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Excavation and documentation of the Rhodian countryside and Dodecanese islands in the first millennium BC

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This contribution offers an overview of recent fieldwork and museum-based projects focused on the Rhodian countryside and Dodecanese islands. The excavations conducted by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese over the past two decades, paired with the study of Rhodian collections in the Louvre and British Museum, among other museums, have developed and promoted the archaeological record of the region. The Kymissala Archaeological Research Project led by the University of the Aegean and a collaborative doctoral project investigating the British Museum's collections from Kamiros each demonstrate the potential of revisiting historic excavations through topographical surveys and archival documentation.

Over 30 years have passed since the publication of *Archaeology in the Dodecanese* by the National Museum of Denmark in 1988 (Dietz and Papachristodoulou 1988). Since then there have been many publications on the archaeology of the Hellenistic cities of Rhodes and Kos, yet the archaeology of the Rhodian countryside and other Dodecanese islands has remained comparably less visible (publications on Hellenistic Rhodes and Kos include Gabrielsen 1997; 1999; Kypraiou and Zaphiropoulou 1999; Buraselis 2001; Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004; Zimmer and Bairami 2008; Machaira 2011; Patsiada 2013a; Badoud 2015; Vedder 2015; Bairami 2017; Katsioti 2017; Boyxen 2018). This pattern is now changing, however, due to new excavations and museum-based projects that are improving our understanding of the region, its history and early exploration.

This article summarizes recent research activities focused on the Rhodian countryside and the Dodecanese islands. The projects discussed relate to finds dating to the first millennium BC. The first part discusses recent fieldwork, with a focus on the *Kymissala Archaeological Research Project (KARP)*. The second part discusses archival and archaeometry projects conducted in European museums on Rhodian collections, with a focus on my collaborative doctoral project on the British Museum's Archaic and Classical collections from Kamiros. The outcomes of these projects have enriched the archaeological record of the Dodecanese beyond the Hellenistic cities of Rhodes and Kos. Before summarizing the results of recent projects, it is necessary to explain the relative obscurity of the Rhodian countryside and Dodecanese islands in earlier archaeological scholarship. There are two major challenges facing modern researchers studying the region: the circumstances of antiquarian excavations of the 19th century and the colonial motivations behind the campaigns of Italian archaeologists in the early 20th century (D'Acunto 2014; Villing 2019).

The majority of Rhodian antiquities now in museums across Europe were excavated in the 19th century, prior to the development of modern archaeological techniques. Rhodes and the Dodecanese became a major focus of antiquarian attention in the second half of the 19th century at a time when the region was still part of the Ottoman Empire (Gunning 2009: 101–31). Travellers, scholars and excavators, such as Elias Arapides, Felix Von Luschan and Karol Lanckoroński, visited these islands and acquired antiquities for both private collections and museums (Szemethy and Zhuber-Okrog 2016; Monaco 2019).

The extensive campaigns of the British Vice-Consul Alfred Biliotti and French photographer and artist Auguste Salzmann at Kamiros between 1859 and 1864 yielded only a few summary articles and a book of 60 lithographic plates that was produced shortly after Salzmann died in 1872, aged 47 (Salzmann 1861; 1863; 1867; 1875). The lack of publications by Biliotti himself may be explained by his continued work for the British Consular Service, which left little time to prepare excavation reports between his diplomatic commitments (Barchard 2006). It was only in 1881 that his nephew, Edouard Biliotti, along with Abbé

Cottret, published a selection of his descriptions of grave forms at Kamiros (Biliotti and Cottret 1881: 405–10). In addition, clandestine operations are known to have been carried out by the local inhabitants of Rhodes, especially on the island's western coast – around Fanes, Kamiros and Kymissala (Villing 2019: 72–78). The finds from these early activities often made their way into museum collections with little or no publication plans for the excavations themselves. Some of Europe's most renowned museums, including the British Museum and the Louvre, have extensive holdings of antiquities from Rhodes and the Dodecanese, yet these have remained largely unstudied since their acquisition.

A second reason for the relative obscurity of Rhodes and the Dodecanese in archaeological studies is the nature of the publications of the Italian excavations – *Clara Rhodos* – in the 1920s and 1930s. The principal shortcomings of this journal series lie with the underlying motivation for publication, which was political, specifically fascist, rather than academic. This is made clear in the common abbreviation for the Italian historical and archaeological institute in the Dodecanese and the Orient: FERT, short for *Fortitudo eius Rhodum tenuit* ('His strength conquered Rhodes'), refers to Italy's military and political power in the south-eastern Aegean (Livadiotti 1996: 7). Guilo Jacopi, who led the Italian excavations from 1924 to 1934, did not seek to conceal this political programme but, on the contrary, actively promoted it (Jacopi 1932–1933: 5):

Pubblico questo vario e complesso materiale con quella sollecitudine che comportano i tempi e l'abito fascista. L'archeologo militante deve infatti provvedere all'esposizione chiara e obiettiva dei fatti, conferendo loro una fisionomia ordinata e organica. Egli non può, se non sacrificando la tempestività dell'opera, attardarsi in lunghe e macchinose elaborazioni, alle quali attenderà poi una schiera di specialisti.

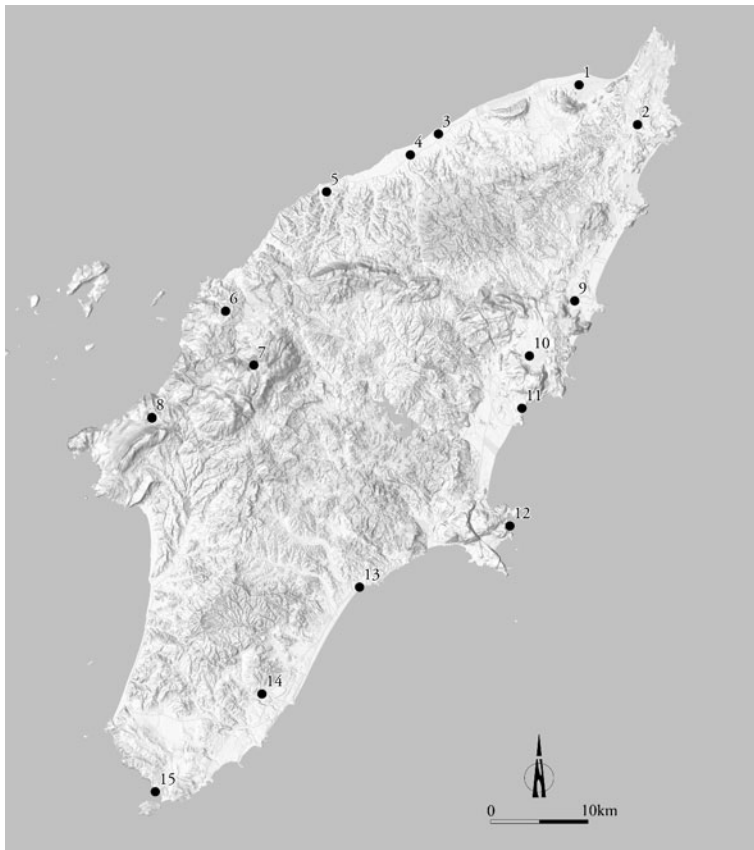
I publish this varied and complex material with the solicitude that the times and the fascist habit entail. Indeed, the militant archaeologist must provide clear and objective exposition of the facts, giving them an ordered and organic appearance. He cannot, except by sacrificing the timeliness of the work, linger in long and cumbersome elaborations, to which a group of specialists will then attend.

The campaigns at Ialysos and Kamiros and their related publications should therefore be seen as part of Italy's 'moral possession' of Rhodes, which also involved architectural commissions, the urban reorganization of Rhodes town and the restoration of Medieval buildings, notably the Palace of the Grand Master. These projects were intended to affect a sense of continuity between the island's occupation by the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem and the contemporary Italian occupation, linking the latter's fascist regime with a glorious chivalric past (Beschi 1986: 117–18). The extensive reconstruction of the temple of Athena at Lindos between 1936 and 1938 is a good example of how Italian archaeology was specifically employed to this end (Giannikouri *et al.* 2019).

As part of this propaganda programme, the Italian Ministry of Education periodically audited the activities of FERT, forcing its archaeologists to publish the outcomes of their excavations as quickly as possible. The result of this pressure is visible in the abundance of publications produced in the 1920s and 1930s, including ten volumes of *Clara Rhodos* (Beschi 1986: 118; see the *Clara Rhodos* volumes: Maiuri and Jacopi 1928; Jacopi 1929; 1931a; 1931b; 1932; 1932–1933; Maiuri 1932; Laurenzi 1935–1936; 1936; 1938). Paired with the lack of publications from Anglo-French excavations, an accurate understanding of the Rhodian countryside and Dodecanese islands has been limited by the antiquarian and colonial incentives that oversaw its excavation in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Excavation in the Rhodian countryside (Map 7)

The Italian occupation of Rhodes lasted from 1912 to 1945 and was followed by two years of British administration before the island became part of Greece in 1947, with Ioannis Kondis appointed the first Ephor of Antiquities. Since then, various rescue excavations have been conducted on Rhodes by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese. Many of these between 1970 and 1990 were occasioned by the expansion of the modern town of Rhodes (Patsiada 2013a: 349). This section summarizes the rescue excavations beyond Rhodes town from 2000 onwards. Some of these have enhanced our knowledge of sites with long histories of excavation, while others have revealed settlements and installations that were previously unknown.



Map 7. Sites referred to in the text. 1. Ialysos; 2. Koskinou; 3. Theologos; 4. Soroni; 5. Kamiros; 6. Embona; 7. Mount Atavyrios; 8. Kymissala; 9. Kolympia; 10. Archangelos; 11. Hagia Agathi Malonas; 12. Lindos; 13. Kiotari; 14. Lachania; 15. Vroulia. © BSA.

Beginning with recent fieldwork at localities explored during British, Italian and Danish campaigns, within the area in and around **Ialysos** at Ixia, Perdikaki Street and Ierou Lochou Street have been the focus of rescue excavations that have exposed Mycenaean chamber tombs and settlement remains (site examples: **ID5873**, **ID3369**, **ID3372**). The settlement of **Kamiros** underwent a programme of enhancement following a destructive fire on the surrounding hillsides in 2008 (**ID6695**). A five-year programme, carried out in 2011–2015, uncovered more remains of the already extensive ancient settlement and raised questions about the relationship between the Hellenistic city and its neighbouring cemeteries. The nearby Papatislures hillside, which was used as a cemetery from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period and was first excavated by Biliotti and Salzmann and later revisited by Italian archaeologists, appears to have been terraced in a manner not unlike the cemeteries of Hellenistic Rhodes town (Patsiada 2013b).

The preliminary results of an ongoing project investigating the ritual and architectural significance of the sanctuary of Zeus Atavyrios on **Mount Atavyrios** reveal evidence of a metal workshop in the area. Material remains include workshop waste of bronze cast figurines found in votive deposits dating from the Archaic period to Hellenistic times (Triantafyllidis 2017).

A major reconstruction and enhancement project at the sanctuary of Athena at **Lindos** took place between 2006 and 2009 (Giannikouri *et al.* 2019). The work related to the monuments, which were previously rebuilt during the Italian occupation, included identifying small monuments and inscriptions that were scattered across the Lindian acropolis. The site has since been converted into an in-situ ‘museum’ of epigraphy and monumental architecture. Nearby rescue excavations in the village of Psartos have uncovered parts of the Hellenistic and Early Roman quarries of Lindos (**ID3379**).

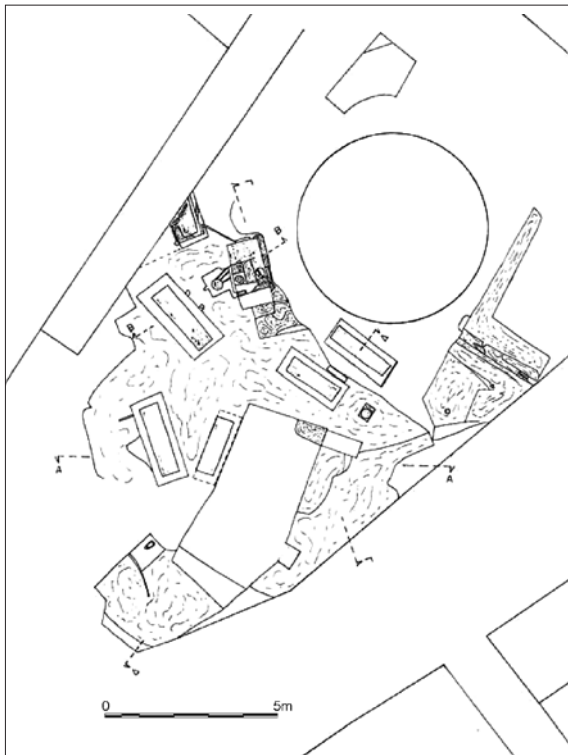
At the southern tip of Rhodes, the Archaic settlement of **Vroulia**, excavated in 1907–1908 by Karl Frederick Kinch, underwent a programme of restoration and enhancement between 2011 and 2015. This included the restoration of cult places, such as the sanctuary known as ‘la chapelle’. Remains of a gate to

the settlement were revealed; this suggests that it was possible for visitors to enter the settlement through one gate and leave via another. The site was inhabited between 700 and 575 BC, and is believed to have been an important stopover within the maritime trade network of Rhodes (Kaninia 2019).

All the sites noted above, apart from Vroulia, have yielded evidence for continued use from the Bronze Age through to the Hellenistic period. In contrast, most of the sites that have recently been identified by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese date exclusively to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. One reason for this contrast may be the fixation of early explorers with excavating the three historic Rhodian cities – Kamiros, Ialysos and Lindos – that are mentioned in ancient literary sources. For example, Biliotti's correspondence with the British Museum reflects a keen interest in locating the original cities referenced in 'the testimony of ancient authors, and by fact of which [are] worthy of notice' (*Original Letters*, 27 June 1859). Many of the settlements established after the island's synoecism in 408 BC, and therefore not mentioned by Homer and Herodotus, have consequently been explored through modern surveys and rescue excavations.

Turning to fieldwork at sites recently identified on the western coast of Rhodes, rescue excavations conducted in 2001 on the Bardou-Psyllaki plot in the northeastern area of the village of **Koskinou** have revealed seven cist graves sealed with slabs on which amphorae had been placed (**Fig. 164; ID3376**). Grave goods include pyxides, lekythoi and phialae dating to the first half of the fourth century BC, along with iron strigils, silver and bronze coinage, a bronze mirror and a spatula. Inside tomb 4, a gold diadem decorated with three *gorgoneia* was found placed over the head of the deceased. A child's tomb included a terracotta figure and an Attic black-glazed feeder. In addition, there were two loculi tombs – one rectangular and the other circular – and four *thékès* – two of which were dug into the ground and two bricked.

Excavations and enhancements of the temple of Apollo Erethimios at **Theologos** were carried out between 2007–2013 and 2011–2015 (**Fig. 165; ID1323**). A major aim of this project was to unearth the P- or H-shaped stoa dating to the Late Hellenistic period (Triantafyllidis and Sarantidis 2013). This monumental building surrounded the temple on three sides, defining the temenos of the sanctuary. An *enchytrismos* burial in a small pithos was also found; it contained the bones of a child and grave goods



164. Koskinou: plan of remains excavated at the Bardou-Psyllaki plot. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: Archaeological Resources Fund/Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese.



165. Theologos: the stoa from the northwest, Sanctuary of Apollo Erethimios. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese.



166. *Kolympia: western part of the excavation.* © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese.

dating to the first century BC. A masonry pipeline was also uncovered (Triantafyllidis and Sarantidis 2015). Dedications of small stone sculptures and metal votive offerings, such as bronze strainers, were found in the vicinity of the temple (Bairami 2015; Triantafyllidis 2015). A large number of stamped amphora handles, predominantly Rhodian, were discovered in the eastern wing of the stoa (Palamida and Seroglou 2015). The temple, its stoa and the finds associated with this complex together suggest that it was an important Pan-Rhodian sanctuary. Nearby, at **Soroni**, a fragment of a Doric cornice with traces of pigment and paint was found during works on the town hall (**ID606**).

Further down the western coast, between the villages of **Kritinia** and **Embona**, several rescue excavations have been occasioned by the construction of a dam. A small cemetery and a farmstead dating to the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods were discovered west of the Liranos river in 1999 and further explored in 2001 (**ID607**). Four funerary urns and four graves were found, one of which contained several bodies. The peribolos wall of the cemetery was also identified. To the southeast of the cemetery, the remains of a north-south orientated room (1.8m × 1.1m) included stamped tiles and black- and red-glazed ceramics (**ID3381**). Further objects found in this complex include fragments of amphorae, bowls with stamped decoration, fragments of glass and 21 bronze coins. The presence of four pithoi, millstones and scrapers together suggest that the complex was used for agricultural purposes. Subsequent excavations carried out in 2008 on the road between Avlona and Simantiria detected the remains of a further installation, presumed to be a sanctuary (**ID5856**). Several walls built of local grey limestone have been uncovered, along with numerous stone architectural elements including stelae, statues and columns, as well as an oil-press counterweight. Classical, Hellenistic and Roman pottery sherds were recovered from across the site.

Turning to the eastern coast of Rhodes, the region of Archangelos has been the focus of several recent projects. Rescue excavations at the Ambeliotis property in the village of **Kolympia**, begun in 2007–2008, uncovered the remains of a rural settlement occupied from the Hellenistic through to the Proto-Byzantine period (**Fig. 166; ID5593, ID6415**). The walls delimiting three orthogonal rooms were



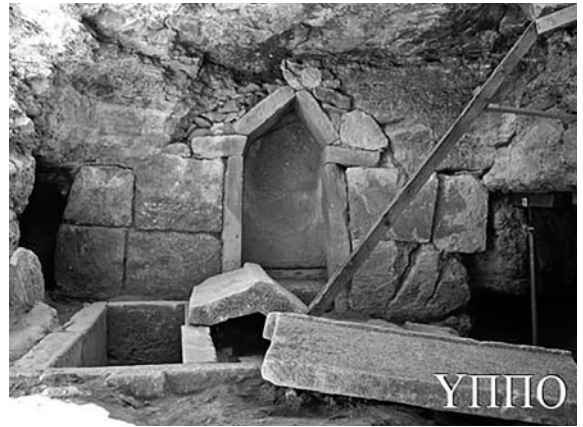
167. Lindos, Pitsilovouno: remains of a Hellenistic farm. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese.

found, along with a basin or cistern with walls covered with hydraulic mortar, the remains of a potter's kiln and a large quantity of ceramic material: sherds of storage vessels and smaller vases, tiles, stamped amphora handles and lumps of raw clay. Near **Archangelos**, at Stassousa-Sténi, rescue excavations carried out between 2008 and 2009 brought to light a rectangular building (**ID5877**). The structure's interior was strewn with Hellenistic pottery, including sherds of stamped amphorae, red- and black-glazed pottery, plates, phialae, jugs, unguentaria and oil lamps. Remains of a Hellenistic oil press were found nearby.

Rescue excavations conducted at Malona between 2008 and 2009 have unearthed a cave (37m in length) with an interior covered with rectangular and round cavities thought to be looted tombs or openings intended for torches. Finds from the cave of **Hagia Agathi Malonas** include ceramics dating from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity, oil lamps made around the first century BC, animal bones and part of a marble altar probably from the Late Hellenistic period (**ID5879**). A cemetery has been identified in the northern part of the Gulf of Hagia Agathi; this mainly comprises Late Helladic IIIC/Sub-Mycenaean rock-cut chamber tombs, often containing infants and children, as well as a single burial dating to the Hellenistic period (**ID5594**; Zervaki 2011; 2014).

Further rescue excavations on the **Pitsilovouno Hill** near Lindos have revealed the remains of a farm occupying approximately 650 m² (**Fig. 167**; **ID5597**). The complex includes living areas, a semi-covered space and two courtyards, as well as production facilities for wine and oil. The latter occupied three rooms in the southwestern part of the building. The excavation yielded plain and fine-ware ceramics, gold jewellery and bronze coins dating from the second half of the fourth to the second century BC. A single grave dating to the late fourth century BC was also discovered next to the farm; this is presumed to relate to the first phase of its occupation.

Further south on the eastern coast, a field survey around the village of **Kiotari**, begun in 2007 and followed by excavations in 2008–2009, revealed a Hellenistic building of unknown purpose, along with significant remains of a Byzantine church (**ID5596**, **ID5882**). Rescue excavations at **Lachania** conducted in the Avramidou field in 2005, prior to the installation of a pipeline, yielded a subterranean tomb complex with an orthogonal plan (3.7m × 3.1m) (**Fig. 168**; **ID4817**). Partially cut into the rock, the complex housed a total of seven loculi: two on the northern side, two on the western side and three on the southern side. All the tombs had been looted. The ceramics collected, including amphorae, date the complex to between the late fifth century and the first quarter of the fourth century BC.



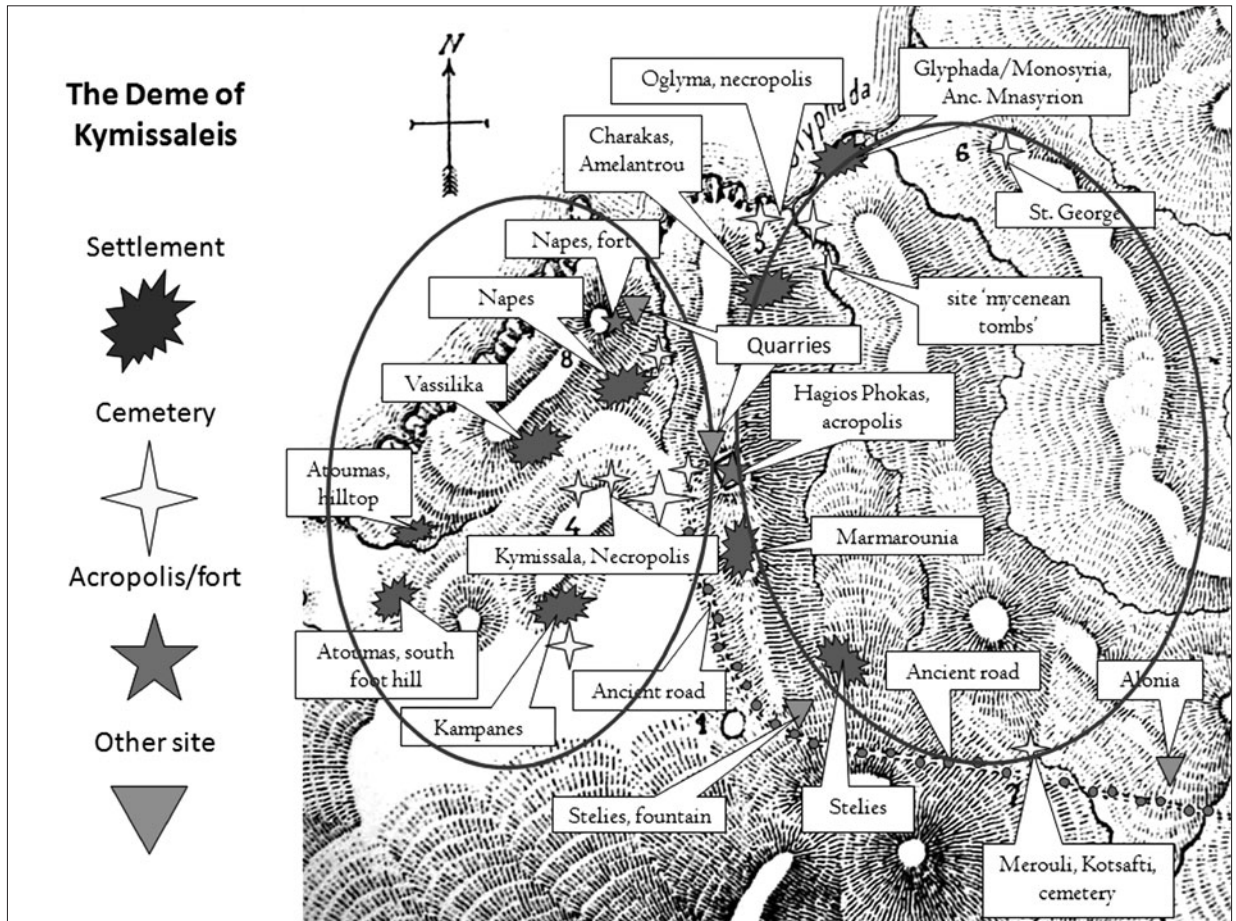
168. *Lachania: Late Classical subterranean tomb complex.* © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese.

The Kymissala Archaeological Research Project

Since 2006 the Department of Mediterranean Studies at the University of the Aegean and the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese have collaborated on a substantial fieldwork project at **Kymissala**, located on the southwestern coast of Rhodes – facing the nearby islands of Chalke and Alimia (**ID5410**, **ID5592**, **ID5858**, **ID5876**, **ID6417**, **ID6824**, **ID6696**). The area is known to have been a focus of attention for antiquarians in the 19th century. Albert Biliotti and Captain Coulson are reported to have excavated over 500 tombs at this site between 1880 and 1883 (Albert superintended the excavations on behalf of his brother Alfred, who was promoted to Consul at Trebizond in 1880). The vast majority of the finds from these excavations were eventually sold at Sotheby's in London in 1885, leading to their dispersal across several major European museums and beyond (Smith 1884; 1885; Furtwängler 1886; Villing 2019: 86–88).

The aims of the *Kymissala Archaeological Research Project (KARP)* are to clarify the topographical limits of the ancient deme of Kymissaleis and to chart its chronological development from the seventh century BC to Late Antiquity. A 2017 volume edited by Manolis Stefanakis (*Kymissala: Archaeology – Education – Sustainability*) details the accomplishments of the project over the previous decade (Stefanakis 2017; see also Stefanakis *et al.* 2015). An area of approximately 13km² has been explored to date, yielding a plethora of archaeological sites and monuments (**Figs 169**, **170**). The focus of these activities has been on two hills north of Mount Akramitis: Kymissala Hill and Hagios Phokas.

The acropolis of Kymissala has been located on Hagios Phokas, the peak of which is strongly fortified and contains the remains of a Hellenistic temple (**Figs 171**, **172**). Around the acropolis, nine archaeological sites of a broadly residential character have been identified. These include Stelies, Marmarounia, Kampanes, Atoumas (southern foothills and hilltop), Vassilika, Napes, Charakas-Amelantrou and Glyphada-Monossyria. The latter site is the only accessible anchorage on the rocky shoreline of the area and is therefore likely to have served as the main port of the deme. The central necropolis of Kymissala extends from the eastern, northern and northwestern slopes of Kymissala Hill – an area that has yielded Archaic and Classical chamber tombs cut into the porous limestone – to the western foot of Hagios Phokas – where Late Classical and Hellenistic chamber tombs predominate, sometimes marked with grey limestone funerary monuments (**Figs 173**, **174**). Several small cemeteries have been identified throughout the wider region of Kymissala. In addition, a quarry from which grey limestone was extracted has been uncovered on the western and northwestern slopes of Hagios Phokas. The remains of an ancient road that passes through the sites of Stelies and Marmarounia, and continues towards the acropolis of Hagios Phokas, has also been identified. The general topography of the region, which forms a large natural basin, therefore played an important role in the spatial development of the deme from the Archaic to Late Antique period.



169. Kymissala: map of archaeological sites. © KARP.



170. Kymissala: aerial view of the west basin of the deme of Kymissaleis from the south. © KARP.



171. Kymissala, Hagios Phokas: temple on the acropolis. © KARP.



173. Kymissala, central necropolis: grave 2/2006. © KARP.



172. Kymissala, Hagios Phokas: central part of the western defensive wall of the acropolis. © KARP.

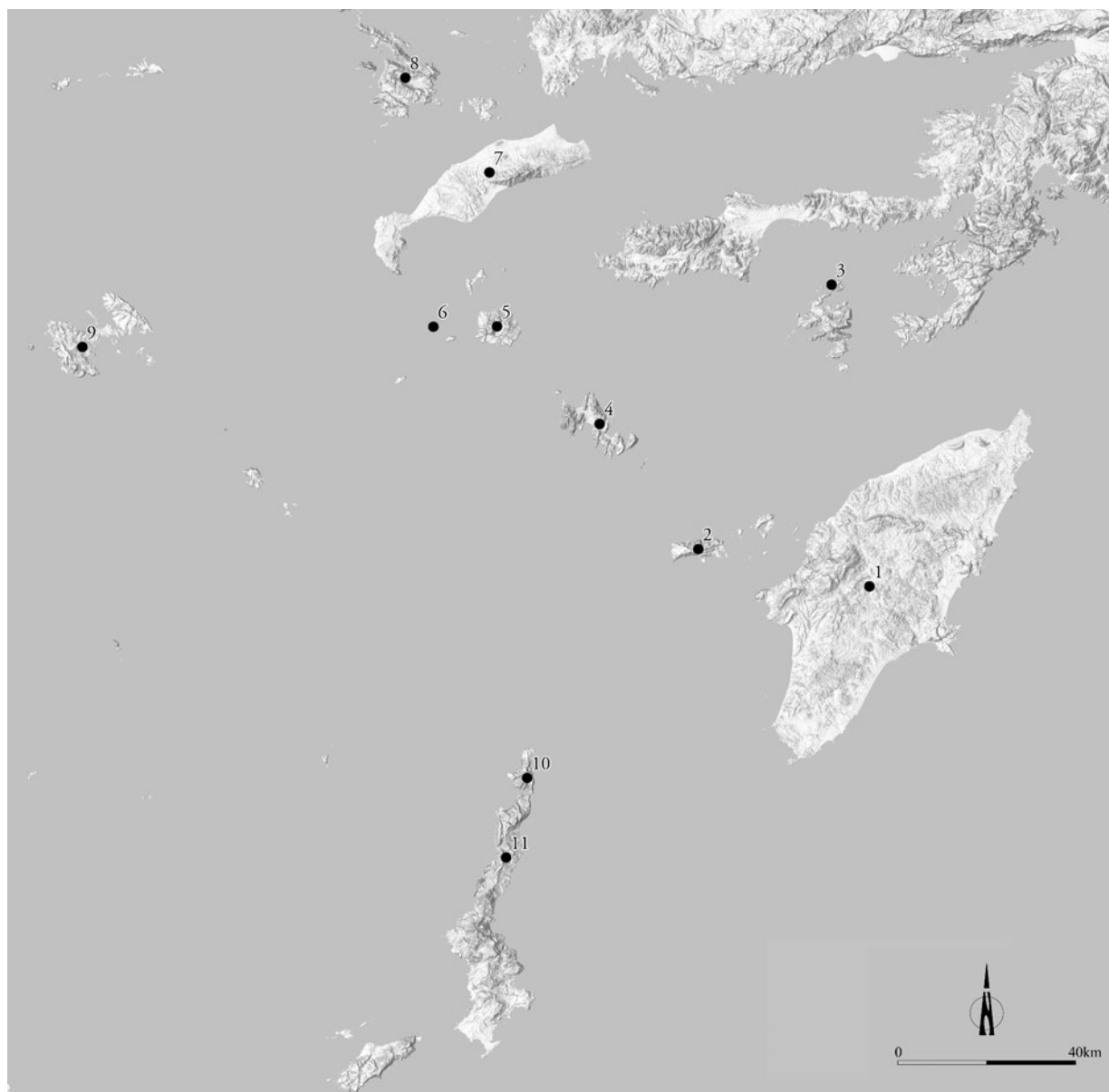


174. Kymissala, central necropolis: pottery from grave 2/2006 (late fourth century BC). © KARP.

Alongside its collaborations with the local communities of Siana and Monolithos, *KARP* provides undergraduate students of the University of the Aegean with on-site archaeological training. The former police station of Monolithos is used to document, conserve and study the excavated finds and houses a basic library for participants in the project. The ultimate goal of *KARP* over the coming years is to promote the historical and educational value of the area, which is a protected natural environment.

Excavation in the Dodecanese islands (Map 8)

Archaeological projects across the Dodecanese include rescue excavations, restoration and enhancement programmes, and the opening of archaeological museums to house old and new finds (Triantafyllidis and Birtacha 2013). Beginning with islands in the vicinity of Rhodes, the small islet of **Nymos** north of Symi was surveyed in 2000 (**ID1336**). As a consequence, a complex of 20 rooms with arched architectural elements was uncovered and identified by its excavators as a military structure belonging to the Hellenistic defensive system of the Rhodian state. Rescue excavations at Megalo Chorio on **Tilos** in 2010 – at the Oikonomou property – unearthed a burial in a previously explored underground portico (**ID6424**). Five tombs, each with their own entrance closed by monolithic slabs, have been found at this site since excavations began in 1968. The most recent grave contained a set of gold jewellery dating to the late third or early second century BC.



Map 8. Dodecanese islands referred to in the text. 1. Rhodes; 2. Chalke; 3. Nymos; 4. Tilos; 5. Nisyros; 6. Pergousa; 7. Kos; 8. Kalymnos; 9. Astypalaia; 10. Saria; 11. Karpathos. © BSA.

Following the production of a topographic plan of the ancient fortifications of **Nisyros** in 1999, a major programme of enhancement of the pseudo-isodomic structure was carried out between 2002 and 2009 (**ID4754**; Filimonos-Tsopotou and Apostolou 2010). Its southern part is 230m in length, while 80m of the eastern part is also preserved. It is reinforced by six towers spaced at intervals ranging from 24m to 34m. During this work, an inscription dating to the fourth century BC was found, along with the original threshold of the ancient city. The remains of cremation deposits in pits and *enchytrismos* burials in pithoi and amphorae, dating from the sixth to the fourth century BC, were uncovered near the entrance to the site (**Fig. 175**). West of Nisyros, two pseudo-isodomic towers have been identified on the islet of **Pergousa** (**ID3739**). South of the western tower, several walls were also found that may have belonged to a courtyard and ancillary buildings. The cistern, stone millstone and large quantities of Hellenistic plainware ceramics discovered here suggest that the tower formed part of the wider defensive system of Nisyros.

In the region of Psalidi on **Kos** the remains of an Archaic temple have been uncovered. An initial excavation in 1999 had uncovered a burnt layer, which included animal bones and terracotta figures of horses and oxen (**ID574**). Subsequent surveys carried out in 2004 revealed large quantities of metal votives, including bronze fibulae, and more animal bone bones and terracotta figures (**ID3714**). Mycenaean and Geometric pottery and the terracotta figures suggest the area was used for cult purposes from the Late Bronze Age through to the Archaic period. Elsewhere in the Koan countryside, rescue excavations at Zipari, Linopotis and Katsamba have uncovered remains of Geometric, Classical and Hellenistic cemeteries (**ID6702**, **ID6699**, **ID3715**).

Excavations at Limniotissa between Chora and Panormos on **Kalymnos** in 2002 led to the discovery of fragments of Hellenistic stone statues near the sanctuary of Apollo Dalios (**ID3717**). Fragments of statues of Apollo, some other deities and children, as well as fragments of colossal statues, including the head and feet of Asclepius, were found inside an elongated cavity that had been carved into the rock (20m long × 0.41–0.73m wide × 1.9–2.16m deep; **Fig. 176**). In addition, a fragment of an Archaic kouros was found. These remains of a sculpture workshop are evidence of a well-organized and sumptuous sculpture culture that existed on Kalymnos. A bronze equestrian statue dating to the late second century BC was discovered in 2009 in the sea between the small island of Nera and Kephala on Kos (**ID857**). Elsewhere on Kalymnos, rescue excavations in the area of Panormos have yielded four graves dating to the fourth and third centuries BC (**ID3718**), while fieldwork at Damnos and Argos has revealed Hellenistic and Roman architectural complexes (**ID3721**, **ID3719**).

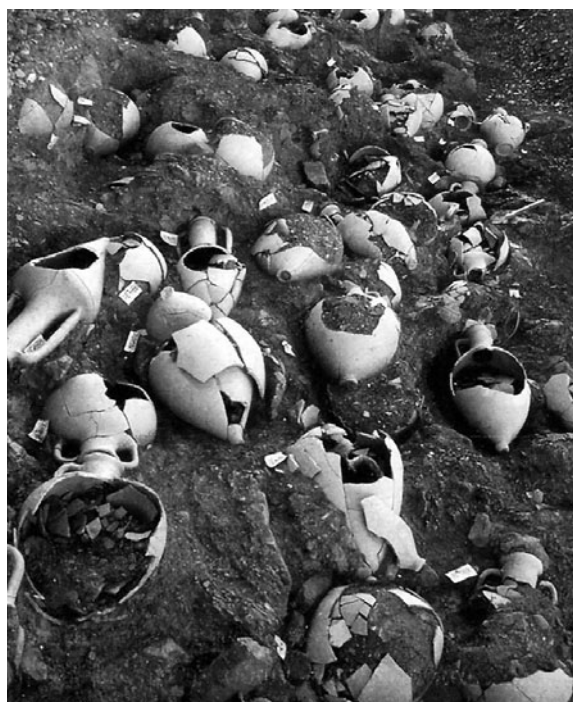
The excavation of the Kyindra necropolis of infants on the island of **Astypalaia** has been a continuous focus of attention in recent years. In one season alone, over 2,300 *enchytrismos* burials in amphorae, hydriae and other vessels were uncovered (**Fig. 177**; **ID3727**). Most of these burials are dated to between the Archaic and Hellenistic periods. They are typically packed in a very tight multilayered arrangement. The chronological development of the necropolis can be traced from the top to the bottom of a slope: the upper part (Phoibos-Kominea site) includes the oldest Archaic burials, while at the bottom (Stavrianou



175. Nisyros: enchytrismos burial near the fortification walls. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese.



176. Kalymnos: fragments of stone sculpture near the sanctuary of Apollo Dalios. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese.



177. *Astypalaia: the Kylindra necropolis (Phoibos-Kominea site) from the north.* © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports: Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese.

site) are the Hellenistic burials. The nearby Katsalos cemetery has produced burials of all ages dating from the Late Geometric to Roman times (**ID6706**; Clement *et al.* 2009). On the northern part of the island, remains of a Hellenistic settlement have been found on a hill overlooking Vathy Bay, including a retaining wall and tower (**ID682**, **ID2691**; Vlachopoulos and Matthaïou 2010–2013). More recent fieldwork in the Vathy region has revealed remains of an earlier settlement dating to the Early Cycladic period (**ID4703**).

In the southern Dodecanese, a survey conducted in 2002 of the islet of **Saria**, north of Karpathos, led to the identification of several Hellenistic structures on Castello Hill (**ID3738**). Among these are three underground cisterns and a bastion, along with two tombs on the northwestern slope of the hill. More recently, fieldwork at Aphiartis to the south of **Karpathos**, carried out by the University of Thrace, yielded remains of a Hellenistic and Roman architectural complex composed of five rooms, which has been interpreted as a farmstead (**ID6189**). Neolithic and Minoan ceramics were also recorded.

Archives and archaeometry in European museums

Over the course of the last two decades, as fieldwork in the Rhodian countryside and Dodecanese islands has revealed significant finds, there has also been a growing research focus on this region by European museums. An important catalyst for such projects was the exhibition *Rhodes: une île grecque aux portes de l'Orient*, curated by Anne Coulié and Melina Filimonos-Tsopotou, which took place at the Louvre in Paris in 2014 and later toured to the Rhodes Archaeological Museum in 2015 (Coulié and Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014; Coulié *et al.* 2015; see also Stampolidis *et al.* 2011). The exhibition explored Rhodes' maritime connectivity from the 15th to the fifth century BC and gathered together objects from the British Museum, the Copenhagen National Museum, the Rhodes Archaeological Museum and the Louvre's own collections. Research into the history of excavation on the island formed a major component of the project, especially the charting of the chronology and topography of Biliotti and Salzmänn's campaigns at Kamiros from 1859 to 1864 and Biliotti's later excavations at Ialysos in 1870–1871 (Coulié 2014; see also Gordon 2013: 62–67 on His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales' visit to Kamiros). In addition, the results of scientific analyses attempting to distinguish between locally made and imported goods across a range of materials, including pottery, faience and gold jewellery, informed the displays of the exhibition and are presented in the catalogue (Blet-Lemarquand *et al.* 2014; Coulié and Villing 2014; Pierrat-Bonnefois *et al.* 2014). These two strands of the exhibition – drawing upon archival and scientific research – have since formed the focus of research on Rhodian collections held in European museums.

One of the most visible outputs from these activities has been the volume *Documenting Ancient Rhodes: Archaeological Expeditions and Rhodian Antiquities* (Schierup 2019a) – the proceedings of an international conference held at the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen in 2017. The aim of this event was to discuss current developments in the scholarly field of ancient Rhodes, with an emphasis on research projects dealing with the documentation and finds resulting from work carried out by British, French, Danish and Italian archaeologists. The proceedings highlight the complex distribution of Rhodian finds across a number of European museums; this is not only a result of auctions and sales but also of the complex history of the exploration and exploitation of the island's archaeology. Charles Newton's inves-

tigations of Rhodes, while he was Acting British Consul of Rhodes (1853–1854), led to some of the earliest Rhodian acquisitions by the British Museum and a continued personal interest in the island’s archaeology. Newton’s favourite villages for acquiring antiquities were Fanes and Kalavarda near Kamiros (Villing 2019). Once he was appointed Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum in 1860, Newton used his position to ensure that Biliotti and Salzmänn’s excavations continued at Kamiros until 1864 (Salmon 2019: 99).

Several contributions to *Documenting Ancient Rhodes* discuss the results of early 20th-century Italian fieldwork prior to that published in *Clara Rhodos*. One reviews Gia Giacomo Porro’s survey of Symi, Kos and Rhodes in 1912–1913, which uncovered many finds – including 600 Rhodian amphora stamps – that were dispersed to the National Roman Museum, the Luigi Pigorini National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography in Rome and the National Archaeological Museum in Florence (di Rosa 2019). The latter also received more than 150 antiquities from Kamiros between 1903 and 1905, courtesy of Elias Arapides, Director of the Eastern Telegraph Company, who played a key role in organizing clandestine excavations on Rhodes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Monaco 2019). A further antiquities collection, from the necropolis of Xipei and Andramassos on the island of Chalke, was sent to Florence by Porro and Giuseppe Gerola, another surveyor working for the Italian government (Iozzo 2019).

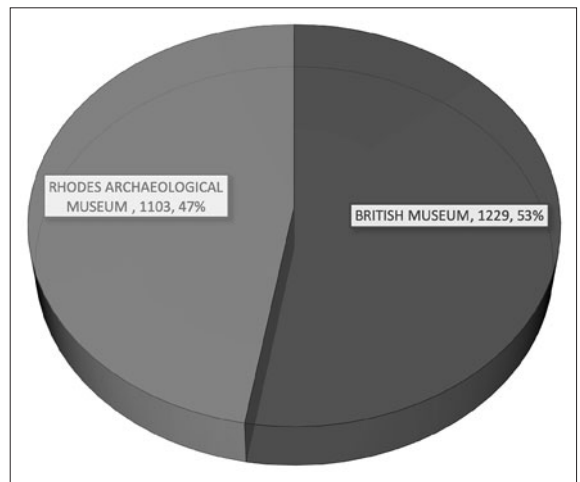
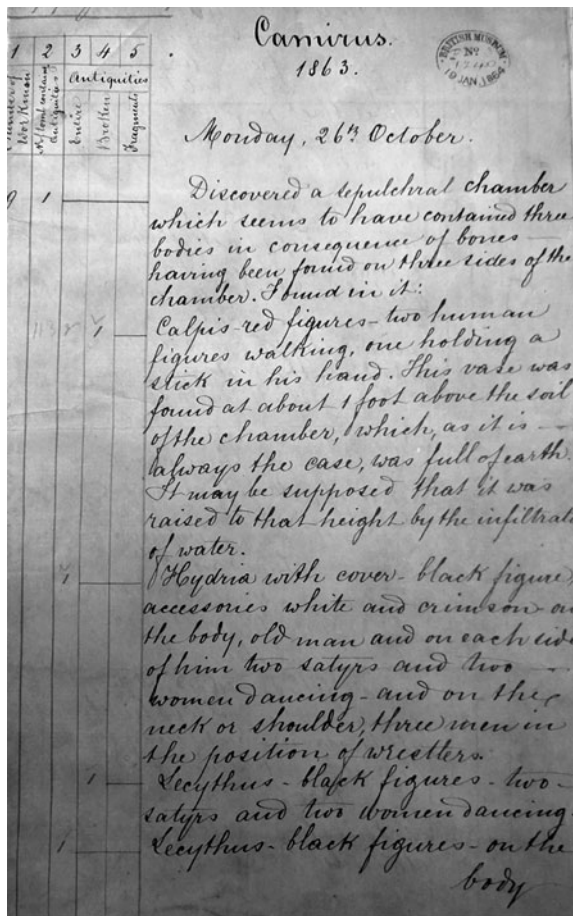
The Danish expeditions led by Karl Frederik Kinch and Christian Blinkenberg in southern Rhodes between 1902 and 1914 are also discussed in the volume, along with the excavation of Exochi by Knud Friis Johansen in 1957 (Schierup 2019b; Göransson 2019; Bourogiannis 2019). These are complemented by discussions of contemporary archaeological projects on Rhodes, accounts of early explorers to the island and a study of the antiquarian market for Rhodian orientaling jewellery in the 19th century (Giannikouri *et al.* 2019; Kaninia 2019; Mazet 2019; Patsiada 2019).

An ongoing programme of archaeometric analysis of the pottery production of Rhodes, Kos and other ‘East Dorian’ settlements has led to important reassessments of their place within East Greek pottery production (Villing and Mommsen 2017). The results of neutron activation analysis (NAA) of eighth- to sixth-century BC vessels in the British Museum, carried out by Hans Mommsen at the University of Bonn, demonstrate that there was a healthy production of Late Geometric pottery on Rhodes, including pedestalled kraters, two-handled flasks and kantharoi. This picture changes for the seventh century BC, when there was less local production of painted wares and more imports from Phoenicia, Ionia and Corinth. From the end of the seventh century BC, however, it was Corinthian and various East-Greek styles that provided inspiration for local workshops. Significantly, NAA analysis at Bonn and particle-induced X-ray emission analysis of East Dorian plates at the Louvre (Coulié 2015) have confirmed that the Euphorbos plate and other early sixth-century BC ‘East Dorian’ plates were made on Kos. So far it has proved difficult to identify securely a Rhodian faience glaze composition using archaeometric analysis (Meek *et al.* 2016).

A further museum project is Alan Johnston’s study of Hellenistic Rhodian stamped amphora handles at the British Museum. Around 630 examples are now known with certainty to have been collected by Newton on Rhodes; over half come from Fanes and Villanova (modern Paradeisi) (Johnston 2017).

Maritime connectivity of Archaic and Classical Rhodes

My own recently completed collaborative doctoral project at Birkbeck, University of London, and the British Museum assesses the role of maritime connectivity in shaping the material culture of Rhodes during the Archaic and Classical periods. It brings together and evaluates archaeological material from the settlement of Kamiros, now kept at the British Museum and the Rhodes Archaeological Museum, and offers the first comprehensive study of Rhodian material culture in the context of the island’s maritime network, which stretched throughout the Aegean and beyond. In the course of the project, the finds from the pioneering 19th-century excavations of Biliotti and Salzmänn at Kamiros have been linked to their original find-spots using the available archival documentation, including Biliotti’s field diary (**Fig. 178**; Salmon 2019). These finds have not been studied previously in their archaeological contexts, which comprise over 300 grave assemblages and two votive deposits (the finds can now be viewed online at https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx).



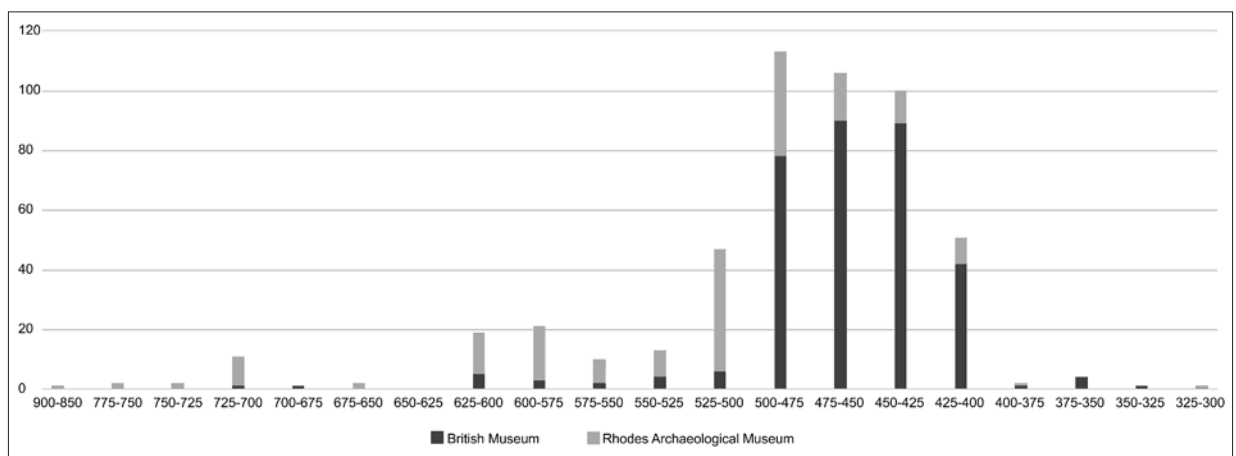
179. Kamiros sample: the proportion of the archaeological material held by each museum. © N. Salmon.

178. Biliotti's diary, Monday 26 October 1864. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The total sample of archaeological material that forms the basis of the study consists of 2,332 objects recovered at Kamiros. Of these, 1,229 (53%) are held in the British Museum and 1,103 (47%) in the Rhodes Archaeological Museum (Fig. 179). These objects have been included in the sample on the basis that they represent known votive or grave contexts, and that their place of production can be established with reasonable confidence using stylistic or archaeometric analysis. Most of them come from grave contexts (1,810 objects), while the remaining 522 objects are from votive contexts on Kamiros acropolis. The British Museum collection, excavated by Biliotti and Salzmänn, comprises a large portion of the Classical material, especially that dated between 500–475 BC and 425–400 BC, while the collection from the Rhodes Archaeological Museum, recovered during Italian excavations, includes much of the material dated prior to 500 BC. The two collections are complementary in terms of their chronological and geographical coverage, as is best demonstrated by the grave material held in each museum (Fig. 180).

The finds held in the British Museum and the Rhodes Archaeological Museum provide an extensive body of data from which to profile how consumption of material culture evolved over time, including the nature and ratio of locally produced objects *vis-à-vis* those imported to the island. The following table (Fig. 181) records the numbers of imported and locally produced objects excavated at Kamiros (dated from 800–775 BC to 325–300 BC) by place of production. After 700 BC, Kamiros seems to have imported material from various parts of the Aegean and beyond, including faience amulets and vessels from Egypt, limestone statues from Cyprus, sporadic bronze statuettes from Samos, Assyria and Phrygia, and pottery from Miletos and elsewhere in Ionia, Kos, Knidos, Corinth and Laconia, among other areas. After 500 BC, however, Attic pottery became the dominant imported ceramic. Significantly, there is a consistent and relatively copious level of local production on Rhodes throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. Rhodian production accounts for a total of 680 objects, which is 29% of the sample from Kamiros.

On the basis of the origins of imports to Rhodes, the distribution of ceramic goods made on the island and similarities in terms of material culture between islands, the following connections between Rhodes and other Aegean islands can be traced. Crete displays wide cultural affinities with Rhodes, especially Kamiros, through the making of stamped and straight-sided pithoi as well as mythological connections. Karpathos imported Rhodian *epinetra* (425–375 BC) and is known to have later operated a system of *ktoinai* – public units of a territorially defined character that existed before the island’s synoecism in 408 BC. Chalke, as part of the Kamirian *ktoinai*, imported Rhodian stamnoid pyxides (after 470–450 BC) and Rhodian terracotta protomes (510–480 BC). Tilos imported Rhodian stamnoid pyxides. Nisyros possibly exported segment plates to Rhodes (600–575 BC) and imported Rhodian stamnoid pyxides. Kos exported segment plates to Rhodes, which inspired local variations (600–575 BC), and, earlier, made incised hemispherical bowls that are also found on Astypalaia, versions of which were produced on Rhodes (725–675 BC).



180. Kamiros sample: the quantities of grave materials held by each museum according to date (BC). © N. Salmon.

ORIGIN	DATE (BC)																			
	800-775	775-750	750-725	725-700	700-675	675-650	650-625	625-600	600-575	575-550	550-525	525-500	500-475	475-450	450-425	425-400	400-375	375-350	350-325	325-300
Rhodes	10	4	12	40	105	99	26	56	46	29	15	36	64	78	39	17	2	1	1	
Attica	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	17	111	263	200	87	137	8	8	4	3
Ionia	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	21	-	17	6	8	22	29	-	1	-	-	-	-
Miletos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	6	-	4	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Corinth	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	73	39	51	9	13	5	4	2	-	-	-	-	-
East Greece	-	-	1	-	6	5	3	10	11	6	8	7	23	33	37	10	3	2	1	1
Levant	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	1	2	3	3	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cyprus	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	31	27	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crete	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Samos	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Knidos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Phrygia	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Egypt	-	-	1	2	21	21	20	21	19	19	19	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assyria	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Laconia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cyclades	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

181. Kamiros sample: the number of pieces according to date and place of production. © N. Salmon.

In all, there appears to have been an insular arc through the Aegean that included Crete, Karpathos, Rhodes, Chalke, Tilos, Nisyros, Kos and Astypalaia. There is further evidence of inter-island connections dating from the Late Bronze Age (Seroglou and Sfakianakis 2015). Rhodes would have been an essential stopover for ships as a centrally located node along this arc. The island operated primarily as an importer of goods from other islands prior to the fifth century BC. During the fifth century and into the early fourth century BC, however, Rhodes' exports to neighbouring islands appear to have increased. Based on their shared material culture, a reframing of the Dodecanese to focus on these seven islands – the insular arc of the eastern Aegean – as the regional context of Rhodes during the Archaic and Classical periods is therefore suggested.

Summary

Fieldwork conducted in the Rhodian countryside and on the Dodecanese islands over the past two decades has uncovered many new archaeological sites, mostly Hellenistic, that have enriched our understanding of the region beyond the cities of Rhodes and Kos. More recently, museum-based projects have complemented this fieldwork by developing our knowledge of Archaic and Classical Rhodian antiquities, focusing on their histories from Antiquity to the Modern era. Other ongoing projects – including a reappraisal of the *Clara Rhodos* publications of Ialysos and Kamiros by Matteo D'Acunto and Isabella Bossolino (Bossolino 2018; D'Acunto forthcoming), the publication of the proceedings of the conference *Cult and Religion in the Dodecanese During the First Millennium BC* held at the University of the Aegean (Stefanakis forthcoming) and Jan Sienkiewicz's investigation of the British Museum's collection of Mycenaean finds from Ialysos (conducted under the AHRC's Collaborative Doctoral Programme as a partnership between the British Museum and the University of Cambridge) – will enhance the picture over the coming years. Such dynamic activity will surely make this region more accessible and comprehensible to researchers and students alike.

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Abbreviation

Original Letters = original correspondence with the Keeper of the Department of Greece and Rome (Department of Greece and Rome Archives, British Museum)

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