

Busy Rhodes

The island of Rhodes and the development of distribution networks in the eastern Aegean.

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Abbreviations

AAA	<i>Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα Εξ Αθηνών.</i>
ΑΔ	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον.</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
Archaeology	<i>Archaeology. A magazine dealing with the antiquity of the world.</i>
ASAtene	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente.</i>
BMCR	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review.</i>
DNP	Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (eds), <i>Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Das klassische Altertum und seine Rezeptionsgeschichte</i> (Stuttgart 1996 - 2003).
FrGH	Felix Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Leiden 1954 – 1964).
Gnomon	<i>Gnomon. Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft.</i>
Ist.Mitt.	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen.</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>
OCD	Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (eds), <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Third edition. Revised.</i> (Oxford 2003).
RE	Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Karl Mittelhaus, Konrat Ziegler and Hans Gärtner (eds), <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung</i> (Stuttgart 1890 – 1980).
SEG	Jacobus J. E. Hondius et al (eds.), <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden and Amsterdam 1923 -).

Introduction

‘The city of the Rhodians, which was strong in sea power and was the best governed city of the Greeks, was a prize eagerly sought after by the dynasts and kings, each of them striving to add her to his alliance.’¹

The Rhodian state was praised by many ancient authors because of its greatness as one of the richest states of the Greek world during the Hellenistic period.² Not only ancient writers were fascinated by Rhodes, it is still an interesting subject for historians of antiquity nowadays. Hellenistic Rhodes was famous because of its maritime power, its flourishing trade and beautiful monuments. Its strategic location in the south-east of the Aegean, at the crossroads between East and West, makes it a very intriguing case in terms of its economic, political and cultural history.

However, in 1984, Richard Berthold wrote that up until then, only two major books about the history of ancient Rhodes had been written. These were Hendrik van Gelder’s *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* (1900) and Hatto Schmitt’s *Rom und Rhodos* (1957). Together with the article about Rhodes in *Pauly-Wissowa* and Berthold’s own monograph *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, these were the only works that gave a historical overview of ancient Rhodes at the time, of which two only dealt with a specific epoch of ancient Rhodes, respectively the Hellenistic period and the period of Roman involvement with Rhodes.³

Since then, no additional historical overview of the island has been published⁴, but this does not mean that little is written about ancient Rhodes in the past decades. The prosperity of Rhodes during the Hellenistic age has received much attention from scholars. There is no lack of studies about the ‘rise and fall’ of the Rhodian republic, its troubled relations with Rome and subsequent incorporation in the Empire.⁵

¹ Diod.Sic.20.81; transl. By Russel M. Geer, *Diodorus of Sicily in twelve volumes* (Cambridge, MA 1983).

² Diod.Sic.20.81, Strab.14.2.5., Polyb.33.16.3.

³ Richard M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca 1984) xi – xii; Hendrik van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* (Den Haag 1900); Hatto H. Schmitt, *Rom und Rhodos. Geschichte ihrer politischen Beziehungen seit der ersten Berührung bis zum aufgehen des Inselstaates im römischen Weltreich* (München 1957); Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen, s.v., ‘Rhodos’, *RE Supp. V* (1931); Holger Sonnabend and Johannes Niehoff, s.v. ‘Rhodos’, *DNP Vol. XX*.

⁴ Except for the revised articles in *DNP*.

⁵ E.g. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*; Vincent Gabrielsen et al. (eds), *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture and Society* (Aarhus 1999); Peter Funke, ‘Rhodos und die hellenistische Staatenwelt an der Wende vom 4. Zum 3. Jh. V. Chr.’, in: Edward Dabrowa (ed.), *Donum amicitiae. Studies in ancient*

Consequently, although we know relatively much about the flourishing republic of Rhodes in the Hellenistic age, the earlier history of this island has remained rather obscure, especially that of the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries. The main cause for this is, not surprisingly, the lack of information that the written sources provide. The work that has been done on the earlier epochs has mostly dealt with specific political themes and events that are described in the written sources, such as the revolt against Athens in 411 BC and the synoikismos of 408/7 BC.⁶

However, the emphasis on the prosperity of Hellenistic Rhodes in research might have downplayed the economic potential the island already possessed during the Archaic and Classical period. Undoubtedly, one of the reasons Rhodes was able to become so influential was the independence it enjoyed after the victory over Antigonos I in 305/4.⁷ However, like Charles Reed stated, Rhodes' importance as a center of commercial life must have predated the Hellenistic Period and it is clear that its economic strength could not have come out of nowhere.⁸ One of the aspects that must have started developing earlier is the trading network important to a commercial centre like Rhodes. In this thesis, I will therefore focus on the development of the distributional connections between Rhodes and other poleis in the south-eastern Aegean, through which different kinds of objects, such as pottery, were exchanged. In this way, I will show that Rhodes became part of a growing distribution network already in the Archaic period.

Reed noted however, that, with the exception of one inscription, there do not remain any references in literature or epigraphy to Rhodian traders.⁹ Indeed, for most of the Archaic and Classical period, it is just shreds of information about the history of Rhodes that can be found in the written sources. Especially with regard to information about the economic situation or trading activities, there is hardly anything. It is therefore necessary to look for other ways to study the economic potential of Rhodes in earlier centuries.

history published on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of foundation of the department of ancient history of the Jagiellonian University (Krakow 1997) 35 – 41; Schmitt, Rom und Rhodos.

⁶ E.g. Aristid.*Or.*43.552; Conon.*Nar.*, FGrH 26 F1; Diod.*Sic.*13.38, 13.45, 13.69, 13.75; Plin.*HN.*5.132; Strab.14.2; Thuc.8.44 – 45; Xen.*Hell.*1.1.

⁷ Diod.*Sic.*20.81 – 100; van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier*, 104.

⁸ Charles M. Reed, *Maritime Traders in the Ancient Greek World* (Cambridge 2003) 31.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

Method and aims

The relatively large archaeological record of Rhodes and its mainland territories has been an important missing aspect in the historiography of the island. Although four different organizations have excavated on Rhodes during the 19th and 20th centuries, the publications these projects have yielded have barely been used to study the history of Rhodes, as most studies focus on the use of the written evidence. Inscriptions provide a useful source of information as well, as do numismatic sources, but it seems that historians have analyzed especially the archaeological record far less than is possible in the case of Rhodes. That is why, in this thesis, I have chosen archaeology as the main basis for my research.

My main focus in this research will be the distribution networks the island of Rhodes was part of. I will argue that the economic potential of Rhodes that would lead to its prosperity in the Hellenistic Age was to a large extent due to the extensive distribution that Rhodes was already involved in during the Archaic and early Classical period and the growing connectivity between the poleis of the south-eastern Aegean. I will study the distribution of two specific types of objects, East Greek pottery and egyptianizing faience, with the help of material evidence. Studying distribution patterns with the help of archeological sources can be a precarious undertaking, that is why I will analyze the evidence very carefully, taking account of the historical and finding context of the objects and assessing the publications I make use of critically. Furthermore, I will approach the phenomenon of distribution in a broad way, arguing that the often adopted conception of ancient trade as ‘modern’ market exchange is misleading. Instead, I will take on the theory of Neville Morley, approaching distribution in a broad way that encompasses all particular manners in which distribution in antiquity contributed to economic development. This allows for a more nuanced interpretation of the material evidence. I will elaborate on this in the first chapter.

The aims of my thesis also connect to the recent scholarly work that deals with network approaches to ancient history.¹⁰ The notion of networks has been used in ancient history to illuminate the connectivity and interaction between Greek poleis and their colonies, amongst other things.¹¹ I expect that my research about the distribution

¹⁰ Particularly Christy Constantakopoulou, *Dance of the islands* (Oxford 2007); Irad Malkin, *A small Greek world* (Oxford 2011).

¹¹ Gary Reger, ‘Review: *The Dance of the Islands. Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire, and the Aegean World*,’ *JHS* 129 (2009) 183 – 184.

networks around Rhodes will contribute to this field, as I will also explain in the first chapter.

An additional aim of this thesis is to show how useful the incorporation of the archaeological record in historical studies about Rhodes can be. I expect that this study will contribute to the ongoing debate about the importance of involving (past) archaeological excavations in the writing of history, instead of just focusing on the literary record.¹² I will show that it is exactly the combination of these kinds of evidence that can render new insights about Rhodian economic life.

The chronological frame of my research roughly consists of the seventh, sixth and early fifth centuries BC, because these periods have been crucial in the development of the distributional contacts the Rhodian poleis maintained, as will become clear in this thesis. Furthermore, the archaeological data from Rhodes that will serve to underpin my arguments belonged mostly to these centuries.

The structure of this thesis

This thesis consists of three chapters. In the first chapter the theoretical framework of this study is laid out. It consists of five different parts that together form the approach that I will take on in the subsequent case studies. The chapter is concerned with ancient economic theory and the problems that come with studying trade in antiquity as well as my approach to the archaeological record. I have chosen to combine these themes in one chapter because the way I study economies influences the way I study the archaeological record and vice versa. In the first chapter I furthermore discuss two recent works on network theory and insularity and their relation to my research.¹³

Subsequently, in the two next chapters, I will move on to the actual study of the archaeological record. The two chapters each represent a case study which focuses on particular finds in two archaeological projects. The case studies are concerned with a couple of concrete points. How can we find out if products were produced and exported on Rhodes and if so, which were the most important trading partners of the island? Or did Rhodian poleis mostly import, and from where? More importantly, what does the

¹² E.g. Anthony Snodgrass, 'Archaeology', in: Michael Crawford (ed.), *Sources for ancient history* (Cambridge 1983) 137 – 184; John Moreland, *Archaeology and Text* (London 2001); Ian Morris, 'Archaeology & Ancient Greek History', in: *Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians* 7 (2002) 45 – 68; Peter F. Bang, Mamoru Ikeguchi, and Hartmut G. Ziche (eds), *Ancient economies, modern methodologies : archaeology, comparative history, models and institutions* (Bari 2006) 109 – 136.

¹³ Constantakopoulou, *Dance of the islands*; Malkin, *A small Greek world*.

perceived distribution pattern say about the connectivity between the poleis of Rhodes and other east-Greek poleis in this period?

The first case study focuses on the excavations of the Italian Archaeological School in the necropoleis of Macrì Langoni and Checraci, in the old polis of Kameiros.¹⁴ Here, I study two particular types of pottery: Wild Goat Style (henceforth: WGS) and Fikellura, East Greek styles with a particular distribution pattern in which Rhodes played an important, although much debated, role. I will demonstrate how the distribution of these types of pottery in places like Rhodes shows how already during the Archaic and early Classical period a distributional connectivity in the south-eastern Aegean developed of which Rhodes formed a part.

The second case study approaches another aspect of the development of distribution networks: the religious dimension. The excavation I look at in this chapter is that of the archaeologists Christian Blinkenberg and Karl Frederik Kinch of the Danish Carlsberg Institute on the Akropolis of Lindos. Lindos was home to a well-known sanctuary, active from at least the tenth century BC until the Hellenistic period.¹⁵ The temple of Athena Lindia was visited by people from throughout the region and I will argue that this sanctuary therefore not only had an important religious function, but was very important to the Lindian polis in economic terms as well. In this chapter, I will discuss the finds of faience objects on the Akropolis of Lindos, which were part of the growing distributional connectivity between Lindos and other poleis in the eastern Aegean and regions beyond, such as Cyprus and Egypt.

In this way, through the use of the archaeological record, I hope to investigate the growing distribution networks that Rhodes was part of. This can be seen as an important precondition in the growth of Rhodian prosperity during the Hellenistic period because for Rhodes to become a commercial hub, distributional links had to develop between Rhodes and other places in the eastern Aegean, as well as beyond. Through two case studies, I will show that these distributional links can already be discerned in the Archaic period. In this way it will become clear that the prosperity of Hellenistic Rhodes did not come out of nowhere.

¹⁴ Giulio Jacopi and Amadeo Maiuri, *Clara Rhodos: Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell' Istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi I, III and IV* (Rhodes 1928 – 31); Christian Blinkenberg, Karl Frederik Kinch and Ejnar Dyggve, *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902 – 1914 I, II and III* (Berlijn 1931, 1941 en 1960).

¹⁵ Ellen E. Rice, s.v. 'Lindus', *OCD*.

1. Ancient economies, distribution networks and archaeological sources

First, it is necessary to look at the basic assumptions and definitions that underlie my research and to provide a theoretical framework. This chapter, which consists of five different parts, will serve as this theoretical framework.

In the first part, I will provide a brief overview of the most important debates about ancient economies in the past century, and I will position myself in this debate. Secondly, I will look at the discussions about ancient trade, its definitions and the problems that come with studying distribution in antiquity. I will also put forward and explain the approach to the concept of distribution that I will adopt. The third part is concerned with the way my research relates to the recent work on network approaches and insularity in ancient history. The fourth section is occupied with the theory about the use of archaeology in the writing of history, especially the history of economies. Finally, I will look at the archaeological publications I will use in my research and discuss the context in which the excavations took place and in which they were published, as well as the problems they present.

1.1 The study of ancient economies

How can we study ancient economies? This question has been at the heart of a heated and complicated debate during the past decades. The theoretical discussions have focused on many different issues, of which I am able to discuss only a few. This part will therefore be concerned with those issues that have been most influential and are most relevant for my research.

When Moses Finley published his ground-breaking *The ancient economy* in 1973, he stated in his preface that the title of the volume was precise. He believed it was possible to apply one economic model to the ancient Mediterranean from about 1000 BC until 500 AD.¹⁶ His main argument was that the ruling élites of the ancient world had roughly the same sort of economic view. Their views and concern with status in

¹⁶ Moses I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley 1973) preface; Walter Scheidel and Sitta von Reden, 'Introduction', in: Walter Scheidel and Sitta von Reden (eds.), *The ancient economy* (Hoboken 2012) 1 – 8, 2.

general determined ancient economy.¹⁷ However, the Greek world consisted of many, very diverse political units. Is it therefore possible to speak of one ancient economy? Nowadays, many scholars instead rather speak of ancient economies, thereby emphasizing the diversity in economic activities that took place in the Mediterranean and the importance of regional economies. For example, Paul Cartledge emphasizes the radical difference between the economy of Sparta and that of Athens.¹⁸ In this thesis, I have therefore chosen to speak of ‘economies’ as well, especially because I focus, as will become clear later on, on a small niche of trading activity, which has its own peculiarities and its own place in the larger economic world of the Archaic and Classical Period.

Finley’s *The Ancient Economy* provoked a discussion that would influence most research on the approach to ancient economies in the following decades. Finley’s view, which is considered primitivist, soon gave rise to disagreement and reflected the so-called primitivist – modernist debate, which had been conducted for a long time already. The modernist view saw the ancient economy as not too different from modern economies, only smaller in scale.¹⁹ Finley however rejected the idea that ancient economies were similar to modern economies and therefore also opposed the use of modern terminology and conceptualisation in studying the ancient economy. One of the models against which Finley protested was that of John Hicks. His main objections focussed on Hicks’ use of models and theories from the study of modern economies of which the use was, according to Finley, anachronistic.²⁰ Instead, in opposition to the ‘modernists’, he argued that the ancient economy functioned according to rules that were completely different to those that govern modern economies. Not the laws of supply and demand regulated the economy, but status and civic ideology. In taking the primitivist stance, he argued that commercial exchange was small-scale; trade did not play a large role in the accumulation of wealth by the upper classes. The main aim of the ancient economy was self-sufficiency, therefore, the economy was mainly based on

¹⁷ Paul Cartledge, ‘The economy (economies) of Ancient Greece’, in: Scheidel and von Reden (eds.), *The ancient economy*, 11 – 32, 18.

¹⁸ Ibidem, 13.

¹⁹ Scheidel and von Reden, ‘Introduction’, 3.

²⁰ Cartledge, ‘The economy (economies) of Ancient Greece’, 14; John Hicks, *A Theory of Economic History* (Oxford 1969); Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, 26.

agriculture. Because of this aim for self-sufficiency, the elites valued land higher than trade, and trade constituted only a very small part of economy.²¹

The modernists on the other hand saw ancient economies as basically similar to modern economies, only more small-scale.²² A well-known proponent of the modernizing approach to ancient economies was Mikhail Rostovzeff, who wrote mainly about the economy of the Roman Empire and argued, on the basis of inscriptions, that in the 2nd century AD, commercial life in Gaul was flourishing as it was in the whole of the Roman Empire. Ancient economy was on the brink of developing into a modern economic system and the main problem for Rostovzeff and other modernists was why it did not take this final leap.²³ This question, however, presupposes that the ancient economies were basically of the same character as modern economies, so that if further development would take place, ancient economies would ultimately become like modern economies. However, primitivists stated that because ancient economies were radically different from today's economies, they would never be able to become modern, because they developed in an alternative way.²⁴

Finley had also taken on the substantivist view of Karl Polanyi, in opposition to the formalist view. Substantivists, involved with economic and cultural anthropology, held that 'the ancient economy was not merely less developed, but socially embedded and politically overdetermined and so – by the standards of neoclassical economics – conspicuously conventional, irrational and status-ridden.'²⁵ Substantivists saw ancient economies as different from modern economies, not because they were smaller in scale, as the primitivists argued, but because they were embedded in different political and social contexts.²⁶

The formalists instead saw the ancient economic sphere as separate from the social sphere and possessing a certain rationality that is similar to modern economies.²⁷

²¹ Jean Andreau, 'Twenty years after Moses I. Finley's *The Ancient Economy*', in: Scheidel and von Reden (eds.), *The ancient economy*, 33 – 52, 33 in reference to Keith Hopkins, 'Introduction', in: Peter Garnsey, Keith Hopkins and Charles Richard Whittaker (eds), *Trade in the ancient economy* (London 1983) ix – xxv, xi – xii.

²² Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, Scheidel and von Reden, 'Introduction', 1 – 2; Morris, 'Foreword', in: Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley 1999) xxii – xxiii.

²³ Mikhail I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1926) 165 – 166, 538; Neville Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 2007) 3 – 4.

²⁴ Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 4.

²⁵ Cartledge, 'The economy (economies) of Ancient Greece' 15.

²⁶ Ibidem; Ian Morris, 'The Athenian economy twenty years after *The Ancient Economy*', *Classical Philology* 89 (1994) 351 – 366.

²⁷ Cartledge, 'The economy (economies) of Ancient Greece', 15; Karl Polanyi, *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies* (New York 1968).

It must be noted that, although the primitivist-modernist debate comes across as quite similar to the formalist-substantivist debate, and Finley was participating in both of them, they should not be confused. The first debate is more concerned with the level and scale of ancient economies, while the second debate was about the ‘politico-social location’ of economic life.²⁸

In the past decades, critique of Finley’s model has grown and given rise to new views on ancient economies, theories that go beyond the primitivist-modernist opposition. One the reasons for this is that through excavations and subsequent research, we have come to know more and more about the material evidence that constitutes the basis for research on the ancient economy. New discoveries seem to point at a more developed market and monetisation than Finley argued there to be.²⁹ In the view of many scholars, market exchange did play a significant role in the economies of ancient Greece, including the regional ones, although a basic primitivism remained.³⁰ One of the theorists who tried to move beyond the primitivist-modernist opposition was Keith Hopkins. According to him, the general size of surplus in antiquity, from the first millennium BC until the first two centuries AD, gradually grew.³¹ He has argued in particular that there was a height in trading, production and consumption in the first two centuries AD, compared to the previous centuries. This dynamic of gradual growth could be incorporated in Finley’s primitivist model, without undermining its primitivism.³²

This also maps onto Neville Morley’s critique of some of the basic assumptions with regard to trade in ancient economies shared by most historians.³³ The first of these assumptions is that ancient society was primarily agrarian, which Morley does not deny. Secondly, that trade is a natural human impulse and that it therefore has to play an important role in the development of economy, that is to say, development towards a modern economy along western lines. According to Morley, primitivists as well as modernists often describe trade according to this basic assumption. The third assumption, closely related to the second one, is that trade has always to be understood as profit-driven, like it is in the modern sense. However, this understanding of trade

²⁸ Cartledge, ‘The economy (economies) of Ancient Greece’, 15.

²⁹ Scheidel and von Reden, ‘Introduction’, 3.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 6 – 7.

³¹ Hopkins, ‘Introduction’, xiv.

³² *Ibidem*, xxi; Hopkins, ‘Rome, taxes, rents and trade’, in: Garnsey, Hopkins and Whittaker (eds), *Trade in the ancient economy*, 190 – 230.

³³ Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 6 – 9.

limits the possibilities of the study of ancient trade, as well as the study of ancient economies in general, because it ignores the historical realities in which trade, and other economic activities took place. In antiquity, trade might have been driven by completely other forces. To quote Morley: ‘...ancient historians have tended to fall into a dichotomy of modernity or stagnation, rather than considering whether different pre-modern societies might have their own dynamics of development and laws of motion.’³⁴

In the next section of this chapter, I will discuss the definition and study of ancient trade more in-depth, but Morley’s stance exemplifies that in research about ancient trade as well, theorists are moving beyond the modernist-primitivist dichotomy. Following Morley’s arguments, I will approach ancient economies in a more nuanced way. To study ancient economies, ancient trading activities and the commercial activities of an island like Rhodes demands taking into account the particular circumstances in which these trading activities took place.

1.2 Distribution in ancient economies

It is important to look at trading activity in the ancient world to understand ancient economies. As Hopkins stated in 1983: ‘In order to understand the ancient economy, we need to know the part played in it by trade and traders; in order to understand the role of trade and traders, we need to hold some view of the ancient economy. Even to state that trade was an important element in the ancient economy is contentious.’³⁵ Furthermore, as Cartledge argued, especially in the domain of trade, the debates regarding the nature of ‘the ancient economy’ have been very relevant. Questions about trade deal exactly with issues like the extent to which ancient economic life was rational, profit-driven and separate from the social sphere.³⁶

Although the terms ‘trade’ and ‘trading networks’ seem quite unambiguous at first notice, it is important to define them, because the conception of trading and trading networks have influenced research on its character and place in ancient economies significantly. Neville Morley discussed the difficulties of defining ‘trade’ and the problems that have arisen with several past definitions of it: ‘Trade is clearly a form of exchange, in which goods are passed from one person to another, but it is not the only form. Anthropologists have distinguished between reciprocity, redistribution and market

³⁴ Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 9.

³⁵ Hopkins, ‘Introduction’, ix; Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 7.

³⁶ Cartledge, ‘The economy (economies) of Ancient Greece’, 26.

exchange (trade) as different modes for the distribution of goods within a society.³⁷ Trade has often been defined in the narrow sense of market exchange, especially by modernists. However, ‘too narrow a definition of trade can be as misleading as an excessively broad one’³⁸ The concept of trade is often understood in its modern way, driven by market forces and profit-making. The ancient reality in which trade took place might have been completely different, with other distribution processes, such as reciprocity and redistribution, playing a similarly significant role in the process of economic growth.

One of the vital functions of trade is that it allows regions to specialize in a certain sort of labour or production, because trade provides people with goods that they need, so that they do not have to grow or produce those themselves. Yet trade was not the only form of distribution in the ancient world, and an important question to ask is just how large the share of trade in the flows of distribution really was. Other distributional mechanisms such as taxation in labour or in kind might have played far bigger roles.³⁹ On this point, scholars disagree. Trade, as a form of distribution, ‘may have to take its place in the queue behind plunder and gift.’⁴⁰ Distribution does not necessarily have to take place because of commercial relations, objects can travel over long distances without any trading activity involved.

Here again, I would like to quote Morley: ‘This leads both modernisers and primitivists to build arguments around some allegedly clear distinctions, the implications of which are unexamined and taken for granted: public and private, luxury and staple, self-sufficiency and economic rationality.’⁴¹ According to Morley, the distinction between trade and other forms of distribution might be less relevant in the study of ancient economies because any evidence for the distribution of goods over long distances raises ‘questions about the way that this portion of the agricultural surplus is being deployed and about the implications of the development of ‘connectivity.’⁴² Although Morley only discusses the agricultural surplus, I think this remark also holds for the surpluses of other industries, such as pottery-making. The ability of a region to

³⁷ Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 9 – 10; Polanyi, ‘The economy as instituted process’, in: Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg and Harry W. Pearson (eds), *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: economies in history and theory* (Glencoe 1957) 250 - 256.

³⁸ Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 10.

³⁹ Hopkins, ‘Introduction’, x.

⁴⁰ Cartledge, ‘The economy (economies) of Ancient Greece’, 27 in reference to Michael Crawford, ‘Numismatics’, in: Crawford (ed.), *Sources for ancient history*, 185 – 234, 207.

⁴¹ Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 8.

⁴² *Ibidem*, 10.

specialize in a certain good, whether in agriculture or in other industries, can indicate export and economic potential. Even if goods are not transported by the people who produce them, but, for example, by foreign traders, the export of surpluses can show that a region profits from specialization of some kind.

Because of this, Morley decides to study the broad subject of 'distribution' for much of his book. I will be following this definition for this thesis, as I, too, think that a conception of trade as market exchange is too narrow and would deprive my research of the factors that also contributed to economic development on Rhodes. Why would only market exchange play a significant role in this development? The distribution of objects of which the island of Rhodes was part, for example the considerable amount of objects that arrived in Lindos as votive offerings, is indicative of a growing connectivity between Rhodes and other parts of East Greece and further beyond, notably Egypt. When researching material evidence, it is often impossible to say how this material exactly arrived at its finding place: through professional trade, gift-exchange, or in some other way. However, this does not mean that the evidence tells us nothing at all. On the contrary, research that includes all kinds of distribution, not just market exchange in the modern sense, provides an outlook that takes into account the specific conditions and modes of distribution of the ancient world and in that sense can even be said to constitute not a crude, but a more refined outlook.

Nevertheless, the distinction between trade in its narrow sense and other forms of distribution remains relevant in the study of ancient economies and I certainly do not mean to say that the distinction is irrelevant. However, in this thesis, I am not covering the growth of a rational, profit-driven economy of Rhodes in which market exchange was the primary factor, but the growing connectivity of the island, the role the island played in the movement of goods and the development of distributional routes, which were all important factors in the development of Rhodes as a centre of material distribution, which in turn contributed to the growth of the island as a thriving economic centre during the Hellenistic Period.

The problem with using archaeological evidence for studying economic activities, and especially trading activities, is that the interpretation of excavated material is full of pitfalls and insecurities. There is no doubt that goods moved between different regions, and that Rhodes as well took part in the flows of exchange in the Mediterranean, but the interpretation of the finds that could imply this exchange is problematic. It is often impossible to establish what kind of people transported the

goods, for example if these ‘traders’ were Greek or non-Greek. It can also be difficult to find out the nature of the transport: were the found objects part of a large-scale trading network, or do they only represent sporadic exchanges? Is it even possible to speak of trade at all, or was the movement of the found objects part of, for example, gift exchange between two poleis?

Still, I think that the findings of objects with different origins in a certain geographical unit can shed some light on the distributional activity that took place in and around this place, especially when trade is understood to comprise all kinds of distributional activities, as I have argued above. A careful analysis of the distribution of objects from different regions, the function they might have had as well as the formation process, the process that altered them through time, would not solve all of the problems of the interpretation of archaeological material, but it would enable me to at least sketch a very tentative picture of the commercial activities that took place on Rhodes. I will discuss this more elaborately below.

There has also been much discussion about the character of traders, or, more generally, the people who transported goods from one place to another in antiquity. Primitivists argue that traders were poor and belonged to the lower classes of society. Morley has argued that they were often foreign to the regions they worked in and socially marginalised.⁴³ Comparisons with medieval and modern economies have led modernists to claim that traders will always develop their own system of values and norms, which would again lead them to develop into a middle class, separate from other strands of society. Primitivists, on the other hand, reject the possibility of this sort of development. There are no written sources to sustain the argument that a middle-class ideology comparable to late medieval bourgeois values, developing within a self-aware ‘trader’s class’, existed separate from the ideology of the elite in antiquity.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the emphasis on agriculture and self-sufficiency in the ancient world would of course downplay the importance of trade and traders. It is therefore improbable that traders fulfilled an important role or were an important, large group in ancient economies, according to the primitivist view, let alone that they would develop a specific value system.

⁴³ Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 4.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 8. See also Max Weber, *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of Capitalism* (London and New York 1992).

In any case, both the primitivist and modernist view on the role and character of traders are not flawless and a closer look at trading activities, taking into account a wider intellectual context, as Morley advocated, would reveal the diverse modes of distribution that existed and provide a more nuanced picture.⁴⁵ Morley took this approach in his general work on trade and traders in Classical antiquity. I will follow his theoretical guidelines in my research of Rhodian distributional activities, narrowing the subject, but still allow for a large framework in which distributional processes can be studied. I will, however, not aim at studying the role of traders per se, as Morley did, but instead focus on the general distributional activities that traders were part of.

1.3 Networks, connectivity and insularity

Knowledge of distribution activities can provide insights about connectivity and network development in a certain area during a certain period. In the past few years, scholars have done much work on these themes in the ancient world.⁴⁶ In his book *A small Greek world* (2011), Irad Malkin showed how the Archaic Greek world could be observed by looking at the nodes and ties that made up the decentralized network of Greek poleis spread across the Mediterranean. In this network one could discern regional clusters, such as Rhodes with its three poleis.⁴⁷ Malkin demonstrated that the emergence of a recognizable ‘Greek civilization’ did not happen in spite of, but because of the movement of Greeks away from each other, through the founding of colonies and the networks dynamics that arose in this process.⁴⁸ Instead of looking at the geographical distance between Greek settlements, Malkin emphasized the distance between nodes of the Greek network (which could be, for example, settlements, poleis or sanctuaries).⁴⁹ Malkin adopted the theories of the mathematicians Duncan Watts and Steven Strogatz, who have shown that a small amount of random or long-distance links among nodes results in connectivity over the entire network, which makes it a “small world.”⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Morley, *Trade in Classical Antiquity*, 8.

⁴⁶ Malkin, *A small Greek world*; Constantakopoulou, *Dance of the islands*.

⁴⁷ Malkin, *A small Greek world*, 16 – 17.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 3; Constantakopoulou, ‘Reviewed Work: *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* by Irad Malkin’, *Hermathena* 190 (2011) 113 – 116, 113.

⁴⁹ Malkin, *A small Greek world*; Constantakopoulou, ‘Reviewed Work: *A Small Greek World*, 113.

⁵⁰ Malkin, *A small Greek world*, 27; Duncan J. Watts and Steven H. Strogatz, ‘Collective dynamics of ‘Small World’ Networks,’ *Nature* 393 (1998) 440 – 442; Tom Brughmans, ‘Review: Ancient Greek Networks. I. Malkin, *A Small Greek World. Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*,’ *The Classical Review (new series)* 63 (2013) 146 – 148, 146.

Malkin's book is elaborate and deals with several aspects of a network approach to the Greek Archaic world, but particularly the formation of Greek identities and Greek civilization. In listing what is still to be done in this field, Malkin states that it is first necessary to identify and recognize these networks and secondly, to recognize the implications of these networks, that they were 'multidirectional, decentralized, nonhierarchical, boundless and proliferating, accessible, expansive, and interactive.'⁵¹ My research will fulfill part of these tasks, because I will point out the existence of a network cluster in the south-eastern Aegean in which certain specific types of objects were distributed. Although I will focus on a limited area, and also demonstrate that the cluster I have studied was limited to this relatively small area, it still fits into Malkin's description because it was a cluster in a much bigger network, Malkin's 'small Greek world'. Moreover, I will demonstrate that this cluster was connected to network clusters in the Levant and Egypt and, in that way, that it was accessible and boundless.

The third task Malkin mentions is to point out the problems that are served by this network approach and the fourth is to examine the implications of this approach for Archaic Greek history, most of all the formation of Greek identities and Greek civilization.⁵² Malkin perceives the network dynamics among the Greek poleis and colonies across the Mediterranean as the main factor in the sharing of Hellenization across long distances.⁵³

My research about the development of distribution networks in the south-eastern Aegean connects to Malkin's network approach to Archaic Greek history, but in other ways. The emergence of links between poleis through which objects were exchanged is one of the ways in which connectivity developed between poleis. However, whereas Malkin concentrates on the emergence of identities and Greek civilization, I will be concerned with the economic implications of network development in the region around Rhodes. Malkin mentions several aspects of network connectivity in his introduction: 'the spread of literary, artistic, and architectonic styles; the (almost too obvious and often-studied) role of Panhellenic sanctuaries; the human mobility of specialists; diffusion of dialects and scripts; provenance and destiny of temple dedications; amphorae stamps; and much more.'⁵⁴ The development of distribution contacts and trading routes is another aspect. Distribution was an important factor in the emergence

⁵¹ Malkin, *A small Greek world*, 25.

⁵² *Ibidem*.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, 64.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 17.

of regional clusters that were again part of the small Greek world as described by Malkin. Through my case studies I will show that the south-eastern Aegean was such a regional cluster. Malkin also states: ‘The term “cluster” may seem forced, but it successfully expresses the situation where most exchanges would take place on a local plane, yet with some links connecting clusters (and potentially all that is within them) with other clusters’⁵⁵ and ‘Such clusters may overlap with trade and settlement clusters of other maritime civilizations, such as the Phoenicians and the Etruscans.’⁵⁶ We will see in chapter three that such an overlap of clusters also took place between the eastern Aegean and Egypt through the distribution of egyptianizing faience.

Malkin dedicates part of his work to the island of Rhodes. He concentrates on its regional identity in relation to the emergence of a Hellenic identity during the Archaic period. In the Greek world, the island was often seen as one entity, especially from a distance, although it was acknowledged that it was home to three different poleis.⁵⁷ Malkin concludes that ‘overseas experiences and colonizing activities condensed the discrete political identities on the island into “Rhodian” ones.’⁵⁸

A point of critique on Malkin’s book has been the scarcity of figures concerning the trade in material objects in his case studies.⁵⁹ Such figures would be useful in providing a more detailed analysis of the network clusters that Malkin studies. This is where my research comes in, because I make use of archaeological evidence to study distribution patterns in the south-eastern Aegean, thereby providing a detailed picture of the material dimension of such a cluster. In this way, I expect to provide a better insight in the growing connectivity and developing distribution networks in the area around Rhodes, which in turn contributed to the economic potential of the island.

One of the reasons the network in the south-eastern Aegean came into being was simply its geographical position. Indeed, networks are often the result of geographical determinants.⁶⁰ Rhodes was located very strategically and it exercised what Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell called ‘a gravitational pull’ on the shipping that crossed the Mediterranean. Travels over a long distance through the Mediterranean were safer and easier when they were made along the islands and coastlands in the northern parts

⁵⁵ Malkin, *A small Greek world*, 33.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 17.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 66 – 70.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 81.

⁵⁹ Danielle E. Kellogg, ‘Review: Irad Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean. Greeks Overseas*,’ *BMCR* 12.60 (2012).

⁶⁰ Malkin, *A small Greek world*, 21.

of the sea.⁶¹ Although this picture is mainly sketched for the early medieval period, it also applies to earlier times, in which travelers were as limited by the winds and water currents as during the Middle Ages. Horden and Purcell concluded that shipping in the Mediterranean had its preferred routes to which travelers in general stuck. These routes became defined by geographical, technological and economic considerations, amongst other things.⁶² It was mostly the northern regions that provided the best shipping lanes.⁶³ Because islands remained an important focus point for ships, these could exercise power over the shipping that passed them. They could provide safe havens and anchoring places where travelers took breaks from their long-distance voyage or waited for favorable winds and currents. One of these places was the island of Rhodes. One just has to look at its location on a map of the Mediterranean to see that Rhodes had an ideal location for ships to stop by on their travels.

In her book *Dance of the islands* (2007) Christy Constantakopoulou also stressed the importance of islands in the navigation of the Mediterranean and the Aegean.⁶⁴ She argues that island interaction and networking is central to the history of the Aegean.⁶⁵ In doing so, she firstly distinguishes between the two paradoxical understandings ‘islands’ and ‘island’, whereby the former understanding emphasized the connectivity and interaction that characterized islands of the Aegean and the latter their isolation and uniqueness.⁶⁶ In her book however, she mostly focuses on the first understanding, using network theory to approach these processes. She shows how the many islands of the Aegean eased navigation for ships and provided stops for small-distance journeys and the practice of cabotage, which is hopping from harbour to harbour with small hauls. She stated that ‘island interaction may have been the underlying reality upon which island networking was based.’⁶⁷ This is also expressed in the title of her book, *Dance of the islands*, which as an image represents island connectivity, ‘the view of islands as joined together in a closely knit unit.’⁶⁸ Constantakopoulou’s argument that islands were

⁶¹ Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The corrupting sea: a study of Mediterranean history* (Oxford 2000) 137 – 138 and John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649 – 1571*. (Cambridge 1988).

⁶² Horden and Purcell, *The corrupting sea*, 139.

⁶³ Ibidem.

⁶⁴ Constantakopoulou, *Dance of the islands*.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, 29.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, 1 – 5; Reger, ‘Review: *The Dance of the Islands. Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire, and the Aegean World*.’

⁶⁷ Constantakopoulou, *Dance of the islands*, 20 - 25; Purcell, ‘Continuity and change: the Mediterranean from antiquity to the present,’ *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 2 (1993), 16- 28, 19.

⁶⁸ Constantakopoulou, *Dance of the islands*, 26.

central to the history of the Aegean relates to my research about the connectivity of islands and poleis on the coast of Asia Minor. I will argue that the distribution pattern of WGS and Fikellura pottery, as well as that of egyptianizing faience in this period demonstrate the growing connectivity of the islands and the coastal poleis during the Archaic period. In this way, my research specifically connects to chapter 6 of *Dance of the islands*, in which Constantakopoulou discusses smaller clusters of islands, what she calls mini island networks.⁶⁹ Constantakopoulou focuses on the political control of small, neighbouring islands by larger islands, in which Rhodes also participated during the fifth and fourth centuries, by taking control of nearby islands such as Chalce, Syme, Carpathos and Nisyros. She argues that the relatively elaborate expansion of the Rhodian state in comparison with the expansion of other large islands was an expression and a prerequisite of Rhodian sea power, which came to its height during the Hellenistic period. She concludes: ‘However, apart from the natural interest of the Rhodian sea power in adjacent islands, the incorporation of all these territories could be seen as the politically aggressive result of island interaction, or imperialism in the small scale.’⁷⁰ Although her argument is compelling, I do not believe that the political and economic dimension of the connectivity between Rhodes and these islands can be separated. Constantakopoulou acknowledges this when she states that the control of an island provides economic advantages such as extra arable land or safe bases for the commercial activities in the Aegean.⁷¹ Yet these advantages are still presented as advantages for the Rhodian state, as reasons for Rhodes to control smaller islands. However, I will show that the sea power of Hellenistic Rhodes was not just the result of political, expansionist activities during the fifth and fourth centuries BC by Rhodes and direct economic advantages for the Rhodian state, but that these expansionist actions were preceded and accompanied by a growing economic connectivity coming from both Rhodes and neighbouring (island) poleis that already began far before the expansionism of the Rhodian state. This economic connectivity was the result of distribution activities in which Rhodes participated and in this way, the role of distribution activities in the emergence of a network cluster around Rhodes will be illuminated.

Constantakopoulou also shortly discusses the Rhodian mainland acquisitions, the *peraiia*, which no doubt played an important role as well in the growth of power of

⁶⁹ Constantakopoulou, *Dance of the islands*, 176 – 227.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, 194.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 198.

Rhodes in the Hellenistic period.⁷² However, as these territories were probably only acquired shortly before the synoikismos in 408/7 BC and there is no evidence for these territories dating from before the fourth century,⁷³ I have chosen not to concentrate on this aspect in my thesis.

1.4 Archaeology and ancient economies

‘Archaeology is to ancient historians what democracy is to politicians: everyone is in for it, yet surprisingly few do it.’⁷⁴ Amongst others, Ian Morris has long noted that ancient historians put material evidence to use far less than possible. An additional goal of my thesis is to contribute to the closing of this gap between these disciplines. A precise, thorough historical interpretation of archaeological evidence is very difficult, however. That is why I will here discuss some of the most important issues in this field, as to determine my own method in dealing with the material evidence.

Anthony Snodgrass pointed out four important advantages of archaeological evidence in the writing of history: ‘its independence, its directness, its experimental character, and its unlimited potential for future extension.’⁷⁵ Here, I would like to single out his explanation of directness: as opposed to the information that literary sources provide, often based on other literary sources that we might not even possess anymore, material sources have survived in a much more direct way. However, what exactly is ‘direct’? Snodgrass pointed out that material evidence has been subject to all kinds of environmental and cultural forces through which it has been changed: the formation process.

In this context it is relevant to invoke the critique of Ian Hodder on the so-called processual approach in archaeological theory. This processual approach was mainly developed within the school of New Archaeology, that arose in the 1960’s. One of its early proponents was Lewis Binford, who, in his paper ‘Archaeology as anthropology’ advocated the need for archaeologists to investigate the systems and processes at work in past societies.⁷⁶ He, and later New Archaeologists believed it was possible to discern

⁷² Constantakopoulou, *Dance of the islands*, 228 – 253; Funke, ‘Einige Überlegungen zum Festlandbesitz griechischer Inselstaaten’, in: Gabrielsen et al. (eds), *Hellenistic Rhodes*, 55 – 75, 65.

⁷³ Constantakopoulou, *Dance of the islands*, 228 – 253; Peter M. Fraser and George Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (Oxford 1954) 107 – 117.

⁷⁴ Morris, ‘Archaeology & Ancient Greek History’, 45.

⁷⁵ Snodgrass, ‘Archaeology’, 137.

⁷⁶ Lewis Binford, ‘Archaeology as anthropology’, *American Antiquity* 28 (1962) 217 – 225; Clive Gamble, *Archaeology. The basics* (Abingdon 2004) 25.

regularities in archaeological sources, even to discover (universal) laws.⁷⁷ In this way, the New Archaeologists took on a positivist approach and a scientific method. In an influential publication, *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, Hodder and his co-authors rejected this positivist processual approach. One of the aspects that they criticized, was the assumption of processualists that the archaeological record is a straightforward reflection of past societies. According to Hodder, material culture was not just the reflection of past social processes, but rather that what constitutes past societies: material culture plays an active role.⁷⁸ He furthermore stressed the need to take the social context and the values and ideas of past societies into account, as well as the ideas and creativity of individuals.⁷⁹ This, and later publications led to the emergence of the so-called postprocessual movement.

A later archaeological theorist, Morris also expressed the idea that material evidence should not be seen as a straightforward representation of past societies. He believed that it is possible to base economic analysis on archaeological evidence, but emphasized the necessity to take account of the way in which archaeological evidence has come into being.⁸⁰ Economic historians should take better notion of the formation processes that made their archaeological record what it is. The record of today can only be linked to ancient life when it is seen through the formation process that transformed it into its current state. He stated that the analysis of the formation process could be called the source criticism of the archaeologist.⁸¹

According to Morris, historians of ancient economies in general have too little understanding of the theory that deals with formation processes. Professional archaeologists usually analyse formation processes carefully in their publications and historians making use of their publications should take this seriously, if they want to avoid misinterpretation of the evidence. A common illusion is, for example, the “Pompeii premise”, the idea that what is found is a random selection of what has been, that it can be seen as a straightforward representation of what was left behind. Instead, the record is always distorted. Archaeologists often distinguish between depositional

⁷⁷ Paul Bahn and Colin Renfrew, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*, 484.

⁷⁸ Ian Hodder (ed.), *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (Cambridge 1982) 4; Bahn and Renfrew, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*, 494.

⁷⁹ Hodder (ed.), *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, 4; Bahn and Renfrew, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*, 469, 484.

⁸⁰ Morris, ‘Archaeology, Standards of Living, and Greek Economic History’, in: Joseph G. Manning and Morris (eds), *The Ancient Economy: Evidence and Models* (Stanford 2005) 91 – 126, 93; Bahn and Renfrew, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice* (London 1991) 469.

⁸¹ Morris, ‘Archaeology, Standards of Living, and Greek Economic History’, 94 - 104.

processes, the factors that determine how the record is deposited, and post depositional processes, which are the natural and cultural forces that alter the archaeological record after its deposition.⁸² Both processes have different influences on the transmission of the evidence through time. That is why, in my case studies, I will remain critical of the way in which the material has survived, and what it signifies for the interpretation of the evidence.

In my case studies, I will analyse material evidence from two different contexts, funerary and religious. Thus I will illuminate two different dimensions in the circulation of objects between Rhodes and other areas, and thereby also demonstrate the variety of manners in which distribution activities took place around Rhodes. Both the distribution of East Greek pottery in Kameiros and the dedication of votive offerings at the sanctuary of Athena Lindia were important factors in the growing connectivity in the south-eastern Aegean. This was important for Rhodes to become a commercial hub in later times. Choosing two different contexts also has consequences on how to assess the depositional processes that caused objects to end up in those contexts. East Greek pottery used as grave goods was deliberately deposited in the graves and stayed in more or less the same position until it was discovered. From its funerary context alone, it is impossible to discern the nature of its distribution. For example, were they purchased from traders, exchanged or made locally? However, we will see that through chemical analysis, it has been possible to establish the origin of the pottery and thereby to investigate its general distribution pattern. Taking the finding context and this new research into account, it is possible to discuss the provenance of these objects and find out more about the distribution activities around Kameiros. Votive offerings, which I will discuss in the second case study, were often stored away after dedication. On the Akropolis of Lindos, two votive depots have been found.⁸³ As we will see later on however, the sanctuary of Athena Lindia underwent many changes throughout the centuries and this caused many other ex-voto's to disperse across the Akropolis. Furthermore, the origin of objects meant for dedication is often hard to establish, because Lindos was visited by people from many different places. In my case study, I will focus on the faience objects found around the ancient sanctuary. The distribution of Archaic faience in the Aegean has been examined carefully by Virginia Webb.⁸⁴ With

⁸² Morris, 'Archaeology, Standards of Living, and Greek Economic History', 94 - 104.

⁸³ Blinkenberg, *Lindos I*, I, 46 - 56.

⁸⁴ Virginia Webb, *Archaic Greek faience* (Warminster 1978).

the help of her research, I will be able to critically assess the faience finds on the Lindian Akropolis and their role in the distribution networks Lindos was involved in.

Not only the formation process determines the way an archaeological record can be interpreted, the way archaeological evidence is published is also of influence. Archaeology is not just a helping tool in the writing of a historical narrative, but, according to Kevin Greene, it is 'rooted in the same narrative constructions as historical explanation.'⁸⁵ However, material culture raises alternative expectations and can be constructed into other historical narratives than those based on literary sources. Therefore, archaeology can and should have a vital role in the writing of history and its goals should not be based on expectations that arise from the written sources. Objects are on an equal level as text when it comes to their being remnants of the past: they are not passive elements, but 'active interventions in the production of community and self.'⁸⁶

According to Greene, there is a real danger that the publication of archaeological excavations remains stuck in just the presentation of data instead of interpretation with the help of economic and behavioural perspectives.⁸⁷ Here, Greene motivates especially the publishers of archaeological excavations to add more interpretation to the published data. However, I think historians can be more interpretative in the study of excavations as well. In making use of archaeological volumes, historians should consider the historical context of the excavations and the methods used. They should also be critical of the way the data are presented. Archaeological publications are representations, and representations can never be completely perfect. This is why I will study the archaeological publications that I make use of in this thesis tentatively and will discuss the historical context of these volumes in the section below.

In the past decades, historians have studied archaeological evidence such as pottery more and more in the light of social and economic history, and archaeologists nowadays better realize the contribution their work can make to the study of notably ancient socio-economic history. Snodgrass argued about pottery finds: 'Its geographical origins and the distribution of its type are less often taken as evidence for the operation

⁸⁵ Kevin Greene, 'Archaeological data and economic interpretation', in: Bang, Ikeguchi, and Ziche (eds), *Ancient economies, modern methodologies : archaeology, comparative history, models and institutions*, 109 – 136, 117.

⁸⁶ Moreland, *Archaeology and Text*, 81 – 82 and Greene, 'Archaeological data and economic interpretation', 118.

⁸⁷ Greene, 'Archaeological data and economic interpretation', 124.

of an undifferentiated ‘trade’, but are looked at in a more sophisticated way which takes account of the exact context (whether the type is found, for example, only in graves, or as dedications at sanctuaries, in Greek or in non-Greek settlements, in regular association with other wares, in strictly contemporary or also in later contexts, in a restricted social milieu; and so on).’⁸⁸ Although I adopt a broad definition of trade in my case studies, this does not mean that I speak of an ‘undifferentiated trade’ of which every find bears witness. Instead, I will take the context of the findings into account, especially because the finding contexts can provide information about the different modes of distribution, which were part of ancient economic life.

An effective method for interpreting and comparing archaeological evidence from different excavations has not been found yet because archaeologists work and publish their excavations under very different circumstances. The publications that I will study in my research on Rhodes were published in the first half of the 20th century, when archaeologists worked along different guidelines than today. These are all factors that need to be taken into account and in the next section, I will therefore discuss the archaeological publications that I will make use of.

1.5 Archaeology on Rhodes

As I stated in the introduction, the past archaeological undertakings on Rhodes are vital to my research. The projects can be divided into four periods, in which different institutions worked on different sites on the island. In the first period, the second half of the nineteenth century, the Frenchman August Salzmänn and the Italian-Englishman Sir Alfred Biliotti carried out the earliest substantive surveys and excavations on Rhodes. Their most important project was the excavation between 1852 and 1864 on the Akropolis of Kameiros. Biliotti began excavating the necropolis of Ialysos in 1868, in which he discovered the first substantial group of Greek Bronze Age objects for the British Museum, although at the time the pottery was not recognized as such. Biliotti, however, published little on his findings. Salzmänn published the results of the excavations on the necropoleis of Kameiros in 1875.⁸⁹ Because of the efforts of

⁸⁸ Snodgrass, ‘Archaeology’, 170

⁸⁹ Auguste Salzmänn, *Nécropole de Kamiros: journal des fouilles exécutées dans cette nécropole pendant les années 1858 à 1865* (Paris 1875), David Barchard, ‘The Fearless and Self-Reliant Servant: The Life and Career of Sir Alfred Biliotti (1833-1895)’, *Studi Miceni ed Egeo-Anatolici* 48 (2006) 5-53.

Salzmann and Biliotti, many Rhodian antiquities spread to museums worldwide, most importantly to the British Museum.

The second important group to work at Rhodes was the Danish Carlsberg Institute that carried out excavations in Lindos under the guidance of Kinch and Blinkenberg, between 1902 and 1914.⁹⁰ There are three volumes of these projects, consisting of two parts each: *Les petits objets*, *Les inscriptions* and *L'architecture*. The last volume was only published in 1960, due to the wars and the death of Kinch in 1921. Ejnar Dyggve finally published the volume, adding his own observations and making use of the notebooks of the excavators. Dyggve also provided a history of the excavations in Lindos.⁹¹ The later publication is very useful in studying all of the Lindos volumes, because although Dyggve only published a volume about the excavated constructions, he also commented on the whole of the expeditions and his remarks therefore help me to critically assess the older publications.

When Rhodes became occupied by Italy in 1912, The Italian Archaeological Institute F.E.R.T. continued excavations in Kameiros, Ialysos, the city of Rhodes and at several other smaller sites on Rhodes, such as Villanova, the sanctuary of Zeus on the mountain Atabyrion and around the mountain Akramitis. They also worked on the island of Kos and other small, neighbouring islands.⁹² They restored and reconstructed many buildings and re-evaluated some of the discoveries of the Danish expeditions in Lindos.⁹³ However, this work has been criticized, because the restoration displayed faulty heights for the constructions, so that nowadays it has become difficult for archaeologists to assess the original height of the ancient buildings.⁹⁴ Dyggve also expressed criticism, noting that the wrong *poros* was used in the restorations and that the modern stairs conceal the ancient access to the sanctuary, amongst other things.⁹⁵ However, the criticism mostly concerned the restoration work, and the excavation reports and publications received better acclaim, because of the precise illustrations and

⁹⁰ Blinkenberg, Kinch and Dyggve, *Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, 1902 – 1914*. The volumes about Lindos are annotated as follows : [publisher], *Lindos* [volume], [first or second part of the volume], as in : Blinkenberg, *Lindos* I, I.

⁹¹ Hugh Plommer, 'Lindos. Fouilles et recherches 1902 – 1914. Fouilles de l'acropole. 3. Le sanctuaire d'Athana Lindia et l'architecture lindienne, par E. Dyggve (review)', *JHS* 83 (1963), 203 – 206, 204.

⁹² Jacopi, Maiuri and Laurenzi, *Clara Rhodos: Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell'Institut storico-archeologico di Rodi I - X*.

⁹³ Jacopi and Maiuri, *Clara Rhodos* I, 88.

⁹⁴ Ioannis D. Kondis, 'Lindos vol. 3: Dyggve, Le sanctuaire d'Athana Lindia et l'architecture lindienne (Book Review)', *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 392 – 404, 392.

⁹⁵ Dyggve, *Lindos* III, I, 39, 58; Plommer, 'Lindos. Fouilles et recherches 1902 – 1914', 204.

extensive descriptions. The main criticism included a few uneven comments on style and measurements, as well as occasional discrepancies between photographs and descriptions of the grave inventories.⁹⁶

In Ialysos, the Italians cleared the Akropolis, where they worked on the Temple of Athena Ialysia. They also discovered a few deposits of votive offerings, from which they concluded that a sanctuary had existed on the hill from the tenth century BC on.⁹⁷ However, the most extensive excavations of the Italian School took place in Kameiros, where they excavated on the Akropolis and in the many necropoleis.⁹⁸

After the Second World War, in which Rhodes was heavily bombarded, the Greek Archaeological Service planned a new programme of excavation and renovation and has been restoring and maintaining the ancient monuments until today. They concentrated on the city of Rhodes, which was in danger to be quickly overbuilt due to the growth of the modern city. This also meant that excavations often had to take place quickly, because most finds were done accidentally, in the process of modern building. However, the plans of some houses from the Classical and Hellenistic Period could be reconstructed and the Greek archaeologist Ioannis Kondis extensively investigated the ancient city plan.⁹⁹ Unfortunately, there is no coherent collection of publications about these projects yet. Results are mainly published as articles in Greek archaeological journals.¹⁰⁰

It is clear that the remnants of the ancient poleis Lindos, Kameiros and Ialysos, as well as those of the Rhodian capital constitute the most important archaeological sites of Rhodes.¹⁰¹ Another important site is the small Archaic village of Vroulia, in the south of Rhodes. Kinch excavated here as well.¹⁰²

For my research I have chosen to focus mostly on the excavations of Blinkenberg and Kinch in Lindos and the excavations of the Italian Archaeological

⁹⁶ H.R.W. Smith, 'Clara Rhodos (Studi e Materiali pubblicati a cura dell' Instituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi), viii. Rhodes, Instituto-Archeologico, 1936' (review), *AJA* 43 (1939) 360 – 362; Wilhelmina van Ingen, 'Clara Rhodos. Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell' Istituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi, Vols. VI-VII by Giulio Jacopi' (review), *AJA* 40 (1936) 560 – 563.

⁹⁷ Jacopi and Maiuri, *Clara Rhodos I*, 72 – 82.

⁹⁸ Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos III and IV*.

⁹⁹ Gregory Konstantinopoulos, 'Rhodes, new finds and old problems', *Archaeology* 21 (1968) 115 – 123, 116.

¹⁰⁰ See for example, the annual reports in *AA* and *AAA*; Richard E. Wycherley, 'Rhodos' in: Richard Stillwell et al. (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976) 756.

¹⁰¹ Wycherley, 'Rhodos.'

¹⁰² Arthur B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge 1914 – 1940) I 117; II 922 – 25 and Kinch, *Vroulia. Fouilles de Vroulia* (Berlin 1914).

School in Kameiros. Although a study of more archaeological projects would of course render a bigger, and perhaps more reliable picture of the socio-economic circumstances on Rhodes in the Archaic Period, this would be too large a project within the limits of this thesis. Moreover, I think that a thorough study of the publications about Lindos and Kameiros alone can contribute a great deal as well and can show which possibilities for research about ancient Rhodes there still are. Therefore, for each of these series, I will conduct a case study about part of the excavations. With regard to the Italian excavations, I have chosen to look at the volume about the necropoleis of Macrì Langoni and Checraci in the old polis of Kameiros. Excavations in Kameiros have uncovered many necropoleis, which are relatively well documented by the Italian School of Archaeology.¹⁰³ The Archaic and early Classical necropoleis of Macrì Langoni and Checraci have rendered sufficient material, mostly pottery, to provide a picture of the different styles of pottery that circulated in this area of Rhodes. With regard to the Danish excavations, I will look at the publications about the Akropolis,¹⁰⁴ because here the sanctuary was located, which had, as we will see, a particular relevance in the distribution of certain types of objects in the eastern Aegean. In this case study, I will focus on the distribution of egyptianizing faience.

The ceramic and faience material that the Danish and Italian excavators found has been the subject of much debate throughout the 20th century, not only in the disciplines of history and archaeology, but also in the field of art history. The publications about these excavations form the basis of my research for this thesis. As a historical student, I will make use of the style analyses and the archaeological expertise of the publishers. They added ample commentary to the results, and the finds have been debated in later articles and books as well. This allows me to understand and interpret the finds in a way that is useful for my research. This means that in general I will adopt the style analyses as they were made by the excavators themselves. In this way, I hope that I, as a student of history, might contribute to the interdisciplinary study of the ancient world by making use of archaeological publications and art historical theory in my historical work.

¹⁰³ Jacopi and Maiuri, *Clara Rhodos I, III and IV*.

¹⁰⁴ Blinkenberg, Kinch and Dyggve, *Lindos I and III*.

1.6 Conclusion

In my research on the economy of Rhodes I will take account of the diverse views on ancient economies developed in the past century. I have shown that with regard to ‘the great debate’ between primitivists and modernists, theories have developed that go beyond this distinction, such as the position of Neville Morley with regard to ancient trade. Instead of investigating and discussing the phenomenon of trade in its narrow sense, I will adopt the method of Morley in taking into account all sorts of distributional activities, as I believe that a broader approach to the circulation of goods around Rhodes provides me with a better and broader view on the socio-economic development of the island.

Of the different excavations that have taken place on Rhodes I have chosen to focus on those of the Italian and the Danish School, in Kameiros and Lindos, respectively. I have shown that, although a larger study of more publications would of course provide me with a bigger picture, my case studies of these two publications are able to demonstrate the possibilities that archaeological evidence holds for the study of socio-economic history, and, in this thesis, for the economic development of the island of Rhodes during the seventh, sixth and early fifth centuries BC.

2. A local business? Wild Goat Style and Fikellura pottery in Kameiros

In this chapter, I will present the results of my first case study. I will focus on two particular East Greek styles of pottery decoration, namely the WGS and Fikellura style. These styles are found across the eastern Aegean and on Rhodes in particular, notably in its necropoleis. The necropoleis I have studied, those of Macrì Langoni and Checraci, belonged to the old polis of Kameiros. Kameiros was one of the three ancient poleis of Rhodes, inhabited as early as the Mycenaean period and located on the west coast of the island, about 25 km south of Ialysos, facing the majority of the Dodecanese islands in the north-west.

In Kameiros, excavations have rendered the most impressive remains of the island.¹⁰⁵ Excavations on the Akropolis and in the village have uncovered large constructions, and for the Hellenistic Period there are signs that city planning determined a great deal of the lay-out of the site of the village.¹⁰⁶ On the Akropolis, the temple of Athena Kameiras was discovered, as well as some other constructions. However, the most extensive projects took place in the necropoleis. In those of Macrì Langoni and Checraci, the archaeological work has yielded objects dating to the Archaic and Classical Period, which can shed light on the distribution of these kinds of pottery in the eastern Aegean.

Some of the pottery styles found in Macrì Langoni and Checraci are nowadays attributed to the Eastern Greek WGS and Fikellura style. Both were part of a flowering pottery culture on the coast and islands of the eastern Aegean, primarily during the seventh and sixth centuries BC, before the increasing influence of Attic pottery gradually overshadowed them.

The main production centre of the East Greek styles during their heyday was Miletus.¹⁰⁷ In the past decades, new methods have been able to better determine the origins of clay objects. I will come back to the nature of this research below. Because of the new insights that this research yielded, discussions about the origins of both WGS and Fikellura pottery continue. Therefore, the finds in Macrì Langoni and Checraci are useful in research about distribution patterns of these styles in the south-eastern Aegean.

¹⁰⁵ Jacopi, Maiuri and Laurenzi, *Clara Rhodos I – X*.

¹⁰⁶ Wycherley, s.v. Rhodes, in: Stillwell et al. (eds), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*.

¹⁰⁷ Pierre Dupont, 'Classification et Determination de Provenance des Ceramiques Greques Orientales Archaïques d' Istros Rapport Preliminaire', *Dacia* 27 (1983), 19 – 43, John Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting* (London 1998) 142.

2.1 WGS and Fikellura pottery: Past research and current views

Knowledge about East Greek pottery has increased significantly since the first discoveries of vases of this kind in the nineteenth century. Although the typology of these styles, based on stylistic analysis, rapidly developed in the first half of the twentieth century, it is especially during the past decades that views on the origins and distribution of East Greek styles have changed, thanks to the new methods of archaeometry and clay analysis. In order to provide my discussion of the archaeological record with a proper context, I will briefly discuss the characteristics of both styles and the research that has been conducted during the 20th century, before I will pay special attention to the finds in Macrì Langoni and Checraci.

2.1.1 WGS Pottery

Wild Goat Style is the name given to a pottery type that developed from the middle of the seventh century on the coast and islands of the eastern Aegean. The light brown or reddish clay is often quite coarse and covered with a white or beige slip, especially in the earlier periods; in later periods this slip is sometimes omitted. The decoration is characterized by repetitive animal friezes, of which the goat is one of the most recurring subjects. Human figures are very rare. The animals are often painted with black outlines and some red and white paint is added to the figures. The background of these scenes is beige or white and often patterned with flower-like decorations, such as rosettes. Between these friezes, additional cables are painted, with spikey lotuses and buds, as well as guilloches and linear meanders.¹⁰⁸ The WGS was part of the eastern Orientalizing period, in which oriental models were of great influence. Although the style flourished at about the same time as the proto-Corinthian style, it has a completely different appearance. Robert M. Cook described the general look of WGS pottery as textile-like, as opposed to the precision with which proto-Corinthian wares were painted, resembling engraving.¹⁰⁹ In general, Cook was quite negative about the aesthetic quality of the WGS: ‘The draughtsmanship has a careless facility which might be thought spontaneous if there were not so many examples of it. It is a style without ambitions.’¹¹⁰ He furthermore emphasized the rapid decline of the style at the beginning of the sixth century and the failure of black figure to renew it.

¹⁰⁸ See for examples of WGS vases Appendix III. Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting*, 142 – 143; Robert M. Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery* (London and New York 1998) 32.

¹⁰⁹ Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London 1972) 115.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 117.

The WGS is today mostly classified in three groups: Early Wild Goat (EWG), starting around 660 BC, Middle Wild Goat (MWG), from about 640 – 600 BC, and Late Wild Goat (LWG), first half of the sixth century BC.¹¹¹ During the twentieth century, specialists have proposed different divisions and again altered these along with discoveries of new material. The Danish archaeologist Kinch had divided what he called ‘Kameiran pottery’, an early name for WGS, into three periods: ‘style sévère’, ‘style libre’ and a nameless third period.¹¹² In a few early articles, Cook proposed to divide the pottery into ‘Rhodian A’ and ‘Rhodian B’. Rhodian A roughly includes the phases EWG and MWG and Rhodian B overlaps with LWG.¹¹³

In 1957, the German archaeologist Wolfgang Schiering criticized the early divisions of Kinch and Cook, as they did not take regional differences into account, according to him.¹¹⁴ Therefore, he proposed yet another division: he distinguished three main WGS groups; the Kameiros, the Euphorbos and the Vlastos group, thereby echoing earlier divisions made by Andreas Rumpf, another German archaeologist.¹¹⁵ Schiering partly based his Kameiros group on the division that Kinch had made of East Greek pottery in his publication about the excavations in Vroulia. It is true that in the WGS regional differences can be noticed, but it is the general unity that is remarkable and that has led scholars like Cook to conclude that only a few workshops must have dominated the production of the style, especially during the Early and Middle phases.¹¹⁶ This is one of the main reasons why Cook devised a division on the basis of general periods.

The distinction between EWG, MWG and LWG was proposed by Cook in 1960 and is still the most widely used classification.¹¹⁷ Especially during MWG, the main production centre seems to have been Miletus. Cook divided this period again into MWG I, II en III. For the MWG, the oinochoe with a trefoil lip was the most used kind of vase and to the goats of the EWG, dogs and geese were added. At this period, the

¹¹¹ Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 118 – 120.

¹¹² Kinch, *Fouilles de Vroulia*, 193 – 264.

¹¹³ Cook, ‘Fikellura Pottery’, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 34 (1933/34) 1- 98. See also Cook, ‘Ionia and Greece in the eight and seventh centuries B.C.’, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 66 (1946) 67 – 98; Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 118, 120.

¹¹⁴ Wolfgang Schiering, *Werkstätten orientalisierender Keramik auf Rhodos* (Berlin 1957) 4 – 7.

¹¹⁵ Schiering, *Werkstätten orientalisierender Keramik auf Rhodos*, 4-7; Andreas Rumpf, ‘Zu den klazomenischen Denkmälern’, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 48 (1933) 55 – 83; Thomas Mannack, *Griechische Vasenmalerei. Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt 2002) 91 – 92.

¹¹⁶ Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 34 – 36.

¹¹⁷ Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London 1960) 118 – 126.

level of painting can be said to be at its highest point. Excavators have found MWG pottery in the eastern Aegean and around the Black Sea, where Miletus had many colonies. A fair amount was also found in the East Greek colony of Naukratis in Egypt. However, on mainland Greece, hardly any pottery of this style was discovered.¹¹⁸ This is interesting, because it indicates that the style had a limited public, confined to East Greek (island) poleis and their colonies, and did not succeed in gaining attention anywhere else. From about 600 BC, the style begins to degenerate, the animal figures become stretched and the small rosettes become hammocks attached to the borders of the friezes. Another influence of this period is that of black-figure. On LWG pottery from North Ionia, animal friezes are still the norm, but the scenes are often black-figured. This style is mostly found on LWG oinochoai, dinoi and large hemispherical cups.¹¹⁹

So, in general, the dating of WGS pottery has been the subject of many discussions and revisions throughout time. Since the introduction of clay analysis through archaeometric investigations, knowledge about the origins of WGS pottery changed. Even the widely accepted system of Cook receives more and more criticism: ‘To sum up, the main difficulties of the classification systems so far proposed are either that they largely disregard regional differentiation (Cook, Schiering) or that they lack some form of coherent chronological structure (H. Walter, E. Walter-Karydi).’¹²⁰ There have been attempts to create systems that correspond better to these new insights in recent times.¹²¹ These new systems, however, are not very well-known yet and in general, the classification of Cook is still the most widely accepted system. That is why I have chosen to still use it this chapter.

2.1.2 Fikellura pottery

The Fikellura style arose in the second quarter of the sixth century BC and ended around 500 BC. It was clearly a development of the WGS. The name Fikellura is derived from the Rhodian place where the style was first found. Other finding places are Samos and Miletus. A few specimens were also found in Cyprus and on sites on the west coast of the Black Sea, as well as in some Greek colonies in Egypt, like

¹¹⁸ Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London 1960), 117 – 125 and Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting*, 143 – 144. See for example fig. 294, 297, 301, 302 and 304.

¹¹⁹ Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting*, 142 – 143.

¹²⁰ Michael Kerschner and Udo Schlotzhauer, ‘A new classification system for East Greek pottery’, *Ancient West & East* 4,1 (2005) 1 – 50, 1.

¹²¹ Cook, *Greek painted pottery* (London 1997); Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery* (London 1998); Kerschner and Schlotzhauer, ‘A new classification system for East Greek pottery’.

Naukratis.¹²² Despite this variety of finding places, today most scholars believe that Miletus was the centre of production for most, if not all, of the Fikellura finds.¹²³ Cook stated: ‘There is no evidence, anyhow at present, for manufacture in other East Greek cities.’¹²⁴ Some colonies made their own imitations of Fikellura, but these were often stylistically much simpler than the common Fikellura wares.¹²⁵ Following Cook’s view, we should attribute the finds of Fikellura pottery in Kameiros to distributional activities: transport from Miletus to Rhodes and other places, such as Samos and Milesian colonies around the Black Sea.

Fikellura pottery is in kind of clay and slip similar to the WGS.¹²⁶ However, new patterns and figures emerged, such as rows of crescents and chains of black and white stripes, which give a feathered look. The figures are painted in silhouette and with hardly any outlines, but with the addition of thin lines for details. The animal figures are like those of the WGS, but new figures such as panthers and partridges emerged as well. Whereas human figures are rare in the WGS, in the Fikellura style they are more often depicted, for example as dancing komasts, in symposia and as pygmies fighting with cranes. Among the new floral figures are spiral and palmette patterns. Fikellura painting is mostly found on broad amphorae of about 25 – 35 cm with three-reeded handles, but also on oinochoai and cups and more rarely on other forms.¹²⁷ The most constant features of decoration are rough strokes on the lip, a double cable or meander and square or meander cross on the neck, coarse blobs on the handle and an overpainted low foot.¹²⁸

Scholars have identified many different individual painters of Fikellura pottery. One of the best known is the so-called Altenburg painter, who painted around the middle of the sixth century BC. He was probably the first to paint crescent patterns. Furthermore, he imitated black-figure techniques; instead of outlining the heads of animal figures, he painted them and only left small parts blank, which are so-called reservations. These reservations resemble incisions on Attic black figure pottery. The innovations of the Altenburg painter were of great influence and Cook also credits him

¹²² Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 134.

¹²³ Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting*, 147 – 148; Mannack, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 98.

¹²⁴ Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 77.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, 89 – 90.

¹²⁶ For examples of Fikellura pottery, see Appendix III.

¹²⁷ Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 77 – 78; Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting*, 147 – 148.

¹²⁸ Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 130.

with the addition of human figures to the decorations.¹²⁹ Cook furthermore distinguished the Running Man Painter, who worked about two decades later and whose work was less orderly and more spontaneous. His name-piece is one of the most well-known examples of Fikellura pottery.¹³⁰

The use of florals on Fikellura pottery suggests that Attic potters may have made use of Milesian knowledge about pottery making in later times.¹³¹ In general, however, there are remarkably little connections with Attic black figure pottery. Cook noted some parallels, but all of them are very questionable.¹³² In any case, Attic pottery proved too much competition, and at the end of the sixth century, it quickly superseded Fikellura in the eastern Aegean.

2.1.3 Clay analysis and new insights

Style analyses were the basis of most of the common classification systems for East Greek pottery, such as developed by Kinch, Schiering and Cook. The biggest problem in classifying East Greek pottery has been the scantiness of evidence available. With the exception of colonies around the Black Sea and in Egypt and Libya, it was hardly transported and practically none of the evidence dates to before the seventh century BC. Moreover, European museums received most of the Rhodian evidence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and for this pottery the original context has become impossible to establish.¹³³

However, in the past decades, thanks to the work of scholars who carried out clay analysis on Greek vases, it is now possible to attribute pottery to their places of origin with much more certainty.¹³⁴ In one of the first articles on this research, Pierre

¹²⁹ Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 78 – 79; Mannack, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 98 – 99.

¹³⁰ Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 83.

¹³¹ Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting*, 148.

¹³² For possible parallels between Fikellura and Attic black figure pottery, see Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 87 – 88.

¹³³ Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 5.

¹³⁴ E.g. Dupont, 'Classification et Determination de Provenance des Ceramiques Greques Orientales Archaïques d' Istros Rapport Preliminaire' ; Richard E. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery. A review of Scientific Studies. The BSA Fitch Laboratory Occasional Paper 1* (London 1986); Michael Kerschner et al., 'Neutron activation analysis of bird bowls and related Archaic ceramics from Miletus', *Archaeometry* 35.2 (1993) 197 – 210; Meral Akurgal, Kerschner, Hans Mommsen and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis. Archäometrische und archäologische Untersuchungen zur mykenischen, geometrischen und archaischen Keramik aus den Fundorten in Westkleinasien* (Vienna 2002); Kerschner, 'Zur Herkunftsbestimmung archaischer ostgriechischer Keramik: die Funde aus Berezan im Akademischer Kunstmuseum der Universität Bonn und im Robertinum der Universität Halle-Wittenberg', *Ist.Mitt.* 56 (2006) 129 – 156. See also Nezih Aytaçlar, 'Problems in determining pottery production centers through clay analysis', *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 10 (2007) 55 – 68.

Dupont presented his analysis of ceramic material from Istros, on the Black Sea. This already proved that much of the WGS and Fikellura found there originated from Miletus and that this must have been a large production centre: ‘Milet aurait donc développé, à l’époque archaïque, un artisanat céramique très dynamique, d’où semblent issues des productions caractéristiques, notamment pour ce qui est des catégories décorées («Middle Wild Goat II» et Fikellura.)’¹³⁵ This kind of research has shed new light on the distribution of different types of pottery throughout Greece. Especially with regard to East Greek pottery, it has changed established views drastically, as we will see below.

Although clay analysis has proved itself to be a valuable tool in the research concerning pottery origins, the method has not escaped criticism.¹³⁶ For example, the basic assumption in carrying out these analyses is that each kind of differently composed clay can be traced back to a certain pottery production centre. This again implies that the clay used by the potters is practically always that which can be found in clay beds in the area of the workshop. However, different clay beds in the same area can be differently composed, or different workshops can make use of the same clay bed. Furthermore, the clay beds can vary over time, and clay from different clay beds could be mixed.¹³⁷ I even agree with Neziha Aytaçlar that one should not exclude the possibility that clay from a whole other area was used, i.e. that clay was transported.¹³⁸ Other criticism of clay analyses concentrate on the effect the technique itself can have on the outcome of the analysis, and the extent to which clay analyses are able to determine which provenance group was used at which pottery production centre.¹³⁹

So, in short, although clay analysis has proved itself very valuable in the determination of the origins of different pottery styles, the method is not undisputed and its results should not be used uncritically. In 1998, after clay analysis had resulted in some large successes, Cook noted that the three basic methods of dating ceramic materials: stratigraphy, contexts and stylistic study, were still necessary in pottery research.¹⁴⁰ However, despite this criticism, the merits of archaeometry outweigh its disadvantages, as it has radically shifted views on the provenance of different pottery

¹³⁵ Dupont, ‘Classification et Détermination de Provenance des Céramiques Grecques Orientales Archaïques d’Istros Rapport Préliminaire’, 28.

¹³⁶ Aytaçlar, ‘Problems in determining pottery production centers through clay analysis’.

¹³⁷ Ibidem, 57.

¹³⁸ Ibidem, 57 – 58.

¹³⁹ Ibidem, 59.

¹⁴⁰ Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 8.

types. At the moment, it is the most reliable method. Therefore, in the next section of this chapter, though I will remain critical, the results of archaeometric analysis are at the core of my discussion of WGS and Fikellura finds in Kameiros.

2.2 Excavations in Kameiros

August Salzmann and Sir Alfred Biliotti carried out the earliest substantive surveys and excavations on Rhodes in the second half of the nineteenth century. Among these expeditions was an excavation between 1852 and 1864 on the Akropolis of Kameiros.¹⁴¹ The second important group to work at Rhodes, the Danish Carlsberg Institute, hardly carried out any research in Kameiros.¹⁴² When Rhodes became occupied by Italy in 1912, the Italian Archaeological Institute renewed archaeological projects in Kameiros.¹⁴³ The main excavators, Giulio Jacopi, Amedeo Maiuri and Luciano Laurenzi, published their work in no less than ten volumes. Among the discussed subjects are not only results of the excavations, but also descriptions of the medieval monuments of the Knights of Rhodes, as well as the collection of the Archaeological Museum at Rhodes.¹⁴⁴ Of the ten volumes, IV, VI and VII deal specifically with the projects in Kameiros. Volume IV presents the results of the excavations in the Kameiran necropoleis of Macrì Langoni and Checraci. The stele of Crito and Timarista, a special find, is discussed in a separate chapter.¹⁴⁵ Volumes VI – VII (which are published as one book) discuss other necropoleis around Kameiros.¹⁴⁶ However, it is the fourth volume that I will mostly focus on here, as it describes the finds of WGS and Fikellura pottery in Macrì Langoni, which constituted the most important Archaic and early Classical necropolis in Kameiros. Because the volume also dealt with findings in the much smaller necropolis of Checraci, I will include the results of this projects as well.

The necropolis of Macrì Langoni is located very close to the sea, almost on the beach, alongside a hill that encloses a valley that stretches from the Akropolis of

¹⁴¹ Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, Barchard, ‘The Fearless and Self-Reliant Servant: The Life and Career of Sir Alfred Biliotti (1833-1895)’.

¹⁴² Blinkenberg, Kinch and Dyggve, *Lindos, Fouilles et recherches, 1902 – 1914*.

¹⁴³ Jacopi, Maiuri and Luciano Laurenzi, *Clara Rhodos I - X*.

¹⁴⁴ Jacopi, Maiuri and Laurenzi, *Clara Rhodos I, II, V, VIII – X*.

¹⁴⁵ Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos IV*, 37 – 42.

¹⁴⁶ Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos VI-VII*; van Ingen, ‘Clara Rhodos. Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell’ Istituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi, Vols. VI-VII by Giulio Jacopi’ (review).

Kameiros towards the sea.¹⁴⁷ The necropolis, enclosed by a hill, the sea and a creek, is very densely occupied by graves, of which the excavators discovered 260. Most of the graves were chamber tombs and shaft tombs. Although it was possible to date most of the grave goods, it was not easy to establish the age of the graves themselves in most cases, because, according to the excavators, the ancient Rhodians often re-used old tombs in later times. The amount of chamber tombs that contain red-figured pottery implies for example, that chamber tombs were still in use in the fifth century BC, or being re-used. The excavators also discovered cremation graves and burials in pithoi, which date to the seventh and the sixth century.¹⁴⁸ So, to be very general, most of the grave goods in this necropolis range from the seventh until the fifth century.

The necropolis of Checraci is situated about 500 meters south of Macrì Langoni, farther away from the beach. Two small areas of already excavated graves run alongside a rim of rock, and a third, not yet uncovered area of graves was situated on the alignment alongside the rim of rock, or situated just below that rim. The Italians uncovered 29 graves in this third area in Checraci, which added up to the graves that had already been uncovered in earlier excavations.¹⁴⁹ There were thus two distinct groups of graves in the third, new area; the group aligned on top of the rock, and that underneath. The first group contained a child's tomb, ten cremation tombs, a chamber tomb and three funerary pithoi. The second group only consisted of 14 enchytrismoï. The Italians dated the graves to the sixth and the first half of the fifth century.

2.3.1 East Greek pottery finds in Macrì Langoni and Checraci

80 percent of the graves found in Macrì Langoni contained grave objects, mostly in the graves of the younger persons. The most important categories of grave goods Jacopi distinguished were the small ceramic objects such as statuettes, jewellery and pottery. Jacopi also classified the different styles of the pottery found in the graves. He distinguished Rhodian-geometric, Fikellura and Attic vases and, finally, a type of pottery that he called 'Rhodian or Kameiran or Rhodian-Milesian.' Kinch had first coined the term 'Kameiran pottery' in a separate chapter on this kind of pottery in his publication on the findings in Vroulia, a small site in the south of Rhodes with Archaic remains. Kinch meant this as a replacement for the terms 'Rhodian', 'Milesian' and

¹⁴⁷ Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos* IV, 8. See also Appendix II.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 10.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 7 – 8. I could not find out which earlier excavations Jacopi refers to, possibly those of Salzmann and Biliotti.

‘Rhodian-Milesian’. He emphasized that the name did not necessarily indicate a place of origin, only the finding place.¹⁵⁰ Nowadays, WGS is the most used term for this type.

The Italian School found these ‘Rhodian-Milesian’ or ‘Kameiran’ ceramics in cremation graves as well as in chamber tombs.¹⁵¹ In total, they found 18 pieces.¹⁵² Moreover, Jacopi recognized a group of pottery belonging to the Fikellura style. The 19 Fikellura finds in Macrì Langoni and Checraci made a large contribution to the 24 specimens that Salzmänn and Biliotti had already discovered and sold to European museums. Excavations in Ialysos had rendered another 6 pieces.¹⁵³ Because of these discoveries, Jacopi was convinced that Fikellura pottery was locally produced on Rhodes.

There was also a gigantic amount of non-decorated or minimally decorated ceramic wares, the bulk of the total amount of grave goods. These would not be suited for export, according to Jacopi. He did not explain this, but he might have thought plain pottery was not worth the transport costs. Because Jacopi thought the Rhodians did not export crude ceramics, he argued that the pottery had been produced locally, in the same workshops that were responsible for the Fikellura pottery.¹⁵⁴

Most of the Fikellura wares found in Macrì Langoni were amphorae and lekythoi. The Fikellura group in Macrì Langoni was the largest after the Attic group, which sustains Cooks statement that Attic pottery was taking over East Greek styles at the end of the sixth century BC.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, it is important to note that although the amounts of discovered WGS and Fikellura pottery were relatively large, they were still overshadowed by the amounts of Attic pottery, which was becoming increasingly popular during the late Archaic period. In his introduction, Jacopi gave as much attention to WGS and Fikellura finds as to Attic finds, because they were, at the time of publication, still quite unknown.¹⁵⁶ This can be a little misleading and it should thus be noted that the East Greek styles eventually collapsed in the face of Attic competition and that the necropolis of Macrì Langoni is a notable example of this development.

¹⁵⁰ Kinch, *Fouilles de Vroulia (Rhodes)*, preface.

¹⁵¹ Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos* IV, 18, 25.

¹⁵² See for more details Appendix I.

¹⁵³ Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos* IV, 23.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 21 – 23.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, 21; Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 130.

¹⁵⁶ In his descriptions of the pottery finds, it seems that Jacopi counts all pottery with black figure decoration as ‘Attic’, thereby making no distinction between ‘truly’ Attic black figure and East Greek pottery that was increasingly decorated in black figure, but still distinctly East Greek. However, as I am not able to properly assess this due to a lack of photographs, I will here accept Jacopi’s distinction.

Research in later times has greatly influenced views on the distribution of WGS and Fikellura pottery. In the next two sections I will discuss the finds of the styles separately and critically assess Jacopi's views, drawing my own conclusions from the archaeological record.

2.3.2 WGS pottery at Macrì Langoni and Checraci

The findings of the Italian School greatly enlarged the excavated amount of vases of WGS pottery known at the time. Because of this large amount, Jacopi was convinced that they were dealing with locally manufactured ceramics. Rhodian stamped amphorae from the Hellenistic period are found all over the Greek world, and Rhodes was, in Hellenistic times, one of the centres of the production of ceramics. This fact, and the finds of this seemingly local style of pottery led Jacopi to believe that already long before the Hellenistic Period, a local tradition of pottery making existed on Rhodes, specifically in Kameiros.¹⁵⁷ Jacopi was one of many scholars who believed the style originated in Rhodes, an idea that is known as the 'pan-Rhodian concept'.¹⁵⁸ However, clay analysis and finds in Ionia demonstrated that Miletus was the main centre of production for WGS pottery.¹⁵⁹ Most scholars no longer consider Rhodes a significant production centre, although John Boardman still noted that other regions than Miletus produced their own versions of WGS pottery.¹⁶⁰

Kinch had already voiced hesitation about the origin of the WGS. He published an early chapter on the style in his publication from 1914 about Vroulia.¹⁶¹ During the excavations in Lindos, he noted that they hardly found WGS pottery on the east coast of Rhodes, while there were numerous examples of it on the west coast, in Kameiros and in the south, in Vroulia. Because of the lack of WGS on the east coast, Kinch already concluded that the style was probably not of Rhodian origin, but manufactured in workshops in other places, such as poleis in Asia Minor, that had close contact with particular places on Rhodes, like Kameiros.

Jacopi instead argued that the excellent technique of Rhodian stamped amphorae from the Hellenistic period indicated an expertise that must have developed over a longer time. Furthermore, the findings of large quantities of crude or semi-crude

¹⁵⁷ Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos IV*, 18, 25.

¹⁵⁸ Akurgal, Kerschner, Mommsen and Niemeier, *Töpferzentren der Ostägäis*, 29; Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting*, 142.

¹⁵⁹ Dupont, 'Classification et Détermination de Provenance des Céramiques Grecques Orientales Archaiques d'Istros Rapport Préliminaire'; Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 117 – 125 and Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting*, 143 – 144. See for example fig. 294, 297, 301, 302 and 304.

¹⁶⁰ Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting*, 142.

¹⁶¹ Kinch, *Fouilles de Vroulia*, 264.

ceramics in Ialysos attested, according to him, to the fabrication of local pottery here during the Archaic and Classical Period. On the other hand, in Kameiros, there was a scarcity of crude ceramics, as opposed to the relatively large amount of luxury wares, while they only found luxurious pottery in Ialysos in the cremation tombs. In this way, Jacopi went so far as to argue that Ialysos had workshops specialized in pottery for daily usage, while Kameiros was more known for its luxurious pottery. Kinch did not observe WGS in Lindos and almost everywhere else on the east coast. According to Jacopi, this sustained the argument of local, Kameiran production, because, for reasons of local competitiveness and parochialism, Lindos and Ialysos would not be inclined to import Kameiran goods.¹⁶² Meanwhile, the import of Phoenician and Corinthian objects was common to all three cities and did not spur local competition. In this way, Jacopi argued, if the luxurious pottery was produced in Anatolia, Lindos and Ialysos would have imported it as well, but because it was probably made in Kameiros, they did not import it.¹⁶³

Although it might be tempting to attach this story of local rivalry to the findings in the three ancient poleis of Rhodes, I think Jacopi went too far in interpreting the difference in findings between Kameiros, Ialysos and Lindos in this way. This interpretation implies some sort of rational economic thinking in which Ialysos and Lindos boycotted certain goods to disadvantage another community on purpose. It is probable that some sort of competitiveness existed between the three cities, but I doubt that this was expressed by economic measures like a boycott, which to me seem very modern in character. No parallel for this phenomenon can be found in other ancient societies and it would also require some form of economical organization, preventing all citizens from buying Kameiran goods. There is no evidence for this. Furthermore, this conclusion downplays the principle of specialization. If the people of Lindos would want to disadvantage the economy of Kameiros, they would rather have specialized in another form of pottery, which, apparently, they did not.

In any case, the lack of WGS pottery on the east coast remains interesting. The considerable amount in Macrì Langoni could indicate that a local centre of production existed in the western part of Rhodes, as Jacopi argued. However, the dominance of Miletus in the production of WGS pottery as proved by archaeometric analysis diminishes the possibility of workshops that produced WGS pottery in Kameiros. So,

¹⁶² Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos* IV, 26.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem*.

not only do I find Jacopi's ideas about the boycotting of Kameiran products by the Lindians and Ialysians somewhat bold and not well-founded, I think he was wrong in recognizing a local, Kameiran tradition of pottery in these finds. But what then, is the reason that the WGS findings in Kameiros and Vroulia were far more considerable than those on the east coast of Rhodes? Why would for example Lindos, already during the Archaic period a well-known sanctuary, visited by many people throughout the region, not also import WGS pottery if Kameiros did? Kinch stated that this must be the result of differences in trading partners. When looking at the physical position of the poleis, this is a valuable point. Kameiros and Vroulia, at the (south-)west coast of Rhodes overlooked the Aegean, more or less in the direction of Miletus. Geographically, Lindos was focused on the eastern Mediterranean. I think the main reason that Lindos did not import as much WGS pottery as Kameiros, was simply that it was involved in different distributional chains and that it did not have the strong connections with Miletus that Kameiros had. Instead, Lindos must have participated in other network clusters. In the next chapter I will focus on one of the distribution networks that Lindos was part of, in which egyptianizing faience was distributed. It will become clear that in the distribution of faience, Lindos was an important node linking the cluster of the south-eastern Aegean to regional clusters in the eastern and southern Mediterranean.

Cook noted that East Greek pottery in general was hardly transported across the Aegean, although Corinthian, and later Attic pottery, became common in many East Greek cities already from the seventh century BC on. East Greek pottery is found mostly in the south-eastern Aegean and around the Black Sea,¹⁶⁴ so the distribution of WGS was limited to this region. What are the ramifications of this? Miletus was the largest producer of WGS pottery. This generally undisputed, although some minor other production centres probably existed as well.¹⁶⁵ I have shown that at Kameiros, large amounts of WGS pottery were imported and quite intensive contact must have existed between Miletus and Kameiros. Given the overall coherency in the style of WGS, which has been noted by Cook,¹⁶⁶ it is possible to perceive a certain niche of pottery making and distribution in the south-eastern Aegean. The WGS style was common to a limited amount of poleis on the coast of Asia Minor and on East Greek islands, in which decorative styles and production methods were exchanged. In this way, this

¹⁶⁴ Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 118 – 126.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, 121.

¹⁶⁶ Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 34 – 36.

distributional pattern should not be perceived as an undifferentiated trading network, but as a communal network in which pottery styles developed thanks to intensive distribution contacts that facilitated exchange of styles and production techniques.

2.3.3 Fikellura pottery at Macrì Langoni and Checraci

Jacopi was impressed by the relatively large amount of specimens of Fikellura pottery found in Kameiros, in which he perceived an assimilation of Mycenaean, Orientalizing and Geometric influences, leading to new creations which would become typical for the eastern Aegean.¹⁶⁷ He was therefore also inclined to see in these finds a phenomenon that he called a Ionian *koinè* of pottery making. This *koinè* consisted of different production centres on the Ionian coast and islands of the eastern Aegean which were all connected by common ancestry, common artistic interests and common conditions of life. In the previous section, I have argued that such a niche, or *koinè*, existed for WGS pottery, although I do not think that common ancestry played a particular large role. Jacopi stated that the Fikellura style was a notable example of these communal style developments as well.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, he viewed Rhodes as one of the main centres in this *koinè* of Fikellura production, because of the many finds in Kameiros. Cook noted that the Fikellura style only really flourished in the south-east, from Samos to Rhodes.¹⁶⁹ Consequently, this network of Fikellura distribution must have been rather limited.

Although the Fikellura pottery found in Macrì Langoni and Checraci was only a small part of the total of grave goods found, it made a large contribution to the amount of Fikellura wares already known and constituted a relatively large part of all the found decorated wares in the two necropoleis. However, it is now clear that the large amount of Fikellura pottery found in both Kameiros and Ialysos did not originate there. In a ground-breaking article in 1983 Dupont stated:

‘Le tri des données d’analyse a donné lieu à des résultats tout à fait nets : les amphores hellénistiques estampillées et les coupes ioniennes ont formé un groupe géochimique bien distinct, à quelques exceptions près, de celui rassemblant les vases de Camiros dans le style des Chèvres Sauvages, phase « Middle Wild Goat II » , et celui de Fikellura. Le premier groupe a présenté

¹⁶⁷ Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos* IV, 23.

¹⁶⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁶⁹ Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 117.

des compositions très apparentées à celles des argiles magnésiennes de l'île, tandis que le second s'est révélé correspondre aux compositions de Milet.¹⁷⁰

Dupont thus proved that it was only the Ionian Cups and the Hellenistic stamped amphorae that for the most part originated from Rhodes and in this way, the island of Rhodes, previously perceived as a large production center, was all of a sudden reduced to a minor player on the Fikellura pottery market. The pan-Rhodian concept was rebutted. However, Dupont had studied material found in Istros, not material from Rhodes. Richard E. Jones, another researcher in the field of archaeometry, studied pottery actually found on Rhodes.¹⁷¹ He analyzed 42 pieces of Rhodian ceramics, both pottery and figurines, of which six found in Kameiros and one Fikellura piece found elsewhere on the island, and concluded that only 11 of these were locally produced. The Fikellura piece was not among them, and only two of these were Kameiran.

However, except for these experiments by Jones, not much East Greek pottery actually found on Rhodes has been analyzed. The pan-Rhodian concept has only been dismissed because almost no East Greek pottery found elsewhere originated in Rhodes. The only thing proven in this way, is that Rhodes was not a large exporter, but the possibility remains that Fikellura en WGS vases were locally produced, but not exported. However, the results of the archaeometric experiments indicate that there existed intensive distribution of East Greek pottery in the eastern Aegean. In this way, it seems improbable that Rhodes kept her WGS and Fikellura pottery to herself. Therefore, it is more plausible that the island mainly imported East Greek pottery.

As for WGS pottery, there was hardly any transport of Fikellura to mainland Greece, and most of the evidence comes from Miletus, Samos, Rhodes and the west coast of the Black Sea. In other regions around the Black Sea as well as in the northern part of the coast of Asia Minor, above Ephesus, Fikellura is rare and there is no evidence for the production of Fikellura on Rhodes.¹⁷² In any case, the finds in Macrì Langoni en Checraci show that Rhodes imported Fikellura

¹⁷⁰ Dupont, 'Classification et Détermination de Provenance des Céramiques Grecques Orientales Archaiques d'Istros Rapport Préliminaire' 29.

¹⁷¹ Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery*, 667 – 671.

¹⁷² Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 88.

wares from Miletus and possibly from other production centres. Although Rhodes did not host production centres of Fikellura pottery, it was certainly a consumer of the style. This again demonstrates the cohesion in the south-eastern Aegean and the existence of a limited, but open and interconnected space in which these styles could easily reach Rhodes.

It seems that at the end of the sixth century, due to the increase of Attic pottery in the east, export of Fikellura declined. Even so, because Fikellura pottery for the most part originated in Miletus, there might be another reason for the abrupt ending of this style around the turn of the century. In 494 BC, the Persians destroyed Miletus, in a series of events that marked the end of the Ionian Revolt, of which Herodotus says:

‘When the Persians had conquered the Ionians by sea, they laid siege to Miletus by sea and land, mining the walls and using every device against it, until they utterly captured it in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras. They enslaved the city, and thus the calamity agreed with the oracle concerning Miletus.’¹⁷³

Furthermore:

‘All this now came upon the Milesians, since most of their men were slain by the Persians, who wore long hair, and their women and children were accounted as slaves, and the temple at Didyma with its shrine and place of divination was plundered and burnt.’¹⁷⁴

This took place after the Battle of Lade, in which allied Ionian forces fought the Persian army at the island of Lade, off the coast of Miletus and lost, after which the Persians were free to attack Miletus.¹⁷⁵ Interesting in this context is a passage in the Lindos Chronicle, an inscription dating to 99 BC, which claims that, before this battle, the Persian fleet was delayed at Lindos.¹⁷⁶ Darius sent his fleet to

¹⁷³ Herod.VI.18; transl. by A.D. Godley, *Herodotus, with an English translation by A.D. Godley* (Cambridge, MA 1920) .

¹⁷⁴ Herod.VI.19.3; transl. by A.D. Godley, *Herodotus, with an English translation*.

¹⁷⁵ Herod.VI.6 – 11.

¹⁷⁶ For the Lindos Chronicle, see: Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos II*, I, no. 1 and no.2, 20 – 199.

Rhodes because it was the first island on the route to Lade and Miletus. The inhabitants of Rhodes were terrified and assembled in Lindos. Although the refugees almost perished from thirst, the Lindos Chronicle tells that Athena helped them, and asked her father to let it rain. The rain only fell down on Lindos and not on the Persian fleet, after which the Persians were so terrified that they raised the siege and made friends with the Lindians. The date and authenticity of this landing of the Persians on Rhodes are contested, however,¹⁷⁷ but it is interesting to note the impression the Persian invasions must have made on the inhabitants of Rhodes, and that, even at the beginning of the first century BC, the Lindians still remembered these events.

According to Herodotus, the Persians completely destroyed Miletus and carried off its population. Herodotus even stated that there were no Milesians left in Miletus. This however cannot be true because in a later chapter, he mentions Milesians as guarding the passes of Mykale for the Persians and it is more likely that the Persians only deported part of the population.¹⁷⁸

It is doubtless that this event was devastating for the pottery production at the polis, and according to Cook, one of the main reasons for the end of Fikellura.¹⁷⁹ A natural consequence of this is that the import of Fikellura pottery on Rhodes also ended in this way. Looking beyond these direct results, I think the Persian destruction of Miletus must even have had a general devastating effect on the distributional network in the south-eastern Aegean, in and because of which WGS and Fikellura successively developed.

Looking at these results, it is clear that during the sixth century, Attic pottery was increasingly becoming fashionable while Eastern Greek styles, notably Fikellura in the last phase, diminished. In the light of the Ionian Revolt and turbulence in Ionia following this revolt, this also not surprising. When the Persians destroyed the polis of Miletus, which had been an important center of a distributional network for East Greek pottery, more room thereafter existed for Attic pottery to get a foothold on the East Greek islands. So not only did Attic pottery become more fashionable during the sixth century BC, the turbulent

¹⁷⁷ Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire. A corpus of sources from the Achaemenid Period* (Abingdon 2007) 227 note 9.

¹⁷⁸ Herod.IX.99; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 227 note 9.

¹⁷⁹ Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 89.

period of the Ionic Revolt and the destruction of Miletus can be interpreted as the final blow to the network that was crucial for East Greek pottery styles.

I have shown in this case study that during the seventh and sixth centuries BC, the WGS and Fikellura styles both played an important part in the trading flows in the south-eastern Aegean, but were also able to develop thanks to these regional distribution flows. Although these styles did not travel westward much, they were part of a small, mostly eastern Greek network cluster in which pottery styles like WGS and Fikellura could develop rather unitarily. The abundance of both styles in Kameiros shows that, although they were not produced here, there existed relatively intensive contact between the nodes of Miletus, Rhodes, Samos and probably other places in the eastern Aegean as well as around the Black Sea, which facilitated the distribution of the styles.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked at WGS and Fikellura pottery, of which relatively many specimens were found in in the Archaic and early Classical necropoleis of Macrì Langoni and Checraci in Kameiros. These East Greek styles seem to have flowered during the seventh and sixth century BC, but rapidly vanished as Attic pottery gained popularity in the late Archaic period.

The archaeologists Kinch and Jacopi held different opinions on the origins of the WGS. Although Kinch emphasized that ‘Kameiran’ as an early denomination for WGS did not label the pottery as produced in Kameiros, Jacopi did think that this particular style was produced in this part of Rhodes. He based his opinion on the considerable finds of this style in the necropolis of Macrì Langoni, which the Italian School excavated. This idea, the pan-Rhodian concept, was generally accepted until the 1970’s.

From then on, clay analyses established Miletus as the main centre of production for the WGS. Production activities at Kameiros must have been very small and insignificant, because clay analysis has proven that Rhodes was not a large exporter of East Greek pottery. This means that the amount of WGS pottery found in Kameiros must be due to distribution contacts between mostly Miletus and Kameiros. The fact that Kameiros is one of the largest finding places of WGS indicates that these contacts were intensive.

The same became clear in my discussion of the findings of Fikellura pottery in Macrì Langoni en Checraci. Although, after the clay analyses of the past decades, there

is no evidence anymore for the production of this style on Rhodes, the findings do show that a remarkable amount of distributional activity must have existed between Miletus, the main production centre for Fikellura pottery and Kameiros, and probably with other poleis as well.

The unity of both the Wild Goat and the Fikellura style in the south-eastern Aegean indicates that there existed a network through which these kinds of pottery were distributed in the region of the eastern Aegean and a few East Greek colonies around the Black Sea and in Egypt, without crossing over to mainland Greece. The limitedness of this network, and the relatively high amount of distribution links, or ties between the nodes, makes it a cluster as defined by Malkin¹⁸⁰ in the larger economic network of the Aegean and Mediterranean. This cluster was disrupted when Miletus was destroyed by the Persians, after which East Greek styles of pottery quickly disappeared.

¹⁸⁰ Malkin, *A small Greek world*, 33.

3. Distribution and religion. Faience finds on the Akropolis of Lindos

On the east coast of the island of Rhodes, between two bays, the most famous sanctuary of Rhodes was located, the Temple of Athena Lindia. From at least the tenth century BC until the Hellenistic period, the sanctuary attracted many foreign visitors. Therefore, as I will argue, its role in the economic development of the polis of Lindos should not be underestimated, just as, in a broader perspective, the religious dimension of economic development in Rhodes and in antiquity in general deserves more attention.

The excavations that took place on the Akropolis uncovered not only the remains of the Temple and other constructions of the sanctuary, but also many objects from the Archaic and Classical Period. In this second case study, therefore, I will discuss the objects the Danish Carlsberg Institute found on the Akropolis and their significance in the study of distribution activities around the polis of Lindos.

In order to give more context to the finds, I will first discuss the excavations and dating of the most important construction on the Akropolis of Lindos, the Temple of Athena Lindia itself, as this building formed the centre of the sanctuary. Furthermore, I will discuss three other finding places on the Akropolis that Blinkenberg, writer of the first part of the publication, distinguished. These are firstly the ‘*couches archaïques*’, or ‘*Archaic layers*’, by which Blinkenberg meant an Archaic layer of earth, pieces of limestone and Archaic objects that probably constituted the remains of a terrace in front of the Archaic temple. Leading up to this terrace, the archaeologists found an Archaic staircase in which they discovered mostly Archaic objects. The third finding place that I will discuss is the so-called Grand Depot, found just outside the boundaries of the sanctuary, containing numerous objects from the late Archaic and Classical Period.

I will focus on one type of material evidence, namely faience. This is a kind of glazed pottery that was relatively popular during the Archaic period and of which the Danish School found many objects on the Akropolis, but which seems to have fallen out of use during the fifth century. I have chosen to focus on this type of pottery because a study of these finds can not only exemplify changes in distribution around Lindos, but also the developing links between the island of Rhodes and regions beyond the eastern Aegean. In the case of faience objects, this mostly concerns Egypt.

The question I am asking here is if these constructions, as well as the faience objects found in and around these constructions, can be signs that the sanctuary of Athena Lindia formed a hub in the material circulation in south-eastern Greece, a node

connecting the cluster of the south-eastern Aegean with other clusters. I will argue that because the temple of Athena Lindia was visited by so many people from outside Rhodes, it constituted a centre of material circulation, and that it played an important role in the development of distributional routes in the south-eastern Aegean and beyond, towards Cyprus and Egypt. These routes in turn were important for the development of the economic position of the island.

Studying economic history with the results of archaeological excavations, is, as I mentioned above, a hazardous undertaking. The study of material evidence, including that found on the Akropolis of Lindos remains a minefield; the danger of drawing false conclusions is everywhere. Therefore, this kind of research has to be conducted with great caution. I will here again take on a broad definition of trading, meaning that I will not try to observe undifferentiated trading activities in the material remains, but take into account the wide range of ways in which objects from foreign origin might have reached Lindos, for example, through the bringing and dedication of votive offerings by individuals. All these kinds of distributional activities contributed to the development of distributional routes that in turn contributed to the economic development of the polis of Lindos.

3.1. The influence of the Lindian sanctuary

Although the Danish archaeologists have not established the dating of the different, subsequent temples that stood on the Akropolis of Lindos with full certainty, it is clear that the sanctuary was active during several centuries. The long history and tradition of the temple attracted many visitors. The building of the Propylaea and the Stoa in the Hellenistic period was a significant manifestation of this fame. It gave the temple a more magnificent entrance, worthy of a sanctuary that was visited by so many people.

In the past years, interest in the role of so-called interregional sanctuaries has grown. In *Greek federal states and their sanctuaries: identity and integration* (2013)¹⁸¹ the contributors aimed at understanding their different functions and spheres of influence, which could exist at local, regional, trans-regional and panhellenic levels at the same time. In approaching Greek sanctuaries in this manner, the dichotomy of either a sanctuary that was important in a polis-context, or as a panhellenic sanctuary is broken

¹⁸¹ Funke and Matthias Haake (eds), *Greek federal states and their sanctuaries: identity and integration* (Stuttgart 2013).

down and possibilities are opened up for studying the different, notably political functions interregional sanctuaries fulfilled.¹⁸²

Although I do not primarily aim at studying the difference in spheres of influence of the sanctuary of Athena Lindia or its political functions per se, I think it is essential to underline the interregional status of the sanctuary, as I believe that, because of its interregional character, it did play a significant role in the flow of goods that passed the island of Rhodes and therefore also had a very important role to play in the economic development of the polis of Lindos and the whole island. As interregional sanctuaries were the centre of what Peter Funke has called a ‘Lebens- und Kultgemeinschaft’¹⁸³, it is very likely that these centres were also central to the circulation of objects, notably objects with a religious meaning such as votive offerings, which became distributed because of the flows of visitors that passed the sanctuary.

3.2 The excavated constructions on the Akropolis and the publications

The Carlsberg Institute published its excavations in three parts: *Les petits objets* (I), *Inscriptions* (II), and *L’architecture* (III).¹⁸⁴ Each part consists of two volumes. The last part, about the architectural constructions uncovered by the Institute, has been published by the Danish archaeologist Ejnar Dyggve in 1960. Because he published this part almost fifty years after the excavations took place, it differs from the first parts, which Blinkenberg mostly wrote. However, the newer volume is very useful, because the remarks of Dyggve in the architectural volumes help me to critically assess Blinkenberg’s analyses in the *Petits Objets* volume. As I will be focusing on the objects that passed around the sanctuary, I will mostly study the first and last part of the publication, about the excavated objects and constructions.

The objects published by Blinkenberg in *Les petits objets* were practically all found on the Akropolis. Blinkenberg distinguishes the following finding places: first, the ‘remblais mélangés’, with which he indicates those layers of earth on the Akropolis which reworkings of the sanctuary have disrupted again and again throughout the centuries, resulting in a very random mix of earth and objects. Of the objects found in these layers no exact finding place is indicated, because Blinkenberg did not see the use in that. He did, however, indicate the origin of the objects from the ‘*couches*

¹⁸² Funke, ‘Some introductory remarks’, in: Funke and Haake (eds), *Greek federal states and their sanctuaries: identity and integration*, 9 – 12, 9.

¹⁸³ Ibidem, 12.

¹⁸⁴ Blinkenberg, Kinch and Dyggve, *Lindos I, II, III*.

*archaïques*¹⁸⁵, a layer of earth that contained many Archaic objects, and which, according to Blinkenberg, constituted a terrace in front of the Archaic Temple. Leading up to this terrace, the excavators found a layer with the remains of an Archaic staircase, in which they discovered a small amount of Archaic objects. Two important sources of ancient objects are furthermore the Grand Depot and the Petit Depot, both located outside the limits of the sanctuary.¹⁸⁶ These depots contain a collection of votive offerings from mainly the Classical Period and, for the small depot, the late Classical and Hellenistic Period. I will therefore only be concerned with the findings in the Grand Depot. Together with the finds in the Archaic staircase and ‘couches archaïques,’ or Archaic layer, this finding place is my main subject in this case study.

3.3.1. The Temple of Athena Lindia

Of the ancient village of Lindos, some remarkable constructions remain, such as a theatre that was probably dedicated to Dionysos and a large, Hellenistic chamber tomb, as well as circular grave, which locals call the tomb of Kleoboulos, a famous Rhodian who lived in the sixth century BC. Because the tomb was built during the early first or second century BC, there is no reason to believe it was really Kleoboulos’ tomb.¹⁸⁷

However, most of the excavations in Lindos took place on its Akropolis. The Akropolis contains remnants from antiquity as well as from the Middle Ages. The most notable remains from antiquity are the Temple of Athena Lindia, dating to the fourth century BC and the Propylaea and the Stoa, dating to the Hellenistic period. Because the temple constituted the core of the sanctuary, it is necessary to elaborate on its history and excavations to provide more context to my discussion of the objects.

The temple stood on a slightly tilting piece of the Akropolis, right next to a chasm above the water. Because the rock leans over, a sort of cave exists right underneath the temple, a hollowed out space in the cliff.¹⁸⁸ Blinkenberg postulated that it was no coincident that the temple was built here, because, according to him, the cave probably had a sacred function too. In the cave, there remained some pedestals with

¹⁸⁵ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos* I, II 6, 14; Appendix II.3 X 7 – 10 and XI 7 – 10.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix II.3 for the location of the described constructions.

¹⁸⁷ Dyggve, *Lindos* III, II, 399 – 415, 491 – 504, 487 – 489 and Heinz Kähler, *Lindos* (Zürich 1971) 23 – 24.

¹⁸⁸ Appendix II.5.

inscriptions for Athena Lindia, although these could also have fallen down from the rock above.¹⁸⁹

Many objects originally left on the Akropolis have probably been taken away. No large bronze objects remain and small and worthless objects were easily thrown into the water when there was no use for them anymore. Additionally, the weather conditions on Rhodes, the humid air and salty water, must have affected the remains for ages.¹⁹⁰ In this respect, it is obvious that only a fraction of the original ancient material on the Akropolis still remained when the excavators began their work.

3.3.2: Dating the temple

Blinkenberg divided the history of the temple of Athena Lindia into three phases on the basis of his own observations and excavations. For the first phase he speculated there existed a small forest of olive trees on the Akropolis, in which people made sacrifices without fire. His main evidence for this idea is the seventh Olympic of Pindar, in which Pindar mentions how a sanctuary (ἄλσος) was made on the Akropolis.¹⁹¹ Blinkenberg interpreted the Greek word as meaning a small, sacred forest without a building. His ideas were very speculative and Dyggve rejected them because in the time of Pindar, there probably already stood a temple, as will become clear later on in this section. There is therefore no reason to assume that by ἄλσος, Pindar meant a sacred forest without a building.¹⁹² In any case, ideas about the first phase, the origins of the sanctuary of Athena Lindia, must remain very hypothetical due to the lack of evidence.

During the second phase there must have existed a temple built during the seventh century. The finds of early Archaic ex-voto's in the Archaic terrace attest to this.¹⁹³ There is also a fragment from the work of Diogenes Laertius, in which he states that Kleoboulos, a famous Rhodian from the sixth century BC, renewed the temple of Athena: 'He is also said to have rebuilt the temple of Athena which was founded by Danaus.'¹⁹⁴ This means that, if that is true, there must have been a temple before that renewal. However, I would like to note here that the work of Diogenes was written about 800 years after this alleged event, so this source provides us only with very feeble

¹⁸⁹ Dyggve, *Lindos* III, I, 125 - 126 and Kähler, *Lindos*, 9 - 10.

¹⁹⁰ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos* I, II 3 - 4.

¹⁹¹ Pindar.7.48 - 49.

¹⁹² Dyggve, *Lindos* III, I, 113.

¹⁹³ *Ibidem*, 112 - 115.

¹⁹⁴ Diogenes Laertius I.89; transl. by Robert D. Hicks, *Diogenes Laertius. Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (London 1959).

information. So for this early period, no real evidence exists and it is not certain that a temple existed before the building of what Blinkenberg called the second temple.

The building of the second temple marks the start of Blinkenberg's third period. According to Diogenes, it was built by Kleoboulos during the sixth century BC. From this period the remains of the Archaic terrace and stairs would have originated. Blinkenberg stated that this temple was destroyed during a fire somewhere before 342 BC, because in the Lindos Chronicle, it is mentioned that this happened during the priesthood of Euklês. Euklês was priest of Helios, the chief god of the city of Rhodes. According to Blinkenberg, his priesthood could not have been earlier than 408/7 BC, because before that time, a Lindian event would not have been dated by priesthoods of Helios, as the city of Rhodes was not founded yet.¹⁹⁵ It was dated by Blinkenberg on the basis of a reference to two priests of Athena Lindia in the Lindos Chronicle who had taken concrete steps to preserve the sanctuary.¹⁹⁶ According to Blinkenberg, this indicates that something damaging to the temple had happened, possibly the fire. As the mentioned priests served around 342 BC, the fire would have happened shortly before that year.¹⁹⁷ Among the current ruins of the temple nothing remains that can be attributed to this burnt Archaic temple with certainty, so no real material evidence for this temple exists. The only remnants that indicate its existence are the Archaic stairs and terrace.

The third temple was probably built shortly after the fire, still in the fourth century BC, as the Lindos Chronicle mentions Alexander the Great dedicating offerings at the temple in 330. At the beginning of the third century, a bronze gate was installed¹⁹⁸ and during the Hellenistic period, the Propylaea and the Stoa were added, undoubtedly meant to enhance the prestige of the sanctuary.¹⁹⁹

In his comments on this dating of the current remains of the temple by Blinkenberg, Dyggve is very prudent. It is very surprising, he states, that there seems to remain nothing of the Archaic temple around the remains of the Hellenistic temple, although it appears, from the literary evidence, that two temples must have existed before the current one. However, Dyggve is still able to note a few material details that

¹⁹⁵ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos II*, I, no. 2, 20 – 199, 198; Martin P. Nilsson, *Cults, myths, oracles, and politics in Ancient Greece* (New York 1972) 10.

¹⁹⁶ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos II*, I, no. 2, 20 – 199, 198.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, no. 1 and no.2, 20 – 199.

¹⁹⁸ Dyggve, *Lindos III*, I 114 - 115, 129.

¹⁹⁹ For more information on the excavations of the Propylaea and the Stoa, see Dyggve, *Lindos III*, I 155 – 289.

are interesting in this respect. Among these are the marks of the stone cutters that remain on the blocks of stone. The form of these letters might provide some information about the dating of the temple. Here as well, precise dating remains problematic, but Dyggve states that the combination of different forms of letters in the walls might indicate different periods of construction, which leads him to conclude that the upper part of one of the walls might have been renewed after the fire, while the lower part remained.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, the cella of the temple is for a fourth century temple unusually long.²⁰¹ Finally, the fundaments give the impression to be quite compressed in the entablature. This indicates that the walls of the temple were to a large extent determined by the older fundaments or designated boundaries of the temple. These fundaments were in this case part of the older, Archaic temple. Dyggve speculates that the older superstructure was perhaps Ionic, instead of Doric.²⁰²

Heinz Kähler, together with Blinkenberg and Dyggve, thinks that the Archaic stairs that have been discovered on the Akropolis, leading up to the location of the temple, will have belonged to an Archaic temple. The existence of the Archaic staircase and terrace point quite unquestionably to the existence of a temple before the one built in the fourth century BC.²⁰³ Although I do think that the evidence for the involvement of Kleoboulos in the building of the Archaic temple is feeble, I do think with Blinkenberg and Dyggve that the existence of an Archaic temple is very plausible. If this temple was indeed destroyed by a fire, it is not surprising that nothing of it remains, and Dyggve's remarks on the appearance of the last temple that I summarized above point out the probability that the new temple replaced an older one.

Dyggve dated the current remains of the temple to the second half of the fourth century BC, according to the name of the then active priest of Helios in the Lindian Chronicle, Euklês.²⁰⁴ He thus agrees with Blinkenberg, who dated the construction shortly after 342 BC. However, the Greek archaeologist Kondis stated in his review of the volume that, after the publication of a new list of the priests of Helios by Luigi Morricone, in which Morricone redated the service of Euklês to 392 BC, this date should be reviewed.²⁰⁵ The temple might thus have been built half a century earlier.

²⁰⁰ Dyggve, *Lindos* III, I 117 – 119.

²⁰¹ Kähler, *Lindos*, 17.

²⁰² Dyggve, *Lindos* III, I 127.

²⁰³ Kähler, *Lindos*, 18.

²⁰⁴ Dyggve, *Lindos* III, I 114 and Blinkenberg, *Lindos* I, II 39.

²⁰⁵ Luigi Morricone, 'I sacerdoti di Halios. Frammento di catalogo rinvenuto a Rodi', *ASAtene* XXVII – XXIX (1949 – 1951) 361 – 380; SEG XII.360.

However, in 2000 this was again contested, as Vincent Gabrielsen argued that the evidence for Morricone's dating was frail. He believed that Blinkenberg had been right in dating the fire to shortly after 342 BC.²⁰⁶

As a *terminus ante quem*, Dyggve took the mention of Alexander the Great sacrificing at the Temple in 330 BC in the Lindian Temple Chronicle. Although it is not certain that Alexander the Great really visited Rhodes, the way in which the Chronicle assumes the existence of a temple in 330 BC makes it highly probable that the temple had already been rebuilt at that time.²⁰⁷ This adds to the argument that the temple must have been built shortly after 342 BC. Moreover, it is unlikely that restoration would be postponed for a longer time, because the sanctuary was of vital importance for the polis and, when in ruins, would not be able to provide the revenue that it usually did.

To sum up, the only versions of the temple of Athena Lindia that we can be sure of to have existed are the temple from the Archaic Period, assigned to Kleoboulos by Diogenes and destroyed by a fire, belonging to Blinkenberg's third phase, and the fourth-century temple of which the remains have survived until today, which stood in the same place and belongs to Blinkenberg's fourth phase.

3.4.1 The Archaic stairs and terrace

At the end of 1902 and in the beginning of 1903, the Danish excavators discovered and worked on two important Archaic constructions that shed new light on the early history of the sanctuary.

On December 29th, 1902, Kinch discovered the remnants of the Archaic staircase in the middle of the Akropolis.²⁰⁸ The stairs stretch over a distance of 7 meters in a southward direction, towards the location of the temple. The steps are not cut out of the rock, but made of limestone that originated from the Akropolis itself, quarried in small blocks of variable size. On the steps marks of usage remain. The blocks are cut quite carelessly and the step height is variable. Furthermore, the steps have straight edges, but in some cases they tend to be a little arched.²⁰⁹ The blocks of stone rest on a layer of soil of light colour, while under that layer a much more darker layer of earth existed, which must have been there before the construction of the stairs. In the ninth step of the stairs

²⁰⁶ Gabrielsen, 'The synoikized polis of Rhodes', in: Pernille Flensted-Jensen, Thomas Heine Nielsen and Lene Rubinstein (eds), *Polis & Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek history* (Copenhagen 2000) 177 – 206, 187 and note 49.

²⁰⁷ Dyggve, *Lindos III*, I 129.

²⁰⁸ Appendix II.3 IX and X 8 – 9.

²⁰⁹ Dyggve, *Lindos III*, I 59.

a block of stone was found with a spiral ornament on it, possibly Mycenaean. The builders of the stairs might have re-used this block of stone.²¹⁰

Both in the light-coloured and the dark-coloured layer of earth, the archaeologists discovered objects that mostly dated to the middle of the sixth century BC at the latest.²¹¹ Furthermore, because the constructors of the Propylaea overbuilt the stairs, the excavators had a *terminus ante quem* of 300 BC, the year to which they approximately dated the building of the Propylaea.²¹²

The stairs lead up to a space which Blinkenberg would call the Archaic terrace. It remained in a layer of earth named the ‘couches archaïques’.²¹³ From January 21st until the 27th, 1903, the excavators also worked on this area of about 25 sqm. They found a layer of debris that rested directly on the rock of the Akropolis on certain places, and elsewhere on the layer of soil formed by the decomposition of the rock.²¹⁴ The layer of debris, half a meter thick, exclusively contained Archaic objects, of which some were damaged because of the construction of medieval cisterns that reached until the rock. Because the objects uncovered in this layer are comparable to those found in Vroulia, which was inhabited from about 670 – 570 BC, Blinkenberg dated most of them to before the middle of the sixth century BC, but a little later than the findings from Vroulia, although it is not clear why he did that.²¹⁵ Because the dating of the objects in the Archaic layer corresponded to the dating of the objects found in the layers of the stairs and the stairs seemed to lead up to the terrace, Blinkenberg concluded that they were built around the same time.²¹⁶

As mentioned, Diogenes Laertius claimed that Kleoboulos renewed the cult of Athena Lindia.²¹⁷ Because of this, Blinkenberg had concluded in the first part of the publications that the objects from the stairs and terrace were the debris of this major reworking or rebuilding of the sanctuary by Kleoboulos, somewhere between 550 and 525 BC.²¹⁸ The temple to which the stairs and the terrace seem to have belonged probably stood in the same space as the later temple of which there are still remains. According to Blinkenberg, the dimensions of this Archaic temple cannot have differed

²¹⁰ Dyggve, *Lindos III*, I, 61; Kähler, *Lindos*, 18.

²¹¹ *Ibidem*, 60 – 61.

²¹² *Ibidem*.

²¹³ Appendix II, X and XI 7 – 10.

²¹⁴ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I, 44.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

²¹⁶ Dyggve, *Lindos III*, I 61.

²¹⁷ Diogenes Laertius I.89

²¹⁸ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, II 6.

from the current temple that much, because of the narrow space in which both buildings stood.²¹⁹

In the third part of the publications, Dyggve makes several additional remarks about the interpretation of the Archaic stairs and terrace that confirm Blinkenberg's conclusions.²²⁰ The terrace that the stairs approach consists of two consecutive levels, of which the first only measures four meters long (although the width is not indicated by Dyggve). Dyggve interprets this space as meant for cult monuments and ex-voto's, because of a base found in situ on the right side of the space. A little higher, the wall of the second part of the terrace appears. The wall indicates the size of a space just before the temple and it is likely that this part constituted a court in front of the temple, as the proportions roughly coincide with the Hellenistic forecourt between the temple and the Propylaea.²²¹ This also indicates that a temple of some sort must have stood at the location of the current temple to which the stairs led and of which the terrace constituted a forecourt. This thus provides even more evidence for the existence of an Archaic temple.²²²

According to Blinkenberg, the Archaic temple was adapted again around the end of the fifth century BC, and during this time the constructors built a new staircase over the Archaic one. He even states that the rebuilding of the stairs might be dated very precisely to the year 407/8 BC in which the synoikismos took place. At this politically turbulent time, Lindos might have needed to maintain the status of its sanctuary.²²³ However, Blinkenberg provides not much evidence for this event and its dating.

In any case, it is clear that the Archaic stairs and terrace were built around the middle of the sixth century BC and remained in use until at least the end of the fifth century BC. It is highly probable that these constructions were part of the Archaic sanctuary to which also an Archaic temple belonged. This temple is said to be built by Kleoboulos, but no evidence for this exists. The objects found in the Archaic terrace and staircase date to the second half of the seventh and first half of the sixth century and therefore constitute interesting material for the objective of my thesis.

²¹⁹ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos* I, II 14 and Dyggve, *Lindos* III, I 127.

²²⁰ Dyggve, *Lindos* III, I 61.

²²¹ Appendix II.4, X and XI 7 – 10.

²²² Dyggve, *Lindos* III, I 59.

²²³ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos* I, II 15 – 16.

3.4.2 Objects found in the Archaic stairs and terrace

Among the objects remaining in the layers of the stairs, Blinkenberg distinguished prehistoric, stone objects (chisels), fibulae, beads, pendants, jewellery, rings, pins, whorls, bronze weights, molded and engraved stones and iron weapons. Among the different styles of pottery, Blinkenberg distinguished Geometric and Subgeometric pottery, Archaic Orientalizing, Milesian, Rhodian-polychrome, vases of the Greek mainland and Corinthian pottery. Other small objects found in these layers include egyptianizing glazed pottery (faience), limestone and terracotta figurines as well as what Blinkenberg calls ‘Cypriote’ and ‘Ionian’ figurines.²²⁴ This kind of Cypriote statuettes, made with the help of molds, dating from about 670 – 570 BC were found on the Akropolis of Lindos as well as in Vroulia and this is no surprise according to Blinkenberg, because, for ships coming from Cyprus, or further east, Lindos is one of the first maritime stations on the way towards the Aegean. Among the ceramic wares there were also miniatures, small imitations of vases and cups. These kind of miniatures start to appear only in the later stages of the Archaic period.²²⁵

In this case study, I focus on the egyptianizing faience. Looking at the finds of this type of pottery in the Archaic layers of the stairs and terrace, and the remarkable lack of it in the Grand Depot, as we will see below, I think this is an important example of the items that reached Lindos through the developing distribution networks that connected Rhodes with Egypt and Cyprus. I will return to this further below.

Most of the objects in the *Petits objets* volume have to be seen as ex-voto’s for the goddess Athena, according to Blinkenberg.²²⁶ It is difficult to think of another probable context in which these objects would end up on the Akropolis of Lindos, especially during the Archaic Period, when no other large constructions were located on the hill. Moreover, Blinkenberg thinks that during the early Archaic Period, it was mostly objects for daily use that were dedicated. To this category most of the finds in the layers of the Archaic stairs and the Archaic terrace belong.²²⁷

3.5.1 The Grand Depot

The last important discovery on the Akropolis that I have chosen to discuss in this case study is the so-called Grand Depot.

²²⁴ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I, 45 – 46.

²²⁵ *Ibidem*, 25.

²²⁶ *Ibidem*, 23.

²²⁷ *Ibidem*, 24.

Blinkenberg and his colleagues discovered the Grand Depot in a natural hole in the rocks not very far outside the Hellenistic limits of the sanctuary. It dates from a later period than the Archaic stairs.²²⁸ At the bottom of a large gap in the rocks, a depression extended from the south-west to the north-east. On the bottom of the hole, on a thin layer of reddish earth, a considerable layer of objects and disintegrated limestone rested. The excavators interpreted the objects as votive offerings and the hole as a votive depot. The situation suggests that the objects were simply thrown in the natural hole in the rocks.²²⁹

The excavators called this collection of votive offerings the ‘Grand Depot’ to distinguish it from the so-called ‘Petite Depot’, which was found before the west wing of the Hellenistic Stoa and containing mostly objects dating from the third century BC.²³⁰ The excavators were aware of the habit of discarding old votive offerings, as this kind of depot was well-known from other sites of Greek temples. According to Blinkenberg, the main goal of the habit of storing these votives away was, on the one hand, to clear the sanctuary of the enormous amount of ex-voto’s, with which it must have been too full at some point, and on the other hand to protect the sacred objects from being used in a more profane way.²³¹ Because Blinkenberg dated most of the objects in the depot from 525 – 400 BC, he saw the depot as the result of a restoration or renewal of the sanctuary, which, according to his own dating division, happened around the synoikismos of 408/7 BC, although he does not offer much evidence for this reworking.²³² Moreover, I think that the Grand Depot does not necessarily have to be the result of a reworking whatsoever. The deposition could just have been undertaken because the storerooms could not handle the amount of votive offerings anymore and space had to be created. The actual reason for the creation of the Grand Depot remains uncertain.

Blinkenberg divided the objects found in the votive depot according to their dating into two large categories. The first and largest category is constituted by the finds from the early Classical Period, from 525 until 400 BC.²³³ The second category consists of older objects, among which are fibulae, glass pearls and other jewelry, pins, spear

²²⁸ Appendix II.4 IX 7 .

²²⁹ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I, 49, 53.

²³⁰ Ibidem, 7. Appendix II.3 VII 8.

²³¹ Ibidem, 47 – 49.

²³² Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, II 15 – 16 See also page 59 of this thesis.

²³³ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I, 52.

points and limestone and terracotta Cypriote figurines. These date to a range of periods, of which the earliest are Geometric. Because this category is much smaller than the first one, and its objects are for the most part heavily damaged, Blinkenberg thought that they were probably not part of the original content of the depot. He postulated that during the formation of the depot, they not only got rid of a heap of votive offerings that took up too much space in the temple, but also threw away some remains found in the Archaic layers, when the building of new constructions was undertaken there, according to him.²³⁴

From Blinkenberg's descriptions, it is not clear if there were any indications that the older objects were added earlier or later than the early Classical objects, for example if the older objects were perhaps found in a lower layer than the Classical objects. In any case, I think that Blinkenberg is right in stating that the Classical objects were thrown away together and in distinguishing only the first category as the 'dépôt votif proprement dite.'²³⁵ This means that the disposal of these objects at one particular moment in time was a deliberate action.²³⁶

Blinkenberg acknowledged that the depot does not contain all the small objects accumulated in and around the sanctuary during the time between the oldest and youngest specimens in the depot. The excavators found a few more objects from this period across the Akropolis and other objects from this period could be lost. However, the deposit in any case constitutes the majority of the early Classical objects found during all of the Danish excavations on the Akropolis.²³⁷

3.5.2 Objects found in the Grand Depot

Among the objects dating from 525 – 400 BC, four main categories of terracotta pottery can be distinguished: female figurines, protomes, bas-reliefs, lamps and vases. Among the oldest female figurines are Archaic votives of Ionian origin, made with the help of moulds.²³⁸ In the depot miniature vases prevailed over the normal-sized vases and most of them are Corinthian.

The lamps found in the Grand Depot were, according to Blinkenberg, mostly produced in Attica, or in local workshops. It is remarkable that no lamps were discovered in the Archaic layers of the stairs and the terrace, especially because Kinch

²³⁴ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I, 52 – 53, 72.

²³⁵ *Ibidem*, 53.

²³⁶ *Ibidem*, 503.

²³⁷ *Ibidem*.

²³⁸ *Ibidem*, 503 – 505.

has found lamps among the Archaic remains of Vroulia. Although some of these lamps were votive offerings, Blinkenberg attributes others to a nocturnal festival held in the honor of Athena. He has little evidence to sustain this argument, other than his claim that nocturnal festivals were quite common at other sanctuaries as well and the inscription of Ἀθαναΐαι τόι λύγνοι in one of the lamps.²³⁹ However, the absence of lamps in the Archaic stairs and terrace remains puzzling.

The statuettes from the Grand Depot were of a different nature than those from the Archaic stairs and terrace. Remarkably, no faience and Cypriote figurines that date to the fifth century or later remained in the Grand Depot, except for a few that were part of the older category that probably did not belong to the ‘depôt proprement dite.’ Most of the Classical statuettes were Ionian in nature, and originating from foreign workshops.²⁴⁰ As said, I do not think that from these results alone it can be deduced that it was no longer the habit to dedicate Egyptian or Cypriote wares and that instead, Ionian pottery had become in vogue. However, when compared to the total amount of pottery from this period found on the Akropolis, the same pattern can be seen. The objects from this period listed by Blinkenberg are mostly terracotta figurines, terracotta protomes, terracotta lamps, bas-reliefs and terracotta vases, cups and plates.²⁴¹ Faience is absent in the record, as is Cypriote pottery. Perhaps this absence does signify a change in import habits.

3.6 Faience

Kähler noted that the Archaic objects found across the Akropolis, in the Archaic layers as well as in the Grand Depot demonstrate links with Anatolia, Cyprus, Egypt and the Greek mainland, as early as the ninth century BC.²⁴² Especially in comparison with the finds in the Archaic layers of the staircase and terrace, the objects from the Grand Depot can provide information about the changing flows of distribution of which the sanctuary of Athena Lindia was part. Blinkenberg already noted a change in the habit of dedication, because the only categories of items found in the Grand Depot were lamps, vases, bas-reliefs, figurines and protomes, as opposed to the wider variety of the finds in the Archaic stairs and terrace. He argues that the manner of dedication became more

²³⁹ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I, 32.

²⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 34.

²⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 505 – 672.

²⁴² Kähler, *Lindos*, 18.

monotone during the Classical Period, because they found less types of objects in the Grand Depot.²⁴³

Blinkenberg's remarks show that the Grand Depot offers interesting ways to investigate the habits of dedication that were practiced in Lindos from the seventh until the fifth century BC. Although conclusions should be drawn carefully, it is interesting to see how certain kinds of objects, such as faience and Cypriote figurines of limestone and terracotta disappear off the record in the fifth century BC, while lamps, vases and terracotta figurines prevail. The objects from the Grand Depot are not a fully reliable representation of all the objects that were dedicated between 525 and 400 BC, but, as I said, hardly any other types of objects of this period have been found on the Akropolis outside the Grand Depot, so outside the Grand Depot, this pattern is repeated. In this section I therefore focus on one of the types of objects that seems to have fallen out of use during the early Classical Period: egyptianizing faience: particularly abundant in the Archaic layers of the stairs and terrace, but not found in the Grand 'depôt proprement dite.'

The Danish School found a total of 690 pieces of egyptianizing faience dating to the early Archaic period. They found 352 faience objects or remains of objects in the 'couches archaïques' and 73 in the Grand Depot. Of 265 pieces, no finding location was specified in the volume.

Faience is a special type of glazed pottery, and its history is best documented in Egypt, where it was used in more ways than anywhere else. However, it is hard to establish the origins of faience, because finds in Mesopotamia attest to the idea that the faience was developed there as well in its earliest times. The use of faience spread to other areas of the Mediterranean world and the finds in Lindos are a notable example.²⁴⁴ Blinkenberg thought that the faience statuettes were made in foreign workshops, possibly in Egypt or on Cyprus, and arrived in Lindos because of close contacts between Cyprus and Lindos. These statuettes, manufactured with the help of molds, would be preferred over the statuettes made by hand because they looked more neat and attractive, according to Blinkenberg.²⁴⁵

Let us have a look at the pieces of faience that were found by the Danish excavators. Among the 352 faience objects and remains of objects from the Archaic

²⁴³ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I, I*, 16 - 18.

²⁴⁴ Webb, *Archaic Greek faience*, 5.

²⁴⁵ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I, I*, 26 - 27.

stairs and terrace are statuettes of gods and animals, different sorts of vases and small objects such as whorls and amulets and scarabs.²⁴⁶ The largest group among these are the statuettes and the scarabs. 118 complete and incomplete statuettes were found and 118 scarabs as well. Blinkenberg divided these according to the different Egyptian gods and animals that they represented, according to him. Among the represented gods are Nofr-tum, Bast, Bes and Horos. In Egypt, people often wore this kind of small figures around the neck as amulets. Blinkenberg thought that the statuettes found in the Archaic layers were used in the same way, because many of them display small holes.²⁴⁷

From the middle of the seventh century BC on, the production of East Greek faience developed in different centres, among which was Rhodes. This production lasted for about a century. It has been argued by Virginia Webb, who wrote a book on the distribution of Archaic Greek faience, that, because egyptianizing faience was increasingly produced locally in East Greece, Egyptian prototypes were more and more adapted to Greek standards throughout the seventh and sixth centuries BC. This development led to the point where, in the last phase that Webb distinguishes, Greek workshops often made faience according to Greek pottery models.²⁴⁸ However, it is especially hard to establish the origins of faience objects of the sixth century BC, found on Rhodes and other East Greek islands, because it might have been produced either locally or in Egypt.²⁴⁹ Furthermore, Webb thinks that raw materials might have been transported from Egypt to Rhodes for the production of faience, and she even postulates that Egyptian immigrant workers might have produced faience at Rhodes during an early phase.²⁵⁰

The figurines would therefore not necessarily have originated in Egypt or Cyprus, as Blinkenberg thought, but could very well have been produced around Lindos or somewhere else on Rhodes or in nearby poleis. Webb compared the amount of Archaic faience found on Rhodes with other finding places in East Greece. Rhodes clearly stands out as one of the most important finding places of Archaic faience.²⁵¹

²⁴⁶ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I, 336.

²⁴⁷ Ibidem.

²⁴⁸ Webb, *Archaic Greek faience*, 5 – 6.

²⁴⁹ Ibidem, 5; Edgar J. Peltenburg, 'Reviewed works: *Aegean faience of the Bronze Age* by K. P. Foster; *Archaic Greek faience: Miniature Scent Bottles and Related Objects from East Greece, 650-500 B.C.* by V. Webb', *JHS* 102 (1982) 290 – 292.

²⁵⁰ Peltenburg, 'Reviewed works', 291.

²⁵¹ Webb, *Archaic Greek faience*, 8.

From Webb's research on faience distribution during the seventh and sixth centuries BC, it became clear that Rhodes was a production centre and an entrepôt for traders travelling between the Levant and Cyprus and the Aegean. Webb divides the faience produced in East Greece in three phases. The first phase starts around the middle of the seventh century BC and mainly displays the production of miniature containers, probably containing oil. During the second phase, that started around the end of the seventh century BC, production centres produced mainly human and animal figurines, and in the third phase, which lasted until the middle of the sixth century BC, the focus was again on miniature containers, but this time more of a Corinthian and East Greek vase style. According to Webb, Rhodes clearly was the main production centre for the first phase, but with regard to the latter two phases she is less sure.²⁵²

Webb based her research on the findings of the Danish School in Lindos, but also on the findings of Salzman and Biliotti and the excavations of the Italian School in Ialysos and Kameiros. It is remarkable that Webb designates Rhodes as the main production centre for the first phase of East Greek faience, because, in the Archaic layers, only three specimens of faience containers remained, although this was the main product for the first phase according to Webb. The cause for this might be that Webb also studied the faience wares found in Kameiros by the Italian School. Could this mean that during the first phase, faience containers were mostly produced in Kameiros, and not in Lindos? Indeed, of the 51 aryballoi, juglets and flasks that Webb lists for example, only three originate from Lindos, while Webb lists a relatively large amount of these types of faience found in Kameiros, 19. Furthermore, six pieces were found in Ialysos.²⁵³ Webb concluded: 'From the frequency of the findings of these objects on the island of Rhodes, it has long been considered that they were made there. Nothing which has come to light in my study invalidates this basic conclusion. However, while Rhodes is clearly the one and only home for the first phase of the industry, Naucratis is involved with the figurines (second phase) and manufacture is shared between Naucratis and East Greece for the final phase.'²⁵⁴ The results of the research of Webb show that production and distribution of Greek faience mainly happened in the eastern Aegean. So here again, just as with WGS and Fikellura pottery, certain types of objects, in this case faience, circulated in a relatively limited region. Furthermore, it is clear that the Rhodians were

²⁵² Webb, *Archaic Greek faience*, 5.

²⁵³ *Ibidem*, 61 – 80.

²⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 5.

part of the distributional sphere of Egypt. It imported Egyptian faience, but also adapted the Egyptian prototypes and commenced producing similar faience themselves. Through these contact with Egypt and possibly Cyprus, knowledge of faience production reached Rhodes and a relative independent niche of faience production originated in the eastern Aegean. It is highly probable that Rhodes was a main production center of faience objects during the Archaic period, and the many objects of faience from Lindos attest to this. However, Webb's research also shows Kameiros was probably a larger production centre than Lindos.²⁵⁵ In this way Lindos and Kameiros were both important nodes in the connection of the cluster of the south-eastern Aegean to the clusters that Egypt and Cyprus were involved in.

Not only Webb noticed the abundance of faience found on Rhodes. Other ceramic experts as well have investigated the possibility of a Rhodian faience industry during the Archaic period: 'Initially, the strongest influence on the style of the faience appears to have been Egyptian, but the extent to which this faience was imported from Egypt and the extent to which it was produced locally in an Egyptian style has not yet been fully resolved.'²⁵⁶ Thus, there seems to have been an industry of faience on Rhodes, but it is not sure to what extent this industry accounts for the findings on Rhodes, or if these finds should be viewed as imported.

Attempts by Günther Hölbl to distinguish between locally produced and imported faience on the basis of chemical analysis have rendered limited results. Glöbl hoped to be able to perceive differences between Egyptian imported faience and Greek, locally produced faience. With typological methods it had been possible to perceive original Egyptian styles and Greek copies, or Greek specimens with Egyptian elements. However, just as with the study of East Greek pottery, another, perhaps more reliable method was sought. Therefore, faience specialists as well sought their fortune in the chemical analysis of microstructures. The microstructure of objects that had been proved to be locally produced on the basis of style analyses was compared to the microstructure of objects that were definitely produced in Egypt. The results were mainly inconclusive and in most cases, no significant difference could be found. This means that the distinction between local and imported wares on the basis of style analysis remains necessary, although this method as well is only in a few cases able to

²⁵⁵ Webb, *Archaic Greek faience*, 136.

²⁵⁶ Yannis Maniatis, Marina Panagiotaki and Alexandre Kaczmarczyk, 'Faience production in the eastern Mediterranean', in: M.S. Tite and A.J. Shortland (eds), *Production technology of faience and related early vitreous materials* (Oxford 2008) 111 – 128, 127.

render conclusive results. In any case, it is highly probable that some degree of faience production existed on Rhodes, but import of Egyptian faience wares took place as well.²⁵⁷

The collection of faience found during the whole of the Danish excavations on the Akropolis only rendered specimens of the Archaic Period. No faience from earlier times was found, or from the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. The Petit Depot, which mostly contained Hellenistic objects, did not contain faience either.²⁵⁸ This could of course be the result of depositional forces, namely the selection of objects to be deposited by the people that stored them away. Faience objects from the Classical period could have been deposited elsewhere. However, as I explained, I do think that the lack of found faience from the Classical Period indicates that it somehow fell out of use in general, firstly because the research of Webb shows that faience consumption flowered in the Archaic period. Secondly, because outside the Grand Depot as well, no Classical faience was found. Blinkenberg already postulated that the small amount of Archaic faience found in the Grand Depot represents the last phase of the import of Egyptian faience in Lindos,²⁵⁹ and I think he is right, taking the further research of Webb into account. On the basis of more finding places, including Kameiros and Ialysos, Webb has shown that the distribution of faience during the Archaic Period only lasted about a century. It is clear that in Lindos, too, the use of faience, especially as votive offerings, died out at the end of the sixth century BC. The reason for this is not clear and several aspects might have been influential. Perhaps the use of faience objects simply got out of fashion. However, I think that in this case as well, the Persian invasions might have been a major factor of importance. The coming of the Persians in the second half of the sixth century BC, conquering the Lydian Empire, as well as the destruction of Miletus and the battles and turbulence during the Ionian Revolt must have had a profound impact on the distributional activities in the south-eastern Aegean, as well as on the trading links with Egypt and Cyprus.

²⁵⁷ Günther Hölbl, 'Typology of form and material in classifying small Aegyptiaca in the Mediterranean during Archaic times: with special reference to faience found on Rhodian sites', *British Museum Occasional Paper* 56 (1987) 115 – 126; Maniatis, Panagiotaki and Kaczmarczyk, 'Faience production in the eastern Mediterranean', 128.

²⁵⁸ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I, 334 – 335.

²⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, 335.

3.7 Conclusion

In this case study, I have demonstrated how the publications about the excavations of the Danish School and the objects that their excavations have rendered can help to better understand the importance of the Lindian sanctuary in the distribution of different types of objects in the eastern Aegean. The sanctuary of Athena Lindia was active during several centuries, and the visitors it attracted brought with them all sorts of objects to dedicate to the goddess, objects that were produced in different parts of the ancient world. It is thus clear that Lindos formed a centre in the circulation of (religious) objects. This took place within the context of a distribution network in which other poleis in the south-eastern Aegean and beyond participated. In this sense, the sanctuary of Lindos was not only a religious, but also an economic centre. It is difficult to establish of what kind the distribution really was, but I would like to emphasize here the understanding of distribution that I outlined in the first chapter. Objects arrived in Lindos through all sorts of modes of distribution. The objects that were offered at the sanctuary could have been bought in Lindos, where they might have been produced. They could also have been bought, or exchanged, or given in the places where visitors came from, or even produced by the visitors themselves. In all these modes of distribution, the sanctuary of Lindos played an essential role, as it was, in the end, the focus of all these distributional flows. In this way, the economic dimension of the sanctuary is exemplified.

I have looked in particular at the distribution of egyptianizing faience, which flowered from the middle of the seventh century BC until the middle of the sixth. I have looked at the finds of faience objects at Lindos and taken into account the elaborate research of Virginia Webb about Archaic Greek faience. From the discussion of the evidence, it can be concluded that Rhodes was an important centre of East Greek faience distribution. The Rhodian production and distribution activities can again be seen in the light of a limited network of distribution in the eastern Aegean. In this case, however, clear contacts also existed with Egypt, with which faience objects and faience techniques were exchanged. In this way, Lindos was one of the nodes connecting the cluster of the eastern Aegean with the clusters that Egypt was part of.

From the findings in Lindos as well as the research of Webb, it appears that the habit of dedicating faience at the sanctuary stopped at the end of the sixth century BC and it seems that after that, there was less variety in the objects that were dedicated in general. It is not entirely clear why the distribution of faience seems to have stopped

around that time, at least around Rhodes, but I have suggested that the Persian invasions and attack on Miletus must have been a significant factor.

Conclusion

In the introduction, I stated that Rhodes has always been a fascinating subject for historians of antiquity. When taking into account the archaeological projects that have taken place on the island in the writing of Rhodian history, it becomes even more fascinating. In this conclusion, I will give a concise overview of the approach I have adopted, the case studies that formed the core of my thesis and, naturally, the conclusions that can be drawn from these case studies.

In the first chapter, I have shown how my research fits into the larger frame of research about ancient economies and trading in antiquity. Throughout the 20th century, great debates have taken place over the nature of ancient economies. However, in the past decades, the opposition between primitivist and modernist views has become less sharp. This also has consequences for the study of trade in antiquity. Because ancient economies should be studied in their own right, taking into account all sorts of activities that contributed to economic growth, it is not fruitful to study trade just in its narrow sense as market exchange. Instead, I have argued that the study of trading activities, when approached in their broader definition as distributional activities, can contribute to a better understanding of the economic position of an island like Rhodes.

Distributional activities can be studied by making use of the archaeological material. The use of archaeological sources for the writing of history is a very useful and interesting method but also problematic. Material culture can be constructed into historical narratives, albeit narratives of another character than those that are created from literary sources. Writing history with the help of material sources is a precarious undertaking and should be conducted in a tentative way. Nowadays, finds of, for example, certain types of pottery are not considered as indicating ‘trade’ right away, but studied in a more nuanced perspective, taking better account of the context in which they were used and found. Furthermore, historians should be conscious of archaeological theory, such as the theory with regard to formation processes, on which I elaborated. A tentative approach like this creates more possibilities for archaeologists and historians to use archaeological records for the writing of economic and social history. It is also in this light that I have chosen to study not ‘trade’, but distribution in its broader sense. The term trade indicates market exchange, while distribution in its broader sense highlights all sorts of activities that cause objects to be transported from one place to another. And indeed, I think that all kinds of distributional activities

contribute to the economic development of a certain geographical unit, such as the island of Rhodes. The development of routes along which objects are transported creates possibilities for an island to become a node in a network of exchange, to become part of a growing connectivity that, in the case of Rhodes, would allow the island in later times to become influential and prosperous.

In the second and third chapter I have exemplified this approach by studying specific types of pottery that were found in Kameiros and Lindos, two of the three old poleis on Rhodes. In Kameiros, the Italian School found considerable amounts of pottery of the Wild Goat Style and Fikellura style, styles that are considered typically East Greek. With regard to Lindos, I have studied the glazed pottery known as faience that Danish archaeologists discovered during excavations on the Akropolis.

These case studies are, in my view, only two examples of the possibilities that arise from the method I proposed in the first chapter, but I hope they are able to demonstrate the potential there still is in studying the history of Rhodes and, mostly, its economic position during a time when the Aegean came to be dominated by larger, political powers. My first case-study shows that in and around Rhodes in the Archaic age, there was still room for a local, small-scale network to develop in which specific styles of pottery were exchanged and could develop rather unitarily. Although the influence of Attic styles proved too strong in the end, as at the beginning of the fifth century BC, East Greek styles began to die out quickly and Attic pottery became the norm, it had been possible for an East Greek pottery niche to develop in the two previous centuries and possibly already earlier.

In this niche, Rhodes was mostly an importer, and probably one of the largest importers of East Greek styles of pottery. The amount of WGS and Fikellura found in the necropoleis of Rhodes is so remarkable that, for decades, it led scholars to believe that it was produced on the island. I have shown that there is little room to believe that some degree of WGS pottery production existed on Rhodes and there is no evidence at all to claim this for Fikellura pottery. Clay analysis, or archaeometry, has proved this. This method, although not without flaws, has demonstrated that not Rhodes, but Miletus was the metropolis in the production of both WGS and Fikellura pottery. In this way, the results of clay analysis have been view-changing and have shed new light on the economic position of Rhodes. However, the lack of pottery production on Rhodes does not mean that Rhodes did not export at all. The possibility that Rhodian poleis were specialized in other goods than pottery might not be excluded. This is an issue that in

general requires further research, but that I have lightly touched upon in my second case study as well.

This second case study approached another aspect of distributional activities: the religious dimension. In the past years, Greek sanctuaries like that of Athena Lindia at Lindos have been increasingly studied in the context of their different functions and spheres of influence. The finds of an Archaic staircase and terrace indicate that already during the Archaic Period there was a temple, and the sanctuary of Athena Lindia remained active at least until the first century BC, as is clear from the find of the Lindos Chronicle.

The temple of Athena Lindia was visited by people from many different places. The Danish archaeologists have uncovered remains of the last version of the Temple, from the fourth century, but also of the Propylaea and the Stoa that gave the sanctuary a much more impressive entrance. It is obvious that the sanctuary was important to the polis of Lindos, because clearly no expense was spared in the building of the different constructions on the Akropolis during the Hellenistic Period. I think my case study demonstrates that this importance was not only religious in character, but also to a large extent economical.

I have studied the finds of faience objects by the Danish excavators on the Akropolis. A small part of the excavated specimens were found in a votive depot, whereas the majority originated from the 'couches archaïques.' All of the faience was dated no later than the Archaic Period. In the Grand Depot, of which the contents date for the most part to the fifth century, no Classical faience was found. It seems that faience somehow got out of use during this period. On the rest of the Akropolis as well, no faience from after the Archaic Period was found.

Attempts at chemical analyses of faience from Rhodes have not been very successful, so precise determination of the origins of this material remains difficult and stylistic analysis is still important. However, the amounts of Archaic faience found on the Akropolis of Lindos do indicate that Lindos was an important hub in the exchange of faience during this period. On the basis of this material and the faience finds in Ialysos and, notably, Kameiros, Webb has argued that Rhodes played an essential role in the production and distribution of faience during the seventh and sixth centuries BC.

The remarkable amount of faience votive objects from the Archaic period is a clear indicator of the importance of the sanctuary in the flows of exchange around the polis. It is highly probable that Rhodes was a producer of faience itself, but the exact

extent to which these faience objects originated locally or were produced in Egypt or perhaps elsewhere in the south-eastern Aegean, has not been established with full certainty. However, it is clear that for faience as well, a network in the eastern Aegean developed which also had links with Egypt and possibly Cyprus. It is very probable that the local, East Greek network in which East Greek pottery styles and techniques were exchanged and WGS and Fikellura pottery were distributed, was interconnected with the faience distribution in the south-eastern Aegean, which took place through similar mechanisms in a small, local network. Because the East Greek pottery industry got disturbed around the end of the sixth century BC because of the campaigns of the Persians and the destruction of Miletus, the faience industry must have suffered from this as well. This was probably an important reason for the decline of faience consumption in the south-eastern Aegean, to which the lack of Classical faience in Lindos attests.

In general, all this underlines the economical role that the sanctuary of Athena Lindia fulfilled. The findings of faience objects in Lindos show that faience votive offerings were brought to Rhodes to be dedicated and that not only was faience transported from Egypt to Rhodes, production techniques of faience were exchanged as well and Rhodes probably became a production centre of faience itself. Although it is difficult to find out which modes of distribution facilitated the transport of faience between Rhodes and Egypt, there is no doubt that the distribution of objects like these contributed to the economic growth of Lindos and Rhodes in general.

The results of the two case studies map onto the research that has recently been done in the field of network theory in ancient history by Malkin and Constantakopoulou. I believe that the distribution niche that Rhodes was involved in can be perceived as a network cluster defined by Malkin. The connectivity between poleis of the south-eastern Aegean that can be seen in the flows of distribution of East Greek pottery attest to this. Furthermore, the spread of egyptianizing faience from Egypt to the south-eastern Aegean, the styles and production techniques as well as actual faience products, demonstrates the overlapping of network clusters as described by Malkin, because this exchange clearly took place between two different spheres of distribution, south-eastern Greece and Egypt. In the case of faience distribution, Lindos, but Kameiros as well, was a node connecting the network cluster of the south-eastern Aegean to economic clusters beyond.

The connectivity between the islands and coastal poleis of the south-eastern Aegean, as illuminated by my case study about WGS and Fikellura, further connects to the work of Constantakopoulou who, in *Dance of the islands*, emphasized the centrality of insularity to ancient Greek history. According to her, the islands of the Aegean were characterized by intensive interaction in antiquity, which led, amongst other things, to the emergence of mini networks, small clusters of islands in which such interaction took place. Such a mini network also developed in the south-eastern Aegean, as I have shown that the WGS, Fikellura and faience finds on Rhodes bear witness to the intensive interaction that took place between Rhodes and other (island) poleis of this region during the Archaic period.

Busy Rhodes?

In what way have these two case studies contributed to the general objective of my thesis? I started out wanting to investigate the economic position of Rhodes before the Hellenistic Period, in which it grew out to one of the richest states of the Greek world. How did this prosperity come about; was something of this economic potential already visible during the Archaic and Classical Period? How did the island make use of its strategic position in the south-east of the Aegean, especially during a time in which the Aegean came to be dominated by the two big powers of the Classical Period, Sparta and Athens?

On the basis of a broad definition of trading, through the case studies I have shown how Rhodes, in the limited environment of the eastern Aegean, constituted an important hub in the distribution of specific East Greek styles of pottery and egyptianizing faience. Clay analyses have demonstrated that Rhodes was not a significant production centre for east Greek ceramics, but with regard to faience, the situation is more nuanced. Relatively large amounts of faience found on Rhodes seem to demonstrate that at the island, a considerable faience industry existed, but recent research has not yet been able to fully discover the origins of the faience found on Rhodes; if it was produced here, or imported from Egypt or possibly Cyprus. However, just as in the East Greek pottery industry, it has become clear that Rhodes fulfilled an important role in the distribution of faience in East Greece. Both case studies thus show that Rhodes already benefited from its useful geographical position during the Archaic period. The island was part of a web of distribution routes that stretched, in the case of

East Greek pottery and faience, from the Black Sea, along the coast of Asia Minor, to Cyprus and Egypt.

In what way can future research further attribute to the results of my thesis? First of all, I think that the investigation of a wider variety of finds would be very helpful. Not only WGS and Fikellura pottery, but also the influence of Attic pottery could be researched more. Second, more finding places could be investigated. The Italian School also worked on other necropoleis in Kameiros, as well as in Ialysos. A study of the publications of these projects could provide a bigger picture of the distributional flows around Rhodes. In this way the results of my research could be extended.

The case studies that I carried out in this thesis show that Rhodes, during the Archaic period, was already an important factor in the development of a distributional network that no doubt later contributed to the growth of its prosperity.

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Appendix I: Tables

In this appendix, the finds that are listed by the Jacopi in the fourth volume of Clara Rhodos are listed in tables, as well as the finds from *Lindos I*. The numbers are based on my own counting of the objects listed in the volumes. I have based the categorizations on those of Jacopi and Blinkenberg. This also means for example, that I only counted those objects as Fikellura, which were explicitly assigned to that category by Jacopi in the listings.

It must be noted that Jacopi excluded many items from the numbered inventory lists of the graves, for no clear reason. He only shortly described these in the description of the graves themselves. I have chosen to count these items as well, to make as complete a list as possible.

Furthermore, I do not distinguish between complete or incomplete objects, and also count fragments of objects as one piece, except when the excavators were sure different pieces belonged to one object.

Kameiros

Macrì Langoni, total of published finds: 1202

Checraci, total of published finds: 118

Macrì Langoni: WGS pottery

Type	Amount
Cup on foot	7
‘Vroulian’ cup ²⁶⁰	3
Oinochoe	7
Pinax	1
Total	18

Macrì Langoni : Fikellura pottery

Type	Amount
Amphora	18
Amphora – lekythos	1
Total	19

²⁶⁰ Type of cups on a narrow foot that was first found in Vroulia by Kinch. Cook and Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, 114.

Checraci: WGS pottery

Type	Amount
Cup on foot	1
‘Vroulian’ cup	1
Pinax	1
Total	3

No Fikellura pottery from Checraci was published.

Lindos

In the *Petits objets* volumes, all the objects were grouped, according to their dating, into four large chapters: Neolithic and Mycenaean objects, objects from the early Archaic period²⁶¹, objects dated 525 – 400 BC and objects dated later than 400 BC. Here, I have only specified the countings of the middle two chapters, because my research is concerned with those periods. Furthermore, I have specified the countings of the faience finds.

Total of objects from the Neolithic and Mycenaean periods	50
Total of objects from the early Archaic period	6480
Total of objects dating 525 – 400 BC	4184
Total of objects that are dated later than 400 BC	1468
Total of published finds:	12182

²⁶¹ The chapter is called ‘Objets des premières époques archaïques’.

Total of published finds from the early Archaic period:

Type	Amount
Fibulae	1592
Diverse ornaments	999
Women's items:	273
Varied personal objects I excluded the section 'animal bones' because these were not completely and clearly published, i.e. no exact numbers were mentioned.	306
Armament and harnesses	172
Varied Furniture	151
Vases and containers	1187
Faience	690
Ex-voto divers	30
Figurines	1080
Total	6480

Total of published finds dating 525 – 400 BC:

Type	Amount
Terracotta figurines	891
Terracotta protomes	859
Terracotta bas-reliefs	7
Terracotta lamps	211
Terracotta vases	2103
Vases of other material	113
Total	4184

Faience found in the Archaic layers:

Type	Amount
Statuettes	118
Vases	3
Whorls	9
Buttons	2
Pearls and beads	85
Amulets	3
Cylinders	0
Scarab settings	14
Scarabs	118
Total	352

Faience found in the Grand Depot:

Type	Amount
Statuettes	39
Vases	22
Whorls	9
Buttons	1
Pearls and beads	0
Amulets	0
Cylinders	0
Scarab settings	0
Scarabs	2
Total	73

Faience found across the Akropolis, without specified location:

Type	Amount
Statuettes	120
Vases	40
Whorls	2
Buttons	1
Pearls and beads	13
Amulets	3
Cylinders	1
Scarab settings	1
Scarabs	84
Totaal	265

Total of found faience objects: 690 objects

Appendix II: Maps

1. Rhodes²⁶²



2. Map of Rhodes²⁶³



²⁶² Dyggve, *Lindos III*, I 63.

²⁶³ *Ibidem*.

3. Map of the region of Kameiros²⁶⁴

The location of the necropolis of Macrì Langoni is indicated with a dot.

The location of the necropolis of Checraci is indicated with a square.

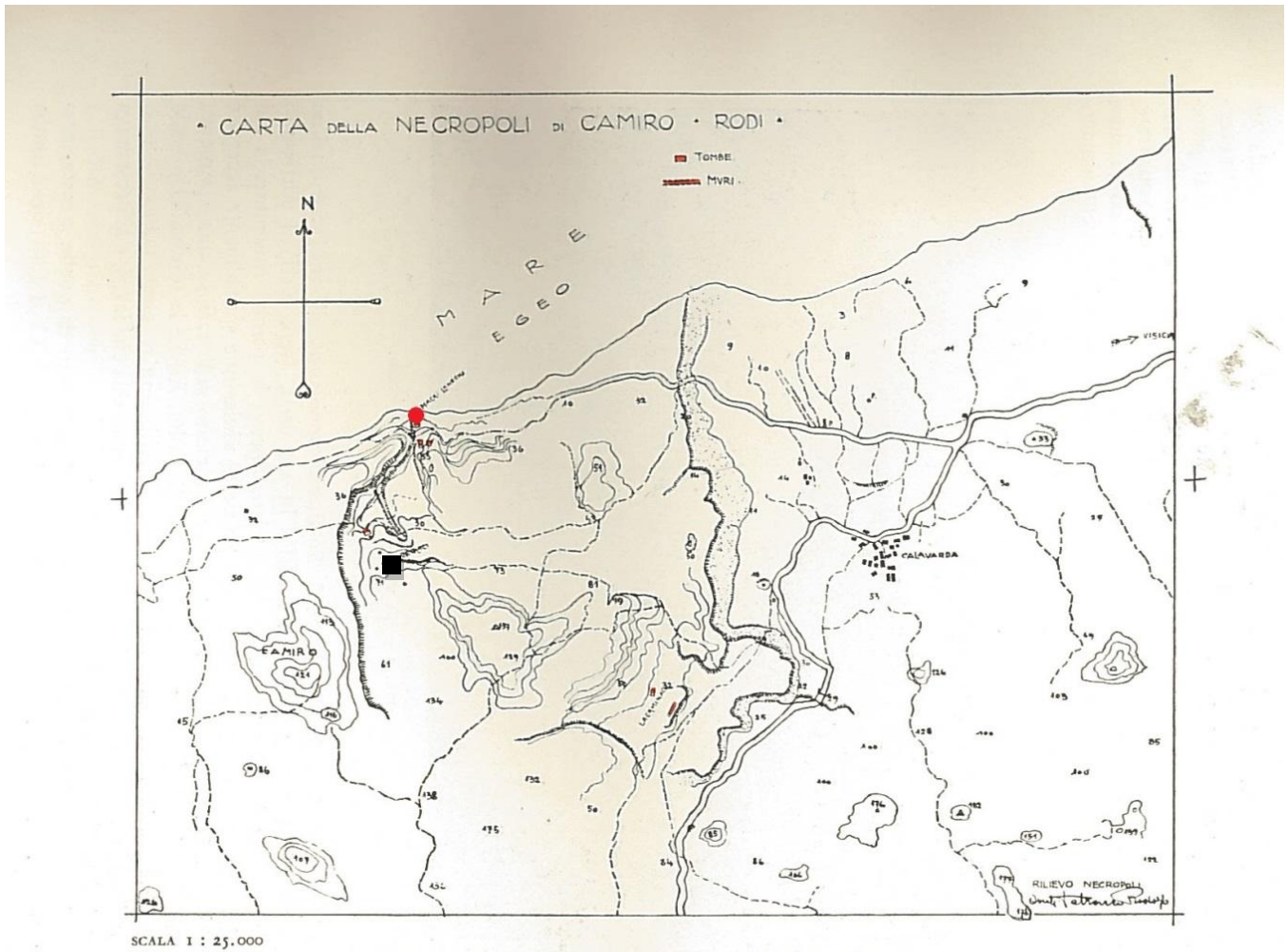
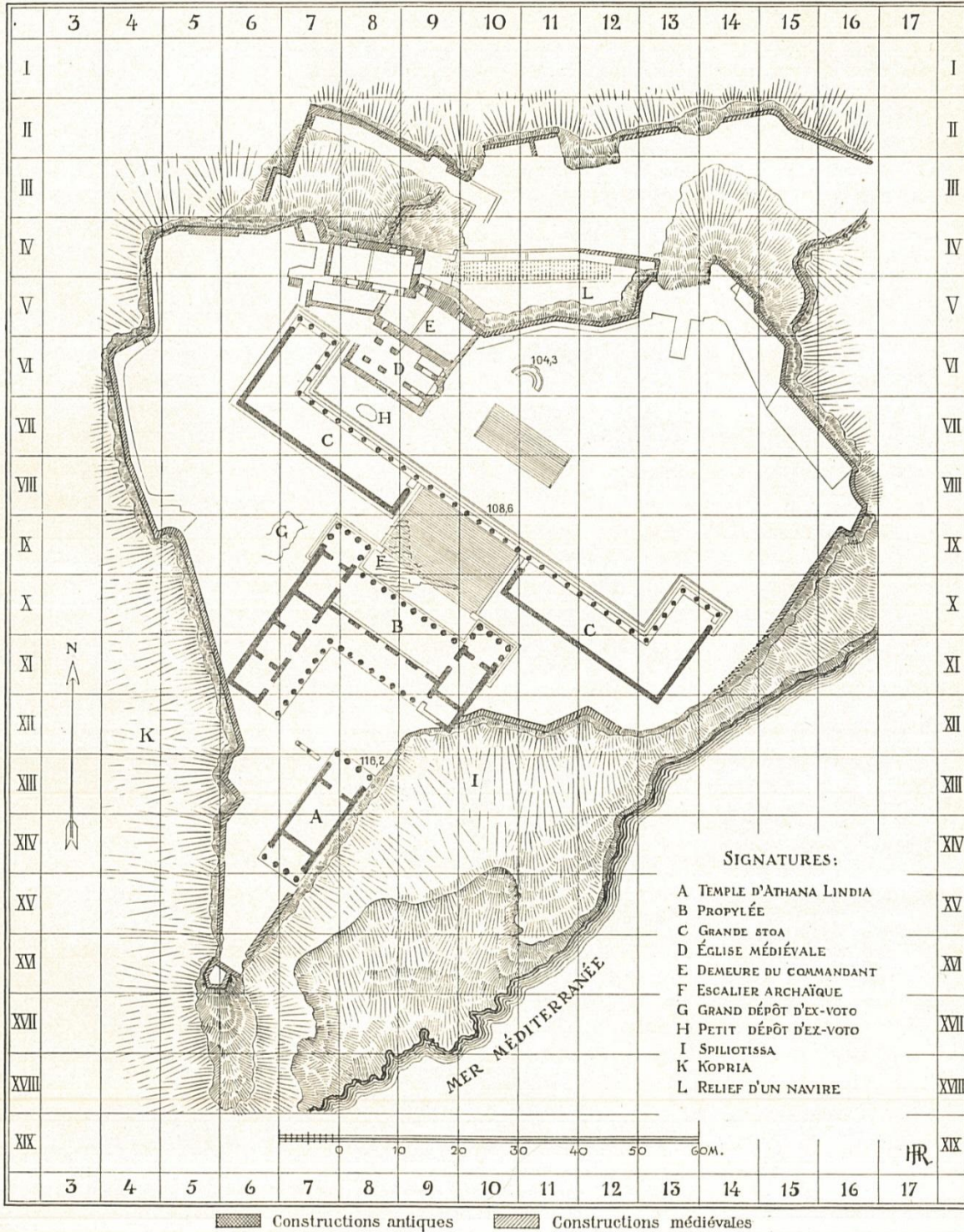


FIG. 3 — CARTA SCHEMATICA DELLA ZONA DI CAMIRO.

²⁶⁴ Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos* IV, 11.

4. Map of the Akropolis of Lindos²⁶⁵

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ACROPOLE DE LINDOS

²⁶⁵ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, II 1.

5. Position of the temple of Athena Linda above the cave²⁶⁶

Εγγραφο Δυγγβε 1952

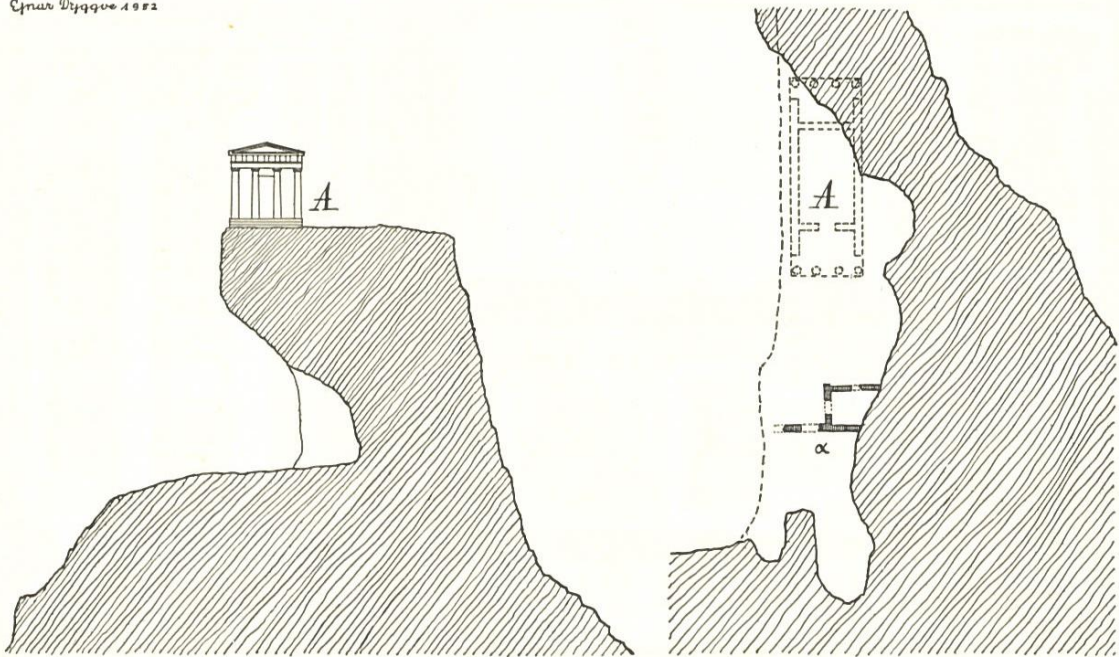


Fig. IV, 19. A gauche, coupe à travers la grotte cultuelle et le Temple; à droite, plan de la grotte avec l'emplacement du Temple en pointillé. – E. D. 1952. 1:800.

6. Left: The Lindian Akropolis during the Late Archaic Period, incl. Archaic stairs.

Right: The Lindian Akropolis during the Hellenistic Period, incl. Propylaea and Stoa.

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Note: north and south are conversed.

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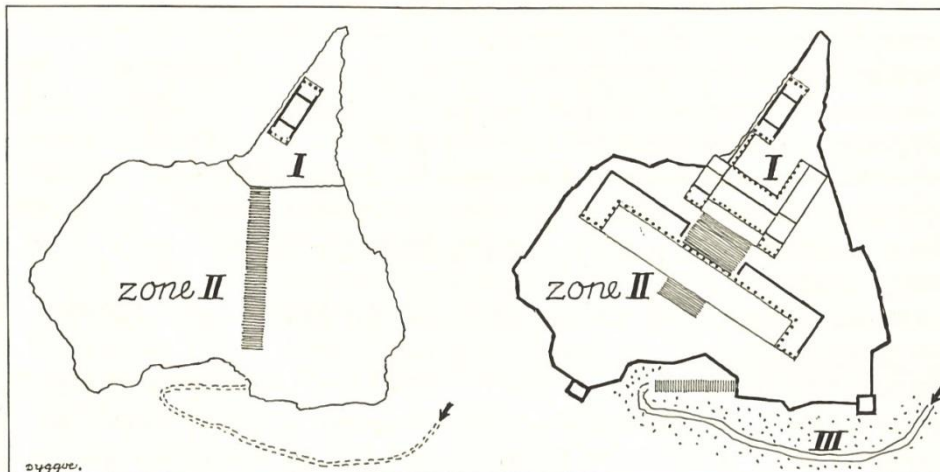


Fig. II, 1. A gauche: répartition des zones à l'époque archaïque tardive; à droite: à l'époque hellénistique. – E. D. 1952.

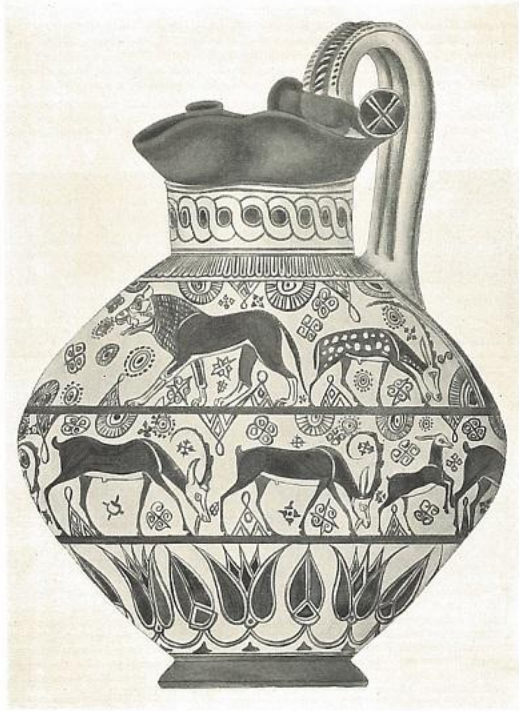
²⁶⁶ Dyggve, *Lindos III*, I 148.

²⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, I 44.

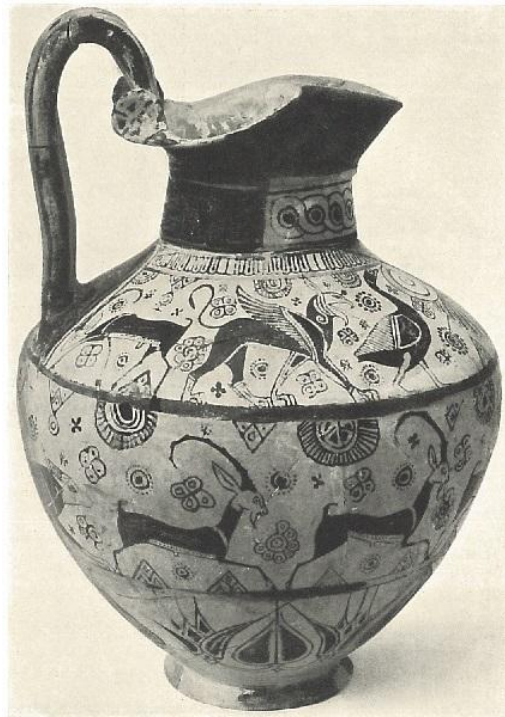
Appendix III: Images

Examples of East Greek pottery finds from Macrì Langoni

WGS Oinochoe (drawing)²⁶⁸



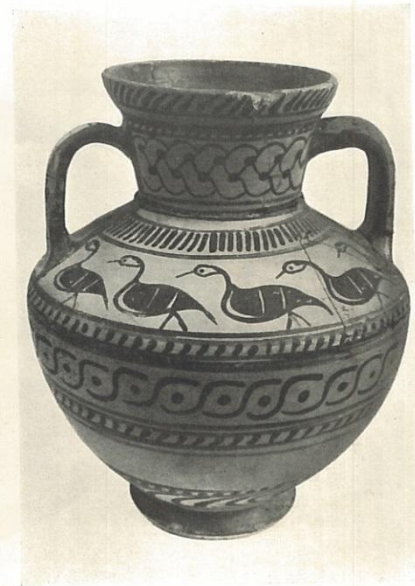
WGS Oinochoe (photograph)²⁶⁹



Fikellura amphora (photograph)²⁷⁰



Fikellura amphora (photograph)²⁷¹



²⁶⁸ Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos IV*, 52 -53.

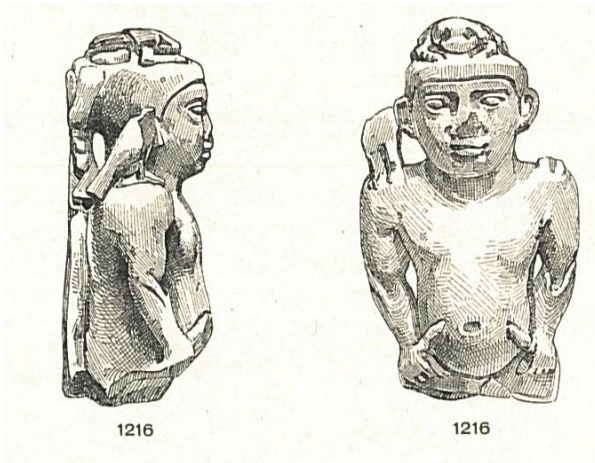
²⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, 82, 87.

²⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, 65 – 66.

²⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 172, 177.

Examples of faience finds from the Akropolis of Lindos²⁷²

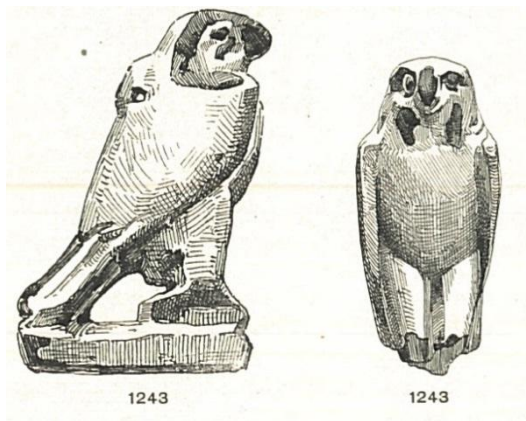
Faience statuette of Egyptian god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris²⁷³



Faience statuette of Egyptian god Bes²⁷⁴



Faience hawk²⁷⁵



Faience aryballos²⁷⁶



Faience amulet with eye²⁷⁷



Faience scarab²⁷⁸



²⁷² Throughout the volumes of the Danish excavations, hardly any photographs of the objects were presented, therefore, the images depicted here are drawings from the first volume.

²⁷³ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I 341 and *Lindos I*, II 53 (no. 1216).

²⁷⁴ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I 344 and *Lindos I*, II 54 (no. 1231).

²⁷⁵ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I 346 and *Lindos I*, II 54 (no. 1243).

²⁷⁶ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I 359 and *Lindos I*, II 57 (no. 1316).

²⁷⁷ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I 368 and *Lindos I*, II 59 (no. 1358).

²⁷⁸ Blinkenberg and Kinch, *Lindos I*, I 379 and *Lindos I*, II 59 (no. 1383).

