

ANCIENT LEROS

J. L. BENSON

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Geografica-Storica, Venice 1688, 337)
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Abbreviations

(supplementing those in *American Journal of Archaeology* 62, 1958, 3ff.)

Bürchner, <i>laL</i>	Ludwig Bürchner, "Inchriften auf Leros", <i>AM</i> 21 (1896) 33-38.
Bürchner, <i>IL</i>	Idem, <i>Die Insel Leros</i> (Wiss. Beilage zu dem Jahresbericht des Kgl. Theresien Gymnasiums in München für das Schuljahr 1897/98), München 1898.
Bürchner, <i>Le</i>	Idem, Article "Leros" in <i>RE</i> , 2094-2098 (1925).
Chabiaras	N. Chabiaras in series <i>ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΑΙ ΜΕΛΕΤΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΝΗΣΟΣ ΛΕΡΟΥ. Α' ΤΟ ΛΕΡΙΑΚΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΤΟΤ ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΤ</i> . Athens 1922.
Didot	Ambroise Firmin Didot, <i>Notes d'un voyage fait dans le Levant en 1816 et 1817</i> , Paris 1826.
Gedeon	M. Gedeon, <i>ΕΓΓΡΑΦΟΙ ΑΙΘΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΡΑΜΙΑ</i> , Constantinople 1893.
Gerola	G. Gerola, "I Monumenti medioevali delle Tredici Sporadi" (Parte Seconda), <i>ASAtene</i> 2 (1915) 61-67 (Lero).
<i>GL</i>	A. Philippson, <i>Die Griechischen Landschaften IV: Das Aegaeische Meer und seine Inseln</i> , Frankfurt-am-Main 1959.
Gschnitzer	F. Gschnitzer, <i>Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum</i> , Munich 1958 (Zetemata, 17).
Haussoullier	R. Haussoullier, "Les Iles Milésiennes Leros-Lepsia-Patmos-Les Korsiae", <i>RevPhil</i> 26 (1902) 125-143.
Kautzsch	R. Kautzsch, <i>Kapitellstudien</i> , Berlin 1936.
Krumbacher	K. Krumbacher, <i>Griechische Reise</i> , Berlin 1886.
<i>NS</i>	R. M. Dawkins and A. J. B. Wace, "Notes from the Sporades: Astypalaea, Telos, Nisyros, Leros", <i>BSA</i> 12 (1905/6) 151-174.
Oikonomopoulos	D. Oikonomopoulos, <i>ΛΕΡΙΑΚΑ ἤτοι χωρογραφία τῆς νήσου</i> , Kahira and Athens 1888.
Olivier	G. A. Olivier, <i>Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse</i> , III, Paris 1801.
Paton, <i>CL</i>	W. R. Paton, "Calymna and Leros", <i>CR</i> 8 (1894) 375-377.
Randolph	Bernard Randolph, <i>The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago</i> , Oxford 1687 (incorrectly cited in <i>NS</i>)
Rehm	A. Rehm in <i>Milet II</i> , 2: Die Milesische Landschaft (by T. Wiegand) Berlin, 1929, 24-26.

- Ross, *IGI* Ludwig Ross, *Inscriptiones Graecae Ineditae*, Fasciculus II, Athens 1842, 68 ff.
- Ross, *Reisen* Idem, *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des Aegäischen Meeres* II, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1843.
- Samarkos, *AK* M. Samarkos, "Οἱ Ἀρχαῖοι κατοικοὶ τῆς Λέρου" in ΔΩΔΕΚΑΝΗΣΟΣ I, No. 5, May 1957, 26-27.
- Samarkos, *AP* Idem, "Ἡ Ἀρχαία Πόλις τῆς Λέρου" in Μηνιαία Ἐπιθεώρησις Λέρου I, No. 2, December 1956; reprinted in ΔΩΔΕΚΑΝΗΣΟΣ I, No. 2, January 1957, 54 ff.
- Samarkos, *Pai* Idem, Παιδορπλῆς; in ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΗΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ No. 10, 1961, 173-174.
- ATL B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I-IV, Princeton 1939-1953.

Bibliographical note: The above abbreviations constitute a working bibliography which is offered in lieu of a formal, exhaustive bibliography both for convenience and because it has not been possible for me to find several of the earlier items listed by Büchner (*IL*, 2 ff.) The comments of the latter seem in any case sufficient to indicate that only historiographical interest attaches to these. I have, nevertheless, made use of works going back as far as the seventeenth century as sources of factual observations. If one takes the list given by Büchner to which several additions were made by Dawkins and Wace (*NS*, 152) plus the later references given in the above Abbreviations, in the notes and in the documentation of the Lorian inscriptions, one will have all the scientific references to this island which it has been possible for me to locate (with the exception of two unlocated ones: ΛΕΡΟΣ by Zaraphtis, published in Smyrna, 1904 and a lecture published — or given — by Francesco Bertonelli, Florence, 1930).

In place of a formal annotation of bibliographical material the reader will find that the fullest possible account has been taken of observations and opinions of earlier writers in the treatment of all phases of Lorian antiquities. This, plus the conclusions which I have tried to draw, necessarily tentatively, constitute a critique on earlier research and a summary of the present state of knowledge about Lorian antiquities.

Preface

There has been no comprehensive account of the state of the antiquities of Leros for more than sixty years. While Büchner's study, *Die Insel Leros* (1898), is still fundamental, it never pretended to give detailed or original information about the archaeological aspect of the island's history and, of course, it is greatly out of date. To be sure, only a proper excavation of key sites of the island will be able to yield the kind of precision to which scholars now aspire in this respect. Nevertheless, it has seemed to the writer that an up-to-date account, based on an actual surface survey of the island plus a reconsideration of the epigraphic and literary evidence in the light of modern research, would do something to fill the gap until such excavation takes place. Furthermore, it should be remarked that the history of the Dodecanese, apart from Rhodes and Cos, is insufficiently known, in spite of the fact that they are natural centres of commercial activity and have a strategic situation of no little importance. The latter point is especially applicable in the case of Leros, which guarded the approach to Miletos in antiquity, which was the pivot of Italian naval strategy in the Aegean before and during World War II, and which even now is the seat of a NATO installation (see p. 16).

It can be hoped, therefore, that there is a value in a detailed survey, such as the one presented here,¹ with or without the intention of excavation, *viz.*, to broaden the basis for a general historical understanding. It may also be useful to specialists interested in learning what Leros can offer to the understanding of some particular period or problem.

Needless to say, the survey could not have taken place without the cooperation of the Greek Archaeological Service to which thanks is here extended, particularly to Dr I. Kondis and to Mr Michael Samarkos, Special Epimelete of Leros. The latter's indefatigable sup-

¹ The author thinks that archaeological research would profit by more interest in this sort of project. See for example, D. W. S. Hunt, "An Archaeological Survey of the Classical Antiquities of the Island of Chios" in *BSA* 41 (1940-45) 29-52.

port of the project as well as his unstinting hospitality deserve the heartiest praise. Finally, the writer wishes to express his deep gratitude for a grant from the Penrose Fund by the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, which made possible the field work in Leros and Miletos during the summer of 1961.

J. L. BENSON

Part One

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE ISLAND

Introduction

LEROS is a member of that group of islands lying off the coast of western Anatolia which has been called the Dodecanese since the eighth century A.D. Within sight of Patmos to the northwest and nearly touching Kalymnos on the southeast, Leros is essentially a long mountainous ridge with a number of transversely projecting arms which create deep inlets and bays suitable as harbours (see Pl. 2). This geographical feature has been important in the history of the island. The topography, geology, flora and fauna have been described by others (see especially Büchner, *IL*, *passim*, and Philippson, *GL*, 280-282). It is sufficient for our purpose to remark that there are a number of reasonably well-watered plains, centering around Xerokampos in the southeast, Lakki, Ayia Marina and Drymona in the centre and Partheni in the north, which make the island attractive as well as habitable. The most important community now and also formerly, as it seems, overlooks the Bay of Ayia Marina, near the centre of the island on its northeast side. It has seemed best to emphasize this region by beginning the archaeological description of the island there, then to proceed with the other sites in more or less geographical order from Partheni in the north to Xerokampos in the south (see Pl. 3).

I. THE CENTRE OF THE ISLAND

The present principal town of Leros occupies a saddle between the parallel hills Meravigli on the south west and Kastron-Apityki¹ on the northeast. At the top of the saddle is Platanos, a pleasant and typical village square with shops and municipal buildings. At the lower eastern edge of the saddle is Panteli, a small fish-

¹ Oikonomopoulos, 38, uses the form 'Απίτυς.

ing village. At the lower western edge of the saddle is Ayia Marina on the bay of the same name. This latter serves as the port for the collective town under discussion.²

Known antiquities in this area center around the *kastron*, Ayia Marina — as perhaps the most important — and Paliaskloupí on the slopes of Meravigli.

THE KASTRON (ALSO CALLED PHROURION)

Straddling the crest of this hill and thus dominating the city area described is the citadel which was organized — or perhaps better considered to have been reorganized — in the fourteenth century A.D., by the Knights of St. John. A close study of the history and archaeology of this structure is needed.³ If the principal settlement of the island, in historical times at least, was at Ayia Marina, as we shall see there is reason to believe, then it seems likely that there would have been an acropolis with fortifications on the site of the present *kastron*. Such an assumption seems all the more inescapable as the lower city itself does not offer any visible evidence of having been fortified. We have, moreover, the evidence of Herodotus (see p. 37) that the strategic possibilities of Leros did not go unappreciated in the early fifth century; the inference is easy that Hekataios, the ruler of Miletos, wanted to seek refuge in the acropolis of Ayia Marina rather than elsewhere on the island (and it is not necessary to assume from the words of the historian that there was at the time no fortification whatsoever there). In any case, only Xerokampos, which we know to have been fortified subsequently (see p. 28), would appear to be an alternate possibility; but there is so far no evidence for habitation of that site in Archaic times.

Ross⁴ already supposed that if any fortress was built in accordance with the suggestion of Hekataios (or, as mentioned above, if

² Philippon refers to this town under the collective name Leros (*GL*, 282), but this does not seem to be the practice at the present time.

³ A brief description which would serve as an introduction is given by Gerola, 62 ff. Oikonomopoulos, 27, states that the period of construction of the Byzantine *Kastron tou Pandeliou*, which is the first structure on the site attested by literary evidence, cannot be determined. On damage in World War II, see *BSA* 43 (1948) 200. For a general discussion of the historical documentation for the Byzantine and later periods in Leros see Büchner, *IL*, 37 ff.

⁴ *Reisen*, 119.

some sort of rudimentary fortification already existed), it would have been on the site of the present *kastron* and enclosed within that structure, the interior of which he did not see. Following up this supposition, I explored the topography of the hill and the remains of the *phourion*; it seems that the most likely place for the ancient acropolis would have been on the knoll directly behind the church of *Panayia tou Kastrou*⁵. The area to which I am referring can be identified in a general way in Coronelli's schematic diagram (Pl. 1) as the fan-shaped enclosure at the top of the diagram. What cannot be determined without some clearance of the area is the date of the rather poor foundations on the knoll, especially in the absence of any distinctive sherds. While these foundations may be entirely contemporary with the Knights, they have at least some generic resemblance to the outer walls of the Late Roman cisterns discussed below, in so far as these latter are above the surface of the ground. Moreover, the degree of destruction seems greater in this area than elsewhere in the *phourion* (which has been considerably restored in recent years), but this may be owing to factors other than the age of the remains.⁶

The highest part of the hill lies to the southeast of this knoll, separated from it by a depression which required fairly bold engineering on the part of the Knights to bridge. The surface of this highest part would not have been large and may have been almost inaccessible owing to the many boulders near it. Had there been ancient walls enclosing this part one would expect some traces of them to remain or to have been incorporated by the later engineers. Since this is not the case, I am inclined to consider that this highest part was not included within the (hypothetical) ancient walls. If I am right, the area on the knoll might prove to contain Byzantine

⁵ Oikonomopoulos, 36, states that the date of construction of this church cannot be determined but considers the most likely time to have been immediately after the Turkish occupation. See also Gerola, 48 ff. The Byzantine inscription above the door of the church cannot help much as it is merely part of a hymn. Oikonomopoulos fails to mention the similar inscription built into a wall inside the inner complex of the *phourion*.

⁶ Didot, 364, writing in 1816, stated that the majority of the houses which the fortress contained had been destroyed by Russian bombardment, but whether these were in the area to which I am referring is impossible to say. Olivier, 352, also mentions Russian cannon "of their (the Russians') last war with the Turks".

or even Late Roman remains of an acropolis.⁷ However, of any fortifications which may have preceded these there is apparently no trace. The relatively well preserved *phrouria* of nearby Miletos and Ephesos suggest quite vividly what the Early Byzantine fortress of Leros may have looked like. The factor next to be discussed adds strongly, I think, to the probability that this early fortress I have been reconstructing is not so entirely imaginary. Moreover, it is attested by literary evidence (see note 3).

Below the *phrourion* on the northeast, the terrain falls away in a series of more or less recognizable terraces. At a distance of several hundred meters are situated two adjoining (parallel) cisterns, each originally with vaulting which alone would have appeared above the surface.⁸ They are partly filled with stones. About 50 meters west of these there is a similar (single) cistern, now completely filled with stones. The cisterns are rectangular and constructed in the following manner (Pl. 6a). Rough gray stones, taken from the hillside area, have been consistently cut into small, though not regular, blocks ca. 20-25 cm. square; some are somewhat rectangular. Between almost every course of these stones is a single layer of bricks; but at regular intervals the bricks are 3-5 courses in depth. The bricks are red or yellow (about 20-30 cm. in length and 3-4 cm. in thickness). At the springing point of the arches there are ten holes for horizontal beams equally spaced on each side. In the construction of the vaults layers of brick continue to be used on the interior surface while the outer skin is of solid concrete with quite small but rather regularly matched stones and other fragments pressed into the surface. Among these was a sherd which suggests a *terminus post quem* of the sixth century A.D. (see p. 56). The contiguous vaults of the adjoining cisterns are reminiscent of the double *tholarion* at Ayios Polykarpos (*q.v.*). The interior of the cisterns

⁷ Gerola, 62 ff., considers the innermost complex to be the oldest part of the present fortifications and points to the fact that fragments of Byzantine marble blocks are built into it. It seems evident that even this part of the *phrourion* is post-Byzantine. Gerola does not mention the cisterns (see below). D. Levi, in *Enciclopedia Italiana (s.v. Lero)*, also refers to "marble fragments of Byzantine art" built into the walls of the Venetian castello.

⁸ Dimensions of cisterns. A: 5.35 x 7.20m. B: 5.70 x 7.20m. C: 4.60 x 8.80. It is not possible to say what the original depth of the cisterns was. From the top of the concrete lining to the debris in A is 3.60m.

was plastered with a reddish brown concrete,⁹ some of which has now fallen away.

The irregular and rough appearance of the stones and even of the bricks points to a provincial or a late manner of work — possibly both — but the technique and conception are unmistakably Roman; the evidence of the sherd mentioned above indicates that this technique continued at least into the sixth century in this area.¹⁰ A comparison with the better preserved areas of the *phrourion* shows the totally different use of materials, as on the inner side of the northeast walls: fairly regular courses of rather large rectangular blocks with a filling of small stones between courses to equalize uneven surfaces. The use of mortar is more or less sporadic and then it contains irregular reddish stones and (perhaps) fragments of bricks from earlier structures as binder. The cisterns may have continued in use during the period of the Knights, but because they are outside the fortress, they were clearly of limited value. They were planned in a period when perhaps there was only a small Byzantine garrison on the hill with maintenance of civil order as its chief function; or else they may have merely supplemented a main source of water within the contemporary fortress.

On the terraces immediately around and below the cisterns one finds ancient sherds, mostly black glazed small bowls of the fourth century B.C., but also a few scraps of Roman ware (see p. 55). These are in the greatest concentration around the cisterns but continue down almost to the sea. Many of the sherds show traces of burning. Like most of the inhabited areas of Leros, virtually the entire hill is thickly covered with coarse red, worn, nondescript sherds.

⁹ In the double cisterns this is overlaid at the top by the plain concrete of the vaults, indicating that the cisterns were completely finished first. However, the reddish brown concrete continues over the vaulted area in the third cistern (C).

¹⁰ This is essentially a variation of *opus listatum*, called 'Block and Brick' by M. Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*, Washington 1959. It is perhaps worth noticing that she mentions (p. 67) a cistern with brick facing under the Palaestra of the Terme di Nettuno. The long survival (or revival) of this technique can be observed in the Norman abbey at St. Albans. Cf. also R. Billig, "Chronologische Probleme der römischen Konkretverkleidung" in *OA* 3 (1944) 143.

AYIA MARINA

It is the merit of the present special epimelete of Leros, Mr M. Samarkos, to have presented clearly and forcefully the evidence that the ancient city of Leros lay in the area designated by the triangle Brouzi (Burtzi on Büchner's map: Pl. 2),¹¹ a ruined medieval fortress at the south entrance to Ayia Marina Bay, Ayia Barbara, a small chapel on the slope of the *kastron*, and Ayia Marina Church on the main street of Ayia Marina near the waterfront. My description will follow closely the lines laid down by Samarkos.¹²

We may begin with the Kandiloglu house, which adjoins the Church of Ayia Marina. Various dressed blocks of a stone described by Oikonomopoulos and Samarkos as light, well-cut marble were encountered while the foundations of this house were being prepared, and also where its well was sunk in the garden. Today, there are blocks of a coarse gray limestone, probably ancient, marking the periphery of the well. It is also reported that a fluted column of about three meters in length was found and left *in situ* at a small depth in the garden.¹³ More interestingly, at the time of the building of the house (in the late Turkish period¹⁴) a fragment of relief — if not other antiquities as well — was found in this area and was eventually donated to the Archaeological Hall of Leros. It is unfortunate that there is not more exact knowledge concerning the circumstances in which this piece was found. As I have commented (p. 52), it may well have come from a statue base of an athlete, which might give some clue as to the nature of the site where it was found.

Through the gardens behind the Kandiloglu house, the church and the shops of Ayia Marina, one finds here and there outcroppings of ancient walls. On the slopes which rise behind this area toward Ayia Barbara (Pl. 5a) one finds sherds ranging in date from the Archaic period to the Byzantine with, of course, many of the non-descript coarse ware sherds which are so abundant in the

¹¹ Μπουρζί: Oikonomopoulos, 38. Gerola, 66, considered the fortifications here to be of the Turkish period.

¹² Samarkos, *AP passim*.

¹³ Samarkos, *Pai*, 173.

¹⁴ See Oikonomopoulos, 27, for a contemporary reference to the marble fragments.

island (see p. 5). Ayia Barbara is a small chapel adjoining the house of the late Pappas Anastasis, who is usually known as Papanastasis. It was he who rebuilt this chapel during the Italian occupation and who discovered on his property — while reorganizing his sloping land to accommodate an orchard — structures which indicate that Ayia Barbara is on ground which has long been in civilized use. At least three such were revealed, although their exact nature and purpose is not entirely evident. On the same level as his dwelling are two semi-circular "structures", as one must call them, with the same orientation and separated by a distance of about seven meters. The one closer to the house is a kind of odeion, as Samarkos has designated it and the term may be used for want of a better. It is a partially preserved semi-circle (with a radius of 1.5 m.) of nicely cut, dark gray marble blocks which are provided with a kind of moulding at the top (Pl. 9b). The emplacement of these is, however, rather obscure on the basis of the present degree of clearance. There are three blocks *in situ*, another fallen forward, another re-used in the adjoining complex, and yet another lying near the chapel.¹⁵ It is clear that five would complete the semi-circle; yet so far six are accounted for, and there may be others. However, the westernmost revetment does indeed appear to be terminal for it has a carved design of crosses on it (Pl. 9a), which suggests a date of perhaps the sixth or the seventh century A.D.¹⁶ The revetments which are *in situ* originally had inscriptions. These Papanastasis was not sufficiently educated to read and before they could be studied by any competent person they were deliberately chiseled off by order of the Italian governor of the island. A few traces of the upper line can still be made out on one or two of the stones.

The other structure is also roughly semi-circular and more of

¹⁵ Height: 92 cm.; Width: 40 cm.

¹⁶ Carved ornamentation in stone occurs regularly on sarcophagi and balustrades in Byzantine art: cf., e.g., L. Beylié, *L'Habitation Byzantine*, Paris 1902, 39, House of Refadi (dated there sixth century A.D.) for simple decoration such as crosses on a balustrade. Although both the lozenge and the cross are, separately, ubiquitous features of Byzantine design, the cross within the lozenge is — to the best of my knowledge — highly unusual. As a symbol the cross is generally inscribed in a circle or else free-standing. The crosses within lozenges here, if not to be considered pure design, must at least be closely derivative from such designs as the following: O. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (republished) New York 1961, 691 Fig. 439, Transenna S. Vitale; and J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople*, London 1961, 32 Fig. 42; 33 Fig. 43, carved ivories.

it is preserved. It is composed of a series of three stone steps, or concentric benches, interrupted at the centre by a slab from the "odeion" in reversed upright position (Pl. 8a). At the lowest level of the "apse", as it were, the radius is 1.2 m.; at the upper level, *ca.* 2 m.; but the semi-circular space is enclosed by yet another higher outer wall (Pl. 8b), so that the total radius is 3.35 m. and the total width of the area 5.9 m. with a total preserved height of 2.4 m. The blocks used in the construction of this complex, which resembles the apse and, in particular, the *synthronon* of an early Christian church,¹⁷ have obviously not been drawn all from the same source. Some are of light marble, others of dark. It has already been mentioned that a slab from the "odeion" was re-used. Several of the blocks have round sinkings, as if for doorposts, others have a sinking for dowels. Only the blocks resting on floor level have been re-worked to conform to the circularity of the structure. Attention is called to one block¹⁸ which has drafted edges (Pl. 8c). Next to it is a fragment which appears to have been profiled. On the other side two courses of bricks have been employed to make up the required height, but most of the blocks are of about the same size and may have been taken from the same monument. As far as one can tell, there is impacted earth between the seats and the outermost (upper) wall.

Embedded in the earth beneath the trees near the apse-like structure just described are two matched columns of much weathered and fractured dark blue-grey marble with white to yellow veins.¹⁹ They are not *in situ*.

On a terrace immediately below the chapel of Ayia Barbara are the partial foundations of another structure. It was 9.6 m. in width; its length was at least equal to its width and may have been greater since the terrace which supported these walls has partly eroded. In the southwest corner of the room is a well-preserved section of the wall (Pl. 6b), which was about a meter in thickness and at least partially covered with plaster, of which some has fallen

¹⁷ For a parallel see G. Korre, *H EKATONAIPTAIANH THS IIAPOT*, Athens 1954, 91 ff. and Fig. on p. 92. Cf. also *To Ergon*, 1959, 51 Fig. 49 (Philippi).

¹⁸ Dimensions: 58 x 28 cm.

¹⁹ Projecting respectively 73 and 69 cm. above ground.

away revealing the bricks underneath. The technique could perhaps be considered *opus listatum*. In view of the solid construction of this building — no doubt of Roman or Early Byzantine date — it may have been an important civic edifice. Within the area of this room, which is now greatly overgrown with shrubs, one finds many architectural fragments, including part of an altar screen (?) of marble, several Ionic capitals which could not be extricated for photography, a Doric capital with an inscription, another large block, heavily chipped, with an inscription, and an inscribed stele (see p. 32).

The third angle of the triangle being discussed is marked by a small warehouse for wine at Brouzi, constructed by an Italian entrepreneur during the Italian occupation.²⁰ In laying foundations he encountered four marble tombs with numerous grave furnishings. No inventory of these exists as the Italian chased away the local workmen and then plundered the tombs. However, it is certain that there was a silver coin of Alexander the Great and a table statuette about 6 or 7 cm. in height, done in the Egyptian manner, according to Samarkos who reports it. To quote him: "As much from the coin and the statuette as from the manner of joining the marbles, it is assured that the tombs are of the third or second century, B.C." Blocks of attractive and excellently cut white marble (possibly Parian) from the tombs were re-used in building the warehouse.²¹

Near the warehouse to the east are wall foundations extending from the slope of the hill to form a chamber 2.3 m. in width, while in the road parallel to the sea in the direction of Ayia Marina (and also continuing far above the road) are almost continuous outcroppings of ancient walls (Pl. 7b). The technique of these walls may be in all probability referred to the Roman period: although apparently no bricks were used, concrete was abundantly employed

²⁰ Gerola, 66, Fig. 59 shows the general appearance of this area before any buildings were constructed.

²¹ Including most of the foundation and various blocks built into the walls but not the doorway, which appears to be entirely modern. This building now belongs to the state and is scheduled for demolition.

and, on one rather well preserved portion,²² one sees fragments of good quality wall plaster and a patch of adjoining mosaic (Pl. 7a). The wall blocks are hewn in a fairly regular way. No design exists on the mosaic so far as this is preserved. Near this room and adjoining it are arches almost entirely under the present road level. The best present evaluation of this complex is that it is Late Roman or Early Byzantine — possibly contemporary with the “apse” and “odeion” of Ayia Barbara (and built over Hellenistic tombs, to judge from the experience of the Italian warehouse builder).

The foregoing detailed description of the antiquities visible on the surface makes it sufficiently plain that this was an inhabited area during the ancient period, from at least Archaic times onward (see p. 46). Not only does no other area of the island offer physical evidence so impressive as this of long-continued habitation, but, from the commercial and the strategic point of view,²³ the known historical importance of this area suggests the conclusion that it is part, at least, of the ancient city of Leros. Undoubtedly the settlement continued up the slopes of the *kastron* to a considerable height, for from various vantage points across the bay one can see distinct remains of terracing up to a certain strong natural break in the terrain (Pl. 5b). No doubt much of the ancient city lies under the present town of Ayia Marina; but it is fortunate that a considerable area with ruins is only very sparsely settled and used at the present time, so that excavations would not interfere greatly with the life of the town (see Pl. 5a).

The inscriptions of Leros are for such a small island relatively abundant even without excavations and will undoubtedly suffice in the course of time to settle the question as to the location of the administrative centre of the island in antiquity. The inscription *Demos Lerou* found in the vicinity of Ayia Barbara appears to balance, if not outweigh, the evidence of the Aristomachos inscription from

²² Height of wall preserved above mosaic is 1.8m. It is presumably to this or some similar configuration that Rehm, 25, refers: “Reste von römischen Ziegelmauerwerk und Estrich”.

²³ At present the principal port of the island is Lakki, but this seems to be entirely a development of the twentieth century brought about by the establishment of a submarine base there by the Italians. Lakki was laid out on the lines of Cos by the Italians but was badly damaged in World War II.

Partheni (see p. 32). Furthermore the inscription published by Didot (see p. 31) must have been found in the Church of Ayia Marina. This appears to indicate official activity here in Roman times. Oikonomopoulos²⁴ postulated the main city at Partheni on the basis of the Aristomachos inscription and the Hekataios inscription (about the find-spot of which he was confused²⁵). He was, however, by no means unaware of the existence of an important ancient settlement in the region of the *kastron*, for which he cited the evidence of the Kandiloglu house and the Paliaskloupi.²⁶ He postulated the demise of importance of Partheni as a city in the fourth century A.D., contemporaneously with the official victory of Christianity through the acts of Theodosios the Great (386 A.D.). Since at this time Partheni begins to be referred to as *proasteion*, Oikonomopoulos postulates the transfer of the capital to the *Kastron tou Pandeliou* (see n. 3) at an unspecified time between the fourth century and 1087 when part of the population moved to Lepida and centered itself about the *Palaiokastron*.²⁷

Unfortunately, the picture thus proposed, though it undoubtedly has elements of relevance, does not agree well with the archaeological situation at Partheni (*q.v.*), where there is no indication of an extensive ancient settlement. In fact, Ross²⁸ had already in 1843 quite firmly postulated the location of the ancient city of Leros on the west slope of the *kastron*, citing as evidence remains of buildings made of broken stones and mortar, *tholaria*, sherds and marble fragments. It is most likely that this kind of evidence — for those who had eyes to see it — was much more impressive in Ross' day than now, after Leros has suffered the military depredations of a foreign power and the ravages of World War II, including extensive bombardment. Bürchner, in his first study of the island,²⁹ cites Ross wrongly as placing the ancient city on the north slope of Mera-vigli and agrees that the hill and Bay of Ayia Marina form the

²⁴ *Leriaka*, 26.

²⁵ See Chabiaras, 10. Bürchner (*IL*, 16) also reports being unable to find the inscription, although he undoubtedly searched in the right church since he mentions the base at the well of the Genovese (see p. 20).

²⁶ *Leriaka*, 27.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, 28.

²⁸ *Reisen*, 118.

²⁹ *IL*, 32 (1898).

natural centre of the island. In his second summation of the history of the island, the *RE* article of 1925, Bürchner further confused the issue by associating Ross instead of Oikonomopoulos with the view that the capital was at Partheni, and by apparently accepting that position himself. In the meantime, Dawkins and Wace, visiting the island a little after the turn of the century, proposed that the ancient capital, of which "no trace survives",³⁰ was where the modern town and medieval castle now stand. It is apparent that such a statement, while possessing a general validity, did not rest on careful autopsy or knowledge of the literature of the subject. Perhaps it was for this reason that Bürchner did not refer to it in 1925. G. Gerola,³¹ writing in 1914, affirmed — although apparently not on the basis of any research — that the capital of the island had always been where it is today. D. Levi, however, in *Enciclopedia Italiana* (s.v. Lero), stated that the ancient capital was perhaps near Partheni. Rehm,³² in 1929, again referred to Ross' discussion of remains of the ancient city above Ayia Marina and confirmed it by autopsy. He also noted that its harbor looked directly toward the metropolis on the mainland. A. Philippson³³ also placed the ancient city under the *kastron*. Finally, as we have seen, Samarkos³⁴ in 1956 presented the first detailed archaeological evidence to bear on the subject.

PALIASKLOUPI (Παλιασκλούπη, see Bürchner, *IL*, 26)

This is the name of a spring high above the central square of Platanos on the northeast flank of Meravigli. The spring (Pl. 10a) lies something over a hundred meters to the northwest of Ayios Panteleimonos. It seems doubtful that Bürchner knew this site by autopsy as he seems to place it on the *kastron*.³⁵ The same author referred, in his description of the centre of the island, to a small aqueduct (*Kamares, sic*) "of Roman type" which he could not in-

³⁰ *NS*, 172.

³¹ *ASAtene* 2 (1915) 61.

³² *Milet*, II, 2, 25.

³³ *GL*, 282.

³⁴ He referred only to the opinion of Oikonomopoulos and not to those who had already previously held the same view as himself; but it must be borne in mind that he was not primarily writing for a learned audience.

³⁵ *IL*, 26. But it is placed approximately correctly on his map. Bürchner may have had the notion that the citadel of ancient Leros was Meravigli rather than the *kastron*.

vestigate. This is presumably the same aqueduct described by Oikonomopoulos³⁶ as follows: "... built along the northwest side of it (the square, apparently, of Platanos) in the Roman style on arches and for this reason called Kamarais."

Thus, it is quite evident from the statements of Bürchner, Oikonomopoulos, and also Didot,³⁷ all of whom saw the town of Platanos in the nineteenth century, that an aqueduct with a conduit carried by arches existed at that time. I could find no one who had actually seen the whole thing, but several shop-keepers on the square stated that arches had been visible built into shops (or *vice-versa*) until about a decade ago. Since today there seems not to be the slightest trace of such a structure, all this verbal evidence of its former existence might seem somewhat dreamlike, did we not possess yet another reliable and impartial witness in a schematic representation of just such an aqueduct on a map of the port of Leros published by Olivier in 1801 (Pl. 4). Whether or not we may trust the diagram to the extent of according eight arches to the structure is something else. In any case, its existence is assured,³⁸ and in the very position where the logic of the topography obliged me to postulate it prior to any knowledge of Olivier's map. The major source of water in this part of the island is, and presumably always has been, Paliaskloupi. Oikonomopoulos³⁹ states that the fountain called Avlaki, near the Church of the Cross, just above the Plateia, receives its water from the Paliaskloupi. Avlaki still exists and its conduit lines are underground. It is therefore an obvious inference from all this evidence that the aqueduct transferred water from Avlaki to a fountain in the Plateia below. There is no trace of an aqueduct of Roman type directly from Paliaskloupi; there is, however, a covered water channel, now disused — possibly of the Turkish era — running alongside the garden of the house which adjoins the spring (some of the covering slabs of this channel are visible in Pl. 10a). The channel is bonded into a kind of foundation which serves as a

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, 38.

³⁷ This author mentions on p. 365 "L'acqueduc qui traverse la vallée".

³⁸ This is one of two instances on Leros (see also p. 28) of the total disappearance of objects without a trace. Examples of this kind point to the relativity of material evidence from ancient cultures.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, 39.

retaining wall for the somewhat higher garden. It might be worth investigating whether this foundation continues under the garden of the house, as this is the most obvious place for a cult building to have existed.

Both Oikonomopoulos and Bürchner have mentioned the probability that the name of this spring derives from an ancient cult place of Asclepius. The position of the spring high on the slopes of Meravigli overlooking the Bay of Ayia Marina, especially open to fresh breezes and sunlight, recalls the setting of the Asclepion of Kos. While the terrain in this part of Leros is suitable for only a very modest establishment, its proximity to Kos is an important factor to consider in judging the possibility of its having had competent personnel.

But was there actually an Asclepion in Leros? An excellent spring with healthful waters exists, the proper setting exists, the name of the god survives in the traditional designation of the fountain. This evidence is already impressive, but there is more. A short distance to the southeast of the fountain (about 150 meters on the same general level) is the Church of Ayios Panteleimonos.⁴⁰ Furthermore, from the western slopes of Meravigli, near Drymona, and thus in the same general region of the island as the spring, comes the statuette in the Leros Archaeological Hall which represents Hygieia (Pl. 13a-b), the daughter of Asclepius. Again, in the Archaeological Hall is an inscription preserving the name Asklepiadi (see p. 33) which may refer to a physician. All these factors can scarcely be mere coincidences.

Where, then, was the actual sanctuary? It has already been suggested that there may have been a building of some sort immediately adjoining the spring to the southeast. The church is also in this direction and is situated on a terrace which would have served well the purpose of a sanctuary. The terrace was obtained partially

⁴⁰ On the interchangeability of Pantaleon and Panteleimon see K. Löffler in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI (1911). *A Dictionary of Saints* (compiled by D. Attwater, New York, 1958) gives Pantaleon and Panteleimon as equivalent, and a patron saint of physicians. There is also a very obscure Panteleimon from the second century A.D. (see under Maurus in *The Book of Saints*, Macmillan, New York 1944). On Pantaleon as physician: A. Pazzini, *I Santi nella storia della medicina*, Rome 1937, 178 ff.

by a cutting from the living rock which appears to be relatively fresh; this may, of course, represent a re-cutting. The present church is a post-war replacement and has in its precinct a number of ancient architectural fragments which are reported to have been kept in the former church. There are four columns, or partial columns, emerging from the ground before the church, spaced at regular intervals.⁴¹ It is of even more interest that the southeast entrance to the precinct has two posts, on each of which a capital, hollowed out to serve as a flower pot, has been placed. On the right, as one ascends the path, is a Corinthian capital (Pl. 12b), unfortunately rather badly chipped, of a good marble, probably Naxian; in style, it seems to belong with capitals of the very early fourth century A.D.⁴² The artifact on the left post is perhaps better designated as a stilt-block (Pl. 12d); it has a simple, massive shape and is heavily stuccoed. Where the stucco is missing, the marble is revealed as a very coarse, dark gray variety with brick red patches.⁴³

The stilt-block may well come from an early Christian Church, possibly from an early predecessor of the present Ayios Panteleimonos; the Corinthian capital could conceivably come from the same structure, but perhaps equally well or better from a pagan predecessor connected with the Asclepion. Thus, at present, there seems reason to postulate the existence of the sanctuary on the southeast side of the spring rather than in the opposite direction where the terraces are smaller (now olive groves) and have no tell-tale signs of antiquity.

⁴¹ NW side: 78 cm. above surface. Marble fractured with a large slice missing. Circumf. of shaft, ca. 1 m. Rim very worn. H: 6 cm. D: 37 cm. Two circular sinkings near rim, ca. 3 cm. in diam. and from 1-3 cm. in depth. Another column has similar, though not identical, measurements and cut. SW side: Circumf. of shaft, ca. 74 cm. Base, H: 5 cm. D: 26 cm. Large centre sinking, D. 5.5 cm. Depth: 3 cm. Another column of similar type and dimensions, in poorer condition, nearby. No sinkings.

⁴² Height, as measurable in present position, is 35 cm. with base circumf. of 1.16 cm. Only 8 cm. has been allowed for the width of the wall where the sinking was made (in the top), so that there is adequate space for flowers. Although much damaged, the capital design seems closest to Kautzsch, Nos. 4 and 209.

⁴³ Height (overall): 37 cm. Height (of central square plinth): 26.5 cm. Width (of same): 42 cm. I cannot cite any exact parallels. The shape is in a way more reminiscent of sections of architrave which emerge plastically over engaged columns in Late Roman and Early Christian architecture (e.g., Thermae of Diocletian at Rome, Mausoleum of Diocletian at Spalato, and the Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites at Kalaat-Seman).

II. PARTHENI

Previous descriptions of this site have not only failed to mention the peaceful beauty of the fertile plain, which is sparsely inhabited by goat-herds and fishermen, and its surrounding barren mountains, but have likewise hardly given an adequate account of the topography. Such an undertaking is rendered difficult at the present time by the fact that the area has become a military zone sheltering a NATO installation; thus, no photography whatsoever is permitted. It was with difficulty that permission for photographs of Ayios Georghios near Kamara, at some distance from Partheni, could be obtained. The road descending from the chapel just mentioned toward the Bay of Partheni passes on the left a long, somewhat narrow terrace which emerges from the descending slopes and dominates the small coastal plain. At the coastal end of this terrace one finds a small cluster of buildings which forms the *Metochi*, or farm belonging to the monastery on Patmos. These buildings are abandoned except for the small chapel of Ayios Georghios (which is sometimes confused with that of the same name near Kamara). Near the opposite end of the terrace, perhaps two hundred meters south of the farm, are the ruins of the tower described and illustrated by Wace and Dawkins.⁴⁴ This is now in extremely dilapidated condition. The walls and court mentioned as being 20m. east of the tower could not be found, although a few stones which could be foundation stones are visible. The tower is at one corner of a large "platform" about 20 x 25 m. in dimensions, which forms the highest part of the whole terrace and thus dominates the entire plain. This platform is almost entirely free of the huge boulders and prickly shrubs which otherwise cover the surface of the terrace. These circumstances suggest that this may be the site of the Temple of the Parthenos, if it was of modest proportions.⁴⁵ The date of the tower

⁴⁴ NS, 172 Fig. 16.

⁴⁵ Paton's criticism of the plan of Oikonomopoulos, 164, has given rise to a false impression put into circulation by Wace and Dawkins. While the plan of the *phryktoreion* as given by Oikonomopoulos is not accurate, that author nowhere states that he considers it to have been the temple of Artemis; in fact, he specifically considered it to be a fortress, as the title of his plan indicates. Furthermore, Paton to the contrary, there is a church (Ayia Eirene) on this site, next to the tower, as Oikonomopoulos' plan shows, and this might lend some colour to the supposition that a temple stood here previously. It appears that Paton's criticism did not rest on autopsy, while Wace and Dawkins did not read

and its possible relation to the temple — if it was here — are highly uncertain.⁴⁶ The cut of the blocks of the tower is rather rough and the stone itself is an unattractive limestone; one would hardly expect these to be re-used temple blocks, unless from the foundation. One finds small worked marble fragments as well as fragments of terra-cotta roof tiles in the area. One of these latter is similar to Attic examples of the Late Hellenistic or Early Roman period.⁴⁷ The surface sherds found on the platform or near the tower seem to be consistently post-Roman (see p. 56). Obviously, only excavation could determine how these quite different factors are related to one another.

Parallel and very near the tower on its north side is a small ruined chapel, known locally as Ayia Eirene,⁴⁸ built largely with blocks taken from the tower. The small conch-like apse is constructed of brick and concrete, which was covered with plaster on which are traces of wall painting in red, yellow and dark greenish grey paint. The total height of the apse above the present surface is 2.45 m. A clandestine excavation which had taken place recently went down below the obvious level for a floor without revealing any traces of one.

The well preserved chapel of Ayios Georghios in the *Metochi* existed before 1087.⁴⁹ It contains a fragment of wall painting on its south wall; more interestingly for the question of the location of the temple, it houses behind the altar screen a large whitewashed slab (.83 x 1.35 m.; 22 cm. maximum width) which looks like an ancient architectural fragment; however, a precise identification does not

Oikonomopoulos. The latter, in an interesting discussion of the topography (p. 157), makes no attempt to associate the temple with any existing ruins but only places it generally in the area where the Aristomachos inscription was found. See also Rehm, 25, on the location of the temple and the name of its occupant.

⁴⁶ Büchner, *Le*, 2096, proposed that this was rather a place of refuge from pirates than a watch tower. Rehm, 24, expresses the same opinion without reference to Büchner. Büchner, *Le*, 2097, states — on what evidence I do not know — that the tower was used by the Knights of St. John.

⁴⁷ The clay is light reddish brown and well cleaned. 15 x 12.5 x 5 cm. Cf. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 51 Fig. 6 for the type.

⁴⁸ Interior dimensions: 4.1 x 2 m. Presumably a single barrel vault, as so many country chapels in Greece. Büchner's remarks about its location (*IL*, 15) seem unclear to me.

⁴⁹ Gedeon, 42 ff.: discussion of churches extant in Leros in 1087 based on records in the monastery of John the Theologian in Patmos.

seem possible now. It has a moulded edge on two sides (top and base?), while a cross-in-circle has been inscribed on the main surface. Yet another fragment of the same type of slab lies beside it. A part of the platform on which the chapel and the related buildings of the *Metochi* stand is edged with some large blocks which might have come from ancient buildings, which has suggested to Samarkos that this might be the site of the temple. In this discussion of the physical remains of the temple, one might recall the report of the seventeenth century traveller, Bernard Randolph, of "about 20 very great marble pillars which are entire, and are too far from the Sea to be carried away."⁵⁰ Evidently this difficulty was overcome later.

From Ayios Georghios one proceeds due north toward the shore, within about 50 m. of which is a disused, rambling, shed-like structure of brick in poor condition. This is known locally as the *Tholos* and is undoubtedly an outlying building of the original monastery farm. Presumably this is the shed mentioned by Bürchner as being used to store utensils, but it is much more than 100 m. north of the farm, as he said: closer to a quarter of a mile. This may also designate the area referred to by Ross as the "grosse, zerstörte Kirche mit vielen antiken Quadern", since it adjoins directly the foundations of a building (ca. 6 x 15m.) with apsidal termination. Ross goes on to say that it was on the foundations of an old sanctuary, *viz.*, of Parthenos.⁵¹ It is clear that neither Bürchner nor Ross can have looked carefully at this complex of buildings. The foundations of the church are flush with the present field level and there is no visible evidence of anything underneath them. Along the south flank of the church and adjoining it, there is a series of subterranean arches similar to the *tholaria* (see p. 30) found so frequently on the island. At the time of my visit one of these had just been subjected (clandestinely) to a partial excavation; in the freshly turned earth three large fragments of Samian Ware plates and sherds of various coarse wares had been left by the digger. The so-called *Tholos* seems in turn to be part of the structure of the church. As it has within it a bakery, it is reasonable to suppose that this was a separate unit

⁵⁰ *Present State of the Islands*, 57.

⁵¹ Interestingly enough, this was also the impression of Randolph *loc. cit.*: "They say it was a temple built in honour of Diana, and was (after the preaching of St. John) made a church, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin."

of the monastery which may have been built over some *tholaria* (perhaps used as Roman graves). According to Bürchner, the Aris-tomachos inscription was found near here in the digging of a trench.⁵² He states that a few steps away from this spot in shore waters lay nicely cut blocks of white marble which must have come from the temple.⁵³ I could not find these, which is perhaps not surprising, especially since, by local report, the shore line has altered considerably (to seaward) even within the last 30 to 40 years.

From the point of view of antiquities, the *Tholos* is interesting by reason of the many well cut marble slabs and blocks which are built into it, one of the largest being 60 x 75 x 25 cm., of local marble. The presence of these taken together with the slabs in Ayios Georghios and previous reports of marble blocks and columns would suggest that the Parthenos temple was somewhere in the vicinity. The *Tholos* itself, however, does not seem to me a more likely candidate for the exact site than the platform of the *Metochi* or the platform of the tower. Both Ross and Bürchner reported *tholaria* on the peninsula which juts into the bay to the west of the *Tholos*, and, indeed, one such structure is still visible. The peninsula would have been a striking site for the temple but cannot have served that purpose for it has never been cleared of its enormous boulders.

Unfortunately, owing to the military restrictions mentioned earlier, it is not possible to illustrate this important site, nor was it possible to investigate the northwest tip of the island in general. I did not attempt to visit Archangelos, where Bürchner had seen ruins of a medieval watch-tower.⁵⁴ Samarkos informed me that the ruins at Ayios Ioannis on Kastelli reported by Bürchner are remnants of a small watch-tower. Ancient architectural fragments are reported from Ayios Mamas, a chapel on the right hand side of the mountain as one descends from Kamara.

⁵² On the find circumstances, see Sakkelion in *Parnassos* 10 (1886) 93 ff. At the time of my visit, a peasant living on the east edge of the plain near the sea revealed to the local epimelete some finds which he had hoarded since the days of the Italian occupation. These were two tombstones, probably of early Christian times, and several objects of similar date found with bones in a vineyard on the rising ground of the mountain enclosing Partheni on the east. This would seem to signal the location of a necropolis which may be connected with the church.

⁵³ *Lc.*, 2097.

⁵⁴ Gerola, 66, considered this structure to be essentially of the Greek period.

III. SMALU—KAMARA—GURNA—ALINDA

In the discussion of the north-central part of the island, it is convenient to begin in the region known as Smalu with the venerable chapel of Ayios Georghios which crowns the saddle separating Partheni from the west side of the Bay of Ayia Marina. It is this church which, looking down from afar on the Bay of Partheni, has sometimes been confused with the Ayios Georghios of the *Metochi* at Partheni (see note 25). The former is a delightful little white and orange structure. While not specifically included among the churches extant in 1087 (note 49), it appears to be built not only on older foundations but to a considerable extent of ancient blocks and fragments, including several inscriptions. One of these is the celebrated Hekataios inscription published by Ross (see p. 31). Apparently neither Ross nor Chabiaras, who re-located and removed this inscription, noticed that the lintel of the portal is an ancient block (1.2 x .19 m.) which shows a considerable part of an ancient inscription to those entering the church (see p. 33). So numerous are the ancient constituents of this chapel that the only practicable procedure would be to dismantle it in order to remove them and then rebuild the chapel with substitute materials. Admittedly, this would destroy its peculiar antique charm. In addition to the ancient fragments in the church itself, the surrounding fields are covered to more than the usual degree with sherds (plain ware, as far as I could ascertain), so that some local inhabitants propose, somewhat fancifully, that the sanctuary of the Parthenos was on this site. In any case, it is reasonable to suppose that Osios Christodoulos caused fragments from Partheni to be brought here, at the time he was destroying that ancient sanctuary, in order to have them re-used in a new — or more likely re-newed — chapel.

At a short distance north of this chapel is a well called Well of the Genovese which in fact, as Samarkos informs me, constitutes the beginning of an underground aqueduct of medieval times, running in the direction of Kamara. Near this is the "Aschenkiste aus Marmor", reported by Ross,⁵⁵ which is most likely to have been

originally a Roman column pedestal, possibly from the sanctuary at Partheni (Pl. 12f). It is profiled at top and base, and has a rather large spherical hollowing which doubtless represents a re-use. The *chi rho* carved on the side also represents a re-use, perhaps in the way indicated by Ross.

Tholaria are reported behind the hill above Ayios Georghios but I did not see them. The road from this church descends southeast through the scattered village of Kamara and upon reaching the coastal plain branches right to Gurna and left to Alinda. The principal antiquity of the former, in the locality of Sikiá, is the chapel of Ayios Nikolaos, which sits in the shadow of a medieval tower of the sort one sees frequently in nearby Naxos. The antiquity of this chapel is again not guaranteed by Gedeon's list; however, like the Ayios Georghios just discussed, it is fairly constructed of older elements and should be dismantled and rebuilt. The most striking feature is its southwest window framed entirely by pilasters or colonnettes, about one meter in height, which appear to be incised on the wall, but on closer inspection turn out to be three dimensional objects built into the wall. Three capitals of differing types are built into the wall above the portal in ornamental fashion. Inside, the *ayia prothesis* is a plain capital similar to the one at Pan-ayia Gourlommata (*q.v.*), and there are other fragments built into the church as well as, in the precinct outside, various capitals (one Ionic), pieces of column, and other architectural fragments lying about. These appear to be all of Early Christian date, which lends credence to the view of Samarkos that they are constituents of the original building of Ayioi Saranda, not far away in Alinda.

This latter church, the full name of which is *naos tōn ayiōn tesserakonta martyrōn*, is not only one of those extant in 1087, but exhibits in the courtyard before its portals some fragments of mosaic *in situ* which testify to its great age. The present church preserves the plan of the three-aisled basilica which the original church undoubtedly had, and is an elegant compact example of the post-Byzantine type of church with one dome. The fragments of mosaic as preserved have an overall extent of 9.2 x 7.6 m. with the same orientation as the present church, indicating that the width of the original basilica was at least 9.2 m. It consists primarily of blue,

⁵⁵ *Reisen*, 120. H: 45 cm. W: 57 cm. Naxian(?) marble. I am grateful to Dr. Lucy Shoe for advice on this piece.

white and red stones in patterns of interlocking circles. Most interesting for the date is an inscription — in what must have been the right aisle — in a square frame:

K E	M N H
C Θ	I T I T O Y
Δ O	Y Λ O Y
C O Y	E Y T
Y X	I O Y

Κύριε. Μνήσθητι τοῦ δούλου
σου Εὐτυχίου.

There are various saints and martyrs with the name Eutychios, from the first to the eighth centuries A.D. However, Samarkos identifies this personage with a local Kalymnian ecclesiastic who is supposed to have constructed churches there in the fourth century. I have not found any written corroboration of this.

In Alinda somewhat above Ayios Nikolaos (not to be confused with the chapel at Gurna) is a structure known as the *tholos* or *tholarion*. It is a complete building (4.2 x 6.9 m.) with barrel vault, door and window on the east, and attic window on the west. The last-mentioned is accessible from the ground since the building is constructed into the slope of a hill. Built in the traditional Cycladic style, it is used at present for hay storage. The existing building appears to incorporate a *tholarion* of ancient date. The oldest part is the south wall which extends beyond the remainder of the building and rises to the springing point of an arch (which is not further preserved). How much of the rest of the structure may incorporate elements of the original *tholarion* is difficult to say, as the building is plastered and whitewashed.

Nearby in the area known as Seraiyia (from the Turkish establishment formerly here) are various large blocks of marble which appear to come from an ancient building. The most interesting is a slab of white marble (89 x 50 x 15 cm.), one end of which is finished as an engaged fluted column. Yet another piece of comparable size has a sinking and a fragment of iron dowel.

Along the shore about a kilometer beyond Alinda is the small chapel of Panayies, which has been rebuilt since World War II. In its precinct are a number of architectural fragments, including a

piece of marble column ca. 30 cm. in diameter at the base, a fragment of a colonnette 34 cm. in height, of local marble, and a badly battered but particularly elegant capital (Pl. 12a) which must belong to the "Ionische Kämpferkapitelle" series (impost capitals).⁵⁶ Its date is probably fifth or sixth century A.D. Possibly the church from which these came was on the site of the present chapel, for no foundations are visible in the area.

⁵⁶ Cf. Kautzsch, no. 549 for a particularly similar design. The Larian example looks, if anything, younger, but seems intimately connected with the Constantinople group.

IV. BAY OF GURNA—DRYMONA

Perhaps the most picturesque area of the island, if it be possible to single out one above the others, is the Bay of Gurna, especially if one approaches it over the hills from Ayia Marina rather than from Alinda. The descending road affords a magnificent panorama of the bay locked in long arms reaching out on either side, and dotted with several tiny islands, on one of which is the small but glistening white chapel of Ayios Isideris.⁵⁷ The area can also be approached from Alinda through Sikiá without the necessity of climbing, as has already been pointed out. If one continues past the Chapel of Ayios Nikolaos in that vicinity, keeping to the mule paths which lead out to the north arm of the bay, one leaves Ayios Konstantinos to the left; then, following the shore, one reaches in due course the island of Ayios Isideris, which lies about 30 meters off the shore. Remains of a mole, or causeway, extend some distance into the water from the shore, but it does not seem certain that there was ever direct connection between land and island in this way. The account given by Ross of antiquities in this region cannot be understood on the basis of present conditions. There are no ruins on a cliff nor remains of ancient buildings on the shore in this vicinity so far as I could establish by autopsy and questioning of local inhabitants. Nor does it emerge from his account that Ayios Isideris is on an island; he seems rather to consider it to be on a cliff, built on the remains of a square Hellenic watch-tower. There is a large element of confusion here which it does not seem possible at this distance in time to penetrate.⁵⁸ Local inhabitants reported "*archaia*" (antiquities) in the vicinity of the Chapel of the Panayia, referring apparently to a tradition that tombs had long ago been found in some fields nearby. But the Panayia itself has nothing ancient to offer. "*Archaia*" were also reported at Ayios Nikolaos, about an hour to the northwest.

⁵⁷ Oikonomopoulos, 119, states that it was built in "Byzantine times". See also Ross, *Reisen*, 119.

⁵⁸ Krumbacher, 140, deepens the mystery by the following statement: "von Altertümern finden sich in Leros nur einige kleine Ruinen (in Temeni und Drymona), die von Ross beschrieben worden und erst vor Kurzem von einem Mitgliede der französischen Schule in Athen einer erneuten Untersuchung unterworfen worden sind". Does this statement rest on autopsy, and what became of the "renewed" investigation?

On the other side of the bay lie the scattered houses of the region known as Drymona. Of considerable interest is the exceedingly venerable Chapel of Panayia Gourlommata, which adjoins a *tholiarion* (or *tholos*, locally) and seems actually to be built onto it or into it. The *tholiarion*, in ruined condition, appears to be part of a somewhat larger structure than is usual in this type.⁵⁹ This whole complex nestles into the slope of a hill on the opposite side from the sea, overlooking a fertile and attractive valley. A wall painting, dating from 1327 according to the inscription, shows the *theotokos* with the big eyes which give the chapel its name.⁶⁰ This date marks a renovation of the structure which already existed in 1087. But the existence of an early Christian or even Roman structure on or near the site is suggested by the various ancient architectural fragments built into the church. These include an excellent Corinthian capital, a column, and an impost block.⁶¹ All these are heavily white-washed but presumably of marble.

Local inhabitants also report a *tholiarion* (but no other antiquities) at Panayia Moni, about 30 minutes to the south of Drymona.

⁵⁹ Span of arch: 1.7 m.

⁶⁰ Gedeon, 47.

⁶¹ Capital: W: 48 cm. H: 19 cm. Column: H: 30 cm. D (at rim): 33 cm. Block: 70 x 26 cm.

V. TEMENIA—LAKKI

These two localities occupy the plain backing on the Bay of Lakki and are, for purposes of topographical description, conveniently separated by a single fingerlike ridge extending out from the chain of mountains on the northeast coast. Others have already noticed the possibility that the name Temenia is a reminiscence of a sanctuary here.⁶² Ross spoke of "churches" with old marble, but so far as I could establish, only Ayios Georghios affords evidence of such. The *ayia trapeza* consists of one or (undoubtedly) more slabs of marble resting on a fragment of column, all heavily white-washed; the *ayia prothesis* is also a marble block. It is not, of course, possible to determine whether these may have indeed come from an ancient sanctuary or from an Early Christian church. In Lakki itself, the small chapel of Ayios Ioannis has in its immediate vicinity a fragment of unfluted column of the local marble. Much the most interesting church in the Lakki area, if not the entire island, is the *naos tou ayiou Ioannou tou theologou*,⁶³ where local tradition says that Osios Christodoulos was a monk a little while before moving to Patmos. Gedeon justly speaks of this as the most elegant church in Lakki, still well preserved with cupola. He lists the chapel separately (the left wing) as the Chapel of Osia Maria, the Egyptian, or the abbess Zosima. Some original parts of this are preserved, including barely discernible traces of a wall painting. It is obvious that this chapel is of great antiquity and may have been the source of some or all of the Early Christian architectural fragments which have been collected outside it. Among these is an Ionic impost capital of a type prevalent in the sixth century A.D. (Pl. 12c).⁶⁴ The north wall of the church appears to have been rebuilt on an earlier foundation. Other foreign and earlier fragments are built into various parts of the church, particularly the apse, which has a low bench running its length, like an incipient — or vestigial — *synthronos* (see note 17). The present church, which existed in 1087, preserves a rather unusual variation on the plan of the Christian basilica with a central dome: the nave and the right aisle have a series of transverse barrel vaults.

⁶² Ross, *Reisen*, 117, recalls the same name in Kalymnos; Büchner, *IL*, 36.

⁶³ Poor sketch: Gedeon, *Pinax A* facing p. 29.

⁶⁴ Cf. Kautzsch, Nos. 566 ff., especially No. 583.

VI. XEROKAMPOS

This name is given to a conical hill which straddles and dominates the small plain between the Bay of Lakki and the Bay of Xerokampos. The plain is hemmed in on both sides by long parallel mountains, so that the entire region is particularly picturesque (Pl. 11a). On top of the hill of Xerokampos are the Hellenic walls known as Palaioastron⁶⁵ which were described and illustrated by Dawkins and Wace in 1906.⁶⁶ These are now considerably reduced in volume and extent through the unwelcome efforts of a priest who, during the post-war English occupation of Leros, undertook to enwall a large enceinte on top of the hill for use as a cemetery. To this end he appropriated and cut down for re-use blocks from the Hellenic wall. Fortunately, his project eventually expired because the state intervened to protect antiquities (this was the best information I could get locally); thus, his construction remains unfinished, a lamentable monument to an unenlightened Greek priest. The cemetery would have been in connection with the small modern chapel which is tucked in, as it were, within the Hellenic walls and which replaces the ancient chapel *en to Palaiokastro* — itself built with blocks from the wall — which was among the churches extant in 1087.⁶⁷ The date of this, or of a still earlier church on the site, is suggested by a section of coloured mosaic in foundations which extend 6.5 m. west of the present chapel in the same width and orientation. Wace and Dawkins thought it might be "late Greek work"; the original design of the mosaic is difficult to make out but may have been a symmetrical wave pattern.

The original surface of the top of the hill has been hopelessly disturbed by the ill-advised building project of the *pappas* mentioned above and by the recent rebuilding of the chapel.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, much of the wall as described in 1906 still exists, though doubtless some courses have been removed throughout (as many as six or

⁶⁵ Formerly known as *Kastron tōn Lepidōn*: Oikonomopoulos, 46.

⁶⁶ *NS*, 172 ff.

⁶⁷ Gedeon, 45 ff.

⁶⁸ For this reason there is no possibility of judging the accuracy of the plan published by Oikonomopoulos, 166. If there were walls in the positions he indicated, then it is possible that the area was actually an acropolis rather than a mere fortress. I am unable to understand the qualification on the plan published by Wace and Dawkins, as the existing wall seems to be of one building period throughout.

seven were visible then, but see Pl. 11b). The principal damage is the total disappearance of the north "L" in Wace's plan: something like 25 meters of wall is not only gone but gone without a trace (see also note 38). No cuttings or fragments remain to suggest that there had ever been a wall in this position; in fact, one might have doubted a less reliable witness than Wace. This suggests that other walls might have existed on this spot which have vanished equally without trace. For example, one is hard put to imagine the cloister mentioned by Ross as being here. In any case, with the continuation of walls as shown by Wace's plan, one is confronted with an area too small to be an acropolis (unless the proviso in note 68 is operative). It may rather have been a tower, as Ross thought.⁶⁹ In regard to the date, one can concur with the suggestion of Wace and Dawkins that the walls should not be prior to the late part of the fourth century B.C. The walls of the city of Priene are absolutely comparable in appearance and technique, so that one would expect approximate contemporaneity.⁷⁰ Attention is called to the attractive pattern formed by the use of a large central block on the southeast side (Pl. 11b). There is at present no clue as to whether these walls represent a rebuilding or entirely new construction. At any rate, only one sherd (local black glaze) earlier than Roman was found in the immediate area, while a single small fragment of good quality black glaze was found on a terrace just north of the whole precinct (see p. 55). In view of the confused situation described above, this lack of evidence for habitation earlier than the fourth century may be only accidental.

Although the Hellenic walls seem to pertain to a kind of tower, the topography of the hill is such that adequate space is available for a small acropolis which would have enjoyed the advantage of steep cliffs on several sides. The situation of the hill in the plain with surrounding mountains is such that virtually no other eminence in the area could vie with it as site for a fortified settlement. Proof of this is the actual use of Xerokampos for this purpose in the ancient period, with continued use of it as a fortified religious centre after the transfer of the Lerians to Lepida from the *kastron* in 1087.

⁶⁹ Xerokampos is not frequently discussed by the older commentators. Büchner apparently did not go to this site.

⁷⁰ Cf. D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge 1945, 189 " . . . a re-foundation of Alexander's time".

The general appearance of the area is startlingly like that of the immediate vicinity of Mycenae, and it is tempting to think that if Achaeans had come here, they would have recognized at once the virtues and attractions of the site. No sherd has so far been produced to suggest that they did come. However, on the southeast scarp of the hill, on a terrace connecting two mighty cascades of boulders, one on each side of it, I found remains of what appears to be a Cyclopean wall⁷¹ stretching virtually uninterruptedly for a distance of 42 meters (Pl. 11b shows a part of this wall). This would have been the outer line of defense on this side of the hill, and all that was necessary. The huge grey boulders are nicely bedded, and shepherds have taken advantage of the remains to complete a wall for their own purposes. The wall was disturbed, but not obliterated, at the east end by the construction of an Italian guardpost. The scarp of the hill on the opposite (north) side is highly suitable for the construction of tholos tombs, and I saw one or two places which might possibly reward further investigation. On the other hand, there are several deep caves in this scarp, which were used for air-raid shelters in the last war. As far as I could learn, they are completely modern and artificial, but official confirmation of this would be hard to obtain. The present evidence for a Mycenaean settlement at Xerokampos is exceedingly tenuous. On the other hand, the existence of such a settlement is not in itself unlikely, given the Mycenaeans in neighbouring Kalymnos and Miletos, and the unvarying strategic importance of Leros itself.

As for further antiquities in this area, I was shown by local farmers a small fragment of mosaic floor, possibly Roman, on the hither slopes of Kalamati directly opposite the hill of Xerokampos. Several Byzantine coins from Ayios Nikolaos, somewhat to the east of the mosaic site, were produced and "*archaia*" reported from there. Also, I was shown a field on the northeast shore of the Bay of Xerokampos with many plain ware sherds which may have been medieval. There

⁷¹ The Miletos 'Grosse Mauer' dated 15th century B.C. (*Istanbul Mitteilungen* 7, 1957, 108; Pl. 21,2 and 22,1) looks very much in respect to its facing like the 'Cyclopean' wall in Leros. It is, of course, difficult to say whether the Leros wall is only a facing, or how much of the filling might be left under the present filling brought in by the shepherds. Also, the wall might have been built on a smaller scale than the one at Miletos. For Geometric walls at the latter site: *Milet I*, 8 Pl. 16; Pl. 18 for Late Archaic.

is a tradition that tomb-looting occurred, in the period of the Turkish occupation, in the vicinity of the acropolis in a successful search for gold objects.

Between Xerokampos and Temenia is the small chapel of Ayios Polycarpus, before which lies a fragment of fluted marble colonnette. Several hundred meters to the north are the collapsed *tholaria* (Pl. 10b) reported by Ross,⁷² double vaults within a single vaulted structure. Roughly hewn blocks are bedded on bedrock, and there was ample use of concrete on the outer vault. The surface of the ground rises almost to the springing point of the smaller arches. The date and purpose of this structure, like that of its many fellows on the island, remain obscure. On the basis of casual evidence, such as that at Partheni where Roman plates were found in close connection with this type of construction, and on the basis of the shape and building technique of the specimens in general, I am inclined to consider it provincial Roman. One thing seems certain; it provided the prototype for the simple country type of chapel in the island of Leros and further afield in the Cyclades as well.

Part Two

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF LEROS

PUBLISHED

1. CIG II 2263 (which cites Didot, *Itinéraire d'un Voyage du Levant*, p. 366. The correct reference is apparently the Didot title cited in our bibliography; on p. 366 occurs the following statement: "A la porte de l'église est une pierre rompue, placée comme pour couvrir un tombeau; elle porte cette inscription." Cf. Ross, *Reisen*, 119 n.5). Location unknown.

2. L. Ross, *Inscriptiones Graecae Ineditae*, II. Athens 1842, 68 ff.; Oikonomopoulos, 151 ff., who reported the stone to be missing (accepted by Büchner, *IaL*, 33 and *IL*, 36); Haussoullier, 127 ff. Republished, with newly found additions, by Chabiaras (see Bibliography) who cites references to nineteenth century historical literature. Stone reported destroyed in World War II. The reading of Chabiaras (p. 12) is reproduced here owing to general inaccessibility of his publication.

[1] 'Επειδὴ]

Ἐκαταῖος] ὁ Ἡρωῖδew τυγχάνει πολλὴν [εὐ-
νο]ιαν καὶ προθυμίαν δικαίαν παρ[εχ]όμενος
ἐς] τοὺς [ἐ]ν τῇ νήσῳ [κ]ατοικοῦντας [τ]ῶν [πο
λ]ι[τ]ῶν, δ[ε] [ἐ]δόχ[θ]αι τῇ ἐκκλ[η]σίαι · ἐπηνῆσθ[αι
Ἐκα]ταῖον ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων τῶν ἐλ Δέρω[ι
ἀ]ρετῆς ἕνεκ[α] καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ἣν ἔ[χ]ει (αἰεῖ;)·
π[ερ]ι[τ]οῦ[ς] · ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ φιλίαν Ἐκατ[αίῳ]
πολλὴν καὶ ε[ὐ]νοίαν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
κ[α]τοικοῦντων καὶ [α]ὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγ[όνοις] · τὸ δὲ
ψ[υ]ήφι[σ]μα τόδε ἀν[α]γ[ράφ]αι ἐς στήλην
λ[ιθ]ινὴν καὶ στή[σαι]

(Τὸ ἀπολεσθὲν μέρος)

κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, ὅπως

τ[α]ῦτα ἐπιγ[νῶσι] πάντες · ἵνα δὲ γέν[ηται] καθάπερ
ἐψηφίσται, ἐ[πιμέλειαν] ἔσσεσ[θαι] τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς
ἡρημένοις μετὰ Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ
Στρομβίχου.

⁷² *Reisen*, 117. The interior width of the structure is 4 m. and interior length is 2.4 m.

3. I. Sakkelion, *ArchEph* 1862, 260, No. 229; A. Wilhelm, "Bemerkungen zu griechischen Inschriften," *AEM* 15 (1892) 9 where it is assigned to Leros; Büchner, *IaL*, 33 n. 1; *IL*, 36 where the suggestion is made that Nos. 3 and 4 were cut by the same artisan. Light grey to white marble, possibly Larian. 39 x 45.8 cm. Patmos Monastery. Pl. 13c.

4. I. Sakkelion, "Archaiologika Lerou," *Parnassos* 10 (1886) 93 ff. and 155; Oikonomopoulos, 153; Paton, *CL*, 376; A. Fontrier, *BCH* 19 (1895) 550 ff: adjusts transcription of Sakkelion and Oikonomopoulos without reference to Paton; Büchner, *IaL*, 33 ff.; C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (Brussels 1900) 286 No. 372: follows all Büchner's readings and improves the latter's transcription by adding iota subscript to ἐπιμελεῖα in 1. 19; Rehm, 23-25. Dark granular marble with considerable ferrous content, perhaps a special grade of local marble. 1.05 x .45 x .10 m. Leros Archaeological Hall, inv. 4. Pl. 14a.

5. G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932) 235 No. 137. White marble. 58 x 56 x 21 cm. *Panayia tou Kastrou*. Pl. 14b.

6. Samarkos, *AP*, *AK*, 27. Ayia Barbara. No illustration or description practicable. This and the following inscriptions are reproduced here owing to general inaccessibility of the publication.

ΔΗΜΟΣ ΔΕΡΟΥ

7. Samarkos, *AP*. Local marble. 38 x 88 cm. Ayia Barbara.

ΘΗΒΑΙΘΙΣ ΑΝΤΙΠΛΑΤΟΥ

8. Samarkos, *AP*, *AK*, 27. On top of abacus of Doric type capital. 44 x 49 x 28 cm. Ayia Barbara. Pls. 12c, 14c.

ΑΣΠΑΣΙΗ ΠΟΛΥΔΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ

The following inscription does not necessarily pertain to Leros:

9. *CIG* II and 2661b. K. Keil, "Griechische Inschriften," *Philologos* 9 (1854) 457 speculates that this inscription may come from Leros because of the reference to Parthenos. Büchner, *Le* 2094 and

A. Fontrier, *BCH* 19 (1895) 550 ff. neither include nor comment on it. Rehm, 24, assigns it to Leros.

N.B. The two inscriptions published by Büchner, *IaL*, 36 ff., which he found in Leros but which do not pertain to that island, are not now in the Leros Archaeological Hall.

UNPUBLISHED

1. Lintel (inscription placed upside down) of portal of Ayios Georgios, Smalu.

2. Grave stele of dark coarse local marble (Asklepiadi). Provenience unknown. Leros Archaeological Hall. On Asklepiades as a physician name see L. Whibley, *A Companion to Greek Studies*, Cambridge 1916, 670. Nevertheless, the general prevalence of this name in non-medical circles qualifies its occurrence here as possibly or even probably coincidental.

3. Grave stele of much weathered local (?) marble (Triphlina). Provenience unknown. Leros Archaeological Hall. In connection with Nos. 2-3 it may be noted that Büchner, *IL*, 37, remarked that other inscriptions (besides those there discussed) were later grave inscriptions. Could these be they?

In addition, several other inscriptions from Partheni (see note 52 of Part I); also two larger fragments in the Leros Archaeological Hall. I do not know what relation — if any — these may have to the "kümmerliches Fragment" mentioned by Rehm (p. 26).

Part Three

TESTIMONIA

I. GEOGRAPHICAL

STRABO, in a very general discussion of the islands of the Cyclades and Sporades, mentions Leros three times:

STRABO, *Geography*, 10. 5. 12

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀμοργὸς τῶν Σποράδων, ὅθεν ἦν Σιμωνίδης ὁ τῶν ἰάμβων ποιητής, καὶ Λέβινθος καὶ Λέρος·

καὶ τότε Φωκυλίδου· Λέριοι κακοί, οὐχ ὁ μὲν, ὃς δ' οὐ,

πάντες, πλὴν Προκλέους· καὶ Προκλῆς Λέριος· διεβέβληντο γὰρ ὡς κακοήθεις οἱ ἐνθ' ἐνδεῶς ἀνθρώποι.

And there is Amorgos, one of the Sporades, the home of Simonides, the iambic poet; and also Lebinthos, and Leros: "And thus saith Phocylides, 'the Lerians are bad, not one, but every one, all except Procles; and Procles is a Lerian.'" For the natives of the island were reproached with being unprincipled.

STRABO, *Geography*, 10. 5. 13

... ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἰκαρία ἔρημός ἐστι, νομὰς δ' ἔχει, καὶ χρῶνται αὐταῖς Σάμιοι· τοιαύτη δ' οὖσα ἐνδοξος ὅμως ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἰκάριον καλεῖται τὸ προκείμενον πέλαγος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ Σάμος καὶ Κῶς ἐστί, καὶ αἱ ἄρτι λεχθεῖσαι Κορασσίαι καὶ Πάτμος καὶ Λέρος.

Now Icaria is deserted, though it has pastures, which are used by the Samians. But although it is such an isle as it is, still it is famous, and after it is named the sea that lies in front of it, in which are itself and Samos and Cos and the islands just mentioned — the Corassiae and Patmos and Leros.

STRABO, *Geography*, 10. 5. 19

Νήσους δὲ Καλύδνας τὰς Σποράδας λέγειν φασὶ τὸν ποιητὴν, ὃν μίαν εἶναι Κάλυμναν· εἰκὸς δ' ὡς ἐκ τῶν Νισυρίων λέγονται καὶ Κασίων αἱ ἐγγὺς καὶ ὑπήκοοι, οὕτως καὶ τὰς τῇ Καλύμνῃ περικειμένας, ἴσως τότε λεγομένην Καλύδνην· τινὲς δὲ δύο εἶναι Καλύδνας φασί, Λέρον καὶ Κάλυμναν, ὥσπερ καὶ λέγειν τὸν ποιητὴν.

They say that the poet calls the Sporades "Calydian Islands," one of which, they say, is Calymna. But it is reasonable to suppose that, as the islands which are near, and subject to, Nisyros and Casos are called "Islands of the Casians," so also those which lie around Calymna were called "Islands of the Calymnians" — Calymna at that time, perhaps, being called Calydna. But some say that there are only two Calydnian Islands, Leros and Calymna, the two mentioned by the poet.

Text and translation from H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, V, London 1928 (Loeb edition). The third passage is cited in *ATL* I, 494 as a comment on *Iliad* II, 676-7 "giving the current theories of his (Strabo's) time and some learned speculation." The editors point out that Leros in the fifth century, at least, was not within the Kalydnian area since it appears in the tribute list simultaneously with *Kalydnoi*.

Pliny, in a general discussion of the southern Aegean islands, has occasion to refer to Leros twice:

PLINY, *Natural History*, 4. 12. 69

Nec deinde servari potest ordo; acervatim ergo ponentur reliquae: Scyros; Ios a Naxo XVIII, Homeri sepulchro veneranda, longitudine XXII, antea Phoenice appellata; Odia; Oletandros; Gyara cum oppido, circuitu XV, abest ab Andro LXII; ab ea Syrnos LXXX; Cynethus; Telos unguento nobilis, a Callimacho Agathusa appellata; Donusa; Patmus circuitu XXX; Corassiae, Lebinthus, Gyrus, Cinara, Sicinus quae antea Oenoe, etc.

After these no regular order can be kept, so the remaining islands shall be given in a group: Scyro; Nio, 18 miles from Naxos, venerable as the burial place of Homer, 22 miles long, previously called Phoenice; Odia; Oletandros; Gioura, with a town of the same

name, 15 miles in circumference, 62 miles distant from Andros; 80 miles from Gioura, Syrnos; Cyne- thus; Telos noted for its unguent and called by Cal- limachus Agathusa; Donusa; Patmos, 30 miles in circumference; the Corassiae, Lebitha, Lero, Sinari; Sikino, previously Oenoe, etc.

PLINY, *Natural History*, 5. 36. 133

In Cariae ora quae vocantur Argiae numero XX, et Hyetusa, Lepsia, Leros.

Off the coast of Caria are the Argiae, a group of twenty islands, and Hyetusa, Lepsia and Leros.

Text and translation from H. Rackham, *Pliny, Natural History*, II, Lon- don 1942 (Loeb edition). In the first passage, "Gyrus" from the context is obviously a corruption of Leros.

STADIASMUS, 276 - 8

... ἀπὸ Ἀλικαρνασοῦ εἰς Μύνδον στάδιοι σκ'.
ἀπὸ Μύνδου εἰς Λέρον στάδιοι τν'. ἀπὸ Μύνδου
εἰς τὴν Κῶ στάδιοι ρμ' . . .

The distance from Halicarnassus to Myndos is 220 stades; from Myndos to Leros, 350 stades, and from Myndos to Kos 140 stades.

Geographi Graeci Minores, I: *Anonymi Stadiasmus sive Periplus Maris Magni*, ed. C. Müller, Paris 1855, 498. The above passage is cited in *ATL I*, 523 whence I have taken the text.

EUSTATHIUS, *Dionysius Periegetes*, 530. 29

Καὶ ἡ Λέρος δὲ μίξ τῶν Σποράδων ἔστι περὶ τὴν
Καρίαν, ἧς οἱ ἔποικοι κακοήθεις, ὡς δηλοῖ Φωκυλίδης,
λέγων·

Λέριοι κακοί, οὐχ ὁ μὲν, ὃς δ' οὐ·
πάντες πλὴν Προκλέους· καὶ Προκλῆς Λέριος.

Leros also is one of the islands of the Sporades off Caria, and its settlers are unprincipled, as the follow- ing verse of Phokylides witnesses: "the Lerians are bad, not one, but every one, all except Prokles, and Prokles is a Lorian."

Geographi Graeci Minores, II: *ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΟΥ ΠΑΡΕΚΒΟΛΑΙ* (Com- mentary on Dionysius Periegetes by Eustathius, Bishop of Thessalonica) ed. C. Müller, Paris 1861, p. 320.

II. HISTORICAL

HERODOTUS, *History*, 5. 125

. . . ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα

ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης.

Ἐκαταίου μὲν νυν τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς λογοποιοῦ, τουτέων μὲν ἐς οὐδετέρην στέλ- λειν ἔφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν Λέρῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος οἰκοδομησάμενον ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἣν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ τῆς Μίλητον· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης ὀρμώμενον κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον.

To this question of Aristagoras, Hecataeus, the historian, son of Hegesander, made answer that in his judgement neither place (Sardinia or Myrkinos) was suitable. "Aristagoras should build a fort," he said, "in the island of Leros, and, if driven from Miletus, should go there and bide his time; from Leros attacks might readily be made, and he might re-est- ablish himself in Miletus."

Text from A. D. Godley, *Herodotus*, III, London 1922 (Loeb edition); translation from G. Rawlinson in *The Greek Historians I*, ed. by P. Godol- phin, New York 1942.

ATHENIAN TRIBUTE LISTS, I

	Μιλέσιοι	454/3
	[ἐ]χς Λέρο: ΗΗΗ	
---	Μιλέσιοι	427/6
---	Λέρος	
[--]	Τειχιώσσα	
[----]	Μιλέσιοι Λέρ[ος]	425/4
	Τειχιώσσα	
vacat	Μι[λέσιοι]	421/0
X	Λέρ[ος]	
	Τειχ[ιώσσα]	
X	Μι[λέσιοι]	416/5
	Λέ[ρος]	
vacat	Τειχ[ιώσσα]	(see <i>ATL II</i> , 81: Λέρος)

THUCYDIDES, *History*, 8. 26

... κατέπλευσαν ἐς Λέρον
 πρῶτον τὴν πρὸ Μιλήτου νῆσον. ἔπειτα ἐκείθεν
 αἰσθόμενοι ἐπὶ Μιλήτῳ ὄντας Ἀθηναίους ἐς τὸν
 Ἰασικὸν κόλπον πρότερον πλεύσαντες ἐβούλοντο
 εἶδέναι τὰ περὶ τῆς Μιλήτου. ἐλθόντος δὲ
 Ἀλκιβιάδου ἵππῳ ἐς Τειχιούσαν τῆς Μιλησίας,
 οἵπερ τοῦ κόλπου πλεύσαντες ἡλίσσαντο, πυνθά-
 νονται τὰ περὶ τῆς μάχης (παρὴν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλκι-
 βιάδης καὶ ξυνεμάχετο τοῖς Μιλησίοις καὶ
 Τισσαφέρνει), καὶ αὐτοῖς παρήνει, εἰ μὴ βού-
 λονται τὰ τε ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ καὶ τὰ ξύμπαντα
 πράγματα διολέσαι, ὥς τάχιστα βοηθεῖν Μιλήτῳ
 καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν ἀποτειχισθεῖσαν.

They (fifty-five ships from Peloponnese and Sicily) now put in first at Leros, the island off Miletos, and from thence, discovering that the Athenians were before the town, sailed into the Ionic Gulf, in order to learn how matters stood at Miletos. Meanwhile Alcibiades came on horseback to Teichiussa in the Milesian territory, the point of the gulf in which they had put in for the night, and told them of the battle, in which he had fought in person by the side of the Milesians and Tissaphernes and advised them, if they did not wish to sacrifice Ionia and their cause, to fly to the relief of Miletus and hinder its invest-ment.

THUCYDIDES, *History*, 8. 27

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἅμα τῇ ἑφ' ἐμελλον βοη-
 θήσειν. Φρύνιχος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός,
 ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρου ἐπύθετο τὰ τῶν νεῶν σαφῶς,
 βουλομένων τῶν ξυναρχόντων ὑπομείναντας δια-
 ναυμαχεῖν, οὐκ ἔφη οὐτ' αὐτὸς ποιήσειν τοῦτο
 οὐτ' ἐκείνοις οὐδ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς δύναμιν
 ἐπιτρέψειν.

Accordingly they resolved to relieve it the next morn-
 ing. Meanwhile Phrynichus, the Athenian commander,
 had received precise intelligence of the fleet from
 Leros, and when his colleagues expressed a wish to
 keep the sea and fight it out, flatly refused either to
 stay himself or to let them or anyone else do so if
 he could help it.

Text from C. Forster Smith, *Thucydides*, IV, London 1923 (Loeb edi-
 tion). Translation from the Modern Library edition of Crawley's *Thucydides*
 (J. H. Finley, Jr.) New York 1951. Although some manuscripts read Ἐλεὼν
 instead of Λέρον in Bk. 8. 26 the only edition known to me which retains
 this reading is that of Poppo published in Leipzig in 1828. His objection to
 the 350 stades' distance of Leros from Miletos as unharmonious with ἡ πρὸ
 Μιλήτου νῆσος has been answered adequately by H. C. Goodhart, *Eighth*
Book of Thucydides History, London 1893, 39 n. The Thomas Hobbes trans-
 lation, republished in 1959 by the University of Michigan Press, has also the
 form Ἐλεὼν. However, even Poppo accepted the reading ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρου
 ἐπύθετο in Bk. 7. 27 which Hobbes translated quite ridiculously as "when he
 had certain word from Drerus."

STRABO, *Geography*, 14. 1. 6

... πολλὰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔργα
 ταύτης, μέγιστον δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀποικιῶν·
 ὃ τε γὰρ Εὐξείνος πόντος ὑπὸ τούτων συνώκισται
 πᾶς καὶ ἡ Προποντὶς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους τόποι.
 Ἀναξιμένης γοῦν ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς οὕτω φησὶν, ὅτι
 καὶ Ἰκαρον τὴν νῆσον καὶ Λέρον Μιλήσιοι συνώ-
 κισαν καὶ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐν μὲν τῇ Χέρ-
 ρονήσῳ Λίμνῃ, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἀβυδον, Ἀρισβαν,
 Παισόν . . .

Many are the achievements of this city (Miletos), but
 the greatest is the number of its colonisations; for
 the Euxine Pontus has been colonised everywhere by
 these people, as also the Propontis and several other
 regions. At any rate, Anaximenes of Lampsacus says
 that the Milesians colonised the islands Icaros and
 Leros; and near the Hellespont, Limnae in the
 Chersonesus, etc.

Text and translation: H. L. Jones, *op. cit.* This passage included as Frag-
 ment 4 in *Arriani Anabasis et Indica* ed. Fr. Dübner; *Reliquia Arriani et Scrip-
 torum de Rebus Alexandri* M. *Fragmenta* collegit Carolus Müller, Paris
 1846, p. 36.

III. MYTHOLOGICAL

a. Meleagrides¹ANTONINUS LIBERALIS, *Metamorphoses*, 2. 6

... καὶ πένθος ἐπὶ Μελεάγρῳ μέγιστον ἐγένετο
[παρὰ] Καλυδωνίοις. αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ σῆμα
ἐθρήνου ἀδιαλείπτως ἄχρις αὐτὰς Ἀρτεμις ἀψαμένη
ῥάβδῳ μετεμόρφωσεν εἰς ὄρνιθας καὶ ἀπώκισεν εἰς
Λέρον τὴν νῆσον ὀνομάσασα Μελεαγρίδας.

Tremendous sorrow for Meleager overwhelmed the
Kalydonians; as for his sisters, they wailed incessantly
at his grave until Artemis, with a touch of her wand,
changed them into birds which she called "meleag-
rides" and gave them a new home on the island
of Leros.

Text from Mythographi Graeci: Antonini Liberalis Μεταμορφώσεων
Συναγωγή ed. E. Martini, Lipsiae 1896 (Teubner edition).

ATHENAEUS, *Deipnosophists*, 14. 655, b, c

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν μελεαγρίδων Μηνόδοτος
ἐμνήσθη, λέξομέν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς περὶ αὐτῶν. Κλύτος
ὁ Μιλήσιος, Ἀριστοτέλους δὲ μαθητὴς, ἐν τῷ α΄
περὶ Μιλήτου γράφει περὶ αὐτῶν οὕτως: "περὶ δὲ
τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Παρθένου ἐν Λέρῳ εἰσὶν οἱ καλού-
μενοι ὄρνιθες μελεαγρίδες. ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐστὶν
ἐλώδης ἐν ᾧ τρέφονται. ἐστὶ δὲ ἄστοργον πρὸς τὰ
ἔκγονα τὸ ὄρνειον καὶ ὀλιγωρεῖ τῶν νεωτέρων,
ὥστε ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῶν.

Since Menodotus mentioned guinea-hens, we also
will say something about them. Clytus of Miletus,
a disciple of Aristotle, writes about them in the first
book of his work *On Miletus* as follows: "All about
the temple of the Maiden in Leros are the birds called
meleagrides. The place in which they are kept is
marshy. The bird is lacking in affection for its young
and neglects the young chicks, so the priests are com-
pelled to care for them," etc.

Text and translation from C. B. Gulick, *Athenaeus, Deipnosophists*, VII,
London 1941 (Loeb edition). Cf. *FHG* II, 333.

¹ On the cult of Artemis see Sakkellion in *Parnassos* 10 (1886) 93; Rehm, 23-25.

AELIAN, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, 4. 42

Ὁ ὄρνις ὁ ἀτταγᾶς (μέμνηται δὲ καὶ
Ἀριστοφάνης αὐτοῦ ἐν Ὀρνισι τῷ δράματι),
οὗτός τοι τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα ἢ σθένει φωνῇ φθέγγεται
καὶ ἀναμέλπει αὐτό. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς καλουμέ-
νας μελεαγρίδας τὸ αὐτὸ δήπου δρᾶν τοῦτο, καὶ
ὅτι Μελεάγρῳ τῷ Οἰνέως προσήκουσι κατὰ γένος
μαρτυρεῖσθαι καὶ μάλα εὐστόμως. λέγει δὲ ὁ
μῦθος, ὅσαι ἦσαν οἰκείαι τῷ Οἰνείδῃ νεανίᾳ,
ταύτας ἐς δάκρυά τε ἄσχετα καὶ πένθος ἄτλητον
ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ θρηνεῖν, οὐδὲν τι τῆς λύπης ἄκος
προσιεμένας, οἰκτῶ δὲ ἄρα τῶν θεῶν ἐς ταῦτα τὰ
ζῶα ἀμεῖψαι τὸ εἶδος. ταῖς δὲ ἰνδαλμά τε καὶ
σπέρμα τοῦ τότε πένθους ἐντακῆναι, καὶ ἐς νῦν
ἐτι Μελεαγρόν τε ἀναμέλπειν, καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ προσή-
κουσιν ἄδειν καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι. ὅσοι δὲ ἄρα
αἰδοῦνται τὸ θεῖον, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τῶνδε τῶν
ὄρνιθων ἐπὶ τροφῇ προσάψαιτο. καὶ ἥτις ἡ
αἰτία ἴσασι τε οἱ τὴν νῆσον οἰκοῦντες τὴν Λέρον
καὶ ἔνεστι μαθεῖν ἀλλαχόθεν.

The bird called 'Francolin' (Aristophanes mentions
it in his comedy of the Birds [248, etc.]) proclaims
and sings its own name as loudly as it can. And they
say that guinea-fowls, as they are called, do the same
and testify to their kinship with Meleager, the son
of Oeneus, in the clearest tones. The legend goes
that all the women who were related to the son of
Oeneus dissolved into unassuageable tears and sorrow
past bearing, and mourned for him and found no
cure for their sorrow. So the gods in pity allowed
them to change their shape into these birds; and the
semblance and seed of their ancient grief have sunk
into them so that to this day they raise a strain to
Meleager and even sing how they are his kin.

So then all who reverence the gods would never lay
hands on one of these birds for the sake of food. And
the reason of this is known to the inhabitants of the
island of Leros and can be learned from other
sources.

AELIAN, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, 5. 27

... τὰς δ' ἐν Λέρῳ
μελεαγρίδας ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀδικεῖσθαι τῶν γαμψω-
νύχων ὀρνέων λέγει Ἰστρος.

According to Ister, the guinea-fowls of Leros are never injured by any bird of prey.

Text and Translation from *Aelianus, On the Characteristics of Animals* A. F. Scholfield, London 1958 (Loeb edition). *FHG* II, 333, in citing 4.42 includes a phrase excluded by Scholfield (presumably as a gloss?) following θεῖον: καὶ εἰ μᾶλλον τὴν Ἀρτεμιν.

SOUDA, *Lexicon*, 468

Μελεαγρίδες· ὄρνεα, ἀπερ ἐνέμοντο ἐν τῇ ἀκροπό-
λει. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν τὰς ἀδελφὰς τοῦ Μελεάγρου
μεταβαλεῖν εἰς τὰς μελεαγρίδας ὄρνιθας, οἱ δὲ τὰς
συνήθεις Ἰοκάλλιδος τῆς ἐν Λέρῳ παρθένου,
ἣν τιμῶσι δαμονίως.

Guinea-fowls: birds which dwelt in the acropolis. Some say that the sisters of Meleager changed into guinea-fowls, others that the latter are the companions of the virgin Iokallis in Leros, whom they love extraordinarily.

Text from *LEXICOGRAPHI GRAECI SUIDAE LEXICON* ed. Ada Adler, Lipsiae 1933 (Teubner edition). On the corrupt reading Λέρῳ: cf. *Suidae Lexicon* rec. G. Bernhardt, Hales et Brunsviae 1853 Vol. II, 760.

b. The Hare

HYGINUS, *Astronomica*, 2. 33

Leporis autem hanc historiam memoriae prodiderunt. apud antiquos in insula Lero nullum leporem fuisse, sed ex eorum civitate adolescentium quendam, studio generis inductum, ab exteris finibus leporem feminam praegnantem attulisse et eius partum diligentissime ministrasse. itaque cum peperisset, compluribus eius civitatis studium incidisse et partim pretio, partim beneficio mercatos omnes lepores alere coepisse. ita non longo intervallo tantam multitudinem leporem procreatam, ut tota insula ab his occupata diceretur. quibus cum ab hominibus nihil daretur, in semina eorum impetu facto omnia comederunt. quo facto

incolae calamitate adfecti, cum fame forent oppressi, communi consilio totius civitatis vix denique eos ex insula abegisse dicuntur. itaque postea leporis figuram in astris constituisse, ut homines meminissent nil esse tam exoptandum in vita, quin ex eo plus doloris quam laetitiae capere posterius cogerentur.

The following story of the hare has been recorded. There were no hares on the island of Leros, and a certain young man of the state led by a liking for the breed, brought in from another country a pregnant female, and watched over her very carefully as she bore her young. When she had borne them, many of the citizens developed an interest, and by acquiring some for money, some as gifts, they all began to raise hares. In no long time such a multitude of hares was produced that the whole island was swarming with them. When men gave them nothing to eat, they made inroads on the grain fields and devoured everything. The inhabitants, faced with disaster because of this, since they were reduced to hunger, by co-operation of the whole state were said at length to have driven them from the island, though with difficulty. So afterwards they put the image of a hare in the stars, that men should remember that there was nothing so desirable in life but that later they might experience more grief than pleasure from it.

Text from *HYGINI ASTRONOMICA* rec. B. Bunte, Lipsiae 1875. Translation from *The Myths of Hyginus*, translated and edited by M. Grant, Lawrence, Kas. 1960.

IV. HISTORICAL AND LITERARY

SOUDA, *Lexicon*, 217

Φερεκύδης, Λέριος, ιστορικὸς, γεγονὼς πρὸ
ὀλίγου τῆς οὐ' ὀλυμπιάδος. Περὶ Λέρου, Περὶ
Ἰφιγενείας, Περὶ τῶν Διονύσου ἐορτῶν καὶ ἄλλα.

Pherekydes of Leros, historian; born a little prior to the 75th Olympiad (476 B.C.). (Wrote) on Leros, on Iphigenia, on the feasts of Dionysos, and other works.

Text from Adler, *op. cit.*; *FHG* I, 34; *FGrHist* I, 3 T3; von Wilamowitz et alii, *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache* (Berlin, 1905) 34; Rehm, 26; *Mnemosyne* Ser. III, 13 (1947) 13-64.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, *Dinarchus*, 11. 661

Δηλιακός· Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ῥοιοῦς τῆς
Σταφύλου· οὗτος οὐ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀλλ' ἐτέρου τινὸς
συγγραφέως ἐστί. δηλοῖ δ' ἐκ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τοῦ
χαρακτῆρος ἀρχαϊκὸς ὢν καὶ περιτρέχων τὴν τοπικὴν
Δήλου καὶ Λέρον ἱστορίαν.

A Delian oration, beginning "Of Apollo and Roio, daughter of Staphylos." This is not by the orator but by some other author. It is clear from the style and substance that it is old-fashioned; it takes in the local history of Delos and the history of Leros.

Text from *Dionysii Halicarnasei opuscula* ed. H. Usener et L. Radermacher Lipsiae 1899 (Teubner edition); cf. *FHG* IV. 391; *FGrHist* III B 401T; III b. 475; see my note 13 on p. 47. The above passage occurs in a discussion of works assigned falsely to Deinarchos (the Athenian orator). There is nothing in the context and sense of the passage to require Jacoby's interpretation that it contains a reference to Pherekydes' History of Leros.

On Phokylides-Demodokos: v. *supra* Strabo 10.5.12; Eustathius, *Dion. Per.* 530, 29. Phokylides: *Anthol. Palat.* 11.235; Demodokos: Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* II, 65; cf. Krumbacher, 131 and my note 14 on p. 48.

Part Four

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF LEROS

IT WOULD BE an understatement to say that the history of Leros prior to the fifth century B.C. is obscure. Without excavations, only the largest kinds of generalization derived from the history of neighbouring islands have any value. The evidence of ancient authors for the thalassocracy of Crete has been confirmed by excavations (Rhodes, Miletos, Cea).¹ Out of the historical mists which cover Leros at this time rises one indubitable fact to which one must recur again and again — its superb harbors. These harbors are of a quality which even recently tempted a modern power to convert the island into a major naval bastion. It would be strange if the wandering Minoans had not known of this advantage, whether or not they were in a position to avail themselves of it. What inhabitants would the Minoans, if they came here, have encountered? Presumably Leleges and Carians,² and the same would have awaited the Achaeans who characteristically followed upon the Minoans. There is at least some tentative evidence that the known activity of the Achaeans in nearby Miletos and Kalymnos³ extended also to Leros — as one would expect from the harbor advantages already mentioned. Attention may be called to the remains of a wall of Cyclopean type, now heavily re-used by shepherds, on the south-east scarp of the citadel of Xerokampos, facing toward and in full view of Kalymnos. If this may be thought to suggest a settlement, and full value be given to the statement reported by Strabo that

¹ A. Furumark, "The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History," *OA* 6 (1950) 150 ff; G. Huxley in *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 699 and in *Achaeans and Hittites*, Oxford 1960, considers Miletos to have been settled by Cretans about 1600 B.C., revising the view of Furumark, *op. cit.*, 202. Cf. C. Weickert in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 7 (1957) 102 and in *Neue Deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet* (Berlin, 1959) 181 ff.

² See Samarkos, *AK* for a listing and discussion of the ancient references.

³ See references in n.1. The Mycenaean pottery from Kalymnos is described by W. R. Paton, "Vases from Calymnos and Carpathos," *JHS* 8 (1887) 446-461; cf. *CVA*, British Museum, Fs. 5 IIIa, Pls. 8-9, with further bibliography. See also *Archaeology in Greece* (1960-1) 34 and M. B. Sakellariou, *La Migration Grecque en Ionie*, Athens 1958, 325.

Leros was one of the Kalydnian islands,⁴ then a Lorian contingent at Troy becomes a possibility.⁵

So far no ray of light relieves the darkness of the Dark Ages at Leros. Much hinges perhaps on the presently unresolvable question as to whether or not it should count as one of the Kalydnian islands for, if it was, we might assume that it had been colonized by Dorians. Moreover, it is not known when Leros came under the domination of Miletos. It would contribute to our understanding of East Greek history if we knew exactly where and in what circumstances the boundary line between Dorian and Ionian settlers was drawn in the Dodecanese islands.⁶ Only excavations in the critical area of Kalymnos, Leros and Miletos are likely to provide an elucidation of this matter. Something is known of the Geometric period at Miletus;⁷ however nothing, to my knowledge, can be said about the corresponding period in the two islands. The earliest sherd so far known from Leros is of Geometric type (see p. 55) but may be no earlier than *ca.* 700 B.C. One might expect earlier pieces to turn up where this was found, *viz.*, at Ayia Marina, where habitation during the seventh and sixth centuries (as well as later), with connections reaching both east and west, is guaranteed by surface sherds. In the event that Leros and Ikaros fit into the pattern of the early colonizing activities of the Milesians,⁸ then Leros may have been dependent on Miletos even before the time just indicated. This may even seem quite probable in view of the legendary colonizing zeal of the Ionian metropolis.⁹

The first emergence of Leros into the light of firm historical documentation involves the Ionian revolt in the early fifth century. Hekataios offers a strategic suggestion to Aristagoras of Miletos, which seems admirable in its simplicity and economy: he and the

⁴ Strabo 10.5.19. Cf. ATL, 494 ff. On the Homeric Catalogue as a Mycenaean document see D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley 1959, 120ff.

⁵ On this see Büchner, *IL*, 30.

⁶ Paton, *CL*, is the only scholar to my knowledge who has emphasized the importance of an answer to the problems recapitulated here. In recent studies of the problem of Ionian migration Leros is not mentioned (Sakellariou, *op. cit.*; C. Roebuck, *Ionian Trade and Colonization*, New York 1959).

⁷ Bericht VI, *Int. Congr. Arch.* (1940) 327 ff.

⁸ Anaximenes of Lampsacus cited by Strabo 14.4.6: *FGrHist* II A72 F26; cf. Gschnitzer, 120 n.3.

⁹ *RE s.v. Miletos*, 1590 ff. (Hiller v. Gärtringen).

Milesians should construct a wall on Leros and retire there for safety in case of successful Persian attack against Miletos.¹⁰ The rejection of this suggestion may have been owing to fear of the Persian fleet, but in the event Aristagoras might have done well to take the chance, for his alternative scheme of removing to Myrkinos in Thrace ended in disaster. Herodotus tells the story in too general a fashion to allow a definite inference as to whether Leros was at the time a colony of Miletos, whether perhaps other Milesians besides Aristagoras did go there, or even whether some sort of fortification already existed on the island. It seems almost certain that the spot Hekataios had in mind was the site of the present *phrourion* of Ayia Marina, which from currently available evidence was the only inhabited area of the island in the period concerned. From here also the Lorian historian Pherekydes¹¹ (who may have lived in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C.) may have originated. Unfortunately, the tradition about Pherekydes of Leros is not clear; he may have lived in Hellenistic times.¹² The history of the island was in any case written about by him, and also perhaps by Deinarchos, who likewise is of uncertain date.¹³ Regardless of when Pherekydes lived, the tradition of Milesian intellectuality probably penetrated early to the neighbouring island. Such a conclusion seems at least to be suggested by the somewhat controversial figure of the

¹⁰ Herodotus 5.125.

¹¹ *FGH* I, p. 34 ff.; *FGrHist* I, 3 T3.

¹² For a full discussion of this point see *Abhandlungen zur griechischen Geschichtsschreibung* von Felix Jacoby (ed. H. Bloch), Leiden 1956, 129–136 (reprint of article "The First Athenian Prose Writer" in *Mnemosyne* Ser. III, 13, 1947, p. 13–64). I am grateful to G. L. Huxley for this reference and for helpful suggestions in connection with this chapter; cf. also Rehm, 26.

¹³ The reference to the history of Leros in connection with the writings of Deinarchos, mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Dinarchus* 11) is apparently taken by Jacoby as a reference to the *Peri Lerou* of Pherekydes: see *FGrHist* IIIb 475 (2). Although perhaps possible, this is not a cogent inference since, according to Jacoby's dating of Pherekydes of Leros to Hellenistic times, the author of the Delian oration would also have to be Hellenistic. However, Dionysius refers to this author as *archaios*, which it is tempting to take in connection with a further bit of information from Demetrius Magnes (relayed by Dionysius also) that a certain Deinarchus of Delos was earlier than the Attic orator of that name (see *RE s.v. Deinarchus* 4). If the author of the Delian oration may indeed be identified with Deinarchus of Delos, Jacoby's view is erroneous. But even though this identification is not certain, the evidence is complicated enough to require caution. The strong possibility remains that the author of the Delian oration wrote independently about Leros or, if citing Pherekydes, that the latter lived in the first quarter of the fifth century, as the tradition states.

Lerian lyric poet Demodokos, who is generally thought to have lived in the latter part of the sixth century.¹⁴

The epigraphical *terminus ante quem* for the establishment of a Milesian colony on Leros seems to be given by the entry "Milesians from Leros" in the first two Athenian tribute lists. It is, however, as we have seen, entirely likely that the colonization did take place long before 454/3 B.C. It has been inferred that there was, at that time, a revolt in Miletos which prompted Milesians loyal to Athens to flee to Leros (and Teichioussa) and, as a kind of government in colonial exile, to pay their tribute from there.¹⁵ The affairs of Miletos were not in the best order in the later years of the 450's,¹⁶ but a settlement of some kind must have been effected by the Athenians, for thereafter the levy of the "Milesians from Leros" appears to have been included in that of metropolitan Miletos down to and through the year 429/8. In 427/6, Milesians, Leros and Teichioussa are listed separately (notice that from this point we miss the locution "Milesians from Leros" and find simply "Leros"). It might appear from this that some constitutional change in the status of the island was involved. It is uncertain whether the three entries at this time represent separate contributions; however, by 421/0 a single sum is noted for the three entries. It has been inferred from this rather tenuous evidence that Miletos had less control over Leros in 427/6 and more in 420/1. In 412 B.C. we find Leros in the pages of Thucydides¹⁷ as a place of somewhat neutral dis-

position in the struggle between Athens and Sparta, for both sides use it as a point of reconnaissance. This may or may not be significant, but it is at least harmonious with the view that Leros had acquired something like a more independent status in the decades roughly between 450-430 B.C. It also documents what is, in any case, obvious: that Leros is a convenient station for any undertakings having to do with Miletos. It must have served this purpose in Archaic times when Miletos traded with Africa.

A decree of the fourth century B.C., which may have been set up in Partheni, introduces one Hekataios, a citizen, doubtless, of Milesian descent on at least one side, as being particularly agreeable to those "dwelling in Leros". As Chabiaras has rightly pointed out, this wording suggests that any possible distinction between Milesians as such and more native or long-established residents was inoperative.¹⁸ By the time of the Aristomachos decree, in the second century B.C., the expression "Lerians dwelling in Leros" occurs and suggests complete local autonomy, if this did not, indeed, exist before. Taken in conjunction with the recently found inscription *Demos Lerou* from Ayia Barbara, such a conclusion may be strengthened. Beyond this point speculation on constitutional matters would be unprofitable. It is worth noting, however, in combination with the conjectural solidification of Lerian independence in the fourth (if not the fifth) century, that sites other than Ayia Marina begin to yield archaeological evidence about this time. Most striking of all is the citadel of Xerokampos with its impressive walls. The ques-

¹⁴ Cf. Büchner, *IL*, 30. In *Le*, Büchner seems to have some doubts as to whether Demodokos was actually a Lerian, inspired by Reitzenstein's sceptical comments (*RE* IV, 2870). Rehm, 26, *contra*. For a local interpretation of the character of Phokylides, see Samarkos, *AK*, 27.

¹⁵ *ATL*, 510. The older interpretation is represented by U. Köhler, *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des delisch-attischen Bundes*, Ab. Akad. Berlin 1869, 122, 157: Leros and Teichioussa were cleruchized by Miletos. See also n. 18 and Rehm, 26. K. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* II, 2, 367 made the interesting but improbable suggestion that Lepsia, Akrite, Tragia, Patmos and Lebinthos shared in the 3 talent tribute of 454/3 under the collective entry of Leros. Haussoullier, 125-143, interprets Leros as a proper deme of Miletos, but does not deal adequately with chronology. The same author, *RevPhil* 21 (1897) 45, gives a list of inscriptions which refer to a deme by the name of Leros on the Milesian mainland. On this see also Büchner *IL*, 33 where P. Le Bas, *Voyage Archéol. en Grèce* III 2 (Inscrip.) n. 238, 240 is cited, and Gschnitzer, 122 n.6.

¹⁶ Cf. the Law Against Tyrants: M. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1946, 67 ff.

¹⁷ 8.26.

¹⁸ Chabiaras, section 3, concluded from the Tribute Lists that in 454 the colony of Milesians on Leros was officially recognized as an ally of Athens, so that apart from their obligation to the League they were operating quite independently of any other power that year. This does not take into account the fact that the Milesians from Leros are then submerged for a number of years after this with Miletos in general, and that the island is referred to in 427/6 ff. as simply Leros. Gschnitzer, 119 ff. assumes that the differing ways of referring to Miletos, Leros and Teichioussa in the lists (following List 1) do not reflect any changed conditions in the political relations of the three places. But the reference of Thucydides (8.26.3) to Milesian Teichioussa (in 412) cited as evidence for this viewpoint must be weighed together with the further testimony of Thucydides in the same passage about Leros itself. (Moreover, Herodotus 5. 125, does not prove that Leros was Milesian territory at the time of the Ionic Revolt, though this may be likely). The remainder of Gschnitzer's discussion leaves the impression that Leros, though enjoying a "certain" autonomy, remained politically allied to Miletos even in Hellenistic times. This interpretation is valid to the extent that the institutions of Leros must have revealed their origins in, and proximity to, Miletos. Beyond this the evidence is too slight to allow for really firm conclusions.

tion, unanswerable at present, is bound to arise, who built them and against whom? Is this an indication of greater self-reliance on the part of the Lerians, intended to supplement the fortifications which must certainly have existed on the *kastron*? Partheni, too, may be represented in the fourth century by the Hekataios inscription found in nearby Smalu, although the earliest certain finds from the former site are the Aristomachos and Aristonikos inscriptions of the second century. A roof-tile of Late Hellenistic or Early Roman date was found near the watch-tower at Partheni. The Asclepieion, which can be postulated as having existed on the hill opposite Ayia Marina, would be plausible as a dependency of the establishment in Kos already perhaps in the third century B.C.¹⁹

The history of Leros after the second century B.C. and until medieval times cannot at present be articulated very well.²⁰ With the exception of *CIG* II 2263, which attests to the renewed presence of Milesians on Leros in Roman times, inscriptions are limited to grave stelae. Sherds testify to habitation in the Roman imperial period at Ayia Marina, Xerokampos and Partheni. The existing walls of ancient buildings at Ayia Marina (where they are numerous) and Partheni cannot be dated very exactly. The former may be Late Roman or Early Byzantine and seem in some cases to lie over tombs of Hellenistic date. There is abundant evidence in the form of architectural fragments and emplacements for the existence of Christian churches from the fourth to the eleventh centuries A.D. at Ayia Marina, Paliaskloup, Partheni, Smalu, Alinda, Drymona, Temenia, Lakki and Xerokampos. The island was, and still is, the seat of a bishopric. The culmination of churchly activity was reached in the person of Osios Christodoulos, who destroyed the sanctuaries of the Parthenos both at Partheni and on the island of Patmos with particular thoroughness in preparation for the founding of a monastery (1087). His definitive removal to Patmos as the main site of his endeavours rescued Leros from the fate of becoming

completely dominated by the clergy, although Lerians had lost much of their land to the church and were forced by Christodoulos to move from the *kastron* to Xerokampos.

Literary evidence points to the existence of a fortification on the *kastron* in Early Byzantine times, and a group of cisterns (near the present fortification) which can be dated to the sixth century A.D. or later confirm this. Ruins in the inner core of the present *phrourion* may possibly be remnants of this earlier fortification. The present structure was built in the fourteenth century by the Knights of St. John and symbolizes the long centuries of foreign domination by Italians, Turks, and then again Italians, which have oppressed the inhabitants of Leros.

¹⁹ Kos, *Ergebnisse der deutschen Ausgrabungen und Forschungen*, I: P. Schazmann, *Asklepieion, Baubeschreibung und Baugeschichte*, Berlin 1932, 72 ff. For recent bibliography on the subject see I. Kondis, *ΑΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΙΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΕΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΚΩ*, Rhodes 1956, 3 ff.

²⁰ Most of the following account is based on Burchner, *IL*, 37 ff.

Appendices

1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL HALL OF LEROS

It is not feasible to give here a detailed description of every object which is in the vitrine in the municipal library called the *Archaiologiki Aithousa*, or in the office of the special epimelete. The objects are not many, as there have been no excavations, and in many instances an exact provenience is wanting.

Pottery. The most important sherds have been mentioned on pp. 54 ff. In addition, there are the usual amphorae from the sea and several Roman and Byzantine pots.

Sculpture. The most important object of the collection is the fragment of relief (Inv. 2) which has been published by Samarkos (*Pai*). A more detailed publication is promised by Dr. G. Konstantinopoulos, who for this reason refused me permission to obtain any photographs of the piece. As can be seen from the rather poor plate in *Pai*, there is represented a bearded, well-groomed middle aged man, clothed in a voluminous himation. He leans forward on a staff which his right hand grasps. The right foot is shown in bird's eye view; the lower shank of the right leg is somewhat too short. The crossed left foot is completely reversed from the natural structure, for the big toe is on the inside instead of the outside.

An obvious parallel for the type of monument is the Athlete's base of the National Museum, Athens (K. Schefold, *Griechische Plastik*, Basel 1949, Pl. 75), while the figure itself recalls also the countless *paidotribai* of fifth century Attic pottery, but also the "Ideal Athenians" of the East frieze of the Parthenon, which may suggest an approximate date for the relief.

Another piece of sculpture of interest is Inv. 1, the statuette of a heavily draped standing female (Pl. 13a-b), found on the western slopes of Meravigli. The head, neck and part of the right hand, with the head of the serpent it was holding, are missing. There is a sinking one centimeter deep at the base of the neck to receive the

separately made head. The termination of the left hand is uncertain; it was perhaps under the garments, but in any case is missing. The right leg is the *Standbein*, while the right arm bends and holds a rather ornamental serpent trailing down the figure's right side. Its head may have been inset with bronze or precious stones, as there is a kind of depression where it should be. The left leg is swung back in play and the foot is held at an angle, so that the figure has a very easy hipshot position which, however, is not strongly reflected in the carriage of the upper body. There are no indications of toes or sandals. The figure wears a full length peplos over which a rather heavy mantle, covering more than half the upper body, has been draped. The back is worked roughly in V-shaped folds. The identification as Hygieia is assured from the serpent, so that one might expect her left hand to have held a saucer (Cf. S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris 1897, pp. 209-295; see esp. 292: 1170A and 294: 1185). The type seems to be certainly Early Hellenistic (cf. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York 1961, Fig. 375, right) but the possibility of its being a Roman copy seems to me strong. H: 58.5 cm., including base. Greatest length of base, 26 cm.; width, 18 cm. The statuette is considerably chipped and now covered with whitewash, but the base has been cleaned sufficiently to reveal that it is carved from the local, rather dense, light grey marble of Leros.

Miscellaneous. There are a few miscellaneous stones and architectural fragments. Many antiquities from Leros must have been dispersed without record, beginning with the activities of Osios Christodoulos (if not earlier) and continuing through the various occupations of the island. Cf. e.g., B. Pace in *ASAtene* 1 (1914) 371 (*Notiziario*): *una buona testa barbata arcaizzante*, from Leros, now in the Patmos monastery; E. Babelon, *Inventaire sommaire de la Collection Waddington*, Paris 1908, 109: No. 2024, Pl. 4, 9. On the improbability that ancient Leros issued its own coins, see Bürchner, *IL*, 33.

2. THE POTTERY OF LEROS¹

The sherds from Ayia Marina fall into several groups which are well defined in type, although not in every case completely easy to identify. The least difficulty arises, naturally, from imports. At

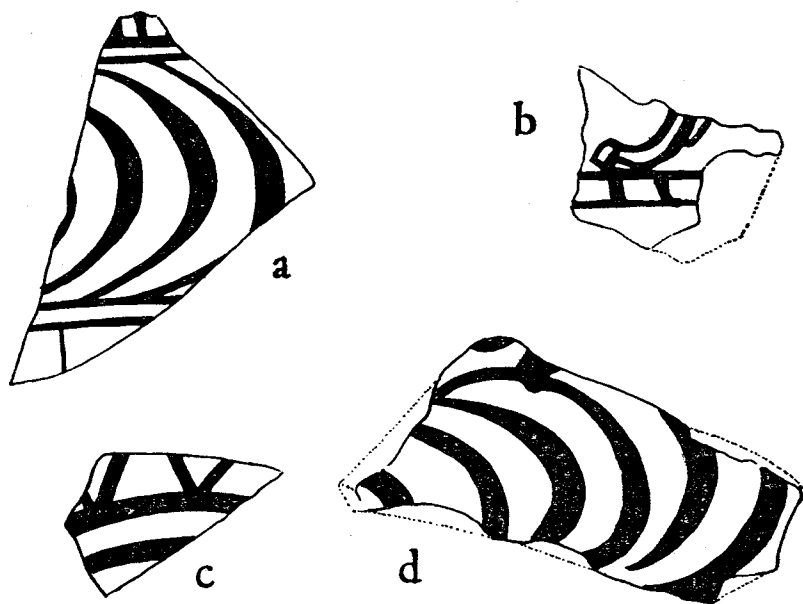


Illustration 1. Archaic sherds from Ayia Marina

least one (Illus. 1a)² and possibly two Fikellura sherds were found, also sherds of another East Greek fabric extremely similar to that of Fikellura. The representations on these latter are, respectively, a lion's paw (Illus. 1b)³ and a series of sweeping curves which may

¹ Invaluable assistance in evaluating the surface sherds discussed here was given by Miss Lucy Talcott, to whom my sincerest thanks are expressed; further, also, in connection with the Roman sherds, to John Hayes of Cambridge University. The sherds of Illus. 1a-b and Pl. 15, Fig. 1d are in the Archaeological Hall of Leros. The remainder have been deposited in the study collection of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

² Clay orange, slip very light buff to yellow. For the general type of design see *CVA* British Museum Fs. 8, II D.1 Pl. 12: 1, 2 etc. The lower vertical stroke of the Leros piece may be the top of a palmette (cf. *BSA* 34, 1933/4 Pl. 4b) or of an elongated ray (cf. *ibid.*, Pl. 15b) but I cannot cite an exact parallel to the total combination of elements.

³ The clay is rather reddish buff with a similar slip and orange-red paint. The structure of the feline paw does not correspond exactly to examples known to me from the Rhodian (Wild Goat) style, though quite reminiscent of it (cf. especially the paw of the

be part of a palm tree design (Illus. 1d and Pl. 15 Fig. 1i).⁴ Both should be seventh century. Possibly earlier than the seventh century is a sherd with a pattern of triangles and bands (Illus. 1c)⁵, of a fabric similar to that found in Chios in the late eighth to early seventh centuries.⁶ Several specimens of excellent sixth century Attic black glaze have been found (Pl. 15 Fig. 1a-c), two of which (not illustrated) may have come from a Little Master cup. In addition, a group of sherds with an excellent hard, almost metallic fabric and with a glaze which is considerably duller and even thinner than that of good Attic ware seems to testify to the existence of a tradition of careful local imitation of Attic wares (Pl. 15 Fig. 1e-h, j; Pl. 16 Fig. 2a-b). What appears to be an incomplete specimen of this very same fabric is P 25002 in the Agora Excavations, a kylix from Q 135, wall deposit of the second to third quarter of the sixth century.⁷ The base of a cup of fourth century Attic ware was also found (Pl. 15 Fig. 1d).⁸ Again, various sherds were found in the area below the cisterns which show a continuation of the situation described above, *viz.*, a few Attic sherds together with careful local imitations, the shapes being kantharoi and bowls of the mid-fourth century (Pl. 16, Fig. 1 b-h). Another variety of ware which occurs with considerable frequency is again of East Greek type:

sphinx illustrated by W. Schiering: *Werkstätten orientalisierender Keramik auf Rhodos*, Berlin 1957, Pl. 13, 1). The vertical bars (?) beneath the paw (of the Leros sherd) may be similar to Schiering's Pl. 7, 1 but they are more reminiscent of Fikellura where, however, the animals are drawn differently. I consider the first mentioned correspondences more decisive, thus suggesting a date fully in the seventh century.

⁴ The clay is orange-brown with dark buff ground and orange-red paint. I do not know of a close parallel for the design. Perhaps it could be a derivative of something like the design on a Rhodian geometric lekythos in Copenhagen (*CVA* Denmark Fs. 2, Pl. 65:9).

⁵ The clay is light brownish buff, the interior is covered with a thick, slightly lustrous red-brown paint. The exterior has a matt firm orange-brown paint on dark buff ground. There is much mica. The design may be compared with *AM* 54 (1929) Beil. I:1,3.

⁶ Krater fragment with lozenges and triangles from Emporio (Chios Museum). Paint and slip almost identical with that of the Leros sherd, although the clay is slightly more reddish, softer and with much less mica. The two on actual confrontation are convincingly of the same general type and surely about contemporary. I am indebted to Messrs. J. Boardman and N. Coldstream for permission to refer to this piece. Also similar in general type is Ashmolean 1954.342³ from Al Mina. Dr. H. W. Catling kindly directed my attention to this sherd.

⁷ Cf. *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 373 under No. 95 (ΣΑ 3110). Examples of Ionian cups in general: *CVA* Louvre Fs.3, II D Pl. 1.

⁸ For the type see *Hesperia* 20 (1951) Pl. 51:a3.

brownish orange clay with a mica sheen, buff slipped surface and matt orange paint. I cannot say certainly at this point whether or not it is local (see note on East Greek fabric below). The shape most frequently represented is a hydria or jug — also a few bowls (Pl. 15 Fig. 2a-h; Pl. 16 Fig. 1a). In respect to this category, the closest affinities in shape, fabric and decoration occur in the "Wave-line Ware" (although no specimens of actual wavy lines exist among those collected in Leros)⁹. There can be little doubt, in any case, that these sherds of Leros are of Archaic date (or at least have Archaic precedents). Rather surprising is the dearth at Ayia Marina — and indeed generally — of sherds definitely attributable to the Hellenistic period.

One fragment of Samian ware, or a fabric closely similar, was found at Ayia Marina (Pl. 15 Fig. 2i), another at Prophetes Elias (above Ayia Marina) and yet another at Xerokampos (Pl. 16 Fig. 2f). Late Roman B and Late Roman C (fourth and fifth centuries A.D.) are represented at Ayia Marina (Pl. 15 Fig. 2j-l). Xerokampos yielded late specimens of Late Roman C, perhaps going into the sixth century (Pl. 16 Fig. 2c-e, g)¹⁰. The more distinguishable sherds from the area of the Partheni watchtower are advanced sixth or even seventh century (Pl. 16 Fig. 2h-m). A coarse ware sherd with fine grooved lines, which was built into the cisterns, may be of the sixth century and thus suggests a *terminus post quem* for the building of the structures (Pl. 16 Fig. 1i)¹¹. A rather attractive specimen with engraved multiple wavy lines from near the *kastron* may be seventh century (Pl. 16 Fig. 1j)¹²; and a specimen of polychrome bowl on

⁹ On this see G. M. A. Hanfmann in *The Aegean and the Near East* (Studies presented to Hetty Goldman, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1956) 176 ff.

¹⁰ The terminology is that of F. Waage: *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 293 ff. and *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV, Princeton 1948, 43 ff. The dates are those of J. Hayes, based mainly on as yet unpublished Agora contexts.

¹¹ The spiral grooving of the Leros fragment seems from the point of view of technique closely comparable with Agora M 371 (dated late sixth century: H. S. Robinson, *Pottery of the Roman Period*, Princeton 1951, Pl. 34) but the grooving is also found earlier (*ibid.*, L 45-47, Pl. 17, fourth century).

¹² This is a variation of the decorative idea of the sherd just discussed: the placing of combed wavy lines in the frieze formed by the separated bands. While I cannot cite a specific parallel to this, one might compare M 329 (Robinson, *op. cit.*, Pl. 32, early sixth century) in which vertical wavy lines are painted across the frieze and grooving. For incised wavy lines without frieze bands, see N. Lamboglia, *I Scavi di Albintimilium*, Bordighera 1950, 171 Fig. 99:51 (apparently fourth to fifth centuries).

whitish ground is similar to a class flourishing in the tenth to thirteenth centuries (Pl. 16 Fig. 1k)¹³. These testify to the continuity of habitation on the hill above Ayia Marina and are, at present, together with Byzantine architectural fragments built into the walls of the fortification, the only reliable material witnesses to the Byzantine domination of the hill.

¹³ Cf. Agora P 7222: T. Rice, *Corinth XI, Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, Cambridge, Mass. 1942, 71.

3. NOTE ON THE MILESIAN FABRIC

The existing uncertainties in associating classes of East Greek pottery with specific production centres are well known.¹⁴ This obviates the need to apologize for the tentative nature of the following observations. A sampling of surface sherds¹⁵ at Miletos suggests that the local ware there from Mycenaean through Roman times may reveal a heavy concentration of mica, so that the surface of the sherds fairly glitters with a sheen of fine mica grains (quite independently of quality of ware, for both coarser and finer wares have this). Sherds which are obviously imports stand out considerably and recognizably from those which have this sheen. Whether there are other places whose pottery has this much mica is another question, but at least one may be certain that some local Milesian ware has it.¹⁶

In general, the East Greek sherds of Archaic date found on Leros also have this extraordinary amount of mica. In view of the historically close connections between Miletos and Leros, it is tempting to postulate that the island imported its pottery from Miletos at this time.

Taking the East Greek vases in the Louvre and the British Museum as a whole, one finds few which show much mica in the clay. This may, of course, be misleading for the Orientalizing examples, since most of these are covered with a slip. Some Geometric pieces do have a genuine similarity in clay to the Leros geometricizing sherd but are without the mica.¹⁷ A Rhodian type plate¹⁸ in the British Museum, unfortunately with no certain provenience according to museum records, has about as much mica as the Milesian sherds.

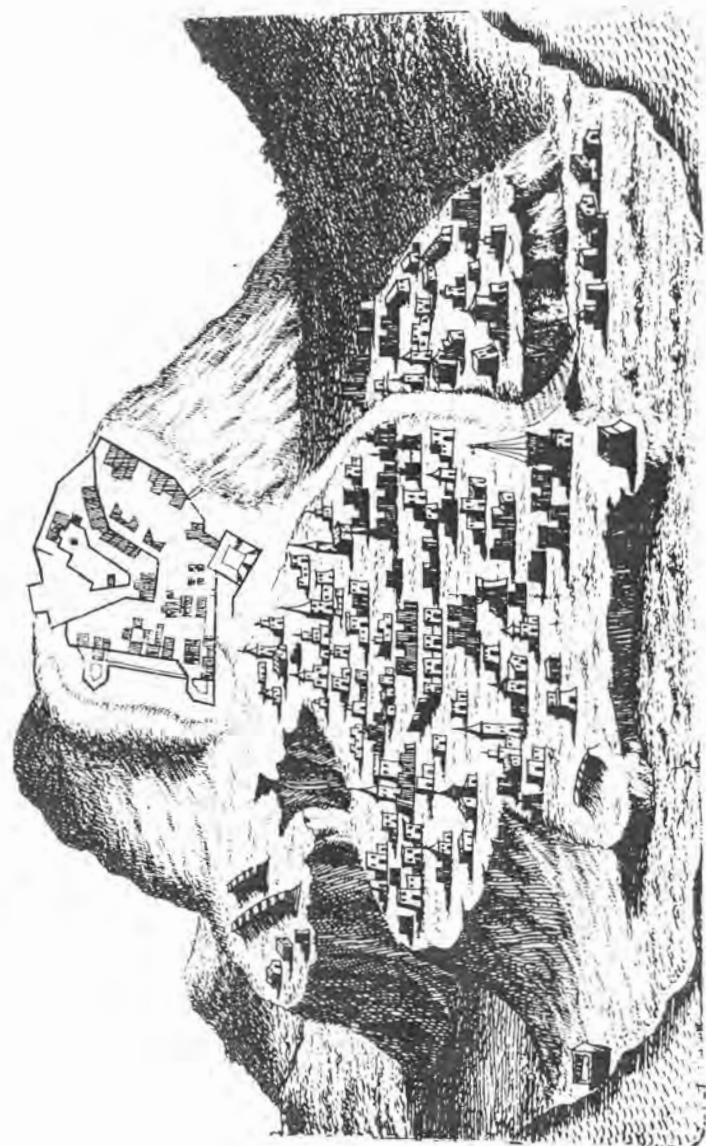
¹⁴ Cf. R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, Chicago 1960, 30.

¹⁵ Now deposited in the sherd collection of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

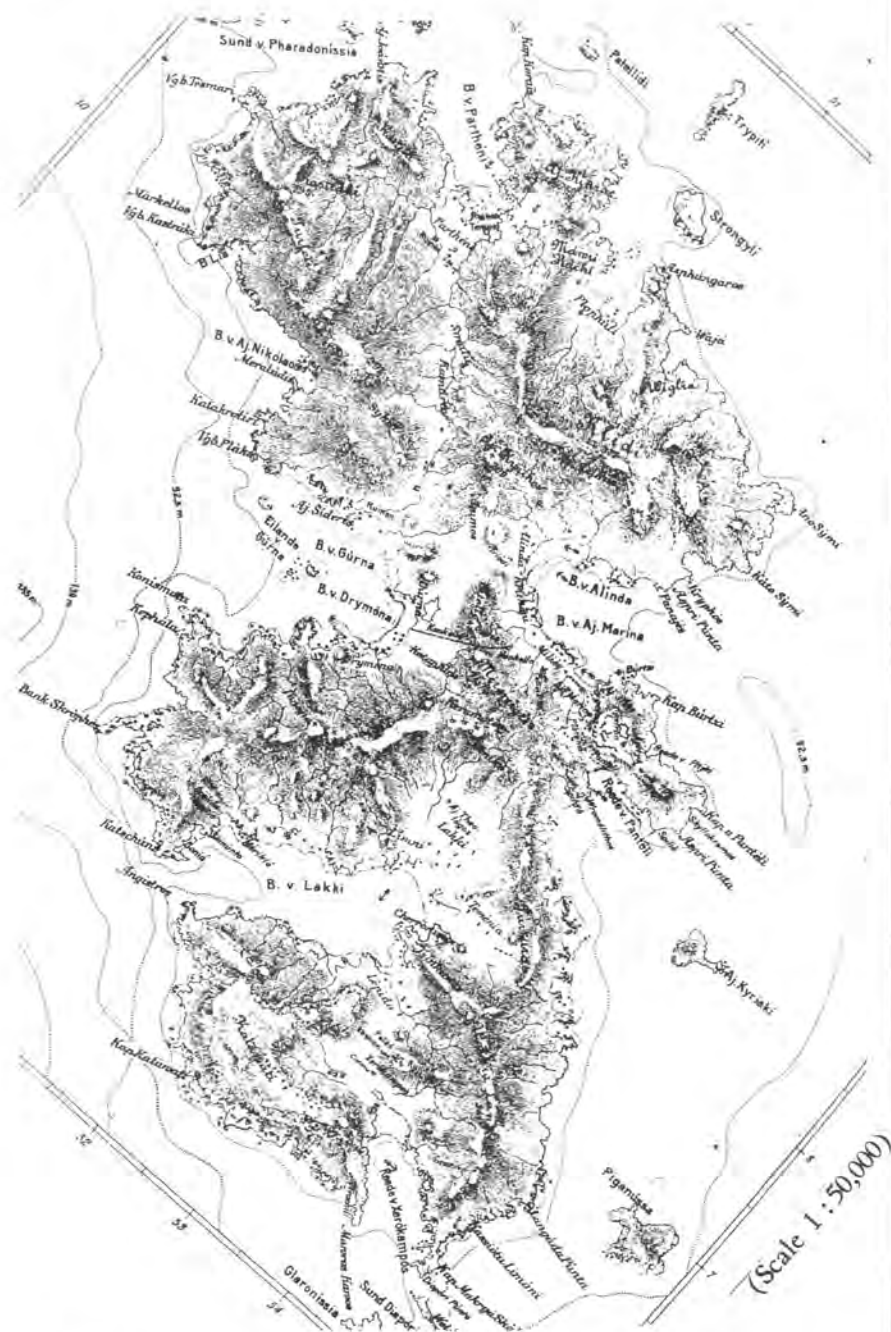
¹⁶ One hopes that the publication of the finds of the current German excavations at Miletos may take account of this factor.

¹⁷ Cf. also notes 5 and 6.

¹⁸ Accession number: 65-12.14 6 (also marked A 702). Cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, 123.



1 Artist's view of Ayia Marina and the *kastron*
(after V. Coronelli and Parisotti, *Isola di Rodi Geografica-Storica*, Venice 1688, 337)

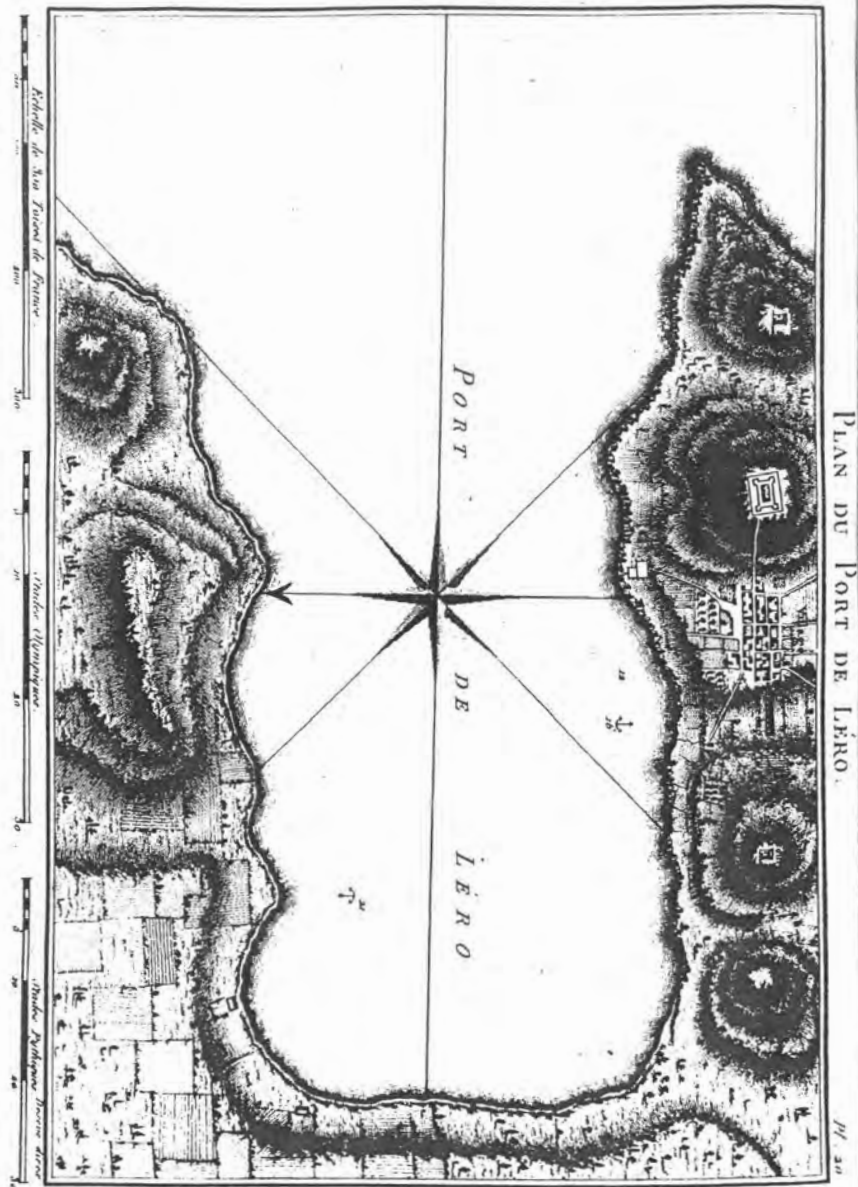


2 Physical and political map of Leros (after Büchner, IL)



3 Sketch map of Leros (without subsidiary islands) showing most important sites and villages

4 Schematic map of Ayia Marina with aqueduct and fortress (after Olivier, pl. 20)



5a View of Ayia Marina from terraces above waterfront



5b View of Ayia Marina toward Brouzi

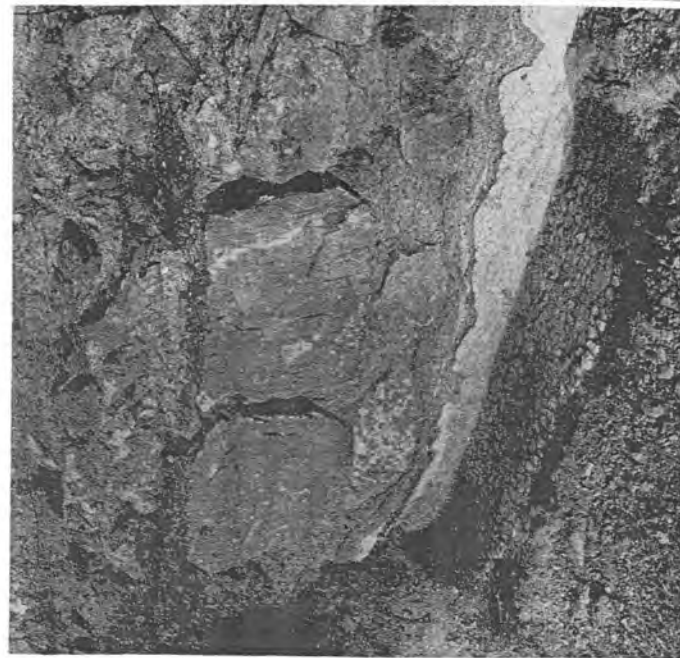
6a Cistern on the *kastron*



6b "Room" directly below Chapel of Ayia Barbara



7a Fragment of wall and mosaic near shore — Ayia Marina — 7b Wall of unidentified structure



- 8a Semicircular structure at Ayia Barbara
- 8b Upper level of semicircular structure
- 8c Detail of stones in semicircular structure



a



b



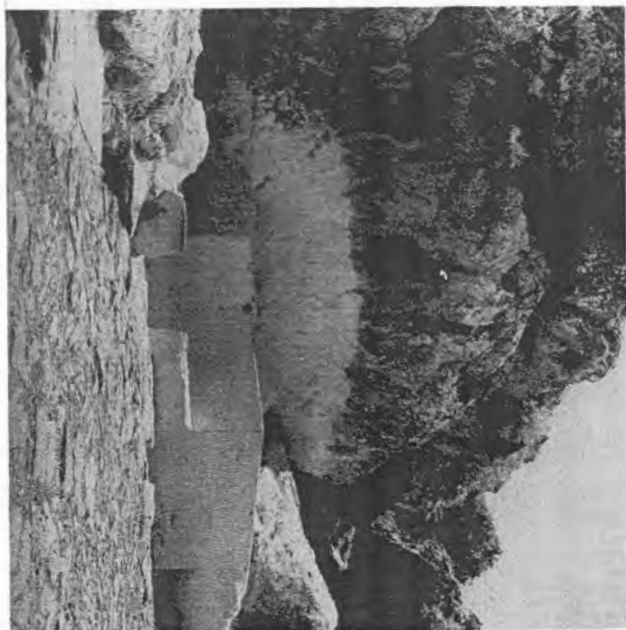
c

- 9a Detail of carved ornamentation, "Odeion," Ayia Barbara
- 9b "Odeion" showing blocks *in situ*

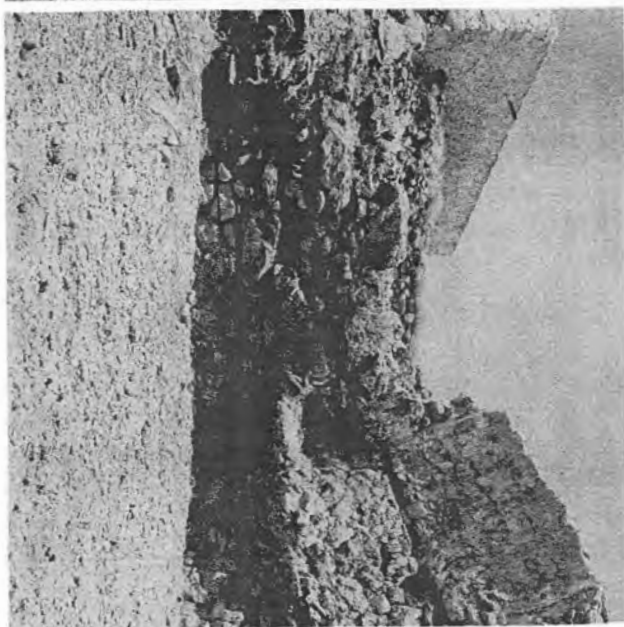


9b "Odeion" showing blocks *in situ*

10a Paliaskloupi



10b Tholarios at Ayios Polykarpou



11a General view of Xerokampos from the north



11b Xerokampos: Cyclopean wall (below)
and fourth century B.C. wall (above)



12a Panayies, Alinda



12d Ayios Panteleimonos
(Paliaskloupi)



12b Ayios Panteleimonos
(Paliaskloupi)



12e Ayia Barbara



12c Ayios Ioannos, Lakki



12f Ayios Georghios, Smalu



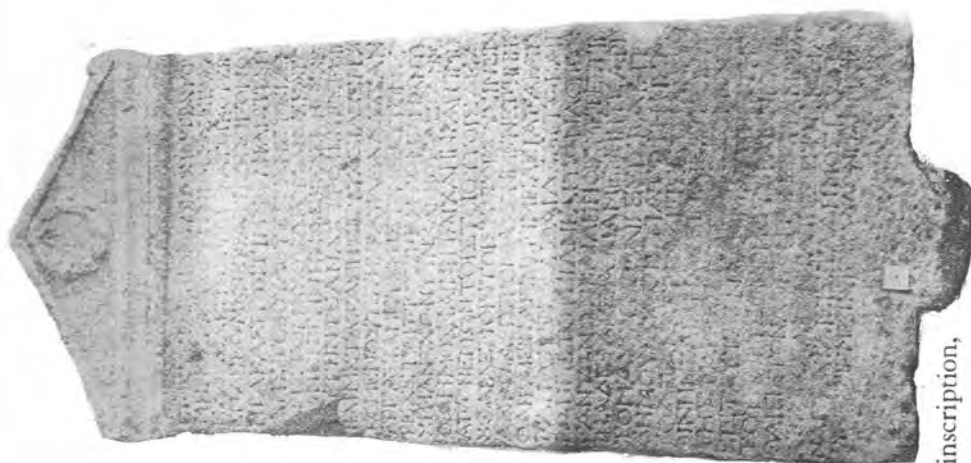
13a Statuette of Hygieia



13b Statuette of Hygieia



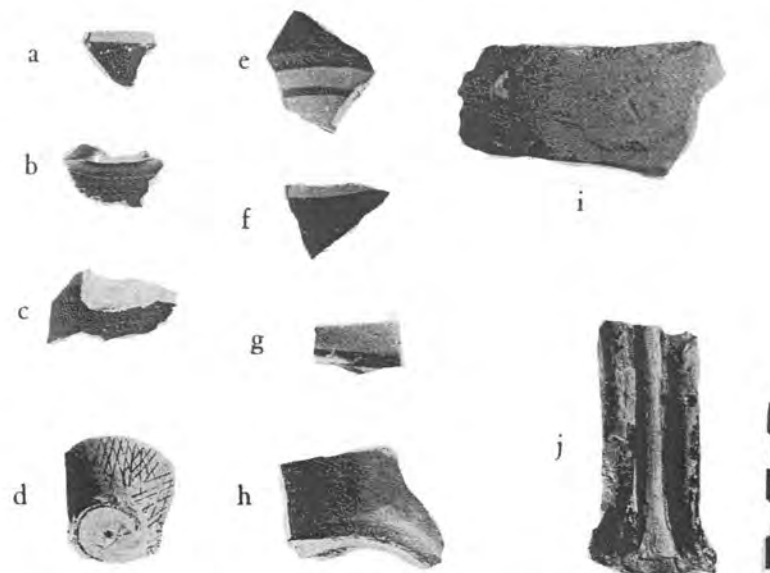
13c Inscription from Leros, Patmos Monastery.



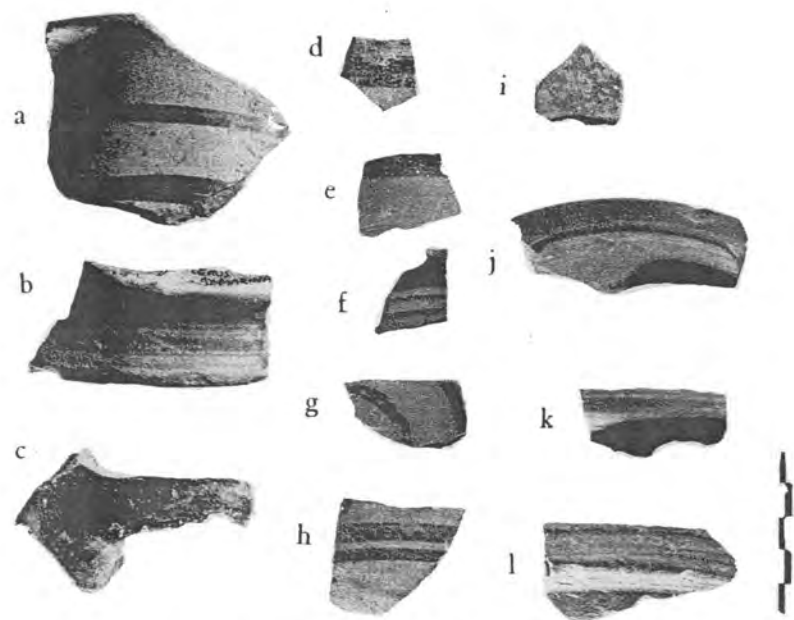
14b Inscription outside entrance, *Panayia tou Kastrou*



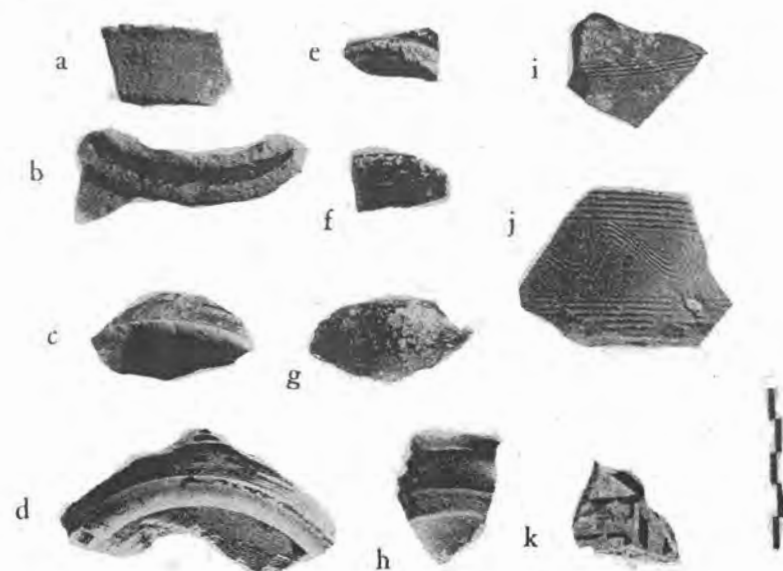
14c Inscription at Ayia Barbara 14a Aristomachos inscription, Archaeological Hall



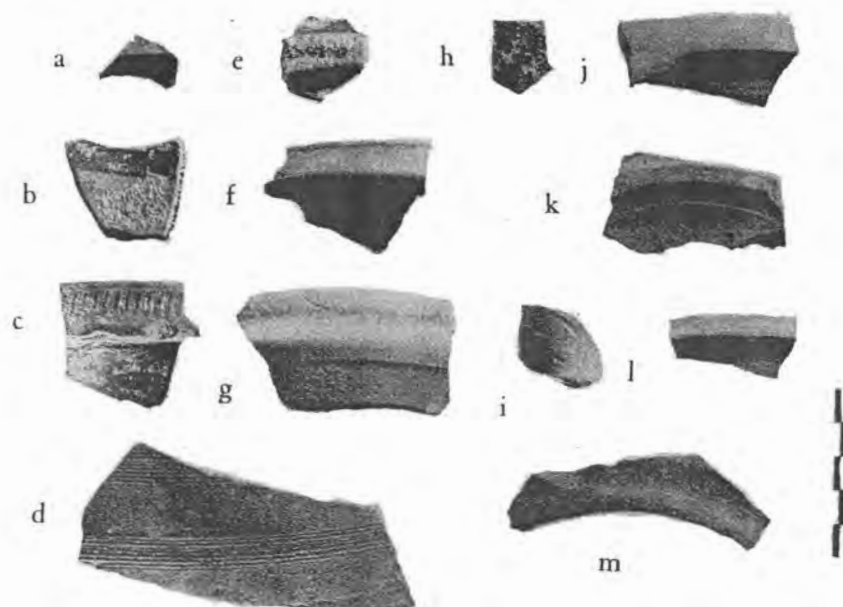
15 Fig. 1 Sherds from Ayia Marina



15 Fig. 2 Sherds from Ayia Marina



16 Fig. 1 Sherds from the *kastron*



16 Fig. 2 Sherds from Xerokampos (a-g); from Partheni (h-m)

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