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EDITORIAL PREFACE

This tenth issue of Pharos is the first to be published by our new publisher, Van Gorcum in Assen, The Netherlands. Pharos is published by the Netherlands Institute in Athens and comprises a wide variety of scholarly contributions all relating to research on aspects of Greek cultural, historical, archaeological subjects. Various other subjects, ranging from geological research to arthistorical or literary studies, are also welcomed, provided a Dutch participation is evident. The contents of Pharos are directly related to the academic program of the Netherlands Institute in Athens. This way, the journal constitutes a general forum for Dutch research activities concerning Greece. Most issues of Pharos will include preliminary studies of ongoing archaeological field work carried out in Greece by Dutch researchers.

Joost Crouwel *et al.* report on the eighth season of work at the acropolis of Geraki in Lakonia in 2002. The 2002 campaign was aimed at the study of the material yielded during the previous three seasons of excavation (1999-2001; see previous issues of Pharos) of Field 17 in the northwestern part of the summit of the acropolis. Combined with the results of intensive on-site or urban survey of the acropolis and adjacent hill slopes in 1995-1998, these investigations provide evidence for human occupation on the summit of Geraki during the Final Neolithic through the early Roman periods. This report focusses on material from the prehistoric and historical periods, with the greatest emphasis on the Early Helladic II contexts and the Classical and Hellenistic to Early Roman pottery. Lastly, a short report is presented on the on-site conservation activities undertaken in 2002.

The six additional papers were originally presentations delivered at a colloquium at the NIA, which took place 28-29 October 2002. The meeting was titled *Greek archaeology and the formation of European and national identities colloquium* and it was part of a series of bi-annual meetings at the Netherlands Institute in Athens, concerning the role of the Classics in the formation of European and national identities in the 19th an 20th centuries. This series was started with a general symposium at the opening of the current premises of the Institute in september 2000. The 2002 colloquium had the history of Greek archaeology as its subject, which was discussed in a comparative, European perspective which is characteristic for the series. The papers of the meeting will be published in this and a future volume of Pharos. In the future, the Netherlands Institute in Athens will organise similar meetings which will focus on specialised fields, such as literature, poetry, sports, etc.

GERAKI
AN ACROPOLIS SITE IN LAKONIA
Preliminary report on the eighth season (2002)

Joost H. Crouwel, Mieke Prent, Stuart MacVeagh Thorne, René T.J. Cappers, Saskia A. Mulder, Tristan Carter, Elizabeth Langridge-Noti and Leontien van Dijk-Schram

Introduction (J.H. Crouwel and M. Prent)

This report presents the results of the eighth campaign of the Geraki project, which took place from 17 June to 22 July 2002 and consisted of a study season, combined with some on-site tests and cleaning as part of a wall consolidation program. The Geraki project is organised by members of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Amsterdam and takes place under the *aegis* of the Netherlands Institute at Athens, with permission of the Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Lakonia and Arkadia and the Greek Ministry of Culture.[1] The aim of the Geraki project is to document in detail the history of human occupation on and around the acropolis – locally known as 'Ta Dondakia' – from the earliest times onwards, with special interest in this ancient community's place in the wider socio-political configuration of Lakonia. Much work remains to be done in this region, both with respect to the prehistoric periods, for which few sites have as yet been investigated and fully published, and with respect to the historical periods, when Geraki (under the ancient name of *Geronthrai*) was a perioikic town under Spartan domination.

The 2002 campaign was aimed at the study of the material yielded during the previous three seasons of excavation (1999–2001) in Field 17 in the northwest part of the summit of the acrop-

[1] This year's team consisted of J.H. Crouwel (director, study of the prehistoric pottery), M. Prent (field director, stratigraphy and site conservation), S. MacVeagh Thorne (architectural and stratigraphical study of the acropolis wall), E. Langridge-Noti (Classical-Roman pottery), E. Hom (head of apotheke and find processing), M. Overeem (conservation), W. Westerveld (computing), J. Kelder (photography and drawing), A. Hom (drawing), L. Van Dijk- Schram (roof tiles), M. van Dijk, M. Wijker, M. de Rooij, M. Nieuwe Weme and F. Robbesom (all assisting in the study of the material), C. Crouwel-Bradshaw and M. Kourtesi (cooks and housekeepers), Dr R. Cappers and S. Mulder (botanical remains), Dr T. Carter assisted by M. Milić (chipped and ground stone). The local workmen consisted of P. Kourtesis, K. Saris, T. Piliouras and Th. Mitris.

Figure 1. *Field 17 in the northwest part of the summit of the acropolis*

olis (Figure 1). The first four seasons of the Geraki project consisted of two campaigns of intensive on-site or 'urban' survey of the acropolis and adjacent hill slopes in 1995–1996, a season of trial excavations focused at different areas on the summit and northern slopes of the acropolis in 1997, the results of which were preliminarily studied in 1998.

These investigations, when combined, provide evidence for human occupation on the summit of the acropolis of Geraki during the Final Neolithic, Early Helladic (EH II and probably EH I), Middle Helladic and Protogeometric through early Roman periods. Sizeable settlements, of which well-preserved structures remain, existed in particular during the EH II and Hellenistic/early Roman periods, when the summit was also (re-) fortified. For the other periods of attested occupation the evidence is, so far, more fragmentary. Although wall fragments dating to the MH and probably the Archaic/early Classical periods occur, this evidence consists mostly of pockets of occupation and other debris, which escaped levelling and erosion. After the early Roman period the summit may have been used as a sacred area for the temple of Apollo mentioned by Pausanias (III.22.6-8). In addition, it may have served for scattered burials and as agricultural land. It may also have been re-used occasionally for defensive purposes, as suggested by repairs of the acropolis wall dating to the late Roman/early Medieval period and to the time of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949).[2]

The 2002 study season concerned material from both prehistoric and historical periods. As to the first, the greatest emphasis was on well-defined EH II contexts, in particular those associated with the casemate room in Area II, portions of which were excavated in 2000 and 2001. As this was also one of the areas where wall consolidation was undertaken this year, the pottery from the associated cleaning operation was included in the study (see the contributions by S. MacVeagh Thorne and J.H. Crouwel). Dr R.T.J. Cappers, with Ms. S.A. Mulder, undertook a detailed analysis of the botanical remains in the pithoi and soil fill within the casemate room, the results of which are presented below.[3] Dr T. Carter, who was at Geraki for 10 days to study the obsidian and other chipped stone, likewise discusses his findings and draws some important conclusions on the position of prehistoric Geraki in broader exchange networks.

The second major focus of attention was the study of the Classical and Hellenistic to early Roman pottery by Dr E. Langridge-Noti. The Classical-Hellenistic periods are among the best represented at the acropolis of Geraki and the pottery is prolific. In the course of these periods, the summit of the acropolis was re-fortified, and a number of sizeable buildings were erected. At present, portions of ten rooms or other kinds of architectural spaces such as courtyards have been uncovered in Area I and two or three in Area II (Figures 2 and 3). These have yielded evidence for both domestic and industrial activities, such as the metal working in Room 4 in Area I.[4]

Because of the large quantity of Classical and Hellenistic to Early Roman pottery, study had to be confined to a few selected contexts. Room 2 in Area I was singled out for detailed stratigraphical discussion in this report, because it had produced the largest assemblage of complete vessels. Considerable progress was also made in the study of the pottery from the upper levels of the westernmost room in Area II, several pieces of which are included in the pottery catalogue, and the courtyard (Room 10) in Area I. This year's study has also enhanced our understanding of the functions of the different architectural spaces, at the same time establishing with

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[2] For a more complete chronological overview of human activities: Crouwel and Prent 2000, 67-70.

[3] A more detailed discussion is being prepared for publication in a specialist journal.

[4] See especially our earlier reports on the 1999 to 2001 campaigns: Crouwel *et al.* 1999, 25-32; 2000, 42-53; Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 3-14.

Figure 2. *Area I in the western part of Field 17*

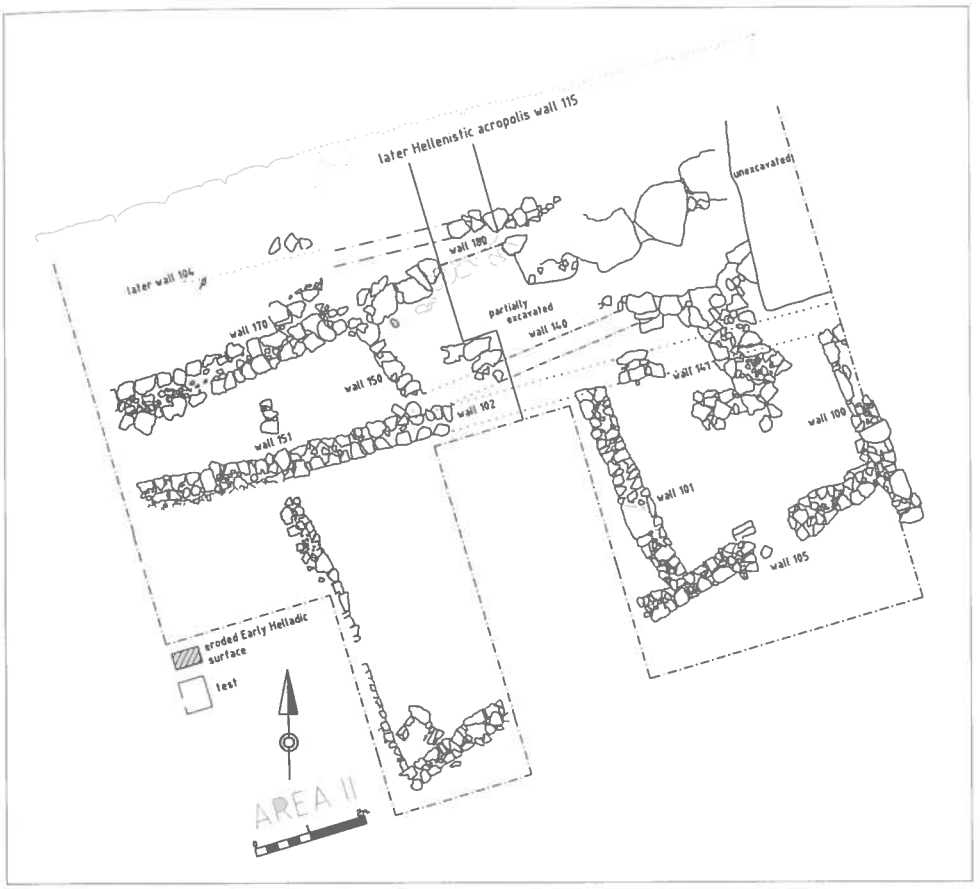

Figure 3. *Area II in the eastern part of Field 17; showing EH II walls 140, 141, 150-151,180, MH wall 170, other walls of historical date*

more certainty a date within the 1st century BC for the final abandonment of these buildings (see the contributions by M. Prent and especially E. Langridge-Noti). In addition, L. Van Dijk-Schram presents a catalogue and discussion of the impressed and stamped roof tiles associated with the Hellenistic-early Roman levels.

Lastly, a short report is provided on the on-site conservation work undertaken this year, for which a permit had been issued by the Conservation Department of the Greek Ministry of Culture.

The Early Helladic II casemate room (S.E. MacVeagh Thorne)

In previous years the excavation of Area II had revealed portions of a large EH II structure, the size and position of which suggest a defensive purpose (Figure 3). This consists of a massive, double-faced rubble-filled wall approximately 2 metres in width, which has been traced for some 7.4 metres East-West along the side of the acropolis hill. The exterior face, labelled Wall 180,

was constructed of large boulders, ca. 1.25 x 1.50 x 1.60 m. in size. The interior face, Wall 140, was of smaller but still sizeable construction, with stones up to a metre in length. Between these north and south faces was a fill of large stones (c. 0.50 x 0.25 x 0.25 m.), seated in rubble and gravel.[5] In the East, Wall 141 runs North-South, joining the south face of 180/140. Excavation immediately West of this wall (141) revealed a portion of a room with the remnants of an EH II destruction deposit. The largest concentration of EH II artefacts, however, was found further to the West, where much of the outline of an EH II storage room was revealed, apparently a casemate built into Wall 180/140. This room became a primary point of focus of the study in 2002.

Cleaning of the area in preparation for the conservation of some of the later walls that partially overlie the EH II casemate room revealed more of the outline and contents of the latter. At the same time both the methods of construction and the processes of post-destruction collapse in the area were clarified.

Construction

The EH II casemate room is defined to the East by Wall 150 and to the West by Wall 151. To the South the area under excavation was limited by the presence of Hellenistic Wall 102 which runs over that part of the room. Wall 170, of MH date, enforced a similar limit to the North (Figure 3). While the northern wall of the room remains hidden by the presence of MH Wall 170 and the fill behind later (Archaic or Classical?) Wall 104, remnants of a southern wall (Wall 152) were exposed below Wall 102 during this year's cleaning operation. Due to its position this new wall could not be entirely cleared, but it appears to have closed or partitioned the area to the South. In the East it clearly corners with Wall 150. Here Wall 152 stands two courses high and is constructed, like Wall 151, of medium-sized stones with a possible door opening in the centre. The presence of eroding mudbrick on top of the preserved courses indicates that the wall provided a socle for a mudbrick superstructure. In the West, Wall 152 ran up to the large stone (ca. 0.40 x 0.60 x 1.45 m.), which acts as the southern terminus of Wall 151. This large stone is also the easternmost of a series of similarly large stones (Wall 181), which lie directly under Wall 102 to the West.[6]

Wall 150, the eastern wall of the casemate room, was constructed on the natural hillside itself, terminating in the North with a large boulder of Wall 180. Walls 151 and 152, on the other hand, were built directly on the same kind of stone and gravel fill that is found in the interior of Wall 180/140 to the East of Wall 150. This stone and gravel fill also made up the sub-flooring of the casemate room. After the construction, on this levelled fill, of Walls 151 and 152 the area was prepared for use as a storage room by the construction of ca. 0.35 m. deep depressions in the fill.[7] Excavation this year showed that these depressions had been lined with a fine yellow clay prior to the installation of pithoi. This careful lining would have been to protect the thin-walled vessels from breakage by the rubble into which they were to be set. Once these pithoi were firmly in place, a mixture of fine clay and extremely small gauge gravel was laid around them. This material, ca. 0.02 to 0.04 m. thick, formed the flooring of the room, laid up against the already constructed Walls 150, 151 and 152. This floor was only preserved in patches.

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[5] For a fuller description, see MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 61.

[6] For Wall 181, see MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 17-18.

[7] A similar installation technique was observed at Eutresis, see Goldman 1931, 32, fig. 35.2.

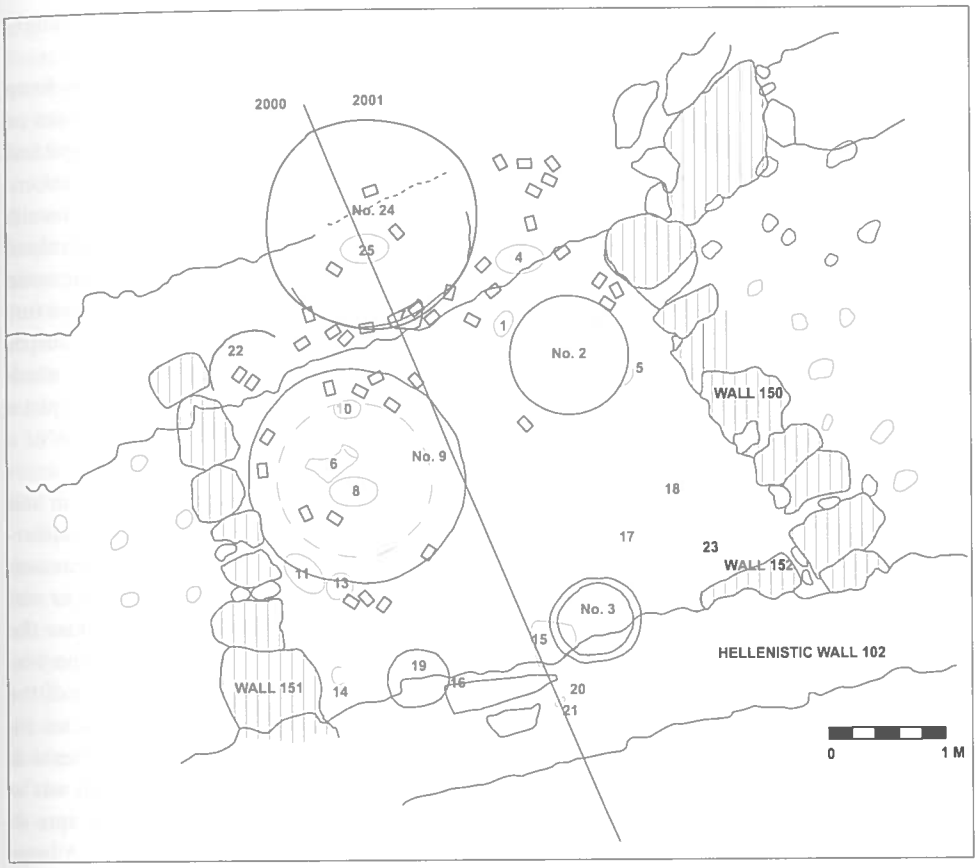

Figure 4. *EH II casemate room with associated finds*

Destruction and room contents

In 2002 cleaning and preparation for the conservation of surrounding walls also provided some clarification as to the processes of deposition responsible for the material found in the EH II casemate room. These processes can now be divided into three categories: the formation of the floor deposit at the time of the fire destruction, the gradual post-destruction degradation of the room and its surrounds, and subsequent episodes of erosion, in some cases leading to the accumulation of more silt and in others to the loss downhill of the room's contents.[8]

The fire that destroyed the EH II structure helped to preserve a large part of its contents. Although disturbed by subsequent events (see below), the lower parts of three pithoi, remained *in situ* (Figure 4, nos. 2, 9 and 24). Pithoi nos. 9 and 24 were found to contain saucers (no. 8 and no. 25 respectively). These saucers rested on the bottom of the pithoi showing them to be empty of solids at the time of the destruction.[9] The third pithos, no. 2 in Figure 4, contained a mass of burned seeds, some of which had fallen on the floor at the time of the destruction and

[8] These effects are described more fully in MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 58-59.
[9] For nos. 9 and 8, see MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 15.

some of which, no doubt disturbed by subsequent silting and erosion, were found seemingly washed downhill to the North.[10]

In 2000 the intact rim of another pithos (Figure 4, no. 3) had been found resting upside down on a thin layer of clay-like build up on the floor of the room. Enough of the neck or sides of this pithos remained (0.18 m maximum height) to consider the possibility that it perhaps had been emptied and stored upside down to prevent the accumulation of trash until reuse, a common enough sight in present-day Geraki.[11] This interpretation is, however, belied by the results of our study and further cleaning of the area during 2002. The rim, although itself unbroken, was found to have been resting on the sherds of a large conical lid (Figure 4, no. 15) of the same diameter as, and no doubt intended for, the rim found earlier. Just to the West of this and further to the South, that is further underneath Wall 102, were discovered several large sherds (with a maximum height of ca. 0.40 m.) which were found to join this rim and make up much of the sides of the vessel, joining rim to a base which was discovered resting on its side just a little further under Wall 102 Plate I). The base had a hole in the side, scarred by the loss of a spout (possibly no. 20 in Figure 4, which was also found in the vicinity).

In the North, cleaning the section below MH Wall 170 revealed the sides of a third *in situ* pithos (Figure 4, no. 24, Plate II). The extraction of this vessel and the preparation for the underbuilding of Wall 170 eventually took us almost a metre to the North below Wall 170. Excavation had to be conducted laterally, but could still be done stratigraphically. The southern, or visible, portion of the wall of the pithos was lifted and the interior fill removed to expose the remaining sides, which were then lifted in their turn. This allowed for the removal of the vessel but left the Northwest and Northeast corners of the room unexcavated and clearance of the floor deposit in those areas incomplete. As with the pithos excavated last year (Figure 4, no. 9), large stones were found to be resting at different levels within the vessel, including several at the bottom. One of these had fallen on and smashed the saucer (Figure 4, no. 25), which was at the bottom of the pithos, paralleling one found in pithos no. 9. Four saucers (Figure 4, nos. 4, 10, 11, and 12), and two bowls (nos. 1 and 13) were also found on the decaying floor. A large part of a so-called fruitstand (Figure 4, no. 19, Plate I) was found in the southwest corner of the room. This stood against Wall 152 and rested on preserved patches of the burned clay floor of the room. Burnt mudbricks and a fine washed ash on the floor suggest that the roof was breached at the time of destruction. This would have partially exposed the room and its contents, allowing the influx of rainwater and the initial loss of the exposed clay flooring material into the stone and gravel fill below. The loss of patches of flooring was clearly seen during the removal of the 'fruitstand' mentioned above.

This loss of flooring material was accompanied by the gradual degradation of the mudbrick superstructure and further collapse of the room and its surrounds. This debris filled the room in irregular fashion, building up in the North, probably against the wall hidden below later Wall 104 and the fill behind it. In the southeast corner, mudbrick material eroding from the superstructure of Wall 152 could be seen to have accumulated at floor level. The rim and body fragments of the pithos mentioned above (Figure 4, no. 3) and found in this area all rested on a level of silted mudbrick, suggesting that the collapse and breakage of the pithos occurred only as the area slowly degraded. This is confirmed by the presence of larger stones at varying levels of

[10] For seeds on the floor and to the North, see MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 63.
[11] See MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 63 and pl. XIV.

this eroding, silted mudbrick debris.[12] The fragment of a second 'fruitstand' (Figure 4, no. 22) from the unfinished excavation of the northwest corner of the area, below Wall 170, may be the product of similar processes of deposition.[13] The distribution of other fragmentary vessels such as nos. 5, 16, 17, 18, 21 and 23, found at varying heights above floor level in a matrix of silted mudbrick debris, may likewise be the result of post-destruction degradation.

Also associated with this silted post-destruction collapse was a so-called duck askos (Figure 4, nos. 6 and 7). While the mouth and neck (no. 6) were found in the upper levels of fine, red-burnt silt that had gradually filled pithos no. 9, the joining body sherd (no. 7) was found just above floor level in a similar matrix. This, and the unworn condition of the vessel, suggests that it may have fallen into the room, perhaps from a shelf, during the gradual collapse of the exposed walls. The gradual silting of fill into the room also built up against and preserved the walls of the three pithoi embedded in the floor, where it clearly retained the impressions of the surface treatment of the pots.

Fifty-seven fragments of clay rim sealings were also found in 2002, some on the floor of the room and some in the washed debris which had filled it after the destruction. Several of these had impressions of circular stamp seals.[14]

Episodes of subsequent erosion would have occurred only after the collapse of portions of the north wall of the room, a product of the continued disintegration of the abandoned area. The loss of this wall, which had retained the accumulated mudbrick debris that had filled the area, allowed for the erosion of the upper levels of this debris, thus exposing the uppermost portions of the previously buried pithoi (see also Plate II, layer 4).

Characteristic of the upper levels of eroded EH II material throughout the room was the recurrence of large sherds of Geraki Ware (0.10 x 0.10 m., 0.10 x 0.15 m.), which showed little signs of wear. The size and condition of the sherds suggest that they formed part of the walls of the vessels that had been preserved by the gradual accumulation of fill around them and then re-exposed by the erosion of that fill after the collapse of the upper portions of the north wall which had acted to retain it. These large sherds were all found to be lying flat on this eroding material, showing that their deposition was a product of the same processes of erosion which had exposed them. The fact that they were accompanied by smaller, worn sherds of the MH period suggests that the erosion and denudation, which was responsible for their exposure and deposition had occurred during or after the MH period.[15]

Early Helladic II pottery from the casemate room (J.H. Crouwel)

The plan of the casemate room in Area II, discussed above by S. MacVeagh Thorne, indicates the position of 25 EH II pottery vessels or fragments thereof (Figure 4). Some of these, like (parts of) the so-called fruitstand (no. 19), two ring-based bowls (nos. 1 and 13) and four

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[12] MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 15. A similar configuration of fallen stones was found in the pithos excavated this year, no. 24 in Plate II.

[13] Discussion of this vessel may be premature as more of it may remain to be excavated.

[14] These sealings are due for study in a coming season.

[15] A similar situation was noted in front of Wall 181, see MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 20. This process has been observed elsewhere on the acropolis and is discussed by MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 58, n. 16.

saucers (nos. 4, 10-12), belong to the floor deposit of the time of the fire destruction. Two saucers (nos. 8 and 25) were discovered at the bottom of two pithoi (nos. 9 and 24) which, together with a third pithos (no. 2), were found with their lower parts set into the floor. The other registered pots and fragments come from varying heights above the floor level and belonged to the post-destruction collapse of walls and possibly shelves.

The excavation of the casemate room started in 2000 and continued in 2001 and 2002, with larger or smaller parts of the same vessels often coming to light in different campaigns. As the excavation is still unfinished, there is as yet no definite information on the total quantity of EH II pottery, its fabrics and surface treatment, shapes and decoration.

Catalogue[16]

1. (Figure 6). Ring-based bowl. Inv. no. 1456/SF8. Two joining fragments, representing ca. 33 per cent of original vessel. Complete profile. Ht. 0.091; Diam. base 0.04; Diam. rim 0.134. Medium coarse fabric (fabric B). Clay yellowish red (5 YR 5/8). Surfaces slipped red (2.5 YR 4/6). Ring base; deep bowl with straight rim.

2. (Plate III). Pithos. Inv. no. 1460/SF2. Thirty-two joining and non-joining sherds from base and lower body (including some originally attributed to Inv. no. 1462/SF9). Diam. base ca. 0.22. Coarse fabric (D). No information yet on clay and possible surface slip. Flat base. Plastic decoration in Geraki Ware, consisting of groups of oblique vertical lines alternating with oblique horizontal lines, starting from base and merging into zigzag patterns higher up. Burnt.
Bibl.: Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 63 with pl. XIII.

3. (Plate I). Pithos. Inv. nos. 1462/SF9 and 1723/SF8. Two sets of many joining sherds (including from zembils 1448, 1696, 1716, 1717, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1723 and 1732); one set comprises all of base and part of lower body, the other all of rim and part of upper body; alltogether over half of original vessel may be represented. Complete profile. Diam. base ca. 0.16; diam rim ca. 0.33. Coarse fabric (fabric D). Clay greenish grey (2 for gley 5/1); surfaces slipped reddish yellow (5 YR 7/6). Irregular, flattish base; body somewhat ovoid, sloping inwards to outturned rim which is thickened out and flat on top; one of two horizontal loop handles preserved on shoulder; ca. 0.02 above base, a round opening (diam. 0.018), scarred by the loss of an applied spout (see no. 20). Plastic decoration, consisting of one cordon at level of handle(s), with fingertipping (of Weisshaar's type c) extending across preserved handle.
Bibl.: Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 63 with pl. XIV.

4. (Figure 5). Saucer. Inv. nos. 1462/SF6 and 1733/SF7. Nine joining rim and body sherds, representing ca. 60 per cent of original vessel. Base lost. Diam. rim 0.19. Medium coarse fabric (fabric B). Clay reddish-brown (5 YR 5/4); surfaces slipped light reddish brown (5 YR 6/4). Shallow bowl with plain tapered rim. One small excrescence on top of rim.

5. (Figure 6). Collared bowl. Inv. no. 1462/SF5. Mended from 5 joining rim and body sherds, representing ca. 5-10 per cent or original vessel. Diam rim. 0.13. Coarse fabric (fabric D). Clay very dark grey (10 YR 3/1). Surfaces slipped reddish brown (5 YR 4/4). Everted rim.

6 and 7. (Plate IV). 'Duck askos'. Inv. no. 1696/SF2. Nineteen joining and non-joining sherds (Inv. nos. 1730/SF10, 16, 17, and from zembils 1462, 1693, 1699, 1702 and 1730), representing ca. half of original vessel. Complete profile. Ht. ca. 0.185; Diam. base ca. 0.095. Medium coarse fabric (fabric I). Fine horizontal scraping marks, left by wiping. Clay yellow (10 YR 8/6), with olive grey core (5 YR 5/2 and 4/2); surfaces slipped reddish-yellow (7.5 YR 6/6) to yellow to brownish yellow (10 YR 7/6 and 6/6), now worn in places. Flat base; thin-walled, depressed globular body; beaked spout on shoulder; on top of body, small, pinched vertical handle with narrow opening, placed off line of spout. Rather carelessly

[16] Colours are described according to the Munsell Soil Color Charts.

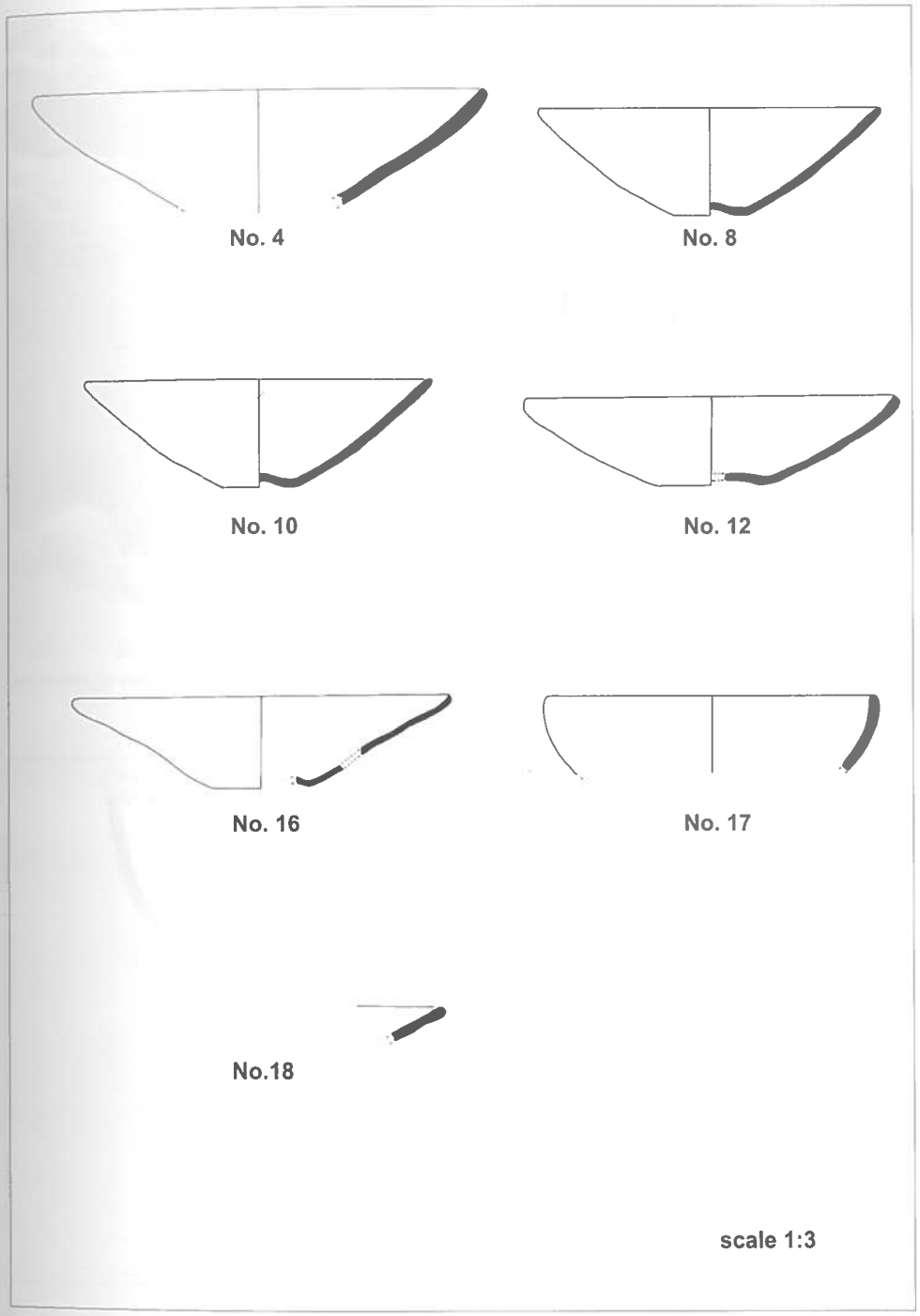

Figure 5. *EH II saucers*

Plate I. *EH II casemate room, from North; showing 'fruitstand' no. 19 in situ and fragments of pithos no. 3 to east (left) of it*

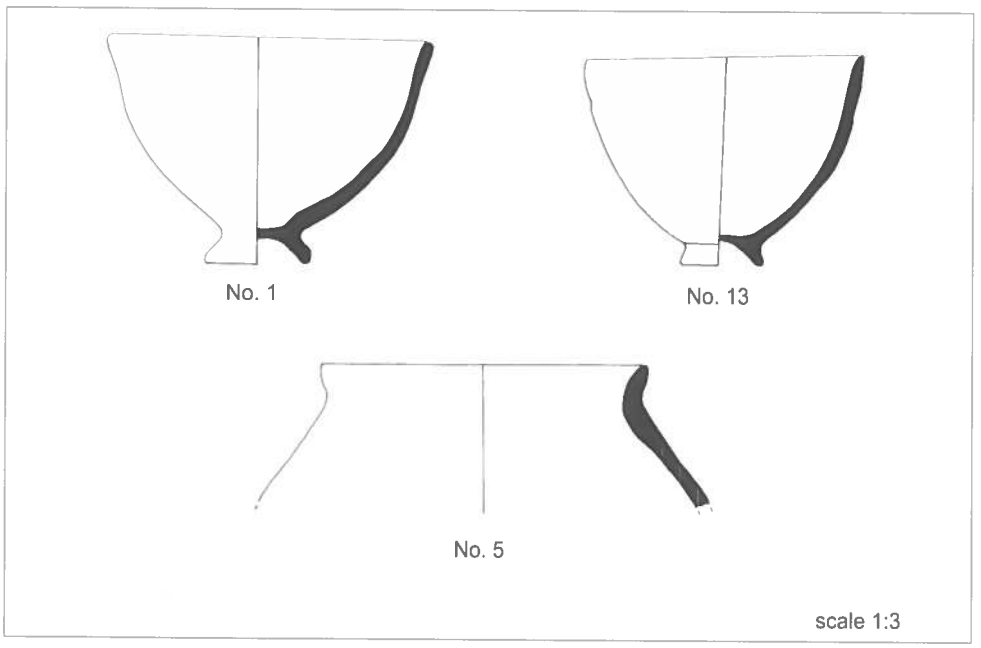

Figure 6. *EH II ring-based bowls and collared bowl*

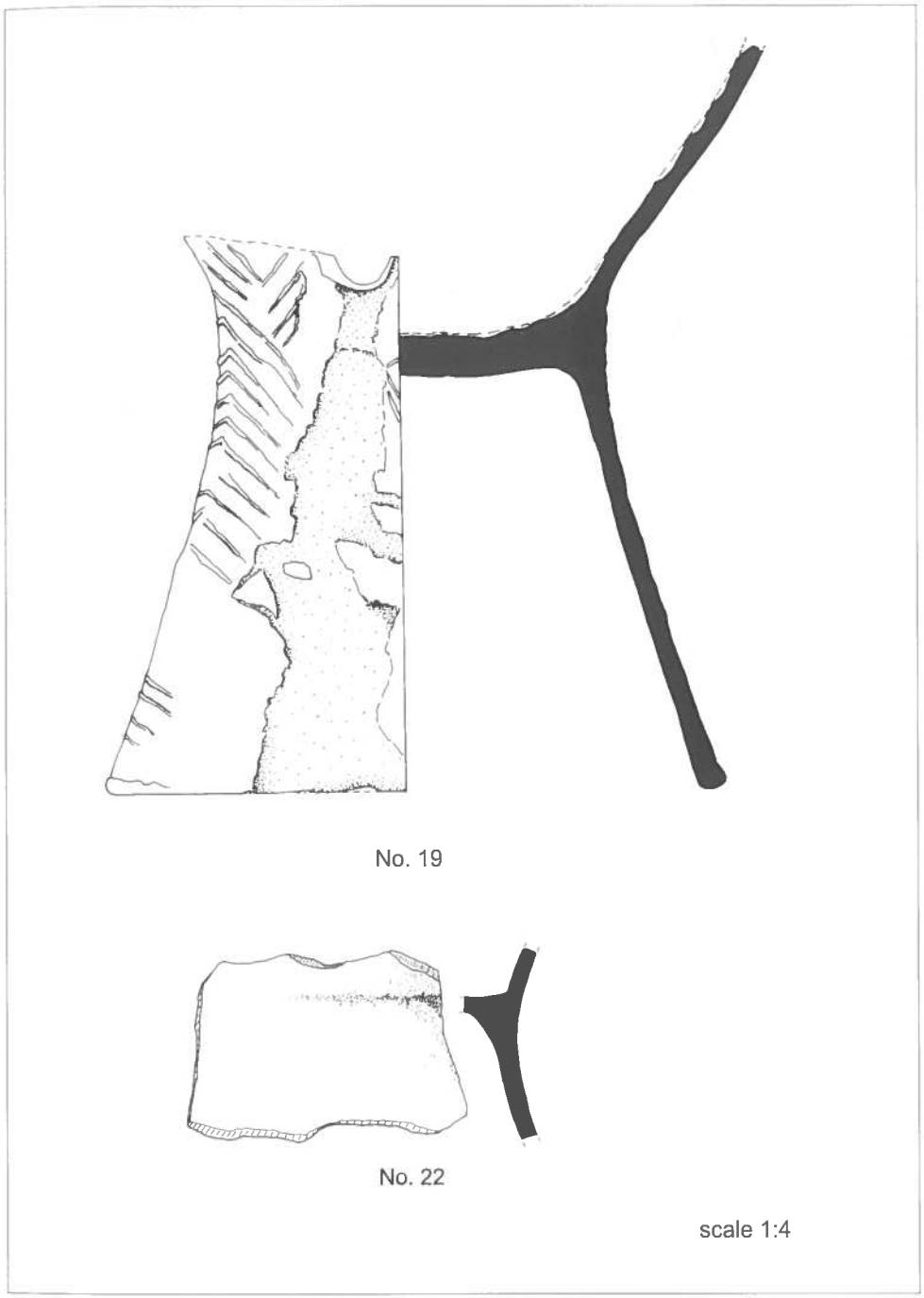

Figure 7. *EH II 'fruitstand' and fragment of another*

Plate II. *EH II casemate room, from South; section below MH wall 170, with pithos no. 24 in situ; 1. heavily burnt destruction material on floor, 2. post-destruction collapse (silted mudbrick), 3. erosion layer with seeds from pithos, 4. subsequent erosion layer*

Plate III. *EH II pithos no. 2 (Inv. no. 1460/SF2)*

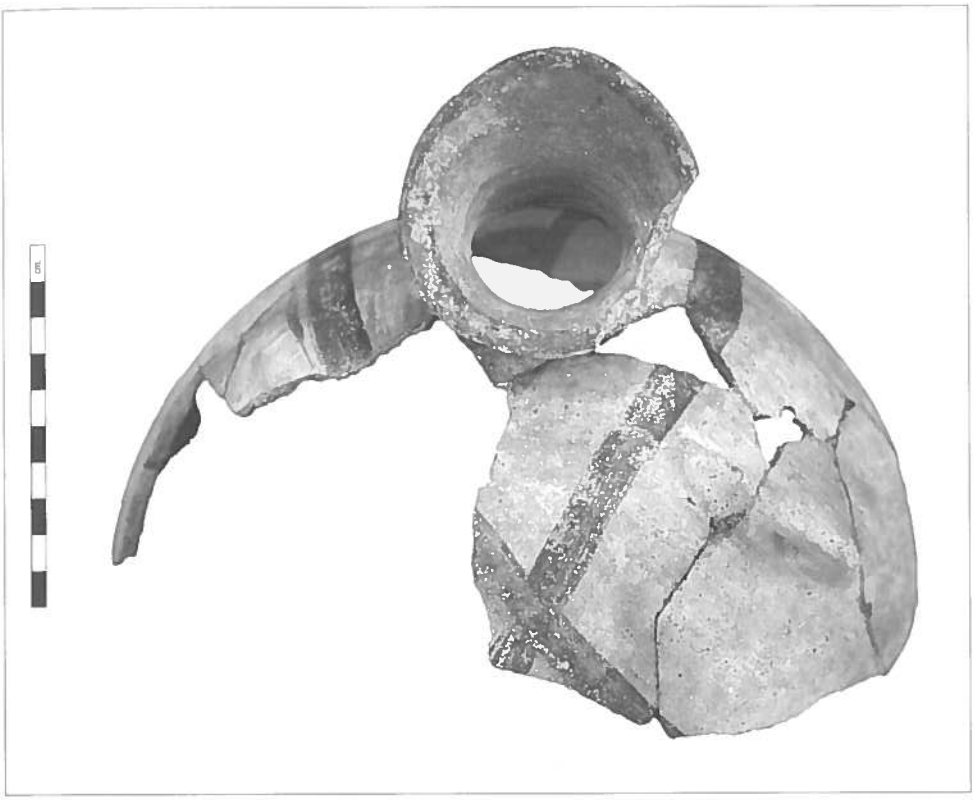

Plate IV. *EH II 'duck askos' (nos. 6 and 7; Inv. no. 1696/SF2)*

Plate V. *EH II saucers (nos. 10 and 8; Inv. nos. 1702/SF 1 and 1699/SF6)*

applied painted decoration in dark grey (10 YR 3/1), consisting of various horizontal and vertical bands, sometimes running across each other; rim of spout also painted.
Bibl.: Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 25 with fig. 8 and pl. II.

8. (Figure 5; Plate V). Saucer. Inv. no. 1699/SF6. Complete, except for small part of rim. Ht. 0.046; Diam. base ca. 0.03; Diam. rim 0.147. Medium coarse fabric (fabric B). Clay brown (7.5 YR 4/4); surfaces slipped yellowish red (5 YR 5/6). Inside and out fine horizontal marks, left by wiping. Indented bottom; shallow bowl with plain tapered rim.
Bibl.: Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 25 with fig. 6-right.

9. (No ill.). Pithos. Inv. no. 1699/SF7. Many joining sherds (including from zembils 1456 and 1717, Inv. nos. 1696/SF1 and 3, and possibly 1723/SF11), making up all of base and part of lower body. Diam. base ca. 0.25. Coarse fabric (fabric D). Clay dark grey (10 YR 4/1); surfaces slipped reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6). Base very slightly convex. Plastic decoration in Geraki Ware, consisting of closely spaced horizontal zigzag pattern, starting from base and extending up to group of 3 plain horizontal cordons.
Bibl.: Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 14-15, 25 with pl. X (incorrectly numbered Inv. nos. 1696/SF7 and 1996/SF2-3).

10. (Figure 5; Plate V). Saucer. Inv. no. 1702/SF1. Mended from 27 joining rim and body sherds. Complete, except for small parts of bowl. Ht. 0.044; Diam. base ca. 0.03; Diam. rim 0.153. Fine fabric (fabric A). Clay reddish (5 YR 6/6); surfaces slipped yellowish red (5 YR 5/8); outside burnished. Indented bottom; shallow bowl with plain tapered, slightly inturned rim.
Bibl.: Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 25 with fig. 6-left.

11. (Figure 5). Inv. no. 1702/SF2. Saucer. Complete, except for small part of rim. Ht. 0.053; Diam. base 0.03; Diam. rim 0.10. Medium coarse fabric (B). Red clay (10 R 5/8). Surfaces self-slipped. Ring base with 'knob' at centre bottom; rather deep bowl with plain tapered, inturned rim. Traces of burning.
Bibl.: Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 25 with fig. 7.

12. (Figure 5). Saucer. Inv. no. 1702/SF10. Mended from 7 sherds (including one from zembil 1708), representing ca. 50 per cent of original vessel. Complete profile. Ht. 0.037; Diam. base ca. 0.05; Diam. rim 0.157. Fine fabric (fabric A). Clay reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6); surfaces self-slipped. Indented bottom; shallow bowl with plain tapered, slightly inturned rim.

13. (Figure 6; Plate VI). Inv. no. 1702/SF7. Ring-based bowl. Mended from 17 joining sherds. Complete, except from small part of rim. Ht. 0.086; Diam. base 0.033; Diam. rim ca. 0.11. Medium coarse fabric (fabric B). Outside, scraping marks running in different directions; inside, fine horizontal marks, left by wiping. Clay red (10 R 4/6); surfaces self-slipped. Flaring ring base; deep bowl with tapered rim. Bowl slightly askew.
Bibl.: Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 26 with fig. 9.

14. (No ill.). Coarse bowl. Inv no. 1717/SF1. Thirty-nine joining rim and body sherds (including from zembils 1708, 1715-1717, 1719-1721, 1737; possibly also sherd 1447/5, of a raised flattish base), representing ca. 33 per cent of original vessel. Diam. rim ca. 0.30; Thickness wall 0.07. Coarse fabric (fabric D). Clay dark reddish grey (Munsell 10 R 3/1); surfaces slipped red (Munsell 10 R 4/8). Straight wall, rim thickened out and rounded on top. Outer surface deliberately roughened. Traces of burning.

15. (Figure 8; Plate VII.). Lid. Inv. no. 1719/SF1. Mended from 27 joining sherds (including some from zembils 1112, 1452 and 2539), representing ca. 60 percent of original lid. Complete profile. Ht. 0.134; Diam. rim 0.36. Coarse fabric (fabric D). Clay dark grey (10 YR 4/1); surfaces slipped reddish brown (5 YR 4/3). Irregular scraping marks inside. Large domed lid with plain rim. At top, attachments, round in section, of smallish loop handle. Crudely incised decoration out, consisting of circumcurrent, irregular strokes, some of them in V-shape. Traces of burning.
Note. Part of a round-sectioned loop handle of same fabric (zembil 2539/5) probably belonged to this lid.

16. (Figure 5). Saucer. Inv. no. 1719/SF3. Two joining and one non-joining rim and body sherds. Diam. base ca. 0.04; Diam. rim ca. 0.16. Fine fabric (fabric A). Clay grey; surfaces slipped reddish yellow. Indented bottom; shallow bowl with plain tapered, slightly inturned rim.

17. (Figure 5). Saucer. Inv. no. 1721/SF1. Ten joining and non-joining sherds (including from zembils 1453/3, 1463/3, 1708/4, 1720/2), representing ca. 5-10 per cent of original vessel. Base lost. Diam. rim ca. 0.15. No information yet on fabric or clay. Dark painted surfaces; outside burnished. Rather deep bowl with plain tapered, slightly inturned rim.

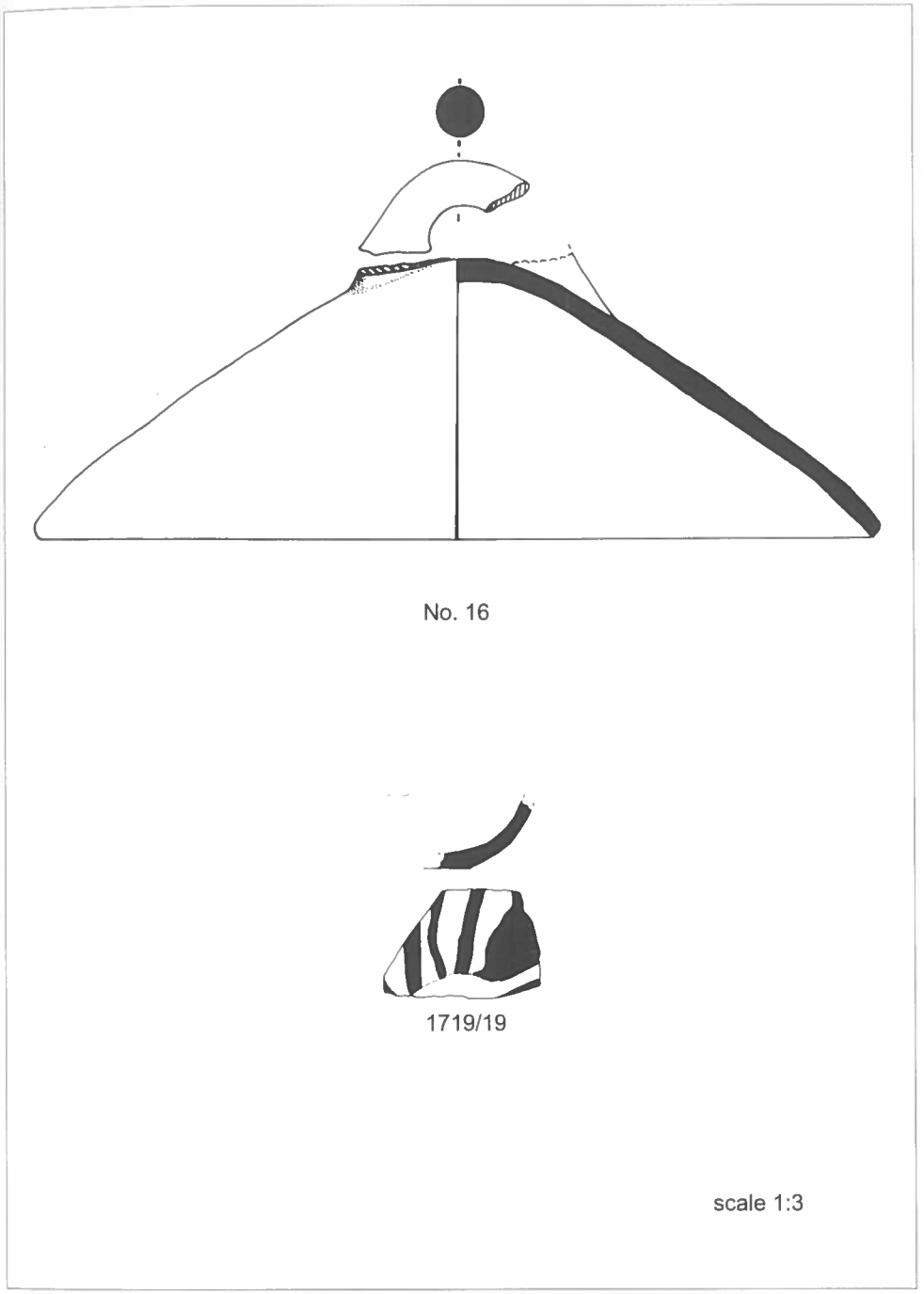

Figure 8. *EH II lid and fragment of 'duck askos'*

Plate VI. *EH II ring-based bowl (no. 13; Inv. no. 1702/SF1)*

Plate VII. *EH II lid (no. 15; Inv. no. 1719/SF1)*

18. (Figure 5). Saucer. Inv. no. 1722/SF 1. Two joining rim sherds (including zembil 1723/12, representing ca. 5 per cent of original vessel. Base lost. Diam. rim 0.16. Fine fabric (fabric A). Grey clay; surfaces slipped reddish yellow (no Munsell determinations). Very shallow bowl with plain rim.

19. (Figure 7; Plates I and VIII). 'Fruitstand'. Inv. no. 1723/SF1. Most of pedestal, all of floor and parts of bowl (but no rim), representing ca. 70 per cent of original vessel. Ht. ex. 0.31; Ht. of stand (inside) 0.23; Diam. base 0.34. Coarse fabric (fabric D). Clay pink (7.5 YR 7/4); outer surface slipped brown (7.5 YR 4/2). Tall hollow, conical pedestal, its lower edge slightly thickened. Thick floor, sloping inwards; bowl with spreading profile. Just above floor, remains of spout. Plastic decoration in Geraki Ware on pedestal and bowl, consisting of closely spaced horizontal zigzag patterns; decoration clearly worn in area directly below spout and extending down to lower edge of pedestal.

20. (No ill.). Spout. Inv. no. 1723/SF8. L. ex. 0.035; Diam. 0.012 (inside) – 0.023 (outside). Coarse fabric (fabric D). Clay greenish grey (2 for gley 5/1); surface slipped reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6.8). Incompletely preserved, tubular spout, separately made, but probably broken off from pithos no. 3.

Plate VIII. *EH II 'fruitstand' (no. 19; Inv. no. 1723/SF1)*

21. (No ill.). Coarse bowl. Inv. no. 1723/SF9. Two groups of 10 and 2 joining rim and body sherds respectively; possibly some other, non-joining sherds from zembils 1450, 1451, 1452, 1443 and 1716. Ca. 25 per cent of original vessel preserved. Ht. ex. ca. 0.21; Diam. rim ca. 0.28. Coarse fabric (fabric D). Clay red (2.5 YR 4/6.6); surfaces self-slipped. Straight wall; rim thickened out and rounded on top. Outer surface deliberately roughened. Traces of burning.

22. (Figure 7). 'Fruitstand'. Inv. no. 1724/SF 2. One fragment, possibly also 17 non-joining sherds, representing a small part of pedestal and bowl. Ht. (fragment) 0.11; W. 0.155. Coarse fabric (fabric D). Clay reddish-brown (5 YR 4/6/4); surfaces self-slipped.

23. (No ill.). Saucer. Inv no. 1732/SF1. Seven joining and non-joining sherds, representing ca. 5 per cent of original vessel. Diam rim. 0.16. Fine (?) fabric. Clay light brown (10 YR 6/2); surfaces slipped. Base lost; shallow bowl with plain tapered, slightly inturned rim. Fragile, due to burning.

24. (Plate II). Pithos. Inv. no. 1743/SF1-3. Many joining fragments of base and body (also Inv. no. 1745/SF2 and sherds from zembils 1746-1748, 1750-1752). Coarse fabric (fabric D). Clay light grey (10 YR 7/2) to 7/3 (very pale brown); surfaces slipped yellow (10 YR 7/6). No dimensions or details of shape available as yet. Plastic decoration in Geraki Ware, consisting of a closely spaced zigzag pattern, starting from base.

25. (No ill.). Saucer. Inv. no. 1751/SF 3. Ten joining rim and body sherds, representing ca. 80 per cent of original vessel. Diam. rim ca. 0.17. Fine fabric (fabric A). No information as yet on clay or surface finish. Indented bottom; shallow bowl with plain tapered rim. Bowl rather irregularly shaped.

Discussion

Fabric and surface treatment

The pottery represented by the registered pieces and by sherd material consists of a mixture of hand-made vessels of fine, medium coarse and coarse fabrics similar to that from the destruction material of EH II late in test trench 17/11i. The latter, excavated in 1997, was situated some 40 meters to the west in Area I.[17]

The fine pottery from the casemate room, with only a few, small inclusions, is again of a single fabric, our fabric A. This is medium hard and mostly fired evenly to the core, with colours ranging around reddish-yellow (Munsell Soil Chart 7.5 YR 7/6). The surfaces often show evidence for a light-firing clay slip (a.o. Geraki saucers nos. 10, 12, 16, 18). This corresponds with what Martha Wiencke has called Light Painted in her exhaustive and authorative study of the large corpus of EH II pottery from Lerna in the Argolid, a key site for defining the ceramic sequence of this period. Much more rarely, a dark-firing slip can be made out that used to be known as 'Urfirnis' but is now named Dark Painted by Wiencke (a.o. Geraki saucer no. 23).[18] Unlike the EH II pottery from Lerna, the surfaces of the EH II pottery of fine and other fabrics found at Geraki are often too worn to determine whether they had subsequently been simply smoothed, burnished or polished.

Among the shapes represented in fine fabric A, the small bowl, commonly known as saucer, is by far the most common (see a.o. nos. 10, 12, 16, 18, 25). This is indeed a standard shape in the EH II ceramic repertoire at Geraki and elsewhere (see below *s.v.* saucer). The sauceboat,

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[17] Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 58-62; 1998, 96-101 (also 101-103, for similar pottery finds from test trench 19/1d).

[18] See Wiencke 2000, 316f., 320-326. Note that the term 'Urfirnis' is retained in the recent full publication of similar material of period II at Ayia Irini on Keos (Wilson 1999, 71-76).

another standard shape of the time, is present among the sherd material from the casemate room and other contexts at Geraki.

Non-fine fabrics are much more common in the casemate room and elsewhere at Geraki than the fine fabric A. Again fabrics B and D, both fired medium hard, predominate. Fabric B is medium coarse, with some quartz and many limestone inclusions. Colours tend to be red or yellowish red (Munsell 2.5 YR 4/8 and 5 YR 5/6). In contrast to the pottery of fine fabric A, Dark Painted surfaces are much more common that Light Painted ones. Little can again be said about any subsequent surface treatment. Medium coarse fabric B comes in several shapes, in particular jugs and bowls. Some of the shapes, in particular saucers (a.o. nos. 4, 11, 17), are also found in fine fabric A.

Coarse fabric D is related to B, but with its more crystalline limestone inclusions it is much coarser in structure. Colours tend to be yellowish red (Munsell 5 YR 4/6) or grey. This fabric comes in shapes like pithoi, coarse bowls and 'fruitstands'. The surfaces may again be Dark Painted, while several vessels in addition display plastic decoration (see below).

Another fabric, I, is represented only by the 'duck askos' (nos. 6-7) and by a sherd from a similarly shaped vessel, also from the casemate room (zembil 1719/19; Figure 8). This medium coarse fabric recalls fabric B but has much small dark grit. The clay is olive grey (Munsell 5 YR 5/2 and 4/2), with a yellow core (10 YR 8/6). The Light Painted surface bears a simple decoration in dark paint.

Shapes and decoration

Open shapes

Saucer

These small bowls are well represented among the registered pots and sherd material from the casemate room and other EH II late contexts at Geraki (nos. 4, 8, 10-12, 16-18, 23, 25). They occur in both fine and medium coarse fabrics, their surfaces being mostly Light Painted (in the case of fabric A) or Dark Painted (in the case of fabric B). Saucers come in two types: the more common type 1 has an indented bottom and a shallow bowl, usually with a plain rim (see nos. 4, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18, 23, 25), the less common type 2 a ring base and a deeper bowl with (slightly) inturned rim (see nos. 11, 17). Both types can be easily matched in other contexts at Geraki, at Lerna (particularly in phase IIIC) and other sites in southern and central mainland Greece, where saucers are ubiquitous.[19]

Saucers, especially those of fine fabric, may have been used for eating and drinking. At the same time, two of our type 1 examples (nos. 8 and 25, of fine and medium coarse fabric respectively) were found at the bottom of two otherwise empty pithoi (nos. 9 and 24), which may perhaps suggest a use in transferring liquids or dry goods. In contrast, a third pithos (no. 2), also set in the floor, contained carbonised seeds but no saucer.

[19] Wiencke 2000, 592-601 with fig. II.93, citing many parallels from elsewhere. At Geraki, test trench 17/11i, mentioned above, yielded two Dark Painted saucers of type 2, one of them half preserved and the other nearly complete; see Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 98 with figs. 4-5.

Ring-based bowl

Two small bowls of medium coarse fabric (nos. 1 and 13) are related to the saucer but have a higher ring base and a deeper bowl. Light Painted and unpainted respectively, they are not easily matched at Lerna or elsewhere.[20]

Collared bowl

No. 5 is of coarse fabric and can be attributed to a collared bowl, a shape well attested at Lerna and elsewhere in the Argolid. There this type of bowl is usually of medium coarse fabric, Light Painted and set on a low pedestal base.[21]

Coarse bowl

Two fragmentary open vessels bowls (nos. 14 and 21) may be classified as 'coarse bowls'. They cannot be closely matched elsewhere, but somewhat recall the coarse cooking bowls with flat or ring bases, straight or curved upper bodies and thickened rims that are well-known from Lerna and other sites in southern and central mainland Greece.[22] A remarkable feature of the two Geraki bowls is their deliberately roughened outer surface.

'Fruitstand'

This is the name commonly given to a basin that stands on a flaring pedestal base. The shape goes back to EH I and is usually only represented by fragments, thereby raising the possibility of rim fragments of both the basin and the pedestal base being mistaken as bowl fragments.[23] The size of the 'fruitstands' varies, a well preserved example from a late EH II context at Tiryns reaching a height of as much as ca. 0.60.[24]

As to their use, in the settlement of Ayios Dhimitrios in the southwest Peloponnese a 'fruitstand' was found inside a hearth, together with fragments of two cooking pots and other sherds of fine fabric.[25] This and their usually coarse fabric would suggest a household function, perhaps to do with kitchen activities. The relatively well preserved 'fruitstand' found standing on the floor of our casemate room (no. 19) seems to have served for liquids, to judge from the opening just above the bottom of the bowl, a feature so far unique for vessels of this shape. The traces of wear on the plastic decoration in the area beneath this opening may perhaps have been caused by a steady stream of (acid) wine rather than by olive oil which, being more viscous, would tend to come out in a slow trickle.[26] The plastic decoration, rather like 'smear marks' in the form of horizontal zigzag patterns, is typical of what have called Geraki Ware (see below, *s.v.* Pithos). It is at present only found at our site and this would suggest local manufacture for the pithoi (nos. 2, 9, 24) and the 'fruitstand' so decorated. In contrast, Geraki Ware decoration is absent from no. 22, a fragment of the pedestal base and bowl of a second 'fruitstand'.

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[20] Cf. Wiencke 2000, 604-605 with fig. II.96 (small pedestaled saucer, mostly found in Lerna phase IIIC).

[21] Wiencke 2000, 552-554 with fig. II.81.

[22] Wiencke 2000, 547-550 with fig. II.79.

[23] See Wiencke 2000, 555-556 with fig. II.83; also Zachos 1987, 186-190.

[24] Weisshaar 1983, 348, 350 with fig. 18 (from 'Horizont 7a-b' in the *Unterburg*).

[25] Zachos 1987, 190.

[26] As was kindly suggested to me by Professor S. Iakovidis.

Closed shapes

'Duck askos'

The so-called duck askos (nos. 6 and 7) represents a rare find of this type of asymmetrical pouring vessel at Geraki. It is of the unusual, medium coarse fabric I and bears simple dark-on-light painted decoration, mainly consisting of vertical and horizontal bands. Interestingly, in 2002 the casemate room produced a sherd from the base and body of another 'duck askos', of similar fabric and with a more complex dark-on-light painted decoration running down to the base (zembil 1719/19; Figure 8). These two pieces stand out at Geraki for their fabric, shape and decoration alike. They may well represent imports, perhaps from the Argolid where some dark-on-light painted 'duck askoi' have been found at Lerna and Tiryns.[27] At these sites and elsewhere, 'duck askoi' are never common among the repertoire of askoi and other shapes. As for pattern-painted pottery, this is quite rare in Lerna III and other EH II sites, in marked contrast to Lerna IV and other sites which belong to EH III.[28]

Lid

Compared to other lids known from Lerna and elsewhere, the one from Geraki (no. 15) is large.[29] It may well have belonged with pithos no. 3 (see MacVeagh Thorne, above), which it matches in size. If so, this would be a rare find of a pithos with its lid.

Apart from its size, our lid is unusual in having (crudely) incised decoration.

Pithos

Medium-sized storage jars are well represented in the casemate room. Of the three that were set into the floor (nos. 2, 9, 24) too little has as yet been put together to ascertain their original shape. They share a flat to flattish base (ca. 0.20-0.25 in diameter) with a fourth pithos (no. 3), of which the completely preserved rim has a diameter of ca. 0.33 m. This pithos, with two horizontal loop handles on the shoulder and an estimated height of well under one meter, has a round hole that was pierced through its wall, just above the base. The hole may well have been for the tubular spout that was found separately (no. 20). There are a number of other examples of medium-sized pithoi with such openings or spouts, always near to the flat or flattish base, from Geraki and other EH II sites.[30] We are also reminded of the spout above the base of the 'fruitstand' also from the casemate room at Geraki (no. 19). Such spouted pithoi would not have been sunk into a floor but have stood on it, being used for liquids such as olive oil or wine.[31] In contrast, at least one of the other pithoi in the same casemate room at Geraki (no. 2) contained solids, in the form of a quantity of (burnt) seeds.

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[27] Wiencke 2000, 529-534 with fig. II.72 (askos type 6, at Lerna represented in phase IIIC).

[28] See Wiencke 2000, 611-618 with fig. II.99-101 (Lerna III) and Rutter 1995, 32-39, 478-623 (Lerna IV).

[29] See Wiencke 2000, 574-578, especially type 3 with a high semiglobular profile and a loop handle.

[30] At Geraki, Inv. nos. 1117/SF1 and 2110/SF 1, both in Geraki Ware. Elsewhere, see Maran 1998, 253f. with n. 969 and pl. 11:1-3 (including examples from Aegina and Leukas, from EM II Fournou-Korifi on Crete, as well as from later sites); see also Walter and Felten 1981, 100, 157 nos. 151 and 152 (from 'Fundgruppe' X, on a floor of the *Färberhaus* in City III at Kolonna, Aegina). For a somewhat different type of spout from Tiryns, see Weisshaar 1983, 353 with fig. 36:3.

[31] So also Maran, who points to the occasional finding of terracotta funnels in EH II contexts, which would have been used in dealing with such liquids (1998, 254 with n. 975).

The spouted pithos is undecorated, except for a horizontal plastic cordon with finger-impressions of type c, as defined by J. Weisshaar at Tiryns.[32] Horizontal cordons and finger-tipping of one type or another are well-known decorative features of pithoi and other shapes of (medium) coarse fabric in EH II, at Lerna and other sites, including Geraki.[33] Groups of plain cordons can be seen in the shoulder area of pithoi nos. 9 and 24. The cordons are combined with plastic decoration in the form of 'smear marks', starting from the base and arranged in different patterns. The EH II pottery, mostly pithoi of coarse fabric D such as our nos. 2, 9 and 24, bearing this highly distinct kind of surface treatment, has been called Geraki Ware. This is because it is common among the excavated and survey material from the site but so far unknown elsewhere.[34]

Concluding remarks

The pottery from the casemate room appears to be homogeneous in date and to belong to the same destruction horizon that has been observed in excavation in different parts of the acropolis of Geraki. This horizon can be attributed to EH II late, on the basis of links with the saucers and other vessels from Lerna phase IIIC which is of that date. The correspondence with finds from Lerna, a key-site for the period, confirms the remarkable degree of homogeneity which has often been noted in the ceramics, and the material record in general, throughout the Peloponnese and central Greece in Early Helladic II.[35]

The pottery under discussion represents an assortment of vessels of open and closed shapes made in a limited range of fine, medium coarse and coarse fabrics. Most of the pots were for storage or the manipulation of dry goods or liquids. The three Geraki Ware pithoi (nos. 2, 9, 24), one or more of which contained seeds, were clearly intended for long-term storage, as they were sunk into the floor. Together with the large 'fruitstand' (no. 19), which in fact was used for liquids, these pithoi took up much of the available floor space in the room which measured only 2.20 by 3.60 meter. This would have left very little space for activities such as food preparation or weaving, both of which are attested in the (much) larger rooms within the fortification walls of Lerna phase IIIC.[36]

As at Lerna, there is ample evidence for administrative practices in the Geraki casemate room. This consists of many (burnt) fragments of clay bands that had helped to seal the mouth of pithoi. Several of these fragments retained one or more impressions of lentoid seals, like those found earlier during our excavations at Geraki.[37] The use of seals for administrative purposes can be paralleled not only at Lerna but at several other sites in the Peloponnese and central Greece in EH II, as well as on some Aegean islands.[38] Here we have yet another indication of Geraki's place within a wide network of relations at that time.

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[32] Weisshaar 1983, 336 with fig. 7 (revised by Wiencke 2000, 619 with fig. II.102).

[33] Wiencke 2000, 619-625.

[34] Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 98, 100-101 with fig. 3 and pl. II (the burnt pithos, very similar to that of our no. 9 but held in place by a clay band, from test trench 17/11i); 1999, 33; 2000, 63; 2001, 14.

[35] Rutter 1993 ('Korakou culture'); Maran 1998, 271-273; Wiencke 2000, 636-638, 648-653, 655-657.

[36] Wiencke 2000, especially 644-649 with pls. 5-7 (phase IIIC early to late).

[37] Weingarten et al. 1999. For more recent finds, still to be studied by Dr J. Weingarten, see Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 63 and note 25; 2001, 15 with pl. XI.

[38] For recent discussion, see Weingarten 1997; Maran 1998, 233-240; Wiencke 2000, 651.

Early Helladic grass pea (*Lathyrus sativus* L.) in Geraki (R.T.J. Cappers and S.A. Mulder)

Introduction

The excavation campaigns at Geraki have revealed many samples with botanical plant remains, including a charred supply of grass pea (*Lathyrus sativus* L.). The plant remains became charred in a fire that destroyed the site at the end of the Early Helladic II period (ca. 2750/2700-2300/2200 BC). This was probably followed by at least a partial abandonment of the site, as witnessed by the erosion of Early Helladic II material behind the acropolis wall in Area II.[39]

Previous archaeobotanical research of samples from the acropolis of Geraki was conducted during the fourth season of the Dutch fieldwork project in 1998. These botanical samples originated from Early Helladic II, Middle Helladic and Classical-Hellenistic layers in four trenches and were secured during test excavations in 1997. Soil samples from the inside of an Early Helladic II pithos were by far the most rich in botanical remains. There was a predominance of three pulses in the samples: grass pea/chickling-vetch (*Lathyrus sativus/cicera*), lentil (*Lens culinaris*) and faba bean (*Vicia faba*). Other cultivated species included barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), einkorn (*Triticum monococcum*), almond (*Amygdalus communis*) and olive (*Olea europaea*).[40]

During the 2002 study campaign archaeobotanical research concentrated on samples collected during previous field campaigns from the casemate room in Area II, which was part of an Early Helladic II defensive structure.[41] The two halves of the casemate room were excavated in two seasons: trench 17/13q uncovering its eastern portion in 2000 and trench 17/13p its western portion in 2001 (Figure 9). Additional work was done in 2002 in the northern and southern part of the room, which are obscured by Middle Helladic Wall 170 and Hellenistic Wall 102 respectively. In the process of excavation, the remains of four pithoi (one spouted and clearly intended for liquids) and a number of smaller vessels were uncovered. Also, a series of soil samples were taken, some of them from inside the pithoi, others from the burned room fill around them.

In the northeastern corner of the room a large concentration of charred seeds was visible even before the outline of the broken pithos (no. 2) had appeared. The lower half of this pithos remained *in situ* and continued the deposit of charred seeds. Although a certain amount of the seeds had spilled out at the time of the fire destruction and again during subsequent episodes of erosion,[42] a considerable part of the original contents seems to have been preserved. The other three pithoi (nos. 3, 9 and 24) contained few seeds.[43] While pithoi 9 and 24 were, like no. 2, found in their original position, they appear to have been empty of solids at the time of the Early Helladic II destruction. They were found to have been filled with (silted) destruction debris.

In this article special attention is paid to grass-pea (*Lathyrus sativus*), which is the predominant cultivar in the samples from the casemate room. The large concentration of grass-pea

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[39] Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 68.

[40] Cappers in Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 106-110.

[41] Described by MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 60-66.

[42] Immediately after the destruction, erosion of the clay floor washing into the stone and gravel fill which made up the subflooring of the room had opened a number of small holes, into which part of the charred seeds had been washed. When in a later period subsequent erosion again exposed the broken upper part of the pithos, more of its contents washed out, but this time at a higher level, near the preserved edge of the vessel.

[43] MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 63.

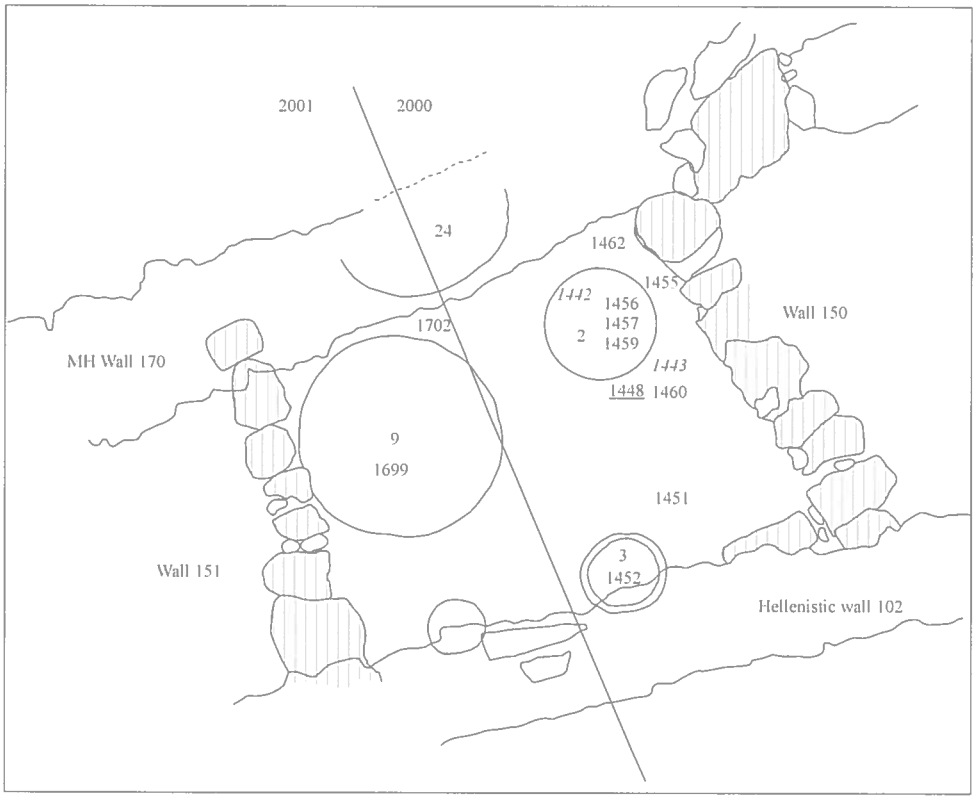

Figure 9. *Map of casemate room showing position of jar, pithoi and botanical samples. Most samples were collected from the original floor level. Samples collected on higher levels are underlined (middle level) or presented in italics (upper level)*

seeds represents a random sample of crop supply and can be used for measurements to demonstrate the increase of seed-size as one of the improvements of the domestication process.

Research method

The goal of this year's archaeobotanical research was to study soil samples taken so far from the casemate structure, with special emphasis on the cultivated plants. We have made an attempt to associate all samples with one or other of the four pithoi unearthed during the 2000, 2001 and 2002 excavation seasons. Soil samples from the inside of the pithoi were collected at different levels. Samples collected on the floor of the room also proved to contain large concentrations of charred seeds. In addition, soil samples were taken from the area outside the pithoi, again at different levels. This yielded a total of 35 samples, varying in weight from 50 g to 26.5 kg.

A brief description of the samples is presented in Table 1, summarizing excavation and trench number, the pithos they (most probably) belong to, the context features, the weight of the complete soil sample and whether or not the sample was flotated. Two small samples and

Table 1. *Processed botanical samples from the EH II casemate room. Volume in kg. (fl. dep.= floor deposit; decomp. mb. = decomposed mudbrick)*

Excavation no.	Trench	Pithos/ Jar	Features	Weight sample (kg)	Flotation
1452-1	13Q	3	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	6,5	+
1451-3	13Q	3	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	6,5	+
1451-2	13Q	3	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	21,5	yes (1/2)
1451-1	13Q	3	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	5	+
1443	13Q	3	burnt decomp. mb., silty	12,5	+
1460-1	13Q	3	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	2,7	+
1459-3	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	3,6	+
1459-2	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	2	+
1459-1	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	3	+
1459-1	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	6	-
1457-2	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	5	+
1457-1	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	5	+
1456-5	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	0,05	-
1456-4	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	8	+
1456-3	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	9,5	+
1456-2	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	26,5	yes (1/2)
1456-1	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	6,5	+
1462-3	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	7	+
1462-2	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	3	+
1462-1	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	21	+
1455-1	13Q	2	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	9	yes (1/2)
1448-1	13Q	2	burnt decomp. mb., silty	4	+
1442-3	13Q	2	burnt decomp. mb., silty	7	+
1442-2	13Q	2	burnt decomp. mb., silty	17,5	+
1442-1	13Q	2	burnt decomp. mb., silty	0,1	-
1699-8	13P	9	burnt decomp. mb., silty	3,5	+
1699-7	13P	9	burnt decomp. mb., silty	14,5	+
1699-6	13P	9	burnt decomp. mb., silty	14,5	+
1699-5	13P	9	burnt decomp. mb., silty	12	yes (1/2)
1699-4	13P	9	burnt decomp. mb., silty	15	yes (1/2)
1699-3	13P	9	burnt decomp. mb., silty	5,5	+
1699-2	13P	9	burnt decomp. mb., silty	11	+
1699-1	13P	9	burnt decomp. mb., silty	11	+
1702-2	13P	9	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	0,45	+
1702-1	13P	9	fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb.	1,7	+

one large sample with a high concentration of seeds were sorted out under a stereo-microscope. Seeds from all other samples were concentrated by flotation, using a 0.5 mm sieve. Some of the large samples contained almost no seeds; in such cases only half of the sample was flotated. Of each sample, a small quantity of the unprocessed soil was stored for possible future analysis. The dry sieve residues were sieved through a pile of sieves of 5.0, 2.0, 1.0 and 0.5 mm. Part of the samples contained large amounts of grass pea seeds. The approximate number of seeds in these samples has been determined on the volume/number-ratio of the subsample from no. 1459-1.

With an AxioCam MR digital camera (image analysis with KS400-software), the side surface and the largest length were determined of subfossil and recent grass pea seeds. From both samples only complete seeds were selected for measurements. The subsample of subfossil seeds originates from the largest grass pea sample (*i.e.* no. 1459-1), whereas the recent sample was bought in a shop nearby Geraki. Recent seeds are sold as split beans, which means that the seedcoat is removed and most of the seeds have been divided into halves. For that reason only a relative small subsample was suitable for taking measurements.

Results

A summary of the plant remains retrieved from the soil samples is presented in Table 2. Part of the wild species was only identified to the level of genus or family, as the reference collection of species that come into consideration is still incomplete.

The samples yielded ten different cultivated species, including pulses, cereals and fruit trees. Pulses form by far the most important group of species found in the botanical material, in which grass pea (*Lathyrus sativus*) is the predominant species. It is present in almost every sample. Less frequent are lentil (*Lens culinaris*) and bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*), whereas faba bean (*Vicia faba* var. *minor*) brings up the rear with only a limited number of seeds.

Cereals are represented by small quantities of hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), einkorn wheat (*Triticum monococcum*) and free-threshing wheat (*Triticum aestivum/durum*). In addition to some kernels of both wheat species, some spikelet forks of einkorn wheat were retrieved from two samples.

Fruit trees are represented by almond (*Amygdalus communis*), fig (*Ficus carica*) and grape (*Vitis vinifera*). Of almond only a single shell fragment was found. The fig is represented by some dozens of fruits, but this number can be considered as relatively low if one takes into consideration that one single fig syconium contains about 3000 fruits. Since the grape pips looked rather modern, some specimens were dissected and revealed that the endosperm was still present. For that reason they are considered as modern intrusions.

Figure 10 shows the relationship between the surface (mm^2) and the length (mm) of subfossil seeds from Geraki and the recent Greek seeds. The size of the Early Helladic grass pea seeds is significantly smaller than the size of seeds taken from the recent sample, representing the usual grass pea ('*fava*') one buys in Greece (information Dr G. Jones).

Table 2. *Cultivated and wild plant species found in samples from the casemate room. Samples from the same context have been merged. Of einkorn one seed and eight spikeletforks were found. Uncertain identifications are indicated with an **

	Pithos 2										
	1456	**1459**	**1457**	**1442**	**1462**	**1443**	**1460**	**1451**	**1455**	**1448**	
Lathyrus sativus	6150	34780	1380	852	475	300	257	96	2	90	Grass pea
Lens culinaris	9	30		1	4	1		2	1		Lentil
Vicia ervilia	2 + 13*	32	3+1*	12		2					Bitter vetch
Vicia faba var. Minor	3	14				1		1*			Faba bean
Ficus carica			1*		1						Fig
Hordeum vulgare				1							Barley
Vitis vinifera									1		Grape
Galium			3	1							Bedstraw
Boraginaceae										3*	Borage family
Gramineae				1							Grass family
Hordeum (wild)			1	1							Wild barley
Sherardia arvensis					1						Field madder
Veronica hederifolia					7	3				4	Ivy-leafed speedwell
Indet	2	63	1	1	2						Unidentified

	Jar 3	Pithos 9		
	1452	**1699**	**1702**	
Lathyrus sativus	2	20		Grass pea
Lens culinaris		43		Lentil
Vicia ervilia		30	1*	Bitter vetch
Vicia faba var. Minor		1		Faba bean
Amygdalus communis		1		Almond
Ficus carica		27	7	Fig
Hordeum vulgare		2	1	Barley
Triticum aestivum/durum		3	1*	Bread/hard wheat
Triticum monococcum		6+1	2	Einkorn
Vitis vinifera		1		Grape
Chenopodium		1		Goosefoot
Rubiaceae		2+3*		Bedstraw family
Galium		3		Bedstraw
Malva/Althaea	1			Mallow/Marsh-mallow
Valerianella	1*			Cornsalad
Gramineae		23		Grass family
Lolium temulentum		2		Darnel
Sherardia arvensis		1		Ivy-leafed speedwell
Indet	3	36	2	Unidentified

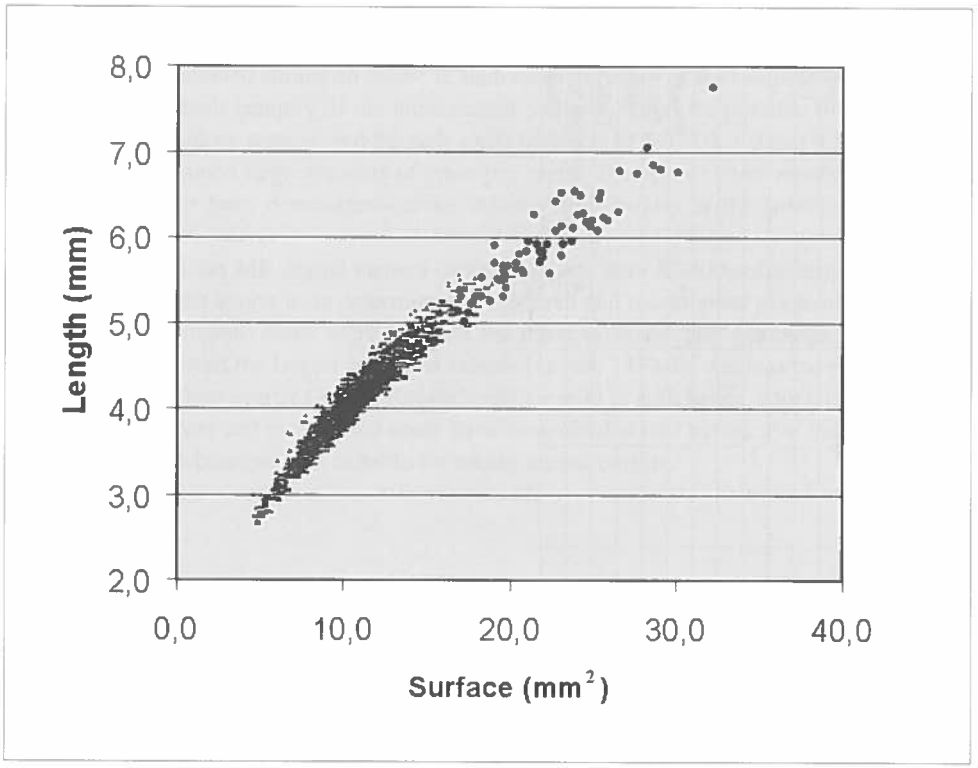

Figure 10. *Seed surface (mm²) plotted against length (mm). (Subfossil, peripheral seeds: —; subfossil, central seeds: ▲; recent Greek seeds: •)*

Discussion

Together with lentil, bitter vetch, pea, flax, barley and einkorn and emmer wheat, grass pea is considered as one of founder crops of the Near East. Faba bean, on the other hand, is not considered as belonging to the Early Neolithic crop assemblage, but was most probably domesticated during the Early Bronze Age (Zohary & Hopf, 2000).

Chickling-vetch (*Lathyrus cicera* L.) is considered as the most probable wild progenitor of grass pea. This wild *Lathyrus* species is indigenous to Greece and occurs as a weed species but is also cultivated as a fodder crop (Podimatas, 1990). *Lathyrus sativus* can be distinguished from its wild relative by diagnostic features of the pod and flower (Townsend and Guest, 1974). The shape of the seeds of both species is irregular, due to the position of the seed within the pod and the space that is available. Seeds in the tip of the pods are triangular, resembling the shape of seeds of bitter vetch, whereas intervening seeds are more wedge-shaped (Plate IX). If all ovules are fertilized and develop into full-grown seeds, sidewalls may become dented.

A practical solution for deciding on the wild or domesticated status of subfossil seeds from sites where both species come into consideration is offered by Kislev (1989), who suggests that low numbers (1-10) are indicative of chickling-vetch, whereas substantial numbers (preferably a minimum of 100) point to grass pea. Although this assumption has some practical value, it does not take into account the processing of the harvest and the archaeological context. Small

Plate IX. *Subfossil seeds from Geraki (left: peripheral seed; middle: central seed; right: cotelydon partly eaten away)*

numbers of seeds may be the result of cleaning by sieving to get rid of soil particles and weedy seeds. Seeds of the particular crop plant that fall through the sieve represent the smallest specimens and will most probably turn up in features related with trash. Moreover, small numbers of grass-pea seeds may be found in relation with storage facilities, representing the fraction that stays behind after emptying. In the case of Geraki, substantial numbers of grass pea seeds were found partly in the preserved lower half of pithos no. 2 and a positive identification of grass pea is justified.

The uneven distribution of seeds among the samples can be explained by the various processes of deposition: the fire destruction, the following gradual disintegration of the room and the erosion processes that occurred later on. The erosion resulted in the accumulation of more silt in some places and the loss downhill of the room's content in other places.[44] Samples with the least diversity of plant species, such as 1451, 1455, 1460 and 1462, seem to come largely from the layer of burnt mudbrick that formed on the floor during or soon after the fire.[45] The highest concentration of grass pea seeds is found in the samples secured from the bottom of pithos no. 2 (sample numbers 1442, 1456, 1457, 1459). Bitter vetch and faba bean are frequently present in low numbers in samples that are associated with this pithos and can be considered as contaminants. The number of wild species is low in comparison to the current number of wild species that grows on the acropolis, although part of the subfossil wild plant seeds is still unidentified. Although the number of plant remains from samples associated with pithos no. 9 is relatively low, the variety of different species represented indicates that other food supplies, including cereals and fruit gathered from trees, were stored in the immediate area. As far as threshing remains are concerned, in which both cereal remains and seeds of agricultural weeds come into consideration, it is possible that these remains originated from disintegrated

[44] See the contribution in this volume of MacVeagh Thorne for a detailed reconstruction of these taphonomic processes.

[45] Table 2 describes these samples as 'fl. dep., burnt decomp. mb', while the samples described as 'silted' were formed by later erosion and decomposition of the surrounding walls.

mudbricks and plaster. Future research of mudbricks and plaster from Geraki might reveal the contribution of the architecture to the botanical spectrum.

Today, grass pea is a minor pulse crop, mainly produced in India and to a lesser degree in the Mediterranean basin, southwest Asia and Ethiopia. In these areas grass pea is produced as fodder, although people of the very poor classes also consume it, particularly in times of famine. The seeds are used in soups, paste balls and bread. The low status of grass pea is caused by an acid (β-N-oxalyl-L-α-b-diamino-propionic, ODAP) that accumulates as the seeds are ripening, making them toxic to both humans and animals. The content of this acid in the seeds depends on both genetic and environmental circumstances; the amount increases under conditions of drought, and, since nowadays the seeds are eaten mainly in periods of environmental stress or famine, this fact influences the consequences of eating grass pea seeds.[46] ODAP is not only present in grass pea seeds, but also in twenty other *Lathyrus* species as well as in some *Acacia* and *Crotalaria* species. It is the cause of a crippling neurological disorder of the lower limbs, called lathyrism. There are, however, several ways to detoxify the grass pea seeds. Soaking, baking, roasting, parboiling and boiling reduce the toxic content in different degrees; a major drawback to detoxification, however, is the fact that it reduces the nutritional value of the seeds.[47] Consuming them in small quantities, however, seems to be harmless; the danger of lathyrism is present only when they form a substantial part of the diet.

An advantage of the toxicity of *Lathyrus* is that potential yield losses are limited. This is not only true for loss due to grazing, as the grass pea plant becomes toxic at maturity, but also for loss due to seed predation. The presence of toxic compounds in especially seeds and fruits can be explained as a natural defence against predation. Regeneration of plant populations depends on the production of seeds and fruits and predation can be considered as a serious hazard. Especially in plant families which produce large concentrations of seeds and fruits, such as the Pea family (Fabaceae), Carrot family (Umbelliferae) and the Daisy family (Compositae), chemical compounds are frequently found. Nevertheless, some insects have become specialists in pre-dispersal seed predation, such as seeds beetles in the family Bruchidae.[48] Female beetles oviposit on a pod and the young larva chews through the pod wall and seedcoat and feeds itself with one or more seeds. After completing pupation, the adult beetle leaves the seed and pod through typical, round exit holes. Some of the seeds from Geraki clearly show exit holes, indicating that the crop was infested with pre-dispersal seed predators.

Although the toxic grass pea predominates in the samples that have been investigated so far, a balanced interpretation of the food spectrum can only be made when more samples from different areas become available. But it is possible that the inhabitants of Geraki gave preference to secure crops that are easy to process, such as cereals and pulses (including lentil and faba beans).

The subsample of subfossil seeds used for measurements contains 245 peripheral seeds and 928 central seeds. The proportion of peripheral to central seeds (*i.e.* 2 : 7.6) differs from the proportion that is presented in recent pods (*i.e.* 2 : 3-5). The fact that peripheral seeds are underrepresented is most probably caused by the use of the 2.0 mm sieve fraction as a result of which complete, small specimens of the peripheral seeds from the 1.0 mm fraction have not been

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[46] Butler *et al.*, 1999.
[47] Duke 1981.
[48] Johnson 1981.

measured. Nevertheless, Figure 10 clearly shows that peripheral seeds larger than 2.0 mm do not differ in surface and length from the central seeds. The surface of peripheral seeds is only slightly smaller than the central seeds: (4.5-) 10.2 (-18.9) mm^2 (N=245; s.d.=2.7) versus (4.7-) 10.7 (-20.1) (N=930; s.d.=2.5). The surface of the recent grass pea seeds from Greece, being a mixture of peripheral and central seeds, is clearly larger and has only a slight overlap with the size of the subfossil seeds: (16.9-) 22.3 (-32.2) (N=66; s.d.=3.5). This implies an increase of the seed surface with 100%. It should be realized that the recent seeds are measured without their thin seedcoat, but this error is almost negligible. The original size of the subfossil grass pea seeds is more difficult to interpret. Not only the seedcoat has been lost, but their size has also changed as a result of the burning process. This change in seeds size of subfossil seeds will be dealt with in a forthcoming article dealing with variation of seed size of subfossil and recent specimens of both wild and domesticated grass pea.[49]

A Second Report on the Chipped Stone from Geraki (1999-2001 seasons)[50] (T. Carter)

Introduction

This short report focuses on the chipped stone generated by the excavations at Geraki between 1999 and 2001; an earlier paper offered a preliminary discussion of the material collected from the 1995-96 intensive surface survey and the 1997 test trenches.[51] The assemblage from the 1999-2001 seasons comprises 507 pieces, a small proportion of which comes from good EH II contexts (n=30), the remainder deriving from historical and surface *loci*.

Raw materials

Of the 507 pieces of chipped stone from the 1999-2001 excavations, 92.7% were obsidian (n=470), the remainder comprising a variety of siliceous materials classed together under the generic category of 'flint'. While limited in quantity, the non-obsidian component is far from insignificant. For instance, it includes a range of raw materials that indicate Geraki's participation in long-distance networks of exchange and social relations, above and beyond those responsible for bringing obsidian to the site. The obsidian itself is of the colour and texture that one commonly associates with a Melian source; certainly there is nothing to the author's eye that suggests that one need look beyond the Cyclades for the provenance of this material. However, since first reporting on the chipped stone from Geraki the author has been involved in sourcing obsidian from a number of southern Aegean Bronze Age sites,[52] discovering in the process that the vast majority of material in circulation at this time *appears* to be coming from

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[49] Cappers and Mulder, in preparation.

[50] This report is based on a ten-day study in Geraki, July 2002. The author thanks Professor J.H. Crouwel and his team, in particular M. Prent, for providing essential contextual data, and Marina Milić for her illustrations and insight.

[51] Carter in Crouwel *et al.* 1998.

[52] Nearly 300 samples, spanning EM I – LM IIIB from Poros-Katsambas, Mochlos and Malia (Quartiers Mu and Nu) in Crete.

only one of the Melian sources, that of Sta Nychia. Where obsidian has been provisionally labelled as 'Anatolian', or 'non-Melian', more often the pieces have been shown to originate from the other source on Melos, Dhemenegaki. Indeed, a pattern is beginning to emerge whereby Dhemenegaki seems to have been exploited primarily in the Neolithic and Sta Nychia in the Bronze Age (V. Kilikoglou personal communication). Taking this into account, it is the author's considered opinion that the vast majority, if not all, of the obsidian thus far recovered from Geraki is not merely Melian, but specifically from Sta Nychia.

At present it remains impossible to make any strong claims as to the route(s) along which the obsidian travelled to the site; one might propose that it came from the south via Ayios Stephanos and the Evrotas Valley, or through communities on the eastern Peloponnesian coast such as Ayios Phokas, or further to the north in Kynouria,[53] or perhaps from the north and the Argive *emporia* of Lerna and Petres. Future detailed comparative analyses of site assemblages should help reconstruct these networks (see below), as indeed should a consideration of other forms of material culture and their consumption, not least ceramics and Geraki's EH II sealing system.[54]

The 37 pieces of 'flint' include a variety of raw materials. Exact categories are difficult to ascertain without petrographic analysis, though one might start with five general categories of flint, chert, jasper, quartzite and radiolarite. The 'flint' is present primarily in the form of end products, with almost two-thirds classifiable as blades / blade-like flakes (n=24, 64.9%), with the absence of cores and / or preparatory pieces, suggesting that the community procured ready-made implements. Most of the 'flint' has traces of use-wear (n=28, 75.7%), while eight of the blanks had been modified (21.6%), including four sickle elements with gloss (three jasper, one honey flint), two notched pieces, a scraper and a *pièce esquillée*.

Returning to the raw materials, the assemblage includes 14 pieces of flint of varying colours (blue-grey, grey-white, white and 'honey'), distinctions that signify at least two different sources. There are also 12 pieces of chert, mainly black (or green-black / red-black) of varying quality. At least one piece has a slightly more grainy texture, is translucent at the edges and was exploited to produce a fine, wide prismatic blade; similar blades made of a similar raw material are known from Bronze Age contexts on Kythera, both from the excavations at Kastri and surface collections of the Kythera Island Project (personal observation).

There are also eight pieces of red/red-brown jasper, once again primarily in the form of blade related products; they had all been used and a high proportion had been modified, including two notched blades and three sickles, two of which came from good EH II contexts (1694/SF2; Figure 11). In the previous chipped stone report it was tentatively suggested that the Geraki jasper might have come from Arkadia, given its regular appearance in the prehistoric assemblages of the Asea Valley Survey.[55] However, this conclusion needs reassessment. The fine quality red jasper prismatic blades are perhaps more likely to have come from the eastern Pindus mountains; it is a raw material whose exploitation is well documented during the Neolithic, with blade material recorded from the sites of Argissa in Thessaly, the Franchthi Cave in the southern Argolid, Kouphovouno in central Laconia and Middle – Late Neolithic sites of the Asea Valley.[56] Geraki has also yielded a small amount of red-brown radiolarite of good to average con-

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[53] Phaklaris 1990, 40-46, 56-78, 121; Kyrou 1990, 61; Agouridis 1997, 12-13.

[54] Weingarten *et al* 1999.

[55] Carter in Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 112.

[56] Perlès 1990, 6; W.G. Cavanagh and C. Mee, personal communication; Carter *in press*.

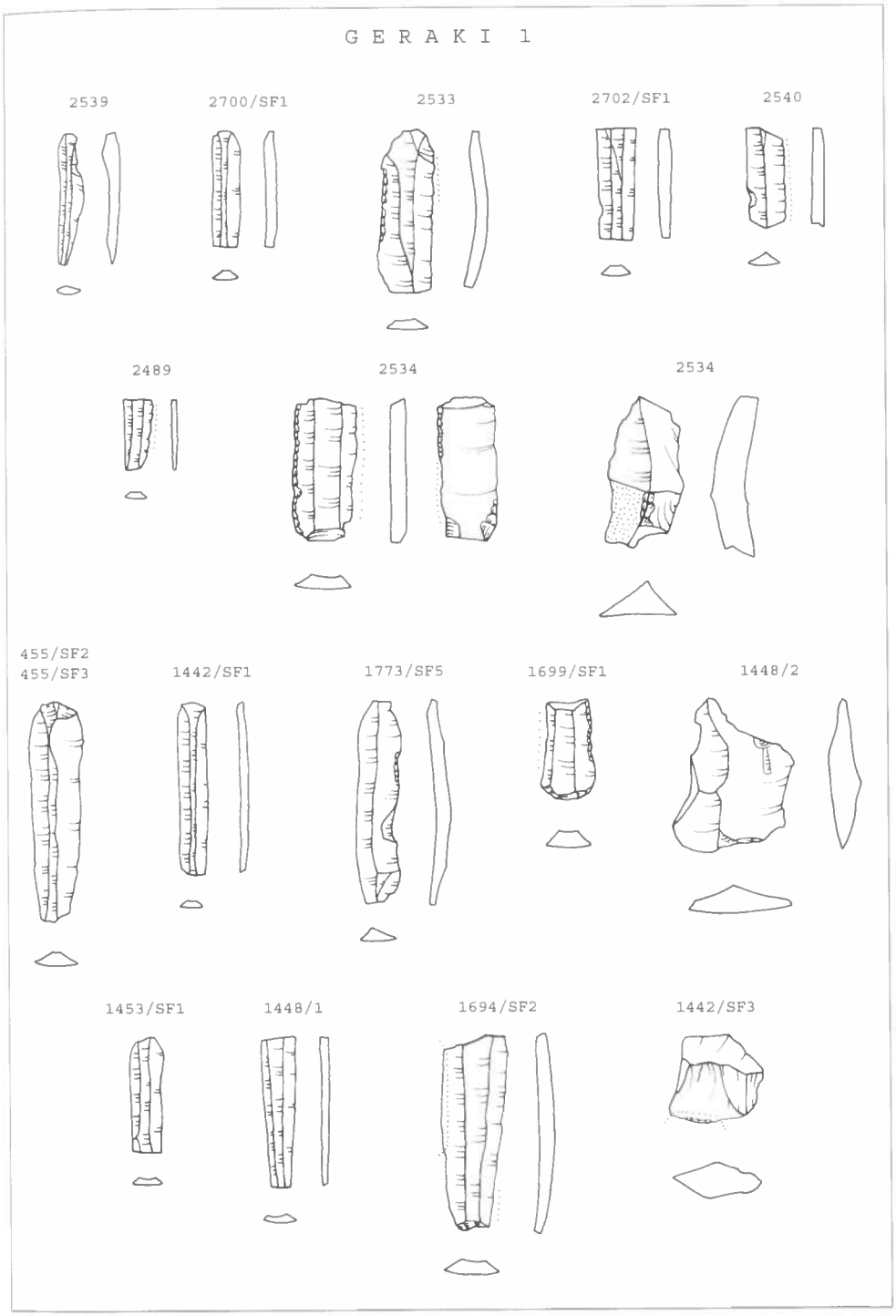

Figure 11. *Chipped stone*

choidal fracture habit, a stone also known from Early – Middle Neolithic Lerna, Kouphovouno and the Asea Valley Survey where it was the second most common raw material: some 32.6% of its chipped stone assemblage.[57] This stone seems to be of Argive origin, with a recently discovered source near the village of Ayia Eleni, approximately 10km south of the Asklipieion at Epidavros.[58] The blue flint, represented by two prismatic blades (one from the EH II casemate room) and a non-cortical flake, might also come from the Argolid, as suggested by the discovery of a blue flint at Palaikastro near the Franchthi Cave.[59] Finally, the Geraki excavations produced two pieces of white quartzite, the origin of which is as yet unknown.

Of great significance is the presence of 'honey flint' (n=4), a distinctive opaque, honey-coloured stone with an excellent conchoidal fracture habit (Inv. nos. 1453/SF1, 1448/1; Figure 11). The exact provenance of this high quality, non-local raw material has yet to be located. However, on the basis of geology and archaeological distribution, the regions of Epirus / southern Albania have been suggested as a probable source,[60] while another view favours northwest Bulgaria.[61] Honey flint has a long history of use in the Aegean, from the 'preceramic' Neolithic to the Bronze Age,[62] though in the Peloponnese it is recorded mainly from Early and Middle Neolithic contexts, as for example at the Franchthi Cave and Lerna in the Argolid, and a small number of surface collections in the Asea Valley.[63] In a more immediate context, honey flint has been found in the current fieldwork at the Neolithic site of Kouphovouno in Laconia,[64] while a recent surface find of single blade segment from the Kythera Island Project (personal observation) represents the most southerly example of this material known to the author. Though the small honey flint assemblage from Geraki is interesting in that it further fleshes out the Peloponnesian distribution of this far traded resource, its greatest significance is its date, for it provides some of the latest evidence for the use of the raw material in a southern Aegean context, as two of our blades come from the EH II casemate room.

The procurement and use of 'flint' during the Bronze Age has received far less discussion than that of obsidian.[65] In part this reflects the fact that there was a notable increase in the circulation of obsidian from the later Neolithic onward, the alleged result of the colonisation of the Cyclades in the fifth millennium.[66] However, one might also claim that the focus on obsidian, and its level of use at any one site, has implicitly become a means of ascertaining the extent to which the community was engaged in inter-regional Aegean socio-economic interaction, while conversely a high consumption of 'flint' has become an index of a site's periphery status. Of course this is a false dichotomy, as the 'flint' from Early Bronze Age chipped stone assemblages embodies a wide range of raw materials of variant sources. Undoubtedly one can point to some small settlements that were exploiting primarily local radiolarites, or quartzites. However, some of the fine-quality flints and jaspers in circulation during the Early Bronze Age were procured from sources of greater distance than the obsidian quarries of Melos. Much petro-

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[57] Kozlowski, Kaczanowska and Pawlikowski 1996, 297; Renard 1989, 46; Carter *in press*.
[58] Newhard 2001.
[59] Jacobsen and Van Horn 1974.
[60] Perlès 1992, 124.
[61] Kozlowski, Kaczanowska and Pawlikowski 1996, 337.
[62] Perlès 1990, 9-10.
[63] Perlès 1990, 9-10, 25-26, 28; Kozlowski, Kaczanowska and Pawlikowski 1996, 300, Table 13; Carter *in press*.
[64] W.G. Cavanagh and C. Mee, personal communication.
[65] Cf. Torrence 1986; Kardulias 1992; Parkinson 1999; Hartenberger and Runnels 2001.
[66] Torrence 1986, 13-15.

graphic work remains to be done on this front, though the recovery of the honey-flint from EH II contexts at Geraki indicates that members of the community were participating in exchange networks that ultimately connected them to the 'northern world', as opposed to the southern Aegean perspective offered via obsidian procurement. It remains to be seen whether such links represent the latest stage of long-established networks whose origin lay in the Early Neolithic. Alternatively, the presence of such long-distance 'flint' imports might be a reflection of the reorientation in Cycladic and Helladic socio-economic interests in late Early Bronze II. This period witnessed increased contacts with Anatolia and a greater emphasis on trade routes that linked the Aegean with the Adriatic and central Europe beyond, the latter articulated through the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs and their respective 'gateway' communities of Kolonna on Aegina and the R-*Gräber* of Levkas.[67]

Preferential access to these forms of exotica almost certainly represents further evidence for intra-regional community distinction, alongside the more often discussed consumption of obsidian, or rather the exclusive technical know-how employed to work it.[68] Runnels documents a range of imported ready-made, fine pressure-flaked chert blades at Lerna III (often used as sickles), implements that are notably absent from nearby contemporary sites in the southern Argolid.[69] In turn, one may note the very few 'flint' blades in circulation amongst the EH II communities discovered by the Laconia Survey, with most coming from R284 and R287 (including the sole fine sickle blade), two of the largest EH II sites from the survey which significantly also produced rare evidence for the on-site working of obsidian.[70]

The Early Helladic II assemblages and bedrock deposits

Two small assemblages come from secure EH II contexts, the casemate room and the room to the east of it in Area II excavated in 2000 and 2001, with 14 and 16 pieces respectively. Taken together, this small group of material comprised 23 pieces of obsidian (76.7%), plus seven of 'flint' (23.3%), specifically two pieces of honey-flint (Inv. nos. 1453/SF1, 1448/1; Figure 11), two of black chert, two of red-brown jasper and one of blue-grey flint. When viewed separately, there are notable differences between the two groups of material, for the casemate room assemblage relates solely to use (and contained all the flint), while the 'east room' material, consisting solely of obsidian, provides evidence for both manufacture and use.

The casemate room obsidian was made up of three flakes (1448/2; Figure 11) and four prismatic blades (Inv. nos. 1455/SF2, 1443/SF1, 1733/SF5, 1699/SF1; Figure 11), one of which was complete and measured 4.09 cm in length (Inv. nos. 1455/SF2); the entire assemblage bore use-wear, while two of the blades had simple retouch. The 'flint' was similarly dominated by regular blades (n=5), all of which appear to have been used (1453/SF1, 1448/1, 1694/SF2; Figure 11). The two pieces of jasper, one a prismatic blade, the other a non-cortical flake, were both recognised as sickles (Inv. nos. 1694/SF2, 1442/SF3; Figure 11). This small assemblage therefore seems to represent a combination of *in situ* use and storage, unless one envisages the sickles as having been used to work plant material within the room. The material is dominated by

[67] Cf. Branigan 1975; Walter and Felten 1981; Maran 1998, 432-50.
[68] Carter 1994; Carter and Ydo 1996, 166-69; Hartenberger and Runnels 2001.
[69] Kardulias and Runnels 1995.
[70] Carter and Ydo, 157, 166, ill. 18.9(b-c).

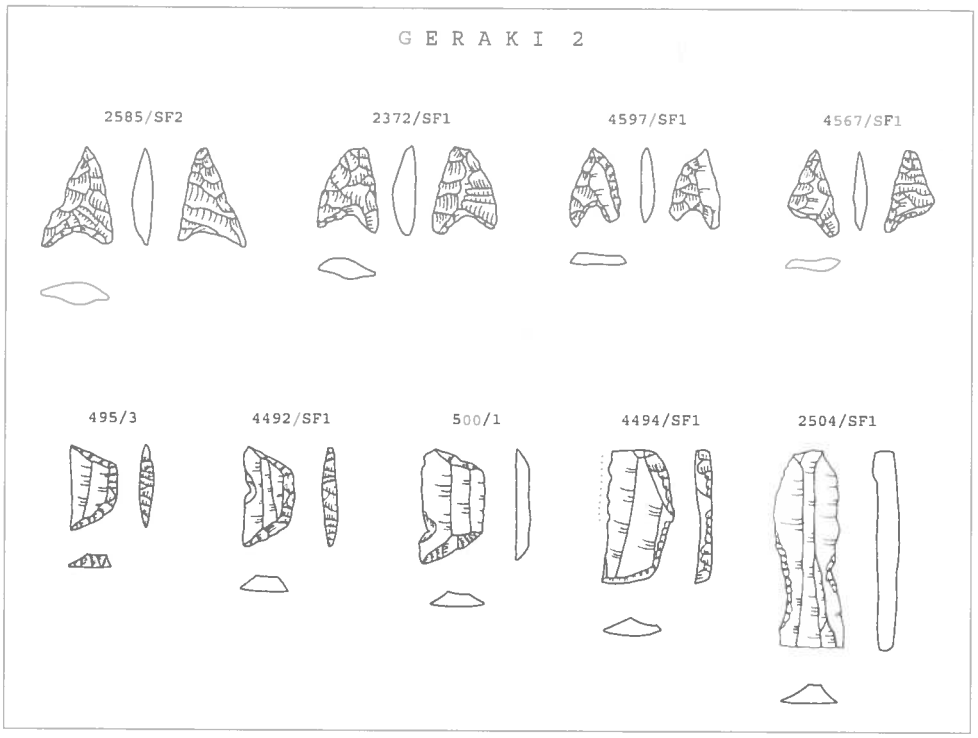

Figure 12. *Chipped stone*

end products, with 29 of the 30 blanks displaying use-wear, indicating that this was an area of consumption rather than production.

The 'east room' material provides a slightly different picture, with only obsidian present and the assemblage embodying a wider range of *débitage*, suggesting that a limited amount of knapping had occurred here, with two exhausted blade-cores, a part-cortical blade of initiation and a rejuvenation flake alongside the 11 regular end products (2539, 2700/SF1, 2533, 2702/SF1, 2534/2, 2540, 2489, 2534/1, 2534/4; Figure 11). Two of these blades had then been retouched, while at least seven of the blades were used. The assemblage is therefore quite similar to that from the EH II room with the sealings discovered in a 1997 test trench in Area I.[71]

One other group of prehistoric material came from bedrock hollows in Trench 20 in Area III, an assemblage of 23 pieces of obsidian as yet of uncertain date. An endscraper on a thick blade might offer further evidence for Late – Final Neolithic activity at Geraki,[72] while the remainder of the material appears on the basis of technology and form to be of Bronze Age date. This includes a quantity of pressure-flaked blades, whose freshness suggests that some may be *in situ*, exhausted cores and two trapezes made on the mid-sections of prismatic blades (495/3; Figure

[71] Carter in Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 115, figs. 7-8.

[72] Two later Neolithic obsidian scrapers were recovered in the surface survey (Carter in Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 112, fig. 7, 1a-1b), though it should be noted that endscrapers on blades are present in small numbers at Lerna III and IV which date to EH II and III – Runnels 1985, 370, 379, fig. 12, A-B. For potsherds of Late, and more definitely, Final Neolithic date from the excavations at Geraki see Crouwel *et al* 1998, 94; 2000, 44 with fig. 4.

12). The latter tool type is recorded from EH II – MH I contexts at Lerna and documented amongst EH surface assemblages in the southern Argolid, central Laconia and the Asea Valley.[73]

Post-Bronze Age contexts

Most of the chipped stone from the 1999-2001 excavations comes from modern ploughsoil or from historical contexts. While Runnels has sought to highlight the continued use of chipped stone technology in the post-Bronze Age Aegean,[74] the nature of the Geraki material suggests that it should be considered mainly as prehistoric material in secondary contexts.

Alongside the majority obsidian we again have small quantities of flint (including honey-coloured), chert, jasper, radiolarite and quartzite. Once more the obsidian is dominated by blades and blade-like material (57.8%, n=249), with a number of cores (n=29, 6.7%); the remaining material comprises preparatory and rejuvenation flakes (n=29, 6.7%), chunks (n=18, 4.2%), un-diagnostic flakes (n=102, 23.7%) and blanks of unknown form (n=4, 0.9%).[75] Over half of the obsidian displayed traces of use (n=265, 61.5%), a figure that rises to 78.3% if one considers the blade material alone, indicating an intense use of the implements at the site.

Of the 74 pieces of obsidian that were retouched, at least 47 were blade related products (63.5%), the remainder being a variety of flakes, plus two of the cores. By far the most common form of modification was a simple lateral notch (n=33 [2504/SF1; Figure 12]), followed by *pièces esquillées* / splintered pieces (n=17),[76] plus seven with linear retouch, five points, four trapezes (4492/SF1, 500/1; Figure 12), three backed pieces (4494/SF1), a denticulate, an end-scraper, a blade with ground margins and a pestle. Most of this material is probably Bronze Age, aside from the endscraper, though only a small proportion is sufficiently diagnostic to offer any specific dates. The trapezes, as discussed above, should be of Early Bronze Age date, while the five points are of the distinctive Middle Helladic hollow-based type,[77] adding to the 20 that were recovered by the 1994-1996 surface survey.[78] One of the projectiles had clearly been made on a prismatic blade. However, the blanks employed for the other examples are unknown, as their features were obscured by the bifacial invasive retouch employed to shape them (Inv. nos. 2585/SF2, 2372/SF1, 4597/SF1, 4567/SF1; Figure 12). Finally, one last piece is worthy of mention: a small prismatic blade-core whose top and bottom had been abraded smooth from its use as a pestle (392/SF1; Figure 13). This is the first example of a core-pestle from the Greek mainland known to the author. Such implements are exceedingly rare outside of the Early Bronze I–II Cyclades, where a group of some 22 large core-pestles are known from funerary contexts.[79]

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[73] Lerna III-V – Runnels 1985: 372, Table 11, Fig. 6c; Southern Argolid – Kardulias and Runnels 1995: 95, fig. 78,3, 80,2, 89,9; Laconia Survey – Carter and Ydo 1996, 157, Ill. 18.9(c); Asea Valley Survey – Carter *in press*.

[74] Runnels 1982; Kardulias and Runnels 1995, 97-103.

[75] These figures will change in due course and should only be taken as a current impression of the 'post-Bronze Age' Geraki material.

[76] The significance of these pieces has yet to be clearly ascertained. While here they are referred to as 'modified pieces', it may eventually be more appropriate to classify some, or all of them as a specific stage in an intensive knapping sequence related to anvil reduction.

[77] Parallels from good MH contexts are known from Lerna V, Malthi-Dorion and Nichoria; see Runnels 1985, 381-386; Blitzer 1991, 16-17, figs. 57-61, 1992, 716-719, pl. 12-189 – 12-193.

[78] Carter in Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 114.

[79] Carter 1994; Ekschmitt 1986, 32 pl. 3.

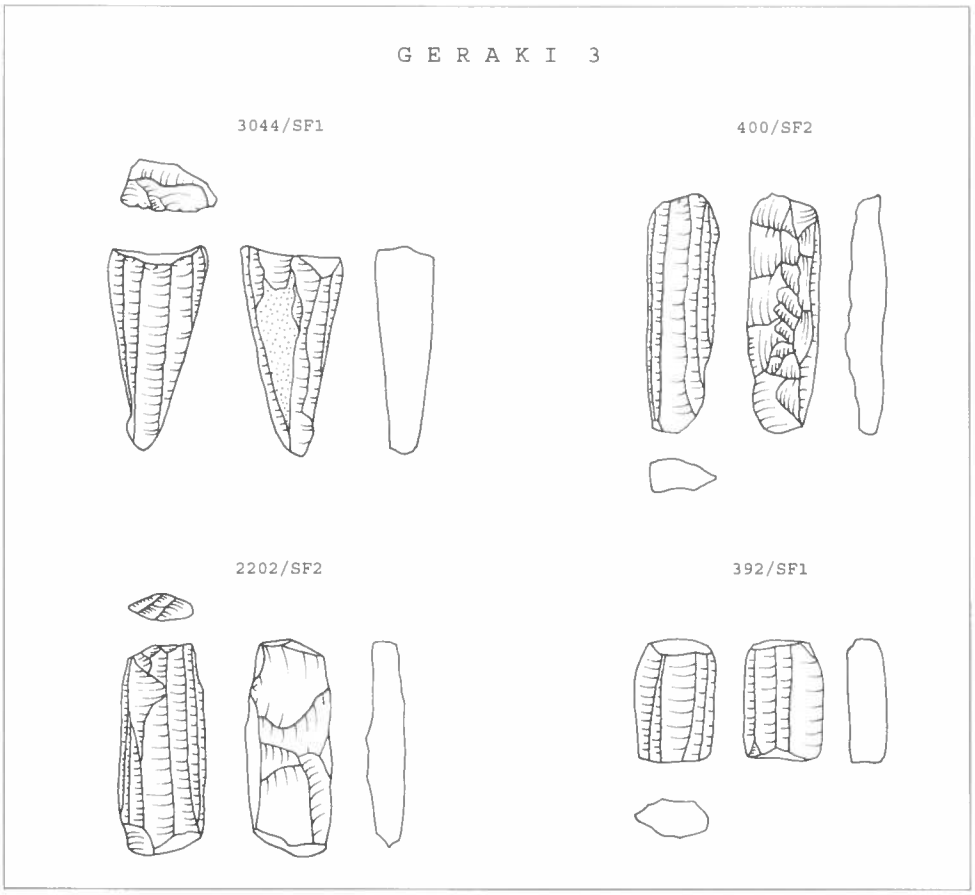

Figure 13. *Chipped stone*

These objects, the highly skilled technology responsible for their production, and their use in toilet kits are phenomena that were emulated 'overseas' as elements of 'Cycladica' during the late Early Bronze I and Early Bronze II 'internationalism' of the Aegean world.[80] The Geraki example is, however, far smaller in size than those from the Cyclades, measuring only 2.04 cm in length, whereas most from the islands exceed 6cm, while a few are upward of 10 cm.[81] One is tempted to see the Geraki nucleus as a local emulation of the Early Cycladic habit of using obsidian cores as pestles. However, the piece comes from a secondary (historic) context, thus limiting any further interpretation.

Amongst the non-obsidian component is a distinctive denticulated prismatic blade of honey-flint that might be a sickle element, even if surface patination obscures any gloss. Typologically it should be of EH date, probably EH II.[82] There is also a small sickle element made on a non-

[80] Carter 1998.
[81] Carter 1998, Table 4.4.
[82] Lerna III – Runnels 1985: figs. 7, 13, 16; Zygouries, Corinth and Laconia Survey site R287/1 – Carter and Ydo 1996: 157, Ill. 18.9,c.

cortical flake of red jasper that may be of later EH, or MH date (4434/SF4; Figure 13). Two other pieces of red jasper were notched.

Discussion

Although only a small quantity of the chipped stone from the Geraki excavations comes from well-dated, undisturbed prehistoric contexts, some preliminary statements can be made, many of which are in accordance with those put forward in the first report on the survey material. For instance, it is still true to say that the obsidian is dominated by *débitage* pertaining to a pressure-flaked blade industry, with the regular end products comprising over 40% of the 1999 – 2001 excavation material. The presence of a pressure-flaked obsidian blade industry at Geraki is to be expected in a Bronze Age southern Aegean context. However, that is far from the end of the story, as research over the past two decades has demonstrated that distinctions can be made in how this technology was practiced. Arguably, the definition of these traditions' spatial and temporal boundaries should enable us to reconstruct community and regional interaction, and by extension provide an insight into the creation and expression of political identity by Geraki's elites. Thus we can hopefully situate Geraki in a wider geo-political framework through a detailed reconstruction of the *chaînes opératoires* responsible for shaping its chipped stone assemblage ('flint' and obsidian). This can be achieved not only with regard to elucidating the various technical strategies represented in the Geraki assemblage, but also as to which stages of these industries occurred on-site and the particular form that they took.

For example, we may note the continuing lack of cortical debris at Geraki (in any resource, not only obsidian), an indication that the Bronze Age community was not in the habit of procuring unmodified raw material. This may, in turn, suggest a reliance on intermediaries with regard to access to Melos, given Geraki's inland position and current theories that obsidian was redistributed from regional coastal obsidian *emporia* in the southern Aegean Early Bronze Age.[83] Yet, as the author has argued elsewhere, one should be extremely wary of privileging simple linear distance with regard to the distribution and consumption of 'obsidian', at the expense of political agency.[84] Perhaps more significantly, the Geraki assemblage lacks the small, fine non-cortical flakes that one associates with the final stages of preparing a blade core (platform preparation / cresting flakes), though one must reckon with the possibility that this material will come from the as yet unstudied flotation samples. If this absence is real, then one might further claim that the community of Geraki did not have immediate access to, or influence over those who wielded the 'true skills' of this craft, for it is now generally accepted that the greatest skill in the pressure-flaked blade industry is not so much the removal of the blade, but the preparation of the core.

At present, the earliest stage of reduction attested at the site is that of the 'opening up' of the blade cores, through the recovery of few blades of initiation, i.e. those recognised as responsible for commencing the run of blade removal from a prepared nucleus.[85] Specifically, this includes a small number of crested blades (2202/SF1; Figure 13), plus two cortical blades, representing two distinct techniques in the creation / exploitation of a ridge on the nucleus with

[83] Van Andel and Runnels 1988; Kardulias and Runnels 1995, 106-08; Agourides 1997.
[84] Carter and Ydo 1996, 166-69; Carter 1999, chapter 3.
[85] Cf. Van Horn 1980.

which to begin the production sequence. There are also quantities of secondary series blades, i.e. those pieces removed after the blades of initiation, with remnant cresting scars and / or cortex on their dorsal surface (Inv. nos. 482/SF1, 451/SF2; Figure 13). While it is at present difficult to quantify the argument, the author has the *impression* that, although blades of initiation and secondary series blades are documented at Geraki, they are under-represented, suggesting that some of the blade cores were part-worked prior to their arrival at the site. Alternatively, it may become apparent that the above modes of blade initiation were not the only ones employed at Geraki and that other components of the assemblage provide evidence that the community did indeed have control over the working of the resource from a decorticated start to finish. The reason for adding this cautionary statement is twofold. Firstly, during the classification of the obsidian from the excavations, notes kept being added in the margins that the crested blade was "not classic", or words to that effect, i.e. that they were not exact parallels to those published from the Cyclades by Torrence, or the Argolid by Van Horn and Runnels, or from Crete by Evely.[86] The reason for this is that it has become apparent to the author that the 'classic', *regular* crested blades are in fact a primarily Cycladic phenomenon with a limited distribution beyond, aside from a small, but significant group of assemblages / sites, including Manika in Euboea, Ayios Kosmas in Attica, Lerna and Knossos. The reason for this, and the second part of the cautionary statement, is that the blade cores from Geraki (and many other Early Bronze Age sites in Laconia, Arkadia and Crete, *inter alia*) are very small (Inv. nos. 3044/SF1, 400/SF2, 2202/SF2; Figure 13) and simply may not have required the careful preparation of an artificial, elongated ridge through which the pressure-generated fracture wave would be directed to detach the first blade. Indeed, the longest whole blade from Geraki measures only 4.44 cm in length, while the longest core is 4.1 cm (400/SF2; Figure 13).

The detailed reconstruction of rejuvenation practices offers further avenues of investigation with which to position locate our Bronze Age assemblage in contemporary lithic traditions, as will metrical analyses of the blades and their modes of modification. If one can place Geraki within a geographically and temporally defined sphere of technical practices, one may better understand not only the networks through which obsidian may have travelled to the site, but also the community's external relations. The process of mapping these spheres of interaction has already commenced through technological and stylistic analysis of Early Bronze Age ceramics.[87] However, all these issues will bear more productive discussion when larger datasets of well-dated prehistoric chipped stone have been recovered from the site.

Notes on the stratigraphy and phasing of the Hellenistic-early Roman buildings (M. Prent)

The excavations in Field 17 have revealed the (partial) outlines of twelve to thirteen rooms that belong to building complexes of the historical period (Figures 2 and 3). Ten of these are in Area I and two, or possibly three in Area II. This year's study of the pottery, the results of which are presented by Dr Langridge-Noti in the next section, confirms that the final phase of use of these

[86] Torrence 1979; Van Horn 1980; Runnels 1985; Evely 1993, fig. 53.

[87] Cf. Attas, Fossey and Yaffe 1987; Wilson 1987; Pullen 1995, 41-42; Wilson and Day 1994, *inter alia*.

complexes extended into the early Roman period (1st century BC).[88] Their construction date has not yet been firmly assessed, but may be assumed to fall somewhere in the Hellenistic (or possibly Late Classical) period. In connection with this year's pottery study, the stratigraphy of the upper layers in Room 2 in Area I, i.e. those of Hellenistic-early Roman date, has been reconsidered. In the following, several additional remarks, complementing the discussion of the stratigraphy of this room in previous reports, will be offered. The present section also contains a more detailed discussion of the factors involved in the formation of the Hellenistic-early Roman deposits, the ways these may affect an assessment of dates and room functions, and some general remarks on the broader archaeological and historical context in which these deposits were formed.

General remarks on the archaeological and historical context

In view of the large quantities of pottery retrieved from the Hellenistic-early Roman structures in Areas I and II, it was clear that this season we would be able to study only a small proportion of the material in detail. Efforts were therefore concentrated on the stratigraphy and finds from the rooms whose upper strata had yielded the largest pot deposits. These consist of Room 2 in the northwest part of Area I, the results of which will be presented here, the westernmost of the two rooms uncovered in Area II and the courtyard in the East of Area I (Room 10). By selecting these rooms, we expected to gain more insight into their date and functions in the period immediately prior to their final abandonment, while a beginning could also be made in establishing a local type series of the pottery in use on the acropolis of Geraki during the historical periods.

Consequently, less attention could be paid to questions concerning the earlier periods of use and construction of the buildings in Areas I and II. In previous reports we have pointed out that there were at least two main phases of habitation, which are indicated not only by the existence of discrete floor levels but also by architectural alterations, such as the rebuilding of walls, the blocking of doorways and the addition of built features.[89] Moreover, in some places in Area I walls were encountered that belong to an earlier structure of historical date (preliminarily assigned to the Late Archaic or Classical period).[90] This earlier structure is founded directly on top of the (levelled) EH II remains and shows a somewhat different alignment from that of its Hellenistic-early Roman successor; associated walls consist of Wall 10' and Wall 12 in the eastern part of Area I, and probably a short stretch of walling that was exposed below the western part of Wall 1 during this year's cleaning operation (Wall 18).

It should also be added that the boundaries of the different Hellenistic-early Roman buildings at this point are unclear. In Area II not enough has been excavated to show the full extent of the building unit there. At present, the outlines of two rooms are apparent, while a third area to the South, of which a small portion has been exposed, may constitute a roofed room, an open-air area or street. In Area I, some of the ten rooms are internally connected by (blocked) door-

[88] As indicated, for example, by the presence of a 1st century BC unguentarium in the final use deposit in the westernmost room in Area II: see cat. no. 15a in the following section by L. Langridge-Noti.

[89] See e.g. Crouwel & Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 1999, 25-29, 32; Crouwel & Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 45-46; Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 11-13.

[90] Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 9-10.

ways and must – at least initially – have belonged to one unit. Room 9, with an entrance from the street in the South, was connected with Rooms 8 and 5, while in the northwest Rooms 2 and 3 both seem to have blocked doorways at the eastern ends of their south walls (Figure 2).[91] The wall foundations of other rooms, however, do not preserve traces of such entrances. Our understanding of the connections between rooms is further hampered by the fact that nearly all the walls abut one another rather than being structurally joined. (An exception is Wall 2, which is linked to the upper courses of Wall 3.) Apart from Wall 1, so far no continuously running exterior or party walls have been found. In general, walls in Area I are constructed of (roughly) shaped fieldstones and bonded with earth. Although variations in the size of stones and in coursing occur, it has proven difficult to define consistently or repeatedly used types of masonry. In other words, the methods of construction employed in Area I provide little help in establishing whether the rooms were conceived of and built as part of one unit or as a number of separate ones. As excavation and study progress, functional analysis of rooms may reveal certain patterns in use and thereby help to isolate different building units.

In previous reports, we have commented on the apparently haphazard and careless construction of the Hellenistic-early Roman buildings, especially in Area I.[92] There is no sign of sophisticated planning of the buildings or of a regular partitioning in plots. The constructions at Geraki differ from (published) Classical-Hellenistic houses elsewhere in the Greek world in their masonry and in their layout. At Geraki consistent use is made of fieldstones instead of cut blocks and, in contrast to the typical Greek house, the rooms in Area I do not seem to be organised around a centrally located court with porch, from where there would have been general access.[93] A parallel for the Hellenistic-early Roman buildings at Geraki is perhaps to be found in Athens, in the 'make-shift rubble dwellings and workshops' that were encountered below the Stoa of Attalos on the east side of the Agora. As the latter were built ca. 450-425 BC and already destroyed around 400 BC, they are probably both earlier and more short-lived than the buildings at Geraki, but it is notable that they display a similar irregularity in plan and in wall alignment, with few straight corners. Although some of the wall socles at the Agora were built in an established type of masonry (so-called 'ladder work'), others were simply in rubble, their width, as at Geraki, usually not exceeding 0.40-0.45 m.[94]

The historical circumstances surrounding the erection of these Athenian dwellings and workshops is worthy of note. According to Townsend, in his final publication of the old excavation data from the Agora, the make-shift appearance of these buildings and the fact that their construction involved the dismantling of an altar and small shrine indicate an exceptional situation. He proposes a connection with the crisis emanating from the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. As described by Thucydides, this forced the population of the Attic countryside to move into the walled city. Those who were not taken in by relatives or friends settled 'in the vacant places of the city and the sanctuaries and the shrines of the heroes, all except the Acropolis and the Eleusinium and any other precinct that could be securely closed.' The refugees appear to

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[91] So far, the majority of (blocked) doorways were set in corners.

[92] The masonry in Area II, at least of the walls exposed so far, seems sturdier and less irregular. The angles between the walls, however, remain far from straight; see Crouwel & Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 1999, 25; Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 3.

[93] For examples and discussion of the typical Greek house in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, see e.g. Hoepfner und Schwandner 1994; Nevett 1999; Cahill 2002.

[94] Townsend 1995, 3, 18-19, fig. 5, plates 3b, 5b.

have attempted to resume daily life by building new dwellings, work places and stores.[95]

Needless to say, the preliminary nature of the Hellenistic (or Late Classical) date assigned to the construction of the buildings at Geraki calls for caution as to further interpretation.[96] Nevertheless it is possible that the apparently careless way of building betrays, as at Athens, a sense of haste and urgency, with considerations of safety driving more people to the summit of their acropolis. The Spartan hegemony had already began to wane in the 4th century BC, with the defeat against the Thebans at Leuktra in 371 BC constituting a severe blow. There had been earlier raids (or threats of raids), but the Theban invasion of 370-369 BC led to the wide-scale looting and burning of unwalled perioikic towns. In 338 BC the Macedonian king Philip II penetrated Lakonia as far south as Gythion.[97] Troubles in the region culminated in the course of the later 3rd century BC.[98] Plutarch mentions the pillaging of southern Lakonia by the Aitolian League around 240 BC. Not long after, in 222 BC, the Spartans were defeated by the Macedonians under Antigonos Doson at Sellasia, suffered a loss of territories in the Parnon mountain range and were only partially successful in reclaiming these. This was followed by the pillaging of large parts of Lakonia by Philip V of Macedon in 219-218 BC, after defeating the Spartan army near the Menelaion sanctuary.[99] *Geronthrai* is not explicitly mentioned in the literary sources describing these upheavals, but it seems unlikely that the community would have escaped without being affected at all. An inscription on a marble statue base, found on the acropolis in the early 20th century, hails Antigonos Doson as 'saviour'.[100] During the excavation of 2000 a finely carved, round stone projectile (diam. 0.21 m.; weight 16 kg) was found in association with a floor surface dating to the second half of the 3rd century BC or later, in Room 8 in Area I. At the time of discovery, we considered the possibility it had been launched into the building, without entirely excluding the alternative that it was kept there for defensive purposes.[101] In any case, the presence of this object indicates, if not the reality of an attack, at least its imminent threat. It was in approximately the same period that a hoard of 54 coins was hidden in the mudbrick wall of a house elsewhere on the acropolis.[102]

In the 2nd century BC the active involvement of the Romans in the Peloponnese helped the perioikic towns to acquire a status of independent poleis. This was not done without dispute by Sparta and the situation in Lakonia may have remained unstable for quite some time, with war being waged especially about the coastal cities such as Gythion. Again there is no mention of *Geronthrai* in the ancient sources documenting these events, but it may be telling that the last inhabitants of the acropolis do not appear to have left their dwellings before the 1st century BC. Perhaps it was not until the establishment of the Eleutherolakonian League in 27 BC that the

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[95] Townsend 1995, 23, quoting Thuc. 2. 16.2-17.1.

[96] As noted above, the construction date of our Hellenistic-Early Roman buildings is not clear, nor is their relation to the first historical building phase a represented by Walls 10' and 12. The latter seem of much neater and more regular construction.

[97] By Pharnazabos and Konon in 393 BC, by Iphikrates in 372 BC; Cartledge 2002, 241-42, 247-55.

[98] Kennell 1999, 189-90; Cartledge 2002, 154-55 (with ref. to Plutarch, *Kleom.* 18.3 and to Polyb. 4.34.9, 241-42).

[99] Kennell 1999, 189-90; Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 59-67. See also Crouwel in Van der Vin 1998, 80-81.

[100] Cartledge and Spawforth 1998, 58 with n. 37.

[101] The proposed date of this floor surface is based the presence of a coin of Ptolemaios III (246-221BC) in an underlying level; see Crouwel and Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 46, with pl. I.

[102] A coin of Ptolemy III Euergetes provides a *terminus post quem* of the hoard of 225-220 BC; see Van der Vin 1998, 75.

community, in a movement so often repeated in Greek settlement history, became more fully centred on a more accessible and open city about the lower slopes of the acropolis hill.[103] The summit of the acropolis may by then have been in use only as a sacred area. According to Pausanias (III.22.6-8), there was in his time still a sanctuary for Apollo, in which the head of an older and destroyed ivory statue of the god was kept .

General remarks on formation processes of archaeological deposits

The Hellenistic-early Roman buildings in Areas I and II were not suddenly destroyed but abandoned, perhaps gradually, after which they slowly collapsed. For this reason, the find assemblages associated with the upper floor levels can hardly be considered as primary or closed deposits, which would form the direct reflection or 'frozen image' of the last activities conducted in the rooms in question.

In an earlier report we have referred to the differences between primary contexts, cumulative contexts, redeposited contexts and severed contexts, as proposed by Dr E.B. French.[104] The need to make integrated use of such categories in the interpretation of archaeological data is increasingly emphasised. Recent scholarship provides a number of systematic discussions of the cultural and natural factors that may contribute to the formation of archaeological deposits. While some of these factors cause the removal or loss of artefacts, others may add to the original assemblage, each case bringing with it certain problems for the chronological and functional assessment of the deposit in question.

It is, for instance, clear that peaceful abandonment of a site will give its inhabitants ample opportunity to take the (portable) valuables, objects and materials that are of practical or sentimental value to them. Such a process of 'depletion' may extend over a prolonged period of time, with people – whether the former inhabitants themselves or others – repeatedly returning to collect things of their liking.[105] This is certainly something to take into account for the acropolis at Geraki, where the inhabitants in the early Roman period may have moved no further than a few hundred metres down the hill. Of the possible natural factors causing the depletion of archaeological deposits, the one most relevant for Geraki is the – at times severe – erosion. Soil loss has been observed at various areas of the acropolis, particularly at those located near expanses of sloping bedrock and directly behind the acropolis wall. The destruction or collapse of the latter could easily result in the loss of whole sections of hillside that had been retained by it, while rain water running off the bedrock also causes soil loss, albeit usually of a more gradual character.[106]

As to factors that cause the accumulation and accretion of deposits, recent studies mention in particularly the possibility of reuse or 'camping' in partially ruined dwellings, during which objects may be added to the artefact assemblages left behind in an earlier period. There also is

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[103] Cartledge 2002, 275-76; Kennell 1999, 190-92. On the possibility that later *Geronthrai* was located lower down the East slope of the acropolis around the main spring: see Crouwel and Prent 1999, 23.

[104] Crouwel and Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 95 n. 3, with reference to MacGillivray 1997, 194.

[105] See e.g. LaMotta and Schiffer 1999, 19-20, 22-23; Ault and Nevett 1999, 43-45.

[106] For the EH II period the possible effects of erosion are well illustrated in the contribution by MacVeagh Thorne in this volume. This shows how primary floor deposits may become exposed centuries later and suffer further breakage and wear.

the chance of washing in of extraneous material or of redeposition of material from elsewhere on a larger scale, for instance when an abandoned structure is used as rubbish tip.[107] While at Geraki there is so far no clear stratigraphical evidence for the contamination of the latest floor deposits by 'camping' or rubbish disposal, the possibility of later contamination cannot entirely be ruled out. We know that human presence on the summit of the acropolis did not cease with the 1st-century BC abandonment of the buildings in Areas I and II. Subsequent human activities are indicated by the presence of levelling fills and of dispersed burials (the latter in the central and southern fields of the acropolis) and is testified to by Pausanias in the 2nd century AD.[108] Considering the general problem of erosion on the site, the possibility of the washing in of soils and sherd material is certainly relevant. In some cases, erosion created holes and depressions, which were filled by bringing in material from elsewhere.

Room 2 in Area I

This room is located in the northwest part of Area I and measures ca. 4.30 m. East-West by 3.70 m. (Figure 14). North-South. It is defined by Wall 7 to the East, Wall 14 to the North, Wall 15 to the West and Wall 16 to the South. So far there is no evidence of bonding between the walls. The north portion of Wall 15 and the west portion of Wall 14 and their expected corner, however, remain to be excavated. The southwest corner is not preserved. Wall 15 and the western portion of Wall 16 are built on and against a roughly North-South running ledge of bedrock. As elsewhere along the western border of the excavation, this ledge dips down fairly steeply (ca. 0.50 m.).

The height, state of preservation and type of masonry of the walls vary. Wall 7 is founded at a deeper level than 15 and 16 and, as noted during the excavation of the room to the East, knew an earlier construction phase.[109] The upper courses associated with its rebuilding are set somewhat further to the East and consist of stones which on average are smaller than those of the earlier building phase. In the area of Room 2, however, the lower courses of Wall 7 have not yet been exposed, as excavation was restricted to the upper levels. Wall 14 in the North is much damaged by later robbing activities, perhaps in combination with erosion, as only a few courses of the Hellenistic acropolis wall (some 4.5 m. to the North) are preserved here. Walls 15 and 16 show no signs of rebuilding and consist of no more then one to two courses. As these are at the level of the upper courses of Wall 7, it is to be assumed that their construction coincided with the rebuilding of the latter. The east portion of Wall 16 is set on a layer of rubble with traces of burning, which may derive from the same destruction that prompted the rebuilding of Wall 7.

Excavation has not proceeded far enough to reconstruct a detailed stratigraphical sequence for the period immediately following this earlier destruction. Suffice it to say here that, in the absence of traces of predecessors of Walls 15 and 16, the possibility exists that this was an open space, bounded by the bedrock ledge to the West. The area had been subject to erosion for some time before Walls 15 and 16 were built and Room 2 was laid out. By then, a depression, in places more then 0.30 m. deep, had formed in the middle of the area, which was filled with rub-

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[107] LaMotta and Schiffer 1999, 24-25. Schiffer 1996.
[108] Crouwel and Prent 2000, 70.
[109] Crouwel and Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 46-47.

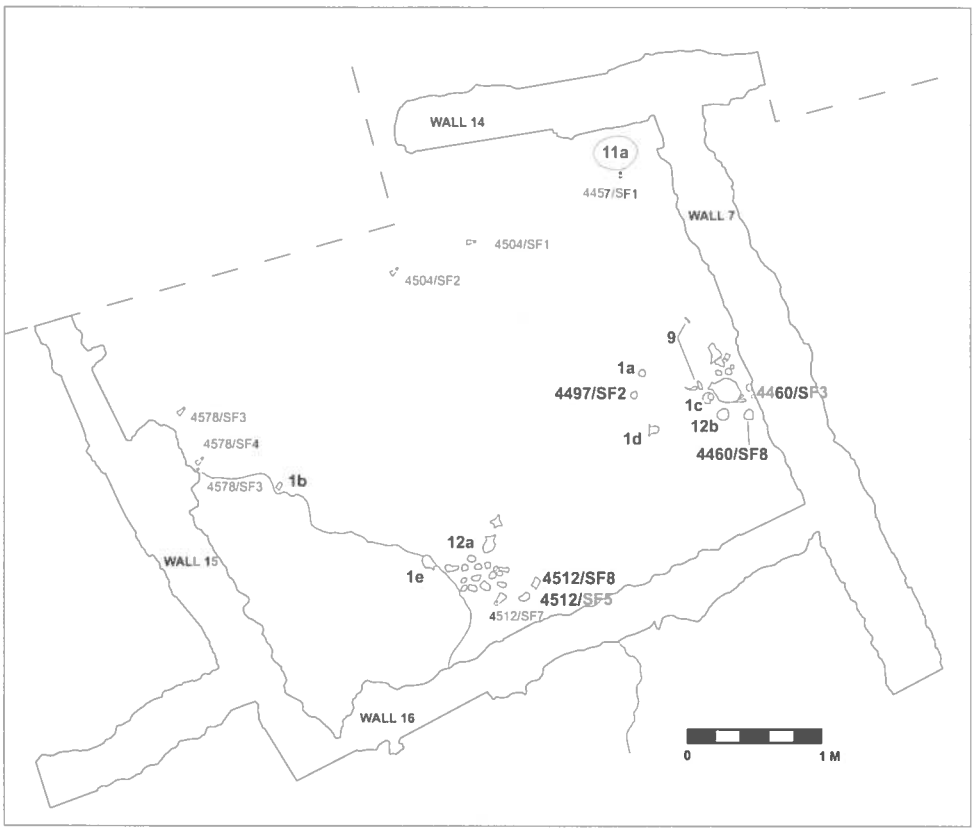

Figure 14. *Area I, Room 2 with associated finds*

ble packing to provide a level surface for the new floor (Figure 15).[110] This floor, though almost completely eroded (see below), may be reconstructed at a height of ca. 385.20 masl. This means it ran practically flush with the bottom of Walls 15 and 16 and left some of the bedrock in the west exposed. What seems to be a blocked doorway at the eastern end of Wall 16, abutting Wall 7, suggests a modification within the last period of use (Plate X).[111]

The formation of the deposits connected with the last period of use and the final abandonment of Room 2 are here of chief concern. In accordance with the general picture for the Hellenistic-early Roman buildings in Areas I and II, there is no evidence that the desertion of this room was prompted by a sudden or violent destruction, whether in the form of an earthquake, human attack or fire. Instead, the walls and roof seem to have gradually deteriorated. The final collapse layer in this room consisted of two types of deposits, which differ from each other both in soil matrix and artefact content. The first consisted of a dense cover of broken tiles in a red-

[110] This rubble packing was of the kind also used in Rooms 3 and 6 to the South: see Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 6-7.

[111] One might expect the blocking of such a door to have been accompanied by a relaying of the floor. Due to the noted severe erosion, however, this can no longer be ascertained. Similarly, any earth occupation surface predating the construction of Walls 15 and 16 may have disappeared this way.

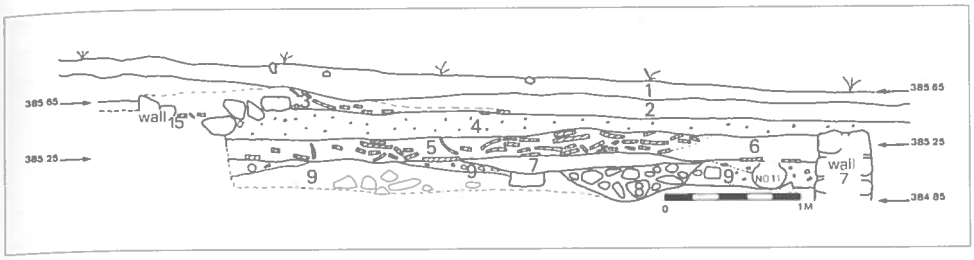

Figure 15. *Area I, Room 2, West-East cross-section through north part of room; 1. plough soil, 2. old plough soil, 3. post-abandonment fill (eroded to East), 4. post-abandonment wash level, 5. final collapse – tile, 6. final collapse – decomposed mudbrick, 7. remnant of last floor, 8. floor packing, 9. earlier wash and collapse layers*

Plate X. *Area I, east portion of Room 2, from North; showing Wall 7 to left, blocking in Wall 16 in background, part of pot deposit against Wall 7*

dish brown soil and was especially concentrated in the northern and central parts of the room. The second consisted of a fine, light-coloured soil with fewer pieces of tile, which had accumulated against Walls 7 and 16 and probably represents the decomposed remains of their mudbrick superstructure. In the western portion of the room the tile and mudbrick collapse layers were much thinner, presumably because the debris from the disintegrating roof and walls rolled down the bedrock ledge to the centre of the room. The western part of the room did yield several fallen stones and some artefacts, which had been partially deposited over the layer of tiles.

The gradual decomposition of the roof and mudbrick of the surrounding walls was clearly accompanied by erosion. The washing in of rainwater, probably through holes in the roof and walls, must be held responsible for the disappearance of most of the last occupation surface. Only against the south face of one of the remaining stones of Wall 14 a patch of firmer earth was encountered, at an absolute height of 385.20 masl (Figure 15). In the rest of the room the removal of the tile and mudbrick debris exposed a variety of layers which, despite their juxtaposition, must have been deposited at different times: in the South the final collapse layer immediately gave way to the rubble associated with the destruction of the earlier phase of Wall 7, while in the West it exposed a gravely layer between bedrock. In the rest of the room a ca. 5 cm thick reddish brown layer was encountered, akin to the patch of earth floor against Wall 14, but siltier and containing several tile fragments. This suggests that the floor was indeed affected by incoming water and washed away. This layer yielded some artefacts (including half a spindle whorl, some indeterminate pieces of iron and a coin dating to 343-228 BC),[112] but it is difficult to ascertain whether these originally belong to the floor or to the earlier strata that were revealed with the weathering of the floor.

Most of the finds from this room, however, were not found in the stratigraphically ambiguous, washed remains of the floor, but in the layer of decomposed mudbrick along Walls 16 and 7, and as such form a homogeneous assemblage (Figure 14). One cluster of finds was located in the southwest corner of the room and included fragments of two one-handled mugs (no. 1e and 4512/SF8), part of a table amphora (4512/SF5), a cooking vessel (no.12a), a lid (no. 11a') and a terracotta loomweight (4512/SF7). The second cluster (Plate X) was found against Wall 7 and contained five one-handled mugs (nos. 1a-d and 4497/SF2), part of a krater (no. 9), a table amphora with lead clamps (4460/SF3), a cooking vessel (no. 12b) and fragments of another (4460/SF8).

The absolute height at which these pots were encountered varied, from 385.24 to 385.29 masl for those in the southwest corner of the room and from 385.11 to 385.15 masl for those against Wall 7. In neither case do these heights correspond to the reconstructed floor level, which is at 385.20 masl. The clustering of these objects near the walls and matrix of decomposed mudbrick suggest that they had been stored on shelves or in cupboards, which gradually collapsed with the disintegrating walls. In the southwest corner two stones, set on the bedrock and at right angles with Wall 16, may have provided support for such a shelf or cupboard. Here, a small mound of decomposing mudbrick was retained by the projecting bedrock. In the East, where erosion was most severe, the objects seem to have fallen after the floor had been washed away and ended up at a level beneath it.

One large cooking vessel (no. 11a) was found on its own, in the northwest corner of the room, and barely escaped destruction by the robbing trench for Wall 14 Plate XI). This vessel,

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[112] Van der Vin in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 28 no. 2.

Plate XI. *Area I, northeast corner of Room 2, from North; showing Walls 7 and 14 and cookpot 11a in situ*

its bottom at 384.95 masl, must have been sunk into the floor. Its upper part had become exposed and was filled with debris (including tile fragments) during the period of abandonment. There were no signs of fixtures or burning around it that would suggest a permanent cooking establishment. Small charcoal fragments were, however, noted at the bottom of the pot, which may indicate that the pot was placed here from the fire to keep the contents warm or simmering.

Other concentrations of complete artefacts were encountered in the western part of the room (Figure 14). Here, the presence of the bedrock ledge complicates the question as to which objects belong to the period of final usage of the room. As the debris from the disintegrating roof and walls settled to the East, the ledge was not entirely covered and parts of it remained exposed. Erosion continued after the final collapse of the roof, and extraneous material may therefore have been added to the last use deposit proper. Fortunately, some larger pottery fragments from lots found in the higher fissures and depressions of the bedrock joined with smaller fragments that were found further to the East and *below* the fallen tiles. Thus it follows that they fell during the period of abandonment and may be considered as belonging to the last phase of use of this room. This adds portions of two plates (nos. 10a-b) and of a casserole to the assemblage (no.13a), types of vessels whose function fits in well with that of the rest of the material.

Another cluster of finds was encountered in the northwest part of the room, where we may postulate a third cupboard/niche or shelf. This cluster contained the fragments of yet another cookpot (4578/SF6), of a table amphora (4578/SF1), three terracotta loomweights and a possible pot boiler (4578/SF3-5 and 4578/SF2 respectively). That these objects had been deposited *on top* of the thin layer of fallen tile in this area can be explained by the irregularity of the ter-

rain and the mechanisms of collapse: as most of the tile and decomposing mudbrick accumulated in the lower areas to the East, Wall 15, somewhat elevated on its bedrock ledge, appears to have stood longer. Some of the contents of the associated cupboard, however, may have been lost earlier, since three terracotta loomweights were retrieved from between the tiles in the north-central portion of the room (4504/SF1-2 and 4513/SF2). These sturdy objects may indeed have rolled quite a way from their original place of storage.[113]

Apart from the loomweights, the objects associated with the last phase of use of Room 2 point to a function as dining room and/or kitchen. As discussed by E. Langridge-Noti below, the types of vessels represented in the assemblage are stylistically not easy to place, although a date in the 2nd-1st centuries BC seems likely.[114] Possibly associated with the last use deposit is a large bronze coin depicting the Dioskouroi and dated 35-31 BC.[115] This was found in the northwest corner of the room, at the interface of the tile collapse and the gravely soil associated with the bedrock ledge. Unless it was lost by someone rummaging through the ruined room, this coin may even assign the pottery assemblage to the 1st century BC. In this connection, it should perhaps be emphasised once more that the structures on the summit of the acropolis were gradually abandoned. This implies that only obsolete objects were left, such as the older crockery.

First Preliminary Report on the Pottery of the Classical through Roman period (E. Langridge-Noti)[116]

The aim of this preliminary report on the Classical through Roman period pottery from the excavations at Geraki in Laconia is threefold:

1. To give a preliminary range of dates for the pottery of these periods from the site and to introduce period concentrations within the assemblage.
2. To indicate the range of shapes and fabric types within the assemblage and to give some indication as to local *versus* imported material.
3. To present selected material from a few specific contexts that might begin to suggest use patterns and dates for the excavated areas on site.

Each of these points can be addressed only in the most basic way, since the pottery study for these periods has only just begun. It should be noted at the outset that only the upper contexts from two excavated rooms were examined in some detail and those from a third room were examined visually, but the reading of the pottery was not completed. In no case, however, was an entire building examined. Thus, conclusions drawn about concentrations of material or lack of material will be modified by future excavation seasons. Indeed, one of the goals in the 2002 season was to identify through the pottery where the most profitable places would be to excavate in future seasons from the viewpoint of these periods.

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[113] No large pot fragments or other artefacts were found within the tile layer. Therefore we have no reason to suppose we are dealing with upper floor collapse.

[114] See Langridge in this volume, most notably cat. nos. 10a and 10b.

[115] Van der Vin in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 28 no. 4 (Inv. no. 4581/SF1).

[116] Special thanks for enabling this report to be completed are due E. and A. Horn, J. Kelder, M. Prent, G. Sanders, N. Vogeikoff, A. F. K. Notis and A. Noti.

For the Classical period, no primary use contexts have yet been identified and examined, but fragmentary material contained within contexts of later periods indicates its strong and interesting presence. Pieces that can be clearly recognized are generally well made tablewares, such as the one-handlers and salt cellars. Several of these were found in secondary contexts, such as earth fills, and it is conceivable that they represent dumped material from the sanctuary that probably existed on the acropolis.[117] The various fills behind the acropolis wall may yield purer contexts from this period and will be examined over the next few years.[118]

The Hellenistic period is the most strongly represented period in the contexts examined this year. The pottery dates between the fourth and first centuries BC, with early Hellenistic material including kantharoi, and pottery decorated in the West Slope manner (Figure 18) and late Hellenistic/early Roman material represented by plates, cookware and thin-walled ware (Figures 17, 19-21). One goal of the excavations over the next few seasons will be to explore the possibility of continuity in habitation on the north side of the acropolis throughout the entire Hellenistic period or of chronologically distinct habitation.[119] The pottery ranges from cooking wares to fine decorated tablewares, an indication of the variety of activities in this area in the Hellenistic period. Contexts examined only visually this season also contained a large percentage of West Slope ware and other decorated pottery that suggests uses other than simply domestic.

The Roman period is scantily, but certainly, represented by a scrap of the vase floor of Italian sigillata, as well as by the handle of a patera (Figure 22).[120] The parallels for the patera suggest a date anywhere from the 1st century AD to the 3rd century AD and, thus, much later occupation of the summit of the acropolis than had been distinguished in earlier seasons.[121] Since the Roman material found is thus far very scanty and does not come from primary use contexts, it may be suggested that it was redeposited or washed in, possibly from the sanctuary on the acropolis mentioned by Pausanias which was still functioning at this period.[122] Indeed, the patera handle would be more likely to belong to that sanctuary context than to a purely domestic one. Future seasons will reveal how much more concrete this Roman presence can be made. One task will be to identify local Roman shapes or the continuation of common Laconian shapes into the Roman period.

The range of fabric types and potential imports that could be recognized within the Geraki material was also very interesting. Although the vast majority of the pottery is probably local, there were imported finewares. This contrasts with material studied by the Laconia Survey and

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[117] Crouwel *et al.* 1995, 43, 58.

[118] See MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 21-22.

[119] See M. Prent elsewhere in this report for the, at least, two distinct architectural phases of Area I.

[120] The sigillata fragment (2641/1) is not included in the catalogue below as it is only a fragmentary thin floor body sherd and is not diagnostic beyond the distinctive fabric. Its presence, however, indicates activity at Geraki sometime in the first-second centuries AD when sigillata began to appear 'in quantity' on the mainland of Greece.

[121] Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 69-70. See also Lawson (1996, 111) for the lack of imported materials in rural Laconia compared to what is found in Sparta itself. *Geronthrai*, as an urban center, may be expected to have some imported material.

[122] Pausanias 3.22.6-8; Crouwel and Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 1995, 43.

is suggestive of pottery assemblages more similar to a city like Sparta itself.[123] Imported mouldmade bowls and plates suggest that the people of *Geronthrai* had materials from both the East and the West available to them via trade routes that are likely to have passed through the port at Gytheion.

Even with this imported material, we must note that certain Laconian shapes retain their popularity certainly into the Hellenistic period. This is particularly true of the small one-handled mug, which appeared in contexts of every date and, thus, appears to have a shape life even longer than what scholarship has recognized up to now. Cooking wares also appear to be locally based both in shape and fabric.

On preliminary visual inspection a number of the fabrics found during the excavations appear to correspond to those found both by the Laconia Survey and at excavations within Sparta itself. This suggests some exchange of pottery amongst Laconian sites. The most conspicuous of these correspondences is the pinky-tan coarse fabric (5YR-10YR 6/4-7/4) that is often used for cooking wares at Geraki. Catling sees this fabric as being a typical local fabric of the Archaic and Classical periods, but Hayes also notes its appearance in the late Hellenistic period.[124] It is the most common, although not the only, cooking fabric seen in examined deposits at Geraki. The fabric of many of the mouldmade bowls from the site also fits within the range of fabrics noted for Spartan workshops by Siebert.[125] This, plus the motifs used, suggests a regional local origin for the majority of the bowls as well. Finally, despite the variety of fabrics seen in the one-handled mugs, all of them fit well within the range of fabrics noted from survey and excavation on the Laconian plain.[126] This is not surprising, as regional production is to be expected for this shape.[127] The range of fabrics does suggest, however, more than one workshop, quite possibly spread throughout the Laconian plain. Study in future seasons will focus on visual recording of fabrics and on specialized analysis so that the Geraki pottery can be incorporated into established fabric categories.

Also interesting with regard to imports is the lack of transport amphorae within the contexts that have been examined so far. Although some of the contexts examined are clearly domestic in character containing cooking, serving and storage vessels, transport amphorae were almost non-existent in the examined material.[128] This is somewhat surprising as fragmentary amphorae of various kinds often form the bulk of context material. The presence of miniature pots is also interesting since they are indicative of religious activities.[129]

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[123] See Catling (1996, 34-35, 88) for the Classical material and Visscher (1996, 91) for the Hellenistic material from the Laconia Survey. Hayes (1995, 449) notes that in Sparta itself there are, proportionally, few recognizable imports from the Hellenistic or Roman period, rather the majority of the material is local. For Spartan Hellenistic pottery, see also Raftopoulou 2000, 171-90 and 1995, 119-30. Bruneau (1970, 523) notes that imports fall in many areas at the turn of the 3rd to the 2nd centuries BC.

[124] Hayes 1995, no. 18 and Catling 1996, 36-37. The latter calls this pinky fabric typically Archaic/Classical and also suggests that it is local.

[125] Siebert 1978, 83-90.

[126] Hayes 1995, 449 and Catling 1996, 35-38, 48-49.

[127] Catling 1996, shape 16.

[128] Both table amphorae and pithoi appear, largely fragmentary, in the examined lots at this stage of the investigation. Both will be presented in a future report.

[129] Pausanias 3.22.6-8. For miniature pots as indicators of sanctuaries/religious areas, see Catling 1996, 84-85, 89.

Catalogue

Drinking vessels

1. Small one-handled mugs

a. 4497/SF1: small one-handled mug
Full profile with some fragments missing. Disc base with indented underside, plump rounded body with high greatest diameter, sharp transition to straight neck, slight offset ridge at join to outturned lip, single strap handle from outer edge of lip to body just above greatest diameter
H: 0.075 m; Dfoot: 0.058 m; Dmouth: 0.063 m.
Fabric: 5YR 6/6. Matt black slip inside and out, unevenly applied.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (decomposed mudbrick).
Figure 16

b. 4499/SF1: small one-handled mug
Complete with some small fragments missing. Disc base indented, plump, rounded body with greatest diameter about midway, sharp transition marked by ridge to straight neck, slight offset ridge at join to outturned lip, strap handle from outer lip to just above greatest diameter.
H: 0.074 m; Dfoot: 0.04 m; Dmouth: 0.065 m.
Fabric: 7.5YR 5/4. Thin slip interior and exterior, but no traces under foot. Dripping under the handle area suggests vessel was slip-dipped. Possible ghost of lettering on neck: I O Λ.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (decomposed mudbrick).
Figure 16

c. 4460/SF5: small one-handled mug
Full profile with large section from body to rim missing. Ring foot with scratched circle on underside, plump slightly elongated body, no neck but long outturned lip, strap handle from outer lip to upper body. Dimensions not available.
Fabric: 10YR 6/6. Possible traces of slip on lower body. Clear signs of burning on one side (not all over).
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (decomposed mudbrick).

d. 4497/SF3: small one-handled mug
Full profile. Ring foot indented to a bulge at center and an uneven groove on exterior, rounded body with greatest diameter just above midway, offset at join to straight neck, offset ridge at join to outturned lip, lip has slight upturn at top, no trace of handle.
Dfoot: 0.042 m; Dmouth: 0.066 m; H: 0.08 m.
Fabric 5YR 6/8 to 2.5YR 6/8. Red-brown slip over exterior with traces on interior.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (decomposed mudbrick).
Figure 16

e. 4512/SF2: small one-handled mug
Full profile. Ridged ring base, rounded body, slight offset at join to straight neck, slight ridge at join to outturned lip, plump strap handle from outer lip to just above greatest diameter.
H: 0.07 m; Dfoot: 0.048 m; Dmouth: 0.068 m.
Fabric 10YR 6/4-5/4. Matt brown slip over poorly cleaned clay.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (decomposed mudbrick).
Figure 16

f. 2626/SF1: small mug
Whole base to about halfway up the body. Non-joining fragment preserves part of the vertical strap handle. False disc base.
PH: 0.063 m; Dbase: 0.049 m.
Fabric: 10YR 5/2 (grayish brown). Gritty with few tiny black and white inclusions. Slip is matt black and covers upper half of the body and part of the interior.
Context: Area II, westernmost room, intermediate collapse layer.
Figure 16

g. 2662/SF2: small mug
Pear-shaped mug with profile surviving from lip to lower body. Flaring rim and thin neck.
PH: 0.073 m; Dmouth 0.061m.
Fabric: 10YR 5/3 (brown). Sandy. Black slip on interior and exterior has fired largely brown but appears burnt by traces of the handle.
Context: Area II, westernmost room, earth fill (?) with traces of burning, construction phase or earlier.
Figure 16

h. 2670/SF2: small mug
About 1/3 of the body preserved. Bulbous, pear-shaped body with a smooth transition to a flaring lip. Vertical strap handle from upper diameter of the body, no trace of lip attachment.
PH: 0.065 m; Dmouth: 0.06 m.
Fabric: 2.5YR 5/2 (grayish brown). Dense, shiny clay with very few quartz and yellow inclusions.
Context: Area II, westernmost room, earth fill (?) with traces of burning, construction phase or earlier.
Figure 16

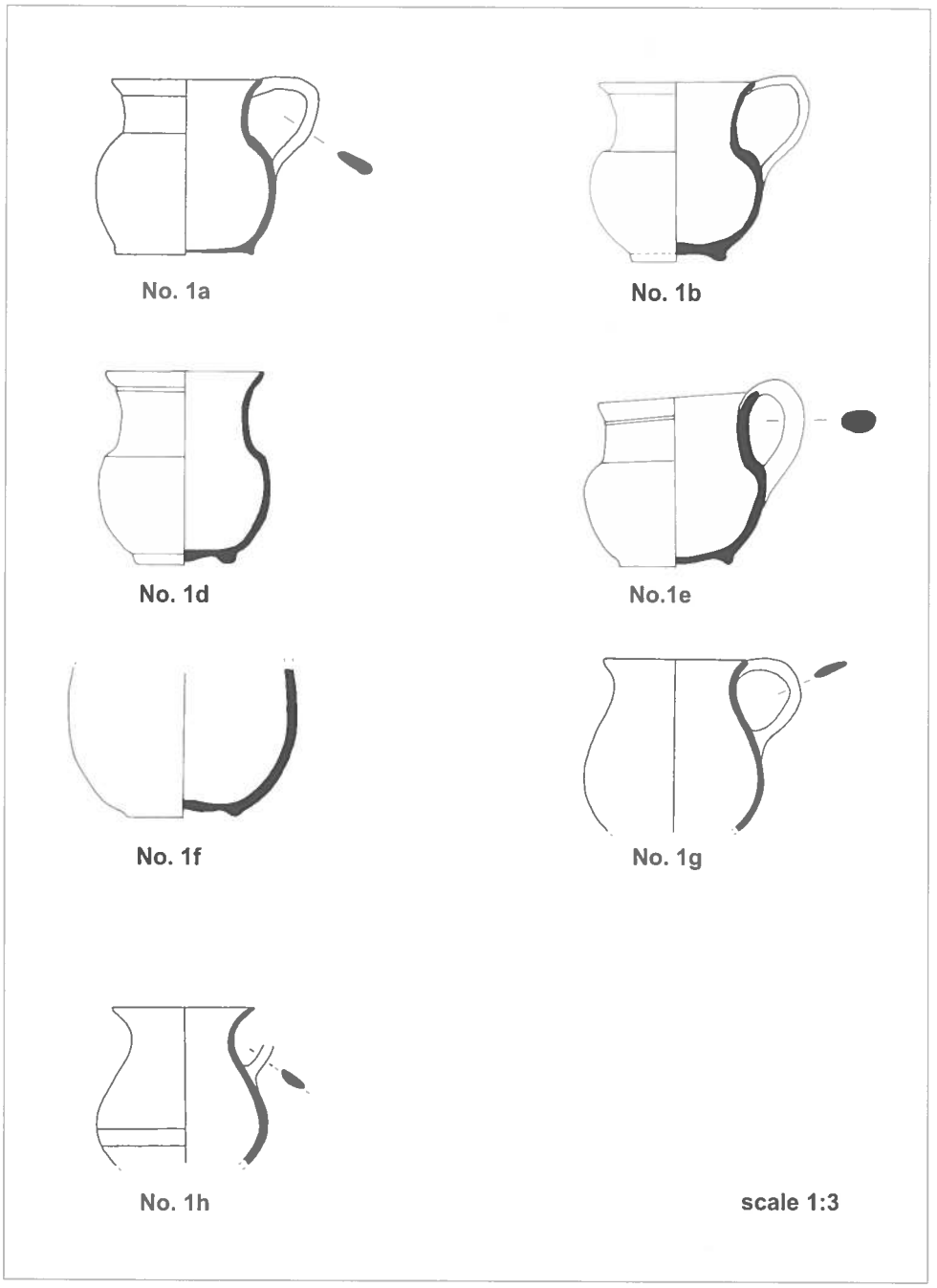

Figure 16. *Pottery from the historical periods: mugs*

Discussion: These one-handled mugs, only a sample of which are illustrated here, appear in quantity in the contexts examined this year. The examples listed above give an indication both of the range of fabrics, slips and sizes of those found at Geraki. This type of one-handled mug, sometimes referred to as the Laconian mug, is a popular wine service vessel from the Archaic period. The mug is distinguished most clearly by the single strap handle that is attached at the lip and the top of the belly.[130] Scholars have followed its development down to the 4th century BC and some Hellenistic examples have been published from Laconia.[131] The examples found at Geraki confirm that the vessel form continued in popularity through the Hellenistic period as well. A number of these mugs come from a context with associated cookware and suggest that rather than purely being used as a drinking service, some of them may have been used for dipping and serving liquids other then wine.[132] The variety of fabrics is also suggestive of a variety of uses rather than of a single purpose service.

The last two examples (1g-h) listed here differ from the other examples in the distinctly pear-shaped body of the vase, as well as distinct differences in the range of Munsell numbers. It seems possible that chronological distinction plays a role in these differences, as 1a-f come from the latest habitation phases on the acropolis (the final habitation phase of Room 2 in Area I and the second last habitation phase in Area II respectively). However, more work on the shape and its occurrence within the stratigraphic sequence at Geraki is necessary before firmer conclusions can be drawn.

We should note here that numerous different single-handled mugs are made throughout the Greek world in the Hellenistic period.[133] What is particularly noteworthy in Laconia is the continuity of the one-handled form from the Archaic down through the Hellenistic period and, perhaps, even later.

2. Kantharoi

a. 4547/1: Classical kantharos
Part of the flaring rim and handle. Of the handle, the flat top and trace of round part of handle coming down survive.
WTh: 0.003 m.
Fabric: Gley 1 6/1 (greenish gray). Clay is gray and sandy with black slip all over of reasonably good quality. Burnt.reasonably good quality.
Context: Area I, Room 2, gravely soil in between bedrock, below final tile collapse.

Discussion: The shape can be recognized as a Classical kantharos on account of the spur handle. The Classical kantharos develops during the 5th century BC and continues in Athens into the 3rd century BC, although later examples often show a sharp upward cant to the handle spurs, something lacking in the Geraki example.[134]

3. One handlers

a. 4458/1: one-handler
Flaring rim, straightish body and attachment for horizontal strap handle.
WTh: 0.004 m.
Fabric: 10YR 7/2 (light gray). Soft. Mediocre black slip covers the interior and the exterior.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (decomposed mudbrick).
Figure 17

Discussion: This is a standard Laconian shape in the second half of the 5th century BC.[135] The rim shape is unusual for a one-handler, but the horizontal strap handle is one of the defining features of the shape. The unusual rim may be an indication of a later date for the vase, the end of the development of which is noted in the late 4th or early 3rd century BC.[136] This is

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[130] See Catling 1996, shape 16. He notes that the shape begins in the seventh century BC and is popular not just in Laconia, but is also carried on campaign.
[131] Stibbe 1994; Williams 1979, 140ff. For Hellenistic Laconian examples, see Raftopoulou 2000, pl. 217 no. 12.567.
[132] See Slane 1990, 89 and Ricci 1973, 342 for the idea of different functions for different fabrics with reference to thin-walled wares.
[133] See Eiring 2000, 54ff.; Edwards 1975, no. 779 (from a context dated between 300-146 BC); Hausmann 1996, no. 48. The last is squatter than the Geraki examples.
[134] Talcott & Sparkes 1970, 122 and Rotroff 1997, 84-85.
[135] Catling 1996, shape 18.
[136] Rotroff 1997, 155-56.

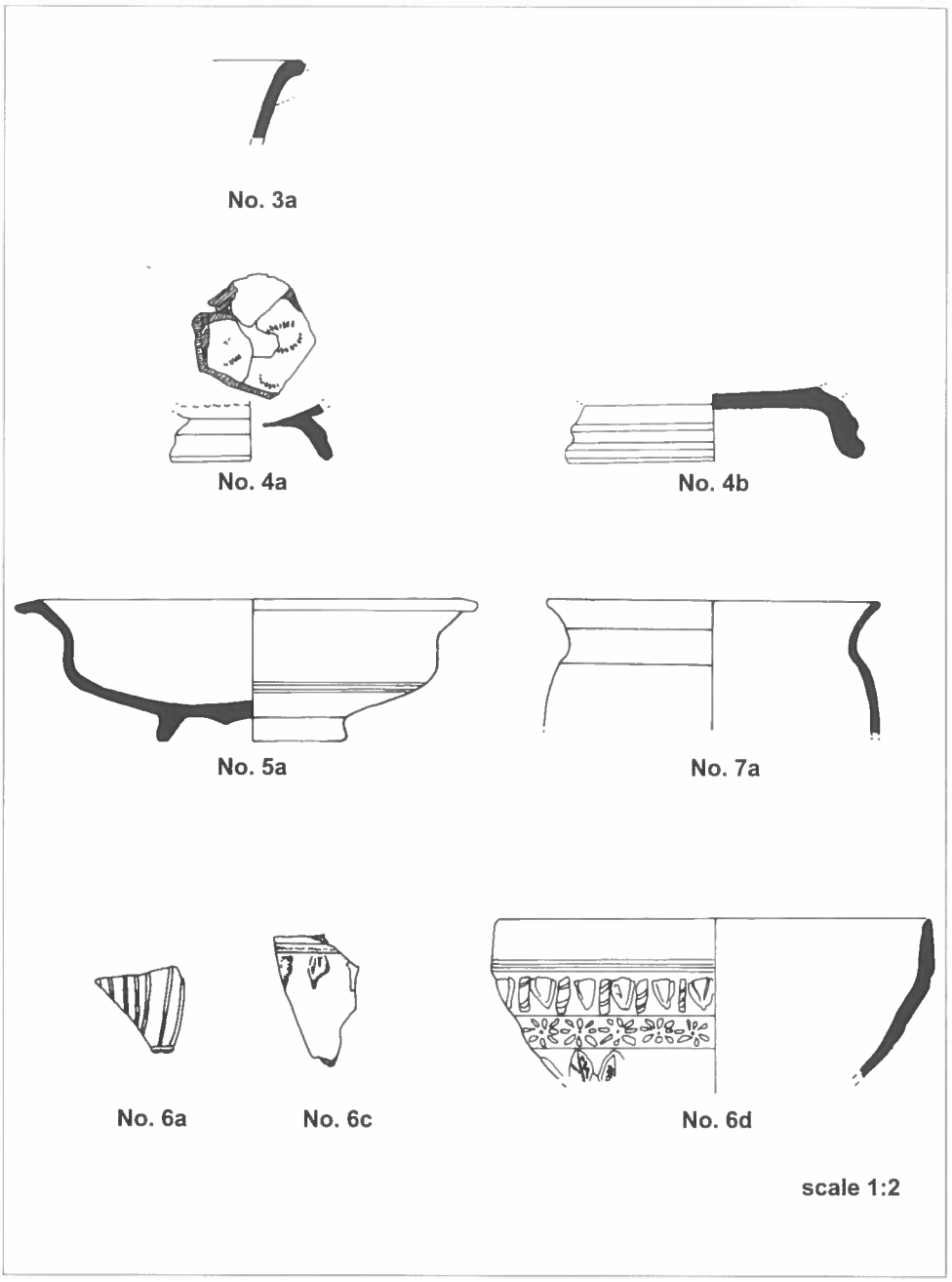

Figure 17. *Pottery from the historical periods: one-handler (3a), cups/bowls (4a-b), bowls with outturned rim (5a), mouldmade bowls (6a-d), thin-walled mug (7a)*

a standard Laconian shape in the second half of the 5th century BC.[137] The Laconian shape generally has an outturned, rounded rim and a flat, hollow base with black-glaze covering all surfaces. The example here is consistent with a 4th century BC date.

4. Cup or bowl bases

a. 2655/1,2 and 3: ring base from cup
Two-stept ring base. There are palmettes stamped from worn moulds on interior floor.
PH: 0.05 m; Dbase: 0.047 m.
Fabric 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown). Shiny and sandy with very few tiny red bits. Interior and exterior covered with a black slip that fired from red to black.
Context: Area II, westernmost room, construction level (?)
Figure 17

b. 2662/2 ring base
Two-stept base with a sloping down upper step and a deep ridge. Interior is slightly deeper then exterior.
PH : 0.02 m; Dbase: 0.082 m.
Fabric: 10YR 5/3 (brown). Slightly shiny, hard and dense. Slip is gritty and fairly matt with traces of slip on the interior of the underside.
Context: Area II, westernmost room, earth fill (?) with traces of burning, construction phase or earlier.
Figure 17

Discussion: Stamping first appears on pots in the mid-fifth century BC.[138] By the end of the 4th century BC, the motifs used have been reduced with a few exceptions to palmettes and rouletting and the palmettes themselves have been simplified to the motif of four linked palmettes, often surrounded by rouletting. Stamping appears on a variety of shapes but once into the Hellenistic period, there is a lessening of forms that receive stamping as well. The profile of the foot on both these examples suggests some form of kantharos, a form that stops being stamped by ca. 325 BC.

5. Bowls with outturned flattened rim

a. 2604/SF4: bowl with outturned flattened rim
Whole profile, minor fragments missing. Ring base higher on interior than exterior turns up to sloping body and two grooves just before turn up to upper body, s-curve to flaring rim with flat top.
H: 0.04 m; Drim: 0.125 m; Dbase: 0.052 m.
Fabric: Core: 7.5YR 4/3 (brown), exterior 5 YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Brown gray core and red exterior with many tiny white inclusions probably stone. Red slip covers both interior and exterior.
Context: Area II, westernmost room, final collapse layer.
Figure 17

6. Mouldmade bowls

a. 4517/2: mouldmade bowl
Small wall fragment. With large leaves.
Fabric: 2.5YR 7/2 (light gray). Burnt.
Context: Area I, Room 2, washed remains of upper floor.
Figure 17

b. 4519/1: mouldmade bowl
Small wall fragment. Thin curving lines –tendrils or flower stems.
Fabric: 10YR 6/2 (light brownish gray). Matt gritty slip on a browny gray clay.
Context: Area I, Room 2, washed remains of upper floor.

c. 4452/1: mouldmade bowl
Small wall fragment with one surviving row of evenly placed fern leaves, separated by as much as 0.005 m, that point down. Leaves do not reach lowest part of body, rather there seems to be a substantial section of the lower body with no decoration at all.
Fabric: 5Y 6/1 (gray). Clay is gritty with some small stones. Interior and exterior covered with a matt black slip.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (tile).
Figure 17

d. 2615/SF1: mouldmade bowl
Rounded body to thickened and slightly inturned lip. Below lip is raised ridge, then bead and reel, flowers and small upright ferns.
PH: 0.045 m; Drim: 0122 m.
Fabric: 7.5YR 6/6 (reddish-yellow). Sandy fabric with tiny white inclusions. Gritty matt black slip cov-

[137] Catling 1996, shape 18.
[138] Rotroff 1997, 37.

ers interior and exterior.
Context: Area II, westernmost room, final collapse.
Figure 17

Discussion: Mouldmade bowls are part of the standard Hellenistic period pottery assemblage. The earliest manufacture of these bowls in clay appears to be in Athens sometime in the third quarter of the 3rd century BC, while manufacture in the Peloponnese begins soon afterwards.[139] The bowls continue to be produced well into the 1st century BC and are decorated with a variety of motifs. Clay type and rim form, in combination with the decoration, are the distinguishing characteristics for the different places of manufacture.[140] Nos. 6a and 6b are probably Laconian as they fit well both in fabric type and decorative motifs into Siebert's classes of Spartan bowls that span the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.[141] Siebert has commented on the decidedly local character of Spartan mouldmade bowls. The vast majority are decorated by a limited range of motifs consisting of acanthus and lotus leaves, tendrils and flowers on wavy stems. Figurative motifs are rare. Clay color is most frequently grayish, but can be a rosy color and the slip is most frequently matt black. Nos. 6c and 6d fall outside this range. No. 6b is unusual in its decoration in the single row of separated leaves that do not seem to belong either to the lowest portion of the bowl or up by the rim.[142] No. 6d has a rim form which is unusual within the Peloponnese and the motifs fall outside the standard Spartan range.

7. Thin-walled mugs

a. 4578/1: thin-walled mug, 1st century BC or later
Part of rim and body. Outturned rim with slight offset, narrow shoulder and sharp turn to straight body.
Dmouth: 0.09 m.
Fabric: 10YR 5/1 to 5/2 (gray to grayish brown). Dense gray clay almost clean. Black slip over interior and exterior.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (tile).
Figure 17

Discussion: Imported thin-walled ware begins to appear in Greece in the first century BC and imitations of the forms appear in a number of places.[143] The Geraki example belongs to Moevs Form 1 dating to the early 1st century BC, although it is more bulbous than many examples. The fabric suggests that the vessel is a regional imitation of the form and not an Italian import.[144]

Serving vessels

8. Salt cellars

a. 4538/SF2: footed salt cellar
Preserved is just over half the bowl and a full profile. Straight ring base to strongly convex body and an inturned lip.
H: 0.028 m; Dmouth: 0.058 m; Dbase: 0.039 m.
Fabric: 7.5 YR 7/8-6/8 (reddish yellow). Sandy.
Very worn so no trace of slip.
Context: Area I, Room 2, rubble with traces of burning, predating construction of Wall 16 and rebuilding of Wall 7.

Discussion: Although the salt cellar is a Classical staple and, as such, a useful indicator of the presence of Classical use on the site, the ring foot does not appear associated with the shape until the 4th century BC.[145] The shape itself dies in Athens by the end of the 4th quarter of the 4th century BC, with almost none appearing in Hellenistic contexts.[146] This contrasts with the Corinthian examples that begin in the 5th

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[139] Talcott & Parsons 1970, 10.
[140] For taking moulds off of finished bowls, see Edwards 1986, 396-99.
[141] Siebert 1978, 83-90.
[142] Siebert 1978, pl. 91; Delphi no. 3. Skordou 2000, pl. 9.3g, who cites parallels in Edwards 1975, pls. 72-73 (single row of very high relief leaves ringing medallion).
[143] Slane 1990, 89-93.
[144] For the shape, see Moevs Form 1.24 (form dates from the second quarter of the 2nd century BC to the third quarter of the 1st century BC, this example thought later rather than earlier), Rotroff 1997, 1784 (from a context of the first half of the first century BC), and Slane 1990, #192 (here the form is dated from the last quarter of the 2nd century BC through the third quarter of the 1st century BC).
[145] Talcott & Sparkes 1970, 137f.
[146] Rotroff 1997, 165-66 and Edwards 1975, 30 (deposit context runs from the 4th century BC to the 146 BC destruction).

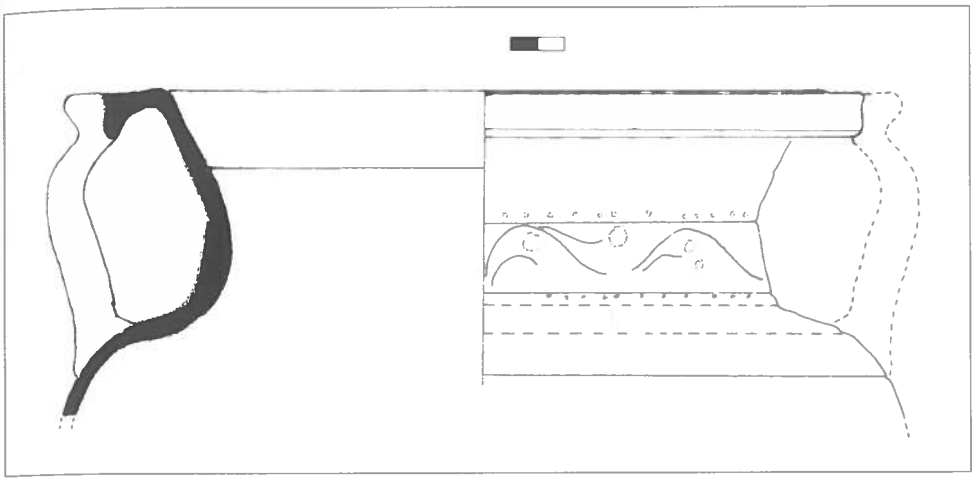

Figure 18. *Pottery from the historical periods: column krater with West Slope decoration (9a)*

century BC and appear to continue through the 3rd century BC.[147] Laconian examples may also continue this late.[148]

9. Kraters

a. 4460/SF7 and 4504/SF3: column-krater with West Slope decoration

F

From just below handle attachments to lip. Overhanging lip with sloping upper surface, outer surface is ridged at top and grooved at bottom, double rounded handles with broad handle plate and slight ridge where lip meets plate, incised line at top and bottom of neck, sharp turn down to body, traces of another incised band below handles.

Dmouth: 0.281 m; PH: 0.119 m.

Fabric: 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red). Gritty fabric with tiny black and white pebble inclusions. Surface very worn, so slip and decoration survive only spottily. Between incised bands on neck and body: curved incised line with shoots off of it, added white ivy leave from three blobs and small dot rosettes. Line of white dots at bands.

Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (decomposed mudbrick).

Figure 18

Discussion: This vase appears to be an unusual example of a group of large black-glazed vessels whose distinguishing characteristics are the white painted ivy decoration on neck and body, the ribbed body and the added moulded decoration, and are known as plaketten-vases.[149] The principle forms are hydriai, pelikai, amphorai and column-kraters and the vast majority of examples are found in Taranto, Crete and Alexandria. The vases appear to have begun being produced in the final quarter of the 4th century BC and the most recent evidence from Crete suggests that they continue to be produced into the 2nd century BC. There is debate about where these vases were actually produced, with scholars advocating all three areas, but recent publications from Crete and a mould found at Phaistos at the beginning of the 20th century make the existence of at least one workshop in the island therevery probable.[150] The Geraki example is only one of a number of examples from Laconia and is sugges-

[147] Catling 1996, 20a, which he dates to the beginning of the 4th century BC and probably continuing into the mid-3rd century BC. See Hausmann, 1996 no. 49 and See Edwards 1975, no. 73, pl. 44. See also Hausmann, 1996 no. 49.

[148] Catling 1996, shape 20a, which he dates to the beginning of the 4th century BC and probably continuing into the mid-3rd century BC.

[149] Züchner 1950-51, Kenrick 1985, 82f; Dohrn 1985, Markoulaki 1997 and Zervoudaki 1997.

[150] Markoulaki 1997 and Zervoudaki 1997.

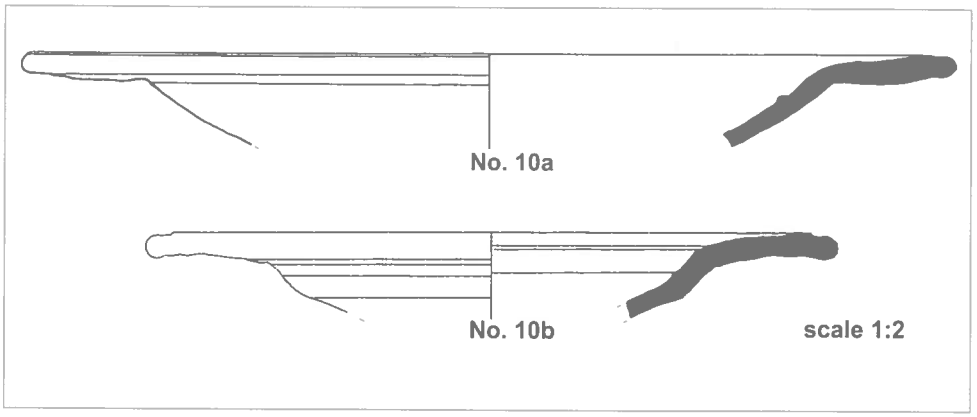

Figure 19. *Pottery from the historical periods: plates (10a-b)*

tive of the existence of trade routes running between Crete and Southern Italy.[151] The Geraki example has the profile of the plaketten column krater and is made of finely cleaned clay with the added white decoration. However, up to now, the excavations have not revealed the moulded figures and the ribbing that are the other characteristics of this form. There are two other possible examples of this type of vase within other contexts from Area I (21/7 and 585/1).

10. Plates with offset rim

a. 4582/SF1: plate with offset rim
About a third of the rim preserved. Broad offset rim with broad, shallow groove at outer edge, thin shallow groove at turn to body –sharp on exterior: very slight offset, smoother on interior, raised ridge just below turn to body.
Restored Drim: 0.25 m.
Fabric: 10YR 5/4-5/6 (yellowish brown). Brownish clay with some small red, white and black inclusions. Interior and exterior covered with brownish-red slip, less well preserved on exterior, almost a crackly effect on interior.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer.
Figure 19

b. 4582/SF2: plate with offset rim
Broad offset rim with shallow groove at outer edge and more shallow groove at inner edge, sharp break at turn to body, ridge just below turn to body, possible slight offset under rim just before turn to body.
Restored Drim: 0.21 m.
Fabric: 2.5Y 7/2 (light gray). Burnt pale brown with some tiny micaceous to small black inclusions and many small voids. Interior and exterior covered with thin black matt slip.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer.
Figure 19

Discussion: This form of plate appears in a wide range of fabrics in the Hellenistic world both in the East and West.[152] Hand-held examination of the fabric of the Geraki examples, however, cannot confirm the inclusion of these examples in any of these categories.

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[151] Hobling 1924-25, figs. 9 and 10 and Zervoudaki 1997, 120.

[152] *Slane 1997*, 283 notes how unusual it is that an ESA form also exists in so many other fabrics. In shape the Geraki examples it corresponds most closely to Hayes 1985, ESA form 6, Slane 1997 ESA type 2, Campana A and B – Morel Form 1625, Rotroff 1997, 838-46, and in appears in gray-wares as well. Perhaps a closer parallel to the shape might be the plates and in lagynos-ware found at Pergamon, see (Schaefer 1968, F1-5, pls. 41-42). The Pergamene examples have the interior ridge, but the lip edge is slightly different. Perhaps the closest corresponding shape comes from a second century BC context in Veroia, see Drougou and Touratsoglou 1990, B III.11. Although the lip is aligned more horizontally than appears to be the case with the Geraki examples, the small diameter of the Geraki examples echoes that of the Veroia ones. The Veroia context is dated to the 2nd century BC.

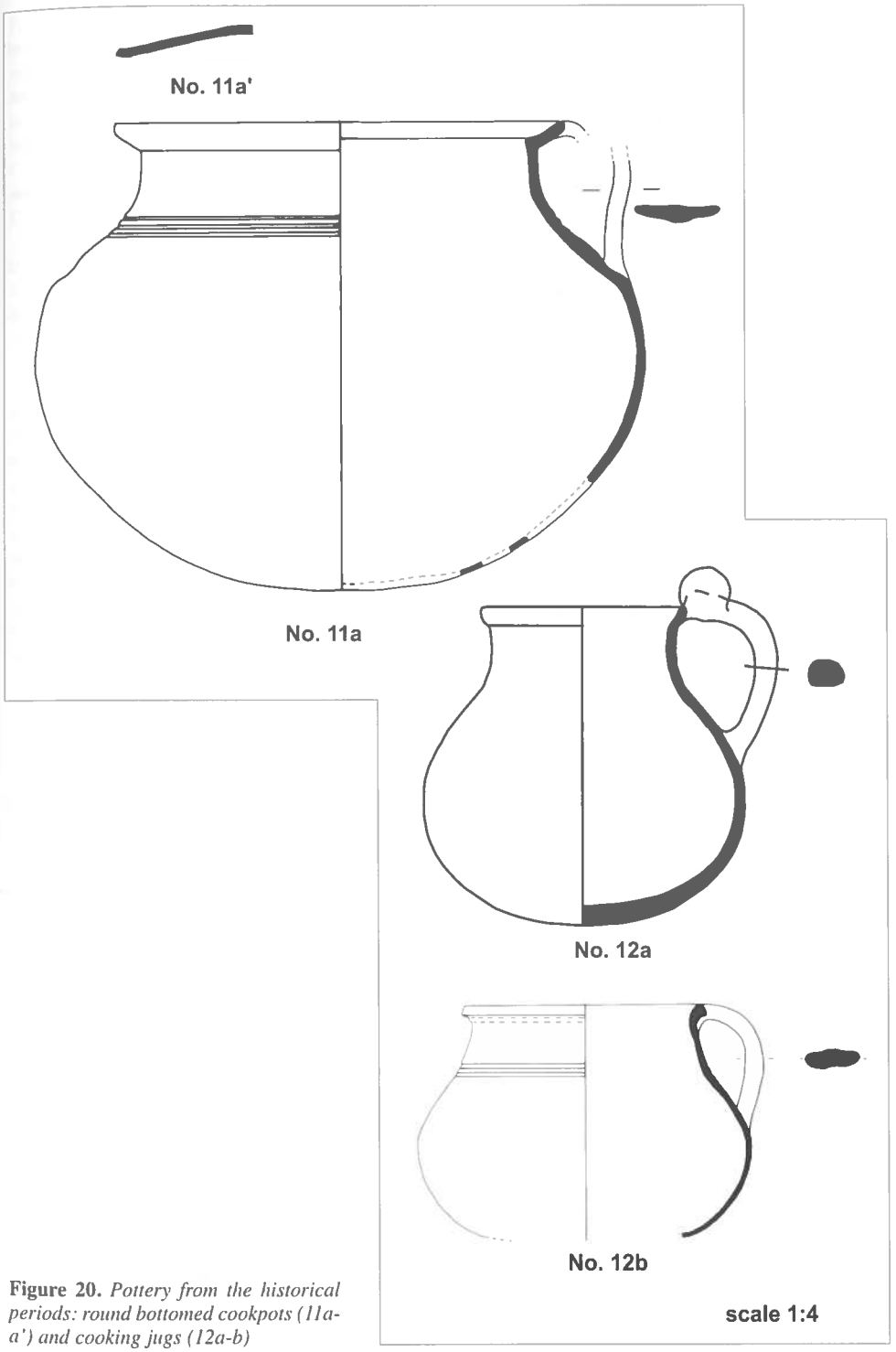

Figure 20. *Pottery from the historical periods: round bottomed cookpots (11a-a') and cooking jugs (12a-b)*

The shape itself was certainly being produced by the 2nd century BC and continued to be produced through the 1st century BC.[153] Morel has argued that the Campana B examples are the earliest examples of the form and that examples in ESA fabric and those found in mainland Greece are imitations of these.[154] In Greece, the shape appears to be most common in the 2nd century BC, although Edwards suggests a longer range for the Corinth examples, and the Agora examples may continue through the Sullan destruction in 86 BC. The Geraki examples are on the smaller end of the preserved examples and are unusual in the raised ridge on the body.

Cooking vessels[155]

11. Round bottomed cookpots

a. 4603/SF1: round-bottom cookpot with flaring lip
All of the lower half and large parts of the rim, but only one area that certainly makes a full profile. Very large cookpot with rounded bottom coming up to a flattened globular body, smooth curve to a straight neck and an almost flat, flaring mouth with an offset ridge for the placement of a lid. There is a slight groove on the outer edge of the rim. The greatest diameter of the belly is high and it is from that diameter that two broad, slightly ridged strap handles rise. Note a particular protrusion from the lip appears to be part of one handle in which case the handle broadens widely as it reaches the rim of the pot. Three grooved lines mark the turn up to the neck with the bottom groove fairly shallow and the upper two deep. The neck rises almost straight and then turns out to a widely flaring rim with a horizontal interior setting line ca 0.005 m wide for a lid. There is a slight groove on the outer edge of the rim. Note a particular protrusion from the lip appears to be part of one handle in which case the handle broadens widely as it reaches the rim of the pot. Material joining from #4593 and #4594.
H: 0.273 m; Dmouth: 0.218 m.
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Many pieces of large grog and stone.
Context: Area I, Room 2, probably set in upper floor.
Figure 20

a'. 4512/SF9: cookpot lid for a.
About a quarter of the rim of the lid not up to the center point.
Dlid: 0.22 m.
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/6 (reddish yellow). Many small to large grog and quartzite inclusions, some shininess.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (decomposed mudbrick).
Figure 20

Discussion: This cooking casserole and 12a and 12b, plus a number of the one-handled mugs (1a-d), were found within a single deposit in Room 2 in Area I that was examined this year. All show traces of burning, indicating that they were used over a fire. Rounded casseroles are common from the Archaic period onwards, but the flattened mouth/lip and horizontal grooved decoration on the neck suggest a date in the Hellenistic period for this vase.[156] This date is supported by the other associated pottery such as the krater with West Slope decoration (no. 9) that appear, in the same deposit.

12. Round-bottomed cooking jugs

a. 4512/SF3, 4, 6: round-bottomed jug with flaring lip
Whole profile with about half the neck and lip missing and a small part of the body. Rounded bottom to globular body, smooth curve to straight neck and the flaring mouth with concave inner surface as setting line for lid, thickened strap handle from greatest diameter to lip with rotelles at join to lip. Includes joins to #4510 and #4509.
Dmouth: 0.122 m; H: 0.183 m.

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[153] See Rotroff 1997, 154 and Slane 1997, 283-84. There are examples of offset rim plates at Corinth with West Slope decoration that Edwards would place in the 3rd century BC. The contexts in which they were found, however, would allow for them to be dated into the 2nd century BC. See Edwards 1975, nos. 127-30 which are dated between 330-146 BC by context. Edwards 1975, 39 n. 25 also notes imported examples without the West Slope decoration that probably belong post-150 BC.
[154] See Slane 1997, 273, n. 76 with reference to Morel 1986.
[155] It is interesting to note that those cookpots that can be restored are either flat-bottomed or round-bottomed. There are, however, high ring feet of comparable fabrics and Catling 1996, shape 51 does note the probability of cookpots with ring feet.
[156] Visscher 1996, shape 29.

Fabric: 5YR 6/4-6/6 (light reddish brown to reddish yellow). Pinky-buff fabric is very coarse, gritty and micaeceous – less so on handle than on body. Inclusions from tiny micaceous and sandy to large grog and quartz. Burnt over entire lower body and up onto lip. Probable traces of white slip/engobe.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (decomposed mudbrick).
Figure 20

b. 4460/SF4: round bottom jug with thickened triangular lip
Whole profile with somewhat over half the vessel surviving. Rounded bottom to globular body smooth curve to relatively straight neck and thickened triangular rim. Strap handle runs from greatest diameter of body to outer edge of lip. Two grooves at transition from body to neck.
Dmouth: 0.14 m; PH: ca 0.14 m.
Fabric: 7.5YR-10YR 7/4 (pink to very pale brown). Pinky-buff fabric is very coarse and somewhat sandy with small to large grog and black and white stone. Burnt over entire lower body with some traces up onto lip.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (decomposed mudbrick).
Figure 20

Discussion: Metal prototypes for this shape exist from the 4th century BC in Macedonia; note especially the rotelles of the handle of 12b.[157] The shape continues through the Hellenistic period and is found in the 1st, and possibly, the second half of the 2nd century BC in the Athenian Agora.[158] Both Geraki examples show signs of use over a fire, although the narrow neck and mouth would suggest liquid rather than stews.

13. Shallow cookpot with high-swung handle

a. 4582/SF3: shallow cook pan with high-swung strap handle
About a quarter of the rim and all of high-swung strap handle that attaches at rim. Flaring, outturned rim with flattened top and an interior setting ridge for the lid, straight body and very slight inturn to lower body.
Drim: approximately 0.20 m; PH: 0.037 m.
Fabric: 5YR 5/6 to 7.5YR 5/6 (yellowish red to strong brown). Coarse gritty clay with tiny to small white (quartz) and black inclusions. The tiny shiny inclusion may be quartz also not mica.
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer.
Figure 21

b. 2583/SF1: cookpot with high-swung handle
Full profile but with large sections of the body missing. Flat base that rises very slightly at outer edges, straight wall with ridge around part of vessel. Flaring lip with rounded edge, interior concave ridge for lid. Very broad high-swung handle from just below to lip.
H: 0.075 m; Dbase: 0.25 m; Drim: 0.304 m.
Fabric: 7.5YR 7/4 to 6/4 (pink to light brown). Many inclusions, small to large grog and small to large black and quartz stone. Burnt over whole base and onto body.
Context: Area II, westernmost room, final collapse layer.
Figure 21

Discussion: Flat-bottomed cooking pots with high-swung strap handles are rare in the Greek world, belonging instead to the Roman.[159] There is, however, an example from the Athenian Agora from a late Hellenistic/early Roman context and there is a series from Cyprus that appears to begin in the 2nd century BC, as well as some possible early parallels in Laconia.[160] The number of examples of the shape that appear in

[157] For similar shapes also in cooking fabrics that are suggestive of metal prototypes, see Kunze 1944, 73, no. 43; Hausmann 1996, no. 64; Drougou and Touratsoglou 1980, 120-22. There are twisted handles with rotelles in other contexts.
[158] I thank S. Rotroff for this information.
[159] Talcott & Sparkes 1970, 1973, but here the walls and the floor are rounded. The shape is referred to as a variant of the lopas on account of the handle. See also Pease 1937, fig. 36 no. 206 (restored with two handles); Kunze 1944, fig. 85-86 (in the latter figure, the handle is vertical as it is with the Geraki example); Jacopi 1932-33, 1941, 73 fig. 79 with lid; all these examples are smaller than ours.
[160] I thank S. Rotroff for the Athenian Agora example. See Hayes 1991, 81-82 for the latter. Note that the latter series was generally thought to be a Roman series, but the Paphos example was found in a definite Hellenistic context, pulling the shape back into the 2nd century BC. The Cypriot examples have handles that are flattened together, unlike the half-heart-shaped examples from Geraki.

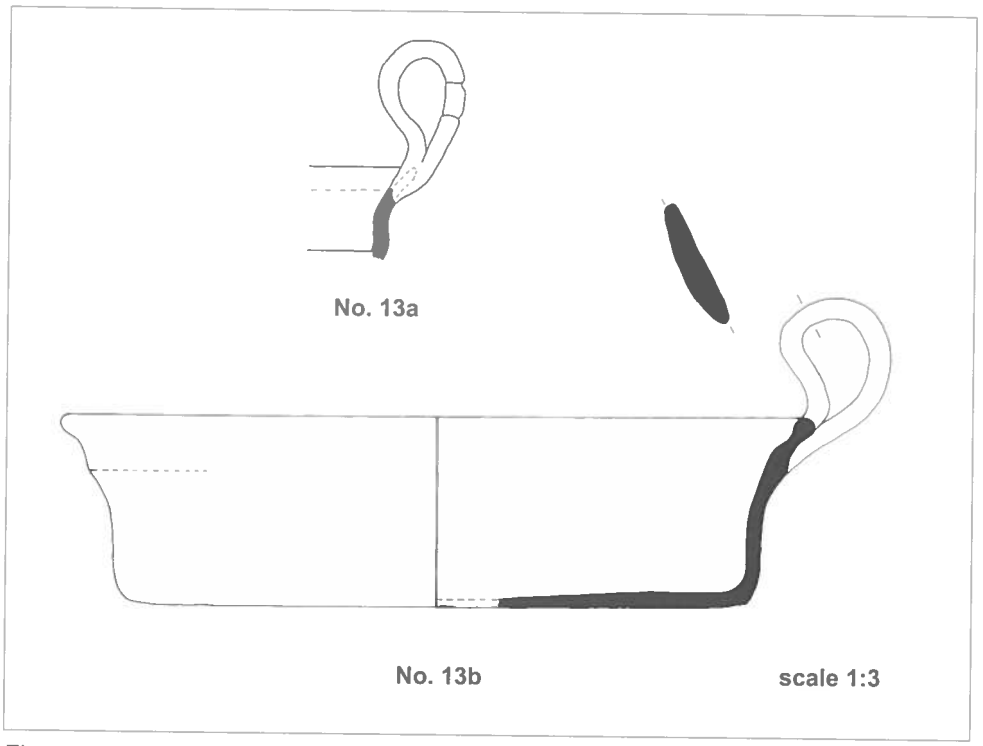

Figure 21. *Pottery from the historical periods: shallow cookpots with high-swung handle (13a-b)*

the zembils from Geraki indicates that the shape was not uncommon in this part of Laconia, although the fabric of 13a is unusual and may be imported. Catling has no complete examples of the form, but assumes that it should have two handles; 13b demonstrates otherwise.[161] As is true for most of the Greek world, external comparisons of cooking ware are often unhelpful as they are usually intimately related to local cooking and eating customs.[162] Thus, a full understanding and dating of this shape will have to wait for a clearer understanding of the stratigraphy of the acropolis of Geraki and for further pottery contexts to be examined.

Other shapes

14. votive pots

a. 4547/SF1: mug
Flat base to flaring body with sharp turn up to straight wall and flat flaring lip.
H: 0.02 m; WTh: 0.005 m; Dbase: ca 0.03 m.
Fabric: 5 YR 5/8 (yellowish red). Gritty clay has a gray core and red outer with some small stones inclusions. There are traces of a poor quality black slip on the exterior and the lip.
Context: Area I, Room 2, gravely soil in between bedrock.

[161] Catling 1996, shape 47 (loop-handled pan). He relates this shape to Visscher 1996, shape 28, but the form of the handle here is completely different.
[162] Catling 1996, 77. He is not helped by the lack of published examples from well-defined contexts.

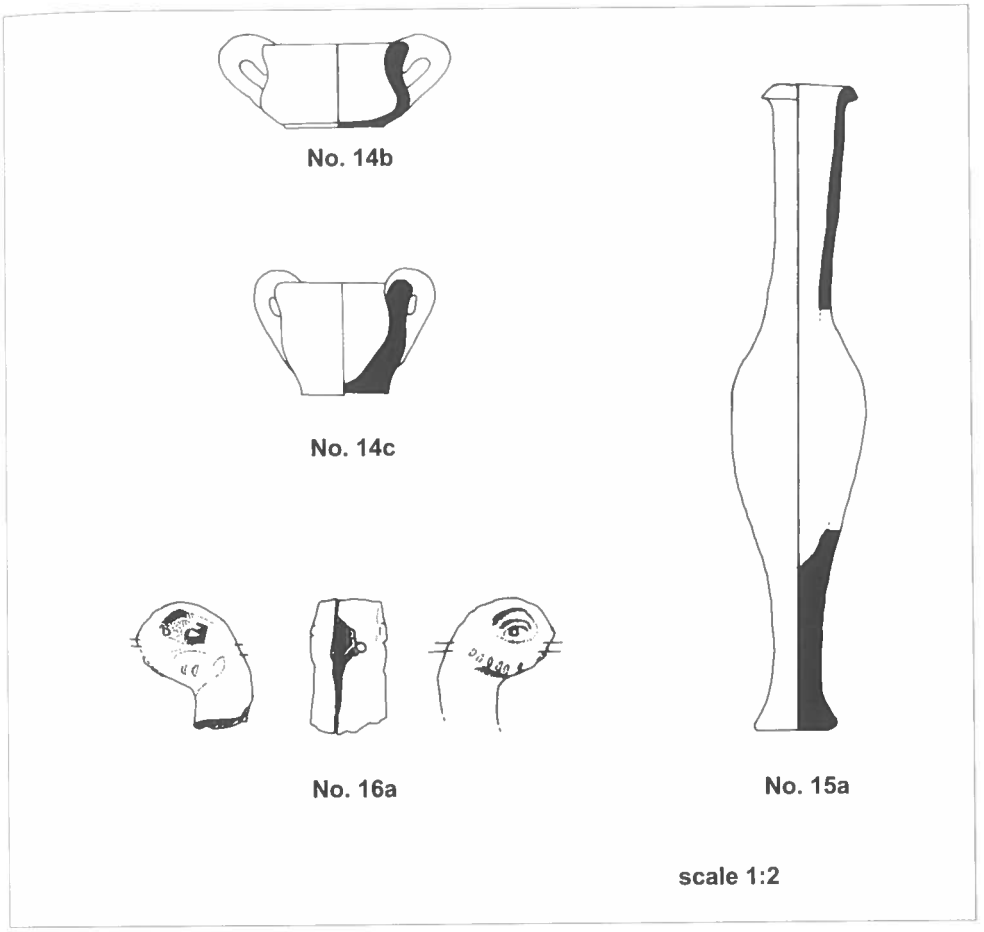

Figure 22. *Pottery from the historical periods: votive pots (14b-c), unguentarium (15a), patera handle (16a)*

b. 2660/SF1: krater
Complete. Column-krater with vertical strap handles.
H: 0.022 m; Drim: 0.039 m.
Fabric: 2.5YR 5/8 (red). Very shiny and gritty clay with tiny red, white and black inclusions.
Context: Area II, westernmost room, earth fill (?) with traces of burning, construction phase or earlier.
Figure 22

c.2660/SF2: krater
Complete. Tall column-krater
H: 0.03 m; Dmouth: 0.037 m.
Fabric: 7.5YR 6/4 (light brown). Sandy
Context: Area II, westernmost room, earth fill (?) with traces of burning, construction phase or earlier.
Figure 22

Discussion: Miniature vases are known from Laconia from at least the end of the 7th century BC and they continue to be made through at least the 3rd century BC. They are difficult to date precisely. Their presence should be a good indication of cult activity in the areaea, not surprising on the Geraki Acropolis.[163]

[163] Catling 1996, shape 59c. See also Stibbe 1993, pls. 75-77.

15. Unguentarium

a. 2618/SF1: fusiform unguentarium
Whole profile, minor fragments missing.
H: 0.175 m; Dmouth: 0.027 m; Dbase: 0.024 m.
Fabric 7.5 YR 5/4 (brown).
Context: Area II, westernmost room, final collapse layer.
Figure 22

Discussion: Fusiform unguentaria are a common shape throughout the Greek world in the Hellenistic period. Examples from Laconia indicate that it was no exception.[164] The long narrow form of the Geraki example suggests a date in the 1st century BC.[165] There is another example (#404/43).

16. Patera

a. 2618/SF2: feline head patera handle
Outer edge of a patera handle moulded in two uneven parts. Feline. There is a hole running from the upper edge of the head to the lower underside. Head bends at an angle to the actual handle.
Preserved length: 0.035 m; Dhandle: 0.015 m.
Fabric: core 7.5YR 4/4 (brown) and exterior 5YR 5/8 (yellowish red).
Context: Area II, westernmost room, final collapse layer.
Figure 22

Discussion: Metal examples of paterae with moulded animal handles have been found in Pompeii and Herculaneum, indicating that the prototypes of the clay form were already being produced in the 1st century AD.[166] The earliest clay examples from well-defined contexts, however, are in Knidian relief ware belonging to the 2nd century AD and continuing into the 3rd century AD.[167] There is also an Athenian series that belongs to the 4th century AD.[168] The Knidian series is the closest, fabric-wise, to the Geraki example. The Geraki example is most unusual in the bend of the head at the end of the handle. In all clay examples found so far, whether in the Knidian or the later Athenian series, the head continues straight out from the handle itself, as is the case for the earlier metal prototypes as well.[169]

Stamped tiles from Geraki (L. van Dijk-Schram)

During the excavations on the acropolis at Geraki carried out in 1999, 2000 and 2001 thirty-two tile fragments with impressions were discovered. The impressions can be divided into three categories: stamps, grooves and paw impressions. This article will focus in particular on the stamped tiles found at Geraki.

Stamped tiles have been found in many excavations in Greece. Stamps were already in use during the Archaic period, but became common during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Stamps can depict figurative motifs, but also non-figurative ones and inscriptions. In general, the last category seems to be the most common.

Various functions are attributed to tile stamps: they may have served to prevent theft, to point out the exact location of the tile in the roof in order to facilitate the building process or to sep-

[164] Bailey 1993, 225. He notes that the elongated shape as in our example tends to appear in the latest burials extending into the 1st century AD.
[165] See Anderson-Stojanovic 1987 and Bruneau 1970, 499, 501 pl. 165 185.19 (mid-late 2nd century BC), and Bailey 1993, 266 no. 29, which is dated to "probably 1st century BC" and compared to Wace and Dickens 1906-07, 162 fig. 7e from Tomb C (Sparta).
[166] Yadin 1963, 58-63, pls. 17 and 27.
[167] Kenrick 1985, 333-36 no. 498.
[168] Robinson 1959, M209-10.
[169] See Robinson 1959, M209-210 for the Agora examples and Kenrick 1985, 333-36, no. 498 for the Knidian ones. Both note parallels in Egypt, the Near East and the Levant and suggest that the form begins in the 1st century AD. The Agora examples, however, belong to a series from the 4th century AD.

arate different commissions of tile or kiln loads in the factory.[170] With these functions in mind, the depictions on stamps may refer to the contractor, the factory or the building they were produced for.

In Laconia most published stamped tiles were found in Sparta and in the area that was covered by the Laconia survey.[171] There is no mention of figurative stamps, only inscriptions. Many of the stamps found at Sparta carry the word δαμοσιος, which means they were produced by the state for a public building, such as the theatre or city wall.

Stamped tiles from Geraki

Nineteen fragments of stamped tiles were discovered at Geraki. They all consist of Laconian pan tiles, which are impressed on the concave side, with one exception (inv. no. 4187/SF3, see note 5), where the stamp was applied on both sides of the tile. Application on the concave side of the tile implies a date somewhere in the Hellenistic or Roman period.[172] This is supported by the context in which the fragments were discovered. Most of them were found in layers of collapsed roofs of buildings that were abandoned in the course of the 2nd-1st centuries BC.

On a third of the stamped tiles traces of black glaze have been preserved. The glaze seems to have been applied only on the stamped side. This is similar to the stamped tiles found in Sparta, where most of the fragments are glazed.

In some cases the stamp was impressed near one of the long edges of the tile, or near the corner of the tile. In most cases, however, the location of the stamp on the tile cannot be determined. Whereas the published stamped tiles found previously in Laconia all seem to be in the form of inscriptions, the stamps from Geraki can be divided into four types: *dokana*, AX-monograms, inscriptions and miscellaneous. With the exception of the inscriptions, these will be discussed separately below.[173]

Dokana

1. Inv. no. 407/SF2
stamp: *dokana*, variant A
size of stamp: 4.7 x 4.1 cm, nearly completely preserved
comment: the edges seem to be cut instead of broken, so perhaps not a tile
max. L. and W.: 6.1 x 5.4 cm; Th.1.8 cm
See also Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 47-48, fig. 5
Context: Area I, Room 4, upper washed collapse layer
Figure 23

2. Inv. no. 593/SF1
stamp: *dokana*, variant B
size of stamp: 3.6 x 3.1 cm, two edges preserved
tile: body fragment, black-glazed
max. L. and W.: ca. 12.5 x 12.5 cm; Th. 1.5 cm.
Context: Area I, courtyard, earth fill or wash layer
Figure 23

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[170] Miller 1994, 84ff; Hübner 1973, 86; Hübner 1977, 180 n. 29; Orlandos 1966, 93ff; Wace 1906, 344ff; Wace 1907, 17ff; Woodward 1928, 231ff; Winter 1993, 308; Felsch 1990, 301.
[171] Wace 1906, 344ff; Wace 1907, 17ff; Woodward 1928, 231ff; Shipley in Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, 222ff.
[172] Felsch 1990, 301; Miller 1994, 92, n. 19.
[173] The inscriptions will be discussed in a future issue of *Pharos*.

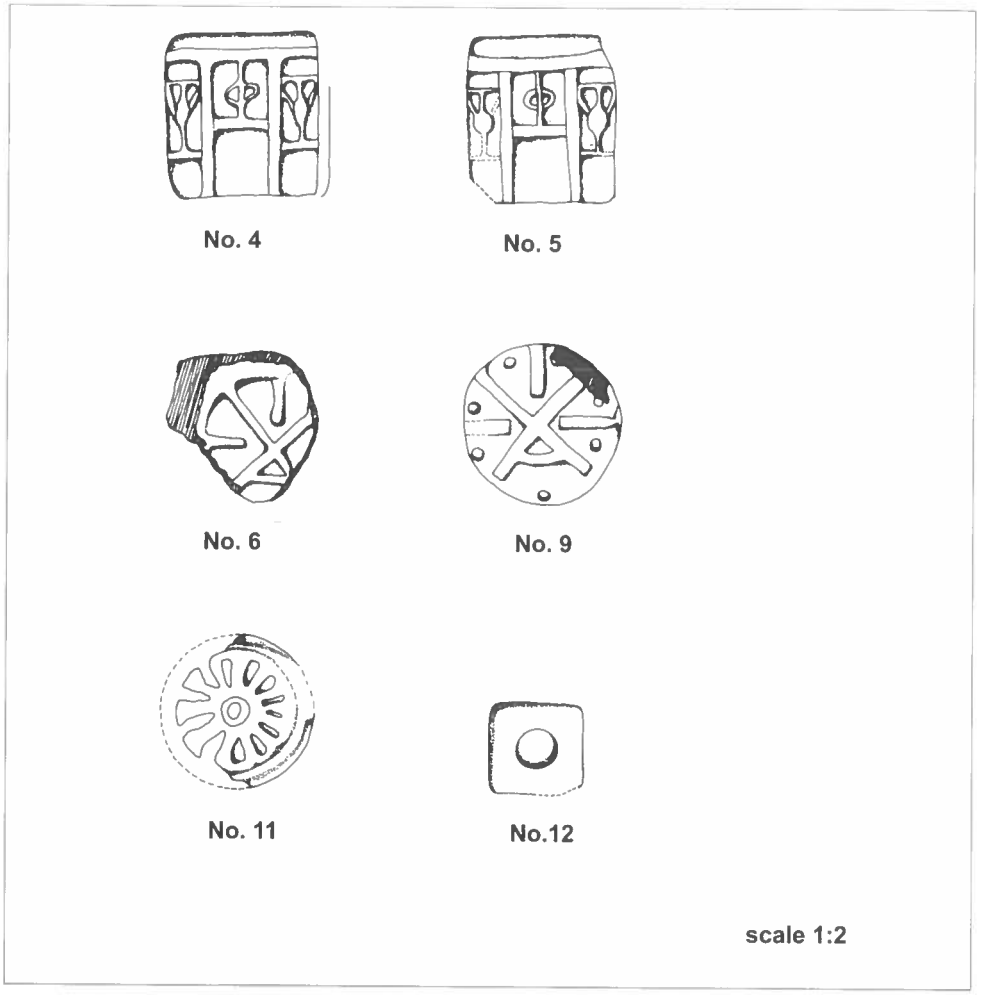

Figure 23. *Stamped tiles*

3. Inv. no. 4482/SF1
stamp: *dokana*, variant C
size of stamp: ca. 5 x 2.8 cm, two edges preserved
tile: body fragment, black-glazed
max. L. and W.: 21 x 32.5 cm; Th. 2 cm
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (tile)
Figure 23

4. Inv. no. 4450/SF1
stamp: *dokana*, variant D
size of stamp: 4.4 x 3.9 cm, completely preserved
tile: body fragment, black-glazed
max. L. and W.: 20 x 21.5 cm; Th. 1.5 cm
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (tile)
Figure 23

5. Inv. no 4500/SF1
stamp: *dokana*, variant D
size of stamp: 4.5 x 3.9 cm, nearly completely preserved
tile: rim fragment, three edges preserved, black-glazed
max. L. and W.: 16.5 x 20.5 cm; Th. 1.6 cm
Context: Area I, Room 2, final collapse layer (tile)
Figure 23

The most remarkable type of stamp found at Geraki is the *dokana*-stamp, named after its depiction of a wooden structure, which is believed to be connected with the Dioskouroi.[174] This type of stamp was found on five tile fragments. The *dokana* basically consist of two parallel vertical beams, covered by a large horizontal beam. In all cases the area between the beams is divided into two or three areas and the entire structure is often flanked by two amphorae, which symbolize the Dioscouroi. Four different variants were distinguished, A to D.

Variant A contains three areas inside the structure: a small rectangular area just below the horizontal beam on top and two larger rectangular areas below (Figure 23: 1). In the upper larger area are three beams, two diagonal and one vertical in the centre. In the lower area is what seems to be a letter F with two diagonal beams. The amphorae are present in this variant of *dokana*. It should be noted, however, that this object has worked instead of broken edges, and for that reason may not be a tile.

Of variant B only half of the stamp is preserved, but it is clear that the amphorae are absent (Figure 23: 2). The letter Φ is visible in the lower larger area inside the structure. The upper half of the stamp is lost, but the upper area inside the structure was clearly empty.

Variant C shows the amphorae and the Φ in the lower area inside the structure (Figure 23: 3). In the upper area is what might be the letter Δ. Unfortunately, the left half of the stamp is lost.

In the *dokana*-stamps of variant D the amphorae are likewise present (Figure 23: 4-5). The letter Φ here occurs in the upper area inside the structure. Two fragments of this variant were found. They are not identical, however, since the amphorae are very different in thickness. Therefore, they were not made by the same stamp.

The religious symbolism of the *dokana* stamps deserves further discussion. First, however, it is important to note the context in which the tiles with *dokana* stamps were found: three in the tile collapse associated with the final abandonment of Room 2 in Area I, one in a leveling fill in the courtyard in Area I, and the last one (not certainly from a tile) in an eroded upper layer in Room 4, again in Area I. These rooms all seem to have had domestic or industrial functions. In general, it seems unlikely that tiles with religious stamps were commissioned for a house roof and therefore it has been proposed that the tiles were reused.[175] This is supported by the fact that the tiles associated with the final collapse of the Hellenistic-early Roman buildings in both Area I and II display a wide range of sizes and fabrics. Only inv. no. 407/SF2 (perhaps not a tile but a plaque) and inv. no. 4450/SF1 were clearly made from the same clay-mixture.

The question thus remains whether the *dokana* stamps refer to the function of the building they were originally intended for. As stated above, tiles may have been stamped against theft, to indicate the location of tile in the roof or to mark certain kiln loads or special commissions. In the case of the *dokana* stamps from Geraki it is conceivable that they were made by a factory that was located inside or associated with a sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, or that the tiles were meant to be used in a sanctuary for the Dioskouroi (whether a temple or an auxiliary building, for instance a hestiatorion). A function of these stamps as markers to facilitate the building process is less likely. Both Orlandos and Winter only mention the use of letters for this purpose.[176] The letter Δ in variant D may be a reference to the Dioskouroi. Whether the letter Φ, as present on the *dokana* from Geraki, is connected to the cult of the Dioskouroi, is unclear. Letters may also refer to the name of the owner of the tile-factory or to that of the commissioner.

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[174] For earlier reports on the *dokana*-stamps: Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 48; Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 7 and n. 11.
[175] By Dr H.W. Catling; see Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 48.
[176] And, in the case of Winter, only for Corinthian roofs: Orlandos 1966, 93; Winter 1993, 308.

AX-monogram

6. Inv. no. 4436/SF4
stamp: AX-monogram, variant A
size of stamp: diam. at least 3.8 cm, ca. 1/4 preserved
tile: body fragment,
max. L. and W.: 4.5 x 4 cm; Th. 1.6 cm
Context: Area I, Room 2, recent plough soil
Figure 23

7. Inv. no. 259/SF2
stamp: AX-monogram, variant B
size of stamp: diam. at least 4.2 cm, ca. 1/3 preserved
tile: body fragment
max. L. and W.: 9 x 10 cm; Th. 1.9 cm
Context: Area I, Room 7, post-abandonment disturbance

8. Inv. no. 408/SF2
stamp: AX-monogram, variant B
size of stamp: diam. 3.8 cm, nearly complete
tile: body fragment, black-glazed
max. L. and W.: 24 x 35 cm; Th. 1.7 cm
Context: Area I, Room 4, upper washed collapse layer

9. Inv. no. 769/SF1
stamp: AX-monogram, variant B
size of stamp: diam. 4.3 cm, complete
tile: body fragment,
max. L. and W.: 17.5 x 20 cm; Th. 2 cm
Context: Area I, Room 9, post-abandonment wash
Figure 23

10. Inv. no. 2364/SF1
stamp: AX-monogram, variant B
size of stamp: diam. 3.9 cm, complete
tile: body fragment
max. L. and W.: ca. 17 x 28 cm; Th. 1.8 cm
Context: Area II, eastern room, silted up collapse

Five tile fragments were impressed with a circular stamp approx. 4 cm in diameter, containing a monogram of the letters A and X in two variants: A without and B with dots between the ridges of the letters (Figure 23: 6 and 7 respectively). Variant B occurred four times, variant A only once. The fabric of these stamped tiles varies.

The tile fragments with AX-stamps were found in different rooms and contexts on the site, which suggests they were reused as well. Again the differences in fabric (of the stamped tiles as well as the tiles on the roofs in Geraki in general) support this suggestion.

The four AX-monogram stamps of type B probably derive from the same workshop and may well have been applied by the same stamp, since they are identical, apart from some minor size differences. These can easily be explained by differences in pressure while applying the stamp. The tiles were probably not commissioned for the same building, because they strongly vary in fabric. This suggests that the monogram refers to the name of the factory (or its owner) rather than the building they were produced for.

The same AX-monogram is depicted on two coins from Geraki, inv. nos. 4187/SF1 and 455/SF1, in which case it refers to the Achaean League.[177] Whether the tiles with the AX-monogram could have the same meaning is, however, unclear.

[177] See Van der Vin in Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 73 (nos. 6 and 7), pl. XV.

Other stamps

11. Inv. no 279/SF1
stamp: rosette
size of stamp: diam. 4 cm, complete
tile: body fragment,
Max. L. and W.: ca. 25 x 25 cm; Th. 1.4 cm.
Context: Area I, Room 7, final tile collapse
Figure 23

12. Inv. no. 453/SF3
stamp: square with circle in centre
size of stamp: 2.4 x 2.3 cm, diam. dot 1 cm, nearly complete
tile: body fragment
Max. L. and W.: ca. 13.5 x 19.5 cm; Th. 1.2 cm
Context: Area I, Room 4, upper layer of washed collapse
Figure 23

13. Inv. no. 4189/SF1
stamp: rectangular panel
size of stamp: 3.8 x 1.8 cm, complete
tile: rim fragment, one edge preserved
Max. L. and W.: ca 27 x 35 cm; Th.1.5 cm
Context: Area I, Room 5, patch of upper tile collapse

14. Inv. no. 2578/SF1
stamp: 2 circles
dimension of stamp: diam. circles 1.3 cm, 2.5 cm from each other, complete
tile: rim fragment, two edges preserved
Max. L. and W.: ca. 17 x 21 cm; Th. 1.3 cm
Context: Area II, western room, upper tile collapse

One tile fragment shows a stamp of a rosette, which is a common motive among tile stamps. A second stamp was square with a circle in the centre, while yet another consists of a rectangular empty panel, but of the kind also used for inscriptions. Finally, there is an example of a tile fragment containing two small circles, which are set next to each other and near the rim of the tile.

It is difficult to draw any conclusions from these single stamps, except that the tiles were probably reused as well, because of the noted variation in the fabric of the tiles found in the collapse layers of the abandoned Hellenistic-early Roman buildings.

Tiles with grooves

On four tile fragments grooves were applied, usually of ca. 0.5 cm thick. The purpose and meaning of these grooves are unclear, but they do seem to have been intentionally applied.

Tiles with paw impressions

Nine tile fragments contained paw impressions (Plate XII for a selection). Most of these are from dogs. In one case (inv. no. 793/SF1), however, the impressions seem to be from a heavy bird, perhaps a bird of prey, as confirmed by members of the Department of Biology at the University of Amsterdam.

Some interesting observations concerning the process of tile manufacture can be derived from these impressions. Dogs must have been common in tile workshops, as their paw impressions are regularly found on tiles all over the Mediterranean. The presence of a bird of prey is less likely in a workshop, but apparently not impossible. It can be inferred that in some cases the tiles must have been removed from the casts while the clay was still wet and put to dry in an upright position, because the dog's paw impressions are found on top of the rim. In these

Plate XII. *Tile fragments with paw impressions*

cases the rim has given way under the pressure of the dog's weight. This could not have happened if the tile was still in the cast or lying flat. In most cases, however, the impressions are found on the concave side of the tile, implying they were stepped on while still in their cast and flat on the ground.

Site conservation (M. Prent)

During the last two weeks of the 2002 campaign a start was made with the wall consolidation and conservation program, for which a permit had been granted by the Conservation Department of the Ministry of Culture in 2001 and 2002. This conservation program entails different activities: the cleaning of joints in house walls and the re-filling of these with coloured cement; the back filling of certain excavated areas to the level of the wall foundations; the underbuilding of those walls that are founded on earth by building small-stone sustaining walls and/or creating 'earth' sections with coloured cement; and the consolidation of the acropolis wall. For each of these tasks the permit issued by the Ministry provides precise specifications with regard to the desired methods and materials to be used.

The conservation work of 2002 concentrated on the Hellenistic walls that are situated along the western border of Area I. Walls 1-5, 9 and 16 were in particular need of consolidation, as they are relatively low (consisting of only one to two courses of small to medium fieldstones) and largely founded on bedrock. This bedrock rises in westerly direction and may act as a funnel for the collection of rainwater, thus enhancing the danger of erosion and undermining of the mentioned walls. In addition, two higher walls, 3 and 7, in the same area, were cleaned and consolidated in the way specified in the permit. After several trials, executed on Wall 7, the right

mixture of ingredients (cement and sand) and colours was decided on. By mixing ombra and ochra in a proportion of 1:3 we were able to achieve a medium-brown colour that is closely akin to that of the local earth originally used as bonding material in these ancient walls. Subsequently, the area to the west, consisting of sloping bedrock intersected by deep fissures, was back-filled as prescribed by our permit, i.e. using gravel topped with a thin layer of clean earth. In addition, a dry-stone terrace wall was constructed just south of the line of the Hellenistic street, in order to prevent soil and rainwater washing in from the higher terrace to the south. The top of this terrace wall is only slightly higher than the level of the field behind it.

In Area II, conservation work was confined to the immediate area of the EH II casemate room. Here, we cleaned down along the sides of the later walls overlying this room: Hellenistic Wall 102 in the south and MH Wall 170 in the north. It had been clear since last year that especially the MH wall would need underbuilding to preserve it. While doing so, the side of half a broken pithos (no. 24), which continued underneath Wall 170, appeared. It was decided to remove the fragments of this pithos by carefully digging inwards, at the same time sustaining the MH wall by underbuilding it with a dry-stone wall. Pending further work, the floor of the casemate room, consisting of easily eroding earth on a loose cobble fill, was covered with synthetic netting and a considerable layer of clean earth.

Work on the acropolis wall and the consolidation of the remaining walls was too ambitious a task to be completed this year. However, a good start was made in conserving the site and making it presentable to the public. As at the end of previous campaigns, the rest of the excavated area was covered with netting and sheets of plastic.

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GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE FORMATION OF EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES

Papers presented at the colloquium organized by the Netherlands Institute in Athens in October 2002 on the theme of the role of the Classics in the formation of European and national identities

ARCHAEOLOGY AND IDENTITY

Pim den Boer

The Netherlands Institute in Athens is a young institute founded by a small nation. In addition to the venerable institutes of archaeological superpowers such as France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece and many others, courageous Dutch archaeologists took the initiative for the creation of yet another foreign institute. One of the NIA's important tasks is the facilitation of ancient Greek archaeology. But a broad scientific scope was a condition of the NIA's foundation: it had to be an inter-university cultural institute for activities of different sciences.

On its opening in 2000 the decision was therefore taken not to engage in the purely archaeological arena, but to organise a series of conferences in order to stimulate research into a broad field: the role of Greek antiquity in the cultural history of modern and contemporary Europe. The study of the institutional structure and cultural function of Greek classics in various European countries has very different aspects ranging from politics and nationalism to aesthetics and mythology, from theatre and opera to sculpture and architecture, from poetry and literature to historiography and medicine. It demands a multi-disciplinary approach and a comparative perspective.

The theme chosen for the 2002 NIA conference was the history of the way archaeology has been practised in different institutions such as universities, academies and museums. This is a practical, institutional differentiation, not a theoretical or intellectual distinction.

Meta-history

Our subject is not history as such, but reflective history, the history not of objects, but of thought about those objects. It is second degree history as R. G. Collingwood, philosopher and archaeologist at the same time – a rare combination – put it.[1] Meta-history is concerned with historical perceptions, ideas, dreams and phantasies about the ancient past. I am afraid that the subject is not of prime interest to real archaeologists, for the diggers focus exclusively on material remains. I was struck by a statement in the recent, very instructive and 'no nonsense' hand-

[1] Collingwood 1978, 1.

book on the archaeology of ancient Greece, which bluntly declared that in the past archaeology was interested "not in the banausic realities of Greek life, but in Epinician odes to the enduring appeal of classical art [...]. [Archaeology] has been the custodian of traditional values of what the European aristocratic societies of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries most praised in ancient Greece".[2] The author is the eminent archaeologist James Whitley, the new director of the British School. We are happy to have him with us in order to clarify what I am sure must be a misunderstanding on my part. A misunderstanding of British pragmatism, perhaps due to my postdoctoral study in Paris in meta-history. Inspired by the French post-Marxist 'histoire des mentalités' and by Pierre Nora's fascinating project on the study of 'lieux de mémoire', I would like to put our present interest in this frame of reference. Although Pierre Nora stressed 'la specificité française', I am convinced that the next phase of his project will be the comparative study of historiography and of the historical sensibilities, especially in modern Europe and the rest of the world where the ideas about classical Greece played such an important role. Of course the comparative approach is the only way to prove 'la specificité française' or any other national specificness.

To understand the mentalities, the taste, the ethical questions, the political problems of suffrage and democracy in modern Europe, the ideas – be they correct or incorrect, phantasies, dreams, nightmares: everything is of interest for reconstructing past mentalities – about ancient Greece are crucial. To put it otherwise, I am not so naive to believe that there is a classical Greek identity (from the word idem: something remaining the same throughout history), but in the cultural history of Europe the identification (the belief of sharing basic characteristics) with the ancient Greeks is a hard fact, as hard as the stones of the Parthenon. This identification was not only prominent among the aristocracies in Europe but also among the bourgeoisies. I even think it was more prominent among the latter than the former. Young male aristocrats received a more physical and militarily orientated training than bourgeois youth. Initially, it was only boys from a bourgeois background, later on in the nineteenth century also girls who enjoyed a so-called classical education. Their total number was small, about 2 to 3 percent of the age group, an elite, an extremely important one, powerful in politics and the economy, prodigally rich and with great influence in architecture, interior decorating, manufacture, the arts and crafts.

Here we enter a broad field of cultural and women's history. Fascinating new studies have revealed the hidden influence of bourgeois women. Fortunately, women's history is no longer solely the story of victims. The role of women was crucial in the private sphere.[3] Men earned money in the public sphere, while women took the decisions for spending the money in the private sphere. The decisions about organizing the private sphere, the choice for Greek, Roman, Etruscan or an eclectic combination of classical styles to decorate the bourgeois apartments of Paris and other cities, the choice of curtains, furniture, tableware, tea sets, cutlery, candelabra, clocks etc. were mostly made by females. In matters of taste and fashion bourgeois mothers and daughters invested the money husbands and fathers earned. The life-style, the culture in the anthropological sense, of the elite but also of the middle and eventually lower middle classes in Europe was dominated till the First World War, and even much later, by (neo-)classical design.

So much for the larger framework of the NIA conferences.

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[2] Whitley 2001, 10.

[3] See for example Walton 1992.

The social construction of an identity

Permit me to say a few words on the bewildering title 'archaeology and identity' as a short introduction to our present conference on the history of Greek archaeology and the formation of European and national identities. As far as I know, there is no history of the self appreciation of the 'archaeologist', as revealed by the history of words used by others as well as by 'archaeologists' to designate their discipline.

Let us begin at the beginning. Was homo sapiens already homo archaeologicus? Was man as much a political animal as an archaeological animal, a hunter of valuables, of precious artefacts? Is it appropriate to view the history of archaeology from the perspective of the idea of ubiquitous progress as the gradual development of the scholarly identity of the archaeologist? Is there really an evolution of a scientific discipline, from treasure diggers, excavators and tomb robbers to disinterested, better and better, more and more scientific scholars? Simple questions – complicated answers. Inevitably, we will encounter not only different types of archaeologists, from meticulous excavators to imaginative writers, but also the problem of the multiple identity of the archaeologist.

From a functionalist starting point, archaeology stood, from the beginning of recorded time, at the service of kings and emperors. We are informed about the excavations of tombs of legendary, sometimes deified rulers, in order to legitimize contemporary political power through identification with great predecessors. In contrast to mere secret tomb robbery, the oldest function of archaeology is to publically legitimize royal power and dynastic continuity. An astonishing early example is given by Alain Schnapp in his admirable *Discovery of the Past*. In his written testament, Nabonidus (556-539 BC) of Babylonia referred to an inscription of the legendary king Hammurabi (1792-1750), who ruled more than twelve hundred years before him![4]

In this early history, actually the prehistory of archaeology, I see no social conditions for a self-appreciation of the archaeologist other than as a royal servant, as a courtier in dynastic service. The social construction of a collective identity as 'archaeologist' only became possible when the number of collectors of antiquities grew decisively. On an unprecedented scale all sorts of collectors, rich noblemen imitating the king, clergymen imitating the pope, even rich merchants began to build cabinets with drawers and shelves to display precious objects.

Such an identity was based on a social consciousness, on a collective identity as devotees to antiquity. This was an important new phenomenon in the cultural history of Europe since the Renaissance. It is one aspect of the creation of a *respublica litteraria* of humanists, antiquarians and collectors. The formation of a collective identity of scholars devoted to the study of antiquity is related, of course to the existence of a social group of scholars. In the past the Babylonian and Persian kings, Alexander the Great, his Hellenistic successors, the Roman emperors, Charlemagne, the bishops of Rome, the emperors of the Holy Empire, the kings of France and other European monarchs, all needed a scholar, a guardian of regalia, a keeper of archives, a herald, someone with expert knowledge. The dynastic continuity required historical and archaeological expertise. But the courtly scholar was an isolated man, having only a predecessor, a disciple or a rare rival.

From the fifteenth century onwards a corporate identity as *humanisti* and *antiquarii* was cre-

[4] Schnapp 1996, 13-18.

ated and strengthened through a network of correspondence, manuscripts and printed publications. From the seventeenth century onwards it became increasingly common for these scholars to gather together in academies and societies, often not completely independent from royal patronage. The academicians of the most important Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres (AIBL) were paid by the king, but they formed a 'corps à part'. The AIBL was a distinct institution of 'les savants' and antiquarians, mostly from the first and the second order, from ecclesiastical and aristocratic background, with a minority from the 'Tiers État', the bourgeoisie. Of crucial importance for the development of a collective identity as scholars were the emergence in Rome, Florence, Paris (the *Journal des Savants* and the learned *Mémoires* of the AIBL) and London (the famous transactions of the Royal Society) of academic periodicals, media for the exchange of scientific reports.

From the end of the eighteenth century a collective scholarly identity was very much influenced by the irresistible rise of the idea of national identity. Of course, this was part of the all embracing process of nation building, the nationalization of state, culture and education in Europe since the nineteenth century. A significant indication is that publications began to appear in national languages rather than in transnational (neo-)Latin. Scholars increasingly became servants of the national state, 'fonctionnaires', paid from the state budget. Scholars became professionals, in the simple definition of the professional as a person earning his living by practising a profession. In the case of the archaeologist, this no longer meant being privately engaged, but being employed by the state in 'national' museums, on 'national' expeditions for excavations at home in the earth of the fatherland or, far more prestigiously, abroad in the consecrated soil of classical Greece.

Archaeology, like most human sciences, depends financially on government funding. Ultimately, the professional archaeologist is defined as someone in the service of the tax payer. In this definition, professionalization has nothing to do with advances in methodology, with quality of intellectual output, of research or of publications. The quality of the intellectual contribution of a professional archaeologist need not differ from that of a non-professional. As in the historical profession, professionalisation only means the increase of the number of professional archaeologists. In order to analyse and evaluate the quality of the scientific work of the archaeologist, you need different criteria like the degree of specialization in time, material and space, descriptive precision and methodological strictness.

Please note that the professionalization and nationalization of history and archaeology since the nineteenth century, was accompanied by a countervailing and intriguing development of what I would like to call a transnational scientific identity. The idea, that is, that archaeologists all over the world have something in common. Despite national rivalries, archaeologists as scholars form a universal 'invisible college', to borrow an expression from the sociology of science. Professional archaeologists, almost without exception on the payroll of national states, also regarded themselves as members of a universal academy of classical scholarship, as heirs of the noble traditions of Renaissance humanists and enlightened cosmopolitans.

Before the professionalization of archaeology, clericals and nobles were over-represented in this discipline. 'La persistance des ordres' is a general phenomenon in the world of banking, diplomacy and also in the study of classical art and archaeology in the nineteenth century. But in consequence of the growth of civil services and particularly of the foundation of the educational system of the modern nation state, a growing number of sons of the European bourgeoisies found their way into those fields.

The academic institutionalization of archaeology as a specialized university study took place

very late, at first in the politically divided German cultural area with its unrivalled poly-centred system of higher education.[5] The German universities were envied throughout Europe.

The institutionalization of archaeology

As an independent discipline, 'Archäologie' was first institutionalized in Germany. The institutionalization is linked to the work of Eduard Gerhard (1795-1867). According to the authoritative *Neue Deutsche Biographie* Gerhard has to be considered the founder of archaeology as a scientific discipline. Irrespective of scientific judgement – Gerhard was by no means the most penetrating German scholar in the nineteenth century – it is beyond doubt that he played a key role in the institutionalization of the discipline under the new name of 'Archäologie'. He had a very systematic mind and – it is presented as an unusual gift – he lacked sensibility to artistic form due to an eye disease.

Gerhard's record as an organizer is impressive.[6] He was co-founder of the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica (1828), the influential international institute in Rome, where four languages were initially spoken and three different periodicals devoted to archaeological hot news, short articles and substantial studies were edited: *Bolletino*, *Annali* and *Monumenti*.[7] Later, Gerhard was the spider in the web of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome. In 1843 Gerhard founded the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* and *Archäologische Zeitung*. A year later, following the example of the venerable eighteenth century *Archaeologia or miscellaneous tracts relating antiquities* (in London since 1770), the *Revue archéologique* and the *Archaeological Journal* of the Royal Archaeological Association of Britain and Ireland were founded.

In 1833 Eduard Gerhard was nominated first 'Archäolog' of the royal museum in Berlin. In 1843 he became extraordinary professor and in 1844 full chair. Upon Gerhard's death in 1867 he was succeeded by Ernst Curtius. According to Alain Schnapp, more than ten German universities had special chairs in archaeology as early as the middle of the nineteenth century.[8] This is almost correct. The number of ten was reached in 1872 with the creation of chairs for archaeology in Marburg and at the new German university in Strasbourg. In the middle of the nineteenth century there were only five chairs in archaeology: in Berlin, Göttingen, Halle, Leipzig and Heidelberg. In the 1860's three more were created, in Munich, Bonn and Dorpat.[9]

Like a real professional, Gerhard made a sharp distinction between *wissenschaftliche* archaeologists and *dilettanti*. He delimited the scientific domain of archaeology and, as every German professor was obliged, gave a *Grundriss der Archäologie* each year. This was an elementary course on the theory and practice of archaeology based on the handbook of Karl Otfried Müller.[10] We will return to Müller, who was a far more profound scholar than Gerhard, later. Gerhard created a specialised methodology for the study of vases, the collector's item par excellence. A key role was reserved for the study of painted vases in the discipline that went

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[5] On the history of archaeology in Germany see among others Stark 1969, a richly detailed study and Marchand 1996, stimulating and provocative.
[6] Gerhard 1860.
[7] Schnapp 1996, 304-310.
[8] Schnapp 1996, 308.
[9] Schiering 1969, 160-161.
[10] Gerhard 1853.

under the new name of archaeology. In 1828 Gerhard was present at the excavation on land owned by Lucien Bonaparte of the 'Etruscan' cemetery at Vulci, where 3000 painted vases were discovered. This discovery presented scholars with a series of visual sources, splendid paintings on ceramics, all kinds of technical variations and possibilities for relatively exact chronological ordering. The study of ceramics offered archaeologists results very different from the study of the marbles. Already in 1831 Gerhard published a report for the Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica and later a monograph with hundreds of splendid illustrations of Etruscan metallic mirrors.[11] Within the framework of classical studies the word archaeology was coined and became the academic designation for a new discipline.

The rigorous typological method of Gerhard's new discipline developed out of antiquarian research. The most important methodological innovation came from a different science, however. The revolutionary stratigraphical method that would become so important in archaeology was first developed by geologists. That method was applied by Boucher de Perthes (1788-1868), a customs official and a complete outsider rejected by the academic establishment. His interest aroused by objects spewed out during dredging work on the Somme Canal, he began to dig near Abbeville in 1837. Boucher gave precise descriptions of the site and the different layers of the excavation, for instance in his *Antiquités celtiques et antédiluviennes* (1846). The term prehistory did not yet exist, biblical history was the 'outillage mental', the mental framework of his time and the key question was what had happened before the Flood? For antediluvian times geology, not history was the guiding science and the primary artefacts were flints, not vases. Classical archaeologists were the first to enter German universities, followed only much later by geological archaeologists. Prehistoric archaeology was accepted in the universities a long time after classical archaeology had been institutionalized.

Gerhard's many volumes and the 'Archäologen' are precise catalogues of artefacts but loose reports of excavations. For Gerhard the real work of the professional archaeologist began after the digging, far from the site, when the artefacts were brought into the museums and the research laboratories of the universities.

After the German universities, France, Great Britain and other European countries followed suit. In The Netherlands archaeology entered the academic curriculum as a minor subject only at the very end of the nineteenth century, although the first chair for archeology was already created at Leiden in the beginning of the nineteenth century. But this was an exception. The development of special chairs for the study of classical archaeology was generally very slow. In France for example there was a fixed distribution of chairs in the faculty of letters in which there was no place for archaeology. The first French special university chair was created in 1876 in Paris, followed later by the creation at provincial universities of special regional chairs for a combination of local history, geography and archaeology.

Long before the creation of faculty chairs, classical archaeology was practised at that prestigious para-university, the Collège de France. Different political regimes participated in promoting classical archaeology. At the end of the constitutional July-monarchy in 1846 the École française d'Athènes was created on instigation of François Guizot, in power till the revolution of 1848, in order to counterbalance British imperialism in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. At the end of the Second Empire, in 1868 to be precise, Victor Duruy, the enlightened Minister of Education, founded the École pratique des Hautes Etudes. During the confusion surrounding

[11] Gerhard 1831 and Gerhard 1838-1862.

the birth of the Third Republic, the influential Albert Dumont created in 1874 the École française de Rome to counterbalance the influence of the new German Empire. The Institut français d'archéologie orientale in Cairo was also founded during the first years of the Third Republic. For further information I refer to the contributions of Alain Schnapp on France, Christopher Stray on Britain, Kostas Kotsakis on Greece, Stephanie Kennell and Martin Kreeb on Germany and Vincenzo la Rosa on Italy.

The Dutch played only a minor role in Greek excavations. Dutch archaeologists usually worked under supervision of and in collaboration with French or German schools in Greece. Carl Wilhelm Vollgraff, professor at the university of Utrecht and the first Dutch member of the Ecole française d'Athènes, carried out five important excavations at Argos (1902-1912), but the role of Dutch archaeology was minor compared with the paradigmatic role played by antiquarian and philological scholarship in Holland since the end of the sixteenth century thanks to the work of Lipsius, Scaliger and their successors in Leiden and by the collection and musealization of antiquities in Amsterdam.

The history of collections and museums is a huge field of research. Archaeologists played a major role in prestigious positions as curators and private collectors. I refer to contributions by Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen and John Lund from Copenhagen on the creation of the important collection of classical antiquities in Denmark and of course to the three Dutch contributions by Ruurd Halbertsma on the formation of the national museum of antiquities in Leiden, by Robert Lunsingh Scheurleer on the important collection of C.W. Lunsingh Scheurleer in the Hague and by Mirjam Hoijtink on the museological classification and exhibition of antiquities in Leiden. It is a pity that it was not possible to arrange presentations on actual Greek research in the field of classical and Byzantine museum history. I hope that in our discussions we will have a large Greek participation and exchange of information. I am convinced that it is important to establish contacts between Greek and Dutch graduate students on museum studies.

I will not elaborate on the ideological context of institutional developments such as European nation building, European identifications, the professional ethic and the scientific research ethos, an ethos perhaps comparable to that of a universal religion above nationalism. As we all know, the archaeologist is more than an ordinary servant of the nation state that employed him. The tension between national service and scientific ethos is treated by Michael Fotiades. He gives examples that will serve as an antidote to easy-going generalisations and prevailing opinions about international Hellenism. For the ideological dimension of Greek archaeology I refer to the papers by Sophia Voutsaki on Greek prehistory and James Whitley on British identity.

Regarding the interest in dead languages and past civilizations, interpretations like that of Thorstein Veblen and Pierre Bourdieu about the leisure class and social distinctions are valuable, but these kind of generalizations do not bring us very far in understanding the cultural fascination for Greek artefacts. These sociological reductions explain to some extent the social fabric of society, but never its cultural and ethical dimensions.

Ethical questions pervaded nearly all interest in Greek antiquity in the nineteenth century. The rich imagery of Greek freedom, circulating in numerous prints and available to a large audience for the first time, fascinated the middle classes. The rich corpus of Greek texts posed all kinds of moral and ethical questions. Nineteenth-century Europe was dominated, as never before, by the post-revolutionary religious revival of Christian churches of different denominations. In this historical context Greek literature, Greek philosophy and Greek art served as an 'échappatoire', as a refuge for all kinds of dissenters, freethinkers, intellectuals, artists and bohemians. It is no coincidence that neo-Greek neologisms such as 'homosexual' and 'lesbian'

were coined in the nineteenth century to designate variant behaviour. Greek antiquity offered an alternative world view, but also permitted a broadening of the ethical foundation on which modern nation-builders operated. The possibility of identification with classical roots was a precondition for creating a secular synthesis of religion and modern science acceptable to people of different persuasions. All over Europe, Greek antiquity was considered as part of a collective European heritage. In the process of nation building Greek antiquity was integrated, adapted and made acceptable to Catholics, Protestants, Jews and atheists.

Ἀρχαιολογία

Let me now turn to a concrete field of research, the history of concepts, to compare words used in the past for what we nowadays call 'archaeology' and 'archaeologist'. 'ἀρχαιολογία' is an old Greek word used to designate ancient history.[12] The first paragraphs of Thucydides' text on the history of ancient Greece is called 'ἀρχαιολογία'. Flavius Josephus' ancient history of the Jews written in Greek is called the Jewish 'ἀρχαιολογία'. Likewise, Dionysius of Halicarnassus' ancient history of Rome is called the Roman 'ἀρχαιολογία'. The word archaeologia was never used in classical Latin. One of the earliest occurrences of the Latin word 'archaeologia' is in Hieronymus, the church father, around 400 AD in a reference to Josephus, 'in archaeologiae libri'.[13] It was more than a millennium later, in the second half of the seventeenth century, that the concept 'archaeologia' was used in neo-Latin.

Spon's archaeologia

According to a remark often repeated, by Georges Daux for example in his popular introduction to archaeology *Les étapes de l'archéologie*, Jacob Spon coined the word archaeology in the modern sense. According to Daux, Spon hesitated between two French words, 'archéologie' and 'archéographie'.[14] In *Der Neue Pauly* Gerrit Walter states that "seit Spon 'Archäologie' und 'Archäologe'" were used.[15] Note the French transcription in Daux' article and the German transcription in Walter's. Paul-Marie Duval's remark in the authoritative French encyclopaedia *L'Histoire et ses méthodes*, that the word 'l'archéologie' (in French) was coined by seventeenth century 'érudits' and that it appeared in texts in 1632, is puzzlingly precise but without reference. He continues that "le médecin et érudit lyonnais Jacob Spon [born in 1645 dB], d'origine allemande, contribua à l'imposer en français d'où il est passé dans toutes les langues".[16]

I have not been able to find the word in Spon's French books, but I cannot exclude having overlooked it. Perhaps one can find the word in his manuscripts or letters. Spon seems to avoid neologisms in French, but in the preface of his Latin *Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis* (1685) appears in print 'archaeologia' and 'archaeographia'.[17] Spon, precise as always, defines 'archae-

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[12] Hase, Dindorfius & Dindorfius 1831, 2095.
[13] I would like to thank professor dr. D. den Hengst, Amsterdam, for this reference.
[14] Daux 1948, 4. See also Glyn 1981, 13-14 and Schnapp 1996, 353.
[15] Walther 1999, 86.
[16] Duval 1961, 250.
[17] Spon 1685.

ologia' or 'archaeologia' as the "notitia antiquorum monumentorum". The list of monuments Spon includes is very broad: inscriptions, statues, mosaics, bas reliefs, gems, medals and coins. Spon had a medical education, a sharp eye and an analytical mind. He subdivides archaeologia into numismatographia, epigrammatographia, architectonographia, iconographia, glyptographia (study of gems), toreumatographia (study of bas reliefs), bibliographia (study of manuscripts) and angeiographia (study of all sorts of instruments (domestic, military, nautical) measures and weights). He mentions subdisciplines concerned with food (dipnographia), clothing (imantographia), slaves (doulographia) and tombs (taphographia). Certainly, Spon liked to coin new Greek words in his Latin text! Behind the neo-Greek words one feels the urge to give a new and complete classification. Spon's contribution to the study of antiquities was an orderly system to classify all recently discovered artefacts.

Spon presented his work as a supplement to existing collections. He explicitly acknowledged Gruterus, Ursinus, Boissardus, Reinesius and many others as his great predecessors. He particularly appreciated the immense collection of inscriptions assembled by Janus Gruterus under supervision of his teacher in Leiden, Josephus Justus Scaliger.[18] Based on published and unpublished work by 239 authors, Gruterus' *Inscriptiones* is an indispensable reference. It contains nearly 1200 folio pages with more than 10,000 inscriptions, plus an methodical index of more than 100 pages due to Scaliger. Gruterus dedicated his work to the two rivals to the throne of Roman emperor, the emperor Rudolf II and the king of France, Henri IV. In his turn, Spon dedicated his *Miscellanea*, published in 1685, to the king of France. Alas, the dedication proved to be of no use to Spon personally. In that same year Louis XIV abolished the Edict of Nantes and initiated the repression of the Protestants in France. Well-informed about the threat, Spon fled Lyon with his friend Sylvestre Dufour. During their escape to Geneva, Spon died in Vevey only 38 years old.[19]

It is interesting to compare Spon with Gruterus, the person he considered to be his predecessor and whose work he wanted to supplement. The life of Janus Gruterus (1560-1627) was marked by peregrination and religious conflict. He was the son of a refugee who had been burgomaster of Antwerp. After a precarious youth, he choose for a life as a scholar. Following a number of academic appointments, changes of confession and charges of atheism, Gruterus was nominated in Heidelberg. He converted to Calvinism and became head of the famous Palatinate library. In 1622 his considerable personal library was pillaged during the capture of Heidelberg by a Catholic army from Bavaria.

Indifferent to worldly goods, Gruterus refused to accept any money or a title of nobility when the emperor Rudolf wanted to reward him for his colossal work. He preferred to keep his independence and scholarly reputation, an early example of the emancipation of the scholar from courtiership.

With the exception of his *Inscriptiones*, many of Gruterus' publications were sharply criticized. His diligence and habits were universally praised, however. His life was wholly devoted to scholarship. Gruterus read and wrote day and night, always standing upright and never seated. He published two books a month. Apparently, the workaholic scholar was completely indifferent to the suicide of his wife, who jumped from the roof of their house. [20] Perhaps in his grief Gruterus took too literally the tenets of the so-called 'neo-stoicism'. With his monkish detachment, Gruterus exemplified an antiquarian ethos and habitus.

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[18] Gruterus 1602.
[19] Constantine 1984, 32.
[20] Bayle 1820-1824, sv Gruterus.

Gruterus' classification of inscriptions and other visual sources followed the established tradition of ordering antiquities: inscriptions concerning religion [antiquitates divinae] Deos, sacra, festa, ludos sacerdotes (1), magistrates (2), provinces (3), epitheta and imperatores (4), history and grammar (5), proper names (6) and Christian monuments (7). It is curious that Gruterus' source book has exactly the same title-page as Justus Lipsius' much more limited collection *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber, ex officina plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium*, published in Leiden in 1588. As far as I can see, neither Lipsius nor Gruterus used the word 'archaeologia'.

Compared to Gruterus, Spon included many more illustrations in his work. To our blasé eyes the quality of the illustrations is rather poor. The esthetical dimension is missing in the representation and one can understand contemporary criticism about his lack of discernment. One should bear in mind however that it was expensive and difficult to print illustrations and that the study of the history of ancient art was not yet born. Furthermore, Spon made no distinction between early Greek, Hellenistic, Roman or Christian antiquity. The first principle of the antiquarian method was classification, not historical understanding. Spon's curiosity was limitless. He was strongly interested in a great diversity of objects and strange symbols. He broke a number of taboos, paying special attention to the representation of the nude including genitals and to explicit references to sexuality.

The self-image of the antiquarian

Spon saw himself as an antiquarian in the line of the great humanist scholars. He did not consider himself to be an historian. An historian is a writer, an antiquarian is a researcher.[21] In his publication on Lyon, Spon carefully distinguished between the history and the antiquities of Lyon ("recherche des antiquités"). He explicitly stated that his method of research did not differ from that of men like Erasmus, Scaliger, Casaubonus, Lipsius, Saumasius and Pavinius who not only studied books but also used inscriptions, medals, coins, manuscripts, "enfin tous les moyens dont l'Antiquité s'est servy pour faire connoître son histoire à la postérité".[22]

It is wrong to presume that Spon was only interested in material remains. Spon, like his predecessors, collected and studied both so-called monuments, the term for all kinds of objects, as well as texts. Spon's 'archaeologia' did not exclude the study of ancient authors. Spon propagated the study of material sources in order to clarify ancient history and geography, ancient literature, ancient arts and crafts. Modern archaeologists, looking for forefathers, transformed Spon into an archaeological specialist interested in material remnants exclusively, but that is an anachronism. According to Alain Schnapp, men like Spon explicitly set out in the second half of the seventeenth century to construct a science of antiquities as a discipline in itself.[23] This is a view from the perspective of twentieth-century archaeology, which today is firmly institutionalised as a specialized academic discipline. For Spon however, both written and non-written sources were part of the integral study of antiquities. In his time the twentieth-century quarrels about the foundation of archaeology as a specialized scientific discipline did not exist. The

[21] Momigliano 1966.
[22] Spon 1675. 80% of its pages list inscriptions.
[23] Schnapp 1996, 179-219: From antiquary to archaeologist.

academic urge to emancipate archaeology from the tutelage of history and philology was absent.

Spon never described himself as an archaeologist. The title-page of his publications states his medical profession and his membership of the academy of Padua: "Monsieur Spon, docteur aggrégé au collège des medecins de Lyon et des ricorrati de Padoue".[24] The caption to his portrait terms him "docteur en medicine". The caption to the portrait of one of his famous predecessors, the Danish antiquarian Olaus Worm (1588-1654), also mentions only his medical profession.

Spon's list of 'antiquaires et curieux'

To identify antiquarians as a social group, it is important to consider which persons Spon regarded as his colleagues, as 'antiquaires et curieux'. Spon published a list of 85 Parisian collectors and 81 elsewhere in France and Europe.[25] Spon's list is far from complete, but it is useful to identify a group of contemporary antiquarians. Of course, the notion of public collection was absent at the time. All the collections were private collections. Spon gave a pell-mell list of collectors of all kinds of artefacts, inscriptions, marbles, sculptures, bas-reliefs, medals and coins. Spon also included collections of paintings, even of modern paintings, and collections of old manuscripts. To be sure, Spon was an assiduous visitor of libraries. In one work he gratefully recalls the royal librarian Carcavey, to whom it is dedicated.[26] But Spon also says that he frequently visited the Royal Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, rue de Richelieu, where the intendant of the royal cabinet allowed him to study the most beautiful medals of the world, the deceased Duc d'Orléans' engravings of plants and animals "après le naturel" and rooms full of Latin and Greek manuscripts. Spon's historical interest was all embracing. When he compared inscriptions in stone with books, he did so in order to prove how important it was to study *both* books and inscriptions. In this context, Spon made the often quoted, evidently ironical remark that those scholars who want to stick to books, should take into consideration that the ancients also wrote books with burin and chisel on pages of stone and marble.

Spon's travels and investigations

Spon's research *on location*, in Athens for example, is a good reason to consider him one of the forefathers of modern archaeology. Unlike all the other antiquarians of his time, he visited Greece in 1675-1676, in the company of the rich Englishman George Wheler, and published a kind of modern travel guide for future visitors to Greece. Spon even added a little dictionary of modern Greek ("comme il se parle et se prononce presentement dans la Grèce"). This is the famous *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant fait aux années 1675 et 1676* which

[24] See for example Spon 1683.
[25] Spon 1675, 212-224.
[26] Spon 1673.

was re-edited and translated many times.[27] There is much to say about the relationship between these two early travellers from the west. Most recent studies express considerably more appreciation for the open-minded Spon than for the moralistic and christian Wheler. Wheler published *A Journey into Greece* (London 1682) under his own name for an English audience and became pastor.[28] Spon's observations made before the destruction in 1687 of the Parthenon by Venetian forces were much appreciated in the middle of the eighteenth century by the highly qualified James Stuart and Nicolas Revett, who published an accurate and lavishly illustrated description of Athenian antiquities.[29]

Spon dedicated his report to the person who had commissioned it, the reverend father De la Chaize, king Louis XIV's counselor. In his dedication, Spon ironically compares the dust on his own provincial cabinet with the splendor of Versailles. He states that he has collected fifty Greek manuscripts and more than six hundred ancient medals on his travels with Wheler. Spon mentions M. Vaillant, 'antiquaire du Roy', who went to Italy on the orders of Colbert to enrich the royal cabinet during his journey "de médailles et d'autres antiquitez". He takes pride in having copied Greek inscriptions from the marbles on which they were written and which were too difficult to transport. Indeed, one third of the first volume is devoted to transcriptions of inscriptions. Spon gave more than 500 Greek inscriptions as a supplement to Gruterus' Latin inscriptions.[30] He ends his dedication in grand style, referring to an ancient predecessor, Atticus, who gave Cicero a Greek "Hermathene" to ornament his library.

Spon's work is sometimes considered to be the starting point of western Hellenism. That is perhaps an exaggeration considering his short description of Athens and his visit to the Parthenon.[31] But it is undeniable that Spon not only made sharp observations, but was also smitten with a kind of modern classicist sentiment of transience at the thought of the disappearance of Plato's academy.[32] For Spon, the Parthenon was a 'lieu de mémoire'.

Paragon of the study of antiquities

Spon was proud of antiquarian research done in his time. His *Recherches curieuses d'antiquité* shows him to be conscious of the corporate identity of antiquarians and he compares the results of antiquarian research with the performance of other contemporary scholars: theologians editing manuscripts of the church fathers, historians writing new provincial histories, jurists compiling codices and framing new laws, medical doctors discovering the circulation of blood and the virtues of quinquina and thousands of other things unknown to earlier generations. Antiquarians had also made discoveries in "le pays vaste et curieux de l'Antiquité". They had found medals and coins issued by all the realms and empires known in antiquity. They had studied "mille curiositéz des anciens romains". They had given life to a subject till then considered to consist of "lettres muettes destituées de l'esprit et de mistère".[33]

[27] Spon & Wheler 1679. It was reprinted in 1680, 1689 and 1724, translated into Italian in 1681, into Dutch in 1689 and into German in 1690. See Constantine 1984, 30.
[28] Constantine 1984, 7-33.
[29] Stuart & Revett 1762.
[30] Spon & Wheler 1679 I, 243-367.
[31] Spon & Wheler 1679 II, 82-88.
[32] Spon & Wheler 1679 II, 150.
[33] Spon 1683, preface.

According to Spon, antiquarian research answered numerous social needs. It was useful not only to 'gens de letters', but also to architects, sculptors, painters and engravers. The account of the discovery of antiquities in antiquarian publications provided contemporaries with important examples. From "ces grands originaux de l'Antiquité" artists continuously learnt ways to improve and perfect their art. Spon himself was genuinely interested in modern design and the engravings in his 'dissertatio de tripodipos' for example were meant to serve as prototypes of new furniture. For him the endeavour to create a new and better classification of ancient monuments in his 'archaeologia' had a broad social significance.

From 'antiquarius' to 'érudite'

Until the eighteenth century the common self-designation in the modern languages remained the translation of 'antiquarius': antiquaire, antiquario, antiquary. The Latin term antiquarius probably appeared at the end of the fifteenth century among humanists in Rome. Antiquarius served not only as a self-designation, but was also used retrospectively to label predecessors, for example the celebrated collector of inscriptions Ciriacus Anconitus.[34] Perhaps the humanist Pomponius Laetus (1429-1498) had coined the term antiquarius at one of the festivals celebrating the anniversary of the foundation of Rome. This kind of festivals stood at the origin of the later Roman academy of antiquarii.[35]

Andrea Fulvio of Rome was one of the first to be called 'antiquarius' in print. Fulvio published the first extensive set of images of illustrious persons based on ancient medals. In it he is praised as "diligentissimus antiquarium".[36] 'Antiquario' also appears in modern Italian. In Fulvio's Italian guide to the ancient monuments of Rome, he is called 'antiquario' and 'antiquario romano'.[37]

Arnaldo Momigliano mentions that in England Joannes Leylandus was called 'antiquarius' when he obtained from king Henry VIII in 1533 "a moste gracyouse commyssion to peruse and dylygentlye to searche all the libraryes of monastereyes and collegies of thys noble realme". In 1588 William Camden also called himself 'antiquarius'.[38] In modern English an antiquarian is an official custodian or recorder of antiquities, for example "an other antiquarie or heralt at armes of Rome" (1601) and "antiquary or custos archivorum at the University of Oxford" (1753). Antiquarian also receives the more general meaning of professed student or collector of antiquities.[39] Of course 'antiquarianism', connoting the taste for or devotion to antiquities, appears, like all '-isms', only at the end of the eighteenth century.

During the eighteenth century Enlightenment 'antiquaire' was used for the first time in self-criticism and with negative connotations. Horace Walpole (1717-1797), for example, depreciatingly remarked "we antiquaries who hold everything worth preserving merely because it has been preserved".[40] He castigated the members of the Society of Antiquaries for having no aesthetic feeling and no taste: "antiquaries will be as ridiculous as they used to be; and since it

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[34] Stark 1969, 44, 50.
[35] Burckhardt 1935, 157-159.
[36] Fulvio 1972, cxxi. See also Haskell 1993, 28-30.
[37] Fulvio 1588.
[38] Momigliano 1966, 32 and appendix.
[39] Oxford English Dictionary, sv.
[40] Walpole 1762.

is impossible to infuse taste in them, they will be as dry and dull as their predecessors [...] I have no curiosity to know how awkward and clumsy men have been in the dawn of arts or in their decay".[41] And an art connoisseur such as Diderot spoke of the antiquarian as an ape: "le singe antiquaire".[42]

Gradually, as the French language became dominant in the eighteenth century, 'erudit' replaced translations of 'antiquarius'. 'Erudite', less popular in English than in French, comes from the Latin word 'erudire' meaning 'to polish' or 'make less rude'. It was an old, but rarely used word for a cultivated person, for someone with education, as in "the earl was of a good erudition, having been placed at study in Cambridge very young" (1639).[43] 'Erudition' became a popular word in French at the same time as 'politeness' in English and 'beschaving' in Dutch.[44] The philosophes used the new term in their attacks on historical research. D'Alembert wrote a lemma 'érudition', 'érudit', 'homme érudit' in volume five of the *Encyclopédie* published in Paris in 1755. He made a sharp distinction between erudition and science. Erudition is "fruit d'une grande lecture" and science (meaning especially physics and mathematics) is "les connoissances qui ont plus immédiatement besoin du raisonnement et de la réflexion". Even 'belles lettres' are held in higher esteem than erudition because literature needs more imagination and taste. Already in the Discours préliminaire of the *Encyclopédie* d'Alembert had denigrated "cette foule d'érudits profonds dans les langues savantes jusqu'à dédaigner la leur" and Diderot remarked: "les érudits connaissent tout dans les anciens hors la grâce et la finesse". The disrepute in which the erudition was increasingly held is obvious.

The protagonists of the Enlightenment reproached the erudites for being obsessed with antiquity and so forgetting the present and for collecting everything without an intelligent or aesthetic judgement. Edward Gibbon did not agree with this criticism. In his autobiography written around 1789 he protested: "the new appellation of Erudits was contemptuously applied to the successors of Lipsius and Causabon". He continued: "I was provoked to hear (see d'Alembert, "Discours préliminaire à l'Encyclopédie") that the exercise of memory [was] their sole merit [and] had been superseded by the nobler faculties of the imagination and the judgement".[45] But the attacks had been so successful that neither antiquaire nor erudit could be used any longer to designate one's own profession. To enhance self-esteem it became necessary to find a new word in a language suitable for specialists but enigmatic for the man in the street.

Archaeology in the modern languages

More than a hundred years after the death of Jacob Spon the concept of archaeology entered the modern European languages. At first archaeology was used as self-designation in the very restricted circles of specialists. It took decades before the concept first appeared in general dictionaries. Archaeology entered daily speech only in the twentieth century and even nowadays it remains a strange and difficult word for a mass audience. The notable exception is of course modern Greek where αρχαιολογία is an ordinary word.

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[41] Cited by Daniel 1981, 46-47.
[42] Seznec 1957, 79-96.
[43] J. Wotton 1639, cited in *Oxford English Dictionary*, sv.
[44] Den Boer 2001.
[45] Gibbon 1795, 95.

'Archäologie' in German

A good illustration of the uncertainty about the use of 'Archäologie' among scholars at the end of the eighteenth and the beginnings of the nineteenth centuries is given by the famous Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824). From 1785 onwards Wolf gave very influential lectures on his innovative, all-embracing conception for the study of antiquity.[46] He repeated his course eighteen times before publishing it in his new periodical *Museum der Altertumswissenschaft* in 1807. For the study of antiquity as a whole Wolf introduced the comprehensive term 'Altertumswissenschaft', but he used the word 'Archäologie' with hesitation.

Wolf was generally scrupulous in his use of words, but his use of 'Archäologie' is inconsistent. In his introduction Wolf rejects the concept of 'Archäologie' as too broad, "zu weitlaufig". He refers to Spon and to the use of the concept by J.A. Ernesti in a publication entitled *Archaeologia literaria* published in Leipzig in 1768. But later on in his lectures he accepted the concept 'Archäographie'. In a revealing passage Wolf recommended the use of Spon's old term because it is hardly known: "besser wäre ein alter Ausdruck, der veilleicht schwankend und unbestimmt ist, aber uns nicht falsch führt, weil er weiniger bekannt ist".[47] Wolf makes a distinction between the noble study of the history of ancient art in order to sharpen the sense of beauty ("Geschichte der Kunst") and the study of all the remains ("alle übriggebliebenen" Kunstwerken) for historical purposes. In his survey of the science of antiquity he mentions the concepts of 'Archäologie' and 'archäologisch' in two sub-disciplines ("Einleiting zur Archäologie der Kunst und Technik oder Notiz von den übriggebliebenen Denkmählern und Kunstwerke der Alten" and "Archäologische Kunstlehre oder Grundsätze der zeichenender und bildenden Kunsten des Altertums").

In 1813 the founder of the comparative study of ancient religions, Georg Friedrich Creuzer (1771-1858), lectured in Heidelberg on 'Archäologie'. Archaeology stood for the use of figurative representations as practised in his monumental *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker,* first published in 1810-1812. Creuzer was admired by philosophers for his broad views but sharply criticized by classical philologists for his indifference to chronology and lack of source criticism. The first professional German archaeologists like Eduard Gerhard were very critical about Creuzer's use of 'Archaeologie'. Ironically, Gerhard remarked in retrospect that "Creuzer seine Mythologie mit Kunstdenkmählern gern würzte".[48]

In the next generation of German scholars 'Archäologie' became a common academic term, although the word did not yet enter ordinary spoken German. Karl Otfried Müller (1797-1840), very much influenced by Wolf although personally repelled by him,[49] used the word in the title of his influential handbook on ancient art: *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst* (1830).[50] The handbook was not only very well documented but also marked by typical German philosophical notions such as 'Kunstidee'. The title perfectly illustrates the old meaning of the term archeology as (the) ancient history (of art). Remarkably, the first title of the English translation avoided the difficult word archaeology: *Ancient Art and its Remains*, making the subtitle, *A Manual of the Archaeology of Art*, necessary.[51]

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[46] Pfeiffer 1976, 175-176.
[47] Wolf 1831, 406.
[48] Gerhard 1860.
[49] Pfeiffer 1976, 186.
[50] Müller 1848.
[51] Müller 1847.

As mentioned earlier, the institutional foundation of chairs in 'Archäologie' at German universities started in the 1840s with the nomination of Eduard Gerhard in Berlin. Although 'archaeology' was rapidly used for self-designation and in institutional practise, it took much longer for historical theorists to accept the term. In Johann Gustav Droysen's (1808-1886) near-canonical lectures on the theory of history *Enzyclopädie und methodologie der Geschichte*, later condensed in *Grundriss der Historik*, the concept of 'Prähistorie' is present, but the term 'Archäeologie' is absent.[52] The concept of 'Archäologie' is also missing in Ernst Berhheim's often reprinted *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*.[53] Bernheim criticized the use of the term 'prähistorisch'. Only in the twentieth century did 'Archäologie' enter the vocabulary of German historical philosophy.

'Archéologie' in French

In Paris, still the centre of the collection and study of antiquity in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the word 'antiquaire' fell into complete disrepute. According to Alexandre Lenoir "la qualification d'antiquaire a été tout-à-fait prostituée, c'est lorsque la qualification d'antiquaire a été usurpée par des brocanteurs et par les gens dont l'emploi était d'empailler des oiseaux et de vendre des oeufs d'autruche".[54] Outside Paris, in the provinces, the word 'antiquaire' retained a tenacious hold, especially among certain conservative groups, as proven by the foundation in 1824 of the Société des antiquaires de la Normandie by Arcisse de Caumont.

As early as 1786 'archéologie' was accepted by De Potter and Mongez in the *Encyclopédie méthodique* as "science des choses antiques". The word was frequently used at the end of the eighteenth century.[55] Also, at least since the 1810's, 'archéologique' and 'archéologue' meaning "celui qui s'occupe d'archéologie" were accepted.[56]

A large part of the considerably enlarged French edition of Georg Friedrich Creuzer's work mentioned above is devoted to "'Études historiques, mythologiques et archéologiques' [pour servir de notes et éclaircissements aux religions de l'Asie occidentale et l'Asie mineure, de la Grèce et de l'Italie]".[57] The French edition, including many new illustrations, served as a visual encyclopaedia of mythology and was very influential all over Europe. Creuzer dedicated his work to Victor Cousin, the leading French philosopher of his time, who was responsible for importing this admirable example of German erudition to France.

'Archéologie' was finally accepted by the conservative *Dictionnaire de l'Académie francaise* in 1835.

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[52] Droysen 1958.
[53] Bernheim 1894.
[54] Lenoir 1823.
[55] See *Le Grand Robert*.
[56] Hatzfeld, Darmesteter & Thomas 1926.
[57] Creuzer 1825-1839.

'Archaeology' in English

The incorporation of the modern notion of archaeology into English was slower than into German and French. 'Archaeology' in the old meaning of ancient history in general was already used in the beginning of the seventeenth century (1607). Even in the middle of the nineteenth century, William Lecky still used 'archaeology' in this way when he spoke of "the Decian persecution in Christian archaeology".[58] 'Archaeography' was used for the systematic description of antiquities at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Only in the second half of the nineteenth century did the modern concept of 'archaeology' become prominent. In his influential *Primitive Culture. Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom* published in 1871, Edward Tylor stated that "archaeology displays old structures and buried relics of the remote past" and refers to "archaeological inference from the remains of prehistoric tribes". The term 'archaeologist' had become almost a synonym for scientific research of antiquities opposed to the work of unscientific predecessors. In 1880 William Boyd Dawkins wrote "archaeologists have raised the study of antiquities to the rank of a science".[59]

'Archaeologie' in Dutch

In 1818 C.J.C. Reuvens (1793-1835) was nominated extraordinary professor in archaeology in Leiden. His inaugural lecture was entitled *De laudibus archaeologiae*. He was promoted to a full chair for archaeology in 1826 and lectured on the relationship of archaeology and modern arts.[60] Is Reuven's chair the first chair in archaeology in Europe? Reuvens was internationally orientated. He had studied in Paris and had visited London and Berlin. In a report, dated 1826, Reuvens remarked that for fifty years archaeology had not been known under this name. Reuvens defined archaeology in a very modern and broad way, as the study of the remains of ancient cities, buildings, sculptures, arts, all objects of daily life [...] not only of Greeks and Romans but of all ancient nations.[61] The early incorporation of the modern concept of archaeology into Dutch is evident, but its use remained restricted to the study of collections. Only at the end of the nineteenth century did archaeology enter the academic curriculum as a minor in the examination of classical languages. In 1824 'archaeologie' and 'archaeoloog' appeared for the first time in a dictionary for the general reader, but with the old meaning of the study of the classics and antiquities.[62] Even in the 1880s a famous art critic used the word in this way when he, on admiring the representation of the way clothing was cut and worn, wondered how the painter had become an 'archaeoloog'.[63]

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[58] Lecky 1859.
[59] Dawkins 1880, i, 2, cited in *Oxford English Dictionary*, sv.
[60] Otterspeer 1992, 90-91.
[61] I thank Mirjam Hoijtink (Amsterdam) for this reference.
[62] "Oudheidkunde, kennis der klassieken of der kunstgewrochten der Oudheid", see Wieland 1824.
[63] Vosmaer 1880, cited in *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, sv.

Concluding remarks

In a seminal article, Arnaldo Momigliano stressed how systematic and chronological order have alternated in historical works, the one concerned with describing institutions and customs, the other with narrating events. The systematic order of the *Antiquitates* stood in contrast to the chronological order of the *Annales* and the *Historiae*.[64] Acknowledging his debt to Momigliano, Francis Haskell wrote an inspiring book about the history of historical images, stressing the separation between texts and images and examining the context in which those texts, beautifully illustrated and very expensive series on antiquities, were published.[65] Momigliano and Haskell were mainly interested in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. For Momigliano the study of antiquities ended in the early nineteenth century when antiquarian research fell into disrepute. Haskell loses his grip on his vast subject when he enters the nineteenth century. The last chapters in his book contain admirable though isolated essays on the use of visual sources by great historians like Burckhardt and Huizinga.

Both Momigliano as an ancient historian and Haskell as an art historian neglected the irresistible rise of archaeology as a scientific discipline in the nineteenth century. Archaeology was heir to the study of antiquities.

When the institutionalization and professionalization of classical and later, non-classical archaeology took place, a new self-designation was needed. The emancipation of archaeology was based on the belief in a new identity. An ancient Greek word was reinvented and charged with a scientific meaning in order to fulfil the new ambitions.

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[64] Momigliano 1966, see also Momigliano 1977, 296.
[65] Haskell 1993.

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THE 'GREEKNESS' OF GREEK PREHISTORY: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE DEBATE 1876-1900

Sofia Voutsaki

Introduction

In this paper I want to explore how Greek prehistory became Greek. This question might at first appear redundant or unnecessary – after all, continuity between the prehistoric and historical periods in Greece is now generally accepted. However, the purpose of a critical history of the discipline is to explore precisely those terms and notions we nowadays take for granted.[1] The aim of my discussion is to understand how continuity was perceived, and to reveal the ideological purposes it served during the first stages of Greek prehistory. The fierce debates surrounding Schliemann's spectacular discoveries are now largely forgotten. However, they merit attention from an historiographic point of view, because they allow us to reconstruct the process whereby the newly discovered Mycenaean civilization was allocated a place in historical narratives and assigned a cultural character. Briefly, they allow us to reconstruct the process whereby the Mycenaeans were gradually designated as Greeks. The main question therefore becomes: How was Greekness defined and demonstrated at the end of the 19th century?

I shall argue in this paper that Greek prehistory became entangled in debates about culture, race and identity at a period when the process of nation making in Europe, and especially in its southeastern boundary, was still far from being complete. For modern Greeks, the distant prehistoric past became a medium of reflection on Greece's position at the turn of the 19th century, as well as Greece's plans and aspirations for the future – most importantly, her position within the European family of nations. However, Schliemann's discoveries concerned not only the modern Greeks, but all Europeans. The discovery of a *pre-hellenic* and *pre-historic* past raised the problem of the origins of Classical thought and civilization. Therefore, the debates surrounding the Greek prehistoric past reveal the articulation of a specifically Greek identity within the still amorphous and vague notion of a European identity.

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[1] This paper is part of an ongoing project on the history and ideological function of Greek prehistory, with a special focus on the contribution of Christos Tsountas.

I shall concentrate on the first two decades of Aegean prehistory, i.e. from Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenae in 1876 to the initiation of Arthur Evans' excavations in Knossos in 1900. During this period the fierce debate surrounding the origins of the Mycenaean civilization centered exclusively on the mainland, while from 1900 onwards attention shifted towards the spectacular discoveries in Crete. In the first decades of the 20th century the discussion entered a new phase, as it revolved more and more around the relationship between Minoan Crete and the Mycenaean mainland. The excavations at Knossos had a dramatic effect on the emerging discipline of prehistoric archaeology: Greek prehistory, and its Greekness in particular, was thought of differently before and after Knossos. Nevertheless – contradictory as this may sound at this moment – I shall argue that pre-1900 writings on Greek prehistoric archaeology anticipate many of the ideas and debates we normally associate with the first half of the 20th century.[2]

While shorter studies and articles will be taken into consideration, I shall focus my discussion on the following works on the Mycenaean civilization:

- Milchhoefer, *Die Anfänge der Griechischen Kunst* (1883)
- Perrot & Chipiez, *L' histoire de l' art dans l' antiquité. VI: La Grèce primitive* (1894)
- Tsountas, *Μυκήναι και Μυκηναίος πολιτισμός* (1893)
- Tsountas & Mannatt, *The Mycenaean Age* (1897)

The enquiry will, therefore, allow me to compare these (more or less) influential studies that set out to compile, distill and interprete the rapidly accumulating information on the Mycenaean civilization. The choice is not random: by selecting three (main) authors of three different nationalities, I hope to detect differences in outlook that may convey different perceptions of past identities. It would be a gross oversimplification to consider these three authors as representative of some kind of national (German, French, Greek) ideology. Only a detailed investigation of the entire work by each author placed against their direct (historical, social and academic) background would allow us to approach this question. Such an enquiry is beyond the scope of this short article. Nevertheless, I hope I shall be able to highlight some important contrasts in the way Greekness, and identity in general, was defined.

The approach: outlining a history of prehistory

In order to understand the fierceness of the debate surrounding the origins of the Mycenaean civilization, we need to strip off the layers of later discoveries, interpretations and debates.[3] Most importantly, we need to leave aside our own familiarity with the evidence; we need to see it as it was seen by the majority of scholars in the last decades of the 19th century: as disconcertingly alien, exotic and barbarous. It is only then that we can understand the significance of the early studies that set out to demonstrate the Greek origins of the Mycenaeans.

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[2] I refer here to the work of Arthur Evans, Carl Blegen and Alan Wace in the Aegean (MacDonald & Thomas 1990, Fitton 1995) – or the work of Gordon Childe and the heyday of the cultural-historical school in European prehistory (Daniel 1975, Trigger 1989).

[3] Namely, we need to leave aside the controversy between Wace and Evans about the nature of the relations between Minoan Crete and the Mycenaean mainland, the gradual accumulation of evidence about the pre-Mycenaean phases of the mainland, the discovery of the earlier Grave Circle B, and the decipherment of Linear B.

The first extreme reactions – that Schliemann's finds were forgeries, or that the people buried in the Shaft Graves were Scythians, Byzantines, Slavs, Avars, Celts, Goths, or Huns[4] – were dissipated by the rapid accumulation of new finds and discoveries in Mycenae itself, in Spata, Menidhi, Nafplion, etc.[5] However, malaise and disbelief prevailed, as can be seen in the following passage by Ulrich Koehler:[6] "Anders die Gräberfunde: hier ist alles ungriechisch, Stil und Ornamente, Göttergestalten und Symbole, Kleidung und Haartracht; nirgends eine Spur griechischen Geistes, griechischer Sitte, griechischen Glaubens. Nicht in dem orientalischen Character an sich, sondern in dem *ausschliesslich* orientalischen Charakter liegt das Überraschende, Befremdende, ich möchte sagen Beklemmende dieser Funde."[7]

Indeed the prevailing explanation was that the Mycenaean civilization was oriental in its origins. The debate was mostly between proponents of outright colonization – by Phoenicians, Carians, Phrygians – and those who argued for cultural influence from Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Among the latter, the degree or precise manifestation of these influences was equally contested.

However, Greek elements were gradually identified and emphasized by different scholars. Milchhoefer's and Perrot's books[8] are typical of these at first hesitant attempts to demonstrate the Greekness of the Mycenaeans. Studying their work allows me to discuss the gradual construction of Mycenaeans as Greeks, but also to draw attention to the very different explanatory tools used by the two scholars. My presentation will conclude with the most forceful declaration of the Greekness of the Mycenaean civilization by the Greek scholar Christos Tsountas,[9] the first and most eminent Greek prehistorian.

The notion of Greekness is going to be approached by looking at the way the Mycenaean world was defined in time and space (see Figure 1 for the scheme adopted in the discussions): I shall first examine the diachronic dimension, i.e. the position of the Mycenaean civilization in a narrative which traces the origins of the Greek Miracle to the Mycenaean civilization, if not to earlier phases of prehistory. I shall then examine the spatial dimension, i.e the Mycenaeans' relations with their neighbours, the sophisticated eastern civilisations as well as the Bronze Age cultures of central Europe.

1. Milchhoefer: The notion of race

Arthur Milchhoefer (1852-1903), Professor of Philology in Münster and later in Kiel, belongs to the first generation of German scholars who came to Greece as members of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens. Milchhoefer had an impeccable classical training: he stud-

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[4] The choice is not fortuitous; all these peoples represent, as it were, the antithesis to Greekness and civilization.

[5] These new discoveries are described by Tsountas in the introduction to his book (Tsountas & Manatt 1897, 4-11).

[6] Ulrich Koehler (1838-1903), German philologist and archaeologist, director of the German Archaeological Institute at its foundation in 1875.

[7] Koehler 1878, 3 (emphasis in the original): "The Shaft Grave assemblage is different [from the Homeric epics]: here everything is un-Greek – the style, the ornaments, the deities, the symbols; there is nowhere a trace of the Greek spirit, nor of any Greek customs and beliefs. What is so surprising – I would almost say alienating, paralyzing – about these finds is not so much their oriental character, but their *exclusively* oriental character. "

[8] Milchhoefer 1883; Perrot and Chipiez 1894.

[9] Tsountas 1893; Tsountas & Mannatt 1897.

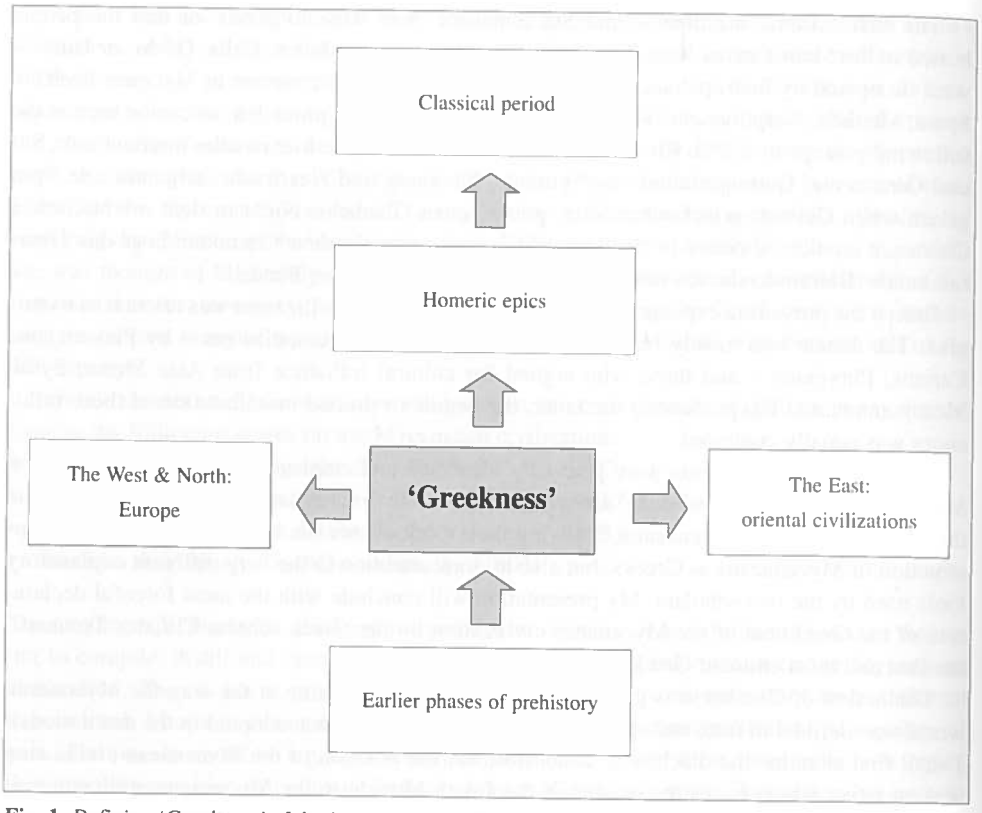

Fig. 1. *Defining 'Greekness' of the Mycenaean Civilization*

ied with Heinrich von Brunn[10] and was a close associate[11] of Ernst Curtius.[12] He was very much a product of the German *Altertumswissenschaft* which at the time, in the second half of the 19th century, was pervaded by the spirit of positivism and rigorous methodology. While most of his research was on the Classical period,[13] he became fascinated with Schliemann's discoveries and the Mycenaean civilization. His presentation of Schliemann's findings in the first issue of the *Athenische Mitteilungen*[14] was one of the first detailed discussions of the spectacular discoveries, while his description of the finds[15] as exhibited in the Polytechneion give us an invaluable

[10] Heinrich von Brunn (1822-1894), Professor in Munich. One of the founders of the new approach in *Altertumswissenschaft*, oriented not only towards literary texts, but also towards art and archaeology.

[11] Milchhoefer collected the ancient *testimonia* for Curtius' *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen* (1891), and collaborated in Curtius & Kaupert, *Karten von Attika* (1878; 1881-1887).

[12] Ernst Curtius (1814-1896), German philologist and archaeologist. Professor in Göttingen and Berlin, director of excavations at Olympia.

[13] Main publications: *Über den Attischen Apollo* (Munich 1874), *Die Museen Athens* (Athen 1881), *Die Befreiung des Prometheus: ein Fund aus Pergamon* (Berlin 1882), *Untersuchungen über die Demenordnung des Kleisthenes* (Berlin 1892).

[14] Milchhoefer 1876.

[15] Milchhoefer 1881.

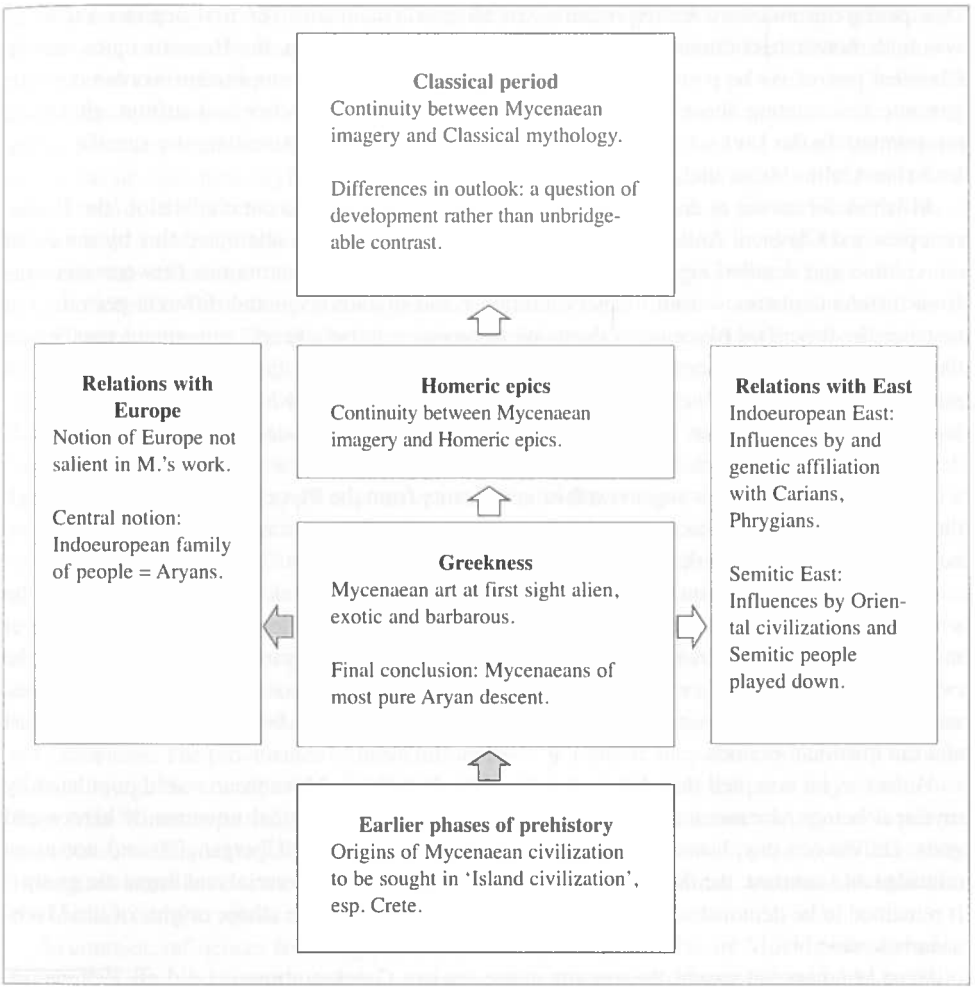

Fig. 2. *Milchhoefer's definition of 'Greekness'*

account of their first presentation to the public. Finally, his book, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, is the first full study of 'Mycenaean' art.[16]

Milchhoefer wrote at a period when the debate about Schliemann's discoveries in Mycenae was raging. He fully admits that:"... die Funde Schliemann's ... stehen noch heute als etwas Isoliertes und Fremdartiges da. Unbehagliches Gefühl ... dass wir mit einer Mischkunst zu thun haben, die man am liebsten 'barbarisch' nannte."[17]

[16] It should be noted that at the time Mycenaean art consisted mostly of Schliemann's finds and other stray discoveries that started entering the antiquities market, mostly the stone seals found in the mainland, the islands and Crete.

[17] Milchhoefer 1883, 9: "Schliemann's finds ... remain isolated and somewhat alien. [They cause] an awkward feeling ... that we are dealing here with a hybrid art, which we would rather call 'barbarous'."

Dissipating this awkward feeling became Milchhoefer's main aim. The first step (see Figure 2) was to demonstrate continuity between the Mycenaean civilization, the Homeric epics and the Classical period. As he pointed out: "Es ist schon als ein Mangel empfunden worden dass die gesamte Erscheinung ältester Kunstthätigkeit, welche sich in Griechenland aufthut, gleichsam unvermittelt in der Luft schwebt und deshalb für eine historische Ableitung der specifisch hellenischen Cultur bisher nicht fruchtbar gemacht werden konnte."[18]

Milchhoefer set out to do precisely that: to integrate the Mycenaean civilization, the Homeric epics and Classical Antiquity into one historical narrative. He attempted this by means of convoluted and detailed arguments, by tracing similarities and continuities between elements from different spheres – from imagery, literature and mythology – and different periods. For instance, he described Mycenaean daemons as having a horse's head[19] and sought parallels in Geometric art, in the Homeric epics or in Greek mythology where the horse occupies a central position.[20] Or he set up one stylistic / technological sequence in which he placed (in chronological order) the 'Cretan' sealstones, the Mycenaean inlaid weapons, Achilles' shield as described by Homer, black-figure pottery and the cist of Kypselos as described by Pausanias.[21]

This was Milchhoefer's way to establish continuity from the Mycenaean civilization through the Dark Ages to the Classical period.[22] He concluded that Mycenaean art was: "allerdings vorhellenische, aber nicht un-hellenische und jedenfalls arische Kunst."[23]

Of course, his arguments would nowadays be considered weak, or altogether wrong: he sought parallels across different cultures and periods, and noted similarities between objects or motifs widely separated in space or time. He often constructed circular arguments whereby he explained elements of Mycenaean iconography by reference to classical myths or later sources, and then used his own observations in order to establish continuity between the prehistoric past and the historical periods.

However, he accepted that there are differences between a Mycenaean world populated by mythical beings, daemons and supernatural forces and the Classical universe of heroes and gods. He viewed this, however, as a process of transformation ("Übergang"[24]) and not as an unbridgeable contrast: the development took place within the same racial and linguistic group.[25] It remained to be demonstrated which group this was, and what the ethnic origins of the Mycenaeans were.

Here Milchhoefer sought the answer in the ancient Greek authors (as did all 19th century scholars). He identified the Mycenaeans with the earliest inhabitants of the Greek peninsula, the Pelasgians (mentioned by Herodotus and Thucydides), who were related with other (pre-Greek) tribes such as the Carians, Leleges and Minyans. According to Milchhoefer, however, the Pelas-

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[18] ibid., 138: "It is indeed a problem that the first manifestation of art in Greece seems to float in the air, so to speak, and cannot really be used in order to trace the origins of the hellenic culture."

[19] They are nowadays considered as having a donkey's head.

[20] Milchhoefer 1883, 54ff.

[21] ibid. passim.

[22] ibid. 202.

[23] ibid. 112, n.1: "The earliest perhaps pre-hellenic, but certainly not un-hellenic art of Greece – of Aryan character at any rate." It is worth noting that in 1876, in his first encounter with Schliemann's finds, he concluded that the art of the Shaft Graves cannot be designated as Greek, and that its origins should be sought in Asia (Milchhoefer 1876, 327).

[24] Milchhoefer 1883, 106.

[25] ibid. 105.

gians were actually (proto-) Greeks, although they may originally have come from Asia Minor.[26] Ultimately, in a really sharp and almost prophetic insight, he traced the cultural origins of Mycenaean civilization in the islands of the southern Aegean and in particular in Crete.[27] He based this hypothesis on three different arguments: the density of stone seals in Crete, as well as the discovery of 'Mycenaean' pottery and a few golden ornaments in the island; the "forts of pelasgian or cyclopean style" that were being reported by Evans during his first tour of the island; and finally, Crete's central position in Greek mythology, and in particular the myths of Minos and Daedalus.[28] Milchhoefer saw Crete as the meeting point of local (pelasgian) forces and external influences: "... so vollzog sich in Kreta auf mehreren Gebieten zugleich ... eine folgenreichende Verbindung von Gegensätzen in denen nich unverwandte aber doch hinreichend lange getrennte Bestandtheile zusammengeführt werden, um lebensfähige Neubildungen zu erzeugen: im ethnologischen Sinne das rauhe, spröde Pelasgerthum und das erregbare asiatisch-arische Element, im Religiösen namentlich der pelasgische Zeus und die idäische Naturgöttin mit ihrem orgiastischen Gefolge, im Technischen der eckige, trockene, an hartem Material geübte pelasgische Stil und die biegsame, phantastische, asiatische Metallkunst."[29]

This passage shows very clearly the approach to art that was prevailing at the end of the 19th century: art is seen as encapsulating and directly expressing certain cultural characteristics – what is often referred to in the literature of the period, rather anachronistically, as the "national character" of a people. Cultural entities are presented as internally undifferentiated and monolithic, therefore largely modelled on the prevailing ideal of the national state. At the same time, the obsession with origins, which are seen as providing the key to cultural identity, reveals that cultural entities are seen as unchanging in essence despite receptivity to external stimuli.

In the Greek case, Greekness is defined as the creative combination of local forces and external influences. The provenance of these influences is important: they come exclusively from the East, although the contribution of different areas is evaluated in very different ways. Influences from Asia Minor, especially Phrygia,[30] are by far the most important and formative. As pointed out above, we are dealing not only with cultural influence, but also with genetic affiliation: the Pelasgians must have come to Greece (and to Crete) from Asia Minor, and must be related to the Carians and Phrygians who inhabited the area.

In contrast, influences from Egypt and the Near East – referred to by Milchhoefer as 'oriental civilizations' and 'semitic people' – are systematically played down.[31] For instance, he builds

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[26] ibid. 119.

[27] ibid. 123ff.

[28] Here he adopts the ideas developed by the German philologist Karl Hoeck (Hoeck 1823-1829). For an extensive discussion of Hoeck's reconstruction of Cretan civilization and its impact on Minoan scholarship, see Zois 1996.

[29] Milchhoefer 1883, 135: "Crete saw the fusion of elements that were perhaps not totally unrelated, but were still very different from each other ... this fusion had important consequences, and lead to fertile new forms in different fields at once: from an ethnological point of view, the sturdy and rough Pelasgians fused with the lively Aryans from Asia; in religion the pelasgian Zeus merged with the Idaean goddess of nature and her revelling followers; in technology, the angular, dry, pelasgian style, until then executed on hard materials, became influenced by the flexible, curvilinear and imaginative asiatic metalwork."

[30] Seen, for instance, in goldwork, or in general in the use of abstract motifs, such as the spiral or the helix, found also in Lydian coins, or on the so-called 'Midas' tomb' in Phrygia. It should be pointed out that these parallels belong to later periods.

[31] ibid. 52ff., 78ff. It is important to note that Milchhoefer writes long before Salomon Reinach, a French prehistorian (1859-1932), who during the 1890s argued against any oriental contribution to the development of Mycenaean culture in his yearly *Chronique d'Orient* in the *Revue Archéologique*.

up a complex argument in order to disprove the semitic origin of Carians. Or, elsewhere he accepts that mythical beings such as the sphinx, the griffin and perhaps the lion are oriental in provenance, but hastens to add that most animals depicted – cows, goats, deers, etc. – are indigenous to Europe.[32] Oriental influences are seen as secondary, more recent and more superficial, and can easily be separated off from the core of the cultural tradition.

Milchhoefer also sought parallels in ancient India[33] – for example, he noted similarities between the Minoan and the Indian female attire, and pointed out the existence of horse-headed daemons in Indian mythology.[34] He attributed these similarities to common descent rather than to direct cultural influence: both Greeks and Indians were Aryans.[35] It is this notion, the notion of the Aryan race that provides the key to Milchhoefer's entire work: "Wenn wir ... die Zuwanderung einiger 'orientalischen' und etwa ägyptischen Elemente als jünger kennzeichnen, wenn es mir andererseits gelungen ist, die Ueberzeugung zu erwecken, dass bei weitem die meisten und ältesten Vorstellungen ... ausnahmslos nur solche Beziehungen widerspiegeln, welche wir im Gemeinbesitz der arischen Völker, speciell der Inder, Iranier und Griechen vorfinden, so scheint sich mit notwendigkeit der Schluss zu ergeben, dass die Träger dieser Kunst Arier und zwar Arier von reiner Abstammung gewesen sein müssen."[36] And further: "Welchem Volke gehört diese Kunst ... nun an? Wenn sie auf den Boden Griechenlands und der Inseln beschränkt war, wenn sie arisches Gepräge trägt, kann sie schlechtweg als griechisch bezeichnet werden?"[37]

We see therefore that Greek prehistory is declared Greek, albeit somewhat hesitantly. In a way, for Milchhoefer the notion of Greekness is of secondary importance: what matters is that the early Greeks were Aryans.[38] Milchhoefer's main conceptual tool is the notion of race.[39] What defines identity is race, and what defines Greekness is membership to the Aryan group of peoples. Greekness is therefore equated with Aryan descent, although of course spatially circumscribed in the area occupied by both the classical city-states and the modern Greek State.

This discussion reveals how the idea of racial purity pervaded the scholarship of the period and became a central notion in prehistoric archaeology, anthropology, ancient history, historical linguistics, history of art, etc. Milchhoefer's work clearly reflects the growing anti-semitism in Europe at the end of the 19th century. It is important to realize that the notions of race and

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[32] ibid. 52. It is interesting that in Milchhoefer's work Europe is discussed as a purely geographical rather than a cultural entity. I will return to this point later.

[33] ibid. 98ff.

[34] ibid. 63ff. Milchhoefer is aware of the chronological distance between the Aegean examples and his Indian parallels. He justifies the use of these analogies by stressing the static character of oriental civilizations. Indian people might be of Aryan descent, but their civilization cannot fully escape orientalist stereotypes.

[35] ibid. 104.

[36] ibid. 87-88: "If we consider the arrival of some 'oriental' or Egyptian elements as more recent; if I have convinced you that most (and the oldest) ideas reflect relations which we would consider as the common heritage of the Aryan people, and specifically of the Indians, the Iranians and the Greeks, then it seems to me that the conclusion is inevitable: the carriers of this art were Aryans, and notably Aryans of the most pure descent."

[37] ibid. 90: "Who are the people ... who created this art? Since this art is found in Greece and the islands, since it is Aryan in character – surely it should be designated as Greek?"

[38] It should be noted that already in 1870 Conze noticed similarities between Geometric art and the art of Bronze Age Europe, and attributed them to a common 'indogermanic' origin (Conze 1870, 505ff.).

[39] We should emphasize here that Milchhoefer is using a 'philological' concept of race, based on tribes and peoples mentioned in ancient legends. The 'anthropological' concept of race, based on cranial measurements, was developed, at least for Mediterranean societies, only at the very end of the 19th century.

racial purity were not simply elements of state propaganda imposed from the top down, but part of a widely accepted and 'objective' scientific discourse. This contributed directly to the political exploitation of these notions and its disastrous consequences. It would be interesting to explore whether these ideas were more common in Germany[40] than in other countries or academic settings – but such an enquiry is beyond the scope of the present article.

However, not everyone in this period shared this view. I shall now turn to my second example, *L'histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* by Perrot and Chipiez, who, as we shall see, adopt a very different approach to the problems of (Greek) identity.

2. Perrot: the notion of 'cultural spirit'

Georges Perrot (1832-1914), Professor of History and Archaeology in Paris and Director of the École Normale Supérieure, produced between 1883 and 1914 an impressive history of ancient art in ten large volumes. The work was undertaken with the collaboration of Charles Chipiez, a distinguished architect and artist, who was responsible for the excellent and plentiful illustrations of the volume, and especially for the architectural reconstructions. The history covers a very long period from the beginnings of civilization in Mesopotamia and Egypt to classical Greece and Rome. The art and culture of ancient Greece is the main reference point throughout this encyclopedic synthesis; in fact, the entire work is an attempt to understand the origins of Classical art which Perrot sees as the culmination of human achievement.[41] The inclusion and detailed description of eastern civilizations is not fortuitous, as they are seen as paving the way to the 'Greek Miracle'.[42] It is important to note that Perrot concentrates on art, but discusses also ordinary artefacts. His approach signals the emancipation of archaeology from philology, but also its incipient detachment from history of art. Like Milchhoefer, he is also a product of his time: he adopts the more scientific and rigorous methodology that characterizes historical sciences in the second half of the 19th century.

However, his position on the question of identity differs markedly from that of Milchhoefer. In the first pages of his volume on Mycenaean art, Perrot denounces the notion of the Aryan race as a "livre d'or, le patriciat du genre humain".[43] His most serious objection to the concept of the Aryan race is that it cannot explain the genesis of the Greek genius, le *génie grec*: "A supposer même que ce concept de la race ne prête pas à autant d'objections et de reserves, on ne voit encore pas qu'il puisse beaucoup aider à éclairer le mystère de la genèse du génie grec et de l'originalité qui éclate dès l'abord dans ses premières manifestations."[44] To put it simply, if the 'Greek Miracle' is to be attributed to the fact that the Greeks were Aryans, then it still needs

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[40] It is worth mentioning here Koehler's (1878, 13) contrasting attitude to racial purity: he emphasized that racial admixture and acculturation is beneficial, as it injects new energy into a population group.

[41] As Perrot puts it, the eastern civilizations are the introduction, or the prologue of the history of Greek art, and Roman art its epilogue (Perrot & Chipiez 1883, xlviii).

[42] While this notion would arouse little controversy today (if anything, it would be considered rather old-fashioned) it should be kept in mind that in the 19th century it was generally accepted that Greek art and culture were fully autochthonous, and owed no debt to earlier or neigbouring civilizations. See Perrot's extensive discussion on this point (Perrot & Chipiez 1883, xliii).

[43] Perrot & Chipiez 1894, 8.

[44] ibid. 9.

to be explained why other groups belonging to this family did not display the same originality and inventiveness.

We see already an important difference between Milchhoefer and Perrot: Milchhoefer's main conceptual tool is race and racial purity, while Perrot's emphasis is on the notion of the cultural spirit.[45] What provides unity in the Greek world is "l'unité de l' esprit et celle du goût".[46] The way Perrot defines the Greek cultural spirit sounds disconcertingly familiar, as it remains a staple element of Greek nationalistic discourse into the present day:[47] The Greeks are characterized by inventiveness, vivid imagination, curiosity, dynamism, love for beauty, love for freedom. These characteristics are due, at least partly, to Greece's geographical position at the crossroads of the Mediterranean, but also to its temperate climate and its geomorphology.[48] The proximity to the sea and the multitude of islands connecting the two sides of the Aegean make the whole of Greece an open and receptive boundary.[49]

The question is whether the notion of the Greek genius can be detected in the Mycenaean civilization. Perrot admits that certain Mycenaean practices such as the blatant display of wealth are rather disconcerting, and perhaps more appropriate to children and savages. But this objection if anything serves to make his point: namely, that the Mycenaean age is the childhood of the Hellenic race[50] – or, to put it differently, that the Mycenaeans are the ancestors of the Hellenes. The cultural spirit is therefore seen as an inherent and unchanging characteristic of a people.

The Greekness of the Mycenaean civilization is demonstrated by two sets of observations (Figure 3): First, Perrot points out the striking correspondence between Homeric and Mycenaean Greece, for instance in matters of political geography[51] and in some of its practices or forms.[52] He notes differences as well,[53] but attributes them to chronological distance, rather than to cultural difference. The Mycenaean period is seen as the prologue, or the first chapter of the hellenic civilization.

Second, Perrot points out the continuity in artistic expression between Classical art and some Mycenaean masterpieces. For example, the Lion Gate or the Vapheio cups[54] display keen observation of nature with the ability to render plastically the essence of the depicted subject, be it movement or restrained force. Mycenaean art, Perrot concludes, already contains the first seeds of the Greek Miracle.

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[45] Of course, the notion of cultural spirit was used widely as a result of the spread of romantic ideas, and can be traced back to Herder's *Volksgeist*. To give but one example, already in 1885 Adler sees the expression of the Greek genius in the simplicity of the Tiryns palace (1886, lxv).

[46] "The unity of spirit and taste": Perrot & Chipiez 1894, 991.

[47] Frangoudaki & Dragona 1997.

[48] Perrot's definition of the cultural spirit is influenced by the ideas developed by the founders of modern geography Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) and Karl Ritter (1779-1859) (Gehrke 1996, 65ff.; Polychronopoulou 1999, 35ff.).

[49] Perrot & Chipiez 1883, xlix.

[50] Perrot & Chipiez 1894, 996.

[51] ibid. 986ff.

[52] E.g. the similarities between the Homeric megaron and the Mycenaean palace. For a more extensive discussion of the misinterpretation of both Homeric and Mycenaean palaces due to the projection of Classical principles of spatial organization, see Zois 1996.

[53] For instance, the Mycenaeans practice inhumation, while in Homer cremation is the norm; the Mycenaeans use bronze, while in Homer iron is used widely; Homer mentions the use of fibulae (brooches), while they are only found in the last stages of the Mycenaean civilization (Perrot & Chipiez 1894, 989).

[54] ibid. 799-806; 184-794.

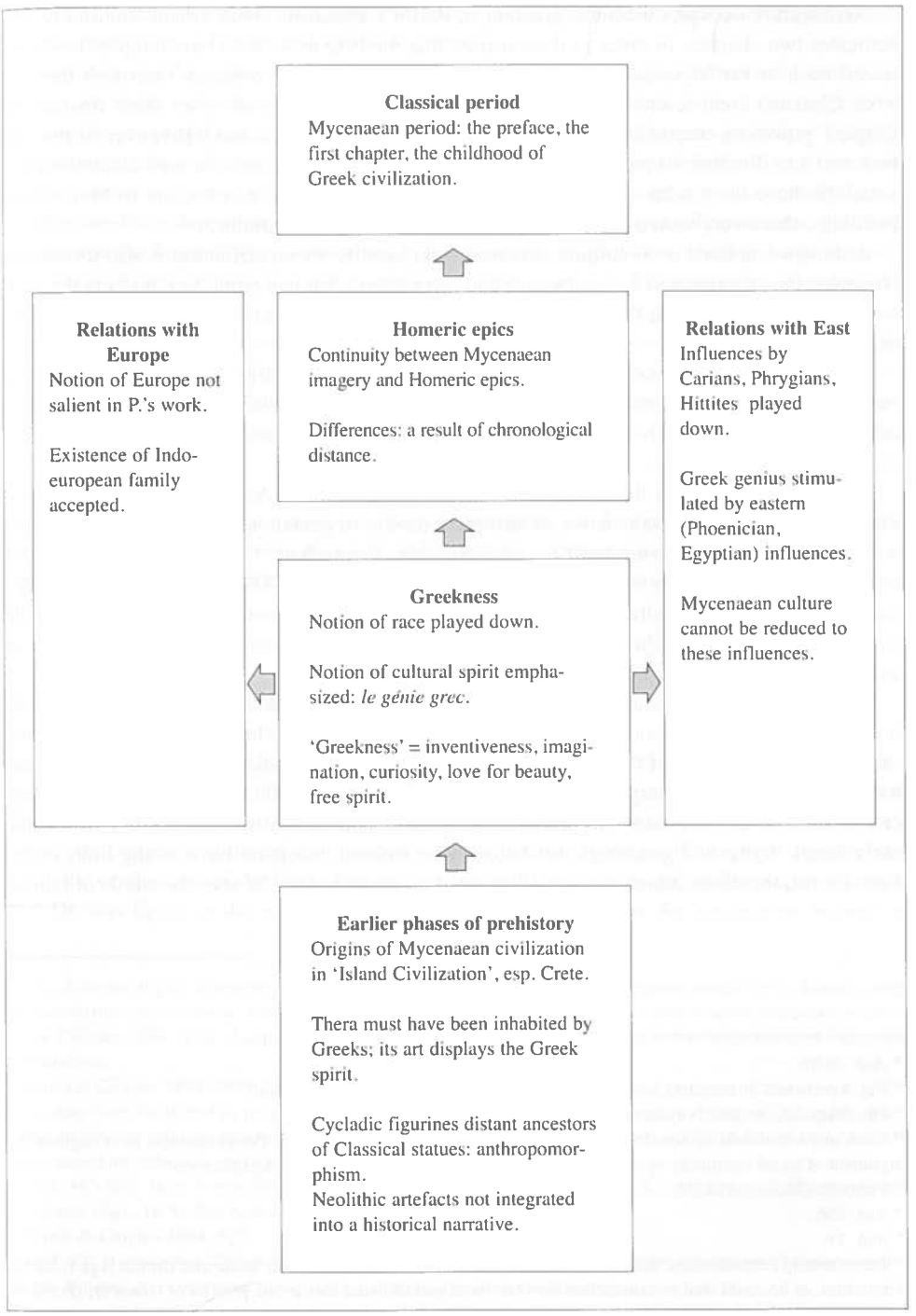

Fig. 3. *Perrot's definition of 'Greekness'*

Architecture occupies a central position in Perrot's argument about artistic continuity. He dedicates two chapters in order to demonstrate that the origins of the Doric temple should be traced back to the Mycenaean palace.[55] Throughout he uses a vocabulary borrowed directly from Classical architecture.[56] References to Classical architecture are even more obvious in Chipiez' grandiose reconstructions of the citadel and palace at Mycenae.[57] However, at the end both text and illustrations merely reinforce the same circular argument: the architectural reconstructions have been achieved by projecting elements of Classical architecture to Mycenaean buildings; these very reconstructions are then used as proof of continuity.

Although emphasis is on cultural continuity and identity, racial affiliation is also discussed. However, Perrot's position is rather vague and inconsistent:[58] at one point, he considers the Hellenes a tribe related to the Pelasgians,[59] while elsewhere he admits the possibility of colonization from Asia Minor.[60]

The mention of colonization brings us to the last stage of the argument: the importance of external connections and influences. For Perrot, as for Milchhoefer, the Greeks received no influences from either Italy or from the north,[61] nor did Europe play any role in the formation of Greek civilization. [62]

The Pelasgians receive limited influence by the populations of Asia Minor, the Carians and Phrygians, which, as we saw above, is attributed mostly to genetic affiliation. But the impressive citadels and tombs were built by the Pelasgians themselves; [63] the Carians or Phrygians could not have built them because of their "mediocrité d'esprit". The argument here becomes circular: the notion of cultural spirit, or Greek genius, serves simultaneously as underlying assumption and final conclusion. The supremacy of the Greeks is imperceptibly turning into an axiom rather than a thesis that needs to be demonstrated.

The most important influence, however – and here Perrot stands in clear contrast to Milchhoefer – comes from the oriental civilizations, the semitic people. They provide the stimuli, the 'élan', that will transform these early societies and help them make the transition from barbarism first to a rudimentary and gradually to a more sophisticated culture. Semitic influences can be seen in the vocabulary, in practices, techniques and decorative motifs,[64] but also in the early Greek myths and genealogies of heroes who without exception have strong links to the East. Perrot, therefore, adopts a more diffusionist position; in fact, he sees the whole of human

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[55] ibid. 707ff.

[56] E.g. terms such as megaron, antae, capitals, architrave, cornice, etc.: ibid., 684ff.

[57] On this point, see also Polychronopoulou 1999, 322ff.

[58] Once more, it should be noted that the 'philological' concept of race is used. Perrot attempts to strengthen the argument of racial continuity by pointing to the Greek profile of the 'Mask of Agamemnon'!

[59] Perrot & Chipiez 1894, 53.

[60] ibid. 986.

[61] ibid. 51.

[62] Perrot totally excludes cave art, or any artistic manifestation of the European Stone and Bronze Age from his discussion, as he could find no connection between them and his main theme: the genesis of Greek art (Perrot & Chipiez 1883, liii ff.).

[63] Contra i.a. Koehler 1878; Adler 1886; Dümmler & Studniczka 1887.

[64] Perrot & Chipiez 1894, 75ff.

history as the transferral of civilization from east to west: from Mesopotamia and Egypt to Asia Minor, from there to Greece and finally to Rome.[65]

However, the Mycenaean civilization cannot be reduced to these external influences: "Ce gènie sans doute aidé par les modèles reçus de l' Egypte et la Phénicie, mais si ces suggestions ont facilité ses progrès, c' est bien de son propre fonds qu' il a tiré un art qui malgré l' apparente étrangeté de ses formes et le caractère un peu barbare du luxe qu'il deploie, peut-être consideré comme le premier chapitre ou plutôt comme la prèface de l' art grec classique."[66] Perrot emphasizes the independence of Mycenaean art from eastern prototypes. For instance, the composition on the Siege Rhyton is described as less conventionalized than 'oriental' battle scenes.[67] Elsewhere, Perrot remarks that the outcome of fighting scenes in Mycenaean art is undecided, while Mesopotamian or Egyptian art celebrate the undisputed triumph of the ruler.[68]
Besides the influences, therefore, what matters is the Greeks' ability to imitate and eventually to surpass their masters – briefly their dynamism: "La Grèce a toujours été en progrès, ou du moins en movement."[69] Once more, the Greek genius is both assumption and explanatory tool. The limits of an interpretive scheme based on the idealistic notion of inherent genius become obvious at this point.

To summarize my observations so far: Both Milchhoefer and Perrot conclude that the Mycenaean civilization was Greek. However, their definition of Greekness differs considerably as they employ different explanatory tools – race and cultural spirit respectively – in order to reach this conclusion.

3. Tsountas: the integration of race and cultural identity

Christos Tsountas (1857-1934) was the first and most eminent Greek prehistorian. He excavated important Mycenaean sites; notably, he took over from Schliemann at Mycenae, and discovered the tholos tomb at Vapheio. He provided the first synthesis on the Mycenaean world[70] where he corrected some of Schliemann's rather fanciful theories. He brought to light the Cycladic civilisation of the Early Bronze Age[71] as well as the even earlier Thessalian Neolithic.[72] He was Ephor at the Archaeological Service, Secretary of the Archaeological Society at

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[65] This diffusion is part of a wider evolutionary sequence culminating to the European nation states: Rome is seen as transferring civilization to western Europe which then radiates civilizing influences across the universe (Perrot & Chipiez 1883, lxiii). Ancient history and archaeology are thus harnessed in the legitimation of European colonialism.

[66] Perrot & Chipiez 1894, 1009: "The Greek genius has certainly been guided by Egyptian or Phoenician models; these may have facilitated its progress, but Greek art has developed by its own accord. It may at first sight appear rather unfamiliar and its display of luxury may strike us as perhaps barbarous, but it still can be considered as the first chapter, or rather the preface of classical art."

[67] ibid. 865-866. Here Perrot follows Tsountas who had already emphasized the originality of Mycenaean art (Tsountas 1891, 18-9). See below, in the section about Tsountas.

[68] Perrot & Chipiez 1894, 875.

[69] ibid. 23: "Greece has always been in constant progress, or at least in constant movement." Unsurprisingly, Greek dynamism is contrasted to the static character of eastern civilisations .

[70] Tsountas 1893, which was consequently expanded and translated into English (Tsountas & Manatt 1897).

[71] Tsountas 1898; 1899.

[72] Tsountas 1908.

Athens for a short period and Professor of Archaeology at the University of Athens. Tsountas belongs to the first generation of professional archaeologists who became active in Greece in the last three decades of the 19th century. Like most, if not all of his contemporaries, he had received a classical training and had studied in Germany. However, unlike other Greek archaeologists, he developed a strong interest in the emerging field of European prehistory, which had a strong impact on his intrepretation of the prehistoric past. His work signals the emancipation of archaeology from philogy and the introduction of a more rigorous and scientific methodology. However, as I shall argue below, his work is very much a product of Greek romantic nationalism which arose out of the need to demarcate and consolidate modern Greek identity.[73]

Tsountas was the most forceful proponent of the Greekness of Mycenaean civilization. In his words, his aim was to present "the objective evidence – the palpable facts – pointing to a race connection between the Mycenaeans and the Greeks of history."[74]

Let us examine how Tsountas set out to achieve his goal (Figure 4). His argument proceeds in several stages. First, just like his predecessors, he stressed cultural continuity between the Classical, Homeric and Mycenaean periods by observing similarities in forms and practices. He also argued for racial continuity by establishing a connection between different tomb types, the Shaft Grave and the tholos tomb, and (semi-mythical) early Greek tribes, the Achaeans and the Danaoi.[75]

At the same time he expanded continuity in two directions: towards the even more distant prehistoric past, as well as towards the medieval period and the present. To start with, he traced features of the Mycenaean period back to earlier prehistoric phases. He pointed to a certain cultural affinity as well as possible racial connections with the Cycladic civilisation[76] which he called the "eldest sister of the Mycenaean civilization".[77] He even integrated the distant Neolithic period into a narrative of continuity by tracing the Classical temple to the Mycenaean palace,[78] and in its turn the Mycenaean palace to the Neolithic *megaron*.[79]

Further, he integrated Byzantium and even the modern Greek present into his myth of origins: in the opening pages of his early volume[80] he set up an analogy between the importance of Byzantine legacy for modern Greek ideology and the importance of Homeric epics throughout Classical Antiquity. He thereby established spiritual continuity between the Mycenaeans, the ancient Greeks, the Byzantines and the modern Greeks. He also noticed 'survivals', i.e. sim-

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[73] For a more extensive discussion on the impact of romantic ideas on Greek archaeology see Voutsaki in print.

[74] Tsountas & Manatt 1897, 338.

[75] It should be noted that Tsountas – like Milchhoefer and Perrot – is using the 'philological' concept of race. However, in his later work he makes some limited use of cranial measurements as an index of race differences. The method was developed, at least in the Mediterranean context, by Sergi 1895, and introduced to Greek archaeology primarily by the anthropologist Clon Stefanos (see e.g. Clon 1905) who analyzed skeletal remains found by Tsountas in the Cyclades. Craniometrics were hardly applied on Mycenaean data, however.

[76] I should clarify that this includes both the remains in Thera (which we now assign to the early part of the Late Bronze Age) as well as the Cycladic civilization of the Early Bronze Age.

[77] Tsountas & Manatt 1897, 201.

[78] Perrot & Chipiez had made a similar argument regarding the origins of the Doric temple, but we should note that Tsountas' first book (Tsountas 1893) appeared before that of Perrot & Chipiez (1894).

[79] Tsountas 1908, 390. Here he differs from Perrot who describes Neolithic finds from Greece (Perrot & Chipiez 1894, 107ff.), but does not make any effort to place them in a historical narrative. For Perrot, the gap between the Stone and Bronze Age is still unbridgeable.

[80] Tsountas 1893, 4.

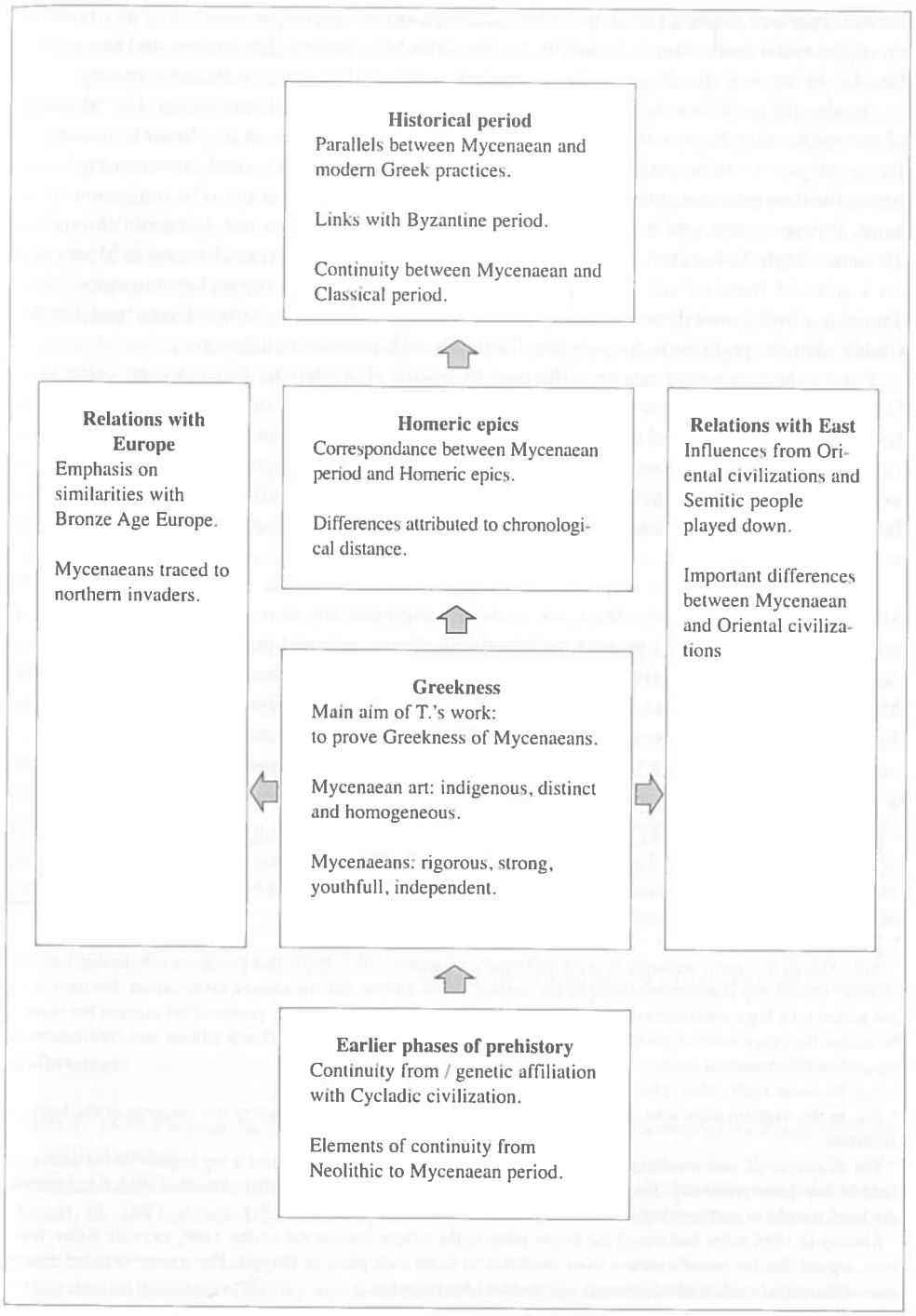

Fig. 4. *Tsountas' definition of 'Greekness'*

ilarities between modern Greek and Mycenaean practices[81] which he interpreted as irrefutable proof for racial and cultural continuity between the Mycenaeans, the ancient and the modern Greeks. In this way, the Mycenaean age became a phase of "unfolding Hellenic culture".[82]

He also played down the significance of oriental influences, and emphasized the "absurdity of the wholesale reference of Mycenaean art to an Oriental – above all to a Semitic – source".[83] He developed a whole series of complex arguments[84] against the oriental provenance of tomb types, finished products, manufacturing techniques or decorative motifs. The indigenous character, independence and homogeneity of Mycenaean culture are the *Leitmotiv* throughout Tsountas' work. In fact, as I pointed out above, he went even further: he detected in Mycenaean art a spirit of freedom and democracy that was totally absent in oriental monuments.[85] Here Tsountas clearly anticipates an idea that we usually attribute to Arthur Evans and Gordon Childe: that the prehistoric Aegean was the cradle of European civilization.

Further, he minimized eastern influences by tracing characteristic features such as the Shaft Grave or the tholos tomb to archetypal forms such as the *Ur*-hut, or to the post-houses of the Swiss lake-dwellings[86] and the Italian *terramare*. This constitutes an important departure from earlier practice. Not only does Tsountas use clearly evolutionist arguments,[87] but he is the first to emphasize cultural similarities with Bronze Age Europe[88] as well as racial affiliations with European peoples: according to him, the Greeks were Aryan invaders which came from the north.

The importance of this emphasis on Europe is revealed in the following passages: "The Mycenaean world was of the West, not so much geographically as in whole spiritual attitude. It was forward looking and forthputting. It had in it the promise and potency of what Europe and America have now wrought out in the complex of modern civilization."[89] And further: "The Mycenaean world was the clearing house of culture for all the Mediterranean lands, the natural and happy mediator between primitive Europe and the older civilizations of the east."[90]

The position of Greece between Europe and the East reveals some of the oscillations and

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[81] It should be noted that both Milchhoefer and Perrot sporadically noticed similarities between Mycenaean and modern Greek practices – see e.g. Milchhoefer 1883, 88, and Perrot's discussion on the topic (Perrot & Chipiez 1875, xxii). Interest in folk culture, and in 'primitive' expressions in general, was quite widespread in this period due to the influence of German romanticism.

[82] Tsountas & Manatt 1897, 10.

[83] ibid., 357. At this point we ought to refer to Bernal's argument (1987; 1991) that European scholarship has consistently denied any connections between the ancient Greek culture and the eastern civilizations. Bernal's work has stirred up a huge controversy – it suffices here to point out that while some points of his critique are correct, he makes the grave error of treating one of the many myths of origins of the Greek culture and civilizations as the undeniable historical truth.

[84] E.g. Tsountas 1889; 1891; 1897.

[85] E.g. in the Vapheio cups with their free composition, or the Siege Rhyton where the outcome of the battle is uncertain.

[86] The discovery of lake-dwellings in Switzerland and northern Italy in 1854 had a big impact on the emerging field of European prehistory. The lake-dwellings share some similarities with the *terramare*, which are built in dry land, mostly in northern Italy.

[87] Already in 1886 Adler had traced the tholos tomb to the simple conical hut (Adler 1886, xxxviii). Adler, however, argued that the transformation from mudbrick to stone took place in Phrygia. For a more detailed discussion of Tsountas' evolutionist sequence, see Voutsaki forthcoming.

[88] Similar ideas were being developed by Salomon Reinach; see above n. 31.

[89] Tsountas & Manatt 1897, 359-360.

[90] ibid. 359.

uncertainties in Tsountas argument: on the one hand, Mycenaean Greece is linked with dynamic, rigorous, forward looking Europe – on the other hand, one senses a certain contempt, the contempt of a classically trained scholar, in Tsountas's comments about certain Mycenaean practices such as the ostentatious display of wealth or the ornate dress of men. It comes as no surprise that these practices are unquestionedly attributed to eastern influence. There is an irony, of course, in the fact that a Greek scholar uses an orientalist *topos*.

To conclude, Tsountas used creatively both notions – race and cultural identity – to provide his very influential definition of Greekness. At the same time, he introduced two novel aspects: first, the notion of spiritual continuity through the ages, from the distant Neolithic past to the present; second, the importance of Europe.

Tsountas' construct becomes understandable when placed in its historical and intellectual context: by the last decades of the 19th century the prevailing attitude to the past was the romantic scheme set up by Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, the national historian of Greece, who stressed continuity of the Greek spirit through the ages. Tsountas did not merely adopt this scheme; he strengthened it further by extending the myth of origins of the Greek nation into the mist of the ancient legends. On the other hand, the ideal of the European national state was a cornerstone of Greek national ideology throughout the 19th century. However, this ideal acquired new poignancy in the clash between traditonal structures and the first attempts at modernization that characterized the last decades of 19th century Greece.[91]

To sum up:

In this paper I set out to compare three different attempts at defining and assigning Greekness to the Mycenaean civilization. I argued that the three syntheses reached seemingly similar conclusions – all three share the emphasis on continuity in the diachronic dimension, and what I would call a sceptical attitude towards diffusionism and external influences.[92] However, the three studies employed different conceptual tools and placed the emphasis on different factors and stimuli. Nevertheless, they all share something deeper: the discussion surrounding the Greekness of Greek prehistory became a medium to reflect about modern day identities; to put it more forcefully, it became an exercise in drawing boundaries and establishing European supremacy.

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[91] For a detailed discussion of shifting attitudes to the past in 19th century Greece and their articulation with changing dispositions towards Europe, see Voutsaki in print.

[92] In the period we usually consider as the heyday of diffusionism, most scholars active in Aegean prehistory were busy denying, or at least qualifying the significance of external influences.

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THE PEN IS MIGHTIER THAN THE SPADE: ARCHAEOLOGY AND EDUCATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

Christopher Stray

> *Today the spade is mightier than the pen; the shovel and the pick are the revealers of secrets.*
> Francis Haverfield, 1907 [1]

Classical learning in nineteenth-century England: schools and universities

Classical education in schools in England and Wales in 1800 was in some ways little different from that in the later Roman Empire.[2] Pupils were taken repeatedly through Latin and then Greek grammar year after year. They were trained to make first 'nonsense' verses in Latin (the only criterion being metrical correctness), then 'sense' verses. Finally they were taken through a restricted diet of classical authors, with much repetition. This was a rigorous and narrow diet, and far from any consideration of material remains. Many of the schools attracted the sons of those who profited from the industrial revolution: they transformed money into cultural capital, made middle class boys into gentlemen, and lifted them above the world of materialism and profit. The 'useless' compositional exercises of the public schools were thus very useful in forming the identity of adults who stood above the everyday realities of useful toil. These schools were not part of a state system, which did not exist until 1870 for elementary schools, and 1902 for secondary schools – a very different situation from that on the continent.

In 1800 Oxford and Cambridge were the educational wings of the Anglican church, and it was not possible to matriculate at Oxford, or graduate at Cambridge, without first subscribing to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Faith of the Church of England. Both universities had by the

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[1] Quoted by O. Murray, 'Ancient History, 1872-1914', in M.G.Brock and M.C.Curthoys (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford*,, vol. 7, Oxford University Press 2000, pp. 333-60, at p. 355; the statement comes from Haverfield's Ford lectures, which were published after his death as *The Roman Occupation of Britain* (Oxford, 1924).

[2] Cf. M. L. Clarke, *Classical Education in Great Britain 1500-1900*, Cambridge, 1959, p.74.

1820s taken a very different path from almost all other European universities. The survival and indeed dominance of the arts faculty, encouraged by the identification of elite status with humanistic knowledge, was tied up with the emergence of the colleges, rather than as in Europe faculties or central university institutions, as the dominating element in university life. In Oxford this was especially the case; in Cambridge, where the theological scene was rather more varied and Newtonian natural philosophy exerted a powerful influence in the eighteenth century, mathematics became the exemplar of examined learning, and a field in which the university exerted some control.[3] But in general, the two universities stood out, and stood together, in the early nineteenth century as being both confessional and collegiate. The major reason for this was that they had largely escaped invasion by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Where continental universities changed radically or collapsed, Oxford and Cambridge remained structurally unchanged. The areas in which they did effect changes were those of curriculum and examination, and here reforms were evident in the early nineteenth century.[4]

The Oxford examination statute of 1800 set up for the first time a system of university examinations in classics and other subjects. The difference with the continent was accentuated in this case, because the reform was driven by a conservative reaction to continental revolution.[5] This was a control system in which public oral examination was central. The special place held by religion was evidenced in the fact that in the examinations both examiner and candidates, normally seated, rose to their feet when religious knowledge was tested. Mathematics courses were developed, but could only be entered after successful examination in classics. The converse was true of Cambridge, where Newtonian mathematical physics formed the basis of an increasingly rigorous and finely graded written examination.[6] The dominance of the mathematicians was such that not until 1822 was a classical honours examination (the Classical Tripos) established. This was restricted in scope (original composition being excluded) and in access (high honours in maths being needed for entry).

The best known classical scholars of this period were members of the Porsonian school, that is, disciples of Richard Porson (d. 1808), Professor of Greek at Cambridge.[7] Like their hero, the Porsonians concentrated on the minutiae of Greek style, and on Attic drama. Their work was in fact doubly introverted: both in their narrow textual focus, and in their sense of their own superiority to other scholars. Some of this arrogance is explained by the fact that most of Porson's disciples were like him members of Trinity College, which became a centre of classical learning within a mathematical university. His disciples included Peter Dobree, James Monk and

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[3] For the role of mathematics in Cambridge in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see A. Warwick, *The Stamp of the Domicile*, Chicago, 2003.

[4] See in general L. Brockliss 'The European university in the age of revolution', M.G.Brock and M.C.Curthoys (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 6, Oxford 1997, 77-133.

[5] Compare the early history of the (largely mathematical) École Polytechnique in Paris, where in 1812 Napoleon resisted attempts to introduce classical literature into the curriculum on the ground that it might give future officers access to revolutionary ideas.

[6] C.A.Stray, 'The shift from oral to written examination: Cambridge and Oxford, 1700-1914', *Assessment in education*, 8.1 (2001), 35-51.

[7] Porson never visited the continent, despite his well-known verses:
I went to Strasburg, where I got drunk
With the most learn'd Professor, Brunck
I went to Wortz, where I got more drunken
With the more learned Professor Ruhnken.

Charles Blomfield; also associated was the Oxford scholar Peter Elmsley.[8] This group was broken up by death and ecclesiastical preferment in the mid 1820s. Hence Housman's tendentious remarks in the 1903 preface to his Manilius: "History repeats itself, and we now witness in Germany pretty much what happened in England after 1825, when our own great age of scholarship, begun in 1691 by Bentley's *Epistola ad Millium*, was ended by the successive strokes of doom which consigned Dobree and Elmsley to the grave and Blomfield to the bishopric of Chester. England disappeared from the fellowship of nations for the next forty years."[9]

The role of the church should be noted here. Monk and Blomfield were promoted to church positions, and abandoned their plans to publish on classical topics. Other classical scholars were excluded from academic careers because of their theological heterodoxy: Charles Badham, John Donaldson and Francis Paley. (Badham, incidentally, enjoyed a long friendship with Cobet, whom he first met in 1860 while at Leiden to receive an honorary degree.)[10] The domination of higher education by Anglican Christianity forced these men out of the mainstream of scholarship. But paradoxically, it also removed the orthodox by conscripting them for the Church. The Anglican connection was thus doubly injurious to classical scholarship. Housman goes on to comment on the classicists of the 1840s that "...having turned their backs on Europe and science and the past, [they] sat down to banquet on mutual approbation, to produce the Classical Museum and the Bibliotheca Classica, and to perish without a name."[11]

Housman's rhetorical strategy does not allow for exceptions. But in fact his account is not so much flawed as totally misleading. The Classical Museum, which was published from 1844 to 1849, was edited by Leonhard Schmitz, an Alsatian pupil of Niebuhr who had married an Englishwoman and settled in Edinburgh. Schmitz was a crucial link between German and English scholarship. He translated Niebuhr into English and Thirlwall's *History of Greece* into German; he also translated Wigger's *Life of Socrates* and Zumpt's Latin grammars. The seven volumes of the *Classical Museum* contained a substantial number of contributions from the continent; mostly German, but including some from the Netherlands – Groshans' Zoology of Homer and Hesiod in vol. 4, and Miquel on Homeric flora in vol. 5.[12] If we add to these the articles of Wex on the Leges Annales (vol. 3), and Zumpt on Roman religion (vol. 4), it can be seen that the topics covered have widened considerably from the Porsonians' almost exclusive focus on Attic drama. But they still do not extend as far as archaeology; though inscriptions were reported in this and earlier journals.

To illustrate how remote archaeology was from the curriculum of the public schools, let me offer two anecdotes. The first is from Charterhouse, one of the leading English public schools,

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[8] N. Horsfall, 'Classical Studies in England, 1810-1825', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 15 (1974), 387-402; C.A.Stray, 'Introduction', *Museum Criticum* [reprint], Bristol, 2003, vol.1.

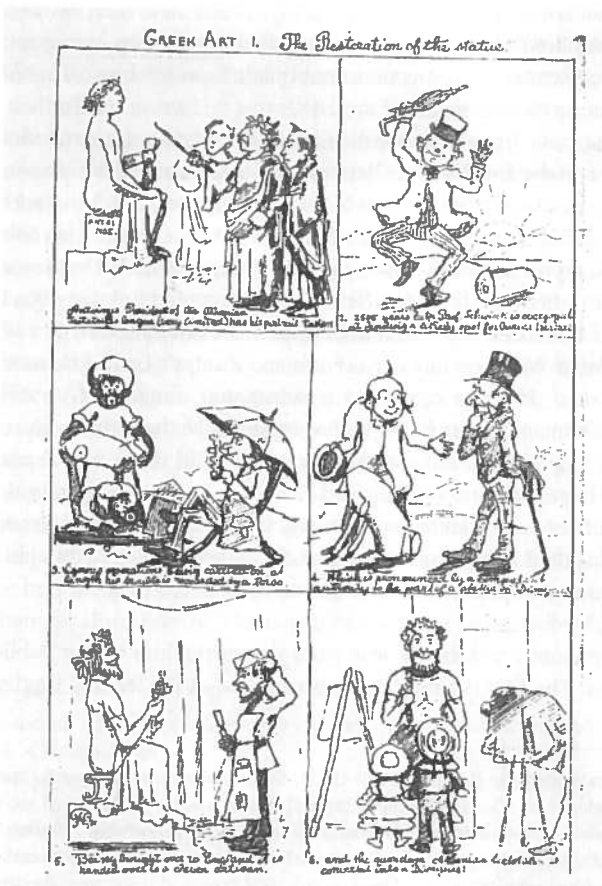
[9] A.E. Housman *M.Manilii Astronomicon* I, London, 1903, xlii-iii. He is probably referring to the publication of Munro's edition of Lucretius in 1864. Here as elsewhere Housman was developing an earlier statement by Wilamowitz: "English classical scholarship developed on strictly determined lines, from Bentley's letter ad Millium to the ill-fated year 1825, when Peter Dobree sank into the grave which had scarcely closed over Peter Elmsley; and it is Attic poetry that throughout occupies the centre of interest...England wholly retired from the stage." U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Einleitung in die griechische Tragodie* (1889), 228, 230.

[10] Badham's admirer W.H.Thompson referred to Cobet (with tongue, characteristically, in cheek) as 'the arch-fiend of Leyden'.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Were Homeric flora and fauna a Dutch speciality in this period?

in about 1902. One of the schoolmasters there remembered in his memoirs 'dragging a recalcitrant form of thirty through a sentence of Caesar half a page long, the beginning of which is quite forgotten by the time we have got to the end'. But one day someone discovered a piece of pottery in the school grounds, and it turned out to be a Roman cinerary urn. As the writer comments, 'Those boys who struggled through Caesar's Commentaries with the utmost reluctance were now most eagerly unearthing the concrete evidence of the former dominions of the Caesars.'[13] It was at about this time that Percy Gardner and John Myres sent an appeal to the public school headmasters urging them to use archaeological evidence in their schools.[14] My second anecdote concerns a cartoon drawn by a pupil of Merchant Taylors' School in 1880. The school had been visited by Sidney Colvin, Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford, the friend of Jebb and Waldstein, proselytising for the study of ancient art.[15]



[13] G. Kendall *A Headmaster Remembers*, London, 1933, 193-4.

[14] *Classical Archaeology in Schools*, Oxford, 1902.

[15] Source: C.A. Stray, *Classics Transformed. Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830-1960* (Oxford, 1998), 150.

Here a statue of the leader of a Greek teetotallers' association, set up by his followers, is excavated by a German professor and identified as a statue of Dionysus. The cartoon hints at the scepticism felt by at least some of Colvin's schoolboy audience at his interpretation of fragmentary evidence.

The Cambridge classical curriculum remained almost entirely linguistic and literary until about 1870, when some history and philosophy was added. Archaeology was inserted as part of a radical revision of the course in 1879, when the Tripos was divided into two, the second part containing a series of specialist courses: literature, philosophy, history, archaeology and linguistics. The first teacher of archaeology was the German Jewish American Charles Waldstein, whose primary focus was on sculpture. He later became Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, where his restless egotism caused considerable resentment.[16]

In Oxford, meanwhile, a chair of classical archaeology was being established. The first professor, William Ramsay, soon left for Glasgow on finding that the chair carried no salary. As the young Arthur Evans bitterly complained,

> "Inscriptions – Exploration – Archaeology
> Are incompatible with true philology."

Ramsay's successor, the Cambridge-trained archaeologist Percy Gardner, worked mostly on coins and on Greek sculpture: he was a museum man, not a digger. He conducted a long and vain campaign to insert his subject into the major classical course, Greats (Literae Humaniores). This was finally achieved only in 1995. Wider perspectives on Greek history were maintained by Oxford travellers like Sayce, Tozer and Ramsay, establishing a tradition which was revitalised in the First World War, when J. L. Myres and R. M. Dawkins served in Greece and put their classical knowledge at the service of the war effort.[17] But the political narrative of Grote continued to dominate, until German critical scholarship arrived in the late 1930s with Felix Jacoby. As for archaeology, it was practised largely within ancient history, and dealt mostly with Rome rather than with Greece. This was the high noon of the ideological worship of the British Empire, and several scholars saw in Rome a prefiguring of the contemporary Empire 'on which the sun never sets'.

This ideological turn not surprisingly encouraged the investigation of Roman Britain. The earlier amateur digs were now expanded into a professional concentration on sites, particularly at the hands of F. J. Haverfield and his followers. It has been argued by Richard Hingley that a conscious equation of the Roman and British empires can be seen underlying Haverfield's work, though this has been doubted by others.[18] In the early 1900s, several books were pub-

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[16] One of the management committee said of him, 'We have set up a Frankenstein'. ASCSA archives 301/1, 2, 1890-1. The historian of the School records that Waldstein 'frequently annoyed students by his egotism and brusqueness', adding that his correspondence with his friend Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard 'reveals a restless, self-centered individual'. L.E. Lord, *History of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Cambridge, Ma, 1947, 50, 56-7.

[17] I have no room to explore the topic here, but its is worth noting that the tradition of Mediterranean travel, academic and non-academic, was itself a fruitful source for the confirmation (and modification) of national identity. See further Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

[18] R. Hingley, *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: the Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology*, London, 2000. Doubts have been expressed most consistently by P. Freeman (see Hingley p.53, with the references given there).

lished explicitly comparing the two empires, including the Earl of Cromer's *Ancient and modern imperialism* (1910) and Charles Lucas's *Great Rome and Greater Britain* (1912). This move of Rome toward the centre of scholarly attention belongs to the later stages of Victorian Hellenism, and in its creation of a dual focus, Greek and Roman, exemplifies the specialisation which was to become common within each field. But there were also signs of an informal division of labour between Oxford and Cambridge. The development of Roman history and archaeology under Henry Pelham and his pupil Francis Haverfield was perhaps apt in a university which dominated the supply of classically-trained civil servants for the Empire.

The mention of the Empire reminds us that scholarship and foreign policy have often been entangled. The man who led the way in making classical archaeology respectable in England, Charles Newton, began his career of excavation and collection as vice-consul in Mytilene. The foreign schools in Athens were midway between secular institutions and diplomatic enclaves. They still retain something of this curiously ambivalent status. But – to return to the status of Rome – it needs to be emphasised that Hellenism reigned supreme in English high culture in the late nineteenth century, with Rome a poor second. Pelham, who led the campaign for a School in Rome, would never have been able to gather together the great and the good – princes, bishops, dukes, judges, and so on – for his cause, as Jebb had for the BSA. No wonder his first thought was to extend the range of the BSA to Rome, rather than to found a separate institution.[19]

Cambridge, however, was not only a centre of Greek scholarship, it was also a centre of activism. Consider the classical journals founded in England in the nineteenth century (C= associated with Cambridge; L=London; O=Oxford):

1810-29 *Classical Journal* L
1813-26 *Museum Criticum* C
1831-3 *Philological Museum* C
1843-9 *Classical Museum* L
1851-2 *Terminalia* O
1851-3 *Museum of Classical Antiquities* L
1854-9 *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* C
1868-1920 *Journal of Philology* C
1872-1921 *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society* C
1879-90 *Transactions of the Oxford Philological Society* O
1880- *Journal of Hellenic Studies* L/C
1882- *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* C
1887- *Classical Review* C

The list shows that Cambridge was the most prolific source of classical journals. From there too came the major impetus to found the Hellenic Society, and in 1903 the Classical Association of England and Wales; a national body, which nevertheless had difficulty in its early years in persuading Oxford dons to join its ranks.[20] This brings us to the foundation of the BSA.

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[19] The moving spirits behind the new climate of opinion in which Pelham's campaign throve, as Wiseman points out, were both foreigners: Mommsen in Germany and Lanciani in Italy. T. P. Wiseman *A Short History of the British School at Rome*, London, 1990, p. 2.

[20] The Classical Association of Scotland had been founded in 1902. Its history is the subject of an essay by Ronald Knox in C.A.Stray (ed), *Defenders of Faith: the Classical Association 1902-2003*, Oxford, 2003.

The founding of the British School at Athens: visions, practicalities and conflict

Both Oxford and Cambridge were involved in the foundation of the British School at Athens, but Cambridge men took the lead. The campaign to found an archaeological school was led by Richard Jebb of Trinity College, then Professor of Greek at Glasgow, who published an article in the *Contemporary Review* in November 1878.[21] After the foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (the Hellenic Society) in 1880, Jebb hoped it would provide the basis for a campaign; but when he first aired the question late in 1882, he gained little support. He secured promises of help from the French government, who offered access to the lectures and library of the French School, but by the time this offer was discussed in London, the government had fallen and the promises were useless. Some of his friends also advised him that if such an offer was taken up, it would hinder any attempt to found a separate English school.

It is worth noting that the French were chosen for contact rather than the Germans. In his 1878 article, Jebb had contrasted the rigidly centralised style of the French school with the more relaxed organisation of the German institute. The early proposals for attaching English students to a foreign school however focused on the French. This may have been because within a centralised system, if one convinced the right person in position of power, one's task was relatively simpler. But though Jules Ferry, the relevant French minister, agreed to support Jebb's proposals, his letter was passed on to Jebb very slowly, and the time it arrived, Ferry and his government were out of power. The approach would have had to be made all over again.

The Germans, on the other hand, though offering an admirable role model, were by the same token not likely to be interested in helping their less advanced English colleagues. The archaeologist Walter Perry wrote to Jebb from Rome in February 1883: "Nor could we attach ourselves to the German Institute with any high and good results. The German Inst. and Students in Athens would never consent to suit their teaching or their conversation to the peculiar requirements of their English pupils and comrades, with their suspected knowledge of German, and their often very elementary acquaintance with Archaeology. The young Germans who frequent the Institutes at Athens and Rome are the flower of a larger number of students in the German Universities who have studied its archaeology as a part of their training as Classical Professors and Schoolmasters. They have chosen Archaeology as their profession, and study it as industriously and thoroughly as they would any other science by which they had to get their bread. The next step as you know is to settle in some German University and to give lectures, and to continue their researches, in the hope of finally obtaining a vacant Professorial Chair."

Later in his letter, this evocation of the admirable professionalism of German scholarship led him to a radical conclusion: "In one way I think that we ought to attach ourselves to the German school. ...The first Director of the English school at Athens ought to be a German."[22]

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[21] 'An English School of Archaeology at Athens and Rome', *Contemporary Review* 33 (November 1878), 776-91. Previous articles urging the foundation of a school had been written by Jebb's foe John Mahaffy of Dublin (1877) and by the Oxford classical scholar William Capes (July 1878). In Mahaffy's 'Modern Excavations', *Contemporary Review* 29 (April 1877) 888-900, at p.893 he advocated a British School at Athens. In a later article in that journal, in 1883, he remarked 'I hope that its members will not confine themselves to copying from their neighbours, as has been, alas!, so much the case in our classical philology'. This was a reference back to his allegation in a review of Jebb's *The Attic Orators* that the author had plagiarised the work of Friedrich Blass.

[22] W Perry to R C Jebb, 3 Feb 1883; BSA archives. Perry went on to denounce the appointment of Waldstein at Cambridge to teach archaeology. Later that month Jebb's friend George Macmillan, co-founder of the Hellenic Society, wrote to him about the planned School, 'Another difficulty occurs. Who is to be first director? I can see no thoroughly competent English man who would be likely to accept the post.' G A Macmillan to R C Jebb, 22 Feb 1883. BSA archives.

By this time the American school was attracting support from a number of US universities; this kind of support was unlikely to be available in England, since Oxford and Cambridge were in the middle of a period of financial difficulty caused by the agricultural depression, which had reduced the farm rents on which their colleges relied for income, but at first Jebb hoped for government money. He had been disillusioned by the time he wrote his second public appeal, in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1883. His initial estimate of what was needed, nearly £ 20,000, alarmed several of his advisors, who argued for a reduction to increase the chances of meeting a target. Meanwhile small-scale alternatives were discussed. One involved establishing a library at the British Embassy in Athens, or at the Ionian bank. Alas, most of the valuable books previously held at the Embassy had disappeared – volumes loaned to British travellers had not been returned. Some English gentlemen, obviously, were not gentlemen. Other schemes involved funding a single researcher in Greece or Cyprus, and creating a fellowship at Oxford or Cambridge dedicated to Greek archaeology. I mention all these proposals to emphasise that the kind of institution we now take for granted was originally only one, and the most expensive, of a whole range of options explored. The main reason for this is clearly that Jebb and his allies saw the difficulty of finding financial support.

The breakthrough came with a public meeting in 1883, chaired by the Prince of Wales. The meeting was carefully choreographed, with distinguished figures from different areas of public life primed to propose and second motions. After the meeting, however, Jebb was contacted by a group of Oxford classical scholars, who had a double-edged message. They held out the hope of considerable financial support for the new school from their university, but proposed several changes in its organisation. The Cambridge men were annoyed at this late intervention, but they needed the money. They must also have realised that a national institution could not be taken seriously unless both the ancient universities were involved. (Despite Jebb's occupancy of a Scottish chair, it should be emphasised that his campaign was focused almost entirely on England.)[23]

The next important step was the acquisition of land for the School in Athens. This was offered by in December 1883 by the Greek minister Tricoupis, whom Jebb had met on his visit in 1878. The land offered was adjacent to that already given to the Americans, and by 1885, Jebb was in correspondence with John Williams White of Harvard about possible collaboration. White and his committee suggested in August of that year that the two schools might share a building; and emphasised in particular that it would be a waste of resources to duplicate library holdings. The official response was that the architect's plans for the British school building was now too far advanced to contemplate any shared facilities; but one can imagine that nervousness about the prospect of sharing may have played a part. As is well known, the schools informally share a tennis court; and both conversation and romance have sprung into life on this curious 'green line'.

Even this brief account indicates the fragile nature of the campaign. Jebb could not appeal to a large number of wealthy institutions, as the Americans could, nor was the government willing to be of much help. One of his friends told him early on that his best hope was to appeal to

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[23] The Glasgow academic year ran from October to March, and Jebb spent half of each year during his tenure there (1875-89) in Cambridge. Like his predecessor Edmund Lushington and his successor, Jebb was attracted to the Glasgow Greek chair by its generous salary (about £ 2000 per annum). His surviving correspondence on the BSA campaign is also with English collaborators, except for letters from the Americans John Williams White and William Watson Goodwin.

'instructed millionaires'. Oxford and Cambridge might be appealed to, but as I have explained above, they were not in a position to give much help. In addition, as we have seen, the Cambridge base of the campaign led to difficulties in satisfying Oxonian pride. Royalty was a potent source of support, but there were limits to the control which could be exercised over it. In 1890 the Prince of Wales's private secretary warned Jebb that the Prince could not be relied on for support, since he had visited the British School and had not been impressed by its achievements. The tide turned in the mid-1890s, when the British government agreed to provide £500 a year and Cambridge added £ 100. (For comparison, the American school had by then an annual income of about œ1400.)

The contrast is striking between Jebb's campaign and the establishment of the other schools. The French [1846] and German [1874] schools were set up as part of larger state educational networks: branches of imperial enterprises. The Americans had no such central support, but raised their money, and received ongoing support, both from wealthy private donors and from a large group of universities. Jebb, similarly, had to fight for support, but from a smaller pool of private and institutional donors. The result was a school which was, as it has remained, smaller than the other three schools I have mentioned. The beginnings of the British School at Rome echo those of the BSA. The initial proposal was to have a wing of the BSA in Rome – just as attachment to the French institute was an early idea for the Athens school. But the range of study conceived in Rome was from the beginning wider than that in Athens. The crucial difference was that where schools in Greece had to negotiate permission for digging, in Italy it was simply forbidden. Hence not only the extensive topographical work of Thomas Ashby and others, but also the flourishing study of art and architecture in Rome.[24] Though the BSA had some architectural students in its early days, this strand did not persist in any strength.[25] Curricular breadth has often been related to the need for funding. It was surely a factor in Waldstein's openness to American students who came to Athens not to dig, but to acquire general culture. It certainly underpinned the planning of the Netherlands Institute, whose broadening out from archaeology was the crucial step in gaining financial support from six Dutch universities in the early 1990s.[26] In the case of the BSA, there is a certain irony in the introduction of anthropology in the 1980s, when the school was in some ways a neo-colonialist backwater. Anthropology in Britain had flourished in the days of Empire, being conducted largely in Africa; from the 1960s it gradually spread to Europe, amid the scorn of established scholars who thought this was not 'proper anthropology'. The ethnographic turn was accompanied by the increasing unwillingness of some students to live within what they saw as a colonial enclave, rather than going out into the lively bustle of Athens. Behind all this is a structural feature of all the schools: they are, in Foucault's terms, heterotopic. That is, they occupy ambivalent spaces, belonging both to their countries of origin and to the countries where they are built.[27] Much of

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[24] For Ashby, see R. Hodges, *Visions of Rome: Thomas Ashby, Archaeologist*, London, 2000; on the School itself, A.Wallace-Hadrill, *The British School at Rome: One Hundred Years*, London, 2001.

[25] Contrast the German institute, which has always encouraged it, and whose current Deputy Director is an architect by training.

[26] The campaign for the American school was begun by an alliance of nine US universities. My information on the NIA comes from its informative website.

[27] M. Foucault, 'Of other places', *Diacritics* 16 (1986), pp. 22-7. A better (translated) title would have been 'Sites of otherness'.

their history needs to be seen as an ongoing negotiation of the resultant structural tensions.[28]

Richard Jebb himself deserves a word. He is now remembered as a literary scholar, whose edition of Sophocles is one of the few such works from the late nineteenth century which still has to be considered in its field.[29] Yet his range was much wider than this suggests. He taught and wrote on modern Greek, on the history of scholarship, and – most to the point here – archaeology. In particular, he led the opposition to Schliemann's views on Troy in England.[30] His career as Professor of Greek at Cambridge (1889-1903) lay in the period just after the curricular reforms which created specialist sections; but though he worked within this framework, when the British Academy was founded in 1902, also with subject sections, he warned against the danger of specialists losing touch with one another.

Conclusion: problems and opportunities

I close with a few methodological comments arising from the material presented above. First: there is a venerable tradition which has equated classical scholarship with philology, and has almost completely ignored history and archaeology. This tradition has manifested itself most recently in the work of Rudolf Pfeiffer and Charles Brink.[31] In late nineteenth century Cambridge, when several areas of the subject were formally equal as specialisms, the study of texts remained *primus inter pares*. Of the five part II sections created for the Classical Tripos in 1879, 'literature and criticism' remained compulsory until 1895. It was informally known as 'scholarship' or 'pure scholarship': what fell outside the realm of the text was by implication impure.

Second: in this tradition, the focus is on individuals. Institutions such as universities and colleges, journals, learned societies and so on are marginal at best. The narrative is one of a succession of great men (rarely women). Nowadays we are beginning to have a corpus of institutional studies: Hummel on the Ecole Normale, Hingley on Roman archaeology in England, Marchand on Germany, Greece and Turkey.[32] A centenary history of the Classical Association of England and Wales, founded in 1903, will be published in 2003.[33] Helen Waterhouse's centenary history of the BSA, alas, tells a tale from which conflict has been removed and skeletons remain locked in their cupboards.[34] We need more institutional studies which cast at least a comparative glance at other institutions, and which are willing to confront the role of conflict, both

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[28] The poet Rupert Brooke wrote of the English dead of the 1914-18 war that 'there's a corner of a foreign field / Will be forever England'. The BSA, conversely, is an English flower which flourishes in a foreign field.

[29] Just why this is so is discussed by Pat Easterling, 'Reading Sophocles with Jebb', in C. A. Stray (ed.) The Owl of Minerva, *Cambridge Philological Society* 2003.

[30] The anti-Schliemann campaign can be followed in two of Jebb's scrapbooks ('Servanda'), now held in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley. The rest of this series (about a dozen in all) were located in a family deposit in England late in 2002, and will I hope produce further relevant material.

[31] R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford, 1968; *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850*, Oxford, 1976; C.O. Brink, *English Classical Scholarship: Historical Reflections on Bentley, Porson and Housman*, Cambridge, 1985.

[32] P. C. Hummel, *Humanités normaliennes*, Paris, London, 1995; R.Hingley, *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: the Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology*, 2000; S.L. Marchand *Down from Olympus. Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*, 1996.

[33] Stray, *Defenders of Faith* (cf. note 15 above).

[34] H. Waterhouse, *The British School at Athens. The First Hundred Years*, London, 1986.

internal and external. None of this rules out the need to appreciate the influence of individuals where it exists – as in the case of Richard Jebb, whose range, as I have indicated, transcended the specialised curriculum within which he worked at Cambridge.

Third: this is only a beginning. The next step is a study of the phenomenon of that heterotopic institution, the foreign school. This would involve a detailed comparative study of the foreign schools in Athens – not an easy task. Ideally one would compare them with schools elsewhere, most obviously in Rome. Certainly the British School in Rome was established on different lines from the BSA. The factor I have already mentioned, of access to excavation, is crucial. Another factor to be emphasised, which I hope emerges clearly from the account above, is the way in which the creators of such institutions learn from others, by emulating their successes or avoiding their mistakes. The BSR had the BSA not just as a model, but as something to distance itself from.

Fourth: the question of what archaeology is in relation to its others. The traditional opposition between textual and archaeological scholarship is surely too crude. The development of classics in nineteenth century England shows a move, against much resistance, from the narrowly linguistic analysis of a restricted range of texts, to a broader range and a broader analytic perspective. The difference between the *Museum Criticum*, which closed in 1826, and the *Philological Museum*, which began in 1831, symbolises the shift. The editors of both were in contact with German scholars, but one might say that the shift was from the scholarship of Hermann to that of Boeckh.[35] And with Boeckh and his pupils we move into a conception of literary texts embedded in historical contexts, in the history of race, nation, genre and region. Here epigraphy is a familiar study which bridges the simplistic opposition between pen and spade. Another way of looking at this would be to ask, what is the internal structure of archaeology as a discipline?

Fifth: there are evidently many permutations of the relationship between scholarship and ideologies of national identity. In nineteenth century England the great exemplar was Germany; but toward the end of the century, its role began to shift from that of angel to that of devil. Several different developments were implicated in this shift. One was the increasing alarm at Prussian expansionism and then at German militarism. This was the era of competitive battleship building. Another was the English perception that the mighty edifice of Altertumswissenschaft was by the 1870s and '80s beginning to show its age. What had been a glorious new inspiration in 1800 now seemed to be dominated by the mechanical practice of technical scholarship and dangerously wild emendation. Another was that since the 1860s at least, English scholarship had begun to gain in confidence. Munro's edition of Lucretius (1864) was a turning point. The journals and societies founded from 1870 to 1900 also put scholarship on a firmer and more cumulative footing. Finally, American scholarship emerged as an ally, its practitioners welcomed to journals, its leaders respected – men like Gildersleeve, Williams White and Goodwin.[36] In an article on German scholarship published in 1917, Gilbert Murray declared that in many areas of classics he would rather consult an American scholar than a German one.[37]

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[35] For further information on the *Museum Criticum* (1813-25) and the *Philological Museum* (1831-3), see my introductions to the reprints of both journals by Thoemmes Press, Bristol, 2003.

[36] The American Philological Association was founded in 1869 – the first such learned body established on a disciplinary basis. The Archaeological Institute of America dates from 1879.

[37] 'German Scholarship', *Quarterly Review* 223 (1917), 330-9.

Sixth (and finally): if the schools have individually represented in different ways national traditions of scholarship and of national identity, as a group they represent a scholarly world which transcends national identities. Schemes for collaboration between schools have their own history. The abortive proposals for Anglo-American collaboration in the 1880s have already been mentioned. The current scheme for the joint cataloguing of the schools' libraries was anticipated in 1896, when a plan was conceived to do this for the British, French and German schools. It was approved by the three directors in that year, and this was confirmed by a meeting of the directors in 1897. As far as I know, nothing more was heard of this. By 1906, the BSA were considering encouraging Canadian students to join it, having been warned that the American school was inviting Canadian universities to join its support group.[38] As this suggests, the relations between nationalism and archaeology need to be pursued through the study of political processes. These processes exist at a number of analytic levels, institutional, national and international; they also occur in a variety of distinct locations, in the home country and abroad. Much work remains to be done on the relations between archaeology and national identity. Appropriately enough, it is clear that any adequate programme of work will need to be based on international collaboration.[39] The conferences on archaeology and national identity organised by the Netherlands Institute since 2000 are a welcome and pioneering development in this area.[40]

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[38] Canada offers an interesting case for the study of the relationship between archaeology and national identity: a colony founded from England (and France), it was increasingly influenced by its powerful American neighbour (many of whose academic traditions have been modelled on the German system).

[39] Some of the issues which will need to be pursued are usefully discussed in H. Parkins, 'Archaeology and nationalism: excavating the foundations of identity', *Nations and Nationalism* 3, no. 3 (1997), 451-7.

[40] I should like to thank Gert Jan van Wijngaarden, Willem Ledeboer and the staff of the Institute for their hospitality in October 2002.

SCHLIEMANN AND THE FOREIGN SCHOOLS

Stefanie A.H. Kennell

Among the proceedings of a colloquium whose theme was Greek archaeology and European and national identities, sponsored by one of the foreign archaeological schools of Athens, it may seem odd to find a paper concerned with the career of a single, and singular, individual. The life and accomplishments of Henry (Heinrich) Schliemann nonetheless offer an intriguing counterpoint to the political and bureaucratic processes which gave rise to the foreign schools. His personal identification with and reification of the Western cultural tradition, as exemplified by the Homeric epics, intersected literally with the nationalist/imperialist cultural agendas of archaeologists working in the institutional environment of the foreign schools, meeting on the intellectual common ground of archaeological exploration and in the social sphere of personal acquaintance. (Figure 1).

Indeed, it is just as difficult to distinguish the intellectual from the social in discussing Schliemann the individual and the archaeology of the Greek world as it is to separate the scholarly from the political when speaking of the foreign schools of archaeology in Greece. A history of the first 100 years of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, for example, flatly affirms that archaeology is an international endeavour to illuminate the foundation of European culture, at the same time it silently passes over Schliemann's actual internationalism and reduces his accomplishment in founding the discipline of Bronze Age archaeology to that of "a dilettante obsessed by his own idea."[1] Something both of the discipline and of the individual has been lost, it would seem.

Since the autumn of 2000, I have been employed by a project to examine, select, and compile information to create a computerized index of Schliemann's correspondence, which is now part of the Gennadius Library archives of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. This project, whose funding will end in the summer of 2003, has given me an unparalleled opportunity to observe the development of the man's intellectual interests and personal contacts with members of the international academic community. The present paper is thus based large-

[1] Jantzen, 1986, 14, 24.

Figure 1. *Schliemann à la turque (Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens)*

ly on my experience of reading documents created by Schliemann himself.[2] Since I have not yet had the opportunity to inspect the incoming letters written by his correspondents, the findings presented here are of necessity one-sided and provisional, but I hope that they will make a small step toward recalibrating the balance of scholarship about Schliemann by illustrating how much original documentation for his life and work still awaits publication and analysis as well as by suggesting potentially fruitful areas for future research.

Though Schliemann's diaries attest that his regard for antiquity was stimulated to a certain extent by travels around Egypt and the Mediterranean in the late 1850's and early 1860's, we shall not here consider the genesis and early development of his interest in rediscovering the material world of the Homeric epics.[3] For our current purpose, it is more important that in the year 1866 he made a final break from the world of international commodities trading and began the study of antiquity in earnest by attending lectures in Paris at the Sorbonne, and that by the end of 1868 he had completed his first essay in Homeric geography in French.[4]

Paris was the milieu in which Schliemann chose to take his first steps toward becoming a scholar and man of letters. He joined several learned societies, among them the Société de Géographie (in 1866) and the Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques (in 1868), of which despite his subsequent departure from France he remained a member until his death in 1890.[5] Among the professors whose lectures he attended were Mézières, Beulé, Renan, Ravaisson, Deheque, and Egger. With some of them, particularly Deheque and his son-in-law Émile Egger, he became personal friends.[6] The archives of the Gennadius Library hold five letters from Deheque and over 100 letters from several members of the Egger family written between 1868 and 1887, in addition to over 70 letters Schliemann sent to them 1868-1890.[7] All these scholars, we should note, figure prominently in the early years of the École Française d'Athènes.[8]

When Schliemann moved his household from Paris to Athens in 1871 because of his second wife's unbreakable attachment to her birthplace, the École Française was the only foreign archaeological school already in existence, so it is not altogether surprising that he made the

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[2] The author thanks Dr. Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan, the Archivist of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and Dr. Haris Kalligas, Director of the Gennadius Library, for their gracious permission to use letters and photographs from the Heinrich Schliemann and Family Papers Archive. She is also indebted to Dr Kelli Christophi of the École Française d'Athènes and Mrs. Marie Mauzy of the American School of Classical Studies for providing photographs of individuals connected with the history of their respective institutions.

[3] His Egypt-Palestine-Turkey journey is contained in Diary A3 (SCH MN 001.3), the round-the-world trip in diaries A5-A9 (SCH MN 001.5, 001.6, 002.2, 002.3, and 002.4). Cf. Amandry, 1995, 2-13.

[4] See Schliemann's diary for 1-10 February 1866 (A9, pages 106-111), cursorily paraphrased in Meyer, 1969, 226. The preface of Schliemann's *Ithaque le Péloponnèse Troie* (= Schliemann, 1869) is dated 31 December 1868 (xvi); the German edition did not appear until late April or early May of 1869.

[5] The 3 July 1873 membership list in the *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques*, 7 (1873), xxxix, reads "Schliemann (Henri), 6, place Saint-Michel – 1868," and *REG* 4 (1891), xl, records "† Schliemann (H.) à Athènes" among the Association's "membres donateurs." See also Masson, 1995, 31.

[6] See Masson, 1995, 28-39.

[7] From Deheque, 5 letters (1868-1870); to Déheque, 3 letters (1868-1869). From "E. Egger," 50 letters (1868-1883); to Émile E., 25 letters (1868-1884). From Max Egger, 4 letters (1871-1886); to Max E., 11 letters (all 1884). From Elisabeth Egger, the translator of *Ilios*, 52 letters (1882-1887); to Elisabeth E., 34 letters (1882-1890).

[8] Radet, 1901, 111-124, 272-281, 461-462 *et passim*. Radet's index notes a few German scholars, e.g. Ross, Köhler, and Dörpfeld, but not Schliemann. For Renan, see also Coulié, 1996, 255-259.

Figure 2. *Émile Burnouf (École Française d'Athènes)*

acquaintance of Émile Burnouf, its director at the time, though none of his biographers mentions how they met. (Figure 2). This acquaintance matured into a genuine friendship between Schliemann and the Burnouf family. An early and faithful supporter of Schliemann's endeavours at Troy, Burnouf assisted in the publication of the finds from Troy, played a key role in the controversial activities surrounding the 'treasure,' and was one of Schliemann's few academic friends ever to visit Troy.[9] This relationship is amply attested by the surviving correspondence. The Gennadius Library archives contain 103 original letters from Burnouf himself, spanning the period from 23 January 1872 to 19 December 1889, 4 letters from his daughter Louise (who assisted with the illustrations for some of the excavations) from the years 1874-1878, and

[9]For Burnouf's concealment of the "treasure" during part of Schliemann's legal travails, see Traill, 1995, 129-130.

copies of 44 letters written by Schliemann to Burnouf between 4 January 1872 and 7 December 1889.[10] As this dossier remains largely unpublished, I would like to quote some passages from three of Schliemann's letters, one from 1872 and two from 1875, for the sake of the light they cast on his relations with Burnouf, with his German not-quite compatriots, and with the École itself.

The first of these letters was written to Burnouf in April 1872, 15 days after Schliemann had recommenced his excavations at Troy.[11] First stating the number of labourers (126 at last count), he begins the tale of his trials and tribulations. "But unfortunately my efforts have been frustrated as much by the rain as by the festivals when the Greek labourers do not work, such that up to the present I have had only 8 working days. I have attacked the hillock from the front transversely along the direction of the slope, exactly 16 metres below the summit (perpendicular depth) beneath a gigantic platform 70 metres broad which is to pass through the entire hill and bring to light the mysteries of the Pergamon of Priam. But up to the present I can still say nothing positive; all the debris that I have been able to dislodge up to this time seems to me to have been cast down from the front of the hillock; still I find virgin soil nowhere, and though I should find it at this enormous depth, which exceeds the height of your French School at Athens."[12] The French School building Schliemann had in mind was not the present edifice on Odos Didotou, but its predecessor, the Hansen-designed 'Maison lemnienne' on Syntagma Square, which was occupied by the École until late 1873.[13] Despite such frustrations and the high cost of excavation, which he puts at 300ff/day, Schliemann confidently affirms that he will find "virgin soil" at a depth of 16 m. and seeks to reassure Burnouf of his concern for stratigraphy: "As I always remove the debris through trenches of around ½ m. in thickness over the entire surface of the enormous inner face, it is impossible for me always to know fairly the exact depth where such-and-such an object has been found, but as much as it can be done I note the

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[10] Some of Schliemann's correspondence has been lost. During World War II, Ernst Meyer, who edited three volumes of Schliemann's letters (Meyer 1936, 1953, 1958), removed several volumes of the copying books of outgoing letters from the archives of the Gennadius Library and took them back to Schwerin (Mecklenburg) for "safekeeping." The missing copybooks are July 1876-March 1877, October 1877-April 1878 (between BBB 35 and 36), and June 1885-January 1888 (between BBB 40 and 41). Copies of Schliemann's letters for 15 July 1878 – 20 July 1879 and 30 May – 16 December 1883 are also missing, as is all the original incoming correspondence from 1890: the Library's dossier about the Schliemann papers contains a letter from Meyer dated 26 November 1955. For further details, see the finding aid at http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/archives/Gennadius/Schliemann/SchMain.htm

[11] Outgoing Db# 1766, BBB 30, leaves 366-367 (3/15 April 1872); cf. Meyer, 1953, 208, for a partial text. In all the transcriptions and translations that follow, I have attempted to preserve Schliemann's original orthography as much as possible, including underlinings and superscriptions. Some words and phrases remain illegible, however, because of fading and blotting.

[12] BBB 30, leaf 366: "...Mais malheureusement mes efforts ont été frustreé tantôt par la pluie tantôt par des fêtes oú les ouvriers grecs ne travaillent pas, de sorte que jusqu'à prèsent je n'ai eu que 8 jours de travail. J'ai attaqué le mamelon de front en creusant sur le versant escarpé, exactement à 16 mètres au-dessous du sommet (en profondeur perpendiculaire) une plateforme gigantesque de 70 m de large qui doit passer par toute la colline et mettre à jour les mystères de la Pergame de Priame. Mais jusqu'à présent je ne peut encore dire rien de positif; tous les déblais que j'ai pu détacher jusqu'à l'heure qu'il est me paraissent avoir été jetés du haut du mamelon; le sol vierge je ne trouve encore nulle part et pourtant je devrais le trouver à cette énorme profondeur qui excède la hauteur de votre école française à Athènes."

[13] See Schmid, 1996, 128-134.

depth on each object."[14] He also notes finds of numerous spindle whorls, some bearing swastikas, a subject to which Burnouf would later devote a little monograph.[15] The letter is not simply about Troy, however, as Schliemann includes an entire paragraph in praise of Burnouf's "magnificent work," *La Science des Religions*. He informs his friend that he has devoted four large pages to a discussion of the book's merits in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* and believes that it will be "bought enormously" in Germany, adding a brief aside on Greek religious sensibilities.[16] Evident from this paragraph is that Schliemann retained a keen eye for marketing when he made the transition from the world of commerce, where the trade in high-value products knows no borders, to the domain of scholarship, in which high-quality works of erudition vie for international circulation.

The second and third letters are from the summer of 1875. In that year, Schliemann was still seeking to interest the French government in acquiring his controversial collection of Trojan antiquities and Burnouf's term as director of the École Française came to an end.[17] In the first, written at the seaside resort of Boulogne in early June, Schliemann regards France as a nation well able to afford the purchase and declares that Ravaisson, the museum's director, "has a lively desire" for the Musée du Louvre to acquire these antiquities, then reminds Burnouf of his personal interest, adding "besides, you would do well, for the glory of France, to do everything possible to have it accepted, for to recognise the immense importance, the capital importance of the Trojan collection, you only have to visit the museum of St. Germain, where there is nothing from the Trojan period except some casts ... whose originals are at Vannes."[18] Vexed not only by his legal wrangles but also by the adverse reaction which they had provoked among Greeks, including the king (who had prevented Schliemann from demolishing the so-called "Venetian" tower on the Acropolis at his own expense), Schliemann here shows a distinct aver-

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[14] BBB 30, leaf 366: "Mais je ne perds pas encore le courage de trouver la terre vierge dans la profondeur de 16 m. Comment j'enlève toujours les déblais par tranchées d'environ ½ m d'épaisseur sur toute la face de la paroi enorme il m'est impossible de savoir toujours au juste la profondeur exacte où tel òu tel objet a été trouvé, mais autant que faire se peut je noté la profondeur sur chaque objet." Cf. Traill, 1995, 93-94.

[15] The monograph is *Pesons troyens, dessinés par Émile Burnouf en 1872* (Paris, 1898), noted by Masson, 1995, 36-37.

[16] BBB 30, leaves 366-367 : "Dans mon rapport du 5 crt en grand Journal d'Augsbourg, qui est le plus lu de tous les journaux allemands j'ai parlé de vous et de votre magnifique ouvrage, La Science des Religions, au moins en 4 grandes pages et [?...] je n'ai emprunté à votre livre que ou qui est du plus haut interêt pour les allemands. je suis convaincu que par suite de mon VIF rapport votre ouvrage sera énormement acheté en Allemagne. Dans mes rapports pour les Journaux grecs et pour l'association Philologique Hellenique à Constantinople j'ai cru d'avoir menager les susceptibilités de ce peuple qui est encore si attaché à sa religion du Christ et ainsi je [?...] n'y si cité que les faits et j'ai évite toute occasion de froisser les sentiments des orthodoxes."

[17] See Amandry, 1995a, 42-83.

[18] Outgoing Db# 2948, BBB 35, leaves 5-6 (Boulogne, 8? June 1875); not in Meyer, 1953. This three-page letter's first page is largely illegible because the third page was copied over it: "... Songez donc que pour un grand état comme la France f150/m n'est rien du tout, [?...] à présent ou nous avons depuis deux ans les récoltes les plus abondantes de blés, de vins et de fruits. Mr Ravaisson désire vivement que les Musées du Louvre fassent l'acquisition de ma collection troyenne et je lui ai dit que me tiens encore à présent l'offre que vous avez fait fin 1873 au Ministre. Il m'a introduit [?...] Mr. [?]allon, le nouveau Ministre auquel j'ai ecrit ensuite que je confirme et maintiens l'a faite par vous. [?...] vous rappeler que vous êtes fortement interessé dans la reussite, et en autre vous feriez bien, pour la gloire de la France, de faire tout votre possible pour qu'on accepte, car pour reconnaître l'immense importance, l'importance capitale de la collection troyenne, vous n'avez qu'a visiter le musée de St. Germain, oú il n'y a de l'époque troyenne que les moulages de deux doubles tuyaux de vase dont les originaux sont à Vannes." Cf. Amandry, 1995a, 80-81.

sion to remaining in Athens, averring, "It is more than probable, it is almost certain that we will settle at Naples, where we would constantly find excavations, and very interesting excavations, to do. You are right to say that I would not find there the intellectual nourishment which I need, but what to do? With my taste for excavations, it is not possible for me to live in Paris."[19] Despite his emotional state, Schliemann's interest in archaeology in Greece remained unimpaired, at least as far as Olympia was concerned, for he proceeds to comment on the legislative and logistical factors affecting the "Prussian" excavation of that site, which had yet to receive government approval and provide the necessary infrastructure. The letter concludes with regrets – of not having been able to visit the Burnoufs in Paris, of missing Albert Dumont (who was in Rome and about to become the next director of the École Française), and of not sharing in Burnouf's exertions on Santorini (an island he had visited himself in 1870) – all ascribed to his myriad troubles in Greece.[20]

The third letter to Burnouf presented here was written in Stockholm in August 1875. In it, we find Schliemann in the difficult position of trying to console his friend by explaining the German mentality and commenting on École Française internal politics.[21] Because Schliemann goes directly to the point, it is worth quoting at length: "Your letter of the second of this month, which I have just received here, has hurt me a great deal. You are unfair towards the Germans if you believe that they could have harmed you in any way. Because you have always been the enemy of the Germans, you believe that they have the same feelings towards you. But you are enormously mistaken. The German never sees nationality in science; the Germans have never, despite your enmity, have never ceased to admire and to love you, and that a German [?unclear] you calumniate him! See, then, he dies more than a thousand times. The works of the French School at Athens could never have excited the jealousy of anyone at the German School, for your system does not suit the German character at all. The Germans love large-scale publicity; they have always cultivated the public's interest, which you should have seen from the weekly meetings which the German School at Athens has, meetings to which everyone is invited to take part in scientific discussions. Could it be that Germany, undertaking colossal excavations at Olympia, is jealous of the little works of the French School at Santorini, Delos, and the Acro-

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[19] BBB 35, leaves 5-6 (pages 2-3): "Avant qu'on ne chassera le miserable coquin je ne reviendrai pas en Grèce. Ne croyez donc pas que des allemands en meme le jeune allemand roi[?...]aient s'occuper de la démolition de la tour venitienne [...?] Si Ziller [?] se vante qu'il la démolition [?....?] miserable coquin l'aura cru [?... ?] de faire cette [?...?] à ses frais pour faire disparaître le degout que ces procédes contre moi ont provoqué dans le pays. Ainsi c'est le roi et aucun autre qui y penserait. Il est plus que probable, il est presque certain que nous nous fixerons à Naples, oú nous trouverons constamment des fouilles et des fouilles très interessantes à faire. Vous avez raison de dire que je n'y trouve pas la nourriture intellectuelle dont j'ai besoin; mais quoi faire! Avec mes goûts pour les fouilles, il ne m'est pas possible d'habiter Paris."

[20] BBB 35, leaf 5-6 (page 3): "Si les lois voteés par les στηλῆται ont étés annullés, alors soyez sûr que les Prussiens n'auront pas commencer les travaux de l'Olympie. La nouvelle qu'ils construisent une route à la côte est controuvée. La distance de l'Olympie jusqu'à le mer est trois fois plus grand que celle d'Athènes au Pirée et une telle route coûterait donc plus que la somme entière de leurs feuilles projetées. Je ne sais pas comment la nouvelle Chambre pourra faire autrement que de faire une convention avec la Prusse, mais cette convention sera avec de grandes modifications. Je ne puis pas vous dire combien je regrette de ne pas pouvoir passer au moins quelques jours avec vous et votre charmante famille à Paris et de ne pas pouvoir voir Mr Dumont, avec lequel j'ai grandement besoin de parler sur mes fouilles prochaines en Italie. Mais je le verrai à Rome. Vos fatigues de Santorin je voudrais beaucoup partager, mais pas moyen d'y penser avant qu'on ne chasse la canaille de la [?...]. Mille affectueuses salutations ...[last three lines largely illegible; greetings to Madame Burnouf and family]."

[21] Outgoing db# 2999, BBB 35, leaf 46 (Stockholm, 13 August 1875); cf. Meyer, 1953, 289-290.

polis? The Director Mr Luders is not [?...], but I know the German character." The bad condition of the letterpress copy has rendered the text rather obscure, but Schliemann wants Burnouf to believe that Luders, "despite your annoyance at him would have helped you covertly if he had [?unclear ?had] the opportunity" and would never "stop admiring you as a great savant."[22]

The root cause of Burnouf's bad temper was his non-reappointment as Director of the French School, a misfortune which he attributed largely to the foundation of the German Archaeological Institute. The cheerful portrait Schliemann draws of "the German character," however, aside from the mention of weekly meetings, has more in common with his own disposition and preferences than it does with the DAI's institutional mission; what he really succeeds in describing is his own character, with its love of things French and of large-scale publicity. Furthermore, when he proceeds to reflect on what factors in France might have contributed to the circumstances in which Burnouf found himself, he again discovers the personal element.[23] "The single cause of your bad luck is the calumnies of Gabriac, who considers himself as insulted by you because you have stopped greeting him in the street. It could also be that Gorceix and Rayet have not spoken well of you to the Minister. Unfortunately Mr Dumont will accept your post, and there is nothing but for him to ...[text blurred] because the post of Director has been declared vacant by the Minister. In the same way, I would accept nothing else in his place. As far as you are concerned, everything is a mystery to me, e.g. why not go and contact the Institut, go to our friend Mr Bertrand ... I repeat, I understand nothing! De Mortillet is a bad case; watch out for him."[24] At this point, the degradation of the ink makes the letter's

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[22] BBB 35, leaf 46 : "Votre lettre de 2 crt, que je viens de recevoir ici, m'a fait beaucoup de peine. Vous êtes injuste envers les allemands si vous croyez qu'ils aient pu vous nuire en quoique ce soit. Parce que vous avez toujours eté l'ennemi des Allemands vous croyez qu'ils ont envers vous les mêmes sentiments. Mais vous vous trompez énormement. L'allemand ne voit pas de nationalité dans la science; les allemands n'ont, malgré votre inimité, jamais cessé de vous admirer et de vous aimer, et qu'un allemand [?...] vous calomniez! mais allons donc, plus et mille fois il mourrait. Jamais les travaux de l'École Française à Athènes n'ont pu exciter la jalousie de quoiq'un de l'École Allemande, car votre systéme ne convient pas du tout au caractère allemand. Les allemands aiment la grande publicité; ils ont toujours en vue l'interêt général ce que vous avez dû voir par les réunions hébdomadaires dont l'École allemand à Athènes, réunions auxquelles tout le monde est invité pour prendre part aux discussions scientifiques. Est ce que l'Allemagne entreprend les fouilles colossales d'Olympia pourrait étre jalouse des petits travaux de l'École Français à Santorin, à Délos et à l'Acropole? Le directeur Mr Luders n'est pas [?...], mais je connais le caractère allemande assez bon pour pouvoir vous prier, que malgré votre irritation vers lui il vous aurait aidé en secret s'il [?...]nsé l'occasion, car jamais votre malveillance pu de faire cesser de vous admirer comme un grand savant." This item replies to incoming db# 21796, BB Box 70, No. 279 (2 August 1875), written in Nancy.

[23] BBB 35, leaf 46 (completely omitted in Meyer, 1953): "La cause unique de vos malheurs ce sont des calomnies de Gabriac qui s'est considéré comme insulté par vous, parce que vous avez cessé de le saluer dans la rue. Il se peut aussi que M. M. Gorceix et Rayet n'aient pas parlé bien de vous au ministre. Malheureusement M' Dumont acceptera votre position, et il ne faut pas lui en [?...]lair parce que la place de directeur a été déclaré vacante par le ministre. Ainsi tout autre à sa place accepterai. Quant à vous il y a tant de choses inexplicables pour moi; p.e. pourquoi ne pas tâcher de parvenir à l'Institut, au votre ami M Bertrand vient de pervenir que vous pourriez mettre cent fois dans la poche de votre gilet et tout le monde le sait . Je le repète je n'y comprends rien! De mortillet est un mauvais sujet; gardez vous de lui ; impossible qu'il [?.....] faux que lui. Combien de planches contient mon atlas ou les choses grecques sont entremêlées avec les préhistoriques? Pas 6 sur 218, et [?.....]inent. Je vous conseille d'accepter le rectorat de l'Alger et de laisser le reste à la Providence. Je pars à l'instant pour l'Allemagne [?....] voir les musées. Mille affectueuses compliments à Madame Burnouf et à votre charmante [?fille]."

[24] The Gennadeion archives contain a single letter from Gorceix to Schliemann, too early to shed much light on Burnouf's difficulties here: incoming db# 20544, Series BB, Box 67, No. 118 (24 March 1872).

final lines very difficult to decipher, but Schliemann's parting words can still be discerned: "I advise you to accept the rectorate at Algiers and to leave the rest to Providence. I am leaving in a moment for Germany [to tour?] and see the museums. A thousand affectionate regards to Madame Burnouf and your charming daughter." While trying to strike as sympathetic a note as possible, Schliemann plainly sees no way to help Burnouf and implies the latter's hostile attitude toward certain individuals in Paris might be making the situation worse.[25]

Given the political content of this letter, what does Schliemann mean by these references to "Germans" and "Prussians"? The idea of Germany as a politically and geographically unified nation-state was a considerable novelty for Schliemann, who was born in 1822 in Mecklenburg-Strelitz, an independent grand duchy that did not become part of Prussia's empire until 1870. Moreover, it is evident from two letters he wrote to his son Sergei in 1870 that he favoured the French in their disastrous war against Prussia and was happy to see the Russians did so as well.[26] On the other hand, Schliemann demonstrably tended to disregard political factors except when they threatened to impede a desired course of action. During his earlier life as a businessman, for instance, he does make reference in his letters to the revolution of 1848 and the Crimean War, but only insofar as he perceived these events to impinge on the functioning of European financial and commodities markets; he then sought to overcome whatever difficulties arose.[27] The first mention of "Prussians" I have encountered in an archaeological context (earlier references may exist) occurs in an August 1874 letter to his Leipzig publisher F.A. Brockhaus, in which, *inter alia*, Schliemann expresses opposition to "Prussians" excavating at Olympia, challenging both their methods and their claim to the site itself.[28] The second is the June 1875 item to Émile Burnouf discussed above. A letter written in Greek from Palermo in November of that same year provides a third instance. After discussing the disposition of income from his Paris rental properties, Schliemann makes a request of Perikles Dendopoulos, his Athens banker: "as soon as you receive this letter of mine, write to me in detail how much and what sorts of things the Prussians have found in Olympia up to this point and how pleased they are there and our compatriots with them."[29] Since by August 1875 Schliemann found himself trying to represent the "Germans" more positively to offset what he regarded as the "calumnies" of Burnouf, it appears that his initial, instinctive disapproval of "Prussians" was gradually giving way to curiosity, but it was not until he came to know and approve of Wilhelm Dörpfeld that his views on the conduct of the Olympia excavations and the German Archaeological Institute at Athens changed for the better.[30] In the meantime, while writing to a Greek from the tranquillity of an Italian address, he could forget the irritations of Athens and choose to identify himself with his adopted homeland rather than with the German-speaking country of his birth.

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[25] Cf. Radet, 1901, 148-191; at 166 and 181-182, Radet represents Burnouf's personality and directorial skill as incapable of meeting the challenges presented by the German Institute's foundation and dynamism (e.g., the Athens branch of the DAI already had a regularly published journal while the ÉFA did not), but cf. Masson, 1995, 36.

[26] Outgoing db# 1303, BBB 29, leaf 161 (25 July 1870); db# 1329, BBB 29, leaves 184-185 (20 August 1870).

[27] Cf. Hahn, 1990, 309-325.

[28] Outgoing db# 2614, BBB 34, leaf 67 (9 August 1874) .

[29] Outgoing db# 3041, BBB 35, leaf 77 (1 November 1875): "Εχω πρός ὑμᾶς μεγάλην παράκλησιν: ἅμα παραλάβητε τήν ἐπιστολήν μου ταύτην γράψατε μοι λεπτομερῶς πόσα και ποία πράγματα οἱ Πρώσσοι μέχρι τοῦδε ἕὑρηκαν ἐν 'Ολυμπία καὶ πῶς αυτοὶ εἶναι ἐκεὶ εὐχαριστημένοι καὶ οἱ συμπατριώται μας μετ' αὐτῶν.

[30] Traill, 1990, 237-243.

Figure 3. *Albert Dumont (École Française d'Athènes)*

In addition to his correspondence with the sympathetic Burnouf, Schliemann cultivated epistolary relations with several other persons associated with the École Française d'Athènes. The acquaintance with Albert Dumont (Figure 3). hinted at in the letter cited above also manifests itself in the record of the correspondence, albeit rather more formally than with Burnouf, with two letters from Dumont's pen, one dated March 1874 and another December 1883, and two written by Schliemann in August 1873 and February 1874. The archives in the Gennadeion preserve 13 letters from Félix Ravaisson-Mollien, the director of the Musée du Louvre, over the period October 1872 to April 1877, and copies of 16 letters from Schliemann to Ravaisson.[31] A few pertain to the gift of a cast of the Helios metope, while others are concerned with the pos-

[31] Cf. Amandry, 1995a, 45: their acquaintance began in Paris in 1868-1870 and continued by correspondence, "mais, si des lettres de Schliemann à Ravaisson sont conservées, elles n'ont pas été jusqu'à présent localisées." The only mention of Ravaisson in Meyer's edition of the correspondence is a letter of 5 August 1874 (Meyer, 1953, 286-287).

sible sale of the Troy collection to France and the majority dwell on his conflict with Vivien de St. Martin concerning the location of Troy. Perturbation at de St. Martin's championship of Bunarbashi as the location of Troy dominates Schliemann's 1874 correspondence with Barthélemy de St. Hilaire as well. In one of the letters, after happily reporting that the Greek court had rejected the Turkish appeal concerning the ownership of the Troy discoveries and recalling his offer of the collection to France, he complains that the nation, in the person of de St. Martin, has maltreated him by upholding the Bunarbashi-Troy theory and asks St. Hilaire to read his counter-attack, an article phrased "with all the politeness in the world," at the next meeting of the Institut de France.[32] Having sent the same article also to Ravaisson and Lenormant with the hope of finding support, Schliemann interprets their failure to reply as "the silence of contempt" and, invoking his rights as a human being, wonders why France does not allow him to defend himself against his enemies "in excellent French," of whose quality he says Burnouf had assured him.[33]

In the last ten years of his life, the period of his greatest fame, Schliemann's most prominent French acquaintance was the well-travelled Georges Perrot (Figure 4), best known for his nine-volume *Histoire de l'Art* written in collaboration with Chipiez.[34] The Gennadius Library archives contain 21 original letters from Perrot from the period 1883-1889 and copies of 22 letters written by Schliemann between 1885 and 1890. The 22 letters to Perrot cover a wide range of topics, from aspects of the archaeology of Tiryns and the construction of a "house" for the German Archaeological Institute to the financial and political negotiations to acquire land at

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[32] The dossier comprises 4 letters from Ravaisson written February – November 1874, and 4 letters from Schliemann, December 1873 – November 1874. Outgoing db# 2664, BBB 34, leaves 126-127 (25 October 1874): "...Seulement avant-hier la Cour d'Appel a rejeté l'appel turc contre la sentence du tribunal qui ordonnait que la collection disparue fût estimée, d'après l'atlas et le texte, par 3 experts et que j'en payerai [?] la moitié. Ainsi l'estimation va se faire et comme je ne tarderai pas de déposer la ? de la valeur au tribunal, j'espère que le procès va finir. Je suis charmé de voir que vous m'approuvez d'avoir offert à la France dans l'heure des grands dangers ce que j'avais de plus précieux au monde en fait de fortune. Mais loin de m'en remercier la France me maltraite au plus haut dégré. Mr Vivien de St Martin a occupé les trois séances de l'Institut du 1, 7 et 14 Juillet à lire un immense travail pour defendre la théorie de Troie-Bounarbachi et pour me rendre ridicule. Là dessus j'ai écrit un article intitulé Mr V. de St Martin et l'Ilion homerique, où, avec toute la politesse du monde, j'ai écrasé si brave homme, preuves en mains, coup sur coup et où j'ai refuté tous ses faux arguments sans exception. Un exemplaire de cet article j'ai envoyé à Mr Ravaisson en le priant instamment de le lire de suite à l'Institut et d'engager Mr Delauney d'en faire l'analyse dans le journal officiel; un autre exemplaire j'en ai envoyé à Mr Fr Lenormant en le prient de le faire publier par le Temps ou la Liberté, à mes frais s'il le fallait et coûte que coûte."

[33] BBB 34, leaves 126-127: "Mais ni Mr Ravaisson ne lit l'article, ni Mr Lenormant ne le publie et l'un et l'autre me répondent avec la silence du mépris. On disait que [?... *2-3 lines largely illegible*] ... autorité qu'il peut dire les plus grossiers mensonges, qu'il peut défendre les arguments les plus faux et erronés et qu'il n'est permis à personne de le contredire. Au nom de la sainte justice je vous prie d'engager de suite Mr Ravaisson de lire l'article à l'Institut et Mr Lenormant à le publier dans l'Academy de Londres ce qui me serait très désagréable. J'ai fait voir mon article à Mr Burnouf, qui m'assure qu'il est en excellent français et que tout homme de science qui n'a pas des idées préconçues le lira avec enthousiasme. Il n'y a pas pays au monde où on n'ait pas le droit de se défendre si l'on est attaqué. Comment est-il seulement possible que la France puisse m'enlever ce droit ? Mais l'article est au plus haut degré poli, et, étant en Russie, je pourrais l'écrire ainsi contre la personne de l'empereur, sans que la police trouve mot à dire. Que m'enrage en foulant aux pieds mes droits d'homme." Cf. db# 2631, BBB 34, leaf 93 (20 September 1874), and db# 2649, BBB 34, leaves 112-113 (22 October 1874), both to Ravaisson on the same subject. For Lenormant, see Masson, 1995, 38-39.

[34] See Radet, 1901, 388-389; cf. 352-353, 401. None of the following letters is mentioned in Traill, 1995, nor do they appear in Meyer, 1958, which quotes parts of three other letters from Schliemann and of six other letters from Perrot.

Figure 4. *Georges Perrot (From Radet, 1901)*

Knossos and the controversy provoked by Bötticher's allegation that Troy was actually a *Feuernecropole*, but Troy is continually in Schliemann's thoughts. As with Burnouf, a small sample from 1890 must suffice to illustrate Schliemann's relations with Perrot.

In the first, from 4 February of that year, Schliemann was "charmed" to see that Perrot wanted to join Dörpfeld's excursion to the Peloponnese.[35] Giving his correspondent detailed advice

[35] Outgoing db#7656, BBB 42, leaf 137 (not in Meyer, 1958): "Cher Monsieur Perrot, Je suis charmé de voir que vous désirez vous associer à l'excursion de M. Doerpfeld au Péloponèse. Comme il y a déjà chemin de fer de Patras à Pyrgos, vous pouvez aller dans un jour de Tirynthe à Olympie et sur votre demande M. Doerpfeld se hâtera d'y arriver avec sa troup. Vous ne pouvez et ne devez pas voir Olympie sans avoir Doerpfeld pour guide et cicerone. Mais je dis le même de Hissarlik, où les explications de ce savant vous sont aussi de la plus grande nécessité. Partez donc une semaine plus tôt de Paris, et directement par l'expresse Oriental à Constantinople, où vous examinerez le Musée et d'où vous viendrez au 30 Mars, ou soit au 1 Avril, aux Dardanelles doît je vous recueillerai et vous conduirai à Troie. Vous trouverez alors chez moi MM Babin, Virchow, Waldstein, Doerpfeld, vous étudierez avec eux les ruines de Troie et le pays grandiose qui s'y déroule devant vous; vous vous concerterez avec Doerpfeld pour le voyage au Péloponnèse et vous verrez de cette manière mille choses du plus haut interêt que vous ne verriez jamais en commençant par Athènes, car pour Troie aussi Doerpfeld vous est absolument nécessaire. MM Babin, Waldstein, Virchow Doerpfeld tout le monde vous accompagner à Athènes, Tirynthe, Mycènes et Olympie. Songez donc quel avantage enorme vous aurez ayant Doerpfeld et Waldstein pour guides et ciceroni à Athènes; songez aussi que vous ne les aurez pas en commençant par Athènes!" The first French archaeologists to visit the German dig at Olympia were Homolle, Girard, and Martha in June 1879: Radet, 1901, 199-200.

on railways and assuring him of Dörpfeld's concern, he seeks to take charge of Perrot's travels. "You cannot and must not see Olympia without having Dörpfeld as your guide and cicerone. But I say the same of Hisarlik, where the explanations of this scholar are for you also most necessary. Leave Paris, then, one week earlier, and by the Orient Express straight to Constantinople, where you will examine the Museum and from where you will arrive on 30 March, or 1 April, at the Dardanelles I shall receive you and conduct you to Troy. So you will find with me MM Babin, Virchow, Waldstein, Dörpfeld, you will study with them the ruins of Troy and the majestic countryside which spreads out before you; you will coordinate with Dörpfeld for the journey to the Peloponnese and you will see in this way a thousand things of the greatest interest which you would never see by beginning in Athens, since for Troy as well, Dörpfeld is an absolute necessity for you." Even as he tries to arrange Perrot's trip and send his visitor copies of as many of his books as possible, Schliemann's thoughts keep turning to Troy, with worries about the conference protocol.[36] By 31 March, the date of the next letter to Perrot, Schliemann had learned that Perrot would arrive in Athens on 2 April and consequently sought to persuade him to visit Troy in Dörpfeld's company after the end of the Peloponnesus trip; since the Troy conference (Figure 5) was already underway, he described its amenities and participants for the benefit of the absent Perrot.[37]

In early October 1890, he wrote to Perrot for the last time, again all about Troy, but this time Schliemann sent his correspondent a "little box" containing 39 objects from the site and, slight-

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[36] BBB 42, leaf 147: "Jusqu'à l'heure qu'il est je n'ai pas encore reçu le protocole; j'écris donc à M. Brockhaus de Leipzig de vous en envoyer deux exemplaires directement, car vous les recevrez ainsi 10 jours plus tôt. L'autorisation génerale vous avez reçue par ma lettre du 21 Janvier. Mais oui, vous avez parfaitement raison, il ne faut pas qu'il y ait ni une traduction française ni une traduction anglaise du livre de Schuchhardt. Si vous voulez faire honneur à mes ouvrages « Ilios », « Mycènes », « Tirynthe » et « Orchoméne » et instruire le grand public de mes découvertes, c'est la plus haute appréciation à laquelle mes travaux puissent aspirer. [?...]èans me dites que vous avez ma brochure sur Orchomène. Mais ce sera de 1881. Il y a encore une autre sur mes découvertes avec M. Doerpfeld à Orchomène en 1886 et je vous en ai remis un exemplaire aussi. Avez vous celui-ci? en cas que vous ne l'ayez pas, veuillez prendre l'exemplaire ci-inclus; mais en cas que vous l'avez veuillez me retourner ce second exemplaire qui appartient à ma bibliothèque. Votre très dévoué Hy Schliemann"

[37] db# 7823, BBB 42, leaf 231 (31 March 1890) (not in Meyer, 1958): "... Rien n'a été changé au programme de la tournée qui doit commencer le 13 Avril pour terminer le 27. On visitera d'abord Tirynthe et Mycènes, puis Tegée, Mantinée, Mègalopolis & Olympie. Si vous le désirez, je vous chercherai d'Athènes pour vous conduire à Troie [?]mais de grâce, accompagnez plutôt M. Dörpfeld qui en revenant de sa tournée au Péloponnèse ne tardera pas à retourner chez moi, car j'ai ici de grands travaux, je travaille avec 75 ouvriers et 2 chemins de fer et des feuilles devraient nécessairement être suspendues pendant mon absence. Mais le bateau vous améne en 18 heures aux Dardanelles et si vous me fixez 6 jours d'avance d'heure de votre arrivée, je ne manquerai pas de m'y trouver pour vous accompagner ici. Il faut que vous m'annonciez votre arrivée si long temps d'avance, car les lettres et télegrammes restent parfois 3 ou 4 jours aux Dardanelles avant qu'on me les apporte. Mais si vous ne m'écrivez pas d'avance et si par consequent vous ne me trouvez pas aux Dardanelles pour vous accueillier, veuillez vous y adresserà M. A. de Caravel, consul d'Espagne, qui vous procurera à l'instant des chevaux et un guide pour vous conduire à Troie. je suis à présent bien [?...]llé ici je puis loger 13 visiteurs en donnant à chacun une chambre et mes provisions en fait de viande de Chicago (Corned beef), d'éxtrait Liebig et de confitures suffisant pour 5 ans. La Conference Internationale sur la question troyenne est depuis trois ou 4 jours en pleine activité ; outre M. Babin, qui est venu accompagné de sa charmante femme, les savants suivants prennent part aux travaux de la Conference le professeur Virchow de Berlin ; le professeur F. von Duhn de Heidelberg ; le professeur Waldstein, directeur de l'Institut Archéol. Americain comme délégué de l'Academie Americaine ; le professeur Grempler de Breslau ; Charles Humann le découvreur des trésors de Pergamon; Hamdy Bey, le directeur du Musée Impérial de Constantinople; Frank Calvert, consul d'Amerique aux Dardanelles. M. Babin vous donnera tous les détails, car lui aussi il ira avec M. Dörpfeld au Péloponnèse."

Figure 5. *1890 Troy Conference (Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens)*

ly later, 10 photographs.[38] The longest of the letters begins thus: "Dear Mr Perrot, Here enclosed the list of 39 Trojan objects which I am sending you today by way of Mr Bérard. Each object carries in ink the number on the list and in pencil the number of metres in depth at which they were found."[39] Schliemann then comments on certain spindle-whorls, *depa amphikupella*, and other items in the box, comparing several of them to finds from Mycenae. He then thanks Perrot for promising to send him and Dörpfeld copies of Babin's speech about Troy to the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres in Paris, makes brief reference to a Cypriot-type inscription to be published by his longtime collaborator and friend A.H. Sayce of Oxford, and finally mentions the probable agora of the lower city of Troy as the area he intends to start excavating the next March.[40] He did not live to see the year 1891, but the beginning of this let-

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[38] Outgoing db# 8291, BBB 43, leaves 33-35 (4 October 1890: cover letter with remarks and list of 39 objects); db# 8295, BBB 43, leaf 37 (7 October 1890: notice that the box had been sent); db# 8307, BBB 43, leaf 57 (7 October 1890: list of 10 photographs).

[39] BBB 43, leaf 33 (not in Meyer, 1953): "Ci-inclus la liste de 39 objets troyens qui je vous envoie aujourd'hui par Monsr Bérard. Chaque objet porte en encre le numéro de la liste et en crayon le nombre de mètres de la profondeur dans laquelle il a été trouvé. Parmi les fusaïoles de la 2e cité il y a une avec un [swastika], des foudres et des artr[?]s Les δέπας αμφικύπελλα ont toujours été écrasés par la chute des plafonds mais je vous envoie le meilleur que j'ai de la 2e cité."

[40] BBB 43, leaf 35: "Mille mercis pour votre bonne promesse de nous envoyer, à M Dörpfeld et à moi un exemplaire du discours de Mr Babin sur Troie dans l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Parce que je parle d'inscriptions, nous en avons trouvé une en caractères chypriotes dans la 6e couche (celle des poteries de Mycènes et des indigènes poteries à 3 cornes); nous la donnerons dans notre brochure ensemble avec l'explication de M A.H. Sayce d'Oxford.

Vous vous rappelerez que vous avez vus dans la grande fosse prés de nos maisonnettes à Troie, une masse de colons en granit et en marbre. Vous croyons que celles-ci marquent la place de l'agora d'Ilium et c'est donc dans cet endroit que nous nous proposons de commencer les fouilles de la ville basse le 1 Mars prochain. Mais au même temps nous continuerons à déblayer les chemins ou reces qui descendent de la Pergame dans la ville basse. Peutêtre trouverons nous des d[?...?]tés de ces rues des tombeaux Troyens."

ter, where he calls Perrot's attention to the notations on the Trojan objects indicating the level at which each was found, can be compared with what he wrote to Burnouf during the excavation of the great trench in 1872; once he had grasped a principle, he did not forget it, though modern specialists will miss the exactitude of millimetres and *Planquadrate*.

The focus on Troy in these late letters to Perrot should not obscure the fact that, throughout his second career as an archaeologist, Schliemann was always on the alert for sites worth excavating and liked to keep his options open. Many of these places turn out to be actual or intended missions of the École Française: Delphi, Santorini and the Cyclades, Boeotia, and Knossos in Crete.[41] The first two feature in a letter Schliemann wrote in 1870 to Frank Calvert before leaving for the Cyclades: "It may be that I am back from Santorin in 10 or 12 days. please therefore write to me care of the Hotel d'Angleterre here as soon as you are sure to get the firman. If as I now hope I come back soon then I shall probably go with the American consul and ambassador to Delphi, but if your firman is ready then Troy goes beyond all other considerations."[42] Later, when French interest in excavating Delphi grew stronger, Schliemann mentioned the site in letters to German and English correspondents.[43] Santorini was investigated in 1869-1871 by the physician Henri Gorceix, from whom a single letter to Schliemann of 1872 is preserved, while the archaeological exploration of Delos became one of the École Française's earliest and longest-running sites of activity.[44] In Boeotia, he explored Lebadeia in search of the oracle of Trophonius, while his first expression of interest in Orchomenos, where he would later excavate and publish the "Treasury of Minyas," dates from 1874.[45] The site of Knossos in Crete, since Arthur Evans the territory of the British School, attracted Schliemann since at least early 1883, when he began to relate his efforts to purchase the land and secure political approval for excavation to numerous correspondents in several languages.[46] In this connection, moreover, we may note that Georges Perrot had taken part in the first French archaeological investigation of Crete in 1857 and that the Académie des Inscriptions was informed in 1862 of the desirability of "special research" in Crete, particularly at Knossos, by none other than Émile Egger.[47]

Schliemann's desire to excavate at Knossos was realised by the British School at Athens' work at that site. Moreover, individuals with connections to the BSA, which also carried on further excavations at Mycenae from 1921, appear frequently in the correspondence.[48] For the sheer quantity of letters that passed between them in the years 1878-1889 – 53 from Mahaffy, 57 from Schliemann – and the wealth of detail the letters provide for their acquaintance, the

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[41] See Étienne, 1996, 11-12.

[42] Outgoing Db# 1162, BBB 29, leaf 25, to Frank Calvert (26 February 1870).

[43] To Richard Schöne, director of the Berlin museums: outgoing db# 4597, BBB 38, leaf 9 (24 March 1881); to Amelia Edwards of Bristol, England, outgoing db# 5986, BBB 40, leaf 101 (8 March 1884).

[44] From Gorceix: incoming db# 20544, Box 67, No. 118 (24 March 1872). For his work on Santorini in December 1869, April-June 1870, and October 1871, see Radet, 1901, 342-343, and Treuil, 1996, 409.

[45] Lebadeia: outgoing db# 4577, BBB 37, leaf 500 (8 March 1881), db# 5916 BBB 40, leaf 57 (1 February 1884). Orchomenos: outgoing db# 2609, BBB 34, leaves 62-63 (6 August 1874); over 100 subsequent letters (1874-1884) refer to the site and/or publications about it.

[46] Hood, 1992, 223-229 depends mainly on Stoll, 1961, whose source was Meyer's editions (1936, 1953, 1958) of Schliemann's correspondence. Meyer's preference for quoting letters written in German has skewed the record lamentably, for it ignored most of Schliemann's correspondence with Francophones and Anglophones.

[47] Christophi, 1996, 358-360; cf. Radet, 1901, 461. See now also Driessen, 2001, 113-117.

[48] See Waterhouse, 1986, 6-9.

Dublin professor J.P. Mahaffy leads the group.[49] The first preserved letter to Mahaffy dates from May 1878 and refers to A.H. Sayce as a mutual friend, whereas subsequent letters show a greater degree of familiarity.[50] Their subject matter ranges from editorial questions and conflicts with other scholars to obtaining an "Albanian costume" requested by Mahaffy as a Christmas gift (which Schliemann has Dörpfeld mail to Mahaffy from Düsseldorf so that it might arrive in time) and enlisting Mahaffy's collaboration for various publications.[51] Translating *Tiryns* from the original German subjected their relationship to considerable stress. From Schliemann's letters, it appears that the proofs of Mahaffy's English text were consistently late, and error-filled when they finally did arrive.[52] In March 1885, he demanded an explanation, exclaiming "you bring me to despair," and less than a month later he complained of the errors and omissions in a section translated by Mrs. Mahaffy.[53] Mahaffy was also the person responsible for showing the young George Macmillan, scion of the homonymous publishing firm, around Greece in 1877. After his return to England, Macmillan became a keen supporter of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (SPHS) and was responsible for publishing the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. As a consequence of this involvement, the Gennadius archives contain 12 letters he sent to Schliemann during the years 1883-1889 and copies of eight Schliemann wrote to him over the same period. Schliemann's letters are usually in reference to missing issues of *JHS*, SPHS membership dues, and, on one occasion, a donation of his own publications to the library of the British School, which he refers to as the "English Archaeological Institute."[54] Ernest Gardner, the School's first student and subsequently Director for 1887-1895, was invited to Troy as the British delegate and attended the 1890 conference.[55] There were unpleasant contacts as well, in the form of academic disputes in print with the classical philologist and leading BSA supporter R.C. Jebb and with Francis Penrose, the architectural scholar who became the British School's first Director.[56]

Schliemann's contacts with the German Archaeological Institute at Athens are evident in the abundant correspondence between him and persons connected with the German Institute both

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[49] Ernst Meyer cited only three letters in this set of correspondence, two from Schliemann and one from Mahaffy: Meyer, 1958, 111, 183-184, and 208-209.

[50] Outgoing db# 3342, BBB 36, 31-32 (2 May 1878).

[51] E.g. Outgoing db# 4928, BBB 38, leaf 267 (11 October 1881); db# 5012, BBB 38, leaf 318 (20 November 1881); db# 5710, BBB 39, leaf 272 (22 May 1884).The fustanella appears in db# 5309, BBB 39, leaf 39 (14 December 1882); Schliemann altered the garment's size, thinking the measurements Mahaffy had sent were impossibly small.

[52] E.g. outgoing db# 5717, BBB 39, leaf 279 (31 May 1884); db# 5785, BBB 39, leaf 322 (5 May 1885); db# 5793 BBB 39, leaf 329 (7 May 1885); db# 6487, BBB 40, leaf 414 (8 February 1885). Cf. Meyer, 1958, 208-209.

[53] Cry of despair: db# 6564, BBB 40, leaf 460 (10 March 1885); defects of Mrs. M's translation: db# 6621, BBB 40, leaf 492 (2 April 1885). Cf. outgoing db# 6636, BBB 40, leaf 500 (12 April 1885), which refers to a "sleepless night," and db# 5744, BBB 39, leaf 294 (19 April 1885) to his London publisher John Murray, where he says an entire week was needed to correct 112 pp. of first proofs: "... there is now no word to reprehend. I could make twice the translation in the time it takes me to correct Mahaffy's most defective Uebersetzung."

[54] Outgoing db# 6940, BBB 41, leaf 195 (22 December 1888). One letter of Macmillan's was cited by Meyer, evidently because it supported Schliemann and Dörpfeld against Penrose's objections in the *Times*: Meyer, 1958, 250.

[55] Two letters from 1887, one from 1888, and two from 1889 from Gardner's pen survive; all of Schliemann's are lost, although he requested Gardner's nomination as a Troy delegate in a letter to George Macmillan, outgoing db# 7572, BBB 42, leaf 86 (7 January 1890). None appear in Meyer, 1936, or Meyer, 1958.

[56] See Traill, 1995, 208, 225, 229-232. The Gennadeion archive has three letters from Jebb for 1882 and two from Penrose for 1887 but, thanks to Ernst Meyer, none from Schliemann's own hand.

in Greece and in Germany. A virtual *Who's Who* of the German Institute's early years can be drawn from Schliemann's correspondents – Adler, Conze, Curtius, Dörpfeld, Furtwängler, Hirschfeld, Kaupert, Köhler, Lolling, Luders, Michaelis, Milchhöffer, Steffen, Treu, von Moltke, Wilberg, Wolters, to name them in alphabetical order – but pride of place belongs to Wilhelm Dörpfeld.[57] The Gennadius archives contain 134 letters written by Dörpfeld from November 1879 to December 1889 and copies of 75 letters from Schliemann between October 1881 and December 1890. Besides this correspondence, most of which is devoted to archaeological matters and to German Institute business, the archives contain a set of documents pertaining to the construction of the Ziller-designed "house" that Schliemann built for Dörpfeld and the German Institute.[58] Within the compass of this paper, it must suffice to say that there is enough archival material for several in-depth articles and perhaps a monograph or two on the nuances of Schliemann's relationship with the German Institute, which deserves re-examination. We have only to recall his letters to Burnouf about settling in Naples and to Dendopoulos referring to "our compatriots," then consider that he spent twenty years as a Russian citizen resident in St. Petersburg, sometimes identified himself as a U.S. citizen, and in an 1872 letter written in Athens and sent to a Parisian friend warmly affirmed that "certainly, from the heart of my soul I am a thousand times French."[59] Schliemann's Germanness should assuredly not be taken for granted in view of the polymorphous conception he held of his own nationality.

Before ending with the American School of Classical Studies, the last of the foreign schools at Athens with which Schliemann had contacts and where his papers now rest, we should remember that his interest in and friendships with Americans go back to his first sojourn in California in the early 1850's.[60] Less well known is that he was strongly interested in two major sites which Americans would later excavate and publish.[61] One was Sardis. A July 1879 letter to Munif Effendi, in which Schliemann seeks a permit for a geological survey of the region of Troy, assures the addressee that "these little holes made with the aid of drill-bits have absolutely nothing to do with archaeology," then states, "As soon as my new work on Troy is finished, I will request a firman for the exploration of Sardis."[62] In June 1880, a letter to A.H. Sayce indicates that Sardis was still very much on Schliemann's mind, though other matters would soon take precedence: "...On returning to Athens end of Octbr I better go myself to Sardes to see first how chances are before soliciting a firman, for you would neither mind to join me at Orchomenos or Lycosoura for which I have the permission. But Sardes is, I think, the most important. A firman would not be difficult since they get from me much treasure." [63]

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[57] Kluwe, 1992, 153-160; Jantzen, 1986, 22-37.

[58] Schliemann Archive Series F (pertaining to Schliemann's property in Athens), Box 1, Folder 1, item 11.

[59] Outgoing db# 2009, BBB 31, leaves 343-344 (14 November 1872), to Aloyse Zoegger: "... que je suis français? Certainement de coeur de l'âme je suis mille fois français."

[60] Weber, 1942; Lilly, 1961; Chambers, 1990, 397-414. He also began to invest in U.S. stocks and bonds in the mid-1850's.

[61] Gates, 1996, at nn. 3-5.

[62] Outgoing db# 3478, BBB 36, leaf 118, to Munif Effendi (31 July 1879): "Ces petits trous faits à l'aide de forets n'ont absolument rien à faire avec l'archéologie et j'espére donc que vous n'hesiterez pas de me permettre à des faire. Aussitôt que mon nouvel ouvrage sur Troie sera terminé, je solliciterai un firman pour l'exploration de Sardes."

[63] Outgoing db# 4165, BBB 37, leaf 248, (24 June 1880), written in Leipzig, which closes with the words, "Please present to Prof Mahaffy my warmest thanks. The climate here is excellent." This item is not in Meyer, 1958; cf. db# 6109, BBB 40, leaf 175 (26 June 1884), a letter to George Dennis in which Schliemann expresses regret that his correspondent was unable to continue work at Sardis. Cf. Hanfmann, 1983, xvii-xxvi.

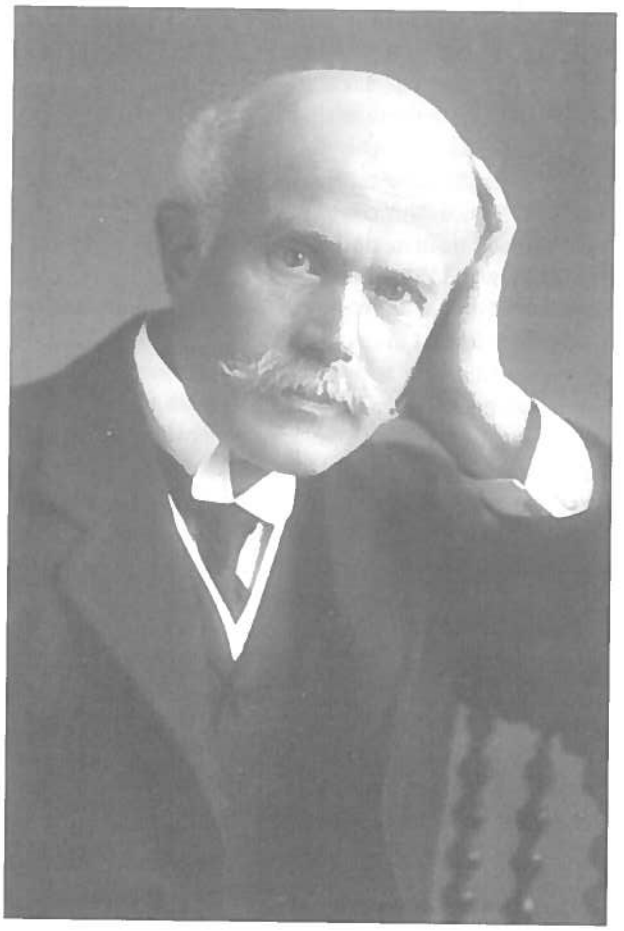

Figure 6. *Charles Waldstein (American School of Classical Studies at Athens)*

The other was Assos. A letter of 1881 to B.O. Duncan, the new U.S. consul in Athens, reads, "My warmest thanks for your very kind letter of 26th ult, which I have read with profound interest. I think indeed the excavations at Assos to be highly promising. I visited the place in May 1879."[64] In 1890, Schliemann was still ready to talk about the site at some length: his reply to a now-lost letter in German refers to recent work on ancient Chryse, with which Assos had been identified, his own *Reise in der Troas*, Clarke's 1882 work on Assos, and other relevant literature.[65]

As for the American School itself, the only surviving copy of a letter from Schliemann to Charles Waldstein, the School's director for 1888-1893 (Figure 6), is a copy of the one in which he invited Waldstein to come to the March 1890 Troy conference as the American delegate. Like Gardner of the British School, Waldstein did indeed participate in the conference, but his

[64] Outgoing Db# 4479, BBB 37, leaf 501 (8 March 1881) (not in Meyer, 1958).

[65] Outgoing db# 8219, BBB 42, leaves 487-488 (30 August 1890), replying to a letter of 18 August from Carl Tumpel of Neu Stettin; neither item is in Meyer, 1958. The publication mentioned is Clarke, 1882.

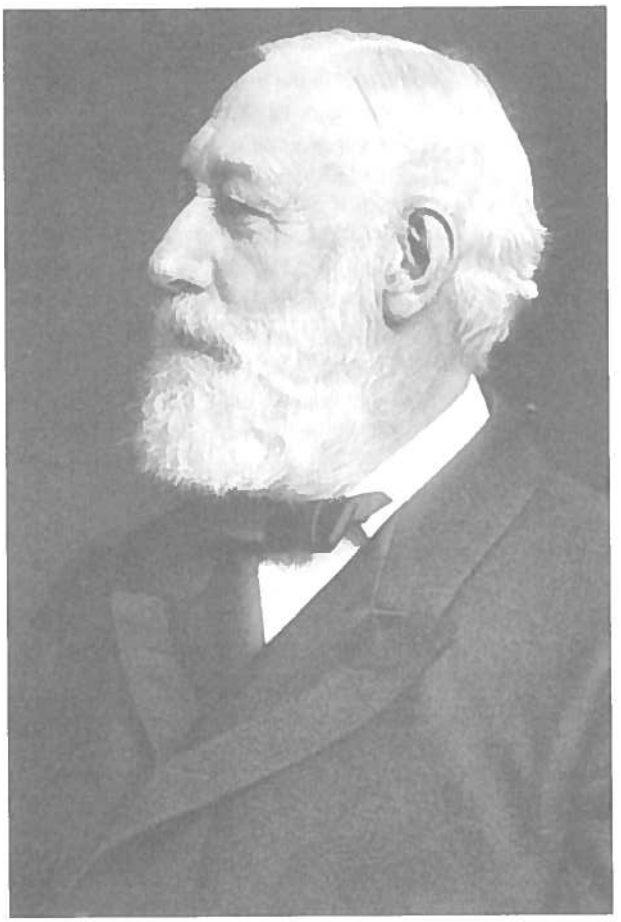

Figure 7. *W.W. Goodwin (American School of Classical Studies at Athens)*

reply was lost, and the Gennadeion archives hold only three of the letters he wrote in 1888-1889.[66]

With Waldstein's predecessor, William Watson Goodwin (Figure 7), Schliemann seems to have had a more congenial relationship. Director for 1882-1883, Goodwin was friendly with a number of English scholars including the adversarial Jebb, with whom he visited Troy, Assos, and Lesbos, but unlike Jebb he was open-minded enough to appreciate the significance of Schliemann's work at Troy.[67] Though Goodwin was apt to imply the School's teatime lectures were meant only for simple, inexperienced Americans, Schliemann was occasionally in atten-

[66] Outgoing db# 7573, BBB 42, leaf 86 (7 January 1890). Two by Waldstein in 1888, one in 1889 (Incoming db# 33358-33359 and 34084). For Waldstein as School director, see Lord, 1947, 32-33, 51-53. After his term in Athens, he returned to Cambridge University and years later, having anglicised his surname to Walston, moved to Switzerland; some of his papers are in Lausanne (conversation with Stephan Schmid of the École Suisse d'Athènes, 4 December 2001). None of this correspondence appears in Meyer's editions (1936, 1953, 1958).

[67] For Goodwin's reviews of Schliemann's books, see Chambers, 1990, 407-408.

dance, as a letter from March 1883 quoted in the official history mentions "a very interesting discussion concerning the site of Marathon and the position taken by the Greek Army. Dr. Schliemann was present and took some part in the discussion."[68] Enough Schliemann-Goodwin letters remain – 23 from Goodwin for the years 1882-1887 and copies of 5 from Schliemann – to give some sense of what was evidently a genuine friendship. I quote from only one, written at Tiryns in 1884, because it has a particular relevance to my theme of individuals and institutions in the context of the foreign schools.[69] After thanks to Goodwin for sending three issues of *The Nation* and the *Bulletin* of the American School, Schliemann says that he read the latter, "sincerely regretting to see that you are not likely to return to your post at Athens for a number of years. But it is really ridiculous to change the director of the school every year! There ought to be one permanent director, for otherwise the School can never prosper, and that director ought to be no body else than your goodself. In case I could do anything to attain that most necessary and most desirable object please command only, I am perfectly at your disposal, and shall write to whom you desire and what you may wish on the subject." These lines are a salutary reminder that the five-year term to which directors of the American School are now appointed was not written on tablets of stone. Taken together with his interest in the inner workings of the École Française and his contribution to the literal construction of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut on Odos Fidiou, they also show that Schliemann, despite the independence with which he often eluded bureaucratic constraints when conducting his own personal archaeological research, was aware of what was necessary to make a national institution survive and grow. His reconciliation with the Prussian regime in the last ten years of his life, concomitant donation of the Troy collection to the German nation, and closer contact with Dörpfeld and the German Institute cannot be allowed to make his other involvements vanish.[70] Although the French School after Burnouf's departure was a less congenial place and certain of the British School's principals assailed his work in print while the American School generally showed itself more receptive to his brand of scholarship, the correspondence in the Gennadius Library archives testifies that Schliemann, throughout his career as an archaeologist, cultivated ties with all the national research institutions in Athens in the form of personal acquaintances and interest in the sites they explored.

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[68] For Goodwin, see Lord, 1947, 7-11, 20, 32-39; the Schliemann anecdote is on 37. Cf. Meyer, 1958, 231.

[69] Outgoing Db# 6017, BBB 40, leaf 118 (22 March 1884). The letter opens with "My dear Professor Goodwin, Mrs Schliemann has just sent me hither "The Nation" of 21st, 2[?], and 28th ult as well as your Bulletin of the School of Classical Studies at Athens, all of which, as far as it is from your pen, I have read in my trenches at Tiryns with profound interest."

[70] Cf. outgoing db# 4466, BBB 37, leaves 430-431 (28 December 1880), to Richard Schöne (not in Meyer, 1958).

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ON THE EXHIBITION PLANS OF GREEK SCULPTURE AT LEIDEN'S EARLY NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES (1818-1835)

Mirjam Hoijtink

Introduction

Museum buildings reflect the society in which they came into being. Their different departments change from time to time, following opinions in science. Museums can thus be considered as constructions, housing different concepts. This idea basically underlies a study that concentrates on the first national archaeological museums in Europe in the first half of the 19th century and their possible contribution to the creation of national and European identities.[1] Museums consist of different departments, all with their individual history, character and relations to their separate scientific developments. Classification can thus be interpreted at different levels. Firstly in what one could call 'overall classification'. Here the architecture, layout and decoration of the whole museum are to be analysed. Secondly in the classification of the distinctive departments. Here attention is to be focused on the selection of objects that is on display and on the classification, display and design per room. By analysing the classifications, and by knowing the aims and tasks, the concepts of the different museums can be interpreted[2]. Sources are contemporary museum catalogues, sketches made by curators, architectural and artistic designs, correspondence, travel guides, remarks in guest books, critical reviews in newspapers, ground plans and layouts. Paintings can be helpful, but need to be judged carefully for underlying motives, as artists often idealized their subject.

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[1] The University of Amsterdam (ACW) initiated an interdisciplinary and international comparative research project on National Museums and national identity. Inspired by this, I choose for my PhD dissertation to compare archaeological museums in Leiden, Paris, London and Berlin. Thus far I focussed on the presentation of Graeco-Roman collections and on collections that reflect the excavation history in the respective native countries. In a more advanced stage also other departments will be subject of study. The 2002 colloquium in the NIA, Greek archaeology and the formation of European and national identities, forms a challenge to discuss my first year of research in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, compared to secondary literature of other museums.

[2] Hooper Greenhill's *Museum and the shaping of knowledge*, 1996, inspired to work out this method.

This paper concentrates on the ideas on exhibition of Greek art in the pioneer's period (1818-1838) of Leiden's Museum of Antiquities. Since its collection was housed in different buildings during that time, only exhibition plans were made. These plans will be compared to the Greek departments in Paris and London. The first director of the museum, Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens, knew both examples. Let's focus to the foreign examples first, to get an impression of what Reuvens' experience was alike abroad. Then we'll turn to Reuvens' distinctive museum plans, to end with some tentative remarks on the way he might have planned to use his vision on archaeology and his international experience in the museum. *Might* ... as Reuvens died young in 1835 at the age of forty-two and has not been able to realize his dreams. In 1838, twenty years after its foundation and under the supervision of head curator Conrad Leemans (Reuvens' former assistant), the Archaeological Cabinet opened its doors for the public[3].

Reuvens in Paris

After one year of study of Arts and Law at Leiden in 1810, Reuvens completed his studies from 1811 to 1813 in Paris. There he got befriended with his professor in Greek language and arts, Jean François Boissonade de Fontarabie. Boissonade was in contact with Friedrich August Wolf, an influential scholar of Winckelmann and director of the Berlin Museum für Alterthumswissenschaft[4]. Though no sources have been found yet in which we find notes about Reuvens' visit to the Louvre in these years, it is hardly thinkable that he did not visit this hot spot in town. In the museum, the *Galérie des Antiques du Musée Napoléon* housed and displayed the collection of war trophies, mainly taken from the Papal collections. Soon they would return to Rome[5].

To get an idea of what Reuvens might have seen in the department of Graeco-Roman art, there are many sources. Under the head curatorship of Ennio Quirino Visconti, a good catalogue with additional drawings was published in 1811: 'Notice des statues, bustes et bas reliefs de la Galérie des antiques du Musée Napoléon ...'. By lack of a proper ground plan, other sources are paintings from Hubert Robert and drawings from different artists, kept in the Cabinet des Dessins in Paris. Daniela Gallo, who's working on a monograph of Ennio Quirino Visconti, gives a clear interpretation of the exhibition concept of the Galérie des Antiques: 'Here in Paris Visconti was able to illustrate Winckelmann's chronology of antique style, for never in history it would have been possible to show, in series of connected rooms, the Torso and Apollo from the Belvedere, the Laocoon, the Medici Venus, the Arles-Venus, the Ariadne-Cleopatra, the

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[3] Leemans 1839. The catalogue shows a classification that at first glance does not differ too much from Reuvens' plans that will be described in this paper. Yet, the huge architectural decoration plaster copies, are left out. Even more important is that Leemans' explanation for the order of subject deals with motives that won't be found in Reuvens' notes, like an exhibition of 'dead religions'. He seems further more interested in the aesthetic values than in the archaeological importance. All this will be worked out in the dissertation.

[4] Brongers 2002, 56. Reuvens and Wolf have met much later, in 1822, Brongers 2002, 90.

[5] Records of visits to the Louvre in the archives from the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden are from later date, when the main part of the Galérie des Antiques was brought back to Rome. Many of these notes are concerned with its successors in the Louvre: the Musée Royal des Antiques (1815-1827) and with Musée Charles X (1827-1830), that included the rest of the former Galérie des Antiques and mainly consisted of Egyptian collections. Reuvens writes about the collection and presentation of Egyptian objects and about his admiration of and a meeting with Champollion.

Dying Gaul, and so many other masterpieces together'[6]. Visconti's father Giambattista was the auctor intellectualis and first director (succeeded by his sons) of the Vatican Museo Pio-Clementino in Rome, constructed between 1771 and 1794. In museum history this is known as the first so called museum of masterpieces. Gallo discovered a relationship between the display of objects in the Pio-Clementino of the late 18th century and the classification in the Paris gallery: There was a similar *rhythm* in the connecting rooms, where the most important sculptures were placed in the middle, and lots of other sculpture, busts as well as statues, stood side by side along the walls. The rooms designed by Hubert Robert were exceptions to this rule[7]. He created mise-en–scenes that according to Gallo reminded of the 18th century French sculpture gardens[8]. Gallo's interpretation of the sculpture in Galérie des Antiques, as the illustration to Winckelmann's 'Kunst des Alterthums' would have gathered weight when she had used the descriptions of the decoration in the above mentioned 'Notices...'. To give an example: in the vestibule, as one can read there, the theme of the ceiling decoration is: The origin of sculpture [...][9] This painting is adorned by four medallions as an allusion on the four schools of sculpture (Egypt, Greece, Italy and France). Michelangelo's Moses was chosen for Italy. Apart from all other implications one can interpret this as the superiority of Greek *antique* sculpture, where Hellenistic and Roman sculpture is judged as the decline[10]. A moreover hasty survey tells us that there are similarities between the themes of ceiling decoration in Paris and Rome... so that is something for later study. Reuvens' first encounter with classic antiquity was thus a Winckelmann-like experience.

Reuvens in London

Reuvens travelled to Britain a few times. His first visit to the British Museum in London was in 1819. In order to get an impression of what he has seen and what he might have experienced, a contemporary catalogue would have been the first source. However, until the end of the 19th century there was no catalogue published by the museum staff on the sculptures preserved in the British Museum[11]. A good source to get an idea of different private and museum collections and of the museums policy is Michaelis' '*Ancient Marbles in Britain*', from 1882[12]. An inter-

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[6] Gallo in Bergvelt, Meijers et al 1992, 284. She also explains a direct 'relationship' from Visconti with Winckelmann, as Giambattista, Visconti sr., succeeded Winckelmann as prefect of Rome.

[7] Gallo in Bergvelt, Meijers et al 1992, 284.

[8] A recent visit to the Cabinet of Prints in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (exhibition, learned me that Robert's designs he made as Napoleon's garden architect, are remarkable similar to the designs that alternated Visconti's rooms. The 18th century style was apparently kept alive by the emperor.

[9] 'l'Origine de la Sculpture, ou l'Homme forme par Prométhée et animé par Minerve en présence des Parques, par M. Berthélemy'.

[10] After the restitutions of the pieces removed from the Papal collections in Rome, the Musée Napoléon remained rich in Roman copies. Since then Visconti didn't judge Roman and Hellenistic sculpture to be inferior anymore, Michaelis 1882, 275.

[11] Christopher Stray kindly drew my attention to hand-book guides of the British Museum for visitors that were '[...] sold (by Permission) at the Entrance to the Museum' as is said on the cover of the example that he sent me (with a wonderful drawing of the Graeco-Roman Saloon). This example, that dates from c. 1858 might stand in a longer tradition of hand-book guides with proper information combined with advertisements.

[12] Michaelis gives in his preface a list of literature on British collections that the 19th century scholar in Britain had to depend on.

pretation of the classification of the British Museum as a whole is given by Ian Jenkins in 1992. Later we will have a closer look at that interpretation.

When Reuvens visited Britain in 1819, the British Museum found itself in the most dynamic time of its collection history. The Townley marbles, to form the major part of the so-called Graeco-Roman department, were since 1808 on display in the newly built Townley Gallery[13]. This was an extension of Montague House, that the British Museum collection housed before Smirke's new museum was in use, of which the construction had begun in 1845. Egyptian sculptures were placed in the principal room, while the Townley Marbles and Campana terra-cotta bas-reliefs occupied the rest. Even more important was the display of the Parthenon frieze, the so-called Elgin marbles. These were revered in the nineteenth century with near religious awe as the marbles were the first authentic Greek monumental sculptures that were transported outside the country of origin. Until 1845, the marbles were exhibited in the Temporary Elgin Room, built as an extension to the Townley gallery. The actual order of objects in the extension to Montague House needs further research. The drawings, merely made by George Scharf, kept in the British Museum archive, might be a good source.

Reuvens' visit must have been a dazzling experience to him. In the British Museum, he was able to see so many cornerstones of Greek culture at once, and not only through Roman sculpture as intermedium, but also by studying originals! And although he does not write about that particular experience, it is obvious in many ways that the visit was very inspiring. Reuvens made small drawings of the so-called 'columbaria', wall-niches which are, according to Jenkins 'echoing the columbaria of the catacombs of ancient Rome'. Here the Roman funerary monuments were displayed. In Reuvens' different sketches for a new museum one recognizes the literally copied 'columbaria'. In his 'Memoranda in adornando novo Museo' he made many notes on the outstanding use of daylight, the presentation on small columns, plastered as if white marble, and colouring of the walls[14]. Reuvens seems not to have been a person who liked to be welcomed by colleagues as a special honoured guest. He probably didn't meet, for example, Richard Westmacott who was responsible for the arrangement of the interior of the Townley Gallery, and who certainly would have been of interest for Reuvens.[15] Reuvens' admiration for the colours used by Westmacott was not commonly shared in Britain. The soft pastel tones of Westmacott were regarded appropriate for a festive and gay background for dresses and costumes, but inappropriate as a background for ancient marbles and monuments which bade every intelligent mind to reflection rather than to festivity.[16] To the nowadays-trained museum visitor, conditioned by 20th century chronologically or thematically, educationally and evocatively devised exhibitions, the overall classification of the Townley Gallery and the Temporary Elgin Room is hard to understand. How to explain the combination of Egyptian, Roman and Greek

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[13] The name 'Graeco Roman' derived from the fact that Greek culture until the beginning of the 19th century could only be known by studying Roman copies of Greek art. The Townley collection consisted for the main part of Roman art.

[14] ARA 324 14.1/1 p.3.

[15] This can be understood from Reuvens admiration for the beautiful colour of the Townley walls, whilst 'according to Richard Westmacott junior, the colour of the walls was an accident of varnishing', Jenkins, subscription of Plate I.

[16] Jenkins 1992, 53. This topic was closely connected to the discussion on polychrome Greek sculpture, that brought the art world into shock. No one had expected the beautiful white shiny marbles once were gaudily painted... but fragments on the Parthenon frieze showed that this had been the case.

objects in mixed and a-chronological order? On this chronology Jenkins states that the British Museum was firmly committed to chronological display, but rarely realised this in practice. So let us now turn to his interpretation of the overall classification.

In *Archaeologists & Aesthetes in the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum 1800-1939* Jenkins describes the Museum's increasing desire to chart through the sculpture galleries of the British Museum the 'Progress of Civilisation'. He explains the overall classification of the museum in terms of aesthetic theory in the first half of the 19th century. In this view, the ordering of the individual groups and the manner in which they overlap, implies the idea of a linear progression from primitive origins to the flowering of the arts at the time of Pheidias. This idea is clearly illustrated by a watercolour of James Stefanoff, titled 'An Assemblage of Works of Art in Sculpture and Painting'. It was made in 1845 when this theory had been worked out well. On top of it one recognizes the Parthenon sculptures, symbolising the glorification of the Greek culture. According to Jenkins Stefanoff used for at least a part of his composition the actual display in the British Museum.[17]

This idea, of which the origins lay in the 18th century teleology, can also be recognised in the influential contemporary writings of Hegel, as Jenkins explains further. Hegel considered civilisation as a continuous process; its course could be mapped by the passage of an itinerant 'spirit' moving from one nation to another, through the various civilisations that experienced the progressive awakening of man. Hegel regarded the civilisations of the Orient, *i.e.* of India, China, Egypt and Persia, as the primitive forerunners of the Greeks, which is clearly to be seen in the watercolour. Knowing this, we are able to understand that one Museum could in that time house many objects as a heritage of many different civilisations. Besides that, classification could have to do with analogous styles. This was the reason that Mexican antiquities could be placed in 1845 in the Egyptian Sculpture Gallery. The same accounted for the display of arts of oriental civilisations: side-by-side with 'curiosities' from Africa and Oceania. When the museum was still housed in Montague house, this way of classification had already begun to take place. The Parthenon sculptures were introduced in an atrium-like hall by the so called Phigaleian marbles (Temple of Apollo in Bassae, Arcadia), a later style in Greek art, as a picturesque prelude to the greater glory that followed in the next room[18]! In London, Reuvens thus experienced Greek art as an apotheosis of all other sculpture.

Reuvens' museum plans

As the first professor in Archaeology ever, Caspar Reuvens often pleaded for the importance of archaeology as a science within the nation's frame of reference. In some cases this can be 'translated' to his opinion of the meaning of a museum: '[...] what I mean to say is the importance for education of Greek and Roman objects. [...] Greek and Roman sculptures and vases are the most engaging because these take effect on a sense of beauty, every human being given. That study is directly related to the study of the classics. This now, is the most effective way to

[17] Jenkins 1992, 62
[18] Jenkins 1992, 62.

let the antiquity take effect on the nation's general civilization.[19]' Reuvens often worried about the negative image his museum had in the eyes of Dutch and foreign visitors. He was fully aware of the effect of critics in travel guides, and put this forward as an argument to convince the board of trustees to build a new museum.[20]

In 1824 one of the trustees[21] from Leiden University informed Reuvens about a possible enlargement of the museum. In the following days, Reuvens wrote a letter to the board of trustees in which he formulated an enumeration of the Needs and Plans for the furnishing of a 'Museum of Antiquities-Necessary Requisites'[22]. From this letter one can distillate Reuvens' opinion on the ideal classification and presentation of the museum collection as a whole:[23]

1. Egyptian department
2. Indian department
3. Oldest Greek statues from Aegina
4. Parthenon and other Elgin marbles
5. Greek and Roman statues, different periods of origin
6. Greek and Roman stelae
7. Greek and Roman stelae
8. Greek vazes
9. Inscriptions
10. Nordic antiquities
11. Coins and sulphur impressions of coins
12. Cut stones and impressions
13. Models of antique builings in cork, plaster, wood, paper or other
14. Lecture room
15. House keeper
16. Workshop
17. Plaster copies
18. Prints

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[19] Reuvens (March 29th, 1830) in inventory of Dorsman 1999, 48; translation of: 'Ik bedoel hier de Grieksche en Romeinsche voorwerpen. [...] De Grieksche en Romeinsche beelden en vazen zyn het meest innemend omdat dezelve tevens werken op het gevoel van schoonheid, ieder mensch aangeboren. Derzelven studie hangt onmiddellijk samen met die der classieke auteurs. Deze omstandigheid nu, het zekerste middel om de oudheid op de algemeene beschaving der natie te doen werken.'

[20] ARA 324 15. 1/1, Reuvens, April 4th, 1823.

[21] ARA 324 15. 1/1, The curator was Collot d'Escury, d.d. February 5th 1824. There was one condition: the building needed to be shared with the collection plaster copies of the Leiden University.

[22] 'That paper, written with great vision and expert knowledge constitutes the main document of the Museum's Archives since it comprises the Museum's philosophy and a programme for the future which to this day define to a large extent the directional credo', Schneider, 1981, 19.

[23] ARA 324 15. 1/1, February 7th 1824, Memorie A, 'Noodzakelijke Vereischten ... 'Reuvens writes this letter to explain how much space is needed for an appropriate presentation of the collection. Although this document thus doesn't tell us for certain something about the numerical order, I took over the numbers Reuvens wrote. Besides, some peculiar and important notes are not used here, as this paper concentrates on classification and presentation.

Some remarks on Greek objects in general can be made so far. Firstly: the majority of the museum departments consist of Greek antiquities. Seven of the fifteen departments are predominantly filled with authentic Greek objects. Another five departments consist of plaster copies, coins of which many were Greek, and prints of which many have Greek subjects. Secondly, it should be mentioned here that in 1824, when Reuvens wrote his '[...] Necessary Requisites', a large part of Greek objects in the collection of Leiden's Museum of Antiquities had yet to be bought[24]... The majority however was already acquired by Reuvens from the Flemish Colonel Bernard Rottiers, under the patronship of King William I, in 1820 and 1822[25]. Thirdly , and here we turn to sculpture more specific, it is of interest to acknowledge the fact that Reuvens didn't *literally* distinguish between originals and plaster copies of Greek sculpture. With 'Aegina and Parthenon marbles', though not qualified as such, nothing else than plaster copies could be meant, as the originals were respectively in the Glyptothek in Munich (since 1814) and in the British Museum in London (since 1806). Still, he does make a distinction between rooms with architectural sculpture decorations (3,4) and the room for the so-called Plaster copies (17) that generally consists of statues[26].
On the classification of the plaster copies of statues (17) one finds interesting remarks. This collection concerns the one from the Leiden School of Art, under the directorship of the artist Humbert de Superville. Reuvens considers this collection inappropriate for his museum. 'Only from Paris we miss 12 statues and 40 busts...' followed by a shopping list for copies throughout Europe[27]. But more important is the explanation for this 'gap': 'I do know that this honourable artist who now rules the so called cabinet of plaster copies only prefers to put on display those pieces that are qualified according to his particular taste. But there are people who think differently, judging the far more extended collections of the Royal Arts Academy of Amsterdam, and of Antwerp. One should always realise that a collection like this replaces the original pieces and thus is of archaeological as much as of artistic importance ...[28].

The above cited departments can be traced in the different sketches and fairly worked out ground plans from 1824 and 1826[29] that underline Reuvens ideas for a National Museum of Antiquities, whether for renovation of already existing accommodation or for newly to be

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[24] The letter contains explicitly formulated wishes on pieces to be bought. In the light of collecting: a shopping list.

[25] The three collections are visible in the labels of the collection as RO I, RO II and RO III. RO I was acquired in 1820 by the Leiden museum. Thus it consisted of material that was collected before the Greek revolt in 1821. F.L. Bastet has worked out the collection Rottiers in detail.

[26] The numbers 6, 7, and 14-16 show that they are related to individual rooms. Numbers 14-16 have other museum functions, like a room to give lectures for students, a room for the housekeeper and for a workshop.

[27] In a later phase of the research this source will be used to illustrate the further development of canon and taste constructed by museums, as is done in spheres of royal and private collectors by Haskell & Penny, 1981.

[28] Free translation of: ARA 324 15. 1/1, February 7th 1824, Memorie A, '[...] Ik weet wel dat de achtingwaardige kunstenaar die thans het bestuur heeft van het zoogenaamde beeldenkabinet slechts die stukken verkiest te plaatsen welke zyn bezondere smaak het beste keurt. Maar anderen denken er anders over, getuige de veel meer uitgebreide verzamelingen der Kon. Akad v. Beeld Kunsten te Ams. en te Antwerpen. Men moet ook altyd bedenken dat zulk eene verzameling van pleisterbeelden de plaats bekleedt der oorspronkelyke stukken en dus evenzeer archaeologisch als artistisch nut beoogt [...]'.

[29] The sketch from 1824 was meant as a renovation. ARA 324, 15 1/1, 'Museumplannen p. 37, Museum Houtstraat'. The sketch from 1826 belongs to the period that city-architect Reyers worked on a design for a new to be built museum: ARA 324 15 1/1 'Museumplannen' p. 73.

designed buildings. The sketches from 1829 are supplemented with new acquired collections of mainly Egyptian and Etrurian objects[30]. Besides, there is a room exclusively designed for Roman finds at Arentsburg, the first excavation that was initiated by the museum under the directorship of Reuvens[31].

A more detailed study of Reuvens' classification of the individual rooms has not been made. In the museum archive, there is a grey notebook, undated, with drawings, descriptions, of – that is what it looks like – museum 'rooms'. The place in the inventory does imply that this belongs to the Reuvens-period. In the research phase to follow this should be made clear[32].

Presentation and classification

Reuvens had explicit ideas concerning the presentation of sculpture. Already in 1821 he wrote a letter to the board of trustees to explain that he preferred coloured walls[33]. This would emphasize the display of sculpture, an opinion that can be traced back in his notes concerning the walls in the British Museum. In his additional notes to Greek objects in the letter of needs and plans for the furnishing of a 'Museum of Antiquities-Necessary Requisites', he states that room 3 and 4 are for the display of Greek architecture: 'Aegina (25 pieces of statues, half-size), Thesau (40 'voet'[34]), Phigalea (100 'voet') in room 3 and the Parthenon and other Elginmarbles reliefs in room 4, c. 200-260 voet and 10 metopes each 40 voet'. To realise these ambitious plans, he suggests placing more partitions in one room. When one compares these notes to the ground plans that were made by Reuvens it is easy to recognise that all roads lead to Athens.

In the introduction of this paper Reuvens' never realised ideas were called distinctive. The most important distinction, compared to contemporary classifications abroad and to Leemans' exhibition in 1838, is the mixed display of plaster casts and original pieces. In Reuvens' 1829 design for a museum, they even adjoin, in a symmetrical composition, sculpture from the old kingdoms on the Indonesian island Java[35] (c. 1200 AD). Critical readers will immediately remark that this is a choice made by lack of a better collection. In one way they are right. Reuvens himself was not the last to be critical and stated that Leiden's collection of classic sculpture is poor. 'In my classes I could not use more than one or two originals. (The plaster casts should be considered as additions). There is a lack of good examples of the beautiful nude, the basis for every sculpture study. For three or four of our statues a costume would be suitable'...[36]. Still he did not plea to buy more original statues. He would have been happy with more plaster copies from different museums. Therefore, one must realise that for Reuvens the archaeological importance seems to prevail to the aesthetic importance. That was made clear already in the way he judged

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[30] On the drawings one recognizes 'Humbert'. Notably to say that this is not Humbert de Superville, but Jean Emile Humbert, who pursued and bought the many of them. See Halbertsma 1995.

[31] These drawings, ARA 324, 15 1/1 ('Museumplannen') pp. 96, 97, and 100 are from the architect Tilleman Suys ('Heer Suys').

[32] ARA 324, 5.1/1, pp. 42-51.

[33] Memo aan Curatoren d.d. 23 july 1821.

[34] 1 voet (foot) = c. 29 cm.

[35] Much later, only in the beginning of the 20th century the Indonesian collection moved to the Rijksmuseum van Volkenkunde, the National Ethnographic Museum in Leiden.

[36] Reuvens in Dorsman 1999, March 29th 1830, letter to Ministry of Culture.

the purely aesthetic display of the Cabinet of Plasters from Humbert de Superville where Winckelmann's theories had been an important source of inspiration in the classification of the statues[37]. In his wish to put plaster casts between originals, Reuvens was able to turn his weakness into strength. What really set him apart from other contemporary institutes, was the acknowledgement of the educational role of the museum. This must be seen in light of the fact that the Leiden Museum, which started as a university collection, was fundamentally raised from its academic needs[38]. Caspar Reuvens, the first professor in archaeology ever, wanted to tell a story. If not with original Greek objects, than with Roman copies. If not with Roman copies, then with plaster casts. Reuvens' distinctive ideas on the educational role of museums would have been appreciated by Adolf Michaelis, who stated in 1882 that the directors of the British museum 'give the preference, quite naturally to the original Greek sculptures of the most flourishing periods of art, which came into the possession of the museum more than sixty years ago, and the number of which has been ever since increasing. But perhaps in so doing they somewhat neglect the less favoured epochs of antique art. This is especially true of the after-bloom of Greek art, which is still so rich in invention, and which fills up the centuries of the Hellenistic or Alexandrian era, and lays the foundation for the development of Roman art. It is no less true of the imitative as well as of the national art of Rome herself, which includes many copies or variations of older works, the originals of which are lost to us. These are works of second and third rank, but cannot be dispensed with or filling in and correcting our survey of the development of ancient sculpture.[39] At the time Michaelis wrote this, the British Museum had begun already to combine plaster copies with originals. As one can see on photographs dating from 1875 the plaster casts of the Aegina marbles from the Aphaia temple, the originals of which formed part of the collection in the Glyptothek in Munich since 1814, are proudly displayed in a room with important marble statues. At this point Reuvens can be regarded as a person ahead of his time. His archaeological, rather than aesthetical view can also be traced in the type of objects he wanted to show: not only objects that have aesthetic value, but also objects that tell the daily life of antiquity.

In his ideas on the classification of the different departments one can see that in the sketches of 1824, the reconstruction of the Elgin Marbles was centrally positioned. The different departments are not positioned chronologically. This, with his enthusiastic remarks on the display in the British Museum, makes one wonder if Reuvens was also inspired in London for the overall classification. The glory of the Greeks, the effect of an apotheosis seems to be taken over in his sketch of 1824 as well. Since Jenkins theory on the classification of the British Museum, the question arises if teleological or Hegelian ideas of civilisation as a continuous process were known to Reuvens. Hegel regarded the civilisations of the Orient, i.e. of India, China, Egypt and Persia, as the primitive forerunners of the Greeks. One may think that Reuvens indeed was aware of this, and that the way he classified the museum or qualified ancient objects to antiq-

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[37] Zutter 1991, 195. In Humbert's plans for an ideal museum of classic sculpture, the cast of the Apollo Belvedere, that he considered to be the most beautiful statue of antiquity, was placed in the centre of a special designed rotunda.

[38] The culture historian Johan Huizinga pointed in 1931 at the importance to realise that the National Museum of Antiquities still needed to be approached as a university museum, rather than as a national museum. It makes sense to compare the collection policy and presentation with other university museums like Ashmolean in Oxford and the collection in Cambridge, both visited by Reuvens. I will explore this in my dissertation.

[39] Michaelis 1882, 183.

uity is not arbitrary at all, as is suggested[40]. In 1824[41], he stated that Persian and Indian objects should be added to the collection policy of the museum, that thus far consisted of Egyptian, Babylonian, Greek, Roman and Nordic (Germanic) objects. One may interpret this as to fit in the philosophy of Hegel. Furthermore, he states that any culture that has been known to the Greek and Roman world and vice versa and that this knowing in one way are another contributed to a particular culture could be collected by the Museum of Antiquities. This, in turn, would perfectly fit in the Hegelian idea of 'an itinerant spirit moving from one nation to another, through the various civilisations that experienced the progressive awakening of man'. Would Reuvens indeed have known and agreed to this view, one can also understand that although he admired the classical culture for its beauty, this was not his first and only aim to teach his students and visitors. That he was not interested in a Winckelmann-like chronological display is no wonder. And his ideas on classification, with the sculptures from Java the entrance (drawings from 1829), might derive from the idea that these were only to be seen as a prelude to the glory of the Greeks.

The many 'might's' however, make clear that this theory needs further study to his formative years in Paris, a deeper understanding of his intellectual frame of reference[42] his travels to Britain and Germany and of course the grey notebooks with carefully cut out and sticked drawings that show a passionate museum director, who put his things in order.

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[40] Dorsman 1999, 18.

[41] Dorsman 1999, 21.

[42] The analysis of his library by Ayolt Brongers, 1996, will be helpful.

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RMO Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden (National Museum of Antiquities), correspondence, 'Museum plans'.

ARA, Algemeen Rijks Archief (codification for National Archives)

ON THE CREATION OF THE COLLECTION OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES IN THE DANISH NATIONAL MUSEUM*

Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen and John Lund

Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (1788-1865) is best known internationally as the inventor, so to speak, of the "three period system", i.e. the division of Prehistory into the Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age.[1] But he is also credited as the founding father of the Danish National Museum, even if the museum he created was in reality separate collections housed in a single building, to which the name "National Museum" was not applied until 1892.[2] One of these collections was a Cabinet of Antiquities.

In 1853, a fortnight before this new exhibition was due to open, Thomsen wrote proudly to a friend: "In the days of our youth, students travelled abroad, without ever having had the chance to see an antique vase, gem or marble statue. [Now] it will be possible to learn the ABC of such matters in Copenhagen, and hence all the better understand, what one sees in the big museums."[3] No pictorial record of Thomsen's exhibition is preserved, but written sources enable us to gain an insight in the surprisingly advanced principles he applied when establishing it and in the role he envisaged for classical antiquities in what was effectively a National Museum.

The aim of this contribution is to present the evidence for this, and to discuss the process that led to the creation of the present day Collection of Classical Antiquities in the Danish National Museum. The overall goal is to provide a Danish perspective on the theme of this conference "Greek archaeology and the formation of European and national identities". The main emphasis will be on developments in the 19th century, which was a period of great historical and political upheavals in Denmark – as elsewhere in Europe – and also the time, when a specific Danish national identity if not emerged, then at least grew to maturity. The establishment of the Danish National museum should be viewed on this background, but its roots – and of Danish relations with the Mediterranean world – reach back far longer in history.

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* We want to thank Anne Haslund Hansen and Jørgen Jensen for helpful advice.

[1] Jensen 1992 and 2000.

[2] Jensen 1992, 377.

[3] Jensen 1992, 358.

Early relations with the Mediterranean

Denmark was located beyond the Roman *limes*, but the period in Danish Prehistory from the beginning of the Christian era to AD 400 is referred to as "the Roman Iron Age", because of the high number of Roman silverware, bronze vessels and figurines, glass and pottery, which reached Denmark in the centuries in question. Some were probably brought northwards as objects of trade, diplomatic gifts, or through other kinds of exchange, whereas others could have been personal possessions of "Danes" who had visited Europe and/or the Mediterranean countries.[4] Vikings later followed suit, and in their wake sailed pilgrims. A Danish king, Erik the Good, was among the first of these. Unfortunately he contracted a fever before reaching the Holy Land, and died at Nea Paphos in Cyprus in 1103.[5]

Other pilgrims were more successful in their endeavour, and a few are known to have brought antiquities back to their manor houses in Denmark. Here, they kept them in small cabinets of curiosities, but their contents are little known.[6] We are better informed about the collection gathered by Ole Worm in the first half of the 17th century, the so-called Museum Wormianum.[7] Some of the objects in the present Collection of Classical Antiquities in the Danish National Museum were part of that museum – but none originate in Greece.

About 1650, King Frederik III established the Royal Danish Kunstkammer, and the inventories of the year 1737 comprise 36 objects from the classical countries – mostly from Italy, since Greece was at the time largely inaccessible to European travellers.[8] The first publication of the Kunstkammer entitled "Museum Rhegium", i.e. the Royal Museum, was published in 1696, and the engravings of this publication give an idea of how the objects were displayed in the Kunstkammer.[9] Italy and Egypt continued to be the main sources of antiquities, but the exhibition also comprised prime Greek objects: two marble heads from one of the metopes of the Parthenon, which the Danish naval officer Moritz Hartmann had brought to Denmark and presented to the king in 1688. He was under the impression that they originated from the temple of Artemis in Ephesos.[10]

The eighteenth century

In the 18th century, Denmark was an autocratically governed multinational super-power, the realm of which extended from Norway's northern tip to Schleswig-Holstein and subsumed Greenland, Iceland, the Faeroe Islands as well as overseas colonies. Denmark of those days was an under-developed agricultural nation with almost no industry, which nonetheless – thanks to a cautious policy of neutrality – reaped the benefits of almost uninterrupted peace from 1720 to 1801.[11]

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[4] The literature on this subject is vast, cf. Hansen 1987, Roberts 1995, Ørsted 1999, Jørgensen et al. (eds.) 2003.
[5] Riis 2000.
[6] Hermansen 1951, 16-22.
[7] Schepelern 1971.
[8] Gundestrup 1990, 53. For the Kunstkammer in Copenhagen, cf. Gundestrup 1991 and 1995, Bencard 2000, and Impey & MacGregor 2001.
[9] Reproduced in Hermansen 1951, 33.
[10] Cf. Bobé 1933. Rasmussen, forthcoming.
[11] Andersen 1996; Feldbæk 1997.

In this period, the Danish merchant marine, which was one of the largest in Europe, fetched home great profits, and the Danish kings launched two scientific expeditions to the countries of the Mediterranean and beyond. The young naval officer Frederik Norden headed the first, which was directed towards Egypt. The second enterprise was the expedition associated with the name of Carsten Niebuhr, which was dispatched to Arabia Felix in 1760.[12] Both Norden and Niebuhr brought a few antiquities to Denmark, but as far as is known, no objects from Greece – even if Niebuhr did visit Rhodes on his way home.[13] As a matter of fact, few if any of the ancient objects, which are known to have been part of private collections in the 18th century, were from Greece.

As far as Danish-Greek relations are concerned, the 18th century was evidently not a fruitful period, and in 1826, when the Kunstkammer was dissolved, only 506 antiquities were classified as "Greco-Roman" and 332 as "Egyptian". Finds from Greece were still but an insignificant part of the collection.[14] In the first half of the 19th century, a time often referred to in Denmark as the Golden Age, the situation began to change due to two separate yet interrelated developments. The first was the rediscovery of Greece by Danish antiquarians and architects, the second the establishment of the first major Danish collection of antiquities – including a number of finds from Greece – by the Danish Prince Christian Frederik, who succeeded to the throne in 1839 as Christian VIII.[15]

Denmark and Greece in the Golden Age

The Danish philologist Peter Oluf Brøndsted was among the first Danes to visit Greece at the beginning of the 19th century.[16] He travelled from Rome to Athens in the company of the Germans Haller von Hallerstein and Jakob Linckh as well as the Estonian Otto Magnus von Stackleberg. Having reached his destination in the autumn of 1810, Brøndsted spent several months studying the ancient monuments and enjoying the company of his friends.

In December 1811, Brøndsted and Linck made a joint expedition to the island of Keos, where they carried out topographical investigations and conducted excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Karthaia on the southeast coast of the island. Brøndsted thus became the first Dane to excavate in Greek soil, and he later made a name for himself in Denmark through 44 public and extremely popular lectures he gave on Greece, "the state of the country, her peoples and ancient monuments". Brøndsted was well connected throughout Europe, and also a collector, who from time to time sold antiquities to prestigious European museums such as the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the British Museum. The Danish National Museum keeps two Attic vases from Karthaia, which he donated to Prince Christian Frederik.[17]

The Prince was a man of considerable talents and enormous energy, a patron of artists and

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[12] Rasmussen ed. 1986; Buhl 1993; von Folsach et al. eds. 1996.

[13] The antiquities brought to Denmark by this expedition are the subject of a research programme by Anne Haslund Hansen.

[14] Gundestrup 1991, 46.

[15] Breitenstein 1951; Rasmussen 2000a.

[16] Cf. Isager 1999; Haugsted 2000a; Rasmussen 2000b.

[17] Rathje and Lund 1991, 18-20; Rasmussen 2000a, 32-33 fig. 20.

[18] Cf. Rasmussen 2000a and Rasmussen et al. eds. 2000.

scholars.[18] He was, moreover, from childhood a keen collector – first of minerals and insects, and later of coins and antiquities. His interest in these matters was awakened during his "Grand Tour" of Italy in 1820-1821, where none other than the charismatic Brøndsted served as a guide to the young prince on his excursions to the classical sites in Rome and to Pompeii and Herculaneum.[19] The Prince also turned to Brøndsted for advice, when he decided to round off his journey by acquiring antiquities. His eye fell on a major collection of vases and other antiques belonging to a former archbishop of Taranto by the name of Capece Latro. It mostly consisted of Apulian Red Figure Vases, but also comprised a few Attic Red Figure vases, and it was to become the core of the future King's ever expanding collection of antiquities.

Consular-collectors

It would be a mistake, though, to think that Greece was the sole area of interest to the Danish antiquarians who were active in the Mediterranean region in the first half of the 19th century. The opposite rather seems to have been the case, largely because some of the Danish consuls stationed abroad were assiduous collectors of antiquities.[20] A good example of this is Alfred Friedrich von Dumreicher, who as consul in Alexandria in 1824 sent the two first Cypriot antiquities to Denmark.[21] Still, the greatest "consular-collector" of all was Christian Tuxen Falbe.

Falbe developed an interest in archaeology and numismatics when he served as Danish consul-general in Tunis from 1821 to 1832. He thereby came to the attention of Prince Christian Frederik, who urged him to continue to collect antiquities.[22] In 1833, Falbe was appointed Danish consul-general in Greece, where he hoped to acquire antiques as he had done in Tunisia, but this proved easier said than done. Falbe explained the situation in a letter to his Royal protector, written before he set out on a journey to the Peloponnese with Ludwig Ross, conservator for the scientific institutes and antiquities of the Greek Department of Antiquities: "I cannot expect to obtain any antiquities on this journey, because Ross wishes to keep everything for the state. The zeal cannot be tempered by my persuasive arguments ... I hope that my present modesty and deference to the needs of the state may stand me in good stead when I, in time, might wish to acquire something really valuable." On his return, Falbe wrote "My trip ... gave so little result that it is hardly worth reporting upon. Dr. Ross requisitioned anything in the way of an antiquity on behalf of the government. The government traces all antiquities and makes such great demands that all private individuals must hand over objects to the State Museum, that is to be set up." In spite of the restrictions, Falbe was able to acquire antiquities on a limited scale before he was recalled to Denmark in 1835.[23]

Falbe later became a pivotal figure in the expansion of the Vase Cabinet of Christian VIII, whose diaries reveal that the King spent a lot of time in his collection and was much involved in all acquisitions, until the business of Government kept him increasingly occupied.[24] It was housed in a square room on the ground floor of the Royal palace, between the Throne Room

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[19] Slej 1995.
[20] Buhl 1974, 20-25 and 67-74.
[21] Rasmussen 2000c, 3.
[22] Lund 1992.
[23] Haugsted 1996, 90-92 and *passim*; Lund 2000, 124-127.
[24] Møller 2000, 94-98.

and his private suite. Falbe continued to be instrumental in acquiring antiquities for the collection - notably Greek vases – at auctions and from the Italian art trade, until 1848 when the King became fatally ill and expired in his beloved Vase Cabinet, where he had asked for his bed to be moved.

The second half of the nineteenth century

After the death of Christian VIII, his collection fell to the state, and it was subsequently merged with the antiquities, that had been part of the dissolved Kunstkammer. The new king introduced representative government shortly after his succession, which "altered all the former rules of the game ... it was obvious that the end of the absolute monarchy and the introduction of a democracy implied a considerable reduction in funding for the arts and sciences. The Rigsdag gave no real reasons for these reductions,"[25] but they may be guessed form a remark made by one of its members about the Ethnographic Collection: "What is the use of contacts with foreign parts, such as China and elsewhere, which we don't have anything to do with otherwise ... Thomsen has inflicted numerous collections upon this country and they go far beyond its reasonable needs."[26] It was, however, decided that all collections were to be amalgamated in the so-called "Prince's Palace" which still houses the National Museum.

This was the background for Thomsen's creation of a new exhibition of the classical antiquities, which combined finds in the Vase Cabinet of Christian VIII with objects in the former Kunstkammer. Thomsen arranged these in a "Cabinet of Antiquities", which filled nine galleries and was opened to the public in 1853. The creation of this exhibition was a matter close to his heart, and he wrote to a friend: "We cannot compete with the larger countries, which are located closer to the source, with regard to costly and magnificent antiques. Consequently, we must excel by creating a better order and exhibition ... in order, plan and exhibition not a copy, but an original".[27] Thomsen "chose to completely reject the normal exhibition of objects according to material" preferring a tri-partite chronological division: 1) the archaic and archaistic objects: old artefacts produced in ancient taste and style, 2) art and ancient times in their "brilliance and beauty" and 3) the strong decline of the arts. "In each of these departments, I arranged what I believe to belong to it, i.e. vases, gems, bronzes, terracottas, marble etc." In accordance with this scheme, he placed Greek and Roman objects of the same date together, and even included plaster casts and 15th century bronzes. The exhibition was evidently far ahead of its time, but it was completely rearranged immediately after Thomsen's death in 1865 by his successor.[28]

In the second half of the 19th century and in the 20th century, the National Museum acquired relatively few antiquities from Greece, with the notable exception of finds made by the Danish expedition to Lindos in Rhodes between 1902 and 1914 – the first Danish excavations in the Mediterranean after Brøndsted's work at Karthaia in 1812. The Carlsberg Foundation, which had funded the Rhodes expedition, donated the finds, which fell to the excavators, to the National Museum, where they constitute one of the cores of the existing exhibition. Otherwise,

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[25] Jensen 2002, 163.
[26] Jensen 2002, 164.
[27] Hermansen 1951, 52.
[28] Dietz 1988; Jensen 1992 *passim*.

the collection mainly grew through addition of objects found in Danish excavations in Syria and elsewhere in the Near East.[29]

Danish architects in Greece[30]

The creation of the Collection of Classical Antiquities in the Danish National Museum only represents one aspect of the Danish relationship with the monuments of ancient Greece in the 19th and early 20th century. A number of Danish painters and sculptors also journeyed to Greece in these centuries, as did also one of our most famous writers, Hans Christian Andersen, who celebrated his birthday in Athens in 1841, and was given a small Attic Black Figure lekythos by Ludwig Ross as a present.[31] Of greater import, though, is the fact that several Danish architects also came to Greece in the 19th century, and the inspiration they received there left its mark in several buildings in a Neo-Classical style not only in Denmark – but also in Greece.

The first such architect was Jørgen Hansen Koch, who had apparently been inspired by Brøndsted's popular lectures in 1815-1816 about his experiences in Greece. Koch left for Athens in the autumn of 1818, and wrote in his diary about his arrival: "Oh, how my heart pounded at this moment. I finally saw Athens and imagined that I was in paradise ... I have walked about and seen numerous sights, about which I shall say nothing, because I intend to draw them all as precisely and copiously as possible." This was, indeed, what kept him occupied during the next months. On his return to Denmark, Koch was appointed "Royal Builder", and the influence from Greece shines through in the buildings he was involved in over the next 30 years.

The most famous of the Danish architects who came to Athens was Christian Hansen.[32] He arrived in August 1833 and wrote "it would be impossible for me to describe the first impression, which the completely destroyed city and the ruins which rose from the gravel made on me on my arrival. Only a few houses had roofs, and the streets were quite impossible to make out, because everything had collapsed in a limitless confusion." On the 1st of December 1834 the Greek government was transferred from Nauplion to Athens, and the expanding new capital proved an ideal working environment for an architect. During his long stay there, Christian Hansen worked together with Ludwig Ross on the restoration of the temple of Nike and other buildings on the Acropolis. He also designed numerous private and public buildings for the new city, notably the Mint and the University. His younger brother, Theophilus Hansen, who had joined him in 1838, assisted in the latter project and designed the Observatory on the Hill of the Nymphs. Christian Hansen returned to Copenhagen in 1850, where he became responsible for several buildings, which were closely related to those he drew in Greece – in some cases inspired as much by Byzantine as Classical buildings.

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[29] For an overview of Danish Classical Archaeological field work, cf. Rathje & Lund 1991 with updates in subsequent volumes of *Acta Hyperborea*.

[30] Bendtsen 1993; Haugsted 1996 and 2000b.

[31] Strøm 1998.

[32] Papanicolaou-Christensen ed. 1994; Christiansen 2000, 41-47.

Greek monuments and the formation of a Danish national identity

What – if any – was the role of Greek archaeology in the formation of a Danish national identity? A convenient point of departure for a discussion may be a four-volume "History of Danish Identity" which was published in 1991 and 1992. In about 2000 pages, leading historians, philologists and art historians treat aspects of the subject from the Reformation in 1536 onwards. They see the second half of the 18th century as the time when thoughts and feelings about a national identity became the concern of a growing number of citizens. The French Revolution in 1789 is assumed to have played a role, and also the Napoleonic Wars, and it is concluded that during the 19th century, the concept spread from the "upper" levels of society to other groups of people in the previous multinational and multilingual Danish state.[33]

It is nowhere in these volumes claimed that Greek archaeology played any role in the process, and this is also what may be concluded from this case study of the creation of the Collection of Classical Antiquities – provided that the term "Greek archaeology" is taken in its most literal sense: "material remains unearthed in Greece itself". Such finds were only one of several components in the 19th century Collection of Classical antiquities, alongside objects from Egypt, Italy – notably Etruria – and the Roman Empire. Most of the prime Greek antiquities in the collection, notably the Attic vases – did not originate in Greece, but in the cemeteries of Etruria.

The emergence of a strong national tradition for Danish archaeology in the first half of the 19th century is probably one of the reasons for this state of affairs.[34] The Danish landscape with its monuments of Danish prehistory, such as the megalithic tombs, became a favoured motif for the painters of "The Danish Golden Age". At the same time, Danish poets of the Romantic Era celebrated local archaeological treasures and sought inspiration in the Nordic mythology. And the Vikings quickly acquired a near-mythical status.[35]

Conclusions

The finds in the Collection of Classical Antiquities in the Danish National Museum reflect the ever-changing relationship between Danes and the peoples of the Mediterranean countries, from the past to the present. They are as much part of Danish history as the Roman imports on display in the museum's exhibition of Danish Prehistory.

Greek archaeology did not play any role in the formation of a Danish national identity, if "Greek archaeology" is defined narrowly as: "material remains unearthed in Greece itself". However, the picture changes, if the definition is widened to include the impact of ancient Greek culture and civilization on the "Classical" tradition of Western Europe passed on from Antiquity through the Middle Ages to us. Indeed, there can be no doubt that this heritage is *the* single most important component of present day Danish culture as expressed by our language, political institutions, art and architecture etc.[36]

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[33] Feldbæk ed. 1991-1992.

[34] Gjerløff 1999a; *eadem* 1999b follows the roots of this interest in the 18th century. Wiell 2000 focuses on the period after the Danish defeat to the Germans in 1864.

[35] Cf. Wilson 1997.

[36] Cf. for instance Nielsen 1990; Raabyemagle & Smidt eds. 1998.

This realisation was at the core of Thomsen's vision, when he began to plan for combining a number of hitherto dispersed collections into what was to become the Danish National Museum. He regarded the collection of Classical antiquities as an indispensable part of the whole, because he recognized how crucially important the study of [Mediterranean] antiquities was for the study of "Antiquity in general, and also Nordic Prehistory".[37] And this is why the collection remains an integral part of the Danish National Museum.

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