

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI «L'ORIENTALE»
DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



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E STORIA ANTICA**

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DI ARCHEOLOGIA
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Abbreviazioni

Altezza: h.; ad esempio: ad es.; bibliografia: bibl.; catalogo: cat.; centimetri: cm (senza punto); circa: ca.; citato: cit.; colonna/e: col./coll.; confronta: cfr.; *et alii*: *et al.*; diametro: diam.; fascicolo: fasc.; figura/e: fig./figg.; frammento/i: fr./fr.; grammi: gr.; inventario: inv.; larghezza: largh.; linea/e: l./ll.; lunghezza: lungh.; massimo/a: max.; metri: m (senza punto); millimetri: mm (senza punto); numero/i: n./nn.; pagina/e: p./pp.; professore/professoressa: prof./prof.ssa; ristampa: rist.; secolo: sec.; seguente/i: s./ss.; serie: S.; sotto voce/i: s.v./s.vv.; spessore: spess.; supplemento: suppl.; tavola/e: tav./tavv.; tomba: T.; traduzione italiana: trad. it.; vedi: v.

Non si abbreviano: *idem*, *eadem*, *ibidem*; in corso di stampa: *infra*; Nord, Sud, Est, Ovest (sempre in maiuscolo); nota/e: *non vidi*; *supra*.

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LOST AND FOUND. REDISCOVERING ANCIENT KIMOLOS*

Carmelo Di Nicuolo

Cretosa rura

At the western end of the Cyclades, in the shadow of nearby, well-known Melos, the small island of Kimolos seems to have passed through the centuries in discreet silence, almost without leaving a trace (Fig. 1). The existence of a unique mineral resource, so characteristic of this island as to constitute its most representative feature over the centuries, allowed for the success of a small community in space and time. The *kimolia ghe*, a white clay-like stone¹, probably mistakenly considered to be particularly rich in sodium carbonate (*natron*)², had many uses, and was widely recorded in a multitude

of texts of different nature, chronology and degree of reliability³. The success and characteristics of this peculiar resource led to the creation of the label *kimolia ghe*, a kind of brand name *ante litteram*, often used over time to indicate *lithoi* that were apparently similar and not necessarily mined on Kimolos⁴. The mineral resources of the island and in particular the deposits in its soil were taken advantage of early in history, as it can be easily assumed from the reference of Aristophanes to the monopoly of the *xenos* Kleighenes on the commercialization and distribution of *kimolia ghe* (405 BCE)⁵. The mention of the mineral in *The Frogs* is currently the only direct evidence of Athens' commercial interest in

* My research on Kimolos, from 2016 until today, has been supported by the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Cyclades and the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. To the Director of the Ephorate Dr. Demetrios Athanasoulis and to the archaeologist in charge of the area Dr. Peggy Pantou I would like to express my deep gratitude and most sincere regard. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Prof. Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos, scientific guide for my post-doctoral project at the University of Athens. I really want to thank Professors Vladimiro Achilli and Gabriele Targa and Dr. Michele Monego (University of Padua) for their excellent collaboration. Thanks to the Aphentakeion Foundation and to the Municipality of Kimolos for their contribution and their constant logistic support in all my activities on the island. For the review of the English translation I thank Dr. Teresa Hancock and my brotherly friend and colleague Dr. Salvatore Vitale. This paper, like every step of my research at Kimolos, is intended as a small tribute to the community that welcomes me with love and follows with growing passion the research activities on the ancient polis of the *Kimolioi*.

¹ Ar.R.706-715. In the *Scholia* to lines 706-712 of *The Frogs*, explicit reference is made to a *leukè ghe*, whose cleansing properties were traditionally explained due to the presumed affinity of the kimolian earth to the salts of *natron*, predominantly imported from Egypt and widely used in soap production. As a result, the claim justifies the labeling of the mineral from Kimolos as a *nitro-poiós ghe*.

² On *pseudolitra* ('pseudo-nitrous powders' or rather adulterated *natron* salts): Di Nicuolo 2014, pp. 84-88; *Idem* 2015 current in press.

³ Dsc. *de Materia Medica*, 1.68.3.6, 106.3.1, 2.78.3.8, 80.6.7, 126.3.2, 5.156.1.1, 157.1.5; *Eup.* 1.97.1.2, 124.1.2, 127.1.2, 132.1.3, 140.2.3, 160.1.2, 161.2.3, 169.2.1, 2.104.1.8. *Gal.Caus. Symp.* 7.133.4K; *Simpl.Med.* 11.634.8K, 12.182.5K, 187.14K, 188.9K, 189.3K; *Comp.Med.Sec.Loc.* 12.433.7K, 444.2K, 454.17K, 458.11K, 459.3K, 461.12K, 462.5K, 465.13K, 469.3K, 469.6K, 472.13K, 472.16K, 478.1K, 478.8K, 489.18K, 492.11K, 493.1K, 594.8K, 669.8K, 673.3K, 835.15K, 836.10K, 836.14K, 13.315.4K, 317.14K. Pliny the Elder draws from different and not always scientifically reliable sources. Between medical science and magical practices: Plin. 28.110, 163 (see also 29.111). Sources for a long and well-documented digression on the different types of *terrae* in the wake of the Aristotelian tradition (Thphr. *Lap.* 62.2, 107s) and the Hellenistic medical school (Dsc. *de Materia Medica* 1.68.3.6, 106.3.1; 2.78.3.8, 80.6.7, 126.3.2; 5.156.1.1, 157.1.5, 172) can be found in Plin. 35.191-198.

⁴ As with other high quality products in the Cycladic region, such as cheese from Kythnos and marbles from Paros and Naxos (Brun 1997), it is possible to imagine a very extensive (and not necessarily fraudulent) use of the label 'kimolia ghe' already in the Classical period. Pliny later isolated two types of *cretae* '*Cimoliae*', '*candidum et ad purpurissum inclinans*', apparently similar and available in Thessaly, Lycia, Sardinia and Umbria (Plin. 35.195-198). In the early Imperial Age, the location of 'Kimolian Earths' in different regions of the Mediterranean certainly documents the widespread practice of indicating as '*kimoliai*' even *terrae* other than those extracted on the island.

⁵ Ar.R.706-715.

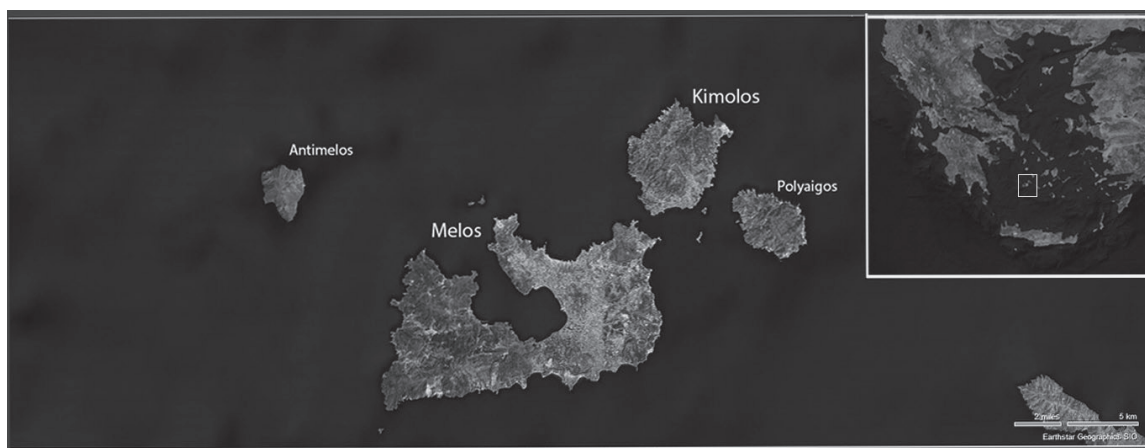


Fig. 1 - Kimolos and the 'Melian' island cluster (Earthstar Geographics SIO. <https://www.bing.com/maps>)

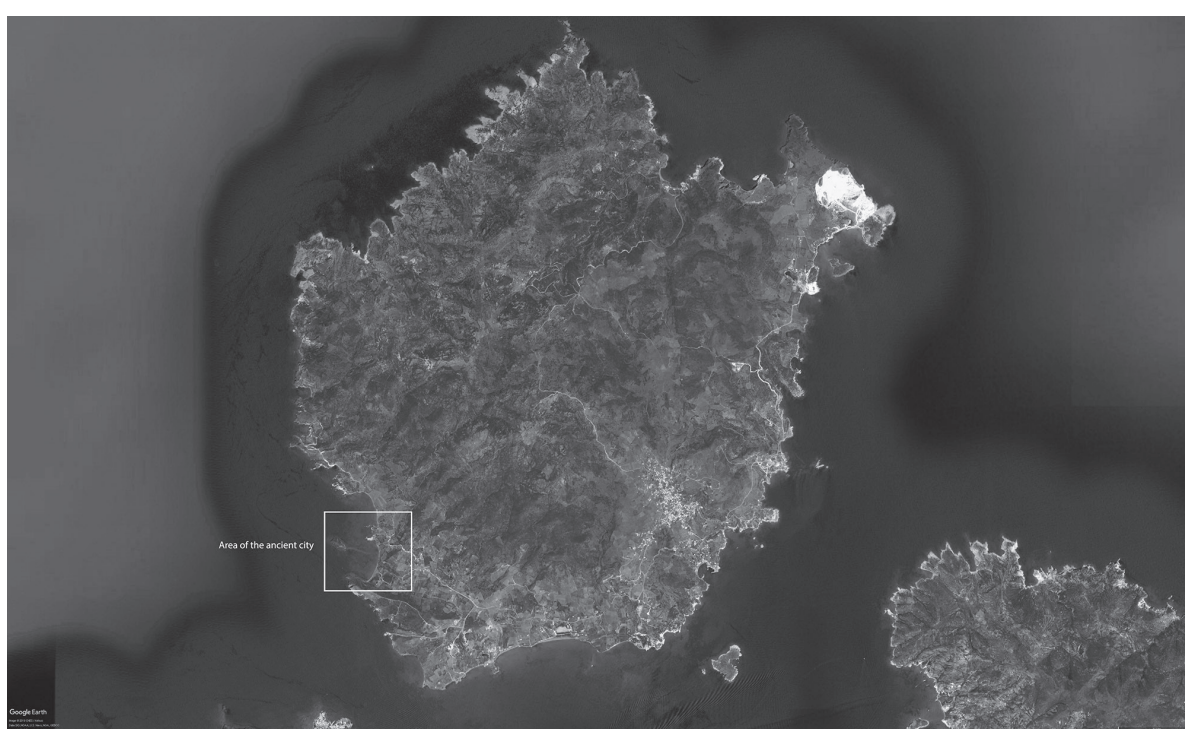


Fig. 2 - View of Kimolos with the location of the area of the ancient city (Google Earth. Image @ 2019. Digital Globe. <http://www.earth.google.com>)

Kimolos as well as the possible use of *kimolia* for the production of bath soap at least in the Classical period. Theophrastus was well aware of the qualities of *kimolia*, classifying it among the best *lithoi* in the Aegean area. In his *Peri Lithon*, the text of the chapter that references *kimolia* is incomplete and regrettably deprives us of the opportunity to learn about the use of this stone at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, which however, Theophrastus clearly wanted to distinguish from the apparently similar

melias ghe, preferably used in painting⁶. In the early Imperial Age, Strabo⁷ refers to the fame of the kimolian earth as does Ovid, who implicitly mentions it, using the poetic image of the *cretosa rura* of the island⁸. This is a sort of short essay on the geography of the Cycladic resources in verse, undoubt-

⁶ See Dsc. *de Materia Medica* 5.180. The famous *melinum* of Latin-language scientific treatises: Plin.35.37; Vitr. 7.7.3.

⁷ Str.10.4, 8 and 15.

⁸ Ov.*Met.*7, 453-471.

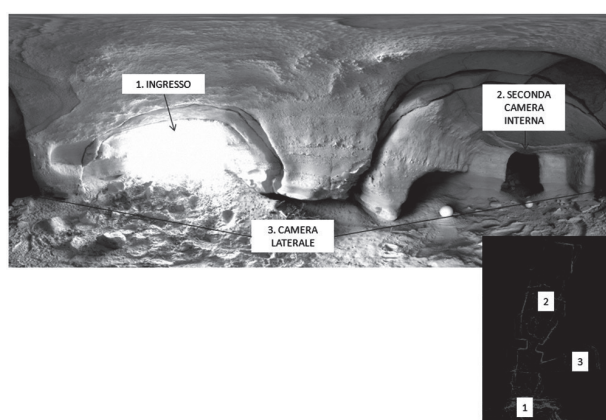
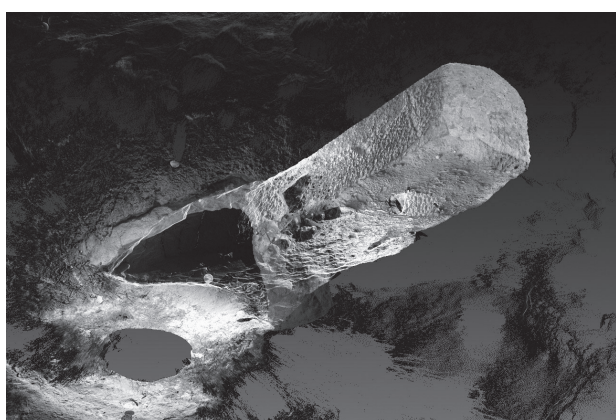
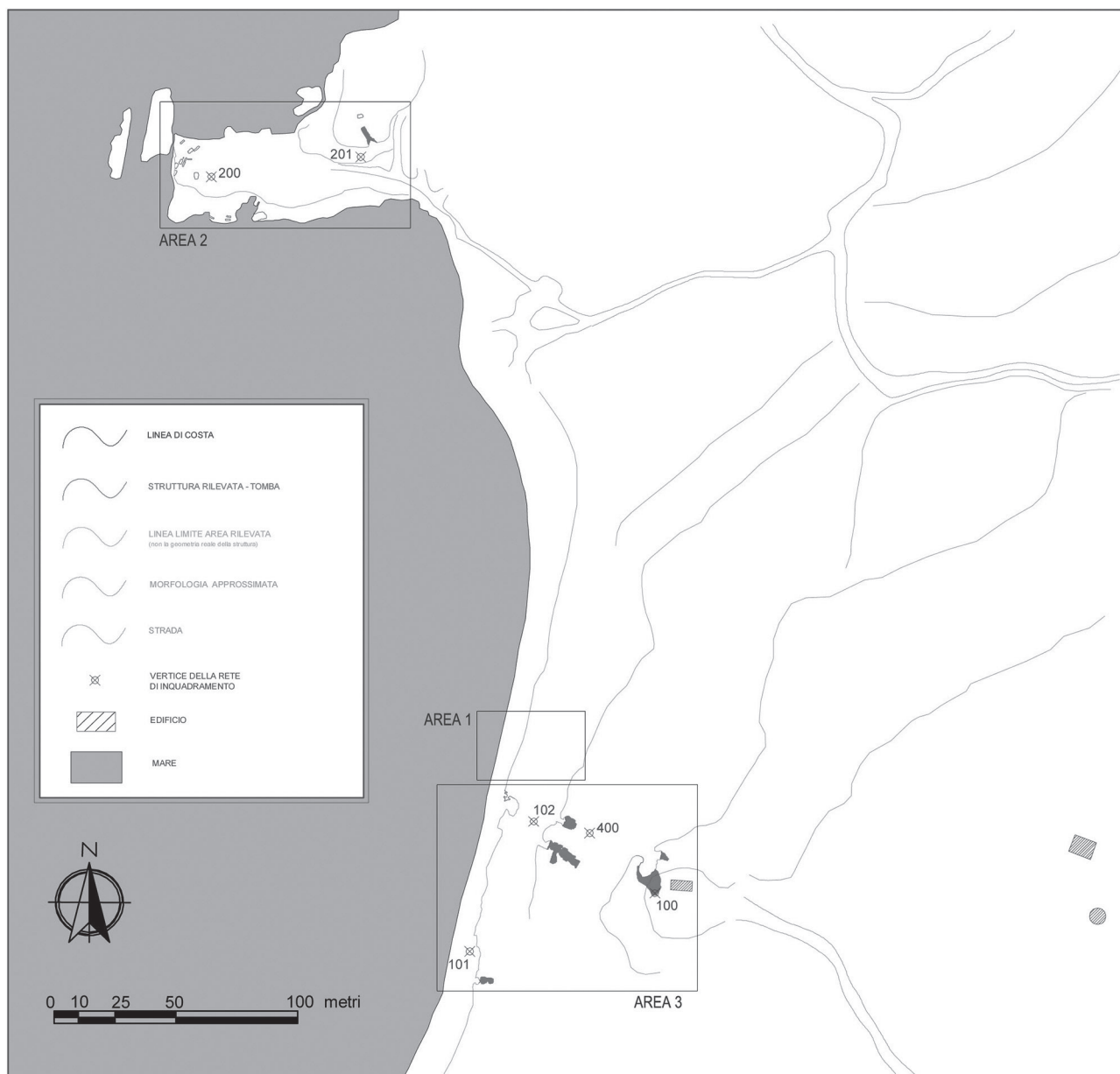


Fig. 3 - The main Kimolian necropolis located at Hellinikà and Limni in the southwest of the island. Location (a), high-precision 3D model (b) and aerial view of a plan obtained (c) of two of the funerary hypogea visible in areas 2 and 3 (archaeological map and 3D models by M. Monego - Sensing and Geomatics Laboratory/Univ. of Padova for the Kimolian Earth Research Project - Di Nicuolo *et Alii* 2016)

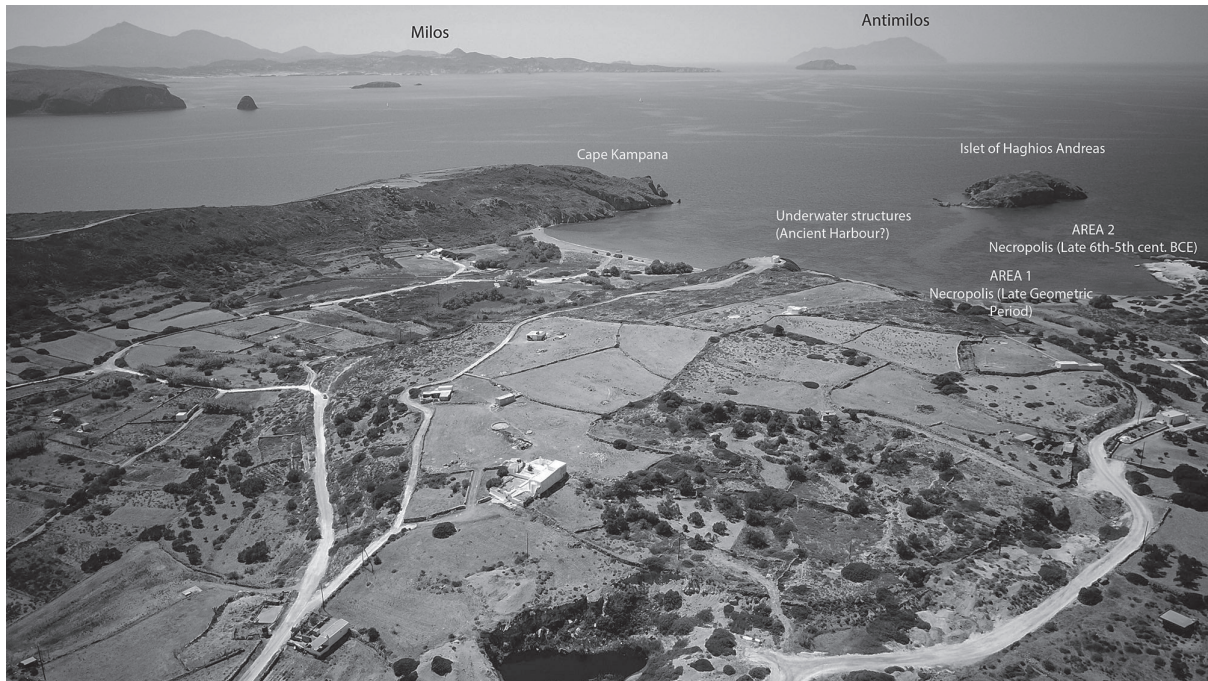


Fig. 4 - Drone-based aerophotography of the *polis* area seen from the North West (photo Ph. Marinakis)

edly not exhaustive, where a comparison is established between white and friable kimolian *lithos* and the precious white marble of Paros (*paria lithos*), both in contrast to the poverty of Mykonos, to the ‘flatness’ of Seriphos and to an already impoverished Siphnos. Of the vitality and long-standing presence of Kimolos in Mediterranean markets, eloquent documents are found not only in the aforementioned testimony of Aristophanes, *terminus ante quem* for the record of the large-scale export of *kimolia*, but also the evidence of the existence of specific containers made of precious metal, the “*kimolia*”, listed among the goods of the *Asklepieion* of Beroia (Macedonia)⁹ in an inscription from the first half of the 3rd century BCE. Despite the large amount of written evidence relating to *kimolia*, there are no known material traces of this mineral’s exploitation in ancient times, whose physical identification there has not yet achieved unanimous opinion. In contrast, there is no evidence of the Kimolians and their city in the surviving literary documents, with the exceptions of the brief note made by Ps.-Skylax, who included Kimolos among the *oikoumenai nesoi* close to the territory of the Lacedaemonians¹⁰ and the late reference (2nd century AD) of Claudius Ptolemy concerning the existence of a *polis* on the island¹¹ (Fig. 2). The adventures of this small Cycladic community, which despite the relatively limited interest shown by the scientific community, is worthy of claiming its place in historical and archaeological studies, has been the topic of the post-doctoral project of the author since 2016¹². 3D models of the existing remains of a large area of the main necropolis of Kimolos, where groups of burials dating from the late Geometric Period¹³ to the 6th century AD had been discovered, were carried out in 2016 along the southwestern coastline of the island¹⁴ (Figs. 3a, b, c). Significant subsidence and erosion are responsible for the sinking of monumental structures to depths varying between 0.80 and 4.00 m, most likely fortifications and port facilities, well visible in the sea facing the ancient necropolis (Fig. 4). The research in 2017

daemonians¹⁰ and the late reference (2nd century AD) of Claudius Ptolemy concerning the existence of a *polis* on the island¹¹ (Fig. 2). The adventures of this small Cycladic community, which despite the relatively limited interest shown by the scientific community, is worthy of claiming its place in historical and archaeological studies, has been the topic of the post-doctoral project of the author since 2016¹². 3D models of the existing remains of a large area of the main necropolis of Kimolos, where groups of burials dating from the late Geometric Period¹³ to the 6th century AD had been discovered, were carried out in 2016 along the southwestern coastline of the island¹⁴ (Figs. 3a, b, c). Significant subsidence and erosion are responsible for the sinking of monumental structures to depths varying between 0.80 and 4.00 m, most likely fortifications and port facilities, well visible in the sea facing the ancient necropolis (Fig. 4). The research in 2017

¹⁰ Scyl.48.

¹¹ Ptol. 3.15.8.

¹² The creation of the first geo-referenced archaeological map of Kimolos is the primary aim of this research, which will possibly rely on the scientific support of the Ephorate for the Antiquities of the Cyclades in future collaborations.

¹³ Cook-Boardman 1954, p. 165; Courbin 1954, p. 146; Κοντολέων 1972b, pp. 9-14; Πάντου-Δίτσα 2011, pp. 419-421.

¹⁴ Di Nicuolo *et alii* 2016 with previous bibliography.

⁹ EKM I.Beroia 16, col. A.I, ll. 13-14; col. B.I, ll. 32-33, 39-40. Αλλαμάνη-Σούρη 1990, pp. 220-221.



Fig. 5a - The post-Byzantine church at the western end of the islet of Agios Andreas. In the foreground elements of the collapse of the facade and the vaulted ceiling (Photo C. Di Nicuolo)



Fig. 5b - Overview of the western sector of the islet of Agios Andreas and of the emerging structures surveyed in 2017 (Photo M. Monego)

also involved the structures that had always been visible and never investigated on the small island of Agios Andreas, about 400 m from the actual coastline. Also known as Daskaleiò, the islet of Agios Andreas is the only remaining part of the ancient urban area around one of the kimolian *limenes*. It was covered with sculptural fragments and marble slabs, which were systematically looted by the frequent European travelers who visited the island between the 18th and 19th centuries¹⁵. In the past, this edge of the Kimolian *polis* was certainly occupied

by monumental buildings (sanctuaries?), whose structures were at least partly reused in some early Christian and Byzantine buildings today barely discernible on the surface¹⁶ (Figs. 5a, b). In this brief contribution, however, it is not the intention to present analytical reports on the research activities carried out, some of which have already been present-

¹⁵ Sonnini 1801, pp. 223-224; Ross 1845, pp. 24-25; Παγκαβής 1853, p. 239; Bent 1885, pp. 55-56; Μηλιαράκης 1901, p. 15 and n. 4.

¹⁶ A small post-Byzantine church, of uncertain chronology (ca. 5 x 3.50 m) and in a very poor state of preservation, is clearly visible at the north-western end of Agios Andreas. Local tradition, supported by archival documents, records its consecration to the eponymous saint of the islet (Πάμπος 1972, p. 240, n.5 and pp. 292-293, n. 22). In the area it is possible to distinguish coherent wall partitions, in my opinion, traceable to a pre-existing basilica, upon whose remains the post-Byzantine church was later built.

ed or will be more widely published elsewhere¹⁷, but rather to attempt to present a different image of Kimolos from that of a “small, insignificant” island¹⁸, resulting not from an objective lack of data, but rather from the uncritical acceptance of a gap in research.

In the shadow of Melos

Conscious and proud of its Doric and more specifically Lacedaemonian origins¹⁹, Melos appears noteworthy several times throughout documented history. The *Malioi* participated in the victory over the Persians, contributing at Salamis by sending two penteconters²⁰, and were honored for this with mention inscribed on the trophy erected at Delphi, near the temple of Apollo²¹, in the list of victorious Greek cities at Plataea (Syll.³ 31, 7, l. 3)²². But Melos’ ‘success’ was determined by the courageous rejection by the local oligarchy of the invitations for submission made by the Athenian ambassadors in the summer of 416 BCE. The famous dialogue between the Athenians and the Melians, a rhetorical masterpiece by Thucydides²³, suspended halfway between chronicle and fiction and considered an emblematic dramatization of the eternal debate on the Reason of State and on the right to neutrality, left its mark in history in the indelible memory of a small island *polis* on the far western outskirts of the Cyclades. Celebrated by the genius of an exception-

al historian, the island of Melos, thanks to its heroic resistance, has historiographically benefited from the glory reserved for communities that were victims of memorable *aloseis*. Of the history of the island before the Persian Wars and after the massacre of 416 BCE, not much is known, but the fascination exercised by the events-based history can help to easily understand the reasons for repeated interest, from at least the beginning of the 19th century, in Melian antiquities and, on the other hand, the more mild interest in the remains of the ancient, nearby city of Kimolos, although visibly evident and the target of uninterrupted looting²⁴.

The *Kimoloi*, unlike the *Malioi*, are absent from any list celebrating the allies victorious over the Medes. This lack of mention is even more surprising when one considers the participation in military operations not only of the main continental and insular *poleis*, but also of the Cycladic states, such as that of the *Seriphioi*²⁵, whose limited resources and low political weight were even proverbial²⁶. On the other hand, the Kimolian community seems to follow the fate of Melos in terms of international relations with Athens in the middle of the same century. At the dawn of the Peloponnesian war (431 BCE), the *Malioi* and the *Theraioi* were, according to Thucydides²⁷, the only island communities in the Cy-

¹⁷ Πάντου-Di Nicuolo 2017 forthcoming.

¹⁸ Craik 1980, p. 134.

¹⁹ Hdt. 8.48; Th. 5.84.2; 89.1; 104; 106.

²⁰ Hdt. 8.48.

²¹ There is a vast amount of research on the Serpentine Column and various proposals for the reconstruction of the monument dedicated in Delphi, of which it was a supporting element. See for example: Amandry 1987; Laroche 1989; Ridgway 1977; Asheri, Corcella 2006, Appendix 1 with comment to Hdt. 9.81 (pp. 283-286) and previous bibliography. For an accurate *quellenforschung* and for some new interesting interpretative proposals on the inscription of the Column Syll.³ 31, see Liuzzo 2012.

²² On the dedication of the golden tripod at Delphi: Hdt. 9.81.1; Th. 1.132. 1-3; 3.57; Diod. 11.33.2; Paus. 10.13.9; *FGH Hist* 104. Demosthenes, in his oration against Neera (D.59.97-8), includes among the Greeks at Salamis among those making the dedication, not only those who contributed to the triumph of Plataea, indirectly confirming the authenticity of the list inscribed on the Serpentine Column. The presence of *nesiotai* in the Delphic inscription was already witnessed by Herodotus, who had the opportunity to read about the mention of the *Tenioi* (Hdt. 8.82).

²³ Thuc. 5.84-116.

²⁴ Sonnini 1801, pp. 224-225. During a short visit to Kimolos, G. A. Olivier (Olivier 1807, pp. 191-196) explored the area of the ancient city. A detailed description of the plundering carried out by a large team of workers is given in his “*Voyage*”. Olivier’s testimony is also precious for the annotation documenting the disastrous state of the area of the necropolis of Hellinikā. The area appeared to have been heavily and frequently affected by the interest of the ‘curious’ strangers that it was the cause of disappointment to the French naturalist for the scanty quantity of antiquities that he found (cit. 195). Olivier also tells us of the numerous excavations carried out by L. F. S. Fauvel at the request of Count Choiseul-Gouffier (cit. p. 195), French ambassador to the Sublime Gate in 1784-1792. Fauvel’s exploration of Kimolos can be traced back to the summer of 1788, when Choiseul-Gouffier commissioned him to carry out archaeological research on many of the Cycladic islands, including Polyaigos (Zambon 2007, p. 72).

²⁵ According to Herodotus, the *Seriphioi*, like the *Siphnioi*, sent Salamis only one penteconter (Hdt. 8.48).

²⁶ Seriphos is often mentioned directly or indirectly as an example of a poor or politically irrelevant city: Ar. *Ach.* 541; Isoc. 19.9; Pl. *R.* 329e-330a; Plu. *Mor.* 185c. The island is described as ‘rocky’ by Strabo (Str. 10.5.10), who however explains the characterization as a comedy stunt inspired by the myth of the transportation of the Gorgon’s head to Seriphos. Seriphos is *parva* according to Ovid (Ov. *Met.* 7, 464). On the proverbiality of the insignificance of Seriphos: Brun 1993, pp. 166-175. More recently: Constantakopoulou 2007, pp. 103-106.

²⁷ Th. 2.9, 4.

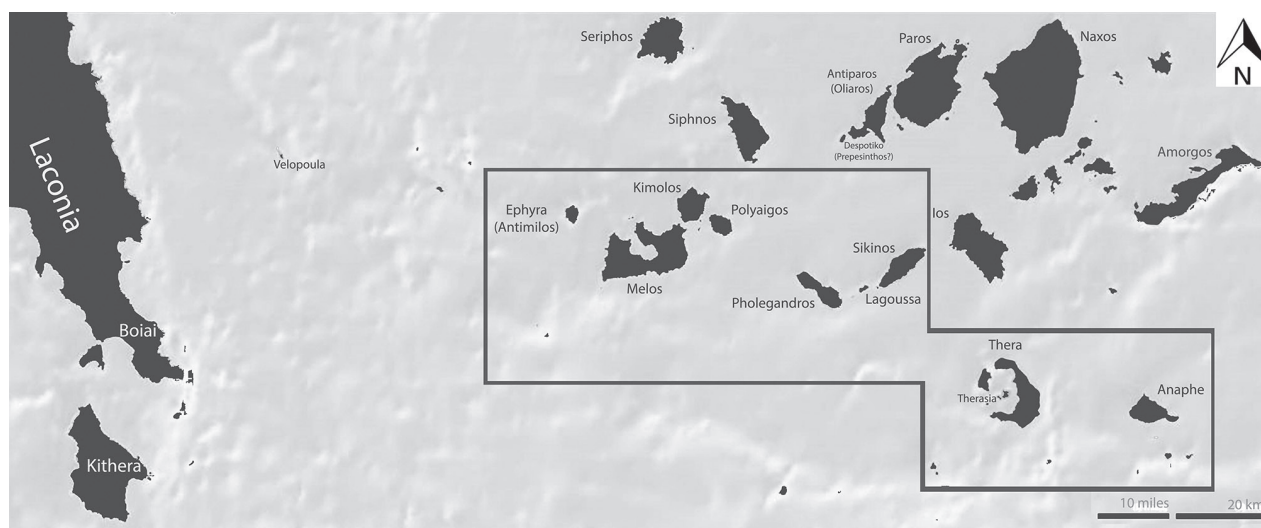


Fig. 6 - The Cyclades «κατὰ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν χώραν»
(Rielab. by C. Di Nicuolo after a Google Earth. Image @ 2019. Digital Globe. <http://www.earth.google.com>)

cladic region to oppose the idea of joining the Delio-Attic *xymmachia*. There is no reference to the ‘minor’ islands of the southern Archipelago. This omission, that of Thucydides on Kimolos, Pholegandros, Sikinos and Anaphe, should not be used as an argument to support the hypothesis of the early inclusion of these communities in the new Athenian network, but preferably seen as a metonymic reference to the entire Cycladic district “κατὰ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν χώραν”²⁸ through the mere mention of the two most relevant centers at the two extremes of the region: Melos and Thera (Fig. 6). In 425/4 BCE, a few months after the first naval expedition against the *Malioi* (426 BCE)²⁹, the Athenian authorities wanted to assess the insular states that were still obstinately neutral³⁰, arbitrarily inscribing them³¹ in the Tribute Lists for the League’s

maintenance³². The virtual inclusion of the Doric Cyclades in the so-called Thoudippos decree respects Athenian tributary geography and does not necessarily respect the regional political relationships and the dynamics of interconnectivity between the islands of this sub-region of the Cycladic area³³. The order in which the tributaries are presented in the Thoudippos decree seems to follow, with some exceptions, the principle of decreasing amounts attributed to them, instead of that of a presentation of the allies respecting their geographical proximity or pre-existing geopolitical relationships. This is evident in this specific case in the section relating to the *nesiotikos phoros*, where the entries concerning Anaphe, Pholegandros, Kimolos and Sikinos can be observed considerably later than those of Melos and Thera (*IG* I³ 71). The criteria for calculating the amounts to be allocated to each community have been, and still are, a matter for discussion and it would be impossible, as well as redundant, to summarize the specific bibliography on this topic here. Agricultural land availability³⁴, soil

²⁸ Scyl.48.

²⁹ Th.3.91, 1-3; 94, 1; cfr. 5.84,2.

³⁰ M. Piérart (Piérart 1984) tried to explain the collective assessment of the Doric islands of the Archipelago as the need of Athens to secure the southern arch of the Cycladic district as a consequence of the support (supposed, however, not demonstrable) provided by these island communities to the fleet of Alkidas (see Seaman 1997, p. 387 and n. 11), sent by Sparta in 428 BCE to help the Lesbian insurgents (Th.3, 29-34). On Sparta’s not insignificant role in the southern Aegean and on possible relationships, never really interrupted, between Sparta and the Doric island states in the years of the Athenian thalassocracy, see Prost 2001.

³¹ The Lists published with the Thoudippos decree reflect more of a “wishful thinking” than a real picture of alliances with Athens according to Ch. Constantakopoulou (Constantakopoulou 2013, p. 30).

³² Melos, Thera, Pholegandros, Kimolos and Sikinos are registered in the assessment decree *IG* I³ 71 as follows: col. I, ll. 65, 68, 87, 89, 90. Only Anaphe, among the Doric Cycladic *poleis*, had already been assessed in 428/7 BCE (*IG* I³ 283, col. II, fr. 3-5, l. 31).

³³ For more on the importance of looking at the Cyclades also from the perspective of the well-documented dynamics of local ‘micro-imperialisms’, see Constantakopoulou 2007, pp. 176-178 and pp. 195-219 with a wide-ranging bibliography.

³⁴ Ruschenbusch 1983.

quality³⁵, demography³⁶ and claims of ‘Medism’³⁷ are just some of the numerous parameters usually taken into account. Whatever approach is chosen in an attempt to explain Athenian financial strategies towards its allies, it does not seem perfectly applicable to the multiplicity and variety of cases encountered³⁸. In the island district in question, the taxes virtually imposed by Athens in 425/4 or actually paid at the time of the compilation of the Quota List of 416/5 BCE by Melos and Thera have been widely and convincingly discussed, while the ‘minor’ islands are almost completely absent from the debate, even though they were autonomously contributing and never grouped together in *synteleiai*³⁹. Particularly surprising, although the amounts are generally very small, are some disproportions in the assessment of tributes, such as in the case of Pholegandros, an island comparable to nearby Sikinos for its limited resources⁴⁰, assessed for 500 drachmas in spite of the 2000 imposed on the former. Nevertheless, the island of the *Pholegandrioi*, which had no valid port or distinctive mineral resources, was assessed a tribute 1000 drachmas higher than that of Kimolos, an island traditionally, although not entirely correctly⁴¹, considered unsuitable for agricultural exploitation due to the unavailability of land as well as for its limited water

supply, but undoubtedly favored by a unique mineral and petrographic wealth. The small amount assessed for Kimolos is not surprising, falling within the 35% of the total cases recorded by the Athenian Tribute Lists⁴². If, however, in accordance with the entirely acceptable arguments of L. Nixon and S. Price, the *phoros* attributed to each community is to be interpreted as the difference of an overall total of goods and facilities of other kinds, we cannot help but consider, in the case that concerns us here, the significance for Athens of direct access to the island’s conspicuous mineral resources and, first and foremost, to the deposits of *kimolia*⁴³.

The Kimolians and their Islands

The temporary collapse of the Melian state in 416 BCE followed by the sending of five hundred Athenian *apoikoi*⁴⁴ and a new administrative structure being imposed on the island may have had significant consequences for the entire region. The Athenian occupation of Melos, interrupted only at the end of the Peloponnesian conflict by the resettlement of the exiled *Malioi* after the intervention of Lysander (405 BCE)⁴⁵, certainly allowed Athens to exploit the monopoly of the enormous mining wealth of the island for a decade. The silence of the sources on Kimolos at the time of the exemplary punishment of the *Malioi* constitutes an impenetrable wall for any kind of conjecture and yet it does not seem unreasonable to hypothesize the introduction of some form of Athenian control over the is-

³⁵ Constantakopoulou 2013, p. 29.

³⁶ On the inadequacy of this criterion: Nixon-Price 1990, p. 146 with a summary of the previous debate. In Constantakopoulou 2013, p. 29 demographic aspects are, albeit prudently, reconsidered.

³⁷ Wallace-Figueira 2010.

³⁸ Cfr. Nixon-Price 1990, in particular pp. 149-150. In general, on the danger of an approach that is too rigid in the study of the Mediterranean insular world, which does not take into account individual contexts and their susceptibility to constant variations in reciprocal interactions or with subjects outside the district from time to time, see the observations of P. Horden and N. Purcell (Horden - Purcell 2000, pp. 229-230).

³⁹ Constantakopoulou 2007, pp. 219-222 with previous bibliography.

⁴⁰ Brun 1996.

⁴¹ A re-evaluation of the agricultural potential of the minor islands is to be welcomed. In Kimolos, as elsewhere in the Cyclades, impressive terraces are well known and strongly distinctive elements of the island’s cultural landscape, representing a considerable investment aimed at optimizing the available resources. Brunet’s observations on the agricultural terraces of Delos (Brunet 1990, in particular pp. 681-682) are very useful in this regard. On the level of productivity that was low but sufficient to sustain the local community, despite the island’s limited water resources, see the recent report (2000) by the University of Athens (Ειδική Περιβαλλοντική Μελέτη Κιμώλου-Πολυαίγου edited by K. Γεωργίου) on the Kimolos-Polyaigos islands region.

⁴² Constantakopoulou 2013, p. 29.

⁴³ No document at present allows for the possibility to outline the ways chosen by Athens to interact with the Kimolian authorities for the acquisition of rights to extract and transport the white clays of the island. The decree IG II² 1128, issued around the middle of the 4th century BCE by the cities of Karthaia, Koressos and Ioulis on the island of Keos, on the renewal of mining concessions to extract the precious local *milto*s, probably refers to a reality too distant from this time (See Photos-Jones *et Alii* 1997).

⁴⁴ Th.5.116.4: « οἱ δὲ ἀπέκτειναν Μηλίων ὄσους ἡβῶντας ἔλαβον, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἡνδραπόδισαν: τὸ δὲ χωρίον αὐτοὶ ὥκισαν, ἀποίκους ὕστερον πεντακοσίους πέμψαντες». Discussion is open on the nature of the contingent of five hundred Athenians sent to Melos. A. J. Graham interpreted that made by Thucydides as a reference to the establishment of a cleruchy (Graham 1983, pp. 172-174 and p. 191). A similar opinion seems to be presented by L. Canfora (Canfora 2011, p. 177). *Contra* Pébarthe 2009, p. 372.

⁴⁵ On the resettlement of the *Malioi* and the contextual expulsion of the Athenian *apoikoi*: X. H. 2.2.9 and Plu.Lys. 14.3.

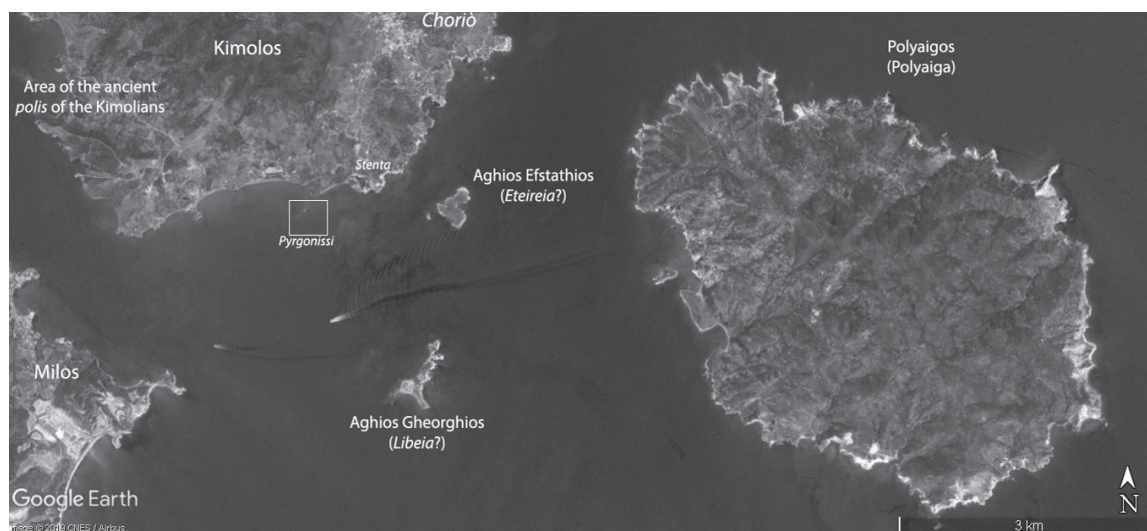


Fig. 7 - Map of the Kimolian island district
(Google Earth. Image @ 2019. Digital Globe. <http://www.earth.google.com>)

land and its *cretosa rura*, to whose management the foreign demagogue Kleighenes should not have been completely alien⁴⁶. The presence of the Kimolian oarsman Nikon among the *xenoi* of one of the crews mentioned in the Naval Catalogue *IG I³ 1032*⁴⁷ is an indicator, certainly problematic in several aspects⁴⁸, of the support of Kimolos (in any case, after 416 BCE)⁴⁹ in the operations of the allied fleet. Furthermore, nothing can be said of the relationships of both the Melian and Kimolian *poleis* with the restored Athenian hegemony at the time of the so-called Second Naval League (378/7 BCE)⁵⁰. A lucky coincidence, however, allows us to obtain a picture, albeit partial and limited to a specific circumstance, of the local interstate policy, dispelling any doubt there may be about the existence of a *polis* of the *Kimolioi* and its absolute administrative autonomy. The inscription *IG XII, 3, 1259*, accidentally found in Smyrna at the beginning of the 19th

century⁵¹, provides precious evidence of the geopolitical relationships and balances between the communities located along the two sides of the Melian-Kimolian *diaulos* at the end of the 4th century BCE. The text is a transcription on stone of the judgment made by the popular assembly of Argos on a common request made by the *Malioi* and the *Kimolioi* to the ‘*Synedrion* of the *Hellenes*’. The arbitration is unanimously dated just after the battle of Chaeronea (338 BCE)⁵² and concerned the claims made by the two disputing *poleis* about the exclusive possession of three islands of the same island district: Polyaiga, Heteireia and Libeia⁵³ (Fig. 7). The intervention of the *Synedrion* succeeded in guaranteeing a balance between the two *poleis*, each of which evidently had concerns about the maintenance of pre-existing geopolitical assets or expectations of possible new territorial acquisitions. From this arbitration, we learn that the three islands mentioned above were recognized as belonging to Kimolos, where the stele (0.45 x 0.315 x 0.15 m)⁵⁴ was certainly proudly displayed in a rele-

⁴⁶ Ar.R.706-715.

⁴⁷ Jordan 1975, pp. 71-72; Bakewell 2008; Okada 2018, p. 2. The three papers agree that the presence of *xenoi nesiotai* among listed crews indicate a form of contribution by the allies to the maintenance and operation of the Athenian fleet.

⁴⁸ Okada 2018, p. 2.

⁴⁹ The Catalogue is variously dated shortly before 413 and in any case, is not considered to be later than 408 BCE (Okada 2018, pp. 1-2 with a brief overview on the debate on the topic).

⁵⁰ The participation of Melos in the Second League, possible according to S. Accame (Accame 1941, p. 82 and p.124), is considered not credible by J. Cargill (Cargill 1981, p. 38, n. 35).

⁵¹ Les Bas 1855. On the circumstances under which the epigraph was found: Di Nicuolo *et alii* 2016, p. 189 and n. 40 with previous bibliography.

⁵² 337 BCE: Ager 1996, p. 45; shortly after 337 BCE: Magnetto 1997, pp. 1-8; *post* 336 BCE?: Rhodes-Osborne 2003, p. 82. 404-405.

⁵³ *IG XII, 3, 1259*, ll. 10-12.

⁵⁴ This inscription was donated by Demetrios Argyropoulos to the *Evangeliki Scholi* in Smyrna in view of the inauguration of

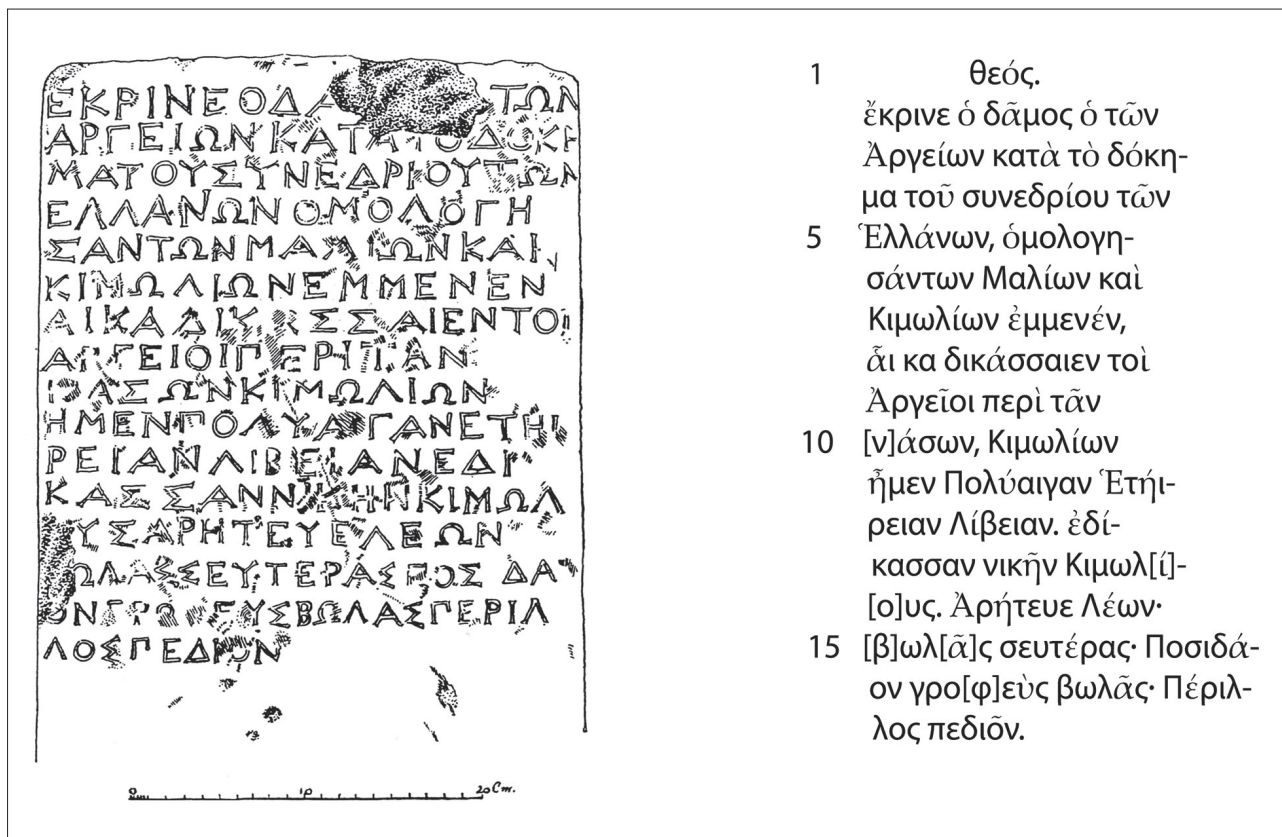


Fig. 8 - Drawing of the stele found in Smyrna with text transcription (after F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* XII, 3, 1259)

vant public space (Fig. 8). On the basis of the few details provided by the inscription, there are no grounds for a proper evaluation of the reasons behind the tensions between Melos and Kimolos. What is indisputable is the significance given by both communities to the three disputed islands as a whole. In the not so conspicuous bibliography on this stone inscription, there is a certain homogeneity of views in interpreting the usefulness of these islands first of all as peripheral spaces destined exclusively for grazing⁵⁵ and, therefore, suitable for preserving the few cultivable lands of the *oikoumenai* islands. In this sense, the case of Polyaiga, “an island of many goats” (modern day Polyaigos) is emblematic (Figs. 9a, b). In the contemporary testi-

mony of the *Periplus* of the Ps.-Skylax, Polyaiga is not included among the inhabited Cyclades facing Lakonia⁵⁶ and of its characterization as a deserted island, even in the Imperial Age, evidence can be found in Claudius Ptolemy’s *Geography*⁵⁷. The absolute silence on this island in sources before the 4th century BCE is generally perceived as evidence of the inhabitability of this extreme Cycladic outpost, plausibly only frequented on a seasonal basis. In this regard, however, it should be immediately made clear that the perception of a possible lack of anthropization of Polyaigos could largely depend on the fact that it has never been touched by archaeological research⁵⁸.

the Archaeological Museum that the famous School would host in 1873 (the inscription is registered under inventory number 103 in the catalogue of the epigraphs published in the first issue of the periodical *Μουσείον και Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Σμύρνης Ευαγγελικής Σχολής*, Σμύρνη 1873). A comprehensive bibliographic note on the editions and comments of the arbitration is available in Magnetto 1997, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵ Magnetto 1997, p. 6; Constantakopoulou 2007, p. 200 with previous bibliography.

⁵⁶ Scyl.48.

⁵⁷ Ptol. 3.15.28.

⁵⁸ On Fauvel’s unfruitful explorations, see above n. 24. Evidence of fragments of obsidian, flint and ceramic fragments dating from the late Classical to the Byzantine period on the surface in the area of *Pano Mersini* (South-West of the island) has been reported by P. Pantou and Z. Papadopoulou (Πάντου-Παπαδοπούλου 2005, p. 259).

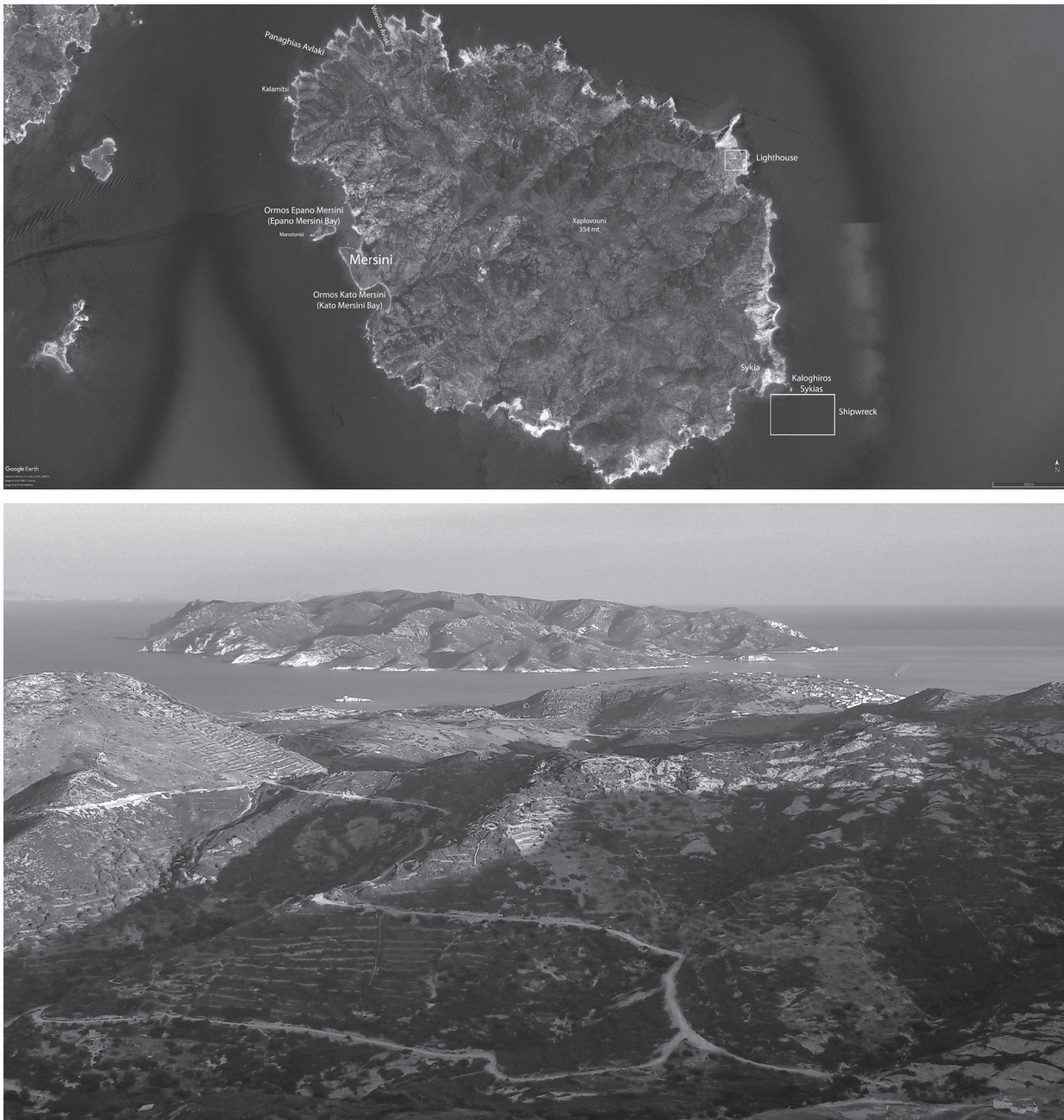


Fig. 9 - Polyaiagos. Location of the main anchorages, of the lighthouse and of the area where the ancient shipwreck was found (a) and view of the North West side of the island from Kimolos (b: photo C. Di Nicuolo)

An overall reconsideration of the huge mineral resources of this island⁵⁹, together with accurate assessments of the importance, even nowadays⁶⁰, of the anchorages along its western coast (*Tis Pa-*

⁵⁹ Μπελαβίλας - Παπαστεφανάκη 2009, p. 153.

⁶⁰ To the North-West of Polyaiagos, the anchorage near the ancient church of Panaghia still represents an unavoidable shelter, in case of northern winds, also for the only ferry connection between Kimolos and Milos (I thank Mr. Manolis Galanos of Kimolos for the precious information).

naghias t'avlaki, Mersini)⁶¹ as well as of the water sources located upstream, could soon bring results that had previously not even been considered. Even less can be said of the other two islands at the origin of the conflict between the *Malioi* and *Kimolioi*: Heteireia and Libeia. Completely putting aside the hypothesis of Les Bas⁶², according to which one of

⁶¹ Cfr. Tournefort, p. 142.

⁶² Les Bas 1855, pp. 582-583.



Fig. 10 - View from South East of the island of Agios Efstathios (photo C. Di Nicuolo)



Fig. 11 - View from North East of the island of Agios Gheorghios (photo C. Di Nicuolo)

the two islands could have been identified in the islet of Agios Andreas, the only emerging sector of the sea front of the *polis* of the *Kimolioi*, there are not many doubts about the plausibility of the identification of the islands with the present Agios Efstathios (Fig. 10) and Agios Georgios (Fig. 11)⁶³. The two toponyms mentioned in *IG* XII, 3, 1259 are not attested elsewhere in the available literary and epigraphic sources. No observations have ever been made about the etymology of the same, despite their considerable potential. Interest in the island triad Polyaiga-Heteireia-Libeia, more than for their re-

sources or available grazing areas, could be due to the enormous strategic value of this island cluster. In this light and from a Kimolian perspective, the place-name Libeia could be used to refer to an island exposed to southerly winds (Λίβεια from Λίψ: south-westerly wind)⁶⁴. In this case, a possible identification with the present Agios Georgios, located south of Kimolos, which is just under 1 NM away, and recommended in 16th century portolan charts as a valid anchorage point for a small mari-

⁶³ See Bursian 1872, p. 503, n. 2.

⁶⁴ One of the *Zephyrioi* winds, blowing from south and south-west quadrants, which carries rainfall and humidity. Hdt. 2.25.2; Theoc.9, 11; Plb.10.10, 1-3; D. S. 3.29.1.

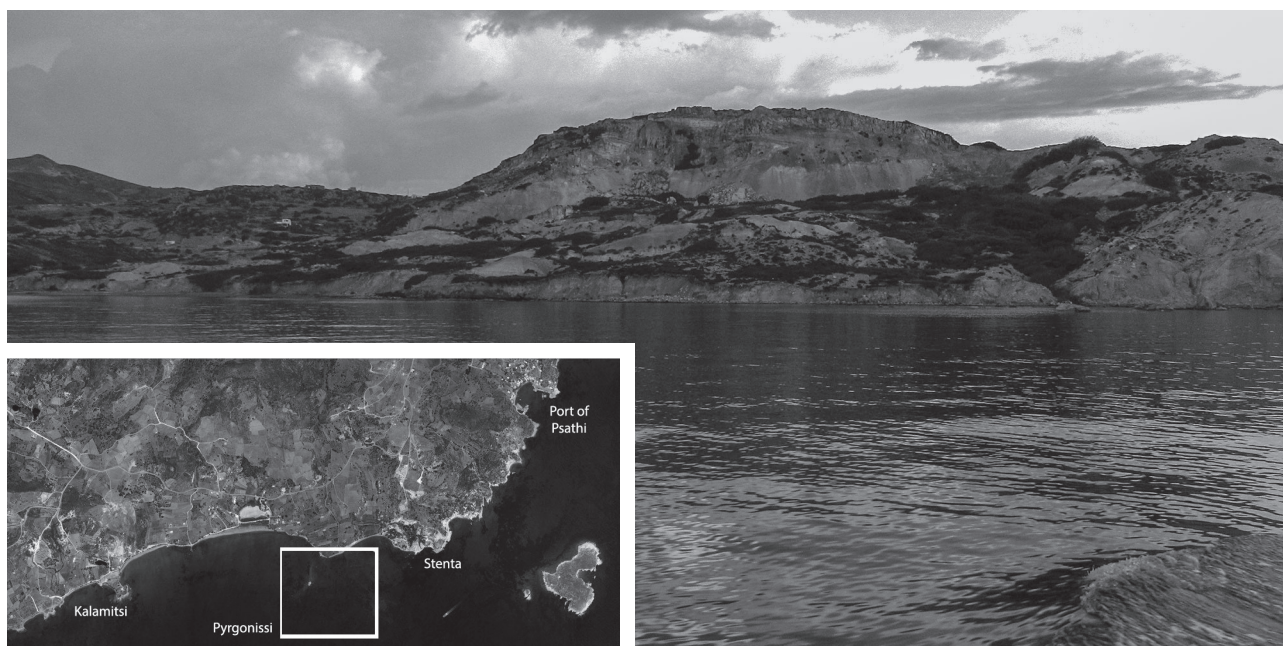


Fig. 12 - Kimolos: Pyrgonissi (Tower Island). Location of the emerging structures in the frame and detail of the adjacent quarries of Stenda. (Satellite image in the frame after Google Earth. Image @ 2019. Digital Globe. <http://www.earth.google.com>; photo C. Di Nicuolo)

time stop en route to the South⁶⁵, may have some validity. If so, it would be enough to also recognize the island of Agios Efstathios, in the Heteireia of the inscription, southeast of Kimolos, but much closer to it. Located almost at the entrance of the current port of Psathi, it has a very small surface area and is barren, unsuitable for both agriculture and pasture, but has a large bay on the eastern side that offers valuable shelter from strong winds from the north and north-east⁶⁶. The island of Melos, with a very large surface area, must have had at its disposal sufficient resources for satisfactory agricultural production, while pastureland for its herds beyond the sea could already be counted on in the island of Ephyra (Antimelos) and numerous other groups of smaller islands at a relatively short distance. From

another point of view, the small size and the rugged orography of Kimolos could be a convincing argument in favor of their claim to additional areas to be used for pastoralism and seasonal transhumance. But the tensions between the two communities were caused by the three islands together, all of which shared a highly strategic position in the South-East of the shared maritime corridor.

A 'stronghold' controlling the sea routes around Kimolos on the side opposite that of the *polis* (South-West), the insular microsystem Polyai-ga-Heteireia-Libeia represented an essential landmark for navigation on the northern edges of the wide, and 'uncontrollable', *Kretikon Pelagos*⁶⁷. The remains of a defensive system of uncertain chronology, today seen barely emergent in the stretch of water in front of the Stenda quarries (Fig. 12), are elements of the maritime landscape that have been completely overlooked, but of considerable value as proof of Kimolos' diachronic interest in protecting its own waters from the convergence between the Melian-Kimolian *diaulos* and the one shared with Polyai-gos. The evidence occupy the surface of a flat rock and could be the remains of a

⁶⁵ Delatte 1947, pp. 94-96.

⁶⁶ It should be noted, however, to avoid misunderstandings, that the considerations drawn on the usefulness of the anchorage points and on the level of productivity of the small islands of the Kimolian cluster are based on the current geomorphological conditions, not necessarily corresponding to those during the historical period under investigation. The volcanic nature of the soils, the constant telluric activity, a relatively accentuated tendency to subsidence phenomena, the particular quality of the rocky formations along most of the coasts of Kimolos and 'its' islands, the friability and erodibility of the same soils along with the average rise of about 2 m (3 m and even more in some areas) of the sea level in the area of the Attic-Cycladic platform during the last 2500 years, represent factors that must necessarily be taken into account.

⁶⁷ Th.5.110; see Constantakopoulou 2007, p. 85 and Prost 2001, p. 250.

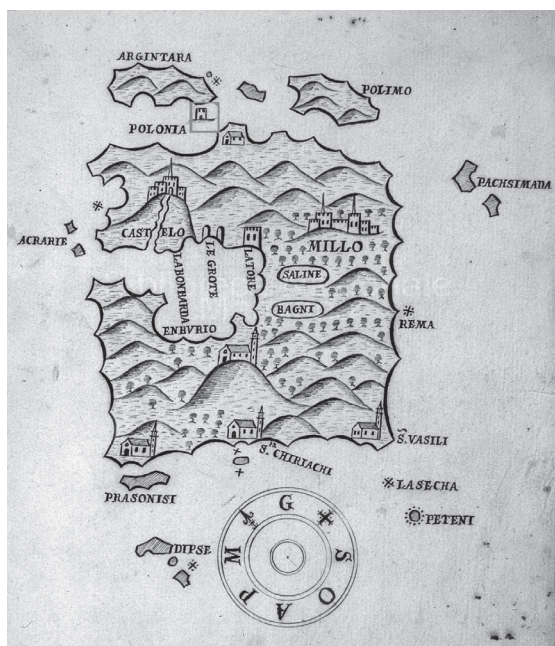


Fig. 13 - Map of the 'Melian Archipelago' by Antonio di Millo (1590). In the frame in evidence the *Pyrgos* (Pyrgonissi) near the south-eastern stretch of the Kimolian coast (Pressmark: It-04_0149-05105_001t. Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali - Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. All rights reserved)

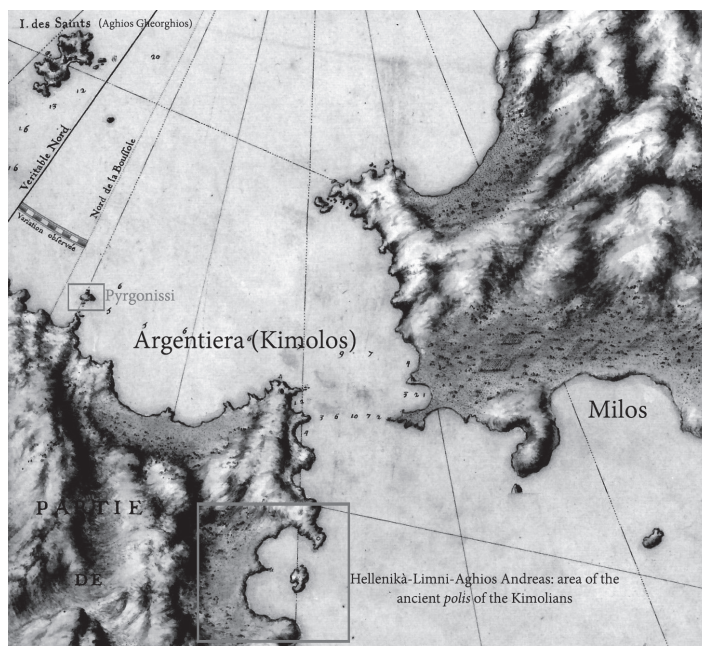


Fig. 14 - Re-elaboration of the detailed map of the islands Argentiera (Kimolos), Milos and Polyaiagos (Pauline) by the engineer Raseau. In evidence, the area of the *polis* and the ruins of Pyrgonissi (after Λιβιεράτος 2018)

tower (Fig. 13) already visible in the map of the Melian Archipelago by Antonio di Millo (1590) and clearly distinguishable in the detailed map of Raseau from the late 18th century (Fig. 14).

The proximity of Melos to Lakonia and its relatively short distance from the western Cretan *poleis* made the port of the island an essential stop for maritime business directed towards the Aegean area through the ports of the Peloponnese, as well as for ships travelling from the Dyktinnaion region⁶⁸ to Skyllaion (Argolis) and Sounion (Attica)⁶⁹ (Fig. 15). The importance of the Melian *limen* also along the south-eastern Aegean route directed towards Thera, Anaphe and in the Dodecanese, is clearly underlined already by Ps. Skylax. The sea route traced in the *Periplus* uses Melos as a relevant base for supply, crosses the *diaulos*, passing by the southern coast of Kimolos, and heads east towards Oliaros (Antiparos), a route which imposed upon

vessels passage through the Strait controlled by Heteireia and Polyaiaga⁷⁰. With the exception of the short paragraph from Strabo, we do not have, unfortunately, testimonies on the routes possibly 'intercepted' by the Straits of Kimolos. However, the relatively recent discovery (2004)⁷¹ of a shipwreck dating to the end of the 5th - first half of the 4th centu-

⁷⁰ The absence of any mention of Kimolian *limenes* or *epineia* is irrelevant, considering the short distance of Kimolos from Melos, the starting point of the described journey. The interest of the author of the *Periplus* is not to draw up a catalogue of the harbor infrastructures and the anchorages of the Cycladic cities of the 'Doric' district, but to record only the relevant stopping points or reference points along a specific route. It is only by interpreting the text in this light that a reasonable explanation for the omission not only of the port of Kimolos, but also, for example, of any anchorages at Oliaros and of the certainly existing ports of Thera and Anaphe can be explained.

⁷¹ The accidental discovery of the shipwreck in 2004, reported to the responsible Ephoreia for Underwater Antiquities by two sponge fishermen from Kalymnos, was followed by a preliminary archaeological investigation in November 2009. The results of this first research campaign were communicated at a press conference by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sport on 26/01/2010 (the text is available at the link www.culture.gr/DocLib/g_32109.doc), briefly presented in *ArchDelt* 64, B'2, 2014 (2009), pp. 1053-1054 and then published by Γ. Κουτσουφλάκης and Η. Σπονδύλης (Κουτσουφλάκης - Σπονδύλης 2012).

⁶⁸ Str.10.5.1.

⁶⁹ Cfr. Morton 2001, pp. 170-171.

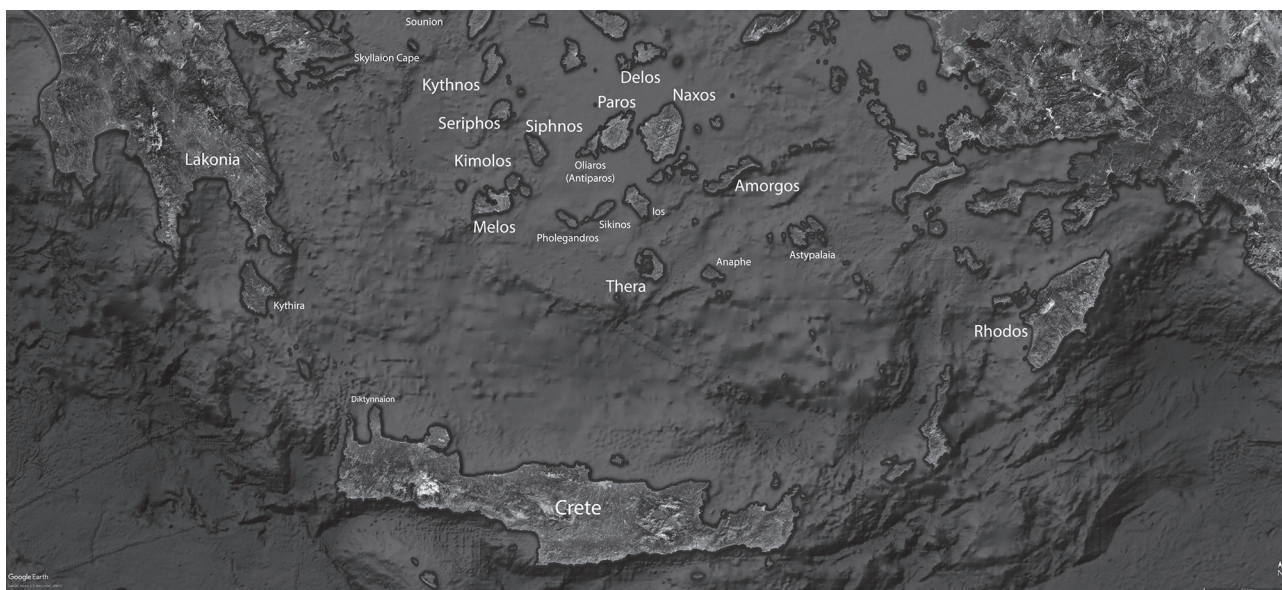


Fig. 15 - The Melian-Kimolian island cluster along the most important maritime routes in the Aegean (after Google Earth. Image @ 2019. Digital Globe. <http://www.earth.google.com>)

ry BCE, only 200 m from the South-East coast of Polyaigos, loaded with amphorae and other pottery of northern Aegean production⁷², provides explicit indication of the commercial frequentation of the narrow stretch of sea disputed between Melos and Kimolos along a North-South route, in which the stopovers and anchorages of the Kimolian cluster must have functioned as a preferential base for the crossing of the vast Cretan Sea (Fig. 9a).

The Kimolians across the Aegean in the Hellenistic period

A few years after the favorable Argive judgment, the Kimolians, like other small island communities ‘silent’ until the beginning of the Hellenistic period, appear to share a more extended network of international relationships. At an unspecified time in the troubled period when the Antigonids and Ptolemies were fighting for control of sea routes in the eastern Mediterranean, Kimolos was recorded along with other island states in the southern Aegean (Thera, Ikaria, Ios, Pholegandros) in a very fragmentary Delphic inscription of controversial interpretation

(*FD* III 1:497, l. 12)⁷³. The stone records what remains of a list of communities, presented by geographical macro-areas, evidently involved in a common interest in the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi. There is no evidence to support some of the hypotheses made by É. Bourguet, including that of seeing in the text a list of *poleis* commemorated as contributors to the reconstruction of the temple at the end of the 4th century BCE or honored with mention since they were founded following the indication of the Apollo of Delphi⁷⁴. The organization of the text into very large districts (Pontus, Islands, and Western Mediterranean) allows us to consider reasonable the suggestion of J. Pouilloux⁷⁵, favorable to an interpretation of the epigraph as an account of regions and individual cities reached by the Delphic *theoroi* involving the listed communities on the occasion of one of the celebrations of the *Pythia*. The cities registered in the island district of the Aegean region are mentioned together with Cyprus, considered as a whole, in a sequence that is only partly homogeneous. If J. Pouilloux was right, the mention of the island *poleis*, individually listed,

⁷² Κουτσοφλάκης - Σπονδύλης 2012, pp. 117-124.

⁷³ Commonly accepted chronology for the epigraph: 325-275 BCE. Cfr. Pouilloux 1976, p. 160 for a more general date around the end of the 4th century BCE.

⁷⁴ E. Bourguet 1929,

⁷⁵ J. Pouilloux 1976, p. 160.

could indicate a chronology of the epigraph prior to the institution of the *Koinon* of the *Nesiotai*⁷⁶ and the introduction of a 'federal' representation system on the occasion of Panhellenic *agones*⁷⁷. For Kimolos, as for many other Cycladic *poleis*, there is no proof of their possible participation in the *Koinon*, although it seems unlikely that the island would not have attended this new federal organization of the southern Aegean⁷⁸. Particularly intense tensions, resulting from unspecified controversies, seem to have deeply affected the Kimolian *polis* for most of the first half of the 3rd century BCE, compromising its *homonoia*. This can be inferred from two well-known honorary decrees found in different occasions at Porto Kastrì (southern Euboea)⁷⁹.

The appeal of the *polis* of the *Kimolioi* to a king Antigonos (Gonatas or Doson)⁸⁰, intended to obtain the entrustment of unresolved *dikai* from an impartial foreign judge, was successful. The choice of the Antigonids, in whose sphere of influence Ki-

molos certainly entered⁸¹, fell on the town of Karystos, on the north-eastern outskirts of the Cycladic region, represented by Charianthos, son of Aristagoras. His mission was appreciated to such an extent by the Kimolians that it left a trace in the abovementioned decrees, transcribed on two marble stelae to be exhibited in Kimolos at the sanctuary of Athena *Polias* and in Geraistos (now Porto Kastrì), in Karystia, at a famous sanctuary of Poseidon (Jacobsen - Smith 1968, 188, ll. 14-16 and 189, ll. 48-49)⁸². The *psehimata* in honor of Charianthos and, probably, of the *demos* of the *Karystioi*, known only from the fragments of the stele transported from the Kimolian ambassadors to Geraistos, offer a glimpse, the only one to date, of the monumental, institutional and administrative structure of the city of the *Kimolioi* in the middle of the Hellenistic period. With the honor of *proxenia*, the Kimolian authorities also gave Charianthos the possibility to be granted the *prosodos* in the meetings of the *boule* and in the assemblies of the *demos*, tax exemption on all imported or exported goods through the *limen* of Kimolos, the *enktesis* with the same rights of the Kimolians and the *proedria* in all the *agones* held in the island. In addition to implicit references to the *bouleuterion* to a space used for assemblies of the *demos*, to the port and theatrical buildings, the decree for Charianthos makes explicit mention, finally, to the *prytaneion*, to which the judge was invited by the archons Archidamos, Damophanes and Xenarchidas (Jacobsen - Smith 1968, 189, ll. 49-51). Vague references to Antigonid Macedonia could indicate the already mentioned *kimolia*, registered in a catalogue of goods offered to Asclepius in Beroia⁸³. The five registered objects, deposited in the sanctuary on various occasions, have been correctly identified as vases made of precious metal, probably silver, of small dimensions and of variable weight⁸⁴. The term *kimolion*, used in the inscription, is a *hapax*

⁷⁶ G. Reger (Reger 1994, p. 32) believes that the *Koinon* of the *Nesiotai* is the result of an initiative sponsored by the first Antigonid dynasties and establishes its institution at 314 BCE. Ch. Constantakopoulou (Constantakopoulou 2012, p. 52) shares a chronology prior to 313 BCE, but prefers to view the *Koinon* as an autonomous organization of the Cycladic states, concerned with defending the interests of the *Nesiotai* against the Antigonid and Ptolemaic kingdoms.

⁷⁷ Evidence for *synedroi* sent to represent the entire *Koinon* of the *Nesiotai* at the celebrations for Ptolemy: *IG* XI,4 1037 (Delos, 300-250 BCE): [ἐδοξε]ν τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν νησιωτῶν ἐπ[ει]-/[δῆ οἱ πεμφ]θέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου θε[ω]-/[ροι εἰς Ἀ]λεξάνδρειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα / [Πτολεμα]ῖον Καλλίας Νάξιος, Ἐχέστρατος /ΟΝ.ΙΩΝΘΗ...c.10...ΟΣΔΙΚΑΙ; cfr. *IG* XII,7 506 (3rd cent. BCE). See in this respect the interesting observations by Ch. Constantakopoulou (Ch. Constantakopoulou 2012, especially pp. 54-58).

⁷⁸ Ch. Constantakopoulou 2012, p. 57.

⁷⁹ An early fragment of a stele inscribed in the Doric dialect (*IG* XII, 9, 44), found in this locality in 1891 and published by G. Doublet and E. Legrand (Doublet-Legrand 1891), was correctly recognized as pertinent to a second decree issued by the *polis* of the *Kimolioi*, brought to light in the same area in 1963 and promptly published by Th. W. Jacobsen and P. M. Smith (Jacobsen - Smith 1968).

⁸⁰ G. Reger (Reger 1994, pp. 52-53) prefers to date the decree to the reign of Antigonos Gonatas. On the difficulty of dating with precision analogous epigraphic documents of the 3rd century BCE, in which explicit mention is made of a king Antigonos, see Buraselis 1982, p. 168 and note 195. More inclined to attribute the Kimolian decree to the kingdom of Antigonos Doson is Ph. Gauthier (Gauthier 1994, pp. 173-174). More prudently and recently, P. Paschidis (Paschidis 2008, p. 426) has returned to the opinion of Th. W. Jacobsen and P. M. Smith (Jacobsen - Smith 1968), claiming the impossibility of attributing the inscription to one of the two Antigonids on the basis of exclusively paleographic criteria (Paschidis 2008, p. 417 n. 3).

⁸¹ See Reger 1994, pp. 52-53.

⁸² An analytical examination of the available sources, accompanied by a preliminary overview of the field research in the area of the sanctuary of Poseidon in Geraistos was published by Maria Chidiroglou (Χιδύρογλου 2009). On this sanctuary and its function as *asylon* shared with two other famous *hierà* of Poseidon at Tainaron and Kalaureia (Poros): Schumacher 1993.

⁸³ EKM 1. Beroia 16 (250-200 BCE): Αλλαμάνη-Σούρη 1990; *BullEpigr* 1991, p. 389; Hatzopoulos 1996, II, 82, pp. 95-98.

⁸⁴ Αλλαμάνη-Σούρη 1990, pp. 220-221.

and there is no way to guess the morphological characteristic of this type of vase⁸⁵. It seems reasonable, however, to assume that it was useful for the processing of pharmaceutical mixtures because of its etymology, which can be clearly explained in relation to its contents rather than its place of origin⁸⁶. The donation of *kimolia* in the *Asklepieion* of the supposed city of origin of the Antigonid kings in the first half of the 3rd century BCE is thus the oldest evidence of the large-scale use of *kimolia ghe* in the *iatrikè technè*, which has been widely documented by written sources only from the Imperial period onwards⁸⁷.

Kimolian delegates attended the celebrations of the new Panhellenic festivals organized by Magnesia at the Meander in honor of its poliad deity Artemis *Leukophryene*. In order to establish a Panhellenic profile for their *Leukophryena*, quadrennial iso-Pythian games, in 208 BCE⁸⁸, the Magnesians sent *theoroi* everywhere in the Hellenic *oikoumene*, obtaining positive responses to the invitation to participate in the *agones* and to the request for *asylia* recognition for the sanctuary, for the city and for its territory (*I. Magnesia* 16.16)⁸⁹ in almost all cases. One of the Magnesians delegations visited the Cycladic region (*I. Magnesia* 49)⁹⁰, but only spoke with the *Parioi*, who expressed their willingness to join the initiative of the Asian *polis*, attaching in *addendum* to the decree a list of other supportive Cycladic *poleis*. The list, arranged in two columns side by side, is introduced by the locution [κατὰ τὰ] αὐτὰ δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο (col. 1, l. 76); it lists the communities involved in a certainly non-hierarchical order, making it possible to exclude decisively the possibility of interpreting the reference to the *Kimolioi*, in the second lowest position on the second column (col. 2, l. 84), immediately before the *Mykonioi*, as



Fig. 16 - The Proxeny Decree IC IV 209, B, ll. 1-4 (after Halbherr 1897)

an indication of the island's lower political weight⁹¹. The inclusion of Tenos in the list attached to the Parian decree makes it possible to date this testimony to a moment just before the re-emergence of the League of the *Nesiotai* by resolution of Rhodes⁹². The role of mediator attributed to Paros by the Magnesians *theoroi* could be explained in light of the simple attempt, epigraphically attested elsewhere, to save time by not involving all of the regions touched by *theoriai*, relying on *poleis* linked by relationships of *philia* or *syngheueia*⁹³. A final piece of evidence for the presence of *Kimolioi* beyond the *Kretikon Pelagos* comes from Gortyna in Crete. It is a proxeny decree⁹⁴, roughly dated to the Hellenistic period (mid-3rd - mid-1st century BCE), with which the *Gortynioi* honored Zopyros son of Arion and his *ghenos* (Fig. 16). The *corpus inscriptionum* relating

⁹¹ It is not implausible to explain the sequence as depending on the time taken by the cities involved to reply and deliver it to the *boule* of Paros.

⁹² The new *Koinon*, whose rebirth was strongly desired by Rhodes following the diminished Ptolemaic and Antigonid interest in the Aegean, had its base at Tenos. According to R. Étienne (Étienne 1990, pp. 101-106), the re-establishment took place not earlier than 200 BCE and the mention of the *Tenioi* among the communities represented by the *Parioi* on the occasion of the visit of the *theoroi* from Magnesia (208 BCE; *Magnesia* 49, col. 2, l. 78) constitutes an implicit *terminus post quem* for the reintroduction of a 'federal' Cycladic political organization.

⁹³ A short time earlier (242 BCE), testimony has been found of a similar request for mediation entrusted to the people of Kamari-na by the *theoroi* of the *Asklepieion* of Kos (*IG XII,4* 1: 222, ll. 15-25; cfr. Rigsby 1996, *Asylia*, 48).

⁹⁴ IC IV 209, B, ll. 1-4: Halbherr 1897, p. 185.

⁸⁵ Even if it is impossible to determine the exact shape of a *kimolion* from the inscription, it might be useful to remember that Pliny the Elder, in the chapters dedicated to types of clay, briefly gives an account of the way in which *terrae* were processed. They were dried in the sun, crushed and mixed with water, cooked in special goblets, then left to solidify and subsequently cut into small plates (Plin. 35.193).

⁸⁶ Cfr. Αλλαμάνη-Σούρη 1990, p. 220.

⁸⁷ *Supra* p. 48.

⁸⁸ Thonemann 2007; Hammerschmied 2018.

⁸⁹ Cfr. Rigsby 1996, pp. 179-279.

⁹⁰ Cfr. Rigsby 1996, 100. pp. 237-240.

to the institutional life of the city of Kimolos spreads over a period between the middle of the 5th century BCE and the Hellenistic period and, with the exception of *IG* XII, 3, 1259⁹⁵, the published documents do not come from the island. The apparent scarcity of epigraphic material from Imperial times reflects a significant gap generated by still sporadic field research activities only partially counterbalanced by the exponential multiplication, in this period, of written evidence relating to *kimolia ghe*, to its main mineralogical characteristics and to its numerous possible applications, especially for therapeutic purposes.

*White Clays and Silver Mines:
from Kimolos to Argentera*

As with most of the Cyclades, the literary documentation of the Imperial period seems to provide an image of a completely irrelevant island had it not been for its most outstanding product⁹⁶. On the peculiarities of the *leukè ghe* of Kimolos⁹⁷, already clearly distinguished from the *melias ghe* in the treatise by Theophrastus on stones, we are well informed by Pliny the Elder, who testifies to the established habit in the first century AD to use the term *cimolia* for a variety of *cretae*, *gyrsa* and *saxa* extracted in different regions of the Mediterranean area⁹⁸. Very distinct in the *Naturalis Historia* remain, however, the *cretae cimoliae* from the famous *melinum*⁹⁹, evidence of the consciousness that the two minerals could not be assimilated despite only apparent affinities. No historical source provides evidence for the location of deposits of *kimolia* in a

precise area of the island surface and geo-archaeological studies on the topic lean towards possible identifications made in the field, basing their observations on the greater or lesser compatibility of some of the island mineral formations with the characteristics deduced from written evidence¹⁰⁰. As documented by J. Tournefort¹⁰¹, C.S. Sonnini¹⁰² and G.A. Olivier¹⁰³ during the 18th century, local people used to wash their clothes using a white clay available along the south-eastern coastline of the island in a place called ‘stis Ennias’. Antonis Miliarakis confirmed this information and also reported in an appendix to his *Descriptive Memoirs*¹⁰⁴ the results of chemical analyses carried out on two samples collected from that area, the composition of which would reveal the kaolinic nature of the deposits on the slopes of the ‘Stenda’ hill, an area intensely exploited until recently for the extraction of kaolin and bentonites. Due to its deposits of white bentonite, Kimolos has been particularly appreciated worldwide for several decades. White bentonite from Kimolos¹⁰⁵, used in construction, porcelain production, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals and detergents, is considered to be far better than that from Melos. The most significant concentrations of Kimolian bentonite are located in the North-East (Prassa) and South-East (Phanara) of the island¹⁰⁶ (Fig. 17). The intense mining activity of recent decades, however, has significantly altered the condition of the sites, most notably in Prassa, making it extremely difficult to isolate any evidence of ancient quarries. Occasional findings of Late Neolithic obsidian tools at Prassa¹⁰⁷ and particular concentrations of common ware at Stenda, not far from the bentonite deposits of Phanara, are currently the only markers of ancient activity in the two main

⁹⁵ The stone, certainly found during clandestine excavations carried out on Kimolos at the end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century, would have been transported to Smyrna, where it was accidentally discovered, with the shipment of French vessels (Βογιατζίδου 1923-1924; *Idem* in Κιμωλιακά Α', p. 55; cf. Κοντολέων 1972a, p. 3).

⁹⁶ A properly structured critique of this widespread and incorrect perception has recently been published by E. Le Quéré (Le Quéré 2015a), who brilliantly surpasses, following what P. Brun (particularly Brun 1996b) had already partly achieved, what the author herself defined as «un immense obstacle épistémologique».

⁹⁷ *Sch. ad ranas* 712.1; Suid. s.v. Κιμωλία.

⁹⁸ Plin.35.191-199.

⁹⁹ Plin.35.37. In the specific sense of Melian clay, corresponding to the *melias ghe* of Theophrastus. The designation of origin *melinum* is also used by Pliny to indicate the alum (Plin.35.19, 37 and 36.42, 154).

¹⁰⁰ For a critical collection, although not entirely acceptable in the *quellenforschung*, of proposals for the identification of deposits of “kimolia” also on the island of Melos: Photos-Jones-Hall 2014, pp. 3-5; 50-52; 193.

¹⁰¹ J. Tournefort speaks about Kimolos clays and their current use, describing them as chalky fields with consistent outcrops of white stone, but does not mention specific sites (Tournefort 1717, pp. 143-144).

¹⁰² Sonnini 1801, p. 37.

¹⁰³ Olivier 1807, pp. 189-190.

¹⁰⁴ Μηλιαράκης 1901, pp. 38-41.

¹⁰⁵ Photos-Jones-Hall 2014, p. 193.

¹⁰⁶ Christidis 1998.

¹⁰⁷ Bent 1885, pp. 41-42; Μουστάκας 1950, p. 62; *ArchDelt* 52, 2003 (1997), p. 952.

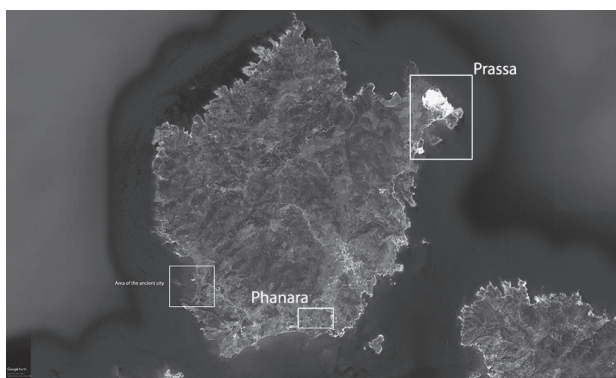


Fig. 17 - Location of the main deposits of the Kimolian white bentonite in Prassa and Phanara (Google Earth. Image @ 2019. Digital Globe. <http://www.earth.google.com>)

mining districts of Kimolos¹⁰⁸. Not only deposits of bentonite, perlite and kaolin, but also metals such as manganese, barite and, probably, iron, excellent limestone for building purposes and millstones¹⁰⁹ are found along much of the southern, eastern and northern coastal areas of Kimolos¹¹⁰. The remarkable mineral and petrographic wealth of Kimolos, whose potential in archaeo-mineralogical studies is still unexpressed, must have given the small *polis* of the *Kimolioi* a relative importance in the first centuries of the Empire. A short distance away, the systematic exploitation of the soils of Melos from at least the end of the 1st century BCE, is widely documented by the numerous survey projects carried out

¹⁰⁸ The high concentration of fragments of *lekanai* in a relevant area from a mineralogical point of view, which is close to the sea, could indicate a settlement with an extractive/commercial function comparable to the Melian 'special purpose sites' (See Photos-Jones - Hall 2014, pp. 68-73 with previous bibliography). E. Le Quéré (Le Quéré 2015a, pp. 310-317 with previous bibliography) points out that high concentrations of *lekanai* in Melos are always observed in areas intended for the processing of raw materials. In this case, alum and sulphur.

¹⁰⁹ The best sediments of Kimolos millstones are located in the areas of Klima and Provarma, both along the east coast of the island and just north of the village. The two deposits, certainly used in modern times and at least until the beginning of the 20th century, have not been investigated and it is therefore hard to say whether the quarrying of these materials could have taken place even in ancient times. It should be noted, however, that recent emergency excavations at Provarma have led to the discovery of a large area for the workmanship of obsidian of the late Neolithic period and to the recognition of considerable ancient masonry works of uncertain chronology - *ArchDelt* 52, 2003 (1997), p. 952; *ArchDelt* 54, 2006 (2000), p. 797.

¹¹⁰ Μπελαβίλας - Παπαστεφανάκη 2009, pp. 150-152 with a rich previous bibliography and references to archival documents concerning various mining activities, conducted by Greek and foreign companies since the second half of the 18th century.

on the island since the 1970s¹¹¹. The material and epigraphic evidence available¹¹² reflects the strong interest of the Roman élites in the resources of the westernmost of the Cyclades, not by chance considered by Strabo the most noteworthy, at his time, among the Cyclades «περὶ δὲ τὴν Κρήτην»¹¹³. A comparable scenario is possible, but with great prudence, for Kimolos, where the 'bleaching properties of the local chalk (?) were well known by Jewish communities¹¹⁴ and whose clay-fields, as distinctive as the marble outcrops of Paros, are specifically mentioned by Ovid¹¹⁵. Archaeological records not adequately considered until now provide further evidence. The monumental hypogean tombs surrounding the area of the *polis* in the South-West¹¹⁶ and at least two groups of 'catacombs' along the North-East and North-West coasts of the island (Figs. 18a, b)¹¹⁷ are unequivocal indications not only of the continuity of life of the city in the Early and Middle Imperial period, but of stable occupation of the island even in peripheral areas close to some of the main Kimolian extraction sites (Siderokapsia, Prassa).

We can reasonably infer the inclusion of Kimolos in the *Provincia Insularum* at the end of the 3rd century AD, but no mention of the island is made until late antiquity, when its dependence on Melos, by now a flourishing Episcopate, is well documented between the 7th and the end of the 8th century¹¹⁸.

In the following centuries, awareness of Kimolos seems to have been lost. In one of the oldest and most reliable medieval portolan charts, that of the Arab geographer al-Idrîsî (12th century)¹¹⁹, there is

¹¹¹ See Renfrew-Wagstaff 1982 and the geo-archaeological surveys of the SEMS (Photos-Jones - Hall 2014).

¹¹² Le Quéré 2015a, pp. 305-326.

¹¹³ Str.10.5.1.

¹¹⁴ *M. Shabbath*, 9, 5. Le Quéré 2015a, p. 319 and n. 55.

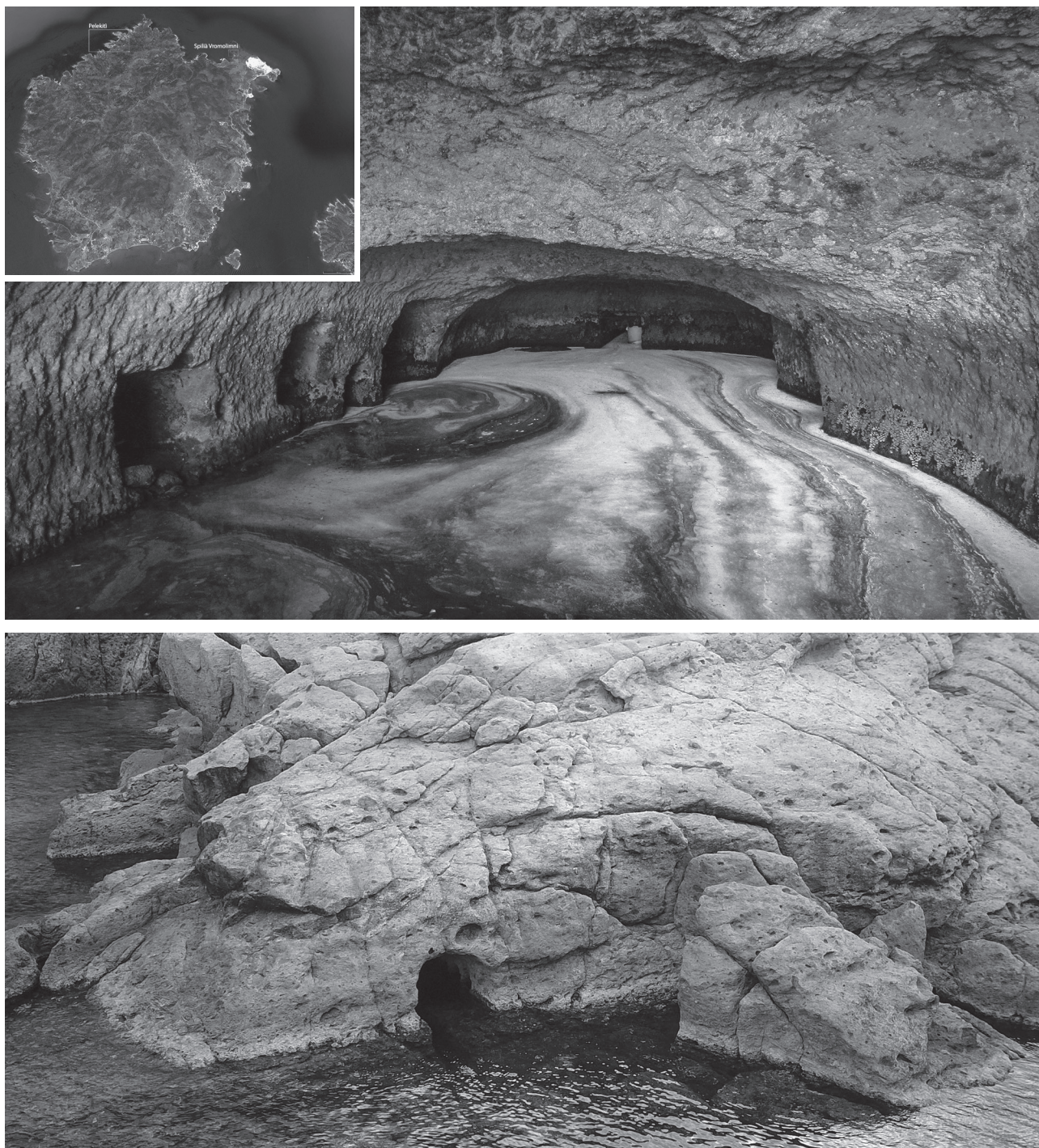
¹¹⁵ *Ov.Met.* 7, 463.

¹¹⁶ Di Nicuolo *et alii* 2016, pp. 199-204 and Appendix 1, pp. 209-214 with previous bibliography.

¹¹⁷ These are respectively the so-called "Caves" *Vromolimni* (Μουστάκας 1950, pp. 153-154 and 155-157) and of *Pelekiti*, also known as "*Spelaion tou Paleokastro*" ("Paleokastro Cave").

¹¹⁸ Kiourtzian 2000, pp. 77-96; Malamut 1989, pp. 2, 453 and 2001, p. 31. For a historical-topographical overview of Early Christian Melos: Quadrino 2013.

¹¹⁹ Bresc-Nef 1999, p. 349.



Figs. 18 a, b, c - Kimolos. (18a) Location of probable groups of hypogean collective burials in Vromolimni (North East) and Pelekiti (North West). In detail: current state of the central chamber of the 'catacombs' of Vromolimni (18b: photo C. Di Nicuolo) and drone-based photos of the access to the 'cave' of Pelekiti, largely submerged due to the accentuated subsidence of the area (18c: Photo Ph. Marinakis)

mention of Melos and Polyaigos (Bûliû)¹²⁰, cor-

¹²⁰ Bresc-Nef 1999, p. 349. Completely unexpected in the manuscript is the reference to Polyaigos as having been as prosperous as nearby Pholegandros and Ios, contrary to what can be derived from the French portolan charts of the 17th and 18th centuries, in which the island is referred to as arid and inhospitable (Île Brûlée).

rectly positioned about 4 NM East of the former (4,12 M). The two islands are reported along a route from the Peloponnese to the South-East via the small island of Velopoula¹²¹.

¹²¹ Bresc-Nef 1999, p. 349.

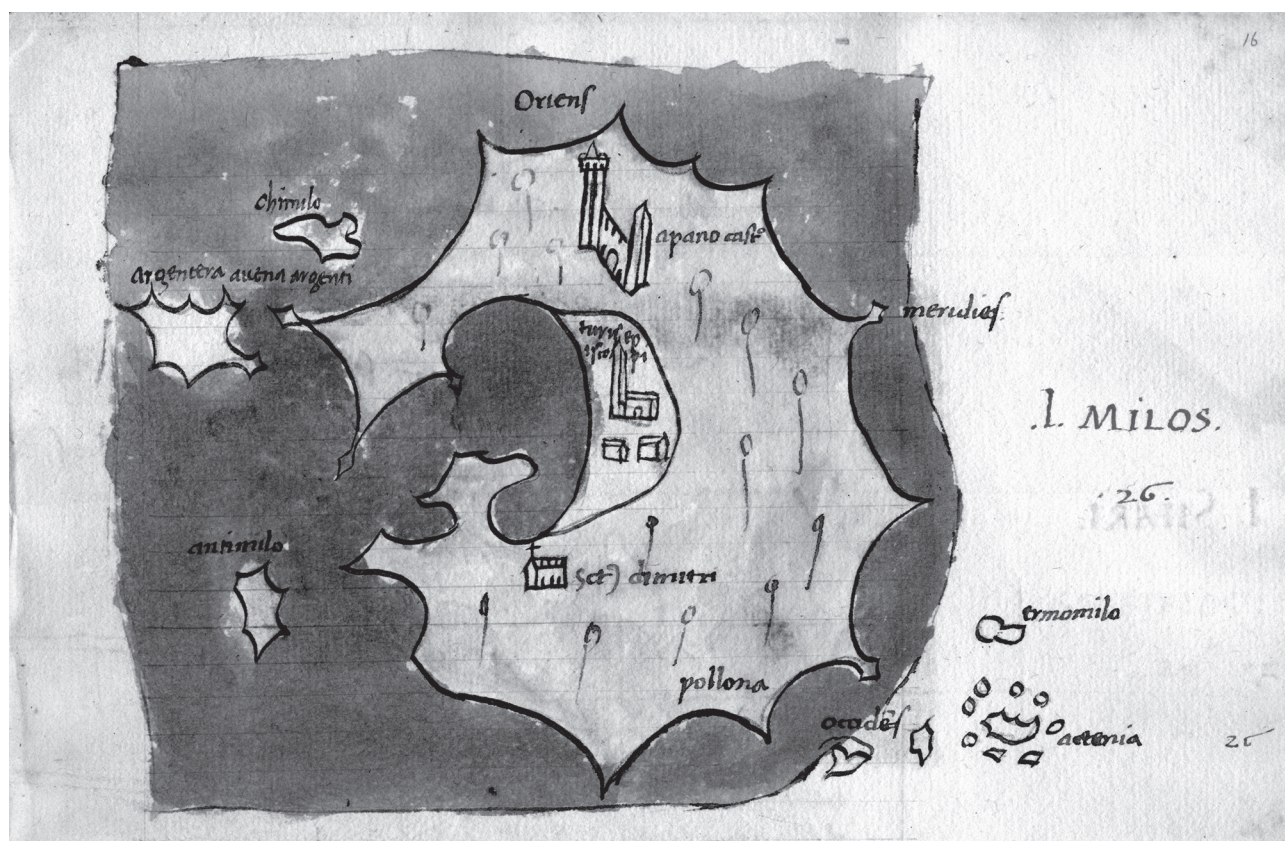


Fig. 19 - Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum Archipelagi*, I. Milos n°26 (Cat. 228767 Gennadius Library Manuscripts MSS 71 - ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΙΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ - ΓΕΝΝΑΔΕΙΟΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ)

The route ‘traced’ by al-Idrīsī is the same (in the opposite direction) as in the famous portolan chart by Cristoforo Buondelmonti (early 15th century). Also in this case, the crossing of the western Aegean seems to be supported by the anchorages of Pollimio, generally identified with Polyagios, and Melos, islands to which the Florentine monk dedicated detailed paragraphs and of which he has produced cartographic documentation. One of the problematic aspects of the portolan chart by Buondelmonti with respect to the group of the ‘Melian’ islands is the absence of Pollimio in the graphic representation of this insular cluster (Fig. 19). Specific space is dedicated to the island and its state of abandonment is underlined, although there were traces of an ancient stable occupation (Fig. 20), apparently coherent with the image of past prosperity suggested about two centuries earlier by al-Idrīsī. In map no. 26, the situation becomes even more complicated and there seem to be numerous topographical inaccuracies. As Melos is shown correctly oriented, there is an incorrect restitution of the eastern

and western shores of the island with the location of the seaside village of Pollonia if found along the steep western coast, instead of at the north-eastern coastline overlooking Kimolos. It is precisely in this respect that another anomaly is evident. An island smaller than Melos and a short distance from it appears in the Mediterranean historical geography: Argentera¹²². In Buondelmonti’s map, this island appears uninhabited and only a brief explanatory remark about the toponym can be found outside the text. Its location North-East of Melos and the short distance from the northern mouth of the *diavulos* leave no doubt as to its identification with Kimolos. On the same map, just south of Argentera, there is another uninhabited island of even smaller dimensions, surprisingly indicated as Chimilo¹²³.

¹²² Over time, the toponym is recorded with small variations such as Argentara or even Argentiara (Fr. L’Argentièr).

¹²³ The island, according to the testimony of J. Tournefort, was known as “Chimoli” exclusively by the Greeks (Tournefort 1717, p. 141). As “Kimoli”, the toponym is also mentioned by C. S. Sonnini (Sonnini 1801, p. 35). As Κίμιλο the island is mentioned in Nikolaos Kephalàs’ map (Χάρτα εκτεταμένη του Αρχιπελάγους,

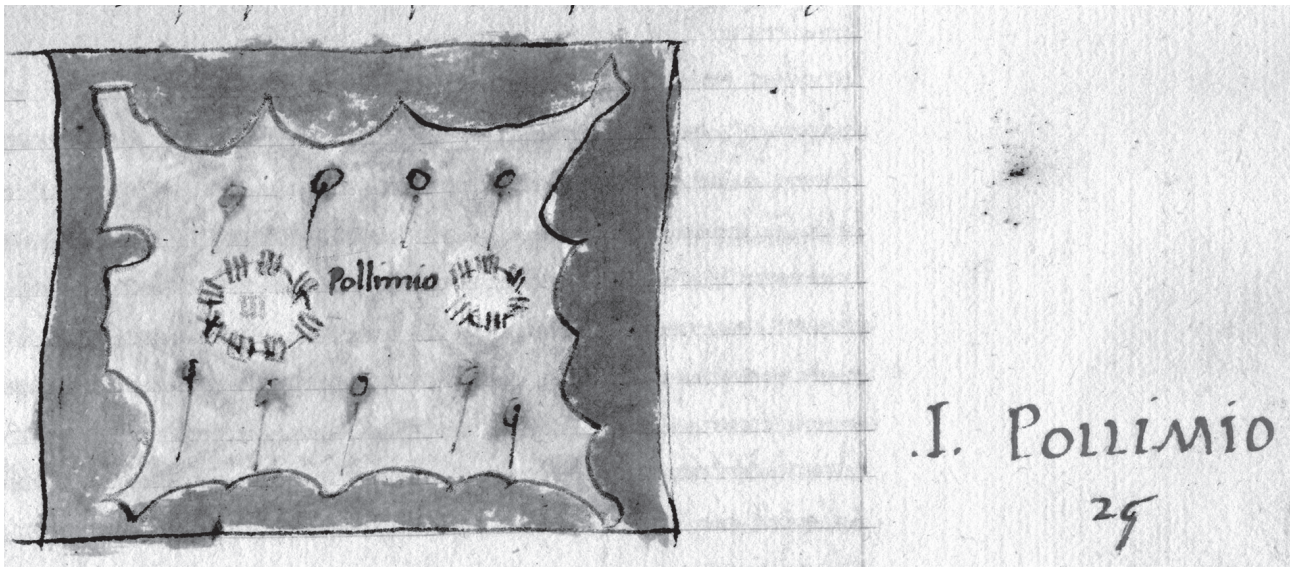


Fig. 20 - Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum Archipelagi*, I. Pollimio n°25 (Cat. 228767 Gennadius Library Manuscripts MSS 71 - ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΙΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ - ΓΕΝΝΑΔΕΙΟΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ)

The toponym could be a modification of Kimolos, considering the replacement of letter “K” with the aspiring “Chi” documented elsewhere in the portolan chart, as in the case of the islet of Kitriani South of Siphnos (Chitriani in Buondelmonti’s text). The close topographical relationship between the three islands and the position occupied on the map by the Melian insular group would immediately lead to the identification of the small island Chimilo as Polyaigos, which, however, since the Renaissance period, was generally identified with Pollimio¹²⁴ (also called Polimo, Polino or Polina). A comparison with the map of the Melian “Archipelago”, largely dependent on that of Buondelmonti, made by Girolamo Porro for the portolan chart by Tommaso Porcacchi in 1576, provides a solution (Fig. 21)¹²⁵. Also in this case Pollonia (Pollona) is wrongly located on the West side of Melos, while the island of Argentiera is correctly depicted in the

North-East. In contrast with the map of Buondelmonti, Pollimio (Polina) is included here in the quadrant slightly southeast of Argentiera. Between the two, an uninhabited minor island whose profile corresponds exactly to that of the Chimilo reported by Buondelmonti and whose position enables us to recognize it as the islet of Agios Efstathios, more than that of Agios Georgios (also known in nautical cartography as Αγιονήσιον¹²⁶ or I. des Saints¹²⁷) is perfectly recognizable. For about three centuries¹²⁸, the documentary picture returned by the western portolan charts has been very inconsistent in the assignment of specific toponyms¹²⁹ and, sometimes, also in the rendering of the correct proportions between the islands under discussion. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the introduction of the new toponym Argentiera, in its numerous declinations, for the ancient island of Kimolos, is a point where nautical maps, portolan charts and atlases con-

Παρίσι 1818).

¹²⁴ See the editions of Claudius Ptolemy’s *Geography* by Giovanni Antonio Magni (1596) and the geographer of Louis XIII Pierre Bertius (late 16th -17th centuries).

¹²⁵ This map clearly shows Milos in the section dedicated to Crete and the Greek Islands (*Candia cum Insulis aliquot circa Graeciam* - Tav. 109) included in the *Atlas sive cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura* (1595) by Gerard Mercator (Biblioteca Marciana, Venezia, Segnatura: D_221-D-007: pl. 108).

¹²⁶ Ράμφορ 1972, p. 242 n. 1.

¹²⁷ Seen in Raseau’s maps of 1685-1687 (see the excellent reproductions in Λιβιεράτος 2018).

¹²⁸ A detailed examination of the significant *corpus* of maps, which will, however, be the topic of a study to be published soon, is not included in the scope of this paper.

¹²⁹ It was not until the end of the 17th century that the first scientific cartographic documentation was provided with the excellent maps of Raseau commissioned by Louis XIV.

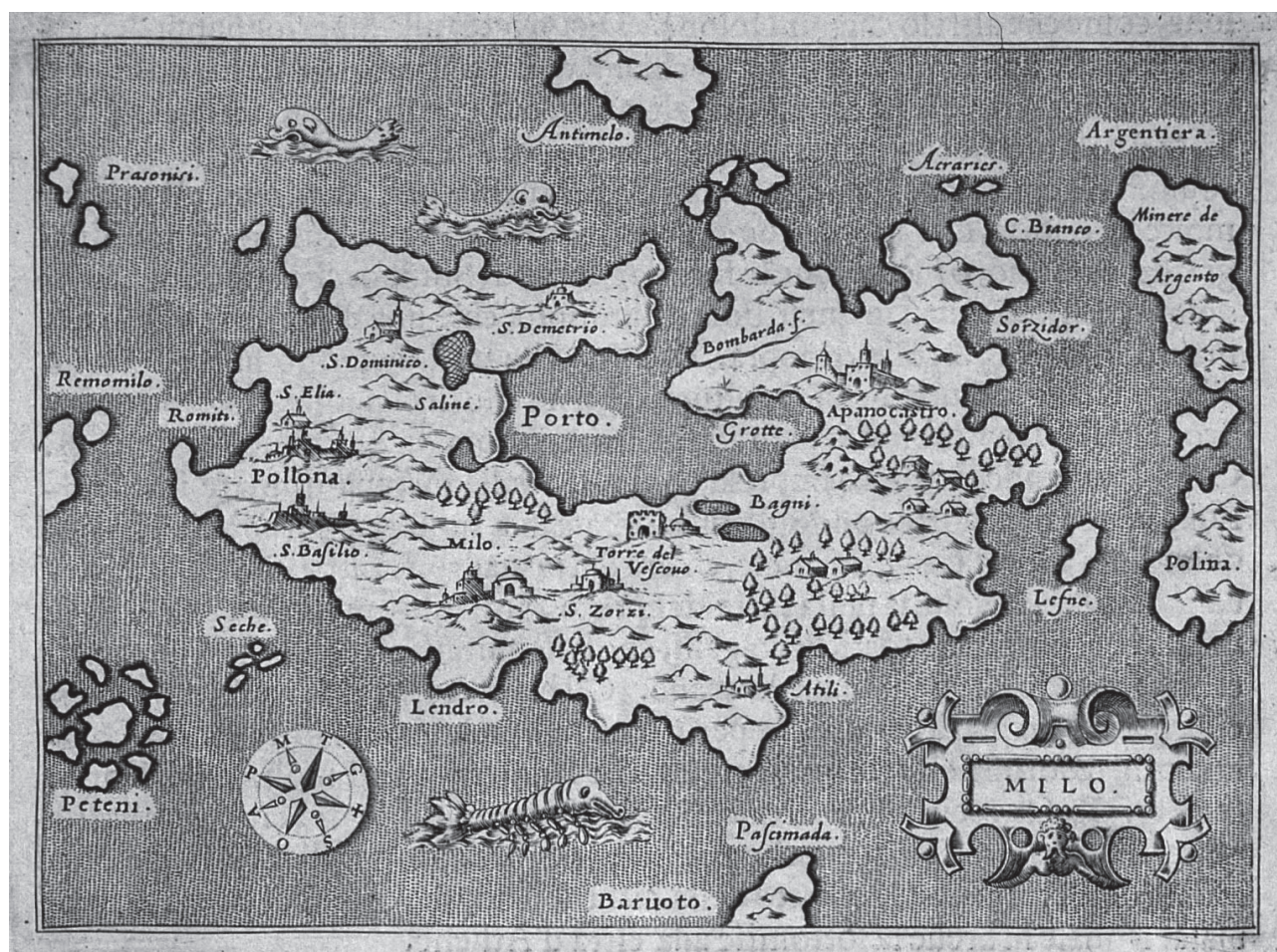


Fig. 21 - Chart of Milos and the neighbouring islands made for the portolan by Tommaso Porcacchi and Girolamo Porro 'L' isole più famose del mondo' (Pressmark: D_087-D-133_121. Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali - Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. All rights reserved)

verge¹³⁰. The new denomination is to be ascribed to the institution of the Venetian Duchy of Naxos, when the island was deserted¹³¹, as confirmed by the map of Buondelmonti, until its repopulation, together with Pholegandros and Siphnos, in 1590-1600 at the initiative of the Bolognese family of Gozzadino, Lords of Siphnos¹³². The origin of

the etymology is still an unresolved problem today. A local popular tradition, first reported by Tournefort¹³³, Choiseul-Gouffier¹³⁴, Sonnini¹³⁵ and Olivier¹³⁶, referred to the existence on the island of a large and extensively exploited silver mine. The islanders, according to Olivier, also reported a lightning bolt that provoked the destruction of the mine¹³⁷. The explanation of the destruction of Kim-

¹³⁰ It is worth noting the survival of the toponym Kimolos among the populations of the adjacent islands, aware of the recent introduction of the name Argentiera. The variant Kimolis is documented in some maps from the 16th century and in travel diaries from the end of the 18th and 20th centuries and originates clearly from the reading of Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographia*.

¹³¹ Slot 1982, pp. 25-26.

¹³² Slot 1982, pp. 113-114; *contra*, recently, K. G. Tsiknakis (Tsiknakis 2011, p. 33), who refers to the dominion over Kimolos, in the same years, of the Crispi family, whose possessions still included Kimolos at the time of the fall of Constantinople (1453). On the Siphnian origin of the new inhabitants of Kimolos, see C. S. Sonnini (Sonnini 1801, pp. 25-26).

¹³³ Tournefort 1717, pp. 141-142.

¹³⁴ Choiseul-Gouffier 1782, p. 8.

¹³⁵ Sonnini 1801, p. 36: in the report on the mines, reference is made to a possible location on a promontory in front of the island of Agios Georgios (Stenda?), where, however, exploration by French and Russians would not have been very encouraging.

¹³⁶ Olivier 1807, p. 187.

¹³⁷ Olivier had doubts about the legend of the disappeared mine, as he believed it was more likely that the story was due to the intention of the locals to protect themselves from the eventual interest of the Ottomans in the island's precious resources (Olivier

olos silver veins by means of a prodigious event seems to closely recall the myth of the sinking of the gold mines of Siphnos, punished by Apollo for having interrupted the payment of the tithe in gold to the Delphic sanctuary¹³⁸. If, however, one considers the myth of the disappearance of the evanescent silver of the island to be of Siphnian origin, considering the provenance of the new settlers of Kimolos, one cannot ignore the fact that the introduction of the toponym Argentera was definitely prior to the intervention of the Gozzadino family. Silvery veins

and silver mines are explicitly mentioned both in the map by C. Buondelmonti and in T. Porcacchi's portolan chart, just before the Siphian 'colonization' of Kimolos. They seem to have been, rightly or wrongly, such a distinctive feature of the island as to suggest to the Venetian occupants the need for introducing a new toponym. In this way, the myth of the island made of white clays was replaced by that of the bright Argentera, crossed by veins of precious metals as evanescent as the legendary *kimolia* of Classical antiquity.

1807, p. 187; cfr. Choiseul-Gouffier 1782, p. 8).

¹³⁸ Paus.10.11.2: «ταῦτα ἔστηκε παρὰ τὸν Σικωνίων θησαυρόν: ἐποιήθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Σιφνίων ἐπὶ αἰτία τοιᾶδε θησαυρός. Σιφνίοις ἡ νῆσος χρυσοῦ μέταλλα ἤνεγκε, καὶ αὐτοὺς τῶν προσιόντων ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀποφέρειν δεκάτην ἐς Δελφοὺς: οἱ δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν ὠκοδομήσαντο καὶ ἀπέφερον τὴν δεκάτην. ὥς δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπληστίας ἐξέλιπον τὴν φορὰν, ἐπικλύσασα ἡ θάλασσα ἀφανῆ τὰ μέταλλά σφισιν ἐποίησεν.».

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Altre Abbreviazioni

- EKM = L. Gounaropoulou - M. B. Hatzopoulos 1998, *Epigraphes Katō Makedonias (metaxy tou Vermiou orous kai tou Axiou potamou)*, Teuchos A', *Epigraphes Veroias*, Athens.
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EMANUELE GRECO, *For an archaeological phenomenology of the society of Hephaestia (Lemnos) from the late Bronze Age to the end of Archaism*

After 16 years of excavations at Hephaestia (Lemnos) I present an account of the main novelties which have emerged from the research in the field. The first surprising result was the discovery of a Late Bronze Age settlement dating to between the final III A2 and III B over which a final phase was laid down dating to III C. In the course of the eleventh century BC the settlement disappeared and in the surrounding area was replaced by a new settlement our knowledge of which comes primarily from the ceramic production.

Next, I pass in review the buildings on the so called Acropolis, with new interpretation's proposals.

In the final part I present the large building, just outside the isthmus walls, excavated between 2006 and 2016, and some considerations on the extra-urban sanctuary of the Kabeiroi at Chloi.

CARMELO DI NICUOLO, *Lost and found. Rediscovering ancient Kimolos*

In this paper focus has been made on the small island of Kimolos (Cyclades). Kimolos is part of the so called 'Melos island group' at the western end of the Archipelago. This island with its immense archaeological, geological, mineralogical, historical-artistic and anthropological heritage remained almost completely unknown to this day. Significant evidence of early anthropization, most of the ancient city's port neighborhoods and sectors of its ancient necropolis, clusters of funerary hypogea in the NE and NW of the island, evidence relating to ancient quarrying activities of different stone materials are highly attractive elements for various scientific fields. Nevertheless, archaeological evidence is particularly exposed to significant wind erosion, strong subsidence and intense geodynamics. This contribution is a first attempt to provide a brief presentation of the results of the author's post-doctoral research project at the National and Capodistrian University of Athens. Ancient literary

sources, epigraphic documents, published archaeological data, portolan charts and archive documents are discussed and critically presented in a diachronic perspective with the aim to shed light on the roles played throughout history by the communities settled in this corner of the Aegean.

NADIA SERGIO, *La ceramica greco-orientale di epoca orientalizzante ed arcaica dalla necropoli di Ialysos (Rodi). Un primo bilancio*

This study is part of a most important re-edition project of ialysian burials, digged in Rhodes by Italian archaeologists between 1916 and 1934, and published in Clara Rhodos volumes and in the Yearbook of the Italian Archaeological School of Athens in 1926. It offers a complex picture of the formal repertory and the east-greek pottery, during the orientalizzante and archaic period. The examined specimen offers the possibility to know, especially, the local pottery shapes and those of the so called 'Vroulian' pottery. The emerged picture has shown that the trade between Rhodes and the North Ionia, particularly with the poleis of Teos and Clazomenae, begins already since late proto-corinthian. The South Ionian pottery is represented, in the graves goods of the second half of the 7th century B.C., by the Ionian bucchero, some Middle Wild Goat vases, dated between the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and finally by the so called "samian" ear shaped lekythos, well known in Cyprus. The most numerous fabrics are those from "Dorian" land. The black glaze ware and the ialysian ware, both fine and coarse, are the most represented classes since the second half of the 7th century B.C. and, probably, made on the island of Rhodes. It seems clear that there's a strong connection between the morphological and decorative repertory, both in the fine ialysian ware and the cypro-phoenician pottery. During the sixth century B.C. the amount of south Ionian fabrics is largest than those from the other East Greek regions. A great diffusion of "cigar" shaped Ionian bucchero alabaster, Fikelura pottery, the so called "samian" bottle or lekythoi, and finally the banded ware, is known together with the Middle Wild Goat style oinochoai.

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