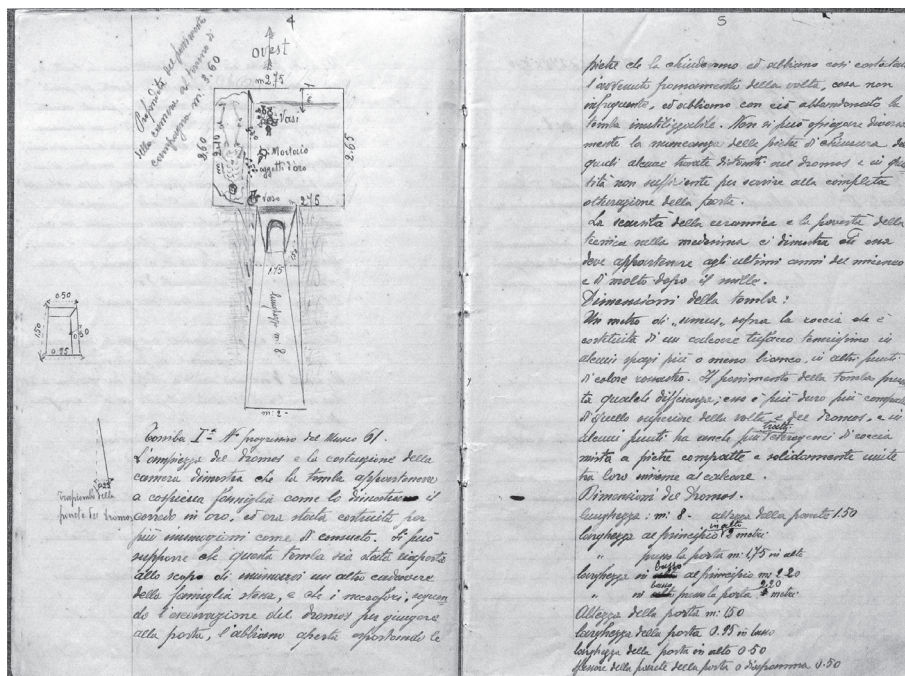


Fig. 2. Excavation diary (1927) of the Mycenaean cemetery of Moscou Vounara (Ialysos) (Archives of the Ephorate of the Dodecanese, Rhodes; courtesy of the Department of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).

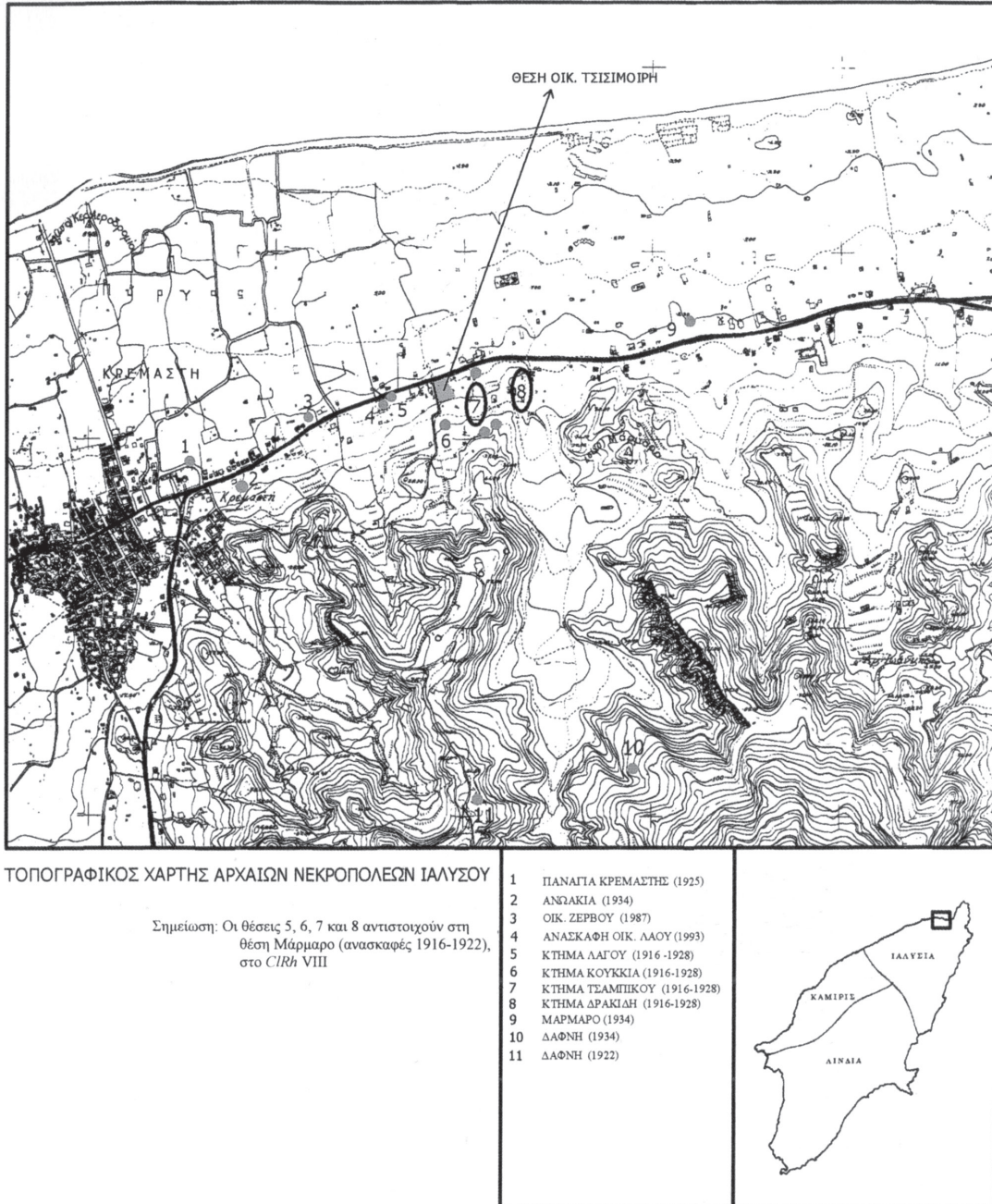


Fig. 3. Ialysos, map of the LPG – Archaic cemeteries (Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).



Fig. 4. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb 44 Marmaro: grave offerings (Laurenzi 1936, fig. 152).



Fig. 5. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 15549, Tomb 44 Marmaro: oenochoe, h. 0,27 m (LPG) (Photo: M. D'Acunto).



Fig. 6. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb 43 Marmaro (EG): some of the grave offerings (objects not in scale; Coulié & Philimonos-Tsopotou 2014, fig. 24).



Fig. 7. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15532, Tomb 43 Marmaro: cinerary-urn, belly-handled amphora, h. 0,56 m (EG) (Photo: M. D'Acunto).

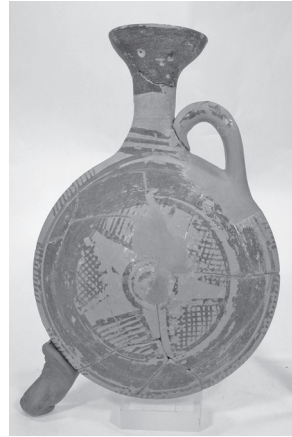
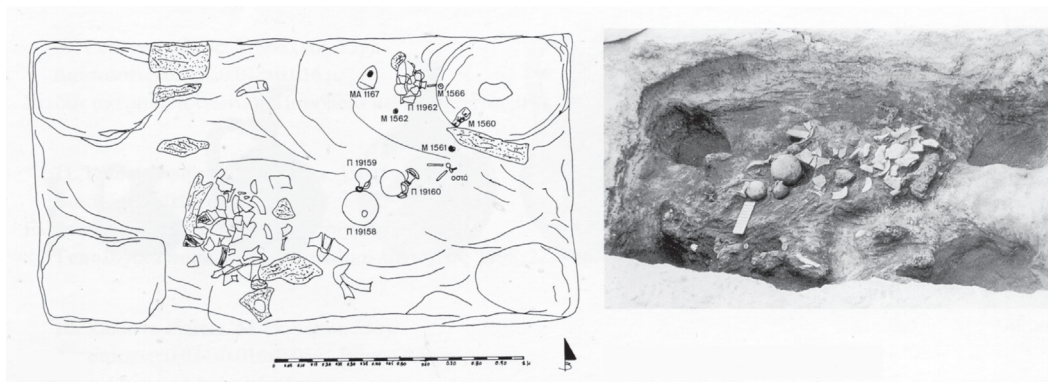


Fig. 8. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11962, Tomb CXLI (470) Platsa Daphniou: flask, h. 0,17 m (EG) (Photo: M. D'Acunto).



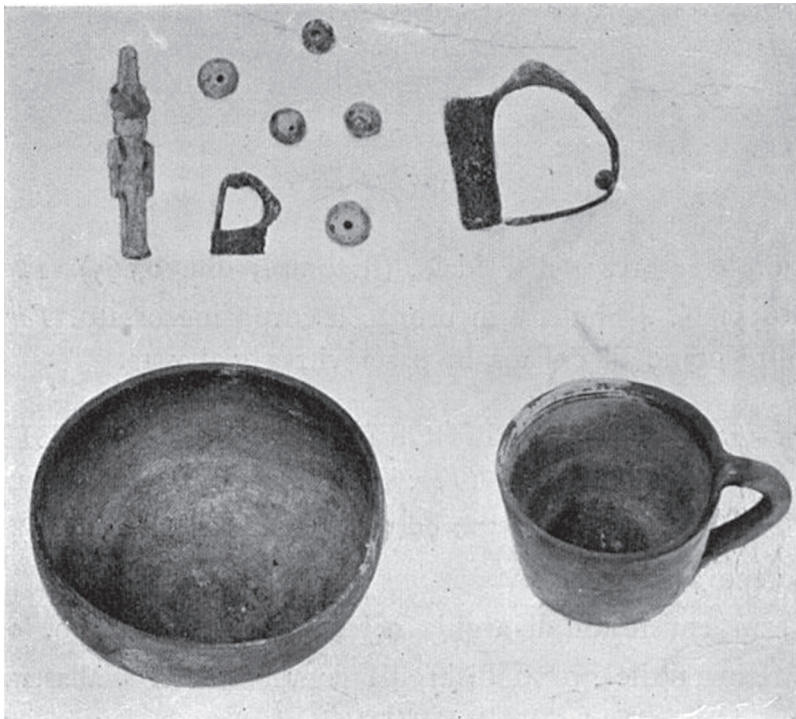
Fig. 9. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11961, Tomb CXLI (470) Platsa Daphniou: figurine, h. 0,147 m (EG) (Photo: M. D'Acunto).



Figs. 10-11. Ialysos, Tomb 3 Laghos, primary cremation (MG) (Giannikouri, Grigoriadou & Marketou 2001, figs. 39-40; Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities of the Dodecanese).



Fig. 12. *Ialysos, Tombs CXXXVII (462) and CXXXIX (464) Tsambico South, inhumations, enchytrismoi (LG II) (Jacopi 1929, fig. 140).*



Figs. 13-14. *Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb CIV (389) Tsambico South (LG I): grave offerings: faience figurine, Inv. 11638, h. 0,073 m. (Jacopi 1929, fig. 127; Photo of the figurine M. D'Acunto).*

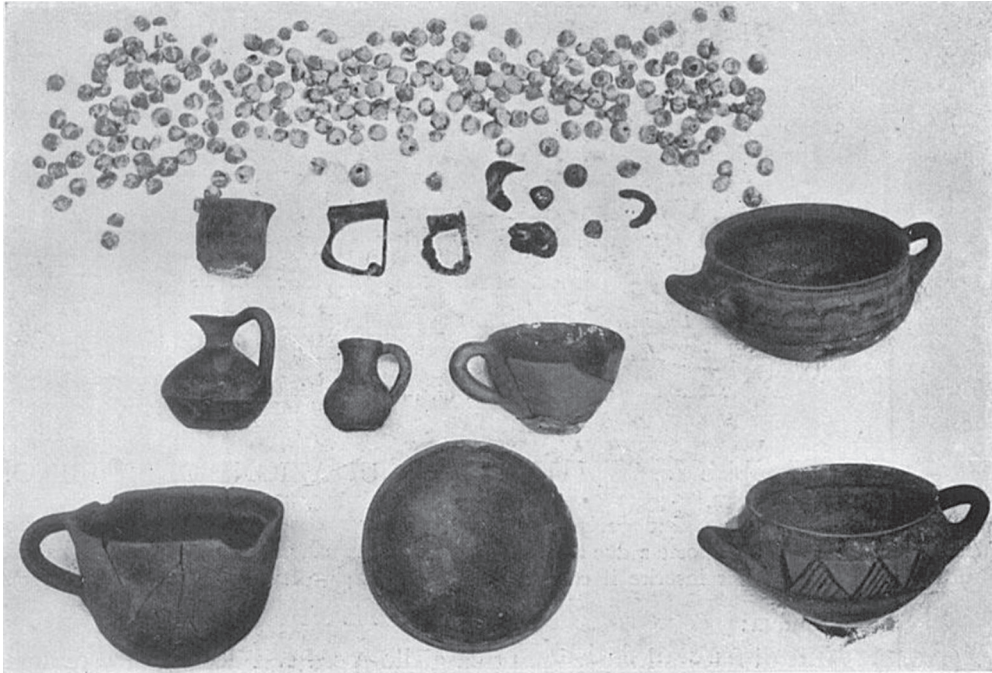


Fig. 15. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb CI (386) Tsambico South (LG I): grave offerings (Jacopi 1929, fig. 123).

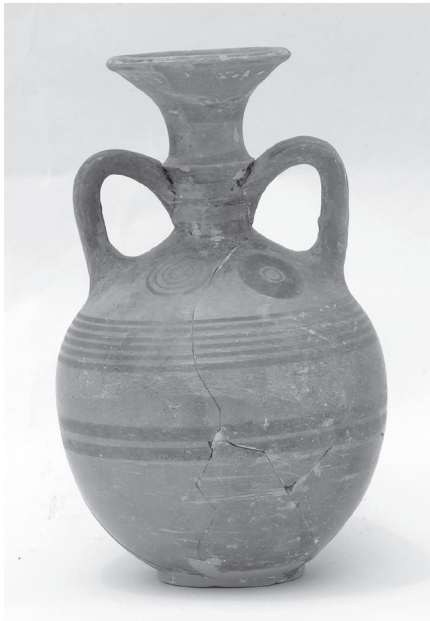


Fig. 16. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11652, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LI (393) Tsambico South: Cypriot two-handled lekythos in BoR I(III)/II(IV), h. 0,119 m (LG I context). (Photo: M. D'Acunto).



Fig. 17. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11650, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LI (393) Tsambico South: Cypriot oenochoe in BoR II(IV), h. 0,216 m (LG I context). (Photo: M. D'Acunto).

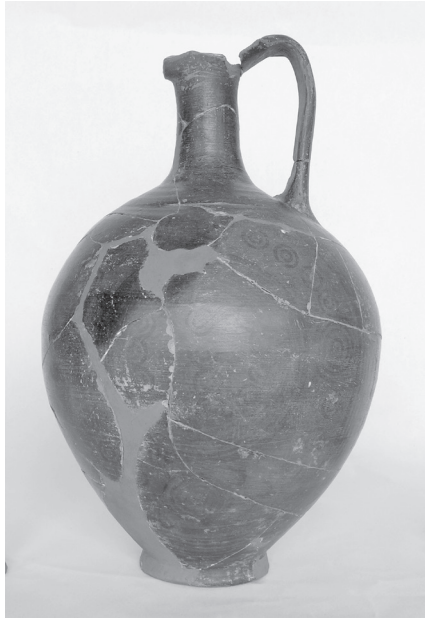


Fig. 18. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11651, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LI (393) Tsambico South: local oenochoe in BoR, h. 0,27 m (LG I) (Photo: M. D'Acunto).

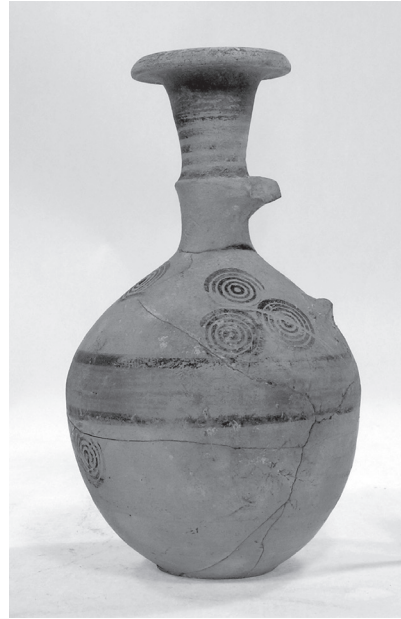


Fig. 19. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11869, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LXIV (448) Tsambico South: Cypriot lekythos in White Painted IV, h. 0,122 m (LG II context) (Photo: M. D'Acunto).



Fig. 20. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11774, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LVIII (422) Tsambico South: Phoenician mushroom-topped lekythos, h. 0,16 m (LG II context) (Photo: M. D'Acunto).



Fig. 21. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11791, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LVIII (422) Tsambico South: local oenochoe with a plastic head on the neck in BoR, h. 0,19 m (LG II) (Photo: M. D'Acunto).

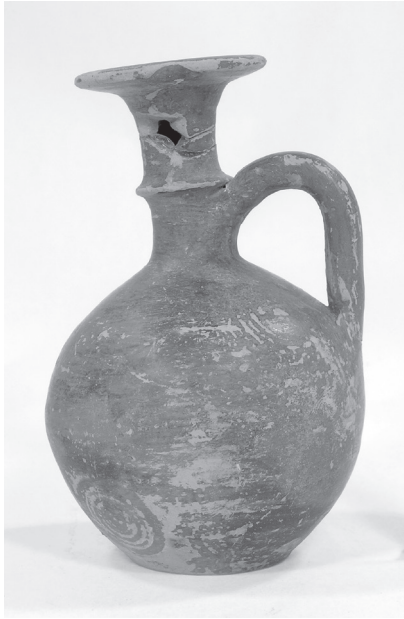


Fig. 22. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11742, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LVI (414) Tsambico South: local lekythos in BoR, h. 0,10 m (LG II)
(Photo: M. D'Acunto).



Fig. 23. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11629, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb CIII (388) Tsambico South: skyphos in BoR, h. 0,048 m (LG I)
(Photo: M. D'Acunto).

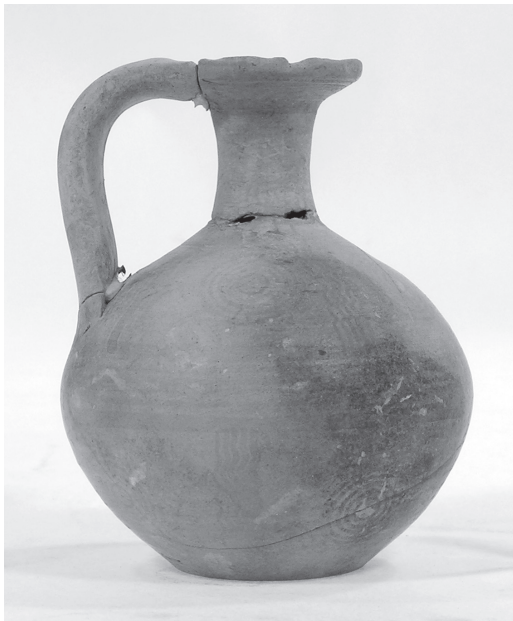


Fig. 24. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11860, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LXII (444) Tsambico South: aryballos in Spaghetti Style, h. 0,071 m (LG II)
(Photo: M. D'Acunto).



Fig. 25. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11725, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LIII (406) Tsambico South: Euboian krater, h. 0,253 m (720-700 BC)
(Photo: M. D'Acunto).



Fig. 26. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11642, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb L (390) Tsambico South: bird kotyle, h. 0,094 m (end of MG II) (Photo: M. D'Acunto).



Fig. 27. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11856, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LXII (444) Tsambico South: bird kotyle, h. 0,11 m (LG II) (Photo: M. D'Acunto).



Fig. 28. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 11833, from the necropolis of Ialysos, Tomb LIX (436) Tsambico South: bird kotyle, h. 0,116 m (LG II context) (Photo: M. D'Acunto).

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