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The Dorian Aegean

Elizabeth M. Craik

Routledge Revivals

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This wide-ranging yet detailed study describes and assesses the many-faceted cultural achievement of an area remote from Athens, the Dorian islands. Elizabeth Craik's scholarship sets this lively outlying region of the ancient Greek world – which included Rhodes, Kos, Karpathos, Melos, and Thera – in the perspective of Greek civilization as a whole, demonstrating that excessive emphasis on the Athenian advancements of the fifth century B.C. tends to obscure the contribution of other regions.

Beginning with a discussion of the geographical setting, natural resources and historical development of the area, *The Dorian Aegean* goes on to survey linguistic usage and local scripts, and to examine the regional contribution to literature, medicine and science. In the final three chapters, the religious traditions and practices of the islands are discussed, in terms of myths, cults and administration. This work will appeal to students of the classical world, archaeology, and cultural history.

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

First published in 1980
by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd

This edition first published in 2014 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN
and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

A Library of Congress record exists under LC control number: 79042836

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-73995-5 (hbk)
ISBN 13: 978-0-203-81591-6 (ebk)

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Routledge & Kegan Paul
London, Boston and Henley

First published in 1980
by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd
39 Store Street,
London WC1E 7DD,
Broadway House,
Newtown Road,
Henley-on-Thames,
Oxon RG9 1EN and
9 Park Street,
Boston, Mass. 02108, USA
and Printed in Great Britain by
Redwood Burn Ltd
Trowbridge and Esher

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Craik, Elizabeth M.

The Dorian Aegean. – (States and cities of ancient Greece).
1. Dorians – Civilization
I. Title II. Series
939. 1'01 DF136.D6 79–42836

ISBN 0 7100 0378 1

Contents

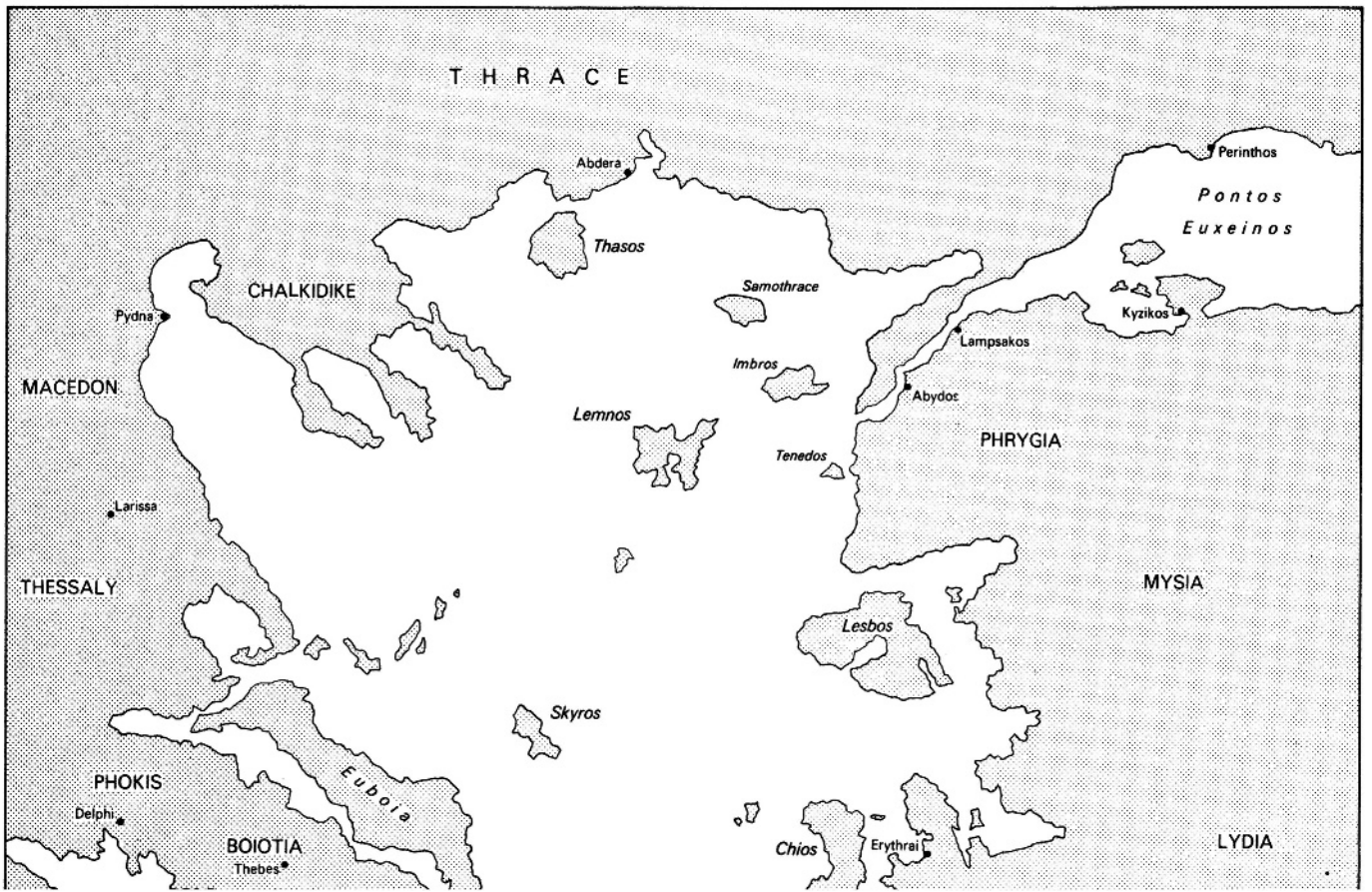
Preface

There are now many students - and others - interested in Greek civilization but not specializing in Classics. It is hoped that they, as well as the conventional classicist, will find this book helpful. It embraces all aspects of the culture and traditions of an interesting and lively outlying region of the Greek world: the Dorian islands of the Aegean.

Chapters 1-3 are introductory, dealing with the geographical setting, natural resources and historical development of the area. After a brief survey of linguistic usage and local scripts (Chapter 4), the regional contribution to Greek literature (Chapter 5) and to medicine and science (Chapter 6) is examined and assessed. Chapters 7-9 discuss the religious traditions and practices of the islands, under the headings myths, cults and administration.

Two interrelated aims have determined the format and approach of the book: breadth and perspective. I have long believed that too many books on classical subjects are too narrow. However, it is difficult to attain breadth without sacrificing depth, especially with the degree of specialization normal in modern scholarship. I have tried throughout the text and in the bibliography to present the most important and up-to-date views (not always coincident) on all topics treated; but the coverage is inevitably uneven, and doubtless some will find the emphasis misplaced. As to perspective, my aim has been to present the regional contribution not only *per se*, but within its wider cultural context, in relation to that of other communities, both Dorian and non-Dorian.

Wide as the book is in scope, some may regret the exclusion of the visual arts, in view of Rhodian excellence in sculpture and pottery. I share this regret, but plead considerations of space and an inclination to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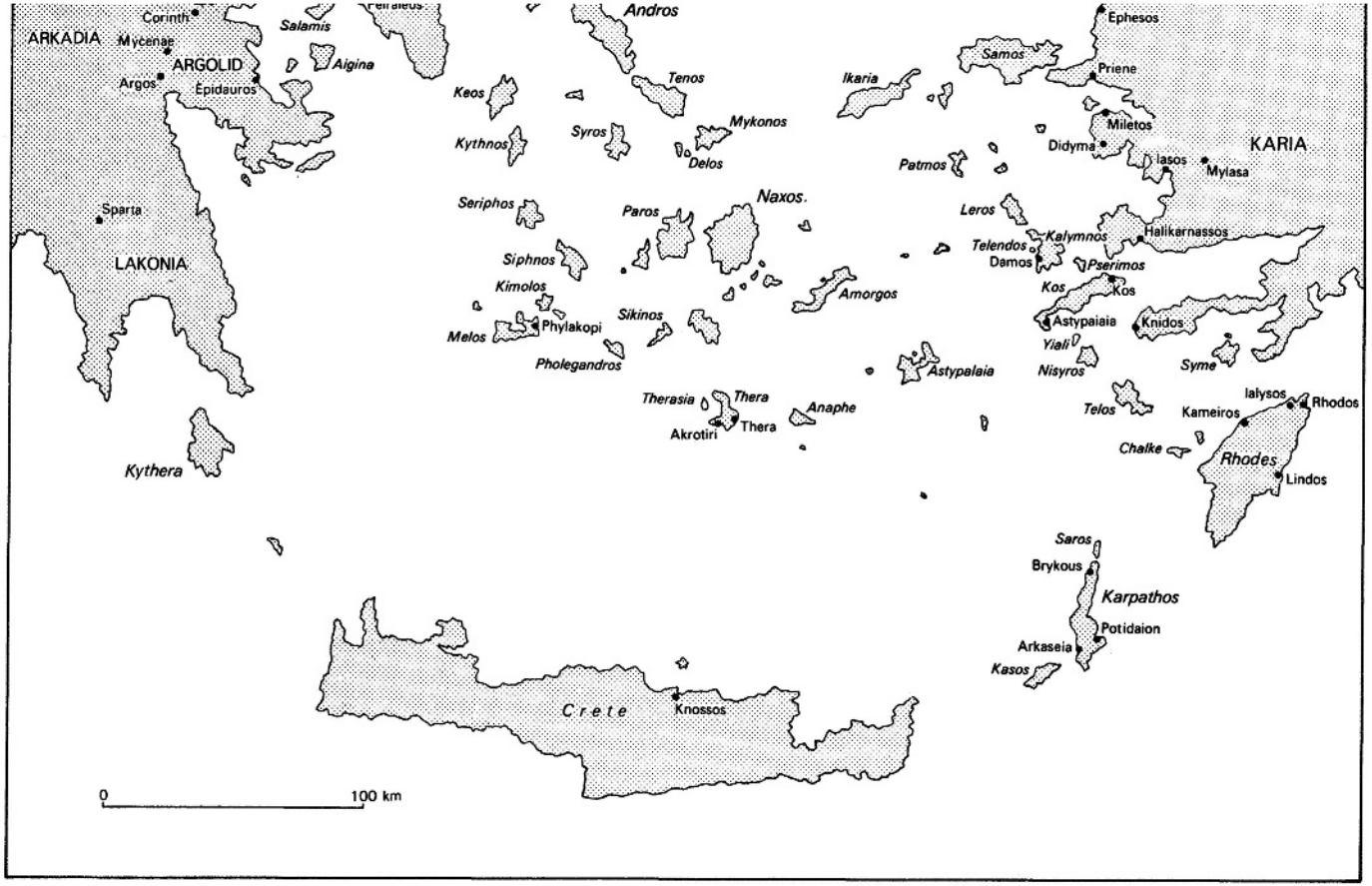
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use, primarily, written sources, literary and epigraphical.

The conventional apology for inconsistency in transliterating Greek proper-names must be made, and here extended to an admission of an occasional preference for Doric forms. I am guilty of Athana Lindia (but Helios) in addition to the less heinous, or more usual, Hekataios (but Thucydides). All dates are BC, unless stated otherwise. All translations are my own.

I am very grateful to colleagues who have given me the benefit of their specialist knowledge: Dr M. Austin, Mr M. Campbell and Professor I.G. Kidd have all commented on certain parts of earlier drafts. Vassa Kontorini and Simon Price have supplied me with several useful references. Chapter 9 is based on research undertaken many years ago under the guidance of Professor M.I. Finley. A visit to Rhodes in 1973 was generously funded by the Duncan Bequest. I am particularly indebted to those who read the entire book in draft form; to Sir Kenneth Dover for forthright (and salutary) criticism and to Professor R.F. Willetts for much help and encouragement. Finally, it is a pleasure to record thanks to Peter for help with maps, Katharine for help with typing and, especially, Alex for help with everything.

I have not been able to make any use of the following works, which appeared, or were announced, after my manuscript had been despatched to the publishers:
FRASER, P.M., Rhodian Funerary Monuments
MEE, C.B., Rhodes in the Bronze Age
SHERWIN-WHITE, S.M., Ancient Cos. An Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period. But see my review of this last, forthcoming JHS.

The Dorian Aegean

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Part I
Introduction

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1 Setting

This book explores the culture of Rhodes, Kos and the other Aegean islands which were Dorian in classical times. It aims to describe and assess the collective achievement of this area and to set it in the context of Greek civilization as a whole; to isolate peculiar local elements and to demonstrate affinities with Greek culture as it developed elsewhere. Attention is paid both to the distinctive characteristics of the islands' contribution and to its place in Greek thought.

We see Greek civilization primarily through Attic eyes. While the importance of fifth- and fourth-century Athens in Greek cultural development is undeniably immense, it is too often forgotten that Athens was only one of the many small states which made up Greece; and emphasis on the Athenian achievement tends to obscure the contribution of other regions.

The contribution of the Dorian islands was different at different times. In the archaic period, the islands were important as stepping-stones: Near Eastern and Levantine influences filtered through the Greek communities of the Asiatic seaboard and the islands to mainland Greece. This influence is discernible in writing (the adoption of the alphabet), in literature (especially epic and philosophical thought), in religion (myth motifs and cult titles), as well as in the artefacts of the potter and metalworker. Later, contacts between the islands and mainland Greece demonstrate the interaction of Greek states, tangibly in trade (where the islands had a monopoly of certain markets) and intangibly in such areas as literature, medicine, technology and religion. Similarities between the islands and mainland Greece illumine the influence of mother city on colony (this is particularly discernible in cult); differences aid an understanding of Greek constitutional development.

In the Hellenistic period, the islands had a cultural momentum of their own, associated with the activity in Alexandria.

Other islands or groups of islands would repay similar study. Larger islands, self-contained and independent, often show a particularly interesting development in terms of their own impetus and their interaction with other communities. Samos might be singled out as one of many which had a lively and varied intellectual, cultural and artistic life.

The grouping of islands adopted here (on the basis of Dorian origins) may seem novel, as such terms as Cyclades, Sporades and Dodekanese offer more familiar lines of demarcation in the Aegean. Grouping by these names was initiated by the ancient geographers, but the terms were, and still are, used without precision or consistency (Str.10.5.14; Plin.'HN'4.12.65-71; cf.Ptol.'Geog.'5.2.8 and 19). The term Dodekanese (literally, 'twelve islands') was coined to denote an administrative division of the Byzantine Empire in the eighth century AD. It has had some vogue in modern times, but again there is disagreement of reference among those who use it as to which twelve islands it embraces, and indeed whether there are only twelve in the group.

The Dorian islands were taken as the subject of this book in the belief that criteria of origins and dialect allow a more meaningful grouping than vague geographical labels. Here, the Dorian islands are intended as those which were settled in the eighth century BC by Dorian immigration from the Peloponnese - from the states around the Isthmos or from Sparta - and which then used the Doric dialect. It will, however, be argued (Chapter 3) that the settlements of the Mycenaean period were also Dorian.

The Dorians cannot be dismissed as the rude horde whose emergence heralded the end of Mycenaean civilization, and who subsequently lived, in the Peloponnese and elsewhere, a life of different (and inferior) values from those of other Greek ethnic groups. It is probable that the conflicts of the Bronze Age left a residue of bitterness which surfaced in the fifth century with the wars between Athens and Sparta: at this time, the gulf between Ionian and Dorian widened, and underlying tensions were exacerbated. The differences, then and later, were both political and cultural.

In writing about the Dorians, one raises the spectre of the Teutonic view of Spartan values and virtues (see Will, 1956 and Rawson, 1969 for evaluations of Müller, 1824, tr.1930). However, there were more Dorians than ever lived in Sparta. The complex process of interaction

with and reaction against other communities underlies this book. It will be evident that the Dorian culture of the Aegean islands evolved along different lines from that of the Peloponnese, or that of Sicily, though certain affinities persist.

While the Dorian islands are far from homogeneous, and the islanders of antiquity were not a cohesive group, there was undoubtedly some feeling of solidarity with an ethnic basis. Otherwise, the 'Doric Hexapolis' (Lindos, Ialysos, Kameiros, Kos, Knidos and Halikarnassos, a federation with a shared cult of Apollo) could scarcely have existed (Hdt.1.144.1; cf. 1.6.2, 7.93). The people of Halikarnassos, who used the Ionic script and dialect by the middle of the fifth century (SIG 45) still regarded themselves, by virtue of their ancestry, as Dorian, even if Halikarnassos' membership of the Hexapolis was short-lived. The Dorians of the west in Italy and Sicily were chauvinistic about their origins - and they were of Aegean, as well as mainland, antecedents (Th.6.77.1; cf. Pi.'P'1.60-8; Theoc.15.91 and 28.17). As late as the first century AD, the rhetorician Aristeides, in an address to Rhodes, reminded the islanders of their Dorian and specifically Argive ancestry (Aristid.24.23, 27, 45, 57; cf.*[*Aristid.*]* 25.42).

The Dorian islands lie in a band across the south of the Aegean, from Melos in the west to Rhodes in the east, with Kalymnos the furthest north of the group. Included are - to proceed from the westernmost to the easternmost members - Melos, Kimolos, Pholegandros, Sikinos, Thera with Therasia, Anaphe, Astypalaia, Kalymnos, Kos, Pserimos, Nisyros, Telos, Karpathos with Kasos and Saros, Chalke, Syme, with Teutlunssa, and Rhodes. Crete too is Dorian; its culture and institutions already extensively studied (Willetts, 1955, 1962, 1974, 1977). Kythera is also Dorian, but it is close to the shores of the Peloponnese (off Cape Malea) and was under direct mainland domination, first of Argos, then, from about the middle of the sixth century, of Sparta. Dorian communities on the west coast of Asia Minor - Halikarnassos, founded from Troizen, and Knidos, from Sparta - which share many cultural and constitutional features with the islands were reluctantly excluded, as was the part of the mainland later subject to Rhodes as the 'Peraia'. However, these regions are mentioned where appropriate.

The Aegean islands have always been influenced by their position, collectively in relation to the civilizations to the east and west and individually in relation to one another. Settled conditions have prevailed only when the interests of east and west have been in harmony, and when

the influence of the larger islands has been benign. The heroic Trojan War; the wars of Greece against Persia; fifth-century Athenian aggrandizement; the domination of Alexander and rivalries among his successors; the Roman conquests - all of these profoundly affected the Aegean.

The distinctive culture of the individual islands was shaped by their different geographical locations and their varying physical features (Cary, 1949, pp.100-2; Myres, 1953, pp.271-338). Rhodes' commercial prosperity, the source of her cultural vitality, arose from her key position as a port of call for ships plying between the great landmasses to east, west and south. Thera, by contrast, with the main town of the classical era built on a ridge away from the sea, was bound to be a more isolated inward-looking community. Karpathos, with its sheer cliffs, lack of good natural harbours and stormy straits never achieved an importance commensurate with its size (second only to Rhodes in our group). Volcanic Melos and Nisyros, mountainous Kalymnos and Astypalaia, fertile Kos set different patterns of life for their inhabitants. Rhodes and Kos are much affected by the east; Thera and Anaphe show affinities with Crete. Kalymnos has certain 'Ionian' features in her constitution - for instance, the presence of an official called the 'stephanephoros', unique for a Dorian community. (Leros to the north - and a mere two km. of sea separates the islands - was Ionian and a deme of Miletos.) Some of the islands were in the Rhodian orbit: Chalke, Karpathos, Kasos, Nisyros, Syme and Telos were included at various times as demes of Rhodes, though Rhodian domination was sporadic (Fraser and Bean, 1954). Similarly, Kalymnos certainly and Pserimos probably became demes of Kos. Islands to the west preserved independence from their neighbours (apart from Therasia, close to and linked with Thera), but all were subject to the advances of successive sea-powers from the Greek mainland and beyond.

The Greeks were always intrepid sailors. That the earliest Aegean peoples were sophisticated in shipbuilding and seafaring is demonstrated by the presence of obsidian (a tough sharp volcanic glass superior to flint for weapon manufacture and a prized raw material in Stone Age and Early Bronze Age communities) in areas far from its source. Even in the 'aceramic' phase - that is, before they could make pottery - peoples acquired obsidian from a distance rather than make do with poor quality local flint. Obsidian from Melos - the main Aegean source of this material - is found in strikingly early contexts on the mainland (Peloponnese, Macedonia and Thessaly) as well as

at Knossos in Crete. Yiali, an islet between Kos and Nisyros, is another source of obsidian, but was apparently not known till much later; obsidian of this composition type appears in Minoan Crete (Renfrew, Cann and Dixon, 1965; cf. Cann and Renfrew, 1964), where stone vases inlaid with white shell were manufactured in imitation of its curious pumice-flecked appearance.

That an accurate knowledge of local conditions and terrain prevailed in the late Bronze Age is demonstrated by the Homeric Catalogue of Ships in 'Iliad' 2, a list of Agamemnon's allies against Troy. The descriptive epithets attached to the places named are brief but apt, giving a maximum of information in a minimum of words (Page, 1959). Kameiros is 'arginoeis', 'bright-shining', 'white' (or, as some suggest, 'argiloeis' from 'argilos', 'white clay'), with reference to the conspicuously white soil of the region used in Rhodian pottery manufacture. In the fifth century, the Athenians found it feasible to administer and control a confederacy embracing many Aegean islands, and to extract from its members annual revenues of cash or contributions of ships. In the third and second centuries, a benevolent Rhodian protectorate policed the sea, assisting small states threatened by bigger powers, curbing the illicit activities of powerful cities and keeping the menace of piracy under control. Rhodes used Tenos as a naval headquarters; the Ptolemaic fleet made similar use of Thera, and the Romans of Astypalaia.

However, communications in the Aegean were unpredictable at best. Hesiod, giving advice on seafaring, reckoned it was best avoided ('Op.' 646 sqq.), and long sea journeys were not undertaken in the winter months. Many epitaphs of travellers lost at sea testify to the hazards of ancient navigation, as does the stock theme in 'propemticon' ('send-off') verse of the wish for a journey free from storms. Traders involved in litigation at Athens tried to win sympathy by emphasizing the dangers of their occupation (D.33.4, 56.1; cf.34.31, 52.3). In the Hellenistic period, bad weather or illness were acceptable as excuses for actors' failure to turn up in accordance with their contract (Pickard-Cambridge, rev. Gould and Lewis, 1968, pp.316-17). The danger of piracy added to natural hazards.

In the fourth century, the voyage from Athens to Rhodes might take three weeks, with long delays occasioned by adverse winds and periods of sailing at random in the direction dictated by successive squalls, according to Aischines ('Ep.' 1, a late forgery but undoubtedly a description which would seem plausible, if not authentic):

> We left Mounychia in the evening with a very fine west wind and around midday reached Koresos in Keos. We stayed there nine days, for the wind was unfavourable, then having set sail again in the evening we reached Delos at dawn.... While it was still night, we left.... Storm and violent wind fell upon us and took us off course to Crete, near Psamathos. However, when we were already in sight of land, a wind from Libya blew us away. Then, as the gale blew from the north again, we were five days at sea before putting in at Thera.... From there, in four days' time, we reached a harbour on Rhodes.

(The text is uncertain at the point where I suggest 'Thera' which lies due north of Crete: the mss readings 'Αερώνη H, 'Ατόρων ℵ f, Τορώνη B may be corruptions of θηραίων νήσῳ).

Similarly, Cicero once took two weeks to reach the Peiraieus from Ephesos ('Att.' 6.9.1). The voyage from Rhodes to Athens demanded a first class vessel: the case of the defendants in a Demosthenic speech apparently rested on the contention that their ship, though seaworthy, was not good enough to undertake the long haul across the Aegean (D.56.21, 23).

Rhodian sea-captains travelled far with their warships; the names of many are known from the historians who recorded the rise of Rome and the part played in this - often fighting on different sides - by men of Rhodes. Many acted as escorts too - for instance Erastos, commissioned by the emperor Hadrian for his voyages in the Aegean (SIG 838).

The many travellers of the classical period to endure the vicissitudes, dangers and discomforts of travel by sea did not record their experiences. The merchants who brought grain to the Greek mainland (exporting wine, pottery, olives and honey) were probably not highly literate. The Hippokratic writers were keen observers of their surroundings, but give in the 'Epidemiai' descriptions of environmental conditions, not of regions as such. Herodotos, who was interested in places as well as people, goes into detail about Egypt, but has little of geographical interest to say about regions nearer home; born in Halikarnassos, he had the Dorian islands on his doorstep. The sophists who travelled widely did not record local impressions either.

After the conquests of Alexander, the Greeks became more aware both of the extent and character of the wider world and of regional differences in Greek lands. Descriptive and mathematical geography came into existence. Travel literature was another product of improved communi-

cations, and from this time on some subjective impressions were recorded. The Hellenistic poet Philitas, who lived in Kos, may be drawing from personal experience in writing (fr.13, Coll.Alex.p.93):

> The gods will reveal land once more, but at the moment there is to be seen only the domain of gale-force winds.

However, Horace 'Sat.' 5, an extended accound of a difficult journey, has no known Greek model.

Theokritos - equally at home in Sicily, Kos and Alexandria - in Idyll 7 describes a visit to a farm in Kos. The names of Haleis (a district) and Bourina (a fountain, cf.Philitas fr.24, Coll.Alex. p.95) are authentic topographical details, as is probably Pyxa also. The region is indicated with enough precision to identify the spot to anyone familiar with the island: a crossroads, the farm of Phrasidamos, the cave of the Nymphs (130-46):

> He took the turning to the left and went along the road to Pyxa, while Eukritos, the handsome Amyntichos and I turned off for Phrasidamos' place. We reclined amid deep couches of fragrant reed, rejoicing in the new-cut vine leaves. Many poplars and elms swayed over our heads. Nearby, the sacred stream of the Nymphs, trickling down from a cavern, murmured. Amid the shady boughs the dark cicadas chattering went about their toil. The tree-frog far off croaked in the thick thorny growth of brambles. Larks and songbirds were singing, the dove was moaning, tuneful bees were flitting around the spring. Everything was redolent of summer with its riches, redolent of autumn. Pears at our feet, apples by our sides rolled in profusion; the branches laden with sloes hung down to the ground.

Diodoros, writing in the first century BC, described Kos as a place of some account (D.S.15.76.2):

> The Koans moved to the place they now inhabit and made it remarkable; walls were built at great expense and a harbour of note. From this epoch it constantly went from strength to strength in public revenues and private fortunes; and, to sum up, it came to rival the foremost Greek cities.

Strabo, in his long treatise entitled 'Geography', writing a few decades after Diodoros, also praises Kos singling out the Asklepieion, with its art treasures, for special mention (Str.14.2.19):

> The city is not large, but it is the most beautiful of all settlements, and presents a most pleasing appearance as one sails to land.

Rhodes is given even more fulsome treatment (Str.14.2.5):

> The city of the Rhodians lies on the eastern promontory and it is so far superior to others in harbours, roads,

> walls and other amenities that we cannot describe any other city as even nearly its equal, far less superior to it.

Pliny too enthused about Rhodes ('HN' 5.132):

> But Rhodes, which is free, is the most beautiful place.

Rhodes must have made a peculiarly dramatic impact on arriving travellers when the Kolossos, a statue of Helios thirty-two metres high, stood at the harbour mouth (Gabriel, 1932). Completed in 281, it was destroyed by earthquake in around 227. Passages in Lucian demonstrate that it was remembered for centuries after it fell. A speaker in his satirical description of a flight to heaven and the view of earth from above remarks ('Icar.' 12; cf. 'J.Tr.'11-13):

> And if I had not seen the Kolossos of Rhodes and the lighthouse of Pharos, be assured that I should not have recognized the earth at all.

The temples of Rhodes, especially that of Dionysos, also attracted the attention of visitors. A dialogue of Lucian describes a 'sightseeing' trip, with chance encounters with acquaintances from Corinth and Athens also holidaying in Rhodes (Luc. 'Am.'7-8; cf.Str.14.2.5. X.'Eph.'5.12 and Plin.'HN' 34.17.36, 18.41-2 for further comment on the votive offerings and statues to be seen at Rhodes):

> When we reached Rhodes, the island of the Sun-god, we decided to rest for a little from our continuous voyage. And so the oarsmen hauled the vessel to land and pitched their camp nearby. With accommodation secured opposite the temple of Dionysos, I strolled at my ease, filled with tremendous enjoyment. For it really is the city of Helios, with a beauty appropriate to the god. As I did the rounds of the porticoes in the temple of Dionysos, I gazed at each painting, reminding myself of the tales of the heroes, while I enjoyed their visual impact.

Other writers refer to the splendours of Rhodes. Dio (D.Chr.31.146) alludes to the Rhodian civic pride, based on:

> first of all your laws and the stability of your constitution; then, I suppose, on such things as temples, theatres, dockyards, walls and harbours.

Aelius Aristeides (or, rather, the anonymous writer of the treatise 'Rhodiakos' preserved in the corpus of Aristeides' works, a lament for Rhodes' past glories, generally regarded on stylistic grounds as spurious; see Keil, ed., 1898; Boulanger, 1968) praises the precincts of the gods, temples, offerings, statuary, paintings, acropolis and broad streets of the town.

The different aspects of different islands from the sea is striking - Melos, with its vast bay ringed with mountains; Thera, which forms part of the rim of a huge volcanic crater, with the rim partially continued in Therasia across the bay and, in the bay itself, several islets, uninhabited and uninhabitable, as tangible reminders of the still active volcanic core; Astypalaia, with its fine natural harbour, modern Maltezana, sheltered by the landmass behind and by two islets out to sea in front; Kos with its gentler aspect, the town by the sea and hills rising behind. The seascapes have changed much in the seismic and volcanic region of Thera, as was already the case in antiquity and remarked by Pliny ('HN'.4.12.70; cf.D.C.56.7):

> When Thera first emerged, it was called Kalliste. Later, Therasia was torn away from it, and soon Automate came into existence between them, as did Hiera, and, in our day, Thia came into being near them.

The landscapes have changed too, from antiquity to the present day, with changing areas of settlement and levels of cultivation. In many islands, the areas settled in the Bronze Age - by Minoans from Crete and Mycenaeans from the mainland - were not the sites chosen by later settlers for their towns. In Thera, the Minoan town, destroyed in the great eruption of c.1500 BC, was concealed under tephra on the south-west tip of the island, while the Peloponnesian settlers occupied a new site on a mountain ridge facing south-east, away from the sheer cliffs ringing the submerged crater of the volcano. Perhaps they preferred not to be reminded of the ever-present menace in the bay. In Melos, the prehistoric settlements were in the west of the island, at Phylakopi, while the acropolis of Dorian Melos was on the hill of Prophet Elias. In Rhodes, the main areas of settlement remained the same until the fifth century: Lindos in the east, Ialysos in the north-west and Kameiros in the west. The city of Rhodes, founded by synoecism in 408, quickly prospered, with its coastal site well placed for overseas communications. On Karpathos, the Dorian towns were Karpathos (not yet certainly located, but the port Potidaion was probably at Pigadhia, on the south-east coast, a fine harbour used also by the Bronze Age settlers; cf.Hope Simpson and Lazenby, 1962), Brykous in the north-west and Arkaseia in the south-west. The group Eteokarpathioi, who occupied a locality of their own - probably in the hilly interior - may represent an indigenous population pushed out by the Dorians from the strategic coastal regions. In Kos, the settlers who had used the (proto-geometric) cemetery known as the Serraglio, in the eighth

century, situated above the Mycenaean settlement in the east of the island, gave way before a new group, who established themselves in the west. Despite being unfavourably placed for commerce, this settlement (Astypalaia) remained the main town until the synoecism in the fourth century (Bean and Cook, 1957). The eastern town was known as Kos Meropis, and the island continued to have Meropis as an alternative name (D.S.13.42.3). In Kalymnos, Damos, where Mycenaean tombs were found, is distant from the area in the north which has yielded classical remains.

Excavation in the islands, and publication of finds, has proceeded at an uneven place. (For useful summaries and brief bibliographies, see, on the individual islands, 'The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites', ed. R. Stillwell, 1976.) In the nineteenth century, much lay on the surface, as the German traveller Ross was among the first to discover (Ross, 1840-5). The memoirs of such travellers, with a more or less casual interest in antiquity, often contain acute observations with reports of sites explored, or copies of inscriptions discovered. Some works of this kind are having a deserved reprinting (Leake, 1824, repr.1976; Fellows, 1852, repr.1975; Ramsay, 1895, repr.1975). In the years 1852-9, Sir Charles Newton, a diplomat appointed to the vice-consulship of Mitylene, and simultaneously commissioned by the British Museum to acquire antiquities, explored Rhodes, Kos and Kalymnos as well as the west coast of Asia Minor (Newton, 1862 and 1865). His finds of Mycenaean tombs and pottery on Kalymnos deserve to be remembered: this was before Schliemann excavated at Mycenae and Troy. Among the first systematic explorations on the islands were those of a British expedition at Phylakopi in Melos, 1896-9, briefly renewed in 1910 (Atkinson et al., 1904; Dawkins and Droop, 1910-11; cf. Barber, 1974). Duncan Mackenzie, who soon afterwards accompanied Arthur Evans on his more celebrated excavations at Knossos, was a prominent member of this team. Meantime, Hiller von Gaertringen explored Thera (Hiller von Gaertringen, 1902a). On Kos, inscriptions were copied and published by W.R. Paton (IC=Paton and Hicks, 1891). Paton's collection was followed by the discovery of the site of the Asklepieion - on the outskirts of the town, just as Strabo had described it (Str.14.2.19) - and of many inscriptions there by R. Herzog (Herzog, 1898, etc.). On Rhodes, a Danish expedition led by C. Blinkenberg made a thorough exploration at Lindos. The most significant find of this expedition was the long inscription which has come to be known as the 'Lindian Chronicle', a record of donations made to Athena at Lindos, from pre-

historic times down to the third century, erected in 99 BC (Blinkenberg, 1941, II Inscriptions, 2, 'Chronique du temple'; cf. Forsdyke, 1957,pp.44-6). Further excavations by Italian archaeologists during their country's occupation of the Dodekanese yielded copious additional material (see esp.ClRh passim; also the work of Maiuri, Pugliese Carratelli, Segre = NS, NSER, SER, TC, TCam, TCamS). Unfortunately, these finds have not yet been fully published (cf. Craik, 1969, pp.323-4).

Inscriptions from the islands are published in various collections and in many different periodicals. The great compilation 'Inscriptiones Graecae', originally envisaged as a collection to include all Greek inscriptions, embraces Rhodes, Chalke and Karpathos, IG XII 1 (1895); also Syme, Telos, Nisyros, Astypalaia, Anaphe, Thera, Pholegandros and Melos, IG XII 3 (1898). Included in this volume are the few inscriptions found as yet on Saros, Kasos (off Karpathos), Seutloussa (off Syme), Therasia (off Thera) and Kimolos. It was originally intended that the inscriptions of Kos and Kalymnos would form Volume XII 2 of IG. For Kalymnos, an impeccable collection by Segre (TC, 1944-5) fills the gap. For Kos, as has been seen, the situation is very different.

The Greek Archaeological Service has forged ahead with excavation in the islands, recording finds in the journals EAE and PAAH. The discovery and exploration by S. Marinatos of Minoan Akrotiri has engendered most interest in scholarly circles and beyond. Since the untimely death of Marinatos in 1974, his work has been ably continued by C. Doumas. Also on Thera, N. Zapheiropoulos has uncovered much new material at the site of the classical town. On Rhodes, G. Konstaninopoulos and his assistants renewed excavation in 1973, and every year adds to their discoveries. While few new inscriptions have been discovered in recent years, work continues on the edition, interpretation and release of the epigraphical material in the museum at Rhodes (Kontorini, 1975a and b, etc.; cf. Peek, 1969).