

# PHAROS

Volume VI (1998)



GIEBEN

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Volume VI (1998)

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**PHAROS Journal of the Netherlands Institute at Athens** is published by J.C. Gieben, publisher on behalf of the Netherlands Institute at Athens. One of the main objectives of the journal is to provide a forum for Dutch scholars whose research and field work focus on Greece. Research carried out under the supervision of the Netherlands Institute at Athens will regularly be reported on in this journal. Contributions from other scholars are welcome. Both original articles and short communications relating to Greek archaeology, as well as studies on ancient and medieval history, numismatics, and epigraphy will be considered for publication. The opinions expressed in the articles are the responsibility of the authors.

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## EDITORIAL PREFACE

THE present issue of *Pharos* continues the line set forth by the previous volume in communicating pursuits relevant to the Netherlands Institute at Athens which extend beyond the scope of archaeology and ancient history.

M. Ioannidou presents the second part of her study on Greek women writers and publicists in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century. Whereas her first contribution focused on women's journals and magazines, in this issue she discusses a number of women writers and their literary achievements. In so doing she lets the voice of these women, who were excluded from the histories of modern Greek literature, be heard once more.

D. Koster draws our attention to private Dutch involvement in the Greek War of Independence, organized primarily by Greek merchants in Amsterdam who were able to win the sympathies of increasingly larger sectors of society, moved either by political or humanitarian sentiments. Koster discusses how the guilders pouring into this effort were put to use and observes the many Dutch volunteers who fought for the Greek cause. He traces this movement to its climax, when the private initiative was overtaken by the Great Powers, who forced the Ottomans into accepting the independence of Greece.

Returning to antiquity and archaeology, F. Petit and J. de Waele present a study on the length of the unit used in the construction of Temple A on Kos. J.P.A. van der Vin relates his observations on a coin hoard from the later third century BC found in Geraki in Lakonia, shedding both new light on economic life in Lakonia and the circulation of coinage in the southern Peloponnese.

Two reports on archaeological work in Greece form the final section of this issue. The fourth campaign by the University of Amsterdam at Geraki in Lakonia was devoted to the study of material found during the previous surveys and trial excavations. J. Crouwel and M. Prent present the ceramic material, which shows that the Early Helladic II was an especially intense period for the acropolis. Food plants were studied by R. Cappers and T. Carter reports on the chipped stone.

The last article concerns the excavations at Lavda in the Peloponnesos, continuing thereby the reports in *Pharos* I-III. Y. Goester en D. van de Vrie report on the excavations from 1986-1988, which exposed the foundations of a house constructed in the second half of the second or first century BC. The phases of this house are discussed according to the strata and material, which is more closely examined in the catalogue.

The promotion of Dutch scholarship in Greece was of particular interest to Jankarel Gevers, chairman of the Netherlands Institute at Athens and of the Board of Governors of the University of Amsterdam. Mr Gevers suddenly passed away in August 1998 and it is with a heavy heart that we announce our loss in a memorial written by P. Blok, director of the Office of Foreign Relations of the University of Amsterdam.



## IN MEMORIAM

### JANKAREL GEVERS

ON August 15, 1998, the chairman of the Board of Governors of the University of Amsterdam, Jankarel Gevers, suddenly passed away. One of the many functions which he occupied in the area of science and culture was the chairmanship of the Netherlands Institute at Athens (NIA). The University of Amsterdam operates as the secretarial agency of the NIA. Gevers took a special interest in the Dutch institutes and had rather strong opinions regarding them. He was an advocate for more cooperation and common activities among the institutes, a process which is now under way. He furthermore held the viewpoint that the Dutch institutes, including that in Athens, should function as outposts of Dutch higher education. The fact that the Dutch universities have long been the sole supporters of the institutes was, in his opinion, insufficiently made known. He personally defended, with fervour and success, the acquisition of a new building for the NIA. This was not always an easy task since, even within the various organisations, not everyone was aware of the activities of the institutes or convinced of their potential. This makes his absence from the opening of the new institute next year even more poignant. He would certainly have come in person. With his death goes the loss of an ardent defender of the dissemination of Dutch science and culture abroad.

Peter Blok  
Director, Office of Foreign Relations  
University of Amsterdam

# PIONEERING WOMEN IN MODERN GREEK LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

Marietta Ioannidou

FROM the time of Kassiani and Anna Comnena in Byzantium whole centuries were to pass before another female voice was to be heard in Greek literature. Of course, women would indubitably have contributed to the creation of the anonymous *dhimotiká tragoudhia* (folk poetry) –especially lullabies and dirges– but with the exception of a few Phanariot women who were writing poetry at the end of the eighteenth century and Moutzán-Martinéngou (see below) we have very little information about individual women writers in Greece until the middle of the nineteenth century.

## 1. Women writers during and shortly after the War of Independence

As far as I know, the first anthology of women's poetry, edited by Dhimitris Lambíkis and entitled *Greek Women Poets*, appeared in 1936.<sup>2</sup> In Athiná Tarsoulí's study *Greek Women Poets 1857-1940*<sup>3</sup> she mentions several Greek women poets and intellectuals of the nineteenth century who lived in Italy and wrote in other languages. We will not be discussing these women in detail here; I will merely mention the best known of them in order to give some indication of their activities.

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<sup>1</sup> This article is a continuation of my article "Greek women's magazines in the nineteenth century" in *Pharos* V, (1997), 1-13. Translation of both articles by Margaret Kofod.

<sup>2</sup> D. Lambikis, *Ελληνίδες ποιήτριες*, Athens 1936.

<sup>3</sup> A. Tarsouli, *Ελληνίδες ποιήτριες 1857-1940*, Athens 1951.



### 1.1. *Five women poets and writers*

The first is the poet, short-story writer and playwright Angelikí Pállī-Vartholomēi (1798-1875),<sup>4</sup> who contributed to the expression of Italian philhellenism with her patriotic verse, the second is the Greek-Albanian writer Dora d'Istria, pseudonym of Eléni Gíka (1828-1888), who wrote several remarkable passages on Greek women and especially on the heroines of the War of Independence, and the third is Margaríta Alavána-Miniáti (1821-1889), a woman of letters who was correspondent for the *Daily News* in Italy.<sup>5</sup> It would be worthwhile attempting to rescue their works from oblivion, and to translate and study them.

It must be recorded that Efrosíni Samartzídou, publisher of *Beehive* (Κυψέλη), and Andonoúsa Kambouráki or Kambouroπούλου<sup>6</sup> from Crete were the first Greek women to cultivate poetry after the revolution. The latter also wrote a patriotic drama in five acts which was published in 1847.<sup>7</sup>

### 1.2. *Evanthía Kaíri*

The intellectual activities of Evanthía Kaíri (1799-1866), sister of the philosopher Theófilos Kaíris and a "pupil" of Adamándios Korais, were very much patriotically oriented. Kaíri was the first woman of the new Greek state to "acquire an education which was rare for her time, an education which she consciously endeavoured to share with other young women."<sup>8</sup> In Kidhoniés (Asia Minor) she was known to all as "the learned young woman" and many ships were named in her honour. At the age of fifteen, encouraged by her brother, she started what was to be a frequent correspondence with Korais, who was then living in Paris. The influence of this great teacher on the young Evanthía can be seen not only in her intellectual development but also in her use of language.

<sup>4</sup> In 1876 K. Vallékis published a biography of Pállī along with nine of her short-stories. Varvára Theodoropoulou-Livadá wrote *Angelikí Pállī-Vartholomēi, her Life and Works* (Αγγελική Πάλλη-Βαρθολομαΐη. Η ζωή και το έργο της, Athens 1939). Pállī also wrote a historical story called *Captain Aléxios or the last days of Psarí* (Καπετάν Αλέξιος ή αι τελευταίαι ημέραι των Ψαρώων, Turin 1855?) and translated works by Shakespeare and Victor Hugo into Greek and works by Solomós, Zalogóstas and Valaoritis into Italian, French and English. Pállī was also the regular "Italian" correspondent for the journal *Pandora* (Πανδώρα, 1850-1872), to which she contributed book reviews etc. See also A. Sachinis, *A Contribution to the History of "Pandora" and the Early Magazines* (Συμβολή στην ιστορία της "Πανδώρας" και των παλιών περιοδικών, Athens 1964).

<sup>5</sup> Spýros De Viázis, "Distinguished Greek Women of the Nineteenth Century" (Διαπρεπείς Ελληνίδες κατά τον ΙΘ' αιώνα [in 11 instalments]), in *Greek Review* (Ελληνική Επιθεώρηση) 1910, and Athiná Tarsoulí, *Μαργαρίτα Αλαβάνα-Μηνιάτη*, Athens 1935.

<sup>6</sup> Efrosini Samartzídou, *A Collection of Poetry* (Συλλογή Ποιήσεων, Constantinople 1857), and A. Kampouroπούλου, *Tragic Poems about Various Wars in Crete* (Ποιήματα τραγικά εμπεριέχοντα διαφόρους πολέμους εν Κρήτη, Ερμούπολις 1840).

<sup>7</sup> *Yeorgios Papadakis*, which was to be followed by two others: *Lámbro* (Λάμπρο, 1861) and *The Exodus from Mesolonghi* (Η έξοδος του Μεσολογγίου, 1871). In the *History of Modern Greek Theatre, 1794-1944* (Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνικού θεάτρου, Athens 1990), vol. 1, Yiánnis Sidéris mentions only the "exceedingly anaemic *Exodus from Mesolonghi*" (p. 34).

<sup>8</sup> Kούλα Xiradákí, *Evanthía Kaíri (1799-1866). A Historical Monograph* (Ευανθία Καΐρη (1799-1866). Μια ιστορική μονογραφία, Athens 1956/1984).



In 1825 she addressed a letter of appeal on behalf of all Greek women to the women of Europe, asking them to assist in the Greek struggle for independence.<sup>9</sup> Many European women intellectuals responded to Evanthía's appeal and helped to build up a substantial philhellenist movement among Western European women. Typical of the reactions to Evanthía's letter is Korais' testimony that not only the "great ladies" of Paris but also ordinary women were moved and wanted to assist in the struggle. In 1826 he wrote: "My old maidservant, when she read about the disaster of Mesolonghi, offered 50 francs (two months' wages) to the committee."<sup>10</sup>

With knowledge of philosophy, literature, Ancient Greek, French and Italian, she had taken the position of head of the girls' school of Kidhoniés, while at the same time not neglecting either her charitable activities or her literary work. She translated J.N. Bouilly's book *Advice to my daughter*, adding as a preface a letter from Korais in which he urged her to "study, my beloved daughter, so that you may become like the woman Solomon was looking for: 'a woman of valour'. I die happier now I see that education has found its way even to the women of our nation."<sup>11</sup>

In commemoration of the contribution made by the multitude of unknown women to the War of Independence in 1821, she dedicated her play *Nikírátos* (Náplio 1826), about the exodus from Mesolonghi, the hero Chrístos Kapsális, and his daughter Kleoníki, who stays behind and joins her father in heroic self-sacrifice in the explosion of an ammunition depot in the face of the invading Turks, "to the women who sacrificed themselves for Greece."<sup>12</sup> This work, which Dhimarás describes as "neither better nor worse than the tragedies of the time,"<sup>13</sup> was first performed in Sýros with great success, moving the audience profoundly. One of these first performances was attended by Aléxandros Soútsos, who went to meet and congratulate the author after the performance.<sup>14</sup> He describes his encounter with her, at her house, as follows: "I could scarcely contain myself, so great was my feeling of respect and deep emotion. On entering this house I saw Evanthía for the first time, an unassuming young woman who combined the attractions of beauty with those of erudition. I congratulated her on the successful production of *Nikírátos*. Full of enthusiasm for her natural endowments, I dared to express a desire to hear her herself recite a passage from her play."<sup>15</sup>

In 1830 the play was performed in Ermoúpolis and in 1837 the Skotzópoulos theatre company put it on in Athens under the title *The Fall of Mesolonghi*. Many years later, in 1870, Elpídha I. Kiriákou, whose initials are identical to Kaíri's, published a "revised" version,

<sup>9</sup> A Greek woman, *Letter to Philhellenist Women, written by one of the most serious of Greek women* (Ελληνίδος τινός, Επιστολή προς τας φιλελληνίδας συνθετίσα παρά τινός των σπουδαιότερων Ελληνίδων, Hydra 1825), facsimile edition Athens 1972 (Ιστορική και Λαογραφική Εταιρεία). As P.M. Kitromilides remarks, "Besides their patriotic contribution, these literary projects provided a medium for gradually giving shape to the evolving conception of womanhood that was transmitted to Greek consciousness from the European Enlightenment." ("The Enlightenment and Womanhood. Cultural Change and the Politics of 'Exclusion'", in *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 1,1, May 1983, p. 54.

<sup>10</sup> Roger Millieux, 'Foreign women on the side of Hellenism' (Ξένες στο πλευρό του Ελληνισμού), in the newspaper *Κάθημερινη*, February 2, 1977.

<sup>11</sup> Adamandios Korais, *Second Selection of Letters* (Απάνθισμα δεύτερον επιστολών, Athens 1965 and 1984).

<sup>12</sup> By "A Greek woman" (Evanthía Kaíri), *Nikírátos. A Drama in Three Acts* (Ελληνίδος τινός, Νυσηράτος. Δράμα εις τρεις πράξεις, Náplio 1826), in the Parliament Library and a facsimile edition, Athens 1972 (Ιστορική και Λαογραφική Εταιρεία).

<sup>13</sup> K.Th. Dhimarás, *History of Modern Greek Literature* (Ιστορία της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας, Athens 1987), p. 210.

<sup>14</sup> Koula Xiradháki, o.c. p. 82.

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<sup>14</sup> Kούλα Xiradháki, o.c. p. 82.

<sup>15</sup> Alexandre Soutzo, *Histoire de la révolution Grecque*, Paris 1829, p. 407.





Figure 1. *Sotiria Aliberti*

probably intending to present it as her own work, even though she described it as imperfect and insignificant!<sup>16</sup>

Kaïri herself always shunned publicity; she even avoided signing her works with her own name, preferring to sign them "by a Greek woman". She devoted herself to her charitable and educational work. (She and her brother founded the famous orphanage on Andros in order to educate the children of the partisans).

### 1.3. *Sotiria Aliberti*

A woman who played an important role in the women's movement of her time was the teacher, scholar and sociologist Sotiria Aliberti (1847-1929). She was head of the 'Záppio Girls' School of Constantinople and was involved in numerous activities in various fields. She published in many magazines, newspapers and journals and from 1899 to 1902 she was editor of the magazine *Pleiad* (Πλειάς, Pliás), the main goal of which was to promote the education of Greek women. *Pleiad* was the organ of the Society "Ergani Athina," which Aliberti founded in 1896 and which in 1911 changed its name to "Panhellenic Women's Society" (Πανελλήνιος Σύλλογος Γυναικών); its main objective was to organize exhibitions of women's handicrafts and to establish charitable homes. When the *Commemorative Album of the Panhellenic Women's Society* (Αναμνηστικό Λεύκωμα του Πανελληνίου Συλλόγου Γυναικών) was published in 1916, it made a great impression.

In the *Ladies' Newspaper* (Εφημερίς των Κυριών) Aliberti, using the pen-name "Attic Woman" (Ατθίς) published "the first biographies of distinguished Greek women," articles which were later to be published in three volumes entitled *Celebrated and Distinguished Greek Women* (Ενδοξοί και επιφανείς Ελληνίδες). In 1896 she published the first biography of Queen Amalia<sup>17</sup> and in 1900 the historical monograph *Mandó Mavroyénous* (Μανδώ Μαυρογένους). She also translated works by Isabélla Theotóki-Albrígi and Angelikí Pállí-Vartholomēi from the Italian.<sup>18</sup>

### 1.4. *Elisávet Moutzán-Martinéngou*

In 1881 the poet Elisavétios Martinéngos published the autobiography of his mother Elisévet Moutzán-Martinéngou (1801-1832),<sup>19</sup> thus making known the existence of a passionate and

<sup>16</sup> N.I. Láskaris, *History of Modern Greek Theatre* (Ιστορία του νεοελληνικού θεάτρου, Athens 1938-1939), vol. I, p. 47.

<sup>17</sup> S. Aliberti, *1818-1875, Amalia, Queen of Greece* (1818-1875, Αμαλία, η βασίλισσα της Ελλάδος, Athens 1896), and a second volume complementing the first, with letters and pictures, Athens 1916.

<sup>18</sup> One of the stories she had translated, A. Pállí's historical tale 'Greek Scenes, Aléxios and the Last Days of Psará' (Ελληνικά σκηνά. Αλέξιος ή αι τελευταίαι ημέραι των Ψαρών), was published in the magazine *Family* (Οικογένεια), year II, 1898, nos. 2,3,4,5,6,14 and 15. This story had been translated into Greek and printed in 1860 by Spyridon Modínos from Zákynthos.

<sup>19</sup> 'My Mother, Autobiography of Mrs Elisávet Moutzán-Martinéngou' (Η μήτηρ μου. Αυτοβιογραφία της κας Ελισάβετ Μουτζάν-Μαρτινένγκου), published by her son Elisavétios Martinéngos, with several of his own poems, Athens 1881.

gifted Zákynthos woman who had struggled to preserve her inner freedom within the bonds of her aristocratic family. Martinéngou was the most productive woman writer of the pre-revolutionary period and the only one who in recent years has become known to a wider public, due to a certain amount of attention in the press and on television to her life and work. In spite of the fact that she lived only 31 years, she managed to write fourteen works in Greek and sixteen in Italian, including dramas, comedies, tragedies, essays, poetry and translations, without ever having anything published in her lifetime. Most of her work never saw the light of day at all, as it perished during the earthquake and ensuing fires which devastated Zákynthos in 1953. Even her autobiography was "censored;" before publishing it, her son removed those sections which he thought would not be of interest to the general public because they were about "family circumstances, her earliest childhood impressions, likes and dislikes of certain family members... and therefore interesting only... to her son and close relations in the estimable Moutzán family."<sup>20</sup>



Figure 2. Elisavët Moutzán-Martinéngou

In 1965 Fédhon Bouboulídhis discovered and published a previously unknown work by Martinéngou: a comedy called *Filáryiros* (Φιλάργυρος, The Miser), written in 1823.<sup>21</sup> Martinéngou seems to identify emotionally with the heroine of her play, Mélousa, who leaves her marital home and flees to a convent, something which Martinéngou says in her *Autobiography* she aspired to do herself. The suppression of women by their tyrant husbands and the joyless life of women who live enclosed in their homes is one of the main themes of *Filáryiros*. T. Mavráki observes that this comedy by Martinéngou and *Vasilikós* by Mátesis, written in 1829-1830, seven years later, "... although they are about different issues, show a remarkable similarity as regards their perspective on problems within the family, society and the state." She also declares that "... Martinéngou dares to go further than Mátesis: Martinéngou does not hesitate to place the action of her play unequivocally in the contemporary world, whereas Mátesis places his 120 years earlier, in 1712."<sup>22</sup> Because of the social issues concealed in *Vasilikós*, Dhimarás describes

<sup>20</sup> *My Mother etc.*, p. 117, 'Epilogue.' The work was republished, with an introduction and notes, by K. Porfyrís under the title *Autobiography* (Αυτοβιογραφία, Athens 1956 and 1983) and so it is usually known today.

<sup>21</sup> F.K. Bouboulídhis, *Ελισάβετ Μουτζάν-Μαρτινέγκου*, Athens 1965, in which year her *Autobiography* was also republished (see previous note), along with some previously unpublished material.

<sup>22</sup> T. Mavráki, "E. Moutzan-Martinengou's *Filaryiros*: a woman's play at the crossroads between Enlightenment and Romanticism," in *Mandatoforms*, no. 39-40, 1995, p. 72.



Matesis's play as "a true social drama, the first in Greece..."<sup>23</sup> Could not the same be said of Martinéngou's *Filáryiros*, which was written earlier, and which although technically inferior, nevertheless clearly deals with social issues?

Enclosed within the high walls of her aristocratic family home, behind tightly closed shutters, Martinéngou lived out her short life.<sup>24</sup> Her father, Frangískos Moutzán, came from an old family of nobles and as governor of Zákynthos was a very active politician, while her mother was a scion of the celebrated Sigoúros family. Raised in such an environment, Elisávet, who was intelligent and sensitive, started to study and write at an early age, with teachers living in her home who were outstanding intellectual figures of their time: first Theodhósios Dhimádis, and after he was dismissed by Elisávet's father (probably because he was afraid of the influence the teacher's liberal ideas might have on her), Vasilíos Romatzás.

Great political events reached Elisávet only like echoes of her father's discussions with his visitors. This is illustrated by the fact that in her autobiography there is only a brief, though ardent reference to the news of the War of Independence, brought to her by her teacher Dhimádis on March 25, 1821,<sup>25</sup> whereas she was obviously much more impressed by the storms and earthquakes of 1820, to which she devoted entire pages. She thought of retreating to a convent so as to be able to write and paint in peace, but her father rejected the idea angrily. The only thing he and her uncle wanted her to do was to marry. But she herself wanted to escape because "I have observed the misfortunes to which married women are subjected and am horrified." Most of all "I was very much afraid of ending up with one of those men who want to have their wife as a slave and think she is a bad woman if she does not want to behave like a slave." (1983, p. 89)

After fifteen years of struggle, filled with despair and fear for the fate of her works, namely that they would merely "fill the bellies of worms..." she decided to rebel. She made plans to run away in secret to Venice to work in the home of a relative, in the hope that her father would then be forced to give her permission to stay there for good. Her dramatic flight was doomed to failure and she herself realized that she had no option but to submit to the wishes of her family and marry. In the course of the next two years a bridegroom was found, the long and (for Elisávet) painful dowry negotiations took place, and the marriage followed; on the eve of the wedding, June 26, 1831, her *Autobiography* ends. One year later, while giving birth to a son, Martinéngou died, and she and her works were consigned to oblivion for many years.

K.Th. Dhimarás describes her *Autobiography* as "a work of rare literary worth,"<sup>26</sup> one of the finest gems of our modern literature;" nevertheless, his main reason for mentioning her is that

<sup>23</sup> K.Th. Dhimarás, op. cit., p. 290.

<sup>24</sup> The Dutch translation of Martinéngou's *Autobiography*, made at the initiative of the Institute for Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies of the State University of Groningen, was published under the title *Caged dreams. Autobiography by a Greek Woman at the time of the Enlightenment* (Gekooide dromen. Autobiografie van een Griekse ten tijde van de Verlichting, Groningen 1992).

<sup>25</sup> "At this time, that is, on the 25th of March, 1821, the day of the Annunciation, my teacher, Theodósios Dimádis, comes and with much joy makes it known to us, that the Greeks had raised arms against the Ottomans, ...Hearing his words, I felt my blood warming up, I wished in my heart that I could take up arms, I wished in my heart that I could run to give help to those people who (apparently) did not fight for anything else but for their religion and their country, and for that longed-for freedom... I wished, as I said, in my heart, but then I looked at the walls of the house which kept me confined, I looked at the long dresses of women's slavery, and I remembered that I am a woman, and, furthermore, a woman of Zakynthos, and I sighed..." E. Moutzan-Martinéngou, *My Story*, translated by Helen Dendrinos Kolias, Athens Georgia U.P. 1989, p. 30.

<sup>26</sup> K.Th. Dhimarás, o.c. p. 217.



he believes that by remembering her the reader will be better equipped to become acquainted with the mothers of the two great Zakynthian poets who lived at the same time as Martinéngou, Solomós and Kálvos.

It is actually improbable that Solomós and his circle would have known anything about the existence and literary activities of Martinéngou. Unlike Elisávet, they were free to live as they pleased, to travel, to write and print their works.

The few samples of Martinéngou's writing which survived the 1953 Zákynthos disaster<sup>27</sup> are now kept in Marínos Sigoúros' archives. These and her *Autobiography* bear witness to the inhumane customs of the time and the prejudices which prevailed, forcing women, especially women of the higher classes, to live literally as prisoners. With an unprecedented for a Greek woman of that time power, Martinéngou sustained the right of women to be "Members of the human race."

Martinéngou was also a pioneer in her use of language: her works are written in a prose style which is both simple and elegant, a style which is very close to that of the Ionian theatre; it is, as Moullás describes it, "a unique sample of Ionian prose at the time of the War of Independence."<sup>28</sup>

## 2. After the War of Independance

In the newly established Greek state the position of women was not very different from what it had been under Turkish rule. "Formally, it was laid down in the institutions of Byzantine Roman law, which were, essentially, taken over lock, stock and barrel into the law of the new state."<sup>29</sup> Even the heroines of the War of Independence were completely brushed aside and forgotten.<sup>30</sup>

After Independence, women of the privileged classes do seem to have become regular readers of foreign novels, translations of which inundated the Greek market, and later of Greek popular

<sup>27</sup> On November 10, 1947 the Zakynthos scholar Dínos Konómos reported to the *Ionian Islands Newspaper* (Επτανησιακά Φύλλα) that he had discovered Martinéngou's manuscripts, and he swore "to God and to the memory of Martinéngou" that he would publish them. Konómos's archives were destroyed in the 1953 earthquake and the fire which blazed in its wake.

In Marínos Sigoúros's archives there are poems, the comedy *Filáryiros*, letters and the prologue, in the form of a dialogue, of her dissertation *On Economy* (Περί οικονομίας, 1826). *Filáryiros*, written in 1823, is not included in the list of her works, but it is mentioned in her *Autobiography*. Her twenty letters, in which historical events are mentioned, provide information about family events and about the writer's intellectual interests and general psychological constitution. These letters "in their elegance constitute a parallel to the *Autobiography*, which they complement at some points." Fédhon Bouboulídis, *New Studies of the Zakynthian Poets and Prose Writers* (Néai 'Egheunai perí tous Zákynthiους ποιητάς και πεζογράφους, Athens 1959, pp. 53-75).

<sup>28</sup> P. Moullás, "Literature from the War of Independence to the Generation of 1880" (Η λογοτεχνία από τον Αγώνα ως τη γενιά του 1880), in *History of the Greek Nation* (Ιστορία του Ελληνικού έθνους, Athens 1977), vol. XIII, p. 494.

<sup>29</sup> Roúla Kaklamanáki, *The Position of Greek Women* (Η θέση της Ελληνίδας, Athens 1984), p. 39.

<sup>30</sup> What happened to Mandó Mavroyénous is typical. Instead of being given rewards and honours for her services to her country, she was given a small widow's pension, so that in 1840 she was forced to write to Otto: "...but I myself, your Majesty, have never been a widow, nor have I ever even been married, in order to make it possible for me to become a widow..." From a paper which G. Vlachoyánnis happened to find, published for the first time in 1901 in *Archives of Modern Greek History* (Αρχαία της νεωτέρας ελληνικής ιστορίας), as is mentioned in K. Xiradháki's book *Women of '21* (Γυναίκες του '21, Athens-Yánnina 1995), p.307.

novels.<sup>31</sup> It is of course well known that the novel was regarded as an instrument of corruption, introducing foreign morals into Greek society and threatening to harm its readers, especially if they were young women.<sup>32</sup> But in spite of these warnings, the imaginary world of the novel attracted women, giving them a chance to dream about places and people who were different from those in their own everyday reality. This practice gave rise to the fear that those women who read "with insatiable desire the whole day and often also the whole night... some novel or some tender or curious story... often neglect their more serious duties."<sup>33</sup>

The cultivation of poetry had always been regarded as safer and more suitable for women, since it does not presuppose "knowledge of the world" but only instinctive talent and imagination and because verse, it was believed, could more easily be written in moments "stolen" from household chores. So in the first decades after the War of Independence Greek women did in fact engage in writing poetry somewhat more often, as is shown by the poems published by various women's magazines and by Athinā Tarsoúli's study *Greek Women Poets 1857-1940* from 1951.<sup>34</sup> But in any case, the few women of the time who were not illiterate had no place of their own and no time in which they could do as they pleased. Even if they did manage to spend some time writing, they generally preferred to keep what they had written for themselves alone.<sup>35</sup>

So it is not surprising that it was not until several years after Independence that the first women writers appeared. The fact that these women were teachers cannot be regarded as a coincidence; the teaching profession offered women a degree of economic independence and, more importantly, a means of improving their social position, of gaining a certain amount of social prestige and of entering the "forbidden" public domain.

### 2.1. *Arsinói Papadhopoúλου*

One of these teachers was Arsinói Papadhopoúλου (1853-1933),<sup>36</sup> whose father Grigórios Papadhopoulos was the author of a treatise *On women and Greek women*.<sup>37</sup> Her volume of short

<sup>31</sup> Kiriákos Dh. Kássis, *The Greek Popular Novel 1840-1940* (Το ελληνικό λαϊκό μυθιστόρημα 1840-1940, Athens 1983), pp. 23-27.

<sup>32</sup> In Grigórios Papadhopoulos's treatise *On Women and Greek Women* (Περί γυναικός και Ελληνίδος, Athens 1850) we read: "...if we take a look at the reading matter of Greek women, we will observe to our regret that it nearly always consists of novels, which, indiscriminately and inelegantly translated, are swamping us... But the choice of reading matter for girls, both inside and outside school, is just as important as what is taught at school, for very often 'books have corrupted women,' since women, who have more vivid imaginations, more spare time and less experience, are more likely to squander their hearts in vain reading novels..."

And in L. Melás's *Yerostáthis* (Γεροστάθης, Athens 1858) we are told: "So both you and your sisters," said the old man, "must shut not only your ears, but also your eyes, whenever you come across novels."

A.P. Rangavis and D. Vikélas also had a negative attitude to novels, as A. Sachinis relates (*Early Prose Writers* (Παλαιότεροι πεζογράφοι, Athens 1982), pp. 16-21 and 60-65 and *The Modern Greek Novel* (Το νεοελληνικό μυθιστόρημα, Athens 1969), pp. 18-19).

<sup>33</sup> A. Rangavis, 'To the young women of Greece', introduction to the translation of I. Kambe's *Fatherly Advice to my Daughter* (Πατρική συμβουλή προς την θυγατέρα μου, Athens 1838).

<sup>34</sup> See note 3.

<sup>35</sup> Of course, this phenomenon was not exclusive to Greece. Emily Dickinson (1830-1886), to mention one of the internationally best known female poets, wrote her poems on little pieces of paper and did not dare to publish them. Her work was discovered only after her death.

<sup>36</sup> See for information on her life G. Papakóstas, *The Eightieth Birthday of the Author Arsinói Papadhopoúλου* (1853-1933). *Her Life and Work* (Η ογδοηκονταετηρίς της λαογράφου Αρσινόης Παπαδοπούλου. Ο βίος και το έργο της, Athens 1934).

<sup>37</sup> See note 32.



stories *Athenian Flowers* (Αθηναϊκά ανθύλλια, Athens 1895) reflects the author's views on bringing up children and on the position of women in Greek society. Especially in the second story, called "From Athens to Marseilles" (Ἐξ Αθηνῶν εἰς Μασσαλίαν) and written in the form of a letter, she argues that education is indispensable for women because it helps them to become better housewives and that Greek women have a different mission in life than West European women. Women are not inferior to men, but basically a woman should occupy herself with her home and with being "the saviour of man and the light of his life."<sup>38</sup> "Men assert themselves by force, we overcome through the heart," Arsinoï Papadhopoûlou believes. Xenóπουλος, in an article in the newspaper *City* (Ἄστι) written shortly after Papadhopoûlou's short stories had come out, recommends *Athenian Flowers* to all young girls who have finished school and need something pleasant to read which is also helpful.<sup>39</sup> Arsinoï Papadhopoûlou wrote a total of twelve books, all in *katharévoussa*, of which most were children's books and plays and one a historical work, *The Creator of the Greek Nation. Alexander the Great* (Ο δημιουργός του Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους, ο Μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος, Athens, undated).



Figure 3. Arsinoï Papadhopoûlou

## 2.2. María Michanίδου

The Egyptian María P. Michanίδου (born around 1855) lived first in Alexandria and later in Piraeus. She first appeared in the Greek literary world in 1874, with her play *The Traitor Priest*, (Ο προδότης Ιερέυς, τραγωδία εἰς πέντε πράξεις, Alexandria 1874) and her first novel, the first novel in Modern Greek Literature, *The Patience of Paul* (Η καρτερία του Παύλου, Athens 1875), the story of a Greek adventurer in Egypt, was followed by another four plays<sup>40</sup> and a short novel

<sup>38</sup> "Tale of the First of May" (Παραμῦθι της Πρωτομαγιάς, 1925), in which the heroine, Miliá, is presented as an "answer" to what was being written at the time about women and their emancipation.

<sup>39</sup> "These are very edifying stories. [They are in] well-written *katharévoussa*, smooth and tranquil, like a skilfully made fish pond, [there is a] unique serenity of style; evil is punished and cauterized, just as virtue is praised and exalted. These simple stories are always solidly based on love for parents and country, the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. [This book] carries forth the tradition of school books. Good children will see nothing in them, learn nothing in them which might make them rebel – Heaven forbid! – or might move them deeply, or open their eyes to truth and life, or make them see or think differently!... The book neither destroys nor creates. It simply preserves." (Gr. Xenóπουλος, *Ἄστυ*, December 25, 1895).

<sup>40</sup> María P. Michanίδου, *The Ultimate Destitution. A drama ending in comedy, or Greek Aristocracy and the Vampire* (Η ἐσχάτη ἐνδεΐα. Δράμα ἀπολήγον εἰς κωμωδίαν, ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ ἀριστοκρατία καὶ ὁ Βρυκόλακας, Alexandria 1879; *A New Marriage Arrangement. A Comedy in three acts* (Νέα εφεύρεσις γάμου. Κωμωδία εἰς τρεῖς πράξεις, Constantinople 1881); *The False Jewish Priest* (Ο ψευδοῖερέυς Ἰουδαῖος, Athens 1886, in fact an adaptation of her first play *The Traitor Priest* from 1874); and *Human Sacrifice among the Jews* (Η ἀνθρωποθυσία παρὰ τοῖς



Figure 4. Alexándra Papadhopoúλου

entitled *The Beautiful Muslim Lady* (Η ωραία Οθωμανίς, 1888). S. Denísi, who redeemed Michanídou's work from oblivion, regards her third play, the comedy *A New Marriage Arrangement* (Νέα εφεύρεσις γάμου, 1881), as her "most accomplished work," the work in which her "talents as a playwright reached their peak" and in which "the writer's true comic vein ... finds its full expression in a perfect comedy."<sup>41</sup>

### 2.3. Alexándra Papadhopoúλου

The Constantinople teacher Alexándra Papadhopoúλου (1867-1906) was the first Greek woman to devote herself very effectively to writing narrative work. One of her stories, "Son and Daughter" (Υιός και κόρη) was included in G. Kasdhoni's

anthology *Greek Short Stories*,<sup>42</sup> the most important collection of Greek short stories up to that time. She was in fact the only woman writer to be included, and it meant that she received official recognition as a short story writer. Xenópoulos wrote four reviews of her work, emphasizing that Papadhopoúλου "was fashioned from that fabric from which great writers are made."<sup>43</sup>

She started to publish her work from the age of twenty-two, and in spite of the fact that she died before reaching the age of forty, she managed to write more than 145 short stories.<sup>44</sup> D.I. Kaloyerópoulos was the first to collect and edit a volume of her short stories<sup>45</sup> and later G. Papakóstas completed the list, managing to find most of her works, which he divided according to themes and genres into three categories: a. the largest category, consisting of "tales of urban life," b. stories with patriotic and historical themes, and c. mythological and allegorical stories.<sup>46</sup>

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Ιουδαίους, Athens 1891). About Michanídou's work see the presentation of S. Denisi in *Our older prose* (Η Παλαιότερη Πεζογραφία μας), vol. 5, Athens 1997, pp. 240-251

<sup>41</sup> Sofia Denisi, "Maria P. Michanidou, a Pioneer of our Women's Literature" (Μια πρωτοπόρος της γυναικείας λογοτεχνίας μας), in the programme of the first modern performance of Maria Michanídou's comedy *A New Marriage Arrangement*, in Athens on November 9, 1994, in the Municipal Theatre of Kallithéa. The performance was given by Yiórgos Galándis' company "Chorikio".

<sup>42</sup> G. Kadhonis, ed., *Ελληνικά διηγήματα*, Athens 1896, pp. 519-528.

<sup>43</sup> Gr. Xenópoulos, "Αλεξάνδρα Παπαδοπούλου," in *Παναθήναια* 11, 1905-1906, pp. 65-67.

<sup>44</sup> In the last decade several of Alexándra Papadhopoúλου's works have been reprinted: two collections of short stories, published by "Odysseas" (Διηγήματα, Athens 1987, with a lengthy introduction by Yi. Papakóstas) and "Stigma" (Διηγήματα, Athens 1987) and her short novel *Aunt Efyfchia* by "Estia" (Η θεία Ευτυχία, Athens 1988).

<sup>45</sup> *Short Stories* (Διηγήματα), published by Michail Zikákis, Athens 1929. One of her short stories, 'Theodora' (Θεοδώρα), was also included in *55 Greek Stories* (55 Ελληνικά Διηγήματα, ed. by K.I. Karzís, Athens 1920, pp. 277-281), as the only story written by a woman among 37 stories written by men.

<sup>46</sup> Yiánnis Papakóstas, *The Life and Works of Alexándra Papadhopoúλου* (Η ζωή και το έργο της Αλεξάνδρας Παπαδοπούλου, Athens 1980), p. 202.



Critics paid attention to Papadhopolou, whose work was very well received in Athens. They described her as a "daring spirit," a "unique" writer, a pioneer of the socially engaged short story,<sup>47</sup> in a period dominated by "genre stories" (ηθογραφία), but also as the first woman writer to write in *demotic*, without dialectal idioms, who had "the courage to raise the flag of linguistic emancipation."<sup>48</sup> However, her courage also provoked attacks from conservative critics, who described her use of language as "harlequin-esque" and "crude."<sup>49</sup>

Having gained a reputation in literary circles and made the acquaintance of important literary figures, she was asked to contribute to many important literary (and non-literary) publications of the time, such as the daily newspaper *Estia* (Εστία), the *Illustrated Estia* (Εικονογραφημένη Εστία), the *Literary Echo* (Η φιλόλογική ηχώ), the *Panathinaea* (Παναθηναίαι), the *Ladies' Newspaper* (Εφημερίς των Κυριών), the Constantinople newspaper *Progress* (Πρόοδος), which she did under various pen-names: "Little Devil" (Σατανίσκη), "Byzantine Woman" (Βυζαντίς), "Constantinopolitan Woman" (Πολίτης), "Sancho Panza" (Σάνσο Πάνσα), etc.

Papadhopolou, in spite of her liberal ideas and her relationship with Parrén's circle of feminists, never openly expressed positive views regarding the feminist movement of her time, a fact which provoked bitter comments from Parrén.<sup>50</sup> Of course, we must bear in mind the fact that Papadhopolou was unmarried and lived in the very conservative community of Constantinople, where "even for a woman to write publicly at that time was regarded as an unforgivable sin."<sup>51</sup>

So the strange thing about Papadhopolou, as Papakostas points out, is that "whereas in Athens she is regarded as an anti-feminist, in Constantinople she is placed in the feminist camp, so that she is attacked from both sides."<sup>52</sup>

Xenopoulos was definitely the greatest admirer of Alexándra Papadhopolou's work, regarding her as "a spirit free of prejudices, a scathing and truly satanic intellect, (with) observational powers of the highest order, (and) extremely daring originality,"<sup>53</sup> and his opinion was shared by other critics, however, not by Roidhis. The author of *Pope Joan* could tolerate

<sup>47</sup> N. Vasiádis, "Alexándra Papadopolou and Folk Writing of Constantinople" (Η Αλεξάνδρα Παπαδοπούλου και η λαογραφία της Πόλης) in the newspaper *Progress* (Πρόοδος), Constantinople, July 4, 1906, no. 449, p. 1, and A. Yialouri, "Αλεξάνδρα Παπαδοπούλου," in *A Literary New Year* (Φιλόλογική Πρωτοχρονιά, Constantinople 1932).

<sup>48</sup> Y. Chasiótou, *The Language of the Greeks* (Η γλώσσα του Έλληνα, Constantinople 1909), p. 343 ff. and Kallirói Parrén, "Αλεξάνδρα Παπαδοπούλου," I, in the *Ladies Newspaper* (Εφημερίς των Κυριών) 869, March 19, 1906, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Fóti Dh. Fotiádis, *The Language Question and our Educational Renaissance* (Το γλωσσικό ζήτημα κι η εκπαιδευτική μας αναγέννηση, Athens 1902), pp. 127, 128, 139, 143 ff.

<sup>50</sup> "Miss A. Papadopolou does not wish even to hear about the women's issue. Why? Perhaps because she lives in a place where the harem prevails and the eunuch keep women like a flock of sheep at the point of their whips—so that the very idea of the new order terrifies her. Her mind has become accustomed to regarding women as exclusively domestic creatures, destined solely for the perpetuation of the species..." *The Ladies Newspaper* 458, September 29, 1896. I must add here that A. Papadopolou's heroines are employed only in typical women professions (as teachers) and it is the need to support economically their family which forces them to do so, not their personal choice.

<sup>51</sup> Tatiana Stávrou, "The Literary Echo" (Η φιλόλογική ηχώ), in *Néa Estia* 44, 1948, p. 1489.

<sup>52</sup> Y. Papakostas, o.c. p. 118.

<sup>53</sup> Gr. Xenopoulos, "Two women writers" (Δύο γυναίκες συγγραφέις), in the newspaper *City* (Ásti) of December 25, 1899, no. 1832, in which he compares Arsinói Papadhopolou and Alexándra Papadhopolou: "Arsinói writes for a beautiful world, angelically created, whereas Alexándra brings rebellion to the soul...Miss Alexándra Papadhopolou has a unique originality, she is one of the few, one of the very few among our writers. For those who understand and love Art, for emancipated readers." And he goes on to express his admiration for her original use of language and style.



"women who write" only on the condition that they wrote "in a feminine way."<sup>54</sup> He disagreed entirely with Palamás, who believed that "art has no gender, nor does genius,"<sup>55</sup> and also with Kalapothákis who maintained that writers should not allow their gender to show in their work and that whether a writer wears a dress or has a beard has no relevance to what she or he writes. Roidhis insisted on regarding "women who write," who were not content with accomplishments suited to their sex, but "dress up like men", as "mannish" women, reminding his readers of Proudhon's saying: "there are only two professions for a woman: housewife and whore."<sup>56</sup>

The main targets of Roidhis's invective were Kallirói Parrén and the (women) editors of the *Ladies' Newspaper*, while the occasion for him to voice publicly his view on contemporary Greek women who engaged in writing was the appearance of Arsinói Papadhopoulou's volume of short stories *Athenian Flowers*. On April 28, 1896, in *Akerópolis*, Roidhis published an article headed "Greek women who write: Arsinói Papadhopoulou" (Αἱ γράφουσαι Ἑλληνίδες: Ἀρσινόη Παπαδοπούλου), which marked the beginning of a battle between Roidhis and women writers which was to last the whole year. Its echo was to be heard two years later, when Roidhis published an article called "The apostles of women's liberation" (Αἱ ἀπόστολοι τῆς γυναικείας χειραφετήσεως) in *Ahead* (Ἐμπρός, January 19, 1898). Apart from Parrén, who responded to Roidhis and to whom he responded in turn, Vlasis Gavriilidhis, director of *Akerópolis*, also joined in the battle, on the side of the women. In a series of articles in *Akerópolis* under the pen-name "The Radical" (Πιζοσπάστης),<sup>57</sup> he refers to the feminist movement as a second French Revolution and supports not only women's right to write as they please but also their right to paid employment; he also condemns the institution of the dowry (προίκα) as "the barbaric symbol of a barbaric era."<sup>58</sup>

Following on these articles "Bohem" (Μποέμ = Dhimítris Chatzópoulos) published a series of interviews with five women in Kousoulákos' *Skep*.<sup>59</sup> The five women were Evyenía Zografou, Eléni Kanellídhrou, Sotiría Alibérti, Sevastí Kalispéri and Arsinói Papadhopoulou. Two of them, the second and the last, agreed with Roidhis, while the other three believed that men would despise a work written by a woman, regardless of whether it had anything to say anything or was well-written (Zografou), that Roidhis was contradicting himself and had no right whatsoever to forbid women to be active in society (Alibérti) and that human intellect is the same in male and female brains (Kalispéri).

There can be no doubt that Roidhis was expressing views on women and feminism which prevailed at the time; we must not forget that even Palamás, who frequented Parrén's literary

<sup>54</sup> "Women who write" had been a subject of controversy at an earlier date, as we can see in an unsigned article in the magazine *Euridice*: "If (women) insist on writing, let them write as much as they please, so long as every phrase bears the stamp of their sex. The creative male gaze, which stands between women and the blank sheet of paper, dictates: 'Write, women, write as you knit, sew, embroider. Write embroidery and embroider novels. It's the same thing...'" (*Euridice*, year II, January 30, 1872).

<sup>55</sup> *Εφημερίς των Κυρίων* 466, Nov. 11, p. 1896.

<sup>56</sup> P.J. Proudhon: 'Les femmes dans les temps modernes', in *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?*, Paris 1961.

<sup>57</sup> These articles, which were published on June 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24, 1896, were collected in a volume entitled *Women* (Αἱ γυναῖκες), published in Athens in 1921 by Eleftheroudákis.

<sup>58</sup> Kléon Paráschos, "Gavriilidhis the Feminist" (Ο Γαβριηλίδης φεμινιστής), in *Néa Estia* 52, 1929, p. 134-140.

<sup>59</sup> *Σκεπ*, May 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8, 1896.

salon<sup>60</sup> (he dedicated a poem to her, expressing his admiration for her) and was regarded as a feminist, had, ten years earlier, written the following lines:

- *What can a woman be?*  
 - *Do not ask: a bird, a doll,*  
*a flower, a block of wood, gold, death, angel,*  
*hag,*  
*either a rag for a cart or a queen for a throne;*  
*only not a human being.*

*Live, if you wish, far away from her,*  
*live, if you wish, by her side,*  
*beat her like a peasant,*  
*worship her like a knight,*

*Lose your mind, slay yourself, only this do not*  
*forget:*  
*do not waste human conversation, do not waste words*  
*on her.*<sup>61</sup>

Parrén's reaction to Roidhis's taunting articles on "Greek women who write" –the word *syngraféas*, "writer," perhaps partly for morphological reasons, could apparently be applied only to men– consisted of four articles (three of which were unsigned, but obviously by her), containing reciprocal ironic comments but also setting out clearly and specifically the views and convictions of the women who were fighting for social change.<sup>62</sup>

The whole controversy does seem to have had some effect: Roidhis never wrote at length on the subject again and when he did refer to it again two years later in an article in *Ahead* (Εμπρός), it was still in an ironic style,<sup>63</sup> but there was nothing similar to the sort of prose he had written in 1896, when he had inveighed against women's "chirpings," recollecting the Chinese maxim: "When the hen starts to crow like a rooster, it's time to chop off her head." (p. 123).

<sup>60</sup> Yíannis Papakóstas, *Literary Salons and Cafes of Athens (1880-1930)* (Φιλολογικά σαλόνια και καφενεεία της Αθήνας [1880-1930], Athens 1988), pp. 72-74.

<sup>61</sup> From *The Songs of my Country* (Τα τραγούδια της Πατρίδος μου, 1886), in Kostis Palamás, *Collected Works* (Απαντα, Athens 1960), vol I, p. 130.

<sup>62</sup> The first two articles were published in the magazine *Olymbia* (Ολύμπια), no. 26, May 5, 1896 and on the same date in the *Ladies Newspaper* (Εφημερίς των Κυριών) 442, and the other two on May 12, 1896 in *Akerópolis* (signed) and in the *Ladies Newspaper* 443. Here is a typical passage from the first article: "...recently he [Roidis] has been lashing out against women, perhaps from spite because women do not throw themselves at him. And he does not approve of what the few learned Greek women write, those few women who are heroic enough to offer their delicate contributions to our meagre literary movement... We think that even without our assistance the tender hands of our noble colleagues have enough strength to shake off Mr. Roidis and to show him that he is a spent power."

<sup>63</sup> In it he calls the feminists "apostles of women's liberation"– Parren was to declare that "it is the noblest title which every woman and also every man of the world of writing and action can possibly boast of"– and translates the French word *féministe* as "θγλώφρων," which actually means "effeminate"!



2.4. *Evgenia Zografou*

Figure 5. *Evgenia Zografou*

I have already mentioned Evgenia Zografou (1878-1963), the journalist, editor of the *Greek Review* (Ελληνική Επιθεώρησης) and author of many plays and short stories, most of which can now be found in three volumes entitled *Short Stories* (Διηγήματα, 1896, 1898 and 1900), and quite a few others in various literary magazines.<sup>64</sup>

Numerous studies and articles of all sorts by Zografou were published in *Akropolis*, *Estia*, *City* (Αστυ), *Atlantis* (Ατλαντίς) and *Ahead* (Εμπρός) and of course in the *Greek Review* (1907-1942),<sup>65</sup> while from 1921 to 1922, commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, she assumed the management of the army magazine *Victory* (Νίκη).

Zografou was born in Náfplio, but her family later moved to Athens, where Evgenia attended the Girls' School. She started writing at an early age, and wrote

not only stories but also plays,<sup>66</sup> which were produced repeatedly in theatres in Athens with great success; their writer was called to the stage and applauded frantically.

The press of the time called her a Greek George Sand and the world flocked to the performances of her plays to see the "new and curious phenomenon, a drama written by a beautiful young girl."<sup>67</sup>

The main characters of her stories are mostly young middle-class Athenian girls and the main themes are unhappy love, loneliness, social injustice, orphanhood, the disastrous consequences the institution of the dowry could have and marriage without love.

<sup>64</sup> M. Ioannidou: "E. Zografou, a Forgotten Writer" (Ευγενία Ζωγράφου. Μια λησμονημένη συγγραφέας) in *I Read* (Διαβάζω) 363, May 1996, pp. 70-77.

<sup>65</sup> Some of Zografou's articles have been collected in a volume entitled *Publications* (Δημοσιεύματα, Athens 1898).

<sup>66</sup> 1. *The Nun* (Η μοναχή), a historical drama in three acts set in the Byzantine period, first produced in 1894 by Evangelia Paraskevopoulou's theatre company in the "Poikilíē" theatre in Omónia Square and produced again in 1895;

2. *The Atonement* (Ο εξιλασμός), a three-act social drama, first performed on July 23, 1895 in the "Paradise" theatre;

3. *The Klephtess* (Η κλεφτοπούλα), a three-act historical drama set in 1821, first performed in the "Neápolis" theatre on September 16, 1899;

4. *When the Money is Missing* (Όταν λείπει το χρήμα), a three-act social drama, first produced in 1908 and later produced again in the Kyveli theatre on August 21, 1912;

5. *Jenny and her Laughter* (Η Τζένη και το γέλιο της), which was translated into English;

6. a one-act play *The Bet* (Το στοιχήμα); and

7. another one-act play, *Spring* (Η άνοιξη), which was translated into French and Italian.

<sup>67</sup> In the newspapers *Estia*, October 13, 1894 and *New Newspaper* (Νέα Εφημερίς) of the same date: "A new drama by the young lady Miss Zografou, *The Nun*, was performed yesterday in the "Varieté" theatre, by Mrs Paraskevopoulou's company... The play was greatly appreciated, it was at every act... After the second act the young lady poet, miss Zografou, was called onto the stage three times, for which she thanked the applauding multitude with maidenly shyness. After the last act she was again invited onto the stage repeatedly, and was offered a wreath, causing the clapping to become even more ecstatic. So everyone was amazed that a young lady was able to show in her first work such enviable poetic talent. Bravo!"

Zografou, like Alexándra Papadhopoúlou, wrote stories with social content, without the patriotic zeal which characterizes many of Papadhopoúlou's stories, but quite obviously with (moderate) feminist tendencies,<sup>68</sup> especially with regard to the issues of the dowry and paid employment for women. Evyenía Zografou's only novel, *Goúras' Wife* (Η Γκούραϊνα, 1904), has 712 pages and was written at a time when the Greek people were in sore need of a boost to their national morale, after the humiliating defeat of 1897. Prominent in this forgotten work are the figure of the heroine of the Akropolis, wife of Yiánnis Goúras, and the contribution of women, never recognized by historians, to the War of Independence.<sup>69</sup> *Goúras' Wife*, which has all the characteristics of the classic historical novel, with two 'inserted' stories of love and adventure, was apparently first published as a serial (unfortunately I have not yet been able to find out where) and could be described as a "popular Greek historical novel"<sup>70</sup> with feminist probings.

## 2.5. Ioulía Dhragóumi and Penelópi Dhélta

To conclude this review of women's publications and the most important women writers of the nineteenth century, before proceeding to the life and works of Parrén, I must point out two omissions I am aware of: I have not mentioned Ioulía Dhragóumi (1858-1937), because she wrote almost exclusively for children, nor the best known woman writer of all, Penelópi Dhélta (1872-1941).

Dhélta is the only woman who was lucky enough to be mentioned in all the histories of Greek literature and always to be included in school readers, often as the sole example of "female writing," so that everyone knows her name and everyone has read at least a few passages of her work. Besides, she did not appear in the world of letters till 1909 and, as Sachínis writes, most of her works "did not have literary aspirations as their main driving force (e.g. *For their Country* [Για την πατρίδα, 1909] and *The Time of the Bulgar-slayer* [Τον καιρό του Βουλγαροκτόνου, 1911]), which were chiefly of a national and didactic character."<sup>71</sup>

As for the scholarly Iríni Dhendhrínou (1879-1974), her *Sonnets* (Σονέτα, Athens 1911), her stories and her short novel *Expiation* (Εξαγνισμός, Athens 1923) were all published at the beginning of the twentieth century. The same is of course also true of the works of Galátia Kazantzáki (1881-1962), who started her literary career in 1906 with 'genre' stories about life in Crete, while her first novel, *Ridi Pagliacio* (Γέλα Παλιάτσο), appeared in 1909.

<sup>68</sup> As to Alexándra Papadhopoúlou's stories, it has been said that they display a "tendency towards a covert feminist message." Michális Peránthis, *Greek Prose. 1453 up to now* (Ελληνική πεζογραφία. 1453 έως σήμερα) vol. IV, p. 481.

<sup>69</sup> Mariétta Ioannídou, 'The first historical novel written by a woman' (Το πρώτο ιστορικό μυθιστόρημα γραμμένο από γυναίκα) in *Néa Estía* 1628, May 1, 1995, pp. 602-607.

<sup>70</sup> This term is used by Apóstolos Dourvaris in his book *Aristidis N. Kyriákos and Popular Reading* (Ο Αριστέιδης Ν. Κυριάκος και το λαϊκό ανάγνωσμα, Athens 1992), p. 44.

<sup>71</sup> A. Sachínis, *The Modern Greek Novel* (Το νεοελληνικό μυθιστόρημα, Athens 1980, 5th edition), p. 10.



### 3. Kallirói Parrén

#### 3.1. Parrén's activities in general

There is no account of the early days of the feminist movement in Greece which does not mention Kallirói Parrén (1861-1940), the first Greek woman to fight dynamically, insistently and methodically for the rights of her sex, for "the full integration of women into the concept of humanity." Quite rightly, the Municipality of Athens decided in 1995 that the celebration of International Women's Day should take place in front of the bust which the well-known sculptor Kóstas Valsámis had made of her.<sup>72</sup>

Born in 1861 in Platanía tou Amariou in the district of Réthymno, a scion of the aristocratic Siganós family, Kallirói attended the Nuns' School of Piraeus as a boarder from 1867 and later the Arsákio, from which she graduated as a teacher in 1878. She went to Odessa for two years to be head of the Girls' School there and after that to Adrianoúpolis. In 1886 she returned to Athens and in the same year she married Jean Parrén, founder of the Athenian News Agency.<sup>73</sup>

Parrén's activities were many-sided: apart from running *The Ladies' Newspaper* (see below) for thirty whole years and writing articles for it, she also contributed to the big daily newspapers *Akrópolis*, *Estía*, *Embrós*, and others. Since she was employed as a journalist she had the opportunity to make friends with many of the best-known intellectuals of the generation of 1880. She frequented the fashionable salons of Athens where she met artists, writers, scientists and politicians. Her own literary salon, in her house on the corner of Korais street and 27 Panepistimíou Road, opposite the Academy, was frequented by Palamás and his wife, Vlachoyánnis, Malakásis, Kambýsis, Karkavítsas, Chatzópoulos, Christomános and others, and it was there that Alexándra Papadhopoulou first met Xenópoulos, with whom she corresponded and with whom she was probably in love.<sup>74</sup> As Papakóstas relates, "we also owe Parrén's conversion to *dhimotiké* to these meetings, since up till then she had been a champion of *katharévoussa*. This conversion was also manifested in the columns of *The Ladies' Newspaper*, a fact which drew the attention of demoticist circles."<sup>75</sup>

Thanks to her command of languages (she spoke French, English, Italian and Russian) she was to travel abroad with ease and take part in international conferences on the rights of women in Paris, London and Chicago. She was a brilliant and rousing speaker, able to create an immediate atmosphere of sympathy and support, so that her name became known both inside and outside Greece.

Another area of her activities was the setting up of various social bodies and institutions, mainly with the objective of providing education and assistance for illiterate and poor Greek women. In 1890 she set up "Sunday Schools," a total of 17 educational centres for illiterate women and children, in which she herself taught, and which functioned until 1952. In 1892 she founded "St. Katherine's Asylum," a home for young working women and housemaids who had "gone astray" and were in danger of ending up in prostitution, and the "Efívio," a reform

<sup>72</sup> In the newspaper *Η Καθημερινή*, March 3, 1995, p. 14. The unveiling of Parrén's bust took place on June 6, 1992 in the courtyard of the 1st Cemetery of Athens.

<sup>73</sup> The couple met at Loutráki, where the Siganós family were spending the summer. Parrén was impressed by Kallirói's vivacity and dynamism, and during the whole of their married life, he was her most loyal supporter in her struggles. (See Soultána I. Michailídhrou, *Κ. Παρρέν*, Samos 1940).

<sup>74</sup> Koula Xiradháki, *Athens a Hundred Years Ago* (Η Αθήνα πριν εκατό χρόνια, Athens 1988), p. 60.

<sup>75</sup> G. Papakóstas, o.c. pp. 72-74.



school for boys. In 1896 she set up a "Home for Incurable Women" in Kypséli and the next year she assisted in the establishment of the first "Household and Vocational School." In 1898 she founded the "Patriotic League" which later evolved into the well-known PIKPA (Patriotic Foundation for Social Welfare). Then she also created the "Vocational and Economic School of the Greek Women's Union," which functioned for thirty years. The most important and best known institution she called into life is generally considered to be the "Lyceum for Greek Women" (1911), which aimed to preserve Greek national heirlooms – traditions and costumes. With three lectures in "Parnassós" on Greek dances, she succeeded in getting together the initial sum needed to found the "Lyceum."<sup>76</sup>



Figure 6. Kallirōi Parrén

### 3.2. The Ladies Newspaper

On March 8, 1887 the first issue of the weekly *The Ladies' Newspaper* (Η Εφημερίς των Κυριών) appeared. The editor's name appeared in the form of an anagram ('Eva [= woman] Prenar') and most of the articles were anonymous. The paper was a great success: 10,000 copies were sold in Athens, which at the time had a population of 70,000.<sup>77</sup> Two weeks later Parren revealed her own real name and those of her assistants, who included some of the best known teachers and writers of the time: Sapfō Leondias, A. Laskarídhrou, Agathoníki Andoniádou, K. Kechayiá, Ypatía Stámbla and others. This first explicitly feminist publication was to have a remarkably long life: it appeared for thirty years, from 1887 to 1907 as a weekly and from 1907 to 1917 as a 'Fortnightly Encyclopedic Magazine for Women' (Δεκαπενθήμερο Εγκυκλοπαιδικό Περιοδικό για τη γυναίκα). Many of the women who contributed to the magazine lived a long way from Athens, but they sent in their contributions and made sure the magazine was circulated. One of the subscribers from outside Greece was Queen Elizabeth of Austria.<sup>78</sup>

The leading article, usually a commentary on current affairs from a feminist perspective, was always written by Parren and was usually scathing. The paper provided its readers with information about the activities of various women's groups and organizations and also about the "progress and achievements of women abroad." Parren was very well acquainted with the feminist doctrines of the West and threw herself wholeheartedly into her efforts to transplant them into Greece.

<sup>76</sup> G. Sykká, in the newspaper Η Καθημερινή, June 14, 1992, p. 3.

<sup>77</sup> For the historical background of the first edition, see the leading article of *The Ladies' Newspaper*, March 6, 1894.

<sup>78</sup> Νέα Εστία 315, 1-2-1940, p. 175.

On March 25, 1936 the Academy of Athens awarded her the Silver Medal for her philanthropic work and her journalism; this was the first time it was awarded to a woman.<sup>79</sup> A few days later she was decorated by King George II with the Golden Cross of the Saviour and given the medal of the city of Athens by the Mayor, K. Kotziás.<sup>80</sup> On May 24 of the same year an exhibition was held at 'Parnassós' in honour of the fact that Parren had been working for fifty years.

Because of her support of conservatism during the interbellum and her persistent adherence to the convictions and practices of the first period of the feminist movement, she was eventually regarded as a typical representative of "bourgeois feminism," a sort of feminism which avoided the "extremes" and "exaggerations" of more radical feminists.<sup>81</sup>

Kallirrói Parrén-Siganou died, after a long illness, with both her lifetime partner and the niece she had adopted as her daughter by her side. Her burial took place in Athens, at public expense, on January 16, 1940.

### 3.3. Parren's work as an author

*The Ladies' Newspaper* attached great importance to women's literary work, as is shown by the fact that three months after the start of publication it held a competition for women's short stories and that during its entire (long) life it never failed to publish stories written by women.

As well as the articles she wrote – not only for *The Ladies' Newspaper* and *The Journal of the Ladies' Newspaper* but also for many other newspapers – Parren herself also wrote novels, plays, travel stories and several lengthy and well-written historical works. Although she wrote in *katharévousa*, as was usual at the time, she did not use an extreme form of it and "her writing is nimble and has a harmonious sound to it, her narrative style is pleasant, her reflections are clear and free, her philosophical thought has breadth and depth."<sup>82</sup>

On the basis of a large number of historical sources, she wrote a *History of Women from the Creation of the World till Today* in 10 parts, beginning with women in India and China. Most of these parts were later published in one volume (Athens, 1889). Another of her works was a *History of Women. Modern Greek Women (1530-1896)* (Η ιστορία της γυναίκας. Σύγχρονοι Ελληνίδες (1530-1896), Athens, date unknown), in which she wrote about women who had made their mark in the course of history, from the period of Turkish rule up to her own time. Some sections of this book were translated into and published in French.<sup>83</sup>

In *One Year of Life. Letters from an Athenian Lady to a Parisian Lady (1896-1897)* (Ζωή ενός έτους. Επιστολαί Αθηναίας προς Παρισινήν (1896-1897), Athens 1897), we find a collection of "everyday impressions" in the form of letters from Parren to her "good friend" in Paris, in which she refers to various social topics, such as Palamas' and Karkavitsas' support of feminism, her

<sup>79</sup> See the *Proceedings of the Academy of Athens* (Πρακτικά Ακαδημίας Αθηνών), 1936, vol. XI, p. 32.

<sup>80</sup> A quotation from his presentation speech: 'Napoleon said that the greatness of the Fatherland lies in the greatness of its daughters. Kallirrói Parren fights for the strength and greatness of the Fatherland.' (S.I. Michaliádhou, o.c.).

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> From A. Tarsoulis's article Καλλιρρόη Παρρέν in Νέα Εστία 315, 1-2-1940, p. 175.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*



conflict with Roïdhis,<sup>84</sup> her acquaintance with Alexándra Papadhophoulou, who stayed with her when she visited Athens,<sup>85</sup> an answer to *Rizospastis* on the subject of "women who write," the political emancipation of Greek women, care of those wounded in the war in Crete, etc.

Many of Parren's travel stories were published in *The Ladies' Newspaper*. In two books with the title *My Travels* (Τα ταξίδια μου, Athens, undated), she describes her experiences in America and Sweden. She gives a vivid description of the people she met there and the sights she saw and also expresses the admiration she felt at seeing the extent to which women took part in various professions and the freedom they enjoyed in the family and in society. "There, you see, in that blessed and happy place, there are not two different sets of morals, one for men and another for women, nor are there two different standards by which the honour of men and that of women are measured. There, there is equality of law and honour. What is shameful for a woman in the face of the family and society is also shameful for a man... Here girls are not constantly defended and protected, but neither are they forced to pretend and to be hypocritical."<sup>86</sup> In the short epilogue to her 208-page book of impressions from Sweden, dated "December 1912," she writes that she is no longer envious of the northern nations. She believes that the [Balkan] war has provided a means of revealing the greatness and strength of the Greek people and an opportunity for the Greeks to regain their self-confidence and belief in the future, so that the new generation will in no way be inferior to the northern Europeans.

Parren's plays *Aspasia's School* (Σχολεῖον τῆς Ασπασίας, 1908), *Isavella Theotoki* (Ισαβέλλα Θεοτόκη, undated) and *Penelope* (Πηνελόπη, undated) do not ever seem to have been performed,<sup>87</sup> but *The New Woman* (Νέα γυναίκα, Athens 1907),<sup>88</sup> a drama in four acts, was performed by Marika Kotopoulis's group in the Syntagma theatre in September 1907. This play is based mainly on her novel *The Liberated Woman* (Η χειραφετημένη, Athens 1900), except the last act, which is based on her second novel, *The Sorceress* (Η μάγισσα, Athens 1902). Judging by the reviews, the play was very successful, both in Athens and in Constantinople, Cyprus, Alexandria and Cairo.<sup>89</sup>

Palamas sent Parren a lengthy critical analysis of *The New Woman*<sup>90</sup> and Xenopoulos was enthusiastic about the performance.<sup>91</sup> The newspaper *City* (Ἄστυ) interviewed her and she was the only woman to be included in the parade of "young Greek writers" presented in the paper.

It should be mentioned at this point that the "women's issue" was a popular theme in the Greek theatrical world at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially after Ibsen's play

<sup>84</sup> "We are not trying to get the vote, nor are we seeking official state privileges or eminent positions and offices. One thing we seek to attain: that women should be able to make a living for themselves by means of honest and dignified work, because women who have not yet achieved the state of marriage, due to lack of a dowry, are in danger of starving to death." (K. Parren, letter dated May 7, 1896, p. 18).

<sup>85</sup> She describes her as being very clever and is sorry to see that prejudice and tradition have kept her "a prisoner to the old regime... and this is because she lives in a place where the harem prevails and eunuchs keep all women at the end of their whips like flocks of sheep." (K. Parren, *One year of life* (Ζωή ενός έτους, Athens 1897), p. 148).

<sup>86</sup> See K. Parren, *My Travels: Sweden* (Τα ταξίδια μου. Σουηδία, Athens [undated]), p. 63 and 119.

<sup>87</sup> See the list of plays in Yi. Sideris, o.c., vol. 1, p. 306-327.

<sup>88</sup> This work was also published in the *Ladies' Newspaper*, from October to December 1908 (nos. 953-957).

<sup>89</sup> See N.I. Laskaris' article 'Greek Women and the Theatre', in *Greek Woman* (Ελληνίς), nos. 8-9, Athens, August-September 1932, pp. 179-181.

<sup>90</sup> Kostis Palamás, *Complete Works* vol. 2, (Ἀπαντα, Athens 1962), pp. 195-200.

<sup>91</sup> See G. Xenopoulos, 'The New Woman,' in *The Ladies' Newspaper*, September 30, 1907, no. 926





With these two contributions,<sup>97</sup> I have made an attempt to present the few women's magazines and women writers in 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece, thereby supplementing the void of female presence in this period in most histories of modern Greek literature. It is my hope that young researchers will rediscover these unknown writers and, even this late, will let their hushed voices be heard; they were, after all, the ones who prepared the ground for the new generations of women writers who were to flood the literary scene from the 1930s and onwards.

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<sup>97</sup> See also M. Ioannidou, 'Greek women's magazines in the nineteenth century', *Pharos* V (1997), 1-13.

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## DUTCH PHILHELLENISM AND THE GREEK MERCHANTS OF AMSTERDAM

Daniel Koster

IN the late forties of the last century King Otho of Greece awarded certain Dutchmen with the Order of the Savior. These included the jurist Jan Fabius and the jurist and politician Cornelis Anne den Tex, two well-known public figures in Amsterdam and the Netherlands. The first Dutchman to receive this award, a decade earlier, was apparently Jan van 's Gravenweert, another jurist and literary figure of some standing. All three had been members of the Philhellenic Committee of Amsterdam, the first such association founded in the Kingdom of the Netherlands,<sup>1</sup> and it was their activities as Philhellenes that earned them their medals.<sup>2</sup> Although a few Dutch historians have studied Dutch Philhellenic activities, their publications suffer the disadvantage of being written in Dutch and consequently these figures are unknown to the general international community of scholars. With the present article I hope to correct this situation. And, although the contents are primarily based on the publications mentioned, I shall attempt to present the existing picture in a clearer light, since the earlier historians made no use of Greek sources.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As Holland or to be more precise the Netherlands is still officially called the Kingdom of the Netherlands, I would like to stress that in this article the term 'Kingdom of the Netherlands' is solely used for the territory covered by the short-lived union of the former Dutch Republic and the former Austrian Provinces under the House of Orange between 1814 and 1830, when the southern part seceded and created modern Belgium. It is probably this confusion of terms that led Apostolos Vakalopoulos to write mistakenly on p. 607 of vol. 5 of his monumental *Istoria tou Neon Ellinismou* (Thessaloniki 1980) that a systematic study of Belgian Philhellenism did not exist.

<sup>2</sup> See for the medals Koster 1993, 139, and Koster 1995, 146 and 200-201.

<sup>3</sup> See: Renting, R.A.D., "Nederland en de Griekse vrijheidsoorlog," in: *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, vol. 67, 1954, 21-49; Heidendal, L., "De Houding van de Regering der Nederlanden ten overstaan van de Griekse Vrijheidsoorlog (1821-1830) en de filhelleense beweging," in: *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, XVIII, 1963, no. 1, 1-18; and Wagner-Heidendal, L., "Die Haltung der Regierung der Niederlande gegenüber dem griechischen

## 1. The sources

### 1.1. *The Dutch sources*

Mrs Wagner-Heidendal's monograph "Het Filhellenisme in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, Een bijdrage tot de studie van de publieke opinie in het begin van de negentiende eeuw", *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten*, vol. 34, no. 71, Brussel 1972, constitutes the main source for this article, and I shall therefore give a short analytical account of her approach. Mrs Wagner-Heidendal discerned three waves in the Philhellenic Movement in the Netherlands: the beginning period in 1821-1824; its height in 1825 and 1826; and the decline between 1827 and 1829. Her method of description was to begin each chronological section with a general picture of the Philhellenic Movement, supplemented by a description of the events in the Netherlands, with stress on the political philosophy and the history of ideas behind the movement. The second level of description emphasized its cultural background by focusing on the arts and sciences. Her third and final level of description presented an image of the vicissitudes of practical Philhellenism, covering the various methods of collecting funds and the phenomenon of former military men who volunteered to go to Greece.

Because the records in the northern part of the Netherlands are more complete, this paper will focus on the activities which took place here; in her preface Mrs Wagner-Heidendal stated that in the south, gaps in the source material are especially apparent due to the absence of several philhellenic committee-archives. A close reading of her study reveals that she quoted and cited southern sources much more than northern, which gives her monograph an unbalanced character.<sup>4</sup> For the same reason I will also refrain from describing anti-philhellenic opinion, whether from governmental circles or private persons. Although no papers of the Amsterdam Committee have been located so far, I will nevertheless direct my attention towards the Philhellenic Committee in Amsterdam, especially the role of the Greek members. At the beginning of the 19th century, Amsterdam, still an important commercial capital, was the base of a small Greek community whose members were foremost in patriotic zeal.

### 1.2. *The Greek sources*

Kapodistrias, the first president (*kyvernitis*) of independent Greece, directed some of his letters to members of this committee. I discovered these letters in the holdings of the manuscript department in the library of the University of Amsterdam. Four of them touch on the subject of Philhellenism and the War of Independence. Chronologically speaking, the second and the

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Freiheitskrieg (1821-1830) und die philhellenische Bewegung," in: *Gedenkschrift Martin Göbring, Studien zur Europäischen Geschichte*, Wiesbaden, 1968, 120-132; Ringeling, J.H.A., "Het eerste philhelleense comité in de Nederlanden: Amsterdam 7 februari 1822," in: *Amstelodamum*, vol. 51, 1964, 145-155; Wagner-Heidendal, L., "Het Filhellenisme in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, Een bijdrage tot de studie van de publieke opinie in het begin van de negentiende eeuw," *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten*, Vol. XXXIV, no. 71, Brussel 1972 en Dr. Reinsma, R., "Nederlandse deelnemers aan de vrijheidbewegingen in Griekenland en Zuid-Amerika (1820-1826)," in: *Driekwart eeuw historisch leven*, Den Haag 1975, 151-164 (hereafter Reinsma).

<sup>4</sup> See also the comment of B.J. Slot in his article 'Piyes ya tis Ollando-ellinikes schesis', *Mandatoforms* 13 (1979), 26-47.

third letters were forwarded to the merchant Stefanos Paleológos in September and October 1827. The fourth letter was sent a few years later to Paleológos' colleague G. Tomasáchi in March 1830, and the fifth again to Stefanos Paleológos in May of the same year. The first letter was dispatched by Kapodístrias in his function as plenipotentiary of imperial Russian exterior affairs to a certain Monsieur de Rottiers in April 1820, the last year of the pre-revolutionary period.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, there is a copy of a letter from 1822 to the Russian Emperor Alexander, another copy of which was already published by Crawley.<sup>6</sup>

The three letters to Stefanos Paleológos and the one to George Tomasáchi are especially of interest to the student of the relationship between the Greek struggle for independence and Philhellenic activities in the Netherlands between 1827 and 1830. They shed new light on the contact between the local Greeks and the Greek government. For the historian who has a command of the modern Greek language, complementary information on the first phase of the Greek revolution can also be drawn from the archives of Mavrokordatos and the Koundouriotis brothers and other Greek source material. This information shows that especially Paleológos went beyond the goal of the Amsterdam Philhellenic Committee, which was founded solely with the purpose of giving humanitarian aid to the struggling Greeks. By demonstrating that he used this institution as a cover for his own mixture of commercial and patriotic activities, the overall picture of Dutch and Amsterdam Philhellenism is made more complete.

## 2. The beginnings of Philhellenism

### 2.1. *The daily press*

It is clear from the start that the Greeks recognized the influence of propaganda. From the very first day after the outbreak of the Revolution, they were already sending manifestoes to the various consuls of the Christian powers to justify their break from Ottoman rule. Official reports on the outbreak of the Greek Revolution reached the Netherlands around the beginning of May 1821. As direct contacts between the Netherlands and the Levant went through the Levantine depot Smyrna, Consul Jacques de Hochepped was the first to report on the revolution.<sup>7</sup>

Mrs Wagner-Heidendal's presentation of news reports on the outbreak of the Greek revolution is rather vague and unsystematic. At one point she states that the press in the

<sup>5</sup> Monsieur de Rottiers is none other than the Flemish colonel Bernhard Antoine Eugene Rottiers; for his archaeological activities in Greece, see Bastet 1987 and Koster 1993, 1995 and 1996.

<sup>6</sup> See Crawley 1970, 56, and notes 12 and 13.

<sup>7</sup> Jacques de Hochepped reported to the *Directoraat van de Kamers voor de Levantsche Handel* (the Board of Directors of the Levantine Chambers of Commerce) in Amsterdam on April 2, 1821 (or rather April 14 o.s. DK) that rumors about the revolutionary turmoil in Moldavia, Walachia and large parts of the Morea had reached Smyrna from Constantinople 23 passato (thus May 4 o.s. DK). It follows that some nine days passed before news of the outbreak of the War of Independence reached Smyrna. I do not know at which date Gaspard Testa, the Dutch chargé d'affaires in Constantinople, sent his first official report, but J.G. Nanninga published his May 10 report; see Nanninga 1964, p. 1044 no. 1064, and p. 1047 no. 1068. According to Nanninga the Directors briefed Falck, the secretary of foreign affairs, no earlier than May 23. De Hochepped's report must have reached the Netherlands in the beginning of May, as it took the vessels in the Smyrna trade an average forty days to reach the Low Countries. Taking March 23 as a terminus post quem, then the official news would have reached the Netherlands around May 2, 1821. See also Zorás 1991, 15, but see note 11 for an extensive account of news on the outbreak of the Greek revolution.



Kingdom of the Netherlands started to report *seriously* (my italics!) on the Greek question in May, but she mentions no specific date. A critical reader, however, will notice that her earliest reference to news on the Greek revolution in the Dutch press is a report in the southern liberal *Journal de Gand* on April 21.<sup>8</sup> According to Wagner-Heidendal this paper made use of the typical liberal arguments, i.e. defending the Greeks as Christian brethren. One week later the same newspaper referred to the slave trade and the ideology of Greece as the cradle of civilization.

In general the news was presented without editorial comment. The earliest reference to a northern newspaper is the May 3 issue of the *Arnhemse Courant*, the most outspoken pro-Greek newspaper in the North. The 'romantic rebel' of the northern papers, underscored the antithesis between the barbaric Turkish ruffians and the noble classical features of the Greeks. This paper could easily have earned the epithet of the champion of the Greek cause (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 34).<sup>9</sup> The *Amsterdamsche Courant* which practically printed news reports only, must have reported on the Greek question earlier than February 7, 1822, but the date of the 'call' of the Amsterdam Philhellenes to assist the Greeks is at the same time the first reference to news on Greece in this paper (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 43).<sup>10</sup> On July 11, 1821 the *Gravenhaagsche Courant*,

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<sup>8</sup> I was not able to consult this paper, but these dates indicate a chronological problem, since Wagner-Heidendal is unclear as to whether this report refers to the war in Moldavia and Wallachia or the affairs in Greece proper. If the latter is the case, news of the outbreak of the revolution must have reached the Netherlands before the beginning of May. But March 25, the traditional date for the outbreak in Morea, is equivalent to April 7 in the new style. This raises doubts as to whether the *Journal de Gand* could already have reported on the revolution in Greece proper, but see note 11 below.

<sup>9</sup> Again the author does not make it clear whether this reference is the first report on the Greek revolution in this particular paper. For general information on the *Arnhemse Courant*, see Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 26, note 2.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 43 note 2 for general information on this paper. In checking the columns of the *Amsterdamsche Courant* in the municipal archives of Amsterdam, I found the following entries:

April 2, no. 79: A report from Bucharest dated February 22 on the situation in Wallachia (the revolt of Vladimirescu against the hospodars and bojars).

April 7, no. 84: A report from Jassij dated March 1 on the spreading of the disorders into Moldavia (the revolt of Ypsilantis).

April 10, no. 86: An extensive report from Vienna dated March 29 on the events in Wallachia and Moldavia with a reproduction of Ypsilantis' proclamation to the Moldavians.

April 14, no. 90: A report from Trieste dated March 27 in which was stated that Prince Ypsilantis had left for the Morea and Epirus, that Turks had been killed everywhere and that Ali Pasha and Ypsilantis were ready to shake hands. Rumors about a revolt in Constantinople could not yet be confirmed.

April 17, no. 92: A report from Vienna dated March 30 on Greek plans for the liberation of Greece from the Ottoman yoke. It was said that secret societies had been founded in Thessaly, Macedonia, Serbia, Albania, Morea, Bulgaria, Romelia and on the Greek islands; reports from Greece proper were however still missing.

April 19, no. 94: A report from Constantinople dated March 10 on Vladimirescu, fires in Constantinople and Pera.

April 21, no. 96: A report from Vienna dated April 8 on rumors of a revolt in Morea and Albania. Cf. *Journal de Gand*.

April 25, no. 98: A report from Jassij dated March 12 and Odessa dated March 23 on the situation in Constantinople, but with the following sentence quoted verbatim: "On the peninsula of the Morea everyone is under arms and the warlike inhabitants of this peninsula have made themselves feared on land as well as at sea." Next to reports from Wallachia and Warsawa, Rome reported a new revolt on the isle of Crete and the occupation of Hydra by the Greeks.

April 27, no. 100: Different reports from Vienna and Frankfurt.

April 28, no. 101: Reports from Bucharest, Leipzig and Frankfurt (the "grey-haired old man Gasis, famous through his works, was the leader of Greek revolutionaries in Thessaly") as well reports from the archipelago mentioning a revolt.

May 2, no. 104: A report from Hamburg dated April 24 of accounts from Petersburg: "The general revolution was prepared and planned to break out in all parts of the Turkish Empire and even in the capital on the first day of the great fast." In the same report one could read that "From Kolokytha on the Morea one reports that many

an urban paper with a conservative character comparable with the latter, but less reserved, even dared to utter critical notes on the politics of the Great Powers by stating that the Greek cause was completely justified and a good occasion to drive the Turks from Europe (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 43).<sup>11</sup>

As in France and Germany, public opinion was immediately pro-Greek, as opposed to the political views of the cabinets.<sup>12</sup> It is obvious that most of the Philhellenes came from the liberal camp. They used different arguments to claim support for the Greek cause. For instance, they tried to keep the Greek question out of the political domain by presenting the plight of the Greeks as a pure human problem. When this venue failed, they denied the equation of the Greek struggle for independence with other revolutions in Europe. As a result the passive attitude of the courts of the Holy Alliance was criticized: "The respect for lawful governments does not imply the obligation to love the government of the Grand Seigneur too much."<sup>13</sup>

The fact that Greece had never subjected itself to the despotic, tyrannic, and inhuman character of Turkish rule was also an asset. It was their suppression that had caused the momentary corruption of the modern Greeks. For this, the Turks had earned the "eternal scorn of the human race," as the *Arnhemse Courant* put it. The liberal press concluded that the resistance of a nation against inhuman rule was not a political matter, but a case of humanity and therefore completely justified (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 29-30). Secondly, the liberals used the religious factor as a trump card. With its pledge to assist the suffering Christian brethren in the east, and by activating the centuries-old fear of the Turks, i.e. the dichotomy Islam vs. Christianity, religion operated as a two-edged sword.

Although the influence of the Enlightenment was waning, making way for romanticism in the decades to come, allusions to the classical heritage were still quite effective. Greek antiquity proved to have a powerful influence which resulted in the overtly romantic inclination to materialize the characteristics of the ancients and to transplant them to their modern descendants. As the *Arnhemse Courant* explicitly stated: "A very striking similarity between the aesthetic ideal of ancient sculpture and modern Greek girls especially these in Boeotia, rules at the foot of Helicon, in Thebes and Leuktra." The same paper assumed that it was even possible that Antiquity would rise again in all her glory and greatness: "Greece, where this very moment a great struggle is enacted that will decide if the cradle of civilization, the mother of the arts, shall rise as a Phoenix from its ashes or will remain forever under the iron yoke of the most cruel despotism."<sup>14</sup>

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Greek families had arrived to put themselves under the protection of the Mainotes; this people being descendants of the Spartans had taken arms and marched to unite with the Suliotes on the isle of Corinth [sic] where the Pasha of the Morea with his Turkish troops had arrived, but was defeated completely."

May 4, no. 106: A report from Frankfurt dated April 26 including among others that "On the peninsula Morea all the inhabitants have taken arms to assure themselves of their independence, and the whole peninsula shows at present a warlike attitude."

May 7, no. 108: A report from Trieste dated April 18 about the revolution in the Morea. The British had warned the Pasha on March 23. As a result the Pasha ordered the Greeks to burn down their principal church in Tripolitza, the trigger for their revolt.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 43 note 3 for information on this paper.

<sup>12</sup> Renting 1954, 21, but see Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 23 where the author maintained that public opinion was rather skeptical at first.

<sup>13</sup> Renting 1954, 24-25; Wagner-Heidendal 1972, op. cit., 28-29.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 34-35, quoted verbatim, especially notes 2 and 4 on p. 35.



Even some traces of a pan-European consciousness could be detected, in which Turkey was seen as the evil empire that had threatened Europe for decades. Mercantile-capitalist ideas quickly followed suit and the territories of the Ottoman Empire (Greece and Egypt, for instance) were seen as areas for colonization for the overabundant civilized masses, or as outlets for the products of the industrializing west (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 36). According to the *Arnhemse Courant*, two competing spirits divided Europe: "the one of politics, the other of the nations. While the Greek revolution continued in the east, the spirit of politics had suppressed a general war in the west, but it could not prevent the trouble that was brewing below."<sup>15</sup>

## 2.2. Pamphlets

Another phenomenon was the ever growing flow of pamphlets rolling from the presses. Many were translations of foreign originals, such as *Griekenlands herrijzenis* ("Greece's resurrection") and *Laatste woord over de zaak der Grieken* ("Final argument on the Greek cause"), two of a triad written by the German professor W.T. Krug in 1821. These were sometimes published anonymously, sometimes more openly with less fear. *Griekenland en Engeland in het tegenwoordig tijdsgewricht staatkundig beschouwd* ("Greece and England in the present time politically viewed") appeared in the city of Deventer (in the province of Gelderland), and was in 1821 one of the first. Influenced by a translated excerpt from a German prototype published in the periodical *De Recensent* ("The Reviewer"), the anonymous author compared Greece with England in their political relations. According to him, England's reason for non-intervention was her fear of Greek maritime competition once Greece became independent. He concluded that Greece's only hope lay in God and the Tsar (Renting 1954, 24-25; Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 28-29). A few years later a pamphlet called *Griekenland in 1821 en 1822* ("Greece in 1821 and 1822") appeared. It was a literal Dutch translation of a published French original in which the anonymous author opposed every equation of the Greek revolution with the movement of the Italian Carbonaries,<sup>16</sup> and at the same time called every comparison of the lawful rule of the Sublime Porte with that of "the sovereigns" in Europe a "violation of the preserved principles on which our social fabric rests" (Renting 1954 24-25; Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 45).

A very individual voice was heard from Willem de Clercq.<sup>17</sup> He tried to determine the true position from which the Greek question should be considered. In doing so, he steered a middle course between the Scylla of non-critical radical philhellenism and the Charybdis of the conservative aversion of the revolution. His method was to analyze Greek history from the period of pre-Macedonian domination until Turkish rule, leading him to conclude that Greece was a neglected child on the historical stage. Therefore it was altogether inappropriate to look for parallels between ancient and modern Greeks. On the contrary, the history of Turkish suppression was a lesson in understanding and forgiving the current faults and features of

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 37, quoted verbatim.

<sup>16</sup> A secret society of Italian nationalists which aimed at uniting Italy and of which Lord Byron was said to be a member.

<sup>17</sup> Willem de Clercq (1795-1844) was a man of business as well as culture. In 1824 he became the secretary of the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij (Dutch Trade-Society). Although he belonged to the conservative religious-literary circle of *Het Reveil* he did not share their reactionary political opinions. He was a typical autodidact and well-known as a poet and improviser. In 1830 he broke with *Het Reveil* and also seceded from the Dutch Reformed Church.



barbarism. By postulating that the Dutch Lumeys and Sonoys had also not been examples of virtue, but had nevertheless contributed to the creation of an independent (Dutch) nation, he compared the Greek revolution with the Dutch struggle against the Spaniards.

Time, order, and moderation were his catchwords. If the Greek people would be allowed time and order, they would grow into a dignified nation. For this to happen, however, a moderate position of the European rulers was a *conditio sine qua non*, as they should realize that the Greek question was not about ways of government and constitutions, but a matter of life and death instead. They should therefore send an army, since in the nineteenth century territories were conquered by disciplined troops rather than roving knights, by Wellingtons rather than Amadisess; this was an indirect criticism of the phenomenon of volunteers wandering off to Greece (Renting 1954, 26; Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 51-52).<sup>18</sup>

De Clercq improvised on Hellenic themes in many cultural meetings. Although a list composed by his friend Allard Pierson is decidedly incomplete, it gives a fair depiction of his activities. Between 1821 and 1824 he spoke some twelve times on the Greek question or on related subjects, such as Muhammed, the fire of Constantinople, Greece and the Turks, and Lord Byron's death (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 57-58). Anti-Greek explosions from the romantic conservative Willem Bilderdijk and his disciple Isaac Da Costa provoked the fiery responses of many philhellènes, including the scholar N.G. van Kampen, who in his *Verdediging van het goede van de negentiende eeuw* ("Defense of the good of the nineteenth century") called Da Costa's comparison of the Greek revolution with Jacobinism the highest form of shamelessness (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 61).<sup>19</sup>

### 2.3. Literary philhellenism

On the pure literary level the Greek revolution was a welcome inspiration; the European bards exhausted the subject matter, as the philhellène and poet Jan van 's Gravenweert would explicitly state in the preface of his *Markos Botsaris*, a poem dedicated to the death of one of the most famous heroes of the Greek Revolution.<sup>20</sup> The heroic death of heroes such as the former (in August 1823) and the less heroic death of Lord Byron (in April 1824) led many *hommes de plume* to reach for their pen. As mentioned above, Van 's Gravenweert composed a long poem to

<sup>18</sup> Originally this was a speech delivered in the fall of 1821 in Amsterdam, but it was published in *Magazijn voor Wetenschappen, Kunsten en Letteren* (Magazine for Sciences, Arts, and Letters) in 1822, part 1, 36-50. For the volunteers see below and Appendix I.

<sup>19</sup> Nicolaas-Godfried van Kampen, (1776-1839) was a Dutch scholar who between 1815 and 1829 was a lecturer in German language and literature. Between 1823 and 1829 he also lectured on Dutch history at the University of Leiden and from 1829 till 1839 he was appointed lecturer in Dutch literature and history at the Athenaeum Illustre, the forerunner of the University of Amsterdam. Together with H.W. Tydeman, another professor with philhellenic affiliations, he edited the moderate liberal journal *Mnemosyne*. He was also editor-in-chief for the *Magazijn voor Wetenschappen, Kunsten en Letteren* ("Magazine for Science and the Liberal Arts"), like the former a cultural and scientific journal. He was a well-known polygraph. See for a concise bibliography of his works on Greece: Koster 1995, 265 and 269. See also Renting 1954, 30.

<sup>20</sup> Markos Botsaris' parents belonged to one of the most influential clans of the Epirote mountain stronghold of Suli inhabited by Greek-orthodox Albanians, who for many years defied the ruthless Albanian warlord Ali Pasha of Ioannina, de facto ruler of large parts of Greece and Southern Albania before the outbreak of the Greek Revolution. After Ali had killed his father, young Markos grew up at the former's court, where in 1809 he met Lord Byron. As soon as the War of Independence broke out he became one of the foremost leaders of the Greek Revolution.

commemorate the death of the slain leader, and a certain Van Groningen also honored the 'Dark Suliote'. Botsaris' death inspired a certain Westermann to write a theatrical play which was performed on the stage of the *Stadsschouwburg* in Amsterdam, with Westermann himself as one of the protagonists. Some shipowners were so moved by Botsaris' death that they named a new ship after him. At the launching of this vessel, Willem de Clercq, who declared his love for Greece not only in prose but also in verse, wrote a 'divinely inspired' poem to honor the hero of Van 's Gravenweert, Van Groningen and Westerman: "As God had given the Dutch their freedom, he would, thanks to the heroic courage of men like Botsaris (1790-1823), eventually reward the Greeks" (Renting 1954, 27; Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 50, 58 and note 2).

The central theme of Dutch cultural and literary philhellenism was the comparison of the Dutch and Greek revolution. The echo of former Dutch naval power played a role as well; an anonymous author hoped that the Greeks would destroy British sea-power, surely a form of resentment of Albion's mercantile superiority, won in a series of naval wars against the Dutch between the seventeenth and late eighteenth century. Other themes of sea power were the Greek naval victory near Chios and revenge for the massacres of Chios pictured by the entrepreneur and poet Willem Hendrik Warnsinck in 1822, and the destruction of Psara, which led a certain H. Bloemen and an anonymous reader of the *Arnhemse Courant* to encourage the Greeks not to lose heart (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 81, and also notes 1-4 and 6). Among the poems which E.W. van Dam van Isselt published in Breda in 1823 was a long poem called *Greece*, in which the author, focusing on the Greeks as Christian Brethren, supported their cause by rhyming: "En hebben dan Europa's staten, Uw zaak en die van 't Kruis verlaten, Hoe zwaarder strijd, hoe grooter eer!"<sup>21</sup>

Aside from mainstream Dutch philhellenism, a separate role was played by Mrs Jeanne Wytenbach, widow of the renowned classicist Daniel Wytenbach. She did not participate in Greek committees, but instead sought direct contact with her intellectual hero Adamantios Korais in Paris. It was to him that she forwarded the revenues of the sale of her various publications. It was also to him that she dedicated her last work, *Alexis*. This discussion between Greeks with Byzantine names such as Alexi(o)s, Nikiforos, and Laskaris, and the Turk Ibrahim on the difference between Islam and Christianity from the viewpoint of antiquity was translated into modern Greek by Korais' protégé F. Fournarakis (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 86-87; Koster 1995, 182-195). Korais forwarded the money to Greece via his compatriots Y. Psychas and Th. Prasakakis in Marseille, requesting them to send Wytenbach a short token of appreciation. To save time, Korais asked Mrs Wytenbach to send the money directly to them or to S. Rodokanakis in Leghorn. Almost a year later, Korais also asked the provisional government to thank Mrs Wytenbach for her various contributions. On December 2, 1824 (o.s.) P.G. Rodios, the general secretary of the provisional government based at Nauplio, thanked her in a letter forwarded to Wytenbach via Korais.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> "Although the states of Europe abandoned your cause and that of the Cross, the heavier the struggle, the greater the glory." Its opening phrases were used as the title of an exhibition of travel literature to Greece and Dutch Philhellenism in the University Library of Amsterdam in 1993 and its English translation for the exhibition on Dutch accounts of travelers, geographers, and historians on Greece in the Gennadius Library in Athens in 1995. See Koster, 1993 and 1995.

<sup>22</sup> For a facsimile of this letter and a copy in Korais' handwriting, see Koster 1995, 190-191. For the correspondence between Korais and Wytenbach, see Hesseling, D.C., "Korais et ses amis Hollandais," in *Is mnimin Sp. Lámbron*, Athens 1935, 1-6, and in general Korais, *Allilografia*, vol. 5, Athens 1983 and vol. 6, Athens 1984. For the letter of Rodios see Appendix III.



## 2.4. *Volunteers*

Like others in many European countries, some nationals of the Kingdom of the Netherlands spontaneously set out for Greece in 1821 and 1822, and later in 1825 and 1826 (see below). Most of them had a military background. Some fell on the battlefield, while others, if they managed to survive the Ottoman arms or the different endemic illnesses such as malaria, returned disillusioned. During the first wave (i.e. 1821 and 1822) twelve volunteers went to Greece. Three of them died in the battle of Peta near Arta on the 16th of July 1822. Seven others returned during the spring of 1823 through the intervention of Jacques de Hochepeid, the Dutch consul in Smyrna (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 108-111). During the Middle Period from 1823 till mid 1825 only one volunteered and died in Greece (for more specific information see Appendix III).

## 3. Philhellenism in Amsterdam

In the meantime a Philhellenic Committee had been founded in Amsterdam by a group of local citizens. This committee made its existence publicly known by printing an appeal to the nation to support the Greeks in the 33rd issue of the *Amsterdamsche Courant* on February 7, 1822. The newspaper only published the news and gave no comment whatsoever, probably because the authors of the article refrained from politics, appealing solely to religious and humanitarian sentiments. They requested donations for the desperate Greek refugees, who because of their religious creed were suppressed and persecuted. The appeal was reprinted in the same newspaper on February 12, March 11, and April 4 (Renting 1954, 26, Ringeling 1964, passim and Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 99-104).<sup>23</sup>

This magnificent group of eleven consisted of three clergymen of different denominations, two notaries, a professor of law, and five merchants, all of whom had business contacts with the Levant. The chairman of the committee was Jan Fabius (1776-1850), a popular notary whose respect for the ancient Greeks, together with the urge to come to the assistance of the suppressed, led him to stand up for the Greek cause. The secretary was Cornelis Anne den Tex (1795-1854), professor of law, who, like Fabius, was later awarded with the medal of the Savior by King Otho of Greece.<sup>24</sup> Among the merchants, two Greek names are immediately apparent. The first was Stefanos Paleologos (1763/64-1835), and the second George Tomasáchi (1790-1875), both belonging to the Greek Orthodox community with its church in the attic of a private house on Kloveniersburgwal 91.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Von Giese, the Bavarian ambassador, judged the founding of this "association" important enough to report to his sovereign, King Maximilian Joseph I, the father of the philhellenic crown prince Ludwig I and grandfather of Otho, first king of Greece.

<sup>24</sup> For biographical information see A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, Haarlem, vol. VI (1859) and vol. XVIII (1874). Den Tex would later write that Fabius founded the committee in 1821, which suggests that the actual founding of the committee already took place towards the end of 1821.

<sup>25</sup> For accounts of this small community, see Van Schaick 1954; Antoniadis 1956; Hesseling 1935; Pétrou 1976; Andriótis 1931; Skouvarás 1964; Slot, 1974-75 and 1980. As Foropoulos stated that Paleologos left Patmos shortly after the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-1774 and Wagner-Heidendal gives 1773/74 as Paleologos' birthdate, I decided to check the death certificates in the Amsterdam Municipal Archives. There I discovered that he died at 72, which implies that he was born a decade earlier. This proves that Paleologos could not have left his native island at such an early age and thus counters Foropoulos' wishful thinking of an early connection between Adamantios Korais,



Stefanos Paleólogos was the eldest son of the influential Patmian merchant Chatzi Manouil Paleólogos, who during the Russo-Turkish war of 1767-1774 owned a frigate. His younger brother Anastasius entered the Russian service and made a career in the Black Sea fleet of the Empire and subsequently settled in Sebastopol in the Crimea (Foropoulos, 141). We do not know exactly when Stefanos came to Amsterdam, but on October 22, 1801 he married Helena Ferber, a Dutch Protestant woman (DTB 399, Amsterdam Municipal Archives, 11). According to the merchant register of Amsterdam, Paleólogos was an associate of the establishment of Ziby, Cohen, and Paleologo between 1804 and 1818, but later established his own firm and is mentioned as the owner of the frigate *Anna Paulowna* commanded by Captain J.F. Spiegelberg (Nanninga 1964, 1095, no. 1126). George Tomasáchi, born in Amsterdam, was the son of Anastasios Tomasáchi (1758/59-1805), a merchant from Smyrna who settled in Amsterdam, and Theresa d'Isaïou, a daughter of the rich merchant Stefanos d'Isaïou (in the Dutch sources also mentioned as "d'Isaij," "di Isai," or "de Isay"). Both Greeks were associated with the chambers of commerce for trade in the Levant. According to a list of candidates, Tomasáchi was even nominated for the position of director of this commercial institution. Paleólogos must also have been quite influential and successful as his name is frequently mentioned in the Book of missives and the minutes of the meetings of the Presidial Chamber of the Levantine Trade between 1817 and 1823 (Ringeling 1964, 149).

### 3.1. *Paleólogos as a member of the Filiki Eteria*

The *Filiki Eteria* was a secret society founded in Odessa in 1814 by three somewhat marginalised members of the Greek mercantile diaspora. The aim of this Friendly Society was to liberate 'Greek' lands from the Ottoman yoke by a coordinated armed revolt (Clogg 1992, 32). Paleólogos' name is not presented in the lists of earlier initiated members or any later catalogue for that matter, but the fact that after the outbreak of the revolution in the spring of 1821, rumours in the east circulating later that year that the Greeks of Amsterdam had provided their fellow Greeks with *matériel* for warfare, is an indication for him having had early contacts with the revolutionaries and probably having been a member as well. During 1821 he was visited by Dr. Petros Ipitis, the special envoy of Dimitrios Ypsilantis, the younger brother of Alexandros Ypsilantis, head of the Eteria, who started the revolution in the Danubian Principalities (Foropoulos, 143).

As to these allegations in the second half of 1821 no proof has yet been found in the Dutch sources. It is, of course, possible that Paleólogos bought arms in Mediterranean regions (e.g. Marseille or Leghorn); at the time the Greek revolution broke out the vessels owned or partially owned by the Amsterdam Greeks were already on their way to Smyrna. That he was in direct contact with the Greek insurrectionists, however, is clear in a letter which he wrote from Amsterdam to the Vienna based Dimitrios Postolakas on September 29, 1821, forwarded by the latter to the Kountouriotis brothers, the most influential revolutionaries on the island of

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the great teacher of the Greek nation and Paleologos. In fact they never met, for Korais left Amsterdam in 1777 and Paleologos only arrived in the Dutch metropole at the turn of the century. When he lived in Paris, Korais used Paleologos a few times as an intermediary for the distribution of his bookproduction in Amsterdam and Russia. He did not have a high opinion of Paleologos, calling him a Boeotian, a synonym for blockhead in one of his letters, see Korais 1983.

Hydra, in which he explicitly stated: "τούτο φόβο κομπρομεταρίσματο δέν εἶναι κτλ."<sup>26</sup> From correspondence during October and December of the same year between Paleológos and the Greek Filanthropical Society of Odessa we can deduce the same (Foropoulos 1981, 142-143).

Later sources prove that Paleológos was surely active in this field in the following years. The first transport could have been the shipment which was referred to in the *Journal de Bruxelles* of February 1822, which reported from London that an Amsterdam-based firm had sent thousands of weapons to the Greeks through an English merchant in Marseille (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 103-104). Paleológos' patriotic activities earned him praise from Konstantinos Polychroniadis, an early member of the Filiki Eteria, and the initiator of Paleológos' cousin Ioannis Xenos in 1818. The former called Paleológos "a true Greek" in a letter to Yoryios Práidis, another Greek patriot who had followed Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1791-1865) to Greece in the spring of 1822: "ὁ ἐν Ἀμστελοδάμον Παλαιολόγος δείχεται ἀληθῆς Ἑλλήν καὶ ὀγλήγορα κατὶ σᾶς πέμπει."<sup>27</sup>



**Figure 1.** Oath sworn by member of the Filiki Eteri (painting by D. Tsókos, 1849 National Historical Museum, Athens).

<sup>26</sup> "In that case fear to become compromised does not exist and secretly or openly we shall give ever greater assistance". See 'Archia Lazarou ke Yoriou Kountouriotou', in: *Vivliothiki Yenikon Archion tou kratous*, vol. VI, part 4, Athens 1966, 17 (hereafter Archia K.).

<sup>27</sup> "Paleologos in Amsterdam shows himself to be a true Hellene, he will sent you something as soon as possible", See 'Istoriko Archion Alexandrou Mavrokordatou', in: *Mnimia tis Ellinikis Istorias*, vol. V, part 1, nr.x. 134 (SDK, F. 21, nr. 1229), p. 201, dated May 8 n.s. (hereafter Archion M).

For biographical information, see *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Sudosteuropas* Band III, (Munchen 1979), 125-128, and *Pankosmio Viografiko Lexiko* vol. VII, (Athens 1987), 97-98.



In a letter sent from Leghorn (probably again by Polychroniadis) to Mavrokordatos a little later we read in outspoken passages that Paleológos was preparing a second transport, but that the first ship was at that time in Leghorn: "Τὸ ἐξακουσθὲν πλοῖον μὲ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐφόδια ἀπὸ τὴν Ολλανδίαν, συγχρόνως τοῦτου ὅπου μισσευεῖ ὁ Βετζιάρης, ἀναχωρεῖ ἐδῶθεν διὰ ἐκεῖνον τὸν λιμένα τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅπου εὖρη ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἐκεῖθεν νὰ κυβερνηθῇ, τὸ ὅποιον συντροφεύει ὁ φιλογενὴς καὶ ἀξιογάπητος φίλος κύρ Ἐμμανουὴλ Ξένος" and also "ὁ φιλογενέστατος θεῖος τοῦ ἄνω κύρ. Ξένου ἐτοιμάζει καὶ δεύτερον πλοῖον εἰς τὸ Ἀμστερδάμ ὅμοιον τοῦ ρηθέντος.<sup>28</sup>

From a letter sent from Trieste on 19/31 May the same year to the Greek revolutionary assembly by a certain Antonios Antonopoulos we learn that Paleológos had contributed the amount of 243.45 guilders (Foropoulos, 146). This amount does not show up in the accounts of the Amsterdam Philhellenic Committee and was probably Paleológos' private contribution.

Paleológos also corresponded with the London Greek Committee, for in a letter to its secretary, John Bowring, dated April 11, 1823, he reported that the Greek community and its Dutch friends in Amsterdam had collected the amount of 8,000 guilders during the year 1822 alone (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 101-102). A letter of appreciation sent by the deputy of religious affairs and justice of the provisional government of Greece, dated February 10, 1823, discovered in the Fabius file but addressed to Paleológos and Tomazínos, confirmed the reception of the money through the mediation of Ignatius, the former Greek-orthodox archbishop of Ioannina and part of Wallachia, in exile in Pisa (Ringeling 1964, 150 and Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 101-102 and notes 2-4).<sup>29</sup>

But contrary to what he wrote earlier, Paleológos did his best to keep his patriotic activities secret. Hence his apology to Testa for the activities of the Greek Carbonaries at the bottom of a letter written August 24, 1822: "*que le ciel punisse les chefs et les instigateurs de cette insurrection*" which had thrown his "*malheureuse nation*" in such peril (Nanninga 1964, p. 1074, no. 1103). That Paleológos' activities could not long remain secret is indicated by the several reports from De Hochepeid to Testa and from Testa to the directors. On January 10, 1823, Testa reported that Piet Bakker, captain of the brig *Briseis*, had delivered "*de munitions de guerre*" sent by Paleológos to the rebels in the Morea by way of Mílos (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 103).<sup>30</sup> On March 15, 1823,

<sup>28</sup> "The celebrated vessel with the war provisions from Holland will simultaneously with the departure of Vetzziaris (unknown to me, DK) sail from here to any harbour in Greece where it is free to steer and which accompanied by the patriotic and beloved friend Mr. Em. Xenos" and "the patriotic uncle of the abovenamed Mr. Em. Xenos prepares a second ship in Amsterdam". See Archion M, vol. V, part 1, p. 323.

The arrival of the first shipment at Hydra is confirmed by a passage in the journal of the American philhellene George Janvis: "In the middle of this month [October 1822, DK] arrived, direct from Amsterdam and Leghorn, the Dutch brig, the *Briseis van Amsterdam* (Capt Pieter Bakker) loaded with arms and ammunition for account of a Greek house at Amsterdam, of which two gentlemen (messrs. Xenos of Patmos were on board). A quantity of bisquets and a few thousand iron balls were sent from Holland as a present to the Grecian Government" (Arnakis, 126).

From this passage we may conclude that next to Emmanouil, one of his brothers was also on board the *Briseis*, presumably Ioannis Xenos as we may conclude from note 36.

<sup>29</sup> For a Dutch translation of the Greek letter, see Ringeling 1964, 150. For contacts between Ignatius and the provisional government and contacts between Ignatius and Paleologos, see Emm. G. Protosaltis, *Ignatios Mitropolititis Oungrovlachias*, Athens 1961, passim, also for the letter of Joseph Androusis, the minister of religious affairs about the activities of the Amsterdam Greeks to Ignatius, also dated February 10. Tomazínos was of course Tomasáchi, whose name in Greek is correctly spelled Tomazákis.

<sup>30</sup> According to Ringeling 1964, 151, note 2, Emmanouil Xenos was the owner of the brig and Paleologos was registered as its bookkeeper. See also the testament in the archives of notary Fabius, 16497 no. 654, which states that in 1828 one-sixteenth part of the brig was owned by the merchant Michail Curtovich, who, like his brother Antonios had been a friend of Paleologos. For proof of the arms delivery, see also T. Ath. Gritsopoulos, "Idísis



the Smyrna consul reported the arrival of the vessel *Anna Paulowna*, commanded by Captain J.F. Spiegelberg and owned by Paleológos, which, en route to Smyrna, had sailed from Leghorn to Chania in order to discharge ammunition and to disembark a dozen Greek passengers, probably volunteers for the struggle on Crete (Nanninga 1964, 1095).<sup>31</sup>

A little more than a year later Testa wrote to the Flemish entrepreneur Malherbe: "...Cependant, d'autre fournitures en avaient été faites précédemment par J.M. Xeno, négociant établi en cette capitale l'envoi de son oncle le Sr. Stefano Paleologo d'Amsterdam, mais j'ignore si ces armes avaient été fabriquées à l'étranger" (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 103, note 5). In another report to the directors, dated April 10 of the same year, Testa accused Paleológos once more, "au cas qu'il voulut les faire aller pour la seconde fois à Hydra avec des munitions de guerre pour les insurgés" (Nanninga 1964, 1097).

### 3.2. The Stefanos Paleológos-Emmanouil Xenos connection

The outbreak of the Greek revolution not only had political but also economic repercussions for Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Because of this, Paleológos and his Greek Orthodox colleagues Stefanos d'Isaïou and Antonios Curtovich requested the Dutch minister of foreign affairs on May 28, 1821 to accept the establishment of Ioannis Xenos in Constantinople as a Dutch supplier, not only for his personal safety, but also to prevent the confiscation of the great amount of money they had stocked in the Xenos firm. Ioannis (in the Dutch sources, Jean, or sometimes Sean) and his brothers Theodoros and Emmanouil formed a mercantile association of which Ioannis<sup>32</sup> was the Constantinopolitan resident, Theódoros<sup>33</sup> the Smyrna associate, and Emmanouil<sup>34</sup> the direct link with their uncle Stefanos Paleológos at Amsterdam.<sup>35</sup> The fact that

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proxenón xénon kratón perí Kimólou", in: *Kimoliaká*, 5 (1975), 42-50, in which the author published a letter written by Dimitris Sárdis, the Dutch vice-consul at Kímolos and Mílos, to De Hochepeid, the Dutch consul-general at Smyrna (and not to Testa as Gritsópoulos maintained) about the secret delivery of rifles and powder to the Cretans by way of Hydra and Mílos.

<sup>31</sup> Paleologos is mentioned on all the muster-rolls as bookkeeper. Captain Spiegelberg was obviously one of the people Paleologos referred to in his aforementioned letter in the Kountouriotis archives as a shrewd and obliging captain. See also Protopsaltis, p. 130, where the author stated that the archbishop asked Emmanouil Xenos to deliver 1500 Spanish dollars' worth of material to the Cretans.

<sup>32</sup> Like his brothers, Ioannis Xenos belonged to a well-known family that produced the rich merchant Vasilis Xenos, employee for some time of Emmanouil Xanthos, one of the founders of the Filiki Eteria. Ioannis became a *filikós* himself at the age of 29 in Constantinople on 12 September, 1818 as stated above by Konstantinos Polychroniadis. See also I.A. Meletopoulos, *I Filiki Eteria*, *Archion P. Sekeri*, Athens 1967, 131, no. 254 and Ioannis Filimon, 'Megali Istoria tis Ellinikis Epanastaseos', in: *Apanta ton Neo Ellinikon Klassikon*, vol. I, ann. 2, p. 405, no. 425. He must have visited Amsterdam, for on November 3, 1811 he witnessed the baptism of Helena Petrou, a child of Vasilis Petrou, who was related to Stamatis Petrou, Korais' sycophantic servant (See Amsterdam Municipal Archives nr. 12948 DTB 399, 49).

<sup>33</sup> He was the father of Stephanos Xenos (1821-1894), the well known businessman and man of letters.

<sup>34</sup> According to the *Megali Ellinika Enkyklopaidia* vol. 18, (Athens 1928), p. 625, Emmanouil Xenos was a scholar and a revolutionary. Of the three brothers he maintained the closest relation with their uncle Stefanos Paleologos in Amsterdam, which Emmanouil visited probably for the first time in 1802 when he acted as witness at the baptism of a child. It is unknown how long he stayed there, but he must have appeared again around the 15th of March 1820 for Papa Makarios Typaldos, the priest reported that Nikolaos Aryenti substituted him during an other baptism. He took part in the 2nd general assembly of Astros and the 3rd at Epidavros and Troezen/Ermioni. Together with the Bavarian colonel Heydeck and the Frenchman Bailly, he became a member of the committee for logistics and provision in the beginning of 1827. Xenos and his foreign colleagues occupied themselves especially with the land forces, among which were Karaïskakis forces in Attica. According to John. A. Petropoulos, *Politics and statecraft in the kingdom of Greece 1833-43*, (Princeton 1968), p. 753 of the Greek edition, Emmanouil belonged to the English faction and when Kapodistrias ruled Greece went over to the opposition.

all three brothers were members of the Filiki Eteria is another argument for Paleológos having been initiated before the outbreak of the revolution.

As the political situation was too uncertain, the Xénos brothers had temporarily left their establishments in Constantinople and Smyrna, as Gaspard Testa reported to the directors on July 10, 1821 (Nanninga 1964, p. 1050).<sup>36</sup> The various sources clearly show that uncle and cousin worked closely together. As mentioned above, Paleológos was the initiator of the request to the Dutch government to grant the Xenos family immunity from Turkish confiscation. On August 24, 1822, Paleológos had the courage to complain to Testa about the behavior of Consul de Hochepped towards a member of the Xenos family in 1821. By having separated him from his family, De Hochepped had put the man in mortal danger. Because of this affair, Paleológos did not send his vessels to Smyrna during 1822. It is not clear which Xenos is meant, but Paleológos mentioned his cousin in the same letter, so most likely he referred to Emmanouil, who in April 1821 was on his way to Smyrna (Nanninga 1964, 1064-1075).<sup>37</sup>

In April and May 1822, Xenos was in Leghorn, where he met several Greek merchants, among them Konstantinos Polychroniádis. From there he planned to sail to Greece to bring armaments.<sup>38</sup> In September he was again in Leghorn to organize his patriotic activities, as his letter to Koundouriotis written in Italian on September 4 shows. In it he reported that the brig *Briseis*, heading for Smyrna, would be directed to Hydra to unload material.<sup>39</sup> On August 29, 1822, the Presidial Chamber of the Dutch Levant Trade, probably at the request of the influential Paleológos, delivered a letter of recommendation to Emmanouil Xenos for all the Dutch consuls residing in the harbors of the Mediterranean and on the islands of the Greek Archipelago (Nanninga 1964, 1048 and 1074-1075).

The documents in Mavrokordatos' archives further show that Xenos was in western Greece for most of 1822 to distribute (i.e. sell) provisions. Around February 9, 1823, Xenos must have been in Hydra as Yoryios Spaniolakis wrote a letter from this nautical bulwark to Mavrokordatos in which he explicitly praised Xenos for his patriotic attitude, asking Mavrokordatos not to antagonize Xenos, as western Greece was urgently in need of all kinds of provisions. Judging

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After the arrival of king Otho his star rose again, for during the regency under Armanseperg he became a member of the council of State (Symvoulío tis epikratías). When the Dutch philhellene Mr. Jan van 's Gravenweert during his travels to the east visited Smyrna in 1837, Emmanouil Xenos was the Dutch consul.

<sup>35</sup> The Xenoí were related to the Paleologoi through the maternal line.

<sup>36</sup> See also the letter of Ioannis Klados to Yoryios Koundouriotis, written from Kythira August 1822 in which the arrival of Ioannis Xenos on a Turkish ship from Constantinople is reported. Enjoying the protection of the Dutch, Xenos had lived in the Dutch embassy. It is not clear where Emmanouil Xenos resided at the time of the outbreak of the revolution, but on April 25, 1821 Jean Solair, the secretary of the Dutch consulate at Patrás, reported to Testa that "Emmanuel Xeno qui partit pour Smyrne et Patmos" would carry the letter, which means he was in Italy or Western Greece when the Peloponnesians raised the banner of the revolution, for which see Zorás 1991, p. 15, no. 5.

<sup>37</sup> See also note 36 above. The real reason why Xenos did not show up in Smyrna during 1822 was probably that he was on board the *Briseis*, which was used during the second half of 1822 and the greater part of 1823 to deliver war matériel from Italy to Greece. See for the itinerary of the *Briseis* Nanninga 1964, p. 1052: no. 1076, p. 1149: no. 1190, p. 1176 note 1, p. 1323-1324, and finally p. 1509-1513 and Appendix II.

<sup>38</sup> Polychroniádis was even related to the Xénos family for in a letter to Praïdis on April 17, 1822 he mentioned that Ioannis Xenos was his son-in-law or brother-in-law through the daughter of N. Papadopoulou. See Archion M., vol. v, part 1, p. 181-190 no. 128 (SDK F 21, ar. 1227) and no. 137 (SDK, F. 21, ar. 1229), p. 206. See also Archia K., vol. VI, part 4, Athens 1966, p. 32: no. 29.

<sup>39</sup> Archion M., no. 254 (SDK, F. 18, no. 1115), p. 323: "ὁ φιλογενέστατος θεῖος τοῦ ἄνω κύρ. Ξένου ἐτοιμάζει καὶ δεύτερον πλοῖον εἰς τὸ Ἀμστερδάμ ὅμοιον τοῦ ῥηθέντος" ("the ambitious uncle of the above mentioned Mr Xenos prepares another vessel in Amsterdam equal to the current one").



from the correspondence between Polychroniadis and Prædis, Xenos was apparently also in close contact with archbishop Ignatius, since the several shiploads Xenos delivered to the different military chiefs were mostly financed through his mediation. When Mavrokordatos and Missolónghi were threatened, he delivered powder, cannonballs, etc., for which he presented Mavrokordatos a bill amounting to 10,838 grosia, or 1354 2/3 Spanish dollars, to be paid within three months.<sup>40</sup> Emmanouil Xenos was also the one who informed his uncle in the second half of 1823 of the provisional government's plans to make him the official representative of the Greeks in the Netherlands. Paleológos' nephew was probably considered a financial expert by Yoryios Kountouriotis, for he was ordered to go to Zante in June 1824 as one of the plenipotentiaries of the provisional government to negotiate the transfer of the first and the second installment on the loan with the bankers Barff & Logothetis and the Ionian government (Vakalopoulos, vol. 6, p. 488).

This information has been confirmed in the Dutch sources for on August 26, 1824, Testa reported to Van Reede, minister of foreign affairs, that two Greek newspapers, the *Annales de la Grèce* and the *Smyrnéen*, mentioned the collection of 7,000 guilders or ducates by the Amsterdam Committee as aid for the Greeks. He continued by writing: "*Il a été lu aussi, il n'y a bien longtemps dans une autre feuille, que le nommé Emm. Xeno était chargé par le Gouvernement d'Hydra d'aller recevoir une somme à Zante. Il se trouve que cet individu est neveu du négociant Steffo. Paleologo à Amsterdam et frère de Jean Xeno, qui jouit dans cette capitale la protection des Pays-Bas.*" (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 103).<sup>41</sup>

### 3.3. Paleológos' involvement with the first Greek loan

It was clear from the start that the Greeks could not continue their struggle against the Ottomans without outside financial assistance. Therefore they sent I. Orlandos and A. Louriotis as representatives to London to negotiate a loan in the first half of 1824. The fact that they were ordered to keep in touch with Paleológos about this matter proves again the high esteem with which Paleológos was held in Greece (Foropoulos 149). The financing of a loan for the Greek revolutionaries was also an early concern of Paleológos as several letters to Mavrokordatos, at the time president of the provisional government of western Greece based at Missolónghi, prove.

Although the Greek provisional government for political reasons was more interested in an English loan than one financed by Dutch banks, Paleológos nevertheless offered several times to mediate in negotiating a loan in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In his letter of December 4, 1823 he referred to plans and proposals he discussed with Dimitrios Postolakas

<sup>40</sup> "Ἡ προθυμία τοῦ κυρίου Ξένου νὰ προστρέξῃ πρὸς βοήθειαν τῆς πατρίδος εἰς μίαν τόσον κρίσιμωτάτην ἀνάγκην, εἶναι ἀξία μεγαλωτάτου ἐπαίνου ... καὶ θέλει φροντίσῃ νὰ μὴν κινδυνεύσῃ παντελῶς τὸ ἰντερὲσσον τοῦ." ("The readiness of Mr. Xenos to rush up to the assistance of his fatherland in such a critical state of affairs earns the highest praise ... and one should take care not to bring utterly at risk his interest"), see Archion M, vol. V, part 3, no. 380 [A.M. 213], p. 7 and no. 475 [A.M. 311] pp. 117-118. See also Protopsaltis, p. 130, where the author writes that Ignatios did send provisions worth 1500 Spanish dollars to the Cretans and six guns to the government of eastern Greece through the person of Emmanouil Xenos.

<sup>41</sup> Wagner-Heidendal did not know what to make of this report. As she did not have access to the Greek sources, it was unknown to her that Xenos, together with the Cretan Dimitris Kalleryis and Anagnostis Oikonomou, was assigned to negotiate the transfer of the two installments of the English loan, which had arrived at Zante.



in Vienna (see above) and had handed over to his nephew already in 1821. As King William planned to lift several measures prohibiting loans to foreign governments, Paleológos proposed the provisional government to order Orlandos and Louriotes to come to the Netherlands, in which case he could be of the utmost use. He even proposed Mavrokordatos to make him plenipotentiary to negotiate a loan of five million Dutch guilders for a period of 8 to 10 years with Greek national lands as a security. An independent Greek state could pay the yearly interest amounting to 300,000 guilders from the trade in currants, silk and other products which he calculated to be 500,000 guilders (Foropoulos 150-151).<sup>42</sup>

Before the provisional government could respond to his proposals he was forced to withdraw them as the Assembly of the Kingdom of the Netherlands rejected the royal plans, reason for Paleológos to advise the provisional government to go ahead with the loan in England.<sup>43</sup>

As soon as Orlandos and Louriotes arrived in London on January 26th, they asked him to keep up a regular correspondence in order to coordinate their mutual attempts to negotiate a loan. The Greek loan was finally floated in the spring of 1824 by English contractors. The English gold provoked a civil war which broke off the regular contacts between Mavrokordatos and Paleológos. When the former resumed his correspondence in the beginning of April 1825 he felt it necessary to apologise and report the recent state of Greek affairs. He complained that many of the European volunteers who went to Greece were only self-proclaimed philhellenes and as sheer fortune-seekers were worthless to the Greek cause since they were a heavy burden for the nearly empty Greek treasury. This was why he asked Paleológos to prevent would-be philhellenes from going to Greece as much as possible. In it he also informed Paleológos that the well-known Greek intellectual Panayotis Kodrikas had become the official representative (or ambassador we might say) of the Greek provisional government in France. The same honour was bestowed on Paleológos himself by a decree of the provisional government dated March 9th 1825 in which it was declared that he was appointed to the post of '*praktoras*' in Nirlandia (sic!) being the unified state of Holland and Belgium (Foropoulos, 152-154); this was obviously a reward for Paleológos' advice and services for the Greek cause.<sup>44</sup> Although Mrs Wagner-Heidendal did not use Greek sources, she intuitively felt that the organization and the development of the first philhellenic aid from the Netherlands was due to the small Greek community in Amsterdam with Stefanos Paleológos as foremost protagonist. In light of the available evidence, her proposal still stands square, but we must bear in mind that Paleológos as well as Xenos were not ignorant of their own commercial interests.

That philhellenism also meant business is shown by George Jarvis' statement, "The arms on the Dutch ship have not been sold. The owners are after too large a profit and won't sell for less than six dollars apiece, and ten piasters for a pair of common shoes. Frank Hastings

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion on the English loan, see Lignadis 1975, 87-96, William St. Clair 1972, 205-223 and Vakalopoulos, A., vol. 6, p. 401; and for Paleológos' letter with his extensive calculations, see Dinos Konomou 1966, 112-114. In the end the Greeks would prefer English financial sources, further information in Archion M., Vol. V, part 4, no. 1120 (A.M.909) p. 66-67.

<sup>43</sup> See Archion M., vol. IV, p. 66-67, dated 15/27 January 1824.

<sup>44</sup> Dalleggio who made use of the Louriotes archives stated in his *Les Philhellènes et la guerre de l'indépendance* (Athens 1949), p. 16 and note 1, that Paleológos had the task of contributing to the organization and development of the philhellenic movement in Holland.

bought fifty arms at the mentioned price and with left with Mr Andre for Napoli." (Arnakis 1965, 127).<sup>45</sup>

#### 4. The height of Dutch philhellenism

The sympathy which the Liberals had mustered for the Greeks in the early years of philhellenism grew into a deep solidarity with passionate concern for the fate of the Greek nation. After the fall of Missolónghi, and Ibrahim Pasha's brutal scorched-earth policy in the Morea, new waves of philhellenic pamphlets and press articles swept across the Netherlands. As in the beginning, they were a combination of translations and comments together with original work. This time, however, they were more balanced, extensive, and goal-oriented. Justifications for the Greek revolution were no longer presented; instead there was a shift towards stimulating actual assistance (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 138).

##### 4.1. *The Greeks as Christian brethren*

The impact of the religious argument was quite strong and it was not unusual that various clergymen fought upon the philhellenic barricades. Among them was the Catholic priest Van Olmen, from the small Rhenish bilingual border town of Emmerich (Emmerik), whose summons, printed in German (Aufruf) as well as in Dutch (Oproep), caused much discussion. The same happened with the speech delivered by Reverend Dibbits and published in Schiedam (near Rotterdam) in May 1826. This inspired his colleague Reverend Roskes, from the hamlet of Thamen on the river Amstel (south of Amsterdam), to compose a speech which he delivered in *Felix Meritis*, a building which still functions as a cultural bulwark on one of the Amsterdam canals. A more passionate tone was used anonymously by someone calling himself Anti-Barbarus, who, according to N.G. van Kampen, was one of the ablest and most civilized men of the province of Frisia. When Van Olmen came under attack from conservative and reactionary circles in 1826, a certain A.J. wrote a biting liberal pamphlet called *Waarschouwing* (Warning) in his defense (Renting 1954, 34-35 and 40; Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 143-148).

##### 4.2. *The impact of Lord Byron's death and the siege of Missolónghi*

Although Willem de Clercq grew weary of the ongoing controversy, he continued to deliver speeches on the Greek question in the several meetings he addressed between May 1825 and October 1826. His subject matter included the Crusaders, the Greeks, Muhammed, Despotism, and Missolónghi. Especially his lecture, or rather improvisation, on Missolónghi for the Dutch Society of the Liberal Arts and Sciences in the Hague was hailed, "When the name Missolónghi was read, a thunderous applause went around the hall" (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 168-169). In

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<sup>45</sup> Frank Abney Hastings (perhaps the least selfish philhellene) revolutionised naval warfare and became commander of the steamer *Karteria*, on which he died after becoming seriously wounded in 1828. In note 5 on the same page the editors inform us that Xenos was a wealthy Greek from Holland, who, after the fall of Nauplia, purchased the mansion of the local pasha and kept open house for Greeks and philhellenes.



the northern university city of Franeker, two short biographies of Kanaris and Markos Botsaris translated from the French were published in 1825. Some rather bombastic philhellenic poems were also published, such as J. Bosscha's *The liberation of the Greeks*, A. Boxman's *The patroness of Greece*, E.W. van Dam van Isselt's *Missolonghi*, and C.P. E. Robidé van der Aa's *Missolonghi* (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 187).

A few months later, Robidé van der Aa would compose a long poem on the death of Lord Byron, earning him the poet's prize organized by *Rhetorica*, a royal society of the arts promoting the arts of literature, poetry, and theater. More than 500 copies of *De dood van Lord Byron*, in which he called on the Greeks to unite, were sold for their benefit. The poet was congratulated by Van Hogendorp (see below) and by the Swiss banker Eynard, to whom he had dedicated a copy out of gratitude for his philhellenism. This great philhellene informed Robidé that he had taken the liberty to forward the poem to Kapodistrias, who happened to be a very close friend (Renting 1954, 42-43; Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 331 and 354-355).

In the dialogue between the philhellenic movement and classicism a paradoxical role was played by archaeology. Although the Greeks were in the middle of a struggle for their regeneration, western antiquarians had no ideological scruples against buying or digging for antiquities, as the mission of Colonel Rottiers during 1824 and 1825 proved (Koster 1996, *passim*).

#### 4.3. *The central committee*

From July 1825, dozens of philhellenic committees were founded in the Netherlands, resulting in numerous subscription lists to collect money for the Greeks in the name of holy cause of liberty, civilization, religion, and fellow humanity (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 143-144).<sup>46</sup> The northern philhellenes, however, kept on stressing the religious and human aspect. To combat regional chaos, all these activities were coordinated by a central committee founded on October 27, 1825 in the Hague. The existence of the northern committee was made public by an appeal in November 1825 called the *Oproeping aan de Nederlanders, Ter verzameling van een Fonds tot Ondersteuning der Grieken* ("Call to the Dutch, towards the collection of a fund for the support of the Greeks"), written by the passionate philhellene N.G. van Kampen. This was a real breakthrough since the ten members were all men of great standing. The chairman was Count Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp (1762-1834), a well known politician who had been minister of the interior, vice-chairman of the council of state, and a member of the first (higher) and second (lower) chamber of the States General. He was motivated both by religious feelings and his admiration for Greek antiquity. Following the spirit of the time, he considered the modern Greeks the descendants of the noblest people on earth and prayed that Providence would appoint a day of salvation for them (Renting 1954, 30-31; Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 145-146).

Unfortunately, the forced union of north and south did not result in a central committee for the whole kingdom; this central committee was the philhellenic epicenter only of the north since the southerners preferred to concentrate their activities in Brussels. The two committees

<sup>46</sup> Because public collections without permission of the government were prohibited, the subscription lists were distributed among families and cultural societies, for which see Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 250-251.



only mentioned each others' activities, but although they did not cooperate they neither interfered with each others initiatives (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 247).

Apart from the Amsterdam committee, which remained independent because of its prerogative of having been the first philhellenic committee in the Netherlands, soon taking the Utrecht committee under its wings, some 34 local committees could be counted. As long as the Swiss banker Eynard was a member of the Paris Philhellenic Committee, it transmitted its money to Paris, but after January 8, 1827, it decided to send the donations directly to him at his Swiss base in Geneva (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 252; Renting 1954, 38). With the exception of Amsterdam and Utrecht the north collected 38,360.90 guilders during 1825 and 1826, which is not at all disappointing when we consider that the north was hit at that time by disasters such as floods and an epidemic, which obviously turned philanthropic sentiments in a different direction.<sup>47</sup> The objective of the northern central committee remained humanitarian, for the money was to be used exclusively for buying nourishment and medicines. The Hague was explicitly against shipments of military equipment, not only out of fear for placing the Dutch government in a position against the Austrians and Turks, but primarily as a matter of principle. The humanitarian aid was sent to Náfplio (Nápoli di Romania), the principal Greek stronghold after the fall of Missolónghi (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 253).

In February 1827 the credit balance amounted to 8,246.95 guilders, which was kept for the eventual education of two Greek boys in the Kingdom of the Netherlands.<sup>48</sup> Between this time and the final months of 1828, another 8,241.45 guilders was collected so that the balance towards the end of 1828 amounted to 16,506.40 guilders. Of this, 8,645.76 guilders was sent to the Paris committee, i.e. Eynard, for provisions; the remaining 7,187.50 guilders was directed to the ministry of education. During the last part of 1827 the central committee received expressions of gratitude from Eynard as well as Ignatius, who was still based in Pisa (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 252-256, 268, and 354-355).

#### 4.4. *The final stage of volunteerism*

Although the heroic defense and fall of Missolónghi sent philhellenic emotions soaring, the animo to fight and possibly die for Greece was apparently more restrained, as less than a handful of volunteers from the Low Countries went off to the Mediterranean. Between four and seven volunteers went to Greece, three of whom probably died while others managed to repatriate. The only northerner among them was Jacob Steffens, a retired artillery-officer from the city of Groningen who considered his donation of 100 guilders insufficient and hence decided to share his military experience with the Greek revolutionaries. Although it is reported that he

<sup>47</sup> At that time the Kingdom of the Netherlands, including Luxembourg, counted 6,013,478 inhabitants. Of this, 2,262,712 or 37.6% (excluding the province of Limburg) lived in the north. Nevertheless the north contributed 61% of the funds (*f* 62,155.35 or frs. 130,873.47). In comparison, Bavaria, which counted 3,560,000 inhabitants, contributed frs. 150,000 until the end of 1827, not including the donations made by Crown Prince Ludwig.

<sup>48</sup> On p. 256 Wagner-Heidendal stated that the Greeks did not respond to the educational proposals, but see the passages in Kapodistrias' letter to Paleologos, cited by Koukkou below. For the failure of earlier plans to finance education programs, see p. 358, where Wagner-Heidendal stated that the Amsterdam based Greek merchant Spatro was disappointed about the silence of the Greek government, and Mavrokordatos' answer in February 1827, in which he declared that three letters from the central committee had been lost, but where he promised to send Greek boys at a later stage.

was received warmly by the Greek committees of Paris and Marseille, and made it to Zante via Leghorn, not a single trace of his name has yet been found in the Greek sources. Dutch sources state that he was supposed to have served under the French philhellene C.N. Fabvier as an artillery man, but instead was transferred to the Greek fleet, where he befriended Kanaris and assisted in the construction of a large new burner. Portraits of Steffens were reportedly sold in Amsterdam for the benefit of the Greeks (Renting 1954, 39; Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 272-274).

#### 4.5. *Amsterdam revisited*

According to Wagner-Heidendal, the new Philhellenic initiatives had a stimulating effect on the Amsterdam committee, which once again became more active. To increase the success of its new summons, it first of all informed the public of the results of its activities between 1822 and 1824. A glance at the list of members shows that some changes had taken place. The Catholic priest G.A. van der Lugt, apparently the only northern Catholic clergyman active in the philhellenic movement, was replaced by Mr Jan van 's Gravenweert, and a certain L. Hamerster-Ameshoff was now the go-between of the Amsterdam and central committee (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 261).

A new activity was evidently the offering of subscription lists to members of influential cultural societies. The amount collected in this way is unknown, but collections were delivered to the house of George Tomasáchi, who was coordinator as well as thesaurian. As elsewhere the Amsterdam philhellenes tried to implement Eynard's suggestion, i.e. requesting the public to save 10 cents a week for half a year.<sup>49</sup> It is not known how much the Amsterdam committee collected but most of the money was spent on provisions and was sent directly to Greece, as a declaration from the provisional government for goods delivered at Hydra on May 17, 1826 by Captain Bakker of the *Briseis* found in the Fabius files indicates (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 264). On October 30 it was announced that 3000 guilders had been sent to Greece in order to free prisoners of war and slaves through the mediation of Count Biara Capo d'Istria and a certain Bishop Ierostratis (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 264).<sup>50</sup> One year later the Amsterdam committee announced that of the said amount, 2400 guilders had been used to liberate thirteen Greek slaves and the remaining 600 were used to help the Greek children at Nafplio (Ringeling 1964, 154).<sup>51</sup>

At the instigation of G.K. van Hogendorp and J. Bosscha, the author of philhellenic poems mentioned above, two Amsterdam Philhellenes, including the Greek merchant A. Spatro, circulated lists of financial aid for two Orthodox clerics from Cyprus. These refugees were Chagi

<sup>49</sup> That the Amsterdam-based Greeks felt they could not stay behind is proven by a copy of register at the end of a letter sent by Paleologos to the archbishop Ignatius on 18/30 January 1828. In it we read that in January of 1827 the undersigned promised to contribute on a monthly, yearly or single basis the following amounts: Paschalidis, the priest 4 guilders, Paleologos ten, Tomazakis ten, Fourtovik (read Kourtovik, DK) six, Spachos ten, Stefanos A. Paleologos (nephew of Paleologos, DK) one and Nikolaos Farmakis from Smyrna thirty guilders, see Foropoulos 1981, 148-149.

<sup>50</sup> See also Konstantinos Vakalopoulos 1975, 84, where Emmanouil Xenos once again appears: presented, together with the Frenchman Bailly and the Bavarian colonel Heideck, as a contact for Viaro Kapodistrias in connection with financial assistance for the European Philhellenic committees.

<sup>51</sup> Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 265 suggests that this business was probably concluded through Paleologos and Tomasáchi.



Chiteris Petraki, also transcribed as Petrachi, and Christodoulos Ectoridi, also transcribed as Eutoridas in the Dutch archives. Ilarion Paschalides, the priest of the small Greek community in Amsterdam, confirmed their papers. While the Hague contributed 686.45 guilders for their temporary sojourn, the Amsterdam committee for unknown reasons only collected 50 guilders (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 254-255).<sup>52</sup>

As usual in such circumstances, several pretenders showed up to collect money. One of these dubious characters, calling himself Joanni-Nicolai Leonidas, Count of Sparta, carried a letter which authorized him to collect *liefdagiften* (charity donations) for the Greeks. The authorities were rightly suspicious, for the letter had been written in a Dutch hand in four languages and was signed by a certain Minister Duga in Dutch characters. He nevertheless received 60 guilders, just to be gotten rid of (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 254-255).<sup>53</sup>

## 5. The political situation

At the time that the Philhellenic movement in Europe was at its height, the situation in Greece itself was at its worst: Missolonghi was stormed and taken, the Morea suffered under the scorched-earth policy of Ibrahim Pasha, and the Greeks were still divided among themselves. England, France, and Russia, the Great Powers who were the primary actors in the drama, i.e. the Oriental Question, intervened just in the nick of time when they agreed to transform the London protocol into a real treaty. The result was the so-called Treaty of London, which was settled on July 6, 1827. In the treaty, the Powers offered to mediate but demanded a cease-fire within a fortnight, which they eventually would enforce. It goes without saying that the Greeks accepted the proposals immediately, but the Turks, who considered the whole affair an internal matter, questioned the approach of the Powers (they rhetorically wondered what would have happened if they had interfered in the Irish matter), and stubbornly refused.

The press in the Netherlands generally seemed to be at a loss for an analysis of the diplomacy of the Great Powers. The *Arnhemse Courant*, always a praiseworthy exception to the rule of imperfect insight in the game of diplomacy, however, commented on the future political form of Greece; if the Great Powers were successful in converting an independent Greek entity into a constitutional monarchy, then Prince Frederick of Orange, King William I's second son, would be the best man for the Greek throne, in their opinion (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 153).<sup>54</sup>

Even after the signing of the Treaty of London, the press was still not convinced of the approaching liberty of Greece, probably wanting action rather than words. It did not take long, however, for these words to become action since the "untoward event," as the battle of Navarino on October 27, 1827 was called by the British prime-minister Wellington, caused the de facto independence of part of the Greek population inhabiting the Ottoman empire.

<sup>52</sup> It is not known when Spatro (or Spachos, as he is also called) settled in Amsterdam. Nanninga only mentions him (as Spaho) in 1821. During 1826 he corresponded with Van Hogendorp. In the spring of 1827 he returned to Greece. There, to my knowledge at least, his traces disappear.

<sup>53</sup> See also police files in the Amsterdam municipal archives 5225 57, no. 41. In no. 5525 62, no. 3, I came across Nathan Bocris and Samuel Ezoti, two Jews from Nafplio (Napoli di Romania) who roamed European roads, like wandering Jews, to collect money for the ransom of their families arrested by the Greeks when they conquered Nafplio.

<sup>54</sup> For the royal question, see Renting 1954, 46-49.

## 6. Kapodístrias' contacts with Paleólogos

Meanwhile Count Ioannis A. Kapodístrias (1776-1831) had been chosen as president by the assembly of Damala on April 14, 1827. Before he officially accepted the presidency, Kapodístrias started a diplomatic odyssey along the European capitals to find political as well as financial support. As he was officially still in the Russian service, it is not surprising that his first objective was St. Petersburg. He left Paris in April and arrived the Russian capital, where he received the official notice of his promotion to the presidency in May. On the 26th of June, Tsar Alexander finally accepted his resignation. In the beginning of August he left St. Petersburg for Berlin and from there to Hamburg to sail to London. After a stay of almost 6 weeks he crossed the Channel on September 22nd and used the Flemish port of Ostend as a stepping stone to Brussels where he was to meet the prince of Orange. In Ostend he probably met Paleólogos as his correspondence with the latter indicates (Woodhouse, 337).<sup>55</sup> Arriving in Paris in September he met among many other diplomats and politicians also the Dutch minister. From Paris he traveled to Greece, passing through his native island Corfu, and finally arrived in Nafplio on January 18, 1828 (Woodhouse, 345-347).

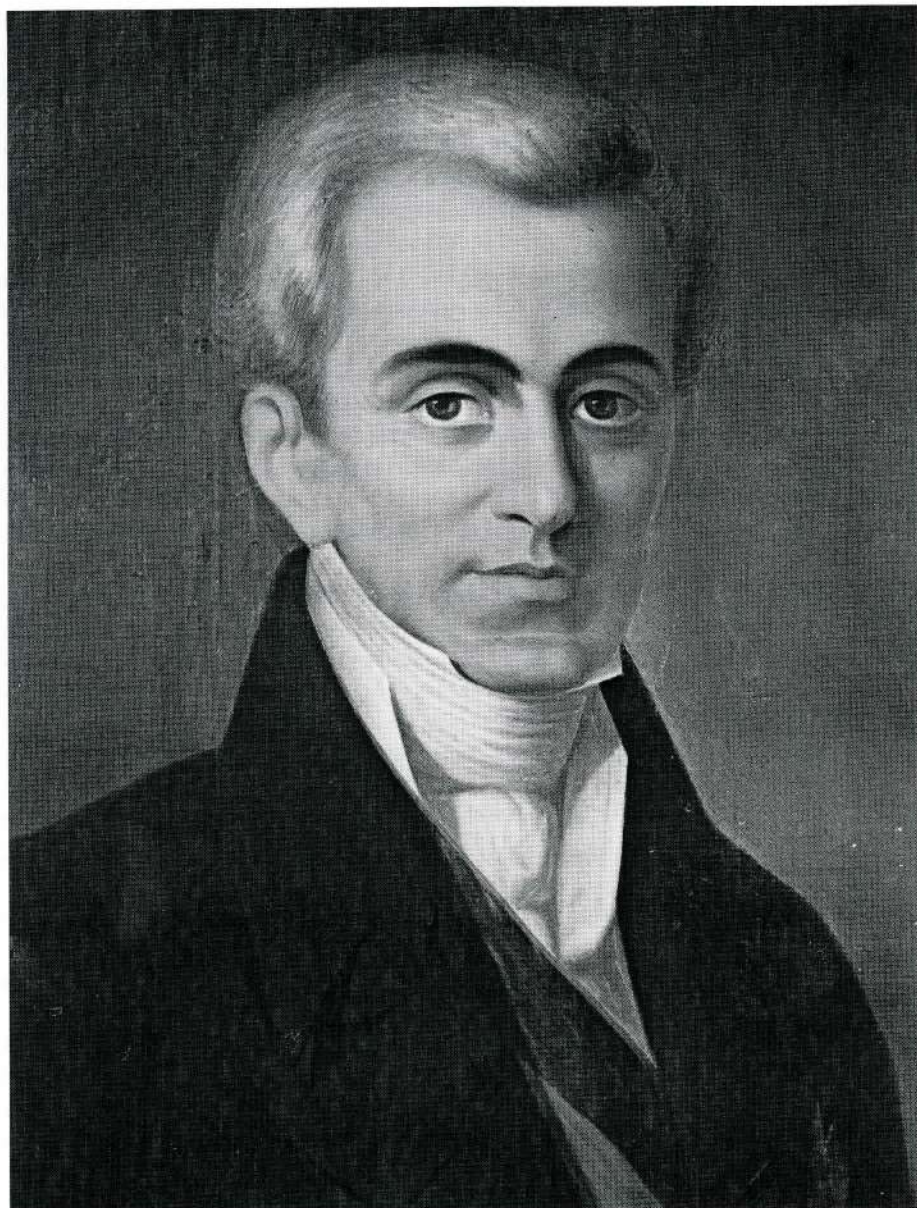
It is not clear when Paleólogos and Kapodístrias started their correspondence, but the fact alone proves that Paleólogos was also seen by the new leader as the sole representative of the Greek nation in the Netherlands. Paleólogos was the principal channel between Kapodístrias and the central committee in the north on the one hand, and Ignatius and Eynard on the other. The correspondence between Ignatius and Kapodístrias shows that both hoped for strong financial support from the central committee, so as not to be solely dependant on English, French, and Russian financial support (Protopsaltis, 168).<sup>56</sup> Moreover letter II indicates that they were planning to meet each other in Ostend in order to discuss Dutch Philhellenic financial contributions and the deliverance of warships, either steamships or frigates, as letter III shows. Whether Kapodístrias and Paleólogos actually did meet in the Flemish seaport remains unknown. Traces of a possible meeting could be found in the police reports of the period, but see footnote 54 above. Whatever the case may be, since the summer of 1827 Kapodístrias considered Paleólogos to be the main Greek representative in the Netherlands with whom he discussed Greek affairs on a regular basis. On his way to Greece, Kapodístrias wrote a letter to Paleólogos from Italy on December 5, 1827 in order "to unite the devotion of the Greeks and Philhellenes of Holland with that in other countries and cities" and informed Paleólogos that he planned to send "three or four pupils to Amsterdam to be taught under a regime of constant supervision and care of the local priest in their mother tongue and by another teacher in the local dialect and mathematics" (Koukkou 1978, 299).

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<sup>55</sup> This was probably the first and last time Kapodístrias ever set foot in the Netherlands. Contra Woodhouse's statement on p. 331 and Crawley's statements on p. 83 of his *Kapodístrias unpublished documents* that Kapodístrias visited Holland and Amsterdam in the summer of 1826, no trace of this could be found in the police files of the period. An indication that he did not, is also offered by the absence of Paleólogos from Amsterdam. Circumstantial evidence for a meeting in Ostend is the fact that Paleólogos at the time authorized another Amsterdam merchant to handle all his affairs as he would be absent from Amsterdam for a certain time. See the archives of Notary Fabius 19496, no. 716 dated Sept. 20. According to Van Kampen it is possible that Kapodístrias offered the Greek crown to Prince Frederick, but De Bas maintains in his *Prins Frederik* that Kapodístrias did not raise the subject; Heinrich von Gagern in *Das Leben des Gen. Friedr. von Gagern* states that his father did not succeed in arranging a meeting between King William and the Greek president. See also Renting 1954, 48, and notes 102, 103, and 104.

<sup>56</sup> See also Loukos 1988, 156-163.





**Figure 2.** *Ioannis Kapodistrias* (painting by Dionísios Tsókos; National Historical Museum, Athens).

## 7. The decline of philhellenism

After the battle of Navarino and the arrival of Kapodistrias in Greece, philhellenic sentiments in the Netherlands faded slowly into sporadic passive sympathy by the end of 1828. In the Netherlands, the Belgian question came to the fore and the continuing political chaos and anarchy in liberated Greece contributed to a more skeptical attitude, changing into outright disillusion and mockery after the murder of Kapodistrias in October 1831 (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 311). The year 1827, however, saw the publication of the first volume of Van Kampen's seven-volume *History of Greece*, and in a reprint of the original call to aid Greeks, he still passionately defended the Greek revolution, pointing to the threat a modernizing Turkey could pose to Europe.<sup>57</sup> In the same pamphlet, H.W. Tydeman presented an extensive account of the philhellenic activities of the central committee.

Willem de Clercq became less and less enthusiastic in 1827, but nevertheless produced three improvisations related to the Greek struggle. *De Arnhemse Courant* showed some interest in the Russian admiral Van Heiden, one of the allied commanders at Navarino, obviously because he was a Dutchman who had entered the Russian service after Prince William V of Orange was forced to leave the country in the last decade of the 18th century (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 321).<sup>58</sup>

In some commercial circles, critical voices had been heard on the issue of Greek piracy. The Greeks in many cases did not respect Dutch neutrality and even Dutch vessels, carrying a letter by Paleológos written in Greek, were seized on the grounds of carrying contraband. Although the Dutch navy escorted Dutch and foreign vessels as much as possible, trade almost came to a halt, giving King William reason to absolve the Chambers of Levantine Commerce as early as in 1826. (Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 290; Nanninga 1964, 1164-1172 and 1175). Towards the end of August 1828, the central committee suspended all its activities and after making a final account declared itself dissolved. The Amsterdam committee presumably petered out; no traces of an official dissolution have been discovered. Only its Greek members continued to work for the Greek cause.

## 8. Last contacts between Kapodistrias and the Amsterdam Greeks

In the spring of 1830, when he himself and Greece were still in peril, Kapodistrias responded to letters written to him by Paleológos and George Tomasáchi. Both letters prove that Paleologos' as well as Tomasáchi's patriotic activities had not yet ended.<sup>59</sup> Before Tomasáchi received his letter (IV), Kapodistrias responded on May 6/18 to a letter written by Paleológos

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<sup>57</sup> A few years later, after the murder of Kapodistrias, Van Kampen took a more critical attitude vis-à-vis the Greeks. He confessed to have been too credulous and promised his readers to be more balanced in his treatment of his subject. With Korais, he judged Ypsilantis to have been too rash, careless and hasty, see Wagner-Heidendal 1972, 316 and 325.

<sup>58</sup> See also Loukos, 119, where Van Heyden offered to lend 30,000 talers without rent to the Greek government for a periode of three months in the spring of 1829.

<sup>59</sup> Paleologos and Tomasachi corresponded with Kapodistrias on an individual basis. As Kapodistrias corresponded with Tomasachi in French, we may presume that the latter, who was only half Greek and born and raised in Amsterdam, did not master the Greek language as well as Paleologos, a native of Patmos whom Kapodistrias addressed in Greek.



on 11/23 March 1830. His answer also proves that Paleológos was still working in the interest of Greece, i.e. making plans for warships for the Greek navy, brainstorming about finding means to install loans for the Greek government. If the nephew Kapodístrias mentions is still Emmanouil Xenos, we may assume that he had not gone over to the anti-Kapodistrian faction yet. Kapodístrias' answer to Tomasáchi leads us to believe that although he had been less successful in recent business, Tomasáchi was still moved by patriotic feelings, as he had also made proposals to negotiate loans for Greece on the Dutch capital market.

## 9. Conclusion

The philhellenic movement in the Kingdom of the Netherlands was clearly influenced by similar movements in France and Germany. It was initially supported by the liberal sector of society. During 1825 and 1826, however, sympathy for Greece had become more widespread and even included a large part of conservative circles. Philhellenism functioned as an outlet for suppressed freedom in a period of restoration and pressed for nationalism and parliamentary democracy; this explains the more political character of philhellenic sentiments in the south whereas in the north they were generally motivated by religious and humanitarian ideas. After the initial enthusiasm of the early years and the emotional reactions to the fall of Missolónghi and the brutal policy of Ibrahim Pasha, public opinion observed the gradual growing intervention of the Great Powers who for reasons of their own decided to solve the matter by pressuring the Ottomans into accepting the idea of an independent Greece. This was also true for the Amsterdam Philhellenic Committee. Its Greek members, however, continued to work for the good of Greece as is shown by Kapodístrias' letters written in 1830, a year before his tragic death at the hands of members of the Mavromichalis clan.

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### Appendix I. *Names of Dutch volunteers*

The names of Dutch volunteers from the first period (as Steffens was the only northerner from the last period and has been put into the spotlight sufficiently) are taken from Reimsma, who counted 22, St. Clair, who presented 17 and Wagner-Heidendal, who mentioned 20 men for the kingdom as a whole in the whole period.

1. Anemaet (or Anemaat) from Amsterdam. Having served with Napoleon, he became an officer in the Dutch army. He probably went to Greece in 1822. He was killed in the struggle against the Turks.<sup>60</sup>
2. A certain Bartolomé from Leiden of whom we know nothing, returned in 1823 via Smyrna.<sup>61</sup>
3. C.W. van Dyk from The Hague, an ex-cavalry officer who served in the Philhellenic battalion. He returned before the fatal battle of Peta on July 4, 1822 and was repatriated by way of Smyrna in 1823.<sup>62</sup>
4. Jan Engelen from Sittard near Maastricht was also a former Dutch officer. He was reputedly mugged and beaten up in Greece, eventually treated in the Nafplio hospital and returned to Holland, completely disillusioned, by way of Smyrna.<sup>63</sup>
5. The only Dutchman who immortalized himself by appearing on the list of the Philhellenes in the Catholic church of Nafplio, and Makriyannis' list, was Johan-Rudolf Huysmans from Heusden in the province of North Brabant. As first lieutenant he served as quartermaster-captain in the philhellenic battalion. Daniel Elster, a German philhellene who managed to survive, remembered that Huysmans was taken for a doctor and was almost forced to address the crowds in his best modern Greek, while standing on a rock. He fell at Peta on July 4.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> My list contains only the volunteers who are Dutch or whose identity is in doubt. See for instance Zorás 1991, 83, in which Origone, the Dutch consul in Athens, reported to Testa on October 2, 1822: "*Tre olandesi filelleni deliberatori della Grecia, nominati Bartolomeo Tasserci, nativo di Leiden, Hanai e Anemant, tutti e due Belgi, dopo aver perduto tutte le loro sostanze nella battaglia di Peta, nell'Epiro, e 3/4 dei loro confratelli d'armi, gli hanno rifiutato di dargli il sostentamento e sono stati costretti di ricorrere ai loro consoli per darli soccorso e farli partire per Sirà*", which means that Anemaet (or Anemaat), classified here as a Belgian, at least did not die at Peta. As to his nationality, Douglas Dakin was of a different opinion, including Anemaet in the Danish list. See his *British and American Philhellenes*, Thessaloniki 1955, 40. St. Clair, p. 87, in turn described Anemaet as the Dutch philhellene who witnessed atrocities committed by the Greeks. In the subscription list of the first volume of Van Kampen, N.G., *De geschiedenis van Griekenland*, 7 vols., Delft/Dordrecht 1827-1834, a certain Anemaet from Arnhem is mentioned. As Anemaet is a rather unusual name, it could be the same man, in which case he did not die in Greece at all. But of course this man could be a relative. Bartolomeo Tasserci is obviously no. 2 on my list.

<sup>61</sup> See note 37.

<sup>62</sup> One month before the Peta disaster, Van Dyk (or Van Dijck) was still in Greece. This is proven by the receipt published in Archion M, vol. V, part I, Athens 1963, 240 under no. 173 (A.M. 103): "*Reçu de Mr. Liverius metteur du finance de S(on). A(l)lesse. Mavrocordato la somme de quarante piastres, Combotti le 18 Juin 1822*," and undersigned by Van Dyk who had corrupted S.A.'s name into Mourograda. He was in Greece only for a couple of months for according to the Dutch consul in Athens he arrived there April 20 via Corinth. See Zorás 1991, 62 and 275, which reports that he went on from Missolonghi to Zante. From there he must have managed to sail to Smyrna. See also St. Clair, 97, where Van Dyk played a rather negative role; given the task of escorting sick Philhellenes back to Missolonghi, he left them to their fate.

<sup>63</sup> Zorás 1991, 93 where Origone reported to Testa on February 2, 1823: "*anziano della Guardia d'onore di Francia della 9a Compagnia 2o reggimento, nativo di Sittard in Olanda, partito da Marsiglia il 14 9bre 1822, munito di un passaporta per andare in Smirne deliberato dal Consolo dei Paesi Bassi, e arrivato in Atene li 2 Febbrajo 1822*." From Athens Engelen seems to have gone to Nafplio: "*Ignazio Alberto, essendo stato a Napoli di Romania, dopo 8 giorni dela sua arresa ai Greci, mi assicuro che in quei giorni i Greci hanno massacrato molti Turchi, donne e fanciulli, e che le contrade si trovano piene di cadaveri*."

<sup>64</sup> On June 1, 1822 Huysmans was in Missolonghi. On June 15 he was somewhere in the field, probably on his way to Komboti. See Archion M, Vol. V., part 1, no. 161 (A.M. 96), 234-235.



6. Another volunteer about whom we know nothing except that his name was a certain Schleuttre (or Schleuthe) from Maastricht who also returned in 1823 by way of Smyrna.<sup>65</sup>

## Appendix II. *Ship itineraries*

Itinerary of the frigate *Anna Paulowna* (owner Stephanos Paleológos) and the brig *Briseïs* (owner Emmanuel Xenos) between 1820 and the first half of 1826. Data drawn from Nanninga 1964, the muster-rolls of the Amsterdam shipping commissioner (Arch. Waterschout 38:114-127) and several Greek sources:

### *Anna Paulowna.*

- 1820 Leghorn-Smyrna-Patras
- 1821 Amsterdam (26/4)-Genova-Leghorn-Greek waters
- 1822 Greek waters- Amsterdam (22/9)
- 1823 Genova-Leghorn-Cannée (Hania)-Smyrna (3/2)-Greek waters-Mediterranean-Amsterdam (18/11)
- 1824 Greek waters-Smyrna-Constantinople-Smyrna (1/11)-Alexandria
- 1825 Alexandria-Amsterdam (23/6)-Pernambuco
- 1826 ?

### *Briseïs.*

- 1820 from Amsterdam to Smyrna and return
- 1821 Amsterdam (14/5)-Malta (before 17/8)-Smyrna-Greek waters
- 1822 Leghorn-Amsterdam (13/6)-Genova-Leghorn-Hydra (mid October)-Milos-Crete-Milos-Leghorn? -
- 1823 Hydra-Greek waters-Smyrna
- 1824 Greek waters-Amsterdam (17/4)-Smyrna-Constantinople
- 1825 Greek waters-Amsterdam 2/5-Genova-Greek waters-Constantinople (22/9)-Smyrna
- 1826 Amsterdam (25/3)-Gibraltar-Hydra (17/5)-Smyrna (4/6)-Amsterdam (21/10)-Gibraltar-Smyrna

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<sup>65</sup> A man called Taneur came from the Kingdom of the Netherlands but we do not know whether he was a Belgian or a Dutchman. The same is true for Henri Beyermann. See Archion M, vol. V, part 1, Athens 1963, 243 no. 179 (A.M. 107), where he is mentioned in a list written by L. Colonel Voutier in Langada on June 28, 1822 and Archion M, vol. V, part 4, Athens 1965, 116, where Protopsaltis, the editor, considered him a Frenchman; St. Clair, 377 considered him a German. Whatever his nationality was, he fell at Peta on July 4, 1822. There is also no absolute certainty of the identity of a certain August Joseph Botte. According to Wagner-Heidendal he came from Brussels and therefore most probably is a Belgian. A man named Bot in Archion M, vol. V, part 4, p. 895, no. 1894 (A.M. 2094) is probably the Belgian Botte, but Protopsaltis, the editor, suggested that he could also have been a Dutchman called Bott or Both.

### Appendix III. *Correspondence*

#### I. Kapodístrias to B.E.A. Rottiers<sup>66</sup>

/1 Monsieur,

/2 La lettre que Vous avez adressée à l'Empereur /3 en date du 18 Fevrier, et celle dont elle se trouvoit accom- /4 pagnée pour moi, ont été l'une et l'autre soumises /5 à Sa Majesté Impériale. Elle en a pris /6 Connaissance et Elle vous Sait gré, monsieur, d'avoir /7 même en quittant son service et Ses Etats, voué /8 encore des Soins à un objet, que vous avez jugé digne /9 de Son attention. /10 L'Empereur accueillerez avec intérêt les /11 résultats de vos observations. C'est au Général Pozzo /12 di Borgo qu'Il vous invite à les confier sans restriction. /13 Ce ministre vient d'être informé des intentions de /14 Sa Majesté Impériale à cet égard. Il rendra un /15 compte exact des ouvertures que vous voudrez bien lui - /16 faire. /17 C'est par son entremise que j'ai l'honneur de /18 Vous adresser la présente, qui me fournit l'occasion /19 de vous offrir l'assurance de ma très parfaite consi- /20 dération.

/21 St. Petersbourg

/22 le 19. Avril 1820

#### II. Kapodístrias to Stephanos Paleólogos<sup>67</sup>

/1 κύριε

/2 μελετώ θεοῦ εὐδοκοῦντος ν' ἀναχωρήσω ἐντεῦθεν ἀπο Λονδίνον περὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν τοῦ /3 τρέχοντος, καὶ μέλλων νὰ κατευθύνω τὸν πλοῦν μου εἰς Ὀστένην, δὲν λείπω νὰ σας δηλοποιήσω /4 αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὥστε ἀκολούθως νὰ λάβετε τὸν κόπον τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν ὁδοιπορίας σας, προξενοῦντας μου /5 τὴν εὐχαρίστησιν τῆς αἰσίας ἀπολαύσεως σας καὶ συνομιλίας. /6 Σας εὐχομαι ἀπὸ καρδιάς ὅλα τὰ ἐφικτά.

/7 Ι.Α. Καποδίστριας

<sup>66</sup> Catalogue number UBA 136 W 3. At the bottom of the first page is the name of the addressee: "*à monsieur de Rottiers etc.*"; the letter written by a secretary was signed by Kapodístrias. The Flemish colonel Bernhard Eugene Antoine Rottiers served in the Russian Caucasian army until 1818. He returned to Western Europe by sailing along the Black Sea coast to Constantinople. From there he continued his journey to Western Europe by sea and land arriving in Antwerp in the spring of 1820. During his journey he probably made notes on Ottoman fortifications, reason for him to approach the young Tsar Alexander obviously because he wanted to be of further use. Kapodístrias, as the plenipotentiary of eastern affairs for the Tsar, suggested that Rottiers could serve his former sovereign best by forwarding his findings and proposals to General Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian ambassador in Paris. For Rottiers archaeological activities see Bastet 1984, Koster 1993, Koster 1995 and Koster 1996.

<sup>67</sup> Catalogue number UBA 136 W 1; the letter was written by a secretary and undersigned by Kapodístrias himself and was addressed to "*monsieur G? Palaeologue à Amsterdam*" under no. 4. According to notes he made on the cover, Paleologos received the letter on September 17th o.s.

/8 Εν Λονδίνω  
/9 Τη 1/13 7.βρίου 1827

/10 κύρ.  
/11 Εχέτασας ακριβέστερον, έμαθον ότι το ατμοπλοϊον κινει κατά την 7/19, και όχι  
/12 κατά την 8/20. επομένως ανεβαλά την αποφασιστικην εντεύθεν αναχώρησιν μου το  
/13 Σάββατον κατά την 10/22.

/14 Ι.Α.Κ.

### III. Kapodístrias to Stephanos Paleológos<sup>68</sup>

/1 Παρίσιοι την 1/13 8-βρίου 1827

/2 Κύριε,

/3 Σάς πέμπω, άγκηπτε Παλαιολόγε, σφραγίδος έλευθεράν την προς τον Κύριον Τ-  
/2 λαρίωνα άποκρισίν μου, διό και δέν έπαναλαμβάνω τά έν αύτῇ διαλαμβανόμενα.  
/4 Σάς ύπερευχαριστώ διά τας λεπτομερεΐς ιδέας περί του άτμοπλοΐου. Τάς φυλάττω  
/5 πλησίον μου, και έλπίζω νά τας κατορθώσω έπωφελείς έγκαίρως, και άμα ως  
εύπορήσωμεν /6 από χρήματα. /7 Εύδοκήσατε ώσαύτως ν' αναγκάσετε τον φίλον σας  
νά σας δώση την ίχνογραφίαν /8 και την τιμήν τῆς όλοσχεροϋς συγκροτήσεως (dénis)  
τών φριγάτων, και πέμψατέ με τα. /9 Όλοι αύταί αί σημειώσεις είναι ώφελιμώταται.  
Έχοντας αύτάς, δυνάμεθε νά κά- /10 μωμεν έκλογήν και έν έπιστήμη του πράγματος νά  
ένεργήσωμεν ύποθέσεις παρομοΐος. /11 Προσμένω μίαν λέξιν άποκριτικην από μέρος  
σας εις την έπιστολήν μου τῆς 19/7.1/8. /12 κατά την στιγμήν τῆς από Παρισίους  
άναχωρήσεως μου θέλω σας γράψω και αύθις. /13 Δεχθήτε έν τοσούτω τας φιλικάς  
είλικρινείς έκφράσεις.

1/14 Όλος πρόθυμος Ι.Α.Καποδίστριας

1/15 (Υστερόγραφο) Έλαβον σήμεραν την έπιστολήν τῆς τών 8. του /16 τρέχοντος, εις  
την όποιαν θέλω άποκριθῆ άφοϋ λάβω την /17 προσμενομένην άπόκρισιν τών  
αυταδέλφων κυρίων Ράλλη. Τῇ 6/18 Όκτ. τά νυν έλαβον την άποκρισιν τών κυρίων  
Ράλλη καθώς και την ύμετέραν έπιστολήν από τούτο. Σάς είμαι εύγνώμων /19 δι' όλα

<sup>68</sup> Catalogue number UBA 136 W2; this letter of which the larger part was written by the same secretary as no. W1 was addressed to "*Monsieur E(tienne) Paleologue à Amsterdam*" and signed by Kapodistrias. After the mention of the name of the Ralli brothers, the postscriptum was continued by another secretary, or by Kapodistrias himself. The letter was received by Paleologos October 21 o.s. and answered by him on the 30th of the same month. From the contents we can infer that apart from the 13 September letter, Kapodistrias had written to Paleologos as early as August 1. Besides that Paleologos wrote to Kapodistrias on October 8 and again on October 12. Kyr. Hilarion is Hilarion Paschalidis, the priest of the Greek Orthodox parish of Saint Catharina, between 1822 and 1849. Kapodistrias had arrived in Paris on September 28 and kept close contacts with Greek patriots in the several European capitals, including, apart from Paleologos, surely the brothers Ralli, pillars of a wide ranged commercial clan with establishments all across Europe and even in India.



ὅσα μού κοινοποιεῖτε. Ἐπαινῶ τήν κατ' αὐτήν προθυμίαν της, καί παρακαλῶ νά τήν διαφυλάξε- /20 τε ἔως ὅτου ὁδηγούμενος ἀπό τάς περιστάσεις ἀποφασίσω τό ὠφελιμότερον. μένω

21/ I.A.K.

/22 πρὸς τόν κύριον Στέφανον Παλαιολόγον

#### IV. Kapodistrias to Tomasáchi<sup>69</sup>

Nauplie le 13/25 Mars 1830

/1 Je profite du premier bâtiment qui se rend d'ici à Ancône pour vous /2 accuser la réception de la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire en date du 25 /3 novembre [1829]. J'ai lu avec la plus grande peine tous les détails qu'elle renferme sur /4 les malheureuses circonstances qui vous ont fait supporter tant de pertes, /5 tandis que vous employiez si généreusement votre fortune à soutenir la /6 cause de votre patrie. L'anarchie qui la désolait alors devait amener ce /7 triste résultat, mais vos sacrifices n'en sont pas moins connus et appréciés /8 par vos connationnaux, et si à l'aide de Dieu, ils peuvent jouir des bienfaits /9 de la paix et d'une existence honorable, ils s'acquitteront en honneur des /10 obligations qu'ils ont contractées dans les jours de détresse et d'infortune.

/11 Quant au projet d'emprunt que vous me communiquez, vous ne devez /12 pas douter qu'il me serait agréable de vous être utile en vous mettant à /13 même d'y donner suite. Comme vous, je pense qu'une semblable opération /14 s'effectuerait avec plus de facilité à Amsterdam que partout ailleurs, /15 attendu que des capitaux considérables et sans emploi y abondent. Mais /16 il n'en est plus tenir. Cette affaire est désormais confiée à la bienveillance /17 des Cours de France et de Russie. Elle sera discutée incessamment dans /18 les Chambres et si elle est décidée d'une manière favorable aux intérêts /19 de la Grèce, c'est probablement à Paris que le nouvel emprunt sera /20 stipulé et conclu. Vous pourrez y prendre part, et dans tous les cas /21 vous vous ferez d'une mesure qui peut seule offrir à ce pays les /22 moyens d'honorer les anciens engagements et de placer sur une base /23 solide son crédit financière.

/24 Je vous sais gré du bon souvenir que vous voulez bien conserver

/25 a M(onsieu)r G. Tomasáchi & à Amsterdam

<sup>69</sup> Catalogue number UBA Cp 249b; the letter was written by a secretary and carries the signature of Kapodistrias. It was sent by way of Ancona. On the cover, carrying different postal stamps, is noted (by Tomasáchi?) that the letter had been received on May 26, 1830. It is unclear whether Tomasáchi responded, for a date after "rep. le..." was left blank.

Π /26 de moi et je vous prie d'agréer avec cette assurance celle de ma /2 parfaite considération.

Kapodístrias

# V. Kapodístrias to Paleológos <sup>70</sup>

/1 Έν Ναυπλίῳ τῇ 6/18 Μαΐου 1830

/2 Έλαβον πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον γράμμα σας τῆς 11/23 Μαρτίου. Αἱ καλαὶ /3 ἱχνογραφίαι τῶν πολεμικῶν πλοίων τὰς ὁποίας πρὸ καιροῦ ἐπέμψατε πρὸς ἐμὲ, ἔφθα- /4 σαν διὰ Μάλτας. Έχω νὰ σας ἀποδώσω πολλὰς εὐχαριστίας διὰ τὰς ἀξιαγασίας

/5 φροντίδας ὅσας καταβάλλετε πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τούτου τοῦ τόπου. /6 Ἀφοῦ αἱ σύμμαχοι αὐλαὶ ὠνόμασαν τὴν κυριάρχην τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς /7 δίδονται αἱ ἐγγυήσεις ἐνὸς δανείου εἰς ἐμὲ δὲν ἀνήκει πλέον νὰ διατάξω τὰ /8 περὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ χρεοῦς. Έαν μ'ὄλον τούς προσκληθῆς νὰ γνωμοδοτήσω, οἱ νόμιμοι /9 δανεισταὶ δ' ἔθιους δὲν θα ἔχουν, ἐλπίζω νὰ παραπενοθούν ἀπὸ ἐμέ.

/10 ὁ ἀνεφίος σας ἐργάζεται τὰ τοῦ υπεργῆματος του. Διοικεῖ τὸ ἀτμοκίνητον-

/11 πλοῖον, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁποίου ταξιθεύω συνεχῶς καὶ εἶμαι πολλὰ εὐχαριστημένος ἀπὸ αὐτόν.

/12 Του ἐνεχείρισα τὸ γράμμα σας καὶ δὲν θὰ λείψῃ βέβαια νὰ σᾶς ἀποκριθῇ.

/13 Σὰς ἀσπάζομαι

/14 Ι.Α.Καποδίστριας

πρὸς τὸν κύριον Στέφανον Παλαιολόγον Εἰς Ἀμστελόδαμον

# Va. Kapodístrias to Tsar Alexander (copy) <sup>71</sup>

/1 Sire!

/2 Après avoir profité de vos bienfaits /3 à Ems dans le Rhingau, j'éprouve

/4 le besoin de mettre aux pieds de V[otre] M[ajesté] I[mpériale] /5 l'hommage de ma reconnaissance. /6 Ce sentiment seul fait le bonheur /7 de ma vie. Et plus il est profondément /8 gravé dans mon coeur, et plus je sens /9 le devoir de soigner le rétablissement de /10 ma santé. Peut-être, Sire, qu'il me /11 sera donné un jour de vous servir encore. /12 Les eaux d' Ems, et la cure de Raisins /13 m'ont fait de bien. Le Docteur Gall /14 cependant, que j'ai consulté, prétend /15 que c'est le régime, la manière de vivre /16 aux bains, et dans le Rhingau et sur[tout] /17 l'exercice en plein

<sup>70</sup> Catalogue number UBA Cp 249a; addressed to "Monsieur Etienne Paleolólogo, Amsterdam." On the cover, probably in Paleologos' own handwriting, is written: *napoli di Romanie, J.A. Capo-dístria date 6/18 Mai 1830, rec. 6 Juillet, d. rep. 9 Juillet.*

<sup>71</sup> Catalogue number UBA 136 W4; to the left of the text: "*à L'empereur, Francfurt / m le 19/ 31 Octobre 1822, [three words illegible!]*." See also Crawley, p. 56 no. 12, where his copy shows a few minor differences in orthography.

air qui m'ont fait /18 éprouver quelque soulagement. Il me /19 recommande de continuer mon voyage, /20 mon régime, et au cas de besoin les /21 remèdes qu'il m'a administrés avec utilité /22 en 1819. Je vais me conformer aux ordonnances /23 du Docteur Gall. Et à cet effet, je me /24 propose de parcourir la Suisse à petites /25 journées tantôt en voiture et le plus /26 souvent que possible à pieds. C'est à /27 Genève, dans une campagne solitaire /28 aux bords du Lac ou je m'arrêterai /29 lorsque la saison deviendra sévère. /30 Tel est, Sire, l'emploi que je vais /31 faire du semestre que vous avez bien /32 voulu m'accorder, à moins que V[otre] M[ajesté] I[mpériale] /33 n'en décide autrement. /34 Les ordres que Vous daignez, Sire, me /35 faire donner à cet égard, me prouveront /36 que V[otre] M[ajesté] I[mpériale] m'honore encore de ses /37 bontés. - J'ose espérer qu'Elle ne les /38 refusera pas à un Serviteur qui ne /39 sera heureux que lorsqu'il pourra /40 encore travailler sous ses yeux, et /41 mériter sa confiance. /42 Je suis avec respect.

## VI. Rodios to Wyttenbach<sup>72</sup>

/1 Περίοδος (ος) Γ°

/2 Ἀρ(ιθμ)ός 160.

/3 ΠΡΟΣΩΡΙΝΗ ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ

/4 Ο ΓΕΝΙΚΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ

/5 Πρὸς τὴν εὐγενεστάτην Κυρίαν τοῦ Βυτεμβαχίου.

/6 Ἡ δια τούς πληγωμένους Ἑλληνας προσφορά σας τῶν 930 φράγκων /7 καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν εἰς γρόσια 550, περιελθοῦσα εἰς χεῖρας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς /8 Διοικήσεως διὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ Σεβαστοῦ ὁμογενοῦς μας Κυρίου Κοραΐ, ἐκίνησε κάθε /9 αἰσθημα Εὐγνωμοσύνης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους, καὶ τὴν μεγάλην Εὐχαρίστησιν τῆς Διοι- /10 κήσεως μου, τῶν αἰσθημάτων τῆς ὁποίας σπεύδων νὰ γένω διεκμηνητής, ἀπορῶ /11 μὲ ποίας λέξεις νὰ παραστήσω σοφῆς γυναικὸς σεβαστὰ προτερήματα. /12 Ἀληθινὰ μὰ σοφὴ γυνὴ ἑνὸς σοφοῦ καὶ περιφήμου Προφέσσωρος τῆς Ολλαν- /13 δίας προικισμένη ἀπὸ φιλόφρονος μαθήματα τοῦ κοινωτικοῦ βίου, δὲν ἔμπο- /14 ροῦσε νὰ μὴν αἰσθανθῇ τουλάχιστον συμπάθεια δι' ὅσα ἀνάξιος ἔπασχεν ἡ πολυπαθὴς Ἑλλας τόσους αἰῶνας, καὶ νὰ μὴν εὐχαριστηθῇ ἀφ' ἑτέρου, βλέπουσα μὲ ὅπλα οἱ Ἑλλη- /16 νες νὰ ζητῶσιν τὴν πατρῶν ἐλευθερίαν των, τῆς ὁποίας εἰσέτι σεβαστὰ λείψανα πολλα- /17 χοῦ σώζονται. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ, ἡ εὐγενία σας ὄχι μόνον συναισθάνεσθε τὰ καλὰ, ἀλλὰ /18 καὶ πραγματικῶς ἐπιθυμεῖτε νὰ το ἀποδείξετε. καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι πλέον ὄχι τῆς πολυμα- /19 θείας ἔργον ἀλλὰ τῆς φρονήσεως, περιοριζομαι μόνον νὰ, προσθέσω, ὅτι ἡ φρόνη- /20 σις καὶ ἡ πολυμαθεῖα εὐτυχῶς ἐνωμένα ἀποκαθιστῶσι τὸ ὑποκείμενον σας παν- /21 τὸς ἐπαίνου ἀνώτερον.

<sup>72</sup> Catalogue number UBA P 59a; Line one to five printed. In line five "pro" is printed. The position between place and date, and Rodios signature bears the stamp of the provisional government.



Ἐν τοσούτῳ, μέ ὅλον τό ἀνήκον σέβας λαμβάνω τήν τιμήν νά ὑποση- /22 μειοῦμαι

/23 Τῇ 2 10. βρίου 1824.

/24 Ναύπλιον.

/25 Ὁ Προσωρ(ινος) γεν(ικος) Γραμματεὺς

/26 Π.Γ. Ρῶδιος

# LE DESSIN DU TEMPLE A D'ASKLEPIOS A COS<sup>1</sup>

F. Petit et J.A.K.E. de Waele

## Introduction: l'analyse métrologique d'un édifice antique

Il est nécessaire quelquefois de se poser des questions fondamentales. Cela vaut aussi pour le temple grec. Pourquoi mesurons-nous les temples en mètres? Évidemment pour obtenir des mesures métriques objectives d'après l'étalon fixe du mètre de Sèvres, adopté lors de la Révolution française.

Un exemple. Les mesures servent à comparer: si deux édifices ont exactement les mêmes dimensions, ils sont identiques et il s'agit sûrement de copies. Pourtant cela ne signifie pas que deux édifices, différents en mètres, ne peuvent pas avoir les mêmes dimensions. Dans le cas où deux unités différentes de mesure ont été employées, les constructions peuvent avoir le même plan, mais en *mesures absolues différentes*.

Il faut donc se rendre compte que notre système de mesure peut nous empêcher de comprendre les vraies intentions de l'architecte grec ancien, qui avait l'habitude de exprimer les dimensions en pieds, comme en témoignent les inscriptions. Nous devons nous mettre par conséquent à la place de l'architecte grec ancien, qui devait tenir compte des matériaux de construction. Les blocs, avec lesquels le temple était construit, avaient souvent à l'époque classique des dimensions standard, qui déterminaient les dimensions générales du temple. Cela veut dire que les blocs peuvent nous guider vers l'unité de mesure employée par l'architecte.

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<sup>1</sup> Nous tenons à remercier ici les professeurs Louis Frey et Claude Vatin (Aix-en-Provence) et P. Golliet (Nimègue), qui ont bien voulu lire et corriger le texte français.

Pour mieux comprendre le processus de projection, il faut donc se figurer exactement les 4 étapes du dessin architectural:

1. Plan de masse avec les dimensions en pieds;
2. Plan plus détaillé avec les dimensions éventuellement changées en pieds;
3. Plan exécuté sur le terrain: l'édifice, avec des blocs de construction en pieds;
4. Plan archéologique mesuré et dessiné sur le terrain.

Les premières trois étapes se déroulent avant et pendant la construction, tandis que l'exécution du plan archéologique se fait de nos jours.

Pour analyser le monument antique dans le vrai sens d'une analyse architecturale, nous devons donc parcourir le chemin dans le sens inverse:

1. Nous mesurons les vestiges antiques sur le terrain et en faisons un plan archéologique;
2. Nous convertissons les mesures métriques en pieds –et seul le pied de l'architecte est valable!– pour déterminer le plan exécuté sur le terrain;
3. Nous tachons d'en extraire le plan détaillé ('blue-print') de l'architecte;
4. Nous essayons de déterminer le plan de masse, le croquis ou l'ébauche de l'architecte grec.

Depuis plus d'un siècle, à partir de l'époque de Doerpfeld,<sup>2</sup> l'on nous a enseigné qu'il avait existé seulement trois unités:

- le pied attique (ca. 29,4 cm);
- le pied dorique (ca. 32,7 cm);
- le pied ionique (ca. 34,9 cm).

Depuis la publication du relief métrologique de Salamine,<sup>3</sup> nous connaissons en plus deux unités de pied, jusqu'ici non reconnues:

- 30,1 cm;
- 32,2 cm.

Avec le pied de 30,2 cm les Propylées de Mnesiclès peuvent être comprises dans le vrai sens d'une analyse architecturale: nous comprenons les proportions qui sont établies en multiples de 7 pieds.<sup>4</sup> C'est avec le pied de 32,2 cm. que l'on réussit à mieux comprendre le plan de l'Héphaisteion d'Athènes.<sup>5</sup>

Il est de surcroît possible de documenter encore d'autres pieds: pour la 'Stoa Stadiaia' sur l'agora orientale de Milet l'unité de mesure est de 31,5 cm.<sup>6</sup> En outre, la relation qui existe entre le temple de Zeus à Olympie et l'atelier de Phidias,<sup>7</sup> nous permet de plaider pour l'existence d'un pied de 30,69 cm, unité à quelques millimètres (5,9 mm) près, celle du relief de Salamine (30,1 cm). Nous croyons donc qu'il faut mieux abandonner le préjugé solidement enraciné dans la littérature archéologique et chercher comme postulat, avec plus de flexibilité, pour chaque construction sa propre unité, le pied de base.

<sup>2</sup> Doerpfeld 1890; Wesenberg 1975/76; Mertens 1984, 84; Koenigs 1990, 126.

<sup>3</sup> Dekoulakou-Sideris 1990.

<sup>4</sup> De Waele 1985, 149-151; de Waele 1990.

<sup>5</sup> De Waele 1985, 94-102, fig. 10.

<sup>6</sup> De Waele 1985, 89-90, fig. 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> De Waele 1985, 89-91, fig. 3-4.



## Le temple A de l'Asklépieion de Cos

Le temple A de l'Asklépieion de Cos (Figs. 1-2), mis au jour par R. Herzog et publié en collaboration avec P. Schazmann,<sup>8</sup> peut nous confirmer le modèle que nous avons déjà proposé ailleurs. Le sanctuaire d'Asklépios fut construit probablement vers le milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. Auparavant, au V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. le site comprenait peut-être un bois sacré avec autel, dédié à Apollon Kyparissios.

Le sanctuaire, qui dans sa disposition actuelle date en grande partie de l'époque romaine impériale, s'étend sur quatre terrasses. Les deux premières étaient destinées plutôt aux thérapies, comme l'indiquent des thermes, cuvettes, fontaines thermales et des toilettes. Sur la troisième terrasse se trouvent les restes du plus ancien temple d'Asklépios (B) avec son autel monumental. En face il y avait un autre temple (C), entouré par des exèdres et des salles. C'est sur la quatrième terrasse que l'on a édifié un grand temple dorique periptère en marbre blanc et noir, qui comptait 6 x 11 colonnes. Datant du milieu du II<sup>e</sup> siècle, il contenait les statues de culte d'Asklépios et d'Hygieia. En outre il y avait là la fosse avec un coffre de bronze pour y déposer des offrandes votives. Le joli épisode de la visite de deux femmes au sanctuaire, décrite par Hérondas,<sup>9</sup> se place sur la troisième terrasse près du temple B, qui selon l'auteur était entouré par des statues de sculpteurs fameux.

Le temple A est un des derniers exemples du style dorique (Fig. 3). On peut se demander si les mêmes règles traditionnelles, établies à l'époque archaïque, valaient encore pour l'architecture grecque tardive, ou avait-on subi des influences de la mathématique grecque,<sup>10</sup> qui dominait selon certains archéologues les projets d'architecture. Nous ne croyons pas qu'il y ait une rupture dans la tradition de construire les temples doriques grecs. Pour une analyse d'une construction il faut tout d'abord établir l'unité de base, le pied établi par l'architecte.

### 1. Déterminer l'unité de base

Essayons de déterminer, à l'aide des dimensions des blocs standard du temple, l'unité du pied utilisé par l'architecte. Dès le début, nous pouvons constater que les blocs sont tous taillés de la même longueur. La raison en est ce qu'on a appelé la concordance des joints, ce qui veut dire que aux couches alternantes les joints des blocs correspondent. Cette concordance des joints est une indication que les mêmes tailles renferment l'unité de base, le pied.

#### 4 pieds

bloc de:

- 1,20 m = 4 pieds de 30 cm.
- 1,176 m = 4 pieds de 29,4 cm.
- 1,20 m = 4 pieds de 30 cm.
- 1,24 m = 4 pieds de 31 cm.
- 1,28 m = 4 pieds de 32 cm.

#### 5 pieds

bloc de:

- 1,50 m = 5 pieds de 30 cm.
- 1,47 m = 5 pieds de 29,4 cm.
- 1,50 m = 5 pieds de 30 cm.
- 1,525 m = 5 pieds de 30,5 cm.
- 1,60 m = 5 pieds de 32 cm. etc.

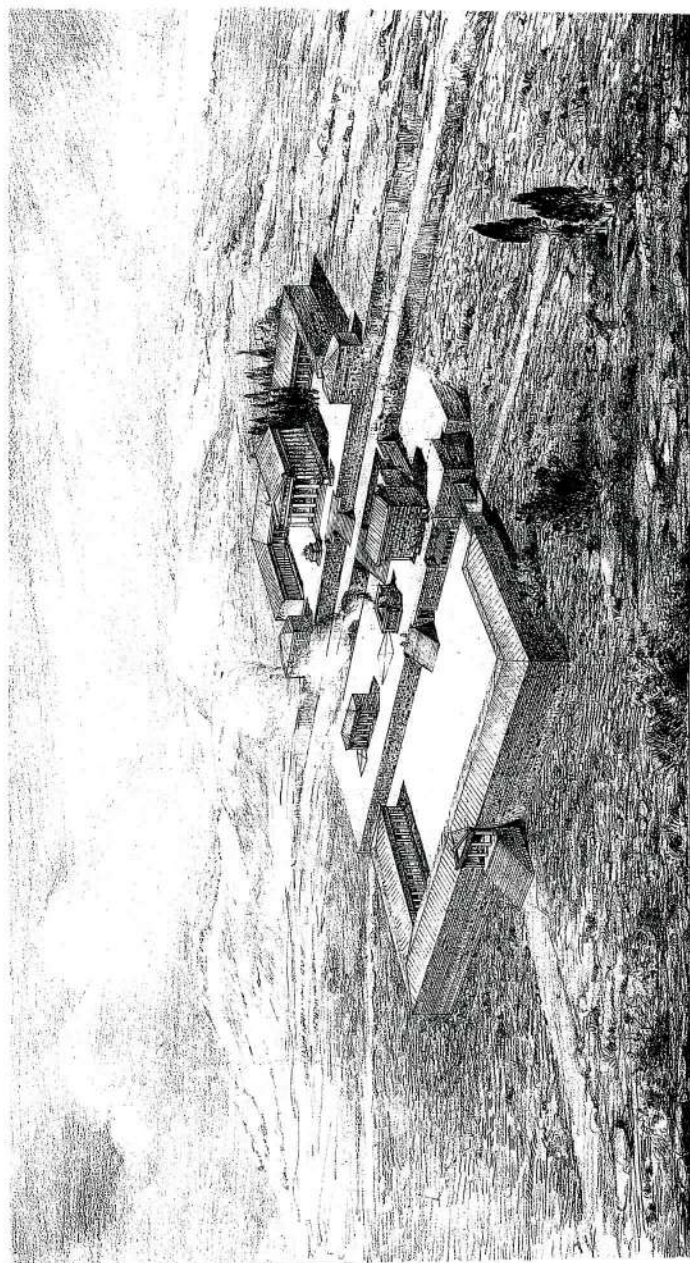
<sup>8</sup> Schazmann 1932.

<sup>9</sup> Hérondas, *Mimiambes* IV.

<sup>10</sup> De Jong 1994, 171-175 (sur le temple de Cos).







Asklepieion in hellenistischer Zeit  
Perspektive von Nordwesten

Figure 2. L'Asclépieion de Cos à vol d'oiseau (Herzog-Schazmann)



Les dalles standard du stylobate du temple A de l'Asklépieion de Cos, à l'exception des dalles d'angle, ont toutes une moyenne de 1,525 m., ce qui est 5 p. de 30,5 cm. L'entr'axe est composé de deux dalles standard du stylobate (moyenne de 1,525 m), car le centre de chaque colonne se trouve au milieu d'une dalle. Ainsi, l'entreaxe<sup>11</sup> est:

$$\begin{array}{rclcl} \frac{1}{2} \text{ dalle} & + & 1 \text{ dalle} & + & \frac{1}{2} \text{ dalle} . \\ 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ p.} & + & 5 \text{ p.} & + & 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ p.} & = & 10 \text{ p.} \end{array}$$

## 2. Règle de base du temple périptère

Le temple grec classique est déterminé par la péristasis, la couronne des colonnes, qui entoure la cella. Nous avons pu retrouver la règle de base ('rule of the thumb'), avec laquelle l'architecte antique savait d'avance les dimensions du temple dans les fondations (stéréobate): 'le nombre des colonnes multiplié par l'entr'axe'.

Un temple classique à 6 x 13 colonnes mesurait par conséquence:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{largeur:} & 6 \times \text{l'entr'axe;} \\ \text{longueur:} & 13 \times \text{l'entr'axe.} \end{array}$$

Selon la règle approximative ('rule of the thumb') le temple devrait être:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{largeur:} & 6 \times 10 \text{ p.} = 60 \text{ p.;} \\ \text{longueur:} & 11 \times 10 \text{ p.} = 110 \text{ p.} \end{array}$$

Le schéma suivant donne les dimensions publiées par Schazmann, par lesquelles on peut comprendre l'intention de l'architecte, qui utilisait une unité de 30,5 cm:

Largeur <sup>12</sup>	Schazmann	pied	idéalliter	diff. (cm.)
euthyntérie + 2 degrés	1,055 m.	3½ p.	1,0675 m.	- 1,25
ptéron est	3,271 m.	10¾ p.	3,2780 m.	- 0,7
mur de cella est	1,112 m.	3½ p.	1,0675 m.	+ 4,45
cella entre-oeuvre	7,144 m.	23½ p.	7,1670 m.	- 2,3
mur de cella ouest	1,100 m.	3½ p.	1,0675 m.	+ 3,25
ptéron ouest	3,338 m.	10¾ p.	3,2780 m.	+ 6
2 degrés + euthyntérie	1,055 m.	3½ p.	1,0675 m.	- 1,25
largeur totale	18,075 m.	59 p.	17,9950 m.	+ 8

En comparaisant la valeur exécutée (18,075 m. = 59¼ p.) avec la largeur idéale (17,995 m. ou 59 p.), on remarque que l'on a tracé la largeur amplément (¼ p. ou 8 cm). Néanmoins, la réduction de la valeur du départ (60 p.) a été réalisée, en ôtant ¼ p. des ptéra et ½ p. de la cella.

<sup>11</sup> Selon H. Knell (1971, 210, n. 28; d'après Schazmann pl. 2) l'entr'axe serait de 3,16 m., mais cela n'est pas correct. Schazmann indique cette valeur comme l'entr'axe *du pronaos*, tandis que celui de la péristase est indiqué comme 3,080 m.

<sup>12</sup> N.B. Contrairement à l'habitude, le temple A de Cos est édifié avec l'axe longitudinale nord-sud.

Sans tenir compte de ces réductions dues à la contraction angulaire, le temple était divisé en:

degrés	3½ p.	}	18 p.
ptéron	11 p.		
mur de la cella	3½ p.		
cella entre-oeuvre		24 p.	60 p.
mur de la cella	3½ p.	}	18 p.
ptéron	11 p.		
degrés	3½ p.		

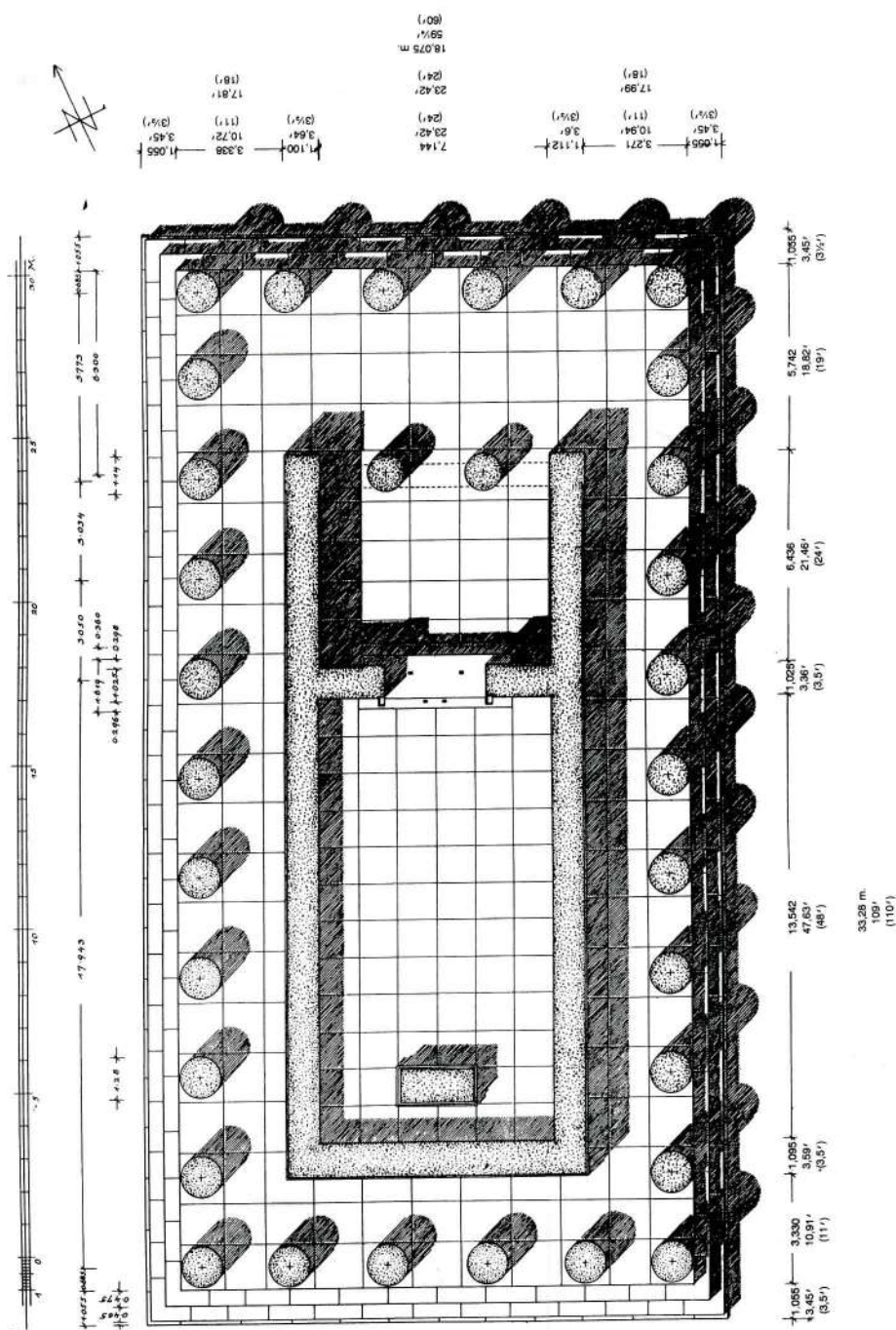
On peut donc voir que, seulement dans le cas où l'on n'avait pas appliqué la contraction angulaire, les proportions entre la cella et les ptéra —y inclus les degrés— auraient été 18:24:18 ou 3:4:3.

Longueur (façade est)	Schazmann	ped	idéaliter	diff. (cm.)
euthyntérie + 2 degrés	1,055 m.	3½ p.	1,0675 m.	- 1,25
ptéron nord	5,742 m.	19 p.	5,7950 m.	- 5,3
pronaos	6,436 m.	21 p.	6,4050 m.	+ 3,1
mur de cella nord	1,025 m.	3½ p.	1,0675 m.	- 4,25
cella entre-oeuvre	13,542 m.	44½ p.	13,5725 m.	- 3
mur de cella sud	1,095 m.	3½ p.	1,0675 m.	+ 2,75
ptéron sud	3,330 m.	10,75 p.	3,2780 m.	+ 5,2
2 degrés + euthyntérie	1,055 m.	3½ p.	1,0675 m.	- 1,25
longueur totale	33,280 m.	109 p.	33,3200 m.	- 4

Ici aussi, la différence entre la valeur exécutée de la longueur (33,28 m. = 109,1 p.) et la valeur idéale (33,245 m. = 109 p.), est minime. Sans la réduction de la contraction angulaire la longueur théorique du temple aurait été: 11 x 10 p. = 110 p.

Sans tenir compte de ces réductions dues à la contraction angulaire, le temple était divisé en:

degrés	3½ p.	}	40 p.
ptéron nord	19 p.		
pronaos et mur	21 p.		
cella entre-oeuvre	48 p.		
mur de la cella	3½ p.	}	18 p.
ptéron sud	11 p.		
degrés	3½ p.		
longueur	109½ p.		
longueur exécuté	109,1 p.		
longueur sans réduction	110 p.		





Quant à l'élévation il manque trop d'éléments des colonnes pour qu'on puisse en déduire la hauteur. Pour la trabéation, nous disposons des hauteurs suivantes:

architrave	0,803 m.	2,63 p. (= 2 p. 10")	0,803 m.	-
triglyphon	0,960 m.	3,14 p. (= 3 p. 3")	0,960 m.	-
geison	0,345 m.	1,13 p. (= 1 p. 2")	0,345 m.	-
hauteur de la trabéation	2,108 m.	7 p.	2,135 m.	- 2,7

Les proportions architrave : triglyphon : geison sont probablement de  $7\frac{1}{2} : 9 : 3$ .

## Conclusion

L'analyse métrologique du temple A de l'Asclépieion de Cos visait à retrouver l'intention de l'architecte, lorsqu'il conçut le plan.<sup>13</sup> À l'aide des dimensions en mètres nous avons pu fixer la longueur du pied du temple à 0,305 m. Après avoir converti les mesures en mètres aux dimensions voulues par l'architecte, qui employait comme unité de mesure ce pied de 0.305 m, nous pouvons reconstruire le plan idéal: un temple de 6 x 11 colonnes avec un stéréobate de 60 p. de largeur et 110 p. de longueur, dont la cella avait une longueur double (48 p.) du pronaos (24 p.). La largeur interne de la cella avait la même mesure: 24 p.

Dans le sens de la largeur, la cella est placée au centre du stylobate; la distance des murs aux gradins était idéalement de 11 p. et de 18 p. y compris les murs. Cela signifiait une répartition dans le sens de la largeur de 18 p. + 24 p. + 18 p. = 60 p.

Le ptéron nord –le temple étant orienté nord-sud– avait la même largeur que ceux de l'est et de l'ouest, si bien qu'une bande de 18 p. entourait les côtés et l'arrière de la cella.

En soustrayant les gradins (de  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p.) des dimensions du stéréobate (60 x 110 p.) le stylobate aurait été de 53 x 103 p.

En comparant les dimensions idéales avec celles qui ont été exécutées, on remarque les différences suivantes. La largeur du stylobate a été raccourcie d'environ 0,2 m, ce qui a été réalisé surtout à l'intérieur de la cella, qui a 0,176 m de moins que la largeur idéale. Cela signifie que la contraction angulaire y est déjà calculée: le temple fut projeté dès le début avec un stéréobate de 59 p. et une cella de 52 p.

Dans le sens de la longueur le stylobate a été réduit de 0,245 m, ce qui peut être constaté dans le ptéron nord. La contraction angulaire y est calculée aussi dès le stéréobate et la longueur originale (110 p.) fut réduite à 109 p., tandis que le stylobate mesurait 102 p.

C'est en retrouvant l'unité de base (le *modulus* vitruvien?), c'est-à-dire le 'pied' employé par l'architecte, que l'on est à même d'analyser le temple grec. Le point de départ doit être, par

<sup>13</sup> Gruben (1986, 409) compare le temple de Cos avec celui d'Épidaure: "Die Größe (du temple d'Épidaure) aber wurde ostentativ um  $1/3$  überboten". Cela n'est pas pourtant le plan régulateur de l'architecte.

conséquent, de retrouver dans l'édifice cette unité de base. Il faut donc commencer par retrouver cette unité de base, si l'on veut mieux comprendre l'architecture grecque.

décembre 1998

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## A COIN HOARD FROM GERAKI IN LAKONIA

J.P.A. van der Vin

with a contribution by J.H. Crouwel

**T**HE hoard discovered during Dutch archaeological fieldwork on the acropolis of Geraki in the summer of 1997 consisted of 53 silver coins and one copper coin, dating from the 5th to the 3rd century BC. The coins were found close to each other, together with the remains of a small bowl or cup, in a building in trial trench 20/15g (Fig. 1; Pl. I).<sup>1</sup>

The bowl and coins were embedded in a firm white layer, probably collapsed or decomposed roof material or unburnt mudbrick from the superstructure of the wall foundation to the west (Fig. 2; Pl. II). The absence of any traces of digging (in the form of softer soil) around the hoard makes it unlikely that the bowl with the coins was buried in the ruins *after* the abandonment of the building. Apparently they were hidden in the mudbrick wall or in the ceiling during the period of the last occupation. Some disturbance may have been due to later ploughing.<sup>2</sup>

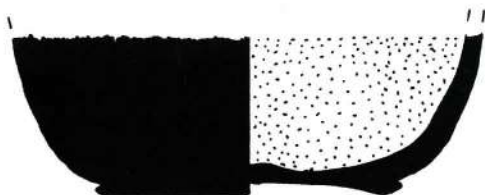
This article presents a catalogue of the Geraki hoard, discusses its composition and dating, and compares it with more or less contemporary coin finds in Lakonia and the Peloponnese. Furthermore, attention is paid to the economic significance of the hoard in the Hellenistic period.

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<sup>1</sup> The bowl and coins were found on the last day of the season (August 8, 1997, in level 13, # 2131). Of the bowl (SF 1) were preserved all of its low ring base (diam. 0.04 m.), with part of the lower body, and several loose body and rim sherds; the bowl is of medium fine, grey fabric and is covered with a rather poor black glaze that is fired brown on the inside (drawing by C. Miggelbrink and A. Hom; photograph by L. Hof and E. Dooyes).

<sup>2</sup> For the find context and its interpretation, see *Pharos* 5 (1997), 63, 65 (M. Prent), 70, 72 (M. Prent and J.H. Crouwel), Pls. IX-X.





**Figure 1.** *Geraki, Trench 20/15g. Remains of bowl (# 2131, SF 1) which contained the coin board*



**Plate I.** *Geraki, Trench 20/15g. Remains of bowl (# 2131, SF 1) which contained the coin board*

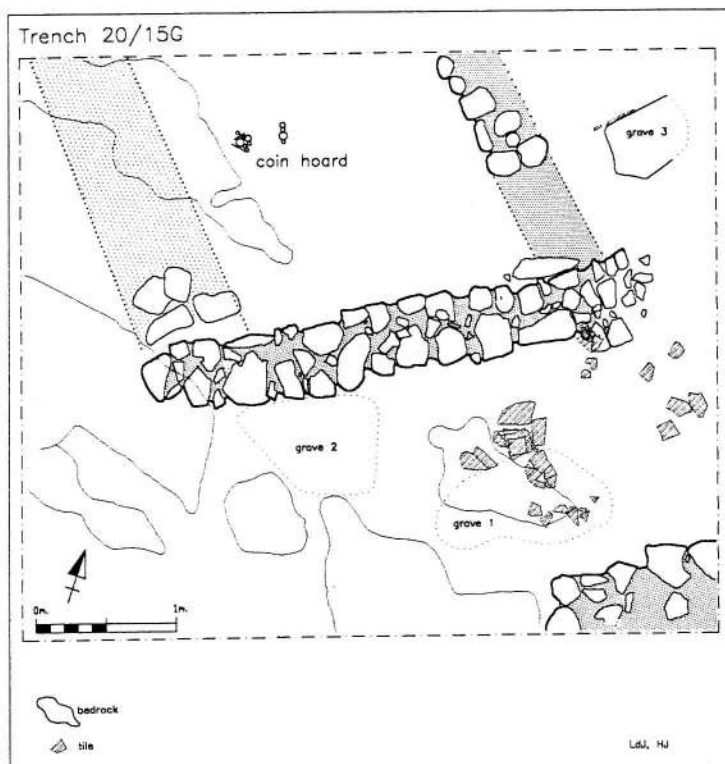


Figure 2. Geraki, Trench 20/15g. Plan showing position of coin hoard

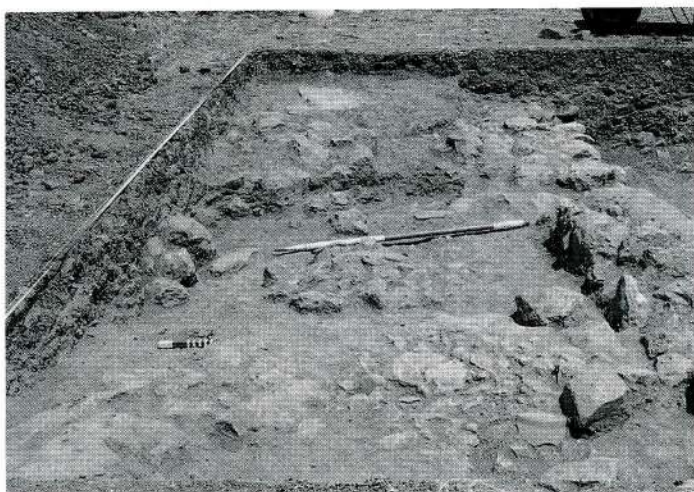


Plate II. Geraki, Trench 20/15g (from the west). Overview of Hellenistic building with coin hoard in lower left corner (near small scale)

### Composition and dating of the hoard

Except for one copper coin, all coins are made of silver (Pls. III-V). The Geraki hoard includes a number of heavy silver tetradrachms (8 coins) and one heavy silver stater, but most pieces can be classified as small silver coinage: drachms (33 coins) and half drachms/triobols (11 coins). As is the case with most Greek hoards, its composition is extremely varied. The period of minting covers over two hundred years, the oldest coin dating from about 480-456 BC (Thebes), the latest coin between 246 and 221 BC (Ptolemy III Euergetes). This long period of circulation can be explained by the fact that Greek coins were assessed by their weight and silver content only. Previous emissions were not withdrawn except when the coins had lost too much weight through wear. Coins would then be rejected by money changers or bankers and would disappear into a melting pot. Thus in antiquity silver coins could retain their value for a very long time, even centuries. In this connection we should bear in mind that circulation was not necessarily always intensive, with coins being constantly spent and received. Instead, they may have been kept in money boxes or chests for considerable periods of time.

The coins in the Geraki hoard derive from a wide geographical area. They come from a large number of production places, which include only one in the Peloponnese (Sicyon). Several coins were made in central mainland Greece (Boeotia, Attica), on the island of Aegina and in the Dardanelles region (drachms of Alexander III the Great). The internationalisation of coinage as a consequence of the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great has also left its traces in the Geraki hoard: a tetradrachm from Byblos (Phoenicia) bearing Alexander's name and a tetradrachm of Lysimachos from a mint in Thrace or central Greece underline the international use of Greek-Hellenistic silver coins.

Within the Geraki hoard, the copper coin of Ptolemy III from Alexandria is the 'odd man out' (Pls. III, V). It is made of a different material and its value is not in line with the rest. Copper coins of this type had a considerably lower value than small silver hemidrachms. Why the owner of the Geraki hoard decided to add this one copper coin to the silver ones will always remain a puzzle.



Plate III. Geraki, Trench 20/15g. Bronze coin of Ptolemy III Euergetes



Although coins may provide valuable dating evidence for archaeological find groups, a word of caution is called for. Unlike Roman coins, which can often be dated with reasonable accuracy by the name of the emperor or the mintmaster's mark, there is usually no key on which to base the dating of Greek coins. Besides, once certain coin types had become widely accepted, they were sometimes reissued over a period of centuries without any changes. The designs on an Athenian tetradrachm, for instance, remained unchanged from the late 6th down to the late 3rd century BC. Admittedly, stylistic differences can be observed between the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic heads of Athena and between the owls, but these never provide a precise date. At the most they indicate a 5th century or 4th century dating.<sup>3</sup> In the case of the coinage of Alexander the Great and his successors, dates are also not immediately apparent. Of both Alexander the Great and Lysimachos, so many more coins were minted after than during their reigns that their coins usually cannot give more than a *terminus post quem*. As for the Geraki hoard, the considerably worn coins of Alexander the Great could have been struck around 300 BC, while the one tetradrachm of Lysimachos may date to ca. 270-250 BC and derive from Sicyon. But it is the copper coin of Ptolemy III that provides the key date for the hoard. It must have been struck during his reign, i.e. between 246 and 221 BC, and probably in Alexandria, although when exactly is uncertain. Svoronos would have preferred an early date, about 244 BC, but without compelling evidence.<sup>4</sup> In general, copper coins did not remain in circulation as long as silver ones, but considering the clear traces of wear, the coin of Ptolemy III must have been in use for some time before being hidden.

Thanks to this copper coin we may assume that the Geraki hoard was left behind in approximately 225-220 BC, although a somewhat later date in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC cannot be excluded. A still later date, however, in the 2nd century BC, is most unlikely due to drastic political changes in Greece: the collapse of the Macedonian kingdom and the rise of Roman power. These changes started to affect the circulation of coinage in Greece from ca. 200 BC onwards, and would virtually rule out a combination of coin types such as in the Geraki hoard.<sup>5</sup> In the 2nd century BC, coins of Alexander the Great and Lysimachos were becoming scarce and the 'old-style' Athenian tetradrachms were replaced by coins of the 'new style'. Furthermore, small silver coins (tetrobols and tribols), struck by the various Hellenistic leagues, came to dominate the circulation. The other coins in the Geraki hoard do not contradict the date derived from the coin of Ptolemy III. Coins of the 5th and 4th centuries were still in use in the Peloponnese by the end of the 3rd century BC, as we know from other hoards from this part of Greece. The same is true of the 3rd century coins. As we will see below, the years 222-217 BC witnessed large-scale military operations in Lakonia. In such a time of unrest people may have been forced to hide their money in a safe place, there being as yet no such thing as a bank in which to deposit their valuables.

<sup>3</sup> Kraay 1976, pls. 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> Svoronos 1908, 175-176, Klasse gamma. See also Weiser 1995, 50-51, no. 59 mintplace: Alexandria, date 245 BC, denomination: SAE-hexachalkon.

<sup>5</sup> For the differences between 3rd and 2nd century coin hoards, see: IGCH 1973, 1-3.

### The hoard seen in a wider perspective

The Classical and Hellenistic periods in the Peloponnese are rich in coin hoards, in contrast to the Archaic period of which no hoards have been excavated. The *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (IGCH) records a total of 353 Classical and Hellenistic hoards in Greece. Of these, 96 were found in the Peloponnese.<sup>6</sup> The Hellenistic period is most prominently represented with 73 of the 96 hoards.

Two hoards of the latter period consist exclusively of gold coins, and 13 of copper coins only. The 50 hoards of silver coins far outnumber the others. Mixed hoards of gold and silver coins are extremely rare: only two such hoards have been found. Mixtures of silver and copper coins, as in the Geraki hoard, occur more frequently. Six of them date from the Hellenistic period and have been found in the Peloponnese. Combinations of gold and copper coins do not occur at all.

Despite the large number of hoards found in the Peloponnese, it is difficult to place the Geraki hoard in a wider perspective: This is mainly due to the fact that for centuries Lakonia was a region where coins did not play an important role. The conservative, primarily agriculturally orientated Spartan state did not have a strong need for coinage. Consequently, the first Lakonian-Spartan coins were not struck until the 3rd century BC, and only in small numbers.<sup>7</sup> In marked contrast, coins of Athens and Aegina had already been introduced on a large scale more than three hundred years earlier! It was not until the 2nd century BC that relatively large numbers of copper and small silver coins of Sparta came into circulation. It should be added that money minted elsewhere did not play an important role in Lakonia in the Classical or the early Hellenistic periods either. Stories by Classical writers to the effect that the Spartan people, like the Cretans, used roasting spits as a means of payment are hard to verify. But we do know that barter dominated economic life in Sparta and the Spartan region for a long time.

The *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* includes four hoards from Lakonia which can be dated to the period between Alexander the Great and about 200 BC. The best known and largest of them was found in a pot at Sparta in 1908 (IGCH no. 181). This hoard of 86 silver tetradrachms comes from the bed of the Eurotas river near the bridge that now forms the northern entrance to the modern city of Sparta and which is only a short distance from the ancient acropolis. The hoard contains only tetradrachms, primarily of Athens (42 coins) and showing Alexander the Great (15 coins, a number of them struck posthumously). Lysimachos is represented with three contemporary and posthumous coins. The pot also contained seven very rare tetradrachms of Sparta (the first Spartan coinage of some significance), the dating of which has been a matter of discussion since the discovery of the hoard. Recent research has shown that these coins must have been struck before 207 BC (that is, before the rule of Nabis, 207-192 BC), but it remains uncertain whether they were minted during the reign of Nabis' predecessor Machanidas (212-207 BC) or even earlier, during that of Lykurgos (220-212 BC).<sup>8</sup> The hoard also includes a few coins from Hellenistic kingdoms: three tetradrachms with Demetrios Poliorketes of Macedonia, and four tetradrachms showing Seleukos I, Antiochos I, Antiochos II and Antiochos Hierax of Syria

<sup>6</sup> IGCH survey, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Grunauer 1978, 1ff.

<sup>8</sup> Grunauer 1978, 27.



respectively. The Ptolemies in Egypt are represented with larger numbers of coins: four tetradrachms of Ptolemy I and eight of Ptolemy II.

The Sparta hoard has been dated no earlier than 222 BC, which corresponds quite well with the Geraki hoard. But there is hardly any resemblance between the two hoards as far as their composition is concerned. This may be explained by assuming that the coins of the Sparta hoard—heavy silver tetradrachms—were used for international trade purposes while the coins from the Geraki hoard—mainly small silver drachms and hemidrachms—were rather of regional importance. For similar reasons the hoard from an unknown findplace in the Peloponnese, discovered about 1962 and probably buried ca. 250–240 BC (IGCH no. 172), cannot really be compared with that from Geraki. This hoard consists of at least nine tetradrachms, including eight posthumous ones of Alexander III and one tetradrachm of King Areus of Sparta (an Alexander-type and therefore not a typical Spartan coin).

A better comparison is offered by the hoard that was discovered at Talanta in the neighbourhood of Monemvasia in Lakonia in or before 1948 (IGCH no. 132). This hoard comprised 31 coins. Six of these are now in the Numismatic Museum of Athens, the rest have disappeared in a private collection. The Talanta hoard included at least one drachm with Alexander the Great and one with Lysimachos. Furthermore, there was one drachm each of Boeotia and Aegina, one tetradrachm of Athens and one triobol of Sicyon. Apart from the Lysimachos drachm, all these types of coins are also represented in the Geraki hoard. The hoard of Talanta has been dated to the beginning of the 3rd century, but in the light of the new find from Geraki, I would now prefer a date towards the end of that century.

In 1939 a hoard was found at Gythion in Lakonia, consisting of one drachm of Aegina, 31 triobols of Sicyon and one tetradrachm of Antiochos I (IGCH no. 170). The hoard has been dated to the period between 250 and 240 BC. The large number of triobols of Sicyon confirms the picture presented at Geraki: this type of silver coin must have played an important part in the circulation of small coinage.

Among the mixed silver/copper hoards of the Peloponnese there is none which offers a clear parallel for that from Geraki. Some similarity can, however, be observed with the hoard from Mavriki in Arcadia, which was probably buried about 300 BC (IGCH no. 122). This hoard contained 28 silver coins, including some tetradrachms and drachms, but mainly triobols or smaller denominations. In addition to these silver coins, there were two small copper coins of Corinth. The other mixed hoards come from outside the Peloponnese and belong to other periods.

After comparing the composition of the Geraki hoard with that of others of the same period from the Peloponnese, we may now turn to the circulation pattern of the coin types found at Geraki. The Athenian tetradrachm was the universal coin in the eastern Mediterranean world, its distribution extending as far as Afghanistan. This explains why this 'ancient dollar' occurs in so many hoards of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The total quantity of Athenian tetradrachms in circulation must have been enormous, considering the impressive numbers that have been recovered and which can only be a fraction of what was actually in use. The same applies to the coins of Aegina, which were widespread in the central and southern parts of Greece. The coins of Alexander the Great were introduced by him on the basis of the Attic standard to serve as parallels for the very popular Athenian tetradrachms. Alexander's tetradrachms circulated widely in the eastern Mediterranean. Thus one such coin, struck in Byblos, could easily find its way into a pot at Geraki. The second tetradrachm of Alexander



in the Geraki hoard was issued at an unknown mint-place in the Peloponnese and must have circulated less. As regards the circulation of Alexander's drachms, this was restricted to the western part of Asia Minor (where large quantities were struck), the Greek mainland (particularly Thessaly and the Peloponnese) and Euboea. Staters of Thebes and Boeotia are mainly found in and around Boeotia and on the Peloponnese, particularly in Elis. The examples from Geraki prove that such coins continued to be used for two centuries. Such staters also occur in earlier finds in the Peloponnese. The triobols of Sicyon were much liked in Thessaly and the entire Peloponnese as small silver coinage. There they occur in many hoards. Sicyonian triobols are also represented in the above-mentioned Lakonian hoards with which the Geraki hoard has been compared: the Talanta hoard contains only one triobol, whereas the Gythion hoard consists almost entirely of triobols (31 out of a total of 33 coins). It is possible that the posthumous tetradrachm of Lysimachos in the Geraki hoard was minted at Sicyon as well.

It is not only in Geraki that King Ptolemy III left his traces. There are more hoards with coins reminding us of his involvement in the Greek world. One of the seven copper coins of a small hoard excavated at Sicyon in 1936, dating to ca. 220 BC, can be attributed to this king (IGCH no. 183). Also in 1936, another hoard was found at Kato Kleitoria, near Tripolis in Arcadia, consisting of 14 copper coins: ten of these showed Ptolemy III, two Antigonos Gonatas, and two were of Sicyon (IGCH no. 184). This find most probably also dates to about 220 BC. The hoard of Kakovatos in Elis, discovered in 1963 and dated between 240 and 200 BC, is reported to have contained a large number of copper coins with Ptolemy III. Only one of these reached the Numismatic Museum of Athens, the rest have disappeared (IGCH no. 190). Tetradrachms of Ptolemy III have also been found in the Peloponnese, for instance at Sophikon, north of Epidaurus (IGCH no. 179). Most of his coins, however, have come to light in Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian coastal zone.

Although Egypt had a closed economy and the Ptolemies deliberately cut off their kingdom from international trade contacts in the decades following the reign of Alexander the Great, they did not succeed in keeping all their money within their borders. Due to a deliberate devaluation the Egyptian tetradrachms had been reduced in weight, and consequently became less in value than the Alexander tetradrachms of the Attic standard. This made the Egyptian tetradrachms less attractive to international trade which, as a result of control measures taken by the Ptolemies, was concentrated to the port of Alexandria.<sup>9</sup> Here foreign currency had to be changed to Egyptian coinage, a measure from which the kings no doubt profited. Foreign campaigns and adventures in Asia Minor, however, necessitated the requisitioning of mercenaries. Their payment included Egyptian tetradrachms and copper coins. And so, in spite of all the restrictive measures and attempts to keep the money within Egypt, a number of Ptolemaic coins found their way to the Peloponnese. To this course of events we owe the 'key coin' in the Geraki hoard!

It seems appropriate to mention here a number of coin types which do not form part of the Geraki hoard. Unlike the Sparta hoard, the Geraki hoard does not include tetradrachms of Lakonia/Sparta. Such coins are generally very rare and, apart from the seven examples belonging to the hoard from Sparta itself (IGCH no. 181), we only have one in the large hoard from Sophikon, dating ca. 230-220; this is a very small number considering the total of about 950 coins in this hoard, 750 of which are drachms and 200 tetradrachms (IGCH no. 179). Another

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<sup>9</sup> Jenkins 1972, 250ff.

reason for the absence of Lakonian/Spartan tetradrachms from the Gerake hoard may well be that, unlike the Spartan and Sophikon hoards, it consists mainly of small coinage. More significant may be the absence of small silver triobols/hemidrachms that were issued by Sparta from ca. 219 onwards.<sup>10</sup> Their absence confirms our assumption that the Gerake hoard dates to ca. 225-220 BC. Corinthian coins are not represented in this hoard either, although large quantities of them were struck as late as the 3rd century. The reason for their absence may be that such coins only circulated in the city of Corinth, the western part of Greece and the Ionian islands. They do not occur further south in the Peloponnese.

### Economic significance of the hoard

Although it is impossible to compare the purchasing power of ancient Greek coins with that of present-day money, something can be said of the value of the various coins and their economic significance in the ancient world. Since the coins of the Gerake hoard belong to different weight classes, we first have to select a common denominator as monetary unit. I have opted for the Attic drachm, the most common coin in Greece during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. My calculation has been based on the weight of practically unabraded examples with only slight signs of wear. (Coins which due to wear have lost as much as 20 to 30 percent of their weight have not been included in the calculations.) Converted into Attic drachms of a theoretical weight of 4.3 grammes, in practice about 4 grammes, the Gerake hoard represents the following values:

5	Attic tetradrachms	(16-17 gr)	20 drachms
2	tetradrachms of Alexander the Great	(16-17 gr)	8 drachms
1	tetradrachm of Lysimachos	(16-17 gr)	4 drachms
1	stater of Aegina	(12 gr)	ca. 3 drachms
22	drachms of Alexander the Great	(4 gr)	22 drachms
3	drachms of Boeotia	(5 gr)	ca. 4 drachms
7	drachms of Aegina	(5 gr)	ca. 9 drachms
1	drachm of Sicyon	(5.5 gr)	1.5 drachms
11	hemidrachms of Sicyon	(2.4 gr)	ca. 6 drachms
1	aes of Ptolemy III		< 0.5 drachms
Total			ca. 77.5 drachms

Assuming that in antiquity the pay of ordinary soldiers averaged around subsistence level, we may get an idea of what could be bought for an equivalent amount of money. We know that at the time of Alexander the Great common soldiers received one Attic drachm per day, while in times of war this minimum amount could be increased through looting.<sup>11</sup> Leaving aside the difference in purchasing power between town and country dwellers, an average of one Attic drachm a day would seem a reasonable sum to live on. There are no written sources telling us whether this amount of money was also intended to support families. By analogy with the

<sup>10</sup> Grunauer 1978, 21ff.

<sup>11</sup> Information on the soldiers' daily wages in Alexander's army is scarce. Figures fluctuate between 4 obols and 1 drachm (= 6 obols). In addition, there was a differentiation between horsemen (double pay), hypaspistae (heavily armed soldiers) and the ordinary soldiers. For the end of the 3rd century one drachm per day will suffice as a general indication. See Bellinger 1963, 'The king's finances', 35ff. with note 15.



Roman army, we may assume that this was indeed the case. On this basis we may conclude that the owner of the Geraki hoard hid money which would have been sufficient to live on for about two and a half months. This is much less than the 86 tetradrachms (approximately 340 drachms) of the Sparta hoard, of which the purchasing power was three times as high. It is, however, much more than the hoards from Gythion consisting of more than 20 drachms and from Talanta with its approximately 9 drachms. The small copper hoards of Sicyon (7 coins) and Kato Kleitoria (14 coins) are of an entirely different order. We may therefore assume that the coin hoard of Geraki must have represented a considerable amount of money to its owner. Many people could only have dreamt of ever being in possession of such a sum. To the few really wealthy Greeks, however, it could only be an insignificant amount.

In conclusion, it may be said that the Geraki hoard offers valuable additional information to the little we know about the circulation of coinage and of economic life in Lakonia in the later third century BC, a time when coins began to be regularly used in this part of the Peloponnese. The hoard also provides insight into which particular types of coins were circulating there.

### Historical background (J.H. Crouwel)

Above we have seen that sometime in the later 3rd century BC a hoard of coins came to be deposited in a building on the acropolis of Geraki, subsequently abandoned. This section briefly explores the written sources that may shed light on events.<sup>12</sup> Problems began in 222 BC with King Kleomenes III of Sparta suffering a crushing defeat at the hands of the Macedonians and their Peloponnesian allies in the battle at Sellasia, on the northern boundary of Lakonia. This led to the flight of Kleomenes and to the loss of several territories held by Sparta, including towns deep into Parnon on the eastern coast. After his victory the Macedonian king Antigonos III Doson (229-221 BC) went on to capture the town of Sparta, the first attacker ever to succeed in doing so. There he instigated changes in government, and shortly afterwards left and died. Interestingly, part of a marble base of a statue was discovered on the acropolis of Geraki in 1905; its fragmentary inscription refers to Antigonos as 'saviour'.<sup>13</sup>

Next there followed a phase of internal strife in Sparta, between factions agitating for and against the Macedonians and their allies. This led to Lykurgos usurping power in 220/219 BC and the start of the so-called Social War (220-217 BC). Among his many activities, Lykurgos went campaigning in the Parnon area in 219 BC, capturing several towns but being repulsed from others.

Then, in the winter of 219-218 BC, the new, twenty-year old, Macedonian king Philip V (221-179 BC) suddenly arrived on the scene with his troops via the hills to the east of Sparta. He proceeded to pillage the Lakonian heartland, including Amyklai and Gythion, going as far south as Cape Taenaron and to Cape Malea in the south-east. In the subsequent battle in 218 BC,

<sup>12</sup> For what follows, see especially P. Cartledge and T. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta*. London & New York 1989, 49-64. I am grateful to Dr Cartledge, as well as to Dr H.W. Catling and Mr R.W.V. Catling for discussion.

<sup>13</sup> H.J.W. Tillyard, *BSA* 11 (1904-05) 111f. no. 11; *Inscriptiones Graecae* V.1. Berlin 1913, no. 1122; Cartledge & Spawforth (supra n. 12) 58, with n. 37.



near the Menelaion shrine in the hills opposite Sparta, Lykurgus was defeated, whereupon the victorious Philip V left for home.

This period of invasion and turmoil in Lakonia is known primarily through the account given by the ancient author Polybius. It may well provide the historical setting for the Geraki hoard, even though the perioikic community of *Geronthrae* (the ancient name for Geraki) is not explicitly mentioned in connection with the campaign of Lykurgus in 219 nor the invasion of Philip V in 218 BC.<sup>14</sup> The same events may perhaps also have led to the hiding of the pot with coins by the Eurotas river near Sparta (IGCH no. 181), while the battle at the Menelaion could well have led to the abandonment of the shrine, which was excavated by British archaeologists in this century.<sup>15</sup>

### Acknowledgements

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<sup>14</sup> Polybius, *Histories* especially ii.65-70, iv.34-36, v.9 and 17-24. See F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* I. Oxford 1957.

<sup>15</sup> See H.W. Catling, Excavations at the Menelaion. *Archaeological Reports* for 1976-77 (1977), 24-42, especially 35-42.

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## Catalogue Geraki 1997 Hoard

## Summary

Bocotia	drachm	3
Athens	tetradrachm	5
Aegina	stater	1
	drachm	7
Alexander III	tetradrachm	2
	drachm	22
Lysimachos	tetradrachm	1
Sicyon	drachm	1
	hemidrachm/triobol	11
Ptolemaios III	aes	1
Total		54

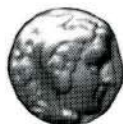
## Catalogue

- 1-3 Boiotia drachm ca. 480 - 456 BC  
 - Thebes  
 Obv. Boiotian shield  
 Rev. amphora within incuse square  
 SNG Copenhagen 261
- 1 5.18 gr.; 3 h.; slightly worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/33; Plate IV:1.  
 2 4.93 gr.; 12 h.; very worn (obv.) / worn (rev.); CG 1997/35.  
 - uncertain place in Boiotia  
 Obv. Boiotian shield  
 Rev. amphora within incuse square; in field: Δ (l.) I (r.)  
 SNG Copenhagen 413
- 3 5.30 gr.; 1 h.; worn (obv.) / slightly worn (rev.); CG 1997/34; Plate IV:2.
- 4-8 Athens tetradrachm ca. 393 - 3rd c. BC  
 Obv. Head of Athena r., triangular eye, jewel in ear; AΘE  
 Rev. owl; behind, crescent and olive-spray with berry
- 4 SNG Copenhagen 63 ff.  
 16.84 gr.; 8 h.; extremely worn (obv.) / worn (rev.); CG 1997/02.  
 Remarks: A Θ and E of equal size, dot on top of A; left eye of owl damaged, berry outside flan.
- 5 SNG Copenhagen 63 ff.  
 16.16 gr.; 9 h.; extremely worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/03.  
 Remarks: A Θ and E of equal size; cross-line inside A hardly visible.



- 6 SG Copenhagen 63 ff.  
14.10 gr.; 7 h.; extremely worn (obv.) / worn (rev.); CG 1997/05.  
Remarks: eye and ear-jewel indistinct; A and E larger than Θ; berry outside of flan; small but thick flan.
- 7 SNG Copenhagen 64  
16.29 gr.; 7 h.; very worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/01; Plate IV:3.  
Remarks: A and E larger than Θ; left eye of owl outside of flan.
- 8 SNG Copenhagen 65  
15.71 gr.; 8 h.; extremely worn (obv.) / slightly worn (rev.); CG 1997/04.  
Remarks: A and E larger than Θ; oval flan.
- 9 Aegina stater (ca.) 350 - 340 BC  
Obv. tortoise; A (l.); I (r).  
Rev. incuse square divided by thinner flat bands into five irregular compartments, dolphin in compartment below left; above magistrates' initials N I  
SNG Copenhagen 526  
11.45 gr.; 7 h.; worn (obv.) / slightly worn (rev.); CG 1997/09; Plate IV:4.
- 10-16 Aegina drachm ca. 404 - 325 BC  
Obv. tortoise  
Rev. incuse square divided by thinner bands into five irregular compartments; above left: two pellets  
SNG Copenhagen 520-521
- 10 4.21 gr.; 6 h.; worn (obv.) / slightly worn (rev.), two flaws; CG 1997/36.  
11 4.74 gr.; 6 h.; worn (obv.) / slightly worn (rev.); CG 1997/37; Plate IV:5.  
12 4.89 gr.; 1 h.; worn (obv.) / very worn (rev.); CG 1997/39.  
13 4.71 gr.; 6 h.; worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/40.  
14 5.14 gr.; 12 h.; worn (obv.) / slightly worn (rev.); CG 1997/41.  
Obv. tortoise  
Rev. incuse square divided by thinner bands into five irregular compartments; above right: two pellets  
cf. SNG Copenhagen 522 (= hemidrachm)
- 15 4.50 gr.; 7 h.; very worn (obv.) / worn (rev.); CG 1997/38.  
16 4.83 gr.; 7 h.; worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/42; Plate IV:6.
- 17-18 Alexander III tetradrachms ca. 330 - 250 BC
- 17 Byblos tetradrachm ca. 330-320 BC  
Obv. Head of Heracles in lion's skin r.  
Rev. Zeus enthroned holding eagle and sceptre, feet on footstool; r. foot drawn back; in field l. monogram?; ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (r.)  
Price 3426; SNG Copenhagen 804; SNG Ashmolean 3009 ff.; Demanhur 3624 -3653 (later style)  
16.45 gr.; 12 h.; slightly worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/07; Plate IV:7.  
Remarks: Throne without back.

- 18 uncertain Peloponnesian mint tetradrachm ca. 280-250 BC  
 Obv. Head of Heracles in lion's skin r.  
 Rev. Zeus on throne with high back, holding eagle and sceptre; in field l. crested helmet; ΑΛΕΞ-  
 ΑΝΔΡΟΥ (r.) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (ex.)  
 Price 774; Troxell, II, 2; SNG Ashmolean 3164 var.  
 16.50 gr.; 12 h.; slightly worn (obv.); worn (rev.); CG 1997/06; Plate IV:8.  
 Remarks: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ hardly legible; cushion of throne extending till behind sceptre; legs of chair or-  
 namented (same die as Troxell, Plate X, 6).
- 19-20 Alexander III drachms ca. 328 - 323 BC  
 Obv. Head of Heracles in lion's skin r.  
 Rev. Zeus enthroned holding eagle and sceptre, feet on footstool; ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (r.)
- 19 Abydos ca. 328 - 323 BC  
 a. Hermes l.; b. monogram ?  
 Price 1503; SNG Copenhagen 893; Yale CS p. 34, no. 16; Thompson II, Abydos, series I, 8 ff.; Müller  
 907  
 3.78 gr.; 12 h.; very worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/22.  
 In Yale CS: 325 BC
- 20 Miletus ca. 325 - 323 BC  
 a. monogram ?  
 Price 2090; SNG Copenhagen 895; SNG Ashmolean 2775 ff.; Yale CS p. 38, no. 68; Thompson I,  
 Miletus, series I, 55 ff.; Müller 763  
 4.08 gr.; 12 h.; slightly worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/32; Plate IV:9.  
 In Yale CS: 325 BC
- 21-40 Alexander III (posthumus) drachms after 323 BC  
 Obv. Head of Heracles in lion's skin r.  
 Rev. Zeus enthroned holding eagle and sceptre, feet on footstool; ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (r.)
- 21 Colophon ca. 323-319 BC  
 a. ? (corn-grain, ivy-leaf, star, fish or caduceus outside of flan);  
 c. spearhead  
 Price 1750 ff.; SNG Ashmolean 2727-2731; Yale CS p. 35, no. 32 ff.  
 3.84 gr.; 12 h.; very worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/16.
- 22 Colophon ca. 323-319 BC  
 a. lyre; b. A  
 Price 1769; SNG Ashmolean 2734; cf. Yale CS p. 35, no. 35b; Müller 241  
 4.03 gr.; 12 h.; slightly worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/20; Plate IV:10.  
 In Yale CS: 319 BC

**1****3****7****9****11****16****17****18****20****22****23****25**





**27**



**29**



**30**



**33**



**41**



**42**



**43**



**44**



**53**



**54**



- 23 Sardes (?) ca. 323-319 BC  
 a. monogram ? and torch  
 Price 2599; cf. SNG Copenhagen 904; Yale CS p. 39, no. 79; Thompson I, Sardes, series XIII, 181 ff.; Müller 94  
 4.06 gr.; 12 h.; slightly worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/18; Plate IV:11.  
 This type may be attributed to either Alexander III or Philippus III; in SNG Copenhagen: torch below throne; in Yale CS: 319 BC
- 24 Sardes ca. 323-319 BC  
 a. monogram ?; b. bee  
 Price 2630; SNG Ashmolean 2839; Thompson I, series XV, 314a ff.; Müller 515  
 3.98 gr.; 12 h.; worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/13.
- 25 Magnesia ca. 319-305 BC  
 a. filleted torch; b. monogram ?  
 Price 1955; Yale CS p. 37, no. 53; Müller 87  
 4.01 gr.; 12 h.; very worn (obv.) / extremely worn (rev.); CG 1997/23; Plate IV:12.  
 In Yale CS: 316 BC
- 26 Magnesia ca. 319-305 BC  
 a. ?; b. monogram ?  
 Price 1950 ff.; cf. SNG Copenhagen 966; Yale CS p. 37, no. 53 ff.  
 3.98 gr.; 12 h.; worn (obv.) / very worn (rev.); CG 1997/11.  
 Monogram in field l. (a) outside of flan; in Yale CS: 316-311 BC
- 27 Magnesia ca. 319-305 BC  
 a. monogram ?; b. monogram ?; c. B  
 Price 1959; SNG Ashmolean 2765; Müller 785; cf. Yale CS p. 37, no. 55  
 4.03 gr.; 12 h.; very worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/12; Plate V:1.  
 In Yale CS: 314 BC
- 28 Abydos (?) ca. 310-301 BC  
 a. monogram ?; b. ivy-leaf  
 Price 1527; SNG Copenhagen 973; Müller 254; Yale CS p. 34, no. 19b; Thompson II, Abydos, series XIV, 247 ff.  
 3.78 gr.; 10 h.; extremely worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/15.  
 In Yale CS: 310 BC
- 29 Abydos (?) ca. 310-297 BC  
 a. monogram ?; b. griffin's head l.  
 Price 1575; cf. SNG Copenhagen 958; Yale CS p. 16, nos. 17-19-20; Thompson II, Abydos, series XVIII, 350 ff.  
 3.98 gr.; 12 h.; slightly worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/26; Plate V:2.  
 In SNG Copenhagen same monogram with lion's head in field l.  
 In Yale CS: 303-299 BC
- 30 Colophon ca. 310 - 301 BC  
 a. K; b. crescent  
 Price 1826; SNG Ashmolean 2748; cf. Yale CS p. 20 no. 19; Müller 274  
 3.81 gr.; 12 h.; worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/17; Plate V:3.  
 In Yale CS: 307 BC

- 31 Colophon ca. 310-301 BC  
a. crescent; b. monogram ?  
Price 1813; SNG Copenhagen 919; Yale CS p. 36, no. 39d; Müller 262  
3.53 gr.; 12 h.; worn (obv.) / extremely worn (rev.); CG 1997/31.  
In Yale CS: 313 BC
- 32 Colophon ca. 310-301 BC  
a. illegible; b. monogram ?  
Price 1805A ff.; cf. SNG Copenhagen 919-923; cf. Yale CS p. 36, no. 39d  
3.75 gr.; 12 h.; very worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/29.  
In Yale CS: 313 BC
- 33 Lampsacus ca. 310-301 BC  
a. monogram ? ; b. monogram ?  
Price 1413; SNG Ashmolean 2701-2702; Müller 1676; Yale CS p. 33, no. 8; Thompson II, Lampsacus, series X, 293.  
3.94 gr.; 6 h.; slightly worn (obv.) / worn (rev.); CG 1997/14; Plate V:4.  
In Yale CS: 307 BC
- 34 Lampsacus ca. 310-301 BC  
a. Pegasus-forepart I; b. monogram ?  
Price 1382; SNG Copenhagen 887; SNG Ashmolean 2696; Yale CS p. 33, no. 6c; Thompson II, Lampsacus, series XVIII, 498 ff.; Müller 612  
3.77 gr.; 6 h.; very worn (obv.) / extremely worn (rev.); CG 1997/19.  
In Yale CS: 310 BC
- 35 Lampsacus ca. 310-301 BC  
a. amphora; b. monogram ?  
Price 1417; SNG Copenhagen 979; SNG Ashmolean 2703; Yale CS p. 33, no. 9a; Thompson II, Lampsacus, series XIII, 378 ff.; Müller 600  
3.70 gr.; 2 h.; extremely worn (obv.) / very worn (rev.); CG 1997/28.  
In Yale CS: 306 BC
- 36 Mylasa (?) ca. 310-300 BC  
a. monogram ? b. KA  
Price 2477-2478; Thompson, Mylasa, p. 207, no. 2  
3.88 gr.; 12 h.; very worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/21.
- 37 Mylasa (?) ca. 310-300 BC  
a. monogram ?; b. illegible  
Price 2476 ff.; Thompson, Mylasa, p. 207, no. 1-5  
3.53 gr.; 12 h.; worn (obv.) / very worn (rev.); production error; CG 1997/27.
- 38 Mylasa (?) ca. 310-300 BC  
a. monogram ?; b. illegible  
Price 2476 ff.; Thompson, Mylasa, p. 207, no. 1-5  
3.94 gr.; 12 h.; worn (obv.) / very worn (rev.); CG 1997/30.
- 39 Colophon ca. 301-297 BC  
a. lion's head I. and B; b. pentagram  
Price 1833; SNG Copenhagen 905; Yale CS p. 36, no. 44a; Müller 342  
3.70 gr.; 12 h.; very worn (obv.) / extremely worn (rev.); CG 1997/25.  
In Yale CS: 305 BC



- 40 Miletus ca. 295-275 BC  
 a. monogram ?  
 Price 2151; SNG Copenhagen 898; SNG Berry 256; Yale CS p. 38, no. 74; Müller 1057  
 3.49 gr.; 12 h.; very worn (obv.) / extremely worn (rev.); CG 1997/24.  
 In Yale CS: 293 BC
- 41 Lysimachos tetradrachm after 297-281 BC  
 uncertain mintplace in Greece or Asia Minor (Sicyon ?)  
 Obv. Head of deified Alexander III r.  
 Rev. Athena Nikephoros seated l., shield against throne; in field l.: monogram ?; in exergue: monogram  
 ?; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ\_ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ  
 unpublished (Müller-L. --; Thompson-L. --)
- 16.16 gr.; 12 h.; fleur de coin (obv.) / slightly worn  
 (right rev.); CG 1997/08; Plate V:5.  
 Remarks: monogram ? could be read as AA\_or\_AAE; see for a comparable monogram on a mid-3rd  
 century tetradrachm of Alexander III from the mint of Sicyon: Noe, Sicyon, p. 24 no. 70.
- 42 Sicyon drachm 4th century BC  
 Obv. dove alighting l.; Σ\_I  
 Rev. dove flying l. in olive-wreath, behind E  
 SNG Copenhagen 55  
 5.22 gr.; 6 h.; worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/43; Plate V:6.  
 Damage (small hole) on reverse behind dove.
- 43-53 Sicyon hemidrachm 4th century BC  
 Obv. chimaira standing l.; Σ\_I  
 Rev. dove flying l.; behind pellet  
 SNG Copenhagen 64
- 43 2.14 gr.; 11 h.; very worn (obv.) / worn (rev.); CG  
 1997/44; Plate V:7.  
 Obv. chimaira standing l.; ΣE  
 Rev. dove flying l.  
 SNG Copenhagen 50
- 44 2.50 gr.; 12 h.; worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/45; Plate V:8.  
 Obv. chimaira standing l.; ΣI or ΣE  
 Rev. dove flying l.  
 SNG Copenhagen 50 or 57
- 45 2.31 gr.; 6 h.; very worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/46.
- 46 2.21 gr.; 6 h.; extremely worn (obv.) / worn (rev.); CG 1997/47.
- 47 1.62 gr.; 4 h.; extremely worn (obv.) / worn and damaged  
 (rev.); CG 1997/48. Remarks: bladder in flan broken out (rev.).
- 48 1.97 gr.; 12 h.; very worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/51.

- 49 2.06 gr.; 11 h.; very worn (obv.) / worn (rev.); CG 1997/52.  
 Obv. chimaira standing l.; ΣΙ  
 Rev. dove flying l.  
 SNG Copenhagen 57
- 50 2.35 gr.; 11 h.; very worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/49.
- 51 2.21 gr.; 2 h.; very worn (obv.) / worn (rev.); CG 1997/50.
- 52 2.11 gr.; 2 h.; very worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/54.  
 Obv. chimaira standing l.; ΣΙ  
 Rev. dove flying l.; NO behind dove  
 SNG Copenhagen 59-60
- 53 2.27 gr.; 12 h.; worn (obv./rev.); CG 1997/53; Plate V:9.
- 54 Ptolemaios III aes 246-221 BC  
 mintplace: Alexandria (?), perhaps about 244 BC  
 Obv. Laureate bust of Ptolemy III r.; dotted border  
 Rev. Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in field, cornucopiae; dotted border;  
 ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ\_ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
 SNG Copenhagen 193-195; Svoronos 1000  
 4.74 gr.; 12 h.; worn (obv.) / very worn (rev.); CG 1997/10; Plate III, V:10  
 Remarks: According to SNG Copenhagen attribution to Alexandria uncertain; in Svoronos: Alexandria  
 and preference for a date about 244 BC

# GERAKI AN ACROPOLIS SITE IN LAKONIA

## Preliminary report on the fourth season (1998)

Joost H. Crouwel, Mieke Prent,  
René Cappers, and Tristan Carter

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

The fourth campaign of Dutch fieldwork at Geraki in east-central Lakonia took place in the summer of 1998. The investigations, conducted by the Department of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Amsterdam with the permission of the Greek Ministry of Culture, began in 1995.<sup>1</sup> After two seasons of intensive survey and one of trial excavations on the acropolis hill the fourth campaign was devoted to the study of the data and the material obtained. Our finds were temporarily transferred from the Sparta Museum to our base in the village of Geraki, where work took place for a period of five weeks. The core team consisted of twelve people, while various specialists spent periods of up to a week at Geraki.<sup>2</sup>

Study was focused on the stratigraphic sequences and artefacts from eight of the eleven test trenches excavated in 1997, and on a portion of the surface material collected on the northeast slope in 1996 (see Fig. 1). Of the eight trenches that were studied, five are located on the summit of the acropolis (17/11i, 17/13r, 19/2a, 19/6m and 20/15g), and three on the northern slopes

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of Geraki (ancient *Geronthrae*), the history of research, and preliminary reports on the 1995-1997 campaigns, see Crouwel et al., 1995, 1996 and 1997.

<sup>2</sup> The core team consisted of J.H. Crouwel (director), M. Prent (field director), S. MacVeagh Thorne (study of the acropolis wall and associated stratigraphy), E. Hom (study of survey material), C. Miggelbrink (study of Classical and Hellenistic pottery), R. Dooyes (conservation), A. Hom (drawing) and the students M. van Dijk, L. Hof (also photography), H. Jansen, L. Schram and E. Geerling. C.W. Crouwel-Bradshaw acted as housekeeper for part of the season. The visiting specialists were Dr T. Carter with his assistant L. Labriola (chipped and ground stone), Dr R. Cappers (environmental material), Dr J. Weingarten (Early Helladic II sealings) and Dr J. van der Vin (coins). Brief visits were paid by Dr J. Forsén and Dr. E. Alram, Dr M.J. Ponting and Dr I. Whitbread.





fragments found in Trench 17/11i. In addition, several EH II vases were restored. Computer work on updating our Paradox database and AutoCad field drawings continued that of previous years. In the present report we will discuss in more detail the results of the study of the EH II remains from different parts of the summit of the acropolis hill. Artefacts from this period are plentiful and occur in stratified contexts. An additional advantage is that the associated pottery displays clear parallels with EH II pottery from other sites in mainland Greece, including the type-site for this period, Lerna in the northeast Peloponnese. The study of the long sequence of Protogeometric to Hellenistic pottery is also progressing, but will need more time before presentation. The test excavations of 1997 have yielded only a few undisturbed archaeological strata from these periods; the pottery is characterized by local or regional peculiarities.

The various deposits will be described here using the valuable terminology developed by Dr E.B. French. She distinguishes between primary contexts (i.e. left undisturbed after initial deposition, with the most recent artefacts preserved for at least 50 percent), cumulative contexts (representing the gradual, sequential formation of deposits in antiquity, as will occur in rubbish heaps), redeposited contexts (material removed from original contexts in filling or levelling operations), and severed contexts (in which artefacts are divorced from their original archaeological context by later digging, ploughing etc.).<sup>3</sup>

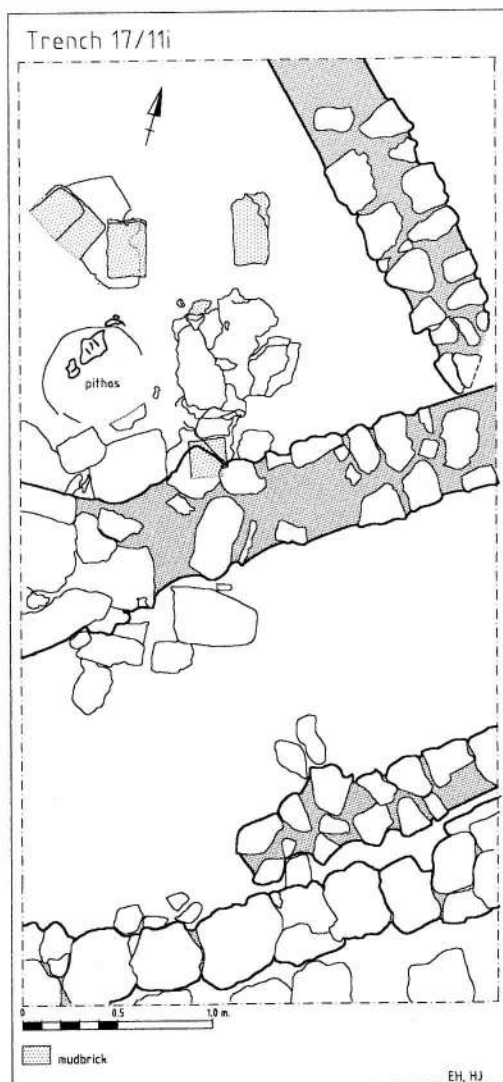


Figure 2. Geraki, Trench 17/11i: plan

<sup>3</sup> See MacGillivray 1997, 194. For our excavation methodology, see also Crouwel et al. 1997, 51-52.



## Stratigraphy and pottery (J.H. Crouwel and M. Prent)

## Trench 17/11i

In 1997 the eastern half of Trench 17/11i, measuring 2.5 m (E-W) x 5.00 m (N-S), was tested in excavation, yielding architectural remains of both the Classical-Hellenistic and the EH II periods (Fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> The southern three metres of the test trench were taken up by two parallel walls running E-W, presumably Hellenistic. This area was cleared down to a level composed



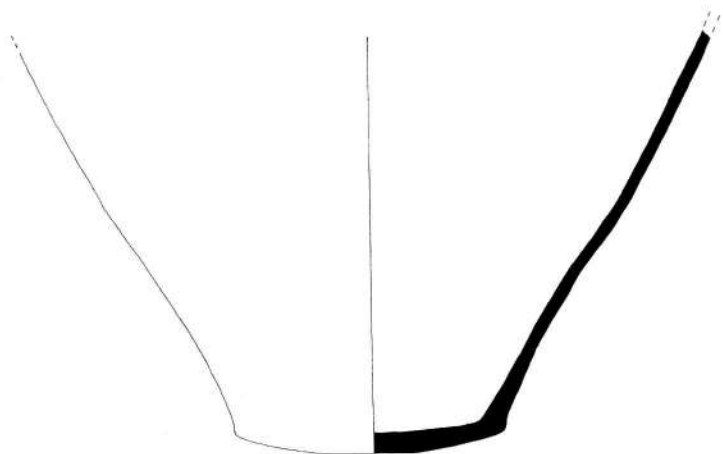
**Plate I.** Geraki, Trench 17/11i: EH II *pitbos* (156/SF2), *saucer* (83/SF8) and *sealings in situ*

of cobble-sized stones, still above the deeper and undisturbed prehistoric strata. In the remaining northern portion, excavation was continued further down, in places as far as the level of the natural hill slope. Here, part of an EH II room or building was uncovered which had been destroyed during a fierce fire. Associated structural remains consist of a ca. 0.50 m wide, well-built wall of small stones (running roughly N-S) and, to the west of this, a roughly circular stone-built platform and a clay or pisée stand in which the lower half of a large *pitbos* was preserved. A partially excavated pile of mudbricks, probably fallen from another wall, protruded into the trench from the west section.<sup>5</sup> Although the

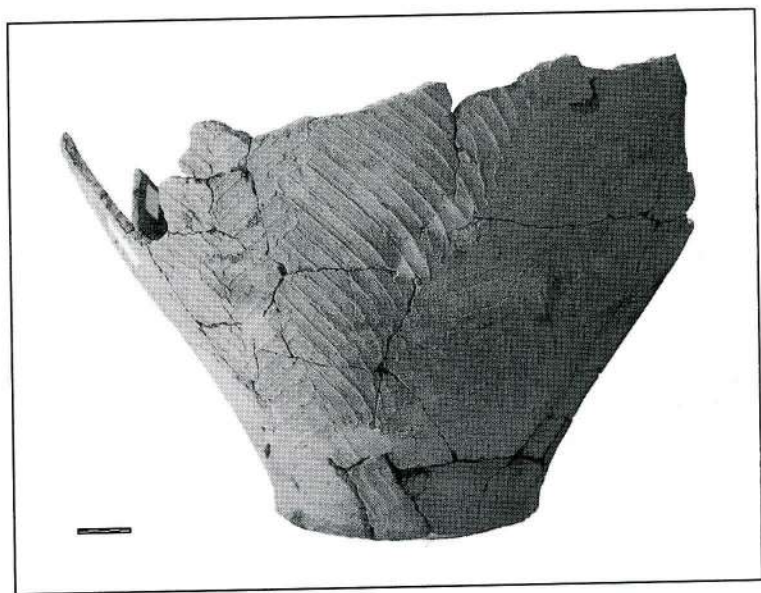
<sup>4</sup> Crouwel et al. 1997, 58-62, Fig. 5, Plates V-VIII. Isolated body sherds from burnished pots of Late or Final Neolithic date (50/10 and 72/7A and B) were found among the EH II remains.

<sup>5</sup> Apart from the circular stone feature, only a few, loose lying mudbricks were removed in 1997 to enlarge our working space. Most of the fallen mudbricks were left in position. This was done in the expectation that future excavation on a larger scale will provide more insight into the character of the EH II building and the





**Figure 3.** Geraki, Trench 17/11i: EH II pitthos in Geraki ware (156/SF2). Lower part. Height preserved 0.427 m; diameter (base) 0.268, (max. preserved) 0.69 m. Fabric D. Clay reddish yellow (Munsell Soil Chart 5 YR 7/6 and 7/8). Burnt.



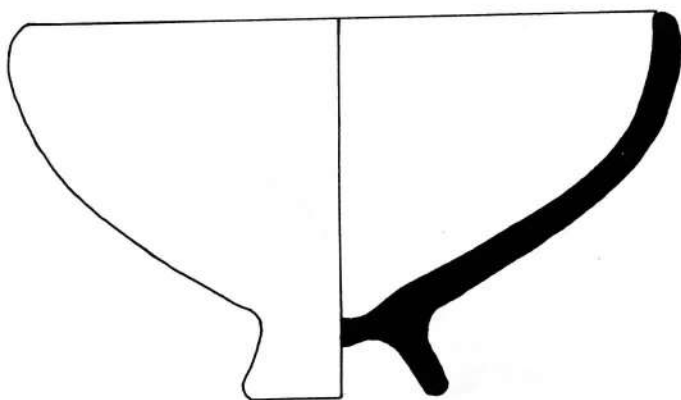
**Plate II.** Geraki, Trench 17/11i: EH pitthos (156/SF2). See ad Figure 3.

direction of the collapse.

area of this EH II room was levelled in Classical-Hellenistic times, probably related to the rebuilding of the EH II wall to the east, a ca. 0.80-0.90 m thick deposit of EH II destruction material had been left undisturbed. This provided us with a good primary deposit as defined above. Prior to a discussion of the shapes and chronology of the associated pottery, however, some remarks should be made on the distribution of artefacts and the implications this has for our reconstruction of events during the EH II destruction.

During the excavation of the destruction layer, few whole vessels (i.e. preserved for 50% or more) were noted. Exceptions were the large pithos in its clay stand (156/SF 2; Fig. 3; Pls. I-II), half of which was preserved, and two small bowls with incurving rims (usually called saucers), one of which was half preserved while the other was nearly complete (81/SF2 and 83/SF8; Figs. 4-5). Attempts to increase the number of complete pots during the 1998 study season by finding joins between the collected pottery fragments did not change this picture. Associated sherd material typically constituted a mixture of small, undistinctive fragments (probably representing mudbrick contents), a smaller proportion of non-joining fine, table ware sherds and a relatively large quantity of fragments of medium to coarse household ware. Some of the latter fit the large pithos, suggesting that it had been broken and scattered during the destruction.<sup>6</sup>

The most significant conclusion, however, is that the scarcity of whole pots in the destruction layer indicates that we are not dealing with a floor deposit, but with material fallen from above. Even the saucer which was nearly complete was found right up against the lower part of the pithos (83/SF8; Fig. 5, Plate I).<sup>7</sup> Interesting in this respect is also the distribution of sherds from a medium-sized, coarse vessel (152/SF1). A number of body sherds were found in the large



**Figure 4.** Geraki, Trench 17/11i: EH II saucer (81/SF2). Height 0.06 m, diameter rim ca. 0.10 m. Fabric A. Clay reddish yellow (Munsell Soil Chart 7/5 YR 7/6). Plain, burnished surfaces.

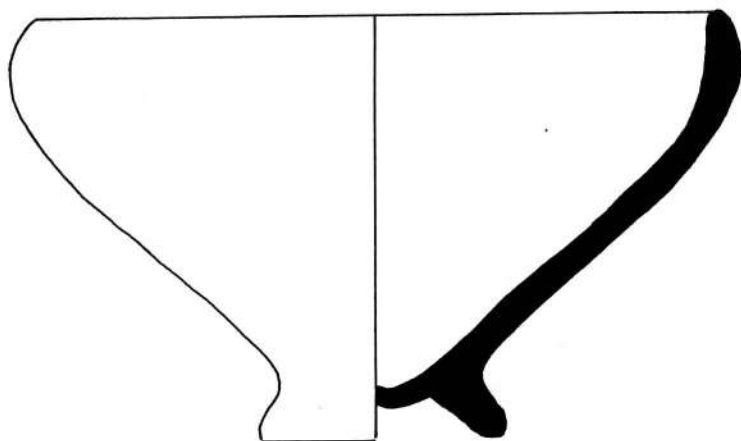
<sup>6</sup> The other option would be that the pithos survived the EH II destruction and that its top half was razed during the Classical-Hellenistic levelling operations. We have found several rim fragments belonging to pithoi, but we have not been able yet to match any of these with the large pithos in the stand.

<sup>7</sup> Crouwel et al. 1997, 62, Plate VII.

pithos and, like the contents of the latter, heavily burnt. Sherds from the same pot, but not burnt, were found in the one-metre area north and northeast of the pithos. Apparently this pot broke during its fall or before.

Following these observations, our interpretation of the presence of the numerous sealing fragments around the pithos and of burnt seeds inside and around it needed to be reassessed (Plate I). In our previous report, it was suggested that both may have been associated with the pithos, i.e. the burnt seeds forming its contents and the sealing fragments coming from a clay band around its rim. Close study of the sealings by Dr J. Weingarten, however, has shown that different sealing practices were involved. Most of the sealings had been applied to the rims of at least five different pithoi. Whether these included the pithos found in situ (156/SF2) is uncertain, as its rim is lacking.<sup>8</sup> The heavy traces of burning on the interior of the pithos may point to the storage of (olive) oil. Dr R. Cappers, in his study of the environmental material from inside and around the pithos, has identified different pulses and other food plants (see his report below). These may derive from one or more smaller containers, fallen from above, like the one (152/SF1) of which –burnt– parts were found in the pithos.

It is as yet unclear whether pots and other objects fell from shelves or from an upper storey. So far, we have no firm stratigraphic evidence for the collapse of an upper floor, such as ceiling fragments or burnt beams. However, this may change with future excavation.



**Figure 5.** Geraki, Trench 17/11i: EH II saucer (83/SF8). Almost complete. Height 0.068 m, diameter rim 0.108 m. Fabric A (with some small white inclusions). Clay yellowish red (Munsell Soil Chart 5 YR 5/6). Plain, smoothed surfaces.

<sup>8</sup> A preliminary report on the sealings, which bear impressions of six different stamp seals –some of them closely paralleled at Lerna– will be presented in the *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 18 (1999).



The sizeable amount of handmade pottery from the EH II destruction layer in this trial trench can be divided into two broad categories: fine table ware (some 170 sherds), and household ware of medium to coarse fabric (some 1610 sherds).

The table ware is of a single fabric (our fabric A), with only a few, small inclusions. It 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 show evidence for two different kinds of treatment, both well known from other EH II sites: one involves a mottled dark-firing slip ('Urfirnis'), subsequently burnished or not, the other a mottled light-firing slip which may then be burnished or polished ('Yellow Mottled').<sup>9</sup> When the light-firing slip—which appears to be much more common at Geraki—is worn, it often leaves a distinctly blue-greyish surface colour.<sup>10</sup> In many cases, however, the surfaces were too abraded to determine whether they had been slipped or left plain.

Only a few small, mostly open shapes are represented. The saucer with incurving rim is by far the most common, its finds including the two half and nearly complete examples mentioned above (81/SF2 and 83/SF8; Figs. 4-5), the entire profile of yet another (70/SF 3), and ca. 50 non-joining rim sherds. Saucers on a ring or pedestal base are a standard shape in the EH II ceramic repertoire of the Peloponnese and central mainland Greece. At Lerna the best parallels for our two well preserved examples occur in phase IIIC, which dates to EH II late (as confirmed by Dr M. Wiencke, who is publishing the EH II material from that site).<sup>11</sup> Among the other feature sherds, some are from sauceboats, again a standard EH II shape, others are from shallow bowls, and necked jars. There are also some pedestal bases, belonging to either sauceboats or saucers, and a flattish base.

The household ware falls into several fabric categories (our fabrics B-H), among which B and D predominate.<sup>12</sup> Fabric B is medium coarse, with some quartz and many limestone inclusions. Colours tend to be red or yellowish red (Munsell Soil Chart 2.5 YR 4/8 and 5 YR 5/6). This fabric comes in several shapes, in particular jars and bowls. Some of the shapes, such as the saucer, are also found in table ware. There are no complete vessels or whole profiles; the original surface has mostly disappeared.

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 Soil Chart 5 YR 4/6) or grey. This fabric comes in more shapes than B, including bowls, jars and pithoi with a variety of rim profiles. Relatively speaking, the best preserved is the burnt pithos of which the slightly convex base and the lower body remained in situ (156/SF 2; Fig. 3; Plate II). The surface is decorated with plastic 'smear-marks', placed at oblique angles. This kind of surface treatment, which may form various distinct patterns, is frequently found on pithoi from this and other trenches—as well as among surface finds—at Geraki. The pottery decorated in this way may be called Geraki ware, as it is unparalleled at other EH II sites thus far. At Geraki, the plastic 'smear marks' may be combined with applied horizontal plastic cordons, which are either left plain, impressed with

<sup>9</sup> See especially Rutter 1993, 20 with n. 17. In her forthcoming publication of the EH II pottery from Lerna, Dr M. Wiencke will use a new terminology, the terms Dark Painted and Light Painted replacing Urfirnis and Yellow Mottled; see Forsén 1996, 67.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pullen 1995, 20 (his Yellow-blue slipped and burnished ware); also J. Forsén in Geraki and in correspondence dated October 2, 1998.

<sup>11</sup> Letter dated October 28 1998. For such sauceboats from Lerna, see Caskey 1960, 290 with fig. 1: types A-E.

<sup>12</sup> The expertise of Dr I. Whitbread is gratefully acknowledged here.

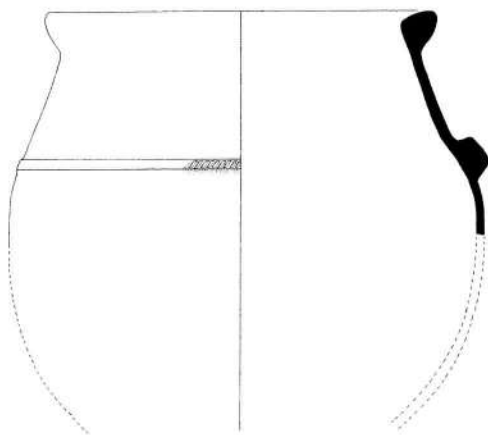
fingertipping or incised with slashes –well-known forms of decoration elsewhere. Some pots apparently only had such cordons, without the plastic 'smear marks' characteristic of Geraki ware.

The medium-sized vessel with horizontal loop handles represented by both burnt and non-burnt body sherds (152/SF1) is singular for its flaky and brittle fabric –clearly a cooking pot fabric (G).

### Trench 19/1d

The area excavated in 1997 as Trench 19/1d consisted of a circular depression, ca. 1.50 m wide and 1.40 m deep, in the limestone bedrock at the southwest part of the summit. This was filled with redeposited EH II destruction material, consisting of homogeneous red-orange soil, probably decomposed burnt mudbrick, interspersed with two layers of small stones. Larger stones which could have been used as building blocks or other architectural fragments were absent. The fill contained small pieces of carbon and of burnt mudbrick, some bone fragments, several stone tools and pottery fragments of EH II date.

Further study in 1998 showed that no complete pots could be restored from the fill; even the best preserved fragments constitute less than 50% of the whole vessel. This lack of whole pots and the find circumstances indicate that the fill did not represent a primary deposit but was rather redeposited destruction material. Joining sherds from two pithoi (3025/SF1 and 3028/SF1; Fig. 6), from a fine sauceboat (3026/SF1; Plate III) and a saucer (3028/SF2) were found from the top down to the bottom of the fill. This strengthens the idea that the material



**Figure 6.** Geraki, Trench 19/1d: EH II pithos (3028/SF1). Upper part. Height preserved ca. 0.235 m, diameter rim 0.39 m. Fabric D. Clay light-brown (Munsell Soil Chart 7/5 YR 6/4).



**Plate III.** Geraki, Trench 19/1d: joining sherds of EH II sauceboat (3026/SF1). Length spout ca. 0.06 m. Fabric A. Clay yellowish red (Munsell Soil Chart 5 YR 5/6). Light painted, burnished surface.

from the destruction layer of EH II late in Trench 17/11i. Fine table ware (some 70 sherds) is again of the same fabric (A) and represents a limited repertory of shapes: mainly fragments of saucers (including 3028/SF2), but also of a few sauceboats (including 3026/SF1; Plate III) and small necked jars; among the feature sherds are also a pedestal base and two flattish bases. The surfaces are again either plain or slipped and fired to a light or dark colour, with or without subsequent burnishing or polishing. The light-slipped sauceboat (3026/SF1; Plate III) has good parallels among the material from Lerna phase IIIC for its distinctive profile and the long 'ears' of the rising spout (information Dr M. Wiencke).<sup>13</sup>

As in Trench 17/11i, household ware, represented by some 490 fragments, is found mainly in fabrics B and D. In fabric B, eight, pot shapes, mostly open, can be identified. These again include several that are also found in table ware, such as saucers, sauceboats, small jars, bowls and plates. Coarse fabric D comes in twenty-three shapes, including bowls and pithoi. Of the latter we have four different rims. In two cases the rims are preserved together with part of the neck and upper body: 3025/SF1 is decorated in Geraki ware as well as with cordons of

was redeposited in one event rather than having accumulated in successive stages. A *terminus post quem* for this event may exist in the presence of five small fine-ware sherds with a type of monochrome black paint and fabric that seem to suggest a 7th or 6th century BC date. Although the small size and the degree of wear of these sherds would warrant the conclusion that they washed into the depression independently, their dispersion throughout the fill makes it more likely that mixing occurred at the moment of gathering or redeposition of the EH II destruction material. The scenario of a relatively late levelling of EH II remains (at least on parts of the acropolis) accords well with the more frequently encountered mixture of EH II and Archaic sherds in other trenches. It implies that a certain amount of EH II destruction material was left in place until the Archaic period or even later.

Apart from these few intrusive sherds, the pottery appears to be homogeneous in date, consisting of a similar mixture of table and household wares as that

<sup>13</sup> Letter dated October 28 1998. For similar sauceboats from Lerna, see Caskey 1960, 290 with fig. 1: types II-III



fingertipping, whereas 3028/SF 1 (Fig. 6) has knob handles and a band with fingertipping. Geraki ware is also well represented among the many body sherds of pithoi.

### Trench 19/2a

The area of this trench, located at the steep and rocky southwestern part of the summit, is largely denuded of soil cover due to ongoing erosion. During the survey in 1995, substantial quantities of relatively well preserved Early Helladic as well as Middle Helladic and Archaic artefacts (including fragments of miniature pots and fine painted cups) were noted on the slope below this section of the acropolis.<sup>14</sup> In the course of time, accumulation of soil and deposition of fill



Plate IV. Geraki, Trench 19/2a: stone fill behind acropolis wall (from North)

while the acropolis wall was standing must have alternated with rapid loss of deposits after it had collapsed. Presently, one course of the megalithic acropolis wall remains. Only a few isolated pockets of undisturbed archaeological material have therefore been preserved.<sup>15</sup>

The largest collection of prehistoric material in this trench was encountered in the narrow strip (ca. 1.5 x 6.5 m) along the interior of the single remaining course of the acropolis wall. Two strata were distinguished. The upper layer consisted of redeposited destruction material of EH II date, just as in the rock depression excavated in Trench 19/1d. The soil matrix had the red-orange colour indicative of decayed mudbrick and contained clear traces of burning. There were few complete or nearly complete vessels, with the exception of the 'cheese pot' (2024/SF3, ca. 40 % preserved; one set of joining sherds is shown in Plate IV) and an almost

<sup>14</sup> Crouwel et al. 1995, 58, Plate V.

<sup>15</sup> Crouwel et al. 1997, 54, Plate I.

complete pithos which had been thrown in on its side (2110/SF3).<sup>16</sup> As in 19/1d there were several cross-joins between sherds from different portions of the deposit; scattered sherds were found, for example, from a medium coarse, red-coated pot (2031/1 and 2108/6), and from an askos of similar fabric (2022/27 and 2109/1). This suggests one event of redistribution rather than the gradual accumulation or washing in of destruction material. Unlike the assemblage from Trench 19/1d, however, substantial mixing had occurred with well-preserved sherds of Archaic date. This later material made up an estimated 10-30% of the total number of sherds in the red layer, and (like the survey material mentioned above) quite frequently consisted of fragments of small votive vessels and fine painted cups.<sup>17</sup> Similar votive material was found in the underlying stratigraphical layer.

This lower layer consisted of a fill of cobble-sized stones and larger boulders, placed against the inner side of the megalithic acropolis wall (Plate IV). The soil between the stones of this fill was silty and light brown in colour, without traces of burning, and it contained far fewer sherds than the red-orange layer on top of it. Again there were few whole vessels or other artefacts and a certain mixing of EH II and Archaic sherd material. Proportions were different, however, as in some spots the Archaic material made up 50% or more of the total number of sherds.

Our preliminary conclusion is that a megalithic acropolis wall was standing at the time of deposition of the Archaic votive material. This is supported by the presence of a complete miniature kantharos between two boulders of the fill.<sup>18</sup> In addition, the good condition of the Archaic sherds and the homogeneity of the assemblage (without later intrusions) suggest that this material neither had washed in, nor had been exposed at the surface for very long. The noted confusion of EH II and Archaic artefacts may have happened during two different instances. First, when the Archaic votive material was deposited behind the acropolis wall, something which may have involved the digging of a pit or bothros and the disturbance of earlier remains. Second, when the Archaic deposit itself was cut into to enable repair or rebuilding of the acropolis wall, an event directly followed by the laying out of EH II destruction material brought in from elsewhere. When exactly this repair or rebuilding of the acropolis wall took place cannot at present be established, as the associated surface level has long eroded away.

The pottery datable to EH II compares well with that from the destruction layer in Trench 17/11i, consisting of a mixture of similar table and household wares. Fine table ware is of the same fabric (A). The surfaces, when not very worn, reveal the different treatment as observed for the table ware from the other trench. The repertory of shapes is again limited, involving the same range of saucers, etc. An addition is the beak-spouted askos – another well-known EH II shape (2029/27, joining 2109/1).

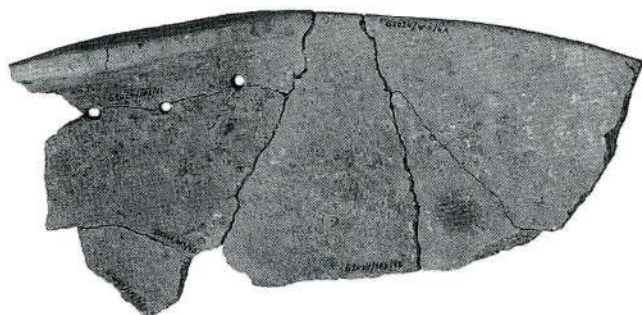
The household ware is dominated by the same two fabrics: medium coarse (B), and coarse (D). The shapes on the whole also compare well with those from Trench 19/11i. Among the pithoi, there is an almost complete example in Geraki ware with a spout just above the base (2110/SF3). Noteworthy is the krater-like shape, represented by a few rim fragments in both fabrics B and D (2021/26 and 2108/8 and 9). The rim is sharply outturned and flat-topped and there may be a slight ridge below. Similar fragments come from other test trenches at Geraki.

<sup>16</sup> Crouwel et al. 1997, 54, Plate II.

<sup>17</sup> Including the miniature kantharos, Crouwel et al. 1997, 54, Plate III.

<sup>18</sup> See the previous note.





**Plate V.** Geraki, Trench 19/2a: joining sherds of EH II 'cheese pot' (2024/SF3). Height of this set of sherds ca. 0.12 m, width ca. 0.25 m. Fabric D. Clay reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6). Self-slipped, smoothed surfaces.

Of note is also the coarse 'cheese pot' (2024/SF3; Plate V). Roughly oval in shape, the pot has a flat-topped rim which in one area widens into a curved ledge on the inside. Below the ledge is a series of holes, set in a row, perhaps to facilitate drainage or for ventilation. The vessel is reminiscent of the so-called 'cheese pots' from Tigani on Samos and other Early Bronze Age sites.<sup>19</sup>

### Concluding remarks

The EH II period appears to have been one of the most intense phases of use of the acropolis hill of Geraki. The widespread trial trenches at the summit, including the three discussed above, all showed signs of EH II occupation. This, together with the survey evidence, indicates that the EH II settlement may have covered much of the 240 x 160 m summit. Fine-ware pottery from the heavily burnt room identified in Trench 17/11i in the northern part of the summit and from the depression (Trench 19/1d) in the southwest parallels that from Lerna phase IIIC which dates to EH II late. The saucers and sauceboats and other pot shapes clearly indicate that Geraki was in the mainstream of EH II ceramic developments. At the same time, the pottery with decorative plastic 'smear marks', called Geraki ware by us, at present appears to be a local phenomenon. Other finds, such as the numerous sealing fragments from the room in Trench 17/11i, the stone pendant from nearby Trench 17/13r<sup>20</sup> and the chipped and groundstone artefacts, also have their counterparts at Lerna or elsewhere. These correspondences confirm the remarkable degree of homogeneity which has been observed in the material record throughout the Peloponnese and central mainland Greece in EH II.<sup>21</sup>

Study of the pottery and stratigraphy suggests that Geraki—like Lerna and other mainland sites—was struck by widespread fire destruction in EH II late.

<sup>19</sup> See Heidenreich 1935/36, 139, 141pl. 34:6. Similar holes below the rim occur on Early Helladic 'baking pans', see Renard 1995, 260.

<sup>20</sup> Crouwel et al. 1997, 57, Figure 4.

<sup>21</sup> For overviews of the period, see recently Renard 1995 and Kosmopoulos 1991; also Forsén 1992; Rutter 1993a, 758–774 and 1993b (pottery, with full references); Wiencke 1989.



## Food plants from Geraki. A preliminary report (R.T.J. Cappers)

### Introduction

This report presents the first results of one week of archaeobotanical research of samples that originate from the 1997 test excavations at the acropolis of Geraki. With the exception of the remnants of several Civil War huts, no buildings are left today on the flat top of the acropolis. It is used as pasture, with occasional small-scale cultivation. Scattered over the area several fruit trees are present: fig (*Ficus carica* L.), carob (*Ceratonia siliqua* L.), wild almond (*Amygdalus webbii* (Spach) Vierh.), wild pear (*Pyrus amygdaliformis* Vill.) and Kermes or Holly oak (*Quercus coccifera* L.).

Although the topsoil is partially disturbed by ploughing, most of the test trenches on the summit of the acropolis yielded intact archaeological strata. Samples for botanical research were taken from four different test trenches. Those originating from Trenches 19/2a and 52/7r are dated to the EH II (ca. 2650-2150 BC) to Middle Helladic (ca. 2000-1600 BC) periods. Samples from Trench 17/11i belong to the EH II and the Classical/Hellenistic periods (ca. 450-100 BC). Finally, Trench 20/15g yielded one sample that was dated to the Classical/Hellenistic period (Table 1).

**Table 1.** Processed botanical samples from the 1997 test excavations. Volume in litres.  
Periods: EH II = Early Helladic II (ca. 2650-2150 BC); MH = Middle Helladic (ca. 2000-1600 BC);  
CL/HL = Classical-Hellenistic (ca. 450-100 BC).

No.	Sample no.	Trench	Volume	Period	Feature
1	69/ss1	17/11i	3	EH II	inside pithos (higher level)
2	69/ss2	17/11i	5	EH II	inside pithos (bottom)
3	75/ss1	17/11i	?	EH II	destruction level
4	79/ss1	17/11i	0.2	EH II	destruction level
5	79/ss2	17/11i	3	EH II	destruction level
6	85/ss1	17/11i	5	EH II	destruction level
7	91/ss1	17/11i	1	EH II	destruction level
8	2011/ss1	19/2a	10	EHII?	burnt layer
9	1158/ss1	52/7r	2	MH	destruction level
10	1131/ss1	52/7r	3	MH	yellow, hard soil
11	32/ss1	17/11i	0.2	CL/HL	around pot 32/SF4
12	32/ss2	17/11i	3	CL/HL	inside pot 32/SF4
13	60/ss1	17/11i	0.2	CL/HL	inside pot 60/SF1 (top)
14	60/ss2	17/11i	3	CL/HL	inside pot 60/SF1
15	60/ss3	17/11i	0.1	CL/HL	inside pot 60/SF1
16	2133/ss1	20/15g	5	CL/HL	destruction level?

**Table 2.** Plant species found in samples from Geraki. Species marked with an asterisk (\*) are desiccated and considered as contamination. Uncertain identifications are presented between brackets.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<i>Amygdalus communis</i>						0.1										
<i>Euphorbia</i>								0.5								
<i>Euphorbia cf. peplus</i>								1								
<i>Ficus carica</i>	1			6		2		13	31			1		1		
<i>Fumaria</i>	2*						1*									
<i>Galium</i>	9	1														
<i>Gramineae</i>				0.5								1				
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>										0.5						
<i>Indet</i>	18	5		5	2	2	3	9	2	2		4		4		10
<i>Labiatae</i>	3															
<i>Lathyrus cicera/sativus</i>	942	3133		52	17	10	0.5						0.2	3	0.5	
<i>Lathyrus</i> (small size)	32	14														
<i>Lens culinaris</i>	3172	18995		18	17	15	0.5	2				4	2	60	10	
<i>Linum usitatissimum</i>																
<i>Medicago cf. minima</i>	(0.5)								1							
<i>Olea europaea</i>												0.1				3
<i>Papaver</i>										1*						
<i>Rumex</i>								1								
<i>Triticum monococcum</i> - seed		(1)		11	(1)	2			0.5			0.5				1
<i>Triticum monococcum</i> - glume base									1			1				
<i>Vicia ervilia</i>		1														
<i>Vicia faba</i> var. <i>minor</i>	143	171	1	2				(1)								
<i>Vitis vinifera</i>	0.5	1				0.5		24	10	0.1	0.5	1		3		

Most samples originate from Trench 17/11i which contained two complete medium-sized pots of Classical/Hellenistic date and the lower part of a large storage vessel (pithos) from the EH II period (Plate I). During excavation, it became clear that especially the soil sample taken from the bottom of the large pithos (69/ss2) contained many charred seeds. One of the objectives of this year's archaeobotanical study was to investigate the origin of the charred seeds associated with the pithos.

## Materials and methods

A selection of 16 botanical samples, the volume of which varied from 0.2 to 5.0 litres, was processed for analysis. Plant remains were extracted by flotation, by which the floating fraction was washed over a sieve of mesh size 0.5 mm. After drying, this sieve residue was dry sieved through a stack of sieves of mesh sizes 2.0 mm, 1.0 mm and 0.5 mm. Identifications were made with a stereo dissecting microscope.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to process all the sieve fractions within one week. From samples 2 (69/ss2) and 4 (79/ss1) only the 2.0 mm fraction was looked through, whereas from samples 9 (1158/ss1), 11 (32/ss1), 12 (32/ss2) and 14 (60/ss2) the 0.5 mm fraction was omitted.

To enable a comparison of the number of lentils in both samples originating from the EH II pithos, a representative subsample of the 1.0 mm fraction of sample 2 (69/ss2) was counted and the total number determined on basis of the volume of this sieve fraction.

## Results

The botanical composition of the samples is presented in Table 2. Some uncharred seeds of poppy (*Papaver*) and fumitory (*Fumaria*) were found and are considered as intrusions.

A total of eleven cultivated species were retrieved from the samples, representing cereals, pulses, fruit trees and oil/fibre crops. Two cereals were found: barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and einkorn (*Triticum monococcum*). Both species are represented by only a few seeds and, as far as einkorn is considered, also some glume bases. The seeds of einkorn are laterally compressed and thus originate from one-seeded spikelets. The barley grains are of the hulled type, including a twisted specimen which indicates six-row barley.

Pulses dominate in the archaeobotanical record, in which both red vetchling/grass pea (*Lathyrus cicera/sativus*) and lentil (*Lens culinaris*) clearly outnumber the faba bean (*Vicia faba* var. *minor*) and bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*).

Fruit trees are represented by almond (*Amygdalus communis*), fig (*Ficus carica*), olive (*Olea europaea*) and grape (*Vitis vinifera*).

In the category of oil and fibre crops, flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) is possibly represented by one half seed.

In addition to these cultivated species, some wild plant species were found which can be considered as arable weeds.



## Discussion and conclusion

The largest quantities of seeds were found in the two samples that originate from the inside of the EH II pithos (69/ss1 and 69/ss2). These samples are dominated by three pulses: faba bean, red vetchling/grass pea and lentil. If the numbers of both samples are merged, these pulses occur in the proportion of 1 to 13 to 70. Based on volumes, however, proportions are much less divergent: 1 to 3.5 to 5. Especially the high numbers of red vetchling/grass pea are conspicuous. Although present in Greece from the Late Neolithic onwards, this species is outnumbered in most archaeobotanical records by lentils and bitter vetch.<sup>22</sup>

Distinguishing red vetchling (*Lathyrus cicera*) from grass pea (*L. sativa*) is considered unreliable if based on seed morphology alone.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Kislev suggests that one can only safely presume the presence of the cultivated species if more than 100 seeds are found.<sup>24</sup> Otherwise, it is more likely that we are dealing with the similarly shaped seeds of a wild *Lathyrus* species. Grass pea is an obvious domesticated crop. Red vetchling, on the other hand, occurs nowadays both as a weed species and as a forage crop.<sup>25</sup> The domestication of grass pea dates back to the Early Neolithic period whereas red vetchling was cultivated not later than the 4th or the 3rd millennium BC, eventually resulting in intercropping of both *Lathyrus* species as could be demonstrated at Tell Qasile in Israel.<sup>26</sup> The seeds from the pithos at Geraki can, despite the smaller size in comparison with present-day specimens, be considered as originating from cultivated plants because of the number of seeds and because of the context of the samples. Whether the seeds consist of a mixture of both species or a (nearly) pure sample of one of the two is more difficult to determine.

The presence of a large concentration of pulses in the two samples from the pithos at first sight suggested that we were dealing with the original contents of this storage vessel. Based on the measurements of the still intact lower part of the pithos, the complete volume of this vessel may be estimated at 120 to 140 litres. There is evidence from other Greek sites that such storage vessels were indeed used to store pulses. At the Late Bronze Age site of Akrotiri on the island of Thera, seeds of Spanish vetchling (*Lathyrus chymenum*) were found stored in seven pots.<sup>27</sup> The volume of five of these pots was between 33 and 123 litres. To the same period belongs a vessel found in Knossos which also contained a pulse, probably *Lathyrus ochrus*.<sup>28</sup> A more or less pure sample of faba bean (*Vicia faba*) from the Late Bronze Age was found in a polychrome vessel in Thebes.<sup>29</sup>

Although these examples clearly show that pulses were stored in vessels, some objections can be raised against the assumption that the two samples from the Geraki pithos represent the original contents. Contrary to the above mentioned examples from other Bronze Age sites, the Geraki samples contain a mixture of three pulses. It is equally possible that these pulses originated from three different pots. In fact, sherds of the same medium-sized vessel were found both inside and outside the pithos, those inside the pithos being burnt, and the ones outside

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<sup>22</sup> See Kroll 1993.

<sup>23</sup> Kroll 1979.

<sup>24</sup> Kislev 1989.

<sup>25</sup> Podimatas 1990.

<sup>26</sup> Kislev 1989.

<sup>27</sup> Sarpaki 1992a.

<sup>28</sup> Jones 1992.

<sup>29</sup> Jones & Halstead 1993.

unburnt.<sup>30</sup> In addition, it should be noted that the volume of seeds from the two samples is very small in comparison to the total capacity of the pithos. This supports an alternative explanation, that the destruction of the building resulted in the fall of several smaller storage vessels, each containing a different food legume, onto the pithos. The presence of the same legumes in the samples taken around the pithos (75/ss1, 79/ss1-2, 85/ss1, 91/ss1) may indicate that the content of some smaller vessels fanned out in an eastward direction.

The heavy traces of burning on the interior of the pithos may be better explained, as already suggested by Dr J. Weingarten, by the presence of (olive) oil. During experiments conducted at Geraki, it became clear that modern fava (*Lathyrus sativus*) hardly burns on its own. When fava beans immersed in olive oil were burnt or heated in an oven, however, thorough carbonisation took place. In the process, the individual seeds were preserved rather than lumping together, as might be expected. This corresponds to the state of the carbonised material from the EH II pithos, and the provisional results of our experiments therefore seem to support the possibility that the pithos had contained a liquid such as oil.

The complete absence of the seed coat from all three legumes is probably a result of the charring process, in which the cotyledons expand and the seed coats shrink. Because many seeds were still unbroken, it is not likely that we are dealing here with something analogous to modern 'fava', split beans stripped from their poisonous seed coat. From the standpoint of preservation it is advantageous to store the seeds without their seed coats removed, as this protects the seeds against attack from all kind of vermin.

At this point, a comparison between the botanic material from the EH II and the Classical/Hellenistic periods at Geraki is hampered by the low frequencies of most of the species. The faba bean, bitter vetch, barley and almond are only recorded for the earlier period, whereas olive is so far only present in two samples of the Classical/Hellenistic period. Olive is, however, mentioned from several Greek Bronze Age settlements: Akrotiri, Kalapodi, Tiryns, as well as from sites in Crete.<sup>31</sup> The same is true for flax. In addition to Akrotiri, Kalapodi and Tiryns, this species has also been reported from Agios Mamas, Assiros Toumba and Kastanas.<sup>32</sup>

### The chipped stone from Geraki (T. Carter)

Preliminary study of the finds of chipped stone from Geraki was carried out for one week in June 1998. The chipped stone comprised two elements: the material collected from the 1995-96 intensive surface survey and a smaller assemblage generated by the test trenches opened in 1997 (Figs. 7-8). The main part of this interim report is dedicated to the former data-set, though a brief reference will be made to the excavated material.

<sup>30</sup> See also the discussion elsewhere in this article.

<sup>31</sup> See, respectively: Sarpaki 1992b; Kroll 1993; Kroll 1982; Hamilakis 1996.

<sup>32</sup> Kroll & Neef 1997; Jones 1981; Kroll 1983.

## The survey data

### *Raw materials*

During the course of the two-season surface survey over 1000 pieces of chipped stone were collected from the gridded transects.<sup>33</sup> The vast majority of this assemblage was a black to pearl-grey, semi-translucent obsidian (>95%), almost certainly Melian. The remainder of the chipped stone consists of various cherts and flints, whose limited quantities and range of forms suggests that Geraki's chipped stone industry was largely, if not entirely, reliant upon access to raw materials of non-local origin. Amongst this group of material are a few pieces of red-brown jasper, tentatively considered to be of Arcadian origin, considering this resource's regular occurrence in chipped stone assemblages from the Asea Valley Survey.<sup>34</sup>

### *Technology, typology and chronology*

From the associated ceramic record it is quite apparent that the chipped stone spread across the site should represent a palimpsest of human activity, spanning (at the very least) the Early and Middle Bronze Age. Within the lithic assemblage itself, however, only a very few pieces are chronologically diagnostic. This is not an uncommon problem with surface material from the southern Aegean, given the relative conservatism within lithic (obsidian) technology during the third and second millennia BC and the paucity of modified blanks from post-Neolithic industries.<sup>35</sup>

The 1998 study of the chipped stone did, however, produce a significant discovery, through the recognition of a later Neolithic component to Geraki's history, thus providing –along with a few pot sherds– the earliest evidence of human activity at the site. This was most clearly represented by a small collection of end-scrapers made upon prismatic blades (Fig. 7.1a-b). These distinctive implements have exact parallels from secure Late- and Final-Neolithic contexts across southern Greece,<sup>36</sup> including the nearby Laconian site of Plakiá.<sup>37</sup> Further evidence is provided by a few obsidian blades produced by indirect percussion, a technological *mode*<sup>38</sup> allegedly only employed during the later Neolithic in the southern Mainland.<sup>39</sup>

The other datable classes of chipped stone consist of a small but varied group of retouched pieces. These include denticulates, likely sickle elements, either made on fine prismatic chert blades, or flakes with a crescentic back, both being well documented at Lerna and Malthi-Dorian, the former type from EH II-III levels,<sup>40</sup> the latter more typical of EHIII-MH products.<sup>41</sup> There were also a few 'trapezes', small trapezoidal implements made from truncated prismatic

<sup>33</sup> The uneven distribution of this material, a result of both natural and human processes, has been noted in a previous report (Crouwel et al. 1996, 104-106) and will be further investigated in subsequent publications.

<sup>34</sup> Personal observation; the material is also known within Argive assemblages.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Runnels 1985; Cherry and Torrence 1984.

<sup>36</sup> For references see Carter and Ydo 1996, 152.

<sup>37</sup> Carter and Ydo 1996, 152-53, ill. 18.6.

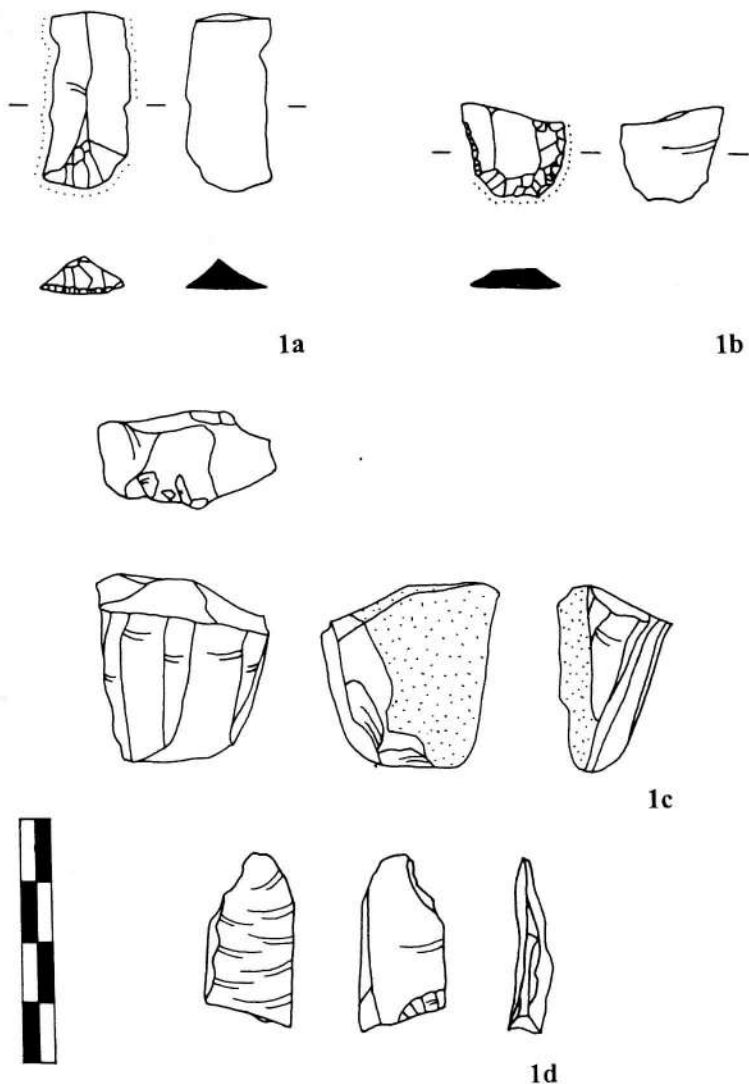
<sup>38</sup> For the distinction between technological *mode* and *mechanism* see Newcomer 1975.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Torrence 1979; Perlès 1990.

<sup>40</sup> Runnels 1985, figs. 7, 13, 16; also known from Zygyouries, Corinth and Laconia Survey site R287/1 - Carter and Ydo 1996, 157, ill. 18.9, c.

<sup>41</sup> Runnels 1985, fig. 16-18; Blitzer 1991, 49-57, 1992, 712, fig. 12-3





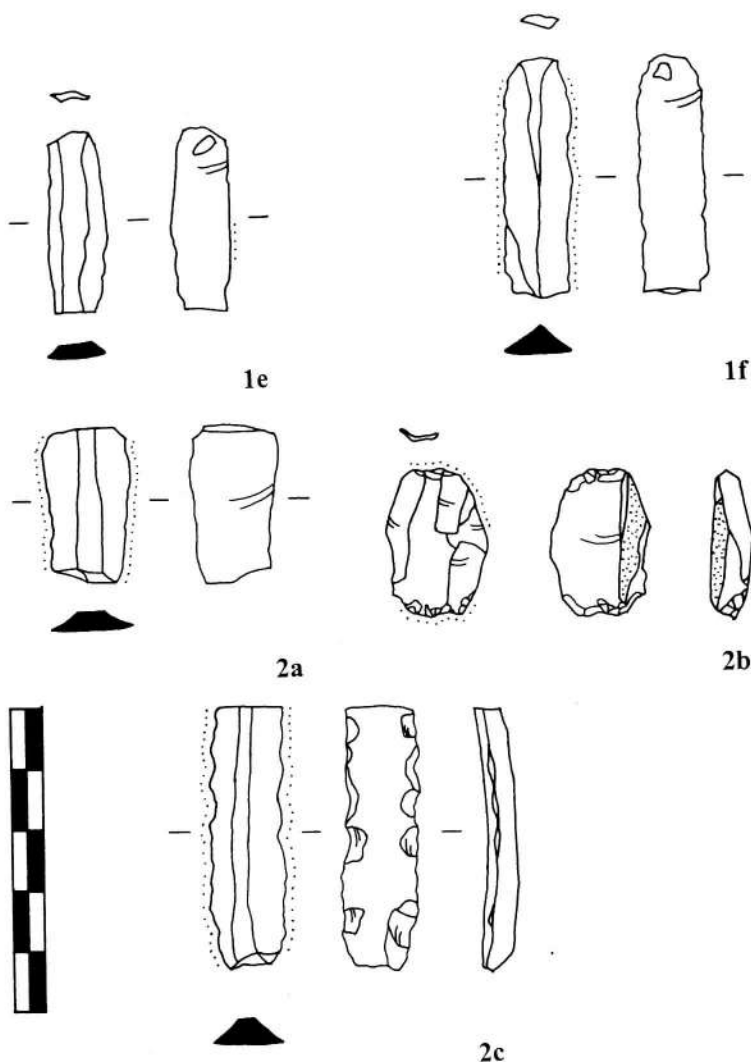
**Figure 7.** Geraki: obsidian endscrapers (1a-b) and blade cores (1c-d)

**1a.** Endscraper; obsidian. Distal section of a blade with parallel margins and a single dorsal ridge, the end modified by invasive, semi-abrupt retouch. The working edge also bears traces of use-wear. Dimensions:  $3.01 \times 1.44 \times 0.57$  cm (Survey unit 19/A6, G/SF 1)

**1b.** Endscraper; obsidian. Distal section of a blade with sub-parallel margins and dorsal ridges, the end and right edge modified by semi-abrupt retouch. Traces of use-wear are visible around the end and along both of the blade's edges. Dimensions  $1.67 \times 1.25 \times 0.41$  cm (Trench 19/2a, 2035/SF1)

**1c.** Blade-core; obsidian. Complete, pressure-flaked, unipolar, prismatic blade core. The nucleus is reduced around two-thirds of the circumference (7/8 blade scars visible), with a delicately faceted platform around the lip; its unworked back remains largely cortical. Crushing and small flake removal on the distal end of the core (ventral surface) suggests a limited attempt at bi-polar deduction; many more blades could have been removed from the core. Dimensions:  $2.90 \times 2.78 \times 1.66$ ; faceted platform  $2.63 \times 1.66$  cm (Trench 25/4b, 2074/SF1)

**1d.** Blade-core; obsidian. Exhausted pressure-flaked blade-core, worked around its entire circumference, ultimately squeezed flat from bi-polar reduction. Dimensions  $2.93 \times 1.48 \times 0.61$  cm (Trench 17/13r, 1099/SF1)



**Figure 8.** Geraki: obsidian prismatic blades (1e-f, 2a) and piece esquillée (2b); denticulated flint blade (2c).

**1e.** Prismatic blade; obsidian. Proximal section of a pressure-flaked blade with parallel margins and dorsal ridges. Traces of use/wear visible upon right edge.

Dimensions  $3.12 \times 1.04 \times 0.41$  cm. (Trench 19/2a, 2029/SF2)

**1f.** Prismatic blade; obsidian. Proximal section of a pressure-flaked blade with parallel margins and convergent dorsal ridges. Traces of use-wear visible along both edges.

Dimensions  $4.14 \times 1.24 \times 0.52$  cm (Trench 19/2a, 2010/SF2)

**2a.** Prismatic blade; obsidian. Medial section of a pressure-flaked blade with parallel margins and dorsal ridges. Traces of use-wear visible along both edges.

Dimensions  $2.65 \times 1.63 \times 0.42$  cm (Trench 19/2a, 2108)

**2b.** Core fragment/piece esquillee; obsidian. Exhausted blade-core (ca. 40% cortical cover on right half) with traces of crushing and flake-initiation upon both ends and faces, indicative of the piece having been employed as a small wedging implement.

Dimensions:  $2.03 \times 1.11 \times 0.78$  cm (Trench 17/11i, 80/SF1)

**2c.** Denticulate, heavily patinated light brown flint. Distal section of a pressure-flaked blade with parallel margins and dorsal ridges. Modified along both margins by invasive, low-angle retouch (initiated from the dorsal surface), providing a series of adjacent notches to form a serrated or denticulated working edge. Both margins also bear continuous traces of 'sicle gloss' to a depth of ca. 0.5 cm.

Dimensions  $4.24 \times 1.21 \times 0.43$  cm (Trench 25/4b, 2074/SF4)

blades (obsidian and less commonly chert), once more paralleled at Lerna III-V,<sup>42</sup> plus a selection of backed, notched and more irregularly modified blanks. Finally, the survey recovered over 20 complete or fragmentary Middle Helladic hollow-based points,<sup>43</sup> a quite substantial and widespread assemblage, from eleven different fields.<sup>44</sup>

Based on form alone, the vast majority of the chipped stone collected cannot, at this stage, be assigned to any one period in particular. Most obsidian appears to relate to pressure-flaked blade manufacture, the clearest evidence being provided by the end-products themselves, which constitute over 30% of the assemblage. This form of obsidian tool production was the primary, if not sole *mode* of reduction witnessed in the Peloponnese throughout the third and second millennia BC. Future research may be able to elucidate more clearly datable technological mechanisms within these industries. However, at present one cannot date the Geraki surface pressure-flaked blade industries beyond 'Bronze Age'.

Whilst in many respects the majority of the obsidian collected so far represents a largely undeconstructable mass of data, a number of conclusions can still be drawn as regards Geraki's exploitation of the material through time. The notable lack of cortical debitage seems to indicate that, unlike some EH/MH Peloponnesian communities,<sup>45</sup> the inhabitants of Geraki were not in the habit of procuring unmodified obsidian. It also suggests that the community was reliant upon others for their access to this commodity, rather than directly exploiting the Melian sources themselves. Furthermore, from the general absence of cresting flakes, crested and primary series blades,<sup>46</sup> it would appear that throughout its history, obsidian generally entered the site as preformed and perhaps even partly initiated blade-cores. Such an observation has significant ramifications regarding this community's access to exclusive technical know-how. Whilst long regarded as a highly specialised craft, recent studies of pressure-flaked blade production have indicated that it is the requisite knowledge and dexterity involved in the nucleus' preparation and initiation which are the most important and difficult skills to *acquire* and successfully articulate. The evidence thus suggests that Geraki was dependant upon external specialists for this technique, though it is not inconceivable that certain inhabitants were able to work the preformed blade-cores once these had been procured. Whatever the interpretation, on-site reduction by itinerant specialists, or a more complex picture involving more than one person forming and working the core, the fact that Geraki was able to access such commodities and provide a regular focus for their consumption, indicates a community of some status. Indeed, the results of the nearby Laconia Survey (and others beyond) seem to indicate that throughout the Early Bronze Age (and probably later), only certain settlements in any one region provide evidence for on-site pressure-flaked blade production.<sup>47</sup> Given that these sites are usually the largest, produce the widest range of material culture and the greatest concentration of exotica, it seems quite clear that the ability to access and consume specialised technical knowledge was an integral element in the construction and maintenance of political differentiation.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Runnels 1985, 372, Table 11, Fig. 6c; Kardulias and Runnels 1995, 95, fig. 78,3, 80,2, 89,9.

<sup>43</sup> Good parallels are published from Lerna and Malthi-Dorian; see Runnels 1985, fig. 16-18; Blitzer 1991, 16-17, 49.

<sup>44</sup> Fields 10-12, 15-20, 22 & 30.

<sup>45</sup> Such as Lerna and Petres (F32) in the Argolid; see Runnels 1985; Kardulias 1992; Kardulias and Runnels 1995, 106-08.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Van Horn 1980.

<sup>47</sup> Carter and Ydo 1996, 166-69; Carter 1994, 137-38, fig. 3, 1998, 71-72; Kardulias and Runnels 1995, 104-106.



Returning to the physical nature of the assemblage, the quantity of non-cortical flakes smaller than a square centimetre is worth noting. Undoubtedly a proportion of these blanks' scale was determined by site formation processes. However, many appear to owe their small size to the intensive reduction strategies employed by the Geraki knappers. Indeed, a number of features indicate that obsidian was worked particularly intensively at the site, no doubt a reflection of the rarity and value afforded such an exotic resource. For example, most of the blade-cores recovered by the survey had been reduced to such an extent that their once regular faces, cross-sections, and platforms were either completely lost or greatly disfigured (Fig. 7.1c-d).

Once a nucleus no longer affords the necessary flaking angles and mass for successful blade removal, mistakes tend to occur. If the core is not completely ruined, it will usually have to undergo significant modification and re-preparation in order to allow blade production to recommence. It is thus telling that most of the Geraki nuclei had undergone at least one episode of rejuvenation, usually through turning the core 180°, creating a new platform and knapping what was originally the ventral surface. Some evidence for bi-polar reduction has also been recorded, again in the context of the latter stages of blade production.

### The excavated material

Finally, a brief comment about the chipped stone generated by the test trenches of 1997, in particular the material associated with the late EH II destruction level which produced the seal impressions (Trench 17/11i).<sup>48</sup> Once more dominated by obsidian, this assemblage consisted mainly of fine pressure-flaked blades, specifically those produced during the full run of production,<sup>49</sup> with parallel margins and dorsal ridges, plus trapezoidal cross-sections (Fig. 8.1f, 2a). The vast majority of these implements bore traces of usage, a further indication of how intensively obsidian was exploited within this community. Of further note were two denticulated prismatic blades of high-quality chert, both of which displayed clear, macroscopic traces of 'sickle gloss', and which had undoubtedly been procured by the inhabitants as ready-made tools.

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<sup>48</sup> See Crouwel et al. 1997, especially 58-62.

<sup>49</sup> The '*plein temps de débitage*', cf. Perles 1994, 23-24.

Finally, we are once again deeply indebted to the mayor of Geraki, Mr L. Vourvourgitis, and other local residents, in particular Messrs I. Fasmoulou, D. Iannes, I. Maroudas and Th. Piliouras, for their hospitality and help in various ways.

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## LAVDA THE EXCAVATION 1986-1988

Yvonne C. Goester and Dingenus M. van de Vrie

**D**URING the years 1984-1988 the Netherlands School of Archaeology in Athens investigated the ancient remains on Lavda hill, near modern Theisoa (Fig. 1; Feije 1993). Trenches were dug in three places: at the northwestern tower, where a postern in the eastern wall of the tower and the adjacent part of the circuit wall were investigated; on the akropolis; and on an unusually flat terrain at the foot of the western wall of the akropolis. The results of the excavation in this last area are presented here (for previous reports see: Feije 1993 and 1994; Goester et al. 1981; Goester 1993, 1994 and 1995; Te Riele 1993 and 1994). Part One gives a general description of the remains and finds from each phase with a discussion on the dating. In Part Two a catalogue is presented of the finds, listed according to material with a discussion of each category.

The excavations, which took place in 1986, 1987 and 1988, revealed the remains of a house on a flat terrain (ca. 25 x 50 m) at the foot of the akropolis (Figs. 2-5; Plate I). Based on the finds, especially the coins, the construction of this house can be dated to the second half of the second or the first century BC. After two or three generations the house was deserted and destroyed. The construction, initial occupation, and subsequent destruction of the house is called Phase 1.

Part of this house was afterwards put to use again (Phase 2, Fig. 6). This second phase seems to have continued well into the first century BC, when the house was deserted and fell into ruins.

In a later period—late Roman, Byzantine or even Frankish—some small buildings (7 x 3 m approx.) were constructed on this spot thereby covering parts of the original house (Phase 3, Fig. 7). After these buildings had fallen into disrepair the terrain was used, until recently, as a wheat field.

## Part I. The Phases

### 1. Phase 1

#### 1.1. *Description of the remains*

**Construction and use of the house.** The terrain where the excavation was executed lies due west of the highest point inside the settlement, the fortified top, the akropolis (Fig. 1; Feije 1994, 78, Plate XI). This terrain was used in antiquity as a quarry, as can be seen on the northern edge where the rock has been cut away. The difference in height between the top of this rock face and the southern edge of the excavated terrain is 6.50 m at the most, over a distance of some 25 metres. The quantity of stone quarried here therefore far exceeds the amount necessary for the building of the house. It is more likely that the stone was used for the construction of the circuit wall and other walls, leaving a relatively flat terrain suitable for a large building. Although the dating of circuit walls is no easy matter it must be assumed that the circuit wall is older (4th century?) than the house which dates, as will be argued below, from the second century BC. The spot was chosen for excavation because of its remarkably flat appearance compared with the rest of the site, as well as its adjacency to the akropolis. Apart from this spot the only other more or less level areas are in the southwestern part of the settlement (Fig. 1).



Plate I. *The excavation site with several of the excavation trenches*



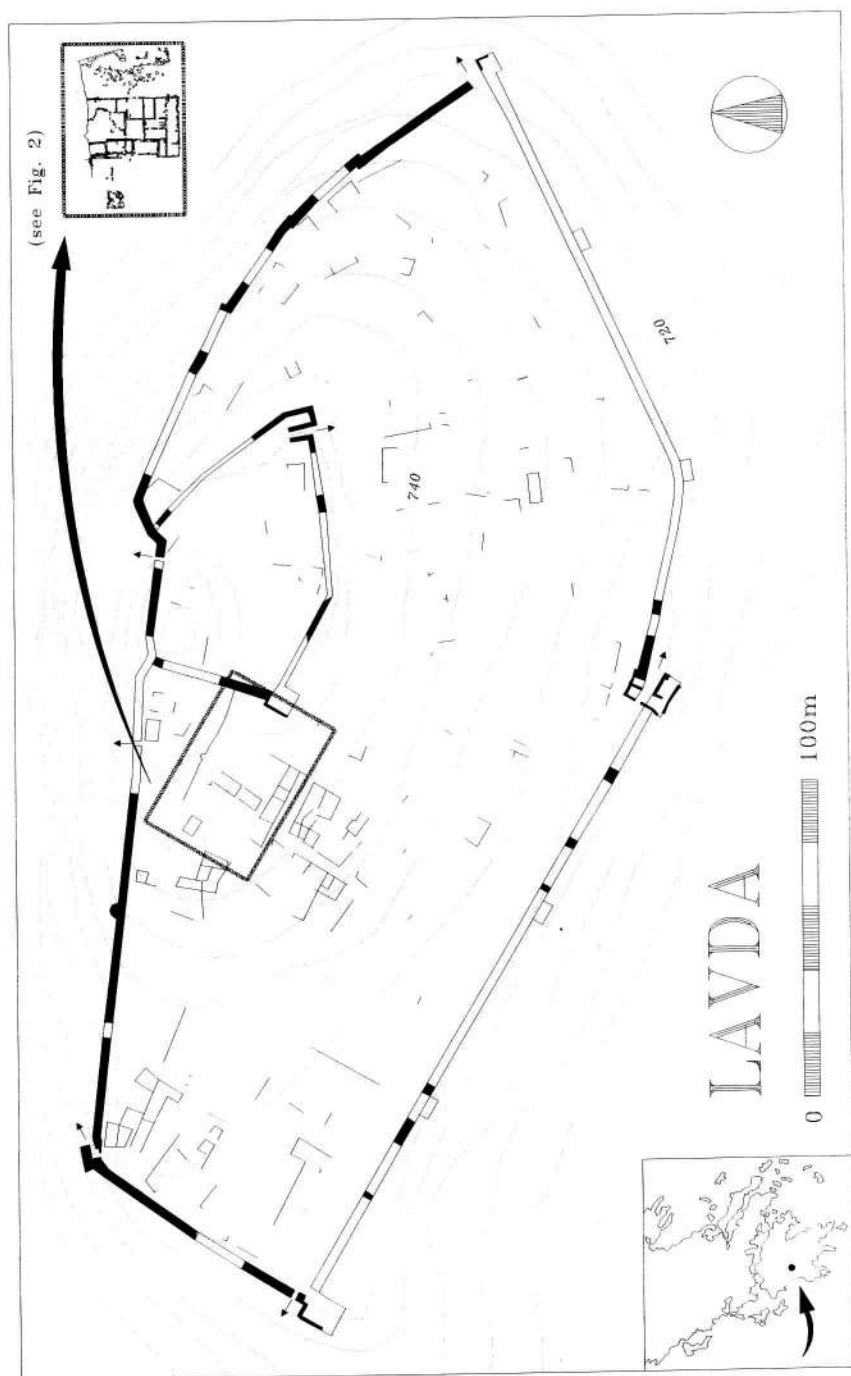
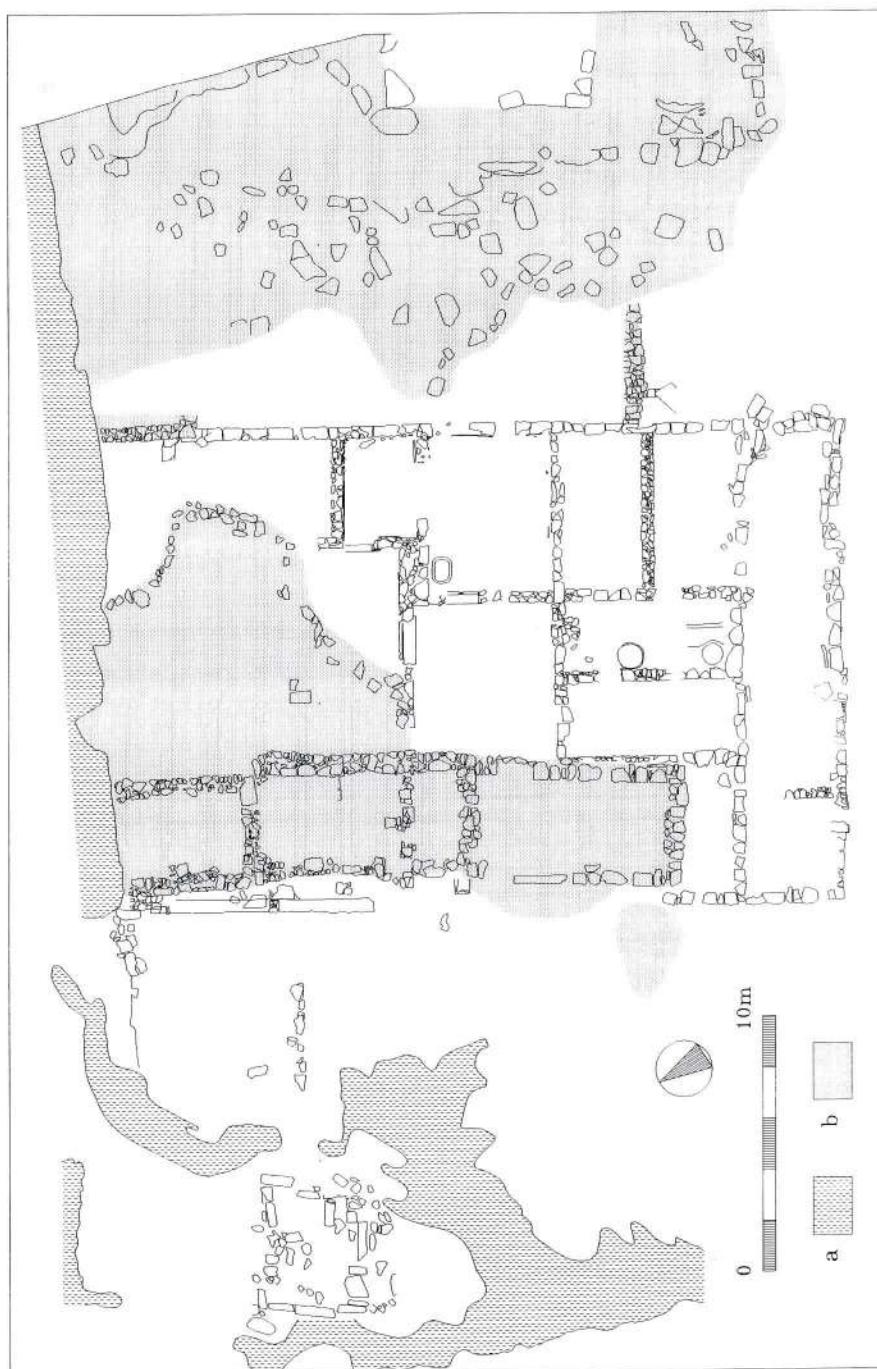
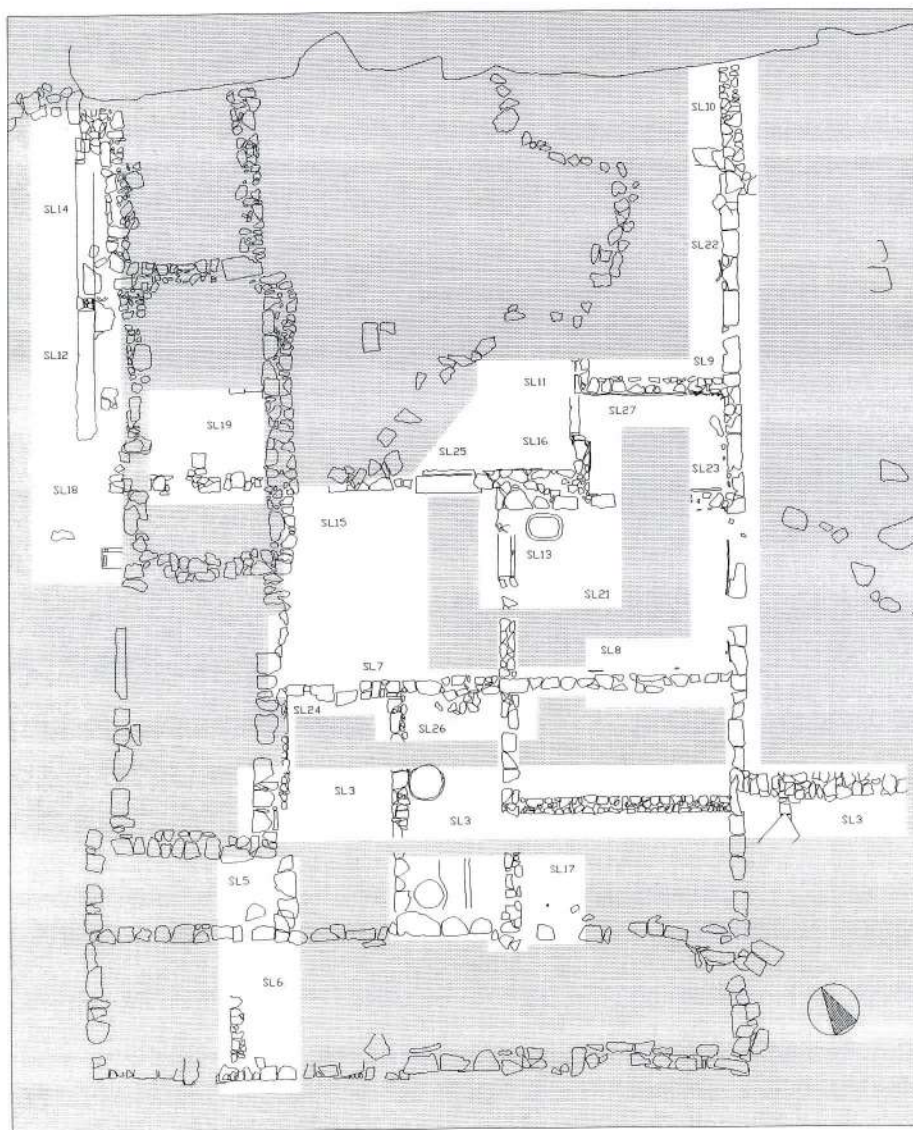


Figure 1. The kastro of Lavda with excavation-site



**Figure 2.** *The site of the excavation: a. bare rock; b. unexcavated area, covered by heaps of stones and later buildings*



**Figure 3.** Plan of the excavation trenches (SL 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26)

The house is rectangular and measures 22.50 m by 18.90 m (75 by 63 ft – one foot being 0.30 m, the so-called Dorian foot; Fig. 4). The northern wall of the house roughly parallels the rock-cut face at a distance of 1.50 to 2.50 m. The western wall is in line with the rock where it makes a 90° turn to the north. We are inclined to reconstruct at this point stairs to the top of the rock face and a street along the western wall of the house. This street will have turned





**Plate II.** *Part of the rock used as foundation for the western wall of the house; behind a wall of a later building covering parts of the house of Phase 1*

into stairs again where it meets the southern wall of the house as the slope dips strongly here. The same arrangement is thought to have existed on the eastern side of the house. Here the wall of the house lies at a distance of 12 to 15 metres from the akropolis wall; parallel to this wall a fragment of wall was found that may have been part of a street next to the house. It is possible that the southern wall of the house was continued to the east to form a terrace wall. To the south there is a space enclosed by walls at a lower level over the entire width of the house which could have been part of the original construction. When we include this space as part of the house, the dimensions of the entire building become 26.40 m by 18.90 m (88 by 63 ft). The house could not completely be excavated: parts of it are covered in the west by building remains from a more recent period than the house itself, and in the north large heaps of stones made investigations impossible (Fig. 2.b). Presumably these stones were cast aside while the terrain was still being tilled.

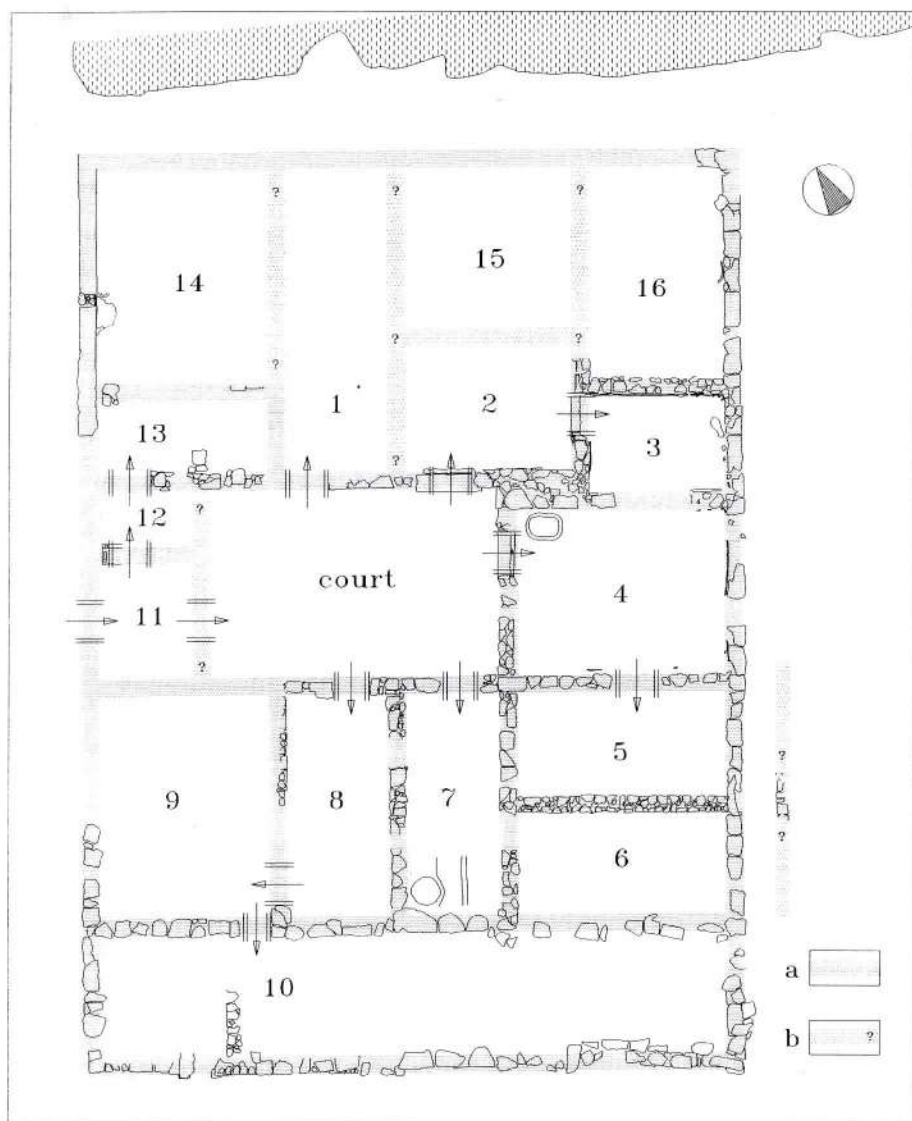
**The rooms.** The rooms are grouped around a courtyard (Fig. 4). The entrance to this courtyard is in the western side, where the main entrance to the house is also presumed to have been located. The spot where this entrance is reconstructed could not be investigated. The western wall, however, has been laid bare over some distance. The trace of the northern wall can be

reconstructed from the two corners that have been found. The eastern and southern walls have been followed over a longer distance. The house had at least twelve rooms, five of which could be entered from the court. The representative rooms were situated to the north and to the east of the court. The walls consist of a foundation and socle of limestone blocks with a width of 0.45 m (1.5 ft). Upon this socle mudbrick walls were erected. The surface of the bedrock at the time of the construction of the house was not completely level. In the north the rock is ca. 0.50 to 1.50 m higher than in the south. This difference was overcome by introducing different levels inside the house. The floors in the northern rooms lie some 0.50 to 0.75 m above those in the south. In several places the bedrock has been cut away to receive the lowest course of the walls (Fig. 3, Trenches SL14-SL12-SL18; Plate II). This foundation consists of more or less rectangular blocks loosely packed. The spaces between the walls were filled up to the desired level by means of chippings. The floors are formed of packed earth. The slope outside the house descends from north to south. The entrance of the house was probably placed in the west at the point where the slope was level with the interior (Fig. 4, Room 11). In some of the passages thresholds were found. These are the entrances to the more representative rooms (Fig. 4, Rooms 2, 3 and 4), the entrance next to the main entrance (Room 12), and the rooms adjacent to the south side of the courtyard (Rooms 7 and 8). In most cases there is a difference in floor level bridged by the thresholds between the courtyard and the rooms. It is not clear whether the top of the stone socles followed the varying floor levels. The minimal height of the socle, 0.90 m (3 ft), was established in the trenches SL10, SL8, SL13, and SL3. The walls of the representative rooms were covered with stucco in the so-called architectonic style: a monochrome bottom section with monochrome panelling (blue, red, white and yellow) above. On the original floor levels inside the rooms lay a package of earth which is presumed to be the remainder of the mudbrick walls.

**The courtyard.** The dimensions of the courtyard cannot be determined with certainty. From north to south it measures 5.40 m (18 ft). The east-west length depends on the way the courtyard is reconstructed. It may be 7.80 m (26 ft), or 9.0 m (30 ft), or even 10.95 m (36.5 ft) if the courtyard actually stretched to the western front wall. The western part of the courtyard has not been excavated being covered with later remains and rubble heaps (Fig. 2). The entrance from the outside to the courtyard is reconstructed with a porch immediately behind the front door (Fig. 4, Room 11). From here one could go straight on into the courtyard or through a doorway with a threshold into a small room to the left (Rooms 12 and 13). This supposed passage from the porch into the courtyard has not been excavated. The floor level in the porch is ca. 0.20 m below that of the court. The floor in the courtyard consisted of fine packed earth on a filling of lime stone chippings. This layer of chippings had a depth of at least 0.40 m in the southern part (Fig. 5.b, section A-B).

**Rooms opening onto the court.** On entering the courtyard from the west one has direct access to five rooms (Fig. 4, Rooms 1, 2, 4, 7, and 8). Starting in the north and going clockwise the first passage is into a room which lies under the rubble heap and which therefore has not been investigated. This doorway had no threshold; we assume therefore that the floor level was the same as in the court. It is also possible that this passage did not open onto a room, but led to one further down a sort of corridor (Fig. 4, Room 14). Next is another doorway, this time with a large limestone threshold. The fittings for the door are clearly visible. The floor of the room to which this door opened lies ca. 0.20 m above the courtyard (Fig. 4, Room 2). The floor is made of packed earth. In the eastern wall a threshold signals the entrance to Room 3, lying





**Figure 4.** Plan of the house (Phase 1) with reconstructed walls (a) and conjectured walls (b), and numbers of rooms

behind Room 2. The part of the eastern wall that has been documented had red stucco from the floor level upwards to the top of the socle. The length and width of this room could not be ascertained. In our reconstruction (Fig. 4) the proposed dimensions are 4.80 by 3.60 m (16 by 12 ft), by analogy to the other rooms with stuccoed walls and on the assumption that there was a symmetry with the south side of the court. In any case this room, or a room behind it



(in our reconstruction Room 15, Fig. 4), did lead to Room 16 in the northeastern corner of the house.

On the eastern side of the courtyard lies one room (Fig. 4, Room 4). It has a threshold in the doorway and the walls were decorated with white, blue and red stucco. Immediately left of the entrance a small basin was found in situ (1.05 x 0.75 x 0.33 m). The floor of this room lay ca. 0.20 m below the court. From this room one could enter a side room (Fig. 4, Room 5). The southern part of the room and the northwestern corner were investigated. Remains of stucco decoration were found on the southern wall of this room. The stucco had apparently been applied to the stone socle as well as to the mudbricks. From the floor up to a height of ca. 0.55 m the stucco is flat; there the plaster retreats some 0.015 m forming a sort of plinth. Above this plinth another 0.15 m of flat stucco remains. This height is approximately the height of the stone socle. Between the fallen roof tiles on the floor, large remains of the plaster from higher up on the wall were found. These showed that the wall was decorated with panels of stucco (0.18 m by at least 0.20 m) with bevelled edges (0.04 m). The bottom section on the socle was coloured blue, the panels mostly red and white. Fragments of stucco decoration were also found in and next to the basin. Apparently a layer of coarse plaster had once been applied to the mudbricks, which were then finished with a thin layer of the fine, coloured stucco.

To the south of the courtyard lay two service rooms (Fig. 4, Rooms 7 and 8), both on a ca. 0.25 m lower level. The entrance from the courtyard to Room 8 has been cleared. The difference in level is bridged by a large threshold, executed in a poorer quality than those in the representative rooms. It seems probable that Room 7 had a similar doorway. Room 7 was undoubtedly intended for service purposes, as the finds have made clear: the mouth of a well or cistern, and next to that a built-in stucco covered basin. Although there are no such direct indications for Room 8, we presume a comparable function in view of the similarity in layout and furnishing.

**The rooms on the south and on the north side.** In the southeastern corner of the house next to Rooms 5 and 7 lies Room 6, of which only a small part has been investigated. It is not entirely clear where the entrance to this room was located. There was no connecting door to Room 7. It is possible that there was a passage to Room 5 and that this door was walled up during Phase 2. This part of the house has not been excavated to a level deeper than Phase 2, however. It also cannot be excluded that the entrance was situated on the south side. At the southwestern corner of the house Room 8 led to a side room (Fig. 4, Room 9), also presumed to be a service room. This part of the house could not be excavated because of the overlying remains. It is therefore not clear whether still more rooms were situated here and whether they could be entered directly from the court. The room adjacent to Room 8 had an outer exit or a doorway to the part south of the house (Fig. 4, Room 10). In this part remains of a floor were found sloping slightly to the south (Fig. 5.b, section A-B).

Three more rooms were situated to the north of the (reconstructed) main entrance (Fig. 4, Rooms 12, 13, and 14). The first room off the porch (Room 12) is indicated only by the western outside wall and the threshold. This threshold levelled the difference in height between the porch and the room itself. Behind Room 12 lies Room 13. It measures 2 by 5 m approximately (7 by 17 ft) and has the same floor level as Room 12. The passage between these two rooms was not excavated. A dividing wall seems probable, however, as the profile of Trench SL18 shows a raised area in the cutting of the rock in line with the wall that closes off the courtyard

in the north. The function of both rooms is unknown. Along the western outside wall in the northwestern corner of the house, a room has been reconstructed which measures ca. 6 by 5 m (20 by 17 ft) at the most (Fig. 4, Room 14). Only a small part of this room—the western wall of the house—has been investigated (Fig. 3, Trenches SL12, SL14 and SL18). The wall was covered with coarse white stucco. A small part of a floor made of tile fragments was uncovered and a basin with a mortar-covered rim. These features indicate a use of the room for service purposes. It is not clear whether one gained access to this room from Room 1 or Room 13. The northern part of the house has not been excavated because of the overlying remains of later buildings and the great masses of stones. The way in which we have reconstructed Rooms 14, 1, 15 and 16 is therefore partly a matter of conjecture. In this northern part of the house two rooms are reconstructed: one of ca. 4.80 by 4.80 m (16 x 16 ft) (Fig. 4, Room 15), and one of ca. 6 by 4 m (20 by 13 ft), (Fig. 4, Room 16).

**The roof.** The courtyard was an open space. The rooms around the courtyard, or at least part of them (Rooms 2, 4, 7 and 8), were covered with a tile roof. Large fragments of tiles were found in Rooms 2 and 4 and, from Room 7, in the courtyard. The roof may have sloped down towards the court, indicated by the tiles which apparently slid down in that direction. (Fig. 3, Trenches SL7, SL15, SL11 and possibly SL8).

**Destruction of the complex.** At a certain moment in time the house was destroyed, either by man or by nature. It does not seem probable, however, that this happened suddenly. No objects of daily use were found as would be expected in a destruction by an earthquake, for example. No traces of fire were found either. The tiles fell in their original sequence from or through the roof onto the floors. On top of the tiles are the remains of the walls including the stucco decoration. There are no traces or remains of wood. This can have decayed or may have been reused at a later date.

Putting all the evidence together we can only say that the house was abandoned for whatever reason and fell into ruins thereafter. We believe that the stone socles of the walls remained standing at their original height. The space in between was filled from the original floor level to a height of 0.10 to 0.30 m below the top of the socles with a package of earth and tile fragments, stucco, and here and there with pottery sherds, metal and bone fragments. This loamy earth has a fine structure and is supposedly the remainder of the original mudbricks. In this package, debris, sherds etc. were found which makes a destruction by man not unlikely. In that case the terrain will have been levelled by pulling down the remains of the mudbrick walls, during which process the sherds found their way into this layer. Another, less likely possibility is that the sherds were included into the mudbricks themselves at the moment of their production. As the origin of the sherds can no longer be determined they cannot help us in dating the moment of construction of the house. After the destruction, or more probably the pulling down of the house, part of it was used again. This period of use is called Phase 2 and will be described below.

### *1.2. Description of the finds*

An impediment to the study of the finds is the fact that no undamaged vases were found. With the exception of a handful of pieces, no reconstructions could be made as mostly rim, foot,



and wall fragments were found in no relationship. This fact makes it very difficult to compare the Lavda finds to those of other sites. The scope of the excavation and research did not allow for an exhaustive study of the finds. This publication of the material from Lavda should therefore be regarded more as a presentation than as a contribution to the study of Hellenistic pottery.

The following system for recording the finds was used. In each trench (SL), every new and different phenomenon (unit) was given a number and was excavated step by step (lot). Each lot in each unit was given a separate lot number. The ceramics from each lotnumber were subdivided into three categories: tiles, plain ware, and fine ware. Metal, glass etc. are separate categories. The (fragments of) tiles and the plain ware were counted and described in general terms; the fine ware was studied in more detail. Diagnostic sherds from each category were included in a working catalogue which holds some 900 P-numbers. A selection of these P-numbers was made on the basis of their being either representative or exceptional. They are grouped according to the different construction phases that were discerned. The results from the different trenches have been put together to enable an overall view of the history of the house. The tiles, terracotta, metal, bone and stone have not been included in these groups. As they do not provide sufficiently exact dating it was deemed more convenient to present these as separate categories on their own. The coins found at Lavda were published in a previous issue of *Pharos* (Goester 1995).

A word of caution is called for here regarding the importance attached to the dating of the finds. It should be kept in mind that the total number of sherds is relatively small, especially from the stratigraphically interesting layers. In some cases only one piece came to light. The dates given therefore are no more than an indication. In spite of the steadily growing knowledge of Hellenistic pottery, at the present state of research all dates should be considered tentative. All dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

The three phases of the house could be subdivided on the basis of the different units. These subdivisions are indicated here by the word *stratum*. The classification is as follows: Stratum 0 is the original layout; Stratum 1 is the building phase of the house; 1a is the first period of use; 1b is the end of Phase 1; Stratum 2a is the period of use of Phase 2; 2b is the end of Phase 2; Strata 3a and 3b are post-antique phases.

**Stratum 0** (Fig. 8). A layer of chippings has been interpreted as the foundation layer of the house. For the time being this is called Stratum 0. Not very many finds can be connected with this layer and only a handful can give an indication as to the period in which the house was built. G.R. Edwards (1975, 30) put forward the suggestion that the relationship between the maximum diameter of the foot and of the body of the so-called *echinus* bowls could give an indication of the relative chronology of this type of vessel. If this criterium can be used here then **P873** would be a rather early specimen. It lacks, however, the thickening wall of the early examples. A third century date could therefore be plausible for our piece. Schilbach suggests that **P874** was produced locally. It is probably later than **P873**. **P876** is a fragment of the foot of a rather flat and wide vessel. **P510** is a fragment of a concentric-semicircle bowl (Macedonian shield bowl), a type of moldmade bowl that may have originated in Corinth and that occurs in Athens from ca. 150 to the early first century (Rotroff 1982, 38). **P875** is a fragment of mortar to which it is very difficult to attach a date. **P850** is a specimen of an early form of casserole resembling Elian examples. The presence of the concentric-semicircle bowl in this context would mean



that the construction of the house did not take place before the middle of the second century. One sherd however is very little indeed to go on.

**Stratum 0 or 1** (Fig. 9). Directly above the layer of chippings a layer of fine packed earth which occurs in several trenches was identified as the earliest phase of the house. The finds from this layer may give an indication as to the first building phase of the house. These finds were not abundant: a very limited number of tile fragments, a handful of plain ware sherds and a few fragments of fine ware of which a few examples are presented below.

**P691** is a fragment of a form of bowl that is characteristic of the eastern Mediterranean (Kenrick 1985, 24/5, Fig. 4 B14). The form can be traced in Athens at the end of the fourth century and continues into the first century. This broad bowl with rounded transition developed into a deeper bowl with an increasingly narrow angle between the wall and floor which became more sharply carinated in the later second century. The rim ceases to be separately articulated. Here the foot is lost and with it the possibility of dating by the decoration. **P575** is a bowl with an angular profile and a flaring rim. A similar shape from Athens is shown by Rotroff (1983, 281, Fig. 4, nos. 93, 94) who gives a date in the third quarter of the second century. **P721** is part of a bowl presumably with two vertical handles for which no parallel was found. **P653** may belong to a local Arcadian workshop according to Schilbach. Similar strongly curving rims from Messene are dated by Themelis (1991, 54, Eik. 8) in the second century. **P893** could be part of a fish plate. **P614** is a fragment of a figured moldmade bowl with a scene known from pieces found at other sites (Siebert 1978, M34, Pl. 25, 55 and K321, 48-50, Pl. 39). Siebert treats the theme extensively (1978, 255-8) and gives a number of examples of the figures alone or in combination (Edwards 1975, 166 and 168, Pl. 69; Edwards 1986, 403). The scene is the Judgement of Paris; left we see the lower part of the robe of Hera who stands upright with her scepter; next Athena to the right with her shield and lance; and on the right Hermes bending to the right with his left foot on a rock. Our fragment is a rough parallel to a bowl from Argos attributed by Siebert to the atelier of Kleagoras. This workshop was active around 150 BC and its production probably continued into the first century. **P904** is a miniature bowl, the only really miniature vase found during the excavation. **P680** could be the lid of a pyxis. It can be compared with Edwards Type II (1975, 130, Pl. 31, no. 694). A firm date, however, cannot be given. **P690** is a fragment of an unguentarium which belongs to Hausmann's Category B or C, a thick-set form with a short stem, reminiscent of the original bulbous form. Kaltsas, in his publication of Hellenistic graves of Pylos (Kaltsas 1983, 61, sched. 21, pin. 20), dates a similar piece (no. 1720) to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century.

**Stratum 1 or 1a** (Figs. 10 and 11). In Trench SL14 thirteen vase fragments were selected from a unit that cannot be ascribed with certainty to either Stratum 1 (the original construction phase), or to Stratum 1a (the first period of use of the house). In this unit, however, some interesting pieces came to light.

**P887** is the foot of a rather large plate. Unfortunately the centre of the plate is missing, so that we have no further indication about a possible decoration of palmettes. On the basis of the careful rouletting however, Schilbach assigns the plate to the third quarter of the fourth century. **P888** and **P889** belong to the same vase, probably a calyx crater. **P888** shows an almost complete appliqué of a dancing maenade. The head is missing. On the body of the vase under the appliqué run two horizontal grooves. Our vase, which is placed by Schilbach in the period

of Alexander the Great, can be compared with a crater in Olympia (Schiering 1981, 171ff., Taf. 20). **P863** is a local example of a bowl with incurving rim. If the relation between the diameters of foot and body mentioned above is a dependable criterium, this piece may be dated in the second century. **P862** are two joining rim fragments of a bulbous pot with a narrow neck and outcurving rim. **P892** consists of a total of nine fragments of a fine vase, probably a sort of jug. A reconstruction of the original form was not possible from the remaining fragments. Part of the handle is decorated with vertical grooves and cross under gloss. Below the handle the body is decorated with a horizontal band with very faint impressions of open palmettes and a frontal sphinx; below are vertical grooves. The incised decoration was not very carefully executed. Compared to the majority of our finds this vase is of superior quality. Three lid fragments belong to this deposit. **P906** and **P886** are very difficult to date. **P853** is probably the cover of a pyxis. The form of its knob can be compared with the Type III knob with depressed centre (Edwards 1975, 130-1). It might be so that the deeper the depression, the older the form. Our fragment is not extremely deep. **P886** only has a very shallow depression on top and could therefore be of a later date. The lamp **P912** has a solid lug, a feature that occurs from the middle of the third century into the first century. The casseroles **P864**, **P894**, and **P895** very closely resemble Elian pieces, according to Schillbach. Although they may not originate directly from Elis, they are strongly dependent on Elian forms nonetheless. **P864** and **P895** must be dated to the period between 330 and ca. 100. **P984** belongs to the second century.

**Stratum 1a** (Figs. 12 and 13). Stratum 1a is the layer of debris found in all trenches and which has been interpreted as the first phase of use of the house.

**P529** is a flat bowl with rilled rim, carefully executed. It is either of Elian origin or else was strongly influenced by Elis. This piece recalls classical examples and still belongs to the third century. **P376** and **P361** are examples of the Hellenistic plates found in a great many sites. A relatively early date seems probable for **P376**. **P378** finds a parallel in the form of the foot of an Attic bowl from Eretria dated to the third century (Metzger 1969, Taf. 9.5). **P533** is a decorated sherd from a vase with a sharply bent wall just below the onset of the slightly incurving rim. Just below the bend is a decoration reminiscent of an egg-and-dart frieze. **P373** is part of a presumably bulbous vase. The wall turns inwards at the rim, which itself bends sharply horizontally outwards. The upper side is rilled. **P355** could be part of a neck with the onset of a handle. **P359** is a foot fragment, presumably of a jug, a form shown by the quite smaller oinochoai from Corinth (Edwards 1975, 54-56, Pl. 10). A form of foot that has a number of parallels in Lavda is **P535**, standing on the outside of the ring only. **P627** and a fragment not shown here do not belong to the same moldmade bowl. The decoration on both fragments however is very similar. It shows contiguous petals with flat centres and high relief outlines. The medallion has eight lotus leaves behind a ten-leaved rosette. The rim pattern consists of two convex ribs with in between a simplified ivy leaf(?) pattern resembling fleur-de-lis. This long-petal type is consistent with Edwards' Stage II. A date in the second half of the second century seems probable. A fragment of another long-petal bowl with jewellery belongs to Edward's Stage I. A number of fragments from various kinds of moldmade bowls belongs to the same phase of the house: four long-petal fragments; a fragment of a bowl with narrow tongues with standing and lying double S's in between (**P626**); a fragment of a bordure with a motive resembling figure eights (**P466**); a fragment of imbricate nymphaea lotus; a fragment of a floral frond (**P464**) and five other fragments of floral bowls, among which two nymphaea



caerulea; a fragment of a figured bowl with a running animal (**P467**); eight fragments of net-pattern bowls. In Athens very few imbricate and floral bowls were manufactured after ca. 140 (Rotroff 1982, 34). These data however cannot simply be applied to a small town in Arcadia. **P470** includes fragments of a type of handle that do occur on kantharoi. **P357** is the foot of an fusiform unguentarium (Hausmann Type C or D, elongated form with relatively round curves). The foot is not articulated, the stem is massive. It may date from the first half of the second century. **P544** is part of an unguentarium without foot or rim. The stem is rather long. **P474** and **P354** correspond with the lamps of Broneer Type X and/or XI. **P377** may be part of a lamp or a small bowl as is **P537**. Six other fragments of lamps were found in this layer.

**Stratum 1b** (Figs. 14, 15, and 16). The end of the first phase of use of the house is clearly marked by a thick layer of debris. This layer can be interpreted as the levelling of the terrain for the second phase of use of the house, but this stratigraphy as such gives little indication of a date. The finds, however, give an impression of the kind of pottery in Lavda. A number of characteristic pieces are presented in this part.

Two plates **P911** and **P883** show loosely pronounced rims and profiles, of which some seventeen examples were found in this layer. It is very difficult to date this typical Hellenistic genre with any precision. A number of very simple deep bowls with straight walls were also found in this layer. **P725** shows a form of the rim which Kendrick (1985, 14) calls "one of the most common forms in Campana A." Schilbach supposes that our piece is a local product. It can also be compared with pottery found in Messene (Themelis 1991, 56, Eik. 8) which is dated to the second century. **P420** is a more elegant variation of the form of the attached and curved rim. **P675** shows the same sharply carinated transition from wall to rim. The rim turns down strongly. **P407** is a less developed variant and, like **P675**, probably comes from a local Arcadian workshop. **P508** is presumably a shallow plate yet, in contrast with most of the other plates found, has a thickened rim turned inside. This is not a common feature in Lavda. One of the few sherds which present a more or less complete profile is the broad bowl **P685**. Schäfer (1968, 34, C3) considers this form typically late Hellenistic. It can be compared, among others, with Form D5b from Cosa (Taylor 1957, 122, Pl. XXXIII, Type 1). **P683** is a fragment of a bowl with a smoothly rounded slightly incurving wall and a thin rim almost horizontally turned outward. **P397** presents an exceptional form in Lavda, a slightly incurving rim with a horizontal grip. It might be part of a pyxis. Themelis (1992, Eik. 15a) gives a parallel without further details as to the date. Two fragments of echinus bowls, **P658** and **P432**, of which **P658** is possibly the older one, are presumed to belong to a local Arcadian context. Five other fragments of echinus bowls were found. **P367** belongs to a jar with ovoid body and vertical swelling lip (cf. Marabini Moeus 1973, 59, Form IV, nos. 36, 37, Pl. 4.57). Ms Moeus dates these vessels between the middle of the second century and the early Augustean period. **P445** may be a bulbous form with a rim which turns outward and back to vertical, and with two handles set against this bend. **P674**, which could be part of a crater, has a simple West Slope pattern: tendrils and 'ivy leaves' consisting of three dots between two scraped grooves. Schilbach considers this to be a local piece. Apart from the simple ring foot, which occurs frequently in Lavda, we saw in Phase 1a that a number of sherds belong to vessels with a low, profiled foot. Characteristic is that the foot does not touch the ground on the inside. It appears to be standing on its toes. **P414** is a good example. **P624** is a small bowl with a rather toreutic appearance. It has shiny black gloss on the inside and outside and could be of Italian origin. **P646** is probably the foot of a high



conical goblet, although of a different kind as **P704**. This last one is of the type widespread in the western Peloponnese (Lang 1992, 91). Lang argues that the relationship between the height of the rim and the total height of the vessel gives an indication for the dating. As our example lacks the rim this criterium is of no help to us. **P689**, one of the very few sherds found in Lavda with a West Slope decoration, shows an incised line with white dots. **P716**—and perhaps **P668**—may belong to an Elia lekythos. If this is indeed part of the shoulder of such a vase, then it may date from the last third of the fourth century according to Schilbach. Several fragments (imbricate nymphaea lotus, long-petal with jewellery, floral) of moldmade bowls belong to this phase of the house. Four characteristic pieces are illustrated here. A fragment with a *bordure* pattern of grooves and dots (**P345**); an example of a floral bowl with alternating fronds and ferns and rosettes in between (**P494**); a slightly everted rim fragment (**P617**); and a fragment with a net pattern of which several examples were found throughout the trenches (**P423**). In her study of a Hellenistic deposit in Corinth, Irene Bald (1994, 64) states that net pattern bowls are popular between ca. 160 and 120. Net pattern bowls are rare in Athens. They are probably imported and occur mostly in first century contexts (Rotroff 1982, 39). **P486** is the foot of a probably rather early type of unguentarium. The foot is neatly profiled and the stem is short and hollow. It may be Hausmann's Type B or C, and could date from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century. A small fragment of a later type of unguentarium also belongs to this lot. Five lamps were found from this phase. A nozzle and a fragment with a solid lug are not illustrated. **P672**, similar to Agora Type 25A, is compared with a lamp from Plakoto (Ober 1987, 212, Fig. 7x), dated between 375 and 275. Ours, however, is only a bottom fragment. **P348** and **P686** both are similar to Agora Type 34A (Howland 1958, 104). **P348** could be restored almost completely. It has a rather angular body with a handle and a small rim around the filling hole. Only the tip of the nozzle is missing. Whether **P686** also had a handle can no longer be ascertained. The date of Type 34A is now set between the last quarter of the third century and the third quarter of the second century. **P411** is one of the two lids of an amphora found in Lavda. It has been rather carelessly executed, and these lids are very difficult to date anyway. The stopper is massive. Comparable pieces can be found in Koehler's publication on transport amphoras (1986, 54, Fig. 3). The casserole **P582** with its high swinging wall parallels vases from the first half of the fourth century according to Schilbach. **P415** is put together from a number of sherds forming a round bodied cooking pot. The upper part of the outturning rim is missing. A number of fragments of other cooking pots were found in this layer. **P413** looks like the kick of a bottle; it is probably part of a large jug. **P347**, put together from several fragments, is a flat disc-like object with a diameter of some twenty centimetres, depending on how flat the piece originally was. It has a double undulating rim. It has been suggested that the original could have been more convex; its function remains unknown.

### 1.3. *Dating of Phase 1*

A few observations regarding the finds and the chronology of the building can be made. The well-known Hellenistic types of pottery are present: plates, moldmade relief bowls, and a few fragments of West Slope ware. No skyphoi were recognized among the many sherds, nor were feet with reserved or grooved resting surfaces. Stamped amphora handles were also not found, nor were any complete unguentaria. Feet were more numerous than rims. Examples of the well-

known grey type as well as black-glazed are represented. Although the criteria of form for unguentaria roughly indicate a development and therefore a chronology, it is hazardous to draw conclusions regarding finds from other sites. The extremely thin and elongated type was not found. Comparison of the pottery with well-known production centres in the Peloponnese and elsewhere does not show many similarities. In general the pottery found at Lavda does not resemble the types and forms from either Corinth or Lousoi. Some pieces may be Elia or closely related to pottery from Elis. The preliminary publications by Mr P. Themelis of his excavations in Messene show some resemblances with the finds from Lavda. It is most likely, however, that we are dealing with one or more local Arcadian workshops. These general observations point to a date for the construction of the building after the fourth century. As for the period in which the building was deserted or destroyed, little can be said. No terra sigillata has been found, which would mean that the place was not inhabited in Roman imperial times.

The dating of the first layout of the house and the first period of use (Strata 0, 1, 1a, and 1b) cannot be determined with great accuracy. We have to base our conclusions on the finds of pottery sherds and coins. The oldest sherds found in Stratum 1 or 1a belong to a calyx crater, presumably from the end of the fourth century, and in Stratum 1b a fragment of an Elia lekythos from the same period. Most finds, however, point to a date in the second century with some running into the first century. The coins which were found also cannot help us in reaching a definite conclusion. A coin from Argos and one from Rhodos belong to Strata 0 or 1a. They are dated respectively between 228 and 146, and between 166 and 88. To Stratum 1a belong: a coin from Megalopolis (146-31); three from Sicyon (251-200; ca. 300 or second century; 330-200); and one from Argos (350-228). To Stratum 1b belong: a coin from Athens (first quarter first century); one from Sicyon (196-146); and two from Megalopolis (146-31). We can therefore say little more than that the house was laid out probably not much later than the mid-second century.

## 2. Phase 2

### 2.1. *Description of the remains*

On the basis of the finds from the contexts belonging to Phase 1 and to Phase 2, it does not seem likely that the site of the house remained deserted for a long time. There is no clear chronological difference between the material from the two periods of use. Both find-complexes are to be dated to a period from the middle of the second century to well into the first century BC.

The only observation to be made is that after the destruction or demolition of the house some time elapsed before part of the house was put to use again. It concerns the part to the south of the court, Rooms 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. The doorways of these rooms to the courtyard or to adjacent rooms were walled up with limestone blocks and fragments of tiles. This was observed at several places (Trench SL8, Rooms 4 and 5; Trench SL7, courtyard and Room 8; Trenches SL5 and SL6, Room 9 and southern extension). The floor level in the reused rooms lay ca. 0.50 m above the level of Phase 1. It is not clear whether the western part of the house (Room 9) was part of this second phase of use. We reconstruct a rectangular building which included the



space of Room 9. The walling-up was executed on the original floor level or on the thresholds of Phase 1 still in situ. As these doorways and the original floor level were covered by the package of debris, the foundation of the walling was dug in; this was documented at two places: in Room 4 and in the court, the entrance to Room 8. The walled up spots have been preserved up to the same height as the stone socles belonging to Phase 1. We assume that again mudbrick walls were erected upon these socles. The top of the socles of Phase 2 do not seem to have been heightened; they rose only 0.20 to 0.30 m over the new floor level. This second floor level was observed at a number of places (Trenches SL3 and SL17, Fig. 5.d, section E-F). In Room 7 a storage jar was dug into the lower levels (Fig. 5.d, section E-F, f; Plate III). The well or cistern in this room remained in use for an unknown period. It has been filled up from the level of Phase 2.

Nothing more can be said of the rooms of Phase 2. We do not know where the main entrance was located, nor where other throughways were placed. No thresholds or the like were found.

At a certain moment this building also was demolished or destroyed. A package of earth, supposedly the remains of the mudbricks, has covered the floors and the socles until the present day.



**Plate III.** *Large storage jar in room 7 (Phase 2)*



## 2.2. *Description of the finds*

**Stratum 2a** (Fig. 17). Two lots can be ascribed with certainty to the period interpreted as the second phase of use of the house. Rim fragment **P324**, from a small plate, is weak in shape. Even more so is the deep bowl **P326**. The form is similar to bowls from Lousoi dated by Mrs Mitsopoulos-Leon to the end of the second or the beginning of the first century (1984, 146, K54, Fig. 12). **P392** belongs to a bowl with a straight wall and a vertically thickened rim with a profile on the outside. **P391** is a small bowl with a loosely formed rim. **P659** is a small incurved bowl with a slightly curving wall and rim. **P394**, however, is a fragment of a very tautly formed foot of a large plate. **P393** is a rim fragment of a jar with a narrow profiled neck and a bulging body. It can be compared with a vase from Stobi (Anderson 1992, 141, Pl. 146, no. 1258). Anderson does not give a date but does not exclude the possibility of a Byzantine or Frankish origin. **P490** is part of a fish plate; the wall and the centre of the depression are missing. A remarkable find was the fragment of a plastic vase showing part of a female face (down to the bridge of the nose) with coiffured hair and a plaited band in the hair above the forehead. No other parts of this vase were found, however, which makes a reconstruction rather uncertain. Further finds belonging to this phase are: two fragments of a handle with a spool-like rotelle (**P390**); five fragments of moldmade bowls with *nymphaea caerulea* leaves (**P386**); three fragments with a *nymphaea lotus* pattern; and one fragment with long-petal with jewellery. **P322** is the rim of an amphora or a large jar.

**Stratum 2b** (Fig. 18). A few lots were recognized as belonging to the final phase of the second period of use of the house. The total number of these finds is very small. Some of the most significant finds, however, belong to these lots.

**P914** is part of the ring foot of a plate with concentric grooves and six stamped palmettes. The simplification of the original palmettes indicates a late date. Schilbach suggests an origin in the second half of the third century. Analogous stamps, although more pointed, can be found in Hausmann's publication of the Hellenistic ceramics from Olympia (1996, 32, Taf. 10, no. 57) which are dated to the second half of the second century. **P315** is a salt cellar-like small bowl with two horizontal grooves on the wall. The foot has not been preserved completely. **P813** is the rim and double carinated neck of a jug that can be compared with our **P833** and **P336** (see Phase 1b or 3). This one has two handles but is less carefully made. Fragments of three lamps belong to this phase. **P316** has been compared with the Agora Type 42D (second or third quarter of the third century) or Type 33A (last part of the third century). It could be part of a 'Kragenlampe'. **P526** is difficult to match to any type as most of the body and all of the filling hole are missing. The floor shows a clay swirl. **P310** is a molded lamp decorated with broad rays and a vertical handle. This could be Agora Type 45C, dating from 200 approximately. Other finds from these lots are another bottom of a lamp with clay swirl and part of an unguentarium with massive stem and bulbous body.

## 2.3. *Dating of Phase 2*

It appears from the description of the remains that the date of Phase 2 may not be very distinct from Phase 1. This observation is confirmed by the finds. No clear distinction in time can be

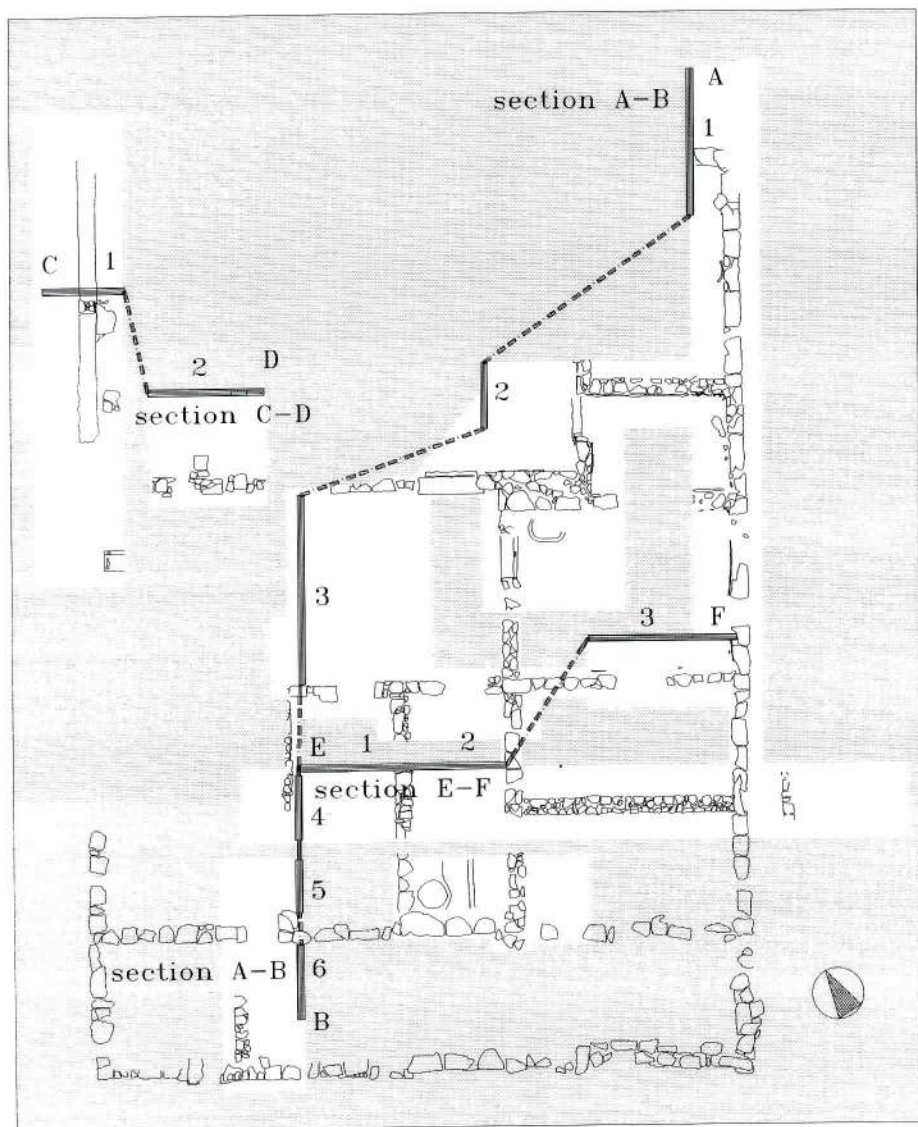
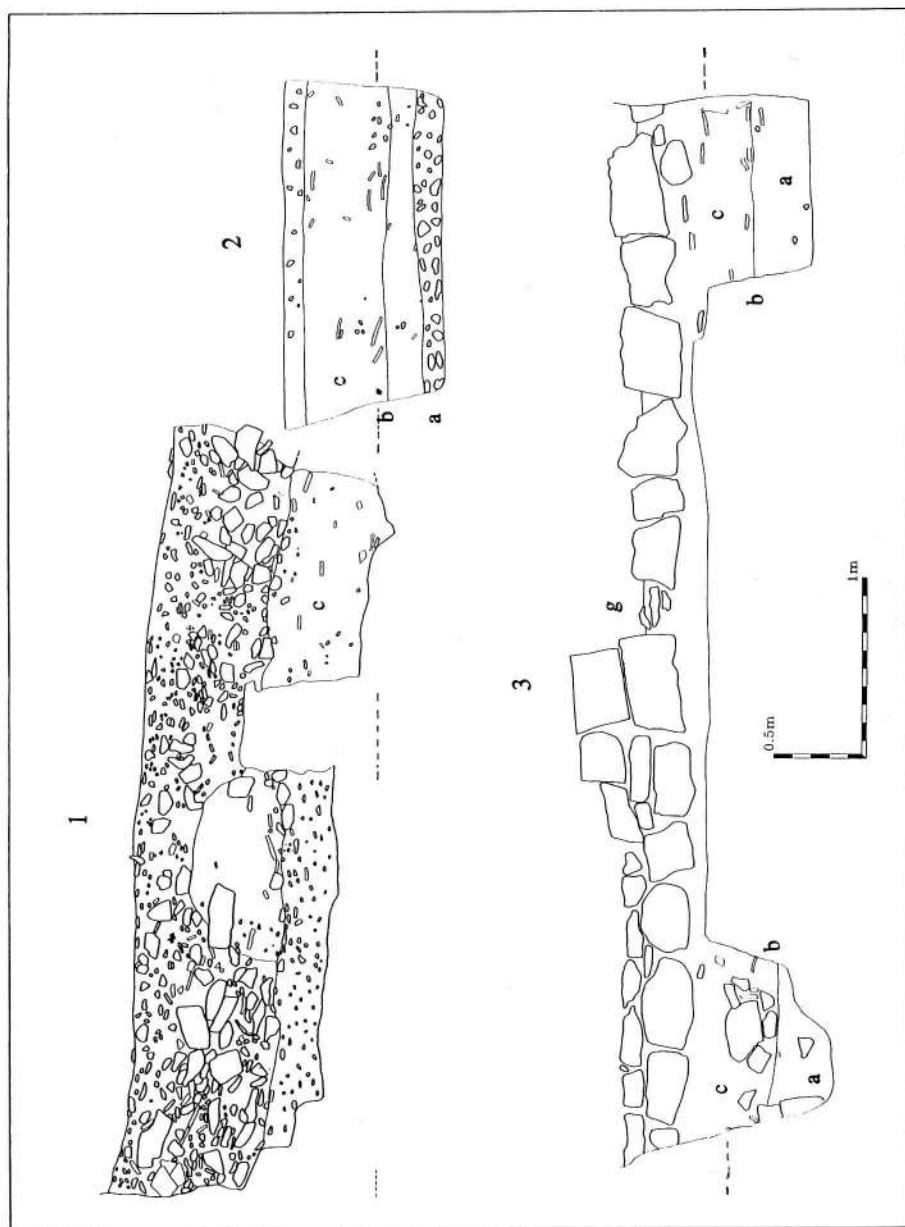


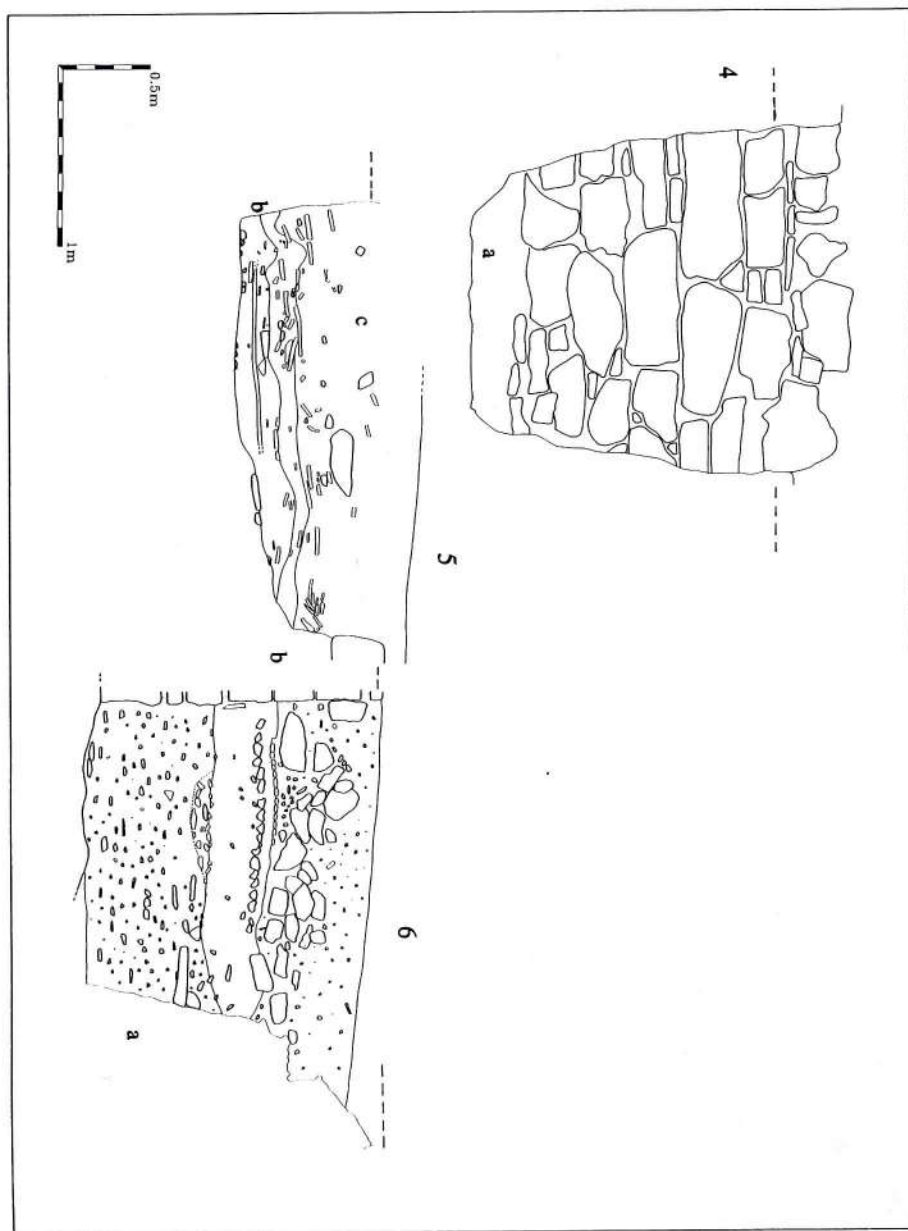
Figure 5a. Location of the sections A-B, C-D and E-F

made between Phases 1 and 2. Phase 2 did not include any coins. We are inclined to put forward a period of use in the first century.

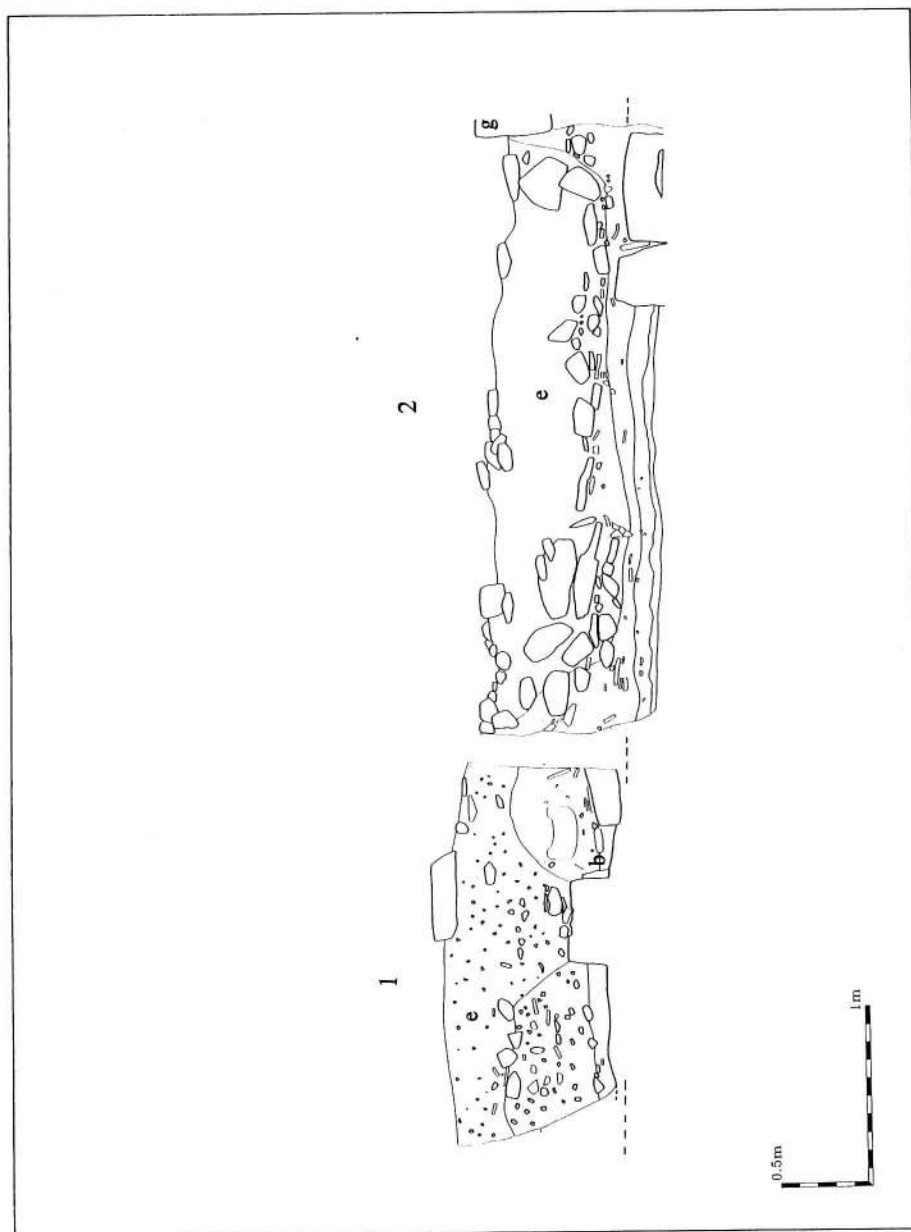


**Figure 5b.** Section A-B: a. layer of chippings; b. floor level Phase 1 (a and b: Stratum 0 or 1, Stratum 1a); c. layer of debris (Stratum 1b); d. floor level Phase 2 and packing of earth covering level Phase 2 (Strata 2a and 2b); e. top soil; g. wall of later building.

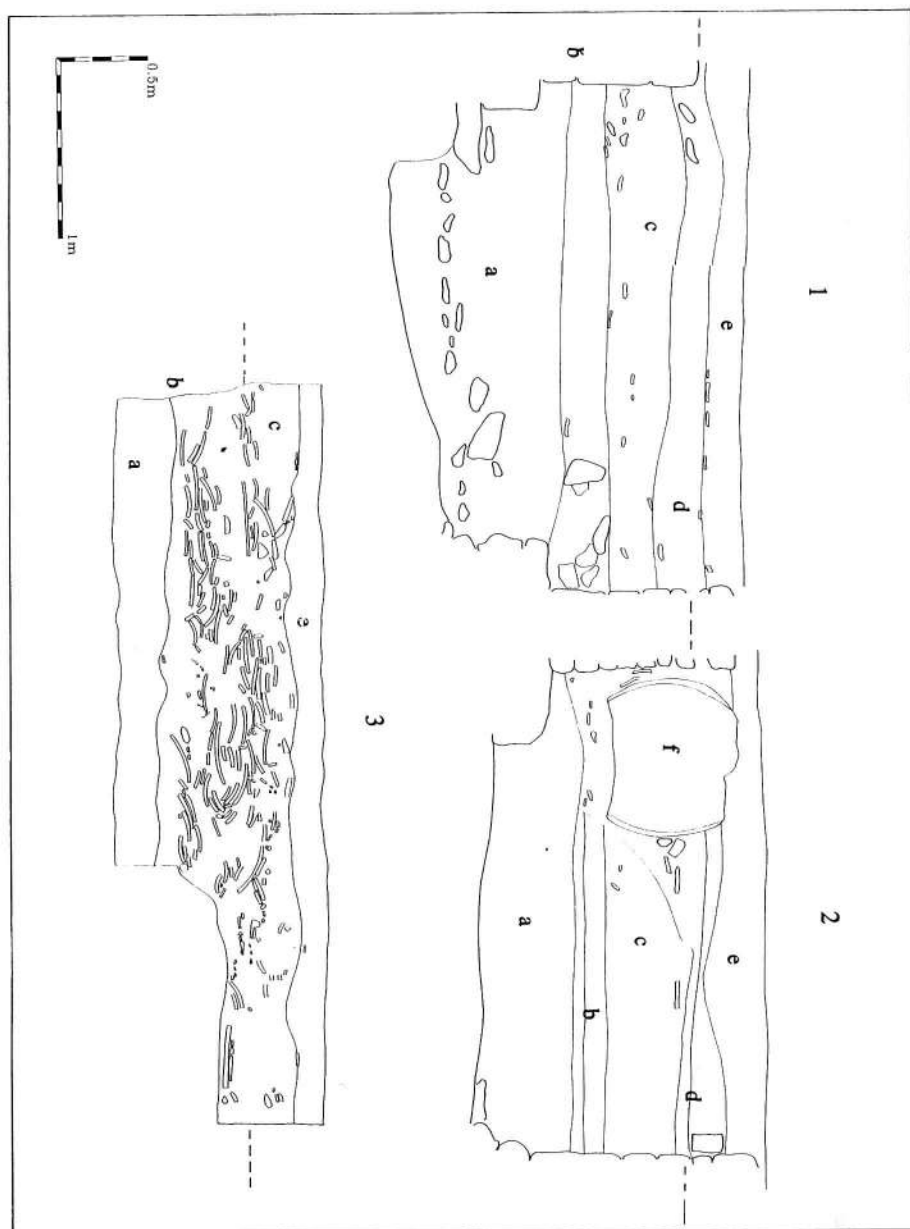




N.B. the interrupted horizontal line denotes the same altitude in all sections, i.e. the floor level of Phase 2, which is about 0.20 m above the level of the court in Phase 1

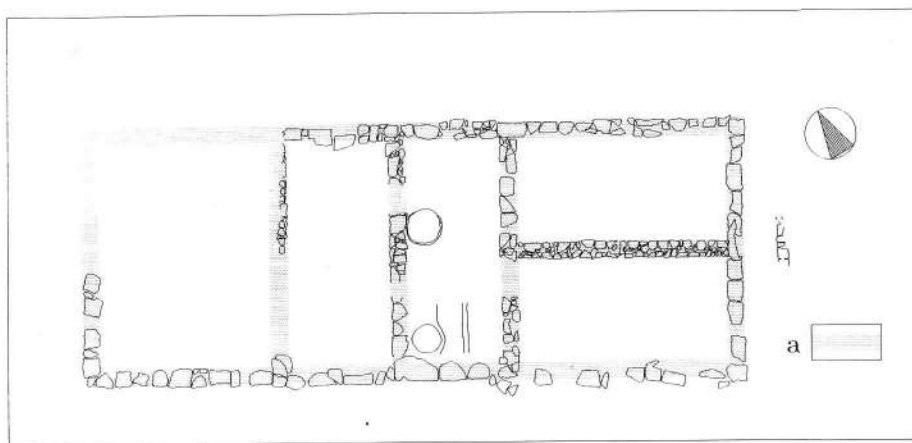


**Figure 5c.** Section C-D: *b*, floor level Phase 1 (Strata 1 and 1a); *e*, top soil and layer of stones covering floor levels of later building (Stratum 3); *g*, wall of later building. N.B. the interrupted horizontal line denotes the same altitude in all sections, i.e. the floor level of Phase 2, which is about 0.20 m above the level of the court in Phase 1



**Figure 5d.** Section E-F: a. layer of chippings; b. floor level Phase 1 (a and b: Stratum 0 or 1, Stratum 1a); c. layer of debris (Stratum 1b); d. floor level Phase 2 and packing of earth covering level Phase 2 (Strata 2a and 2b); e. top soil; f. storage jar. N.B. the interrupted horizontal line denotes the same altitude in all sections, i.e. the floor level of Phase 2, which is about 0.20 m above the level of the court in Phase 1





**Figure 6.** Plan of the house (Phase 2) with reconstructed walls (a)

### 3. Later remains

#### 3.1. Description of the remains

At some later date the site was again inhabited: on top of the remains of the house some small buildings were erected (Fig. 7). These buildings were about 3 by 7 m. The walls, consisting of loosely packed blocks of stone, were dug in, and the floor level within was below the level outside the buildings (Fig. 5.c, section C-D). In some parts the old walls of the ruins of the house were used, in other places material from these walls was reused: in one part of the excavation (SL12, Fig. 5.c, section C-D) a robber trench dug into the old wall was documented.

In the western part of the excavation three of these buildings lie next to each other, the first one was built on the face of rock, the other two in line south of the first. All three had an entrance in the west side. In the eastern part of the excavation two walls, very likely from similar structures, were found. In all probability, more remains of such buildings lie beneath the heaps of stones in the northern part of the excavation. To the west of the excavated area remains of a building can be seen which probably date from the same period as those discussed here.

#### 3.2. Description of the finds.

**Stratum 3** (*definitely later than Phase 1*) (Fig. 19). All the lots which cannot be assigned to one of the clearly recognizable phases are gathered under the heading of Stratum 3. Apart from the many tiles that belong to these lots, some interesting pieces fall in this category.

**P634** is one of the few sherds that allow for the reconstruction of a complete profile. It is a small non-descript bowl with a straight wall. **P817** is a fragment of a rilled rim. Schilbach suggests an Elia provenance or influence and a date in the last third of the fourth century. **P656**

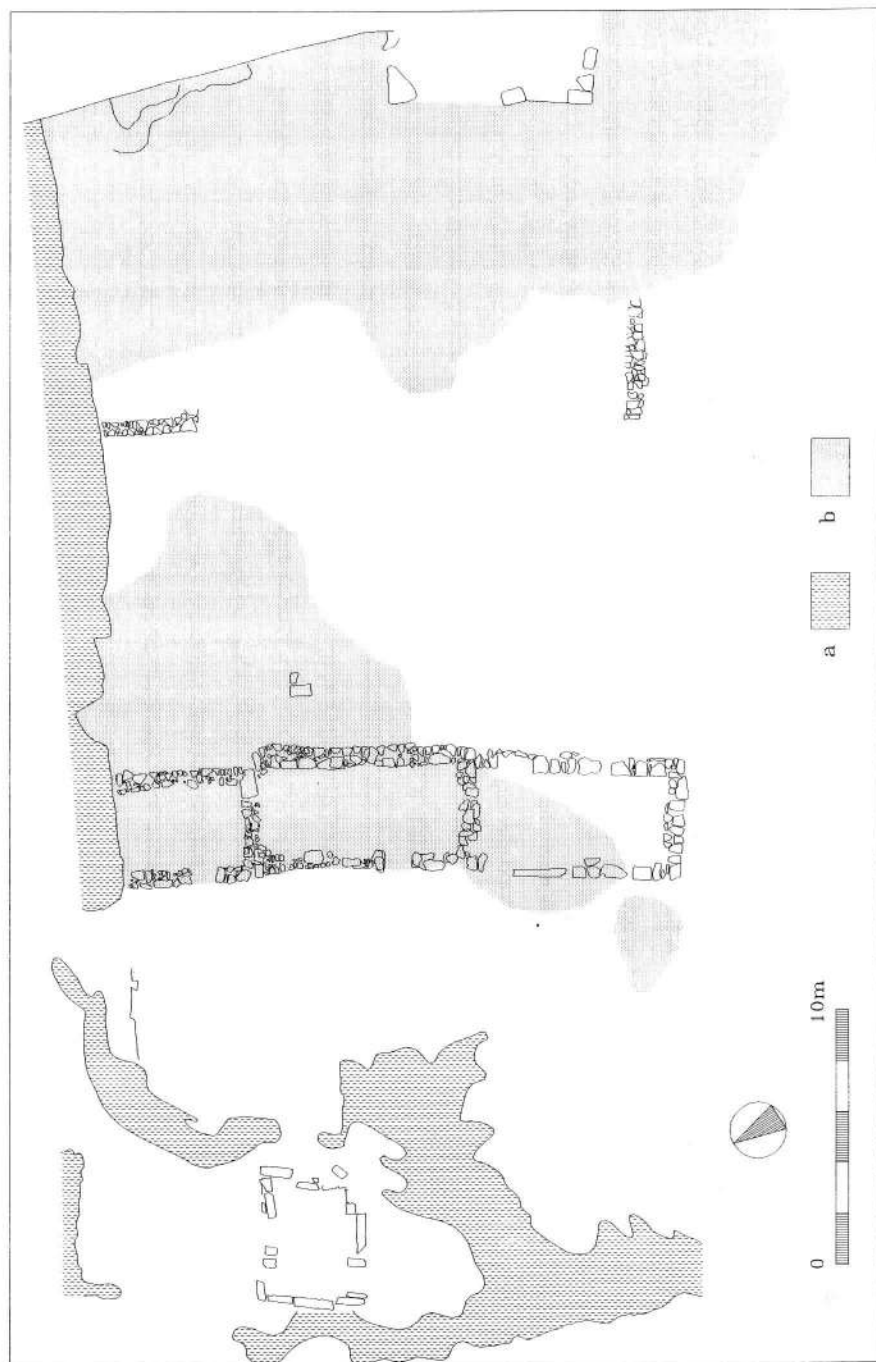


Figure 7. Plan of later buildings: a. bare rock, b. area covered by heaps of stones

is a wall fragment of very good quality, but difficult to ascribe to a definite type of form. **P651**, also of very good quality, is a fragment of an Elian lekythos. It has a decoration of neat palmettes, concentric half moons in circles, and below vertical ribs. The fragment is quite similar to a piece from Kombothekra published by U. Sinn (Sinn 1978, 45ff., Abb. 9). The frieze under the palmettes are most probably dotted circles, a feature which dates the fragment to the years between 390 and 370, according to Schilbach. **P819** is part of a handle with a Heracles knot, possibly belonging to a kantharos. **P824** and **P825** are two of the very few profiled feet found in this excavated area. They could belong to kantharoi. **P735**, also of very good quality, is the foot of a krater which can be compared with the Attic kelch krater described by F. Blondé (1989, 503, Fig. 10, no. 85), although the diameter of our example is somewhat smaller. The piece found on Thasos is described by Ms Blondé as "not later than the third quarter of the fourth century." **P635** is part of the rim and wall of a jug with handle. It can be compared with a piece found in Messene and dated by Mr Themelis to the second century (Themelis 1991, Eik. 8). **P830** is the handle of a frying pan, probably Roman, according to G.R. Edwards. **P829** is the rim of a fairly large pot. It has a coarsely executed resting place for a lid. A fragment which does not fit into the general picture presented by the Lavda finds is **P661**, a fragment of a very large jar with a rope-like decoration.

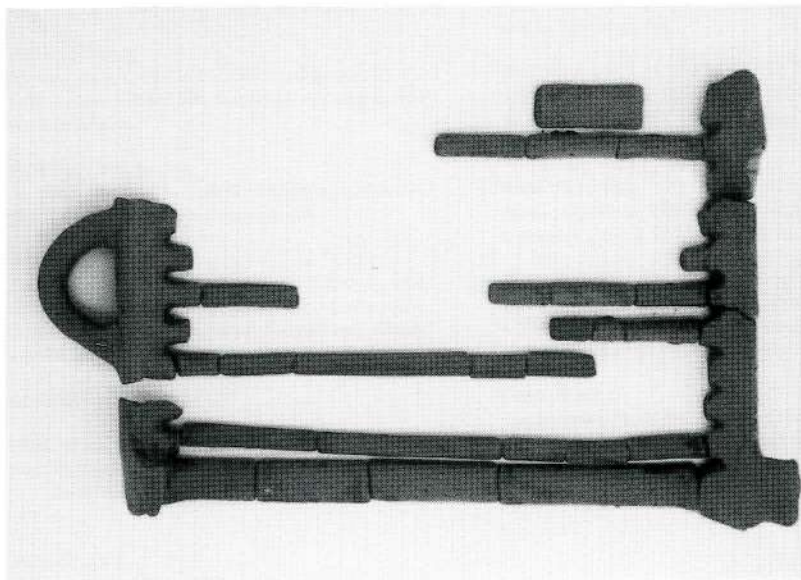
**Stratum 3** (*containing material possibly from Phase 1*) (Fig. 20). Trench SL19 was laid out at the spot where the house from the Hellenistic period had been built over by a construction of a unknown later date. The finds from the floor level of this post-antique building belong either to the final period of Phase 1 of the house or to the post-antique period: it is impossible to discern whether these finds come from the disturbed antique layers or date from a later period of use. Relatively large numbers of finds come from these lots, some of which are included in the catalogue.

**P869** is a fairly shallow example of the plates that were found in great numbers during the excavation. The sharply bent rim is a feature that occurs quite frequently. The rim fragment **P879** with the spool-like rotelle on the handle probably belongs to a kantharos. It is one of the very few examples that might be attributed to this type of vase. **P868** is a small bowl with a strongly incurved rim with a groove near the top. It could be an early example of the type. **P833** is probably part of a trefoil pitcher with a double carinated neck. G.R. Edwards recognized a late Hellenistic form in this. Comparable pieces were found in Messene (Themelis 1992, Eik. 18, Pl. 89) of a non-specified Hellenistic date, and in Stobi (Anderson 1992, 104, no. 754, Pl. 89) with red slip, dating from the first century. The profile of **P870** with an inside sloping ring foot and a narrow resting surface has a number of parallels in other trenches. Three fragments of moldmade bowls came to light in these lots: a long-petal; a long-petal with jewellery; and a small fragment, probably from a figured bowl. The lamp fragment **P871** is too mutilated to be ascribed to a specific type. The nozzle can be compared with our **P670** from Phase 1c. **P899** is a fusiform unguentarium which matches Smetana-Scherrer's description (1982, 88/9) of unguentaria dating from the third century in Athens. **P902** is a stopper of a large jar or amphora (Koehler 1986, 54, Fig. 1 – dated between 350 and early third century).

**Stratum 3** (*possibly Phase 2a or 2b*) (Fig. 21). In the northwestern part of the house a unit was recognized which can be ascribed to either the second phase of the house, to the end of this phase, or to the post-antique period. A variety of sherds belongs to this, on the whole rather voluminous, ensemble.



An austere foot fragment is **P708**. It has the characteristic balancing ring foot which in this case is marked out from the bottom of the plate by a groove. **P301** is a very shallow plate with a very slightly incurved rim. The outside of the wall is decorated with rills. Another characteristic piece is the bottom fragment of a plate with a rather carelessly executed double row of rouletting. **P859** is part of the foot of a fish plate with a remarkable bulge in the middle. The overhanging rims characteristic of fish plates were not found. U. Sinn (1976, 63) also observed this phenomenon during his investigations in Demetrias. He argues that not all plates with depressed centres are necessarily fish plates. A sherd of very good quality is **P343**. According to Schilbach it could be part of an Elian lekythos. On the basis of the stamped decoration he suggests a date between 375 and 360. Other finds are a part of a long-petal bowl of Edwards' Stage II and a small fragment of a black-gloss vase with vertical and crossed grooves (**P898**). **P854** is a fine ware vase that has some parallels, all without the foot, however. It can be compared with Anderson's thin-walled wares Group 1 (1992, 35 ff. Pl. 20/21) in Stobi. This ware has an Italian provenance and is usually believed to date from the middle of the second century to the early Augustean period. Two fragments of lamps are part of this lot. One is a wall fragment with a solid lug (**P857**), the other is part of a wall and foot (**P861**), which does not completely match the well-known types from Corinth or Athens. The T-formed rim fragment **P852** can be compared with those excavated by Mr Themelis in Messene (1992, Eik. 16), for which no firm dates are given. T-rims could also date from a later period, however. **P851** is part of the foot of an amphora. Further finds are two fragments of strongly incurved bowls, an unguentarium with a hollow stem. **P818** has been interpreted as a fragment of a grill, parts of which were also found in other lots (Plate IV). The object has two rectangular flat feet



**Plate IV.** *P818, parts of the grill (reconstruction)*

on each short side and ten bars forming the grid. At least one of the short sides has a semi-circular open grip. The reconstructed length and width are 36 and 24 cm. This grill is quite similar to the one found in Olympia which is dated to the fourth century (Kunze 1944, 104, Abb. 87, 88).

The wide range in the dates of the finds seems to indicate that this unit has been disturbed and that therefore no great importance can be attached to them.

### *3.3. Dating of the later remains*

The finds from Stratum 3 belong to one or more later building phases on the site of the original house. In these strata, sherds were found ranging from the beginning of the fourth century to the end of the first century. Only one coin was attributed to this phase, a late Hellenistic coin from Thouria. Perhaps we may conclude that at the end of the first century the second phase of the house had come to an end and that the terrain was disturbed for unknown reasons at an unknown date.

The dating of the later buildings, however, cannot be established with certainty since no material providing a firm dating was found in situ. Near one of the walls some Late Roman coins were found, but within the walls of the kastro there are some similar buildings that were identified as Byzantine churches. Furthermore, in the 13th and 14th century the hilltop was in use as a Frankish fortress. The buildings therefore can date from any of these periods.

## Part II. The Catalogue

The description of the colour of the clay is based on visual observation and the *Munsell Soil Colour Chart*. It is recognized that no objective designation can be reached. A variety of colours of clay occurs. Most characteristic are: a medium rose-beige (7.5 YR 7/4) or a dark rose-beige (5 YR 6/6), both soft and hard; 2.5 Y 8/3: pale yellow, with many grog particles, red and black, rather hard; 5 YR 6/8: orange, with a fair amount of fine red and white grog particles, rather hard; and 5 YR 7/8: orange rose-beige, with rough red, black, and white grog particles, rather hard. A few pieces have a characteristic blue colour of clay and are baked extremely hard. On the whole the clay is moderately hard with no inclusions. It is not micaceous. The usual gloss is a dull, often patchy brownish black varying to reddish orange. In most cases it is carelessly applied. All measurements refer to the maximum (preserved) dimension in metres. The drawings were done on a 1:1 scale (here reduced). P-numbers are selected items from different lots. V-numbers represent an individual item (V235). O-numbers are interesting surface finds.

### Stratum 0

#### P876 (SL14.8.1)

*Bowl*. Ring foot, fragment. H. 0.016. Bluish grey clay (10 BG 4/1), hard. Shiny black gloss inside.

#### P873 (SL14.8.1)

*Echinus bowl*. H. 0.035; Diam. 0.077. Yellowish beige clay (7.5 YR 8/4), moderate hard. Complete profile, only floor missing.

#### P874 (SL14.8.1)

*Echinus bowl*. H. 0.033; Diam. 0.151. Pale yellow clay (7.5 YR 8/3), soft. Shiny brownish red gloss. Rim and wall fragment, moderately incurving, sloping wall.

#### P875 (SL14.8.1)

*Mortar*. Spout. L. 0.075; W. 0.084. Orange clay (2.5 YR 6/8), moderate hard, few fine white inclusions. Few remains of gloss.

#### P510 (SL3D.23.1)

*Moldmade relief bowl*. H. 0.03; W. 0.03. Pale pinkish clay (5 YR 8/3), hard. Decoration of knobs

#### P850 (SL18.5.1)

*Casserole*. H. 0.041; W. 0.055; Diam. 0.19. Red clay with blue core (2.5 Y 6/1), very hard, very few fine white inclusions. No gloss. Fragment of angled wall, slightly curved, and rim with flat ridge for lid.

### Stratum 0 or 1

#### P691 (SL6.5.1)

*Bowl*. H. 0.045; W. 0.07; Diam. 0.19. Beige clay (10 YR 7/3), hard. Fragment of straight rim and angular wall of bowl.

#### P575 (SL5.2.1)

*Bowl*. H. 0.025; Diam. 0.125. Dark bluish grey clay (5 PB 5/1), moderate hard. No gloss. Fragment of rim and wall of bowl with outturned rim. Angular wall, rim flares out.

#### P721 (SL12.10.1)

*Bowl*. H. 0.07; Diam. 0.125. Grey clay with red core (10 R 5/8), hard, few very fine white inclusions. Rim and wall fragment of hemispherical bowl with triangular raised handle. Rim very little outturned.

#### P653 (SL5.6.2)

*Bowl*. H. 0.018; Diam. 0.125. Orange brown clay (7.5 YR 8/6), hard. Fine dull reddish black gloss. Rim fragment.

#### P893 (SL18.7.2)

*Fish-plate*. H. 0.013. Orange clay (5 YR 6/8), moderate soft, many fine white inclusions. No gloss preserved. Ring foot, low bottom. Depression separated from wall by minimal ridge.

#### P614 (SL5.6.4)

*Moldmade relief bowl*. H. 0.047; W. 0.079; Diam. 0.18. Bluish grey clay (10 Y 7/1), moderate soft. Wall fragment of figured bowl.

#### P904 (SL15.10.6)

*Miniature bowl*. H. 0.015; Diam. 0.029. Light pinkish beige clay (7.5 YR 7/6), moderate hard.

#### P680 (SL6.4.2)

*Lid*. H. 0.2; Diam. 0.092. Dark greyish blue clay (10 GY 4/1), very hard. No gloss. Fragment with knob with bevelled edge. No rim preserved.

#### P690 (SL6.5.1)

*Unguentarium*. H. 0.05. Orange red clay (2.5 YR 6/8), hard. No gloss. Foot and lower part of body.



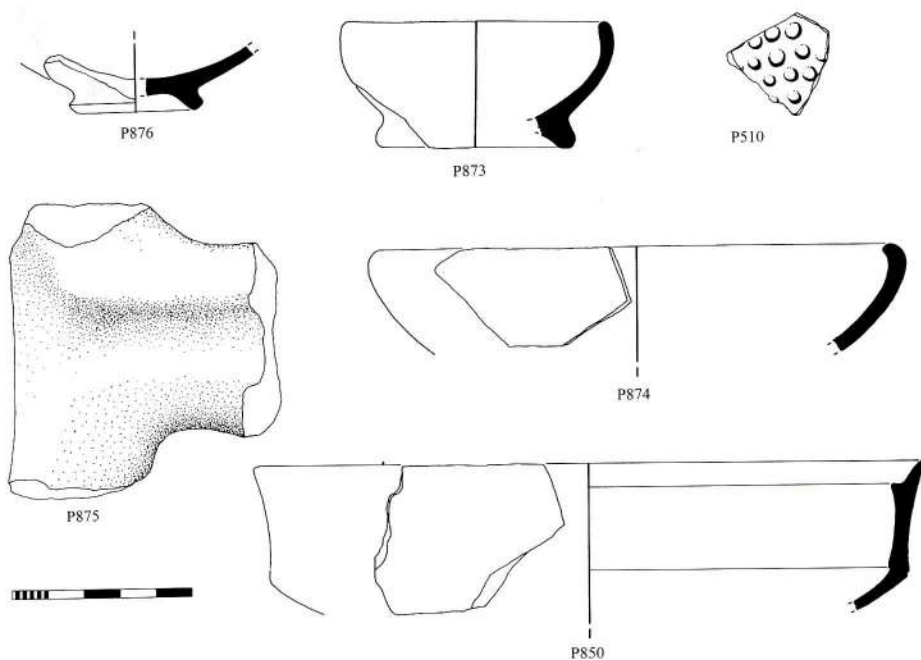


Figure 8. *Stratum 0, the finds*

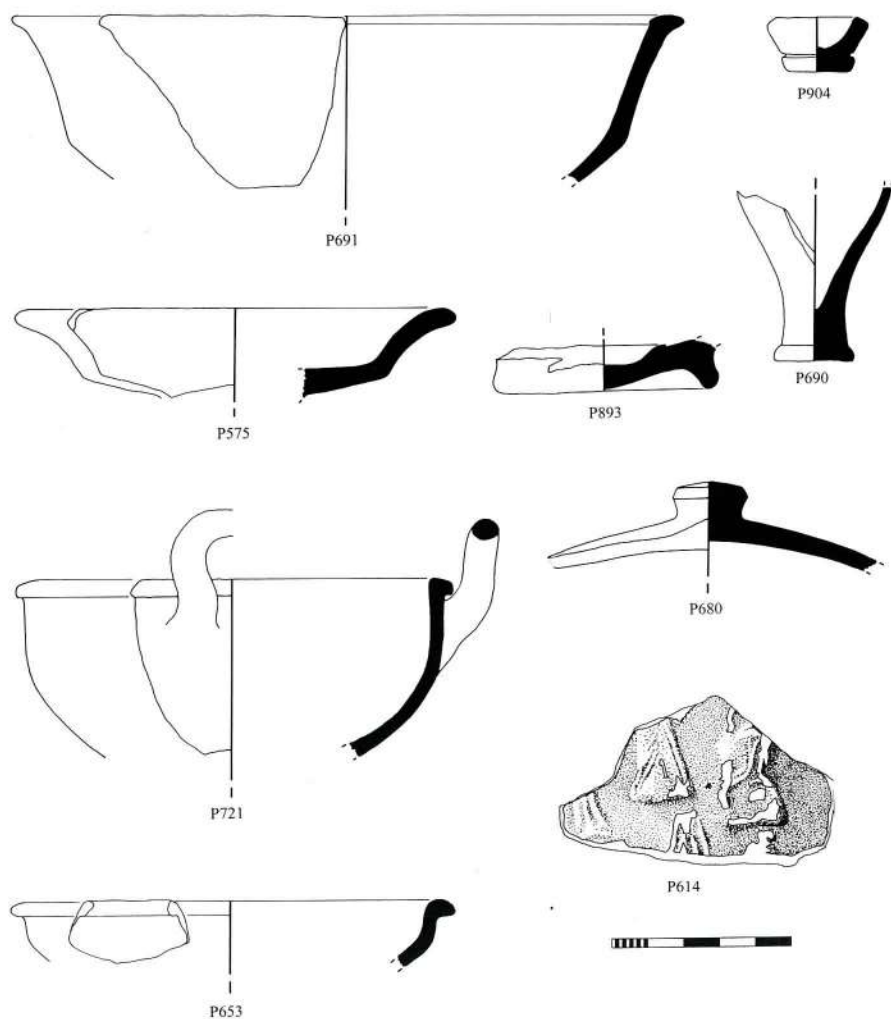


Figure 9. Stratum 0 or 1, the finds

**Stratum 1 or 1a****P887 (SL14.7.2)**

*Plate.* Foot Diam. 0.142; H. 0.025. Greenish grey clay (7.5 Y 7/1). Fragment ring foot, groove at junction with wall.

**P888 (SL14.7.2)**

*Crater.* H. 0.073; W. 0.088. Orange clay (2.5 YR 6/8), moderate hard, few small white inclusions. Fragment of large vase with figurative applique, dancing figure.

**P889 (SL14.7.2)**

*Crater.* H. 0.057; Diam. 0.22. Orange red clay (5 YR 6/8), very hard. Rim and wall fragment. Rim flares out and thickens. Decoration of row of vertical grooves and egg-and-dart pattern, separated by a double groove. On upper part of wall awkwardly incised West Slope decoration.

**P863 (SL14.7.1)**

*Echinus* bowl. H. 0.04; Diam. 0.098. Light pinkish beige clay (7.5 YR 8/6), moderate hard. Foot and wall fragment, low bottom.

**P862 (SL14.7.1)**

*Rim.* H. 0.047; Diam. 0.20. bluish grey clay (10 BG 6/1), very hard. No gloss. Two joining fragments of outturned rim, lip flares out.

**P892 (SL14.7.2)**

*Jug.* Grey clay (7.5 YR 6/3), moderate soft. Lustrous black gloss outside. Nine fragments, some joining. Rim flares out and thickens. Vertical handle attached to shoulder. No foot.

**P886 (SL14.7.2)**

*Lid.* fragment. H. 0.016. Bluish grey clay (5 B 4/1), very hard, frequent very fine white inclusions. No gloss. Top of knob flat with bevelled edge. Wall rather straight.

**P853 (SL14.7.1)**

*Lid.* H. 0.032; W. 0.092. Dark yellowish beige clay (7.5 YR 7/4), moderate hard. No gloss. Central fragment of lid. Profiled knob with small depression on top.

**P906 (SL14.10.1)**

*Lid.* H. 0.02. Greyish brown clay (7.5 YR 5/1), very hard, few fine white inclusions. No gloss. Knob with small part of covering lid. Knob separated from wall by broad groove.

**P912 (SL14.10.1)**

*Lamp.* H. 0.028; Diam. 0.06. Yellowish beige clay (7.5 YR 8/4), moderate soft. At ca. 0.01 from filling hole groove under gloss. Solid lug. Base with cone inside.

**P894 (SL14.7.2)**

*Casserole.* H. 0.037; Diam. 0.175. Dark greyish red clay (2.5 YR 5/4), moderate hard, frequent fine white inclusions. No gloss. Vertical handle attached to rim forming a high loop. Angular wall. Shallow resting place for lid.

**P895 (SL14.7.2)**

*Casserole.* H. 0.02; Diam. 0.18. Orange clay (5 YR 6/8). No gloss. Rim fragment with horizontal slanting handle. Pronounced resting place for lid.

**P864 (SL14.7.1)**

*Casserole.* H. 0.041; Diam. 0.16. Dark red clay (2.5 YR 4/6), moderate soft. No gloss. Rim and wall fragment, angular wall. Faint ridge to receive lid.

**Stratum 1a****P529 (SL3.15.4)**

*Bowl.* H. 0.028; Diam. 0.211. Yellowish brown clay (7.5 YR 8/6), hard. Shiny black gloss all over. Wall fragment with rilled rim.

**P376 (SL3.12.1)**

*Plate.* H. 0.017; Diam. 0.275. Reddish orange clay (10 R 6/8), hard. Fragment with broad flaring rim, clear junction to wall.

**P361 (SL3.1.5)**

*Plate.* H. 0.058; W. 0.03; Recon. diam. 0.24. Orange clay (5 YR 6/6), hard. Few inclusions. Brownish orange gloss all over. Rim fragment of shallow plate with angularly put on rim.

**P378 (SL3.12.1)**

*Bowl.* Foot fragment. H. 0.043; W. 0.042. Orange clay (5 YR 6/6), hard, few inclusions. Brownish black gloss.

**P535 (SL3.20.1)**

*Bowl.* Foot fragment. H. 0.024; W. 0.028; Diam. 0.09. Beige clay (10 YR 7/3), soft, few inclusions. Good black gloss all over.

**P533 (SL3.20.1)**

*Pot.* H. 0.043; Diam. 0.121. Light beige clay (7.5 YR 8/3), rather soft. Fine black gloss all over. Fragment of strongly undulating wall and rim. Decoration reminiscent of egg-and-dart pattern.

**P537 (SL3.21.3)**

*Bowl.* Foot fragment. H. 0.03; Diam. foot 0.045. Orange brown clay (7.5 YR 7/4), hard. Black, reddish-brown gloss all over. Fairly broad vertical line of little grooves on the foot.

**P359 (SL3.1.5)**

*Oinochoe?* Foot fragment. H. 0.018; Diam. 0.154. Pinkish beige clay (7.5 YR 7/6), hard.

**P373 (SL3.1.5)**

*Pot.* H. 0.02; Diam. 0.178. Greenish grey clay (5 Y 7/1), hard. Two joining rim fragments with inturning wall; rim flares out horizontally.

**P355 (SL3.1.5)**

*Neck.* Fragment. H. 0.034; W. 0.037. Light grey clay (10 YR 7/1), soft, no inclusions. Badly preserved greyish green gloss.



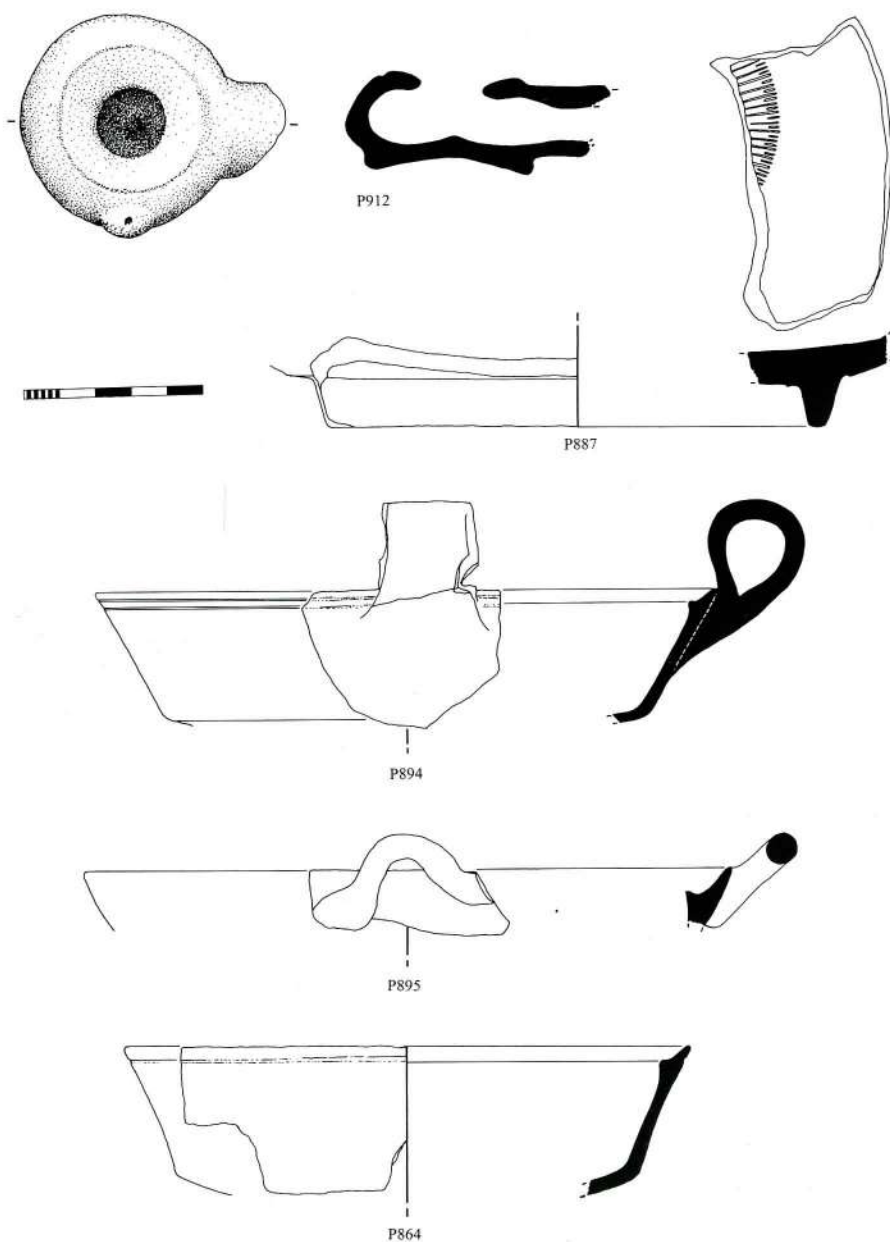


Figure 10. *Stratum 1 or 1a, the finds*

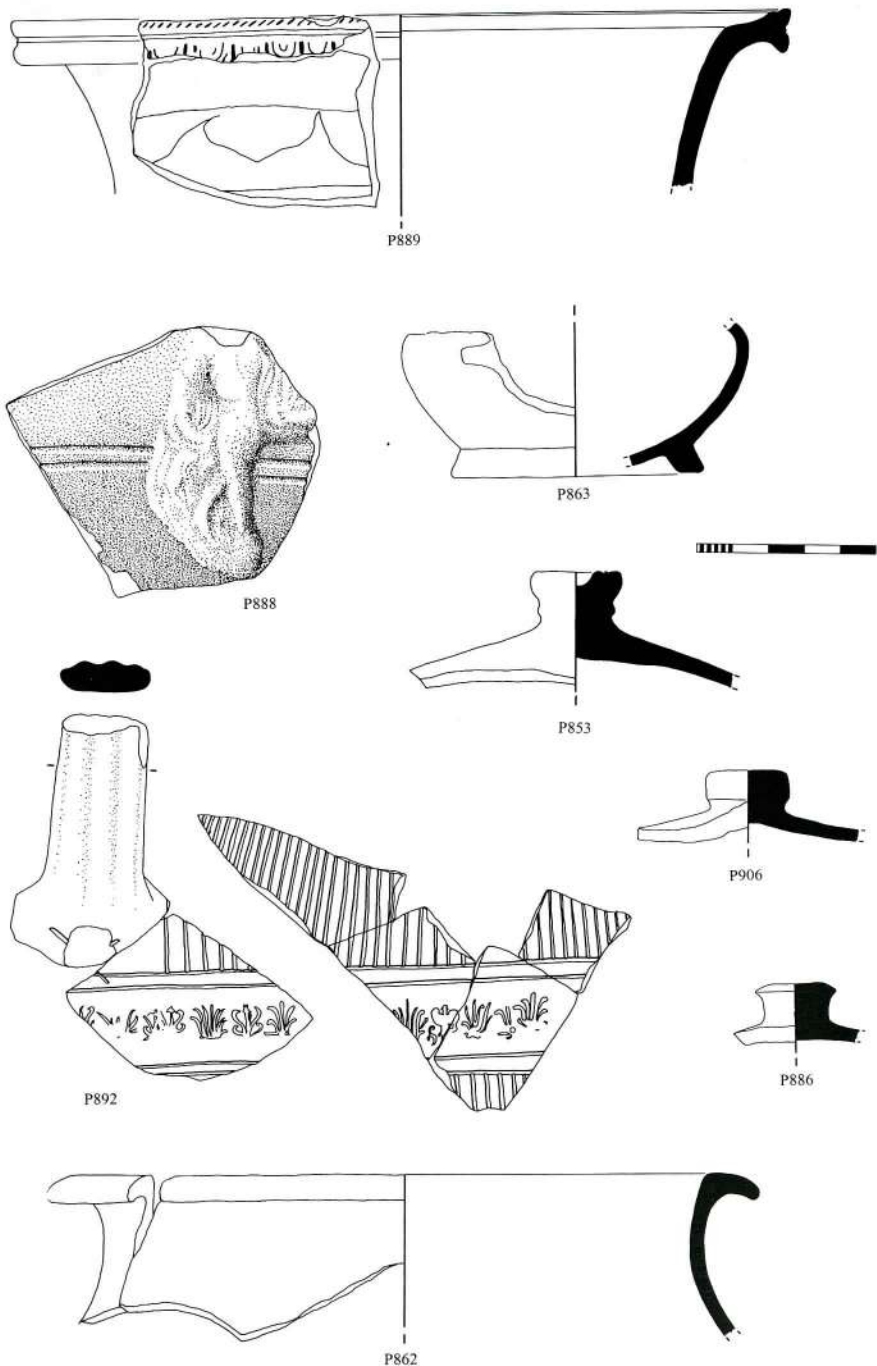


Figure 11. Stratum 1 or 1a, the finds

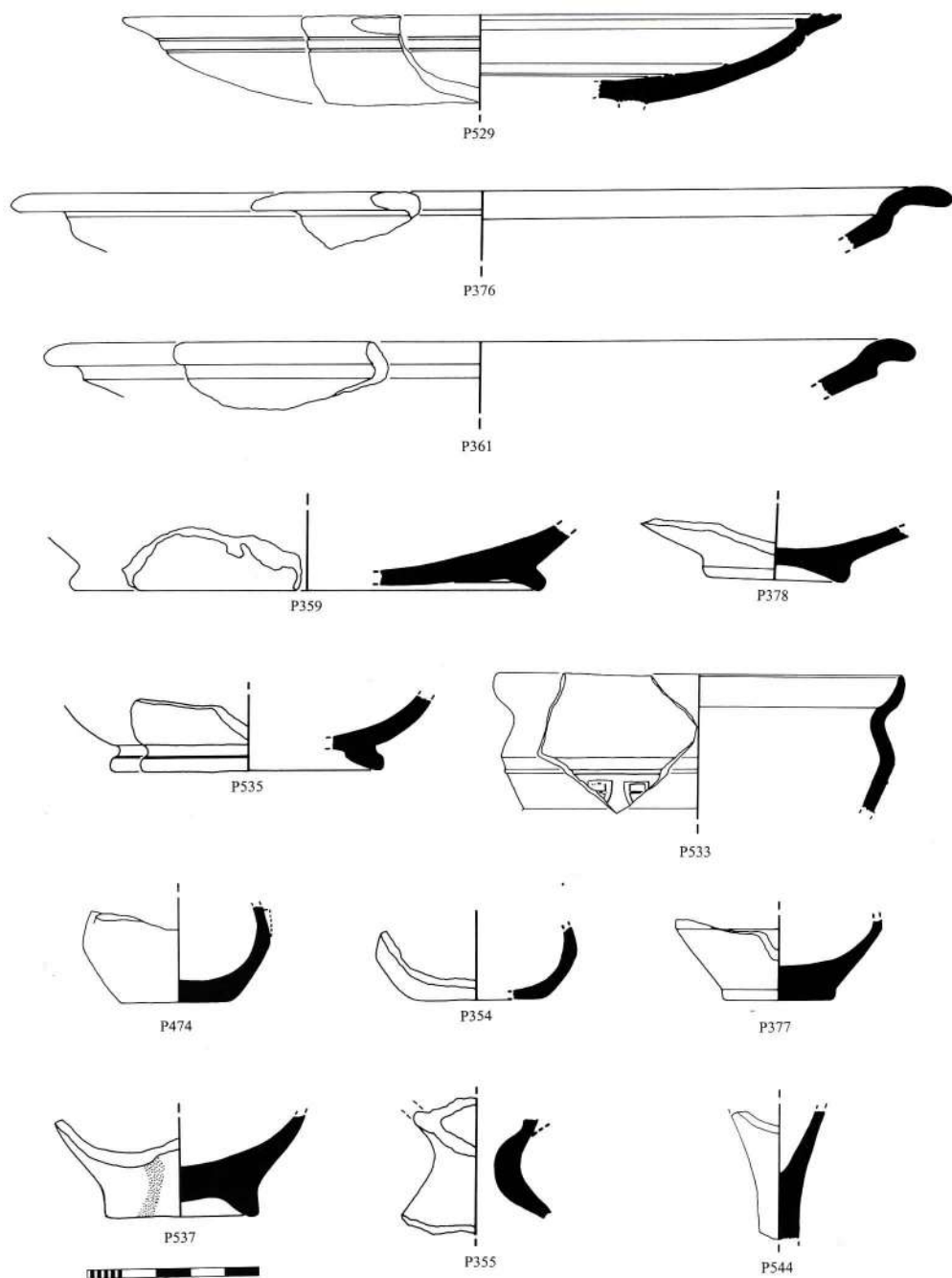


Figure 12. *Stratum 1a, the finds*



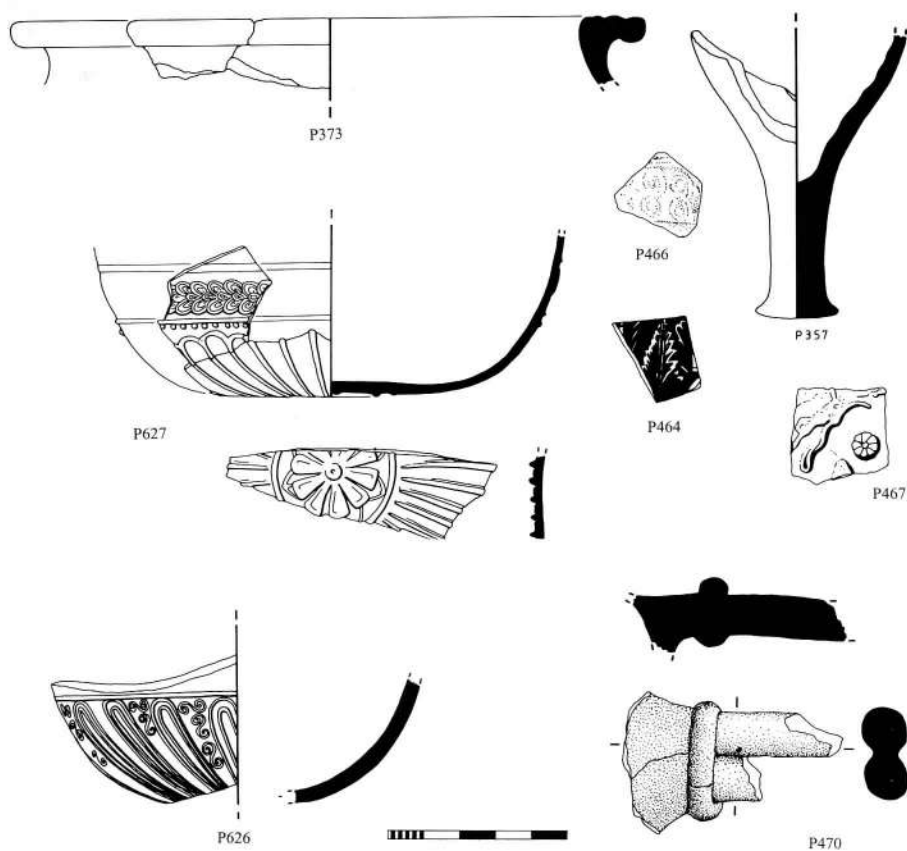


Figure 13. *Stratum 1a, the finds*

**P626** (SL5.6.1)

*Moldmade* relief bowl. H. 0.043; Diam. 0.105. Light greenish grey clay (2.5 Y 7/1), very hard, few very fine inclusions. Wall fragment: petals formed by two parallel ribs, separated by one horizontal and 1 or 2 vertical S-shaped spirals.

**P627** (SL5.6.1)

*Moldmade* relief bowl. 7 fragments. H. 0.048; Diam. 0.135. Dark blue clay (N 4/0), reddish core, very hard. No gloss.

**P466** (SL3.20.1)

*Moldmade* relief bowl. H. 0.023; W. 0.024. Pinkish beige clay (2.5 YR 6/8), rather hard. Wall fragment with rim pattern of faint 8-shaped vertical spirals.

**P467** (SL3.20.1)

*Moldmade* relief bowl. H. 0.027; W. 0.027. Dark pinkish beige clay (2.5 YR 6/8), hard. Reddish orange gloss all over. Fragment of figurative bowl: animal and tight rosette.

**P464** (SL3.20.1)

*Moldmade* relief bowl. H. 0.025; W. 0.023. Pale beige clay (7.5 YR 8/3), soft, few inclusions. Bluish grey gloss all over. Wall fragment with alternating leaves (fern and frond).

**P354** (SL3.11.5)

*Lamp*. Fragment H. 0.038; W. 0.025. Orange brown clay (5 YR 6/8), fairly hard, few small inclusions.

**P377** (SL3.12.1)

*Lamp*. H. 0.024; Diam. 0.06. Yellowish orange brown clay (10 YR 7/4), moderate hard. Fragment of small bowl with flat bottom and angular wall.

**P474** (SL3.20.1)

*Lamp*. H. 0.027; Diam. 0.055. Medium beige clay (5 YR 7/6), rather hard. Fragment with flat base, angular wall; onset to handle.

**P544** (SL3.21.2)

*Unguentarium*. H. 0.042. Reddish brown clay (7.5 YR 4/1), hard, frequent inclusions. No gloss. Fragment of lower part of body, foot not preserved.

**P357** (SL3.1.5)

*Unguentarium*. H. 0.082; Diam. 0.06. Orange clay (2.5 YR 7/6), hard. No gloss. Lower part of body.

**P470** (SL3.20.1)

*Handle*. H. 0.03; W. 0.065. Dark rose beige clay (5 YR 6/8), hard, few small with inclusions. Faint traces of reddish gloss. Two fragments of handle consisting of two circular rolls bound with strip of clay.

**Stratum 1b****P911** (SL17.3.2)

*Bowl*. H. 0.039; Diam. 0.16. Greenish grey clay (7.5 Y 7/1), moderate hard. Fragment ring foot, centre of bottom missing.

**P883** (SL17.3.2)

*Bowl*. H. 0.069; Diam. 0.285. Bluish clay, red core (2.5 YR 6/8), very hard, few very fine white inclusions. Fragment ring foot, centre of bottom missing.

**P725** (SL8.6/7)

*Bowl*. H. 0.025; Diam. 0.121. Beige clay (7.5 YR 7/4), moderate hard, few very fine white inclusions. Rim fragment.

**P420** (SL3.18.3)

*Plate*. H. 0.02; Diam. 0.15. Bluish grey clay (10 BG 6/1), medium hard. Fragment of angular wall with concave rim strongly flaring out.

**P675** (SL12.8.2)

*Plate*. H. 0.032; Diam. 0.131. Orange clay (5 YR 6/8), soft. No gloss. Neck/rim fragment.

**P407** (SL3.15.1)

*Plate*. H. 0.019; Diam. 0.14. Orange brown clay (5 YR 7/3), moderate soft. Fragment of low concave rim slightly flaring out.

**P508** (SL5.1.2)

*Plate*. H. 0.013; Diam. 0.21. Orange brown clay (7.5 YR 6/4), hard. Rim fragment with inturned lip.

**P683** (SL12.4.1)

*Bowl*. H. 0.042; Diam. 0.155. Bluish grey clay (10 BG 5/1), very hard, few very fine white inclusions. No gloss (preserved). Rim fragment, wall curving inward, rim flares out horizontally.

**P685** (SL10.7.1)

*Bowl*. H. 0.048; Diam. 0.215. Light beige clay (10 YR 8/2), hard. Fragment, ring foot not complete, bottom missing.

**P397** (SL4.1.2)

*Pyxis?* H. 0.02; Diam. 0.105. Brownish orange clay (5 YR 6/6), soft. No gloss (preserved). Two joining rim fragments with grip all around.

**P432** (SL3.18.3)

*Echinus* bowl. H. 0.04; Diam. 0.14. Orange brown clay (5 YR 6/6), hard. Rather straight wall, last part slightly incurving. Foot missing.

**P658** (SL8.6.2)

*Echinus* bowl. H. 0.024; Diam. 0.144. Blackish grey clay (5 Y 3/1), hard. Rim fragment with two grooves.

**P367** (SL3.1.3/4)

*Pot*. H. 0.033; Diam. 0.119. Pale pinkish beige clay (7.5 YR 8/3), rather soft. Rim and wall fragment.

**P445** (SL3.18.1)

*Pot*. H. 0.02; Diam. 0.125. Greenish brown clay (7.5 YR 6/2), moderate hard. Ondulating rim fragment with vertical handles on both sides of vessel.

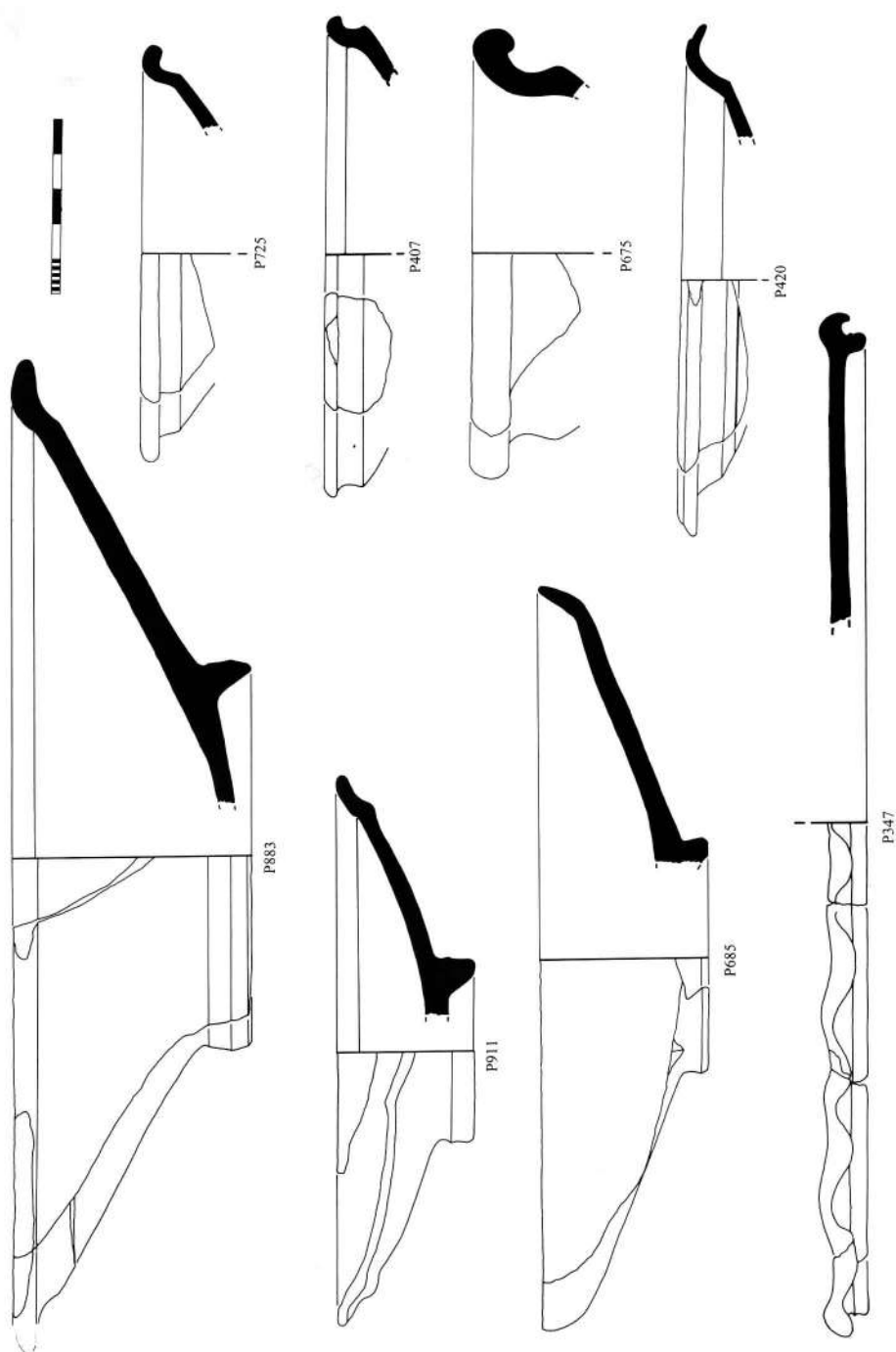


Figure 14. *Stratum 1b, the finds*



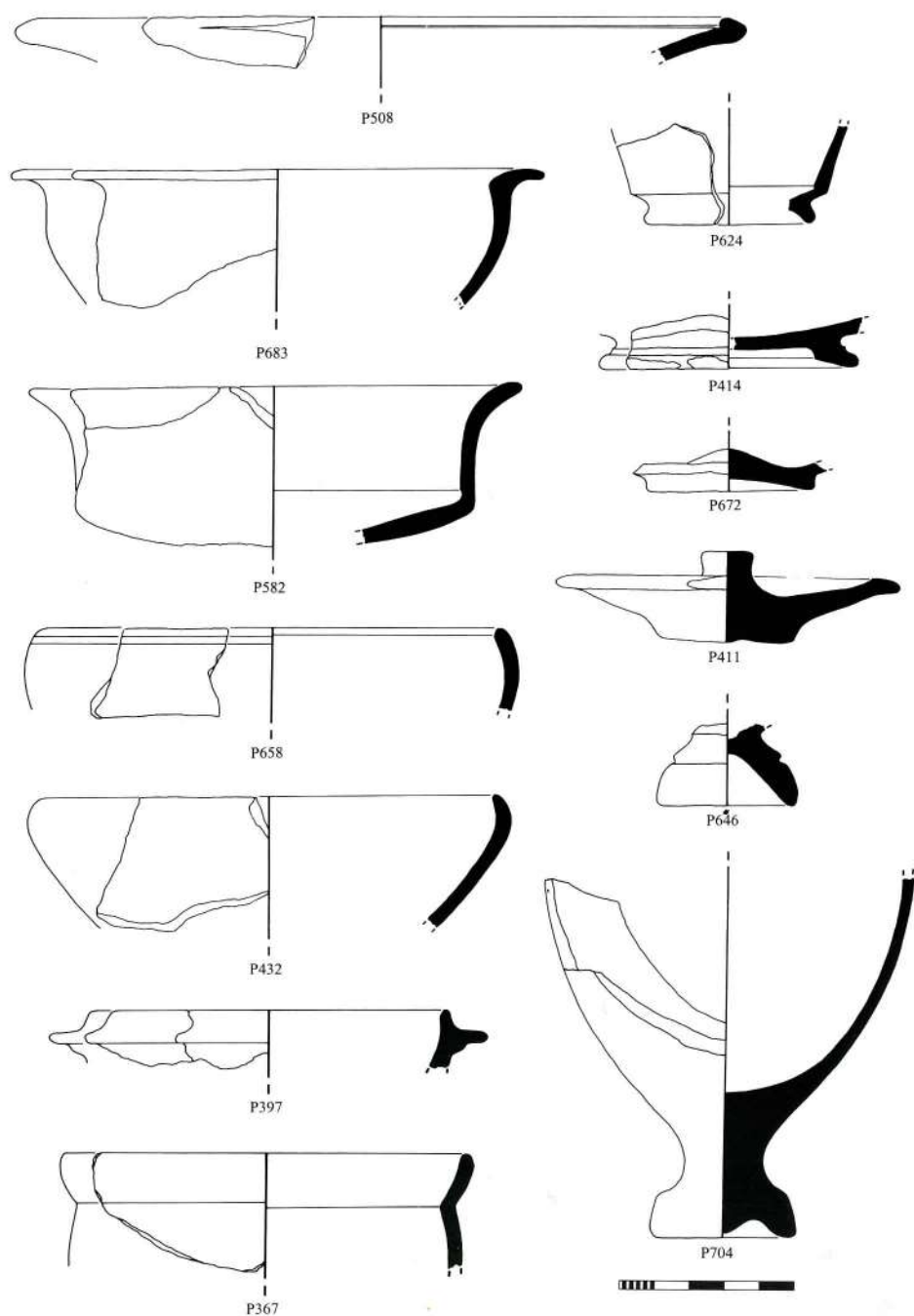
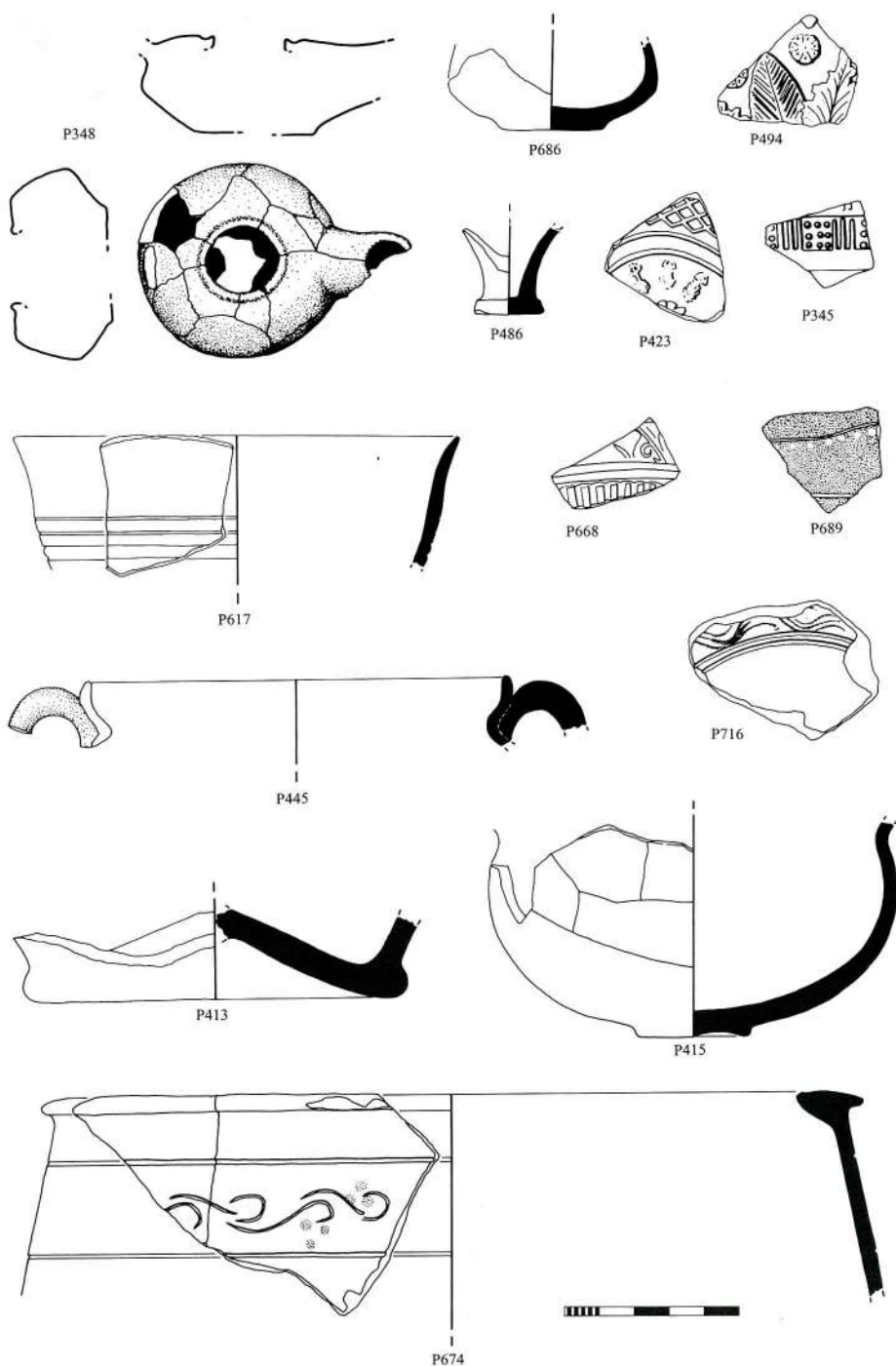


Figure 15. *Stratum 1b, the finds*



**Figure 16.** *Stratum 1b, the finds*

**P414** (SL3.18.2)

*Bowl?* H. 0.015; Diam. 0.075. Orange clay (7.5 YR 7/3), rather soft. Foot fragment.

**P624** (SL7.9.1)

*Bowl* H. 0.03; Diam. 0.065. Grey clay (2.5 Y 7/2), moderate hard. Shiny black gloss in- and outside. Ring foot and wall fragment; bottom missing; sharply angled junction foot to wall.

**P646** (SL6.4.1)

*Goblet* H. 0.024; Diam. 0.041. Greyish beige clay (2.5 Y 7/3), hard. Shiny black gloss all over. Rather high profiled foot.

**P704** (SL12.3.2)

*Goblet*. Three joining fragments. H. 0.107; Diam. 0.107. Bluish grey clay (10 Y 5/1), very hard, rather frequent medium large black inclusions. No gloss.

**P689** (SL12.2.5)

*Wall* fragment. H. 0.03; W. 0.035. Light beige clay (10 YR 8/3), moderate hard. Dull fine black gloss all over. West Slope decoration of scraped groove with small painted pending dots.

**P716** (SL13.2.5)

*Wall* fragment. Elian lekythos? H. 0.042; W. 0.055. Reddish orange clay (2.5 YR 6/8), moderate soft. West Slope decoration of carelessly scraped tendrils.

**P668** (SL12.8.2)

*Wall* fragment. H. 0.037; W. 0.02. Bluish grey clay (10 YR 7/1), moderate soft. Shiny greenish black gloss all over. West Slope decoration of carefully executed scraped tendrils, below vertical ribs.

**P674** (SL12.8.2)

*Crater* H. 0.065; Diam. 0.25. Orange red clay (2.5 YR 5/8), hard. Fragment of rather straight wall, rim sharply bending inward and out again.

**P345** (SL3.11.1)

*Moldmade* relief bowl. H. 0.025; W. 0.032. Orange brown clay (7.5 YR 6/6), rather soft. Wall fragment with rim pattern consisting of three grooves, alternating with nine dots in carré.

**P494** (SL5.1.3)

*Moldmade* relief bowl. H. 0.033; W. 0.041. Light orange clay (5 YR 8/4), hard. Wall fragment with alternating tight leaves and acanthus leaves. Tight rosettes in between.

**P617** (SL5.3.3)

*Moldmade* relief bowl. H. 0.041; Diam. 0.13. Grey clay (10 YR 6/3), moderate soft, few very fine inclusions. Rim fragment: 0.023 under slightly outturned rim 2 grooves and 1 convex horizontal rib under gloss.

**P423** (SL3.18.3)

*Moldmade* relief bowl. H. 0.037; W. 0.035. Brownish grey clay (5 YR 6/2), moderate hard. Fragment with 'net' decoration and medallion with rosette and circle of 'darts'.

**P486** (SL3.15.3)

*Unguentarium*. H. 0.025; Diam. 0.028. Orange clay (5 YR 7/8), hard. Low hollow stem with slight profile.

**P672** (SL12.8.2)

*Lamp*. H. 0.012; Diam. 0.056. Greyish beige clay (10 YR 6/2), moderate soft. Complete base.

**P348** (SL3.1.3)

*Lamp*. Several joining fragments, tip of nozzle missing. L. 0.08; W. 0.057. Greenish grey clay (5 Y 6/2), rather hard. No gloss (preserved). Flat base, angular wall, groove around filling hole. Nozzle somewhat blackened.

**P686** (SL12.7.1)

*Lamp*. H. 0.022; Diam. 0.06. Orange clay (2.5 YR 7/6), moderate hard. Fragment of lower part of body.

**P411** (SL3.15.2)

*Lid*. H. 0.026; Diam. 0.1. Grey clay (N 4/0), hard, many inclusions. No gloss. Amphora stopper with concave upper side, with knob. Underside presumably broken off.

**P582** (SL5.3.1)

*Casserole*. Fragment H. 0.044; W. 0.09; Diam. 0.14. Greyish brown clay (10 YR 4/1), hard. Black slipping glaze inside and outside.

**P415** (SL3.18.3)

*Pot*. H. 0.062; Diam. 0.118. Brownish grey clay (7.5 YR 7/2), rather soft. Several joining fragments of globular body with very low ring foot; no rim preserved.

**P413** (SL3.15.2)

*Jug*. H. 0.029; Diam. 0.117. Orange clay (7.5 YR 7/4), moderate hard. Lower part of kicked jug.

**P347** (SL3.11.1)

????? H. 0.013; Diam. 0.295. Orange brown clay (7.5 YR 6/6), moderate hard. No gloss. Several joining fragments with undulating overhanging rim.



**Stratum 2a****P324** (SL3.7.2)

*Plate.* H. 0.016; Diam. 0.225. Pinkish beige clay (5 YR 6/6), rather hard. Fragment of straight wall and rim. Groove indicates junction on inside.

**P392** (SL3.14.1)

*Bowl.* Th. wall 0.005; Diam. 0.21. Light orange clay (5 YR 7/6), soft, very few inclusions. Dull reddish black gloss inside, badly preserved. Fragment of rim and wall.

**P326** (SL3.7.2)

*Bowl.* H. 0.037; Diam. 0.235. Dark greyish blue clay (N 4/0), very hard. No gloss preserved. Fragment of straight wall from rather deep bowl.

**P391** (SL3.14.1)

*Plate.* Th. 0.007-0.005; Diam. 0.12. Orange clay (5YR 7/8), hard, very few inclusions. Reddish brown gloss inside. Fragment of wall and rim.

**P659** (SL6.7.4)

*Echinus* bowl. H. 0.02; Th. 0.005; Diam. 0.087. Brownish grey clay (5 YR 6/4), moderate hard. Dull black gloss inside and outside. Rim fragment.

**P394** (SL3.14.1)

*Plate.* H. 0.043; Diam. 0.187. Orange clay (5 YR 7/6), hard, very few fine dark inclusions. Fragment of large plate with high straight ring foot.

**P520** (SL3, under pithos)

*Fish* plate. Foot fragment. H. 0.02; L. 0.065; W. 0.035. Medium beige clay (7.5 YR 7/6), moderate hard. Remains of black gloss, rest burnt blue. Depression separated from wall by wide groove (W. 0.0095); maximum depth no longer to be ascertained.

**P525** (SL3.5/6.8).

*Wall* fragment. H. 0.075; W. 0.055. Reddish orange clay (2.5 YR 5/8), rather hard. No gloss. Fragment of female face (down to bridge of nose) with done-up hair and plaited band in hair above forehead.

**P390** (SL3.14.1)

*Handle.* W. 0.012; Th. 0.005. Dark orange beige clay (5 YR 7/8), soft, very few inclusions. Few remains of dark red gloss. Almost complete handle with rotelle.

**P393** (SL3.14.1)

*Pot.* H. 0.127; Diam. 0.047. Medium pinkish beige clay (2.5 YR 6/8), hard. Fragment of profiled incurving rim, narrow neck and strongly bulging body.

**P386** (SL3.14.1)

*Moldmade* relief bowl. H. 0.05; W. 0.05. Light beige clay (7.5 YR 8/6), rather soft. Two joining fragments with lotus pattern. Rim pattern with spiral dots.

**P322** (SL3.7.2)

*Amphora.* H. 0.05; Diam. 0.106. Orange clay (5 YR 6/8), soft. No gloss. Fragment of rim and neck with upper part of vertical handle.

**Stratum 2b****P914** (SL17.8.6)

*Plate.* H. 0.02; Diam. 0.09. Dark beige clay (7.5 YR 6/6), moderate hard, few very fine inclusions. Two joining fragments of ring foot. On bottom two concentric grooves under gloss; in between six irregularly placed stamped palmettes.

**P315** (SL3.7.1)

*Salt* cellar? H. 0.026; Diam. 0.062. Dark beige clay (5 YR 6/4), moderate hard. Almost complete profile (bottom missing). Grooves under gloss outside. Straight wall.

**P813** (SL17.1.2/3)

*Jug.* H. 0.063. Orange red clay (2.5 YR 6/8), moderate hard. No gloss (preserved). 70 fragments—few of which joining—of high necked jug. Two vertical flat handles under rim to shoulder. Neck slightly bulging above handles.

**P316** (SL3.7.1)

*Lamp.* H. 0.023; Diam. 0.052. Reddish orange clay (2.5 YR 6/6), moderate hard, frequent small white inclusions. No gloss (preserved). Fragment of body.

**P526** (SL3.6.2)

*Lamp.* H. 0.025; L. 0.067. Medium beige clay (5 YR 7/6), rather soft. Fragment of base with complete nozzle. Inside swirl of clay.

**P310** (SL3.6.1)

*Lamp.* H. 0.039; Diam. 0.06. Grey clay (5 Y 6/1), hard. Nozzle missing, onset to vertical handle. Moldmade, decoration faded centrifugal ribs, garland/plait/cornucopia? around filling hole.

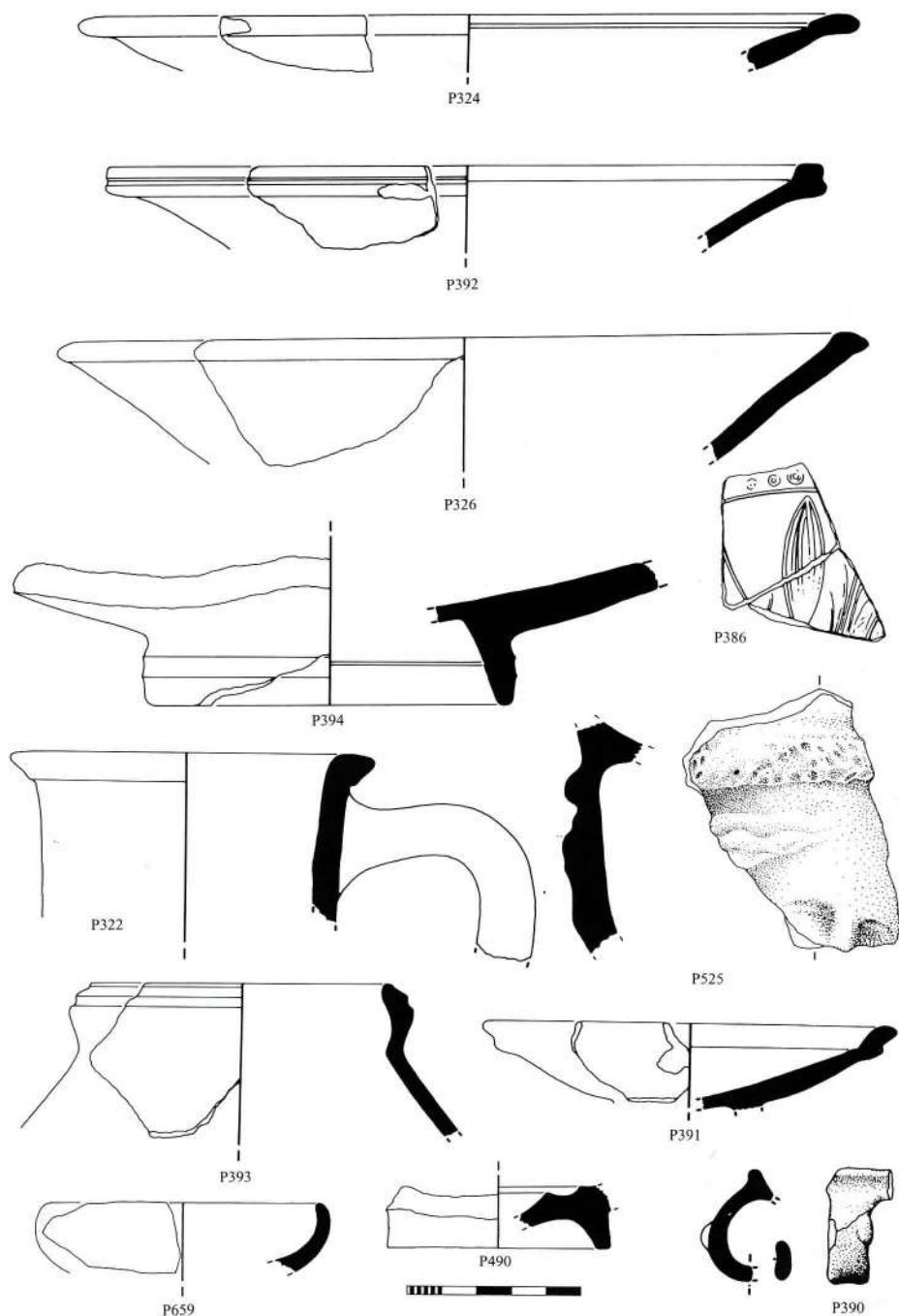


Figure 17. Stratum 2a, the finds

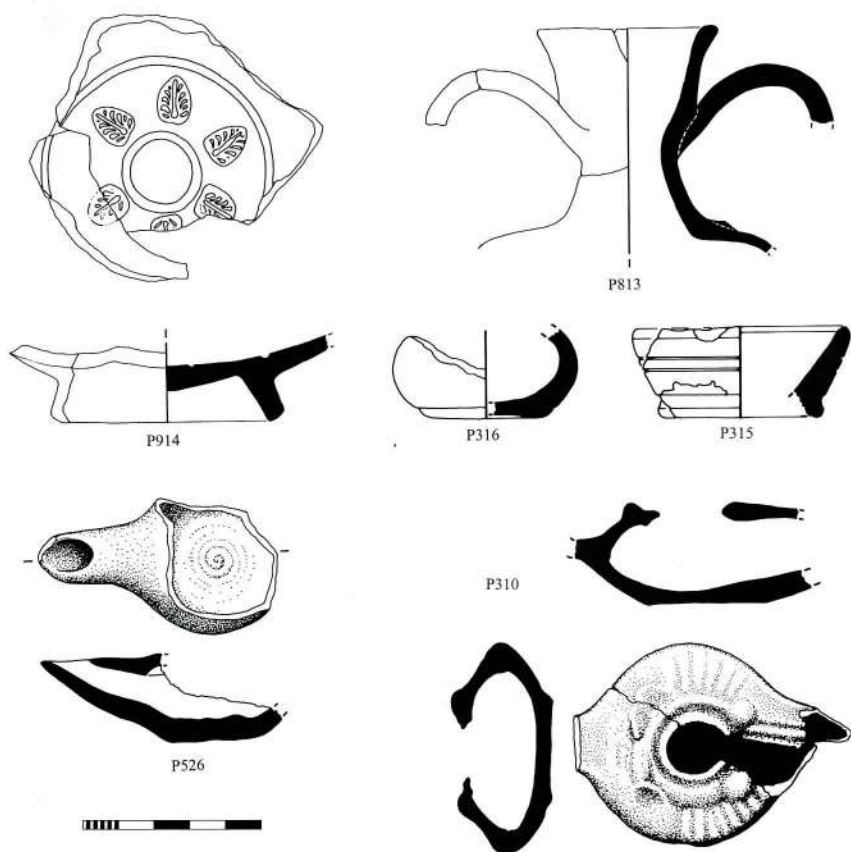


Figure 18. *Stratum 2b, the finds*



**Stratum 3** (*definitely later than Phase 1*)**P634** (SL10.1.2)

*Small* bowl. 9 fragments. H. 0.036; Diam. 0.073. Dark bluish grey clay (10 BG 4/1), very hard, very few very fine inclusions. No gloss preserved.

**P817** (SL18.1.3)

*Plate*. Fragment filled rim. H. 0.015; W. 0.018; Diam. 0.31. Pale beige clay (7.5 YR 8/3), soft. Shiny black gloss all over.

**P656** (SL12.2.2)

*Wall* fragment. H. 0.023; W. 0.031. Reddish beige clay (5 YR 7/4), moderate hard. Shiny black gloss all over. Decoration of guilloche above vertical ribs.

**P651** (SL11.1.2)

*Lekythos*. H. 0.028; W. 0.035. Orange brown clay (7.5 YR 8/6), moderate hard. Shiny black gloss on outside. Small shoulder fragment of Elian lekythos.

**P819** (SL18.1.3)

*Kanthalos*. L. 0.018; W. 0.018. Orange clay (5 YR 7/6), soft. Shiny black gloss. Fragment of handle: Heracles knot.

**P824** (SL18.1.3)

*Kanthalos*?. Foot fragment. H. 0.048; Diam. reconstr. 0.08. Reddish beige clay (5 YR 7/4), soft, almost no inclusions. Shiny black gloss.

**P825** (SL18.1.3)

*Kanthalos*. H. 0.03; Diam. 0.115. Dark greyish beige clay (2.5 Y 6/1), hard. Shiny black gloss, except on underside foot. Heavy profiled broad ring foot.

**P735** (SL12.1.1)

*Kelch* krater. fragment foot. H. 0.029; Diam. 0.122. Reddish beige clay (5 YR 7/6), moderate hard. Shiny black gloss all over.

**P635** (SL10.1.2)

*Jar*. H. 0.067. Diam. 0.18. Dark orange red clay (5 YR 6/8), hard, few fine black inclusions. No gloss. Rim fragment and upper part of globular body with vertical handle.

**P830** (SL19.3.2)

*Frying* pan, handle. L. 0.045. Orange clay (5 YR 7/8), partly burned, rather soft with medium sized inclusions. The handle has been broken at the point where it was attached to the pan. Round with a bulge halfway, end hollow.

**P829** (SL19.3.2)

*Rim* fragment. H. 0.035; Diam. 0.26. Orange clay (5 YR 7/8), rather soft, frequent small inclusions. Inside and outside white slab. Fragment of rim and small part of wall. Wide resting place for lid.

**P661** (SL10.1.2)

*Wall* fragment. H. 0.125; W. 0.087; Th. 0.034. Yellowish beige clay (10 YR 7/4), fairly soft, many large inclusions. Rope-like decoration.

**Stratum 3** (*containing material possibly from Phase 1*)**P869** (SL19.4.1)

*Plate*. H. 0.039; Diam. 0.28. Pale yellow clay (7.5 YR 8/3), moderate hard. Rim fragment and part of straight wall, rim somewhat curled.

**P879** (SL19.4.1)

*Kanthalos*?. H. 0.02. Pale yellow clay (10 YR 8/3), moderate soft. No gloss preserved. Rim fragment and upper part of vertical handle with rotelle. Two scraped grooves under gloss just below rim on inside.

**P868** (SL19.4.1)

*Bowl*. H. 0.021; Diam. 0.072. Beige clay (5 YR 6/6), moderate hard. Fragment of strongly incurving rim and part of wall. Groove just under rim.

**P833** (SL19.3/4)

*Pitcher*. H. 0.052; Diam. rim 0.035. Greenish grey clay (2.5 Y 5/1), soft. No gloss preserved. Fragment of rim and neck; halfway neck pronounced bulge. Rim squeezed into spout.

**P870** (SL19.4.1)

*Foot*. H. 0.025; Diam. 0.075. Orange clay (5 YR 7/8), moderate soft. Fragment of ring foot, wall curves rather straight upward.

**P871** (SL19.4.1)

*Lamp*. L. 0.06; W. 0.048; Nozzle L. 0.02. Yellowish beige clay (5 YR 7/8), moderate hard. No gloss preserved. Five fragments of nozzle and part of body; flat base.

**P899** (SL19.3.3)

*Unguentarium*. H. 0.09. Bluish grey clay (10 BG 4/1), very hard. No gloss. Three joining fragments of massive stem and lower half of body.

**P902** (SL19.4.1)

*Amphora*. H. 0.075; W. 0.145. Dark red clay (2.5 YR 5/8), moderate soft, rather large and frequent inclusions. Knob with small concavity.

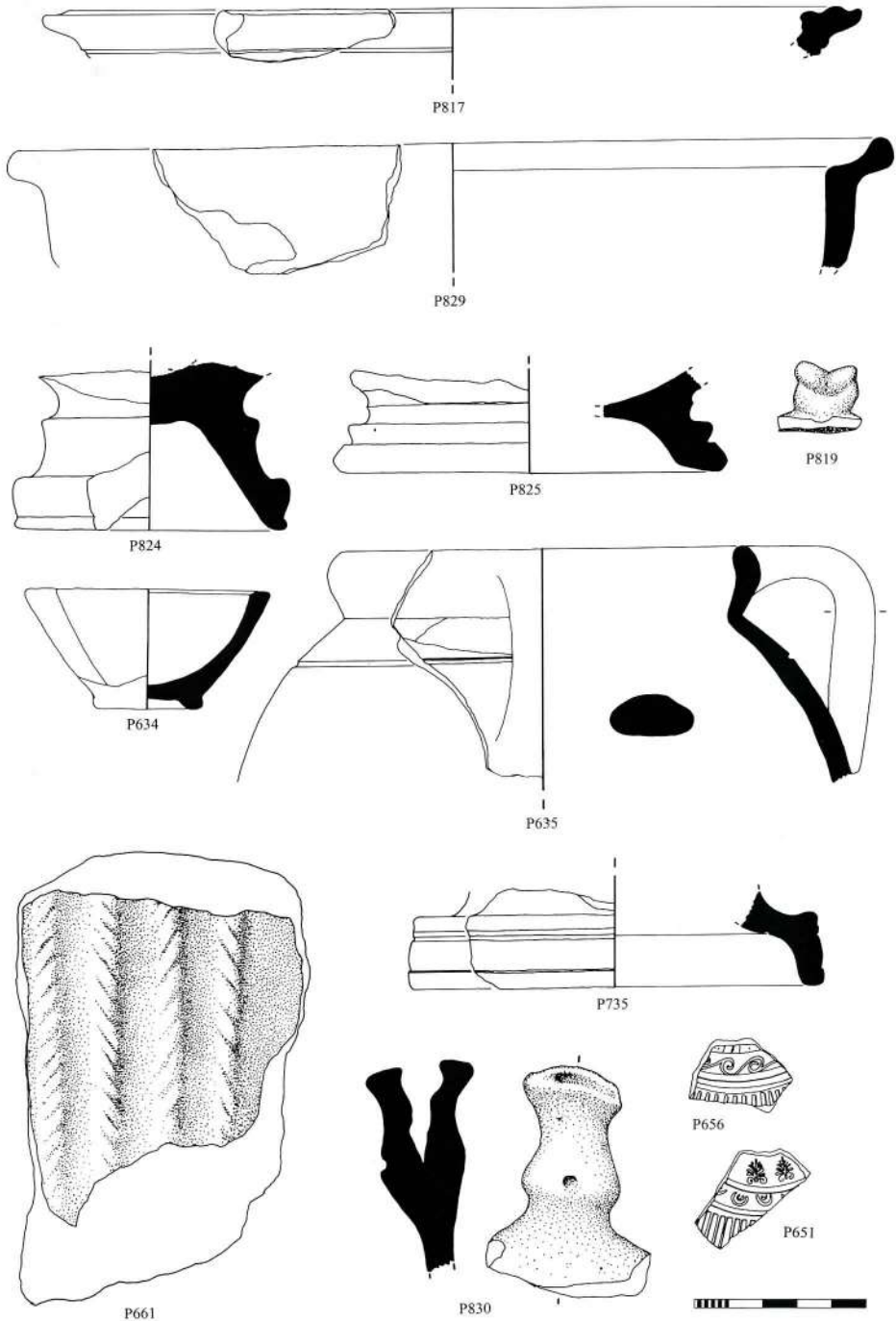


Figure 19. Stratum 3 (definitely later than Phase 1), the finds

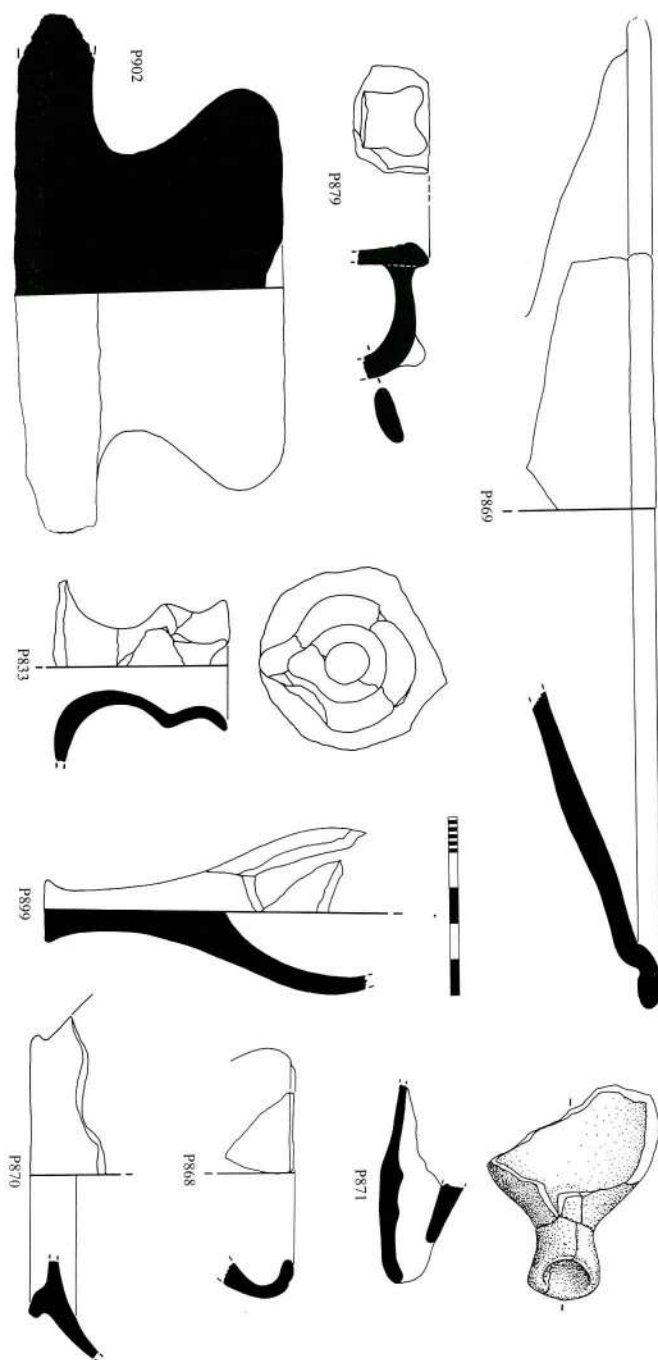


Figure 20. Stratum 3 (containing material possibly from Phase 1), the finds



**Stratum 3** (possibly Phase 2a or 2b)**P708** (SL5, east profile)

*Bowl.* W. 0.04; H. 0.04 approx.; Diam. foot reconstr. 0.9. Greyish green clay (5 Y 7/11), rather hard, few small inclusions. Dull black gloss. Fragment of ring foot with groove inside ring.

**P301** (surface)

*Bowl.* L. 0.04; H. 0.015; Diam. reconstr. 0.168. Light greyish green clay (10 YR 7/2), rather soft, very few inclusions. Shiny black gloss. Rim fragment of shallow bowl.

**P341** (SL3.4.2)

*Flat bowl.* Wall fragment. H. 0.045; W. 0.043. Yellowish reddish beige clay (7.5 YR 8/6), soft, no inclusions. Medium black gloss. Double row of rouletting.

**P859** (SL18.6.1)

*Fish-plate.* H. 0.023. Medium pinkish beige clay (7.5 YR 7/4), moderate hard, few fine white inclusions. Ring foot, reservoir surrounded by ridge and groove, nipple in central depression.

**P343** (SL3.4.2)

*Lekythos.* Wall fragment. H. 0.029; W. 0.025. Light rose beige clay (7.5 YR 8/6), soft. Black gloss outside. Slanting grooves under gloss, linked palmettes, vertical ribbing.

**P898** (SL18.14.1)

*Wall* fragment. H. 0.01; W. 0.02. Yellowish orange clay (7.5 YR 8/6), moderate hard. Shiny black gloss outside. Decoration of two vertical grooves and quarter of cross under gloss.

**P854** (SL18.6.1)

*Jar.* H. 0.057; Diam. 0.1. Dark yellowish brown clay (7.5 YR 7/6), hard. Brownish slab. Two joining fragments of rim and upper part of wall. Three fine scraped grooves on rim and two idem at junction of rim and body.

**P851** (SL14.6.2)

*Amphora.* H. 0.05. Orange clay (5 YR 7/6), moderate soft with few medium sized white inclusions. On underside foot shallow depression.

**P857** (SL18.6.1)

*Lamp.* L. 0.045; W. 0.02. Yellowish beige clay (7.5 YR 8/6), moderate soft. Fragment of wall with solid lug and nozzle. Filling hole surrounded by low rim.

**P861** (SL18.6.1)

*Lamp.* H. 0.02. Pale yellow clay (10 YR 8/3), soft. Dull red gloss, badly preserved. Base fragment, faint swirl of clay inside.

**P852** (SL14.6.2)

*Jar.* H. 0.025; Diam. 0.26. Yellowish beige clay (10 YR 8/3), moderate hard. Rim fragment of rather large vase. Rim curves inward; horizontal lip outward.

**P818** (SL18.1.3 and others)

*Grill.* Orange clay (5 YR 7/6), moderate hard, many small black, red and white inclusions. Reconstruction: grill standing on four feet (W. 0.027; Th. 0.014; H. ca. 0.04) with at one short side round grip. Ten bars within rectangular frame, approx. L. 0.36; W. 0.24.

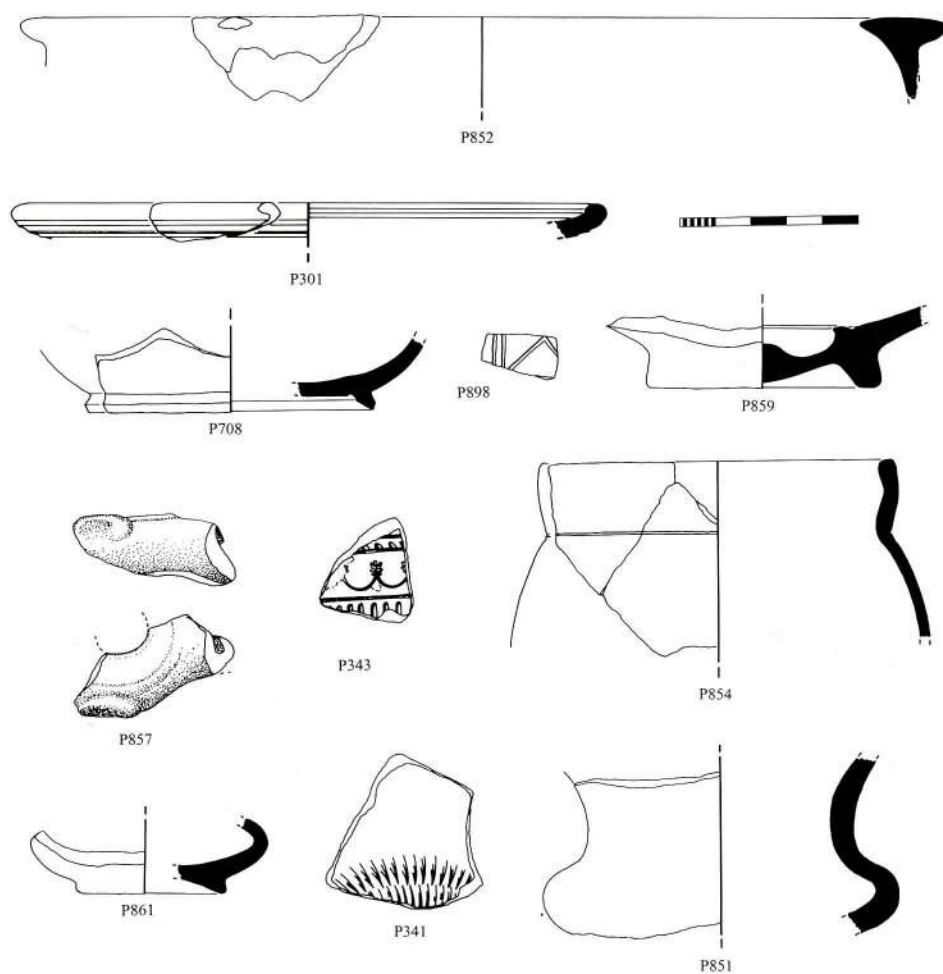


Figure 21. Stratum 3 (possibly Phase 2a or 2b), the finds

### Tiles (Fig. 22)

A great number of fragments of tiles were found during the excavation. The majority are pan tiles of the Laconian type. Cover tiles occur less, and only one or two pitched cover tiles of the Corinthian type could be recognized. The range of the clay used for the pans is restricted to some varieties, considerably less than in the other ceramics. (2.5 Y 8/3: pale yellow, heavy red and black grog particles; rather hard. 7.5 YR 7/4: medium rose-beige, rather heavy white, red and black grog particles, rather hard. 5 YR 6/6: dark rose-beige, rough white, red and black grog particles, rather hard. 5 YR 6/8: orange, rather many fine red and white grog particles, rather hard. 5 YR 7/8: orange rose-beige, rather rough red, black and white grog particles, rather hard). On some fragments traces of dark red or black 'paint' remain.

Although large fragments of tiles were recovered, no complete specimen could be reconstructed. The width of only one cover tile could be measured: 0.28 m. The widths of the pan tiles vary between 0.42 and 0.45 m; reconstructed length is 0.69 m. The long sides have bevelled edges, the wider short side has a thickened edge and a groove, the other short side is straight. The average thickness is 0.018 m. This model meets the description of the 4th century Laconian tiles from the sanctuary of Zeus in Nemea, where a groove and the thickened edge on the concave upper surface are interpreted as serving to prevent water from running under the next tile (Miller 1994, 87). Laconian tiles in particular do not undergo much change over the centuries; therefore a date for the Lavda tiles cannot be deduced from their description.

Some of the fragments do bear stamps. We assume that the stamp ΘΙΣ[ (**P611**) indicates a property of the polis (?) Thisoa. The stamp ΔΜΟ/ΘΙΟ (**P399**) could be interpreted as ΔΑΜΟΙΟ which is to be understood as an indication of public property (Miller 1994, 93). The stamps of **P311** and **P400** are too fragmentary to allow conclusions.

The fragment of the lateral sima **O31** (which does not properly belong to the tile category) can be compared with the examples given by Mary C. Roebuck of terracottas with fluted plastic tendrils from Corinth. Following Heiden, she places the introduction of the plastic decoration on lateral simas after the construction of the South-East building in Olympia, which is dated around 370 BC (Roebuck 1994, 45-6, Pl. 15.a,b).

#### **P611** (SL10.1.2)

*Pan* Tile. Fragment. L. 0.10; W. 0.055; Th. 0.017. Yellowish orange clay (7.5 YR 7/4), hard, many large red and smaller white inclusions. Stamp ΘΙΣ[ not complete. L. 0.075; W. 0.035. Raised letters.

#### **P311** (SL3.2.1)

*Pan* Tile. Fragment. L. 0.125; W. 0.155; Th. 0.02. Stamp ΔΜΕΑ or ΔΜΕΑ not complete. L. 0.088; W. 0.025. Unevenly stamped with raised letters.

#### **P399** (SL3.15.2)

*Tile*. 2 joining fragments. L. 0.175; W. not known; Th. not known. Reddish orange clay (10 R 6/8), hard, rather many and large inclusions. Incomplete stamp W. 0.024 m; L. 0.152 with raised letters ΔΜΟ/ΘΙΟ.

#### **P400** (SL3.15.2)

*Tile*. Small fragment. Reddish orange clay (10 R 6/8), hard, rather many and large inclusions. Incomplete stamp L. 0.023; W. 0.025 with raised letters ΔΑΙ.

#### **O32**

*Tile*. 2 non-joining fragments of Corinthian cover tiles.

a) L. 0.15; W. 0.075; Th. ± 0.027. Yellowish red clay (7.5 YR 8/6), hard, strongly tempered with rough red inclusions. Surface painted yellowish.

b) L. 0.145; W. not known; Th. ± 0.027. Description as a).

#### **V235** (SL7.8.1)

*Pan* Tile. 4 joining fragments. L. 0.69; W. 0.43; Light beige clay (7.5 YR 8/4). Long sides with bevelled edges, one short side straight, fourth side unknown. Decorated at one long side with a painted dark blue line (W. 0.01).

#### **O31**

*Lateral* sima. Fragment of lateral sima with fluted plastic tendril. H. ca. 0.12 m; W. ca. 0.65 m; Th. 0.019-0.024 m. Light yellowish beige clay (7.5 YR 8/4), hard, strongly tempered with red inclusions. Partially yellowish painted.



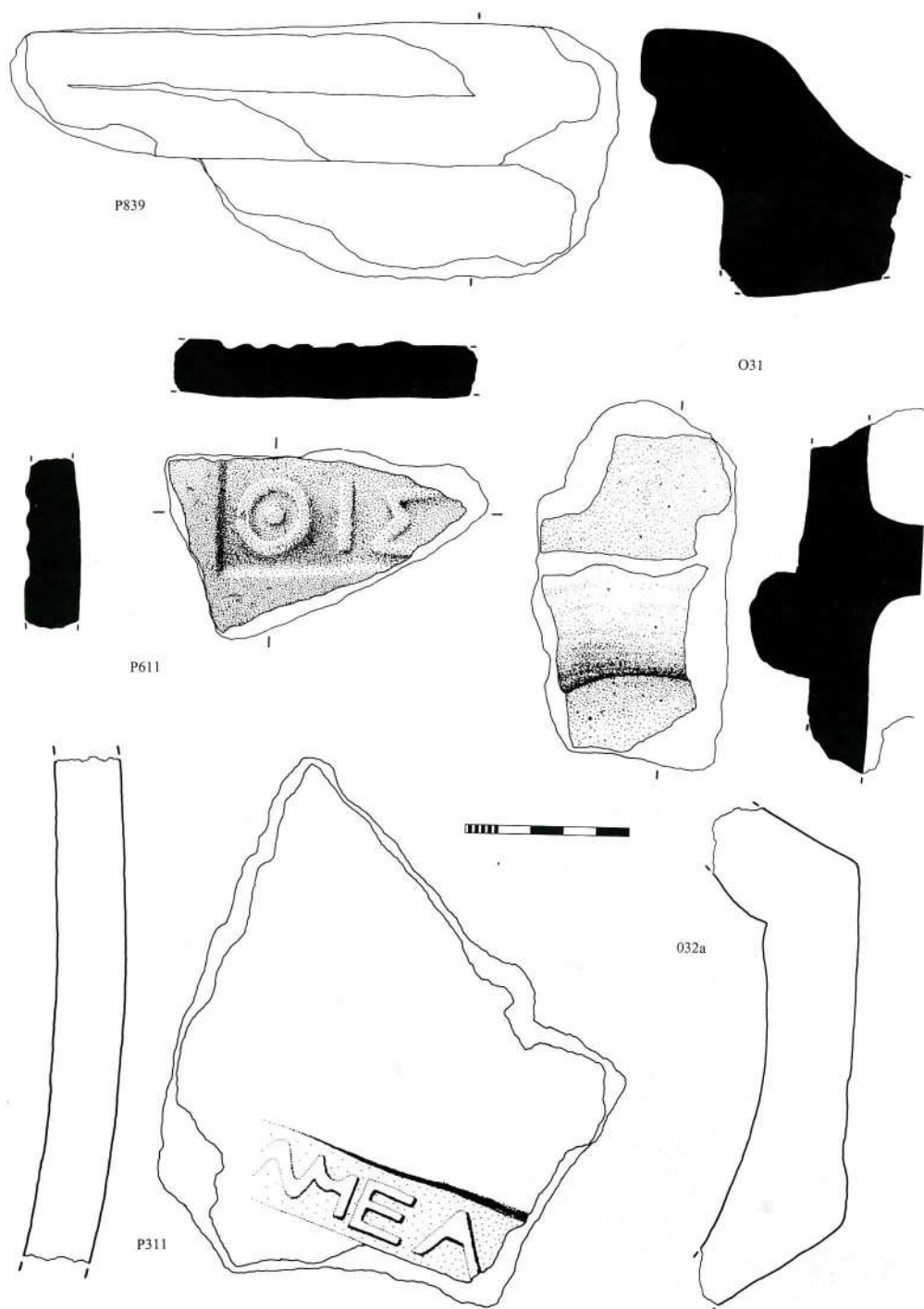


Figure 22. Tiles

**P839** (surface)

*Sima?* Fragment L. 0.185. Orange red clay (5 YR 6/8), hard, strongly tempered with large inclusions. White slab.

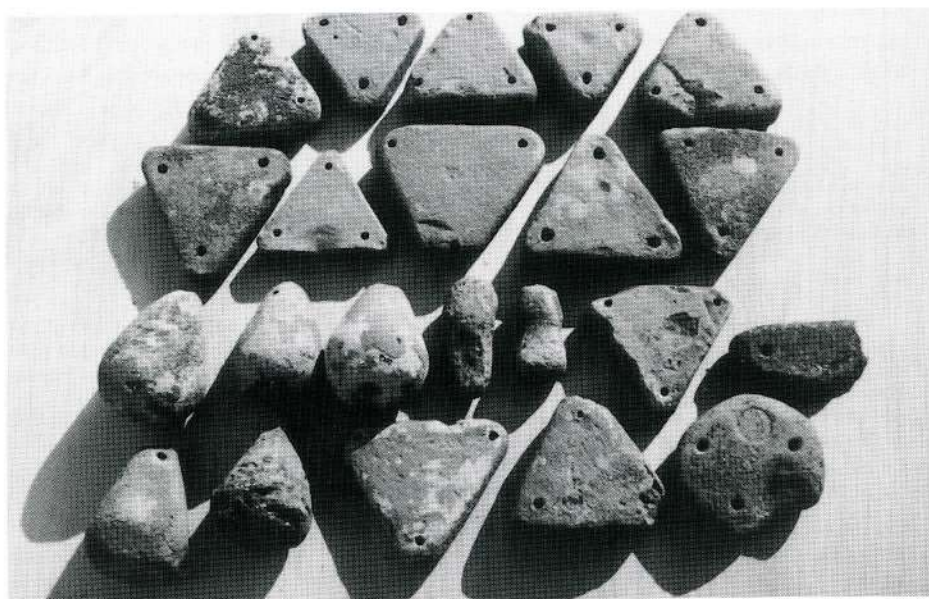
**Loomweights** (Fig. 23 and Plate V)

At most sites, loomweights are found in great quantities. They occur in several forms and types. Five types were found at Lavda. They were found in all phases indiscriminately. The clay offers the same range of colours as described above for the tiles; the texture, however, is in almost all cases not very fine and shows more and larger inclusions.

*Triangle.* By far the most frequent type at Lavda is a triangular piece of clay with holes in all three corners. 63 examples were found, including some fragmentary pieces. The thickness varies between 0.027 and 0.033 (min. 0.018; max. 0.037); lengths fluctuate around 0.09 (min. 0.064; max. 0.119). For a comparable site in this respect we can consider Asea where E. Holmberg (1944, 166) reports a great number of triangular loomweights in the last settlement layers of the third and second centuries.

*Conical.* 16 pieces were found. Their heights vary between 0.075 and 0.093 (exception 0.068). G.R. Davidson (1952, 149, Fig. 23) has set up a typology for the conical loomweights from Corinth. Our specimens all seem to fit into her Category XIII, dated between 250 and 146, although not all of them are made of the typical coarse clay.

*Discoid.* The simplest form of loomweight is a flat disc with one or more holes bored into it. Seven fragments, but no complete pieces, were found. Most of them show two holes; one has three. The average thickness is 0.025.



**Plate V.** Selection of loomweights

*Pyramidal.* One pyramidal example was found in Lavda, not in the excavation itself, but during the surface survey. A similar weight from Corinth (Davidson 1952, no 1203, Pl. 77) is dated to the first century BC.

*Spool-like.* Five spool-like pieces were found. This form of loomweight has been treated by J.E. Coleman in his publication of Pylos in Elis. Two of his types occur in Lavda. Three pieces are examples of Coleman's Type 3 (Coleman 1986, 101-4, Pl. 39: D128-D139), i.e. rectangular or square in section at either end. The waist is only a slight constriction. Length 0.067, 0.075 and 0.065; thickness at ends 0.03, 0.027 and 0.03. Two pieces have a figure-eight shape, tapering to the edges and with a sharp and narrow constriction. Length 0.057 and 0.063; thickness 0.024 and 0.026.

Some of the weights are decorated by stamps or incisions. Two types were noted. An incised  $\Lambda$  occurred once on every form except on the triangular shapes. An illisible (filled in) circle impression occurs three times on the triangles and once on a spool-like weight. Stamps and incised letters occur frequently on loomweights. A single  $\Lambda$  does not allow us to draw conclusions. An overview of the examples from Corinth is given by Ms Davidson (1952, 146ff).

**P731** (SL12.7.3)

*Loomweight.* Spoollike weight. L. 0.063; Th. 0.026; Diam. waist 0.024. Reddish beige clay (5 YR 6/6), moderate soft, many medium sized red, black and white inclusions. 8-shaped with round illisible stamp.

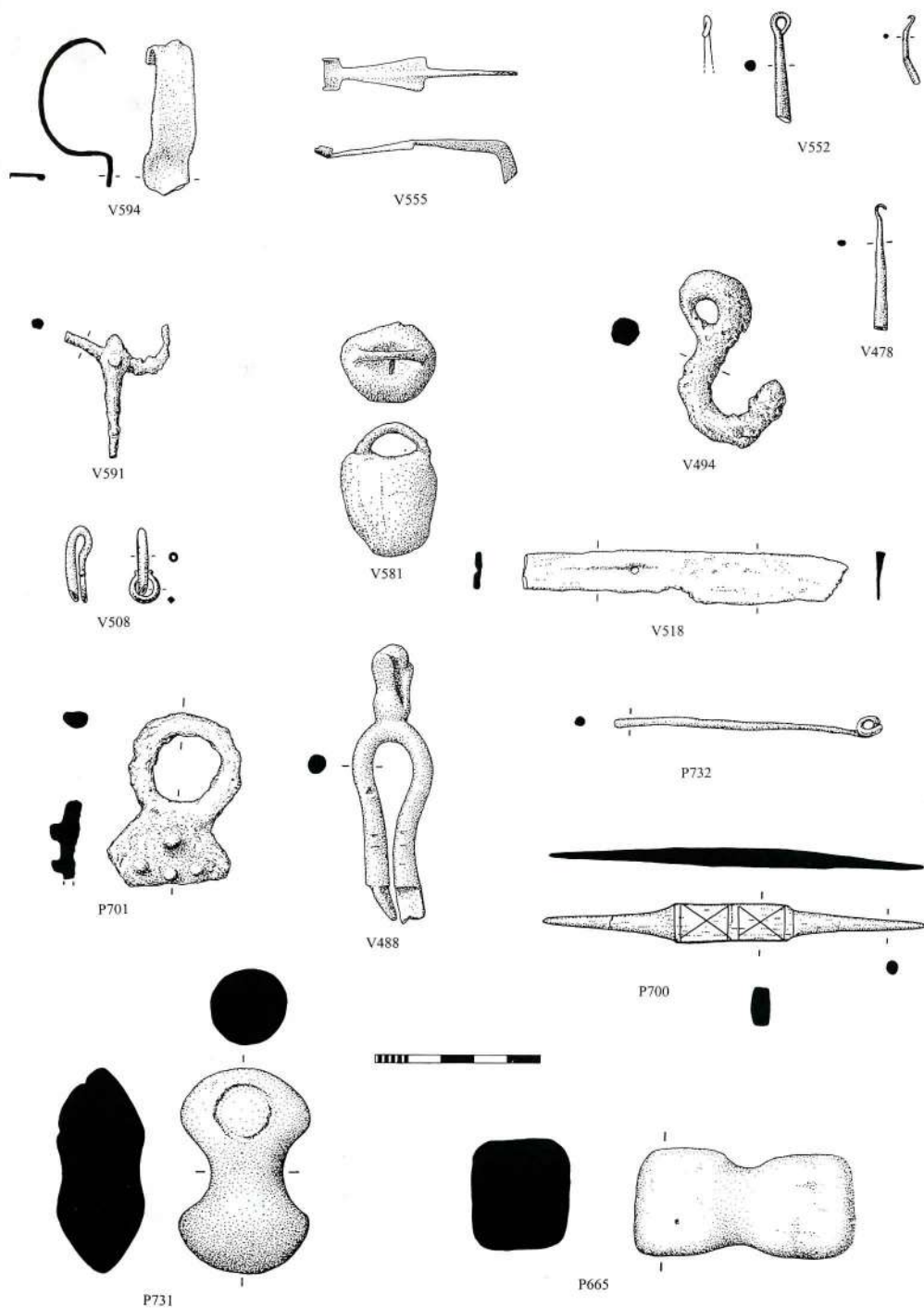
**P665** (SL12.8.2)

*Loomweight.* Spoollike, rectangular, somewhat weared off. L. 0.067; Th. 0.03-0.034; Diam. waist 0.023. Medium beige clay (5 YR 5/6), moderate soft, many small white, red and black inclusions.

**P835** (SL22.1.1)

*Loomweight.* Pyramidal, top missing. H. 0.075, basis 0.051 x 0.038. Beige orange clay (7.5 YR 7/4), many inclusions. Decoration of incised  $\Lambda$ .





**Figure 23.** *Loomweights, Metal, Bone*

**Terracottas** (Fig. 24)

A few fragments of terracottas were found in different trenches. Some were unrecognizable, others showed more or less recognizable features of drapery. They are probably parts of statuettes. No reconstructions could be made, however. One of the fragments could be an appliqué (**P699**). It shows a small figure with its right arm raised clinging to some sort of drapery. Apart from these fragments a small female head (**P524**) was found in a layer belonging to Stratum 1b (Plate VI). It is a massive head belonging to a figure which, however, was not found. The head is of a Hellenistic type, slightly bent to the left, with full lips and rounded features. The hair, of which the upper part is missing, is combed away from the face and held together by a scarf knotted in the neck. The earlobes are visible and are adorned by jewelry. The head follows the general description given by Dorothy Burr Thompson (1963, 303 and 310): "The crisp detail given nostrils, lips and chin in the earlier phase, are by the mid-2nd century left dull. With the eyes thus blurred, the features soft and expressionless, the face becomes blank within a rococo setting" and "Such abrupt inclinations of the head are observable first in the period ca. 220 BC and reach an acute stage in the early 2nd century. This lively device is continued for some time in the 2nd century until growing carelessness permits the head to return to stiff frontality." These observations suggest a date in the first half second century for our terracotta.

**P860** (SL18.6.1)

*Terracotta*. L. 0.057. Dark yellowish brown clay (5 YR 6/6), moderate hard. Arm with draped garment?

**P905** (SL18.6.1)

*Terracotta*. Four small non-joining fragments. Medium reddish beige clay (5 YR 7/6), moderate hard. Folds of ???.

**P880** (SL19.4.1)

*Terracotta*. Two joining fragments. H. 0.095. Yellowish orange clay (5 YR 7/6), moderate hard. Draped garment.

**P890** (SL19.7.)

*Terracotta*. H. 0.035; W. 0.025. Yellowish beige clay (7.5 YR 7/6).

**P524** (SL5.1.3)

*Female head*. H. 0.038; W. 0.029. Reddish clay, very crumbly, fine white inclusions.

**P699** (SL12.7.1)

*Terracotta relief?*. H. 0.04; W. 0.033. Brownish grey clay (5 YR 6/4). Standing (dancing?) figure with one arm lifted, holding a draped garment?, lower legs and hand missing.



**Plate VI.** P524 *Terracotta female head*

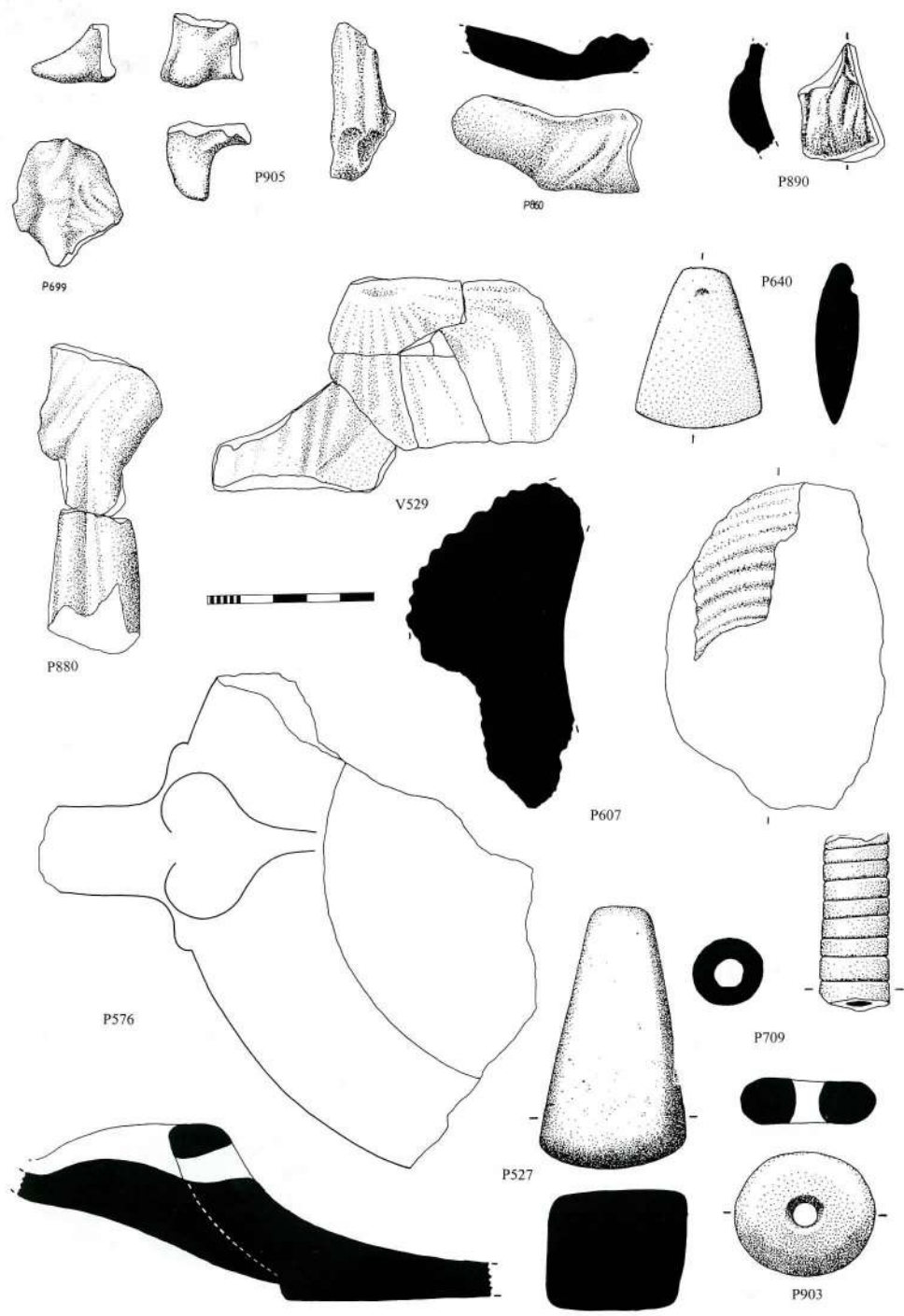


Figure 24. Terracotta, Varia Ceramics, Stone



## Varia Ceramics (Fig. 24)

Two pieces remain that do not fit very well into one of the above categories. **P709** is a hollow tube with parallel grooves around its body. Both ends have been broken off. Its function is not clear although it might be the grip of a frying pan. **P607** is a piece of clay slightly concave on the inside and partly ribbed on the outside. A precise attribution cannot be provided.

### **P709** (SL5.profile)

*Tube.* Fragment. L. 0.055; Diam.  $\pm$  0.02; Diam. hole  $\pm$  0.008. Light pinkish beige clay (7.5 YR 7/6). Decoration: circular grooves at regular intervals ( $\pm$  0.006 m).

### **P607** (surface)

Fragment with ribs. H. 0.095; W. 0.065; Th. 0.027-0.048. Light yellow clay (7.5 YR 8/6), many large red and black inclusions.

## Metal (Fig. 23)

Several (parts of) metal objects were found in all the trenches. The following categories are represented: bronze and iron nails; pins; hooks; fibulae; sheet fragment; one iron knife (**P518**); and one lead weight (**P581**). Lead weights were also found on the Pnyx in Athens. They are moldmade, roughly spherical and have a short projection on top (Davidson 1943, 100, Fig. 45, nos. 19-22). **V478** and **V552** are recognized as spindle hooks "a strip of metal, folded into conical shape forms a hook at one end, while the other end is left open to form a socket for the wooden spindle" (Davidson 1952, 173; Pl. 78, nos. 1223-1228). As for their date, Davidson remarks that "all look alike, no dates to be given." **V488** deserves special mention as it is a bronze handle with two flattened ends for attachment. The end is decorated with a degenerated calyx of two sepals with a bud in the middle, a feature which has a long history (Jacobsthal 1956, 47, nos. 209, 210). The distinctive pieces are described in the catalogue below. Some pieces may be much later in date than the Hellenistic period.

### **V494** (SL14.8.1)

*Hook.* Iron. H. 0.055; Th. 0.008. Bent piece with one hole for attachment.

### **V591** (SL14.7.2)

Fragment of ?. Iron. H. 0.038; W. 0.032; Th. 0.003. Straight massive round piece with at one end at almost right angles two arms, one of which is bent upwards. Presumably broken off at all ends.

### **V594** (SL14.10.1)

*Fibula?* Fragment. Bronze. L. 0.045; W. 0.012; Th. 0.002. Flat strip bent into half circle and short straight extension.

### **V581** (SL18.7.2)

*Weight.* Lead. H. 0.04; W. 0.028; Th. 0.024. Massive suspension weight, bell-shaped, with suspension loop at the top.

### **V508** (SL18.6.1)

Fragment of ?. Bronze. L. 0.023; W. 0.01. Hollow tube bent double 180°. One end broken off, the other ending in a small ring set at right angles.

### **V518** (SL19.3.2)

*Knife.* Iron. L. 0.1; W. 0.015. Blade, tip and part of edge missing; one hole for attaching handle.

### **V488** (SL19.3.2)

*Handle.* Bronze. L. 0.085; Th. 0.005. Round, massive piece bent back sharply; both ends flattened for attachment.

### **P701** (SL12.7.3)

*Ring.* Iron. H. 0.052; W. 0.035; Th. 0.005. Flat piece—originally a triangle?—ending in a rather large ring. Decoration of four bosses.

### **P732** (SL12.7.2)

*Fibula.* Bronze. L. 0.08; Th. 0.003. Pin of fibula with spring; tip missing.

### **V478** (SL17.1.2)

*Spindle hook.* Bronze. L. 0.039. One end broken.

### **V552** (SL17.3.2)

*Spindle hook.* Bronze. L. 0.034. One end broken.  
*Spindle hook.* Bronze. L. 0.028. Bent and one end broken.

**V555** (SL17.3.2)

*Fibula*. Bronze. L. 0.06; W. 0.01. Elongated triangle.  
Spring missing.

**Bone** (Fig. 23)

The only object made of bone found in the excavation is a decorated pin. The pin is 11½ cm long, the centre is flattened and decorated with two crosses in rectangles. Both ends are pointed.

**P700** (SL12.7.2)

*Pin*. L. 0.114; W. 0.011; Th. 0.006. Three joining fragments.

**Stone** (Fig. 24)

Five objects made of stone were found. A fragments of a mortar (**P570**) came to light and one pestle (**P527**). As they came from the same lot they are thought to belong together. The mortar is decorated under the spout with an ivy leaf, a common feature (Davidson 1952, Pl. 61). A fragment of another mortar was found in another lot. **P903** is a flat polished stone with a hole in the middle. The function of this object is not clear. **P640** looks like a celt. It is a green stone. Celts are often found in later contexts. In her publication of the small finds of the Pnyx, where three celts were found, Ms Davidson suggests that they either were still in use as tools or that they had become purely talismanic (Davidson 1943, 96-7, nos. 1-3).

**P570** (SL3.20.2)

*Mortar*. Fragment. L. 0.155; W. 0.11; Th. ca. 0.03.  
Diam. floor 0.14. Spout L. 0.05; W. 0.027. Under spout carved decoration of ivy leaf.

**P527** (SL3.20.2)

*Pestle*. Pyramidal. H. 0.027; Square base 0.039 x 0.043, somewhat convex.

**P903** (SL19.4.1)

*Spindle?* Diam. 0.041.

**P640** (SL6.4.1)

*Celt*. H. 0.048; W. max. 0.0375; Th. 0.013. On one side onset to hole in top.

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