

# Vroulia revisited

*From K. F. Kinch's excavations in the early 20th century to the present archaeological site\**

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## Introduction

The Archaic settlement of Vroulia is one of the most important early settlements in the Aegean, with an organized plan but a short lifespan, most probably dating from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>1</sup> Its strategic position at the southernmost tip of the island of Rhodes was ideal for controlling the sea-routes to and from Cyprus, Phoenicia and Egypt, as well as providing an intermediate anchorage at a time of thriving colonization and great prosperity of the three ancient city-states of Rhodes, Kamiros, Ialysos and, particularly, Lindos (Figs 1-3).

The excavation of the settlement took place in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century under the supervision of Karl Frederik Kinch (1853-1921), who, together with Christian Sørensen Blinkenberg (1863-1948), was the leading member of the Danish Archaeological Expedition in Rhodes in the years 1902-1909 and 1913-1914. The Danish Expedition carried out several excavation projects on the island.<sup>2</sup> The early years were mainly devoted to the excavation of the Athena Lindia Sanctuary at Lindos (1902-1905)<sup>3</sup>, but hereafter Kinch turned his attention especially towards the southern part of the island, where, in addition to the excava-



Fig. 1. *Map of Rhodes (The National Museum of Denmark).*

\* The article has been authored by Eriphyle Kaninia (EK) and Stine Schierup (SS) as follows: Introduction (EK and SS); The Site of Vroulia (EK and SS); K.F. Kinch and the excavation of Vroulia (SS); Current work on the site (EK); Aim for future activities on the site (EK); Appendix: The Vroulia collection in the National Museum of Denmark (SS).

1 From the evidence of the pottery, Kinch considered the settlement to have been active from the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century until 570/60 BC (Kinch 1914, 89), while Lang (1996, 194) argues for a settlement period between the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Morris (1994, 174, n. 1) dates it to 625-575 BC.

2 For a general presentation of the Danish expedition to Rhodes, see Dietz & Trolle 1974; Rathje & Lund 1991, 22-6, 39-40; Rasmussen & Lund 2014.

3 The finds from the sanctuary in Lindos were published by Blinkenberg in two double volumes devoted to the small finds and the inscriptions respectively (Blinkenberg 1931; 1941). The architecture was published by Ejnar Dyggve (Dyggve 1960).



Fig. 2. Map showing the strategic location of Vroulia in the Mediterranean network between East and West. (The National Museum of Denmark).



Fig. 3. Sunrise on the southern edge of the island of Rhodes, showing Vroulia and Prassonissi; aerial view from the west (The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese).



Fig. 4. Aerial view from south-east; the Archaic settlement of Vroulia before the beginning of restoration project (*The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese*).

tions at Vroulia, he also investigated a number of Mycenaean tombs in Apollakia, Apsaktiras, Stou Kalavrou and Passia near Vathi.<sup>4</sup> The campaigns at Vroulia were carried out during two main seasons in 1907 and 1908, but initial work did also take place on the site in 1905. The results were finally published in 1914 by Kinch in the significant volume *Fouilles de Vroulia*, which until now remains the only monograph about the settlement.<sup>5</sup>

For more than a century thereafter no further excavations were carried out at the site; the exposed remains of the Archaic settlement suffered serious weathering and erosion and were gradually covered with the woody

phrygana vegetation of this windy place (Fig. 4). As a consequence of this critical state of the ancient ruins, in 2011 the Ephorate of the Antiquities for the Dodecanese launched the project “Consolidation and Enhancement of the Archaic Settlement of Vroulia at Southern Rhodes”, which was co-financed by the European Union.<sup>6</sup> Apart from its practical aspect (i.e. the restoration and consolidation of the ancient remains, as well as the organization and enhancement of the archaeological site), the project has also provided an excellent opportunity to re-consider Kinch’s publication of the Archaic settlement of Vroulia and enrich its scope.<sup>7</sup>

4 For publication of the Mycenaean tombs, see Dietz 1984. Further material from the expedition has been published in Wriedt Sørensen & Pentz 1992. Another important project led by Kinch was the excavation of the geometric necropolis at Exochi in the Lindos region (Friis Johansen 1957).

5 Kinch 1914.

6 National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF).

7 The project was carried out by a team consisting of an architect (Chryssoula Hapipi), a land surveyor (Demetres Sarantopoulos) and six to eight workers alternating periodically (Theodoros Papandreou, Vangelis Pergourakis, Elias Antiphiliotis, Leonidas Dellas, Katerina Lergou, Chryssaphina and Kyroula Kolaini and Konstantina Chatziyannaki) under the supervision of the co-writer of this article, archaeologist Eriphyle Kaninia. Since April 2011, as part of the project, a series of infrastructure works have already been completed, such as the construction of a new enclosure of the archaeological site, the installation of water supply pipes, the levelling of the parking area, the installation of two prefabricated warehouses, the construction of a paved path leading uphill and the building of a small guardhouse provided with toilets. Moreover, the Technical Department of the South Aegean Region recently approved the asphalt surfacing of the public road leading to the archaeological site of Vroulia.

The present article is the result of a collaboration between The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese and the National Museum of Denmark; it aims to present some aspects of the history of the Vroulia excavation in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century along with a brief account of the recent restoration/enhancement project carried out by the Ephorate a century later. From the very early stages of this project, a need emerged for a better understanding of the circumstances under which Kinch lived and excavated (with remarkable efficiency) the isolated site of Vroulia, one of the most important Archaic settlements, but a place that is difficult to access (now as then) and is buffeted by strong winds even in the summer. It is noteworthy that in the nearby villages (especially Kattavia) many people have stories to tell from their great-grandfathers about “the Danish archaeologist and his painter wife who lived at Prassonissi in a stone house”, part of which still exists.<sup>8</sup>

Kinch’s personal diaries, together with the excavation journal, drawings and further documentation, now in the archives of the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities in the National Museum of Denmark, have served as the primary source for the account of the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century excavations at Vroulia presented here.<sup>9</sup> A thorough study of all preserved archival records have shown that in general Kinch’s observations and interpretations of the excavation work were thoroughly recorded in his publication of the site.<sup>10</sup> However, many of his ethnographic observations are of interest, and selected passages of his personal diaries as well as the excavation journal will be included here in order to document the environment they lived in, the people they encountered and the conditions of their work. Furthermore, this article includes an Appendix with a full list and updated bibliography of all excavated material from Vroulia that can now be found in

the collection of the National Museum of Denmark.<sup>11</sup> As a consequence of the political situation in the years following the Danish excavations in Rhodes, the majority of the excavated objects that were not brought back to Denmark have either been lost or possibly moved to Istanbul. Since Kinch’s publication does not include any indications on what material was left behind and what was brought back to Denmark, the Appendix is a first step towards identifying the present location of the excavated material from Vroulia.

### The Site of Vroulia

The excavations carried out by Kinch are thought to have revealed the most important part of the Archaic settlement of Vroulia and made the understanding of its basic plan possible (Fig. 5): the settlement is enclosed in the northeast by a fortification wall (in fact a *peribolos* wall), which borders the natural prominence of the Vroulia hill into the sea. The fortification wall, which runs NW–SE, is visible for a total length of about 300 m, most of which (about 220 m) was excavated by Kinch. The fortification wall seems to have been cut off abruptly at the brow of the steep cliffs on either side, which surround the Vroulia hill. It is obvious that a large part of the Vroulia hill (probably together with part of the settlement) has fallen into the sea. A similar geological phenomenon is in progress on the opposite coast of Prassonissi, where a piece of land has been cut off and is almost ready to fall into the sea. Although not yet fully documented, the human skeletons found very recently buried under the collapsed stones of the south cliffside of the Vroulia hill may prove to belong to residents of the Archaic settlement, who were possibly victims of a landslide (Fig. 6).<sup>12</sup> This natural disaster was probably the reason for the short life of the settlement, which seems to have come to a rather sudden end, as

<sup>8</sup> See p. 102–103 below and Fig. 15a–b.

<sup>9</sup> The archival records include two sketchbooks by Helvig Kinch, the excavation journal, and numerous passages in Kinch’s personal diaries that he wrote consistently during his time on the island. To this can be added 23 photos taken by the expedition that can be accessed from the National Museum of Denmark’s collection online webpage: <http://samlinger.natmus.dk/>. Furthermore, the archival records include Kinch’s manuscript and correspondence concerning the publication of the excavation report, as well as additional drawings and paintings made by Helvig Kinch.

<sup>10</sup> Kinch 1914.

<sup>11</sup> Including material presently deposited at the Museum of Ancient Art at the University of Aarhus.

<sup>12</sup> The short trial was undertaken in August 2015 by the co-writer of this article (EK). Two skeletons belonging to adults, seemingly fallen the one above the other, were found and partly excavated, while a third one was simply located. Further research at the spot is necessary as well as a systematic study by an anthropologist in order to specify a possible chronology of the skeletons, age, sex and death circumstances. Over the head of one of the skeletons some unpainted sherds were collected (among them a leg of a tripod vessel), possibly Archaic.

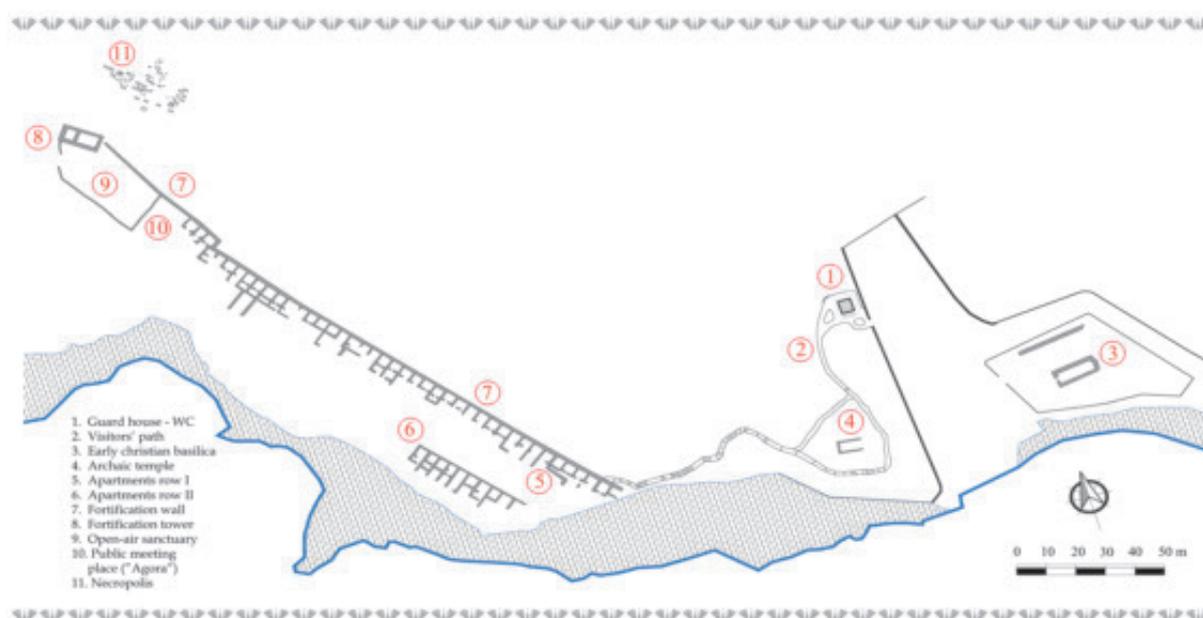


Fig. 5. Vroulia archaeological site, general plan (*The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese*).



Fig. 6. Human skeletons as found on the steep south side of the Vroulia hill (*The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese*).

can be indicated by the high quantity of well-preserved pottery that came to light in the habitation rooms.<sup>13</sup>

The row of habitation rooms (row I; Fig. 5, no. 5), or rather apartments (“pièces d’habitation”) – 43 units have been revealed – were located in contact with the inner side of the fortification wall. A second parallel row (row II; Fig. 5, no. 6) with only 10 units was revealed at a distance of about 20 m to the west of the first one. The rectilinear arrangement of this type of so-called *Reihensiedlungen*<sup>14</sup> can be distinguished from the settlements of the preceding phases and shows an early, tentative attempt at a planned layout of the houses, a feature otherwise mainly known from western Greek settlements at this time.<sup>15</sup> The individual houses appear generally to have consisted of a two- or three-room unit, possibly with an open courtyard in front, as suggested by Hoepfner’s reconstruction drawing (Fig. 7).<sup>16</sup>

On the top of the hill, a rectangular building was excavated, which was identified by Kinch as a fortification

13 Other explanations for the sudden end of the settlement have been put forward by e.g. Hoepfner, who suggested that “Seeräuber den Ort erobert und die Bevölkerung verkläut” (Hoepfner 1999, 198). A sudden and violent departure from the site might also be indicated by a late burial of four adults (Tomb 18). As one of only two adult inhumation tombs from a site where cremation is the common ritual associated with adult burials, it might indicate that the funeral was carried out in haste. Furthermore, it is the only tomb where a spear has been identified (Kinch 1914, 50-2).

14 Lang 1996, 193-4.

15 However, an orthogonal street layout has also been suggested for the 7<sup>th</sup>-century settlement at Halileis in Argolis (Lang 1996, 176 with further references).

16 Hoepfner 1999, 194-9.

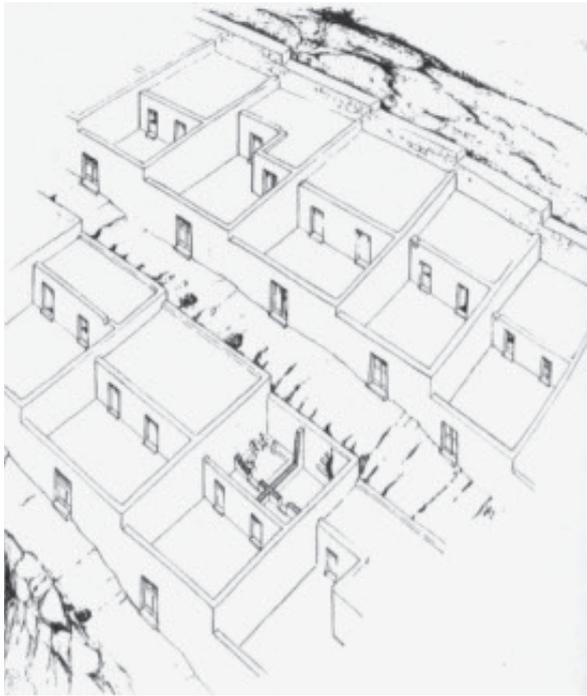


Fig. 7. Reconstruction drawing of the houses at Vroulia (after Hoepfner 1999, 198).

tower (Fig. 5, no. 8).<sup>17</sup> Southeast of this building was a well-defined area, where the remains of two rectangular altars were found (Fig. 5, no. 9). This was interpreted as an open-air sanctuary,<sup>18</sup> whereas further to the south, another extended empty space was thought to have functioned as a public meeting place, an agora (Fig. 5, no. 10).<sup>19</sup>

Outside the town gate (not actually located but supposedly in close proximity to the fortification tower), the cemetery of the settlement was found (Fig. 5, no. 11). The excavation of the graves gave important information about the age and sex of the inhabitants of the settlement, as well as of the burial customs.<sup>20</sup> Altogether Kinch estimated the burials of around 125 individuals, and of these no less than 43 were tombs of children below the age of six, usually – as the tradition prescribed – buried in large storage vessels with only a few burial gifts.<sup>21</sup> The rectan-



Fig. 8. 'La chapelle' at the foot of the Vroulia hill; aerial view after the restoration (The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese).

gular cremation tombs usually held several subsequent cremations, in some cases up to eight or nine (e.g. Tomb 2 and possibly 6), and only two adult inhumation tombs were identified (Tombs 18 and 30). Burial gifts consisted of various types of pottery (alabastra, aryballoi, drinking

17 Kinch 1914, 90-7; for a discussion of this structure and the suggestion of the possible existence of a funnel-shaped gate at Vroulia, see Melander 1988.

18 Kinch 1914, 97-108.

19 Kinch 1914, 108-12.

20 Kinch 1914, 34-89.

21 One exception to this is children's burial 's', which was equipped with numerous burial gifts; see description on p. 104 below.



Fig. 9a–b. Cypriot limestone sphinx found in ‘la chapelle’, detail of the inscription on the wing, inv. 11328 (The National Museum of Denmark).

cups, oinochoai and plates), including a distinct group of pottery classified as “Vroulia style pottery”.<sup>22</sup> Among the finds were also fibulas, beads and scarabs.

On the southeast foot of the Vroulia hill, Kinch had investigated the poor remains of a small Archaic temple ‘in antae’ (“la chapelle”), belonging to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and therefore considered to be one of the earliest temple-buildings known from the Archaic period (Fig. 5, no. 4; Fig. 8).<sup>23</sup> Further to the east, on the side of the opposite hill, the remains of an early Christian basilica with mosaic floor were located (Fig. 5, no. 3).<sup>24</sup>

Between the southeast side of the Vroulia hill and the opposite slopes, a cove protected from the north and south winds may have served as the settlement’s harbour. The harbour and the access to the sea in general undoubtedly had a great significance for this otherwise isolated settlement. As is the case for all main sites on Rhodes in this period, the archaeological material from Vroulia

clearly demonstrates the island’s strategic location on the sea-routes between the eastern and western Mediterranean region (Fig. 2).<sup>25</sup> This connection can be further emphasized by examples of the otherwise only limited distributed and produced ‘Vroulia’ style pottery that has been found in Naucratis and Tell Defenneh in the Nile Delta, in Cyrene in North Africa and in Tell Sukas along the Levantine coast.<sup>26</sup> One particular find from “la chapelle”, a limestone sphinx with an inscription on the right wing (Fig. 9a–b), has furthermore led scholars to argue for the presence of Phoenicians in Vroulia.<sup>27</sup> Although it has proved impossible to decipher the exact meaning of the inscription it is clear that the text is of Phoenician origin, while the sphinx is of a Cypriot type.

Considering the isolated location together with the distinctive structures of the settlement at Vroulia, Kinch defined the function of the site as that of a residential military garrison, an interpretation later accepted by Me-

22 Kinch 1914, 168-90.

23 Kinch 1914, 8-26.

24 Wriedt Sørensen & Pentz 1992, 245.

25 See e.g. Coulié & Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 76-119 with further references.

26 Cook & Dupont 1998, 114-5; according to Herodotos (2.178), the Rhodians were involved in the foundation of Naucratis.

27 Kourou 2003; Bourogiannis 2014, 163-4, figs 4-5.

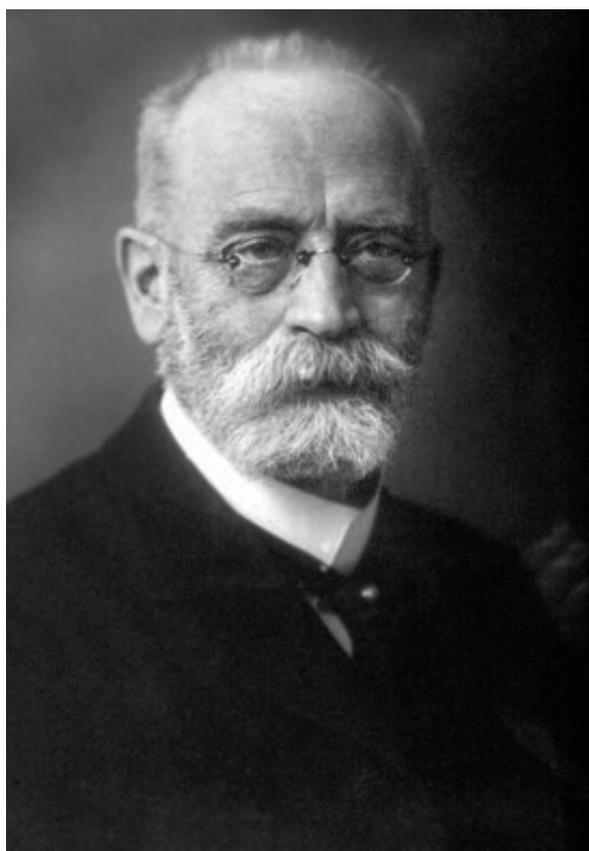


Fig. 10. K.F. Kinch (1853-1921) (*The National Museum of Denmark*).

lander, who described it as “a point of military interest as the last port of call on the territory of the city state or polis of Lindos...”.<sup>28</sup> Ian Morris on the other hand, based on a demographic analysis of the tomb material, came to the conclusion that “the age structure of its cemeteries would fit a ‘normal’ agricultural population far better than a putative garrison.”<sup>29</sup> His analysis and treatment of the archaeological evidence has subsequently been

discussed and questioned by Lone Wriedt Sørensen, who among other things emphasized the fact that the landscape surrounding Vroulia is barren and thus not suitable as farmland.<sup>30</sup> Nota Kourou, who stresses the possible function of the site in the trading network,<sup>31</sup> suggests that a commercial installation might best explain the character of the Vroulia settlement.

### K. F. Kinch and the excavation of Vroulia (1905, 1907-1908)

K. F. Kinch was born in 1853 in Ribe in the southern part of Jutland (Fig. 10). He was the son of the Danish historian and schoolteacher Jakob Frederik Kinch (1817-1888). As a young man he began his studies in philology at the University of Copenhagen, where he was the pupil of Professor in Philology and Archaeology, Johan Louis Ussing. Ussing at the time played an important part in the establishment of an early interest in Greek archaeology and excavations in Denmark; he published numerous important works on these subjects and visited Greece several times during his lifetime.<sup>32</sup> It seems reasonable to suppose that it might have been him who inspired Kinch to turn his focus towards archaeology, and soon after he received his doctorate in 1883, Kinch visited Greece for the first time. Here he developed a special interest in the ancient remains of Macedonia, the Chalcidian peninsula and Thessaloniki.<sup>33</sup> During several subsequent trips in the years between 1885 and 1893 he thoroughly studied the topography of this – at the time – not very well-known region. Unfortunately, he never managed to publish the results of this work in its entirety,<sup>34</sup> possibly because from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century he became involved in the Carlsberg Foundation’s plan to establish a major Danish excavation project in the Mediterranean region.<sup>35</sup> This idea was

28 Melander 1988, 83

29 Moris 1992.

30 Sørensen 2002.

31 Kourou (2003, 257) defines the site as a “port of call for a Cypriot trade network”.

32 Ussing 1906.

33 Dyggve 1943, 149-50.

34 He did publish his studies of the triumphal arch in Thessaloniki, *L’Arc de triomphe de Salonique* (Kinch 1890). A collection of his epigraphic notes has recently been published by Juhel & Νίγδελις (2015).

35 Before he was involved in this project he also worked as schoolteacher in Borgerdydskolen in Copenhagen, and functioned as administrator at Maribo School on the island of Lolland in the southern part of Denmark. He even made an unsuccessful attempt to found his own school (Juhel & Νίγδελις 2015, 20).

undoubtedly inspired by projects such as the German excavations in Olympia and Pergamon, and the Austrian excavations at Ephesus.<sup>36</sup>

It was Kinch's previous professor, Ussing, who, as a member of the Foundation committee, was behind the initiative of establishing a Danish excavation project, and Kinch was entrusted with the task of finding a suitable location. After several reconnaissance trips mainly in the eastern Mediterranean region, the Foundation finally decided in 1901 to support the project of an excavation of the Athena Lindia sanctuary on Rhodes.<sup>37</sup> After having gained the necessary permissions from the Turkish government in Constantinople, Kinch – together with the archaeologist and curator of the National Museum of Denmark, Christian Sørensen Blinkenberg – was able to begin the excavation work in Lindos in April 1902. Of these two main members of the expedition, Kinch was undoubtedly the driving force behind the fieldwork and he stayed almost continuously on the island through all the expedition years. Blinkenberg, due to his position at the National Museum, was only present on Rhodes for shorter periods of time during the early years of excavation (1902-1905).<sup>38</sup>

Lindos was an appropriate choice for such a prestige project, with its prominent location in the landscape and as the main sanctuary of an important Rhodian polis with significant contacts with the eastern Mediterranean region. It was highly likely that an excavation would reveal important votives, interesting architectural structures and inscriptions – as it did.<sup>39</sup> However, Kinch's interests clearly extended further than the excavations in Lindos, and the region of southern Rhodes was of major interest to him. This interest seems to have been encouraged by his concern to find and document the archaeological remains before they were damaged by

unauthorized excavations and the archaeological finds sold.<sup>40</sup> These concerns are clear from the accounts of his own diary that he meticulously wrote during all his years in Rhodes.

The excavation of Vroulia took place during two main seasons from July to September 1907 and again from May to August 1908. However, Kinch did carry out a week of preliminary investigation on the site in 1905, a few weeks after he visited Vroulia for the first time in September 1905:

With Nikolaos Karpathios from Kattavia to Vroulia. After one hour we reached H. Giorgios monastery in a valley that opens towards the Sea. Shortly hereafter at Spilia (no caves!) near Kymisala (two hills with a valley between). All over tableland with a few hills and valleys. After two and half hours the ocean was visible, a valley extends across the island and then follows a hill (Vroulia). Beyond this lies το νησί [Prasonissi] – the island with the lighthouse. This island as well as Vroulia are rocky hills where no growth can be seen except thorny plants and low thuja. The island is connected to the mainland (Rhodes) with a low isthmus. [...] With Nikolaos up the hill of Vroulia. On the northeastern side and above a considerable number of walls visible. According to Nikolaos they are remains of houses, and also of terrace walls (?). Along the ridge of the hill (south–north) can be seen the remains of a wall of the same type; Nikolaos thinks, that this is the city wall. The outside of the wall is oriented towards the island of the lighthouse. The wall extends from ocean to ocean [...]. The walls end on both ends towards an escarpment. Hereafter down the hill towards southeast, a building around 30-40 metres from the Sea. This building was found and excavated this year around fasting. [Kinch, September 20, 1905: personal diary, no. 36, 27]

36 Fellmann & Scheyhing 1972; Wiplinger & Wlach 1996.

37 Several other sites were suggested, such as Cyrene in northern Africa and Kleonai or Nemea on the Peloponnese (Dietz & Trolle 1974, 9; Wriedt Sørensen 1992, 7-8).

38 Dietz & Trolle 1974, 9.

39 Ussing published the arguments for choosing Lindos in 1906 (Ussing 1906, 228-9).

40 With the increasing interest shown in the archaeological remains of Rhodes (beginning with the first excavations by Salzmann and Biliotti in Kamirós in the 1860's), the local farmers had soon acknowledged the possible wealth to be made by selling archaeological objects. Undoubtedly it was a lucrative market at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the Turkish gendarmes were earnestly trying to prevent these activities (Dietz & Trolle 1974, 18-20).

### *The excavation of the building by the sea, 'La Chapelle', in 1905*

The small building by the sea, the so-called 'chapelle', became Kinch's first excavation project on the site (Fig. 8). In early October 1905 he writes that permission has been given for him to begin the work:

Yesterday Sameg visited the governor and talked with him on my behalf about Vroulia. They had agreed that I would be given permission, in the presence of Georgaki, to excavate the building already excavated (and subsequently backfilled) by the local farmers of Kattavia and to investigate the surrounding area. [Kinch, October 6, 1914: personal diary, no. 36, 58]

Subsequently Kinch re-excavated the sanctuary between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of October, and he also made some initial surveys in its surroundings, including the excavation of a few rooms in the urban area. With him were the foreman Nikolaos Vatinos and six men, as well as the local supervision chief Georgakis. During the first days of excavation Kinch soon acknowledged the problems of gaining a complete understanding of the structures of this small antae-building as it was originally found. The Kattavians had not only removed objects from the small sanctuary but also several stone slabs that had originally been placed around the altar:<sup>41</sup>

Diako Jani visited us today. He had tried to gain some information from people on how the stone slabs had been placed on the table in the sanctuary. Nothing definite came out of his questions, but it seems that no 'opening' was present in the table below the upper slab, but that the stones have been placed close together. [Kinch, October 15, 1905: personal diary, no. 36, 68]

Georgakis wrote to the Mudir and requested that he send Mustapha and Savvas, who took part in the excavation work during the first day. They confirmed Manolis' description. There were three layers, two stones in the lowest, laying parallel with the Sea, the two above conversely; above a thinner stone [...]. At Mustapha's house more stones from the lower part can be found, now cut up. It is rough poros, carefully worked [Kinch, October 15, 1905: personal diary, no. 36, 69].



**Fig. 11.** *Dinos and stand in wild-goat style, from 'la chapelle', inv. 11275 (dinos) and 11276 (stand) (The National Museum of Denmark).*

During the season in 1907, Kinch was still trying to get the stones back to Vroulia in order to test the original construction of the altar:

Sunday. To Kattavia. Have made an agreement with Mustapha, that the stones from the table on the sacrificial place should be brought back to Vroulia. Christakis Kazanis should come with him and show the original location of the stones in the table. The weather for the last couple of days has been unstable. Some clouds can be seen now in the sky. Today when we returned, we drove after sunset and saw thunder and lightning [Kinch, excavation journal, August 18, 1907].

The finds made by Kinch and his men in the backfill of the building consisted mainly of smaller fine- and coarseware fragments, while the main objects found in the building had already been removed by the Kattavians. From the diaries it is clear that Kinch spend some time trying to locate these finds among the local farmers and to collect them for his documentation. According to his own



**Fig. 12.** *Cyriot limestone horse with rider, from 'la chapelle', inv. 11274. (The National Museum of Denmark).*

statement he succeeded in collecting almost everything.<sup>42</sup> Among these finds were a large north Ionian dinos in wild-goat style (Fig. 11), together with several Cyriot limestone figures – such as the sphinx with preserved Phoenician inscription described above (Fig. 9)<sup>43</sup> and a horseman (Fig. 12).<sup>44</sup> A significant part of these finds seems to have been brought back home with Kinch at an early time and they are now kept in the collection of the National Museum of Denmark (Appendix nos 1.1-1.8).

More than anything, this first week seems to have been marked by several conflicts with the Turkish administration and the local farmers concerning their rights to work on the site. On the very first morning of work the two sons of the local farmer claiming to own the land turned up on the site seeking to prevent them from working there:

Started with the building. The old soil was examined. Numerous fragments of coarse and finer vessels were found, among these a few fragments of the large rhodian-corinthian vase.

The two sons of the owner of the field showed up on the site around 8 ½ and tried to prohibit us from continuing the work. They brought with them a property letter. We told them that since they had carried out excavation here and sold the objects they had lost their rights and that we could inform the authorities about their activities [Kinch, October 9, 1905: personal diary, no. 36, 61].

A few days later Kinch wrote “the two brothers Christos and Savvas, the so-called owners, have gone to town to complain over our work on their property” [Kinch, personal diary, no. 36, 65]. Finally on the 14<sup>th</sup> of October Kinch, as a consequence of this situation, wrote that an appeal had been sent to the local authorities asking them to keep their promises of preventing illegal excavations and to take care that the excavated building would not suffer further destruction:

Georgaki wrote a letter to the Demogerontia (Turkish and Greek) that they had not kept their promise of preventing excavations [...]. Again we commanded them to take care that the revealed building at Vroulia would not suffer any further destruction and that no one would start excavating there [Kinch, October 14, 1905: personal diary, no. 36, 68].

The whole situation however seems to be more complicated than this and the relationship with the Mudir appears to have been quite tense at this point. The Mudir apparently travelled to Vroulia in order to inspect their work or even stop it – his intentions are unclear. Kinch clearly felt that he was trying to stop their work and he even suggests that it was he who had encouraged the owners of the land to try to stop them on their first day. A meeting between the supervision chief, Georgakis, and the Mudir appears to clear up the matter, and the Mudir claimed to have an interest in protecting their work while at the same time wanting to inspect what exactly was going on. Miscommunication seems to be a general problem here and though the Mudir told Georgakis that he was not interested in stopping the work, Kinch still continued to hear from several other people that the Mudir was trying to stop them:

42 Kinch 1914, 12-26.

43 See n. 27 above.

44 He also received two further examples of Cyriot limestone figures (Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. 11326-11327, Appendix nos. 1.6-1.7; Kinch 1914, 15, pls 13-4, 2-3).



**Fig. 13a–b.** a) Pencil drawing showing the view from the Oros hill towards Prassonissi (Kinch, personal diary, book 39, September 22, 1907); b) Painting by Helvig Kinch with the view from the excavation house on Prassonissi towards the Vroulia hill (The National Museum of Denmark).



**Fig. 14a–b.** *Excavation photo: the lighthouse on Prassonissi and the lighthouse guard, Halil (The National Museum of Denmark).*

[during a visit to the H. Giorgios monastery] When we arrived at the exit a Zaptich [policeman] was standing with a shotgun at the hole, looking after us. When we came out, we found the Mudir sitting by our clothes with a boy from the monastery. He said hello and some words indicating that he didn't know that it was me who was here. A man had told him, that a Frenchman was excavating here. I asked him: What are you doing here? Briefly hereafter he left and we didn't exchange a word.

[...] The Mudir is trying from all sides to get information on our work at Vroulia, and what has been going on there [Kinch, October 14, 1905: personal diary, no. 36, 68].

The Mudir has sent for Georgakis, who stayed with him for some hours and then gave me the following message. The Mudir is worried and seeks our understanding. He has arrived here because he received a message from the Pasha. Maarif has written to the Pasha and informed him that excavations without permission were taking place in Kattavia and Lachania; the Maarif therefore asked the Pasha to give the Mudir orders

on making the necessary precautions, to go there himself and make a record of previously excavated locations, prevent further unauthorized excavations and place Zaptichs everywhere to protect the sites, while I intend to carry out excavations in the name of the museum. This apparently should be the real reason for the arrival of the Mudir. The Mudir also has an order from the Pasha to inspect the place where we are working. Yesterday he wanted to go to Vroulia, when we met him at H. Giorgos. [Kinch, October 15, 1905: personal diary, no. 36, 69]

In Gennadi Leonidas told me that the other day when the Mudir came to Gennadi, he had told him that he was going to Vroulia in order to stop our work. The same they had heard in Vati both from the people in Gennadi and Lachania [Kinch, October 15, 1905: personal diary, no. 36, 69]

On their return to Lindos, Kinch seeks explanation for these incidents:



**Fig. 15a–b.** a) Excavation photo: the excavation house on Prassonissi, with Mrs. Kinch and their daughter, Gunhild; the lower building at the back of the house still survives today (The National Museum of Denmark); b) The present remains of the Danish excavation house on Prassonissi (The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese).

In Lindos the Gendarme Ali claims, at Stephanos' Coffee House, that the Mudir really intended to stop our work, and, if we had not already finished the work he would have forced us to do so [Kinch, October 17, 1905: personal diary, no. 36, 71].

In the afternoon, I went with Sameg to the Pasha in order to thank him for the permission and to complain about the Mudir. Sameg thinks: that the governor has sent someone for our protection and help, but also to make sure that nothing illegal was going on. While the governor does not have the necessary authority to give me such a permission that I had

received through Sameg. The governor has told Sameg that it was him who instructed the Mudir – however Sameg thinks that the Mudir has exceeded his instructions. [Kinch, October 21, 1905: personal diary, no. 36, 71]

### *The excavations at Vroulia in 1907-1908*

In July 1907 Kinch arrived in Vroulia again to begin the first of the two main excavation seasons. This time his wife, the artist Helvig Kinch (1872-1956), and their 3-year-old daughter, Gunhild (1904-1998), stayed with him dur-

ing the excavation. Helvig Kinch was responsible for all the drawings included in the publication of the site, and from the diaries it seems that she spent most days working in their home, a house that was built for them on Prassonissi, the island with the lighthouse (Figs 13-15). In several passages during the first month of work, Kinch is clearly concerned about the quality of this house:

At night Kyriakos turned over the house to me. The work was poor or mediocre as Lysandros said during his inspection of the house. The wall towards the north is inwardly curved. It is doubtful whether the roof can withstand the rain. No corner is regular, no line straight. The woodwork is miserable; the wood in the windows is too thin. The lime cover on the interior walls is impossible, very irregular. The floor (irregular slabs with clay in between) of no use – payed for the house and the barracks 50; 4 held back for reparations and improvements. There I was right in the contract (“no payment before the work has been approved”). [Kinch, July 31, 1907, personal diary no. 37, 70-71]

The diaries do not reveal why Kinch decided to build his house on Prassonissi instead of closer to the site of the excavation. The location, however, undoubtedly had an amazing view of the surrounding landscape and the fact that it must have been an inspiring place for his wife to settle down as a painter might serve as the most reasonable explanation:

Absolutely quiet in the morning. The coast opposite our house quite dark and sharply outlined. The outermost point (to the west) seems quite near. Karpathos can be seen quite clearly. The mountains of Crete behind. [Kinch, May 28, 1908: personal diary, no. 39, 81-2].

On July 21, 1907, the excavation work started. Usually there were between 10 and 20 workers active and distributed in groups around the area. Some were responsible for the necropolis and others for the urban area, the sanctuary, tower, city wall and houses. Altogether they excavated and surveyed a significant area during only a few months' work, and although Kinch was very thorough in his documentation of the excavation work, the general

impression is undoubtedly that the excavations seem to have been carried out in a rather hasty manner by the standards of today.

During the previous days, the terrain (mainly on the hill) was divided into the system of a square net through pile driving (with 10 m<sup>2</sup> distance in between the piles).

Seven workers. Lysandros (from Monolithos), who has been entrusted with the task to find and excavate the necropolis, spent most of the day searching for it in the area east of the city, beyond the valley. The other workers were partly cleaning the well and raising the stone work around it, and partly making a test excavation in and around the rectangular building (a rectangular temenos wall with a building inside?) east of the valley, here among other things was found a base fragment, seems Roman. A part of the wall exposed. The thickness of the walls c. 0.75. Stones – small or medium-sized; no lime. While the number of workers was inadequate for a building of this size, it was decided to postpone the work here. [Kinch, excavation journal, July 21, 1907].

Through both seasons a number of experienced workers were connected to the project and several of these are well-known from Kinch's activities elsewhere on the island, as documented in his diaries. One of these is the worker Lysandros (from Monolithos), who was entrusted with finding and excavating the necropolis, as described in the quotation above. Kinch reports in the excavation journal on their agreement that “Lysandros should have 1 medsch for the first tomb found. 5 piastre for every later tomb and 3 piastre for every children's tomb” [excavation journal, August 3, 1907].<sup>45</sup> From day one of the 1907 season a systematic search for the tombs in the area east of the city plateau was begun. And after one week's work, on July 31, the first tomb was revealed:

At 9 o'clock in the morning Lysandros reported that he had found an Archaic tomb. Tomb 1, on the slope around 50 m. outside the city gate, approximately out of the tower. A cremation tomb carved in the soft bedrock, no stone enclosure. [...]. All tombs had in every corner an elongated circular depression

45 The medsch coinage that Kinch is referring to here is probably a mecdiye or mecit. This is a silver coin of approximately 23 gr. in weight, in use during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

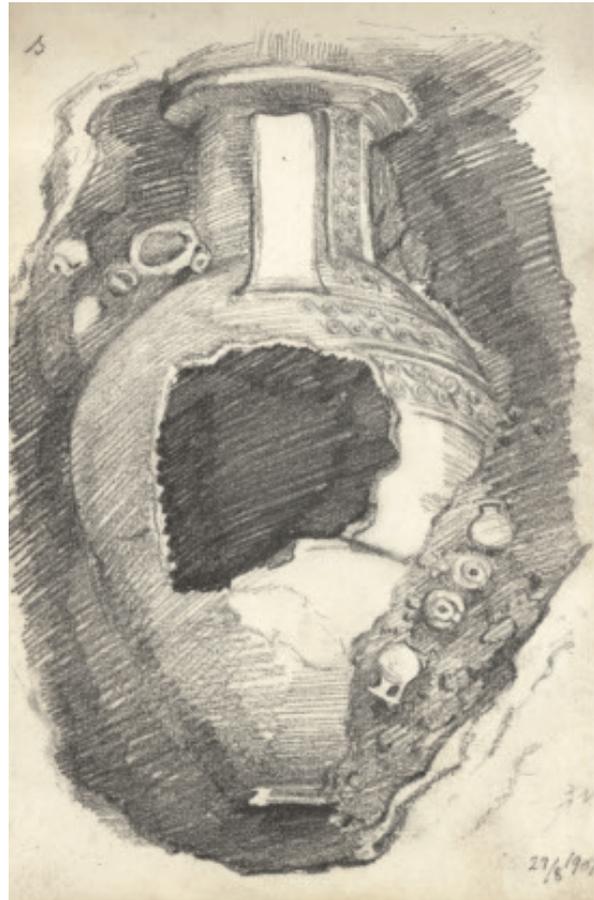


**Fig. 16.** Excavation photo: Lysandros during the excavation of the children's tomb 's' on August 31, 1907 (*The National Museum of Denmark*).

(λάκκος). In tomb 1 the burned layer (charcoal, bones and some pebbles) was located around 70-80 cm below the present surface and was around 12 cm deep.

Lysandros thinks that the burial took place in the following way: the tombs with its four λάκκοι were dug. In the holes small vases (alabaster etc.) were deposited. On the bottom wood and above the corpse of the deceased was laid. Ignited, the body burned. After the burning, the other vases were placed in the glowing mass. Hereafter the tomb is filled with earth. Often the tomb was reopened and a new cremation took place... Later, burial gifts (vases) were placed above the tomb, unburned. [Kinch, excavation journal, July 31, 1907]<sup>46</sup>

Throughout the first season new tombs were found almost every day. Tomb 's' was found on August 23, 1907



**Fig. 17.** "Child tomb 's': drawing by Mrs. K. Large decorated amphora, high up towards the gate, lying on one side with the mouth of the vessel towards NW, a little upwards" [Kinch, excavation journal, 36] (*The National Museum of Denmark*).

(Figs 16-17), an extraordinary tomb due to the significant number of burial gifts, which was not common in the tombs of young children.<sup>47</sup> Among the finds were a ring-shaped aryballos decorated with geometric patterns, now in Copenhagen (Fig. 18, Appendix no. 2.1).

Kinch often seems to have relied upon the experience of his workers, and he always describes them in a respectful manner. In several cases he chooses to include the interpretations of Lysandros and other workers in the final publication, for instance in the following example where the construction of Tomb 23 is explained:

<sup>46</sup> This interpretation of the tomb ritual is also given by Kinch (1914).

<sup>47</sup> Kinch 1914, 44-8, pl. 31.



**Fig. 18.** Ring-shaped aryballos from tomb 's', inv. 11318 (The National Museum of Denmark).

Tomb 23 opened; close to tomb 22. Conspicuously many pebbles (flat – or sea stones) below the surface, covering the complete extent of the tomb. Opened by Manolis Furtukas: he thinks because of the stones that the buried person must have been a *κακούργος* [bandit] and that he was stoned. [Kinch, excavation journal, August 31, 1907]<sup>48</sup>

At the end of the first season, the necropolis appeared to have been completely excavated and attempts were made to locate additional tombs in other areas as well:

An attempt is made to find out whether the necropolis is larger or whether another burial place can be found. Excavation has been without any success. It seems as if the burial place is not larger (or at least not much larger). Nothing in the terrain towards V to the Sea. [Kinch, excavation journal, September 6, 1907]



**Fig. 19.** Bowl of north Ionian type found in room I, 25, inv. 11278 (The National Museum of Denmark).

A few more tombs did turn up in 1908 in the area closer to the urban area, but after less than one month's work the search for more tombs was stopped. Kinch finally concluded in his publication: "La recherché de tombeaux dans d'autres parties de Vroulia, hors de la cité et dans la cité même, étant restée infructueuse, nous sommes presque certains que la nécropole découverte par nous est la seule; c'est celle d'une petite cité et d'une cité qui, encore, n'a duré que peu de temps"<sup>49</sup>

While Lysandros and usually a couple of other workers were concerned with the excavation of the necropolis, the leading worker Nikolaos (from Karpathos), together with his men, were focused on the excavation of the houses and the area of the urban sanctuary. However, it seems clear that in several cases, when a more experienced excavator was needed, Lysandros was called in to carry out the work:

<sup>48</sup> Interpretation repeated in Kinch's description of this tomb, Kinch 1914, 82.

<sup>49</sup> Kinch 1914, 34.



**Fig. 20.** Female terracotta figurine from the open-air sanctuary, inv. 11273 (The National Museum of Denmark).

House h (the upper part of the wall could be recognized in the surface before excavation). Finds: a bronze plate (with suspension holes), broken into many pieces. A proto-corinthian alabastron, without rim. A proto-corinthian alabastron or aryballos in small pieces. A well-preserved aryballos – since the house seems to be exceptionally rich it was decided that it should be excavated by Lysandros, with a small knife and pickaxe, and most of the workers were moved to house i. [Kinch, excavation journal, August 6, 1907].

Actually the excavation of the first rooms in row I was begun in 1905, but these rooms were reopened at the beginning of the 1907 season. The majority of the objects found in the houses were various types of pottery (e.g. Fig. 19 found in house I 25). Another distinctive object from the area is the female terracotta figure found in the open-air sanctuary (Fig. 20). The figurine was found close to the small structure placed against the wall of the tower, which Kinch interpreted as an altar (Figs 26-27):<sup>50</sup>

Near the south side of the tower a larger fragment of a female terracotta figurine was found. Another fragment (of a head) found on the same spot a couple of days ago belongs to the same figurine. Still missing is the backside and one arm. Is the building a temple? What does the throne mean, which is leaning against the southern wall? [Kinch, excavation journal, August 21, 1907]



**Fig. 21.** Aerial view from the southeast: the successive apartments of row I following the slope of the Vroulia hill (The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese).

Close to the throne/altar mentioned yesterday was found a recess, hollowed in the earth. We have here a sacrificial place on the south–southwestern side of the building. The altar seems old (older than the building?). [Kinch, excavation journal, August 22, 1907].

As was the case during the initial surveys on the site in 1905, the communication with the local Turkish administrators was not always easy for Kinch and during these two seasons he often reported difficulties in communication with the supervisors who stayed with them through the excavation period. The chief of supervision in 1907, Begen, seems occasionally to have been suspicious of the work of the expedition and Kinch's priorities:

Begen suspicious at night. Examined before our departure from Vroulia my sketchbook where he found tomb 's' [Kinch, excavation journal, August 27, 1907].

Difficult scene at night between Begen and I. Begen claims: 1) that I have hidden excavated objects from him; 2) that he was being kind, when he left things for us to draw and study; 3) that I should have finished the museum in our house before I finished the bedroom. I told him that when talking like that he was an *imbicile et un impertinent*. – Helvig then arrived. We managed to get him to admit that he was wrong – we have the impression that he is unhappy, has weak lungs and therefore is irritable and not able to control his temper. [Kinch, personal diary, August 28, 1907]

A quite different problem appears in 1908 when the new chief of supervision, Husni Effenti, seemed to be bored with the work carried on at the site and wanted to leave:

Hussni had already the other day talked about having to leave soon for town, but that he would be back in 3-4 days (?). Today he repeated that he has to leave for 6 days, and that he assumed that I would stop the excavation work during his absence. I declared that this was impossible. Soliman (gendarme) informed me that Hussni wants to leave, he has no understanding of this type of excavation and he thinks we are finding gold. He wants to return to Rhodes [Kinch, personal diary, May 27, 1908]

### *Guests in Vroulia*

That the excavations at Vroulia were of interest to several of the important archaeologists working in Greece at the time can be emphasized by Kinch's description of such visits in the diaries.

On August 8, 1907 Kinch reported that a number of guests from the German Archaeological Institute had arrived, among these Dr. Georg Karo, Dr. Walter Müller, Dr. Karl Müller and Dr. Frickenhaus. He also describes how Tomb 6 was opened in their presence and how they subsequently spent some days together during which they visited a number of sites on their trip to Lindos:<sup>51</sup>

August 8 [...] Dr. Georg Karo, Dr. Walter Müller and Dr. Frickenhaus, all from the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, arrived here in the morning. Tomb 6 was opened in their presence, only 3 disques and a few proto-corinthian fragments.

August 9 [...] At 3 o'clock in the afternoon Kinch together with Karo and the rest of the visitors to Lachania and the monastery H. Georgios. Spent the night here.

August 10 [...] Kinch with the German company to Lindos. [Kinch, excavation journal, 21]

In 1908 Kinch writes in a note from July 19 that "Wace and Thompson arrived here in the evening". These are undoubtedly Alan Wace and Maurice S. Thompson from the British School in Athens, who at the time were working on several important excavations in Thessaly.<sup>52</sup> Kinch does not describe this visit in detail, but Wace has left some notes on a page in Kinch's diary and drawings of two prehistoric vessels that he asks Kinch to look for in the Rhodian material [Kinch, July 20, personal diary no. 40, 11].

### *The end of the expedition and Kinch's return to Rhodes in 1913-1914*

Kinch's diaries clearly document the conflicting interests in Rhodes at this time: the local farmers and owners of the land, the Turkish administration trying to control and

<sup>51</sup> Kinch 1914, 66-9, pl. 38.

<sup>52</sup> Thompson and Wace worked on prehistoric sites in Thessaly in the years 1907-1909 (Thompson & Wace 1912).

prevent illegal activities and then the Danish expedition. Finally, shortly after the work in Vroulia had ended, a group of local Lindians wrote a petition to the Turkish government in Constantinople to ask them to stop the Danish activities on the island. In January 1909 Kinch received the message in Lindos that the permission to work on the island had ended, due to a wish not to excite the local population further:

Today yet again at the Mudir's; he had received a letter from the Pasha as an answer to my inquiry. He had presented my case for the council. The Lindians maintain that my permission to excavate has expired, that I have sent most of the finds to foreign countries; and that my permission to make new excavations on private ground would lead to excitement among the local population. [Kinch, January 1, 1909, personal diary, no. 41, 1]

By the beginning of February 1909 Kinch had left the island. During his return to Denmark he tried to negotiate in Constantinople for the extradition of excavated material, but the process failed.

When Kinch finally returned to Rhodes again in December 1913, the political situation had undergone dramatic changes. In 1912 the island had been seized by the Italians in the Italo-Turkish War,<sup>53</sup> and during this period of instability the Lindian acropolis had served as a garrison for the Italian troops. The storerooms (Kinch's museum) had been partly destroyed and the majority of the excavated material, including the finds from Vroulia, were no longer to be found. The few objects that remained when Kinch returned had been stacked around the windows to prevent them from falling out.<sup>54</sup> Today the material in the National Museum of Denmark (see Appendix) is the only securely identified material from the excavations in Vroulia. It is probably safe to say that these finds would also have been lost if they had remained in Rhodes.

In the spring of 1914 Kinch paid a final visit to Vroulia:<sup>55</sup>

From Kattavia to Vroulia. The rain and the times have gradually ruined more and more of the lower sanctuary and the houses. However we did find everything almost how we left it, including also the pottery sherds on the wall where we had placed them [...]. We visited the lighthouse. Here lives Mehemet Ali with his wife and their two married sons Chukri and Hussein. With Chukri to our house. In the large room the people had placed a boat and planks. In a few places around the doorway the plaster has loosened and is about to fall down. [Kinch, May 11, 1914, personal diary, no. 44, 74]

Kinch seems to have been very thorough in his archaeological work but the Vroulia publication – for its time a very valuable excavation report – was unfortunately the only one that he managed to finish himself.<sup>56</sup> After he returned to Copenhagen in 1914 he continued his work on the publication of the Lindos excavation, but in 1917 he suffered from a brain haemorrhage and subsequent strokes that in the end made it impossible for him to continue his work.<sup>57</sup> He died in 1921.

In the period between the Danish expedition and launch of the project *Consolidation and Enhancement of the Archaic Settlement of Vroulia at Southern Rhodes* by the Ephorate of the Dodecanese in 2011, no excavation activities have been carried out at the site. In the following the current work and aims for the future will be outlined.

### Current work on the site

The consolidation of the row I apartments and the adjacent fortification wall, as well as the restoration of the tower, are the major operations being carried out under the co-financed project for the *Consolidation and Enhancement of the Archaic Settlement of Vroulia*; in addition, the consolidation of the small Archaic temple on the

53 After the end of World War I, according to the Treaty of Lausanne, Rhodes officially became part of Italy together with the rest of the Dodecanese.

54 Kinch's diaries clearly reveal how upset he was about this; see Wriedt Sørensen 1992, 64-5, who gives an account of several passages from Kinch's diary in January 1914 where he questions various people about the incidents on the acropolis in the years of his absence.

55 Only a few months after he had completed the manuscript for the field report *Fouilles de Vroulia* (Kinch 1914).

56 See n. 3-4 above. That the Vroulia publication was an important one at the time can be seen in the reviews in *JHS* 34 (1914), 332, and *Revue Archéologique. Quatrième Série* 24 (1914), 154-5.

57 Juhel & Νιγδελις 2015, 22.



Fig. 22. The door opening of apartment I, 13, view from the southwest. (*The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese*).

southeast foot of the Vroulia hill is also taking place together with a reconstruction of its internal partition and altar.

The preliminary clearing of vegetation revealed the apparently chaotic state of the ancient ruins: however, careful examination made possible the successful identification of the “*pièces d’habitation*” as numbered in Kinch’s initial plan.

Kinch provides a general but comprehensive description of the row I apartments, which are adjacent to the inner face of the fortification wall, and laid directly on the natural soft bedrock following the slope of the hill (Fig. 21). Only the lower part of the walls is preserved (to a height of about 0.40-0.90 m and 0.40-0.55 m wide), built with irregular stones that supported their superstructure,

which was made of mud bricks. The dividing walls of the series of apartments on the hillside are usually set on rough steps cut into the bedrock. A large proportion of the dividing walls still maintain a degree of consistency, which made the work of their restoration easier through the use of the stones fallen in front of them and obviously belonging to the masonry. In several cases (apartments row I 3, 6, 12, 13, 18, 21, 23, 28, 33, 34, 35, 36) it became possible to identify door openings, which were of varying widths and, occasionally, to locate and restore the sill and the lower part of the jambs (Fig. 22).

According to a theoretical reconstruction proposed by Wolfram Hoepfner (Fig. 7),<sup>58</sup> in front of each house lay a courtyard for the outdoor activities of the occupants. Unfortunately, within the co-financed project it was not

<sup>58</sup> Hoepfner 1999, 194-9.



Fig. 23. Aerial view of the assumed extension of row II apartments (*The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese*).

possible to undertake large-scale excavations to properly explore the walls partly visible to the west of the row I apartments. However, an extension of the row II apartments was clearly traced west of the empty space of the agora (Fig. 23).<sup>59</sup>

Of particular interest is the location of a cistern at the northeast corner of apartment I 40, and another one at the northeast corner of apartment I 38, which are shown in the small text drawings of Kinch.<sup>60</sup> Other possible cisterns (or rather their openings) are located west of the row I apartments, at the space supposed to have been occupied by the courtyards of the houses.

A major problem was the establishment of the original floor level of the apartments. According to Kinch, in most cases the levelled rock functioned as a floor, any hollows being filled with earth. Also, in apartments I 23, 32, 34 and II 4, limestone slabs are reported to have been laid over the surface of the levelled rock. In apartment I 15, Kinch observed floor remnants consisting of compacted earth incorporating small flat stones near the door. Rationally, the floor level of the apartments should coincide with the threshold level (where it survives). Moreover, the slightly raised surface of the rough step-like cutting of the

natural rock, where the dividing walls of the successive apartments are laid, provides an additional indication, particularly at the point where the walls join the inner side of the fortification wall.<sup>61</sup>

The cleaning of the dividing walls of the row I apartments showed that the walls interlocked firmly with the inner face of the fortification wall at their eastern ends. The part of the fortification wall excavated by Kinch (from apartment I 2 to the tower) has a total length of approximately 220 metres. Its 1.00-1.20 metre-wide substructure is thought to survive today to about the same height as in antiquity (1-1.25 m). It was built with large or medium-sized unworked stones, which, according to the excavator, were available locally. The upper part of the fortification wall was built with mud bricks, like the walls of the houses.

At a distance of about 175 metres from its southeast end, the fortification wall bends at an angle before continuing further to the northwest: in the recess thus formed, the three last apartments of row I (i.e. room 41, 42 and 43) were accommodated. Kinch thought they functioned as guard-shelters rather than proper houses. The cleaning of the unnaturally wide south wall of apartment I

<sup>59</sup> The poor remnants of a supposed third row of apartments, apparently fallen into the sea, were located west of the second one, at the brow of the steep cliff.

<sup>60</sup> Kinch 1914, 117-8, fig. 37.

<sup>61</sup> In several cases, the rock is by no means level and in places obviously protruded from the supposed floor level. Most likely, the ground floor of the apartments was used for storage or as stables, whereas a low upper floor or a mezzanine (of mud bricks and, possibly, wood) served as living quarters. Before the beginning of the excavation, Kinch observed that masses of broken and fallen mud bricks were found inside the apartments, covering the lower part of the walls (Kinch 1914, 112).



Fig. 24. Aerial view of the assumed gate at the bending of the fortification wall (*The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese*).

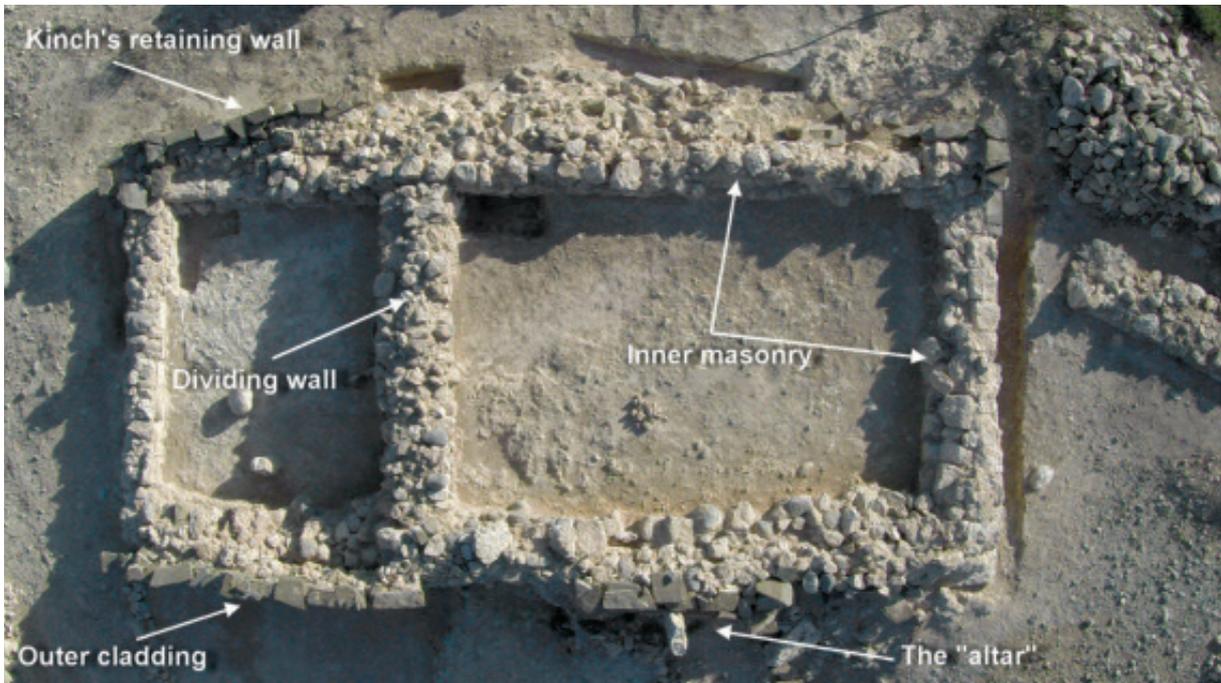


Fig. 25. Aerial view of the fortification tower before its consolidation (*The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese*).



**Fig. 26.** *The 'altar' as it has survived, following the clearing of vegetation and the restoration (The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese).*

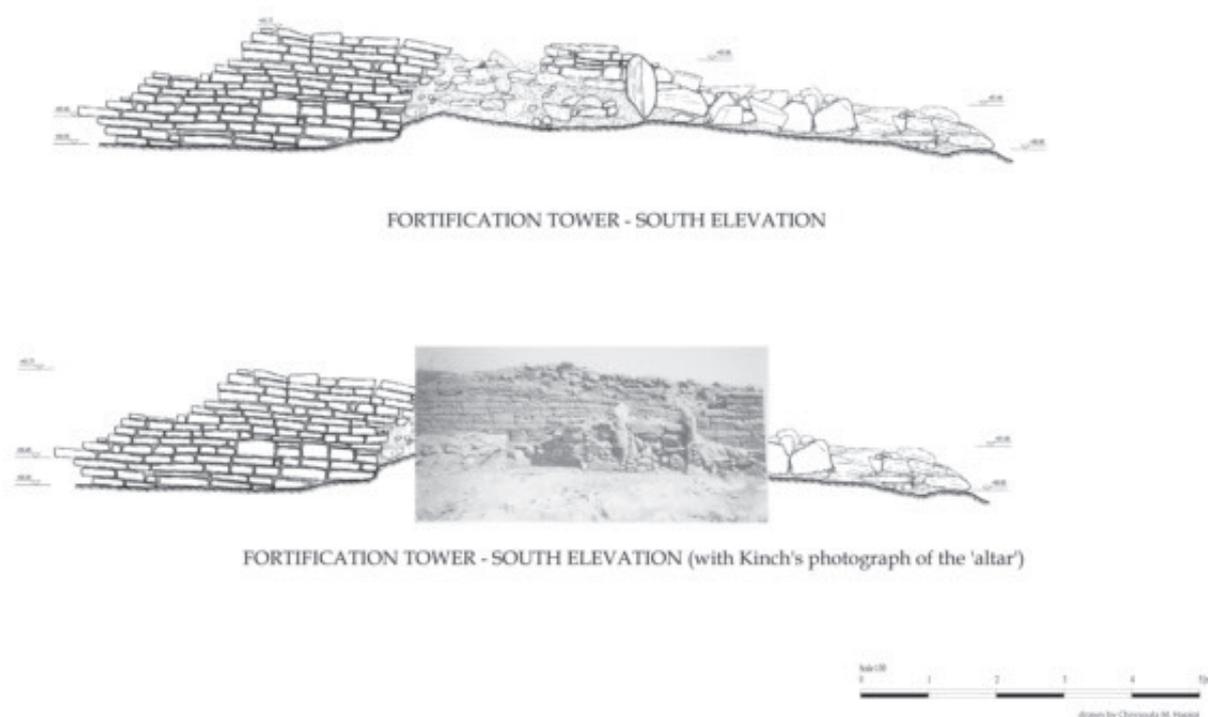


Fig. 27. Fortification tower, south elevation (*The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese*).

41 revealed the remains of what may have been a gate controlling the entrance to the settlement: this gate, apparently of the so-called overlapping type, was blocked with stones at a later phase; it consists of two parallel walls in a slanting arrangement with a threshold of green limestone between them.<sup>62</sup> No pottery was found except for a few unidentifiable potsherds; further exploration at this point is currently taking place (Fig. 24). Moreover, a complex of unidentified walls, visible to the north of apartment I 40 and west of the successive apartments I 41, 42 and 43, are indicative of an intermediate phase of the settlement's development, in spite of its short lifespan. Beyond the assumed gate, the fortification wall extends without a break as far as the tower at the highest point of the Vroulia hill, forming the northeast boundary of the public meeting area (agora) and the open-air sanctuary.

The tower was a rectangular edifice oriented east-west; according to Kinch, access to it was by means of an

external staircase (probably situated at its eastern side), which led to an upper floor made of mud bricks (Fig. 25). The preserved lower part of the tower was built of rough or half-dressed blocks with mud as binder and was externally clad with limestone slabs, dark grey-blue in colour: this gives the edifice an almost monumental character. The tower was built on uneven ground, which rises towards the southeast. A dividing wall of rough stones splits the lower part of the building into two unequal parts which do not communicate with each other, the eastern being the larger. This part was probably not used at all, perhaps because of its relatively low height due to the elevation of the terrain to the east. In the smaller western part, Kinch found some indications of its use as a possible storage space. In contact with the southern, long face of the tower and somewhat off-centre to the east, a structure (possibly an offering table) has survived; Kinch thought it to have been an "altar".<sup>63</sup> Although its present state of preservation

<sup>62</sup> In Kinch's town plan, a detail of an upright stone has been drawn in a position parallel to the south wall of apartment I 41.

<sup>63</sup> The identification was not accepted by Yavis (1949, 100-1), who believes that it is probably an open-air hearth. Taking into account the findings from the adjacent deposit, we believe that the construction was probably intended for offerings by those who entered the sanctuary, perhaps newly arrived foreigners.



**Fig. 28.** *The south side of the fortification tower with the adjacent “altar”, after its restoration; view from the southeast. The wall west of the altar, supposedly the western limit of the open-air sanctuary, which was at right angles to the south side of the tower, had to be reconstructed almost entirely (The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese).*

was very poor, its western upright side slab remained in situ and a restoration was feasible, with the assistance of a photograph in Kinch’s publication which shows the central part of the tower’s south side with the “altar” almost intact (Figs 26-27).<sup>64</sup> In addition, the wall west of the altar, supposedly the western limit of the open-air sanctuary, which was at right angles to the south side of the tower, had to be reconstructed almost entirely, since only a few remnants were preserved at its southern edge (Fig. 28).

At a distance of approximately 5 m from the southwest corner of the tower, a large accumulation of sherds was found in the soft soil, which was removed to reveal the foundation level of the western part of the south wall.<sup>65</sup> Many sherds of relief pithoi, the handles of an oversized pithos and sherds with painted decoration were found.

It is worth noting that Kinch remarked on large-scale collapse and degradation of the external cladding at the northern side of the tower (especially at the northwest

corner), possibly due to poor support by its substructure: “L’angle NO, probablement insuffisamment assis, s’était écroulé entraînant, des parties du bâtiment attenantes à l’angle, les pierres carrées qui constituaient le revêtement des murs”. There, in order to prevent further collapse of the wall, Kinch used ancient material to build a retaining wall (“mur de soutènement”) which contained the degraded west part of the north side of the tower to a (maximum) length of 5.60 m and a (maximum) height of 1.65 m. This reinforcement, out of line with the horizontal east–west axis of the tower, was a cause of considerable puzzlement, speculation and frustration for the unfortunate archaeologist and the architect responsible for the restoration project, until the simple truth was discovered hidden in a tiny footnote in Kinch’s publication.<sup>66</sup> Eventually, this wall was dismantled in order to reveal and clean the inner rough masonry of the northern side of the tower as well as the poros block foundations (Fig. 29).

64 Kinch 1914, pl. 19. The upright slab of its east side had collapsed but was easily identified among the scattered material.

65 This sherd accumulation does not coincide with Kinch’s cited “fosse à offrandes” near and to the left of the “altar” still visible today. The collected pottery has not yet been examined thoroughly but it seems typical of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.

66 Kinch 1914, 92, n. 1.



Fig. 29. View of the northwest corner of the tower, before and after dismantling Kinch's retaining wall (*The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese*).

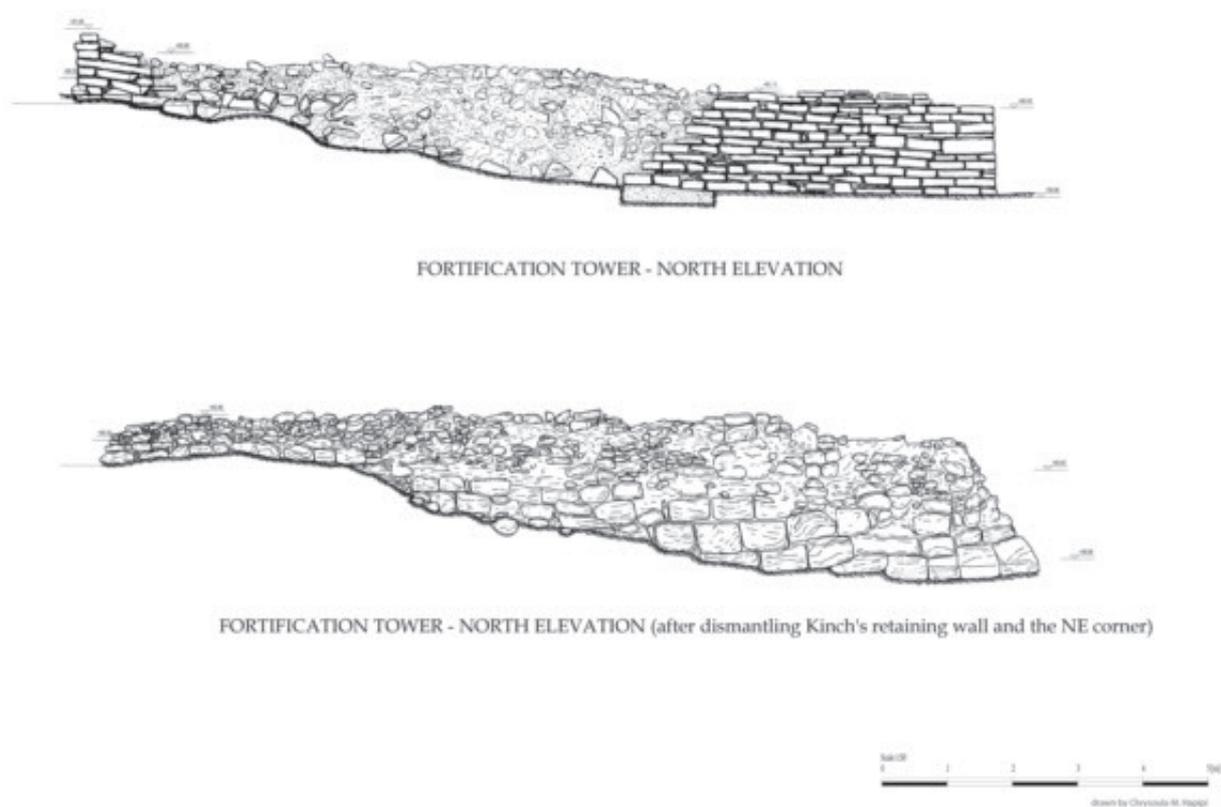


Fig. 30. Fortification tower, north elevation (*The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese*).

After clearing the tower's interior of rubble, it was discovered that the inner faces of the tower's masonry, which remained in place, were fortunately quite solid. It was also observed that the grey-blue limestone slabs of the outer cladding were laid on poros block foundations; poros blocks were also partially used at the lower part of the outer cladding, often interlocked with the grey-blue limestone slabs. On the northern side of the building, the level of the foundations changes significantly: on the eastern part of the wall the foundation's poros blocks are set on the rising conglomerate bedrock, while on the western part the foundation's level slopes downwards, so that the lower row of poros blocks and the cornerstone sink into the soft poros rock (Figs 29-30).

The main entrance gate to the settlement seems to have been in close proximity to the fortification tower; its plan and precise position are not yet known, although

the existence of a funnel-shaped gate has already been suggested.<sup>67</sup> It is possible that the northwest corner of the tower, laid deep into the soft bedrock, also functioned as part of the adjacent gateway.

The erosion of the foundation poros blocks, particularly on the north side of the building, led to the collapse of the overlying cladding slabs and caused considerable problems for the restoration. In order to provide adequate support for the restored cladding slabs, it was decided to reinforce the eroded foundations by the addition of new pieces of poros blocks with solid grey-blue limestone slabs inserted underneath them (Fig. 31).

#### Aim for future activities at the site

A century after Kinch's original publication, there is still much scope for research on the Vroulia Archaic settle-



Fig. 31. View of the northeast corner of the tower, showing the foundation reinforcements (*The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese*).

ment and the present joint publication will, hopefully, set a useful precedent for it. The rather practical approach under the current co-financed project, concerning mainly the consolidation of the ancient ruins, at the moment does not permit conclusions relating to chronology or interpretation of the site. However, it seems that the Vroulia Archaic settlement had a more sophisticated urban design than was initially thought, with a possible intermediate phase of development.

Further investigation of the site ought to complete the layout of the surviving part of the settlement as recorded by Kinch. It also ought to reveal new finds that will throw light upon its chronology and function.

Future research on the site should not neglect to do the following:

- a) Reveal the terraces extending in front of the “pièces d’habitation” series I.
- b) Investigate the extension of the row II apartments or other settlement remains.
- c) Further investigate the assumed gate revealed at the bending of the fortification wall.
- d) Further investigate the unidentified walls partly visible in the southeast section of the agora area, to the north of apartment I 40 and west of apartments I 41, I 42 and I 43.
- e) Investigate the main gate complex, the part of the fortification wall which flanks the empty (?) area west of the tower,<sup>68</sup> as well as the ruins of an unidentified rectangular building outside the fortification wall at a distance of about 30 m from the northwest corner of the tower.

<sup>68</sup> Kinch noted that the site was called Λέσχα.



**Fig. 32.** *Vroulia and Prassonissi, aerial view from the north (The Ephorate of Antiquities for the Dodecanese).*

f) In addition, future activity on the site might also include the excavation of the early Christian basilica on the opposite slope and the conservation of its mosaic floor.

However, apart from the consolidation/restoration work and the reassessment of the archaeological evidence, the enhancement of the site as a whole should also be continued. Minor discreet interventions are feasible as, for example, the construction of a visitors' path along the external side of the fortification wall, or a route between Kinch's house, partially preserved on Prassonissi, and the Vroulia archaeological site, either along the coast or by sea. Such interventions could be incorporated into a major research project (financed either by the next NSRF or other programme), so that the Vroulia settlement, isolated within its exceptional surrounding seascape, may emerge as an elite destination and emotional experience for the visitor (Fig. 32).

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## Appendix: The Vroulia collection in the National Museum of Denmark

The appendix includes all the objects that Kinch brought home from the excavations in Vroulia except for a few sherds that were given to the Museum of Classical Archaeology in Cambridge in 1958.<sup>69</sup> After his death in 1921 Kinch's private collection was donated to the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities at the National Museum of Denmark. Some of these finds are presently deposited in Museum of Ancient Art at the University of Aarhus. The appendix has been organized as far as possible in accordance with Kinch's publication, *Fouilles de Vroulia*, from 1914.

### 1 *La Chapelle*

#### 1.1

Dinos and stand (Fig. 11)

Dinos: H: 31 cm, D: 37,5 cm

Stand: H: 25 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, suburban sanctuary, 'la chapelle'

Production: North Ionian, Late Wild Goat style  
600-575 BC

On the neck four relief imitations of metal handles. The vessel is decorated on the rim and exterior parts with a dull black to brown slip with added colours in purple and white. On the mouth a cable ornament; on the neck in the zone between the handles a lotus-sprout ornament. The shoulder is dark-slipped and decorated with a floral frieze executed in incised lines and added colours. The body of the vessel is decorated with three animal friezes. On the upper one, the following figure groups can be seen: a) two lions attacking a deer; b) two goats around a large rosette; c) two griffins around a large rosette; d) two lions attacking a deer; and finally, e) two geese around two small rosettes. In the central frieze there are goats in grazing posture with their heads turning towards the right and in the final one a similar frieze of grazing goats, now turning towards the left. In the lower part of the body a

frieze decorated with a lotus-sprout ornament. On the bottom: concentric circles in two groups with a reserved zone in the middle. The vessel has been reconstructed from several fragments. Significant parts of the handles, body and bottom of the vessel are missing. A fragment belonging to this dinos is also known from Tübingen, Antikensammlung.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11275 (dinos) and 11276 (stand)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 11, 18-9, no. 1, pl. 15, 1, 3-4; Pfuhl 1923, 147; Friis Johansen 1942, 11, n. 15, figs 13-4; Walter-Karydi 1973, 144, no. 941, pl. 115; Cook & Dupont 1998, 53, fig. 8.19; CVA TÜBINGEN, band 1, 25-6, taf. 10.5; Coulié 2013, 175, fig. 169.

#### 1.2

Stemmed dish

H: 6.0 cm; D: 34.5 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, suburban sanctuary, 'la chapelle'

Production: Milet

Late Wild Goat Style

Brown to greyish-brown clay with dark particles and mica. Light greyish-yellow slip, only preserved in areas below decorated parts covered by a dull to blackish-brown slip. Where no slip survives the decoration can be identified from incisions made in the clay. In the centre of the bowl a large incised rosette, and a meander pattern. Hereafter follows a metope-frieze with various figures: 1) the head of a goose; 2) the head of a goat; 3) a rosette ornament; 4) as 2, 5) as 3; 6) as 2, 7) as 3.

The National Museum of Denmark (deposited in The Museum of Ancient Art, Aarhus University).

Inv. 11280

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 21, no. 36, 193, 207, 252, pl. 17.3a-b; for parallels, see e.g. Coulié & Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014, cat.no. 88, 250 (Cécile Colonna); for the head of the goose, see e.g. Coulié 2014, no. 28, 142-3.

<sup>69</sup> The material can be found on the museum webpage: <http://museum.classics.cam.ac.uk/collections/sherds>. Accessed January 21, 2017.

## 1.3

Stemmed dish

L rim fragment: 26.5 cm; L foot fragment: 13.5 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, suburban sanctuary, 'la chapelle'

Production: Milet

Late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC

Body, rim and foot fragment of a stemmed dish. Dark reddish-yellow to light reddish-brown clay with numerous mica. Light yellowish slip. Decoration in dull reddish-brown to dark brown slip. In the centre of the bowl wide concentric bands and a meander pattern. Followed by a wide zone with rays and metopes with: 1) large S-volute ornament; 2) fallow. Framing this zone a wide band and rays.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11290

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 21, no. 3e, 193, 199, 207, 252, pl. 17.2a–b. For parallels of the large S-volute ornament, see e.g. Coulié 2014, no. 31, 146.

## 1.4

Alabastron

H: 8.4 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, suburban sanctuary, 'la chapelle'

Production: Transitional-Early Corinthian

Late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC

Light green-greyish clay. Decoration in brownish-grey to black, glossy slip with incisions and red slip. On the neck a tongue ornament, band on the handle, lion and rosettes on the widest part of the vessel, below the vessel an incised rosette. Upper part of the handle and rim not preserved.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11322

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 26, no. 9, pl. 14.8; for parallels, see e.g. Amyx 1988, pl. 19.1a–b, 19.2a–b, 33.4 and 33.6.

## 1.5

Sphinx, limestone (Figs 9a–b)

H: 18.5 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, suburban sanctuary, 'la chapelle'

Production: Cypriot

600–575 BC

Sphinx seated on a plinth. Head and chest are missing, as is the tail. Incised Phoenician inscription on the right wing, read as: "t(or: š) s m z (or: g). g (or: n) h (or: t) q k š" [reading by Professor B. Otzen, University of Aarhus].

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11328

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 11, 16, no. 3, pl. 14.4; Blinkenberg 1931, 402, 446; Kourou 2003, 255, fig. 4; Karageorghis & Rasmussen 2001, 87, cat. 165 (Lone Wriedt Sørensen); Bourogiannis 2014, 163–4.

## 1.6

Statuette, limestone

H: 9.8 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, suburban sanctuary, 'la chapelle', near altar

Production: Cypriot

600–575 BC

Upper part of a standing woman. Right hand has been placed in front of her breast; the left one is lowered. The hair falls in a large and wide braid down her back. She wears a chiton with kolpos, squared neck and long 'sleeves'. On the left shoulder and the hips faint traces of red paint. Nose is missing, some chips on surface.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11326

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 11, 15, no. 1, pls 13.2, 14.2; Mylonas 1999, 285, n. 1140.

## 1.7

Statuette, limestone

H: 9.4 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, suburban sanctuary, 'la chapelle', near altar

Production: Cypriot

600–575 BC

Upper part of a limestone statuette, a flute player. On the mouth and the flute faint traces of red paint. Left arm and shoulder as well as part of the back of the figure missing.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11327

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 11, 15–6, no. 2, pls 13.3, 14.3; Riis et al. 1989, no. 15; Mylonas 1999, 285, n. 1140; Kara-

georghis & Rasmussen 2001, no. 150, 81 (Lone Wriedt Sørensen). Similar limestone flute-players of Cypriot origin are also known from the Archaic deposit in Lindos: Blinkenberg 1931, 425-7. Generally on this type, see Mylonas 1999, 159-61.

### 1.8

Bird (falcon?), limestone

H: 5.5 cm; L: 6.8 cm.

Provenance: Vroulia, suburban sanctuary, 'la chapelle', near altar

Production: Cypriot

600-575 BC

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11329

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 11, 16-7, no. 4, pl. 14.5; for parallels, see bird votives from Lindos: Blinkenberg 1931, 455-7.

## 2 *Nécropole*

### 2.1

Ring-shaped aryballos (Fig. 18)

H: 13 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, children's tomb 's'

Production: Rhodian

700-675 BC

Light brown micaceous clay. On the ring transverse, close parallel lines in a zig-zag pattern and on the neck horizontal bands. Handle decorated with a simple meander pattern.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11318

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 45-7, no. 3, pl. 31.3; Friis Johansen 1923, 28, n. 3 (Exochi, tomb A); Blinkenberg 1931, 308; Dietz & Trolle 1974, 57, fig. 56.

### 2.2

Stemmed dish.

H: 12.3 cm; D: 24.7 cm.

Provenance: Vroulia, tomb 17

Production: North Ionia?

Late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC

Light brown clay with small dark inclusions and mica. On the interior covered by a light brown-yellowish slip. Decoration in dull brown to black slip and yellowish-white and added red. In the centre of the bowl a lotus ornament of four flowers and four buds. The central lotus ornament is encircled by a braided band between wide concentric bands. Restored from numerous fragments.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11277

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 77, no. 3, 194, 262, pls 6.1, 6.1a. For similar examples, see no. 2.3 below; Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. 5178 (from Kenchraki, Rhodes): CVA Copenhagen 2, pl. 75.4; Coulié 2014, no. 42, 168-9.

### 2.3

Stemmed dish

H: 11.4 cm; D: 23.8 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, tomb 11

Production: North Ionia?

Late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC

Light brown clay with small dark inclusions and mica. Decorated in black, partly brown slip with added yellowish-white and red paint. In the centre of the bowl a lotus ornament of four flowers and four buds. This motif is encircled by a meander between concentric wide bands. On the exterior of the bowl and the foot several concentric shallow bands.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11279

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 71-2, no. 5, 194, 262, pl. 8.1a-b. For similar examples, see no. 2.2 above with further references.

### 2.4

Plate

D: 27 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, tomb 2

Production: Cos?

Early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC

Brownish-grey clay with small dark inclusions. Decorated in dull greyish black slip. The plate has been exposed to secondary firing. Centre of the plate divided into two parts. The upper one decorated with a large ibex jumping towards the right; the lower one decorated with two

antithetical birds with cross-hatched bodies. On the back of the plate two suspension holes around 2.9 cm apart. Restored from numerous fragments.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11284

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 60-1, no. 21, 222, pl. 35; PAYNE 1931, 312, n. 4. Plates of this type are known in numerous examples from Rhodes and especially from Kamiros; clay analysis seems to suggest the origin of this group to be Cos: Cook & Dupont 1998, 61-3; Couliè 2014, nos 50-55, 182-91.

## 2.5

Globular oinochoe with short, narrow neck

H: 18.3 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, tomb 12

Production: Cypriot, White Painted V Ware

Early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC

Greyish to light brownish clay with mica. Decoration in dull, dark brown to black-grey slip. Trefoil mouth, visible interior parts and rim covered by slip, on the neck a wide wavy line between two concentric horizontal bands. On the twin handle a wide band. The globular belly decorated in front and back with a large three-part palm-leaf ornament. On each side of the belly four concentric circles, two large with two smaller inside. Restored from several fragments. The vessel has been exposed to secondary firing.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11285

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 73, no. 2, pl. 40.12:2; another example of this type was found in house I<sub>12</sub>: Kinch 1914, 156, pl. 26.3; similarities in shape and decoration can be found in Gjerstad 1948, fig. XLVI, 9b; fig. XLIX, no. 7c and with the 'palm-leaf workshop' (Morris 1987).

## 2.6

Oinochoe, shoulder and neck fragment

L: 18.2 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, tomb 18

Production: Wild Goat Style, North Ionia?

Late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC

Light brown clay with dark inclusions and mica. Shoulder covered by a dull brownish to greyish black slip. Incised

goat running towards the right (preserved parts include the head, neck, parts of a foreleg and the back). Added details in red paint. Only this small fragment of the oinochoe can be found in the Vroulia collection in Copenhagen, although the description in the publication testifies that the whole vessel was originally found.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11286

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 51, no. 5, 190, pl. 11.1.

## 2.7

Bird Vase

H: 9.5 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, tomb 1

Production: Rhodian?

Early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC

Greyish clay with mica. The details of the head, wings and feet are made with greyish black to dark brown slip. Restored from several fragments.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11317

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 43, 56-7, pl. 34.1.3; Blinkenberg 1931, 297-8, pl. 48, nos 1026 and 1027.

## 2.8

Alabastron, conical

H: 9.9 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, tomb 2

Production: Rhodian

Early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC

Light yellowish clay with mica.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11319

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 59, no. 5, pl. 34.2:5. Similar examples are known from Vroulia, Kinch 1914, 47, no. 13; from Exochi (tomb A), Friis Johansen 1957, 15, 155-61, no. A12, pls 22-3; Coldstream 2008, 276.

## 2.9

Globular aryballos

H: 4.8 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, children's tomb 'bb'

Greyish clay caused by secondary firing. Decorated with vertical ribs.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11320

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 48, pl. 32, bb3.

## 2.10

Alabastron

H: 8.7 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, children's tomb 'p'

Light brownish clay. Decoration in shiny black to brownish slip.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11321

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 43, no. 2, pl. 33.p2; Payne 1931, 56.

## 2.11

Ovoid aryballos

H: 9.5 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, children's tomb 'p'

Light yellowish clay. Decoration in brown to black slip.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11323

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 43, no. 1, pl. 33.p1; Payne 1931, 56.

## 2.12

Skyphos, miniature

H: 4.8 cm; D rim: 10 cm.

Provenance: Vroulia, children's tomb 'bb'

Light brown clay with mica. Geometric decoration in a dull, greyish-brown slip.

The National Museum of Denmark.

Inv. 11324.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 48, no. 2, 163-4, pl. 32, bb2; Payne 1931, 294 note 1.

3. *Sanctuaire principal*

## 3.1

Terracotta figurine (Fig. 20)

H: 18.4 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, main sanctuary, near altar

Early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC

Dark brownish clay with small dark inclusions and mica. Modelled female figure with a solid block-shaped lower body. Breast and eyes made of attached pellets, nostrils and hair on forehead with incisions. Nose and chin protruding. The hair falls in five thick locks down the back and two on the front falling down each shoulder. Arms outreached. Hands indicated by incised lines marking the separated fingers. Restored from three fragments, the original parts of the lower part of the neck, hair locks and fragments of the back side missing.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11273

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 102, no. 1, pl. 19.1; Poulsen 1912, 140; Müller 1929, 66, 188, 211, pls 20.274, 33.351. Similarities in the style and execution of this distinctive figurine can be found in Cypro-Achaic examples (note particularly the rendering of the lower body, the pellets used for eyes and breasts as well as the protruding nose and chin), see e.g. Karageorghis 1998.

4. *Place publique, Quartier de Maisons*

## 4.1.

Cup with narrow conical foot (Fig. 19)

H: 11.0; D 24.4 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, room I, 25

Production: North Ionia?

600-575 BC

Decorated with added colours in black, brown, yellowish white and purple. The centre of the cup is decorated with a sixteen-leaved rosette followed by a wide zone of concentric circles, a cable ornament and towards the rim another zone of concentric circles. Exterior decorated with numerous, narrow concentric bands.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11278

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 120, 131, no. 9, pp. 194, 262, pl. 7.1a-b; Walter-Karydi 1973, 146, no. 990, taf. 122; Dietz & Trolle 1974, 56, fig. 55.

## 4.2

Kylix

H: 9.4 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, room I, 32

Production: Rhodes, 'Vroulia' style

610-580 BC

Light brown to reddish yellow clay with mica. Dull, dark brown to black slip. Further decoration has been added with a combination of incisions and added red. On the interior a large seven-leaved rosette. Below the exterior everted rim an incised tooth pattern. Between handles a frieze decorated with vertical lines and a double triangle pattern. On the lower part of the vessel circular floral ornaments and palmettos. Restored from several fragments. Preserved are nine ancient repair holes.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11281

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 124, 144, no 5, 163, 178, pl. 10.1.

## 4.3

Kylix

Provenance: Vroulia, room I, 6

Production: Rhodes, 'Vroulia' style

610-580 BC

15 rim and body fragments, a few joining. Brown to greyish clay. Decoration of the bowl can be assumed as follows: below the rim incised tooth-pattern, frieze between handles with vertical lines and below incised palmetto with added red paint on fronds.

The National Museum of Denmark (deposited in the Museum of Ancient Art, University of Aarhus)

Inv. 11288

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 182, no. 24, pls 10.2 and 2a-b.

## 4.4

Kylix

H: 8.5 cm; D: 15.3 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, room I, 18

Light brown clay with mica. Decorated with black to reddish brown slip. On the rim and upper handle zone a thin concentric line in added dull red paint. One of the handles

as well as small fragments of rim and body missing, but has been restored.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11283

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 145-6, no. 2, pl. 5.2.

## 4.5

Stemmed dish, rim and body fragment

L: 12.7 cm; W: 11.1 cm; estimated D: 27 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, room I, 18

Reddish brown clay with numerous mica. Surface covered by pale yellow coating. Decorated with dark reddish brown to red slip and added red paint: on the surface wide concentric lines, thin red ones in combination with three zones of hooked meanders. Below the dish narrow concentric lines. Restored from two fragments.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11287

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 130, no. 5, p. 193, pl. 4.2a-b (the centre rosette has not been preserved and the drawing in fig. 2a is therefore partly hypothetical).

## 4.6

Stemmed dish

L: 11.3 (rim); 8.9 (rim); 6.3 cm (body).

Provenance: Vroulia, room I, 29

Two rim fragments and one body fragment. Light brownish clay with numerous mica. On the surface a white-yellowish coating. Decorated in dull black to brown slip and added red. In the centre of the bowl a rosette (?) encircled by thin concentric lines. Around the central decoration, sprouts and three-leaved palmetto, followed by concentric lines and a hooked meander zone. On the rim short oblique lines.

The National Museum of Denmark (deposited in the Museum of Ancient Art, University of Aarhus)

Inv. 11291

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 130, no. 7, pp. 193, 204, pl. 9.1a-b.

## 4.7

Chalice fragment

W: (incl. handle) 7.1 cm; H: 4.0 cm

Provenance: Vroulia, room I, 32

Production: Chios

Three joining fragments of body and vertical handle.

Light brown clay with mica. Surface covered by a white-chalky slip and decoration in added orange-red paint: in the handle zone a frieze of vertical lines framed by horizontal bands. On the upper band a partly preserved leg and foot, presumably of a human figure.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11325

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 149-50, no. 4.2, pl. 46.4.

Appendix nos 4.7-4.9 belong to Kinch's group 4 "coupes naukratiéenes", now commonly recognized as having been produced in Chios. Kourouniotis' excavations on Chios in 1914-15 – after the publication of the Vroulia material – revealed significant examples of this pottery, which led to the conclusion that they might have been produced in Chios, not Naucratis (Williams 2006, 127 with further references).

## 4.8

Chalice fragment

1: W: 2 cm; H: 2.8 cm. 2: W: 1.9 cm; H: 1.7 cm.

Provenance: Vroulia, room I, 28

Production: Chios

Three small rim fragments (two joining). Light brown clay with mica. Decorated on the interior with a lotus flower ornament in added white and red paint. Exterior covered by a white-chalky slip.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11325

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 149-50, no. 4.5, pls 46.2-3.

The lotus flower ornamentation is typical for the interior decoration of the chalices; see e.g. Lemos 1991, 121-2, figs 65-6.

## 4.9

Chalice fragment

Provenance: Vroulia, room I, 19

Production: Chios

Body fragment with handle attachment. Light brown clay

with mica. Surface covered by a white-chalky slip. Decoration in handle zone in added orange-red paint: a frieze of vertical lines framed by horizontal bands.

The National Museum of Denmark (deposited in the Museum of Ancient Art, University of Aarhus)

Inv. 11325

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 149-50, no. 4.4, pl. 28.4.

## 4.10

Dinos

Provenance: Vroulia, room I, 18

North Ionian, Late Wild Goat style

600-575 BC

39 fragments of a dinos similar to no. 1.1 found in 'la chapelle'. Light brownish clay with dark inclusions and mica. On the exterior covered by a light greyish-yellow coating with decoration in dull black to brown slip and added red and white. On the upper part of the shoulder a tongue ornament and below four zones of animals and ornaments: a) large volute ornament, griffins and geese; b) griffins, a large rosette and two lion pairs attacking a deer; c) goats in grazing posture towards the left; d) goats in grazing posture towards right. Below a frieze of lotus flowers and sprouts.

The National Museum of Denmark (partly deposited in the Museum of Ancient Art, University of Aarhus)

Inv. 11292

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 132-3, p. 194-5, pl. 24.61-c; Pfuhl 1923, 147; Friis Johansen 1942, 12, fig. 5.

## 4.11

Lamp, limestone

L: 14.2 cm; W: 10.8 cm; H: 5.5 cm.

Provenance: Vroulia, room I, 43.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11330

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kinch 1914, 111, no. 4, pl. 23.13a-b.

5. *Unknown context*

The objects included in this group have no known find context other than 'Vroulia'. They cannot be identified with certainty from the descriptions in either the diaries or the publication, but they are well-known types from the published material. Some of the objects have been

exposed to secondary firing and it seems reasonable to suggest that they were found in the cremation tombs. Also included are a number of smaller fragments of iron, bones and glass.

5.1

Kylix, fragments

Light brown to greyish clay with mica

23 fragments (several joining). Decorated in a dull to brownish-black slip. The exterior covered with slip except in a wide band in the handle zone and on the interior part of the handles. The handle zone is decorated with black palmettos and between these a vertical 'tongue-shaped' line in added reddish-brown color. The interior of the vessel is similarly covered by a slip except for a narrow band on the rim and a round zone at the bottom of the bowl, decorated with two concentric circles.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11293

5.2

Kylix, fragments

Light brownish clay with mica

13 fragments (several joining). Decoration similar to no. 6.1.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11294

5.3

Ring-shaped aryballos

Light brown clay with mica

H: 13.7 cm

Production: Rhodian

700-675 BC

Restored from several fragments. Traces of secondary firing seems to suggest that it comes from one of the cremation tombs.

The National Museum of Denmark (deposited in the Museum of Ancient Art, University of Aarhus)

Inv. 11305

BIBLIOGRAPHY: similar to ring-shaped aryballoi from Vroulia, tomb 's' (appendix no. 2.1): Kinch 1914, 45-7, no. 3, pl. 31.3; and from Exochi, tomb A: Friis Johansen 1923, 28, n. 3.

5.4

Ovoid aryballos, fragment

H: 3.0 (neck and handle); H: 8.9 (body).

Joined from several fragments. Missing are small fragments between neck and shoulder. Grey-brownish clay with mica. Decorated with a dull greyish slip. On the rim concentric circles, and below wide bands. On the neck a zig-zag pattern. On the shoulder a tongue ornament and below a frieze of silhouette birds. On the lower part of the vessel rays.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11306

5.5

Ovoid aryballos, fragment

H: 6.8 cm; D (foot): 1.6 cm

Production: Middle Protocorinthian

Greyish clay. Body fragment; neck, rim and handle missing. Decorated in reddish-brown to black slip. Incised shell pattern and tongue ornaments on shoulder and lower body. The vessel has been exposed to secondary firing. The National Museum of Denmark (deposited in the Museum of Ancient Art, University of Aarhus)

Inv. 11307

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Similar in shape and decoration to an aryballos found in Tomb 9 (Kinch 1914, 70, pls 39, 9.2).

5.6

Aryballos, fragment

H: 6.0 cm

Light brown to greyish clay. Only part of the body preserved (rim, handle and foot missing). Decorated in a greyish-black to brownish slip: four bands and between them a double row of dots, below partly preserved tongue ornament. The vessel has been exposed to secondary firing.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11308

## 5.7

Ovoid aryballos

H: 9.0 cm

Greyish clay. Decoration in black slip, partly worn off: on the shoulder a tongue ornament and below concentric bands; on the body a wide zone with seven incised rows of a shell pattern, below two concentric bands. Lower part of the body decorated with a tongue pattern. Neck, handle and significant parts of the shoulder and body are missing. The vessel has been exposed to secondary firing. The National Museum of Denmark (deposited in the Museum of Ancient Art, University of Aarhus)

Inv. 11311

BIBLIOGRAPHY: similar in shape and decoration to an aryballos found in Tomb 9 (Kinch 1914, 70, pls 39, 9.2)

## 5.8

Alabastron

H: 6.7 cm

Light brown to greyish clay. Decoration in reddish-brown to black slip, partly worn off. On the rim concentric circles and narrow bands, on the shoulder a tongue ornament. The body decorated with four wide bands and in between them dots. In the lower part of the body a tongue ornament. Small fragment of the body missing. The vessel has been exposed to secondary firing.

The National Museum of Denmark (deposited in the Museum of Ancient Art, University of Aarhus)

Inv. 11310

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Similar to the following examples from tombs in Vroulia: Kinch 1914, pl. 33.p2, pl. 34.2, 11.

## 5.9

Alabastron, fragment

H: 5.5 cm

Preserved are body and foot, joined from several fragments. Light yellow to greyish clay. Decorated in black slip, only partly preserved: on the body a figure-decorated frieze with four incised animals walking towards the left, on the foot a tongue-rosette ornament. A few traces of added red paint can be seen on the animals. The vessel has been exposed to secondary firing.

The National Museum of Denmark (deposited in the Museum of Ancient Art, University of Aarhus)

Inv. 11312

## 5.10

Small glass fragments:

- a) 6 ring-shaped and globular beads in dark greenish and brownish glass. Four of the green beads are adorned with inlaid white bands. D: 1.0-1.1 cm.
- b) Three white glass beads, two double conical in shape. D: 1.2-1.3 cm.
- c) Ring-shaped foot of a small glass vessel. D: 2.1 cm.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11299

## 5.11

Small iron fragments:

- a) Iron fragment. L: 3.2 cm.
- b) Iron needle with preserved eye and ring-shaped attachment. L: 3.3 cm.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11300

## 5.12

Small bone fragments:

- a) Five joining fragments of a decorated ivory plate from a fibula. The surface of the fragment has been damaged presumably due to high temperatures during firing. L: 5.4 cm. Similar examples are known from Lindos, see Blinkenberg 1931, 90-1, no. 133.
- b) Tapered bone fragment with an iron pin inside. The fragment damaged presumably from strong heat during firing. L: 2.6 cm.
- c) Claw, possibly from a crayfish. L: 2.8 cm.

The National Museum of Denmark

Inv. 11301

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