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ca. 625-525 B.C.**

Charles Gates

**Occasional Paper 11
Institute of Archaeology
University of California
Los Angeles**

FROM CREMATION TO INHUMATION

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Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
LIST OF GRAVES	4
FREQUENCY OF BURIAL TYPES	19
THE GROWTH OF THE CEMETERIES	
Ialysos	19
Kameiros	21
BURIAL FORMS	
Cremations	22
Chamber Tombs (Inhumation)	24
Jars (Inhumation)	28
Stone-lined Cist Graves (Inhumation)	29
Miscellaneous Tomb Types	31
EVIDENCE FOR MULTIPLE BURIALS AND DISTURBANCES	
Reuse of Cremation Graves	32
Reuse of Rock-cut Chamber Tombs	33
Miscellaneous Disturbances	34
ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON IDENTIFICATIONS OF AGE AND SEX	35
THE GRAVE OFFERINGS	
Function	36
Places of Origin	39
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	41
APPENDIX: GRAVE GROUPS OF THE ARCHAIC PERIOD AND TOMB TYPES DISCOVERED BY BILIOTTI AND SALZMANN AT KAMEIROS	
The Finds and Their Significance	44
Extracts from the Biliotti Papers	47
NOTES	59
TABLES	73

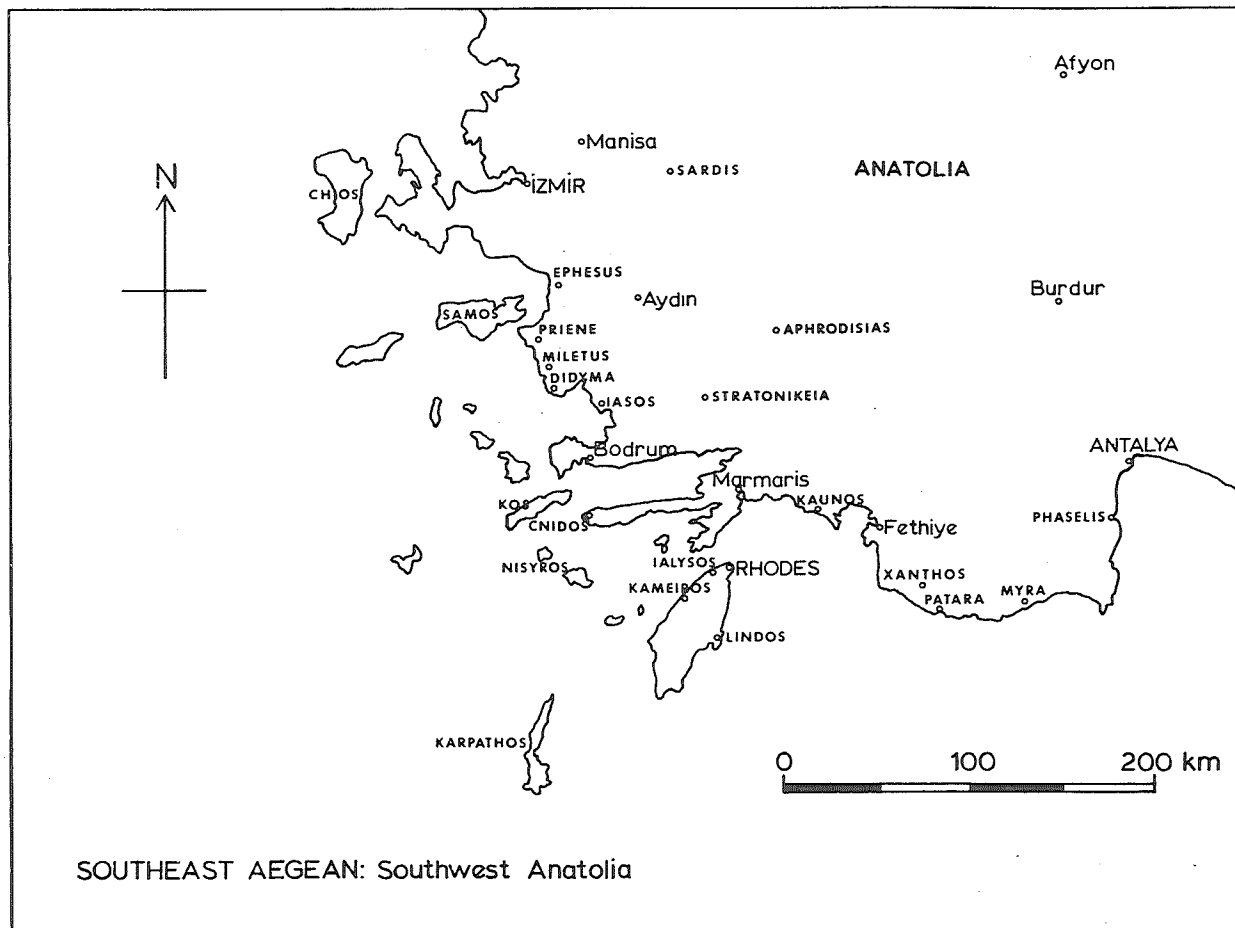
INTRODUCTION

The immense cemeteries at Ialysos and Kameiros on the island of Rhodes have long served as a prime source of evidence for reconstructions of the material culture of East Greece in the Archaic period.¹ Scholarly attention has traditionally centered on clarifying the typology and chronology of the grave offerings. In addition, the records, both published and unpublished, of excavations conducted first in the mid-nineteenth century and later from 1916 to 1934, during the Italian occupation of the island, have much to say about the burial practices themselves and provide data of great importance for the evaluation of contrasting social, economic, and artistic developments at the two neighboring cities.

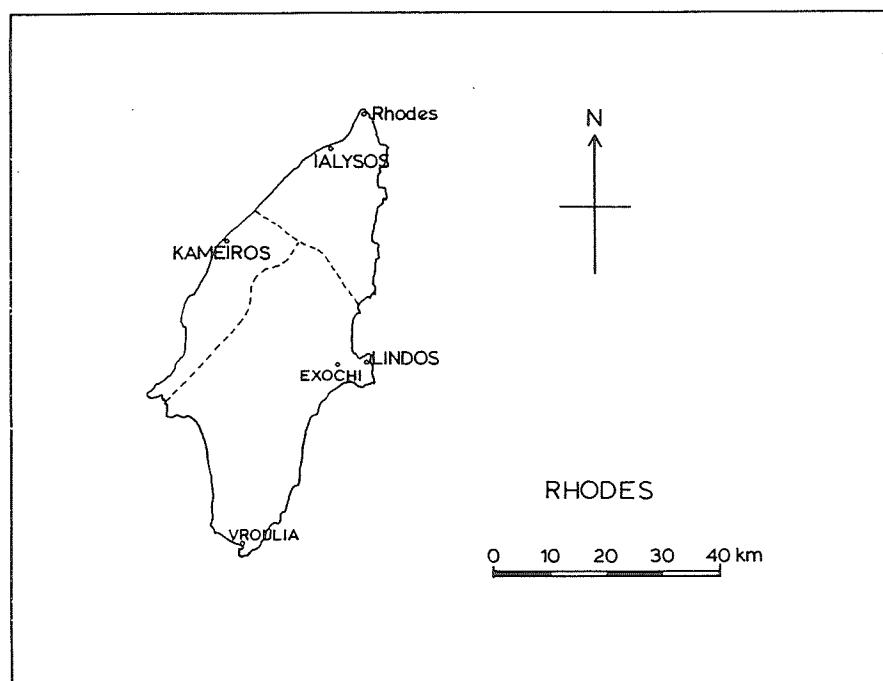
The first excavators at Archaic Kameiros, Alfred Biliotti and Auguste Salzmann, left only scattered notes concerning their finds.² The later archaeologists, Amedeo Maiuri, Giulio Jacopi, and Luciano Laurenzi, published promptly and with near completeness the lists of the graves and their contents discovered at both Kameiros and Ialysos.³ This lengthy documentation of the associations between various artifactual types in grave groups has permitted much progress in the determination of the relative chronology of many pre-Classical East Greek wares. It has also been valuable in discussions of such diverse products as Corinthian pottery, Levantine glazed vessels, and faience figurines.⁴

Investigation of other aspects of the Rhodian graves has, however, lagged behind. The dating of the graves was not discussed in detail in the excavation reports, nor were the nature and development of the burial practices: the tomb forms and the rites used, the choice of grave goods, the age and sex of the deceased, the presence of imported objects, the disposition of the skeleton and the offerings, and the growth of the cemeteries.⁵ Analysis of these factors makes it clear that despite many similarities, burial practices at Ialysos and Kameiros were by no means identical. The distinguishing in two neighboring cities of various social and economic phenomena, which a comparison of the material remains enables us to make, is unique in the archaeology of East Greece in the Archaic period. The excavated remains, by yielding such results, considerably augment the early history of Ialysos and Kameiros as known from literary, epigraphical, and numismatic evidence. The absence of investigation of these major aspects of Rhodian burials is an important lacuna in the reconstruction of the island's culture history before the *synoikismos* of 408 B.C., the founding of the city of Rhodes at the northern tip of the island by the three prominent cities of the pre-Classical period, Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos.

The discussion of these points, which is the aim of this article,⁶ centers on one particularly interesting moment in the history of the cemeteries at Ialysos and Kameiros: the middle of the Archaic period, ca. 550 B.C., when cremation burial was largely replaced by inhumation in stone-lined cist graves.⁷ An examination of this change would ideally be based on evidence from a good sample of graves dating both just before and just after 550 B.C. Of the almost 1000 graves excavated by Maiuri, Jacopi, and Laurenzi, which span, with few exceptions, the ninth to fifth centuries B.C., sixty-seven can be dated with reasonable confidence to the quarter century immediately following the general abandonment of cremation: 550-525 B.C. Finding



Plan 1 (above) : *Southeast Aegean: Southwest Anatolia.*



Plan 2 (left) : *Rhodes. Archaic sites; and the territory of the three major cities (after F. Hiller von Gaertringen [see n. 156], 754, fig. 3).*

an equivalent sample before this transition poses problems, however, since the evidence from Kameiros is weak for the half century from 600 to 550 B.C. In order to provide a helpful perspective on funerary practices in the mid-sixth century, the starting point for this investigation has been set at 625 B.C. Ninety-eight tombs can be attributed to this period of seventy-five years, 625-550 B.C. The relatively numerous grave groups from the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. thus play an important role in this discussion.

The dating of the grave groups depends on the assumption that each burial with its offerings was deposited at one moment and sealed, that the objects found in any individual grave are not mixed accumulation from successive funerals, from the illicit activities of grave robbers, or from disruptive phenomena of nature, such as erosion or earthquake. Although such irregularities are common in ancient cemeteries and stand as obstacles to a routine, smooth interpretation of their chronology and development, the grave groups at Ialysos and Kameiros have been singled out as exceptionally vulnerable to these disturbances, even to the point where the integrity of all the grave groups has been challenged.⁸ But the evidence for multiple burials and disturbed deposits is strong only in a small number of cases, as will be demonstrated below.

It is always difficult to determine the range of dates represented in a single grave group; clearly the pottery and other finds were not all made on the same day. What margin of error should be allowed? Attic black figure pottery in the middle of the sixth century can be dated securely within a range of ten to fifteen years. Dates for Corinthian pottery and the Wild Goat style of the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. fluctuate in a somewhat larger range, fifteen to twenty-five years. In this paper, the Rhodian graves are assigned to periods of twenty-five years.⁹ This corresponds with the widest margin of error for the dating of those ceramics upon which the chronology of the burials depends, frees the chronology from the controversies which too close a dating engenders, and, most importantly, still allows a clear view of the development of the burial practices themselves.¹⁰ Thus a middle road is sought between excessively precise dates for the deposition of graves on the one hand and the pessimistic view that such dates should be treated with utmost caution, if indeed they can be determined at all. Such extreme positions reflect a misplaced zeal for rigid accuracy which undermines, an appreciation of the contribution made by the excavations of Jacopi and Laurenzi.¹¹

The dating of the 165 graves to the three quarter-centuries preceding the change from cremation to inhumation in stone-lined cists of ca. 550 B.C. and to the twenty-five year period which follows is based primarily on the finds of Corinthian, Rhodian Wild Goat style, and Attic black figure pottery, and the so-called Ionian cups (here, Tocra types I-II and III), ceramic types whose development can be tied into an absolute chronology. Period I, ca. 625-600 B.C., corresponds roughly with the Early Corinthian style, the Middle Wild Goat II style, and the three types of Ionian cups mentioned above. Period II, ca. 600-575 B.C., is characterized by the Middle Corinthian and the Late Wild Goat styles; Period III, ca. 575-550 B.C., with the Late Corinthian I style. Period IV runs from 550 to 525 B.C.¹² The graves dated to the four periods are listed below;¹³ the information concerning them constitutes the basis of the discussion presented here. Provided in this list of datable graves are: the List or Catalogue number; the number of the tomb given in the excavation reports; the number of the tomb in order of discovery, in parentheses--a device which Jacopi used, but which Maiuri and Laurenzi did not;¹⁴ the sector of the cemetery in which the grave was located (these sectors are indicated on Plans 3 through 8); a publication reference; and the burial form, abbreviated as follows:

- CRE: Cremation in a shallow, unlined cist cut either into the soil or rock.
 JAR: Inhumation in a jar.
 CHM: Inhumation in a rock-cut chamber tomb.
 SLC-flat: Inhumation in a stone-lined cist with a flat roof.
 SLC-gabl: Inhumation in a stone-lined cist with a gabled roof.
 SARC: Inhumation in a sarcophagus.

The year of publication of a grave serves as a reference to the excavation reports, as follows:

- 1926: Amedeo Maiuri, *Jalisos: Scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana a Rodi, ASA tene 6/7* (for 1923-24, but published in 1926), 83-341.
 1929: Giulio Jacopi, *Scavi nella necropoli di Jalisso, 1924-1928. Clara Rhodos*, vol. 3.
 1931: Giulio Jacopi, *Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro--I. Scavi nelle necropoli camiresi, 1929-1930. Clara Rhodos*, vol. 4.
 1933: Giulio Jacopi, *Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro--II. A) Necropoli; B) Acropoli. Clara Rhodos*, vol. 6/7, part 1.
 1936: Luciano Laurenzi, "Necropoli ialisie (scavi dell'anno 1934)," *Clara Rhodos*, vol. 8, pp. 7-207.

LIST OF GRAVES

625-525 B.C. (BY PERIOD)

<u>List no.</u>	<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Excavation no.</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Publication reference</u>	<u>Burial form</u>
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Period I: Graves of ca. 625-600 B.C.

Ialisos

Graves with LPC-early EC pointed aryballoi decorated with scale, running dog, or dot-and-band patterns

1.	Tomb 15	(232)	Drakidis	1929	CRE
2.	Tomb 16	(233)	Drakidis	1929	CRE
3.	Tomb 29	(331)	Cuccia	1929	CRE
4.	Tomb 30	(332)	Cuccia	1929	CRE
5.	Tomb 35	(339)	Cuccia	1929	CRE
6.	Tomb 6	1916 exc.		1926	JAR
7.	Tomb 3	(126)	Zambico	1929	CRE

Graves with EC pottery, excluding LPC-EC pointed aryballoi (in addition to supra Cat. no. 7)

8.	Tomb 2	(123)	Zambico	1929	CRE
9.	Tomb 39	(346)	Cuccia	1929	CRE
10.	Tomb 93	(333)	Cuccia	1929	JAR
11.	Tomb 2	1934 exc.	Dafni	1936	CRE

12. Tomb 4	1934 exc.	Dafni	1936	JAR
13. Tomb 32	(335)	Cuccia	1929	CRE

Graves with Wild Goat style pottery contemporary with EC (in addition to supra Cat. no. 13)

14. Tomb 1	1934 exc.	Dafni	1936	CRE
15. Tomb 3	1934 exc.	Dafni	1936	CRE
16. Tomb 13	1934 exc.	Dafni	1936	CRE
17. Tomb 49	(384)	Laghos	1929	CRE

Graves with Ionian cups: Tocra types I-II and related cups (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 2 and 3)

18. Tomb 31	(334)	Cuccia	1929	CRE
19. Tomb 50	(390)	Zambico	1929	CRE
20. Tomb 94	(348)	Cuccia	1929	JAR
21. Tomb 49	1922 exc.		1926	CRE

Burials in pithoi with relief decoration (in addition to supra Cat. no. 12)

22. Tomb 35	1922 exc.		1926	JAR
23. Tomb 58	1922 exc.		1926	JAR

Miscellaneous

24. Tomb 24	(273)	Drakidis	1929	CRE
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Kameiros

Graves with LPC-early EC pointed aryballoi decorated with scale, running dog, or dot-and-band patterns

25. Tomb 3	(3)	Macri Langoni	1931	CHM
26. Tomb 4	(4)	Macri Langoni	1931	CHM
27. Tomb 15	(16)	Macri Langoni	1931	CHM
28. Tomb 11	(13)	Papatislures	1933	CHM
29. Tomb 12	(16)	Papatislures	1933	CRE
30. Tomb 13	(17)	Papatislures	1933	JAR
31. Tomb 17	(22)	Papatislures	1933	JAR
32. Tomb 30	(30)	Checraci	1933	CHM
33. Tomb 31	(31)	Checraci	1933	CRE
34. Tomb 32	(32)	Checraci	1933	CRE

Graves with EC pottery (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, and 34)

35. Tomb 158	(134)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
36. Tomb 183	(215)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
37. Tomb 210	(16)	Checraci	1931	JAR
38. Tomb 214	(20)	Checraci	1931	JAR
39. Tomb 6	(8)	Papatislures	1933	JAR
40. Tomb 27	(35)	Papatislures	1933	CHM
41. Tomb 28	(36)	Papatislures	1933	CHM
42. Tomb 53	(12)	Visicia	1933	JAR

Graves with Wild Goat style pottery contemporary with EC (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 40, and 41)

43.	Tomb 1	(1)	Macri Langoni	1931	CHM
44.	Tomb 16	(223)	Macri Langoni	1931	CHM
45.	Tomb 191	(116)	Macri Langoni	1931	CRE
46.	Tomb 209	(14)	Checraci	1931	CRE

Graves with Ionian cups: Torca types I-II (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 25, 27, and 34)

47.	Tomb 33	(33)	Checraci	1933	CRE
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Miscellaneous

48.	Tomb 83	(143)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC-flat
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Period II: Graves of ca. 600-5750 B.C.

Ialysos

Graves with MC pottery

49.	Tomb 21	(261)	Drakidis	1929	CRE
50.	Tomb 33	(337)	Cuccia	1929	CRE
51.	Tomb 44	(375)	Laghos	1929	CRE
52.	Tomb 45	(377)	Laghos	1929	CRE
53.	Tomb 46	(380)	Laghos	1929	CRE
54.	Tomb 78	1922 exc.	Dafni	1926	SLC-flat
55.	Tomb 8	1934 exc.	Annuachia	1936	SLC-gabl
56.	Tomb 1	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	CRE
57.	Tomb 74	(205)	Drakidis	1929	JAR

Graves with Late Wild Goat style pottery (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 52 and 56)

58.	Tomb 12	(220)	Drakidis	1929	CRE
59.	Tomb 43	(374)	Laghos	1929	CRE

Kameiros

Graves with MC pottery

60.	Tomb 5	(5)	Macri Langoni	1931	CHM
61.	Tomb 207	(12)	Checraci	1931	JAR
62.	Tomb 208	(13)	Checraci	1931	JAR
63.	Tomb 211	(17)	Checraci	1931	JAR
64.	Tomb 2	(2)	Papastilures	1933	CHM
65.	Tomb 4	(4)	Papastilure	1933	CHM

Graves with Late Wild Goat style pottery (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 64 and [possibly] 61)

66.	Tomb 213	(19)	Checraci	1929	JAR
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Period III: Graves of ca. 575-550 B.C.

Ialysos

Graves with Attic black figure pottery

67.	Tomb 5	(200)	Drakidis	1929	CRE
68.	Tomb 36	1922 exc.		1926	CRE
69.	Tomb 9	1934 exc.	Annuachia	1936	CRE
70.	Tomb 2	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	CRE
71.	Tomb 23	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	CRE

Graves with MC or LC I pottery (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 67 and 68)

72.	Tomb 48	(382)	Pavli	1929	CRE
73.	Tomb 53	(406)	Zambico	1929	CRE
74.	Tomb 90	(282)	Drakidis	1929	JAR
75.	Tomb 242	(121)	Zambico	1929	simple inhumation
76.	Tomb 18	1916 exc.		1926	SLC-gabl
77.	Tomb 22	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	CRE
78.	Tomb 88	(274)	Drakidis	1929	JAR

Burials in pithoi with relief decoration

79.	Tomb 79	(234)	Drakidis	1929	JAR
80.	Tomb 84	(266)	Drakidis	1929	JAR

Graves with Lakonian pottery (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 70, 73, and 78)

81.	Tomb 47	(381)	Dafni	1929	CRE
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Miscellaneous

82.	Tomb 129	(439)	Zambico	1929	JAR
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Kameiros

Graves with MC or LC I pottery

83.	Tomb 121	(149)	Macri Langoni	1931	inhumation in an unlined cist
84.	Tomb 150	(96)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
85.	Tomb 152	(108)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
86.	Tomb 159	(136)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
87.	Tomb 163	(154)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
88.	Tomb 176	(101)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
89.	Tomb 178	(118)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
90.	Tomb 181	(151)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
91.	Tomb 182	(152)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
92.	Tomb 192	(158)	Macri Langoni	1931	CRE
93.	Tomb 196	(56)	Macri Longoni	1931	CRE
94.	Tomb 52	(8)	Visicia	1933	JAR
95.	Tomb 204	(7)	Checraci	1931	CHM

Burials in pithoi with relief decoration (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 88, 89, and 90)

96. Tomb 173	(70)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
97. Tomb 175	(100)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR

Graves with "Samian"/"Sidonian" bottles (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 89 and 97, of Period III at Kameiros)

98. Tomb 160	(144)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
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Period IV: Graves of ca. 500-525 B.C.

Ialysos

Graves with Attic black figure pottery

99. Tomb 4	(134)	Zambico	1929	CRE
100. Tomb 148	(132)	Zambico	1929	SLC-gabl
101. Tomb 165	(195)	Drakidis	1929	SLC-gabl
102. Tomb 175	(226)	Drakidis	1929	SLC
103. Tomb 176	(227)	Drakidis	1929	SLC-gabl
104. Tomb 179	(238)	Drakidis	1929	SLC-gabl
105. Tomb 180	(239)	Drakidis	1929	SLC-gabl
106. Tomb 181	(240)	Drakidis	1929	SLC-gabl
107. Tomb 185	(253)	Drakidis	1929	SLC-gabl
108. Tomb 209	(369)	Zambico	1929	SLC-gabl
109. Tomb 220	(434)	Drakidis	1929	SLC-gabl
110. Tomb 227	(460)	Zambico	1929	SLC-gabl
111. Tomb 253	(249)	Drakidis	1929	Clay SARC
112. Tomb 254	(458)	Zambico	1929	Marble SARC
				inside a
113. Tomb 20	1916 exc.		1926	SLC-gabl
114. Tomb 23	1916 exc.		1926	SLC-flat
115. Tomb 24 bis	1916 exc.		1926	SLC-gabl
116. Tomb 67	1922 exc.		1926	SLC?
117. Tomb 10	1934 exc.	Annuachia	1936	SLC-gabl
118. Tomb 16	1934 exc.	Annuachia	1936	SLC-gabl
119. Tomb 18	1934 exc.	Annuachia	1936	SLC-gabl
120. Tomb 3	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	SLC-gabl
121. Tomb 7	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	SLC-gabl
122. Tomb 10	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	SLC-gabl
123. Tomb 24	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	SLC
124. Tomb 48	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	SLC-gabl
125. Tomb 55	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	SLC-gabl
126. Tomb 79	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	SLC-gabl
127. Tomb 83	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	SLC-gabl.

Graves with LC II pottery (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 100, 101, and 105)

128. Tomb 172	(207)	Drakidis	1929	SLC-flat
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Graves with Fikellura pottery (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 104, 105, 112, and 122)

129. Tomb 171	(206)	Drakidis	1929	SLC-flat
130. Tomb 255	(459)	Zambico	1929	Marble SARC inside a SLC-gabl
131. Tomb 12	1934 exc.	Annuachia	1936	SLC-gabl

Burial in a pithos with relief decoration

132. Tomb 82	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	JAR
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Miscellaneous

133. Tomb 229	(465)	Zambico	1929	SLC-gabl
134. Tomb 247	(225)	Drakidis	1929	Inhumation in an unlined cist
135. Tomb 41	1934 exc.	Marmaro	1936	Stone SARC inside a SLC-gabl

Kameiros

Graves with Attic black figure pottery

136. Tomb 10	(11)	Macri Langoni	1931	CHM
137. Tomb 11	(12)	Macri Langoni	1931	CHM
138. Tomb 14	(15)	Macri Langoni	1931	CHM
139. Tomb 18	(253)	Macri Langoni	1931	CHM
140. Tomb 22	(33)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC-gabl
141. Tomb 56	(213)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC-gabl
142. Tomb 72	(67)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC-flat
143. Tomb 81	(137)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC-flat
144. Tomb 89	(169)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC-flat
145. Tomb 93	(200)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC-flat
146. Tomb 96	(207)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC-flat
147. Tomb 104	(225)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC-flat
148. Tomb 108	(238)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC
149. Tomb 154	(115)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
150. Tomb 216	(23)	Checraci	1931	JAR
151. Tomb 225	(1)	Visicia	1931	SLC-flat
152. Tomb 5	(7)	Papatislures	1933	CHM with JAR
153. Tomb 29	(37)	Papatislures	1933	CRE
154. Tomb 51	(3)	Visicia	1933	Stone cist

Graves with Attic black glazed pottery (in addition to supra Cat. no. 146)

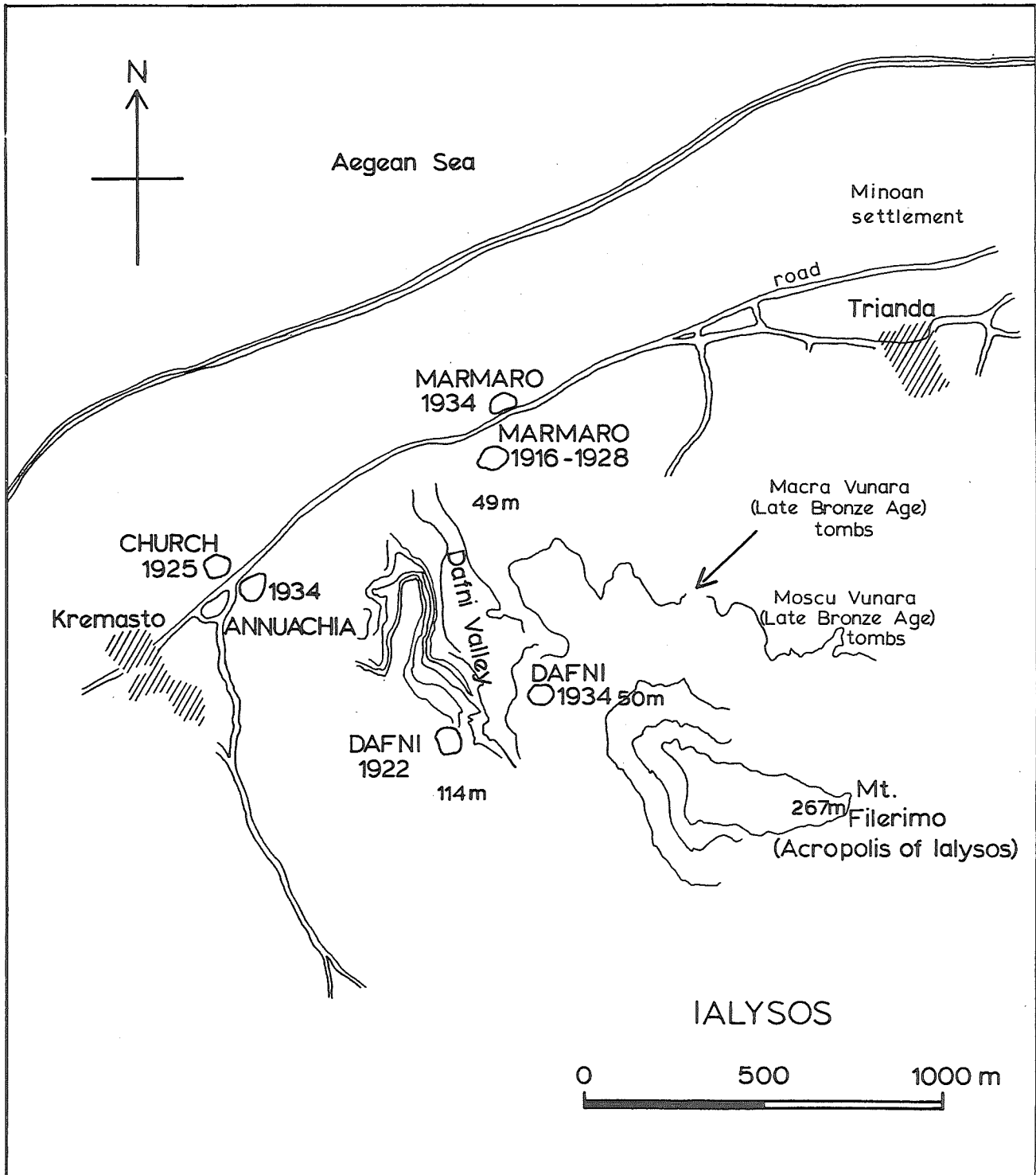
155. Tomb 40	(170)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC-gabl
156. Tomb 118	(97)	Macri Langoni	1931	Inhumation in an unlined cist
157. Tomb 119	(128)	Macri Langoni	1931	Inhumation in an unlined cist
158. Tomb 126	(39)	Macri Langoni	1931	Ossuary
159. Tomb 226	(2)	Visicia	1931	SLC-flat

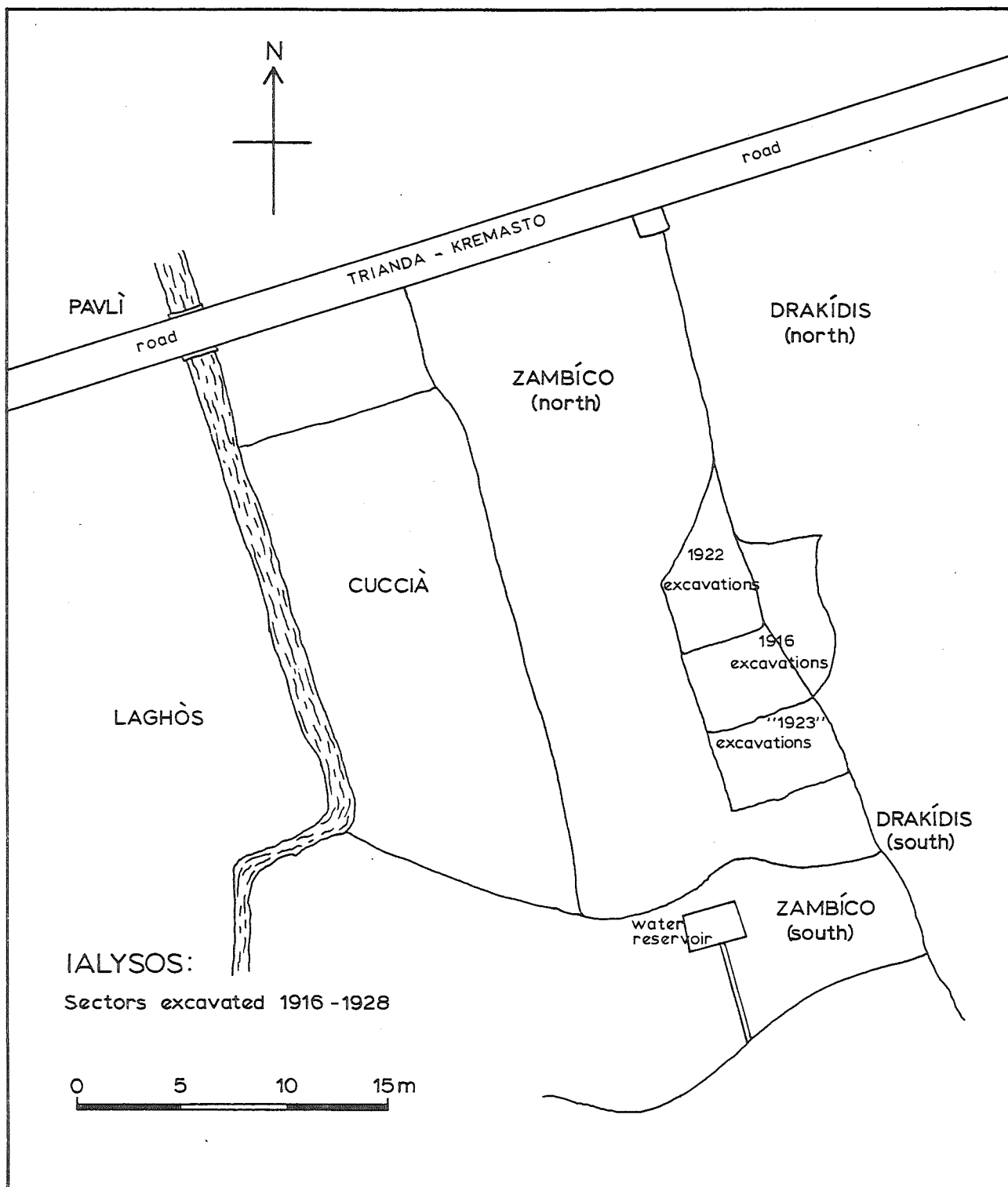
Graves with Fikellura pottery (in addition to supra Cat. nos. 136, 141, 143, 144, 146, 147, 152, 155, 157, 158, and 159)

160. Tomb 77	(107)	Macri Langoni	1931	SLC-flat
161. Tomb 180	(147)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR

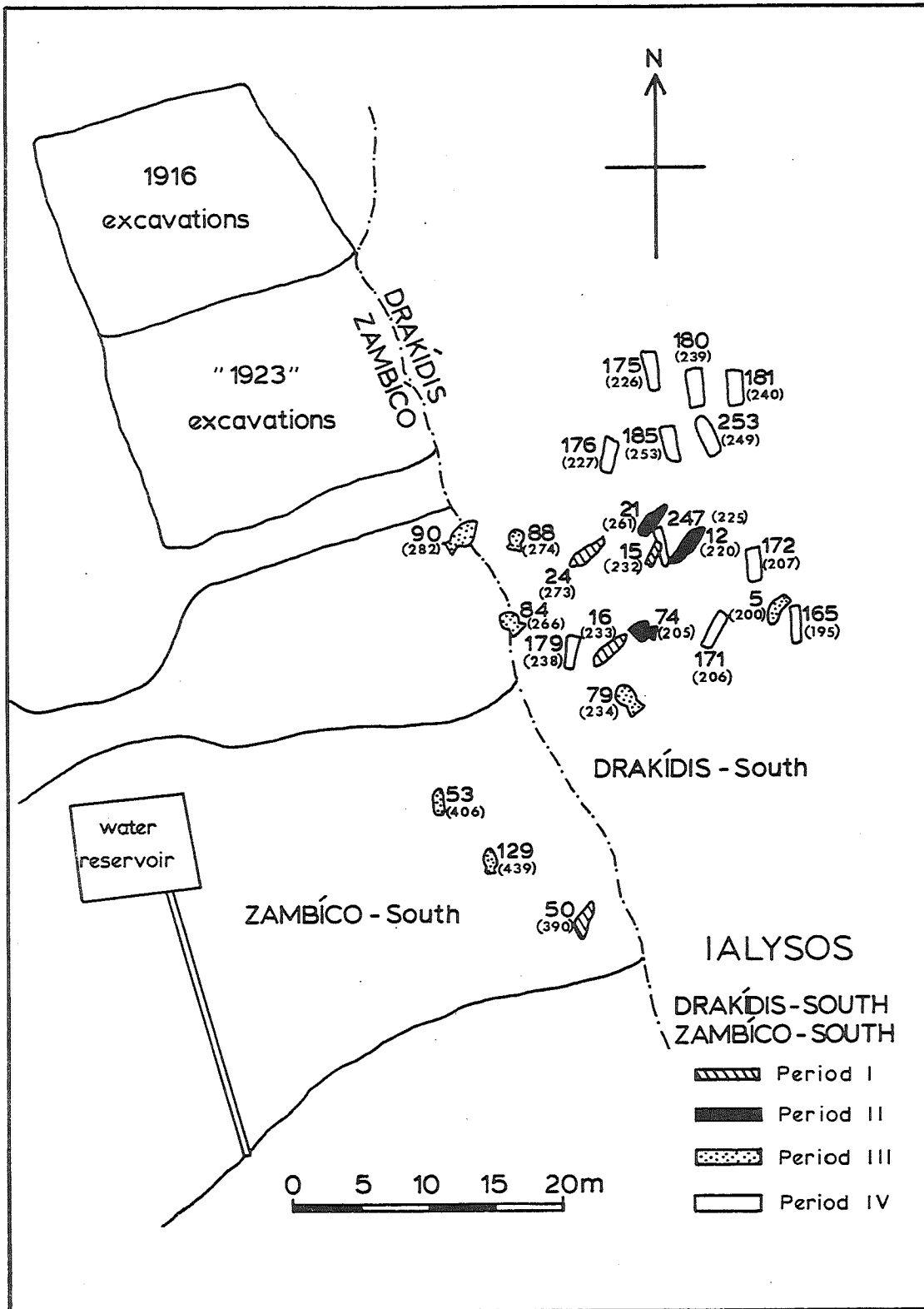
Miscellaneous

162. Tomb 117	(53)	Macri Langoni	1931	Inhumation in an unlined cist
163. Tomb 144	(62)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
164. Tomb 148	(82)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR
165. Tomb 151	(98)	Macri Langoni	1931	JAR

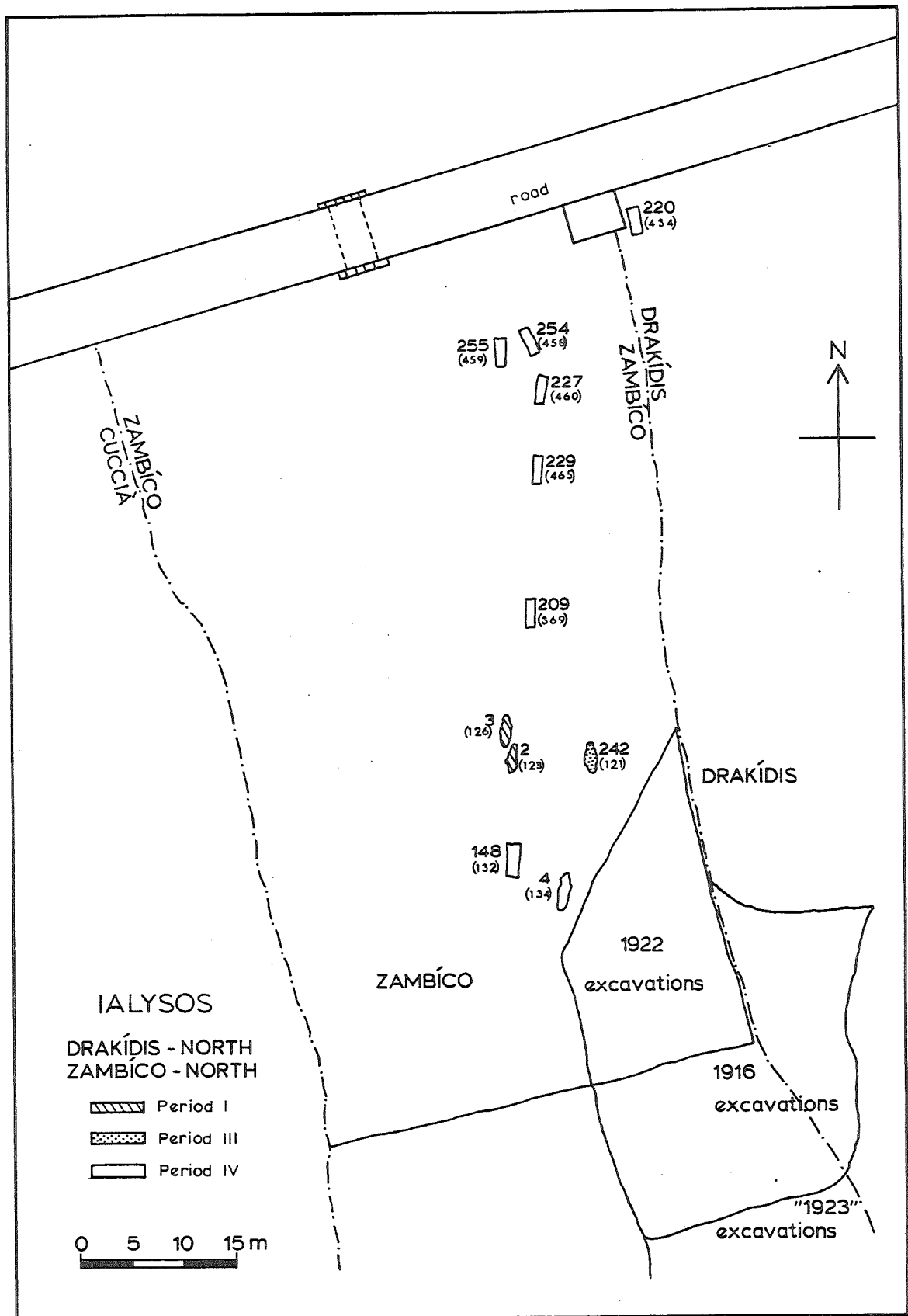




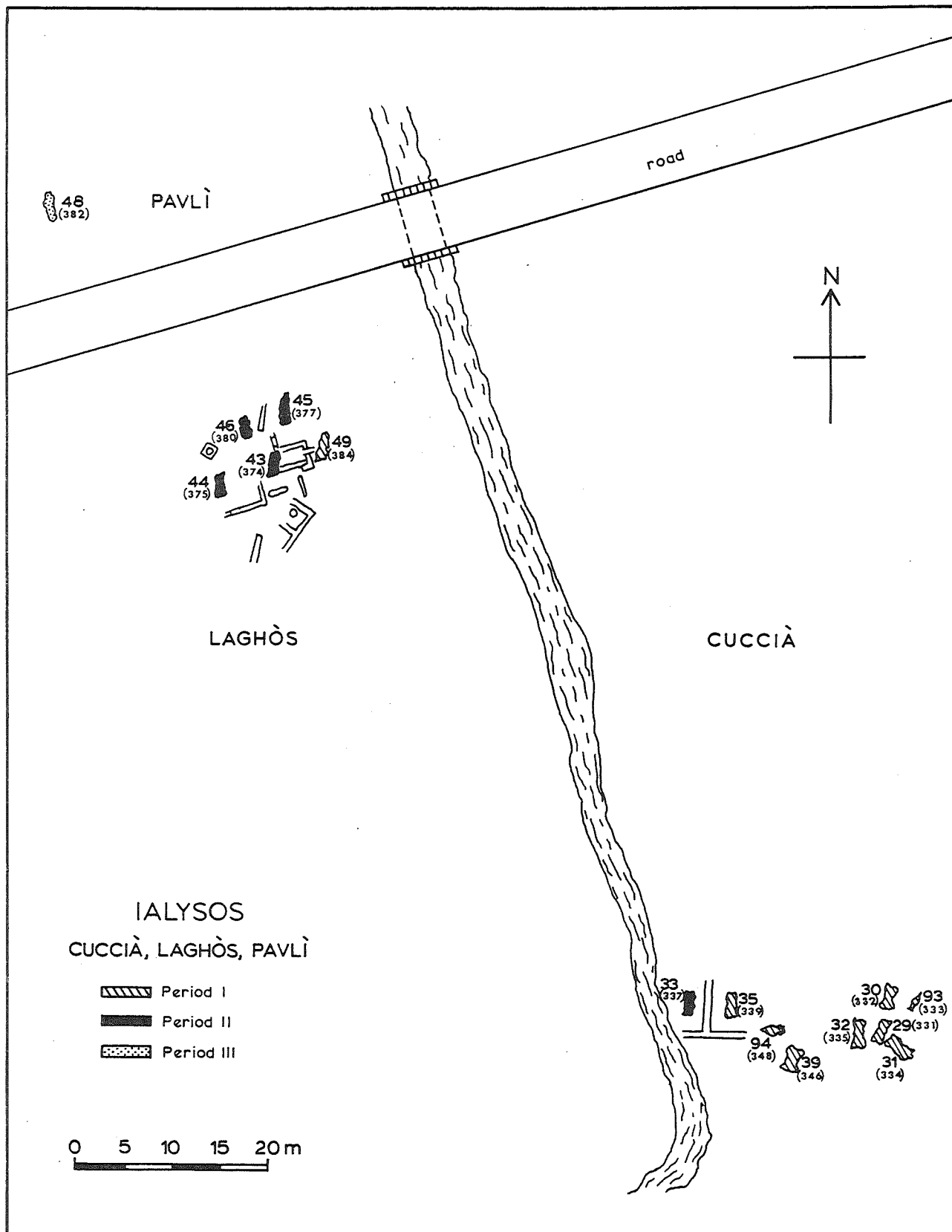
Plan 3 (opposite): *Ialysos*: Location of the cemeteries (after Laurenzi [see n. 1], 8, fig. 1). Plan 4 (above): Sectors excavated 1916-1928 (after Jacopi, 1929 [see n. 1] plan in the back cover pocket).

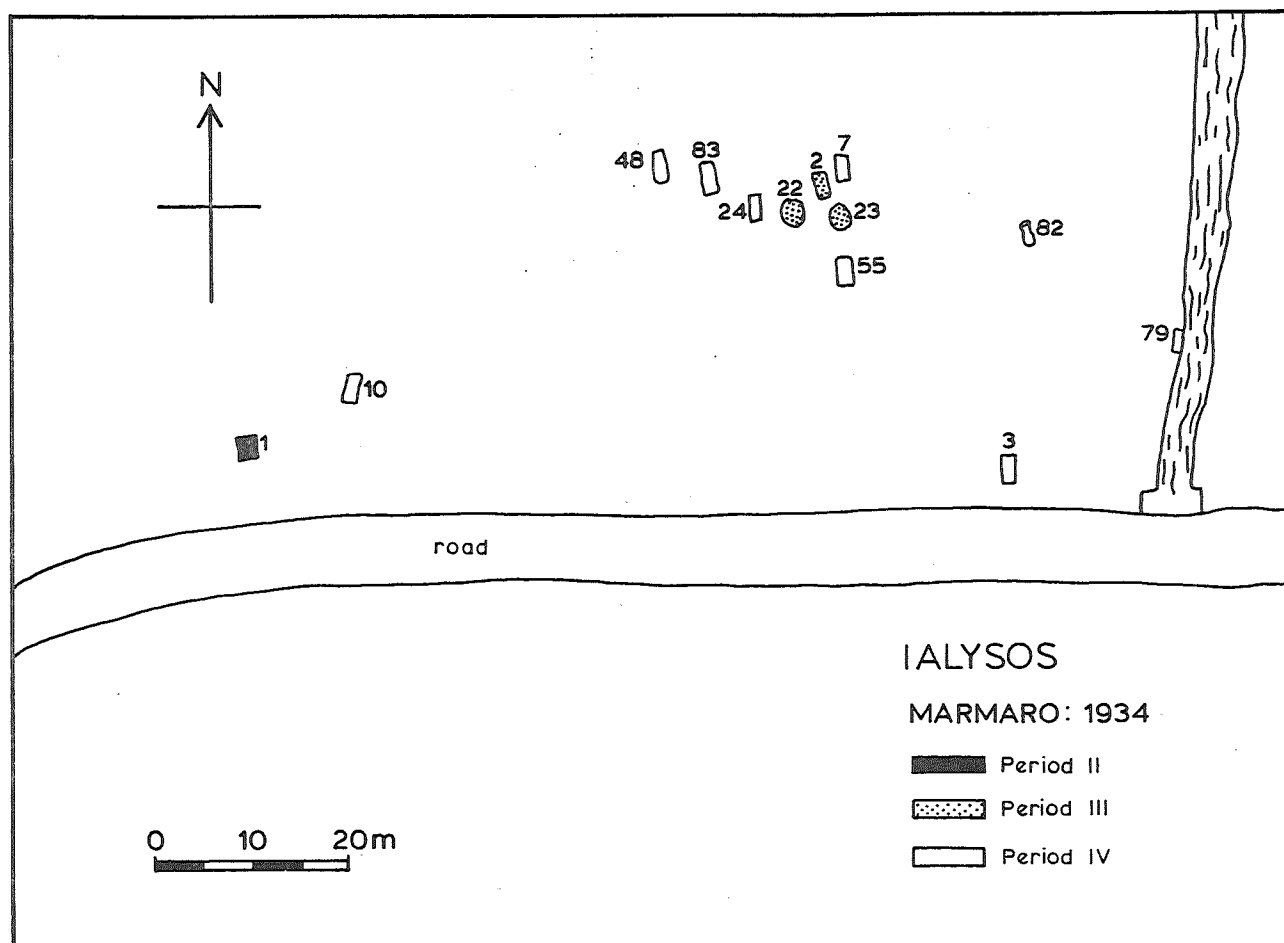


Plan 5: Ialysos: Drakidis-south and Zambico-south (after Jacopi, 1929 [see n. 1], plan in the back cover pocket). Note: "1916" excavations" contained one burial from Period I and three burials from Period IV.



Plan 6: *Ialysos: Drakidis-north and Zambico-north* (after Jacopi, 1929 [see n. 1], plan in the back cover pocket.

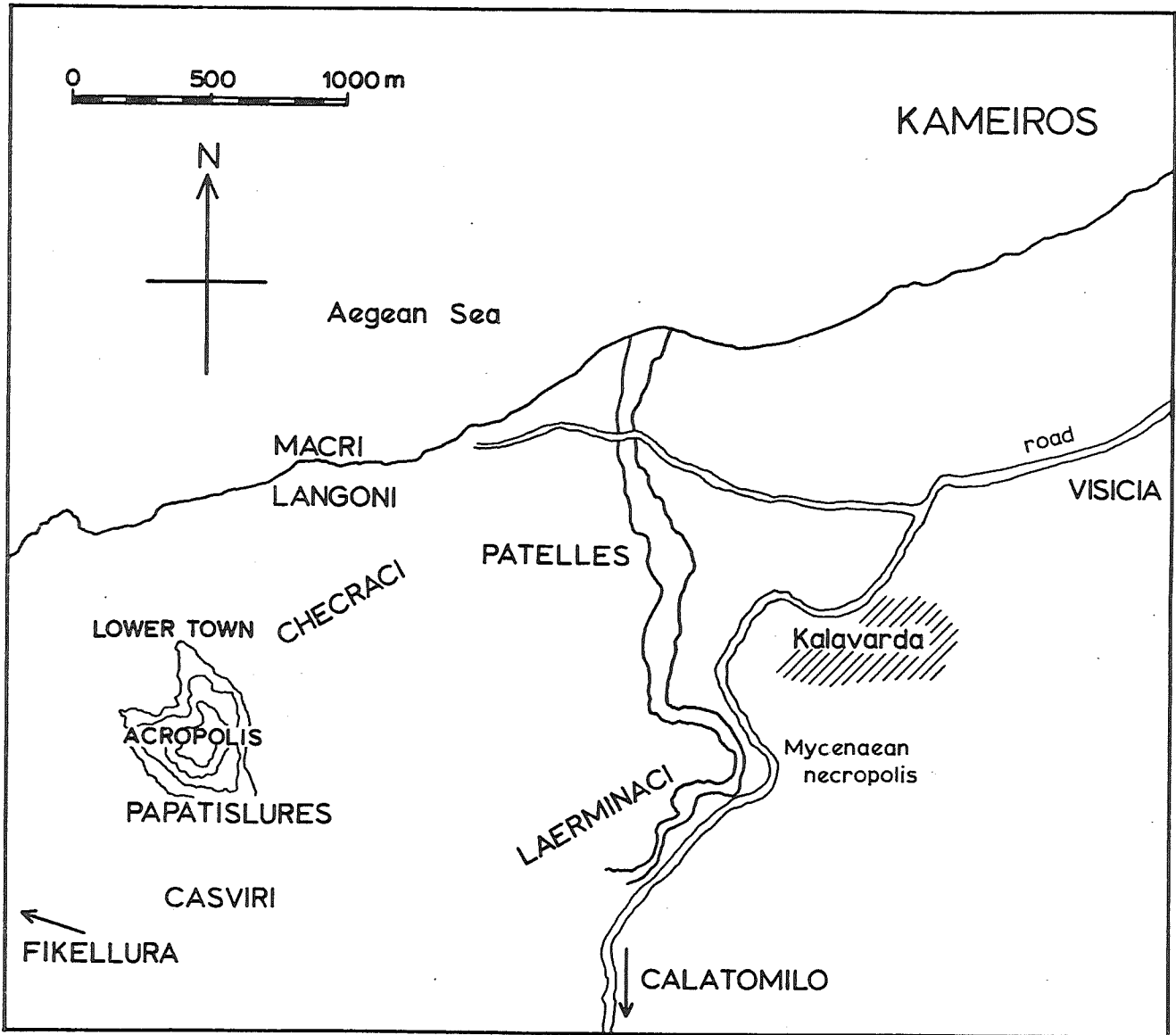




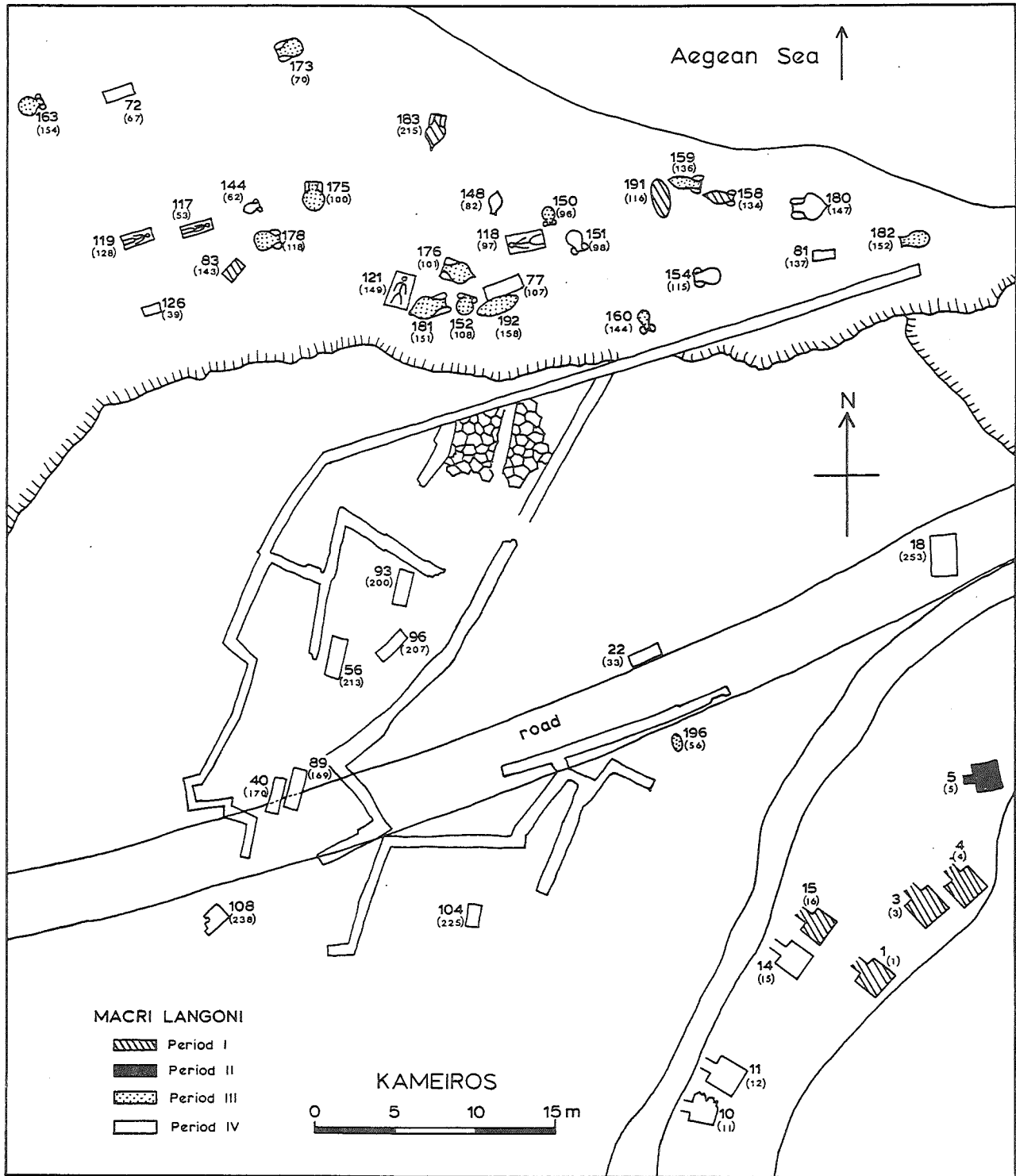
Plan 8 (above):

Ialysos: Marmaro, 1934 excavations (after Laurenzi [see n. 1], 66, fig. 51).

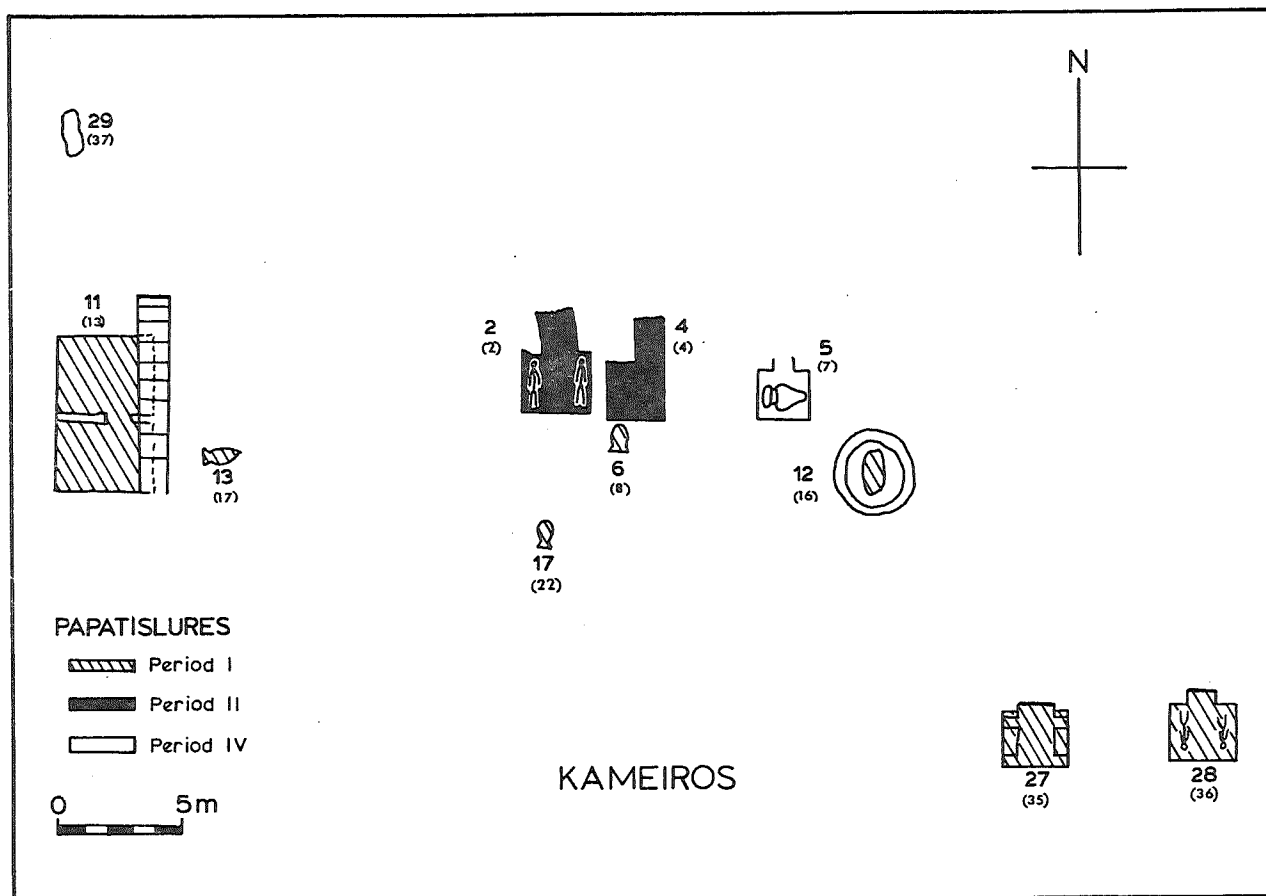
Plan 7 (opposite): *Ialysos: Cuccia, Laghos and Pavli (after Jacopi, 1929 [see n. 1], plan in back cover pocket).*



Plan 9: Kameiros: Location of the cemeteries (after Jacopi, 1933 [see n. 1], 11, fig. 1; and Higgins [see n. 2], plan 1).



Plan 10: Kameiros: Macri Langoni (after Jacopi, 1931 [see n. 1], plan in the back cover pocket).



Plan 11: *Kameiros: Papatislures* (after Jacopi, 1933 [see n. 1], 13, fig. 2).

FREQUENCY OF BURIAL TYPES

The relative frequency of the different burial types is presented in Table I. The preferred modes of burial at Ialysos before 550 B.C. were the cremation of adults and the inhumation of children in jars. After 550 B.C., the Ialysians abandoned cremation and jar burials in favor of inhumation in stone-lined cist graves for both adults and children.¹⁵

In contrast, the changes at Kameiros are less clear and obscure this tidy picture of evolving burial practices in the Archaic period. In the late seventh century B.C., adults were both inhumed in rock-cut chamber tombs and cremated. During the next fifty years, the number of datable adult burials dwindled. The small sample may not, however, accurately reflect contemporary burial practices. The majority of graves at Kameiros from Periods II and III consist of inhumations of children in jars. Rock-cut chamber tombs represent the only known burial type for adults in Period II. In the succeeding period, a single chamber tomb is complemented by two cremations and an inhumation of an adult in a jar.

After 550 B.C., in Period IV, the sample of graves from Kameiros increases greatly, thirty tombs in contrast with sixteen from Period III and only seven from Period II. The single cremation grave of Period IV now represents a small percentage of all the datable burials. The decisive abandonment of cremation, comparable to Ialysian practice, would seem proven were it not that Kameiros has also yielded eight additional cremations datable to after 525 B.C.¹⁶ Inhumations in stone-lined cists form only the simple majority of burials at Kameiros in Period IV; rock-cut chamber tombs and jar burials are still frequently used. Only after 525 B.C. do stone-lined cists attain the great popularity already attested at Ialysos.

Curiously, no inhumations of children in jars have been found in Period IV at Kameiros. Three children were buried in stone-lined cists and one in a stone coffin. Other burials of children during this period remain unidentifiable.

THE GROWTH OF THE CEMETERIES

Ialysos

At the beginning of the mid-Archaic period, ca. 625 B.C., the majority of the principal burial grounds used in the next hundred years were already established. Up to this point, the Ialysians regularly cremated adults and inhumed children in jars. They set out most of these tombs in the adjacent sectors identified on Plan 5 as Drakidis-south and Zambico-south. Although their cremations were equally distributed in both areas, the jar burials occurred exclusively in Zambico-south. Early

(pre-625 B.C.) tombs have also been discovered in smaller number in the plots marked "Excavations of 1916, 1922, and 1923"¹⁷ and, further away, at Cuccia, "Stin Piazza," Marmaro, and Dafni. Zambico-north, Drakidis-north, Laghos, Cufos, Ampelles, the Church at Cremasto, San Giorgio, and Annuachia did not yield graves datable before 625 B.C., but served as burial grounds in succeeding periods (see Plan 3).¹⁸

Although Zambico-south was used only rarely after 625 B.C., Drakidis-south continued as a burial area from Periods I through IV, and even later. In Periods I and II, cremations were placed in the center of the section already defined by earlier tombs. Ialysians of Period III must have considered this core solidly filled with graves, since they placed four burials on the edges of it. In Period IV, the space remaining in the sector continued to be filled in, particularly on the fringes. After 525 B.C., the precise locations of earlier graves may have been forgotten, since digging of graves increased in the center of this area. Already in Period IV, the previously little-used Zambico-north cemetery was regularly chosen as a burial site; it continued to grow after 525 B.C.

In the immediate vicinity, two other sectors were used briefly for burials: Cuccia, from the mid-seventh to the early sixth centuries B.C., and Laghos, principally in the early sixth century B.C. although one grave dates to Period I. A grave was added at Pavli nearby in Period III (see Plan 7).

Another important cemetery site was excavated by Laurenzi in 1934, in the sector called Marmaro (see Plan 8). The Marmaro cemetery was located to the north-east of Drakidis and Zambico (which are collectively labeled as "Marmaro 1916-1928" on Plan 3). In accordance with Laurenzi's remarks on the topography of the cemeteries, the stream indicated on Plan 8 is the "torrente" in the lower left corner of the plan at the back of Jacopi, 1929.¹⁹ With the exception of three very early graves of the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. (Tombs 43, 44, and 45) and a single Late Geometric tomb (Tomb 51), this terrain remained unused until the sixth century B.C. One burial in Period II was followed by a cluster of three in Period III. Five more tombs were added to this core in Period IV, as were three others in isolated locations. Such are the modest beginnings of the Marmaro cemetery. After 525 B.C. it became a major burial site.

Additional graves were recovered at Dafni, in the foothills of Mt. Fileremos to the south of the cemeteries published by Jacopi in 1929.²⁰ Maiuri thought that this area contained an important early cemetery and possibly a settlement, even though most of the evidence had been washed off the slopes (see Plan 3 for the location of Dafni). Some pre-625 B.C. tombs were found. Five more are attributed here to Period I, one to Period II, and one to Period III.

The sector of Annuachia, near the town of Cremasto to the west of the major excavated area, yielded one Period II tomb, another of Period III, and four more of Period IV. This area and the neighboring sectors of Ampelles, San Giorgio, and near the Cremasto Church contained burials deposited after 525 B.C.²¹

Many cemetery sites were used simultaneously throughout the history of Ialysos, and the mid-Achaic period is no exception. This fact, and the large area over which these burial grounds were spread, have been interpreted as indications of the nature and extent of the city itself; that is, Ialysos consisted of either villages scattered over the foothills of its acropolis, Mt. Fileremos, or a single, large center on the coastal plain.²² The development of cemetery sites to the west of the earliest used sectors at Dafni and at Marmaro (1916-1928 excavations as well as

those of 1934), sites near the modern town of Cremasto, certainly reflect the expansion of the settlement in that direction in the late Archaic and Classical periods. Unfortunately, no traces of the town itself have been found. Consequently, the relation between the settlement areas and the cemeteries must remain hypothetical. Discovery of the town and elucidation of the connections between the settlement, the acropolis, and the burial grounds should be a prime goal of future excavations.

Kameiros

The cemeteries at Kameiros spread over a much greater area than did those at Ialysos (see Plan 9). The earliest burials of the post-Bronze Age occupation, tombs of the Proto-Geometric period, were discovered at Patelle, some distance from the acropolis of the town. The subsequent Geometric period saw the extension of the necropolis to the acropolis itself and near Temple A, to the south of the acropolis (Papatislures), and to Checraci. The Patelle cemetery went out of use in the late eighth century B.C. Tombs were no longer located on the acropolis after the early seventh century B.C.

Both Papatislures and Checraci continued in use throughout the years 625-525 B.C. and even later. But after ca. 575 B.C., burials in these two sectors became sporadic (see Plan 11, for Papatislures). Occasional burials (in Periods I, III, and IV, and later) were discovered at Visicia, to the northeast of the modern town of Calavarda.²³ The main development during the mid-Archaic period was the rise to prominence of the Macri Langoni cemetery by the sea to the northeast of the acropolis. One, possibly two graves were deposited there before 625 B.C. The number of datable tombs rises in Period I, then drops back to just one in Period II, increases again in Period III, and even more in Period IV and after 525 B.C. Thus, this sector fell out of use at some point in Period II, for unknown reasons. But the evidence for burials in Period II at Kameiros is quite weak in all sectors.²⁴

In Period I, chamber tombs were carved into the hillside overlooking the site. Other tombs lay in the north sector, close to the sea. The valley of Macri Langoni, off the 1931 map, yielded an isolated chamber tomb (Tomb 16; no. 44 here). In Period II, one chamber tomb was added, but on an orientation different from that of the existing examples. All but one of the burials of Period III were put in the northern sector. A small group clustered in the center of the area defined by the Period I burials, but other tombs were placed in isolated positions to the east and to the west. One cremation was found near the chamber tombs. The Kameirans continued to bury their dead in the northern coastal section in Period IV, but in addition they extended the cemetery site to the south, constructing a few more chamber tombs in the hillside (see Plan 10). Thus, by 525 B.C., the boundaries of the cemetery were defined. Subsequent burials filled in this delimited area, especially in the southern sector.

After 525 B.C., the principal cemeteries in use were Macri Langoni; Fikellura, to the west of the acropolis (a cemetery well-explored by Biliotti and Salzmann); and Calatomilo, to the southeast. Jacopi found sporadic late graves at Papatislures, Checraci, Laerminaci (between the acropolis and Calavarda), and Visicia.²⁵

As at Ialysos, the location of the cemeteries must correspond to shifting settlement sites in the Kameiran region. Again, virtually nothing is known of the early city; the following comments are offered as a hypothesis.²⁶ Isolated early cemeteries such as at Patelle perhaps belonged to scattered villages in the area. The acropolis, the site of one such early settlement, eventually dominated. The cemeteries then gradually expanded outward from this old center: first, from the acropolis (with no tombs later than the early seventh century B.C.) to Papatislures and Checraci

(with only sporadic burials after 575 B.C.), and lastly to Macri Langoni (especially after 550 B.C.) and Fikellura (in the late Archaic and early Classical periods). This development of the cemeteries surely reflects the expansion of Archaic Kameiros away from its original center on the acropolis. Remote burial grounds at Visicia and Calatomilo probably served rural communities in the same way as did the much earlier cemetery at Patelle. Macri Langoni, too, might have been such a village necropolis in the seventh century B.C. Only later, in Periods III and IV, with its location becoming more convenient as the city expanded northwards, did Macri Langoni develop into one of the principal Kameiran burial grounds. This reconstruction explains why early finds could come from Patelle, which lies a good distance away from the acropolis, and why the Macri Langoni cemetery was only sporadically exploited before the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.²⁷

BURIAL FORMS

Cremations

Forty-five of the 148 published cremation graves from the Italian excavations at Ialysos and Kameiros date to 625-525 B.C. The remaining published cremations were deposited before 625 B.C. (thirty-three at Ialysos, fifteen at Kameiros), after 525 B.C. (eight at Kameiros, none at Ialysos), or to the ripe Corinthian period without further precision, thus ca. 625-550 B.C. (two at Ialysos). An additional number cannot be dated on the basis of the published evidence (forty-two at Ialysos, five at Kameiros).

Any discussion of cremations on Archaic Rhodes must take into account evidence from Vroulia, at the southern tip of the island. Its small cemetery of the late seventh century B.C., contemporary with Period I of this investigation, contained seventy-five graves, thirty cremation burials of adults, two inhumations of adults in cist graves, and forty-three inhumations of infants and small children in jars. The results of the excavations conducted by K.F. Kinch in 1904 and admirably published by him in 1914 often clarify the subsequent findings at Ialysos and Kameiros.²⁸

At Ialysos and Kameiros, cremation burials consisted of a rectangular trench cut into the soil or into the bedrock,²⁹ with the following dimensions: 2.40/0.80m (maximum/minimum) x 1.20/0.50m x 0.40/0.05m, with an average of 1.85 x 0.91 x 0.16m for the cremations of 625-525 B.C. Square trenches emerged at Ialysos only during Laurenzi's excavations.³⁰ The depth of the rectangular trench, although generally small, 0.10-0.15m, need not refer exclusively to the thickness of the ash layer as one might think. For KM-Chacraci Tomb 209 (no. 46)³¹ both the depth (0.30m) and the thickness of the ash layer (0.10m) are reported.

Despite some debate, it is clear that primary cremation, the burning of the body in the permanent grave, was the usual practice. At Vroulia, the sides of the cremation pits were calcined and blackened, and no separate central cremation spot was discovered.³² Maiuri thought it likely that the bodies and some of the pottery were first burned elsewhere; the remains were then transferred to the pits which he discovered, trenches ill-suited for cremations, in his opinion.³³ Jacopi initially supported Maiuri's interpretation as he confronted a mixed matrix of ash and non-ashy debris. But later, this very lack of stratigraphy in the cremation trenches led him to the opposite conclusion, that the cremation remains were left at the site of the fire. Had the bodies been burned elsewhere, he reasoned, the repeated trans-

ferral of the ash and carbonized material to the burial trench would have resulted in a tidy succession of distinguishable layers.³⁴ Nevertheless, he still affirmed that one of the cremations at Ialysos was secondary.³⁵ He also remarked a circular pit containing ash and carbonized material in the center of the Checraci cemetery at Kameiros and wondered whether it sheltered a permanent fire or served as a site for cremation.³⁶ It measured 1.10m in diameter, smaller than most cremation pits, but an unusual 0.65m in depth. The burning of a body in this pit and the subsequent deposition of its ashes in a larger trench seem unlikely. Since the cremation pits generally correspond to the size of adult humans, surely they were intended for the cremation of a corpse in fully extended position.³⁷ For Laurenzi, the last of the excavators of archaic Ialysos, no doubts remained: cremation was clearly primary.³⁸

The "intense combustion" often noted in the excavation reports possibly referred to the condition of the trench walls as well as to the bones, the pottery, and the other objects offered as grave gifts, but this is uncertain. The burning of the pottery, recorded with some care, is of interest. Some vases were not burned, but many were, either completely or in part. Partial burning occurs on both whole vases and on pots smashed in such a way that some fragments escaped the action of the fire completely whereas others were blackened. When reassembled, such vases display a curious patchwork effect.³⁹ The circumstances which led to such varied results are unclear. Some pots may have been placed on the pyre with the body before the burning, some afterwards.⁴⁰ The fire's heat might have exploded certain vases, projecting some fragments beyond the reach of the flames. These pieces would have been gathered and placed on the burial after the pyre had burned.

Some cremation graves contained small pits in the corners, a feature apparently unique to Rhodes. At Vroulia, they undercut the sides of the trench but at Ialysos and Kameiros this undercutting was not specifically noted.⁴¹ Although standard at Vroulia, pits occurred in only twelve of the forty-five cremations at Ialysos and Kameiros datable to 625-525 B.C. Eleven of those had four pits; only one had three pits.⁴² This low number may be due to incomplete reporting of the tomb features. Jacopi commented in the introduction to his first report of the Kameiros cemeteries that of the ten cremations uncovered at Checraci, one had two corner pits, and five additional graves had four; but in the catalogue proper, he gave this information for only three of those graves.⁴³ Jacopi published the measurements of the pits of four graves only. With the exception of IA-Cuccia Tomb 29 (no. 3), these measurements accord with what Kinch observed at Vroulia: 0.45/0.30 x 0.35/0.20 x 0.20/0.12m.⁴⁴

The purpose of these pits is uncertain. Since pottery was found in some of them, Kinch wondered whether these represented special offerings deposited when the cremation trench was dug out. However, all the vases from the pits at Vroulia were burned; this is no doubt the source of Jacopi's subsequent proposal that the pottery was placed in the pits *after* weathering the effects of the cremation.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence does not resolve the problem. Kinch remarked that the pit in the western corner most frequently contained a vase.⁴⁶ Observations made at Ialysos, few as they are, confirm this. In those graves of 625-525 B.C. for which the contents of the corner pits are specified, objects were found variously in the pit to the left at the head of the tomb, in the two pits on the left side, and in two pits, unspecified.⁴⁷ Since three of these tombs were oriented toward the south,⁴⁸ the pits on the left would be on the west side if the corpse on its back is used as the reference.⁴⁹ Apart from the prevalence of pottery in the western pits, no other patterns emerge in the disposition or absence of vases in the corner pits.

In other suggestions, the pits served the actual cremation, either in holding the supports of the funeral bier or pyre or in assisting the ventilation of the fire, a variant on the trenches cut in the floor of the cremations at the Kera-meikos cemetery in Athens.⁵⁰ Neither possibility seems persuasive. Even though we know nothing of the relative arrangement of the corpse, the fuel, and the supporting elements, it is still difficult to imagine a construction which would employ a varying number of pits (from four to none) which undercut the walls of the trench. Robinson asserted that the pits would draw fresh air down to them.⁵¹ Whether or not these corner holes could produce such convections, this would seem an ineffective way to ventilate the fire in the central part of a trench a good 1.5-2.0m long.

Orientations were reported for twenty-seven of the cremations datable to 625-525 B.C. Twenty were oriented toward the south (at Ialysos), one to the south-west, one to the southeast (both at Ialysos), one to the north, and one to the east (both at Kameiros). Three more were placed on an axis, without indication of where the head lay--east northeast by west southwest (Kameiros), north northeast by south southwest (Ialysos), and north-south (Kameiros). In the absence of remarks on pieces of bones, notably of the skull, which remained after the action of the flames, one might wonder how the head of the grave could be determined in so many cases.⁵²

Two of the graves had their location marked in some way: KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 191 (no. 45), with a stone partly inserted into the ground at the foot of the grave; and KM-Papatislures Tomb 12 (no. 29), which was enclosed by a circular wall, 2.90m in diameter, possibly the retaining wall of a tumulus. A layer of gravel was spread over IA-Cuccia Tomb 29 (no. 3), probably after the cremation.

In only three cases could the age of the deceased be determined and, in one of these, the sex as well: an adolescent, an adult, and a girl of about twenty years of age.⁵³ Animal bones were recognized only at two of these graves. Jacopi interpreted them as the remains of the funeral meal.⁵⁴ The presentation of faunal remains throughout the excavation reports is too casual, however, to inspire much confidence in the accuracy of the identifications.

Chamber Tombs (Inhumation)

Rock-cut chamber tombs of the Hellenic period have been found at Kameiros but not at Ialysos. Why the Ialysians chose not to bury at least some of their dead in chamber tombs is puzzling. Indeed, the Late Bronze Age inhabitants of Ialysos used chamber tombs in their cemeteries on Moscha Vunara and Macra Vunara, foothills of Mt. Fileremos.⁵⁵ In addition to possessing terrain suitable for the carving of chamber tombs, the Ialysians of the Archaic period must have been familiar with both the form and the construction of this burial type, since their neighbors at Kameiros cut chambers regularly, if not abundantly, throughout the period under examination. That chamber tombs of the Archaic period exist at Ialysos but have simply eluded discovery remains possible, of course, although the large amount of exploration effected has made the chances very slight.

Since most of the chamber tombs contained grave goods, and datable ones at that, they assume a much greater importance in the list of datable graves than in the context of all excavated graves. Chamber tombs account for 9 percent of all graves excavated by Jacopi at Kameiros, but they form 23 percent of the graves

from Kameiros dated to 625-525 B.C. and included here (see Table 1). Jacopi published thirty-three chamber tombs from Kameiros; he left unpublished two more.⁵⁶ Of the thirty-three, eighteen can be dated to 625-525 B.C.⁵⁷

Chamber tombs have been found in all the principal cemeteries of Kameiros explored by Jacopi. A chamber and usually a modest unroofed approach to it were carved out of the limestone not far below the surface.⁵⁸ The ceiling of the chamber, apparently a thin layer of rock, almost always collapsed under the weight of accumulated soil. Jacopi did not offer many details on the relation of the chamber tombs to the surrounding landscape. An understanding of the layout of the Kameiran chamber tombs, their setting in the geological strata, and their relation to neighboring tombs depends upon the section drawing of KM-Papatislures Tomb 2 (no. 64), reproduced here as Figure 1. This drawing clarifies the descriptions and the generally confusing photographs.⁵⁹

The drawing indicates that the Papatislures cemetery was located on level ground. The contour of the limestone deposit in which Tombs 1 and 2 were carved is more or less flat. The dromos or entryway gives access principally from above, not from the side which construction on a hillside would necessitate. The other chamber tombs at Papatislures which flank Tomb 2 in such a regular fashion on Jacopi's plan of this cemetery possessed the same features.⁶⁰ Moreover, another set of burials, of types other than chamber tombs, lay behind most of the chambers. This would be surprising if the chamber tombs were in a hillside. There is thus no indication that these tombs were built on sloping ground. In contrast with Papatislures, the chamber tombs at Macri Langoni were clearly carved into a hillside, somewhat apart from the rest of the graves. The contour plan included at the end of Jacopi's first report on his excavations at Kameiros demonstrates this as do the photographs of the site and the remark that Tomb 8 stood high up on the hill.⁶¹

A caution is needed concerning the orientations reported for the chamber tombs at Macri Langoni: generally "southeast," occasionally "south," "east south-east," or "east." On the plan of Macri Langoni,⁶² these orientations refer not to the side of the chamber in which the access passage and doorway were placed, but to the position of the wall *opposite* the doorway. I assume, of course, that the north is correctly indicated on the plan. Since the Rhodian coast cannot possibly have a southern exposure in this area, the situation of the coastline on the plan, confirmed by the photographs of the site, makes this secure. By conventional reckoning, most of the chamber tombs were thus oriented toward the northwest (that is, with an entrance on the northwest side), occasionally toward the north or west. No such problem exists at Papatislures. The chamber tombs there are oriented "north-south," except for Tomb 15 (not listed here): "west." In accordance with the compass indication provided on the plan, the doors of the majority of the tombs do lie on the north side, that of Tomb 15 on the west.

The access from the edge of the limestone formation in which the chamber tombs were carved to the doorway of the chamber proper was almost always supplied by a short sloping or stepped unroofed passage which Jacopi labeled interchangeably as the "dromos" or the "vestibolo."⁶³ Its dimensions varied from 1.70 to 0.90m in length and from 1.10 to 0.70m in width, with a height of 0.90 or 0.45m.⁶⁴ The passage was usually longer than it was wide.⁶⁵ Oddities occur: one example was T-shaped, another off-center, and one dromos was itself sealed with a stone.⁶⁶ Descriptions of four tombs make clear that the threshold of the chamber, the end of the dromos, was not always set flush on the floor, but often somewhat higher.⁶⁷ No information was given concerning five other tombs.

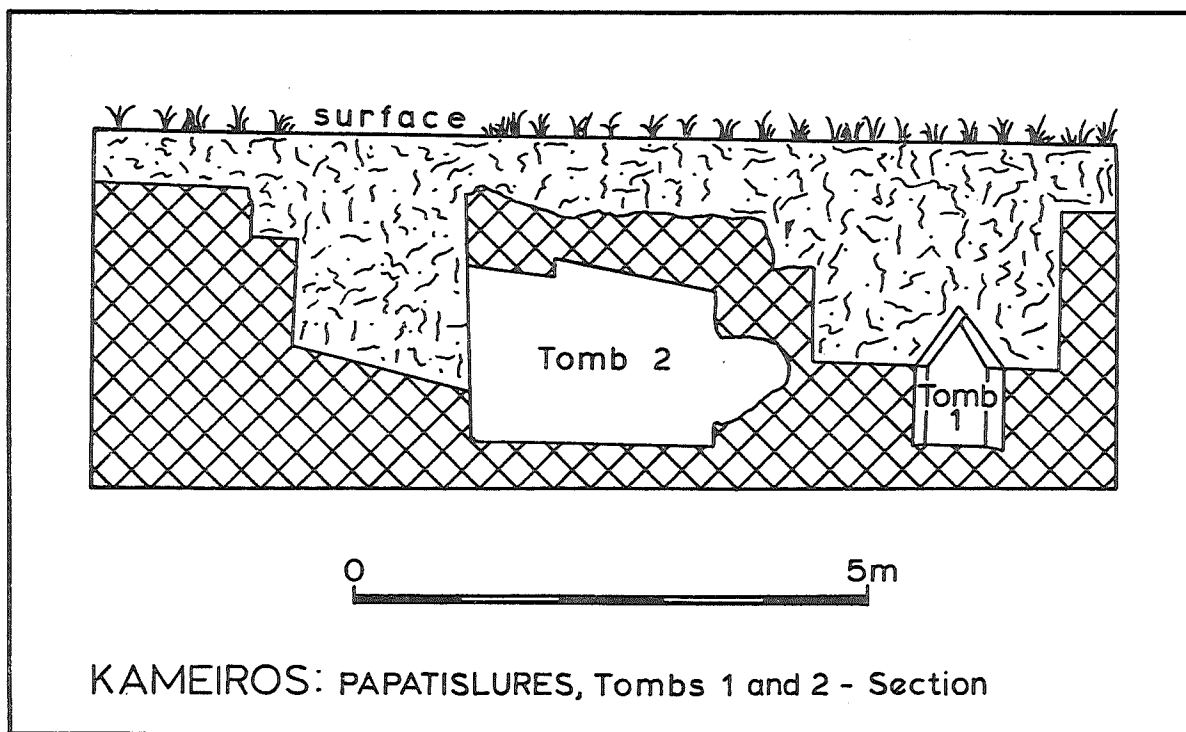


Figure 1 (above): *Kameiros: Papatislures, Tombs 1 and 2, section (after Jacopi, 1933 [see n. 1], 15, fig. 4).*

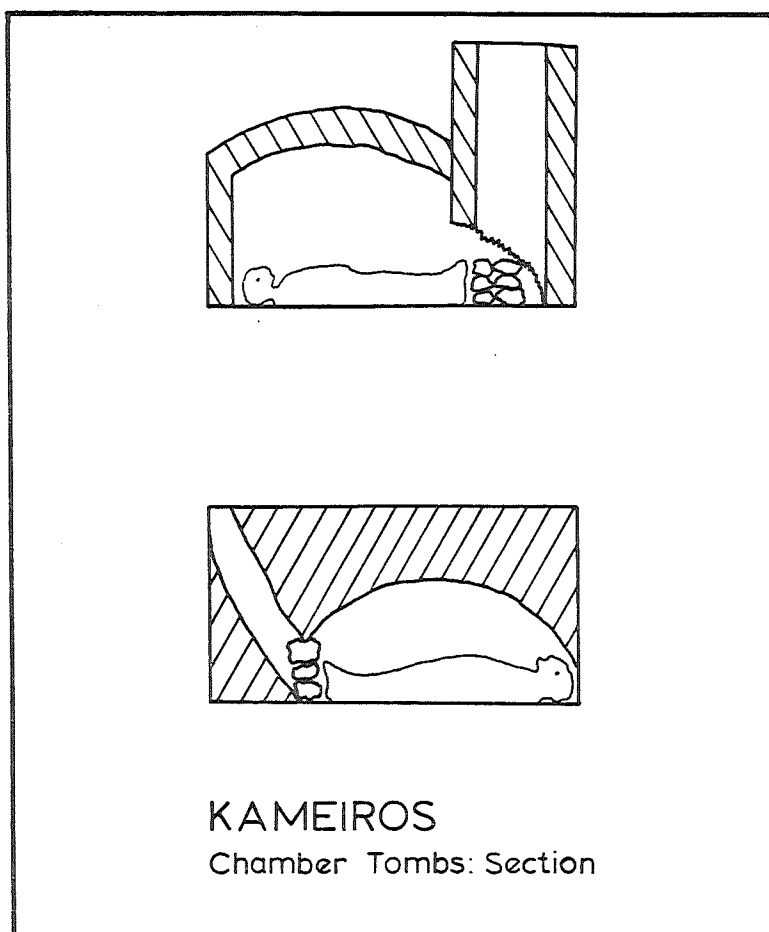


Figure 2 (left): *Kameiros: Chamber tombs, sections (after E. Biliotti and Cottret [see n. 59], 406, 408, figs. 1, 8).*

The doorways into the graves were blocked with a rubble fill,⁶⁸ a single slab or large stone,⁶⁹ or three large stones.⁷⁰ The configuration of stones used to close the entries of two other tombs was not specified.⁷¹ In three tombs, the door was found open, with no suggestions of an original sealing.⁷² No report was made for four additional graves.

Measurements for the doorway were cited in only a few cases: a width of 1.00-0.90m⁷³ and heights of 1.25m and 0.73m.⁷⁴ The well-measured door of KM-Papatislures Tomb 2 was also 0.80m thick and had an arched top.

KM-Papatislures Tomb 11 (no. 28) contained two doors, an exceptional feature. Since the tomb was largely destroyed when a Roman tomb was constructed on top of it, no measurements for the tomb were recorded. Why the usual single door did not suffice is uncertain.

The chambers were generally large enough to contain one or more adult bodies in fully extended position, either on the floor or, rarely, on one, two, or three rock-cut benches which ran along the side and rear walls. The maximum/minimum dimensions for the chamber tombs datable to 625-525 B.C. are 3.00/1.50 x 3.05/0.55 (of a very oddly shaped tomb; the next least is 1.20) x 2.90/0.65m. The tombs of the first three periods are generally larger than those of Period IV. Of the eleven earlier tombs whose dimensions are known, all are longer than 2.00m with one exception, KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 15 (no. 27). In contrast, of the five chamber tombs of Period IV, only one is longer than 2.00m, the strange Tomb 18 at Macri Langoni (no. 139). The widths of the earlier tombs are correspondingly greater than those of Period IV tombs, ranging from 3.05 to 1.60m as opposed to 2.10 to 0.55m (or 1.20m, if KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 18 is set aside).

Only three of the graves datable to 625-525 B.C. contained benches along the walls. KM-Checraci Tomb 30 (no. 32) had one bench 0.50m high at the rear of the chamber, separated from each side wall by a space of 0.35m. Benches along the side walls only were found in KM-Papatislures Tomb 27 (no. 40). It is curious, however, that the two skeletons discovered in this tomb lay on the floor, not on the benches. KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 5 (no. 60) also contained two benches along the side walls with, this time, bones of an adult on one of them, the bench to the left of the entrance. Even if one allows that the existence of benches may have been omitted in certain cases from the published reports, it seems nevertheless that such "rock-cut beds" were an exceptional feature in tombs of the mid-Archaic period.⁷⁵

Apart from the rock-cut benches, the interiors of the chambers contained no other prominent architectural features. Mention is made once of a ceiling which sloped downwards toward the rear of the chamber and of a rear wall which was slightly curved, both probably idiosyncracies of particular groups of workmen.⁷⁶ The unusual depression measuring 1.25 x 1.30m (depth not given), in the middle of the floor of KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 3 (no. 25), into which the offerings from the earlier burial in the tomb were placed when the tomb was reused, appears too large to have been prepared for that purpose alone. But a more satisfactory explanation is not evident.

Three of the eighteen chamber tombs of the period 625-525 B.C. contained two skeletons; four tombs yielded one skeleton; and two sheltered either a disarticulated skeleton or scattered bones.⁷⁷ Skeletal remains were absent in eight graves. The age and sex of the deceased were reported for only a few cases: seven adults;⁷⁸ an adolescent, buried in a pithos placed on its side at the rear of

KM-Papatislures Tomb 5 (no. 152); and a "young woman?", a body so identified because it was adorned with a necklace, one of the two skeletons in KM-Papatislures Tomb 27 (no. 40). Except for the adolescent in the pithos and the adult bones which lay on the bench to the left of the entrance of KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 5 (no. 60) mentioned above, the skeletons were discovered on the chamber floors. In KM-Papatislures Tombs 27 and 28 (nos. 40 and 41), the two pairs of skeletons lay with their heads toward the rear of the chamber, their feet toward the door. In KM-Papatislures Tomb 2 (no. 64), with two skeletons, and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 18 (no. 139), with one skeleton, the bodies had been placed with their heads toward the entrance. The bones, including a tibia, in KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 15 (no. 27) were found to the left of the doorway. No information on the disposition of skeletal remains was given for the three other graves which reportedly contained them.

Jars (Inhumation)

Jars were used throughout the period 625-525 B.C. almost exclusively for the burial of infants and small children. With a few exceptions, most jar burials were accompanied by either a modest number of grave goods or none at all. Even though many of these graves thus cannot be dated, the percentage of jar burials in the present catalogue reflects their proportion among all the graves excavated during the Italian campaigns. The use of jar burials dropped during Period IV, 550-525 B.C., dramatically at Ialysos, significantly at Kameiros (see Table 1). This decline may be an accident of excavation: child burials of any sort were rare in Period IV, yet the mortality rate of children could hardly have dropped so markedly in those years. Possibly Attic black figure pottery, the backbone of Period IV chronology, was not considered an appropriate grave gift for a child, whereas the tiny Corinthian vases had been so in earlier periods.

The body of the infant was placed in a jar, often of good size. The jar was laid on its side, either on the ground or, occasionally, in a trench cut out of the rock. The jar was usually blocked with a stone; the only apparent exception to this rule among the graves listed here is KM-Checraci Tomb 213 (no. 66), a jar found with its mouth open. The grave goods were placed both inside and outside the jar. The burial was then presumably covered with dirt. No indications are given, however, whether the covering soil was shaped in any way, for example to form a little conical mound, or whether the trench dug for the burial was merely filled in to the level of the surrounding ground surface.

Of the forty-three jar burials datable to 625-525 B.C., the height was reported for twenty-four examples. Twelve of these twenty-four are pithoi with relief decoration, jars generally larger than the undecorated burial vessels: 2.05 (maximum)/1.04 (minimum)m for the relief pithoi (average height 1.65m), versus 1.20 (maximum)/0.60 (minimum)m for the ordinary burial jars (average height 0.80m, with only one example taller than 0.90m).

Trenches cut for the reception of the burial jars were noted in six cases, but only at Kameiros in Periods I and II. Three of these trenches were 0.55-0.60m deep,⁷⁹ a fourth measured 0.80 x 0.80 x 0.45m,⁸⁰ and a fifth, larger, was rectangular in shape, 1.40 x 0.90 x 0.80m.⁸¹ No measurements were recorded for the sixth pit.⁸²

Eighteen of the jars were closed with a single stone over the mouth. Two were sealed off by two stones and one with a coarse plate.⁸³ One jar, it was noted, had not been covered.⁸⁴

On rare occasions, a hole was cut in the belly of the jar in order, it is usually interpreted, to insert the body when the neck opening was too small.⁸⁵ Four jars listed here were cut open in this way, a rather small number.⁸⁶ Since the diameters of these holes were not reported, the possibility of passing a child's body through cannot be tested. Better evidence comes from Vroulia, where this practice was more frequent, occurring in 50 percent of the cases. Kinch's report lists holes of varying diameter: 0.15-0.17m for Tomb bb, 0.15-0.163m for Tomb qq, and 0.29-0.30m for Tomb s.⁸⁷ A newborn child should fit even through the smaller openings, but there was certainly little space to spare.

Information on the age of the individuals buried in the jars was published for thirty-nine of the jar burials datable to 625-525 B.C. The sex was never reported. Twenty-four were called "infant" or "child" burials, of children up to two years of age with skeletal remains generally recorded.⁸⁸ Nine contained remains of children from two to ten years of age. Adolescents were buried in four jars (the "adolescent of ca. ten years of age" has been included in the count of children two to ten, above), and adults were found in three cases.⁸⁹ The larger, more elegant pithoi with relief decoration were not used exclusively for the interment of more mature individuals. Of the eleven occupants of ten such pithoi, four were infants, two were children from two to ten, two were adolescents, and three were adults.⁹⁰

The position of the body was indicated in six cases. Four were placed with their head near the mouth of the jar, their feet at the bottom.⁹¹ In one tomb, the head was found at the bottom; in another, the entire skeleton had been laid at the bottom.⁹² Two skeletons were discovered in flexed position.⁹³

The jar burials were oriented in different directions. No patterns emerge except a slight propensity at Ialysos for southerly orientations:

Ialysos:	Pd. I.	S or SW:3	N:1	E:1		
	Pd. II.	S:1				
	Pd. III.	SW:1	S:1	SE:2		
	Pd. IV.	No information				
Kameiros:	Pd. I.	S:2	W:1	E:1	N:2	
	Pd. II.	S:1	E:2	Possibly upright:1		
	Pd. III.	S:2	E:4	N:3	NW:1	NE:1
	Pd. IV.	S:2	E:1	W:2		

The grave goods were usually placed exclusively inside the jar (fourteen cases out of thirty). In eight cases they had all been found outside; in the rest (eight more cases), some inside, some outside.⁹⁴ There is no pattern by period.

Stone-lined Cist Graves (Inhumation)

In Period IV, ca. 550-525 B.C., stone-lined cist graves comprise the majority of burials at Ialysos and the largest single group of graves at Kameiros. In addition, this is the principal burial form during the succeeding 100 years, the final major period in the use of these burial grounds. A few examples can be dated before 550 B.C. Twenty-nine percent of the graves included in the present list are stone-lined cists, whereas they make up almost forty-two percent of all tombs excavated during the Italian campaigns (see Table 1).

The dimensions of the stone-lined cist graves conformed to the size of an adult body in fully extended position. Smaller versions existed for children.

The range of measurements for the graves of adults were 2.35 (max.)/1.75 (min.) x 0.95/0.38 x 1.05/0.30m. The average dimensions were 2.05 x 0.59 x 0.47m. The four graves containing bones of children measured: 1.40/0.65 x 0.38/0.35 x 0.48/0.30m.

A pit cut into the limestone deposit or into the soil was lined along the sides with limestone slabs.⁹⁵ The floor does not seem to have been covered with slabs. The roof was either flat or gabled. The sample of graves discussed here shows clearly that the gabled roof was preferred over the flat roof at Ialysos during the years 550-525 B.C., whereas the reverse was the case at Kameiros. The body was placed on its back inside. At Ialysos during Period IV, the head of the grave was almost always oriented toward the south.⁹⁶ At Kameiros, no particular orientation predominated.

There are few further details regarding the construction of the stone-lined cists listed here. In IA-Zambico Tomb 229 (no. 133), the joinings of the slabs were sealed with a sort of plaster. A flooring of gravel had been placed in KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 77 (no. 160). KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 104 (no. 147) was covered with a single slab. A variation on the stone-lined cist, which might better be classified under "miscellaneous," is KM-Visicia Tomb 51 (no. 154), a trough hollowed out of two blocks of stone, with two additional slabs for a cover.

Twenty-one stone-lined cist graves reportedly contained adult skeletons. Five additional tombs with skeletal remains of unspecified age probably sheltered adults as well. One burial yielded two adult skeletons.⁹⁷ Two graves contained adolescents and five the remains of small children or infants.⁹⁸ Three, possibly four females were identified: two adults, a young woman, and an adolescent.⁹⁹

The excavation reports contain much information on the disposition of the grave goods in stone-lined cist burials. While cremations reduced the corpse, bier, and offerings to a pile of ashy debris, and the collapse of the ceiling and resultant disturbances tended to scatter the grave goods in the chamber tombs, the stone-lined cists--a sturdy shell of limestone slabs--effectively protected the skeleton and the accompanying objects (those placed inside, at least) from major disruption.

The arrangement of the grave goods in the stone-lined cists followed definite patterns. For example, one or more amphorae or other large closed-mouth jars of two or more handles generally stood outside the cist with a gabled roof, the variant so popular at Ialysos in Period IV. In such cases, the additional grave goods might be placed either outside or inside the tombs. In contrast, for the cist grave with a flat roof the mourners almost always set their offerings inside the tomb, most often by the feet of the skeleton. In total, during Period IV, nineteen out of twenty-seven stone-lined cists with gabled or flat roofs at Ialysos had one or more amphorae outside, as did three out of twelve at Kameiros (these figures do not include stone-lined cists whose roof type is unknown). In ten of these graves, the entire set of offerings was found outside.

The find spots of the grave goods were reported with varying degrees of precision. At least one amphora was found outside to the left at the head of four graves at Ialysos with a gabled roof (one of which was deposited in Period III) and one with a flat roof. At Kameiros, two of the three stone-lined cists with gabled roofs and one with a flat roof contained one or two amphorae in this position.¹⁰⁰ Amphorae or stamnoi stood outside at the right of the head of two of the Ialysian stone-lined cists.¹⁰¹

Eleven additional tombs with a gabled roof and one with a flat roof, all at lalysos, also featured amphorae placed just outside the grave--but in these cases other locations are given for the vases instead of the precise "to the left of the head of the grave": for example, "by the head," "to the left," "along the sides," or "at the foot."¹⁰²

Inside the tomb, when precise details of their disposition are given, most offerings were placed by the feet of the skeleton or between its legs. In Period IV, this holds for six of nine flat-roofed cists, and for one of three gabled-roofed cists at Kameiros, but only for one of three flat-roofed and three of twenty-four gabled-roofed cists at lalysos.¹⁰³ Other locations for the grave goods included: by the skull, along the left or right side of the skeleton, and once on top of the skeleton.¹⁰⁴ "Inside" with no further qualifications applied to all or part of the grave goods of thirteen tombs.¹⁰⁵

Miscellaneous Tomb Types

Three additional forms of burial appear among graves datable to 625-525 B.C.: inhumation, either in unlined cists cut out of the bedrock or the soil, or merely on the ground; inhumation in sarcophagi; and the collection of bones in an ossuary.

The unlined cists in which bodies were placed corresponded in size to the lined examples, even though one was narrower and two shallower than the norm for the stone-lined cists. The range of dimensions for the four adult burials is: 2.05 (max.)/1.80 (min.) x 0.65/0.25 x 0.50/0.15m. The cist which contained an adolescent skeleton¹⁰⁶ measured 1.05 x 0.60 x 0.50m--shorter than the rest, but as spacious as any of the adult graves in terms of width and depth.

In two graves the body was first covered with stones or rock chips before soil was added.¹⁰⁷ In KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 119 (no. 157), the body was covered with distinctive reddish earth and then possibly with normally colored soil. The ditch was then closed with four slabs and more reddish earth was added.

In one case, the body was placed directly on the ground, not in a ditch.¹⁰⁸ A Corinthian aryballos lay along the right side of the skeleton. The deceased was presumably covered with earth, but no report on the amount or the form of this cover was given.

The grave goods were found in various positions beside the skeleton. However, in IA-Drakidis Tomb 247 (no. 134), an oinochoe covered with a black glazed cup had been placed outside to the left of the head of the grave in the manner frequently used at lalysos for the stone-lined cist graves of Period IV. Since the practice was not widely followed at Kameiros, it is not surprising that that it does not occur with the four inhumations in ditches from Kameiros listed here.

The two inhumations from lalysos were oriented toward the south like most stone-lined cist graves at that site. At Kameiros, the unlined cist graves were aligned with various compass points, with the head once each at the north, west, and east. This conforms to the random orientations attested for Kameiran stone-lined cists and contrasts with the practice at lalysos.

Four burials in sarcophagi from lalysos date to the mid-Archaic period.¹⁰⁹ Three of them are quite curious: marble or limestone sarcophagi placed inside

stone-lined cists with gabled roofs.¹¹⁰ Their dimensions were approximately the same: 2.20/2.17 x 0.88/0.75 x 0.62/0.60m, for the stone-lined cist; and 2.00 x 0.68/0.60 x 0.55/0.50m, for the sarcophagus. IA-Zambico Tombs 254 and 255 (nos. 112 and 130) lay side by side. In addition, both were marked at the head of the grave on the exterior by amphorae and other objects, in accordance with the usual practice at Ialysos for the disposition of grave goods in stone-lined cists. Other grave goods were found inside.

The fourth sarcophagus, IA-Drakidis Tomb 253 (no. 111), was made of clay. Two almost equal pieces formed the bottom and two more the cover. Its measurements conformed to those of an adult in fully extended position (1.91 x 0.46 x 0.25m). Although the sarcophagus was not encased in a stone-lined cist with gabled roof, its orientation and the disposition of the grave goods did not diverge from the expected: orientation toward the south, and an amphora covered with an Attic band cup placed outside by the head of the grave.

Skeletons were discovered in all four sarcophagi, but specified as adults only in IA-Drakidis Tomb 253 (no. 111) and IA-Marmaro Tomb 41 (no. 135). Further, the adult in the latter tomb was male--one of the rare identifications of the sex of the deceased.

The last of the miscellaneous types is an ossuary, KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 126 (no. 158), a small bin made of stones held together with earth. It measured 0.65 x 0.55 x 0.40m. The grave goods and bones of an adult were found inside. Jacopi considered this to be a secondary burial. A parallel case of a stone bin used for the storage of grave goods, if not bones, is offered by KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 109, a sarcophagus of 525-500 B.C. or later.¹¹¹

EVIDENCE FOR MULTIPLE BURIALS AND DISTURBANCES

The value and utility of the Rhodian grave groups for resolving chronological questions depend largely on the assessment of the evidence for multiple burials and miscellaneous disturbance. Most tombs appear to have served only once. Multiple use does seem evident, however, in some cremations and rock-cut chamber tombs. The meager indications of multiple burials in jars and stone-lined cist graves have been presented above and need no further elaboration.

Reuse of Cremation Graves

In his excavations at Vroulia, Kinch considered the depth of ash and other debris as the key to the number of burials contained in a cremation trench. He allowed approximately 0.10m of debris per cremation. Hopper later supported Kinch's view of repeated use of these graves. Even though the boundaries of individual cremation deposits could not be distinguished, he did discern a "stratigraphy" in the Corinthian pottery found, a chronological progression from earlier to later vases as one moved from the bottom to the top of a trench. But Hopper's interpretation has an important flaw. The cemetery at Vroulia was in use only a short time, ca. LPC-EC. Most of the finds, including the crucial LPC-EC pointed aryballois, cannot be dated more closely than to rough twenty-five year periods. Since the stratigraphy in the trenches is impossible to tune as finely as Hopper might wish, it cannot serve as a reliable guide to the number of cremations laid down. Indeed, Kinch himself avoided such a rigid interpretation of these deposits.¹¹²

Maiuri noted that several of the cremation trenches which he excavated at Ialysos showed signs of reuse, for example IA-1916 excavations Tomb 1 (not listed here), IA-1922 excavations Tomb 36 (no. 68), and IA-1922 excavations Tomb 53 (mid-seventh century; not listed here). The large quantity of grave goods and skeletal remains found in these graves indicated to him that they were used repeatedly. He discounted the thickness of the ash layer as a meaningful criterion, for irregularities in the lines of the walls suggested that the orderly deposition of cremation debris had become confused and the strata of successive burials hopelessly entangled.¹¹³ Both IA-1916 excavations Tomb 1 and IA-1922 excavations Tomb 36 contained grave goods datable to an unusually large time span: ca. 600-525 B.C. for the former,¹¹⁴ and ca. 600-550 B.C. for the latter. A comparable range occurs in only a few of the other cremation burials excavated during the Italian campaigns: for example, IA-Drakidis Tomb 5 (no. 67), with grave goods from 600-550 B.C.; and, perhaps, IA-Cuccia Tomb 33 (no. 50) and IA-Laghos Tomb 46 (no. 53).

The ash layers of most of these tombs were quite thin: 0.08-0.10m for IA-1916 excavations Tomb 1;¹¹⁵ 0.10m for IA-Cuccia Tomb 33 and IA-Laghos Tomb 46; and 0.23m for IA-1922 excavations Tomb 36. In contrast, the ash layer from IA-Drakidis Tomb 5 measured 0.40m. Were it not for this example, the thickness of the ash layer could be eliminated as an indicator of multiple burials. Even in the absence of information on its skeletal remains (another possible sign of reuse), IA-Drakidis Tomb 5 is unique in its combination of a thick ash deposit with a large quantity of grave goods made over a lengthy fifty year period. Of the graves whose "depth" (corresponding to ash thickness?) was given as 0.30m or more, IA-1922 excavations Tomb 49 (no. 21) yielded bones of "an" adult, but possibly more pottery than was published ("many fragments" were found). IA-Drakidis Tomb 21 (no. 49) contained only two grave goods, but no skeletal remains were reported. In comparison with the graves discussed above, it seems virtually certain that IA-Drakidis Tomb 5 was used on several occasions.

The great exception to Maiuri's reliance on quantity of grave offerings as a criterion of reuse is IA-Laghos Tomb 45 (no. 52). Although of great number and variety, its contents seem to date to the same twenty-five year period, ca. 600-575 B.C.¹¹⁶ They were contained in a thin (0.10m) ash layer. That this was a single burial is supported by the reported finding of bones of a young woman and, in one particular spot, of animal bones, which Jacopi believed to be the traces of a single funerary repast. The precision of these osteological comments is rarely matched in the excavation reports and may consequently deserve our confidence. Was an expert fortuitously on hand to make the identification?

In summary, criteria for reuse include: a large number of grave offerings datable to a period of fifty years or more;¹¹⁷ skeletal remains of more than one individual;¹¹⁸ and, possibly, a thick ash layer. Of the mid-Achaic cremation tombs from Ialysos and Kameiros, only IA-1916 excavations Tomb 1 (not listed), IA-1922 excavations Tomb 36 (no. 68), and IA-Drakidis Tomb 5 (no. 67) can be said with reasonable confidence to include several burials.

Reuse of Rock-cut Chamber Tombs

The rock-cut chamber tombs at Kameiros would seem to make ideal family vaults, the repositories for numerous successive burials. However, convincing evidence for reuse is slight. As was the case for cremations, grave goods which cover an unusual span of time, distinct grouping of grave goods inside the tomb, or more than one skeleton in a grave would constitute criteria for multiple burials. But

such factors as the absence (disintegration?) of skeletal remains; disturbance caused by erosion, earthquake, or intruders; incomplete observations during the excavations; and the inability to date the burials more precisely than to twenty-five year segments hinder recognition of reuse. Nevertheless, progress in the discussion is possible.¹¹⁹

KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 3 (no. 25) was clearly used more than once, possibly even three times. Grave offerings discovered in the depression in the middle of the chamber floor are earlier (ca. 650-625 B.C.) than the objects found in the right corner or in the access passage outside the chamber (625-600 B.C.). These later objects, from two find spots, seem contemporaneous, but their disposition may, of course, reflect two separate burials. The grave unfortunately lacked skeletal remains.

Other graves may well have been reused, even if the evidence which they have yielded is less compelling than for the tomb mentioned above. One such example is KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 5 (no. 60), whose unique combination of LPC-early EC pointed aryballois with MC pottery suggests two separate interments. In another case, KM-Papatislures Tomb 5 (no. 152), the chronological range of its pottery has been considered by Cook, Hopper, and Feytmans as marking two groups, one belonging to an earlier (575-550 B.C.) and one to a later burial (late third quarter of the sixth century B.C.). However, all of the grave goods were found placed together by the burial pithos at the rear of the chamber, and they could well have been deposited at one time.¹²⁰ The disposition of the grave goods in KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 4 (no. 26) might also indicate reuse. Some objects were found in the access passage, the rest in a rear corner of the chamber. But since the dating of the objects from the dromos is uncertain, it is impossible to determine whether they were deposited at the same time or later than those from the rear of the chamber.

In summary, only KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 3 (no. 25) of the chamber tombs datable to 625-525 B.C. offers strong evidence for reuse, at least for the repeated deposition of funerary gifts. However, this and the other graves just mentioned contained at most only one skeleton. Although two skeletons in a tomb might indicate successive burials, those graves containing two individuals—KM-Papatislures Tombs 2, 27, and 28 (nos. 64, 40, and 41)—seem on the contrary to have been used only once, for the simultaneous interment of two bodies. The skeletons and the grave goods were found neatly arranged¹²¹ and the objects were roughly contemporary. Of course, other scenarios spring to mind, for example, one body could have been introduced after the first, with family members shifting the skeleton already there and rearranging the grave goods. These remain merely possibilities; no evidence supports them.

Miscellaneous Disturbances

The excavators noted from time to time that a grave had been "disturbed." For the graves containing objects datable to 625-525 B.C., usually no explanation for the disruption was given. Occasionally, however, the cause of the disturbance could be determined. Four tombs were damaged by the construction of later graves, one by the digging of a well or pit,¹²² and three from "previous excavations," probably those of Biliotti and Salzmann in the middle of the nineteenth century.¹²³ Robbers allegedly broke into two tombs. In the first, KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 5 (no. 60), the grave goods were scattered throughout the chamber. Although the doorway of the second grave, KM-Papatislures Tomb 4 (no. 65), was sealed with three stones, fragments of some of its grave offerings were re-

covered from the vestibule of KM-Papatislures Tomb 3. Erosion carried off parts of two additional tombs.¹²⁴ No explanations for disturbance were given for eight additional graves.¹²⁵

In almost all of these cases, the integrity of the grave group has remained intact. After all, a disturbance need not introduce new elements into a tomb. Of the graves discussed here, only three almost certainly contained intrusive objects. Material from a neighboring grave surely entered KM-Papatislures Tomb 11 (no. 28) thanks to damage done by the construction of a Roman tomb immediately above it. Some objects were found isolated in a corner. Since, however, Jacopi did not specify which ones they were, it is impossible to determine which of the grave goods were intrusive. With the exception of one object, a skyphos of the Late Geometric period, ca. 750-725 B.C., the finds date to the last half of the seventh century B.C. Such discrepancies of one hundred years between contents of a grave group are rare on Rhodes, and suggest that the skyphos might well represent an intrusion here.

The rear wall of KM-Papatislures Tomb 2 (no. 64) was punctured during the construction of the cist grave Tomb 1 (not listed). It contained one apparent anomaly, a black glazed cup,¹²⁶ which is later in date than the other funerary offerings. It, too, may be an intrusion. The curious case of KM-Papatislures Tomb 4 (no. 65) has been mentioned above. The distribution of its grave goods in two graves cannot be explained.

In summary, the disturbances noted consist of the scattering or rearranging of grave goods within a tomb. This evidently resulted from natural causes, especially the collapse of the thin roofs of the chamber tombs. In contrast, stone-lined cist graves were free from such disruption. Since their roofs generally did not collapse, the disposition of offerings in those graves remained intact.

Erosion has been cited as a damaging factor in these cemeteries. Its effects since antiquity have been dramatic, as testified by the depth at which most of the graves were found: ca. 2-4m under the surface. There are, however, few cases noted by the excavators of tombs partly swept away by torrents. Such damage occurred in those burial sectors located on steep hillsides such as Dafni (Ialysos),¹²⁷ areas which contained in any case only a small fraction of the known graves. That so many amphorae have been discovered *in situ* on the exterior of many stone-lined cist graves should demonstrate that in the major burial areas, at least, tombs were not being washed away.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON IDENTIFICATION OF AGE AND SEX

The cremation of adults, or their inhumation in chamber tombs and stone-lined cists, and the burial of children in jars were the norm in the cemeteries at Ialysos and Kameiros. Deviations from this rule exist, however. Three adults were interred in pithoi with relief decoration.¹²⁸ Five children were buried in stone-lined cists, once in the single datable example from Period I,¹²⁹ and four times in Period IV.¹³⁰ The four child burials in stone-lined cists (stone coffin, in effect, for Tomb 51) in part compensate for the reduced number of jar burials in Period IV. Neither for the adults buried in jars nor for the children in stone-lined cists do the grave goods selected differ from the normal range of types.¹³¹

Adolescents were buried in various tomb forms: cremations,¹³² inhumation in a jar placed inside a chamber tomb,¹³³ a stone-lined cist,¹³⁴ an unlined cist,¹³⁵ and, especially, in jars.¹³⁶

The sex of the deceased was rarely reported for the graves included here: six times "female" and once "male."¹³⁷ The infrequency of identifications of sex is perplexing. Were these the only skeletons which survived sufficiently to permit identification of their sex, were the identifications offered by specialists visiting Rhodes at the time, or were they random guesses based on associated finds? Three of the graves with female skeletons contained spindle whorls,¹³⁸ and two others yielded a gold ring, with a bronze ring,¹³⁹ a bronze ladle,¹⁴⁰ or other elaborate jewelry.¹⁴¹ Jewelry was found in several other graves, however, including in IA-Marmaro 1934 Tomb 41 with the adult male, and spindle whorls occurred in a few other tombs with an occupant of unknown sex.¹⁴² Because of the small number of identifications of the sex of the deceased and the doubts which remain concerning their accuracy, sex-based differences in burial practices on Rhodes can hardly be elucidated. At the most, the evidence does indicate that one must put aside the temptation to correlate automatically, as did Biliotti in his letter of 1859 presented below, the presence of jewelry and "female" tools with actual burials of female individuals.

THE GRAVE OFFERINGS

Function

The analysis of the grave goods in terms of their function, according to period, burial types, and sex and age of the deceased reveals some trends in the choice and purpose of objects deposited in burials from 625 to 525 B.C. For analysis, the finds have been divided into nine classes of shapes and functions. They are:

- A. Pitchers (oinochoai; olpai; medium-large lekythoi)
- B. Small pouring vessels/flasks (aryballoi; ceramic, glazed, and alabaster alabastra; ring vases; spindle or fusiform bottles; bent-neck lekythoi; askoi; lydions; plastic vases; glass and faience vessels; "Samian"/"Sidonian" bottles; and lentoid "American football" lekythoi)
- C. Cups (cups; kantharoi; bowls, both ceramic and faience)
- D. Plates (plates; dishes; kothons; inkpots; phialai; lekanides)
- E. Closed mouth jars with two or more handles (amphorae; hydriai; stamnoi; lebetes; psykters; and pelikai)
- F. Figurines and masks (ceramic and faience)
- G. Jewelry
- H. Household and occupational objects; tools and weapons
- I. Miscellaneous offerings (sealstones; scarabs; shells; astragali; lids; "wheel hubs;" clay boxes; lamps; tripod pyxides; deinos supports; pebbles; marble knobs; bronze hoofs; and clay pinheads)

The distribution of these classes in the graves listed here is set out in Tables 2 (Ialysos) and 3 (Kameiros). The percentage of graves in which the principal classes A-E occurred and the portion of the total finds which each of these classes made up are presented in Tables 4 (Ialysos) and 5 (Kameiros).

The most dramatic changes in the choice of grave goods occurred in Period IV. Small pouring vessels (B), which constituted the most popular class of grave offerings during the years from 625 to 550 B.C., suddenly appeared far less fre-

quently. The use of closed-mouth jars with at least two handles (E) rose considerably in Period IV. The increase in their frequency already registered in Period III, however, mitigates the unexpectedness of this last development.

The sharp decline in the use of Class B vessels in the graves of Period IV at both Ialysos and Kameiros appears to be the result of two factors. First, the exports of Corinthian pottery virtually ceased throughout the Mediterranean basin in the mid-sixth century B.C. The great majority of Class B vases from the graves of Ialysos in Periods I and II and of Kameiros in Periods I-III were imports from Corinth, as were just under half the Class B vases from Ialysos in Period III. Clearly, the custom of including small pouring vessels in graves was linked to the particular appeal of the small Corinthian aryballoi and alabastra: their fabric, certainly, and perhaps their contents as well.¹⁴² When the supply of Corinthian Class B vases was cut, the impetus for the custom diminished. The consequent shortage of Class B vessels was not made up with local Rhodian or other East Greek flasks and small pitchers. In fact, the offerings of non-Corinthian Class B pots also decreased in Period IV (see Table 6).

Second, the Class B vessel was to some extent a casualty of changing burial rites in Period IV. It occupied a minor place among the grave offerings of the newly popular stone-lined cists, forming only 6 to 8 percent of the finds. Overall in Period IV, Class B vessels made up 9 to 10 percent of all finds at each site. The relatively fewer chamber tombs, jar burials, and cremations, traditional burial types used widely in earlier periods, contained proportionately greater numbers of Class B vases. But even in these last-named tomb types, the proportion of small pouring vessels was never as great in Period IV as it had been in Periods I through III. Class B vases formed 33 percent of the finds in the single Ialysian cremation of Period IV, whereas they had made up 43 to 68 percent of the offerings of the numerous cremations of Periods I through III at that site. In the chamber tombs of Period IV at Kameiros, 19 percent of the grave goods consisted of Class B vessels; in previous periods the proportion ranged from 28 to 53 percent. For Kameiran jar burials, Class B formed 10 percent of the offerings in Period IV, but 26 to 59 percent in Periods I through III (see Tables 4, 5). The importance of the small pouring vessel as a grave offering slipped significantly in Period IV in all burial types.

In conclusion, although the new prominence of the stone-lined cist in Period IV may have helped to undermine the traditional position of the Class B vase among the grave goods, the more important factor in this shift in funerary practice was the disappearance from the market of small pouring vessels in the popular Corinthian fabric.

In contrast, the increased use of amphorae and other large closed mouth jars (Class E) in Period IV cannot be attributed to the new popularity of Attic pottery. Instead, these Class E vases seem to play a new and important role in funerary practice. The proportion and frequency of Class E vases first rose in Period III, when they were placed regularly in graves, especially in cremations at Ialysos. The Kameirans used them much less often, although in somewhat greater numbers than they did in Periods I and II. The link with cremation graves continued in Period IV, but the sample is too small, one cremation at each site, to permit firm conclusions. The increased proportion of Class E vases in Period IV is associated notably with the newly preeminent stone-lined cist burials at both Ialysos and Kameiros. The cremation ritual of Period III must have determined their functional role. Perhaps in Period IV the significance or meaning of including Class E vases among the funerary gifts was freshly conceived as part of the newly popular burials in stone-

lined cists. The regularity of their disposition in these graves, especially at Ialysos where they were placed outside to the left at the head of the tomb, does suggest that they were an essential element of the funerary rite.

The increased use of Class E pots in Periods III and IV does not seem related to the contemporaneous rise in imports of Attic pottery. Thirty-five percent of the Class E finds of Period III at Ialysos were Attic, and 32 percent in Period IV. No Attic Class E vases were discovered in burials of Period III at Kameiros; Attic pottery constituted only 14 percent of the Class E vessels of Period IV (see Table 7). In contrast, the proportion of Corinthian pottery among the Class B finds in Periods I-III was always considerably greater. These figures make it clear that whatever impact the newly arriving Attic pottery had on the funerary customs at Ialysos and Kameiros, it did not determine the predilection toward offerings of Class E vases which developed in Periods III and IV.

Pitchers (Class A), cups (Class C), and, to a lesser extent, plates (Class D) regularly formed part of the grave offerings throughout the century from 625 to 525 B.C. Their frequency in the graves and proportions among the total finds is shown in Tables 4 and 5.

Kameirans placed pitchers in their graves more often than did Ialysians. Fifty to 70 percent of the catalogued graves at Kameiros yielded medium to large pouring vessels with one handle, whereas at Ialysos, Class A vases were discovered only in 27 to 46 percent of the burials. At both sites, the frequency of Class A vases diminished steadily from Period I to Period IV. Their function in the burial ritual might well have been assumed by the related Class E vases beginning in Period III at Ialysos, when Class E first occurred with greater frequency and in greater proportions than in previous periods, and in Period IV at Kameiros.

Cups were deposited in the majority of burials at both sites in all periods, except at Ialysos in Period II (in only 36 percent of the tombs). Indeed, all of the graves at Kameiros dated to Period II contained cups, but they represent only 13 percent of the grave goods of that period. Apart from this case, Class C vases appeared with the greatest frequency during Period IV. They then composed approximately 25 percent of the grave offerings.

The larger proportion of cups among the total finds after 550 B.C. no doubt results in part from the reduction of the formerly popular Class B vases. Their higher frequency in graves may reflect both their function in the ritual for inhumation in stone-lined cists and the decorative appeal of the imported Attic black figure cups. Stone-lined cist graves at both Ialysos and Kameiros yielded cups slightly more often and in greater proportion than did other types of tombs. Cups were discovered in twelve out of fourteen stone-lined cists at Kameiros (86 percent) and formed 31 percent of the offerings. In contrast, in the sixteen additional burials (graves other than stone-lined cists), cups occurred in thirteen of them (81 percent) and made up only 22 percent of the grave goods. The last figure is low, thanks to the unusual find of sixteen ivory scarabs and sealstones in KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 180 (no. 161). At Ialysos, twenty-two out of thirty stone-lined cists (73 percent) contained cups; but cups were found in only four out of the seven other graves (57 percent) attributed to Period IV. Class C composed 27 percent of the finds in the first group, but only 23 percent in the latter.

The cup was by far the most popular shape of Attic ceramics found in graves

of 575-525 B.C. The special appeal of these Attic cups accounts for the high frequency and proportion of Class C in graves of all types. Attic black figure cups formed a progressively larger proportion of Class C in Periods III and IV, particularly at Ialysos. In Period III, 50 percent of the cups from Ialysos were Attic; this increased to 67 percent in Period IV. None occurred in Kameiran Period III tombs, but in Period IV, 53 percent of Class C was Attic. Thus, Attic cups more than replaced the locally made "Ionian" cups so often deposited in the graves of earlier periods.

Plates (Class D) never formed more than 10 to 11 percent of the finds at either site. In contrast, the percentage of graves that contained them fluctuated greatly throughout the century 625-525 B.C. At Ialysos, 17 percent of the Period I graves contained plates; the figure then rises to 55 percent and then subsides to 19 percent and finally to 14 percent in Period IV. Class D composed, by period, 4 percent, 7 percent, 5 percent, and 5 percent of all grave offerings. At Kameiros 48 percent of Period I graves yielded plates, 57 percent of Period II, 31 percent of Period III, and only 10 percent of Period IV burials. Plates here constituted 10 percent, 11 percent, 6 percent, and 4 percent of the total grave goods, by respective periods.

Since plates were placed in eleven of thirteen chamber tombs at Kameiros dated to Periods I through III and accounted for 13 percent of the finds (of those chamber tombs), the figures for Kameiros are relatively high. In this light it is curious that only five chamber tombs of Period IV contained plates. Its single plate represents 3 percent of the finds of Period IV chamber tombs, not far off the 4 percent which is Class D's share of the Period IV grave goods from all burials. No plates were found in the stone-lined cists at Kameiros, but they do compose five percent of the offerings in such graves at Ialysos.

Figurines, jewelry, tools and household items, and miscellaneous objects occur sporadically in all periods. This can be seen in Tables 2 (Ialysos) and 3 (Kameiros). The nine classes of grave goods were discovered in various combinations in most tombs, but not in any apparent patterns.

THE GRAVE OFFERINGS

Places of Origin

Of the distinctly non-Rhodian objects, only Corinthian and Attic pottery were found in significant quantity in the mid-Archaic tombs at Ialysos and Kameiros. The principal Corinthian shape was the small pouring vessel, as noted above. Smaller numbers of other Corinthian shapes, however, were recovered as well (see Table 6).

The significant presence on Rhodes of Corinthian pottery in Periods I-III conforms to the widespread distribution of this ware through the Mediterranean.¹⁴⁴ Corinthian pottery was found in comparable proportions at Ialysos and Kameiros during Period I. At Ialysos, the proportion more than doubled in Period II, then returned to approximately the level of Period I in the succeeding quarter century. At Kameiros, the percentage of Corinthian ware also rose during Period II, almost doubling the percentage of Period I. In contrast with Ialysos, however, the proportion of Corinthian ware did not sink in Period III, but remained the same. Corinthian pottery formed a minor part of the finds at both sites in Period IV (see Table 6).

Also predictable is the appearance of Attic pottery in Period III and its arrival in greater numbers in Period IV.¹⁴⁵ Attic imports are first found in graves of Period III at Ialysos and Kameiros. In the Italian campaigns, at least, much more Attic pottery was discovered at Ialysos than at Kameiros. Attic pottery constituted 10 percent of the Period III finds at Ialysos, but only 1 percent at Kameiros, and 34 percent of the Period IV assemblage at Ialysos, but only 20 percent at Kameiros (see Table 7). It thus appears that Ialysos loosened its connections with Corinth and strengthened commercial contacts with Athens one quarter century before Kameiros did. The statistics which lead to this interesting conclusion may result simply from an accident of excavation. A glance at the earlier chapter of Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford 1956), reveals an impressive number of Attic black figure vases from these periods with their provenience given as "Camiros"--presumably finds of Biliotti and Salzmänn. One cannot judge how the proportion of Attic pottery would change if all the Biliotti and Salzmänn finds could be included. At present, only a sample derived from the Italian excavations can form a reasonable basis for discussion.

Lakonian pottery occurred in small quantities in the sixth century B.C.: one example in Period II at Kameiros, and six in Period III (four from Ialysos; two from Kameiros) and four in Period IV (three from Kameiros; one possibility from Ialysos).¹⁴⁶

A prominent position in all periods is occupied by the so-called East Greek pottery, of shapes and decorative styles which have been discovered at many eighth and seventh century B.C. sites in the Eastern Mediterranean. The category includes decorated wares often called "Rhodian;"¹⁴⁷ artifacts originating or conceived in the Levant or Egypt, even if possibly adapted and made on Rhodes; and various plain vases, generally ignored in the literature.

The "Rhodian" wares, notably the Wild Goat and Fikellura styles and "Ionian" cups have been associated principally with Kameiros because many more examples were found at Kameiros than at Ialysos--even excluding the numerous finds of Biliotti and Salzmänn (see Table 8). In Period I, Kameiros produced far more oinochoai and plates of the Middle Wild Goat II style than Ialysos. Most of the examples, twenty-three out of twenty-eight, were discovered in chamber tombs. The eight cremations together yielded the other five examples; this was the same harvest obtained from the eighteen cremation tombs at Ialysos. In Period II tombs, the Italian excavators found six Wild Goat style vases at both Kameiros and Ialysos.¹⁴⁸ Tocra types III and VI cups all came from Kameiros with the exception of one type III cup from an early context of 650-625 B.C. at Ialysos. Kameiran graves of Period IV yielded just over twice as many vases of the Fikellura style as did contemporaneous Ialysos tombs. On the other hand, Tocra types I-II cups were equally distributed at both Ialysos and Kameiros.¹⁴⁹ Of other local artifact types, Ialysos offers the earlier contexts for mid to late Archaic terracotta figurines and glass vessels. In addition, it has yielded most of the long, thin spindle bottles, the version characteristic of the sixth century B.C.¹⁵⁰

Diverse artifact types originating elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean were discovered in varying numbers at Ialysos and Kameiros. The two lydions found in the Ialysian graves listed here imitated the famous Lydian shape, even if their actual place of manufacture is uncertain.¹⁵¹ "Samian" bottles, considered products of Sidon by Culican, were found principally at Kameiros in Periods II-IV. Both sites yielded short, fat spindle bottles, a shape produced in the late seventh century B.C. possibly in imitation of Near Eastern models.¹⁵² Glazed spindle bottles were also manufactured at least initially in the Levant, according to Peltenburg. Three examples

were found at Ialysos but only one at Kameiros, in the graves listed here.¹⁵³ Egyptian and possibly Phoenician influence appeared in the many faience vessels and figurines. Discovered sporadically at both sites, faience objects were concentrated at Kameiros in Periods I and IV (the Period IV finds consisted almost entirely, however, of one deposit of sixteen scarabs). None were recovered from tombs of Periods II and IV at Ialysos.¹⁵⁴ Whether made on Rhodes or imported, these distinctive objects at least share in the *koine* of ceramics and other artifacts associated with the East Greeks and their neighbors and testify to the important links which existed between the cities of the east Aegean and eastern Mediterranean in the Archaic period.

Numerous plain vases--amphorae, pitchers, plates, and cups--were also found in the Rhodian tombs. None of them are as easy to classify as the decorated wares or the Levantine-Egyptian types mentioned above. Only further studies of the shapes and fabrics of East Greek plain wares will allow distinctions to be made between local and imported products.¹⁵⁵

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The rich sample of tombs and grave offerings from Archaic Ialysos and Kameiros permits an analysis of the similarities and the contrast in their material cultures at a time of striking change in funerary rites. Around 550 B.C., a major development took place: the cremation of adults was replaced by inhumation in stone-lined cist graves. Children, in contrast, were almost always inhumed in jars of various sizes throughout the Archaic period.

It is at Ialysos that this formula holds best. At Kameiros, the situation is clouded by several factors. Cremation does seem to fall out of favor in the middle of the sixth century B.C.; but, as indicated by the eight cremations dated after 525 B.C., the practice never died out. Stone-lined cist graves appeared after 550 B.C., as they did at Ialysos. The Kameirans, however, did not prefer this form until after 525 B.C., twenty-five years later than did their northern neighbors. As an additional complication, the Kameirans buried many of the dead throughout the Archaic period in rock-cut chamber tombs. Although such chamber tombs were favored at Ialysos during the Late Bronze Age, the city has yielded no examples from the first millennium B.C. The rock-cut chamber tomb is thus a form peculiar to Archaic Kameiros.

In general, differences in the grave forms used at the two cities were few. Cremation graves at both sites occasionally contain a feature unique to Rhodes, small pits in the corner, pits which undercut the walls of the trench. Although variously explained as aids for ventilation of the fire or repositories for special offerings, their purpose remains uncertain. Such pits are a standard feature in the cremations at the small cemetery of the late seventh/early sixth centuries B.C. at Vroulia, at the southern tip of the island, but they occurred in only 25 percent of the contemporary graves at Ialysos and Kameiros.

The chamber tomb at Kameiros consists of a shaft--vertical, slanted, or even stepped--which leads down quickly to a small burial chamber. One, or occasionally two bodies were placed inside, surrounded by grave goods. Sometimes benches were carved out of the rock along one or more of the sides. This practice became more frequent in the late Archaic period, after 525 B.C.

Stone-lined cist graves were used at both sites almost exclusively for single interments. The lalysians generally covered such tombs with gabled roofs, whereas the Kameirans preferred flat roofs.

The lalysians usually oriented burials toward the south, whereas the Kameirans favored no particular compass point. Custom seems to have determined this, rather than topographical conditions prevailing in the chosen burial grounds.

Both cities utilized several different burial sectors at any given time. In the region of Kameiros, isolated early cemeteries such as at Patelle (of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods) perhaps belonged to scattered villages in the area. The acropolis, the site of one such early settlement, eventually dominated. The cemeteries then gradually expanded outward from this old center, first from the acropolis (with no tombs later than the early seventh century B.C.) to Papatislures and Checraci (with only sporadic burials after 575 B.C.), and finally to Macri Langoni (especially after 550 B.C.) and Fikellura (in the late Archaic and Early Classical periods). This development of the cemeteries surely reflects the expansion of Archaic Kameiros away from its original center on the acropolis.

Although nothing is known of the areas of habitation at lalysos, its growth in pre-Classical times might also be postulated on the basis of the distribution of its cemeteries: a beginning at Dafni in the western-northwestern foothills of the town's acropolis, Mt. Fileremos, then a gradual descent to the coastal plain north of these hills (especially Marmaro, the sector excavated in 1916-1928), and finally an expansion further to the north (Marmaro, the sector excavated in 1934) and to the west, toward the modern town of Kremasti.

Inhabitants of both cities agreed in their selection of grave gifts which would fulfill certain functions for the deceased: small pitchers for serving, cups for drinking, plates, larger pots for storage. Thanks to the popularity of imported Corinthian pottery in the late seventh and first half of the sixth centuries B.C., the small pouring vessel is a frequent grave offering at that time. Cups were generally favored in all periods, but particularly after 550 B.C., no doubt as the result of the special appeal of newly arriving Attic cups. Not all fashions in Rhodian grave goods followed the fortunes of these two imported wares, however. The frequency of amphorae increased after 575 B.C. and especially after 550 B.C.; their use seems connected with a newly developed role for them in the burial rites of the mid-sixth century B.C. The offering of amphorae of both Attic and non-Attic fabrics became desirable, particularly in the stone-lined cist graves of post-550 B.C.

Some differences in the commercial life of the two cities emerge upon an examination of the origins of the grave goods. Both sites have important quantities of Corinthian ceramics from 625 to 575 B.C. From 575 to 550 B.C., the proportion of Corinthian ware at Kameiros remained at the previous high level, but at lalysos it began to decline. In contrast, Attic pottery found its way into lalysian burials of the second quarter of the sixth century in significant amounts, but only one Attic vase was recovered from contemporary graves at Kameiros. Attic ceramics form a larger percentage of the finds both of both sites in the third quarter of the sixth century, but with lalysos still possessing a greater share than did Kameiros. lalysos thus seems to have loosened its ties with Corinth and begun commercial contacts with Athens a quarter century before Kameiros.

As for other possible imports, Kameiros yielded more faience objects and more examples of the so-called Samian or Sidonian bottles. In contrast, lalysos pro-

vided the only examples of lydions, Chiot pottery, and bucchero (of disputed origin) found at the two sites during the Italian campaigns.

Kameiros seems to have been the center of the major styles of decorated pottery produced on Rhodes in the Archaic period, the Middle Wild Goat II style in the late seventh century, and the Fikellura style of the last half of the sixth century B.C. Also, it was the home of a particular type of Ionian cup, the Tocra type VI cup, examples of which were found at Vroulia and Lindos as well, but not at Ialysos. For its part, Ialysos featured a sixth century spindle bottle type, elongated with horizontal corrugated decoration, and the earliest contexts on Rhodes for core-formed glass (in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.).

Although explanations for these distinctions, or indeed for the evolution in burial practices themselves, cannot yet be supplied, we can assert that burial practices between the two towns differed in important aspects, that commercial contacts with other cities clearly varied, and that local production of pottery and other objects also diverged.¹⁵⁶ This examination of the local archaeologies of Archaic Rhodes not only brings into better focus the distant images of ancient Ialysos and Kameiros, but also contributes toward the assessment of regional variation in East Greece during one of its great periods.

APPENDIX:
GRAVE GROUPS OF THE ARCHAIC PERIOD
AND TOMB TYPES DISCOVERED
BY BILIOTTI AND SALZMANN AT KAMEIROS

The Finds and Their Significance

Alfred Biliotti and August Salzmänn first excavated at Kameiros from 1859 to 1865. Salzmänn continued work there alone until his death in 1874. Biliotti, meanwhile, turned his attention to Ialysos, uncovering from 1867 to 1871 remains of the Late Bronze Age. He was to return to Kameiros for brief investigations only, in 1880 and 1885. Few results of these excavations at Kameiros were ever published.¹⁵⁷ Although Biliotti and Salzmänn normally did not record their daily findings, they did keep a journal for their 1863-64 season when the British Museum sponsored them directly. Additional information on their explorations is contained in a series of letters. Two of them treat the types of burials discovered; they are presented below. Many more of the letters, however, concern business negotiations between the two excavators and potential purchasers of the antiquities being uncovered--subjects not of interest in the present discussion. The journal of the 1863-64 season and originals or copies of the letters are kept in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum. The Public Record Office (Kew, Richmond) also houses some of the letters.

The excerpts reproduced below from the 1863-64 journal and the two letters written by Biliotti in 1859 and 1864 contain everything recorded by the early excavators which pertains to the central issues of this paper: first, grave groups of the mid-Archaic period, and second, burial forms and funerary practices. The findings of these excavations, insofar as they were written down, constitute an interesting, if minor, supplement to Jacopi's presentation of the Archaic graves at Kameiros.

The report of the 1863-64 season lists the graves found each day and their contents. These valuable contexts were ignored, however, when the objects were first catalogued into the British Museum collection. Since Biliotti's descriptions are often quite general, tracking down the grave offerings amidst the vast holdings of the British Museum has been a difficult task. Nevertheless, some success has been achieved. In the preparation of the catalogue of Greek terracottas for the British Museum, R.A. Higgins identified numerous objects listed in the 1863-64 journal. But whatever the full extent of his efforts, he only published those grave groups which contained terracottas: forty-nine tombs all dated to the late sixth or fifth centuries B.C.¹⁵⁸ His colleagues have continued to make identifications, but only in connection with other research projects.¹⁵⁹

The graves published by Higgins were located in the Fikellura cemetery, the principal sector explored by Biliotti and Salzmänn in 1863-64. They also worked that year in Papatislures, an area which the subsequent excavations of Jacopi revealed as utilized almost exclusively in the pre-Classical period. Since few of the objects from the Papatislures graves have been identified in the British Museum collections, the dating of the grave groups listed by Biliotti and Salzmänn is often impossible to determine.¹⁶⁰ But because of the potential value of these graves for the history of pre-Classical burial practices at Kameiros, the entries recorded for all of the graves from Papatislures are included below.

Additional excerpts from the journal and the two letters of 1859 and 1864 reproduced below contain interesting details on the burial types and funeral customs at Kameiros. This information, it must be stressed, pertains to graves of the late Archaic and Classical as well as earlier periods.

The summaries of burial types found, reported in Biliotti's two letters, show that his sense of observation was keen and methodical. Subsequent accounts of the chamber tombs, at least, have added little to our understanding of that burial form, even if the more recent excavations have immensely clarified their chronological setting. The information on tomb types discovered by Biliotti and Salzmänn was published in part by Edouard Biliotti and the Abbe Cottret in their book of 1881, *L'île de Rhodes*.¹⁶¹ When taken together, the letters, the journal, and the book clarify Jacopi's later presentation. Most of the unfamiliar information in these early sources concerns the rock-cut chamber tombs, however. Some details about stone-lined cist graves and jar burials are added, but the practice of cremation is barely discussed.

The 1863-64 journal and Biliotti's letters, by providing numerous new details, improve the understanding of the chamber tomb as presented in Jacopi's reports. Jacopi offered a simple sketch to show the arrangement of shaft, entrance, and chamber (here fig. 1). The earlier drawings of Biliotti (in the letter of 1859) and of E. Biliotti and Cottret (here fig. 2), if equally primitive,¹⁶² were more realistic in including the thick, blocked entrance--an essential feature of this tomb type. These drawings clarify the form of the shaft as well. Biliotti spoke only of square-sectioned vertical access shafts, whereas Jacopi's dromoi seem to be inclined, or at least stepped. E. Biliotti and Cottret showed, however, that both vertical and sloping access passages had been discovered in the early excavations.¹⁶³ These shafts often contained burials of children in jars; Biliotti considered them to be relatives of the adults occupying the adjacent chamber tomb.¹⁶⁴ In his letter of 1864, Biliotti noted that a child's tomb was often cut out of the rock above the chamber tombs. These were presumably stone-lined cist graves rather than emplacements for a funerary jar; for example, Tomb P 14 (discovered on March 14, 1864) must be a cist grave although a stone lining is not mentioned. No jar burials were discovered in the dromoi of the chamber tombs excavated in 1929-32, according to the published descriptions. It is always possible that children were buried near their relatives, but the Italian excavation reports contain no positive evidence for such a practice. Although Kinch had raised the question of grouping of tombs by families in the cemetery at Vroulia, Jacopi did not pursue this issue.¹⁶⁵

Some of the chamber tombs uncovered by Biliotti and Salzmänn had curious plans which were not attested in the Italian excavations. One tomb was lined on one side (on the inside, presumably) with stone slabs (Tomb F 145--Feb. 24, 1864). Another featured a door in each of its four sides (Tomb P 8--Mar. 4, 1864 and following). The description of it, although somewhat obscure, indicates that this room formed part of a complex of chamber tombs (Tombs P 9 and P 10). Biliotti and Salzmänn found several built tombs, whereas Jacopi discovered none.¹⁶⁶ Two tombs constructed of stone and surrounded by a "precinct wall" are mentioned (Dec. 8 and 11, 1863). Sometimes, however, such a tomb was erected inside the rock-cut chamber (Tombs F 51--Dec. 5, 1863; P 11--Mar. 10, 1864; and P 15--Mar. 17, 1864). Biliotti used the word "built" to describe them, although they sound more like stone-lined cist graves. Whichever they were, the chamber tombs discovered by Jacopi did not contain them.

Biliotti considered that the number of benches in a tomb indicated the number of burials. If no bench existed, the chamber would have held only one body. Despite a varying quantity of benches, however, usually only one body was found.

On a few occasions Biliotti and Salzmänn discovered burned bones (Dec. 11, 1863; and Tomb P 3--Feb. 20, 1864); once "quantities of human bones" (Tomb F 281--May 16, 1864); and once the surprising display of "six human skulls in a row near the side opposite the door" (Tomb P 11--Mar. 10, 1864). Jacopi's excavations revealed relatively few rock-cut benches. They were favored more in the late Archaic and Classical periods than in previous years, but still without enthusiasm. Jacopi found limited skeletal remains in the chamber tombs, certainly never the unusual combinations mentioned above. The disposition of bodies in the chamber tombs opened during the Italian campaigns never conformed to Biliotti's sketch of the arrangement for two bodies: two corpses separated by a low wall opposite the entrance (drawing reproduced p. 48). E. Biliotti and Cottret had not, in fact, repeated this observation.

Biliotti reported that vases had generally been placed at the feet of the body and along one of its sides. A red clay jar, a container for water according to Biliotti, usually stood in a corner near the entrance (letter of 1859). The grave goods were rarely so neatly disposed in the tombs opened by Jacopi. They were, however, as well-stocked with grave goods as any other burial type, if not better. In consequence, the proposal made by Biliotti in 1864 and repeated by E. Biliotti and Cottret that chamber tombs were utilized by poor people who left vases of inferior quality in them does not seem justified.¹⁶⁷

Other observations on the form and construction of the chamber tombs which Biliotti, or E. Biliotti and Cottret mentioned but which Jacopi never explained include: the occasional curvature of the ceiling, the lack of mortar in the little wall which sealed off the chamber, pick marks visible on the walls and a sketch of the possible tools used, the filling in with dirt of the access passages, and the opinion that earthquakes were responsible for the collapse of the ceilings and upper walls and the subsequent scattering of bodies and grave goods.

Biliotti's categories of cist graves are clear: both stone-lined and unlined, with flat or gabled roofs made from stone slabs. Jacopi's findings have shown that stone-lined cists were much more frequent than their unlined counterparts. Nevertheless, a few curious details remain. In his letter of 1859, Biliotti lists two groups of cist graves, nos. 3 and 4, which barely differ. Type no. 3 has jars in its fill (exterior?) while no. 4 has fragments of vases and glass. Could type 3 be jar burials placed in holes cut out of the rock? Otherwise, such a distinction seems insignificant. The fifth burial type (in the letter of 1864) is puzzling: a cist grave with a large opening onto its side. Perhaps this is the category into which Tomb F 13 falls (Nov. 6, 1863) and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 18 (my list no. 139) as well: rock-cut spaces into which the corpse was inserted, spaces conforming to the dimensions of an adult body which were reached via a shaft. This could be considered as an unusual variation of the chamber tomb.

An unexpected comment is made on the disposition of grave goods in stone-lined cist graves. In the fifth category (letter of 1859), the stone-lined cist with a gabled roof, Biliotti notes that the grave goods were placed inside the tomb around the body. This situation contrasts with the Italian findings, according to which the placement of offerings inside is a feature rather of stone-lined cist graves with flat roofs. The variety with gabled roofs was more likely to be accompanied by amphorae placed on the exterior of the grave.

Until all of the grave offerings of the tombs uncovered by Biliotti and Salzmänn in 1863-64 can be identified, the tomb groups reconstituted and dated, the usefulness of the excavation journal of that season is limited. This journal and Biliotti's

letter of 1859 and 1864 offer anecdotal information which enrich but hardly alter the understanding of tomb forms provided by the excavations conducted by Jacopi in 1929-31 and their subsequent publication. But considering the methods used in Mediterranean archaeology in the middle of the nineteenth century, we are lucky to have even these fragments.

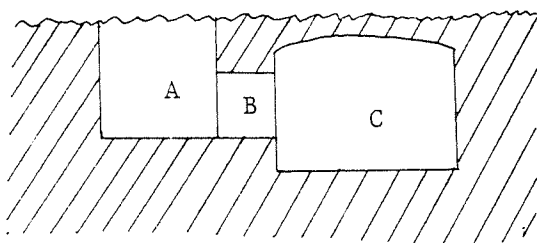
Extracts from the Biliotti Papers

These papers are housed in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum (London) and in the Public Record Office (Kew, Richmond). The following extracts are presented with the kind permission of Brian F. Cook, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum. My additions and comments are contained in brackets.

1) From a letter from Alfred Biliotti to Robert Campbell, the British consul on Rhodes, 27 June, 1859.¹⁶⁸ The excerpt presented here discusses the five categories of tombs discovered at Kameiros.

The Necropolis of Kamiros which covers a considerable extent of ground is situated where I am now excavating, namely on the hills between the hillock in question [the site of the city itself] and the village of Calavarda. The tombs discovered until now in this necropolis may be divided into 5 different categories.

First Category. Tombs formed in the horizontal clayey layers which especially at the surface are as hard as stone and vary from 10 to 20 ft in thickness. These tombs have a square shaft sunk from the surface of the earth each side being from 4 to 8 feet, the depth varying according to the thickness of the clayey layers in which they are cut. From one side of this shaft a square contiguous sepulchral chamber, each side from 6 to 8 feet, the depth being about 4½ ft was excavated with an entrance between them as in the rough sketch underneath.



A. Shaft
B. Entrance
C. Chamber

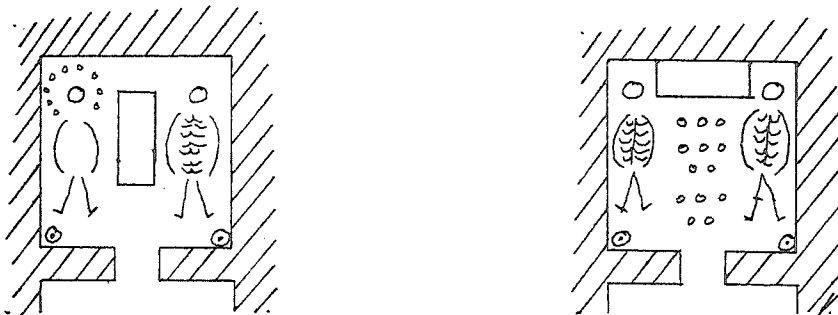
The ceilings of the tombs are sometimes slightly vaulted, and sometimes flat. In the better preserved sides the marks of the workmen's tools are to be distinguished which must have been a common hatchet with a sharp flat extremity, and a similar hatchet but with small indented points as in the sketch underneath.



The entrance from the shaft into the sepulchral chamber was closed up with large cut stones, one placed upon the other without cement, which almost always bear traces of calcination. After the body was deposited in the tomb the shaft was filled up with earth. These shafts are on the same principle as those of the tombs in the plain of Memphis with the exception that the shaft of the latter, which is round, is closed by a stone slab, the surface of which soon became covered by the sand of the desert, whereas the shaft at Calavarda is square and filled up with earth.

From all appearances these tombs in general contained a single body. Women's tombs are known by the gold and silver ornaments found therein such as bracelets frontlets [?] and earrings with fine vases of a large and more extensive quantity than in the men's tombs. I have not been able to discover the exact place occupied by the bodies in these tombs or the disposition of the vases in them, the frequent earthquakes which laid waste the island of Rhodes having it would appear split the ceilings and sides of these tombs large pieces of which tumbled down breaking and scattering the vases placed around the dead, and thus allowing the earth and water to enter. From all appearances the vases buried therewith were laid at its feet, and on one of its sides. In a corner of most of the sepulchral rooms usually near the entrance I found a common red earthenware long jar, slightly varied one from the other which must originally have been filled with water judging from the calcaneous deposit therein.

When a tomb contained two bodies it was divided into two compartments by a low wall opposite the entrance. Sometimes a wall was built against one of the sides leaving on both extremities of it an empty space in which the two dead were placed thus:



Second Category

In cleaning out the shafts I occasionally found in each of them an enormous storage [?] jar sometimes with raised ornamental decorations. These jars which are always broken contained the bones of a child (buried therein probably in order to be placed near his relatives without opening their tombs) small fine vases, terracotta figures and small gold bands.

Third Category

I discovered troughs cut on the surface of the rock covered over with large stones and earth containing jars.

Fourth Category

Sometimes these same troughs contained instead calcinated fragments of small vases and fragments of glass.

Fifth Category

I also discovered longitudinal trenches cut in the clay covered over with flat stones so disposed as to form a sharp raised vault containing terracotta figures and small vases placed round the body as in the sepulchral chambers.

(signed) A. Biliotti

2) A letter from Alfred Biliotti to the Right Honorable Earl Russell K.G., 27 July, 1864.

British Vice Consulate
Rhodes, 27th July 1864

My Lord,

The excavations at Calavarda having, for the present, been brought to a close, I consider it my duty to submit to Your Lordship the results obtained with the £ 500 granted by the British Museum for exploring the Necropolis of Camirus, and the prospects which future excavations there are likely to present.

The Necropolis of Camirus, as far as we have been able to ascertain, occupies a large extent of ground, about eight miles in circumference. It must not be supposed, however, that it is all covered with sepulchres. There are spots where tombs and sepulchral chambers are heaped together, while fields are found where there is nothing, or a few tombs and sepulchral chambers scattered about, then again patches of ground are met full of sepulchral monuments.

This disposition of the sepulchres can be attributed to the nature of the soil, which was more or less adopted for cutting tombs and sepulchral chambers; and also perhaps to certain spots being in higher reverence than others.

At Fikellura the piece of ground in which we have been excavating seems to be nearly exhausted, but according to all probabilities, there must be in the vicinity other places containing sepulchres for which we have not searched in consequence of our having continued, up to the last day of our excavations there, to find tombs in the very spot which we have been exploring now since three years.

Our researches at Kehraiki have not been crowned with great success, in as much as only isolated sepulchral chambers have been discovered. The same thing had occurred to us at Kehraiki in 1861, when after some months explorations we fell on a field full of tombs, in one of which was the beautiful amphora of Thetis, now in the British Museum.

As for the Papa's Loures the whole of the westerly part of the hill has been excavated, but the easterly slope has not been explored yet, it being partly covered with pine trees, and it is likely that all the spots on this hill available for cutting tombs and sepulchral chambers have been made use of, owing to its proximity to Camirus.

After the grant of the British Museum was extinguished, I made experimental excavations at Cazviri with private funds of Mr. Salzman and myself, and the result is that there are tombs and sepulchral chambers on an extent of ground of about two miles which have hardly been explored. With respect to the degree of interest which the antiquities

found in this locality may offer, it suffices for me to state that the pithos, and some of the other objects selected by Mr. Newton from the lot existing previous to the grant of the £ 500, have been discovered there.

Admitting therefore for a moment that nothing more is to be discovered at Fikellura, Kehraki and the Papa's Loures; it is likely that only at Cazviri there is still to excavate as much ground as has hitherto been explored in the three other localities together.

I beg to transmit herewith a plan of the top of the hill of Camirus to show the amount of work done and that which is still to be performed. The Southern part of it has only been excavated and important traces of buildings and other constructions have been brought to light. A Greek inscription on a marble slab discovered there leaves no doubt, if any existed, that the cite [*sic*] explored is really that of Camirus, and informs us that a temple of Athena stood there. The antiquities found in this spot are of the highest interest, a fact of which the Trustees of the British Museum will judge by themselves when they inspect them. There are still two sides of the top of the hill which have not been excavated, and there is no reason to believe that the results to be obtained there will not be as satisfactory as those already obtained.

It was, and it is still essential to explore the whole of the top of the hill of Camirus, but it cannot be expected that all the antiquities, nor even the greatest part of those, which once existed there, should be found in the same place. In fact it is obvious that most of these antiquities must be now on the sides of, or in the lower ground round the hill. Many of these objects have naturally been washed down by the rains, and the peasants who cultivated first the top of this hill, must have rolled down all the stones and marbles which interfered with their work. As a proof of these assertions I shall cite a large piece of marble statue discovered by Mr. Newton (when he was here last Autumn) and myself in a deep ravine cut by the rains, and some fragments of marble statues found by me at the foot of the hill, where excavations have not yet been made. Marble fragments having been also found in the way running between the Papa's Loures and the hill of Camirus, and leading from the Eastern ravine to the top of this hill, as stated in dispatch N. 1 [probably No. 1] of the 15th January last, it may be inferred that this way was adorned with statues, as was the case in all, or at least in many sacred ways. The presence therefore of marble fragments in several places, and the fact of their belonging to different pieces of sculpture, leave no doubt as to the existence of many interesting antiquities which have not been discovered yet. The sides of the hill of Camirus and the lower ground surrounding it, which offer a vast field for future discoveries, are according to all probabilities the places to look for them.

I consider it necessary to conclude my present report with a short description of the sepulchral chambers and tombs discovered at Fikellura, where the excavations for the British Museum have been chiefly carried on since October last.

The sepulchral chambers vary in dimension [*sic*] from 6 to 8 feet square. These chambers to which leads a square shaft, on one side of which is the entrance, are about 4 or 5 feet under ground. Sometimes a tomb, usually that of a child, is cut in the rock above them. These chambers are hewn in the rock which is rather soft, it being a kind of hard clay. The upper sides and the ceiling (which last is slightly vaulted) are usually fallen in but the lower parts and floor, altho full of rubbish, are always in good preservation. Square cut stones

without cement shut the entrance.

It is difficult to ascribe always the exact places which the vases have originally occupied. They are mostly found round the body, and sometimes gathered together in the middle of the chamber. These last can be divided as follows:

- 1) Chambers with perfectly flat floor.
- 2) With one raised seat, indistinctly placed opposite, or on either side of the entrance.
- 3) With two raised seats one on each side of the entrance.
- 4) With three seats, one opposite, and one on each side of the entrance.

These seats or couches, on which the dead were placed, are cut in the rock along the side of the chamber. Their number indicated that of the persons buried [*sic*] in the same chamber. Those without seats usually contained a single body.

The tombs can be classed in the following categories:

- 1) Vaults measuring about 4 feet wide, 5 high, and 4 long, cut in the side of the hill, the entrance of which is shut up with square stones without cement. It may be inferred owing to the unappropriated character of the rock in which they are usually hewn, that they were entrances to chambers which were not furnished and of which poorer people availed themselves to bury [*sic*] their dead. The vases found in these tombs are generally very common.
- 2) Longitudinal trenches 4 feet wide 7 long and 5 deep, at 2 feet from the bottom of which stone slabs are placed horizontally on a border of about 9 inches wide left for the purpose along the sides of the trench, or on other stone slabs, which when the rock was too soft, were placed vertically all around the trench for the same object.
- 3) Trenches of the same description as the preceding, but in which the stone slabs instead of being placed horizontally, are raised in the middle so as to form a sharp vault.
- 4) Trenches similar to the above mentioned, at the bottom of which there is a stone (rough), or terra cotta sarcophagus. These kind [*sic*] of tombs are of rare occurrence [*sic*], only one of each description having been discovered.
- 5) Longitudinal shafts of the same size as the foregoing along the side of which is cut an opening about 3 feet high and wide and 7 long in which the body was placed. This opening is shut up with stone slabs placed vertically.

Similar shafts and openings, but all of smaller dimensions, have been found containing calpides with burnt bones.

Round holes have also been discovered containing large amphorae, or pithi, in which children or youths were buried [*sic*].

Trusting that your Lordship will kindly approve of my proceedings in the excavations carried on with the grant of the £ 500: and that your Lordship will pardon any deficiencies in my present report.

I have the honour to be, My Lord, Your Lordship's Most obedient Humble Servant."

(signed) Alfred Biliotti

[attached: plan of the summit of the hill at Kameiros]

3) Extracts from the 1863-64 excavation journal of Alfred Biliotti, in which the finds at Kameiros are recorded. The entries included here, a small fraction of the total, pertain to unusual burial forms, funerary practices, graves dating (probably) to before 525 B.C., or to the cemetery at Papatislures. Tombs found at Fikellura are indicated by "F," at Papatislures by "P," and at Kehraki (Checraci) by "K." Catalogue numbers of objects refer to the British Museum collection.

Monday 26 October. Discovered a sepulchral chamber which seems to have contained three bodies in consequence of bones having been found on three sides of the chamber. [grave of post-525 B.C.: Tomb F 1] [Tomb F 2]: "Tomb cut in the hard clay in the form of a trough and covered with flat stones. [contained a black kylix, plain]"

Tuesday 3 November. Finished to clear the sepulchral chamber discovered on the 31st. On the right of the entrance there was an amphora of unpolished earthenware on the mouth of which was placed [a] cothon--upper part black glaze--lower unglazed red ware. On the left there were two amphorae of unpolished earthenware on the mouths of which were likewise placed [a] cylix without handles--of black glaze [and a] cylix with black figures. [Tomb F 5]

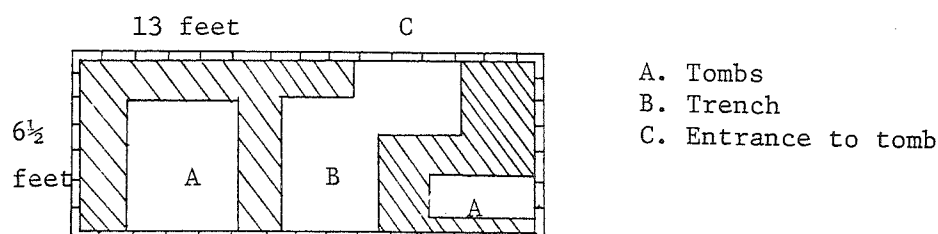
Friday 6 November. Tomb F 13. Cleared a tomb cut in the rock, opening on one side instead of being covered with stone slabs on the top, and to which leads a shaft. [It contained: an omphalatos cup of black glaze; a large bronze strigil (fragmentary); an alabastron; a small amphora, of red unglazed ware, with black bands; a black glaze kylix (no handles); a black glaze kothon; and a coarse amphora.]

Wednesday 11 November. Tomb F 22. Tomb vaulted, cut into the side of the hill. Found in it placed in a group near the head of the dead" [were the grave goods]. [Dated to 520-490 B.C. by R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum. I. Greek: 730-330 B.C.* (London, 1954), 25].

Saturday 5 December. Tomb F 51. We finished to clear the sepulchral chamber discovered on the 2d Instant [sic]. It contained besides five amphora of unpolished earthenware, [a] cylix--black varnish--fine paste, with mouldings inside [and a] shallow vessel black varnish without handles.

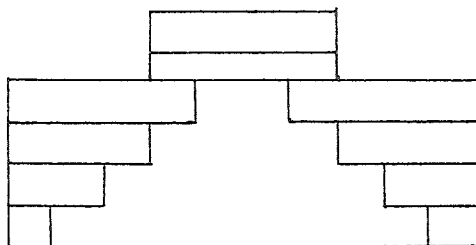
In the interior of this sepulchral chamber there was at the bottom, and opposite the door, a tomb built with square stones and covered with stone slabs placed horizontally, but there was nothing in it."

Tuesday 8 December. Discovered traces of a wall, built with square stones. Followed this wall and cleared a precinct having 13 feet long and 6½ wide. There were in it two tombs built with square stones and covered with stone slabs forming a sharp vault, but they contained nothing. Outside of each of them, however, we found an amphora of unpolished earthenware; we discovered afterwards a trench running as far as the wall, which seems to be the entrance to the sepulchral chamber, situated outside of it. Annexed is a plan of this precinct:



Wednesday 9 December. The trench discovered within the wall of the precinct described yesterday was the entrance to a tomb situated outside of it, and not to a sepulchral chamber. This tomb as well as three others cleared today contained nothing.

Friday 11 December. Discovered a wall forming another precinct having 7 ft long and 5½ wide. In the middle of it there was a single tomb 4 feet high in the interior, built with square stones forming outside a square, and inside an indented vault. The top was covered with a double row of stone slabs not reaching the outer sides of the wall, as shown in the annexed sketch.



The bones which were contained in this tomb had been burnt, and the only thing discovered in it was [an] *amphora* of unglazed red ware with three black stripes in the middle of the body.

Saturday 13 February. Tomb F 115. Discovered on one side of a square hole shut up by a stone slab in which there was a *hydria*, large, fine black glaze, with a gilt myrtle garland on the neck. There are also gilt ornaments round the mouth, one of the handles is come off [*sic*]. This *hydria* contained burned bones. In the shaft there were ashes, and amongst them a piece of copper [corrected to "lead"]--a looking glass, or the piece of a base which has been subject to the action of the fire.

Monday 15 February. Discovered near [Tomb F] 115, another square hole similar to it containing also [a] *hydria*--large--black glaze with a gilt garland representing instead of myrtle bunches of grapes and vine leaves. It contained burnt bones.

Tuesday 16 February. P 1. Chamber tomb (first discovered on 15 February). Contents: 12 spindle rings, terracotta and stone: [a] large vessel, of the most archaic character, dark drawings on yellowish ground--trees, centaurs, birds, maeander (fragmentary): a smaller vessel, unglazed red ware, with ornaments marked with a pointed tool through the paste; the cover of another vessel, red varnish [correction made in the margin: of the same ware as the preceding vase]; a pinax--cream color ground with dark ornaments; a bronze fibula; 3 glass beads; 2 small electrum rosettes forming earrings with three grenade buds hanging on each, but one of which buds was only found [*sic*]; small fragments of electrum or gold--very likely remains of embroidered garments.

[Comment on the bronze fibula and the three glass beads: In his catalogue of the Classical bronzes in the British Museum, Walters assigned two fibulae to this tomb. The first, included under catalogue no. 150, featured the figure of a duck perched on top of a semicircular bow. The second, no. 155, consisted of four glass beads set on a curved bow. The drawing of this piece, fig. 9 on p. 12, distinguishes between the first three beads and the fourth bead; was this last bead restored in the illustration? If so, we can be confident that the three

beads listed by Biliotti are the essential components of the fibula catalogued by Walters. H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London 1899) 11-12.]

Wednesday 17 February. P 2. Chamber tomb. Contents: a porcelain vase--without ornaments; 2 aryballoi [1864.10-7.1433 and 1434]; a bottle in the form of the head of a woman, bearing traces of red colour [1864.10-7.1305]; bronze fragments and pieces of lead; terracotta spindle ring--small--very common.

[Comment: Higgins assigned the two aryballoi to the Late Corinthian I style and consequently dated the tomb group to 575-550 B.C. The plastic vase, a woman's bust, is no. 1614 in his catalogue of plastic vases at the British Museum; Higgins placed it ca. 560 B.C. In his study of Rhodian plastic vases, Ducat classified the example from this tomb as no. 2 of Series E. He, too, identified the two aryballoi as LC I. He proposed a narrower date for the aryballoi and the plastic vase than did Higgins, however; ca. 560-550 B.C. R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum. II. Part I: Plastic Vases of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C. Part II: Plastic Lekythoi of the Fourth Century B.C.* (London, 1959) 11, 16, and pl. 8. Jean Ducat, *Les Vases plastiques rhodiens* (Paris, 1966), 41, 45, and pl. VI, 4.

The Bronze fragments may be ear pendants; see the remarks on the following tomb, P 3.]

Saturday 20 February. P 3. Cleared a sepulchral chamber containing burnt bones and discovered amongst the ashes, [a] ring and small bands--electrum.

[Comment: Marshall included "two bronze spiral ear-pendants, with ends broken away" in his catalogue of the Classical jewelry in the British Museum, nos. 1171-72. He gave tombs P 2 and P 3 as their provenance; the evidence from Biliotti's list suggests, however, that they came only from P 2. Marshall did catalogue the jewelry from P 3: "fragments of a thin gold band" (no. 1161), a "long strip of very pale gold with rounded edges" (no. 1162), and a "pale gold ring" (no. 1199). F.H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (Oxford 1911; reprinted 1969) 95, 97, and 99.]

Wednesday 24 February. Tomb 145 (Fikellura). Tomb cut in the side of the hill and covered on one side only with flat stone slabs." Contents: 2 vessels, with large, globular bodies with covers, and perpendicular handles. ash colour--with dark bands and ornaments; [an] aryballos with red ornaments.

Thursday 25 February. P 4. Chamber Tomb. Contents: 4 aryballoi; [a] bottle in the form of a man's head with a helmet, painted brown and white; [a] bottle in the form of a sea shell; 2 peculiar seated human figures; [and a] piece of copper, rolled.

[Comment: Higgins identified three of the aryballoi as "EC piriform alabastra" (1864.10-7.2093, 1422, and 1435) and dated them and the tomb group to ca. 600 B.C. He included the first of the plastic vases, the helmeted head, as no. 1620 in his catalogue, and the second, a "cockle," as no. 1649. Ducat classified the former as no. 1 in his Series E of helmeted heads and the second as no. 2 of vases in the form of shells. Repeating Higgins's attribution of the three EC ala-

bastra, he offered a date in the late seventh or early sixth centuries B.C. for the tomb group. Higgins, 1959 (full reference above, tomb P 2), pp. 11, 18-20, 29, and pls. 10 and 19. Ducat, 1966 (full reference above, tomb P 2), pp. 11, 25, 140-41, and pl. XXI, 2.]

Monday 29 February. P 5. Found in a pithos, without mouldings: porcelain monkeys--seated [in the margin: 831.785]; a small porcelain phial; a pinax small covered with incrustations [B.M. 1977.7-8.1]; a sea shell; a silver ring passing through a porcelain scarabeus; 2 silver rings simple; [and] 1 bronze ring.

Tuesday 1 March. P 6. Found in a square hole cut in the rock some fragments of 2 Pithi plain--without mouldings. and in another round hole a few fragments of one Pithos with raised mouldings having the peculiar character of being stuck instead of being incised in the paste. Nothing was found inside or outside these pithi.

Wednesday 2 March. P 7. Chamber tomb (first discovered on March 1). Contents: Ivory fragments with incised human heads, darts, small cylinders, etc.

[1864.10-7.694 to 752. Includes a head of Hathor, lotus flower, pins, tubes, etc. Cecil Smith published them in D.G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus* (London 1908) 180, and pl. XXX, nos. 4 and 6. Webb called them "slivers of bone" and suggested that they may originally have decorated wooden boxes. Virginia Webb, "'Phoenician' Anthropomorphic Flasks: A Reply," *Levant* 12 (1980), 86, n. 53.]

"Electrum plate--winged figure holding a lion in each hand"

[1864.10-7.363. Marshall, 1911 (reference above, tomb P 4) no. 1132, pp. 90-91 and pl. XI. Robert Laffineur, *L'Orfèvrerie rhodienne orientalisante* (Paris 1978) no. 61, pp. 203-204 and pl. VIII, 4-5 ("5" mistakenly labeled "4"): includes additional bibliography]

"Five electrum plates, similar but smaller"

[1864.10-7.364 to 368. Marshall, 1911 (reference above, tomb P 4) nos. 1133-1136, for four of them; p. 91, not illustrated. Laffineur, 1978 (reference above) nos. 62-65; p. 204 and pl. VIII, 4. Bailey asserted that gold plaques nos. 1120 and 1122 in Marshall's catalogue were also found in this tomb; they are of the same type as the other plaques already listed. D.M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum. I. Greek, Hellenistic, and Early Roman Pottery Lamps* (London 1975) 172-73, under Q 381. Nos. 1120 and 1122: Marshall, 1911, p. 89; not illustrated. Laffineur, 1978, no. 48, p. 201, not illustrated; and no. 50, p. 201, pl. VI, 6.]

"One electrum rosette" [1864.10-7.369]

"Fragments of electrum" [1864.10-7.372]

"Four lamps, unglazed ware"

[1864.10-7.1779, 1778, 1782, and 1776. Bailey included them as nos. Q 381, Q 382, Q 393, and Q 395 in his catalogue of Classical lamps in the British Museum. He dated the lamps to the first half of the third century B.C.: he considered them the offerings of a second burial considerably later than the first interment, represented by the other grave goods, of the seventh or sixth centuries B.C. Bailey, 1975, pp. 172-73, 176, and pls. 78-81.]

Friday 4 March. P 8. The sepulchral chamber discovered yesterday had four doors, one on each side. The first is the entrance and the others very likely lead to three other rooms, none of which we have been able to clear in consequence of the considerable depth at which they were under ground.

Saturday 5 March. P 8. "Cleared entirely the chamber with four

doors and found in it [*sic*--a bit confusing] pinax--dark colour; and in one of the other chambers, P 9, pinax--brown ornaments on cream colour ground.

Tuesday 8 March. (same tomb) Worked all day to the remaining sepulchral chambers without being able to clear entirely any of them.

Wednesday 9 March. (same tomb) Cleared the two sepulchral chambers to which we had worked all day yesterday. They contained nothing but P 10--oinochoe--goats and deer--black on yellow cream ground--much decayed owing to dampness.

Thursday 10 March. P 11. Discovered a sepulchral chamber on the right side of the entrance of which there was a tomb built and covered with stone slabs placed horizontally. On the opposite side there were the fragments of a plain pithos in which we found five electrum rosettes, one electrum frontal band, one aryballos unglazed red ware with incised patterns, one cothon small--hare--painted black--decayed.

Near this pithos there were many bronze fragments (perhaps those of a shield) with a few incised patterns--a bronze *genouilliere*--and several pieces of rusty iron. On the right and left of the entrance were the fragments of eight amphorae of unglazed red ware four of which had no neck, but thick handles raised above the mouth. A similar amphora was lately sold by us to the British Museum.

This chamber must have contained several bodies as we found six human skulls in a row near the side opposite the door. In the centre of the chamber there were the fragments (with incised lines) of another pithos and near it: pinax, yellowish ground, row of birds. brown colours. alabastron. botoliscos--decayed.

[Comments: This grave, the most interesting of those found by Biliotti and Salzmann at Papatislures, has figured in discussions of the chronology of Archaic Rhodian pottery. But surely the description which Biliotti provided indicates that this chamber tomb was used for several burials at different times. It is thus impossible to maintain that this represents a single deposit and that the objects found in it were all made at the same time.

R.M. Cook presented some of the vases discovered here in his *CVA* fascicle on East Greek pottery in the British Museum. He stated that the tomb contained a Corinthian kotyle of the late seventh century B.C. (B.M. 64.10-7.1427), a vase comparable to an EC kotyle from Corinth published by Weinberg. This cup is not included in Biliotti's list of the grave goods, unless it is the "cothon" or the "botoliscos." Biliotti's "pinax" is certainly Cook's "LWG style dish" (B.M. 64.10-7.131) of "late in the first quarter of the sixth century." The third and last vase dated by Cook was an oinochoe, a forerunner of the Fikellura style (B.M. 1864.10-7.149). He assigned it to his Plain Body Group (R1) in the first half of the sixth century B.C. As with the Corinthian kotyle, this oinochoe does not seem to figure in Biliotti's inventory of the grave. Although he offered no further dates for objects in the tomb, Cook did provide B.M. register numbers for two other items: an "unpainted jug with incised 'herring-bone' pattern on the shoulder" (B.M. 64.10-7.1799), certainly Biliotti's red ware aryballos with incised patterns; and an alabastron (B.M. 64.10-7.1147). In addition, he attributed a "cotuliskos" (no register number provided) to this grave--another object not on Biliotti's list. An explanation is clearly needed for the surprising discrepancies between the inventories of Biliotti and Cook.

Walter-Karydi (1973) included this tomb in her list of graves useful for determining the chronology of sixth century B.C. East Greek pottery. Her interest cen-

tered on only three of the grave goods mentioned by Cook, the EC, LWG, and early Fikellura vases. She apparently assumed that since these three vases were found together in the same grave they must be contemporary. This tomb group thus served as good evidence for her that the EC style must date to the early sixth century B.C. This interpretation of this grave group has flaws, however. First, it is not certain that the Corinthian kotyle and the early Fikellura oinochoe were found here. Second, if they were, and if they are represented, however disguised, in Biliotti's list, it is clear that they and the LWG pinax were not all found together in one locus inside the tomb. Third, the large inventory of grave goods and the complex arrangement of burial containers and skeletal material make it certain that this chamber was used repeatedly, probably over a period of time which exceeded twenty-five years, the margin of error employed in this paper. The definitive discussion of the chronology of this grave group must await its full publication. At present, it is impossible to demonstrate on the basis of this tomb that EC pottery was the contemporary of the LWG or the early Fikellura styles. References: R.M. Cook, *CVA Great Britain Fasc. 13, British Museum Fasc. 8* (London 1954) 7 and II D.L. pl. 6, 4. Saul S. Weinberg, *Corinth, vol. VII, part i. The Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery* (Cambridge, Mass. 1943) no. 246 (?), 65 and pl. 33. Elena Walter-Karydi, *Samos, Band VI, 1: Samische Gefässe des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefässe)* (Bonn 1973) 97 and pl. 2, no. 14.]

Friday 11 March. at Papatislures-- Worked all day without finding anything.

Saturday 12 March. P 12. Found outside a child tomb cut in the rock [*sic*]. Calpis--like those of Fikellura, style of transition. red human figures two females standing and one seated in the middle.

P 13. Part of a sepulchral chamber the remainder of which had been carried away contained--four aryballoi--archaic; one aryballos--flat--circular perforated in the center; one shallow vessel with lip curved inside; one cover of vessel--black glaze. [one of the four aryballoi is B.M. 1864.10-7.1432: combat of two warriors armed with helmets, shields, and spears; on each side a bearded draped horseman.]

Monday 14 March. P 14. Child's tomb cut in the rock in the form of a trough. [Dated to 475-450 B.C. by Higgins, in 1954 (full reference above, tomb F 22), p. 24; it contained nine terracotta figurines.]

Thursday 17 March. P 15. Cleared two sepulchral chambers in one of which there were two tombs built without care and containing nothing, in the other chamber there was one tomb in which we found [a] porcelain spindle ring.

Saturday 19 March. Fikellura Tomb 206. Child's tomb; covered with stone slabs forming a sharp vault. one glass phiale reeded--blue with white bands. [and five terracotta figurines; dated to "610-590 B.C." by Higgins, in 1954 (full reference above, tomb F 22), p. 29--surely an error for "510-490 B.C."]

Wednesday 23 March. P 16. Cleared the sepulchral chamber discovered yesterday. [Contents:] oinochoe--archaic. alabastron. alabastron with globular body. aryballos--large, black and crimson ornaments on cream colour ground. Two botoliski, brown ornaments, shells. one oinochoe, small, black glaze. aryballos, black ornaments on cream colour ground. bottle enamelled, black bands on blue ground.

Thursday 24 March. We transferred this day the workmen from this spot in another called Kehraiki, which is the first place where

we began excavating in 1859.

Saturday 26 March. K (Kehraki) 1. Chamber tomb (first located on the 25th, with an empty companion). Contents: pithos with stamped patterns, bearing traces of repair. broken in many pieces but complete. inside the pithos: two pewter bracelets covered with silver plate. iron--rusty, aryballos, small-red, white, and black stripes. aryballos, flat--hole in the middle of the body. kylix--red and black. pinax, red ornament in dark ground. oinochoe, black varnished.

[Comment: R.M. Cook provided additional information on four of the vases found in this tomb. He described the oinochoe (B.M. 1864.10-7.1576) as a mixture of "Rhodian" and Fikellura styles (1933-34, p. 57, n. 2; and 1954, p. 4). He also identified a Corinthian ring-aryballos of the early sixth century B.C. (B.M. 64.10-7.1424); an East Greek cup (B.M. 64.10-7.1546) similar to Kinch, 1914, pl. 27, 4; and a LWG stemmed dish with a central star and at the edge, flowers between the rays (Istanbul, formerly B.M. 64.10-7.1416). These items are all recognizable in Biliotti's list. References: R.M. Cook, "Fikellura Pottery," *BSA* 34 (1933-34) 1-98; R.M. Cook, 1954: full reference above, tomb p 11; and K.F. Kinch, *Vroulia* (Berlin 1914)]

Monday 28 March. K 2. Discovered a sepulchral chamber tomb on the edge of the hill, part of which had been carried away by the rain. The only things discovered in it was [*sic*] globular vessel, small with incised horizontal lines, unglazed brown ware. small shallow vessel, red ware.

Monday 16 May. Fikellura 281. Cleared a sepulchral chamber in which were heaped the fragments of perhaps fifty common earthenware amphorae and quantities of human bones. There was no peculiarity in the form of this chamber, which, however, was a little longer than usual. Found in it besides the broken amphorae: pinax of unvarnished black paste [B.M. 1864.10-7.1415. "bucchero stemmed dish."]. imitation of archaic row of animals, deer, tigers and black and crimson on red ground" [B.M. 1977.11-8.1. "black figure little master cup"].

NOTES

1. This article is a revision of part of my doctoral dissertation, *Burials at Ialysos and Kameiros (Rhodes) in the mid-Archaic Period, ca. 625-525 B.C.*, submitted to the University of Pennsylvania in May, 1979, and now distributed by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The main conclusions were presented in a paper entitled *Ialysos versus Kameiros: Local Archaeologies in Archaic East Greece*, given at the Eighty-second General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1980; the abstract of the talk is published in *AJA* 85 (1981) 194. The plans and figures for this article were prepared by Helen Townsend.

Abbreviations used:

IA: Ialysos
 KM: Kameiros
 LPC: Late Protocorinthian
 EC: Early Corinthian
 MC: Middle Corinthian
 LC: Late Corinthian
 MWG: Middle Wild Goat
 LWG: Late Wild Goat

The abbreviations used here for the titles of periodicals follow the conventions of the *American Journal of Archaeology* 82 (1978), 3-10; 84 (1980), 3-4.

The principal reports of the Italian excavations at Ialysos are: Amedeo Maiuri, "Jalisos: Scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana a Rodi," *ASAtene* 6/7 (1923-1924, but published in 1926) 83-341; Giulio Jacopi, *Scavi nella necropoli di Jalisso, 1924-1928, Clara Rhodos* 3 (1929); and Luciano Laurenzi, "Necropoli ialisie (scavi dell'anno 1934)," *Clara Rhodos* 8 (1936) 7-207.

For Kameiros: Giulio Jacopi, *Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro - I. Scavi nelle necropoli camiresi, 1929-1930, Clara Rhodos* 4 (1931); and Giulio Jacopi, *Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro - II. A) Necropoli; B) Acropoli, Clara Rhodos* 6/7 (1933) part 1.

In all, for the Iron Age, Greek, and Roman periods, the Italian archaeologists excavated approximately 1000 graves, some 600 at Ialysos, roughly 400 at Kameiros (see Table 1 for the precise figures). This does not include their discoveries of Bronze Age tombs (see note 55).

Although by far the largest pre-Classical cemeteries on Rhodes, Ialysos and Kameiros are not the only find spots of early burials. A small number of pre-Classical burials were also uncovered at Vroulia, on the southern tip of the island, and at Exochi, near Lindos. The value of the finds from the small and shortlived (ca. 700 - early sixth century B.C.) settlement and cemetery at Vroulia is enhanced by the fine quality of their publication: K.F. Kinch, *Vroulia* (Berlin 1914). Certain features of the Vroulia graves will be discussed below. For Exochi, see K. Friis Johansen, *Exochi, ein fruhrhodisches Graberfeld* (Copenhagen 1958); this small cemetery was used in the Late Geometric period, ca. 750-675 B.C., with the exception of Grave G. This tomb contained an Ionian cup of Tocra types I-II, a shape found in contexts of the later seventh century B.C. at Vroulia, Ialysos, and Kameiros (Friis Johansen, op. cit., 8, 43, 45, 166-167. and 188; and Gates, op. cit., 318-21). Almost no tombs have been found at Lindos itself; see Ejnar Dyggve, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914 et 1952. III. Le Sanctuaire d'Athana Lindia et l'architecture Lindienne* (Berlin 1960) 479-514.

Numerous sporadic burials from the pre-Classical period discovered throughout the island are cited in a key work on Rhodian topography: Raffaele Umberto Inglieri, *Carta archeologica dell'isola di Rodi* (Florence 1936), *passim*. His information is generally sketchy, however, which makes it diffi-

- cult to fix the dates of these tombs. His comments on remains from the Bronze Age have been investigated by R. Hope Simpson and J.F. Lazenby, "Notes from the Dodecanese III," *BSA* 68 (1973) especially 127-56. Their findings have been summarized in two further works by Hope Simpson: first, written together with O.T.P.K. Dickinson, *A Gazetteer of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age, vol. 1: The Mainland and Islands* (Goteborg 1979) 348-57; and second, *Mycenaean Greece* (Park Ridge, New Jersey 1981) 192-99. The period should be discussed in detail in C. Mee, *Rhodes in the Bronze Age*, a book which unfortunately I have not yet seen. No comparable examination of the remains of the first millennium B.C. has yet been undertaken.
2. It has been estimated that Biliotti and Salzmänn opened over 1000 tombs during their various exploration on Rhodes, at the sites of Kameiros, Ialysos (Bronze Age sectors only), and Siana (R.M. Cook, "Fikellura Pottery," *BSA* 34[1933-34] 88). The large part of their efforts was devoted to Kameiros. Unfortunately, they published very little. Salzmänn issued a volume of plates, *Necropole de Kamiros* (Paris 1875) and two articles: "Une Ville homérique: sa nécropole," *RA* 4 (1861) 467-72, and "Journal des fouilles de Kamiros (Ile de Rhodes)," *Bulletin archéologique du Musée Parent* 1 (1867) 29-35. Biliotti published nothing, but pertinent letters and the journal which he kept during the season of 1863-64 for their sponsor, the British Museum, have been preserved and are housed in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, and in the Public Record Office, Kew, Richmond. Comments on these documents and on the scattered, meager publications of the excavations of Biliotti and Salzmänn which other scholars of the later nineteenth century presented from time to time can be found in the Appendix, and in R.A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum. I. Greek: 730-330 B.C.* (London 1954) 2 and 21-24; and in Virginia Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience* (Warminster 1978) 136-43.
 3. The principal publications are cited above in note 1. Jacopi noted a few small areas in the cemeteries of Ialysos whose publication he reserved for a later date, notably the tombs at Mangufi and Marizza (Jacopi, 1929 [supra n. 1] 19-22). These burials remain unpublished. Additional bibliography on archaeological excavations on Rhodes can be found in Dorothy Leekley and Robert Noyes, *Archaeological Excavations in the Greek Islands* (Park Ridge, New Jersey 1975) 31-37, as well as in the works by Inglieri, Hope Simpson, and Lazenby which are listed above in note 1.
 4. For these examples--Corinthian: R.J. Hopper, "Addenda to *Necrocorinthia*," *BSA* 44 (1949) 171-74; glazed vessels: E.J. Peltenburg, "Al Mina Glazed Pottery and its Relations," *Levant* 1 (1969) 73-96; faience figurines: Annette Rathje, "A Group of 'Phoenician' Faience Anthropomorphic Perfume Flasks," *Levant* 8 (1976) 96-106; Webb (supra n. 2) *passim*; and Virginia Webb, "'Phoenician' Anthropomorphic Flasks: a Reply," *Levant* 12 (1980) 77-89.
 5. Hopper has presented the most helpful assessment of the graves so far. His comments were brief, however, serving as an introduction to his discussion of the contribution of the Rhodian tomb groups to the dating of Corinthian pottery (Hopper [supra n. 4] 171-74).
 6. The dating of the graves from 625 to 525 B.C. is justified in detail in my doctoral dissertation (Gates [supra n. 1] 1-240); a summary of those results is used in this paper.
 7. This transition has been noted by the excavators and by some later commentators: Maiuri (supra n. 1) 288, 331-34, and 341; Giulio Jacopich, "La necropoli geometrica ed arcaica," in Amedeo Maiuri, "Jaliso e l'agro Jaliso," *Clara Rhodos* 1 (1928) 66; Inglieri (supra n. 1) 27; and Hopper (supra n. 4) 183, n. 100. See also Donna C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London 1971) 174-75.

8. Kurtz and Boardman (supra n. 7) 196-98, for some general comments. A cautious evaluation of the conditions in the Rhodian cemeteries was offered by Hopper (supra n. 4) 171-74. Elena Walter-Karydi, in *Samos, Band VI, 1: Samische Gefasse des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Bonn 1973) 96-98 and 112, note 285, rejected the evidence presented by Jacopi and Laurenzi (but not the results of the excavations of Kinch at Vroulia, of Maiuri at Ialysos, or even of Biliotti and Salzmänn at Kameiros) primarily because of the discrepancies in the assignment of grave goods to grave groups between the excavation notebooks, the register of the Rhodes Museum, and the final publications. These discrepancies were discovered by Eos Zervoudaki. Until she publishes her results, we must be content with her assessment (personal communication, March, 1977) that the discrepancies do not affect the principal chronological trends in the Rhodian graves. Data on burial forms have not come into question here.
9. R.M. Cook, "A Note on the Absolute Chronology of the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.," *BSA* 64 (1969) 13-15; Gates (supra n. 1) 2-13; and John Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (New York 1974) 193-95.
10. Eos Zervoudaki agreed with this view; she remarked that the discrepancies (supra n. 8) will be of particular interest to those who wish to reduce the margin of error and work out a closer chronology for the development of East Greek pottery, notably the Rhodian Wild Goat style.
11. Ernst Homann-Wedeking, *Archaische Vasenornamentik in Attika, Lakonien und Ostgriechenland* (Athens 1938); a review of this book by R.M. Cook, in *JHS* 58 (1938) 266-67; and a response by Homann-Wedeking, "Zur Beurteilung ostgriechischer Vasenstile," *AthMitt* 65 (1940) 28-35. Despite his pessimistic interpretation of disruption in the Rhodian grave groups, Hopper used the evidence which they provide for the chronology of Corinthian pottery; he considered it compatible with patterns attested at other sites (Hopper [supra n. 4] 171-74).
12. I have discussed the absolute chronology elsewhere, especially the evidence from the sites of Old Smyrna (Bayrakli), Masad Hashavyahu, and Samos (Heraion): Gates (supra n. 1) 2-13 and 318-37. For Corinthian pottery, I agree with R.M. Cook's modification of Payne's datings, that is with EC ending in 590 B.C. (which Payne himself had suggested), but for convenience I have identified my Period I with EC, Period II with MC, and Period III with LC I. See Humfry Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931; reprinted College Park, Maryland 1971) 21-27, 32-34, and 55-57; and R.M. Cook (supra n. 9). For the classification and chronology of the Wild Goat style, I have found Cook's modifications of Chrysoula Kardara's typology to be the most reasonable solution to this difficult question: Chrysoula Kardara, *Rodiake Angeiographia* (Athens 1963) reviewed by R.M. Cook, *Gnomon* 37 (1965) 502-507. For the so-called Ionian bowls, this paper follows the typology developed by John Hayes in his discussion of the finds from Tocra: John Boardman and John Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra 1963-1965: The Archaic Deposits I* (Oxford 1966), 111-115; *Excavations at Tocra 1963-1965: The Archaic Deposits II and Later Deposits* (Oxford 1973), 55-58.
13. A discussion of the dating of each grave can be found in Gates (supra n. 1) 33-240. The order of the graves in that catalogue is identical to that presented here.
14. The graves excavated by Jacopi were published by him in an order different from that of their discovery. He did include the excavation sequence number in the published reports, however, adding it in parentheses after the publication number: e.g. Tomb 15 (232).
15. Only one burial of a child in a jar at Ialysos can be dated to 550-525 B.C.: IA-Marmaro Tomb 82 (no. 132).

16. No cremations later than 525 B.C. have been identified at Ialysos.
17. I have found no reference to excavations conducted in 1923 other than the label on this plan of 1929; it is surely an error.
18. A detailed investigation of the chronology of graves deposited before 625 B.C. and after 525 B.C. lies beyond the scope of this study. Comments on these graves are offered as aids in describing the location of burials of 625-525 B.C.
19. Laurenzi (*supra* n. 1) 9-10 and fig. 1.
20. Laurenzi (*supra* n. 1) 8, fig. 1, and 29, fig. 10; and Maiuri (*supra* n. 1) 326-30 and fig. 218.
21. P.M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford 1977) 84-85, note 1.
22. The former hypothesis: Maiuri (*supra* n. 1) 326; Jacopi, 1929 (*supra* n. 1) 7; and Gr. Konstantinopoulos, *Philerimo, Ialysos-Kameiros* (Athens 1971) 20. The latter suggestion: Laurenzi (*supra* n. 1) 10.
23. Konstantinopoulos showed Visicia as being close to Laerminaci, to the southwest of Calavarda (Konstantinopoulos [*supra* n. 22] 41, pl. 25). I have followed the somewhat different location indicated by Jacopi and his map maker: Jacopi, 1931 (*supra* n. 1) 11, fig. 3.
24. At least the evidence provided by the Italian excavations is weak. However, the gap certainly did not last thirty or fifty years (590-540 B.C.) as Hopper and R.M. Cook proposed (Hopper [*supra* n. 4] 172, note 43; and Cook [*supra* n. 2] 88).
25. Fraser (*supra* n. 21) 84-85, note 1.
26. See Konstantinopoulos (*supra* n. 22) 42-43, for hints that parts of the Archaic city may have been found.
27. See Higgins (*supra* n. 2) 23-24 and plan I (p. 23), on the distribution and dating of the cemeteries at Kameiros. He did not endorse Biliotti's assertion that the earlier cemeteries lay closer to the acropolis than did the later ones.
28. See *supra* note 1.
29. Laurenzi (*supra* n. 1) 11, on cremations cut into the soil at Ialysos. Graves cut out of the bedrock include IA-Cuccia Tomb 29 (no. 3), IA-1922 exc. Tomb 49 (no. 21), and KM-Checraci Tomb 209 (no. 46). See also Maiuri (*supra* n. 1) 332; and Jacopi, 1931 (*supra* n. 1) 17.
30. IA-Dafni Tomb 1, IA-Marmaro Tombs 22 and 23 (nos. 14, 77, and 71). The laxity which marks the reporting of measurements, orientations, and depth below the surface in Laurenzi's publication (*supra* n. 1) casts doubt on the accuracy of this observation.
31. Jacopi, 1931 (*supra* n. 1) 361.
32. In apparent contrast with Thera, for example: Kinch (*supra* n. 1) 53; and Kurtz and Boardman (*supra* n. 7) 178. Although postulated, a central place for cremations was never discovered there, however, see H. Dragendorff, *Thera, II. Theraeische Graeber* (Berlin 1903) 83-84.
33. Maiuri (*supra* n. 1) 333.
34. Jacopich (*supra* n. 7) 66-67.

35. Jacopi, 1929 (supra n. 1) 8, note 2: Tomb 66. According to David M. Robinson (*Excavations at Olynthus. Part XI: Necrolynthia, A Study in Greek Burial Customs and Anthropology* [Baltimore 1942], 1450, Jacopi called ten of ninety-six cremations "secondary," but I am unable to verify this.
36. Jacopi, 1931 (supra n. 1) 10 and 13, fig. 5: it is not indicated on the plan of the Checraci cemetery.
37. In contrast, the late seventh-early sixth century B.C. cremations at the San Giovanni cemetery on Nisyros, burials comparable to the Rhodian examples because of the similar types of grave goods contained, rarely measured over 1.00m in length, and only once over 1.20m. Their width was usually ca. 0.50 - 0.80m. For the Italian excavations on Nisyros, see Giulio Jacopi, "Scavi e ricerche di Nisiro," *Clara Rhodos* 6/7 (1933) 469-552.
38. Laurenzi (supra n. 1) 11; and Luciano Laurenzi, "Attività del servizio archeologico nelle isole italiane dell'Egeo nel biennio 1934-35," *BdA* 30 (1936), 133-34.
39. Maiuri (supra n. 1) 333.
40. Maiuri (supra n. 1) 333: the pots were smashed after the cremation. Also Jacopi, 1931 (supra n. 1) 17.
41. Kinch (supra n. 1) 53-54, fig. 22; this illustration was reproduced in Kurtz and Boardman (supra n. 7) 174, fig. 30. The same phenomenon was also noted at Exochi: Friis Johansen (supra n. 1) 10-11.
42. *Four pits*: IA-Cuccia Tomb 29 (no. 3), IA-Cuccia Tomb 30 (no. 4), IA-Cuccia Tomb 35 (no. 5), IA-Cuccia Tomb 39 (no. 9), IA-Cuccia Tomb 32 (no. 13), IA-Cuccia Tomb 31 (no. 18), IA-Cuccia Tomb 33 (no. 50), IA-Laghos Tomb 45 (no. 52), IA-Laghos Tomb 46 (no. 53), IA-Laghos Tomb 43 (no. 59), and IA-Zambico Tomb 53 (no. 73). *Three pits*: IA-Zambico Tomb 2 (no. 8).
43. Jacopi, 1931 (supra n. 1) 8: in the catalogue, pits are mentioned only for Tombs 200 (with two pits), 201, and 203 (each with four pits).
44. IA-Cuccia Tomb 31 (no. 18)--0.40 x 0.25 x 0.30m; IA-Cuccia Tomb 33 (no. 50)--0.30 x 0.50 x 0.30-0.40m; IA-Cuccia Tomb 39 (no. 9)--depth only, 0.10-0.15m; and the curious IA-Cuccia Tomb 29 (no. 3), which consisted of four large pits which lay very close together, 0.60 x 0.35 x 0.50m. Measurements of pits at Vroulia: Kinch (supra n. 1) 54.
45. Kinch (supra n. 1) 54; and Jacopi, 1929 (supra n. 1) 8 and 10.
46. Kinch (supra n. 1) 54.
47. *Left at head*: IA-Cuccia Tombs 29 and probably 30 (nos. 3 and 4). *Left side*: IA-Cuccia Tomb 32 (no. 13). *Unspecified*: IA-Cuccia Tomb 31 (no. 18).
48. The orientation of IA-Cuccia Tomb 30 was not given.
49. But see the comments on orientations two paragraphs hence.
50. Kinch (supra n. 1) 54-55; Kurtz and Boardman (supra n. 7) 73-74, fig. 9, and 174; Jacopich, in Maiuri (supra n. 7), 66; and Jacopi, 1929 (supra n. 1), 8.
51. Robinson (supra n. 35) 154; Friis Johansen (supra n. 1) 11; and Webb (supra n. 2) 142.
52. Kinch (supra n. 1) 55: he noted that fragments of skulls were found in only two of the cremations at Vroulia, at the southeast end of the grave.

53. *Adolescent*: IA-Cuccia Tomb 35 (no. 5). *Adult*: IA-1922 exc. Tomb 49 (no. 21). *Girl of ca. twenty years of age*: IA-Laghos Tomb 45 (no. 52).
54. IA-Cuccia Tomb 35 (no. 5) and IA-Laghos Tomb 45 (no. 52).
55. Maiuri (supra n. 1) 86-256, especially 235-38; and Giulio Jacopi, "Nuovi scavi nella necropoli micenea di Jalisso," *ASAtene* 13/14 (1930-31, but published in 1933) 253-345. These tombs will no doubt be discussed by Christopher Mee in his forthcoming book, *Rhodes in the Bronze Age*. In locating Macra Vunara on Plan 3, I have followed Konstantinopoulos (supra n. 22) 19, pl. 16, and Hope Simpson, 1981 (supra n. 1) 194, fig. 14, rather than Laurenzi (supra n. 1) 8, fig. 1. Laurenzi placed it directly to the north of Moscu Vunara.
56. Jacopi, 1933 (supra n. 1) 9, note 1.
57. In addition, three date to before 625 B.C. (Papatislures Tomb 15; and Cemetery near Temple A, Tombs 82 and 83); ten, probably eleven, to after 525 B.C. (Macri Langoni Tombs 6-9, 12, 13, and 17; Papatislures Tomb 3, and Fikellura Tombs 75 and 76. The grave goods of Fikellura Tomb 78 seem post-525 B.C. from the published description, but illustrations are needed for confirmation.); and one cannot be dated (Macri Langoni Tomb 2, which did not contain any grave goods).
58. Migliorini, in Jacopi 1931 (supra n. 1) 34-36, summarized the geology of the Kameiran region. The conditions in the particular cemeteries and how they might have affected the choice of tomb type were not, however, discussed in any detail.
59. The section drawing of Tomb 2: Jacopi, 1933 (supra n. 1) 15, fig. 4; and Kurtz and Boardman (supra n. 7) 175, fig. 31, left. Photographs: Jacopi, 1933 (supra n. 1) 23, fig. 11--for the entrances of Papatislures Tombs 2 and 3. Also, Jacopi, 1931 (supra n. 1) 54, fig. 25--published upside down; but even when the picture is viewed correctly, certain features still need explanation: the apparent step and hole in the lower right corner, and the object which protrudes from the wall in the center of the photo. A partial elucidation of the chamber tomb form had already been presented by Edouard Biliotti and the Abbe Cottret in *L'Île de Rhodes* (Rhodes 1881) 405-411, based on the findings of Alfred Biliotti and Auguste Salzmänn (see the Appendix).
60. Jacopi, 1933 (supra n. 1) 13, fig. 2, for the plan of the Papatislures cemetery (here Plan 11, but with only the graves of 625-525 B.C. indicated). Topographical contours are not shown.
61. Jacopi, 1931 (supra n. 1) 9, figs. 1 and 2; p. 12, fig. 41; and p. 64. The relevant comments in the letters of Alfred Biliotti reproduced here in the Appendix are contradictory. In his letter of 1859, he described the chamber tombs as being underground. In 1864, he repeated this, adding the information that they were four to five feet under the surface. Further on in the same letter, however, chamber tombs are said to have been "cut in the side of a hill." Access passages are not mentioned (see Category 1 in this letter of 1864).
62. The plan is enclosed in the back cover pocket of Jacopi, 1931 (supra n. 1).
63. In any case, Jacopi never explained the distinction between "drómos" and "vestibolo." Biliotti and Salzmänn found chamber tombs approached by a vertical shaft as well as by a sloping passage. See Biliotti and Cottret (supra n. 59) 406, fig. 1, and 408, fig. 8: reproduced here as fig. 2. Of the chamber tombs published by Jacopi, only one lacked an access passage: KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 18 (no. 139).

64. A measurement given in two cases only, for KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 11 and 16 (nos. 137 and 44), respectively.
65. The reverse is found in KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 14 (no. 138).
66. *T-shaped*: KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 5 (no. 60). *Off-center*: KM-Papatislures Tomb 4 (no. 65). Dromos sealed with a stone: KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 10 (no. 136).
67. KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 16 and 5 (nos. 44 and 60), and KM-Papatislures Tombs 2 and 5 (nos. 64 and 152).
68. KM-Papatislures Tomb 2 (no. 64); KM-Checraci Tomb 204 (no. 95); and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 11 (no. 137).
69. KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 1 (no. 43), 15 (no. 27), 16 (no. 44), and 18 (no. 139).
70. KM-Papatislures Tomb 4 (no. 65).
71. KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 4 (no. 26) and KM-Papatislures Tomb 27 (no. 40).
72. KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 3 (no. 25) and 14 (no. 138); KM-Papatislures Tomb 28 (no. 41). KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 1 (no. 43) was found open, but the slab which originally blocked the door was recovered.
73. KM-Checraci Tomb 30 (no. 32); KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 16 (no. 44); and KM-Papatislures Tomb 2 (no. 64).
74. KM-Papatislures Tombs 2 (no. 64) and 5 (no. 152).
75. Benches were not reported for the three chamber tombs dated before 625 B.C. (see supra n. 57). They became rather popular after 525 B.C., however; five out of the nine chamber tombs whose elevation has been preserved contained them. Gates (supra n. 1) 254.
76. KM-Papatislures Tombs 2 (no. 64) and 4 (no. 65).
77. *Two skeletons*: KM-Papatislures Tombs 2 (no. 64), 27 (no. 40), and 28 (no. 41). *One skeleton*: KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 5 (no. 60), 11 (no. 137), 16 (no. 44), and 18 (no. 139). *Disarticulated skeleton or scattered bones*: KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 15 (no. 27) and KM-Checraci Tomb 204 (no. 95).
78. *Tombs with skeletons of two adults*: KM-Papatislures Tombs 2 and 28 (nos. 64 and 41). *With one adult*: KM-Papatislures Tomb 27 (no. 40) and KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 5 and 18 (nos. 60 and 139).
79. KM-Checraci Tombs 210, 211, and 213 (nos. 37, 63, and 66).
80. KM-Checraci Tomb 207 (no. 61).
81. KM-Checraci Tomb 208 (no. 62).
82. KM-Visicia Tomb 53 (no. 42).
83. *Stones*: IA-Drakidis Tomb 79 (no. 79) and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 178 (no. 89). *Plate*: KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 150 (no. 84).
84. KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 159 (no. 86).
85. Maiuri (supra n. 1) 333.

86. *Period II*: KM-Checraci Tombs 207 (no. 61) and 211 (no. 63). *Period III*: KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 173 (no. 96) and 175 (no. 97).
87. Kinch (*supra* n. 1) 41, 45, 48, 49, and pl. 29, "x" (for an illustrated example).
88. Kinch (*supra* n. 1) 40-41: bones of infants were never found; bones of older children were rare. It is surprising that Ialysos and Kameiros should differ from Vroulia in offering conditions favorable for the preservation of the bones of small children, even more so when one considers how few, relatively, were the finds of adult bones noted in the published reports. Jacopi's identifications of infant bones should be viewed with caution.
- "Infant" (up to two years of age) or "child" (age unspecified) burials:*
Ialysos--Cuccia Tombs 93 and 94 (nos. 10 and 20); 1922 exc. Tomb 35 (no. 22); Drakidis Tombs 74 and 90 (nos. 57 and 74); Zambico Tomb 129 (no. 82); and Marmaro Tomb 82 (no. 132). Kameiros--Papatislures Tombs 13 and 17 (nos. 30 and 31); Macri Langoni Tombs 144, 148, 151, 160, 163, 180, and 183 (nos. 163, 164, 165, 85, 98, 87, 161, and 36); and Checraci Tombs 207, 208, 210, 211, 213, 214, and 216 (nos. 61, 62, 37, 63, 66, 38, and 150).
89. *Children from two to ten*: Kameiros--Papatislures Tomb 6 (no. 39); Visicia Tombs 52 and 53 (nos. 94 and 42); and Macri Langoni Tombs 154, 158, 159, 176, 178, and 180 (nos. 149, 35, 86, 88, 89, and 161). *Adolescents*: Kameiros--Macri Langoni Tombs 150, 173, 181, and 182 (nos. 84, 96, 90, and 91). *Adults*: Ialysos--1922 exc. Tomb 58 (no. 23) and Drakidis Tomb 79 (no. 79). Kameiros--Macri Langoni Tomb 175 (no. 97).
90. *In pithoi with relief decoration*: *Infants*--IA-1922 exc. Tomb 35 (no. 22); IA-Marmaro Tomb 82 (no. 132); KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 180 and 183 (nos. 161 and 36). *Children from two to ten*: KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 178 and 180 (nos. 89 and 161). *Adolescents*: KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 173 and 181 (nos. 96 and 90). *Adults*: IA-1922 exc. Tomb 58 (no. 23); IA-Drakidis Tomb 79 (no. 79); and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 175 (no. 97).
91. IA-1922 exc. Tomb 58 (no. 23): adult. KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 180, 181, and 182 (nos. 161, 90, and 91): three adolescents, the first of which was about ten years old.
92. KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 173 (no. 96): adolescent. IA-Drakidis Tomb 79 (no. 79).
93. IA-1922 exc. Tomb 58 (no. 23) and IA-Drakidis Tomb 79 (no. 79).
94. *Inside*: Ialysos--1916 exc. Tomb 6 (no. 6) and Dafni-1934 exc. Tomb 4 (no. 12). Kameiros--Papatislures Tombs 6 and 17 (nos. 39 and 31); Checraci Tombs 208, 210, 214, and 216 (nos. 62, 37, 38, and 150); and Macri Langoni Tombs 148, 151, 159, 163, 176, and 182 (nos. 164, 165, 86, 87, 88, and 91). *Outside*: Ialysos--Drakidis Tomb 88 (no. 78) and Zambico Tomb 129 (no. 82). Kameiros--Visicia Tomb 53 (no. 42); Checraci Tombs 207 and 211 (nos. 61 and 63); and Macri Langoni Tombs 144, 160, and 178 (nos. 163, 98, and 89). *Both inside and outside*: Ialysos--Cuccia Tomb 93 (no. 10) and Drakidis Tomb 79 (no. 79). Kameiros--Checraci Tomb 213 (no. 66) and Macri Langoni Tombs 152, 154, 180, 181, and 183 (nos. 85, 149, 161, 90, and 36).
95. For an illustration of the placement of such tombs in the ground, see Jacopi, 1933 (*supra* n. 1) 15, fig. 4: KM-Papatislures Tomb 1 (not listed here); this section drawing reproduced here as figure 1.
96. Information from fifteen graves excavated by Maiuri and Jacopi. The southern orientation probably prevailed in the Marmaro cemetery as well, although Laurenzi only noted that tombs generally were aligned on the north-south

- axis. Laurenzi (supra n. 1) 64, and the plan of the Marmaro cemetery, p. 66, fig. 51.
97. IA-Drakidis Tomb 179 (no. 104).
 98. *Adolescents*: IA-Drakidis Tomb 175 (no. 102) and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 93 (no. 145). *Children*: IA-Marmaro Tomb 3 (no. 120), KM-Visicia Tomb 225 (no. 151) and KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 51, 83, and 104 (nos. 154, 48, and 147).
 99. *Adult females*: IA-Zambico Tomb 148 (no. 100) and the possible IA-Drakidis Tomb 172 (no. 128). *Young woman*: IA-Annuachia Tomb 18 (no. 119). *Adolescent*: IA-Drakidis Tomb 175 (no. 102).
 100. *Period III*: One stamnos to the left--IA-1916 exc. Tomb 18 (no. 76). *Period IV*: One amphora to the left--IA-Drakidis Tombs 179 and 181 (nos. 104 and 106); and KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 22 and 96 (nos. 140 and 146). *Two amphorae*: IA-Drakidis Tomb 171 (no. 129)...the second amphora was found "nearby;" IA-Marmaro Tomb 3 (no. 120); and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 56 (no. 141).
 101. IA-Drakidis Tomb 220 (no. 109) and IA-Zambico Tomb 227 (no. 110).
 102. *By the head*: IA-Zambico Tomb 148 (no. 100); IA-Drakidis Tomb 176 (no. 103). *To the left*: IA-Drakidis Tomb 165 (no. 101) and IA-Zambico Tomb 209 (no. 108). *Along the sides*: IA-1916 exc. Tomb 20 (no. 113)...the stamnos and the rest of the grave goods. *By the foot of the grave*: IA-Marmaro Tomb 10 (no. 122). *By the SSE corner of the grave*: IA-1922 exc. Tomb 67 (no. 116). *Outside (without further precision)*: IA-Annuachia Tombs 12, 16, and 18 (nos. 131, 118, and 119); and IA-Marmaro Tomb 48 (no. 124).
 103. *SLC-flat*: IA-Drakidis Tomb 172 (no. 128); KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 72, 77, 81, and 93 (nos. 142, 160, 143, and 145); and KM-Visicia Tombs 225 and 226 (nos. 151 and 159). *SLC-gabl*: IA-Drakidis Tombs 180 and 181 (nos. 105 and 106); IA-Zambico Tomb 229 (no. 133); and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 40 (no. 155).
 104. *By the skull*: IA-Drakidis Tomb 179 (no. 104); IA-Zambico Tomb 209 (no. 108); and KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 56 and 72 (nos. 141 and 142). *Left or right side*: IA-Drakidis Tombs 172 and 180 (nos. 128 and 105); IA-Zambico Tomb 229 (no. 133); and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 89 (no. 144). *On top*: KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 104 (no. 147).
 105. *Period III*: IA-1916 exc. Tomb 18 (no. 76). *Period IV*: IA-Drakidis Tombs 165, 175, 179, and 185 (nos. 101, 102, 104, and 107); IA-Zambico Tomb 148 (no. 100); IA-Annuachia Tomb 18 (no. 119); and IA-Marmaro Tombs 3, 10, 48, and 55 (nos. 120, 122, 124, and 125); and KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 22, 96, and 108 (nos. 140, 146, and 148).
 106. KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 118 (no. 156).
 107. KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 117 and 118 (nos. 162 and 156).
 108. IA-Zambico Tomb 242 (no. 75).
 109. Sarcophagi were infrequently found during the Italian excavations. Ialysos yielded seven additional stone sarcophagi and three clay examples (all of the "Clazomenian" type); at Kameiros, seven stone and four clay sarcophagi were discovered. When they can be dated (in fifteen out of twenty-one cases), all belong to ca. 525-450 B.C. except for KM-Patelle Tomb 40, of the tenth century B.C., and IA-Marmaro Tomb 40, of (probably) the fourth century B.C.

The four sarcophagi from Ialysos in the present list mark the first appearance of a burial form which was to have a restricted though steady use at Ialysos during the hundred year period from 550 to 450 B.C.

110. IA-Zambico Tombs 254 and 255 (no. 112 and 130); and IA-Marmaro Tomb 41 (no. 135). Although this variant was rare among the tombs uncovered by the Italian excavators, some examples had already been found at Kameiros by Biliotti and Salzmann, according to the implications of comments in E. Biliotti and Cottret (*supra* n. 59) 406-407, fig. 4.
111. Jacopi, 1931 (*supra* n. 1) 215-26, for the description and catalogue of the contents of this tomb, and figs. 232 and 233, pp. 217-18, for photographs of the grave itself.
112. Kinch (*supra* n. 1) 55 and 89. For an example of a grave interpreted as containing the remains of several cremations and which might show this progression, see Tomb 2, pp. 58-65, and pls. 34-37. Hopper (*supra* n. 4) 174, note 48. Walter-Karydi (*supra* n. 8) 97, included Tombs 1 and 2 in her list of graves important for the chronology of Archaic East Greek pottery. She ignored the possibility of multiple burials in these two tombs, however, thereby distorting their significance.
113. Maiuri (*supra* n. 1) 332, and 303 for Tomb 53, a tomb said not to have definite edges.
114. This grave was omitted from the present list, although it certainly belongs to the century under discussion, because the date, or dates, of its deposition could not be determined with any degree of conviction. Maiuri dated it to the early sixth century B.C., (Maiuri [*supra* n. 1] 259), but some of the finds are certainly later.
115. Maiuri (*supra* n. 1) 258.
116. The date for this grave group given by Karadara (*supra* n. 12) 25-26 is 660-575 B.C., surely a misprint for 600-575 B.C., to judge from her comments on individual objects in the tomb. This error was repeated by Robert Laffineur in *L'Orfèvrerie rhodienne orientalisante* (Paris 1978), 131. In reviewing this book, Keith DeVries noted the mistake but then proposed a date for the tomb which is surely too early, ca. 600 B.C. (*AJA* 84 [1980] 540). See Gates (*supra* n. 1) 79-84.
117. Since this paper is based on a division of the datable graves into twenty-five year blocks, the possibility that a grave whose contents appear more or less contemporaneous might represent several burials within a quarter century has not been considered.
118. According to the excavation reports, no such case occurs in cremations datable to 625-525 B.C.
119. For detailed comments on individual graves, see the catalogue entries in Gates (*supra* n.1) 33-181.
120. Cook (*supra* n. 2) 33; Hopper (*supra* n. 4) 172, n. 42; and D. Feytmans, "Les Pithoi a reliefs de l'île de Rhodes," *BCH* 74 (1950) 174: under Groupe 5, 1, but the excavation number of the tomb is used, "7." See also Gates (*supra* n. 1) 167-70.
121. Apart from the examples just discussed, information on the disposition of grave goods in rock-cut chamber tombs is meager. Because of the frequent collapse of the ceiling and the subsequent disturbance, the objects were generally scattered. When their placement was orderly, the grave goods were usually found around the bodies. They were discovered less

often clustered in a corner.

122. *Damaged by later graves:* IA-Drakidis Tomb 74 (no. 57); IA-Zambico Tomb 3 (no. 7); and KM-Papatislures Tombs 2 and 11 (nos. 64 and 28). *By a well or pit:* IA-Marmaro Tomb 24 (no. 123).
123. KM-Checraci Tombs 31, 32, and 214 (nos. 33, 34, and 38).
124. IA-Marmaro Tomb 79 (no. 126); and KM-Papatislures Tomb 29 (no. 153), located on a hillside apart from the other graves. In addition, the dromos of KM-Papatislures Tomb 27 (no. 40) was possibly washed away.
125. IA-Laghos Tomb 49 (no. 17); IA-Zambico Tomb 50 (no. 19); IA-Drakidis Tomb 185 (no. 107); IA-1916 exc. Tomb 24 bis (no. 115); IA-Annuachia Tomb 9 (no. 69); IA-Dafni Tomb 47 (no. 81); KM-Checraci Tomb 33 (no. 47); and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 108 (no. 148).
126. No. 6, #13677. Jacopi, 1933 (supra n. 1) 19, and 18, fig. 5 (a poor photograph): i, 3.
127. Maiuri (supra n. 1) 326-330.
128. See supra n. 90.
129. KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 83 (no. 48).
130. IA-Marmaro Tomb 3 (no. 120); KM-Visicia Tombs 225 and 51 (nos. 151 and 154); and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 104 (no. 147).
131. Jacopi's statement, repeated by Robinson, that at Macri Langoni more grave goods were found in the tombs of young people and women than in burials of old people cannot be proved on the basis of the sample presented in the catalogue here. Jacopi, 1931 (supra n. 1) 18; and Robinson (supra n. 35) 178.
132. IA-Cuccia Tomb 35 (no. 5).
133. KM-Papatislures Tomb 5 (no. 152).
134. KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 93 (no. 145).
135. KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 118 (no. 156).
136. KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 150, 173, 180, 181, and 182 (nos. 84, 96, 161, 90, and 91).
137. *Female:* IA-Laghos Tomb 45 (no. 52), a cremation; IA-Drakidis Tombs 172 and 175 (nos. 128 and 102), IA-Zambico Tomb 148 (no. 100), and IA-Annuachia Tomb 18 (no. 119), all stone-lined cists; and possibly KM-Papatislures Tomb 27 (no. 40), a chamber tomb. *Male:* IA-Marmaro Tomb 41 (no. 135), a sarcophagus inside a stone-lined cist with a gabled roof.
138. IA-Laghos Tomb 45 (no. 52); IA-Zambico Tomb 148 (no. 100); and IA-Drakidis Tomb 172 (no. 128).
139. IA-Drakidis Tomb 175 (no. 102).
140. IA-Annuachia Tomb 18 (no. 119).
141. IA-Laghos Tomb 45 (no. 52).
142. E.g. IA-Drakidis Tomb 15 (no. 1) and IA-Cuccia Tomb 29 (no. 3), cremations of Period I.

143. Class B vases were placed in graves *before* Corinthian pottery began to arrive on Rhodes--for example, IA Tombs 56, 58, and 64 (Jacopi, 1929 [supra n. 1] 98, 99, and 107, figs. 90, 93, and 101), graves of the eighth century B.C., the Late Geometric Period. It would seem, however, that whatever the original meaning of the small pouring vessel as a grave offering may have been, by the late seventh century the functional role of the Class B pot had become secondary to the appeal of the attractive Corinthian fabric and decoration. On the aryballos as a container for perfumes or unguents, and possible Corinthian trade in perfume, see Payne (supra n. 12) 5-6, n. 3.
144. R.M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, second ed. (London 1972) 64; Payne (supra n. 12) especially 181-89; and Carl Roebuck, *Ionian Trade and Colonization* (New York 1959) 77-79.
145. Cook (supra n. 144) 81 and 88; and Roebuck (supra n. 144) 79-82.
146. *Period II*: KM-Papatislures Tomb 2 (no. 64). *Period III*: IA-Marmaro Tomb 2 (no. 70); IA-Zambico Tomb 53 (no. 73); IA-Drakidis Tombs 88 (no. 78); IA-Dafni Tomb 47 (no. 81); and KM-Macri Langoni Tomb 121 (no. 83), with two examples. *Period IV*: KM-Macri Langoni Tombs 93, 117, and 180 (nos. 145, 162, and 161), and possibly IA-1916 exc. Tomb 20 (no. 113). See Roebuck (supra n. 144) 82-83.
147. Cook (supra n. 2) 2, note 1; and Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., "Orientalizing Pottery from Sardis: The Wild Goat Style," *CSCA* 3 (1970), 56, n. 2. See also Roebuck (supra n. 144) 83-86.
148. For the Wild Goat style, see Kardara (supra n. 12). Greater quantities of Late Wild Goat style pottery have been found in the San Giovanni cemetery on Nisyros. For the reference, see supra n. 37.
149. Fikellura style: R. M. Cook (supra n. 2) and *CVA Great Britain, Fasc. 13, British Museum, Fasc. 8* (London 1954). For the finds of Ionian cups at Tocra, see Boardman and Hayes, 1966 and 1973 (supra n. 12). Biliotti and Salzmann's finds of Ionian and Vroulian cups have yet to be collected in a list.
150. Gates (supra n. 1) 321-27 and 331-32.
151. IA-Marmaro Tomb 2 (no. 70) and IA-Zambico Tomb 4 (no. 99). Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., "Two Lydian Graves at Sardis," *CSCA* 5 (1972) 133, note 27. According to Prof. Greenewalt, the lydion from IA-Marmaro Tomb 2 (no. 70) is "probably not Lydian." He is unable, however, to identify its place of manufacture (personal communication, November 1981).
152. Near Eastern origin: W. Culican, "Sidonian Bottles," *Levant* 7 (1975) 145-50. Marina Cristofani Martelli, *CVA Italia, Fasc. 53, Gela--Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Fasc. 2* (Rome 1973) II D, pls. 39, no. 3, and 40, no. 1 (Samian bottles), and pl. 39, nos. 1 and 2 (spindle bottles). See also Gates (supra n. 1) 323-25, Appendix I C (spindle bottles divided into three types).
153. IA-Drakidis Tomb 16 (no. 2); IA-Cuccia Tombs 29 and 30 (nos. 3 and 4); and KM-Checraci Tomb 30 (no. 32). Peltenburg (supra n. 4).
154. On faience: Fr. W. Freiherrn von Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft der in Cerveri gefundenen Gefasse aus agyptischer Fayence und glasiertem Ton* (Munich 1941); Rathje (supra n. 4); Nancy Skon, "Votive *Aigyptiaka* from the Sanctuary of Athena at Ialysos at Rhodes," a talk delivered at the Seventy-ninth General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1977 (*AJA* 82 [1978] 249; abstracts published separately); and Webb, 1978 and 1980 (supra notes 2 and 4).

155. See M. Picon, "Recherches de laboratoire sur la ceramique antique," *RA* 1973, pp. 119-32; John Boardman and F. Schweizer, "Clay Analyses of Archaic Greek Pottery," *BSA* 68 (1973) 267-83; and, for Mycenaean pottery from Rhodes, Richard E. Jones and Christopher Mee, "Spectrographic Analyses of Mycenaean from Ialysos on Rhodes: Results and Implications," *JFA* 5 (1978) 461-70.
156. Supplementary evidence for Ialysos and Kameiros in the Archaic period is provided by numismatics and epigraphy. A detailed evaluation of this intriguing if often opaque testimony lies beyond the scope of this article. For pre-Classical Rhodian numismatics, helpful discussions can be found in Herbert A. Cahn, "Die archaischen Silberstatere von Lindos," in Konrad Schauenburg, ed., *Charites, Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft* (Bonn 1957) especially 25-26, and in Cahn's *Knidos: Die Munzen des sechsten und des funften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin 1970), 178-95. For the pre-Classical inscriptions of Rhodes, her neighbors in the Dorian hexapolis, and the Greeks in Egypt, see L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 345-59, and pls. 67-70. For differences in scripts on Rhodes, see Alan Johnston, "Rhodian Readings," *BSA* 70 (1975) 154-55; his conclusions are followed by Elizabeth M. Craik, in *The Dorian Aegean* (London 1980) 54-55.
- The history and religious life of Archaic Rhodes as revealed in the literary and epigraphical sources are treated in such works as F. Hiller von Gaertringen, "Rhodos," *RE* suppl. V (1931), especially 746-59; L.H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece: The City-States, c. 700-500 B.C.* (London 1976), 195-99; and Craik, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Rhodes in the larger context of the history and archaeology of the Mediterranean world in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. is discussed in J. N. Coldstream, "The Phoenicians of Ialysos," *BICS* 16 (1969), 1-8; Webb (*supra* n. 4); T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948; reprinted 1968), *passim*; Roebuck (*supra* n. 144), 62-67 and 77-137; M. M. Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age* (Cambridge 1970); Arcadia Kocybala, *Greek Colonization on the North Shore of the Black Sea in the Archaic Period* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1978)--stresses the general "Ionian" contribution; and John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, second ed., revised (London 1980), *passim*.
157. For the history of the excavations of Biliotti and Salzmann and publications of their results, see *supra*, note 2. Biliotti's last explorations at Kameiros are obscure. According to Walters, he worked there in 1885. Higgins, in contrast, stated that he excavated only in 1880, although some of his discoveries were sold later, in 1885, to the British Museum (H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* [London 1899], 9; and Higgins [*supra* n. 2] 2). Biliotti, born in 1833, had served as British Vice-Consul at Rhodes from 1856 to 1873. He was then posted to Trebizond from 1873 until 1885, first as Vice-Consul then as Consul. From 1885 until 1899 he served on Crete. 1885, a year of transition for him, would seem a likely time for him to renew his archaeological activities at Kameiros. The last position which he held before his retirement was that of Consul-General at Salonika, from 1899 until 1903. He died in 1915 (*Who was Who, 1916-1928*, fourth ed. [London 1967] 92).
158. Higgins (*supra* n. 2) 21-24, for a general description; plans 2 and 3, for Biliotti's plans of the Acropolis at Kameiros and its temple; and 25-31, for the list of tombs which contained terracottas and datable pottery. See also Cook, 1954 (*supra* n. 149) 64-65.
159. For example, D. M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum I. Greek, Hellenistic, and Early Roman Pottery Lamps* (London 1975), 160-182.
160. See the Appendix.

161. E. Biliotti and Cottret (supra n. 59) 405-411. Edouard Biliotti must have been related to the excavator, Alfred Biliotti, but he never revealed in the book what this connection was. The opening pages of the book betray bitter feelings toward Auguste Salzmänn, the man who allegedly reaped most of the glory of the excavations (but who died early, in good heroic tradition). When it is recalled that Alfred Biliotti was the Vice-Consul of Great Britain on Rhodes, at least when the excavations began in 1859, it is interesting to see that in 1881 Edouard Biliotti was the Gerant-Agent Consulaire of Italy on Rhodes and that an Albert Biliotti served as the agent for Bell's Asia Minor Travel Company (Biliotti and Cottret [supra n. 59] 720-21).
162. Biliotti and Cottret (supra n. 59) published diagrams of "amusing primitiveness," wrote Bailey (supra n. 159) 160; note 4.
163. See fig. 2.
164. Biliotti, letter of 1859 (reproduced in the Appendix), second category. E. Biliotti and Cottret also noted that jars were sometimes found in the access passages of chamber tombs, but they did not propose a family connection between the persons buried in the shaft and in the chamber (Biliotti and Cottret [supra n. 59] 407-408).
165. Kinch (supra n. 1) 35-36.
166. In addition to the evidence of Biliotti's excavation journal, reproduced here in the Appendix, see the drawing of the facade of a chamber tomb apparently made of ashlar masonry which Salzmänn discovered during his explorations of 1867. Salzmänn, 1867 (supra n. 2) 31.
167. E. Biliotti and Cottret (supra n. 59) 406.
168. The original letter is kept at the Public Record Office (Kew, Richmond) in volume FO 78/1463, General Correspondence before 1906, Turkey. I am grateful to Nicholas Cox, Head of the Search Department, Public Record Office, for checking the addressee and date of this letter. A copy of the letter is on file in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum; the addressee is no further identified than "sir" and the date is almost illegible. It is marked with "original FO 78/1463." The citations given here are taken from this copy in the British Museum. This letter discusses finds at Checraci (Kehraki), the only sector excavated in 1859, according to Higgins (supra n. 2) 23.

TABLE 1

Principal Burial Types at Ialysos and Kamelros**I. Cremations**

		<u>Cremations/Total Burials</u>				
Period I.	IA.	18/24	75%	Total Period I:	24/48	50%
	KM.	6/24	25%			
Period II.	IA.	8/11	73%	Total Period II:	8/18	44%
	KM.	None	---			
Period III.	IA.	9/16	56%	Total Period III:	11/32	34%
	KM.	2/16	13%			
Period IV.	IA.	1/37	3%	Total Period IV:	2/67	3%
	KM.	1/30	3%			
Cremation burials published:		IA-111	KM-37			
unpublished:		IA- 18	KM-15			
Total:		IA-129	KM-52	: 181		
Total cremation burials catalogued here:		45				
Percentage of all excavated cremations:		25%				
Percentage of catalogued graves:		27%				
Excavated cremations/all excavated graves*:		IA.	129/557	23%		
		KM.	52/383	14%		
		Total:	181/940	19%		

*Note: "All excavated graves" refers to the discoveries of the Italian campaigns only. The figure given for Ialysos, 557 burials, includes the unpublished graves listed in Jacopi 1929: 22, but *not* the unpublished tombs excavated at sites in the Ialysian region other than those presented in the report of 1929 (for example, the cemeteries at Mangufi and at Marizza are not included in my count; see Jacopi 1929:19-21).

II. Chamber tombs (Inhumation).

Ialysos. None

		<u>Chamber tombs/Total burials</u>	
Kameiros.	Period I.	9/24	38%
	Period II.	3/7	43%
	Period III.	1/16	6%
	Period IV.	5/30	17%

Chamber tombs published: 33
unpublished: 2 Total: 35

Total chamber tombs catalogued here: 18
Percentage of all excavated chamber tombs: 51%
Percentage of catalogued graves: 11%

Excavated chamber tombs/all excavated graves: KM. 35/383 9%

TABLE 1--Continued

III. Jars (inhumation)

		<u>Jars/Total Burials</u>				
Period I.	IA.	6/24	25%	Total Period I:	14/48	29%
	KM.	8/24	33%			
Period II.	IA.	1/11	9%	Total Period II:	5/18	28%
	KM.	4/7	57%			
Period III.	IA.	5/16	31%	Total Period III:	17/32	53%
	KM.	12/16	75%			
Period IV.	IA.	1/37	3%	Total Period IV:	7/67	10%
	KM.	6/30	20%			
Jar burials published:		IA-106	KM- 92			
unpublished:		IA- 4	KM- 16			
Total:		IA-110	KM-108			
Total jar burials catalogued here:				43		
Percentage of all excavated jar burials:				20%		
Percentage of catalogued graves:				26%		
Excavated jar burials/all excavated graves:		IA.	110/557	20%		
		KM.	108/383	28%		
		Total:	218/940	23%		

IV. Stone-lined cists (Inhumation)

		<u>SLC/Total Burials</u>				
Period I.	IA.	None	---	Total Period I:	1/48	2%
	KM.	1/24	4%			
Period II.	IA.	2/11	18%	Total Period II:	2/18	11%
	KM.	None	---			
Period III.	IA.	1/16	6%	Total Period III:	1/32	3%
	KM.	None	---			
Period IV.	IA.	30/37	81%	Total Period IV:	44/67	66%
	KM.	14/30	47%			

Roofs: Flat, gabled, or uncertain (among the catalogued graves)

Period I.	KM.	Flat: 1				
Period II.	IA.	Flat: 1	Gabled: 1			
Period III.	IA.	Gabled: 1				
Period IV.	IA.	Flat: 3 (10%)	Gabled: 24 (80%)	Unc: 3 (10%)		
	KM.	Flat: 9 (64%)	Gabled: 3 (21%)	Unc: 2 (14%)		

TABLE 1--Continued

Stone-lined cists, flat roof

Published:	IA-53	KM-42	
Unpublished:	IA-23	KM-11	
	<u>76</u>	<u>53</u>	Total: 129

Percentage of SLC-flat catalogued here among all excavated SLC-flat:

IA:	4/76	5%	KM:	10/53	19%	Total:	14/129	11%
-----	------	----	-----	-------	-----	--------	--------	-----

Stone-lined cists, gabled roof

Published:	IA-134	KM-50	
Unpublished:	IA-21	KM-20	
	<u>155</u>	<u>70</u>	Total: 225

Percentage of SLC-gabl catalogued here among all excavated SLC-gabl:

IA:	25/155	17%	KM:	3/70	4%	Total:	29/225	13%
-----	--------	-----	-----	------	----	--------	--------	-----

Stone-lined cists, roof type uncertain

Published:	IA-27	KM-9	
Unpublished:	IA-0	KM-3	
	<u>27</u>	<u>12</u>	Total: 39

Percentage of SLC-unc catalogued here among all excavated SLC-unc:

IA:	3/27	11%	KM:	2/12	17%	Total:	5/39	13%
-----	------	-----	-----	------	-----	--------	------	-----

Totals:

Total stone-lined cists catalogued here:	48
(Total excavated stone-lined cists:	393)
Percentage of all excavated stone-lined cists:	12%
Percentage of catalogued graves:	29%

Excavated stone-lined cists/all excavated graves:	IA. 258/557	46%
	KM. 135/383	35%
Total:	<u>393/940</u>	<u>42%</u>

TABLE 2
Ialysos. Distribution of Grave Goods, by Function

Key to letters: A-Pitchers
B-Small pouring vessels/flasks
C-Cups
D-Plates
E-Large closed mouth jars, two or three handles, such as amphorae, hydriae, stamnoi
F-Figurines
G-Jewelry
H-Tools; household items
I-Miscellaneous (e.g. scarabs, lids, shells, astragali)
*-pithos with relief decoration

Period I

Cremations

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
16	2	1	2	1		1					5
2	8	1	7	2			2				12
49	17	3		1	1					1	6
15	1		1	1					1		3
29	3		11	2					1		14
30	4		3		1						4
35	5		7				6			1	14
3	7		5		1			1			7
39	9	1	1	1							3
2	11	1	1	2							4
32	13		2	1	1						4
1	14	1							1	2	4
3	15	1	2	1							4
13	16	1		2							3
31	18			4							4
50	19			3					2		5
49	21	1	2	2							5
24	24	1									1
Totals:		12	44	23	4	1	8	1	5	4	102

Jars

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
6	6		1								1
93	10	1	2					3			6
4	12*		2								2
94	20			1		1					2
35	22*										0
58	23*										0
Totals:		1	5	1		1		3			11

TABLE 2--Continued

PERIOD IICremations

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
21	49	1	1	1							2
33	50	1	37	1	1			2	2	1	45
44	51		3		1						4
45	52	1	31	1	2	1		10	3	1	50
46	53	1	23				2	2		1	29
1	56	1	2		3				2		8
12	58				1						1
43	59			1	2	1					4
Totals:		4	97	4	10	2	2	14	7	3	142

Jars

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
74	57	1	1				1	2			4

SLC-flat roof

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
78	54	1									1

SLC-gabled roof

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
8	55					1					1

TABLE 2--Continued

PERIOD IIICremations

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
5	67		15	1	1	3	6		1		27
36	68	2	55	3	4	4					68
9	69					2					2
2	70	1	2	4		2				1	10
23	71			2							2
48	72	1	3								4
53	73		1	1		2		1		1	6
22	77		6		2				5		13
47	81					2					2
Totals:		4	82	11	7	15	6	1	6	2	134

Jars

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
90	74					1	1				2
88	78	1		1							2
79	79*		1				1				2
84	80*										0
129	82			1							1
Totals:		1	1	2	-	1	2	-	-	-	7

SLC-gabled roof

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
18	76	2	1	1		1		2	1	4	12

Simple inhumation

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
242	75		1								1

TABLE 2--Continued

PERIOD IVCremations

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
4	99	1	4	4		1		1	1		12

Sarcophagi

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
253	111			1		1					2
254	112			1		3		1			5
255	130		3			1		1		2	7
41	135							1			1
			3	2		5		3		2	15

Inhumation

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
247	134	1		1					1		3

SLC-gabled roof

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
148	100	1			2	1			6		10
165	101	2		3		5				1	11
176	103			1		1					2
179	104	2				5		2			9
180	105		1	4	1	6				2	14
185	107		1	1							2
209	108	2				2					4
220	109			5		2	2				9
227	110			1		2					3
23	114	3		2		4					9
67	116			1		1					2
10	117			1							1
16	118			1		1					2
18	119			1		1		1	1		4
3	120		3	2		1	1	2			9
7	121	1		1							2
10	122			2		2		4			8
48	124	1			1	2		2	1		7
55	125			1		1					2
79	126			1							1
83	127		1	3		1					5
12	131		1	2		3					6
229	133	1	1					1			3
181	106			1	3	1					5
Totals:		13	8	34	7	42	3	12	8	3	130

TABLE 2--Continued

SLC-flat roof

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
20	113			2		1					3
172	128		1		1	1			1		4
171	129				1	2					2
Totals:		-	1	2	1	4	-	-	1	-	9

SLC-roof type uncertain

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
175	102			2				2			4
24bis	115			1							1
24	123					1					1
Totals:		-	-	3	-	1	-	2	-	-	6

Jar

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
82	132*										0

TABLE 3
Kameiros. Distribution of Grave Goods, by Function

PERIOD I

Cremations

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
12	29	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{3}{3}$	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{1}{1}$						7
31	33		5				1				6
191	45	1									1
209	46	2	1		1						4
33	47	1		1							2
32	34	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{2}{11}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{4}{6}$	-	$\frac{1}{1}$	-	-	-	8
Totals:		$\frac{6}{6}$	$\frac{11}{11}$	$\frac{4}{4}$	$\frac{6}{6}$	-	$\frac{1}{1}$	-	-	-	28

Jars

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
13	30	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{4}{4}$	$\frac{1}{1}$				$\frac{1}{1}$		$\frac{11}{11}$	18
17	31		2	1							3
158	35		1				2				3
183	36*	1	3	2						2	8
210	37		6					5			11
214	38		4	1				3			8
6	39	1	2	1			4			1	9
53	42	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{23}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	-	$\frac{6}{6}$	$\frac{9}{9}$	-	$\frac{14}{14}$	4
Totals:		$\frac{4}{4}$	$\frac{23}{23}$	$\frac{7}{7}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	-	$\frac{6}{6}$	$\frac{9}{9}$	-	$\frac{14}{14}$	64

SLC-flat roof

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
83	48					$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{4}{4}$			7

Chamber Tombs

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
3-1st	25	$\frac{2}{2}$	$\frac{4}{4}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{2}{2}$						9
-2d <i>et al.</i>		2	6	4	1	1		2			16
4	26	2	3		2	2	1	1		1	12
15	27	1	2	1	1						5
11	28	4	5	5	3			2			19
30	32	1	2	2	1						6
27	40	6	5	10	3		4				28
28	41	3	3	2	2						10
1	43				1						1
16	44	$\frac{1}{22}$									1
Totals:		$\frac{22}{22}$	$\frac{30}{30}$	$\frac{25}{25}$	$\frac{16}{16}$	$\frac{3}{3}$	$\frac{5}{5}$	$\frac{5}{5}$	-	$\frac{1}{1}$	107

Key to letters and symbols: same as for Table 2.

TABLE 3--Continued

PERIOD IIChamber Tombs

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
5-1st	60	1	27	1	1						30
-2d <i>et al.</i>		1	1		3			2	8	2	17
2	64		4	3	2	2		2			13
4	65	1	3	2							6
Totals:		3	35	6	6	2	-	4	8	2	66

Jars

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
207	61		1	1	2		1				5
208	62		2	1				3			6
211	63	1	1	2							4
213	66	1	1	1	1						4
Totals:		2	5	5	3	-	1	3	-	-	19

PERIOD IIIChamber Tomb

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
204	95		7	7	2				1	1	18

Cremations

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
192	92	1	1	1					?		3
196	93	1	2								3
Totals:		2	3	1	-	-	-	-	?	-	6

Jars

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
150	84	2	1	1							4
152	85	1	2	1	1				1		6
159	86					1					1
163	87		1	1							2
176	88*	1				1					2
178	89*		39	3	2	5		1		6	56
181	90*	2	1	1							4
182	91		1								1
52	94		3		1						4
173	96*										0
175	97*	1	2	1						1	5
160	98		1								1
Totals:		7	51	8	4	7	-	1	1	7	86

TABLE 3--Continued

Inhumation

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
121	83	1	2	2	1	1					7

PERIOD IVInhumations

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
118	156	2									2
119	157			1		1					2
117	162					3			1		4
Totals:		2	-	1	-	4	-	-	1	-	8

Jars

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
154	149	3		2	2						7
216	150			2			2				4
180	161*	2	5	3	2	1				18	31
144	163	3		1							4
148	164					1	1				2
151	165	1	5	2	4	2	3			18	3
Totals:		9	5	10	4	2	3	-	-	18	51

Chamber Tombs

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
10	136	2	2	1	1	2			3	3	14
11	137	2	1	2							5
14	138	1	1	1							3
18	139		2	1		1					4
5	152*			3	1	2				1	6
Totals:		5	6	8	1	5	-	-	3	4	32

SLC-flat roof

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
72	142	2		1		1			1		5
81	143			1		1					2
89	144			1		1					2
93	145	1		1		1					3
96	146	1				2					3
104	147			1		1					2
225	151	1	1	1							3
226	159			1		1					2
77	160		1	1		2					4
Totals:		5	2	8	-	10	-	-	1	-	26

TABLE 3--Continued

SLC-gabled roof

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
22	140			$\frac{1}{1}$		$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{2}{2}$				$\frac{4}{4}$
56	141	1		1		2					4
40	155		$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{2}{4}$		$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{2}{2}$				$\frac{4}{4}$
Totals:		$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{4}{4}$		$\frac{4}{4}$	$\frac{2}{2}$				$\frac{12}{12}$

SLC-roof type uncertain

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
108	148			$\frac{1}{1}$		$\frac{2}{2}$					$\frac{3}{3}$
51	154	$\frac{1}{1}$									$\frac{1}{4}$
Totals:		$\frac{1}{1}$		$\frac{1}{1}$		$\frac{2}{2}$					$\frac{4}{4}$

Cremation

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
29	153	$\frac{1}{1}$		$\frac{1}{1}$		$\frac{1}{1}$					$\frac{3}{3}$

Ossuary

<u>Tomb no.</u>	<u>Cat. no.</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
126	158			$\frac{1}{1}$		$\frac{1}{1}$					$\frac{2}{2}$

TABLE 4

**Ialysos. Frequency of Classes A-E, by Period and by Burial Type,
and Proportion of Each Class Among the Total Finds**

Key: A - Pitchers
 B - Small pouring vessels/flasks
 C - Cups
 D - Plates
 E - Closed mouth jars with two or more handles

Ratio 1: Number of graves per burial type containing at least one example of the class:Total number of graves of the burial type.

Ratio 2: Total number of finds of each class, per burial type and period: All finds (all classes combined), per burial type and period.

<u>Period I</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Ratio 1</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Ratio 2</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Cremation	A	10:18	56	12:102	12
	B	12:18	67	44:102	43
	C	13:18	72	23:102	23
	D	4:18	22	4:102	4
	E	1:18	6	1:102	1
Jar	A	1:6	17	1:11	9
	B	3:6	50	5:11	45
	C	1:6	17	1:11	9
	D	None	---	---	---
	E	1:6	17	1:11	9
Total	A	11:24	46	13:113	12
	B	15:24	63	49:113	43
	C	14:24	58	24:113	21
	D	4:24	17	4:113	4
	E	2:24	8	2:113	2
<u>Period II</u>					
Cremation	A	4:8	50	4:142	3
	B	6:8	75	97:142	68
	C	4:8	50	4:142	3
	D	6:8	75	10:142	7
	E	2:8	25	2:142	1
Total (the finds from the above cremations, plus from 1 Jar, 1 SLC-flat, and 1 SLC-gabl)					
	A	4:11	36	4:148	3
	B	8:11	73	99:148	67
	C	4:11	36	4:148	3
	D	6:11	55	10:148	7
	E	3:11	27	3:148	2

TABLE 4--Continued

<u>Period III</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Ratio 1</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Ratio 2</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Cremation	A	3:9	33	4:134	3
	B	6:9	67	82:134	61
	C	5:9	56	11:134	8
	D	3:9	33	7:134	5
	E	6:9	67	15:134	11
Jar	A	1:5	20	1:7	14
	B	1:5	20	1:7	14
	C	2:5	40	2:7	29
	D	None	--	---	--
	E	1:5	20	1:7	14
Total (including 1 SLC-gabl and 1 Inhumation, plus the above)					
	A	5:16	31	7:154	5
	B	9:16	56	85:154	56
	C	8:16	50	14:154	9
	D	3:16	19	7:154	5
	E	8:16	50	17:154	11
<u>Period IV</u>					
SLC-gabl	A	8:24	33	13:130	10
	B	7:24	29	8:130	6
	C	19:24	79	34:130	26
	D	4:24	17	7:130	5
	E	19:24	79	42:130	32
SLC-flat	A	None	--	----	--
	B	1:3	33	1:9	11
	C	1:3	33	2:9	22
	D	1:3	33	1:9	11
	E	3:3	100	4:9	44
Sarcophagi	A	None	--	----	--
	B	1:4	25	3:15	20
	C	2:4	50	2:15	13
	D	None	--	----	--
	E	3:4	75	5:15	33
Total (the above, plus 1 Cremation, 1 Jar, 1 Inhumation, and 3 SLC-roof type uncertain)					
	A	10:37	27	15:175	9
	B	10:37	27	16:175	9
	C	26:37	70	46:175	26
	D	5:37	14	8:175	5
	E	27:37	73	53:175	30

TABLE 5
**Kameiros. Frequency of Classes A-E, by Period and by Burial Type,
 and the Proportion of Each Class Among the Total Finds**

<u>Period I</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Ratio 1</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Ratio 2</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Cremation	A	5:6	83	6:28	21
	B	4:6	67	11:28	39
	C	3:6	50	4:28	14
	D	3:6	50	6:28	21
	E	None	--	----	--
Jar	A	4:8	50	4:64	6
	B	8:8	100	23:64	36
	C	6:8	75	7:64	11
	D	1:8	13	1:64	2
	E	None	--	----	--
Chamber	A	8:9	89	22:107	21
	B	7:9	78	30:107	28
	C	6:9	67	23:107	21
	D	8:9	89	16:107	15
	E	2:9	22	3:107	3
Total (the above, plus 1 SLC-flat)					
	A	16:23	70	31:198	16
	B	18:23	78	62:198	31
	C	14:23	61	33:198	17
	D	11:23	48	19:198	10
	E	3:23	13	5:198	3
<u>Period II</u>					
Chamber	A	2:3	67	3:66	5
	B	3:3	100	35:66	53
	C	3:3	100	6:66	9
	D	2:3	67	6:66	9
	E	1:3	33	2:66	3
Jar	A	2:4	50	2:19	11
	B	4:4	100	5:19	26
	C	4:4	100	5:19	26
	D	2:4	50	3:19	16
	E	None	--	----	--
Total	A	4:7	57	5:85	6
	B	7:7	100	40:85	47
	C	7:7	100	11:85	13
	D	4:7	57	9:85	11
	E	1:7	14	2:85	2

Key to letters and ratios: see above, Table 4.

TABLE 5--Continued

<u>Period III</u>	<u>Class</u>	<u>Ratio 1</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Ratio 2</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Cremation	A	2:2	100	2:6	33
	B	2:2	100	3:6	50
	C	1:2	50	1:6	17
	D	None	--	----	--
	E	None	--	----	--
Jar	A	5:12	42	7:86	8
	B	9:12	75	51:86	59
	C	6:12	50	8:86	9
	D	3:12	25	4:86	5
	E	3:12	25	7:86	8
Total (the above, plus 1 Chamber tomb, and 1 Simple inhumation)					
	A	8:16	50	10:117	9
	B	13:16	81	63:117	54
	C	9:16	56	18:117	15
	D	5:16	31	7:117	6
	E	4:16	25	8:117	7
<u>Period IV</u>					
SLC-flat	A	4:9	44	5:26	19
	B	2:9	22	2:26	8
	C	8:9	89	8:26	31
	D	None	--	----	--
	E	8:9	89	10:26	38
SLC-gabl	A	1:3	33	1:12	8
	B	1:3	33	1:12	8
	C	3:3	100	4:12	33
	D	None	--	----	--
	E	3:3	100	4:12	33
Jar	A	4:6	67	9:51	18
	B	1:6	17	5:51	10
	C	5:6	83	10:51	20
	D	2:6	33	4:51	8
	E	2:6	33	2:51	4
Chamber	A	3:5	60	5:32	16
	B	4:5	80	6:32	19
	C	5:5	100	8:32	25
	D	1:5	20	1:32	3
	E	3:5	40	5:32	16
Total (the above, plus 1 Cremation, 2 SLC-roof type uncertain, 1 Ossuary, and 3 Inhumations)					
	A	15:30	50	24:138	17
	B	8:30	27	14:138	10
	C	25:30	83	34:138	25
	D	3:30	10	5:138	4
	E	21:30	70	29:138	21

TABLE 6

**Class B (Small Pouring Vessels/Flasks)--Corinthian and Non-Corinthian,
Other Corinthian Vases Discovered, Apart from Class B**

1. Class B: Corinthian vs. non-Corinthian

	<u>COR</u>	<u>% of Class B</u>	<u>% of total finds (of the period)</u>	<u>Non-COR</u>	<u>% of Class B</u>	<u>% of total finds</u>
<u>Ialysos</u>						
Period I	32	65	28	17	35	15
Period II	83	85	56	15	15	10
Period III	40	47	26	45	53	29
Period IV	0	--	--	16	100	9
<u>Kameiros</u>						
Period I	41	66	21	21	34	11
Period II	31	77.5	36	9	22.5	11
Period III	45	71	38	18	29	15
Period IV	2	14	1	12	86	9

2. Corinthian, all shapes

	<u>COR, excl. Class B total finds</u>	<u>% of total finds</u>	<u>All COR: total finds</u>	<u>% of total finds</u>
<u>Ialysos</u>				
Period I	0	--	32:113	28
Period II	6:148	4	89:148	60
Period III	7:154	5	47:154	31
Period IV	5:175	3	5:175	3
<u>Kameiros</u>				
Period I	6:198	3	47:198	24
Period II	3:85	4	34:85	40
Period III	12:117	10	57:117	49
Period IV	2:138	1	4:138	3

TABLE 7

Attic Pottery from the Periods III and IV Graves Catalogued Here

<u>Ialysos</u>				
Period III	C	7:14	50 percent	are Attic
	D	3:7	43 percent	are Attic
	E	6:17	35 percent	are Attic
Period IV	A	9:15	60 percent	are Attic
	C	31:46	67 percent	are Attic
	D	2:8	25 percent	are Attic
	E	17:53	32 percent	are Attic
<u>Kameiros</u>				
Period III	D	Probably 1:7	14 percent	are Attic
Period IV	A	6:24	25 percent	are Attic
	C	18:34	53 percent	are Attic
	E	4:29	14 percent	are Attic

Percentage of Attic among total finds, by site and period

<u>Ialysos</u>		
Period III:	16:154	10%
Period IV:	59:175	34%
<u>Kameiros</u>		
Period III:	1:117	1%
Period IV:	28:138	20%

TABLE 8

Decorated "Rhodian" Pottery from Ialysos and Kameiros (Catalogued Graves)

1. Wild Goat style pottery

<u>Ialysos</u>			<u>Total/All finds</u>	<u>percent</u>
Period I	CRE	2 plates, 3 oinochoai	5:113	4
Period II	CRE	5 plates, 1 oinochoe	6:148	4
<u>Kameiros</u>				
Period I	CRE	3 plates, 2 oinochoai	28:198	14
	CHM	10 plates, 13 oinochoai		
Period II	JAR	2 plates	7:85	8
	CHM	3 plates, 2 oinochoai		
Period III	JAR	1 plate	1:117	1

2. Fikellura style pottery

<u>Ialysos</u>	<u>Total/All finds</u>	<u>percent</u>
Period IV	7:175	4
<u>Kameiros</u>		
Period III	fragments from one tomb	
Period IV	15:138	11

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