

**THE LAMPS OF
LATE ANTIQUITY
FROM RHODES**

3rd–7th centuries AD

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ARCHAEOPRESS ARCHAEOLOGY

ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD

Summertown Pavilion
18-24 Middle Way
Oxford OX2 7LG

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978 1 78491 746 3
ISBN 978 1 78491 747 0 (e-Pdf)

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A. Preface

Some preliminary research of unforgettable and cherished colleague Theodore Archontopoulos was responsible for my involvement with this particular part of the Late Roman material from Rhodes, viz. the lamps. Before his premature death, he had selected and recorded 170 of the lamps considered here from large excavated sets of material, basing his choice on their pictorial interest and their state of preservation, and at the same time making some preliminary observations.¹ The ultimate objective of his work was the incorporation of part of this material in the exhibition for the 2400th anniversary of the founding of the city of Rhodes, to be displayed in the Palace of the Grand Master, which permanently houses the most important medieval antiquities of the island. 2017 marked the thirteenth anniversary of the untimely passing of Theodore. From a review of the material he had collected, I was led into a thorough investigation of what lay in the warehouses maintained by the Ephorate of the Antiquities of the Dodecanese (the former 22nd EPCA, Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and the 4th EBA, Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities) in order to complete the project. In so doing, this publication of the bulk of the lamps of Late Antiquity from the city of Rhodes has become for me not only the fulfilment of a debt, but also a labour of love. To his memory, then, and also to that of my beloved father, this work is dedicated.

At the same time I would like to honour all of the Greek Archaeological Service which, in these difficult times marked by the discrediting and cheapening of values, is fighting for the protection and promotion of culture as something of public significance. Archaeologists, as state officials, are forced to spend most of their time in administration and management: they study and publish generally in what little free time they have.

Thanks are due both to the Honorary director Dr. Melina Filimonos-Tsopotou of the 22nd EPCA and to Dr. Mania Michailidou, then director of the 4th EBA and Deputy Head of 22nd EPCA, and currently director of the newly established Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, for permission to study the material. I would like to especially mention the latter, not only for facilitating practical matters involving the Service, but also for the discussions I had with her about pottery issues, where her knowledge is exceptional. These talks were an important source of understanding for me. My friend, and associate professor in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Crete, Christina Tsigonaki, played a decisive role in my registration at that university

¹ A few years ago (2009) an article was submitted for publication in the studies of the *Archaiologikon Deltion*: Th. Archontopoulos† and A. Katsioti, Τα λυχνάρια της ύστερης αρχαιότητας από την Ρόδο, 3ος-7ος αιώνας, Α μέρος. Some topics have been revised in this thesis and some others have been expanded.

for my post-doctoral degree; she followed with close interest the course of my research until its completion.

With great love and gratitude I will single out the Honorary Director of Classical Antiquities, Katerina Rhomiopoulou: she patiently went through all the typed manuscript, making helpful comments and corrections in the language, while her precision prevented me from committing some historical and chronological errors. Her willingness to assist me in issues of literature and discussions with her about topics of Late Antiquity were very fruitful for me. I owe her a large debt of thanks.

The contribution of the then Director of the Archaeological Institute of Aegean Studies, currently director of the Ephorate of the Antiquities of Mytilene and friend, Dr. Paul Triantafyllidis, is patently an important one. Through the office of the Secretariat General for the Aegean and Island Policy, he took the initiative to secure in the relevant programme for 2012 the funds required to procure sixty samples for NAA analysis at the Demokritos National Centre for Scientific Research, under the supervision of Mr. V. Kilikoglou. The XRF analysis of the clay for twenty of these lamps was carried out by Mr Jonathan Luczak (University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire), Mrs Vanessa Workman (Tel Aviv University), Mr Richard Freund (University of Hartford), Mr Harry Jol (University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire), Mr Phillip Foglia (Stockton State University), through the good offices of Mr Richard Freund (University of Hartford). I am very grateful for their contribution and hope that our collaboration will continue in the future.

With the aid of the same funding source, the topographical locations within the ancient city of Rhodes of the plots, where the excavations were conducted from which lamps were identified, were plotted by surveyor Dimitrios Sarantopoulos. I therefore express my warm gratitude to Paul Triantafyllidis and to the director of the Secretariat General for the Aegean and Island Policy, Mrs Magda Alvanou, for their help.

My research has been valuably assisted by the K. Psychas Foundation, to which I owe thanks. Funding in 2013 was used for the drawing of much of the material by Mrs. Sophia Kambani.

My dear colleagues and friends from the Dodecanesian Ephorate – Dr. Anna Maria Kasdagli, Dr. Calliope Bairami, Fotini Zervaki, and Dr. Vasiliki Patsiada – not only willingly, as indeed did all the excavation leaders, gave me material from their excavations, but patiently discussed with me topographical problems and other specific issues. At times our discussions have yielded important information, contributing to the improved

presentation of my topic. For questions on Kos, my colleague and friend Sophia Didioumi gave me much information. I consider it my duty to thank all my colleagues of the Ephorate (former 4th EBA). I shall not forget that during the two years of my research leave they shouldered my own official duties as well as their own. I would like to thank also Dr Anna-Maria Kasdagli for her valuable assistance in practical matters and her valuable observations on the final form of the text.

Other friends and colleagues, especially Dr. Ioanna Bitha, Tenia Rigakou and Dr. Constantia Kefala, have listened often, and with exemplary patience over all these years, to my anxieties, strain, exhaustion and eagerness to complete this study. Another friend and colleague, Nikos Mastrochristos, always ready with a sympathetic ear and kind word, was a valued assistant in various matters bibliographical and epigraphical. On practical issues, I am lucky to count the conservator of antiquities and works of art, Fotis Sidiropoulos, as a good and supportive friend.

I also thank warmly my friend Karen Garnett, a member of the American School of Classical Studies and researcher of the lamps from the 'Fountain of the Lamps' at Corinth. I enjoyed our useful exchanges of opinions regarding the lamps of the 5th and 6th centuries in ancient Corinth, on Rhodes, in person and via the Internet. With Professor Hector Williams I had substantive discussions on specific issues of the production and trade of oil lamps in the Eastern

Mediterranean, mainly by email, but again also in person. Exchanges on ceramic issues, particularly concerning Crete and more generally the Eastern Mediterranean, with Dr. Anastasia Yangaki, researcher at the National Hellenic Research Foundation, were greatly to the benefit of this work.

Thanks are also due to the conservators of antiquities and works of art at the Ephorate, namely Dimitris Kouyos, Katerina Pezouvani and Danae Papageorgiou, to whom I express my warm appreciation for undertaking the reconstruction of the lamps at the lowest possible cost. I would like to single out for particular mention Katerina Pezouvani: her experience and skill helped me to become a better observer. In the photographing of many of the lamps, the contribution of the conservator Lambros Maroulis was crucial. Anna Kalagri, the chemical engineer-conservator of antiquities, greatly increased my comprehension of the parameters of the results of the various clay analysis programmes. Eleftheria Kanti contributed decisively and at competitive cost to the improved appearance of the final effort through the electronic processing and setting of the text and the catalogue for the book. And, finally, heartfelt thanks to my colleague Doniert Evely for the English translation and the editing.

To my family, last but not least, I thank you all for your patience and support.

Rhodes, 2017

A. 1. Introduction

History of research and methodology

The lamps from the Late Antiquity of Rhodes pass almost unremarked in the literature. Only a few references may be found in the *Chronika* sections of *Archaiolegikon Deltion*. A handful of lamps are published from the excavations of Danish archaeologists K. Kinch and Chr. Blinkenberg at Lindos (1902–1914):² today they are kept in the storerooms of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul.³ In recent years a small number of lamps have appeared in print from the Geniki Techniki plot,⁴ and most of those from the excavation of the Diakogeorgiou plot.⁵ The majority of those on view in the Palace of the Grand Master are included in the exhibition catalogue.⁶ In parallel with this research there was also published a general article on the lamps of Rhodes, and certain categories have been treated in print in more detail.⁷

From the broader region of the Dodecanese a small number of lamps of this period have been published: such are those from the excavations of Newton in the 19th century at the Early Christian cemetery of Pothia in Kalymnos, now in the British Museum,⁸ and from the excavation of the University of Athens in Kardamaina (ancient Halasarna) on Kos.⁹ Exhibition catalogues contain a few more from Symi,¹⁰ Tilos¹¹ and Nissyros.¹²

The lamps here considered derive to an overwhelming degree from rescue excavations, mainly in the city of Rhodes, which began almost immediately after the union of the Dodecanese with Greece in 1947. Around 1400 lamps dating from the 3rd century onwards have so far been identified, preserved and catalogued: the ongoing investigations add new material daily.¹³ Although the bulk of them are from excavated contexts, chance finds and items handed over to the authorities add to their number.

Examination of the lamps deals with specimens dating from the end of the 2nd–early 3rd right up to the 7th century AD, at which point, as in other areas outside Islamic control, a shift is then observed towards other types of lighting, such as glass lamps and candles. This

research aims to reveal the changes through time of the artistic aesthetics and market choices at work in Rhodes, matters related, of course, to the ease of transport and access to the island. Thus it aspires to investigate the effect of this process and, as far as it goes, the reasons and the economic conditions associated with it.

The study was limited to a specific urban environment, i.e. the ancient city and its cemeteries. It should be noted that due to the very limited number of excavations in the countryside, very little has been examined from other settlements and locations on the island. This forced separation of the rural and urban contexts exacerbates the current limited research data for the former although, in fact, several settlements, coastal and otherwise, are known on the island. The available data are insufficient for conclusions on their demographic profile and their material remains, except for a dot on a map.

Regarding the details assembled in the catalogues for the lamps of Rhodes, it should be understood that first the method by which the archaeological research is conducted, and then the time and the means at the disposal of the excavator and also his or her priorities, all contribute to the way in which the pottery is collected and recorded in the excavation logbooks, and then in due course published in the reports. In most cases, the pottery of Late Antiquity, including complete lamps and fragments, was kept in warehouses of the Archaeological Service, unmended and unregistered. Our painstaking research in the storerooms of the Ephorate had to be conducted over many months and outside the hours of official duties. The result was the collection of a body of about 1350 lamps, both intact and broken. The unavoidable length of time taken to achieve this was occasioned by the following facts: first the sherds were still in their excavation bags and in order to catalogue them (a labour undertaken by myself for this present work) they needed to be examined and the appropriate notes made, according to the archaeological evidence, as to where they had been recovered and with what other finds. It is observed here in passing that the vital practice of marking the number of the bag or the number of the object in the logbook has been the custom in excavations undertaken by the Dodecanese Ephorate these last twenty years.

Excluding the introductory chapters, topographical observations and the historical framework of Early Byzantine Rhodes, the structure of this study broadly follows the pattern set forth by D. Bailey in his monumental, in terms of the compactness and accuracy of their content, catalogues of the lamps in the British

² Blinkenberg 1931, pl. 151.

³ See for a simple account, Kassab, Sezer 1987, 35–36.

⁴ Karantzali, McGeorge, 1999, pl. 57a, b.

⁵ Bairami 2010, 249–264.

⁶ Kollias et al. 2004, figs 7, 31, 32, 36, 57, 63.

⁷ Katsioti 2008, 189–208; Katsioti 2010, 232–248; Katsioti 2014a, 95–110; Katsioti 2014b, 153–166; Katsioti, Bairami 2015, 161–176.

⁸ Bailey 1988, 495–496.

⁹ Roumeliotis 2001, 255–275. Also for the lamps from Kos, located in the storerooms of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, see Kassab, Sezer 1987, 35–36.

¹⁰ Farmakidou 2011, 154–155, nos 56, 57.

¹¹ Katsioti 2011, 299–300, nos 80, 81.

¹² Katsioti 2011, 414–416, nos 136–139.

¹³ This includes finds from excavations until 2012 and selectively from some thereafter.

Museum. It is structured as follows: the lamps are examined by categories and types: Corinthian (with a C-prefix in the catalogue), Attic (A), Cypriot (Cy), from Asia Minor (AM), the so-called 'Samian type' lamps (S), so-called 'Rhodian' (R), the Knidian (Kn), the North African (NA), the so-called 'Aegean type' (Ae) and finally those of undetermined origin/Unplaced (Un), lamps whose provenance or type (or both) is problematic. Also included are the few wheel-made (WM) examples, the lamps of a metal alloy (Me), and the single mould (M).

Although most types/groups/classes are known and dated securely from excavations in other regions, the classification of lamps still falls foul of the pitfalls associated with the conventional criteria of division. For example, while there is a high degree of certainty in the assignment of lamps into the Attic and also the Cypriot spheres of production, some of the others, lacking a clear origin, are allocated merely on the basis of macroscopic observation and typology. Thus the catalogues accompanying the present study display inconsistencies (which are deliberate, in order to give the most helpful classification): sometimes a specific origin is given (e.g. Attic, Corinthian, Cypriot, Rhodian, or Knidian as the conjectured area of production) and sometimes a broader terminology is preferred (Asia Minor, 'Aegean style', 'Samian', North Africa). Although it was realized that some groups/categories of lamps, such as the 'Samian' and 'Aegean' types, may in fact be subsets of the Asia Minor, and will probably contain some of the lamps that belong more with those of undetermined origin, it is felt that the style of division attempted here helps the researcher.

In all cases, however, the *origin* was the primary criterion: if, for example, a North African-type lamp was in my opinion Attic made, it was placed in the Attic category. Knidian lamps in this catalogue include examples of types established in Asia Minor, 'Samian' types, even Attic. So too the Rhodian specimens included local imitations of Attic and other lamp-types. In that subset of undetermined origin/type have been classified for the most part the small unidentifiable fragments, and others whose typology or macroscopic observation of fabric did not permit a more certain assignment. Despite the effort expended, in many cases, especially with lamps from Asia Minor, it was not possible macroscopically to distinguish local products from imported ones. Even the smallest fragments were considered appropriate for inclusion in the final listings, in the belief that at least statistically the grand totals yield not only information of interest, but also indicate the range of imports, the geographical boundaries of their influence, their duration of production and popularity of specific types.

The major publications on lamps, such as for the Athenian Agora, the Kerameikos, the British Museum and so on, provided the guidelines for the classification and, especially for Attic lamps, for a more accurate dating. Most categories had a long life-span. But in the case of Rhodes, efforts at extracting a closer dating from accompanying finds (which were mostly in disturbed layers), although attempted, remain of doubtful value.

Each category is accompanied by a catalogue of the relevant lamp types in chronological order and contains, among other matters, both typological and iconographical observations. The introductory passage for each class as structured and developed relies upon both the entire and the fragmentary lamps, each with its image and a description. In each entry is included all possible information available – even the archaeological context, in case anyone would like to refer to the relevant excavation logbook, while a broader account, where necessary, is developed in the introductory text. The excavation logbook remarks are quoted verbatim regarding the description of find-spots, the information on the bag-labels and the find-number, where the latter exist. Select intact lamps are also shown in a drawn cross-section. A concordance matches catalogue numbers with any given at the time of excavation.

The number of finds has not permitted the expansion of catalogue to the extent desired. For example, while the imported pieces from Corinth and Cyprus of the late 2nd and those of the 3rd century are included. This could not be done to the same extent for lamps produced in places like Knidos and Rhodes, for specific reasons: for Knidos, the numerous lamps produced in the 2nd century require further and detailed treatment¹⁴ while, for lamps of the 3rd century from Rhodes and Knidos (which certainly do exist), no study has been carried out and thus a more detailed identification remains problematical.¹⁵ This difficulty is acute for the island of Kos, where the comparative material is absent, apart from some lamps from the University of Athens excavation at ancient Halasarna and a tiny body from published excavated plots. Essentially, the numerous lamps on the island still await a dedicated study. With regard to the wider parallels both with lamps from Kos, and with those of other Aegean islands, it is likely that conclusions will be soon forthcoming from future research and publications of the archaeological material.

¹⁴ Only the products of the ROMANE(N)SIS workshop are to be located in Rhodes: this requires a separate and special study.

¹⁵ As per Bailey (1988, 333), Knidian lamps of the 3rd and 4th centuries have not been recognized. However, the published archaeological evidence is very weak. On the other hand in Rhodes numerous excavations have revealed the problem: either Rhodian lamps do not exist or their recognition is impossible in the 3rd century, and maybe in the next too.

The measurement of the height of a lamp does not include the handle; and its length is calculated as the maximum distance between the end of the handle and the tip of the spout. All dimensions are given in metres. For describing colour, Munsell chart readings are used,¹⁶ although unstable firing conditions may cause colour differences between the surface and the core of a lamp. Those pieces (most of them catalogued) not on view in the Palace of the Grand Master are kept in the storerooms of the Archaeological Service in Rhodes. Their current position is not listed in the catalogue as this would become inaccurate with time. For brevity's sake all dates can be assumed to be AD, unless otherwise stated. In referring to published comparative material, dates quoted are typically those given by the authors. In the catalogue observations the abbreviation 'cf.' refers to lamps *from* Rhodes or the Dodecanese in general, while the use of 'see' indicates parallels *outside* the island and the Dodecanese. The photographs accompanying the objects are mostly my own.

It should be noted too that the dating as given, open as it is to the new information being generated, cannot at the moment provide complete and final answers to questions such as: how long was this type in production? When did it first appear and when did it cease? It should be obvious, then, that this study aims to contribute more to the discussion on problems relating to the place of origin of the lamps rather than their final resolution. Even though supported by sixty clay analyses and twenty more by XRF analyses, the study has sometimes generated more questions than it solved. This particularly concerns comments on the Asia Minor lamps that probably do not come from Ephesus, since mention of comparative pieces could only be made by the generic term of 'Asia Minor' or 'Asia Minor-type' lamps. The almost complete ignorance, or at best incomplete state of knowledge of the material for large areas of Asia Minor makes it too risky at present to attempt any more exact classification. Thus, for example, the vague reference made in the account of Knidian manufacturers to Late Antiquity and its end, which is essentially unknown.

In the present study the attempt is made, as far as is possible, to determine in the finds of individual excavations the level of imports relative to lamps of local production. Reservations as to their identification will of necessity remain in the absence of broader NAA and X-Ray Diffraction analyses. Therefore, detailed comparisons useful for drawing conclusions about the Late Roman economy must be considered premature at this stage of the investigation.

Establishing a chronology for the lamps suffers from many limitations¹⁷ due to missing or problematic excavation contexts. All the lamps come from disturbed layers; secure and closed contexts are absent. Usually, the lamp in question is assigned a broad chronological range according to group/class/type, unless clearer details exist. Unfortunately in many cases it was not possible to avoid dating according to type, especially when the archaeological evidence was weak or non-existent. An understanding of the information derived from the excavations in the city, and indeed the whole progress of systematic investigation, is still hampered by the physical conditions of discovery – namely that of rescue excavation: the random spread and size of the plots, their further division into smaller properties, the successive building phases encountered, and the use of mechanical means for the removal of surface layers (at least until recently). All these factors have caused disruption and destruction of archaeological layers. Furthermore, the finds from older excavations, as mentioned above, often lack any stratigraphical information. The close-packed housing and economic priorities in a space as heavily populated as the modern city of Rhodes has had a negative impact on the course of related investigation and ultimately on the understanding of Early Christian remains which have proved particularly vulnerable due to casual and shoddy construction.

As to lamps from the cemeteries, their recovery either from disturbed and re-used burials lacking clear internal structure, or in dumped material/spoil, makes their correlation with any accompanying finds very difficult. In Rhodes tombs of the Roman period (in the main) were used repeatedly, even into early Byzantine times. It must also be realized that, up till now, no site within the residential core of the Early Christian city has revealed clear evidence of substantial secular structures; only occasional remnants have been sampled here and there, which have often caused damage to earlier buildings. Nor has there anywhere in the cemeteries been found an indisputably Early Byzantine burial complex or definite concentration of tombs. Instead, tombs of this period are found scattered among the monumental funerary complexes and groups of Hellenistic and Early Roman times. The coins, mostly awaiting cleaning, and at times corroded to illegibility, do not significantly contribute to a more accurate dating. In the present investigation the evidence of the excavated data, where it exists – namely associated finds, and coins in particular – is pushed as far as possible. But since dozens of excavations are involved, many of which will be published by their excavators, it is obvious that understanding the definitive contexts of the lamps

¹⁶ Munsell Soil Color Charts, New York 2000.

¹⁷ For interesting observations on aspects of dating of the earliest lamps, see Lund 1991, 269–295.

will have to await their assessment along with all the finds. Accordingly, the present work should be seen as assisting, but not solving, the process of dating.

Burial practices¹⁸ and the use of lamps in temples are issues that will not concern us in this study. Conclusions and comparisons of local variations with customs practiced elsewhere in the Roman Empire will be formulated by colleagues as they complete their accounts of the individual excavations.¹⁹ The lack of closed contexts, especially in the cemeteries, will not allow a full answering of questions about the use of lamps in funerary practices: how often they were placed with the dead, or deposited outside the tomb during the accompanying rites.

A. 2. The Historical Context

Observations on the topography of Late Roman-Early Byzantine Rhodes

Rhodes was one of the metropoleis of Hellenism: an economic power thanks in part to the commercial and military activities of the Rhodian navy that had taken control of the transit trade in the Mediterranean and the possession during the Hellenistic period of secure harbours.²⁰ The island, having lost the geopolitical significance of its glorious past, became just a part of the vast Roman Empire, when the centre of political decision-making moved from the Eastern Mediterranean to Rome; though it did continue to be a hub for the transit trade of the Mediterranean basin.²¹

¹⁸ For burial practices, especially in the eastern part of the Empire, which were subject to constant change until the 6th century at the least, see Poulou-Papadimitriou, Tzavella, Ott 2012, 377–428; Ivison 1996, 99–125; Samellas 2002; Sanders 2005, 419–442; Walbank 2005, 249–280; Hoskins Walbank, Walbank, 2006, 267–288, passim; Dagron 1977, 1–25; Burman 2004, 137–142; Papaconstantinou 1993, especially 94–97; Duval 1984, 259–275; Février 1977, 29–45; Février 1978, 211–274; Johnson 1997, 37–59; Wolski, Berciu, 1973, 370–379; Sodini 1993, 155–156; Rebillard 2003; Yasin 2009, especially the chapter 'Commemorative Communities: the Dead in Early Christian Churches', 46–100; Yasin 2002, 13–85; Parks 1999; Rife 2012; Eger 2013, 827–838 (review of the monograph, Rife 2012); Warner Slane, Walbank 2006, 377–388; Achim 2014, 287–342. For Kos see: Kalopissi-Verti, Panagiotidi, 2001, 243–254. For Attica, see Gini-Tsofopoulou, Yangaki 2010, 703–704. For Rhodes, in particular see Archontopoulos, Papavasileiou 2006, 193–210. For the western part of the Empire, see Cantino Wataghin 1999, 147–180; Spera 2005, 5–34.

¹⁹ The complete publication of the Diakogeorgiou plot in the Rhodian necropolis is expected. For the present, see Bairami 2010, 249–269.

²⁰ For the history of Rhodes, see von Gaertringen, RE Suppl. V, 1931, in the entry on Rhodos, f. 731–840; Berthold 1984; Wiemer 2002; Papachristodoulou 1989, 36–41. 'Full of fields and woods' is how Aelius Aristides describes the citadel of the city of Rhodes, Rodiakos, 5.6. See the collated written reports, Filimonos-Tspotou 2004, 21–22.

²¹ For a more general overview of the mechanisms of commercial traffic and maritime routes in the eastern Mediterranean, see Kingsley, Decker 2001, 1–27; Poblome 1996, especially 89–97; Avramea 2002, 57–90. For the Dodecanese specifically, see Deligiannakis 2008a, 209–233; Deligiannakis 2016, 93–94, 95–104, 109–112. Especially for lamps, cf. also Harris 1980, 126–145; Bailey 1987, 59–64; Bruneau 1987, 20–54. Despite the commercial relations of the islands with Egypt and Syria, there are no lamps from these areas detected, at least on

Little is known about Rhodes in the 3rd century AD, a period to which belong the oldest of the lamps examined in this study. Two dedicatory inscriptions of the time of the Severan Dynasty signal the presence of generals of Chersonesos and a victory over the pirates.²² These appear to signify that the city-state was still organized, and that Rhodian seamanship had not lost its edge, thanks to which it retained control of the sea routes in this late period (210 AD). Until at least the 3rd century, the Rhodian state continues to function, maintaining substantial possessions outside the island.²³ However, the successive barbarian waves caused the economic decline of the Roman Empire and, eventually its collapse dismantling the ancient structures and leading to the emergence of new types of statehood.²⁴ Rhodes may not have been particularly affected by the raids,²⁵ but did not escape those changes unscathed.

Under the reforms of Diocletian (284–305), when the Roman provinces nearly doubled in number, the Province of the Islands (*Provincia Insularum*),²⁶ which included most of the Aegean islands, was brought under the Diocese of Asia (*Diocesis Asiana*), part of the *Praefectura Praetorio per Orientem*, based on Constantinople. The *Provincia Insularum* was administered from Rhodes (ca. 297), which was the seat of the governor (*Praeses Insularum*). From the reign of Justinian onwards (536/537) the island belonged to a special administrative region under a military quaestor (*Quaestor Justinianus exercitus*),²⁷ answerable directly to the emperor. By the late 7th century Rhodes was included in the *Karavisiatoi*, soon replaced by the Cibyrrhoeote *Theme*, which included the coast of south and south-west Asia Minor and the nearby islands.

Milestones in the period of transition from Late Roman to Early Byzantine Rhodes²⁸ were the earthquakes of 344/5, of 474 (478), the highly destructive one of 515 and that of 554 (558).²⁹ Although after the earthquake of

Rhodes, although some doubts exist about the origin of Vessberg type 20 (see Chapter B.2 on Cypriot lamps).

²² See Pugliese-Carratelli 1940, 254–260.

²³ Papachristodoulou 1989, 40, 229, n. 82.

²⁴ For a concise picture of the political and economic situation of the Roman Empire in the 3rd century, see Touratsoglou 2006, 17–62.

²⁵ For example, the Goths in around 269/270 circumnavigated, but did not approach Rhodes, see Kollias 2001, 303–304; on this matter see also Deligiannakis 2016, 44. The raids of the Persian Sassanids, between 615/8 and 621/5, caused problems of no particular significance for the island, see Savvidis 1999, 481–484. The raids of the Vandals, under Theodosius II (408–450) or Marcian (450–57). Bury 1958 [1923], 257 n. 2, and the Isaurians under Leo I (457–74), Lenski 1999, 451 n. 194 may have had greater impact.

²⁶ Hierocles, Syn. 685–687 (Honigmann 1939). See also Bucci 1998, 105–107. The *Synekdemos* of Hierocles, an official government document, was completed in 527/528, but, as has been argued, is a reissue of a manuscript of the early or mid-5th century.

²⁷ For administrative reform, see Goutzioukostas, Moniaros 2009.

²⁸ For Rhodes in Late Antiquity, see Kollias 2000, 299–308; Konstantinopoulos, Kollias 1968, 260–265; Papavasileiou, Archontopoulos 1990, 16–17 and 64–65; Bairami 2010, 249–269.

²⁹ For earthquakes in the Mediterranean region, see Guidoboni 1994;

515 large (*mutatis mutandis*) donations were forthcoming from the Emperor Anastasius I³⁰ for repairs to public buildings, walls,³¹ harbours and baths, it seems that the process of change and decline was irreversible. These disasters contributed³² to the gradual shrinking of the city: the streets – still preserving the old Hippodameian grid-like town plan – in places were encroached upon or otherwise constricted,³³ and large basilicas³⁴ were raised on the sites of, or near to, the ancient temples and other public and private (?) spaces. These abuses, symptomatic of the reduction of civic functions, made a visible impact and caused changes in the physical aspect of the city. Nevertheless, questions such as to what degree the monumental buildings changed, and which of them were destroyed, or had their original function either replaced or adapted, where convenient, to social identities now expressed by monumental church building, will not be tackled at present. After the latter had been incorporated into the urban fabric – the buildings

Papazachos, Papazachou 1989, and for Rhodes, see 225 ff. For the earthquake of 515, see John Malalas, *Chronographia*, PG 97, 16,406; Evagrius Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, PG 86/2. 3.43. For the earthquake of 554 or 558, Agathias, *Historiae*, 2.16.

³⁰ Papachristodoulou 1994, 242–243.

³¹ Characteristic is the gradual depreciation of the Hellenistic walls after the devastating earthquake of the 2nd century, that of 344–345, again of 515 and the consequent collapse of large parts of the walls. The recognition of a tomb of the 3rd century in an excavated portion of the wall of the Large Harbour, in the Jewish Quarter, indicates the progressive abandonment of the fortifications and their consequent stone-robbing and dismantling; see Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004, 123. Burials in places in the ancient fortifications lead to the same conclusions, see Platon 2000, 1191–1192. Elsewhere large parts of the harbour wall became covered in earth, see Platon 1999, 992. On the other hand, for early Christian Kos, the effects of the earthquakes caused no drastic breaks in the life of the settlement, see Baldini 2015, 12–23.

³² In reviewing the largely rote-repeated sections of the island's history concerning earthquakes, it is yet too early to draw any sensible conclusions; there needs first to be an extensive study of the fine ware and the coins found in the rescue excavations in order to understand the temporal sequences. Currently see Kasdagli 2010, 159–174, with the first conclusions about the topography of the city in Christian period, which are largely verified in this study; and also Kasdagli 2016.

³³ Basilicas or other buildings encroached on or blocked roads. Instances of mistreatment of the urban fabric in the Early Byzantine years are referred to in the details on the topography below. Relevant here is the apse of an Early Christian building at Cyprus Square (the National Bank) built over the ancient path P39a, Konstantinopoulos 1967a, 516–517, 531 and the infringement of P27 in the Pappou plot on the streets T. Sofouli and Messolonghiou, see Dreliosi-Irakleidou 1992, 617; Kollias 2000, 302–308. See also Papavassiliou, Archontopoulos 1991, 329–332. Larger scale abuses, mainly in cities of Asia Minor, which particularly suffered such treatment, are discussed in Jacobs 2009, 203–224. See in general Dagron 2004, 1–25 and also the case of Rome and other examples, where in a parallel way the physical spread of Christian structures and similar was not a random process but a planned project, Mulryan 2014.

³⁴ In cases such as near the early-Christian basilica of Cheimarras Street and its environs, and extending up to near Navarinou Street (Voudouris-Giannakopoulos plot, see Papachristodoulou 1979, 418–419; for the Valakis-Volonakis plot, see Doumas 1973–1974, 951–954; and the Filippou plot, see Zervoudaki 1977, 352–356. Here are both architectural remains of later years and spaces that served as depositories and dumping grounds, as in Early Christian times; unfortunately these were not investigated to the extent desired, as archaeologists often arrive after the bulldozers have done their destructive work.

themselves, often out-of-scale with their surroundings and seeming to obey no imperatives (other than that of territorial expansion), the centre of the city probably shifted, or rather was deliberately scattered over a wider area. In general, however, and despite the changes, the city maintained those fixed points of reference, namely markets, temples, aqueducts, main roads, public baths, harbour facilities, to which were gradually added the new core-structures which obviously would include buildings of the new religion. The infringements and systematic re-use of building material in Christian buildings are certainly quite consistent with the establishment of ecclesiastical power in the city. With the facts so far available, however, there is no identified physical indication of Christian activity before the 5th century. The first known bishop, Foteinos, active under Diocletian, would probably have still had a small flock to shepherd and no organized church.³⁵ This last development seems to have spread quickly however, since by the late 4th or early 5th centuries, Rhodes, as metropolitan see of the Cyclades, headed eleven dioceses.³⁶ Nevertheless, during the late 2nd century, it is mentioned that the otherwise unknown bishop Euphranor fought against the Severian heresy on the island.³⁷ In 325 Euphrosynos bishop of Rhodes, took part in the first Ecumenical Council at Nicaea.³⁸ In 431 AD, bishop Hellanikos attended the third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus,³⁹ and bishop Agapetos was at the Constantinople meeting of the same body in 459,⁴⁰ while at the Council of 449 at Ephesus Rhodes was represented by bishop Ioannes.⁴¹ In the period under discussion three other bishops should be mentioned: Isaias (520–529), Theodosios (553) and Isidoros (680–681).⁴²

The excavated finds indicate that buildings of earlier phases are used without interruption, so that in most cases it is not possible to neatly separate the Early Byzantine remains. Such a decline in construction is consistent with the casual execution of contemporary masonry and the poor quality of the building materials. The approaches to urban planning by the administration now endeavoured to meet subsistence needs showing indifference for the aesthetics of the past. As is generally the case, imports, and those of

³⁵ Opinions on the organized church have not been verified by archaeological means. For detailed information on Foteinos, see Simeon Metafrastis, *Βίος και ἀθλησις του αγίου ιερομάρτυρος Κλήμεντος Αγκύρας*, PG 114, Sec. VII, f. 849. For the bishops of Rhodes during the early Byzantine years, see Orlandos 1948, 4–5, pt. 6; Konstantinidis 1968, 26–28, 31–33; Konstantinidis 1970, 50–51; Fedalto 1988, 21.1.2, 203; For the Christianization of areas neighbouring Rhodes e.g. Lycia, see Bennett 2015, 259–288.

³⁶ Konstantinidis 1968, 116–118.

³⁷ Deligiannakis 2016, 11.

³⁸ Konstantinidis 1968, 27.

³⁹ Schwartz 1963, 110, 365.

⁴⁰ Mansi VII, 459. Agapetos was the bishop consulted by emperor Leo I on ecclesiastical matters, see Destephen 2008, Agapetos 3, 80–81.

⁴¹ Deligiannakis 2016, 13.

⁴² Deligiannakis 2016, 14.

marble in particular, are reduced dramatically after the 3rd–4th centuries (it seems that the earthquake of 344/5 initiated the large-scale quarrying of damaged and destroyed buildings). When matters improved in the building boom of the 6th century, it becomes clear that the purloining of material from older buildings should not be laid entirely at the Christians' door, but was rather a common practice that contributed to the transformation of the urban landscape; it was instigated and possibly controlled by the authorities, according to the dictates of economic as well as ideological reasons.

During recent years rescue excavations have revealed a substantial part of the celebrated ancient city, with its houses, mansions, roads and extensive cemeteries;⁴³ a large number of finds have been retrieved. The thorough examination of Early Christian remains and the transformation and adaptation of the ancient city to the new conditions based on excavation data, is a still pending decades-old objective which aims to place Rhodes in the broader context of the Christianization of the Empire.

This gradual transformation finds expression on two fronts, Christianity and paganism, and the way they affected cultural manifestations and social behaviours. The Christian inscriptions in the basilicas coexist with pagan themes in private homes, or create new hybrids.⁴⁴ Moreover, paganism should be now viewed not as a unified religious system, but rather as a patchwork of various local cults and syncretisms. Objects such as the inscribed votive pedestal dedicated to Hercules or the inscribed base of a fountain with the representation of a satyr⁴⁵ – items probably of the 5th century which highlight links with the past and Hellenic culture – encapsulate the civic aspirations of public officials and/or wealthy private donors who were hailed as renovators and benefactors. Representations of the emperors, though, are missing,⁴⁶ possibly the result of indifference or some failure to enforce this main avenue of political propaganda, matters which brought about the reduction of such artistic expressions of civic pride. At the same time, humbler objects like the clay lagynos-flagon with its incised representation of an ass and the Christogram, lamps combining erotic scenes and the cross (ΠΧ 1160, ΠΧ 2755),⁴⁷ or with Pan and a cross (ΠΧ 1208), reveal the interaction of the two communities⁴⁸ –

apparently with more held in common than otherwise. They also show that behind the juxtaposition of apparent contrasts, such as Christianity and paganism, may be glimpsed the gradual and in many ways turbulent transition from the Ancient to the Christian world. The damaged marble head of a statue defaced by a relief cross and the inscription IC XC NH KA,⁴⁹ possibly displaying the aggressive aspect of a religion on the ascendant, is to be taken in the same vein. Yet, at the same time, it shows the emergence of new aesthetic concepts, along with a change in mentality and the attitudes of people towards their ancient heritage: the apotropaic power of a Christian 'baptism' of ancient statues.⁵⁰ Such actions are not yet put aside, but rather transformed from iconoclastic impulses into means for the continued functioning of civic life, aimed at saving pagan sculptures as an important part of the historic past.⁵¹

In any case, the gradual establishment of ecclesiastical power in Rhodes, and especially the religious conversion of the residents, has not yet been the subject of systematic investigation through the archaeological evidence. In fact, it is difficult to answer clearly questions such as the time the ancient religion ceased to be an equal force and became limited to minorities;⁵² the relations between the Christian and the Jewish communities, the latter seeming absent from the archaeological record in the city of Rhodes apart from a very few indications. It is reasonable to assume that the differences in lifestyle and the practices of worship between Jews and Christians would be rather limited. However, when broader questions like these remain unanswered, individual issues, such as the struggle of Orthodoxy with heresy and the existence of heterodox communities and of cult spaces,⁵³ are almost impossible to clarify.

the possessions of a noble family of the mid-4th century AD. The members are mainly pagan, but some of them are undoubtedly Christians. See Shelton 1981. On the issue of coexistence, see too Cracco Ruggini 2012, 15–20; Cline 2014, 28–48.

⁴⁹ Kollias et al. 2004, 20–21, fig. 5; Papavasileiou 2006, 372–389.

⁵⁰ A widespread phenomenon in the Empire, see Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 47–61; Delivorias 1991, 107–123; Krug 2008, 548–557; Trombley 2008, 143–164. Further, see Saradi 2006, especially the chapters 'At the Edge of Antiquity: Pagan Monuments in the Christian City' and 'Churches in Urban Space and Life', 355–440; James, 1996, in particular 16–18; Marinescu 1996, 285–298; Mango 1963, 55–59; Stewart 1999, 159–189; Hjort 1993, 99–112; Rothaus 2000, 113–125; Baldini Lippolis 2009, 71–86, n. 78 ff; Kristensen 2009, 158–175; Kristensen 2012, 31–66; Kristensen 2013; Niewöhner 2014, 1–2. For the act of consecration by the cutting of the cross, see too Gregory Nyssus, *Εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ Ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ*, PG 46, 913 D–916 B. Generally for the survival of paganism, see Irmsher 1981, 683–688.

⁵¹ Jacobs 2010, 279–282, believes that actions such as these, i.e. the assertion of Christian symbols, was a sort of 'updating' of the ancient statues.

⁵² On this matter, see the contribution of Deligiannakis 2011, 313–316, Deligiannakis 2016, 19–20, for the forced coexistence of pagans and Christians in the temple of Athena on the acropolis of Lindos.

⁵³ Orlandos 1948, 4, note 4, compiles the written evidence for the existence of heretics in Rhodes. For this matter, see also Deligiannakis 2010, 35–36; Deligiannakis 2016, 17, 34.

⁴³ For the planning system and the houses of the ancient city, see Höpfner, Schwandner 1994, 51–67. For the Hellenistic fortification of Rhodes, see Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004, 71–72. For the necropolis of Rhodes, see Fraser 1977, 1–8; Patsiada 2013a, 34–49.

⁴⁴ See the accounts for Paphos in the 4th–5th centuries, Hadjichristofi 2006, 207–221.

⁴⁵ Kollias et al. 2004, 20–21, figs 5–7 and 9–11; Deligiannakis 2008b, 142–158.

⁴⁶ Just two bilingual honorary inscriptions of the Emperors Arcadius and Theodosius exist; see Jacopi 1932–1940, 207–208, nos 43–44.

⁴⁷ Kollias et al. 2004, 20–21, figs 6–7 and 9–11.

⁴⁸ Suggestive as to the coexistence of locals (pagans) and Christians is the Treasure of the Esquiline Hill in Rome, with over 60 silver objects,

The survival of ancient religion is a matter for investigation: just as in large cities like Rome there are disputes about whether it remained dominant until the late 5th century.⁵⁴ But it is a fact that the circumstances are not the same everywhere. In the case of Rhodes it is permitted, *ex silentio*, to assume that paganism faded away peacefully⁵⁵ when its last adherents ceased to exist.⁵⁶ The lack of sources and witnesses in the overwhelming number of cases probably reflects a relatively painless transition. As had happened after the intervention of Constantine the Great, given the tactical-political attitudes of the ruling class, the adoption of the new religion, replacing the earlier attempts to suppress it, is due more to pragmatism than belief.⁵⁷ It is not mere coincidence that the abandonment of sacred sites with a high profile – like the Asklepieion of Kos or Lindia Athena in Rhodes – is difficult to date.⁵⁸

In the necropolis of Rhodes, the oldest clearly Christian burials, identified by the presence of lamps with crosses or the Christogram, have been discovered in the excavations in the Kalogeris, Parassos and Papastamatiou plots, and in the widening of Kamirou Street. The coexistence of pagans and Christians in common cemeteries, but also the dedication of lamps with pagan (or neutral) decoration by Christians is confirmed in the Diakogeorgiou-plot excavation: for the most part the burials and offerings are late in date, reaching the end of the 6th century. Here, from the total of 198 lamps, only 18 have a purely Christian theme – an indication, perhaps, of the continued use by Christians of lamps with neutral or pagan themes. It is worth noting the total absence of lamps with Jewish symbols: indicative here not only of the assimilation of pagan elements with those of Christian tradition, but also of the wide use of lamps with general themes by all three communities. Of special interest, however, are lamps ΠΧ 2162 and ΠΧ 1936:⁵⁹ the discus probably bears a representation of a seven-branched lamp (menorah), or a Lulah palm branch,⁶⁰ whilst the nozzle bears a relief

cross, of which only the vertical element is preserved in ΠΧ 2162, but the entire symbol survives on ΠΧ 1936. These pieces raise the question about symbols held in common, even as late as the 6th century AD, by the two communities.

The City of Rhodes

As correctly noted in a recent, brief, but thorough study,⁶¹ whilst archaeological research has covered many areas of the ancient city, yet the process of transformation and shrinking of the Hellenistic and Roman metropolis during the Byzantine period has not received an appropriate emphasis. The study of lamps and especially their distribution not only in the urban fabric, but also in areas of the necropolis, certainly will not of itself give an explanation, particularly when the lamps occur only as debris. Even so, their study and distribution over the city offer useful information about its physical extent and reflect on social activity up to the 7th century. Data drawn from the *Chronika* of the *Archaialogikon Deltion*, the excavation reports and logbooks are summarized below; they are accompanied by a map showing the location of excavated plots where lamps examined here turned up. Similar efforts have and will be made in the future to portray the distribution of other classes of finds, such as the coins.⁶² The collated results, combined with other material evidence, especially that of ceramics in general, will add considerably to the understanding of the narrative of the city's life.

Given the difficulties in stratigraphy and the lack of closed contexts already mentioned, it is not always clear whether some of the catalogued lamps come from private or public buildings. It should be stressed too that the split, city vs. necropolis, as noted in the series of the *Archaialogikon Deltion*, has inherent limitations: the necropolis shows sporadic signs of habitation already in the 6th century, and, respectively, the city is not without the occasional burial. This blurring of the boundaries between the city and the necropolis has its roots in the piecemeal abandonment of the ancient fortifications under the *Pax Romana*, aided by the weakening of authority and the disruptive effects of natural disasters.

In considering topographical matters, then, and starting in the 3rd century AD, before the spread of Christianity, we may envision a city that had undergone no radical changes compared with the previous centuries. Then, from around the middle of the 5th century, we have extensive exploitation of older structures for building material, instead of the reuse of the older sanctuaries by the new religion, whose adherents may have been

⁵⁴ See the arguments of Cameron 2011, chapter 5 – ‘Pagan Converts’, 173–205. He considers that in Rome until 340, there was a balance between the two viewpoints, but that afterwards there began the decline of the ancient religions, which were ‘clinically dead’ before the anti-pagan laws of Theodosius were passed.

⁵⁵ For the consensual and peaceful religious climate in the islands, see Kiourtzian 1998, 361–378; Kiourtzian 2000, 15–16. For the growth of Christianity in Kos without, apparently, violent confrontations with the other cults, see Cosentino 2015, 105–116.

⁵⁶ See similar studies and observations for other areas, such as Athens, Franz 1965, 205; Corinth, Rothaus 2000; here and there for Kos, Baldini 2011, 33–37. For a more general overview, see Trombley 1993–1994. Deligiannakis 2016, 58, 60, 63, 137 argues for the existence of local martyrs whom he associates with Early Christian churches on the island; these are, however, unsubstantiated hypotheses.

⁵⁷ For the options of the upper class and their dilemmas in the 4th and 5th centuries, see Ziche 2014, 351–367.

⁵⁸ Baldini 2011, 35.

⁵⁹ See the Chapter B.8 on ‘Aegean style’ lamps.

⁶⁰ Although it has been argued that what is represented are bundles of branches, or sheaves of straw (Gerousi 2013, 153 and *passim* thereafter).

⁶¹ Kasdagli 2010, 159–174. See also Deligiannakis 2016, 42–47.

⁶² Kasdagli 2016.

limited in number anyway. This means that from the mid-5th century, when, roughly speaking, the first construction phase of a large church on Cheimarras street begins,⁶³ either the earlier sanctuaries were in ruins, or they were being systematically dismantled for building material. The city basilicas are to be found in central locations near the ports and on the main roads leading to the peri-urban settlements and rural areas. Within and outside the medieval walls are nuclei of habitation areas. The largest and probably the oldest known to date comprises the great basilica with its outbuildings unearthed on the eastern slope of the Acropolis on the Chatziandreou plot, at the crossing of Pavlou Mela and Cheimarras Streets: an impressive complex whose remains have been traced down to Navarinou Street. Near the modern Diagoras Stadium a mosaic floor came to light, probably associated with the remains of the baptistery of another basilica.⁶⁴ In the medieval town there are the basilicas at Agios Georgios (Chourmali Medrese) on Apolloniou Street,⁶⁵ at the Archangel Michael (Demirli Mosque) on Athenas Square,⁶⁶ that on Agisandrou Street⁶⁷ and that on Thiseos Street.⁶⁸ Yet another possibly stood on Panaitiou Street, on the site of the Medieval church of Agios Ioannis at the Collachium: parts of a floor laid with split pebbles set in a layer of hydraulic mortar and a building with floors of large ceramic tiles and marble were excavated and remnants of late mosaics were uncovered under the street to the east.⁶⁹

Gradually and by the end of the era under consideration, at least four areas of occupation had emerged, as shown in the map, with perhaps here and there other smaller areas within the necropolis, while some parts of the ancient city had been given over to agriculture. From the evidence of small finds and non-archaeological sources of information so far there is no indication of any demographic or economic growth. Rather, the scale and poor fabric of the masonry in secular structures have contributed to the very limited preservation of some phases of private dwellings, while public (?) buildings, whose exact use is difficult to determine, probably bear witness to the marginalized role that Rhodes⁷⁰ had during the start of the Early Byzantine

period, i.e. as a seasonally utilized harbour-station for the *annona* fleet on its journey from Egypt to Constantinople. The consequence of Rhodes seems reduced; nevertheless, a blurred and fragmentary picture of the early Byzantine settlement is recorded in the excavation reports and the annals of the finds. The data yielded by other finds, like the coins, are of great interest: for example, the scarcity of the coins of Anastasius I indicate that Rhodes was in significant decline before the earthquake of 515.⁷¹ The difference with the standards of construction and artistic activity in neighbouring Kos is stark: public buildings, luxurious homes and villas with impressive mosaics have been discovered there,⁷² demonstrating the higher standard of living in comparison with Rhodes in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD.

This chapter, with the accompanying map,⁷³ is not a comprehensive survey of the layout of the Early Byzantine settlement, since it records (and only succinctly) merely those areas where lamps have been found.⁷⁴ The majority of these come from excavations in the ancient city and its cemeteries. Very few lamps come from the countryside, reflecting the limited excavation activity there. It should be remembered that, omitting items handed in to the authorities, at least 10% of this catalogue are lamps (the best preserved and most interesting samples) found in the storerooms of the Archaeological Museum of Rhodes without any records. Most of them are from excavations of the period of Italian rule, for which there is but little, and that mostly general, information. Indeed, since all are intact or nearly intact, it should be assumed that the

of Asia Minor. The rare reference in the written sources and in the few surviving inscriptions, public and private, is not symptomatic. As has been proposed, the building frenzy of the 5th–6th centuries, expressed in the construction of basilicas, possibly suggests the development of a new approach in the investment of an economic surplus: see Deligiannakis 2004 166; Deligiannakis 2016, 52–53. It is certain that basilicas had become the apposite architectural and prestige symbols, replacing the traditional urban buildings as foci of local pride and ambition, with the patrons competing with each other in piety, prosperity and prestige. The claimed monumental, and far from occasional, construction activity in the private sector is not proven by excavation. For the belief in a gradually shrinking city and its transformation into a small town, see Kasdagli 2010, 162 ff. This last vision certainly contrasts with the idea of rich private residences, a densely-packed and wealthy city and so on, as expressed by Deligiannakis 2008a, 210; Deligiannakis 2016, 45.

⁷¹ Kasdagli 2016.

⁷² Typically, the so-called House of the Bronzes, the House of Asklepios, with its monumental mosaics such as The Arrival of Asklepios in Kos, the House of Silenus, The Abduction of Europa, The Judgement of Paris, and also The Casa Romana, which seems to have been inhabited until the 7th–8th centuries. See De Matteis 2004; Interdonato 2011, 28–29; Didioumi 2011, 89–90. On the wealth and prosperity in the city of Kos at this period, see Didioumi 2015, 99–100.

⁷³ The basis of the plan of the ancient city and of the ancient coastline comes first from Filimonos-Tspotou 2004, further drawing on Kasdagli 2010 for that part of the city beyond the Medieval walls, updated accordingly, and lastly on the plots from which come the finds considered here.

⁷⁴ The bibliographical references of the excavations of the plots are included in the catalogue of the lamps.

⁶³ Zarras 2014, 81–104. Deligiannakis 2016, 45–46, 116–117.

⁶⁴ Jacopi 1931, 479; Volanakis 1976, 130–113; Pelekanidis, Atzaka 1988, 85–86.

⁶⁵ Its date perhaps lies in the second or third phase, i.e. in the second half of the 6th century, of the Chatziandreou basilica, on the evidence of the motif of the pine-cone as the central theme depicted on the mosaic floors of both basilicas, see Volanakis 1982, 407–410, fig. 2 and Volanakis 1987, 664–666, fig. 2.

⁶⁶ Papavassiliou, Archontopoulos 1991, 333–337.

⁶⁷ Papavassiliou, Archontopoulos 1991, 340–345.

⁶⁸ Psarri 2007, 468–469.

⁶⁹ For the excavation, see Kasdagli 1991, 498; Kasdagli 1992, 671.

⁷⁰ This idea concerning the acme of the town is often repeated on the basis of its strategic importance as a stopover point up to about the middle of the 6th century in the provisioning of the capital: see for an example Deligiannakis 2007–2008, 3; Deligiannakis 2016, 45–47, 50. However, it is better compared with some of the rather humbler cities

pottery from these excavations of the interwar period was either discarded or never collected.⁷⁵ Most of these finds probably derive from the excavations on the hill of Agios Stephanos (Monte Smith), i.e. in the area between the shrines and roads situated between the city and the heights of the Acropolis, where the large and largely artificial caves and Nymphaea dedicated to various deities, which formed an integral part of the architectural landscape of the city of Rhodes in the Hellenistic period, are located.⁷⁶ As happened throughout the Greco-Roman world, patently humble tributes such as lamps would have been customarily dedicated there until the end of antiquity. Also, some of the lamps without provenance may come from the Filerimos basilica excavated by the Italians in 1927; for which, again, no references survive.

It must also be noted that the numismatic collection amassed from the excavations carried out in the period of Italian rule disappeared at the end of the Second World War.

The West and Central Sections of the City

At the foot of the Acropolis of Rhodes, where in the past extended a zone of thinly distributed public buildings, sanctuaries and villas,⁷⁷ the most important period of habitation is in the Roman and the Late Roman era. The continued use of older houses, underground storage facilities, stoas and so on, often impossible to divide into temporal phases, is a common occurrence, continuing right up to Early Byzantine times. In prior periods, luxurious houses existed in the area of modern Amerikis Street the parallels to its east and west, as well as in modern Kennedy, Pavlou Mela, and Th. Sofouli streets and in the marasi⁷⁸ of Agia Anastasia, in the south-east part of the city. The excavations in properties of this area revealed the continuity of habitation, though in reduced circumstances in comparison to the grander and richer past. The plots of the central and western part of the city are delimited by modern Enoplion

Dynameon, Diagoridon, Th. Sofouli, Agias Sophias, Agiou Ioannou, Demokratias-Riga Feraiou-El. Venizelou and Voreiou Epirou streets.

The excavation of the entire block (insula) of Enoplion Dynameon Street, comprising the Geronikolas, Chatzidimitriou and Diakidis-Minettos plots, revealed remains of luxurious houses of the Late Hellenistic period, with successive building phases and a use continuing into Roman and Early Byzantine times. Worth mentioning are the extensive building remnants in the adjacent Tzedakis, Damianos and Geronikolas-Doulgaroglou plots on Cheimarras Street. Unfortunately, in most cases, the building remains of the Early Byzantine period are either very poorly or inadequately documented, as is the case with both the Tzedakis and Damianos plots. The first revealed, over much of the excavated area, remains of various periods, with an Early Byzantine secular –most likely public – building with mosaics, and floors laid with shaped stones and pebbles. The plentiful numismatic evidence of emperors Justin II (565–578), Mauricius (582–602), Heraclius (610–641), and Constans II (641–668) were found together with examples of Asia Minor and ‘Samian-style’ lamps that are included in the Catalogue here.⁷⁹ Further east, in the Emmanouil plot, traces of later buildings were associated chronologically with the findings of wells, of the 3rd to 4th, but mainly of the 6th and 7th centuries AD.⁸⁰

The Damianos plot also saw extensive use in Late Antiquity: the earliest phase consisted of a complex of vaulted units – water cisterns and possibly storage spaces – both above and below ground level, cut in the soft rock of the area and supplied with stairs and arched doorways, and the remains of a large construction of poros-blocks. Next door to the Damianos plot is that of Diakogeorgiou (Charalambous), on Cheimarras Street: at first quarried, it was then occupied, with the concomitant filling of spaces and constructions with pillars and buttresses. The Byzantine phase, identified by highly disturbed fills underlying the constructions, is dated, with the help of its lamps, to the 7th century.

In the Geronikolas-Doulgaroglou plot, at the end of Cheimarras Street, part of an Early Byzantine apsidal building was excavated, perhaps a place of worship,

⁷⁵ Note that in some later excavations too, immediately after the incorporation of Rhodes in Greece, the finds do not seem to have been collected, possibly because of the pressures imposed on the one hand by demands for compensation for damage, and on the other by the under-staffing of the Archaeological Service.

⁷⁶ See Rice 1995, 383–404. On 394, n. 19, she points out that for these investigations, the plans, diagrams, instructions, information on the finds are all missing, to the extent that it is often impossible to understand what area is being referred to in the minimal and vague written general accounts of the Italian archaeologists. For work during the Italian occupation, see Livadiotti 1996, 8–12. For the architecture in its landscape and the configuration of the ancient city of Rhodes, see Patsiada 2013b, 47–77.

⁷⁷ For a summary of the excavation data of this area (known for its natural beauty, combined with artificial manipulation and landscaping), see Patsiada 2013b, 59–69.

⁷⁸ Marasia is the term given to the inhabited centres that developed around the walled city during the Turkish occupation (1522–1912), made up of the Greek communities who were forced to move out from the ‘Burgo’, the largely administrative centre of the Ottomans.

⁷⁹ NB 551–553, NB 2171. Specifically, find ΠΧ 2843 and ΠΧ 2844 probably associated with the NB 3865 of Mauricius (589–590). The coins that follow have but little archaeological relevance: NB 1128–1129 of Heraclius (613–617), with lamps ΠΧ 2236, ΠΧ 2237, ΠΧ 1323. In the area Δ1 were found coins NB 552–553 of Mauricius (582–602) and of Heraclius or Constans II (641–648), NB 1122, NB 1130 of Justin II (565–578), NB 1131–1132 of Constans II (641–668), associated with lamps ΠΧ 2245, ΠΧ 2246, ΠΧ 2247, ΠΧ 2249, ΠΧ 2250, ΠΧ 2248.

⁸⁰ Lamps ΠΧ 2838, ΠΧ 2831, ΠΧ 2836, ΠΧ 2837 are associated with coin NP 3891 of Justin II (576–577) from well 3. See also lamp ΠΧ 2846 from well 2.

with mosaic floors.⁸¹ Similarly, in the northern part of Papavasileiou plot, on Th. Sofouli and Cheimarras Streets, among confused building remains of the period under consideration, a mosaic floor came to light.

Rock-cut underground spaces are found at most plots and are an integral element of the topography of the area. The stone extracted from them could serve as building material, they collected rainwater from the roofs of houses and, eventually, could be employed as storage spaces and rubbish tips. The debris layers that backfill those cut-out areas and seepage collection tunnels yield rich archaeological material, usually derived from the destruction of the buildings above them, but unfortunately heavily disturbed. The adjacent plots of Maravelias, Avgerinos, Papamichail, Valakis-Volonakis, and Filippou along Navarinou Street preserve similar rock-cut spaces; they were also used in Early Christian times, as water supply tunnels, tanks, and for storage.

On the Filippou plot, also in Navarinou Street the Hellenistic building with quarried underground spaces was succeeded by a Late Antique building of indeterminate function whose complex plan is made up of walls of various phases which still defy interpretation.⁸² In the fill of a water-cistern on the Avgerinos plot across the road, the 20 or so lamps are proof of successive depositions between the 4th and 7th centuries, in line with the evidence of the coinage.⁸³

In the Valakis-Volonakis plot between Navarinou and Cheimarras Streets, investigation of a large barrel-vaulted room, and underground spaces with rock-cut tunnels and well-shafts, as well as the successive layers of road surfaces between ancient roads P38, P10 and P28, confirm their late use.⁸⁴ Similarly, at the Papamichail plot, on Navarinou Street, some of the rock-cut tanks were turned into rubbish tips and others into housing with three identifiable building phases; the latest was Early Byzantine, with lamps dating from the 5th to the 7th centuries. On the same street, in the Gavrillakis plot, an encroachment of the street grid occurred in Late Antiquity at the intersection of roads P10 and P28, where a strong wall and a building were erected east of P28. The lamps recovered there indicate continuous habitation up to the 7th century.

Excavation for the expansion of the Soleil Hotel, between Demokratias-Riga Feraiou and El. Venizelou streets on the east slope of the Acropolis, revealed continuous habitation of the area. This has confused the archaeological record, which included the usual underground spaces, seepage collection tunnels, storage for amphorae and a fountain. Among the later constructions, a long apsidal building laid with opus sectile is of note. As for the lamps, while some date from the 4th and 5th centuries, they are dominated by those from the 6th and 7th centuries; the same is true for other classes of finds,⁸⁵ in particular those from the underground spaces, which were originally roofed.

In the Maravelias plot (Park Hotel), on Riga Feraiou Street, in the rock-cut spaces probably below housing with continuous use, are found walls of the Early Byzantine phase⁸⁶ and additions to pre-existing features built with irregular masonry. In the same street and on the adjacent Ph. Constantinides plot, the ruins of Early Christian buildings stand above compact quarried features. The lamps indicate habitation at least until the mid-7th century.

Probably after the middle of the 5th century, the area of modern Cheimarras Street was dominated by a huge three-aisled Early Christian basilica with transverse aisle, at the junction with Pavlou Mela Street⁸⁷: Its excavation on the Chatziandreou plot took a number of years. Unfortunately, and despite the efforts of the Ministry of Culture, it was not possible to expropriate the land, which now lies under modern blocks of flats raised on concrete piles which make the site hard to read. Three ambiguous building phases have been identified, the last being Justinianic. The assumption is that the huge building was abandoned in the 7th century, and then stripped down to its foundations: this is supported not only by the coins but also by lamp ΠΧ 2086, dated to around the mid-7th century, which was found near one of the north pillars. The basilica interrupted road P28, and possibly also streets R27a and R28a, spreading over ancient housing, and probably over part of the adjacent great open air sanctuary, the Pantheon, whose systematic dismantling⁸⁸ is proven by the reuse in the basilica of a number of inscribed statuary plinths. The excavators reported traces of an earlier religious (?) building under the transept. Further, one of the walls, probably of the first building phase, cut a cross another thick wall, perhaps belonging to some Early Byzantine building, as is intimated by a

⁸¹ Kontis, Konstantinopoulos 1960, 281–282; Kontis 1960a, 201.

⁸² The coins recovered testify to long periods of depositions, see NB 1077–1083 of Phocas (602–610), Constans II (641–648), and of the 13th century.

⁸³ NB 900 of Justin II (565–578). NB 901 of Justin II was found along with ΠΧ numbers 2459 to 2477, the majority of them being Asia-Minor types. See also the coins NP 964–968, including some of Constantius II (355–361).

⁸⁴ The finds include coins NP 447–465, the earliest those of Theodosius II (402–450), and NB 812–820, 858, the latest of Constans II (668–689) with lamp ΠΧ 2769, of the 6th to 7th centuries.

⁸⁵ See too the implications of the coins, NB 797–NB 799, 801–803, the latest of Heraclius (613–617).

⁸⁶ As is clear from the finds: see coins NP 422 (388–408), and NB 3914 of Justin II (565–578) with lamp ΠΧ 2137.

⁸⁷ Pelekanidis, Atzaka 1988, 90, for dating the mosaic floor. See recently Zarras 2014, 81–104.

⁸⁸ For stone-robbing and dismantling, and for the procedure involved and its ideological causes, the literature is rich, see Moralee 2006, 185, n.3.

lamp of the 4th century in a nearby disturbed fill.⁸⁹ Due to the size of the monument, surrounded by clusters of structures of different phases, and also its location in a major residential enclave including other public buildings, parts of which were discovered in adjacent plots, it is assumed that its primary role was in the ecclesiastical affairs of the city, perhaps as the seat of the bishop. These interesting questions certainly go beyond the scope of this study. For example, in grave 3 inside the church, which the excavator thought might be older than the basilica,⁹⁰ was found a pentanummium of Justin II. It is quite possible, though, that this tomb, like others, belongs chronologically with the second building phase. In any case two linked issues are raised once again: the first concerns burial within the city proper, and the second burial inside churches. At this stage of the research it is not easy to correlate the small finds⁹¹ in the basilica with its construction phases: work is pending and will require future collective scholarly endeavour. The only currently secure association is that of ΠΧ 2087, a lamp of the 6th century, found in the south aisle, along with a coin of Mauricius (589–590).⁹²

In the neighbouring Menexelis plot at the corner of Diagoridon and Pavlou Mela streets, which also revealed part of the Pantheon, and very near to the basilica on Cheimarras Street, two parallel stone and brickwork walls and the threshold of a building of the Byzantine period were uncovered; the disturbed fill deposits reach to the period of Ottoman rule, while the latest lamps date from the 6th century. Nearby, in the Moustakis plot on Diagoridon Street, foundations were found incorporating inscribed statue plinths and bases of stelai belonging to the Pantheon; use is attested until the 4th century.⁹³

Housing purely Early Byzantine in date, without earlier phases, even of rough construction, such as those of the Geniki Techniki plot on Agiou Ioannou Street near the great basilica, are rare finds. This house, constructed from recycled building material, had at least two rooms on the ground floor and a staircase leading to an upper floor; a large threshold was found *in situ*. At least two floor layers and four clay water pipes of the same period were also investigated, while a well was used as a dump. In this plot, statuettes of deities were recovered from built underground structures, which were apparently associated with the open air sanctuary and its grove identified with the Pantheon. Large

artificial caves – Nymphaea – are also found in the area. The Pantheon is known to have occupied this location immediately after the siege of Demetrius in 304 BC: part of it probably lay underneath the great basilica. The red soil layers and remains of terracotta water conduits indicate the presence of a grove around this sanctuary.⁹⁴ A large quantity of pottery up to the 6th century, which unfortunately does not date the layers of the backfill with any accuracy, is connected to some extent with the later humble house mentioned above, but mostly with the two adjacent, and older, underground rock-cut cisterns that were later used as tips. Around 60 lamps were found above the floor of the eastern cistern and with them Roman coins of the 4th and 5th centuries.⁹⁵ From the fill deposits in the same area the lamps ΠΧ 2983–2984 are closely associated with coins of Justin I (518–522).⁹⁶

Generally speaking, existing houses continued to be used. Good examples are those on the Zygouris plot on Th. Sofouli Street, on the Sabanis plot⁹⁷ on Pavlou Mela and Pindou, and on the Poporos plot⁹⁸ on Pindou Street. Here a Roman house with an atrium and garden with *impluvium*, showed more than one identified later construction phases, of which the Early Byzantine one probably features humble building modifications and interventions. Similarly, in the Kouros plot, on Th. Sofouli and Pindou Streets, habitation until the 6th century was also marked by small alterations to premises, the addition of a marble floor and a water tank. On the Papastamatis plot, at the corner of Pindou and Enoplou Dynamion streets, is a house with mosaic floors, an atrium with three partitions and a bath: of its two construction phases the second seems to continue in use with alterations into the 7th century, according to the numismatic evidence, while the lamps reach only to the 5th century.⁹⁹ In the Kakas plot, on Pavlou Mela Street, and despite the wide range of building remains, it was possible to identify Early Byzantine habitation in a rectangular room (9 x 3.5m) flanked by two smaller ones, and circular depressions for large storage jars (*siroi*). An insula with a Nymphaeum at its north-west part was investigated in the Katsanakis plot on

⁸⁹ Platon 1999, 991–994.

⁹⁰ Kollias, on the excavation of 1967, excavation diary 33, p. 243, coin NB 624 of Justin II (518–527). In the tomb there were no lamps.

⁹¹ Unfortunately, in the otherwise detailed logbooks of the first excavation phase, until 1971, little was reported for the movable finds and almost nothing about the pottery, so their association is currently impossible to determine.

⁹² See coin NB 3865.

⁹³ See the coins NP 909–911 of Arcadius (4th century), and perhaps Valentinian II (364–367).

⁹⁴ See the collated data and literature, Patsiada 2013a, 224 and n. 659.

⁹⁵ See the coins NP 915–922 of Constantius II (351–361), Valens (364–367), Theodosius I (379–381), Arcadius (400–404) and Honorius (395–408).

⁹⁶ See coin NB 4557.

⁹⁷ See coins NP 892 of Eudoxius (401–403), NP 905 of Constans (?), NP 947 of Licinius (321–324).

⁹⁸ See coins NP 975–976, the latest is that of Gallienus (1st–early 2nd) with the lamp ΠΧ 2148, 3rd century.

⁹⁹ See lamps ΠΧ 2138–2141 and coins NP 303, NP 290, NP 849, of Arcadius (395–408), NP 316 of Gordian (240–244), NP 419 of the 5th century. Apart from coins NP 794–800, NP 813 is the youngest, belonging to Theodosius II (425–435), then NB 338 of Anastasius I (491–518), NB 1161 of Heraclius (610–641), NB 3896 of Heraclius (613–614). Also, coin NP 418 of Gallienus (253–260) was found together with lamp ΠΧ 2141.

Enoplon Dynameon Street and adjacent plots: the lamps, mostly from the 6th century, were found in the fill of the passage between the vaulted halls and of the ancient house with the peristyle courtyard.

In the M. Kambouropoulou plot on Pindou and 30, Th. Sofouli streets, the four construction phases suggest a change in use: from an earlier workshop to a Roman residence. Concerning the latest phase modifications, which remained incomplete, the excavator has convincingly argued that the devastating earthquake of 515 was responsible for the interruption of the repairs and the abandonment of the house. This hypothesis is broadly supported by the lamps discovered. In the A. Kambouropoulos plot at 9, Th. Sofouli Street, from the fill of a house with a marble floor, occupation up to the 7th century is inferred from the finds.

At the junction of Pavlou Mela and Voreiou Epirou Streets, in the Kostaridis plot, part of the ancient aqueduct was revealed,¹⁰⁰ consisting of underground seepage-collecting galleries cut into the bedrock. The late use of the site is confirmed by the lamps, especially those of the 6th and 7th centuries, whose dating agrees with the numismatic evidence.¹⁰¹

In the Panagiotas plot, on Volonaki and Grammou streets, Roman workshop remains were found in a rectangular rock-cut space with four masonry pillars and a vaulted ceiling. The quarried space was partitioned with later masonry walls. Of the three construction phases, the latest, Early Byzantine in date, encroaches on the street with masonry and supporting layers for its floors; it has rectangular rooms laid with marble slabs. According to the evidence of the lamps found there, it was in use up to the 6th century.

In the neighbouring Pipinos plot, on Volonaki Street, the road layers of R28a were destroyed by later interventions (a lamp of the 6th century comes from these late fills), while at the north-east side of the plot, the glass workshop seems to have ceased operation in the 2nd century, after some disaster. In a second Pipinos plot on Grammou and Vas. Herakleiou streets, workshops of the Roman period (without associated debris) overlay Hellenistic houses. In due course these workshop facilities gave way to an Early Christian house with mosaic floors and marble inlays, which also encroached on ancient road (P18).

¹⁰⁰ Konstantinopoulos (1992, 384, ns 26 and 27) proposed an underground sanctuary (nymphaion) instead of an aqueduct.

¹⁰¹ Coins NB 3861 and NB 3889 are of Justinian (527–532), NB 3874 of Heraclius (613/4).

Central Section, the Medieval Town

The majority of finds of the Early Byzantine era come from the area around the current Athenas Square, which partly coincides with the area of the Ancient Agora and the Byzantine Lower Town – namely the area around Platonos Street: here there was continuous and densely-packed habitation and for that reason its phases are difficult to tell apart.

Two basilicas with outbuildings have been identified in the area. The first is that on Agisandrou Street: three-aisled with rows of pillars, probably a transept, a baptistery and a cruciform font. It partly lies underneath the compound of the 15th century Hospital of the Knights. In the 7th century, during the construction of the Early Byzantine city wall, the front of the basilica was covered up, but worship is recorded in the Byzantine period proper, in a chapel decorated with exceptional mural paintings of the 12th century. The lamps, all from the 6th and 7th centuries, indicate the construction date and heyday of the basilica, while the numerous coins found there are mostly of the same period.¹⁰²

With its three aisles and pastophories, the basilica of the Archangel Michael (Demirli Mosque), as it is usually called after a mural in the ruined medieval church built on its site, is well-dated by the numismatic evidence to the 6th and 7th centuries.¹⁰³ The recovered lamps are mainly from its environs and the associated residential enclave, as building remnants indicate, for example in the adjacent plots of Chaliloglou in Athenas Square, of Minatsis on Menekleous Street, of Mahmud-Chasapoglou on Platonos Street and around the medieval church of Agios Spyridon.

More specifically, in the Chaliloglou plot on Athenas Square, it seems that the basilica stood upon older building remains of uncertain nature and probably even the ancient road P10. Although lamp ΠΧ 2094 turned up with contemporary coinage of Phocas (578–602),¹⁰⁴ lamps ΠΧ 2211, ΠΧ 2212 and ΠΧ 2213 from the 3rd century and later were found in the highly disturbed fills with coins of Justin I (518–527) and Constans II (643/4);¹⁰⁵ more generally, coins of all periods turned up on the site.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Over 130 coins were recovered, with emphasis on those of the 6th and the first half of the 7th centuries. More specifically, lamps ΠΧ 2792–2794 were found with coins NB 3792, NB 3829 of Justinian I (539–540), and Heraclius (632–641). Lamp ΠΧ 2791 was discovered with the coin NB 3837 of Constans II (642–643).

¹⁰³ See the coins NB 5337, NB 5339 of Heraclius and Constans II, NB 5369 of Heraclius, and NB 5856–5859 of Justin II (568/9), Heraclius (613–614), Constans II.

¹⁰⁴ Coin NB 3735.

¹⁰⁵ Coins NB 3741–3742.

¹⁰⁶ See, typically, coins NP 517 of Arcadius (383–408), NP 518–533, the earliest of Honorius (393–423), NB 5185 of Mauricius (582–602).

In the Minatsis plot, a lamp of the seventh century (ΠΧ 2071) was found with a coin of Constans II (668),¹⁰⁷ while from the area come also other coins of the same era.¹⁰⁸ Ill-defined walls of various building phases on the site are associated with an earlier phase of the neighbouring church of Agioi Konstantinos and Eleni, which in turn seems to be built on an older rectangular building with strong walls but uncertain function. The graves belonging to the medieval church have disturbed fills with older pottery mixed in, including lamps.

In the Mahmud Chasapoglou plot on Platonos and Apellou streets, in addition to parts of the Hellenistic city-wall, a public (?) building north of the road and a corresponding one to the south were identified. The Byzantine construction debris and the Early Byzantine era walls, lying under some later medieval building that had collapsed, was in a confused state. The lamps identified testify to occupation in the 7th century, in agreement with the numismatic evidence.¹⁰⁹

In the neighbouring Asprakis and Maravelias plots on Platonos Street, continuous occupation is also attested. On the Maravelias plot, where parts of the Hellenistic city wall were uncovered, housing succeeded a public building: the coins cover the period up to and including Constans II and then from the 10th century to the end of Hospitaller rule (1522),¹¹⁰ the lamps belong mostly to the 6th century.

Excavations in Sophokleous Square revealed that the Byzantine town wall was built on solid foundations of the Hellenistic or Roman eras and that the building remains testify to continuous use from the Hellenistic period onwards.

Around the so-called 'Lower Acropolis', located on the hill where research places the temple of the god Helios and the famed Colossus, worship continued, as is shown by the ruins of the basilica excavated below the Medieval church of Agios Georgios (later Chourmali Medrese). In the same region, the early Byzantine fortress,¹¹¹ built probably in the last quarter of the 7th century as the governor's headquarters (?),¹¹² crowned the natural elevation on the northwest corner of the

Byzantine town. As shown by excavations it has a rampart and a ditch on three sides. Within it, the – later – Grand Master's Palace was also of the same date: its role was that of last resort in times of danger, as the residential enclaves already extended outside the walls in the 7th century, and continued to do so even later.

In the remaining part of the Medieval town research has been limited to locations made available by circumstances and occasional necessity, i.e. only in some bombed and unbuilt places. As a result, excavation has almost never reached the desired depths. In brief, excavation has taken place in the environs of the medieval church of Agia Triada (Dolapli Mesjid), where the ancient road P33 was covered by Early Byzantine buildings, and possibly even by a church earlier than the medieval one; on the Nikolis plot at 8, Ergeiou Street, uncertain traces of structures came to light. The fill of a well, dating from the Hellenistic period onwards, also contained lamps, especially of the 3rd and 4th centuries, and medieval coins, including some of the 6th and 7th centuries.¹¹³

On the north edge of the Medieval town¹¹⁴ were situated the remains of the Hellenistic and Roman ports, namely the 'Little Harbour' (for military rather than merchant use; now Mandraki) and the wall that encircles the great port and, abutting the latter, workshop installations of the 3rd century onwards. At some point, perhaps in the 6th century, judging from the lamps and from an Early Christian votive inscription found there,¹¹⁵ the Hellenistic temple of Aphrodite, facing the port, was replaced by a 'building dedicated to the Christian religion'.¹¹⁶ The building remains recently brought to light next to it suggest (rather than confirm) habitation down to at least the 7th century¹¹⁷ and into medieval times, perhaps in association to the nearby metropolitan church of Our Lady of the Castle.

The disturbed backfill in the excavation of a section of the Hellenistic city wall of the 'Great Harbour' with a circular tower and gate, yielded numerous finds in a state-owned property at Ag. Panteleimon (Jewish Quarter). The discovery of a tomb on the ruins of the investigated wall was dated from a coin to the 3rd century: this was extremely revealing for the reduction in importance of the fortifications and their progressive quarrying.¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁷ Coin NB 4592.

¹⁰⁸ See coins NB 4591–4597, 4602 of Justin I (518–527), Constans II (641–668), Heraclius (639–641). Of the 56 coins found in the area those from the 6th century are absent, whilst some of 7th are identified. One of the two lamps, ΠΧ 2072, is of the 7th century.

¹⁰⁹ From the coins NB 495–498, the latest is of Heraclius (610–641). Also found were NB 1038 to 1047, between Heraclius and the period of the Knights (1306–1522).

¹¹⁰ See coins NB 957–1017, from between the 6th–7th centuries, to the Knights, etc. There also exist 5th century coins NP 491–512, as well as NB 891–899, including of Constans II (643–644), NB 4566–4567 of Constans II (642) and Heraclius (639–640), and the coins NB 4571–4573 of Phocas (578–610) and Heraclius (610–641).

¹¹¹ Kollias 2000, 303–306.

¹¹² Kasdagli 2007, 422.

¹¹³ See the coin NB 6039 of Heraclius, 6043 NB, NB–6062 and NB 6072 of 522–537, NB 6049 of Constans II (641–668), and NB 6050 of Heraclius (634/5).

¹¹⁴ For the most comprehensive inventory of the space and its activities, see Bairami, in press.

¹¹⁵ Deligiannakis 2009, 180–182.

¹¹⁶ Excavation in the time of Italian rule: for a simple account, see Maiuri 1923–1924, 238–239.

¹¹⁷ The 'Samian type' lamp ΠΧ 3018 was found in close association with a follis (40 nummi) of Heraclius (631–641).

¹¹⁸ Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004, 123. But see also Kasdagli 1994, 816–817,

Northern Section of the City

The northern end of the city of Rhodes is now occupied by the parish of Niochori, delimited to the north by modern Alex. Diakou and Papagou Streets. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods sanctuaries and important buildings stood here, such as the monumental edifice, possibly a sanctuary, on Amarantou Street in the north-west part of the ancient city and the remains of depots associated with the west port of the city, clogged by sediment in ancient times and no longer in use, at the time now under consideration. The finds from the Zambelakis-Papailias plot on the same street indicate¹¹⁹ that a minor enclave was still active there. In the Louizidis plot, on 28 Oktovriou and Lochagou Fanouraki Streets, continuous habitation in private housing is attested from the 3rd to the 7th centuries, with a decrease in available space during the later phases, accompanied perhaps by the usual encroachment of the urban structure along the P38 road boundary-line, as is implied by the remains of walls. A coin hoard, and the lamps too,¹²⁰ indicate occupation mainly in the 4th century, down to the end of the 6th. In the Kypriotis plot, on 28 Oktovriou and Amarantou Streets, the latest of the three construction phases of a house perhaps coincides with the beginning of the 4th century.

In the same part of town and in the Karageorgiou plot, at the junction of Ammochostou and Lochagou Fanouraki streets, a late Hellenistic building was revealed with three water cisterns in a row, water conduits, wells, an underground storage space and a casting pit. The evidence indicates that this workshop ceased its activity during the Late Roman period, and that thereafter occupation was purely residential. A burial in a tiled tomb on the south side and above the cistern raises the interesting issue of the start of interment within the city limits. Unfortunately it was not possible to locate the grave goods in the archaeological storerooms, but from photographs it is probable that the lamps are of the Asia Minor-type and date from the 6th century AD. In the adjacent Tiliakos plot to the north, on Lochagou Fanouraki Street, a Late Hellenistic bath was revealed that remained in use until the Late Roman period, up to the 6th century. The baths seem then to have been filled in; and already by Early Byzantine times the area had acquired a residential character.

Dense habitation in Late Antiquity, as demonstrated by excavation in most plots, is attested in today's city centre. Briefly, such plots include: Papachristodoulou on Ethn. Makariou Street, with finds of the 7th

century;¹²¹ the Tourkalis plot in the same street, at the junction with 25 Martiou Street, where the remains of roads, hypocausts belonging to private houses, coins¹²² and lamps signal its use until the 7th century; the Solounias plot on Ethn. Makariou and Karpathou Streets, with remains of atrium-houses at least until the 4th century;¹²³ the Karagiannis plot on 25 Martiou Street, with remains of housing and lamps of the 5th century; the Katsaras plot on Amerikis and 25 Martiou Streets, where, in a Hellenistic house with a courtyard that was drastically transformed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries,¹²⁴ lamps of the 3rd and 4th centuries were found in the fills of its wells; the Kiouoglou plot on Ethelonton Dodecanesion Street, where in a house with a peristyle courtyard, one of the successive five or six construction phases is dated, by coins¹²⁵ and other finds, such as lamps ΠΧ 2042, ΠΧ 2043, ΠΧ 2044 (second half of 3rd to start of the 4th centuries) and a Knidian lamp with *planta pedis*. This last was found above the mosaic floor of the house, and is not much older than the middle of the 2nd century, as the layer contained coins of Faustina I. In Kesoglou-Volonakis plot on the same street, of the houses in use up to the 7th century, part of a peristyle courtyard was preserved. In the Moschou-Vogiatzis plot (Savoy Hotel) on Ethelonton Dodekanision and G. Lambraki Streets, remains of Roman buildings were discovered: their occupation continues uninterrupted from the 3rd until the 7th centuries.¹²⁶ In the Avgoustakis-Karagiannis plot (on a side road to Amerikis Street) the remains of two houses of the Late Roman period, broadly follow the earlier outlines of a house with an atrium, well and mosaics of the 4th century. A quantity of lamps in the area, and also the house to the north, built on higher ground, indicate use to a late stage, up to the 6th–7th centuries. Also in a side road off Amerikis, in the Solounias plot, the large casting pits of a metal-working establishment were later used as rubbish pits and a residence, whose most important was the rectangular area at the west side of the plot; the finds cover almost the whole period under consideration, with an emphasis on the 6th and 7th centuries.¹²⁷

chiefly for the ceramics of the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD, in connection with the dismantling of the city walls.

¹¹⁹ Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004, 67.

¹²⁰ This is the hoard comprising coins NP 595–776, most of them of Constans (347–350), and some Constantius II (330–335). See also lamps ΠΧ 1974–ΠΧ 1979.

¹²¹ See coins NP 237 of Arcadius (400–404), NP 238 of Constantius II (355–361), NB 309–310 of Heraclius and Anastasios I or Justinian I (up to 565), and the lamps ΠΧ 2049, ΠΧ 2142–2146, from the 4th to the 7th centuries.

¹²² See coins NP 244–251, the earliest of Honorius (393–423), NB 320–321 of Justinian (527–565), NB 322 (6th century), NB 323–328, the earliest Constans II (641–668), NB 341 of Heraclius (610–641).

¹²³ See lamp ΠΧ 2114, 4th century, and coins NP 240–241 of Valens (364–367), NP 274–284, the earliest of Arcadius (395–408), NB 329–330 of Heraclius (610–641).

¹²⁴ See coins NP 549–563, of 2nd and 3rd centuries.

¹²⁵ As coin NP 863, of Gallienus (260–268).

¹²⁶ See coins NP 236 of Diocletian (284–296), NB 307 of Justin II (565–578) and the lamps ΠΧ 2491, ΠΧ 2512.

¹²⁷ See coins NP 878–881, the earliest of Constantius and Constans, with lamps ΠΧ 1168, ΠΧ 1172, ΠΧ 1169, ΠΧ 1308.

A little further west, in the plot of the Synetairismos Katastimatarchon on S. Venizelou Street, house remains with plastered walls were discovered. Indications for use of the premises in the 5th century were provided by the finds.¹²⁸ In the Nikolidakis plot on Alex. Diakou Street, building remains of the Late Roman-Early Christian era showed that occupation continued even after a partial destruction, even reoccupying older houses in the area. In the neighbouring Mantzon plot, on Alex. Diakou and Griva Street, the last phase of occupation of a house with a mosaic floor and rainwater drain may perhaps be dated before its destruction by earthquake, perhaps that of 515.

Finally, in the installations of the Little (military) Harbour, in the Tsouvalas plot on Ethelonton Dodecanesion, Ethn. Makariou and 25 Martiou Streets, are buildings and arcades associated with facilities such as ship-sheds or warehouses. Numismatic and other finds indicate its use in the 4th century,¹²⁹ while in the Kladogenesis plot on Kazouli Street, a site also associated with the port, occupation extends into the 6th century.

Eastern section of the city

Sparsely habitation during the Early Byzantine era is shown by the finds observed in this part of town, namely in the *marasi* (Quarter) of Agia Anastasia and eastwards, bounded to the north by Vyronos Street and to the east by Australias Street. In the Kostaridis plot on Kanada Street, were revealed, among other things, parts of the Hellenistic city wall and a major drain. The paving of the ancient road P40 was encroached upon by constructions of Late Antiquity: walls and a rectangular well with steps leading down to it. Immediately outside the city wall were identified rectangular cists of the Late Roman period: six of them contained accumulations of human bones, with lamps belonging mainly to the 4th century, although later ones were also present, together with coins dating up to the 7th century.¹³⁰ The bones had probably been translated from a neighbouring, apparently Early Byzantine cemetery,¹³¹ and perhaps some devotional establishment not yet identified.¹³²

¹²⁸ See lamp Λ 2507 and coins NP 846–848, the latest of Arcadius–Honorius (295–323).

¹²⁹ See coin NP 413 of Valentinian (375–392) and lamp ΠΧ 2845 of 3rd–4th centuries.

¹³⁰ See coins NB 2198–2201, between the 6th and 7th centuries. See also the Klonaris-Charalambous plot, Kanada Street (Triantafyllidis 2007, 1324–1325).

¹³¹ The walls of the Medieval town were surrounded by cemeteries up to the time of Italian rule, including a Jewish Cemetery in this area, close to the Jewish quarter within the walls, which may be a link to Byzantine, or even earlier periods. For the cemetery, see the account of Archontopoulos, Papavasileiou 2006, 194; for the excavations of DEYAR/ΔΕΥΑΡ in Kanada and Australias Streets, see Triantafyllidis 1992, 634.

¹³² Note the fragment of a marble inscription, Cat. No. 1025, in the Italian listings of marble items, which was found in the same area (Kova), 'in the ruins of a Byzantine church.' I cannot of course exclude the possibility that the cemetery in question is connected to the Early

Despite the careful excavation, in which the bones were found along with the lamps, the disturbed fills do not allow further conclusions to be drawn. It is indicative that lamp Λ 5159, of the 6th–7th centuries, was found under the main mass of bones.

Southeast of this, in the Astegon Viotechnon plot on Kanada and Kolokotroni Streets, were again revealed parts of the Hellenistic city wall, the ancient road P40, a built drain of monumental size and an arched bridge; and immediately outside the walls underground vaulted spaces with built pillars; a cistern and additional walls constitute the latest features on the site. Lamps date the use of specific spaces from the 4th to the 7th centuries.¹³³

In the Klonaris plot on Kanada Street, late habitation from the 6th and 7th centuries is identified by its makeshift construction over older pipelines and the finds from the backfill. Investigation conducted in the KAIR factory (Australias Street), in the fill covering the remains of the Hellenistic city wall and the ancient road surface, revealed lamps from the 3rd to the middle of the 5th centuries amongst Roman and later pottery sherds.

In the Papaioannou-Michaelides plot on Venetokleon Street the ruins of an ancient house show evidence of multiple alterations extending until at least the end of the 6th century. In the Platis plot on Venetokleon and E. Bevin Streets, infringement of the street grid involves the ancient road R18b, by the later wall: this sort of occurrence is frequent in Rhodes during Early Byzantine times. This is associated with finds up to the 4th century at least.

South Section of the City

Another residential enclave, possibly less dense, is located around the present-day *marasi* (quarter) of Agioi Anargyroi, south of Komnenon, Demokratias, S. Kazouli and Ethnikis Antistasis Streets.

In the Sarris plot on Romanou Melodou Street was discovered a sumptuous Roman building with successive construction phases that indicate habitation to the 5th century at least. In the Malliaka-Demosiou plot on the corner of Romanou Melodou and Agion Anargiron Streets an important sanctuary was excavated which is identified as the Asklepieion of the town of Rhodes. Finds up to the 6th century are associated with a

Byzantine basilica, excavated at Theseos Street; for the church, see Psarri 2007, 467–473.

¹³³ Unfortunately, the exceptional and monumental part of the fortifications could not be preserved apart from within the basements of modern buildings, the best efforts of the Service notwithstanding. Of the coins from this plot, many are un-cleaned, see however NB 3948 of Mauricius (600–601).

rectangular Late Roman building. In the neighbouring Theotokopoulos and Aivalis plots a later terracotta pipe system encroached upon the ancient road. In the Katinas plot on Herakliou and Komninon Streets, where roads R29a and P17 cross, coins and lamps indicate habitation until the end of the 6th century.¹³⁴

In the Atsidis plot on K. Tsatsou and V. Kazouli Streets, at the south-east part of the advance wall of the south fortifications, a tangle of archaeological layers came to light, with interventions of the Early Byzantine period, perhaps in the 7th century, as is shown by the vertical section of the stratigraphy of the eastern bank, and by the discovery of two graves aligned EW on top of the surviving upper surface of the rampart; the tombs were constructed with building material from its fill. On the south side of the plot, and west of the Early Christian storage pithos (*siros*) of the first half of the 6th century, the investigation revealed Early Christian structural remains possibly associated with the late phase of an nearby purple-dye workshop.¹³⁵ Further north, in the Skoumbourdis plot on S. Kazouli Street, the finds suggest occupation up to the 7th century.¹³⁶

Investigation around the Venetoklion Gymnasium on K. Palaiologou Street revealed carved/rock-cut altars and niches associated with an open-air sanctuary on the rocky hill/slope, perhaps dedicated to Cybele or Mithras. Remains of walls of various periods testify to the later habitation in the zone, reinforced by the numismatic evidence and lamps found in the fill of a gallery and the layers of rubbish dumped in a well.¹³⁷

*The Necropolis*¹³⁸

The ancient necropolis¹³⁹ of Rhodes stretches south from the ancient city wall and is bounded by two natural valleys, the Makry Steno to the west and the Rodini to the east. Its division into three areas (west, central and east) facilitates research.¹⁴⁰ The Early Christian graves are scattered, restricted, as the finds show, to 'spots' within the more extensive necropolis occupied in the Hellenistic era – mainly now in the west sector and less in the central.

Tombs of the Roman period are far from rare in Rhodes, sometimes being utilized continuously into Early Byzantine times. Their reuse is possibly to do with

widespread poverty/economic decline or even the relaxation of the sacrilege laws. The phenomenon of multiple burials, very common in the Christian world, may perhaps be associated initially, but not necessarily so in the case of Rhodes, with the economic crisis after the 3rd century and a lack of space: the emergency response then becomes fixed practice.¹⁴¹ Most of the lamps examined derive from five excavations, conducted in the Giakras-Hatzimichalis plot (funerary complex D), and the Kalogeris, Vardelis and Diakogeorgiou plots (the latter two with funerary deposits consisting of ossuaries and debris) and along Kamirou Street. Here, despite an intensive reuse of older graves, a gradual reduction in the presence of lamps seems to occur in Early Christian times.

In some cases, as shown by the excavations, parts of the necropolis were even inhabited. This seems to conflict with the known fall in population numbers, which would not justify any expansion outside the city limits for lack of living areas within. But it came about possibly because the boundaries between the city and necropolis had become blurred, or rather redefined, when the city walls, having lost their prior importance or having become economically impossible to maintain, were abandoned and/or damaged by systematic stone-robbing and dismantling. Similarly, the phenomenon of burials in the city,¹⁴² albeit scarce, has been remarked from the 5th–6th centuries. This hazy situation in terms of the necropolis possibly starts in the 6th century, if not a little earlier: we might envisage a vast expanse of ruins interspersed with occasional loci of human occupation, clusters now of farmhouses and then of burials. It is all very different from the reality of the Hellenistic era: then the extensive areas of funerary monuments had also offered opportunities for leisure and recreation.

In any case, the finds show that the use of cemeteries outside the walls, even though on the decrease, continued until at least the first half of the 7th century. Subsequently or simultaneously, the temples and their land are largely used as cemeteries¹⁴³ and, probably towards the end of the period concerned, burials occur near or on the ancient fortifications, as at the Mole of the Windmills.¹⁴⁴ In and around the same area (the Jewish quarter), at the south-east corner of the Medieval Hospice of Agia Aikaterini, part of the fill about the dismantled city wall was used for burials after the 2nd century and perhaps into the 7th, if not later.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁴ See coins NP 417, 421 of Constantius II (337–361) and lamps ΠΧ 2116, ΠΧ 2121, ΠΧ 2122, of the 5th to late 6th centuries.

¹³⁵ Marketou 1999, 243–252.

¹³⁶ See coin NB 2117 of Heraclius and the 'Samian-type' lamp Λ 6107.

¹³⁷ See coins NP 870–873, the earliest Honorius (400–408), NB 3913 Justinian I (483–565) and the lamps ΠΧ 1104, ΠΧ 1105, ΠΧ 2125, ΠΧ 2126.

¹³⁸ For the subject of the city's cemeteries and of the countryside from the Early Byzantine years onwards, see Archontopoulos, Papavasileiou 2006, 193–210.

¹³⁹ For its configuration and topography, see Patsiada 2013a, 34–49.

¹⁴⁰ For this division, see Patsiada 2013a, 35, n. 65.

¹⁴¹ See also Emmanouilidis 1989, *passim*.

¹⁴² For burials within the walls in general, see Cantino Wataghin 1999, 152 with bibliography.

¹⁴³ See Archontopoulos, Papavasileiou 2006, 195 ff.

¹⁴⁴ Platon 1999, 991–995; Platon 2000, 1191–1192.

¹⁴⁵ For the excavation, see Kasdagli 1993, 570; Kasdagli 1994, 816–817, figs 1, 2. The use even after the 7th century rests on a tile fragment with monogram and the loom-weight/clay stamp also monogrammed on its base. The lamps found date no later than the 2nd century.

Probably associated with this cemetery, of which only a small part was excavated, is a burial precisely datable to the 3rd century set into an already dismantled part of the wall of the 'Large Harbour' in the Jewish quarter.¹⁴⁶ The borders of the extensive cemeteries around the walls of the Medieval town are little known: the Italians levelled them and turned them into treed parkland. For example, burials are known just outside the ancient fortifications on Kanada and Australias Streets, as mentioned above, only partly excavated.¹⁴⁷ At the same time, scattered coin finds may mark locations containing burials of the Byzantine period,¹⁴⁸ south and east of the medieval walls and also at Rodini and Analipsi, perhaps associated with the churches built along the ancient roads.

The fact is, nevertheless, that the identifiable late burials in the necropolis are rather limited in number, probably indicating the change of use of these areas, with the transformation of urban zones. Alternative contributory causes, as mentioned above, include potential burial elsewhere, a demographic decline or, even, a reduction of grave goods, making accurate dating nearly impossible. The end result is that even though the later burials are doubtless fewer in number, they are also not easily identifiable. The significance of the (diminished) grave goods is merely relative: it is not impossible, due to the repeated use of the tombs, that the pottery had been scattered outside the tombs, or simply that the lamps were used to light the tomb-structures, particularly if they had underground sections. The current assumption that scattered graves without goods found in numerous rescue excavations are late burials, should be treated with caution.

The coexistence of Christians and pagans should be taken for granted, even after the 4th century.¹⁴⁹ Telling them apart has to rely on external features, such as the use of lamps with Christian themes: the apparent reduction in their numbers makes distinguishing between them even more difficult from the 4th century onwards. With the gradual abandonment of the custom, graves lack burial goods; and the use of inscriptions to mark the graves declines with rapidity from the 3rd century onwards.¹⁵⁰ In the case of Christians these developments may be influenced by the teachings of the Cappadocian fathers regarding humility.

¹⁴⁶ See Filimonos-Tsopotou 2004, 123. It is clearly related to the obsolescence of the fortifications and their consequent dismantling.

¹⁴⁷ Triantafyllidis 1992, 634. As reported (note 72 above), during the works of the Water Supply Company (DEYAR/ΔΕΥΑΠ), in the north part of Kanada Street and the east part of Australias Street, there were found a large number of tiles and bones from humble graves, which had been wiped out by the mechanical excavator.

¹⁴⁸ Kasdagli 2010, 168.

¹⁴⁹ See for reports on the cemeteries of Athens, Tzavella 2008, 352–368; Tzavella 2010, 649–656.

¹⁵⁰ There are few surviving funerary inscriptions of this period; none comes for certain from the cemeteries near the city: see Mastrochristos 2014, 153–170, with assembled bibliography.

No church building has been identified in association with any of the 'Early Christian burial islands' within the ancient necropolis, except perhaps for the remains of a structure measuring 10 x 7m with an inscribed apse on the east side of a masonry wall in the Koliadis plot on Kamirou Street. This interpretation is probably strengthened by the rectangular shape of the western part of the building, which corresponds to an underground basement, where a large assemblage of bones was found, but little pottery. The possibly religious character of this building (with its burials *ad sanctos*) had already been lost in Byzantine times, when large storage pithoi (*siroi*) occupied part of the building.

West Sector of the Necropolis

This area includes the southern edge of the citadel (Monte Smith), extending into the Makry Steno valley; it yielded the bulk of the finds. It is the segment of the Rhodian necropolis most intensively used during in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods.

The extension of Th. Sofouli Street at the foot of the hill of the ancient acropolis lies within the limits of the ancient city with its necropolis. It is identified with the most important ancient burial street in Makry Steno, where a series of Hellenistic and Roman tombs were excavated.

The tract of the western necropolis at the northern end of the Makry Steno valley must already have been used as a place for the disposal of rubbish in Roman times, as deposits of 'black earth' (i.e. debris and burnt layers) with a high content of small finds and pottery have been discovered. These deposits covered the graves of the Early Hellenistic period and the cracks in the crumbling bedrock,¹⁵¹ as is revealed by the excavations in the Arapoudis plot, at the start of Kamirou Street, and that of adjacent Korinthou Street, where several Early Christian burials were identified. More specifically, in parallel with the small Dokous Sokak side road (now Parthenopis Street) to the south, and with Kamirou, the main funerary street¹⁵² parallel to the south-east, and but a short distance from Parthenopis Street, important but disturbed burials with finds for the most part of the 6th and 7th centuries were revealed during road-widening works, along with traces of pavements. In the same area, in the Diakogeorgiou plot, on Parthenopis and Dimitras Streets, shaft and chamber tombs with vaulted roofs were cut into the rock in Hellenistic and Roman times. One of the two rectangular spaces on this plot, cut into the soft rock and plastered with mortar, was used as an ossuary in the Early Byzantine era and up to the late 6th century, as is evidenced by

¹⁵¹ Patsiada 2013a, 39, n. 76.

¹⁵² According to Patsiada 2013a, 40, the route ran along the western edge of the valley Makry Steno.

heaps of bones intermixed with many lamps, mainly from Asia Minor (6th century), scattered about the spot when the surrounding graves were reused. The earliest chronological limit of the ossuary lies in the 4th–5th centuries, as is proved by the few Attic lamps and currency of Arcadius (387–392) or Honorius (395–423) in the debris. In the same street, in the south-west part of the Atsidis plot were found some graves reused in the 6th and 7th centuries.

Burials of the 6th and 7th centuries were also found on the Parassos plot on Kamirou Street and in the funerary complex of the Panagiotakis plot on Dokous Sokak;¹⁵³ whilst on the adjacent Arapoudis plot the burials seem to run on uninterruptedly until the 7th century. On the same street, in the Papatheodorakis plot, burials of the 3rd century, at the very least, were identified.¹⁵⁴

On Korinthou Street (perpendicular to Kamirou Street), more road-widening work yielded, amongst other things, lamps that testify to the use of grave 5 to the 5th–6th centuries, as well as the existence of an underground chamber of Hellenistic date with a wide rectangular hole (*opaion*) in the roof and *loculi* cut in the grave walls. East of Kamirou Street, on the partly undeveloped of Anoikodomis plot, is an emblematic structure – a monumental funerary complex cut into the rock, boasting a facade with false doors, pilasters, a cornice and embossed shields. This has been known since the 19th century, when the traveller Charles Thomas Newton mentioned it in 1865.¹⁵⁵ The finds, coins and pottery, show that the site was used until the 6th century.¹⁵⁶

Further south, on the continuation of Kamirou Street and the ancient burial road (modern G. Seferi Street), in the Tsokas-Chatzistamatiou plot, at least one of the graves must have been reused in the 5th–6th centuries. On the Kranidou-Manolakis-Diakogeorgiou plot, on the extension of Th. Sofouli Street, one of the two tombs was in use to at least the first half of the 4th century, as evidenced by the finds amongst translated human remains.¹⁵⁷ In the south-west part of the sector and in the Samothrakis plot on Maritson Street, north of M. Petrides Street, a vaulted tomb and other cists were excavated in a rock-hewn rectangular cavity in use until the 5th century. On the extension of Th. Sofouli Street (K. Tsaldari), which roughly follows the same course as the ancient road P27, one of the main avenues of the

ancient city, in the Kalogeris plot, burials continued until the 6th century. To the east, in the same area, in the Papastamatiou plot on K. Tsaldari and Athinon Streets, of the late Hellenistic graves opened in the retaining wall it appears that at least two were re-used until the mid-7th century.¹⁵⁸ During the widening of K. Tsaldari Street in the area of Agia Triada,¹⁵⁹ burials were identified up to the 6th century.

In the Alvanakis plot on Apollonos Street, parallel with Kamirou Street, excavations revealed Hellenistic and Late Roman graves. In Early Byzantine times, it seems that the cemetery was closed down and the area taken over first by a farmhouse ranging across the entire east side of the plot, with an upper floor and storage facilities, built from ancient material taken from adjacent tombs; and then by a second building on the northern edge of the site, where two rooms were partially revealed. Habitation seems to have suddenly ceased, as is shown by a layer of fire destruction debris inside the large building, but not apparently as a result of the earthquake of 515. The three lamps found there seem to date to the mid-7th century. The fact that the main structure of the farmhouse occupies the site of a square vaulted tomb of Late Roman date is of interest in terms of chronological sequence: this plot was dug in an exemplary fashion and deserves to be studied in more detail. The Late Roman tomb was built out of ancient architectural material, with tiles and coarse lime-plaster: it held many bones, but no grave goods.

In the MI.DIA (MH.ΔΙΑ) area, where the above plot is located, at the south-west edge of the ancient acropolis, a number of buildings of the Late Roman and Early Christian periods have been revealed, with burials and ossuaries, which encroach on the Hellenistic necropolis. On the Chatzigiorgis plot on the south side of the acropolis is a rectangular funerary structure: at least two of the grave clusters here were in use from the 4th to the 7th centuries. The case of the Vardelis plot on the Hesiodou side-street, in the same area, is also typical: here graves were uncovered with secondary burials, dumps of debris and a rectangular building with four rooms, probably ossuaries, as the thick layer of bones indicates. In the nearby Koliadis plot, in addition to translated bones, the remnants of a apsidal building were revealed, which might be a Christian place of worship in use until at least the 6th century.

In the deepest part of the Makry Steno ravine, in the north-east sector of the west necropolis, far below the level of modern M. Petrides Street, in the Giakras-Hatzimichalis (K. Heronias) plot, was revealed a

¹⁵³ See also coin NB 1152 of Heraclius (610–641).

¹⁵⁴ See lamp Λ 7046, 3rd century. In the tomb were found coins NP 996–999, the earliest of 252–253.

¹⁵⁵ Newton 1865, 170.

¹⁵⁶ See typically coins from here: NP 384 of Honorius (393–423), NP 957–959 of Theodosius I (379–383), Constantius II (347–348), NB 682–683 of Justin (518–527).

¹⁵⁷ Here was found lamp Π 2560 [A]P[X]/[E]ΠO/ΛIC and coins NP 859 of Hadrian, NP 860–861 of Maximian (294–299), Maximinus Caesar (305–310).

¹⁵⁸ In the fill of the grave were found eight coins NP 928–938 of Theodosius (379–395), Valentinian II (388–392), Arcadius (388–392), Constantius II (?) (351–354) and lamp Λ 2913, of the mid-5th century.

¹⁵⁹ For the cemeteries in the area, see Papachristodoulou 1988, 204 ff.

monumental funerary complex, which consists of two double burial chambers covered with a vault, equipped with stone couches and a long portico facing towards the interior of the valley. This, it seems, had experienced intensive use and for a long period, namely from the second half of the 2nd until at least the 7th centuries.¹⁶⁰ A little way off, to the south-west and at a higher level, on the Lendis-Antonoglou plot, evidence exists for the use of this space for burials until the early 3rd century.

Only a solitary example of Early Christian burial in the south-east part ties Panagou plot on Al. Panagouli (Prince Alexias) Street with the re-use of graves from the 4th to the 6th centuries. On the Kritikos plot on Gennadiou (Nafpliou) Street, a lamp of the 6th century (Λ 6310) defines the temporal boundary of the use of a large rectangular space containing many translated bones.

Central Sector of the Necropolis

This sector of the necropolis, situated between the two valleys on the Kizil Tepe hill, seems to have been used until the 4th century. In the north-east part of the area, the modern Rhodou-Lindou Avenue, now the main artery connecting the city to the countryside, seems to broadly coincide with an important ancient funerary road, the extension of P31a. In the Maltezos-Kazis plot, near the southern part of the Hellenistic fortifications, at the intersection of Rhodou-Lindou Avenue with Ethnikis Antistasis Street, the graves' period of use may date at least until the 4th century, as is also the case for the ΔΕΥΑΡ (Water Supply Company) excavation on Agathonisiou Street.

In the north-east part, and in the D. Protos plot on Ethnikis Antistasis Street, one burial chamber, and in particular the *loculi* in the walls of a second, were in use at least as early as the 4th century. They are part of a total of four complexes at the borders of the old funerary road, as is shown by the unearthed traces of road surfaces.

Rural Rhodes

Only a limited number of the lamps examined come from the interior of the island. Excavations in the countryside are carried out only occasionally and

of limited scope. But it is necessary to include some details lest the picture of the island's finds be distorted.¹⁶¹ The scattered rural antiquities were initially identified by Inghlieri, who published a map showing sites of archaeological interest. In a later study on Rhodian municipalities, especially lalyssos,¹⁶² Ioannes Papachristodoulou refers to the sporadic Early Christian remains in the rural interior of the island. The few findspots where some of the lamps now examined originate are cited below.

At Trianda (Kambouropoulos plot), an Early Christian basilica has been excavated. Elements of interest to this research lie in the finds made in the ossuaries. In addition to some thirty buckles, two lamps of 'Samian type' were found: ΠΧ 2081 from Ossuary 2, with a coin of Heraclius (610–641),¹⁶³ and from Ossuary 1 lamp ΠΧ 2082, with coins mainly of Heraclius, but also of Constans II (648–649).¹⁶⁴ Ossuary 3 revealed further coins of Heraclius,¹⁶⁵ while within the basilica itself a coin of Phocas (607–610) was recovered.¹⁶⁶

Near Paradisi, in the excavation on the football field, a small rural village was identified, equipped with large storage pithoi (*siroi*). A lamp mould was found there, perhaps intended for the local, and thus limited, needs of the community. Residential and workshop facilities of the Hellenistic and Roman eras, which might possibly have been expanded in/extended into Early Christian times, were investigated in the Platis plot at Kolymbia settlement, from which came lamps of the 6th and 7th centuries, as well as a coin of Mauricius (582–602).

Excavations by the Danish Archaeological Mission in the early 20th century in the Lindos area yielded a few lamps dating to the 7th century: these are now in the Archaeological Museum in Constantinople. At Gennadi/Asklipio, Megali Gi, recent work in the Nikolaidis plot brought to light traces of habitations and a place of worship in a village near a coastal cemetery: among them were coins and three lamps of the 6th and 7th centuries (these last are not included in the catalogues).¹⁶⁷

Part of the Hellenistic cemetery at Kymisala, in southern Rhodes, appears to have been in use in the 6th century.¹⁶⁸ Finally, near Vati (Kaourokampos), a Geometric-era cemetery seems to have been reused in the 3rd century.

¹⁶¹ Inghlieri 1936.

¹⁶² Papachristodoulou 1989.

¹⁶³ Coin NB 4118, probably of 635–639.

¹⁶⁴ Coins NB 4402–4410, 4412–4413, 4416–4420.

¹⁶⁵ Coins NB 4118–4120, 4401.

¹⁶⁶ Coin NB 4058.

¹⁶⁷ The excavation will be published by Ch. Giakoumaki.

¹⁶⁸ For recent surveys, see Stefanakis, Patsiada 2009–2011, cf. 4, 79–80, nos Π 292, Π 209, figs 37–38.

¹⁶⁰ Apart from the numerous lamps, see also the coins NB 810–811 of Heraclius (610–641), found in the fill of the space B, together with lamps ΠΧ 2033 to 2034. The finding in Tomb 6 of a Byzantine trachy coin (NB 811) indicates the use of the space even after the 7th century.

B. THE LAMPS

B. 1. The Corinthian Lamps

Until the 3rd century AD, Corinthian lamps (Broneer Type XXVII),¹⁶⁹ the successors of Loeschcke Type VIII, were of exceptional quality. The beginning of Corinthian production¹⁷⁰ is primarily associated with the freedmen Roman potters who had settled in Corinth, after the colony of Julius Caesar was established in 44 BC. From the end of the 1st century BC onwards the shape of Corinthian lamps remained broadly the same: circular, with a wide, usually decorated discus, a slightly projecting, short trapezoidal nozzle continuing the lines of the body, with grooves on both its sides and with a pierced handle that is generally double grooved; most were signed. From the second half of the 2nd century, their clay, which is un-slipped, is as a rule light in colour and fine-grained in texture, often containing small pieces of mica: this suggests careful treatment at all stages of the construction, so marking the Corinthian lamps as quality products.¹⁷¹ Their zenith covered the period from the end of the 1st until the beginning of the 3rd centuries.

In this study are included even some Corinthian lamps of slightly earlier date, of Broneer XXVII type, that have been found in Rhodes, and that are considered as the direct ancestors and the prototypes of Attic products that first developed into the Broneer XXVIII type, and then went on to dominate the markets. It seems, however, that only a few Corinthian lamps made their way to Rhodes and, accordingly, only a few named workshops are represented. They were never, it seems, consumed en masse. It is therefore natural to wonder whether these lamps were purchased at their place of production as everyday items, but of good quality, rather than exported. Comparable observations have already been made that view Corinthian lamps as a kind of luxury souvenir, picked up on one's travels.¹⁷² As remarked,

¹⁶⁹ In his classification of Corinthian lamps, Broneer's Type XXVII may serve as a representative specimen; he also created subcategories, depending on the decorative details, mainly of the shoulder: see Broneer 1930, 90–91, Broneer 1977, 64 ff. This subdivision carries no chronological significance, and dating remains a challenge. Moreover the majority of the finds from Rhodes, consisting as they do of small fragments, do not assist such classification. For a detailed discussion on the development of Type XXVII, see Broneer 1930, 83–88; Perlzweig 1961, 6–9. See also the sub-categories devised by Bailey (1985, 102–111), in his study of the lamps of Sidi Khrebish (Berenice).
¹⁷⁰ For this matter, see Broneer 1930, 83–98; Broneer 1977, 64; Perlzweig 1961, 7; Williams 1981, 39; Warner Slane 1992, 12; Petridis 1992, 667.

¹⁷¹ For Corinthian lamps, which until the early 3rd century have clear and distinctive features, see in particular Broneer 1930, 90–102; Perlzweig 1961, 6–9; Siebert 1966, 472–513; Bruneau 1971, 437–501; Bruneau 1977, 249–295; Broneer 1977, 64–72; Williams 1981, 35–40; Bailey 1988, 403; Warner Slane 1990, 13–17; Petridis 2011, 320–321. However the definitive account is yet to be written.

¹⁷² Bruneau 1977, 262–265; Williams 1981, 40; Floris 2008, 49–52

regional workshops specialized in manufacturing such lamps,¹⁷³ so that in some cases the distinction between elaborate products from Corinth or Patras¹⁷⁴ or Athens¹⁷⁵ is difficult to determine.

It is worth drawing attention to the confusion that often attends the evaluation of those very few Corinthian lamps recovered in the cities of Asia Minor, and generally in places far distant from their place of production. In Iasos, for example, the same lamp may be labelled both Corinthian and 'of Corinthian type'.¹⁷⁶ Again in Ephesus a Cypriot lamp was assigned to the ranks of certain Corinthian examples of the 2nd–3rd centuries.¹⁷⁷ However these concerns are at least acknowledged with regard to Corinthian and Corinthian-type lamps, such as those found in Pergamon,¹⁷⁸ and again in connection with

passim; Lindros Wohl 2012, 355–363, n. 358; see recently Miller 2015, 300.

¹⁷³ Typical here is the case of Chalkis: this pottery workshop, active in the 3rd century, produced copies and derivatives of Corinthian lamps, as is made clear by the names of known, for the most part, workshops found on the lamps and the moulds, see Sampson 1987, 73–131, types D and E. Another workshop of the 3rd century in Sparta manufactured imitations of Italian and Corinthian lamps, see Broneer 1977, 66, n. 54; Karagiorga 1964, 144–145, pls 145–146 (out of two hundred lamps, an unspecified number are of Corinthian type, with signatures such as ΓΑΙΟΥ, ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ, ΠΙΠΕΙΘΟΥ – all of the first decades of the 3rd century). These workshops, specializing in imitation Corinthian lamps, based their copies on originals, some of which, at least in the case of Chalkis, date to a span of 200 years. For the factory at Sitaralona in Aetolia, see Gerolymou 2013, 693–703; for that of Nicopolis, see Pliakou 2007, 539–542; for Patras, see Petropoulos 1999, 118–120; Vassilakis and Theodoropoulou 2017, 314–330. For imitations at Argos, see Bovon 1966, 13–14, 45–52 and Koutousakis 2008, 162ff.; for Phocis, see Zachos 2013, 255–256; in Edessa, see Chrysostomou 2013, 478; perhaps in Corfu, see Bailey 1988, 402–404, Q 3239, Q 3243, Q 3249, pl. 116 (2nd–3rd centuries). In Asia Minor, see Bailey 1988, 35, 381, Q 3096, pl. 104, fig. 39, 131, with the name of ΑΚΤΑΙΟΥ, an imitation of an Ephesian example; Bailey 1988, 370, Q 3095–Q 3097, pl. 104 (3rd century) and 404, 405, possibly Q 3261, pl. 117, (first quarter of the 4th century). For imitations on Crete, see Bruneau 1971, 494; Yangaki 2002, 506–510; Yangaki 2005, 223–224. For imitations in Albania, on finds from the region of Adrianopolis, see Perna, Condi 2012, 190–192. In Egypt, see Bruneau 1977, 286–288. For the diffusion of Corinthian ceramic products in the Adriatic, see Warner Slane 2008a, 237–241. Of interest too are the imitations, and hence the production workshops, in Sidi Khrebish/Berenice/Benghazi: Bailey 1985, 146–163. For Cypriot copies, see the relevant section below.

¹⁷⁴ Petropoulos (1999) argued that in fact the lamps produced in Corinth were imitations of those from Patras. Karivieri (1997, 32–33) and Petridis (2000, 243–246) disputed this theory. Later Petridis (2010, 84–86) refined his view, arguing that large Corinthian workshops set up facilities and branches outside Corinth, in Patras and in other parts of the northern Peloponnese, and even, as argued recently, in Cyprus, Petridis (2011, 319–320, 337–339).

¹⁷⁵ E.g. it is hard to tell whether fragments ΠΧ 2402 and ΠΧ 2845 belong to either Corinthian or Attic lamps.

¹⁷⁶ Floris 2008, 51–52.

¹⁷⁷ Gassner 1997, 200–201, no. 818, pl. 64.91. As observed by Wismann 2006, 352, n.100.

¹⁷⁸ Heimerl 2001, 176–177, nos 988–1004, pl. 21. Of the 17 lamps of Broneer Type XXVII, only no. 1004 may be confidently expressed as being Corinthian.

a lamp mould of the 2nd century from the same city, characterized as Corinthian.¹⁷⁹ However several questions remain unanswered: whether this mould is in reality a Corinthian product? Whether such moulds were imported to Pergamon and other cities of Asia Minor? Whether it matches those Corinthian/Corinthian-type lamps found there or whether it was also used by an overseas branch of the Corinthian workshop? The answer(s) are crucial in order to clarify the spread of such high quality products.

On the matter of this very interesting topic concerning the imitation of early Corinthian lamps by the workshops of Asia Minor, two in particular may stand as representative examples. Lamp ΠΧ 1979 is a Knidian product, as can be seen both by the pseudo-signature imitating that of the ROMANE(N) SIS workshop and the clay-type: it has a noteworthy place in the adaptations made by local workshops¹⁸⁰ dominated, so it seems, by Corinthian and Attic models. From the same geographical area, I can observe that – perhaps originating in other Asia Minor workshops¹⁸¹ – have also been found lamps such as ΠΧ 2964. This seems to be of undetermined origin, an imitation – as its small size, the mica content and the presence of a slip all declare – of a Corinthian lamp, as can also be deduced from its typological details and decoration. On its base, the hitherto unknown signature ΔΥCIMA/X[O]Υ even copies the impressed circlet, which typically is often placed in the middle of the signature on Corinthian lamps.

On the Corinthian lamps in Rhodes the following observations can be made: Λ 7046 of ONHCI/MOY employs a very common type of decoration, that of the vine and ray. Its workshop, one of the best known and most productive, lasted until the early 3rd century.¹⁸² This lamp has a somewhat ‘dull’ appearance and its fabric has small cracks and wrinkles: these features make it possible that it was made in a provincial outpost of the main workshop¹⁸³ – but not one in Rhodes, since the clay differs from the Rhodian. The same probably applies to the fragment of the base of ΠΧ 2073, where the signature ()PMH / ()Q is a variant not before recorded, unless it is a corrupted version of ONHCIMO. Such a happening is unknown in Corinth,¹⁸⁴ but is heard of at other

provincial branches¹⁸⁵ which are representing some other unidentified Corinthian workshop. The small fragment of the base of the ΠΧ 2572 [ΚΑΛ]ΑΙC/[T] OΥ belongs to the famous workshop Καλλίστου.¹⁸⁶ The well-made lamp ΠΧ 2322 is a product of the workshop ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ.¹⁸⁷ Another lamp of the recognized workshop of CΠΩCΙΑΝΟΥ, a find from an illegal excavation on Rhodes, is today on show at the Römisch-Germanisches Museum of Cologne.¹⁸⁸

Among the Corinthian lamps from Rhodes, one can point out rare or elsewhere unknown issues, such as ΠΧ 2054 [CEK]ΟΥΝΔΟΥ, in two forms, one of which portrays a rod and lyre (?), from the workshop of Σεκούνδου;¹⁸⁹ ΠΧ 2392, a small fragment of a deity of ‘*polos*’ format; ΠΧ 2963b with a scene of a cock-fight or cock-and-hen; ΠΧ 1976 with the rare subject of an ithyphallic pygmy; and ΠΧ 2051, with a trotting horse. Listed as potentially Corinthian because of their quality are the lamp fragments Λ 6101, ΠΧ 1990, ΠΧ 2120, ΠΧ 2263, ΠΧ 2359, ΠΧ 2394, ΠΧ 2395, ΠΧ 2396, ΠΧ 2491, ΠΧ 2508 and ΠΧ 2509. As to the others marked as Corinthian in the Catalogue, reservations remain, due to their poor conservation or the small size of their fragments.

In conclusion, it is to be noted that after the 3rd century Corinthian lamps are not imported into Rhodes.¹⁹⁰ In the 6th century lamps such as ΠΧ 2565 BC, but also ΠΧ 1876, ΠΧ 2195, ΠΧ 2294, ΠΧ 2446 – whilst not Corinthian, still reproduce the typologically later Corinthian and Attic forms, by way of North African intermediaries. Pieces decorated with a jewelled cross (*crux gemata*) on the discus and herringbone motifs on the shoulder,

¹⁸⁵ In workshops at Patras, for example: six different signatures imitate the name Onesimus, see Petropoulos 1999, 112 and 118–120, 150, where ONHCIMOC answers to ΟΜΕΙΜΙΟC and ΟΜΙCΙΜΟC ... amongst others.

¹⁸⁶ For the signature, see Perlzweig 1961, 94, no. 272, pl. 8; Broneer 1930, 209; Williams 1981, 46, nos 201–208, pl. 9, 2nd–3rd centuries, from Kenchreai; Bruneau 1965, 135, no. 4658, pl. 31, from Delos; Borowski 1977, 63–65, lamp of ΚΑΛΛΙCΤΟΥ, from Tell Halif; Morizio 1979, 347–350, Morizio 1980, 133–134, with lamps of the workshop from Villa Castelli in Puglia. Also, Siewert and Taeuber 2013, 296–297, nos 330–331, whence on occasion lamps of this centre were found in Olympia, the activity dating from 180 to 300. The Corinthian lamps at Olympia, some of which are on display in the Museum of Olympia, are derived largely from the excavations in the cemetery of Frangonissi: see the unpublished PhD thesis of Siopa (1979–1980), which I was not able to consult.

¹⁸⁷ For the workshop, see Broneer 1930, 309–310; Bruneau 1977, 258–259; Petridis 1992, 663–664; Petropoulos 1999, 116–117; Koutoussaki 2008, 70, 309; Fotiadi 2011, 73, n. 47; Morizio 1980, 137–138, lamp of a workshop in Tarentum; Siewert, Taeuber 2013, 294–295, no. 328, whence the occasional lamp of the workshop from Olympia, the activity dating from 180 to 300.

¹⁸⁸ See Bruneau 1977, 291–293, no. 82, fig. 52. For the workshop, see Petropoulos 1999, 124–126; Fotiadi 2011, 73, n. 46.

¹⁸⁹ For the workshop, see Broneer 1930, 311; Perlzweig 1961, 51, 239; Bruneau 1977, 285.

¹⁹⁰ Even for Delphi, a place not so far from Corinth, the same is true, it seems: see Petridis 2011, 349.

¹⁷⁹ Japp 2011, 483, no. 3128.

¹⁸⁰ See also Knidian imitations of Broneer Type XXVII: Bailey 1988, 332–333, 363, Q 2989–Q 2991, pl. 96.

¹⁸¹ Bailey (1988, 403) notes that Asia Minor lamps that imitate Corinthian are usually slipped and smaller in size than the original.

¹⁸² For Onesimus, see mainly Broneer 1930, 310. Petropoulos 1999, 118–120, deals with its copies.

¹⁸³ For reflections on the originals and copies, see Petridis 2010, 84–86.

¹⁸⁴ Note that Bruneau 1977, 276, reports on similar slips, e.g. ΟΤΡΑΒΙΟΥ instead of ΟΚΤΑΒΙΟΥ. See too Morizio 1980, 139–140.

a very common feature, have been designated as from Corinth, or a wider area, but are unknown as to their originals.¹⁹¹ The possibility that imitations of North African lamps with jewelled-cross pattern were made in local, i.e. Rhodian, workshops, or even in neighbouring islands and on adjacent coasts, is

assisted and supported by the clay analysis of one of them, ΠX 2565, which seems to have an Asia Minor origin, and by the fact that at Halasarna on Kos¹⁹² a mould was found of a North African lamp type with the jewelled cross on the discus; further there are similar imitations in Patara in Asia Minor.¹⁹³

Concordance

Λ 6101 C 12	ΠX 2054 C 2	ΠX 2322 C 3	ΠX 2396 C 15	ΠX 2509 C 19
Λ 7046 C 10	ΠX 2073 C 13	ΠX 2359 C 4	ΠX 2402 C 20	ΠX 2572 C 14
ΠX 1976 C 1	ΠX 2120 C 11	ΠX 2392 C 5	ΠX 2491 C 6	ΠX 2845 C 18
ΠX 1990 C 21	ΠX 2211 C 22	ΠX 2394 C 23	ΠX 2507 C 24	ΠX 2963β C 7
ΠX 2051 C 8	ΠX 2263 C 9	ΠX 2395 C 17	ΠX 2508 C 16	

¹⁹¹ Lindros Wohl 1994, 136.

¹⁹² Roumeliotis 2001, 263, pl. 7.1, from Kardamaina on Kos.

¹⁹³ Korkut, Grosche 2007, 154, no. 287.