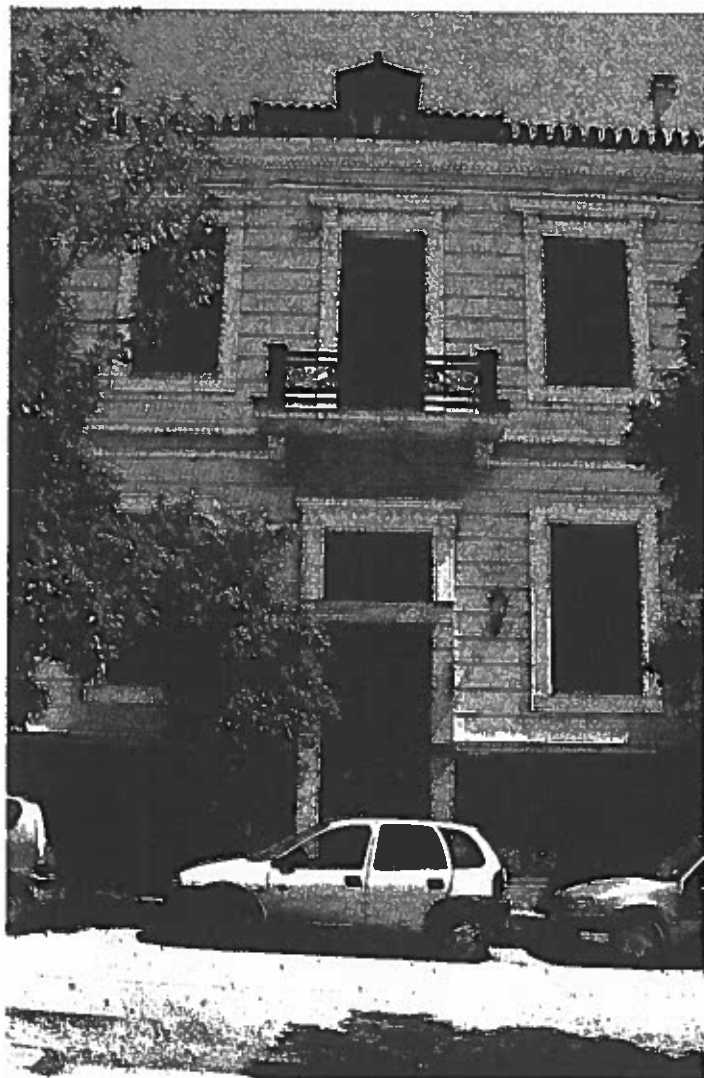


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EDITORIAL PREFACE

On 28 September 2000 the new premises of the Netherlands Institute in Athens were officially opened. A large gathering of guests attended the opening, among whom were numerous visitors from The Netherlands. In the previous issue of *Pharos* the director Margriet Haagsma described the history of the Institute (a photograph of the building appears on the frontispice here).

The contributions to this volume include several reports on current archaeological fieldwork carried out under the aegis of the NIA. Joost Crouwel and his team report on the sixth season of work at Geraki in Laconia. This work involved continued excavations in Areas I and II of Field 17 in the northern part of the acropolis. Special attention was directed to the Hellenistic buildings and the Early Helladic II structures beneath them. Again, a number of interesting coins were found; they are presented here by Jos van der Vin. The second contribution from this project, by Conrad Stibbe and Joost Crouwel, presents a small bronze lion. It was found during the 1999 campaign in Area I on the northern part of the acropolis.

The ongoing research by Reinder Reinders and his team at Halos in Thessaly is represented by a paper on the archaeological survey of the Sourpi plain. This survey was conducted over several seasons from 1990 onwards. It revealed an occupation history ranging from the Palaeolithic period to the present day.

John Bintliff and his team report on the first campaign at Tanagra. Special attention is given to the various geophysical methods of surveying this extensive site. Results from the new survey are compared with earlier studies of the site's layout and streetplan.

In his contribution to this volume Daniël Koster presents an extensive bibliographic supplement to his exhibition catalogue "To Hellen's Noble Land" of 1995. It includes numerous pamphlets and other publications concerning Greece and the Greek cause which were published in the Netherlands from the 16th to the 18th century.

Edward van der Vliet discusses in his contribution various anthropological models of the evolution of societies and early states. He is particularly interested in whether these theories can contribute to the study of the Greek polis.

Finally, two papers are presented here, by Nikolaos Panayotakis and Konstandinos Staikos respectively, which were originally given at the Colloquium on "Erasmus and his Contribution to the Study of the Greek Classics", organized by the Netherlands Institute in Athens on 18 November 1995. Of the six papers delivered those by Rummel, IJsewijn and Aerts were published in *Pharos* VII. Regrettably Professor Panayotakis died soon afterwards and his paper was prepared for publication by others. His contribution focuses on Erasmus' Greek acquaintances and his meetings with Greeks in Europe during his various travels. The paper by Konstandinos Staikos discusses the publication of Erasmus' collection of Greek and Latin sayings, collectively known as the *Adagia*, in 1500 in Paris.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PART OF 'TO HELLEN'S NOBLE LAND'

Daniël Koster

In the spring of 1995 the Netherlands Institute in Athens (NIA) celebrated its 10th anniversary by organizing an exhibition of rare books, maps and documents at the Gennadeios library in Athens. The exhibition was called 'To Hellen's Noble Land' and subtitled 'Dutch accounts of Travellers, Geographers and Historians on Greece 1488-1854'. With it was published a rich catalogue written by the author of this supplement.¹ The volume also included extensive bibliographical information about the exhibited items as well as a short title catalogue of items, which for reason of space could not be presented in the exhibition.

It was explicitly stated that this compendium was not complete and that any additions would be welcome. The time has now come to present the bibliographical audience with a supplement. The titles from unpublished travel accounts have been compiled from Lindeman c.s. (see abbreviations and references, below). The presentation of the other travel accounts or Byroniana and other philhellenica are not the result of any systematic research but the effect of accidental encounters in the world of bibliographies and catalogues. Included here are also a wide range of pamphlets featuring the Turkish danger to Central and Southern Europe. Some of them are simply translations of foreign prints mainly of German or Venetian origin, circulating in the Habsburg Netherlands before the Dutch Revolt and in the territory of the seven united provinces thereafter.

When in 1453 the Ottoman Turks took Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Greeks also known as the second Rome, a shockwave rolled over Europe. As the European princes were too divided among themselves, a roll-back of the "muslem Scythes" was out of the question. Moreover in many cases the orthodox population was eagerly willing to exchange a repressive christian regime for the pax Ottomanica. Between 1516 and 1517 the

¹ D. Koster, *To Hellen's Noble Land. Στην Ένδοξη Ελλάδα. Dutch accounts of travellers, geographers and historians on Greece (1488-1854). Ολλανδικές αφηγήσεις περιηγητών, γεωγράφων και ιστορικών για την Ελλάδα*, Styx Publications, Groningen/Athens 1995.

Ottomans conquered Syria, Palestine and Egypt and in 1526 the army of Suleyman I the Magnificent crushed the Hungarians at Mohacs. Three years later the Turks knocked on the doors of central Europe when they laid siege to Vienna. It thus comes with no surprise that since the middle of the fifteenth century news of the Turkish danger was not only wanted in Central Europe, but also in Western Europe and the Netherlands. Accounts of soldiers, former prisoners of war, refugees, merchants and pilgrims were distributed throughout Europe.

But the most important part of these Turcica as they were called, consisted of news accounts and pamphlets reporting on recent military or political events, like battles, conquests and treaties. News of the Ottoman Empire itself mainly came from Venice and spread over Europe from there. One of the first pamphlets was published in 1474 when the Ottomans conquered the Genoese factory Kaffa on the Crimea. News from the Balkan was mainly distributed through the important German merchant cities Nurnberg and Augsburg. Most pamphlets were printed in these cities and Venice. In Italy they were called *Avviso* and in Germany *Neue Zeitung*. In the Netherlands Antwerp was the biggest trade centre at the time and Venetian *Avvisa* or German *Neue Zeitungen* which reached the Flemish mercuropolis were reprinted there in French or Dutch. As *Nouvelle* or *Tijding* the news was subsequently spread in the Netherlands, where hardly any authentic *Tijdingen* appeared.

Most of the contents of the first accounts on the Turks and the Ottoman Empire are a mixture of half truths, rumours and Christian prejudices. As the Christians were primarily obsessed by the Islam no distinction was made between Arabs (Saracens) and Turks. At first every Moslim was taken as an Arab, but after the rise of the Ottomans every Moslim automatically became a Turk. The contents of most pamphlets was consequently coloured by propagandistic motives. Sometimes many different pamphlets were published about a particular event, but the event which caused the biggest boost in the second half of the sixteenth century was the naval battle near Lepanto (Nafpaktos) in 1571 in which the Christians were victorious and proved that the Turks were not invincible. After the fall of Antwerp in 1585 Amsterdam became the foremost trade centre in the Netherlands. As a consequence it grew also in importance as a centre of information and when the Dutch concluded a treaty with the Ottoman Empire in 1612 the traditional sources of information like Venice and Germany were supplemented with own news-channels. The apex in the field of "Turkennieuws" in the seventeenth century were undoubtedly the Ottoman conquest of Venetian Crete after a long and costly war (1645-1669) and the second Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683. The latter proved to be disastrous to the Turks and accelerated the systematic roll-back of the Ottomans from Central Europe and the northwestern Balkans at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The so-called Turkish danger was definitively over, resulting in a strong diminishing of the number of Turcica.²

For reasons of space the Dutch titles have not always been translated in full, but sometimes presented in a shortcut way. Wherever possible the titles have been annotated and wherever available the shelfmarks of libraries given. Most items are drawn from Göllner's *Turcica* and Knüttel's *Catalogue on Pamphlets* for which see the references. The criterion for selection has been prints in the Dutch language or Dutch authorship when other languages have been used. That means that Antwerp prints in the French language have been omitted. Items referring to the Barbary Coast have also been omitted.

² For the information on the Turcica I relied on the article of Hans Theunissen, see the references.

38.

"De Grieksche Branders", in: VL 1826, II, 338-40.

'Greek Fireships': an account on the Greek fireships compiled from J. Emerson, *A Picture of Greece in 1825*, London 1826.

39.

"Persoonsbeschrijving van Ibrahim-Pacha", in: VL 1826, II, 340.

A profile of Ibrahim Pasha compiled from *Souvenirs de la Grèce*. [auteur?, jaar]

40.

v.d. P., "Uitboezeming bij den val van Missolonghi", in: VL 1826, II, 383-86.

A poem on the fall of Missolonghi.

41.

"Verhaal der Gruwelen, op Scio door de Turken aangeregt", in: VL 1826, II, 675-78.

An anonymous account on the the massacres on the island of Chios by mouth of a consul of 'Sciote' descent.

42.

"Inscript van het zwaard van Kontoghiannis", in: VL 1827, II, 240.

*Wie niet voor tirannen beeft,
Vrank en vrij op aarde leeft,
Roem meer houdt dan 't leven waard,
Hem alleen behoort dit zwaard.*

"He, who does not shiver for tyrants
and lives as free as a bird
and prefers fame above life's worth:
only him belongs this sword."

'Romaic' inscription on the sword of Kontoyannis.

43.

Ijntema, J.W., "Iets over en uit eene verzameling van Nieuw-Grieksche Volksliederen, naar Fauriel, Sheridan en Müller", in: VL 1827, II, 441-50, 506-13 and 562-69.

Account of a lecture given in Felix Meritis (home of a cultural society in Amsterdam) on March 29th 1827 on Greek folksongs collected by Fauriel, Sheridan and Müller.

44.

Griekenland. Dichtstukjes van Wilhelm Müller, Door J.W. Ijntema, Te Amsterdam, bij G.S. Leeneman van der Kroe en J.W. Ijntema 1828.

A dozen of poems from the German Philhellene Müller translated by the publisher and editor of the VL containing I. "De laatste Griek" (The last Greek, also published separately in VL 1827, II, 496); II. "De koningen en de koning" (The kings and the king, also in VL 1827, II, 546); III. "Nieuw-Griekenland aan de vrienden van Oud-Griekenland" ("Modern Greece to the friends of Ancient-Greece, also in VL 1827, II, 591); IV. "De Hoop van Griekenland" (The Hope of Greece, also published in VL 1827, II, 644); V. "De Ruïnen van Athene aan Engeland" (The Ruins of Athens to England, also in VL 1827, II, 691); VI. "Afscheid der Pargiooten van de Engelschen" (The Farewell of the Parguinots to the English, also in VL VL 1827, II, 744); VII. "De Phanarioot" (The Phanariote, also in VL 1827, II, 781); VIII. "De Kleine Hydrioot" (The small Hydriote, also in VL 1828, II, 52); IX. "De inscheping der Atheners" (The Embarkment of the Athenians [after the Turks had conquered Athens], also in VL 1828, II, 108); X. "Alexander Ypsilanti op Mongatsch" (Alexander Ypsilanti at Mongatsch, also in VL 1828, II, 156); XI. "De banneling uit Ithaka" (The exile of Ithaka, also in VL 1828, II, 204); XII. "Het verbond met God" (The Bond with God, also in VL 1828, II, 256).

45.

Boxman, A., "De Slag bij Navarino", in: VL 1828, II, 49-52.

A poem on the naval battle of Navarino written on December 19th 1827.

46.

"Capodistria", in: VL 1828, II, 221-27.

A biography of Count Ioannis Kapodistrias, the first president of an independent Greek State.

47.

"De Turksche Regtoefening", in: VL 1828, II, 251-53.

Turkish Justice according to Lord John Russel(l). See also nr. 23.

48.

Moke, H.G., *De slag van Navarino, of de Renegaat*, Rotterdam 1828.

The battle of Navarino or the renegade. A romaunt from the French, see review in VL 1828, I, 483-85.

49.

Tromlitz, A., *De val van Missolonghi*, Leeuwarden 1828.

A romaunt featuring the Fall of Missolonghi reviewed in VL 1828, I, 483-85.

50.

"Iets over de Turken en over Schumla", in: VL 1828, II, 736.

An account on the Turks and the strategic importance of the citadel at Schumla [in Bulgaria not far from Varna, DK].

51.

"Nog iets over de Turken", in: VL 1828, II, 746-48.

Another short account on Turkish affairs.

52.

"Netelige vraag van Ibrahim Pacha aan den Generaal Maison", in: VL 1828, II, 756.

'A thorny question of I.P. to G.M.', an anecdote on French hypocrisy, in which Ibrahim asked his counterpart the French general Maison why the French came to Greece to liberate the Greeks, when only a few years earlier they themselves tried to conquer and enslave the Spaniards.

53.

Griekenland, Dichtstukjes van Wilhelm Müller, door J.W. IJntema, Tweede of laatste Twaalfstal, te Amsterdam, bij G.S. Leeneman van der Kroe en J.W. IJntema 1829.

The second and completing dozen of Müllers poems on Greece, translated by J.W. IJntema, containing: XIII. "De Slavin van Azië" (The slave-girl of Asia, also in VL 1828, II, 312); XIV. "De Suliotten-vrouw" (The Suliote woman, also in VL 1828, II, 364); XV. "De Mainooten-knaap" (The Mainote lad, also in VL 1828, II, 408); XVI. "Oude en Nieuwe Tempels" (Old and new temples, also in VL 1828, II, 452); XVII. "De Grijsaard op het Eiland Hydra" (The Old man on the isle of Hydra, also in VL 1828, II, 515); XVIII. "De Mainootische Moeder" (The Mainote mother, also in VL 1828, II, 564); XIX. "Het Onder-rigt der Mainootsche Moeder" (The instruction of the Mainote mother, also in VL 1828, II, 616); XX. "De Mainoot" (The Mainote, also in VL 1828, II, 660); XXI. "Thermopyle" (also in VL 1828, 707); XXII. "De Heilige Schaar, Eene Geestenstem" (The Holy Host, A spirit voice, also in VL 1828, II, 756); XXIII. "De Atheense Jonkvrouw" (The Athenian Fair Lady, also in VL 1828, II, 794); XXIV. "Troostlied" (Song of Comfort, in VI 1828, II, 794). See also nr. 41 above.

54.

"De Togt naar Morea", in: VL 1829, II, 40-42.

A poem called 'Expedition to the Morea'.

55.

"De oorsprong der Hervorming van het Krijgswezen in Turkije", in: VL 1829, II, 72-73.

The origin of the reform of the Turkish military compiled from J. Rizos Nerulos, *Histoire Moderne de la Grèce*, Genève 1828.

56.

"De dood van Ali-Pacha van Janina", in: VL 1829, II, 33-35.

'The death of Ali Pasha of Janina' according to R. Walsh.

57.

"Verraad van Odysseus-Roemrijke Val van Ipsara", in: VI 1829, II, 74-75.

'The treason of Odysseus' (Androutsos) and 'The glorious Fall of Psara' compiled from Jourdain's *Mémoires*, Paris 1828.

58.

"Oordeel van Catharina de II over de Turken", in: VL 1829, II, 127.

An anecdote, in which the Czarina considers the Turks bad neighbours for exporting mostly plagues.

59.

"Historisch Verhaal van een' Griek, behoorende tot de equipage van het Turksche admiraalschip tijdens deszelfs verbranding in de haven van Scio", in: VL 1829, II, 552-57.

Anonymous account of a Greek sailor by name of Yorghis on the spectaculaire burning of the Turkish flagship; a disaster in which only 83 crewmembers out of 900 survived. Among the victims were many a Greek sailor and 3 youths from Scio. The protagonist maintained that in his youth he was able to swim from Stanchio (Kos) to Calymno (Kalymnos).

60.

"Geldoffers, Alleen door Hydriooten, aan de Grieksche omwenteling gebragt", in: VL 1829, II, 703-704.

An account of the financial contributions of the leading Hydriote families among whom the Koundouriotis brothers alone counted for 1.500.000 (the currency is not mentioned, but consisted probably of piasters).

61.

"Zonderling Gebruik in Servië en het hedendaagsche Griekenland", in: VL 1830, II, 153-54.

'Strange custom in Serbia and contemporary Greece': an account of a fertility and rain ritual called in Serbia 'Dodole' and in Greece 'Purpurina', compiled from Ranke, *Die Serbische Revolution* (1829), and compared with Gerhard's *Wila* (1828) in which a youth was to be undressed at first and then dressed with herbs and flowers to influence the weather.

62.

"Verhaal van de Wegvoering eener Jonge Griekin te Smirna" (Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van het Grieksch karakter), in: VL 1832, II, 411-18.

An account on the turbulent events following the forced marriage arrangement of a servant girl from Cerigote descent in Smyrna.

63.

Athanasia, de schoone Griekin van Samos. Tafereelen uit de Geschiedenis der Belegering van Missolonghi en de(n) Slag bij Navarino. Naar het Hoogduitsch. Te Purmerende, bij Broedelet en Rijkenberg.

A romaunt called 'Athanasia, the fair lady from Samos', but subtitled 'Scenes from the Siege of Missolonghi and the Battle of Navarino.'

64.

"Het avondeten bij Colocotroni", in: VL 1833, II, 406-12.

'Supper with Colocotronis', a hilarious account of a 'Frankish' supercargo (probably a captain on board of the vessel *San Lorenzo* from Genova) who was entertained by Theodore Kolokotronis, the famous Klephtic leader at the time of the general assembly of the Greek insurgents at Damala in the Argolid in 1827.

65.

"Een bezoek op het admiraalschip van den Kapidan-Pacha in 1829 (te Konstantinopel)", in: VL 1833, II, 453-56.

An account of a visit to the flagship of the Kapudan-Pasha, the High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet, compiled from A.D. Slade, *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece &c.* London 1832.

66.

"Oproeping naar Griekenland", in: VL 1834, II, 227-31.

'Call for Greece', a satire on a pressreport from Germany published in the *Rotterdammer Courant* of March 6th 1834, which contained a call for landmeters, teachers, scientists and lawstudents, in short everybody in search for a golden career to flock to Greece.

BYRONIANA³

67.

Overzettingen van *Alhama* en *The Isles of Greece* (*Don Juan*, III) komen voor in *Gedichten* van Mr. J. van Lennep, in dit jaar te Amsterdam (1827) verschenen.

Poems of J. van Lennep, among them a translation of the *The Isles of Greece* from Byrons magnum opus *Don Juan*.

³ Only translations of the Oriental (Greek) tales are presented here.

68.

De Zeerover ; een verhaal / Lord Byron ; naar het Eng. door S.J. van den Bergh. - Haarlem, 1843.

A translation by S.J. van den Bergh of *The Corsair*.

UB Amsterdam, M 437 F 34

69.

Gedichten van Lord Byron door J.J. L. ten Kate, Leiden 1870 242 p. Eerste volledige uitg. 1. Parisina. 2. De Giaour. 3. Hemel en aarde. 4. Manfred. 5. Cain. 6. Dante's profecy. 7. Lichtzinnig. 8. Aan Haar. 9. Als' t laatste licht. 10. Childe Harold aan de Zee. 11. Stanza's voor muziek. 12. Lord Byron aan zijne zuster Augusta. 13. Eenzaamheid. 14. Byron's zwanenzang.

Translations of Byrons poems among them *The Giaour* and *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* by J.J.L. ten Kate.

UB Amsterdam, M 1077 C 25

III. TURCICA

a. Pamphlets compiled from A.C. Göllner

70.

nr. 75 [1515]

Jani Da- // miani senensis ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. de // expeditione in Turcas Elegia, cu argutissimus do- // ctissimorum uirorum epigrammatibus. // Epistola Pisonis ad Jo. Coritium, de conflictu Polo- // norum & Lituorum cum Moscovitis. // Henricus Penia ad Reuered. Cand. de Saulis, de ges- // tis Sophi contra Turcas. // Epistola Sigismundi Poloniae Regis ad Leonem X. // Pont. Max. de uictoria contra Schismaticos Mo- // scouos, apud Ares Alexandri. Magni parta. // Erasmi Roterodami Epistola ad Le- // onem X. Pont. Max. de laudibus ilius, & noua // Hieronymianorum operum aeditione. // Eiusdem ad Reuerendi Dn. Raphaelim Rea- // rium tit. S. Gaeorgii Cardinalem Epistola. // Eiusdem ad eximium sacrae Theologiae Doctorem // Martinum Dorpium Hollandum Epistola Apo- // logeticae de suarem lucrubrationem aeditine // Eiusdem in laudem urbis Selestadij Panegyricum Carmen...

56 p. 151 x 97 mm; National Library, Florence * V. 8.47.

A colourfull collection of letters, including several ones written by Erasmus. It is not clear, whether Erasmus' letters contain Turkish subjects, but see further Göllner, vol I, 60.

71.

nr. 283 [1527]

Varachtige nieuwe ti- // dige hoe Ferdnadius ertzherthoge te Oosterijc tot // Conic in Behe

gecore en gecroot is. Ooc in welke platsen en eynde // Vrou Maria Coningine te Ungere ende voor die Ungere en voorde // Turc te deser tijt onthoude wort met gheloofachtighen fundament // hoe die Turc int voorleden iaer lat van Unghere gheandelt heeft. // Ooc waer die Coninc van Ungerien weder doot ghevonden is.

8 p. 152 x 96 mm: Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden. Petit nr. 13.

"Nae dien dat die Verwaerlike ende ty- // ransche Turck", p. 2a.

A translation from nr. 292: "Neuwe zeytunge // Warhaftiger be- // richt wie Ferdinadus Ertz // hertzog tzu Oesterich etc..." on genuine new tidings of the coronation of archduke Ferdinand of Austria as well as the events in Hungary in connection with Queen Mary of Hungary printed in Antwerp.

Nijhoff and Kronenburg 2028.

72.

nr. 285.

Een schone ordinantie // eender ghemeinder reyse op de Turck // en sinen aenhanck hoe men met he oerloge sal en weder- // stant doen mochte sond' groote beswaringhe der ghe- // meynder Christenheyt en dat by allen state gee- // stelick en wereltlick eenen gelijcken last ghe- // draghen mochte worden met veel toe- // behoorder nootdrift opt cortste // begrepen welck alle men- // sche in deser tijt seer nuttelick is ghe- // lesen.

6 p. 157 x 98 mm. Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden; Petit nr. 15

Text p. 2a-6b: "Prohemium. // Ghenade en dye ewige vrede gods // ...", p. 2a.

A call for a crusade against the Turks in which campaign all the states of Christendom should participate on equal terms; printed in Antwerp.

Nijhoff and Kronenburg 1637

73.

nr. 288 [1527]

Dat Turcsche regiment // en wesen: alsoot in alle Turckijen gehan- // delte wort Occk hoe die lande en luyde die hi nv van nyeus // tot hem brengt, ghehouden en geregeert worde, van // eene in Turckijen wonachtich, tot zijnder vrient- // schap in Duytschen lande toeghescreuen // wt Caldeescher spraken int duytsche // ghetoge als hier na volcht

6 p. 155 x 98 mm. Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden; Petit nr. 16.

"Prohemium// Der Turcke regimet en orden", p. 2a.

An Antwerp print translated from nr. 246: "Auszug aines Brieffs wie // ainer, so in der Turkey Wonhafft etc.", a report written from Adrianopolis (Edirne) 1.3.1526. In it is said that the account (on the State of the Ottoman Empire, especially how it is ruled since its

recent conquests, by one who lives in Turkey) was translated from the Chaldaean (Hebrew, Persian or Turkish?) in German.

Nijhoff and Kronenburg 1788

74.

nr. 346 [1529]

Een copie ende claer wt- // schrift eens warachtighe Seyndt briefs Hoe die Turcksche // keyser Soliman, desen sijnen tegenwoordigen tocht te- // ghen die Christenen geordineert heeft Ende is va // Constantinopel wt getogen na Griex Weys // senburch, als hier na volghen sal Ghe- // translateert wt vreemde sprack in duitsche.

6 p., Bibliotheek Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam.

Text p. 2a-6b; "Gheprint tot Amstelredam // aen die oude side in die kerkstraet bi mi // Doen Pieterzoen in Enge- // lenburch."

Nijhoff and Kronenburg 612.

A copy of an authentic account of sultan Soliman (Suleyman the Magnificent 1521-1566, DK) organising his campaign against the Christians and marching to Greek Weissenburg by which is ment Belgrade. One of the first Amsterdam prints!

75.

nr. 354 [1529]

Nyeuwe tij- // ding // In wat manieren die Ambassaten der // Conincklijcker Maiesteyt te Behmen // en Hongerije te wetene Heer Six- // tus Weyxelberger end een Hon- // gerschen Heere tot den Turc- // schen Keyser aen ende // afghecomen // zijn. // Regnante Ferdinando // Mutantur tempora in illo. // By Ferdinandus regeringe en tijt. // Sullen opstaan groote orloghe en strijt.

4 p., Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden.

"Gheprent Tantwerpen int gulde Missael // In iaer ons Heeren M.CCCCC // ende XXIX".

Nijhoff and Kronenburg 2031.

An account of an embassy to the Grand Turk by Habsburg diplomats during the reign of Ferdinand.

76.

nr. 375 [1530]

Erasmus van Rotterdam

Uti // lissima Consultatio De // Bello Turcis inferendo, & obiter ena- // ratus Psalmus XXVIII. // per Des. Eras // mum Rote//rodamum. // Opus recens & natum & aeditum.

28 p. 113 x 72 mm, Deutsche Staatsbibl., Berlin Th. 3548.

Text p. 1b-28b; "Antwerpiae, apud Michaellem Hillenium", p. 28b.

See nr. 371, 372, 373 and 374 for a Basel, a Viennese, a Parisian and a Colognese edition.

Erasmus' useful consideration for making war on the Turks.

77.

nr. 460 [1532]

Copie auctentijck ge- // screue den. XX. dach va // Augusto In Belgrado aen die Keyserlike
// Maiesteyt hem auiserende die manierlic- // heyt vanden groote Turck // en in wat //
ordine hi in Belgrado quam // met meer geschie- // denissen etc. 1532.

4 p., 160 x 99 mm., Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden. Petit nr. 46.

Text: p. 1b-4a; "Item alsoe is die Copie van eene brief geconne te Venegien den // XXIIII
Septembris ... wt de welcke // ick dye ghescreuvenmet haeste // den V. dach van October
binnen Venegien. // M.CCCCC.XXXII. // Gheprent Tantwerpen in die Camerstrate int
Gulden Missael // by mi Adriaen van Berghen. Anno MCCCC// den XXV // dach
Octobri", p. 4b.

Nijhoff and Kronenburg 604.

An Antwerp print of a letter reporting to Charles V, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, on the way the Turks marched to Belgrade, forwarded from Venice.

78.

nr. 462 [1532]

Nyeuwe warachtig- // ge dingen geschiet met // onsen Vyandt den Turck in Oesten- // rijck
op de Danubie. // Dit is die tweede co- // pie daer ghy vele gescie // denisse inne hebt.
Noch suldy eenen hebbe // en God wilt na desen ghescreuen daer ghi noch veel // vreemde
gheschiedenissen in hebben sult, op dat ghy // moecht weten die daer lust ende liefte toe
heeft (son-// der arbeyt) wat dese groten Turck nv. bedreue // heeft dwelck in menich
hondert iare noyt // gesien noch gehoort en is gheweest // ouergeset wten Italiaenschen in //
onser duytscher spraken.

4 p., 150 x 99 mm.; Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden. Petit nr. 45.

"Ghescreven te Ratisbone in dat triumphantelic hof der // K.M. den XIII dach by mi
Adriaen van Berghen int Gulden Missael", p. 4a.

Nijhoff and Kronenburg 713.

A translation of nr. 487 "Newe warhaftige // Zeytung der Rustung wider // den Tyrannen
etc.", reporting on the Turkish campaign in the Danube area, in which important military
facts are reported among which the passing of Spanish, Italian troops as well as contingents
from the Low Countries in the Imperial army, translated from the Italian in 'our German'
language. See Apponyi 1681.

79.

nr. 476 [1532]

Nieuwe tijdin- // ghen van Andres Doria der Key // Ma. oversten hoofmans nu nu // ierst
gehoort hoe hij sommige ste-// den in Turckien ingeno- // men heeft... Ghedruct by Jan
Grapheus // Anno M.CCCCC XXXII. den IX // dach Decembrijs op die // lombarden
veste // Tanwerpen.

4 p. 152 x 100 mm, British Museum, London.

Text p. 1b-4b; "Dit heeft een borger van Anco-//nen te Venegien gescreven", p. 4b.

News of the operations of Andrea Doria against the Turks, including the conquest of Patras at the northwest corner of the Peloponnese.

80.

nr. 477 [1532]

Des Turckschen Keyzers // veruaelicke Beleg, der stadt en slot Guns genomt, en // des
seluen na twaelf verlore stormen aftoeh//, bi de // edele Ridder Niclaes Jurischitz die
daer stee- // houder was, gescreuen warachtelijcke // aen Ferdinandus Roomsche Co- // nic
wt de voorghenoemde // stadt Guns...

6 p., Bibliotheek der Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam.

Text p. 2b-6b; "Gheprint tot Amstelredam // aen die oude side in die kerkstraet bi mi //
Doen Pieterzoon in Enge- // lenburch", p. 6b.

Nijhoff and Kronenburg 267.

A translation of nr. 435: Juricic (Nikolaus), "Des Türcken erschreckenli- // che belegerug
der Statt und Schlosz // Günsz. etc." See Apponyi H. 245.

The Turkish emperor's frigthfull siege of the city and citadel of Güns and withdrawal after twelve unsuccesfull assaults.

81.

nr. 481 [1532]

Die Heerlike // Victorie der Christenen teghen di // vloetende // Armaet der Turcken, ende
die recuperatie des stadt Clis- // sa, met een prophecie van eenen heylighen man, ghe- //
uonden in een wout ende noch meer ander // schoone aduysen des Heeren van // Clissa
ghesonden den doer- // luchtighen Heere Alo // ys Gonzagha. // Troostelike Niew Tidinge.

4 p. 152 x 105 mm., Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest. See Apponyi H. 1679.

Text p. 2a-4b; "hegheven wt Clissa opten XXVIII dach // Augusti. Anno MCCCCC ende
XXXII. // die Grave van Clissa", p. 4b.

That glorious victory of the Christians against the Turkish Armada and the recovery of the

city of Clissa, a translation of nr. 482 (an Italian report titled "La solenne // Vittoria de christiani etc.") about the naval battle between Andrea Doria and the Ottoman fleet in the Corinthian Gulf below ancient Delphi.

82.

nr. 630 [1538]

Capittele des alder heylich- // sten verbonts ghemaect ende gheschiet tusschen den // Paus ende die Keyserlijcke Maiesteyt metten Ve- // neetsianen teghen die Turcken. // By mi Willem Vorsterman Inde gulden Eenhoren. // Cum Gratia et Priuilegio.

4 p. 165 x 109 mm., Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden.

"Men vintse te coope Tantwerpen by Willem Vorster- // man inden gulden Eenhorn. // Cum gracia et Privilegio", p. 4a.

A translation of nr. 631 "Capitula // Sanctissimi Foederis Initi etc.", printed in Cologne.

Nijhoff and Kronenburg 520.

Articles of the Holy Union between the Pope, the Emperor and the Venetians against the Turks printed at Antwerp.

83.

nr. 948 [1555]

Nieuwe ty-//dinghe van des turcxskén Key-//sers ontsegbrief en dreyghinge // die hy nu onlanx geleden aen den hooch-//gheboren en doorluchtighen Room-//schen Coninck Ferdinandus // door sijne legaten ghe-//sonden heeft. (Ghevisiteert van eenen gheleerden // Correctuer vader. K.M. daer toe gecom-//miteert. Ende is gheprint by Wouter // Bart-holeyns in dye Valckstraet naest die // Gulden Fonteyne).

4 unn. p., in-8o., Plantijn Museum, Antwerpen R 50-17.

"Ontsegbrief//ende dreyginghe des grooten // Turckschen Keysers, die hy nu de Room-//schen Coninck Ferdinando door zijn // legaten ghesonden heeft. // Anno 1555. In Novembri p. 1b-3a; Vermanin-//ghe aen die Christen menschen." p. 3b-4b.

New threats by the sultan [Suleyman the Magnificent, DK] against the Habsburg emperor Ferdinand.

84.

nr. 1085 [1565]

Valette (Jean de) and Magro (Orlando)

En sekere ende // warachtighe goede nyeuwe tij- // dinghe van het belech van het Eylant // van Malta, met die scoone victorie die // de Christenen (dor Gods gratie) ver- // creghen hebbe teghen den geduerige // Christenen vyam den Turck, // voor het fortres van // Sint Elmo. // ouergheset wt dat Italiaens int duyts. // Gheprint Thantwerpen // op di Lombaerde // Ueste inde witte // Hasewint by. // Jan van Ghelen // Met Preuilegie.

4 unnn. p. In -4o., Harvard University Library, Cambridge (Mass.) Ott. 294.12.5*.

The first letter contains Malta's Grandmaster Jean de Valette's report on the struggle over the Saint Elmofortress (15-16 June 1565). The second one is a Flemish translation of a report (22.6.1565) by Orlando Magro, steerman on the Grandmasters galey, translated from the Italian in Low German.

Olthoff 36 and Riant 3868.

85.

nr. 1113

Nieuwe tijdinghe // van alle het ghene dat geschiet is // tusschen de Christenen ende de ongeloovighe // Turcken, inde teghenwoordighe oorloghe // van Malta, by diveersche brieven, // die aen groote Heeren hebben // geschreven ende ghe- // sonden geweest. // Ghetranslateert unten Italianische in // onse Nederlantsche sprake. // Gheprint Thantwerpen inde Valekstrate, // by Jan Verwithaghen. M.D.L.XVV.

14 unnn. p. in -8o., Bibl. Royale, Brussels V.B. 10.204/II/6 A. Also UB Gent (Res. 1235[2]-/1).

Another newsreport on the war between the Christian forces and the infidels concerning Malta.

86.

nr. 1113a [1565]

Twederley Nieu-// we tijdinge, In wat manieren het Slot // Daggay in Ungarije gelegen door des // Machtigen tegenwoordigen Ke. Ma. // Crijchsvolck // den Torck des Christelijcke Naes // Erf vyant wederom in dit LXV. iaer afghe- // wonnen ende vercreghen heeft. // Item eenen Ridderlijcken Camp en Tornoy van twee Campengoens, deen een Torckse Hoofman // en eenen iongen Ungersche Crijchsman om sgeloofs // wille om lijf en leue bi Botzcha in Ungarije in dit iaer // LXV. den xxx. Januarij met malcanderen ghestreden // hebben, en hoe dat hen vergaen is. // Gheprint Thantwerpen inde Cammerstrate inde // Cammerpoorte often gulden Voet, by Jan Mol // lins ghesworen Boeckdruckere.

4 unnn. p. in -8o., Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerpen K 67033.

A twofold report about the way the citadel Daggay [Tokaj?, DK] in Hungary was reconquered by the mighty army of his Imperial Majesty and the outcome of a chivalrous tournament between a Turkish champion and a young Hungarian warrior near Botscha (probably Bochnia, in Poland) in Hungary, printed in Antwerp.

87.

nr. 1114 [1565]

Een corte verclarin // ghe hoe dat die Turcken int Hey- // landt van Malta ghecome en- // de nae diverssche assauten ende schermut- // singhen wederomme daer van ghe- // scheyden zyn, int Jaer // M.D. LXV. // Gheprint Thantwerpen inde Cammerstra inde // Cammerpoorte oft gulden Voet by Jan // Mollijns ghesworen boeckdrucker.

12 unn. p. in -8o., UB Gent, Res. 1235 2/2.

A short explanation on how the Turks came to Malta and withdrew after various assaults.

88.

nr. 1473 [1571]

Vande seer schoone // gheluckige Victorie, die de Chri- // stenen ghehadt hebben, op die
Armeeye // van de Turcken: wt Venegien hier overghe- // schreuen den neghenthiesten
dach // van Octobre xvc.Lxxi. // Tantwerpen // by Anthoni Thyleus in den Struys // 1571,
// Typ. Ag. Radei.

4 unn. p. in -8o., British Museum, London, 9136 a 2.
Also UB Gent (Meul 227). See also Van der Wulp 227.

Of the glorious victory the Christians gained at the army of the Turks, reported from
Venice.

89.

nr. 1751 [1582]

Coppe. // Des grooten Turcksche(n) Keyzers ontsegbrief, // twelck hy in dit Jaer 1582. On-
// sen duytsche(n) Keyser Rodolphus // den tweeden deses naems, // met zijn eygen Lega-
ten heeft ge- // sonden. //... // Eerst ghedruckt te Weenen in Oostenrijck, en // de nu
overgheset in nederdytsche sprake. // Ghedruckt tot Amstelredam by Cornelis // Claeszoon
woonende by de oude Brugge, // opt water: Anno 1582.

4 unn. p. in -8o., Bibl. Royale, Brussels 10. 204 VI 16.

Text p. 2a-4a; "Door toelatinge der keyserliche Majesteit, Gedruckt in Hoochduytsche
sprake tot Weenen in Oostenrijck, by David Goliath, den 20. Junij, 1582; An alle vromen
Christenen", p. 4a.

Copy of a letter of rejection which the sultan [Murad III, 1574-1595, DK] sent to the
German emperor Rudolph II in 1582 by his legates. Originally printed in Vienna and now
translated into the Lower German language (in this case Dutch).

90.

nr. 1793 [1585]

COPYE, // Van den Brief, die den // grooten Turck ghesonden heeft, aen de // Conincklijc-
ke Maiesteyt van Spaegnien, // mitdsgaders oock de Presenten aen // zijne Maiesteyt
ghesonden, // door Aly Bassa zijnen // Camerlinc. T'HANTVVERPEN // By Mattheus de
Rische, op onser Vrouwen Kerckhof, // onder den Thoren, inden gulden Sampson, // Anno
M.D.LXXXV.

3 p. in -4o., Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 's-Gravenhage, Pamflet 728b.

This copy of a letter sent to his Majesty the King of Spain [Philip II, DK] by the Grand
Turk by means of his chamberlain Ali Pasha is a translation of nr. 1787 ("Copia // d'una

lettera //scritta // Dal Gran Turco etc.", University Library, Bologna).

91.

nr. 1977 [1594]

Twée // waerachthige // Historien, // en tydingen van groote victorien, // djemen in Hongerye gehadt heeft. // En wat steden en Casteelen die // Welg. en Ridd. Hee // ren Ferd.

v. Har //dech en Christoffel en Fre // derich van Tieffenbach ... met andere Crychsoverste //geuonnen... hebben 1. Nov.-20 Jan. 1594. Brussel 1594.

7 p. in-4o., Library Academici Republicii Socialiste Romania, Bukarest, I 45 2 934.

Kertbeny 1082: "Der weiland Pariser Antiquar, Albin Tross, schrieb auf dies Exemplar, das er als in holländischer Sprache gedruckt wahrte, indessen es in Vlämischer Sprache geschrieben ist: Dieses Stück, unbekannt allen Historiker und Bibliographen, dürfte vielleicht das einzige sein, welches sich erhalten hat."

Two genuine histories and reports of great victories in Hungary and which cities and castles have been taken.

92.

nr. 2256 [1596]

Verhael van verscheyde victorien behaelt door den Roomschen Keyser over de Turken.

Library Michielis, II, 384, 2616, nr. 2; Exposition, 100.

Story of various victories of the Holy Roman emperor.

93.

nr. 2431 [1599]

CORT // Verhael van de // gheluckige victorie die de Chri- // stenen hebben ghecreghen teghen den // Turck in Hongeryen waer dat eenighe duysen- // den Turcken verslaghen syn: haerlieder Sche- // pen met gelt ende ammonitie van oorloge hun // afghenomen op den Riuiere van den Danouwe // by de stadt van Tolna, Gheschiet on S. Jans // auont lestlede in dit tegenwoordich Jaer 1599. // den XXij. Junii. // Gheprint Thantwerpen by Anthoni // de Ballo op ons lief Vrouwen Kerckhof, 1599. // Naer de Copye ghedruckt tot Praghe.

4 unn. p. in -4o., O. Széchényi Könyvtar, Budapest, Apponyi H 650.

Text p. 1b-4a; a woodcut on the titlepage: City of Carthago.
Ballagi 1056; Hubay 419.

A short account of the victory the Christians gained against the Turks in Hungary; and their ships loaded with money and ammunition taken on the Danube near the city of Tolna.

b. Pamphlets compiled from W.P.C. Knuttel and others⁴

94.

? [1562]

Een waarachtighe nyeuwe tijdinghe van den Rijcxdach te Frankfoort. Een Oration des Turcsen legaten Stratij voorghedraghen, Leiden 1562.

'A true new account of the Imperial Essambley at Frankfurt in which the Turkish envoy Stratij made a speech.'

See Theunissen p. 187, note 39. Compare Göllner, *Turcica* II, nrs. 1035-1040, a translation of a series of German pamphlets in which the Turkish envoy, who was of Polish descent, is called Strasz or Strotch.

95.

Van der Wulp, nr. 8659 [1566]

Waerachtige nieuwe tydinghe vanden Turck. Hoe dat hy met de Keyserlijcke Maiestyt verdraghen is met enen ewigen vrede, oock dat christen gheloue aenghenomen heeft. Anno ... 1566 Ghetranslateert uit den Hoochd., in nederlandsche sprake. Ghedruckt tot Campen.

80.

24 p.

'A true new account of the Turk. In what manner he concluded eternal peace with his imperial Majesty and also how he embraced the cristian religion.'

96.

Nr. 1929 [1612]

Waerachtich verhael, Belanghende de aenkomste tot Constantinoplen, van den Ambassadeur der Edele Moghende Heere Staten Generael van de Vereenighde Nederlanden: Midtsgaders het goede tractement ende onthael den selven Heere Ambassadeur Cornelis Haga, met zijn gheselschap, aldaer ten Hove aengedaen, ende de groote Vryheden by hem aldaer verkregen [*in Juli. Met titelvignet. Z.n.v. pl.*] (Alkmaar) By Jacob Harmansz Verblack, 1612, in-4o.,

20 p.

'A true narrative of the arrival in Constantinople of Cornelis Haga, the Ambassador of the States General of the United Provinces as well as his benign treatment at the audience ceremony at the Ottoman court and the favourable treaties he concluded.'

More extensive in Baudartius, I 179-189. See also Broekema (1892), nrs. 180-81 and Van der Wulp, nr. 1295. The text of the capitulations was published in Cornelis Cau, *Groot Placaet-boeck*..., 9 dln., 's-Gravenhage 1658-1796, III, 383-390; Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Saken van staet en oorlogh*..., 6 dln., 's-Gravenhage 1669-1672, II, 137-142 and Jean du Mont, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens*..., 8 dln., Amsterdam 1726-1731, II,

⁴ As most items have been drawn from Knuttel his name is omitted there, in other cases the sources are mentioned explicitly.

205-214.

See also Tiele nr. 988.

97.

Nr. 1930 [1612]

VVaerachtich verhael, Belanghende de aencomste tot Constantinoplen, van den Ambassadeur der..... Staten Generael van der Vereenighde Nederlanden: *[enz. Bij denzelfden]*, in-4o., 16 p.

Another compression print of the same subject.

98.

Nr. 1931 [1612]

Waerachtich verhael, Belangende de aencomste tot Conmstantinoplen, van den Ambassadeur der Edele Mogende Heerren Staten Generael van de Vereenighde Nederlanden: *enz. [Bij denzelfden]* in-4o., 16 p.

Another print of the same event. See also Van der Wulp nr. 1295.

99.

Van der Wulp, nr. 1490 [1617]

Copie des Briefs van den Spaenschen Viceroy van Napels aen den Turckschen Keyser, Mahometh de III, dies naems, waer in hy den selven soect op te hissen tegen de Republijcke van Venetien, *enz.* (in d. Junij 1617). Wt de Ital. sprake verduyscht. Z. pl. n.v. dr. 1617, 4 p.

'Copy of a letter of the Spanish Vice-roy of Naples to the Turkish emperor, Mehmet II, in which he tried to stir him up against the Venetian Republic.'

In Baudartius B. I X 124. See also Petit nr. 1092.

100.

Tiele, nr. 1518 [1618]

Copie eens Briefs ... *enz.* Noch is hier by-ghevoecht een liedeke vande heerlycke victorie die de Schepen ende Galeye vande Ridders van Malta teghen een Armada Turcksche Schepen ghehadt hebben, *enz.* ... 1618, 4 p.

'Copy of a letter ... Added is a song praising the glorious victory of the Maltese knights against a Turkish armada.'

101.

? nr. ? [1619]

Cort verhael van den gheweldigen Slach tegen den Turck [...] ende den Persiaen heeft den Turck geslagen als volcht ..., Antwerpen 1619.

'Short account of the mighty battle against the Turk [...] and (how) the Persian defeated the Turk.'

See Theunissen, 188, note 51, who does not mention the source, but refers to the French prints in Rouillard (1940), appendix I, nrs. 231-32.

102.

Petit nr. 1248 [1620]

Nieuwe Tijdinghe van Bohemen met de Beleggheringhe van Wettingauw enz... Met den Slach ende Verlies van den Turck, gheschiedt in de Golfo van Venetien (September). Nu eerst Ghedr. den 14 Oct. Hantwerpen, Abr. Verhoeven ... 1620 Y y y... A

'New account from Bohemia with the siege of Wettingauw etc... With the (naval) battle and defeat of the Turk in the Venetian Gulf' [a pars pro toto of the Adriatic, DK].

103.

Petit nr. 1295 [1621]

Ontsegh-Brief van den Turcksen Keyser, aen den Coningh van Polen. (zonder dagteekening) Delf, I. Andriesz.... 1621

'A rejection of the Turkish emperor to the king of Poland.'

104.

nr. 3324a [1622]

VVaerachtich Verhael, Van die notabele gheschiedenissen onlangs tot Constantinopel ghebeurt, met de afkomste der Turcksche Keyseren ofte Sultanen van den Osmansche Geslachte tot op den tegenwoordigen, enz. [(Met titelvignet)] In 's Gravenhaghe. By Aert Meuris... Anno 1622, in-4o., 16 p.

An authentic report of the most important recent events at Constantinople, as well as an account of the descent of the Ottoman sultans till the present day containing a list of sultans from the end of the 13th century, followed by their history since 1619 but mainly from the start of 1622 till the end of July of the same year. The news covered the revolt of the yanitsars and the murder of sultan Osman II after the debacle of the Polish campaign, see Theunissen, 188, note nr. 54.

105.

? [1622]

Nieuwe tydinghe hoe ende in wat manieren den Grooten Turck is vermoord gheworden van zyn eyghen volck, ende hebben eenen anderen Heere ghekosen.

'New account on the event of how and in what manner the Grand Seigneur has been murdered by his own people and how a new sultan had been chosen.' Taken from the July-issue 1622 of one of the first newspapers.

See Theunissen, 44 and 188, note 54, citing from Van der Wulp, nr. 8994. See also Knuttel nr. 3324a.

106.

Petit nr. 1425 [1624]

Een waerachtige en seeckere Verklaringhe van den Slagh van Bethlem Gabor, hoe dat hy het leger van Negromonte heeft in route gheslagen enz. ... Hier is noch by ghevoeght een Wtrecht, voor Corn. Martensz. 1624, 8p. 8o.

Twee liederen.

Two different accounts of which only the first concerns the Ottoman Empire: 'A true and certain account of the battle (performed) by Bethlen Gabor, how he routed the army of Negromonte by way of a song of appraisal.'

Bethlen Gabor (1580-1629) became prince of Zevenburgen (Transsylvania) with Turkish support in 1613. His gratitude did not last long for as a reward he drove them away. In the Thirty Years war he supported the Tsjechs and threatened Vienna. In 1620 the Hungarians elected him king but the next year, forced by emperor Ferdinand, he had to abdicate.

107.

Van der Wulp nr. 2270 [1634]

Beschryvinge van 't gheene voorghefallen is inde Oorloghe by den Koningh van Polen ghevoert in 't Jaer 1633 teghen den Turck ende den Moscoviter. Uyt de Latijnsche in onse Nederl. Tael Overgeset door Daniel Bredan Amsteldammer Notaris publiq binnen der selven Stede. Int Jaer ons Heeren 1634, 16p.

Description of the events in 1633 during the war of the Polish king against the Turk and the Moscovians (Russians).

108.

Petit nr. 1861 [1634]

Copie van de Articulen geaccordeert ... tusschen S. Kon. Maj. van Polen ende den Turckschen Keyser ... by Kamienite van den 2 oct. 1634, 1p. fol.

Copy of the treaty concluded between the king of Poland and the Turkish emperor at Kamieniez Podolsk, now Kamenets Podolski in Moldavia.

109.

nr. 4649 [1639]

Ad Illustrissimum Heroem et Dominum D. Cornelivm Hagam Faederatorum Ordinum Legatum Byzantio reducem Carmen Syncharisticon. [*Onderteekend*] Cornelivs Stalpert van der Wiel. Lugduni Batavorum, Excudebat Georgius vander Marse MDCXXXIX, a b-edition (in-plano), one sheet.

A Latin eulogy by Cornelius Stalpert to Cornelis Haga after his return to the Dutch republic from Constantinople, here anachronistically called Byzantium.

110.

nr. 5413 [1647]

Wonderlijke Vertooninge Gheopenbaart aen den Machtigen Solomon Homneth, Grooten Turckschen Keyser van Constantinoplen. [*Aan het einde*] t' Amstelredam. Ghedruckt voor een Lief-hebber der Christelijcke Vrede. Sr. S.E.W. Coopman tot Amsterdam Anno MDCXLVII, in folio, one sheet.

Strange spectacles revealed to the Mighty Solomon Homneth [Suleyman the Magnificent?, DK], Great Turkish emperor of Constantinople, on a copperprint of 34,5 x 28 cm.

111.

nr. 5649 [1648]

Extract, uyt een brief gedateert van Constantinopelen den 22 Augusty 1648. [*Z. afz. titel, z.n.v.pl., v. dr. en z.j.*], in-4o., 4p.

Excerpt from a letter from Constantinople dated as above. It contains information about the revolt against sultan Ibrahim and his successive replacement on the Ottoman throne by his son, the seven years old Mehemet.

112.

nr. 8265 [1660]

Notabel Schryvens uyt Venetien, Volgens de Brieven van den Generalissimus Morosini, Aen d'Heeren Senaet vande Serenissime Republycque, aengaende De Succesen vande wapenen der Christenen tegens de Turcken in ... Candia. Gedrukt [*z.n.v.pl. en v.dr.*] ... 1660, in-4o., 8p.

'Notable Missive' from Venice referring to the letters of Morosini to the Senate of the Serenissime Republic on the successes of the Christian arms against the Turks.

See also Tiele nr. 4737.

113.

nr. 8715 [1663]

Actus Processionis et Propositionis, Soo binnen Regensburgh op den tegenwoordigen Rijcxdagh solemniter is geschiet. Getranslateert uyt 't Hooghduytsch na de Copy tot Regensburgh. Gedrukt voor Christoph. Visscher. Anno 1663, in-4o., 8p.

An account of the proceedings on the Imperial Diet at Regensburg. See also Van der Wulp, nr. 3968.

114.

nr. 8716 [1663]

Pertinent Schryvens vanden toestant des (sic) ryxvergaderinge Tot Regensburgh Ende al 't geene de Ceur-Furstelicke, Afgesanten op de Respective Propositionen, yeder hooft voor hooft, geantwoort, ende op 's Keyzers versoeck, van hulp, ende assistentie, tegens der Turcken inval in Christen-Rijck geantwoort hebben. [*Z.n.v.pl.v.dr.*] Anno MDCLXIII, in-4o., 8p.

A more extensive account of the former. See also Petit nr. 3290.

115.

nr. 8721 [1663]

De oorsaeck des Turcksen oorloghs. Korte verklaringe van de Vesting Serinswar. [*Daaronder*] Authentique Copie Van een seer Godslasterlijke Brief, des tegenwoordigen Turcksen Keyser, geschreeven en gesonden aen de Duytsche Vorsten, en gemeyne Christen Princen, 1663, [*z.n.v.pl.v.dr. en z.jr*], a b-edition, one sheet.

'The cause of the Turkish war, a short description of the citadel of Serinswar as well as an authentic copy of a blasphemous letter written by the sultan to the Germans princes.' Printed in Dutch and French in 2 columns with a copperprint of the Turkish fortress of Canischa, the new fortress of Serinswar and a portrait of sultan Mahomet VI and the count of Serin.

See also Petit nr. 3291.

116.

nr. 8722 [1663]

Beschryvinge der Turcksche Oorlogen, In Oostenrijck, Ongaryen, Moravien, Silesien en Bohemen. Tot Haerlem, by P. Casteleyn... te koop tot Amsterdam, by P. Arentsz ... 1663, in-4o, 30p.

'A description of the Turkish Wars, in Austria etc.'; with a groundplan of the fortress of Nieu Heuaesel (Neuhäussl) and a map.

See also Tiele nr. 5040

117.

nr. 8723 [1663]

Copia van een Brief geschreven uyt Weenen, den 4. October, waar in pertinent verhaelt wort, het innemen vande vestinge Neuw-Huysel in Hongaryen gelegen, ende de princepaelste oorsaecke vande overleveringe deser plaets, aen den Turck [*Ged. 4 Oct. 1663*] *Z.n.v.pl.v.dr. en z.j.*; a b-edition, one sheet.

'Copy of a letter from Vienna, inwhich the capture of the fortress of Neuhäussl in Hungary is recorded.'

Van der Wulp nr. 4341, see also Van der Wulp nrs. 3970 and 4028-4029.

118.

nr. 8723a

Considerations d'Importance touchant la guerre du Turc Naerder en merckelyck Bedencken over den Turckschen Oorlogh. [*Z. n. v.pl.v.dr. en z.j.*], in-4o., 8p.

After the French part of the title: 'Closer and considerable thoughts on the Turkish war.'

119.

nr. 9436 [1666]

Historis Verhael, Van den nieuwen gemeynden Koning der Joden, Sabatha Sebi, Als mede sijn by hebbende Propheet Nathan Levi. Opgestaen in 1666.... Mitsgaders een kort en bondigh Verhael, hoe datter tot acht malen valsche Joodsche Messiassen geweest zijn, [enz.] Gedrukt in 't Jaer der Ioden Hoope, 1666, in-4o., 16p.

'A historical narrative of Sabatha Sebi, the new would be King of the Jews and his prophet Nathan Levi risen in 1666, accompanied by a short account on the eight false Messiasses that have appaeared so far.' Sabathai Zwi grew up in Smyrna (Izmir) from which his movement spread among the Jews of the Ottoman Empire.

See also nrs 9437 (is separate edition of het Kort en Bondigh Verhael enz., in-4o., 8p., see Van der Wulp 4342) and 9438 (Den gewaanden Joodsche Messias Sabatha Sebi Ontdeekt, in-4o., 16p.)

120.

nr. 9447 [1667]

Relaes, Ofte generale beschrijvinge vande Voyagie, gedaen door den Heer Iacob van Dam, aengestelde Consul, van de .. Staten Generael....., tot Smirna, waerinne verhaelt wort de schrickelicke distructie van Ragousa, het elendig omkomen vanden Heer Resident Mr. Ioris Croock, en desselfs Domestijcken, etc. Gedrukt naer de Originele Cope van den voornoemde Consul van Dam. Amsterdam, Johannes van den Bergh, 1667, in-4o., 16p.

'A tale, or general description of the voyage made by Jacob van Dam, appointed consul of the States General to Smyrna, in which the terrible destruction [by an earthquake, DK] of Ragusa has been recorded as well as the miserable death of Ioris Croock [the Dutch resident to the Sublime Porte, DK] and his servants.'

See also Tiele nr. 5573

121.

nr. 9448 [1667]

Copie van een Brief uyt Venetien, Den 29 April 1667, geschreven door Joannes Rigo, Hofmeester van den Heer Resident, van haer Hoog: Mo: George Croock, wegens het droevigh ongeval, geschiedet door een Aerdtbevingh, den 6 April 1667. tot Ragousa, alwaer den Heer Croock en Huysvrouw, met eenige Domestijcken, jammerlijck gebleven zijn. [Onderaan]: Amsterdam, J. Venckel. 1667, a b-edition, one sheet.

'Copy of a letter from Venice written by Johannes Rigo, steward of the said Resident on occasion of the sad accident that occurred during this earthquake on April 6th, 1667.'

122.

nr. 9449 [1667]

Copie van een Brief [enz.].... [Onderaan]: Gedrukt by Ian Bruyningh, Anno 1667.

Copy of a letter. Another print of the former. See Van der Wulp nr. 4352, who mentioned

another print nr 5792; see also Tiele nr. 69.

123.

nr. 9590a.

Relaes Ofte generale Beschrijvinge enz. in-4o., 16p.

'Story or general description etc.' The print probably mentioned in Van der Wulp nr. 4352. See nr. 121.

124.

nr. 9604 [1667]

Een seer perfecte Beschryvinghe. Van 't Leven en Bedrijf mitsgaders het Turckx worden, van den ghepretendeerden lootsen Messias. Overgesonden van een geleert Persoon van Galata in Turkeyen. Amsterdam, Jan Bruyningh, ... 1667, in-4o., 16p.

'A most perfect description of the life and activities as well as his conversion to Islam of the pretended Jewish Messiah sent by a man of learning in Galata in Turkey.'

Tiele nr. 5597 is another print, compare with nr. 9436.

125.

nr. 9612 [1668]

Een Bondigh en Grondigh Verhaal Van den tegenwoordigen Oorlogh tusschen de Venetianen en den Turk; Mitsgaders de Standt van Candia; Geschreven uyt Venetien aan den Koning van Engelandt; door den Graaf van Castlemaine En vertaalt door J.[an] G[lazemaker]. En hier nevens een Kaart van de Belegeringe, een een Kaart van 't Eylant Candia. Amsterdam, Pieter Arentsz. 1668, in-4o., (VIII) and 16p.

'A short and solid tale of the present war between the Venetians and the Turk; as well as the state of the siege of Candia; written from Venice to the King of England by count Castlemaine,' translated by Jan Glazemaker.

See also Tiele nr. 5605.

126.

nr. 9645 [1668]

Dagh-register van 't gene de Heere Justinus Coljer Resident wegens de .. Heeren Staen Generael..., geaccompagneert met den Consul van Smyrna J. van Dam, ende een aensienlijck gevolg, is gherencontreert op de Reyse van Constantinopolen, tot Andrianopolen, aldaer hy by den Turckschen Keyser sijne eerste Audientie heeft gehad, ... Overgebracht Door des selfs Heeren Residents Sone ende Sr. Francois de Brosses Secretaris van den Staet, aen 't Hof van Constantinopolen, weghens ... Hare Hoogh. Mog: Beneffens twee Brieven aen Hare Ho. Mog. eene van den grooten Heer, ende een ander van den Caïmacham. 's Graven-hage [(z.n.v.pl. en v.dr.)] Gedrukt inde Maent van December 1668, in-4o., 36p.

The journal of the journey to Constantinople by way of Adrianopolis [Edirne, DK] and his

audience at the sultan's court of Justinus Coljer, the Dutch ambassador to the Sublime Porte, reported by his son and his secretary.

See also Tiele nr. 5628 and Aitzema (1657-68), VI, 638-51.

127.

nr. 9646 [1668]

Opregt Journael, van 't geene de Heere Justinus Coljer Resident wegens de ... Staten Generael... in sijne intrede tot Constantinopelen is ontmoet ... Als mede 't gunt is gepasseert voor, in, ende naer des selfs eerste audientie ... Overgebracht Door Iohan Coljer, des selfs Heer Residents Sone, ende Sr. Francois de Broses ... Benevens twee Brieven enz. ... 's Graven-hage, Erfgen. van... H. Js. van Wouw, 1668.

[Ondanks een Waerschouwinge tegenover de titel over 'verscheyden calumnien' komt het Dagh-register met het Oprecht Journael bijna woordelijk overeen: alleen het laatste begint met de aankomst van Coljer te Constantinopel den 25 Mei, het eerste met zijn vertrek van daar naar Adrianapol den 26 Juli. Daarentegen behelst het Dagh-register, blz. 24-25 eene Beschrijvinge van de gedaente, postuur ende Jaren van den Koningh ofte Grooten Heer, van den Caimacam van Adrianopelen, van den Mufti enz. Hiermede zullen de "verscheyden calumnien" bedoeld zijn. Ook zijn in het Dagh-register op sommige pl. de abusive expressien van Koningh voor Keyser en dergelijke gebruikt.]

Another revised version of the first edition, which had caused some uproar because of the undiplomatic language used. See also Tiele nrs. 5627-5629, Van der Wulp nrs. 4611 en 5550 and Tiele nr. 62; see also nr. 9647 containing a German translation.

128.

nr. 11782 [1681]

Capitulatien en Privilegien By de Keyserlijcke Majesteit van Turckyen Sultan Muhamed Chan [soon van Sultan Ibrahim Chan] ... Gegeven aen de ... Staten Generael ... in zijn Majesteits Landen. Amsterdam, H. Aeltz. 1681, in-4o., 32p.

[Aan het einde]: Geschreven in den beginne van de Heylige Maendt Ramasan, Anno 1091, d.i. ongeveer 1680 a 1681 van onze tijdrekening.

Capitulations and privileges from his Imperial Majesty of Turkey sultan Muhamed Chan (Mehmet IV 1648-1687) granted to the States General. See also Van der Wulp nr. 9352 and in another version nr. 5822.

129.

nr. 11842

Declaratie Van den Turcksen Keyser, gedaen aen den Roomschen Keyser. *[Z. adres]*, in-folio, one sheet.

Demand from the Turkish emperor to the Holy Roman emperor.

130.

11842a

Brief Geschreven van den Turckschen Sultan Aen Den Keyser van Roomen. A b-edition, one sheet.

A letter written by the Turkish sultan to the Holy Roman emperor. Probably another edition of nr. 129.

131.

nr. 11843

Antwoord Van den Roomschen Keyser, Aen den Turckschen Keyser; Op des selfs Declaratie. [Z. adres], in-folio, one sheet.

The answer of the Holy Roman emperor to the Turkish one.

132.

nr. 11844 [1683]

Aen de Hedendaeghse Christenen, Over het Beleg van Weenen. [Onderaan]: 's Gravenhage, J. Tongerlo, 1683, A b-edition, one sheet.

'To the present-day Christians on the siege of Vienna'; poems undersigned by a certain Romané.

133.

nr. 11845

Verhael Van al 't gepasseerde voorgevallen binnen de Belegerde Stadt Weenen, Door een af-gesonde Visser uyt het Keyserlijcke Leger, welcke over den Donau zijnde geswommen, dese volgende tydinge wederom heeft gebracht; als mede uyt de Brieven van Passauw, Regenborgh, ende andere uyt Weenen getrocke.

[Aan de keerzijde]: Ackoorts Arttyckelen Beslooten tusschen den Turksen Keyser, En den Grave Teckely. Wegen het Rijk van Hungaryen, de herstellinge van de Gereformeerde Religie, ende 't verdryven van alle Jesuiten, sonder oyt weer daar in te komen, in-folio, one sheet.

'The tale of all the events passed within the besieged city of Vienna delivered by a fisherman of the Imperial Army who had swum across the Danube, supplemented by news compiled from letters from Passau, Regensburg etc.' On the reverse treaties concluded between the sultan and count Teckely about Hungary, the restoration of the Reformed religion and the definitive expulsion of all jesuits from that territory.

134.

nr. 11846 [1683]

Relaes Vande Battaille, Tusschen de Christenen, en Mahometanen, Op den 2/12 September, ... 1683. Voorgevallen, onder de Opperste Directie van zijn Konincklijke Majesteyt van Polen, ende het beleyt van ... den Heere Hertogh van Lotharinge, Luytenant Generael van zijn Keyserlijcke Majesteyt [enz.] ... begonen hebbende van ses uyren des morgens, tot negen uyren des avonts. 's Gravenhage, P. Hagen, 1683, in-4o., 8p.

An account of the battle between the Christians and Muslims on September 12th 1683 under the command of his Royal Majesty the King of Poland [Johan Sobiesky, DK] and the strategy of the Duke of Lorraine, the general of the Imperial forces etc.

135.

nr. 11847 [1683]

Vertinent Verhael, Van 't geene gedurende de Belegeringe der Stadt Weenen ... van dag tot dag is voorgevallen ... Utrecht, Broer Appelaer, 1683, in-4o., 12 p.

Definite tale of the day to day events during the siege of the city of Vienna.

See also Tiele nr. 7832

136.

nr. 11848

Waerachtigh Verhaal, ofte Dagh-Register Van al 't gene in de Belegeringh van Weenen, Soo binnen als buyten de Stadt is voorgevallen; Met groote vlijt beschreven door een Dienaer des Keyserlijcke Hofs-Cancelerye. Amsterdam, I. Potgieter, in-4o., 8p.

'A genuine history or journal of the events that occurred during the siege of Vienna, inside as well as outside the city; written with the utmost diligence by a servant in the imperial chancellery.'

See also Petit. nr. 4591.

'37.

nr. 11849 [1683]

t'Samen-Spraak gehouden Tusschen twee Personen Een Borger, Ende Een Reysiger. Te samen handelende van den Turxsen Oorlog tegens den Keyser; waer in vertoont werden de Autheuren desselfs, met de aenleidinge, begin, en voortgang desselfs; het Beleg van Wenen, met het Ontset; versien met verscheide fraye considerationen over het gepasseerde. Groeningen, J. Etkinks, 1683, in-4o., 16p.

A dialogue between a citizen and a traveller on the Turkish war against the emperor, including the leading actors, its cause, beginning and continuation, the siege of Vienna and its relief.

See also Tiele nrs. 7809-7811, 7829-7833 and 7874-7875; Petit nrs. 4587-4591 and 4593; and Van der Wulp nrs. 5863-5864, 5866-5868 and 5914. Books on this subject are: G. van Ghelen, *Relation succinte et veritable de tout ce qui s'est passé pendant le Siege de Vienne*, Brussel 1684; and C. van der Linde, *Leven en daaden van Johannes Sobietzki de Ill, tegenwoordig regeerende Koning van Polen*, Amsterdam 1685.

138.

nr. 12504 [1686]

Daeghlyckse Aenteekeningh En Nette Beschrijvingh van 't geen sigh heeft toegedraegen in de Belegeringh der Vestingh Neuheusel: 't Ontset van Gran: D'afbrandingh der ... Brugh

des Turckschen Pas t'Essek. Een voorts Van't geen na de Veroveringh van Neuheusel verders in Hongaryen en daer ontrent is voorgevallen. Nevens De Geluckige Successen der Republicq van Venetien: De Belegeringh en Inneemingh van Coron enz. ... Met de Belegeringh van Neuheusel en Coron in 't Koper afgebeeldt. Amsterdam, A. Dircksz Ooszaen, ... MDCLXXXVI (1686), in-4o., 88p.

'Daily notes and precise description of the events during the siege of the fortress of Neuheusel (Neuhäussl), the relief of Gran, the burning of the bridge of the defile of Essek, followed by the subsequent events in Hungary as well as the fortunate successes of the Venetian Republic; the siege and capture of Coron' [Koroni, one of the Peloponnesian eyes of the Serinissime Republic, DK]. With two folded plates.

See also Tiele nr. 8331. Other pamphlets related to this event are Knuttel nrs. 12266-12272 and 12503-12504; Van Someren (1915-22), nr. 876; Tiele nrs. 8157; Petit nr. 4737; and Van der Wulp nrs. 6115-6116 for which see Theunissen, p. 189, note 64.

139.

nr. 12505 [1686]

Extraordinaire Post-tydinge Van 't gene in de belegeringe voor de Steden Offen en Hamburg is gepasseert. Tot Amsterdam, by C. Commelin, en werden verkogt in de Boeckwinkel van A. Dsz. Ooszaen ... Den 9 September 1686, in-4o., 4p.

'Extraordinary report of the sieges of the cities of Offen (Buda) and Hamburg'

See also Tiele nr. 8332.

140.

nr. 12506 [1686]

Dagverhaal Van de Vermaarde belegering der sterke Stad Buda, Of Offen, Door de zeeghaftige Wapenen van ... Keizer Leopoldus de I ... Op den 2 September 1686 stormenderhand ingenomen. Getrouwelijk aangetekend door een der Volontairen, die de gantsche Belegering bygewoond heeft; met een curieuse Afbeelding van de Stad Offen en de geschapenheid des belegs, cierlijk in 't koper gesneden. Amsterdam, A. Dsz. Ooszaen, 1686, in-4o., (IV) en 84p.

'Diary of the famous siege of the strong city of Buda, or Offen by the victorious arms of ... the emperor Leopold I stormed and captured on September 2nd 1686.'

See also Tiele nr. 8336. Other pamphlets on this subject are Knuttel nrs. 12511-12518; Tiele nrs. 8333-8335 and 8337; Petit nr. 4801 and Van der Wulp nrs. 6117-6123. Interesting is the fact that at the end of the 17th-century images of cities like Gran and Pest as well as victorious generals have been pictured on white figured linen damask in the Netherlands, see Theunissen, 189, note 65.

141.

nr. 12519 [1686]

Nieuwe Relatie Van een Prognosticatie, Uyt eenige verkorte Cyffers en Woorden die op het Graf van den Keyser Constantinus, In de Stadt Constantinopolen gevonden zijn, getrocken,

...

Waer in d'Ondergang van het Turkse Ryk sonderling voorgesteld is. Anno 1686, in-4o., 8p.

'New account of a prognostication from some reduced ciphers and words found on the tomb of the emperor Constantine in the city of Constantinople in which the fall of the Ottoman Empire has been prophesied.'

See also Tiele nr. 8341.

142.

nr. 12605a [1687]

Marche, Campement, Legerordre nevens de glorieuse Victorie der Keyzerlyke, en Churvorstlyke Beyersche Armeen, met de totale Ruine der Turkse, Tartarse, etc. legers en het veroveren van alle haer krygs ammonitie, provisie, tenten, vanen, en schatten, den 12 Augusti 1687.

'The march, encampment, order of battle together with the glorious victory of the imperial and electoral Bavarian armies and the total ruin of the Turkish, Tatar forces and the conquest of all her ammunition, provisions, tents, banners, and treasures on the 12th of August 1687.'

Heading of print 44 1/2 x 59 cm., mentioned by Cg. M. Dozy and numbered 2690d in F. Muller's *Catalogue of Dutch Historical engravings*. The upperpart shows the battle, the lower a map. Signed by R. de Hooze. With extensive note in three columns with heading: Picture of the unrivalled Victory by ... the Duke of Lorraine and his electoral illustriousness of Bavaria, gained against the infidels August 12th 1687. [Below]: Amsterdam, Aert Dircksz. Oossaan. in-folio., 2p.

143.

nr. 12606 [1687]

Examen of Getuygenis van een Jood Aengaende het geen sich voor en in de Belegering der Stadt Offen en daer omtrent toegedragen heeft. Uyt het Hooghduyts vertaelt. Anno 1687, in-4o., 8p.

'Enquiry or testimony of a jew concerning the events occurring at the siege of the city of Offen' [Buda, DK].

144.

nr. 12607 [1687]

Verklaring Van den Hungerse Oorlog, Onlanx uytgegeven door Michael Apafi Prins van Sevenbergen, etc. Tegens Sijn Heylige Keyserliijke en Koninklyke Majesteyt. Uit 't Latijn vertaald. Gedrukt by de Wed. Adr. van Gaasbeeck (Amst.) ..., in-4o., (II) and 8p.

[At the end:] After the copy of Sevenbergen, 1687.

'Explanation of the Hungarian war recently published by Michael Apafi, Prince of Sevenbergen [Transsylvania, DK] etc. directed at his imperial and royal Majesty, translated from the Latin.'

145.

nr. 13297

Memorie over het Consulschap van Aleppo. [Z. afz. titel en z.j.], in-4o., 8 p.

'Memorandum of the [Dutch, DK] Consulate of Aleppo.'

146.

nr. 13751 [1692]

Articulen Van Capitulatie, Volgens welcke het Casteel van Groot-Waradijn door de Turken is overgegeven aen Syne Keyserlijke Majesteit Op den derden Junii 1692 [*Italiaansch en Holl. Onderaan*]: 's Gravenhage, J. Scheltus, 1692, in-4o., 6p.

'Conditions of capitulation of the Castle of Groot-Waradijn [Groß-Wardein, now Arad?, DK] delivered by the Turks to his imperial Majesty etc.'

See also Tiele nr. 9258. Other Dutch newspamphlets on the struggle between the Austrians and the Ottomans between 1687 and 1699 are Tiele nrs. 8394-8396 and 9159-9196; Petit nrs. 4992 and 5245-5247; and Van der Wulp nr. 6187.

147.

nr. 15993 [1711]

De Mahometaansche Godsdienst-pleeging door de Jesuiten toegelaaten aan de Christenen in het Eiland Scio. MDCCXI, in-4o., 8p.

'The Islamic religion admitted by the Jesuits to the Christians on the Isle of Scio' [Chios, DK].

148.

nr. 16304 [1716]

Den Turkzen Faëton door Duidslands Jupiter Geblikzemt Op den 5den Augustus 1716. 's Gravenhage, J. Gezelle, in-4o., 8p.

'The Turkish Faeton struck by Germany's Jupiter's lightning etc.', poem on the victories of Prince Eugene of Savoy against the Turks, signed by J. Van Hoven.

149.

nr. 16703 [1726]

Den H. Ignatius, bisschop en patriarch van Constantinopolen, verdrukt, en geexcommuniceert door Paus Johannes den VIII. Ter Overweginge, en ten Voorbeelde gesteld; by geleegentheyd van de Verdrukking en Excommunicatie door het Hof van Roomen, In een brief van 6. December op de Naam van Zyn H. Benedictus den XIII. den Aerds-bisschop

van Uytrecht aangedaan. Amsterdam, [1726] N. Potgieter, in-4o., 26p.

'The H(oly) Ignatius, bishop and patriarch of Constantinople, oppressed and excommunicated by Pope John VIII etc.'

150.

Huiskamp nr. 757 [1736]

Ontwerp van den kardinaal Alberoni, om het Turksche ryk onder de Gehoorzaamheit van de christen mogentheden te brengen, en van de wyze, op welke ze dat overwonnen hebbende, onder hun zouden kunnen verdeelen; als mede ontwerp van een altytdurende ryksdag, om de algemene rust vast te stellen, en voor altoos te verzekeren. Uit het Italiaansch vertaalt [...]. Te De;f: by Reinier Boitet, 1736 - [XXXVI], 112p., 8o.

151.

[1737]

Relation des deux rebellions arrivées à Constantinople en 1730 et 1731 dans la deposition de Achmet III et l'élévation au trone de Mahomet V [...] composée sur les mémoires originaux recus de Constantinople, 's-Gravenhage 1737.

See Teunissen, 188, note 55.

Addendum

152.

Tiele nr. 2617 [1637]

Het Jesuitsche Mom-aensicht afgetrocken door den gewesene Coninck van Ungarijen, dat is, een corte ende voortreffelicke onderrichtinge aen de Ottomannische Keyser Amurathem den IV ... gedaen door den Ambass. van den ... Coninck van Hongarijen, Gabriel, nopende het leven, de leere, ende den handel en wandel der Jesuiten. Ende na de oorspr. Lat. cotype in Nederd. ten andere tyden door D.L.A.R. overgeset. Ende nu door occasie van die Luycksche Moort in 't licht gegeven ... Utr. voor Herm. Ribbius ... 1637, 24p.

'The Jesuit mask revealed by the former king of Hungary, that is, an excellent instruction to the Ottoman Emperor Murad IV delivered by the ambassador of the king of Hungary, Gabriel, on the life, the doctrines and the conduct of the Jesuits from the Latin.'

An example of the many anti catholic (anti-Jesuite) attacks by Dutch calvinists, in which the old credo 'Better Turkish than Popish' (Liever Turks dan Paaps) is lingering in the background. Gabriel, King of Hungary is identical to the Bethlen Gabor mentioned above.

GERAKI

AN ACROPOLIS SITE IN LAKONIA

Preliminary report on the sixth season (2000)

*Joost H. Crouwel, Mieke Prent, Stuart MacVeagh Thorne
and Jos van der Vin*

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

In the summer of 2000, the Department of Classical Archaeology of the University of Amsterdam conducted a sixth season of archaeological investigations at the acropolis of Geraki (ancient *Geronthrai*), in east-central Lakonia. The 2000 campaign continued the systematic excavations in Field 17 in the northwestern part of the summit which had begun in 1999 (Figs. 1-2). The 1999 and 2000 excavations followed on two seasons of survey of the acropolis hill and adjoining slopes (1995-1996), a season of trial excavations (1997) and a study season (1998).¹ The investigations at Geraki are carried out under the aegis of the Netherlands Institute at Athens, with the kind permission and co-operation of the Greek Ministry of Culture and the Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Lakonia and Arkadia.

The 2000 campaign took place from Monday 19 June through Monday 31 July. The first week was dedicated to preparatory work, which included the removal of winter wash in previously excavated areas and of back-fill from the 1999 and 1997 seasons. Excavation proper began on Monday 26 June and continued for four to four and a half weeks, until Tuesday 25 July. Four teams were employed, each consisting of an experienced trench supervisor, a student assistant and two to three local workmen.² The last week of the season was used for

¹ For a description of Geraki, the history of research and preliminary reports of the 1995-1999 campaigns, see Crouwel *et al.* 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998 and 1999.

² The team consisted of J.H. Crouwel (director), M. Prent (field director), S. MacVeagh Thorne (architectural study of the acropolis wall and trench supervisor), E. Hom, L. Schram and M. van Dijk (trench supervisors), H. Jansen (architect), M. Overeem (finds processing and conservation), W. van Duivenvoorde (computing and trench assistant), A. Hom (drawing), R. Leenheer (conservation of metal artefacts and photography) and M. Beyne, J. Kelder, S. de Kruijf, M. de Rooij and W. Westerveld (student assistants). The local workmen consisted of our

preliminary study, the packing up of finds and their transfer to the Sparta Museum, and for the covering of the excavated areas with nylon and plastic sheets to protect them from the next winter rains.

As in 1999, excavation focused on Areas I and II of Field 17 (Fig. 2), both of which had yielded particularly well-preserved architectural remains of the Early Helladic II and Classical-Hellenistic periods. Our main goals for this and the next season (2001) are to reveal the complete ground plan of the Hellenistic buildings which were partially exposed in 1997 and 1999 and to explore the Early Helladic structures beneath them. Special attention is directed at the complex building history of the acropolis wall that runs around the summit. In addition, a new area was opened this year in the rocky southwest portion of Field 17, now called Area III. This was primarily done to make sure there were no ancient building remains and to establish a dumping ground for the excavation's steadily accumulating spoil heaps.

Preliminary results of the 2000 campaign (J.H. Crouwel and M. Prent)

As in 1997 and 1999, the best-preserved architectural remains encountered during the 2000 season belong to the Early Helladic II and the Classical-Hellenistic periods. Excavation in Field 17 in preceding years had already shown that parts of the terrain had been levelled in connection with Classical-Hellenistic building activities. As a result, evidence of occupation from intermediate periods would have been largely removed.³ Material of those periods, most notably the Protogeometric, Geometric and Archaic periods, had been restricted so far to small pockets of sherds or to individual artefacts in later contexts. This year's excavation in Area II, however, produced some wall segments of probable Middle Helladic date, as well as an earth and stone fill, containing large amounts of Middle Helladic pottery, not far beneath the Classical-Hellenistic floors. New information was also gained with regard to the earliest, Final Neolithic, period of occupation on the acropolis, and with regard to various phases of occupation within the Hellenistic period. Information of the latter kind was found especially in Area I.

Area I

Area I was expanded to the north and east, in an attempt to reveal more of the ground plan of the large Classical-Hellenistic building discovered during the 1997 and 1999 campaigns (Fig. 3). Portions of six rooms had been identified by the end of the 1999 season, but none of these had been completely excavated. In 2000, some 43 m² were newly opened in the area of trenches 17/12h-13h, 17/12i-13i and 17/12j (Fig. 2). In the process, part of a seventh room was uncovered. Work also continued in three of the rooms exposed earlier.

pickmen I. Maroudas, K. Saris, P. Kourtesis, P. Piliouras, assisted by T. Piliouras, P. Saris, G. Angeletos, L. Kourlas and I. Tsipouras. C. Marouda helped washing the pot sherds, while C.W. Crouwel-Bradshaw and A. Thomas acted as cooks and housekeepers. Brief visits were paid by Dr L. Langridge-Noti (Classical-Hellenistic pottery), Dr N. Brodie and Dr I. Whitbread (geophysical study and pottery analysis) and by our colleagues of the Koufovouno project, Dr W. Cavanagh, Prof. C. Mee and Dr J. Renard.

³ See Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 60.

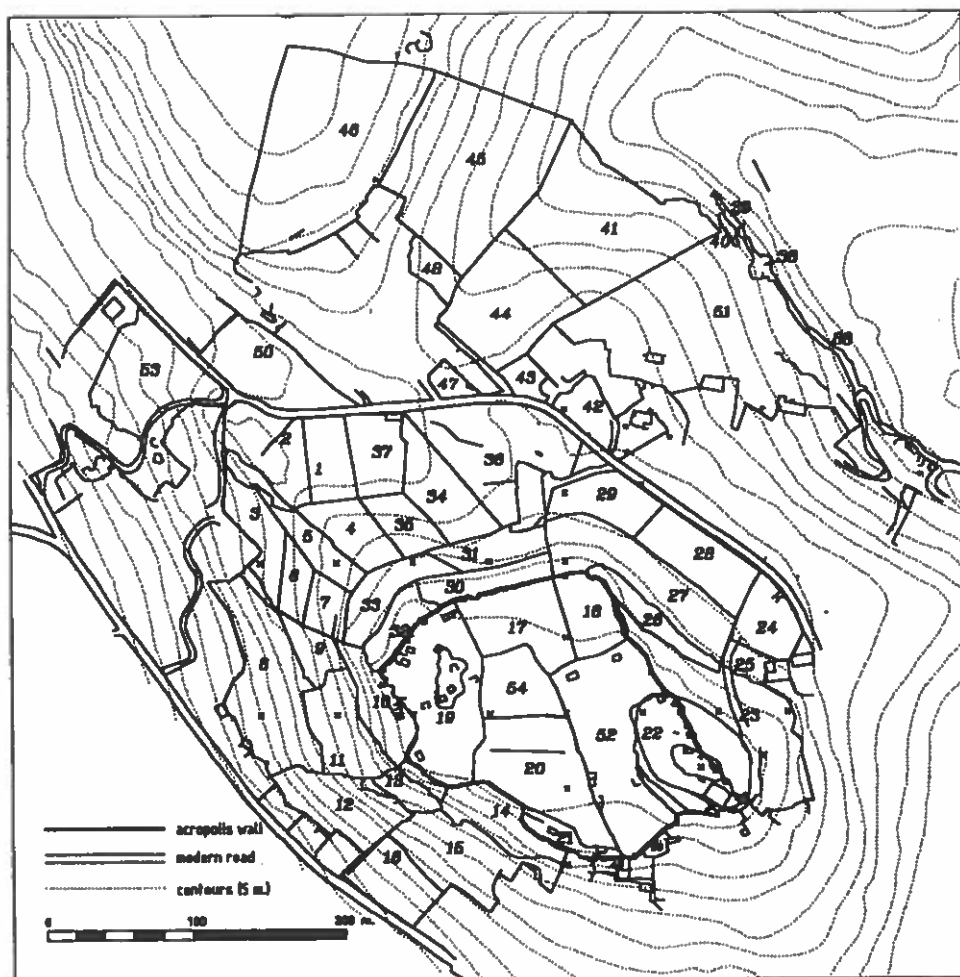


Figure 1. Geraki, map of acropolis hill showing Fields

The westernmost room, the full extent of which had been identified in 1999, was excavated down to bedrock. This provided additional information on its lay-out. The room is defined by wall 4 in the north, wall 2 in the east and wall 9 to the south. This year's excavation and study of the south section yielded both architectural and stratigraphical indications for the existence of a return wall for wall 9. The latter consists of no more than a single row of small fieldstones, which are in line with wall 1 to the east. The westward continuation of wall 9 was probably lost to erosion. However, the presence of a small concentration of stones similar to those of wall 9 probably indicates the line of a former return wall. This idea is supported by the presence of different fills on either side of the presumed wall line. While the area to the east was marked by a thick layer of Hellenistic floor packing, consisting of small to medium-sized stones and much tile, the area on the other side consisted of a homogeneous layer of loose, dark

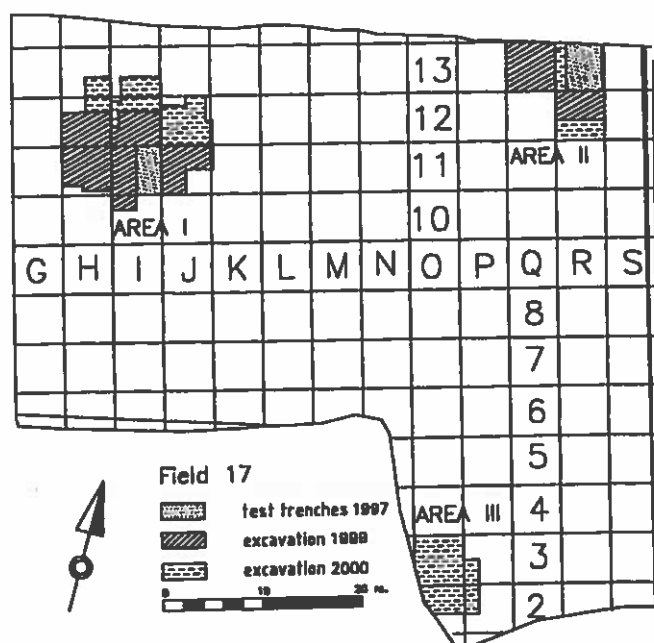


Figure 2. Geraki, Field 17 with position of Areas I-III and 5x5 m grid system

of the bedrock and served as a foundation level for most of the surrounding walls. Below this clayey level more bedrock appeared, which here as elsewhere on the site was marked by depressions and fissures. One of these fissures, located below the corner of later walls 2 and 9, yielded an assemblage of probably Final Neolithic sherds. These small to medium-sized sherds are medium-coarse to coarse in fabric, with a dark reddish colour and a brown core. Their smoothed surfaces often bear applied cordons, some of them with fingertipping. Outstanding are part of a pierced lid, its raised centre surrounded by rather crudely incised concentric lines and with stripes running to the edge, and a body sherd with a large low knob and a combination of incised and punctuated decoration (Fig. 4).⁴

Excavation also continued in the Classical-Hellenistic room east of wall 20 and north of wall 1. Less than half of this room had been revealed in 1999, but this year its full extent was defined after the discovery of the north wall (wall 10) and the rest of wall 8 to the east. Although the walls of this room are of considerably better construction than those of, for instance, wall 2 to the west, there are few straight corners between them. As a result, the room has an almost trapezoidal shape, with east-west dimensions varying from a little over 3 m to 4.2 m (in the north) and north-south dimensions varying from 4.8 m to 6 m (in the west).

⁴ Cf. Alram-Stern 1996, 234-41, with fig. 15 (Argos, Aspis hill); Lambert 1981, 284, with figs. 157-61 (Attica, Kitsos cave).

brown soil. This suggests that the area to the west was open to the air.

The small concentration of stones is only slightly above the bedrock, which here forms a relatively high surface with an upward slope to the west. The area of this room has therefore been subject to severe erosion by rainwater. This erosion will have been responsible for the ruining of wall 9 and its return and for the washing away of the earth floor that originally will have covered the floor packing in the interior of the room.

Removal of the remaining Hellenistic floor packing revealed a clayey soil deposit, which covered parts

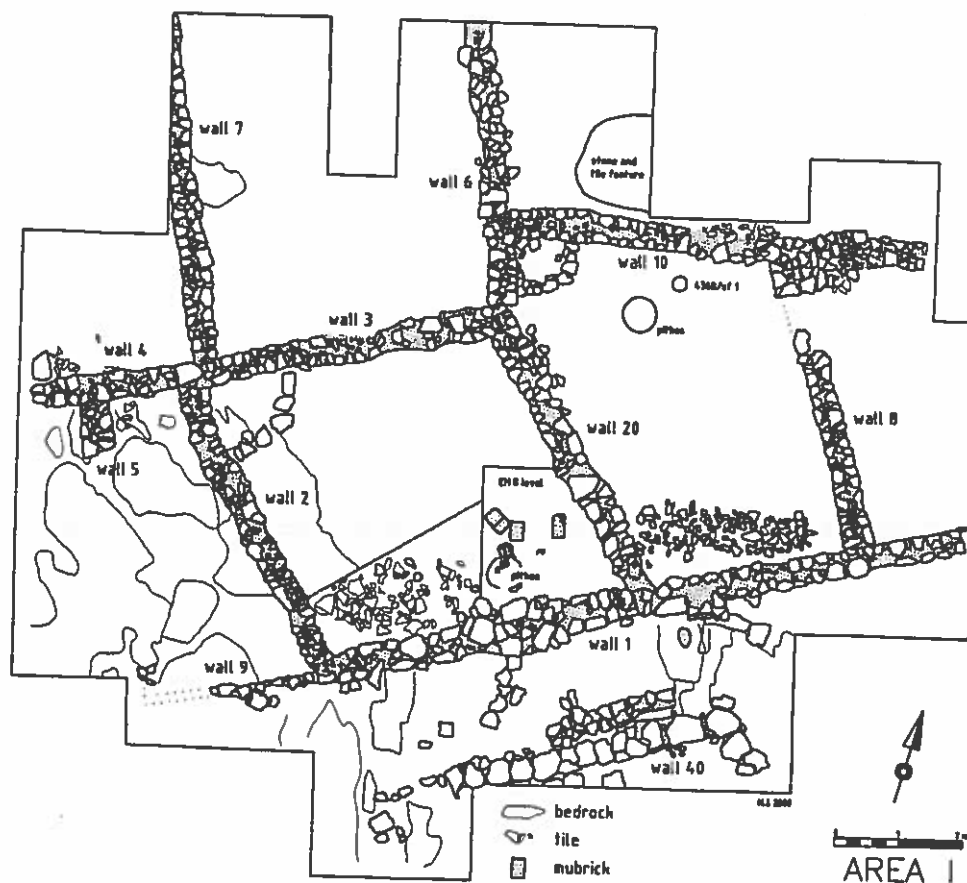


Figure 3. Geraki, ground plan of Area I

The sequence of the upper layers here proved to be more complex than initially thought. Excavation of the westernmost portion of the room in 1999 had not provided much insight in these upper layers, because they were disturbed by a later trench, presumably of Civil War date (1946-49). The sequence, as it appeared then, was one of roof and subsequent wall collapse on top of an occupation surface consisting of trodden tiles. Part of a pithos could be seen in the earth bank that was left unexcavated to the east.⁵

The results of the 2000 excavation in the undisturbed northeastern portion of this room prompt adjustment of this sequence. Further study of both stratigraphy and the associated material of the upper layers is necessary, but indications are that the area of this room, like that of its neighbours to the north, may have been reoccupied after a destruction within the Classical-Hellenistic period. This is suggested especially by the presence of a rectangular stone-built feature over the junction of walls 8 and 10 and by the remnants of a second, higher laying layer of stone and tile fall as found in the newly excavated eastern portion of the room.

⁵ Crouvel *et al.* 1999, 29.

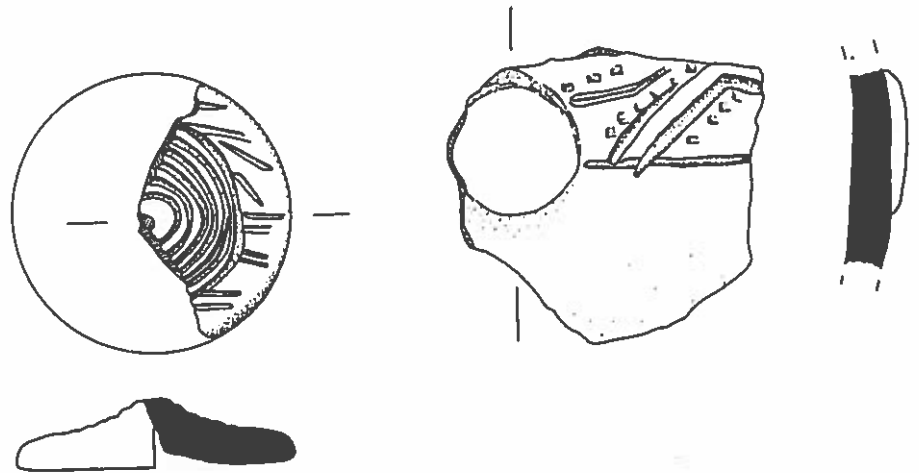


Figure 4. Geraki, sherds of probably Final Neolithic date

Beneath the lower layer of collapse, a floor of trodden tiles in a matrix of sandy, pebbly soil was reached at an absolute height of ca. 384.05 m asl (Plate I). This tile surface, which was most prominent in the western portion of the room, appears to have been a relaying of an earlier earth floor some 0.10 m lower down. A *terminus post quem* for the latter is given by a bronze coin of Ptolemaios III (246-221 BC), which was found just below its surface.⁶ Associated with the trodden tile surface is the pithos fragment that had been partially exposed in the previous season (Inv. no. 4365/SF1). After further excavation, this fragment turned out to consist of a rim only, which had fallen upside down. Fragments of other, finer vessels were found on the same surface, for instance parts of the rim of a closed vessel (Inv. no. 4368/SF2) and another found in 1999 (Inv. no. 4139/SF2). Nearby was a remarkable limestone object, a large finely chiselled, spherical ball (4368/SF1, diameter ca. 0.21 m; weight 16 kg). It is tempting to suppose that this projectile had actually been launched into the building, causing the roof to collapse. Alternatively, it was kept in this room for defensive purposes in a potential siege.⁷ Considering the state of wall 20, which has strongly tilted to the east, it cannot be ruled out that the collapse of the building was caused by an earthquake.

In the area north of wall 3, we revealed an additional portion of the room whose southern section had been exposed in 1999. No north wall has been found yet, but to the west this room is bounded by wall 7 and to the east by wall 6. The dimensions of this room, as presently known, are ca. 5.5 m from north to south and 4.5 m from west to east.

Excavation concentrated on the western part of the room, in an area along wall 7. The latter shows two types of masonry, probably indicating different building phases within the Classical-

⁶ See the contribution by Van der Vin below, coin no. 11 (Inv. no. 4378/SF1).

⁷ For other such balls from fortified settlements and their use in the Greek world of the the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, see a.o. Bakhuizen *et al.* 1992, 138-64 (with bibliography).

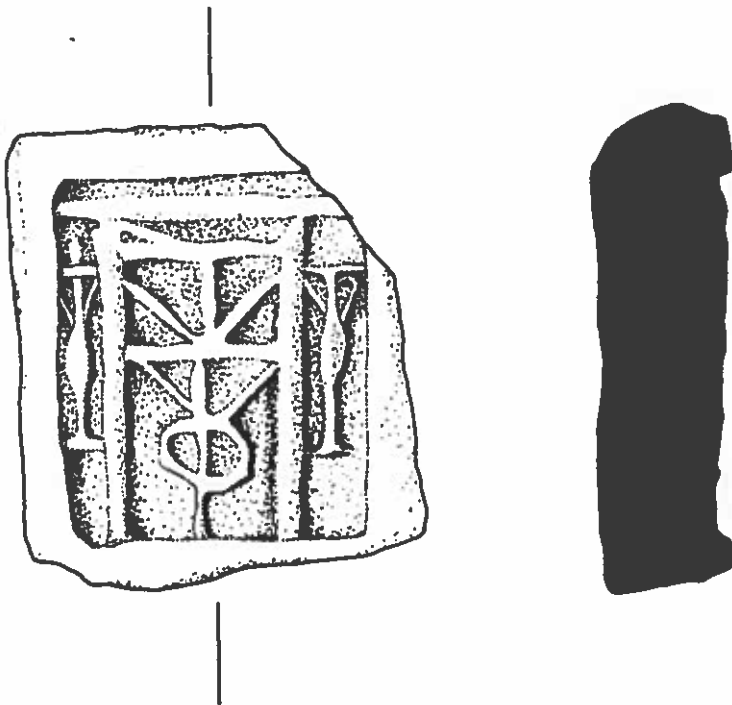


Figure 5. Geraki, terracotta votive plaque (407/SF2)

Hellenistic period. The lower course of wall 7 consists of large dressed blocks, which run up to a bedrock outcrop in the north. On top of these larger blocks are two to three courses of different masonry, consisting of smaller and less well-dressed stones. When these courses were added, the wall also seems to have been extended to the north, using the bedrock outcrop for a foundation. This room is particularly interesting because of the ample traces of metalworking. During the survey of the acropolis in 1995 and 1996, large numbers of ore, slag and furnace bottom fragments were noted on the surface of the summit and slopes of the acropolis. More than 1,050 pieces were counted, a proportion of which was sampled.⁸ The fact that similar material has now been found in excavated contexts of Hellenistic date provides a first chronological clue for at least part of the survey material.

This room yielded several pieces of iron slag and ore, as well as fragments of furnace bottoms. These were found scattered through layers of occupation debris, particularly in the northern part of the excavated area. In addition, several pits were encountered and although none of these actually contained furnace bottoms or other metalworking debris, some are likely to be associated with metalworking. One of the pits was chock-full with small tile fragments and pieces of limestone, whose whitely pulverised surfaces suggest contact with fire or intense heat (Plate II). Purposefully laidout floor levels were absent in this room, which is not

⁸ Crouwel *et al.* 1996, 106.

surprising considering its industrial function. Activities appear to have gone on while silt, rubble, tile fragments and other debris steadily accumulated.

Although its find context – an eroded collapse layer – does not provide information about the function of this room, mention may be made here of a rectangular terracotta plaque (Inv. no. 407/SF2; 0.061 x 0.054 x 0.018 m; Fig. 5). The relief decoration includes a combination of well-known attributes of Kastor and Polydeukes, the Lakonian twins known as the Dioskouroi: the *dokana*, a Π -shaped construction of wooden beams, with a tall amphora on either side. Close parallels for this votive plaque, and in particular for the fillings of the *dokana*, are lacking and its precise date remains uncertain.⁹

North of wall 10 the southwest portion of a seventh Hellenistic room was discovered. Wall 6 forms its west boundary, while a north and east wall have yet to be defined.

The upper layers in this room seem to have suffered much from erosion. This is probably to be explained by the area's proximity to the acropolis wall. At times when this wall was suddenly damaged, sections of the hillside may have collapsed with it, making the area behind it also prone to severe soil loss. If, in addition, the acropolis wall remained in disrepair, such sudden soil loss would be followed by more gradual but nevertheless pronounced erosion.

Events and processes of these kinds may have been responsible for the absence of a distinct occupation surface in this room. Instead a sequence of wash layers was encountered. The presence of more washed-in soil below the tile collapse suggests concurrent processes of collapse of the last Hellenistic building and erosion towards the north. However, the approximate level of the upper occupation surface may be reconstructed from circumstantial evidence. In the southern portion of the excavated area some patches of tile collapse had been preserved (Plate III). These rested on a level with an absolute height of at ca. 384.66 m asl and this probably indicates the level of the occupation surface that once existed here. It is consistent with the height of a still enigmatic feature continuing into the unexcavated east section of this area. This feature is roughly circular and composed of tightly packed stones and tile fragments. Like the patches of tile collapse, its more solid consistency may have helped to resist ongoing erosion.

Area II

In Area II, the excavation was extended to the south by opening the remaining ca. 12 m² of trench 17/12r (Figs. 2 and 6). However, work here primarily focused on the exploration of lower layers in areas already exposed in 1997 and 1999. One of our aims was to further investigate the complex building history of the acropolis wall in the area of trenches 17/13q and 13r. The results will be discussed separately by S. MacVeagh Thorne in the following section. A second aim was to define the rest of the Hellenistic room formed by walls 100-102 in the area of trench 17/12r and to excavate the earlier levels below it.

⁹ Many thanks are due to E. Zavvou for her observations on this plaque. For the *dokana* and paired amphoras, both associated with the Dioskouroi since the Archaic period: A. Hermay in *Lexicum Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* III (Zürich-München 1986), s. v. Dioskouroi; see also Sanders 1992, 206; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977.

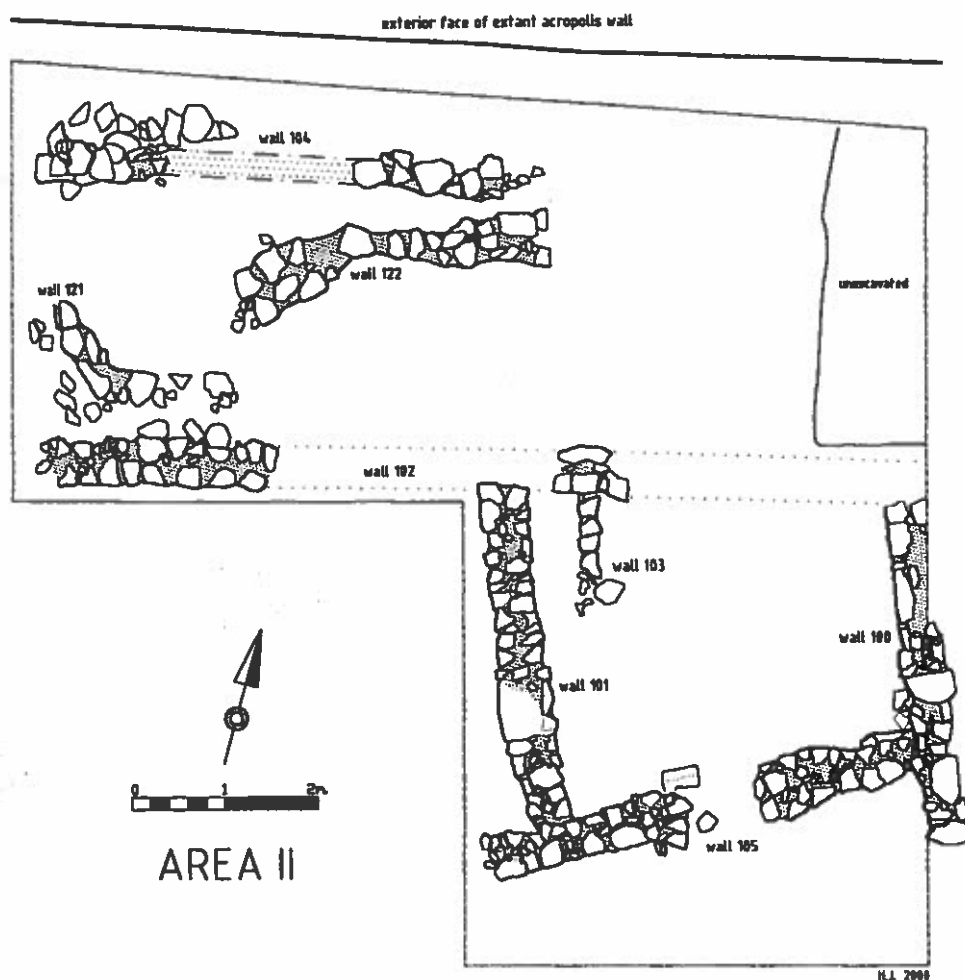


Figure 6. Geraki, ground plan of Area II, Classical-Hellenistic remains

As to the second aim, extension of the excavation to the south revealed the back wall of the Hellenistic room (wall 105) and part of a second room to the south. Subsequent excavation focused on the interior of the northern room defined by walls 100-102 and 105, which measures 3.90 m (east-west) x 3.35 m (north-south). There also is a small partition wall (103), running east of and parallel to wall 101, whose function is as yet unclear. The room was provided with two doorways: one in wall 100, which was blocked at some point during the period of Hellenistic occupation, and one in the middle of wall 105. The latter is distinguished by a threshold and by a stone with pivot hole at the western side of the doorway. The walls of this room are of solid construction, though wall 105 has tilted somewhat to the north, probably because of soil pressure building up from higher up the hill. Wall 101 stands ca. 0.75 m tall. That this may be close to its original height is suggested by the fact that unburnt mudbrick was

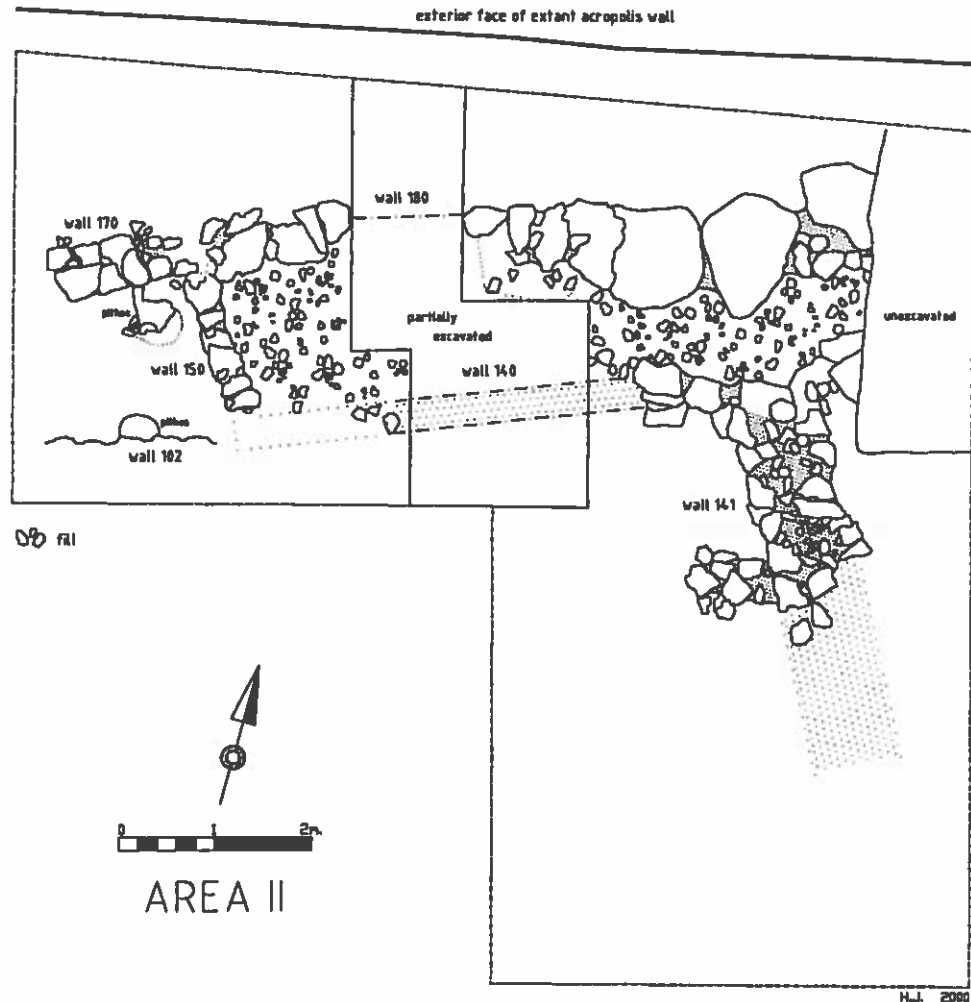


Figure 7. Geraki, ground plan of Area II, Early and Middle Helladic remains

found in its top course. As in 1999, evidence was found for the abandonment and gradual collapse of the room, in the form of a thick deposit of silt containing stones and an abundance of large tile fragments.

Inside the room and below the layer of silted-up collapse, two major earth floors were identified, each of them with a number of possible re-layings. The two major floors were found at absolute heights of ca. 383.73 and 383.57-60 masl respectively and were separated by a modest layer of tile fall or collapse.¹⁰ The discovery of a broken vessel (Inv. no. 2413/SF2; Plate IV) on the lower floor – the stone that smashed it still on top of it – also indicates that some damage was done to the building within the Classical-Hellenistic period.

¹⁰ See also Crouwel *et al.* 1999, 32.

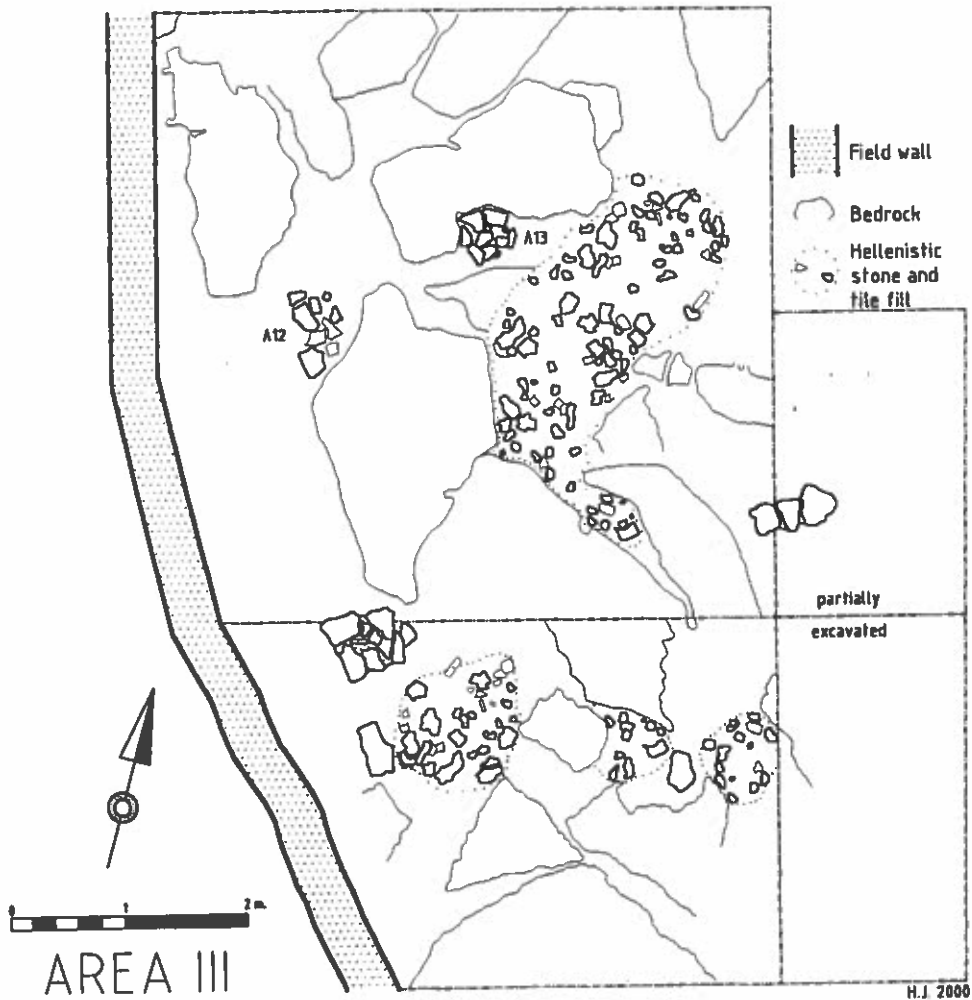


Figure 8. Geraki, ground plan of Area III

An interesting feature of this room is the presence, right in the middle, of a medium-fine jug with fugitive black glaze (Inv. no. 2444/SF1), which was found embedded in the lowest floor. When excavation reached the foundation or construction level of the room, it became apparent that considerable effort had been put into the positioning of this vessel. It was set in an area with medium-sized stones and its base had been strengthened with a ring of small stones (Plate V). In addition, a layer of clay had been applied around it, which was of a much firmer consistency than the surrounding silt layer. The bottom of the jug seems to have been deliberately pierced and some burnt matter was found inside, covered by a piece of tile (Plate VI). This suggests ritual use. Since the jug remained visible after the laying out of the first floor, its use may not have been confined to that of a foundation offering marking the construction of the building. Rather, it may have served domestic rituals while the building was

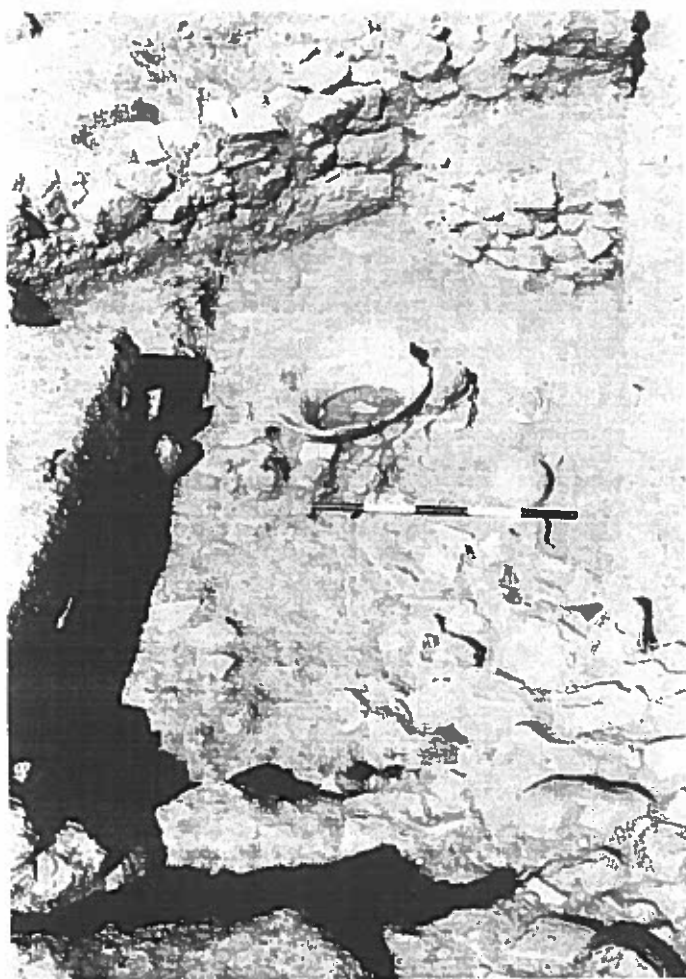


Plate I. Geraki, Area I, room between walls 1, 20, 10 and 18, with pithos (4368 SF1) and stone projectile (4368 SF1) (From the east)

occupied. The function of the room does not seem to have changed much in the course of its Classical-Hellenistic occupation, as the successive floors yielded similar types of artefacts: a fair quantity of terracotta loomweights and some small metal objects, such as a bronze handle and vase attachment.

The mixed layer beneath the lowest floor showed that a certain amount of levelling had probably been done in connection with the Classical-Hellenistic building activities. A deposit of silt, containing stones and pottery of both prehistoric and historical periods, served as a foundation level. Foundation trenches had been cut to a depth of ca. 383.32 m asl for both wall 101 and 105.

Below this mixed layer another deposit of brown silt was found, this time grittier and containing more carbon. It was characterised by large numbers of Middle Helladic sherds, with a smaller proportion of Early Helladic ones. While no Middle Helladic architecture was identified in the relatively small area under excavation, it is possible that this layer was also deposited in connection with building and levelling activities. In the southwest and southeast corners of the excavated area, two natural cavities in the natural hillside had been filled with the same mixture of brown silt, stones and Middle Helladic pottery. The latter range in fabric from medium-fine to (mostly) coarse and include Dark Burnished, incised and painted sherds (for a selection see Plate VII).

The Middle Helladic fill turned out to partially cover the remains of an Early Helladic II structure. A large north-south wall was found that joins wall 140 in the north (Fig. 7; Plate VIII). This wall, labelled 141, is ca. 0.80 m wide and built of small to medium-sized stones; remnants of burnt and unburnt mudbrick were found over the top courses. To the west of wall 141 a burnt destruction deposit was found, which contained several sherds of fine to coarse fabrics, including Geraki ware. This is probably part of the same Early Helladic II destruction deposit portions of which had been found in 1997 and 1999.¹¹

Area III

Area III is located in the southeast of Field 17, in the small corner defined by Field 18 to the east, Field 52 to the south and Field 54 to the west (Figs. 2 and 8). Before excavation, considerable amounts of limestone bedrock were already visible in this area, which made it a prime candidate to serve as a dumping ground for the excavation's steadily growing spoil heaps. Hence, excavation in Area III was primarily aimed at verifying the impression that ancient structures were lacking. This impression was confirmed, though several collections of good artefacts from both prehistoric and Hellenistic periods were retrieved. The total area excavated in Area III constitutes ca. 45 m² and comprises trench 17/3o (5 x 5 m), the northern three meters of trench 17/2o (4 x 3 m) and a strip of 1.5 x 5.5 m in the western part of trenches 17/2p and 3p. At the end of the campaign, two of our workmen built two dry-stone walls, thus creating a small terrace, which was partially filled in with discarded tile and pottery fragments.

The existing ca. 2 m high field walls that separate Area III from the higher-lying Fields 52 and 54 to the south and west had clearly prevented the influx of large quantities of colluvium in recent times, but a layer of fine hill wash had nevertheless accumulated. This wash layer contained several pieces of modern glazed earthenware, glass and scrap metal, indicating a relatively recent date of deposition. Upon removal, more bedrock was exposed, which was relatively smooth at the surface but had sharper edges and deeper fissures lower down. The general slope of the area was from the southwest to the northeast, while a slightly elevated ridge, roughly through the middle of trenches 17/3o and 2o, divided the excavated area into a western and a ca. 0.50 m lower-lying eastern half.

The depressions and fissures between the bedrock outcrops had been filled in both by natural processes (in particular incoming erosion from the southwest) and by human agency. As an example of the latter, we encountered evidence for a filling operation in the Hellenistic period

¹¹ Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 68, 1998, 105, 1999, 33-37.



Plate II. Geraki, Area I, pit to East of wall 7 (from the east)

in the lower-lying eastern half of the excavated area, apparently representing an attempt to raise and level the area. The presence of a few casually placed fieldstones may indicate the line of a roughly built path, which would have led up to Field 54, the most elevated part of the saddle at the summit of the acropolis. The Hellenistic fill consisted of cobble-sized stones, varying in diameter from 0.10-0.15 to ca. 0.30 m in lower parts of the fill, and medium-sized tile fragments (ca. 0.10-0.15 m) in a loose greyish-brown soil matrix. In some places, the top of the fill was evened out with flat-lying tile fragments and small stone slabs. The fill contained several whole or near-whole artefacts, such as a terracotta spindle whorl, two loomweights and a small pot. Of special interest is the presence of a broken but almost complete closed vessel (Inv. no. 359/SF6), which was placed upright in the fill in a fissure between bedrock in the southeast section of trench 17/3o (Plate IX). This thin-walled vessel must have been



Plate III. Geraki, Area I, stone and tile feature in room northeast of walls 6 and 10 (from the east)

deliberately placed there, perhaps as part of a foundation offering or other ritual marking the beginning of construction. The practice seems similar to the placing of closed vessels in the middle of rooms of the two Classical-Hellenistic buildings discovered so far in Areas I and II. These were also firmly positioned, with the addition of small stones around their bases, before the first floors were laid out.¹²

¹² These are not foundation offerings proper, as the vessels continued to be visible and perhaps also used after the rooms were occupied. For the vessel in the Classical Hellenistic building in Area I, which was found at an absolute height of 384.45 m asl, see Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 60; for the one in the Classical-Hellenistic building in Area II, see above.

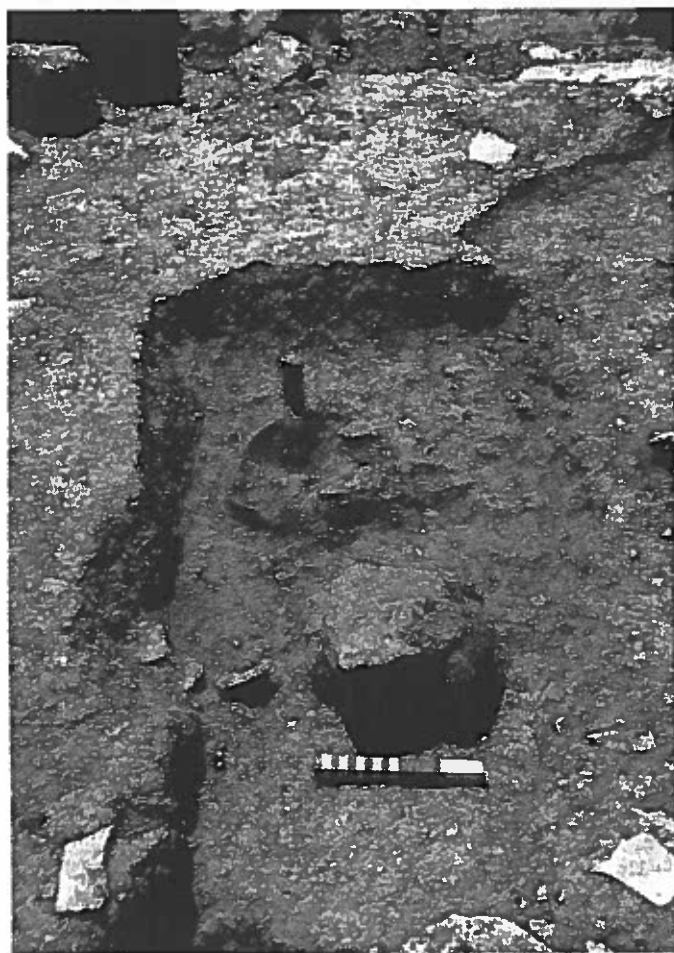


Plate IV. *Geraki, Area II, one vessel smashed on lower floor (2413/SF2, in foreground), another (2444/SF1, in background) embedded in floor (from the north)*

Further study of the find material will be needed to show whether the filling of two smaller depressions in the western parts of trenches 17/3o and 2o (indicated as A12 and A13 on Fig. 8) represent activities contemporary with the filling operation. These two small depressions yielded fragments of a similar pithos as that found in the fill to the east, as well as two terracotta loomweights, a medium-fine cup, a so-called salt cellar, a stone quern, a bronze cymbal and a broken iron implement.

Lower down, towards the bottom of the bedrock fissures, the proportion of prehistoric sherds – of Middle Helladic and especially Early Helladic II date – increased substantially. Few of these deposits, however, yielded purely prehistoric assemblages. In most instances some later sherds, including Classical-Hellenistic ones, had been mixed in. Such intrusion may be



Plate V. Geraki, Area II, foundation level for Classical-Hellenistic room, with vessel (2444/SF1) set below the floor (from the south)

due to repeated or ongoing processes of erosion. Soil depletion may have exposed earlier deposits, after which later material could have washed in.

From one of the fissures came a shaft-hole axe of green stone (Inv. no. 513/SF1) with fine drill marks inside the hole (Plate X). Surface finds of such axes include examples found in 1996, during the survey, as well as one in 2000 (Inv. no. 3049/SF1).¹³

¹³ See Crouwel *et al.* 1996, 103 with Pl. IV. Parallels date to Early Helladic III and continue into the Middle Helladic period; see recently Forsén 1992, 227-232. Cf. T. Carter in Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, 172, Pl. 5d upper right (SF 2) of similar green stone from site U 502 in the Lakonia Survey area.

The acropolis wall (S. MacVeagh Thorne)

Excavation directly behind the standing acropolis wall in 1997 (trench 17/13r) and in 1999 and 2000 (trench 17/13q) revealed the fragmentary remains of a series of major and minor walls with their accompanying fills (Figs. 6 and 7). These had been superseded by the construction of the Hellenistic acropolis wall, and buried by the fill used to raise and level the ground behind it.¹⁴ The gentle slope of the acropolis hill at this point had been repeatedly walled or terraced at different times, beginning as early as the Early Helladic II period.¹⁵ The collapse of successive walls over time, and the erosion of soil and fill from behind them during periods of abandonment, disrepair and disuse, had altered the contour of the hill and left an uneven bank of earth and stone that was repeatedly reused as the foundation for lesser walls or, as in the final instance, the backing of walls of more substantive size and purpose. This process was terminated by the establishment of the Hellenistic wall line and the deposition of fill behind it during its construction.

To say 'terminated' in this context is, of course, a simplification. The processes of collapse, erosion, patching, rebuilding and refilling continued throughout, as it continues today.¹⁶ During the 1999 fieldwork season in trench 17/13q an area was excavated that revealed some basic structural and/or topographical weaknesses and exposed the sequential localised failure of many of the successive wall lines, including even the standing wall line, which itself had failed and been patched in this area a number of times.¹⁷

Fills

Fill had originally been placed behind each wall, major and minor, in keeping with the intent and scale of that particular wall. Stone fills and soil fills were distinguished behind the various walls and identifiable wall fragments exposed in excavation. The last major filling operation, which had accompanied the construction of the Hellenistic acropolis wall and had buried all construction and filling that preceded it, was a stone and sherd fill, distinguished by the presence of many fragments of roof tile (Plate XI). This seems, originally, to have been sealed by a layer of yellow clay geologically foreign to the acropolis hill and seemingly brought in for the purpose.¹⁸

¹⁴ Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 57; Crouwel *et al.* 1999, 33.

¹⁵ See 'Evidence from the Early Helladic Period' below, and the previous note.

¹⁶ MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 1996, 93-96. In most cases, however, except for the extremely illustrative example at the gate identified by A.J.B. Wace and F.W. Hasluck in 1905, all subsequent activity has made use of the line of walling established or confirmed by the Hellenistic configuration. For erosion and rebuilding along this line, and for the situation at the gate, see *ibid.*, 95 fig. 5, and references in the next footnote. A caveat to be remembered here is that the wall fragments and fills that are preserved, in their various states of disintegration, by the superimposition of new filling operations are sometimes further eroded later with the collapse of the newer construction that had, temporarily, preserved them. Older construction, in whatever kind of degraded state, essentially formed part of the fill behind later walling, and, given time, was equally disposed to further erosion when those later walls were breached or collapsed.

¹⁷ MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 1996, 92-96, figs. 1-4, Pls. I and II.

¹⁸ Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 53 (trench 19/6m), 57-58 (trench 17/13r).

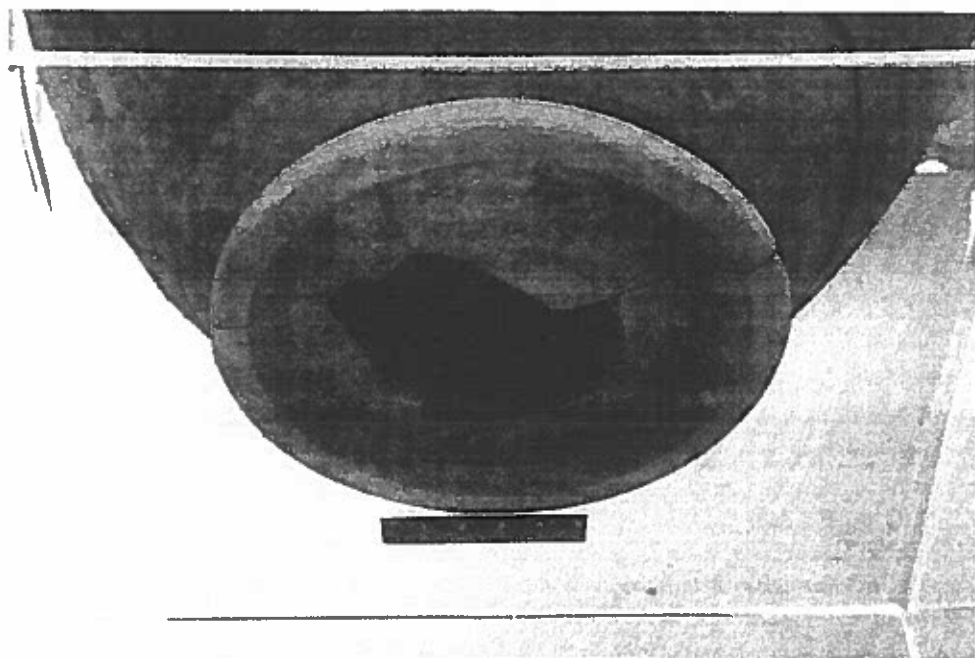


Plate VI. Geraki, Area II, detail of vessel with pierced bottom (2444/SF1)

Soil fills

Some of the lesser walls below this latest fill retained traces of a good black agricultural soil which may speak of their function and of the intent of the builders. This was especially noticeable behind walls 121 and 122, which were built diagonally along the sides of the recurrent erosion channel in 17/13r. The few sherds collected here were overwhelmingly small and worn, a characteristic of worked agricultural soil from different periods throughout the excavation. Otherwise silt was the predominant soil type found. This was labelled both 'silt' and 'eroded fill' during excavation though, in truth, the determination was sometimes difficult to make. 'Eroded fill' should refer to the soil eroded from behind a specific wall fragment, 'silt' to the overall degradation of the hillside due to environmental factors. 'Silt' was often found as build-up against a particular wall or wall fragment. Clearly, however, these processes are not always mutually exclusive. Silted material was also found to be washed into the voids between the rocks in remaining stone fills. Layers of silt did accompany many of the different fragmentary constructions discovered in excavation but these layers were only occasionally archaeologically distinct, being echoed and confused by erosion during the various periods of collapse and disuse witnessed in the exterior face of the existing acropolis wall line.

Stone fills

The stone fills encountered in excavation were sometimes massive and were often clearly aimed at raising the ground level behind a major construction effort and, perhaps, at providing the



Plate VII. Geraki, Area II, selection of Middle Helladic sherds

drainage necessary to sustain such a construction at its foundations. Stone fills were often indistinguishable in the field. They consist uniformly of large stones (0.50 to 0.75 m in length), small stones (ca. 0.20 m in diameter) and heavy and light gauge gravel (ca. 0.09 m and 0.04 m in diameter respectively), with the gravel layers seemingly providing seating for the larger stones and filling between them. The technique does not seem to change.¹⁹ While considerable differentiation between these stone fills can be expected with the study of the ceramic evidence, and, indeed, some differences were clearly apparent in the field, the excavator was constantly surprised by the complexity of the processes involving the reuse of fills, filling in a later period of areas eroded from an earlier fill some time before, the use of collapsed walls as fill, and generally by the difficulty of identifying coherent or collapsed features in the mass of stones presented by the area during excavation (Plate XII).

Evidence from the Early Helladic II period

In 1997 a test trench dug in the area of 17/13r revealed a line of three large boulders (ca. 1.25 x 1.50 x 1.60 m in size) running approximately east to west across the area excavated. These

¹⁹ One of our workmen, Kostas Saris, a skilled mason, is familiar with the fill used to form the terrace of the magnificent *plateia* in the modern village of Geraki. He assures us that the system is still much the same.

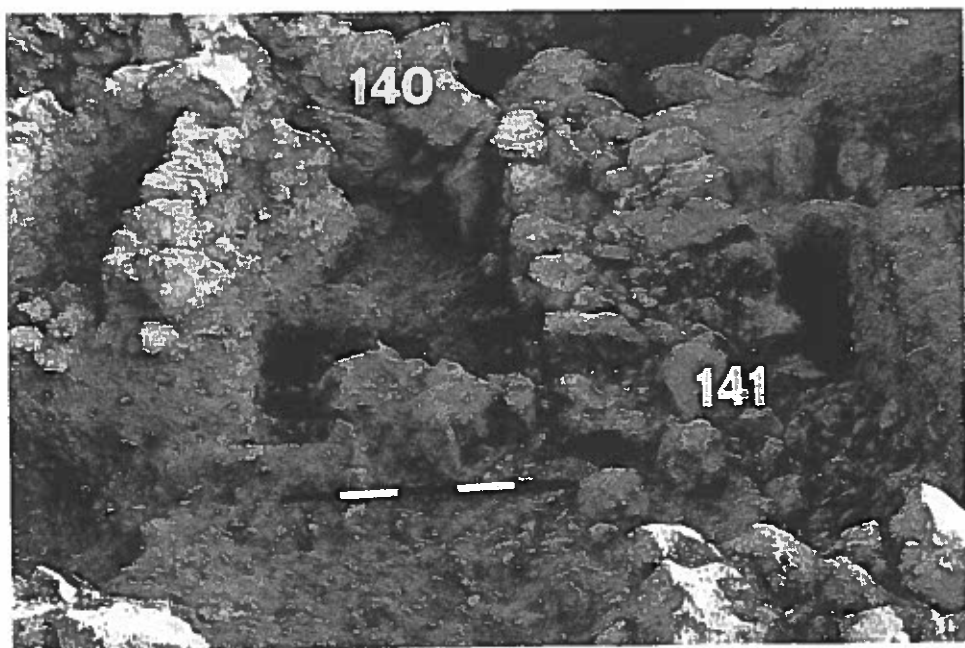


Plate VIII. Geraki, Area II, Early Helladic II wall 141 (from the south)

boulders formed a wall, the external face of which ran some 1.75 to 2.00 m behind the external face of the standing acropolis wall.²⁰ Labelled wall 180 (Fig. 7, Plates XII-XIII), these boulders rested on a hard, gravel-laden, red-brown soil. The gravel was remarkably uniform and of a very light gauge (ca. 0.02 m in diameter). This hard level was interpreted as the soil of the original hillside, an interpretation fortuitously confirmed by the discovery, in the area between the exterior face of the boulders and the interior of the existing construction, of a hole in the side of the hill which opened into a stone-filled chamber or cave of the sort common to the geology of the area.²¹

On the westernmost boulder, then visible only in section, was another large stone indicating the possibility of the preservation of fragments of a second course further to the west in the unexcavated area of 17/13q. Behind wall 180 was a deep layer of carefully laid stone fill consisting of large stones (ca. 0.50 x 0.25 x 0.25 m in size), smaller stones (ca. 0.15 - 0.20 m in diameter) and large and small gauge gravel (ca. 0.09 m and 0.04 m in diameter respectively). In this stone fill a very fine, light, silted, bright orange soil, also geologically foreign to the area, indicated the erosion and infiltration of decomposing fired mudbrick. A

²⁰ Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 56-58, pl. IV; Crouwel *et al.* 1999, 28, fig. 3.

²¹ According to local lore, a large cave system exists under the acropolis. We found evidence for similar underground holes during test excavations in 1997 (in the area of trench 25/4b, see Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 67) and again during the 2000 season (in Area II to the south of the acropolis wall, see above).



Plate IX. Geraki, Area III, vessel (359/SF6) between bedrock outcrops (from the east)

similar soil type found in the area, though more clay-like and almost white in colour, was interpreted as decomposing mudbrick that had not been so fired. The layer of stone and gravel fill behind the boulders was uneven, dipping down as it progressed to the east. Lines of silt indicated that this had been caused by erosion from behind the wall, which found an easy path over the single course of boulders that remained there. Here, as in 17/13r (see below), a channel of erosion was formed during a period of disuse after the collapse of wall 180.

In 1998 examination of the sherd material taken from the level of fill behind wall 180 proved to be Early Helladic II in date. In 1999 the area directly to the west was opened up. In the centre of the trench another large boulder was exposed, backed by a similar stone and gravel fill, and resting on a surface comparable to that upon which wall 180, directly to the east, was constructed. Time, and indeed the complexity of the area, prevented further exploration of these earlier levels but the implication of a continuation of wall 180 to the west in 17/13q, and of the early date of this wall, was clear.

Excavation in 2000

One of the purposes of further excavation in trench 17/13q was to examine the suggestion that major wall construction on the acropolis of Geraki had begun at some time during the Early Helladic II period. The evidence now seems conclusive that this was indeed the case.

Excavation in the southwest corner of trench 17/13q during the 2000 season revealed, at a level of ca. 382.76-382.80 m asl, a hard clay-like surface marked by sherds lying horizontally,

signs of burning, and some indications of silting (Fig. 7, Plate XIV). This floor or surface was restricted to the southwest corner of the trench and defined west and south by the limits of the excavated area, passing south into the bank of earth under robbed later wall 102, and west into the baulk of the trench. To the north the area was limited by later wall 170, built on the presumed line of earlier wall 180, and to the east by wall 150. Destruction debris, fallen and washed on the floor level, also rested up against wall 150, proving floor and wall contemporary.

The area was distinguished by the presence of two, possibly three, fragmentary pithoi.²² One pithos was upside down, resting on its mouth, empty and possibly awaiting reuse (Plate XIV, lower right hand corner). The other, though broken in a way that will be described below, still retained a large number of carbonised and well-preserved seeds (Plate XIII). While overall the floor or surface associated with these pithoi was remarkably level, the pithos with the preserved seeds was found to be resting in a well-defined depression. Removal of the seed material and lifting the large fragments (ca. 0.50 x 0.35 m) of the pithos which held them revealed a number of small holes in the bottom and sides of this depression in the clay floor. These holes opened into a dense gravel and rock fill over which the floor had been laid. Silt lines observable during excavation and in section showed clearly that seepage had occurred, perhaps when the room had lost its roof and become exposed to the elements, or perhaps simply through natural attrition and lack of maintenance while still in use. The pithos with the seeds had, in the first case, collapsed into the growing hole beneath it, or, in the second case, been placed in an already existing hole in an attempt to stop further erosion. In any event, much of the blackened seed material, along with some of the eroded mudbrick debris which later filled the room, could be seen to have been washed and silted through the holes into the layer of stone and gravel fill below. This kind of silting action may well have been responsible for the presence of the powdery orange-red soil so prominent in the similar stone and gravel fill behind wall 180 further to the east.²³

Fragments of fired mudbrick fallen on the floor were found to have carbonised seeds adhering to the underside, indicating that some of the carbonised contents of the pithos had spilled onto the floor after the fire and prior to the initial collapse that followed. The pithoi associated with this floor are of the distinctive local Geraki Ware, securely dated to the Early Helladic II period.²⁴ Also found on the floor, in the northeast corner by wall 150, were two fragments of the clay band which had helped seal the mouth of a pithos. One of these retained the impression of a lentoid seal. A third fragment was found towards the centre of the room.²⁵

The presence of voids, holes or cavities in the underlying level of stone and gravel packing suggests that collapse after the fire soon sealed the area, leading to a change in the patterns of water run-off. These changes were traceable directly to the north where a bank of silted or eroded soil flowed downward until lost in the later periods of construction, filling and collapse associated with wall 104. On this bank of eroded soil was found a quantity of carbonised seed

²² The remains of the third, possible pithos are only partially exposed and much of it, if indeed it is a pithos and not just large sherds dislodged from its two fellows, remains buried in the west baulk of the trench.

²³ See above and Crouwel *et al.* 1999, 33.

²⁴ See Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 100-101, 105; 1999, 33.

²⁵ Numerous such sealing fragments, some of them with seal impressions, were found along with carbonised seeds in 1997, in trial trench 17/11i which was to become part of Area I, see Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 61-68, Weingarten *et al.* 1999.

and another sealing, as well as a number of large sherds from a pithos showing signs of burning on the interior. The evaluation of joining fragments and their disposition will do much to confirm processes of deposition and redeposition in this area.

While the early architecture of this area is not yet entirely clear, being confused by the repetitive patterns of construction, collapse, erosion and reuse, it is clear that the floor in the southwest corner of trench 17/13q was built on, and, until it began to erode, had sealed, a stone fill placed directly behind wall 180. The fill behind wall 180 and the presence and construction of walls 140 and 150, both of which have only one face and are built against the rubble fill, could suggest that the floor level with the storage pithoi belonged to a casemate storage room built into an otherwise rubble-filled wall of considerable strength. Further excavation to the west, south and southwest, and in the partially excavated area to the east, will help to clarify the extent and purpose of the first major wall constructed on the north slope of the acropolis of Geraki, Early Helladic II wall 180.

Subsequent construction

Wall 180 began a long and complicated history of wall construction on the acropolis hill, much of which is still poorly understood. In the west, where wall 180 had formed the north wall of the room which contained the pithoi, the upper courses had been lost and the hillside allowed to degrade, initially bringing with it the seeds and pithos fragments mentioned above. Gradually more soil eroded over the collapsed wall in this area defining the (changing) contours of the post-destruction hillside. Water run-off eventually gouged out a deep exit route in this bank of eroded soil. The channel ran out over the central boulder exposed in 1999.²⁶ The constellation of subsequent walls and fills – up to and including the tile, sherd and rubble fill associated with the construction of the Hellenistic wall – all indicated that the weaknesses begun here continued to plague the area. There are signs of what may have been several small-scale attempts to stem soil loss in the area, but only after the eroded hillside had been deeply cut.²⁷

The next substantive wall constructed in the area was wall 170 (Fig. 7 and Plate XII). Wall 170 followed the presumed line of 180 but was built on the substantial layer of Early Helladic II destruction material that had eroded over it. The area just to the east, the channel of erosion over the boulder which had alerted us to the extension of wall 180 in 1999, had been filled in preparation for the construction of this wall with rocks and a grey soil fill.²⁸ The construction of wall 170 seems to have been the first major effort at reestablishing the line of wall 180 and stopping the erosion channel cutting through the hillside at this point. Although substantial, and perhaps of considerable duration, the effort was eventually ineffective. After some time the wall fell into disuse and was allowed to fall victim to the same hydrological factors that had shaped the hillside upon which it had been built. The erosion channel reasserted itself and took

²⁶ See above, also Crouwel *et al.* 1999, 33.

²⁷ As indicated in the introduction, we cannot always be sure, at this point, to what extent erosion had occurred in any given period. A repeated channel of erosion could be cut to its deepest level in any period in which it is allowed to be active. An area only slightly eroded in the Middle Helladic period could, for example, be much more deeply scarred in the Hellenistic or the modern period (see note 16 above.)

²⁸ Crouwel *et al.* 1996, 93-98; Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 57.

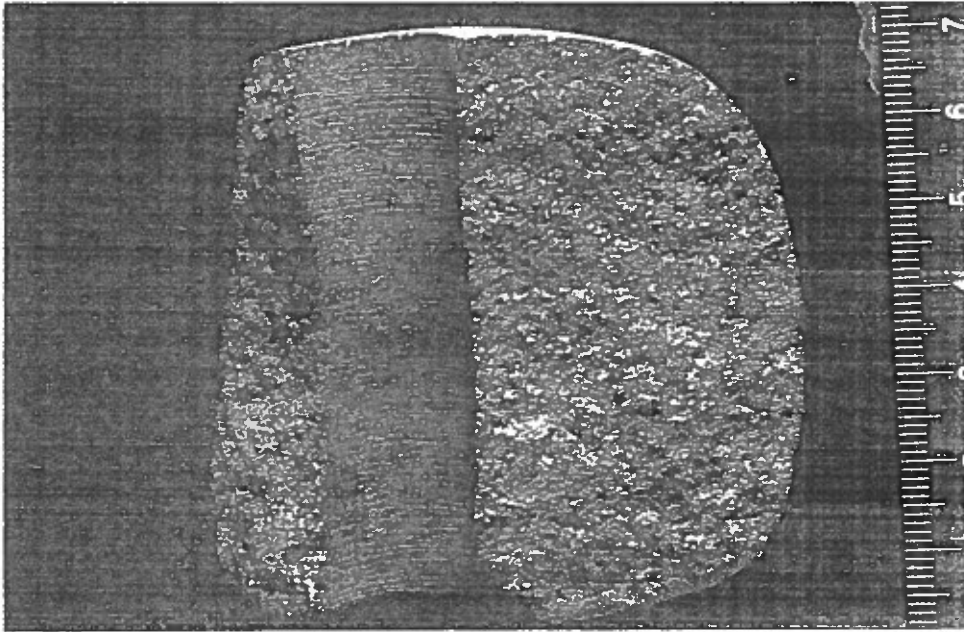


Plate X. *Geraki, Area III, shaft-hole axe (513/SF1)*

away part of the wall along with much of the fill that had been used to level its foundations. Two silted banks of eroded soil were formed to the east and west of the newly reestablished channel. Burned Middle Helladic sherds, flecks and fragments of carbon, and – in contrast to the Early Helladic II destruction material below – quantities of bone were also present.

The west bank had built up against wall 170, eventually almost covering its remains. The east bank had provided the foundation for the earliest phase wall 122, which, with its fellow to the west, wall 121, seems to have been built on either side of the channel of erosion in an attempt to tame it. This indicates that, once again, erosion was allowed to continue for some time before the first attempts to rein it in. The silted material which had formed the foundation for wall 122 and built up against the remains of wall 170 contained much Middle Helladic pottery, both smaller pieces, possibly eroding from elsewhere and large pieces, unworn, in all probability originating in the direct vicinity. This, in conjunction with the nature of the fill upon which wall 170 was founded, suggests the construction and abandonment of this wall during the Middle Helladic period.

After the loss of wall 170 and the reappearance of the erosion channel spawned by the earlier collapse of wall 180, oblique walls 121 and 122 were constructed to stop the loss of soil. These walls, during patching, maintenance and reconstruction, gradually 'retreated' up the respective slopes or banks they were built to retain, as those banks eroded further. This provides evidence of considerable restoration and reconstruction and suggests that these walls may have been in

use for an extended period of time.²⁹ No attempt was made to re-establish the line of the long-buried wall 180 and its successor wall 170 until the major reconstruction of the hillside marked by the presence of wall 104 (Fig. 6 and Plate XII). Further excavation, both to the west and to the north, is necessary in order to understand better the history and purpose of this wall. In terms of phasing it is clear that wall 104 postdates the earliest phases of walls 121 and 122. As with wall 170, it signals the refilling of this fragile section of the eroded hillside, and proceeds directly from east to west. Questions remain about this wall. Whether or not its collapse and the loss of fill from behind it precipitated the rediscovery of the lower courses of 121 and 122 and their reuse as foundations, as once again erosion followed its familiar path, has not been determined. The ceramic evidence may be of value here.

Furthermore, as now excavated, only the interior face of wall 104 remains visible. To the north, between wall 104 and the standing acropolis wall, a mass of large and small stones acts as a fill behind that later construction (Plate XII). No distinction between possibilities can be certain at this point. It is possible that here, again, we have the stones of a collapsed wall being used as fill for its successor – those stones, in this case, being the collapsed stones of the exterior face of wall 104. If this is the case it would imply a two-faced predecessor to the current acropolis wall which had collapsed, as did those before it, for lack of maintenance.³⁰ The other immediate possibility is that wall 104 is the interior face of an earlier phase of the existing wall line, buried and put out of use by the final filling operation during the Hellenistic period. Lastly, without precluding either of the two preceding configurations, wall 104 may represent the foundations of the interior face of the Hellenistic wall. In any of these possible and related configurations wall 104 provides the first evidence, in this area of the acropolis, of a defensible parapet along the existing wall line.

In any case, with the establishment of the Hellenistic acropolis wall, wall 104 was back-filled with a rubble and tile fill. This, in turn, was sealed by a layer of yellow clay with flat roof-tile fragments laid and trodden on the surface, the yellow clay layer performing much the same purpose as the clay floor over the Early Helladic II fill below (Plates XI and XIV). The fact that the tell-tale mortar – a valuable diagnostic for tracing Late Roman or Medieval reconstruction of the acropolis wall at Geraki – is entirely absent from this section of walling, and was not noted during survey of the fields below, may indicate that the final Hellenistic construction remained standing up to and throughout those periods.³¹

²⁹ For the 'retreat' of retaining walls see Crouwel *et al.* 1996, 95, fig. 5. The loss of minor retaining walls may be due to disuse, disregard, abandonment, or extremely harsh weather conditions bringing concomitant massive erosion repair, perhaps, the following day. Accordingly, no chronology has yet been suggested for the various phases of walls 121 and 122. Indeed the processes of patching, repair, reconstruction and reuse can be so gradual as to make the phasing itself difficult to quantify precisely. A key question, and one which should be able to be addressed profitably here, is the one proposed above. While they clearly predate wall 104 and were covered by the fill associated with that wall, did they resurface and return to duty—as foundations at the very least—when wall 104 was lost? In any case, walls 121 and 122 were clearly covered and sealed for good with the construction of the Hellenistic wall.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 96.

³¹ For the Post-Medieval and more recent history of collapse and rebuilding along the Hellenistic wall line, see *ibid.*, 93-97, figs. 3-6, plates I and II.

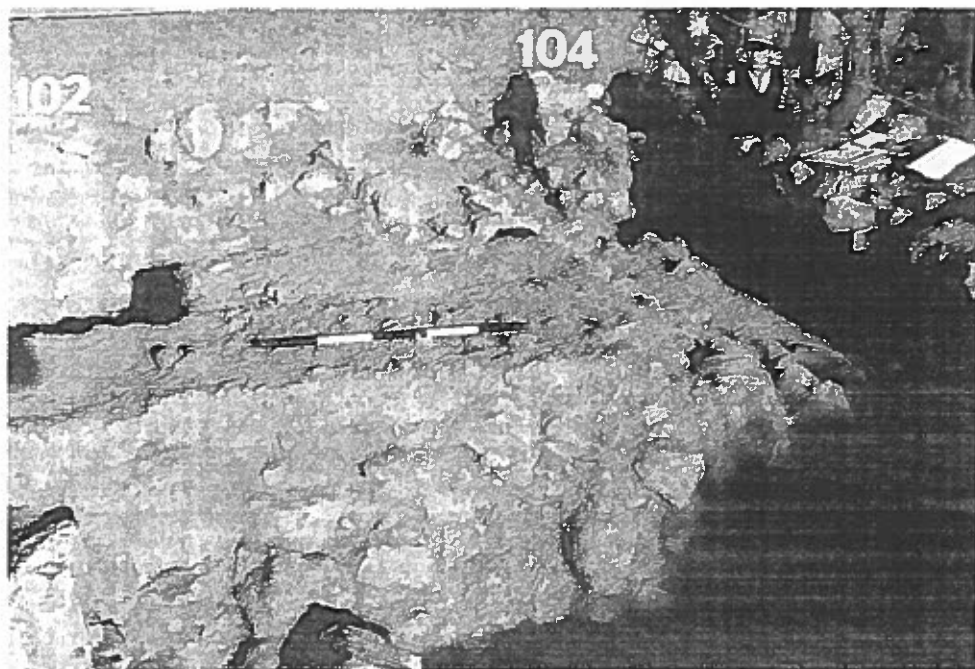


Plate XI. Geraki, Area II, Hellenistic tile fill behind acropolis wall (from the east)

Chronological overview of human activities at the acropolis hill (J.H. Crouwel and M. Prent)

Final Neolithic. Sherd assemblages in a fissure between bedrock in Area I and in a stone fill in Area II.³² Isolated sherds in later contexts in Area I. Obsidian tools identified among the surface material collected during the 1995 and 1996 survey.³³

Early Helladic I or (early) II. Building phase. A wall fragment of small stones on the original hillside in Area II, trench 17/13r.

Early Helladic II late. Building phase. While survey had already shown the wide spread of pottery and other artefacts of this period over the summit of the acropolis, excavation since

³² For the 2000 finds from Area I, see above. The pottery of such a date from Area II, found in 1999, consists of small to medium-sized, medium coarse to coarse sherds, mostly buff-orange in colour. Included are fragments of so-called 'cheese pots' with holes below the rim and body sherds with applied cordons, with or without fingertipping, in a pattern. Cf. Koumouzele 1989, 155 with fig. 13 (cave at Alepochori, not far from Geraki); Cavanagh in Cavanagh et al. 1996, 3 with fig. 10.12-13 (Laconia Survey); Phelps 1975, 155 with fig. 99 (Diros, Alepotrypa cave); Pullen 1995, 8-9 (Southern Argolid Survey); Lambert 1981, 356-357 with figs. 230, 245-246 (Kitsos cave); Wilson 199, 6-7, 13 (Ayia Irini on Keos and other sites).

³³ For the obsidian see T. Carter in Crouwel et al. 1998, esp. 111.

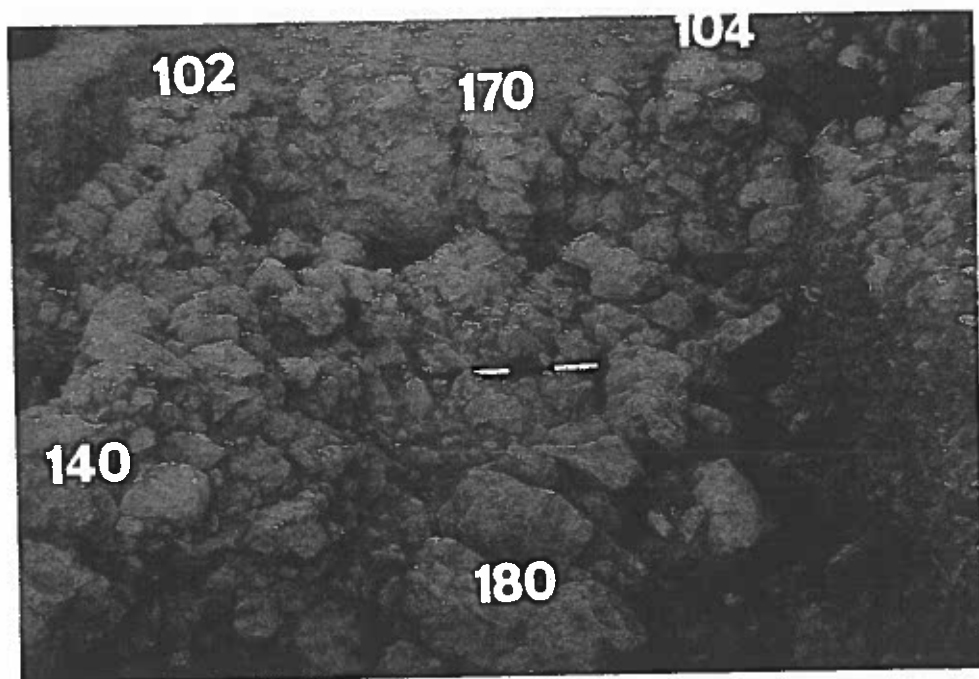


Plate XII. Geraki, Area II, mass of stone and earth fills and collapsed walls below Hellenistic tile fill (from east)

1997 has yielded increasing evidence for the scale and importance of Early Helladic II occupation. Architectural remains in both Areas I and II, with associated sealing practices and storing of seeds. Largest intact complex in Area II: defensive system with possible casemate-like structure, as exposed in trenches 17/13q, 13r and 12r.

Early Helladic II late. Widespread destruction by fire.³⁴ Probably followed by period of (partial) abandonment, which would account for the erosion of Early Helladic II destruction material, as noted during survey and particularly directly behind the acropolis wall this season in Area II. Pottery of types which are diagnostic for Early Helladic III in the Argolid, Arkadia and Elis is so far lacking from Lakonia as a whole, as well as from Messenia.

Middle Helladic. (Re-)occupation. Cist graves, somewhere on the acropolis, excavated by A.J.B. Wace and F.W. Hasluck in 1905. Surface pottery, obsidian arrow-heads. Potsherds from the test excavations in 1997, including some Minoanising, and robbed-out wall (trench 52/7r). Re-building/repair of acropolis wall in Area II (on a modest scale). Substantial pottery fill in the area behind it, in area of trench 17/12r.

³⁴ The associated fine-ware pottery has many links with that from of Lerna IIIC, for which see now Wiencke 2000, especially 636-38.

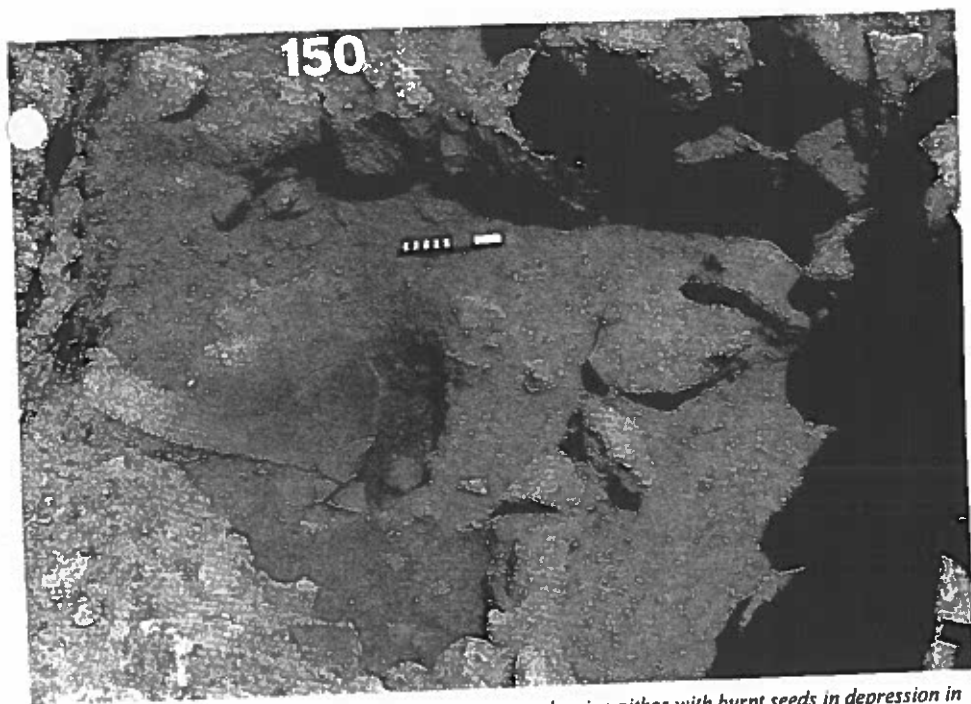


Plate XIII. Geraki, Area II, Early Helladic II pithos room, showing pithos with burnt seeds in depression in floor (from west)

Abandonment of acropolis. At the time of the Shaft Graves of Mycenae. No finds of firm Mycenaean date.

Early Iron Age. Re-occupation. Pockets of washed-in Protogeometric and Geometric sherds (trench 17/13r) and isolated sherds in later contexts (trench 54/26g); no intact archaeological structures or strata as of yet. Only a little more scattered material found in Area II in 2000.

Archaic. Occupation. This period is so far best represented by votive material collected during the survey in 1995 and 1996: the remnants of an eroding votive deposit were located on the upper west slope of the acropolis, and fragments of a terracotta disc akroterion on the northeast slope.

Classical-Hellenistic. House complexes and a street of at least two building phases in Areas I and II. Evidence for weaving and metalworking. The constructions involved the levelling and removing of possibly large portions of Early Helladic II and later remains in Area I.

Hellenistic. Large scale (re-)construction of acropolis wall, in Area II on line some 1.5 m to north and outside of earlier Early Helladic II wall. Relation to occupation history and in particular the abandonment of the Classical-Hellenistic houses is as yet unclear. There is a

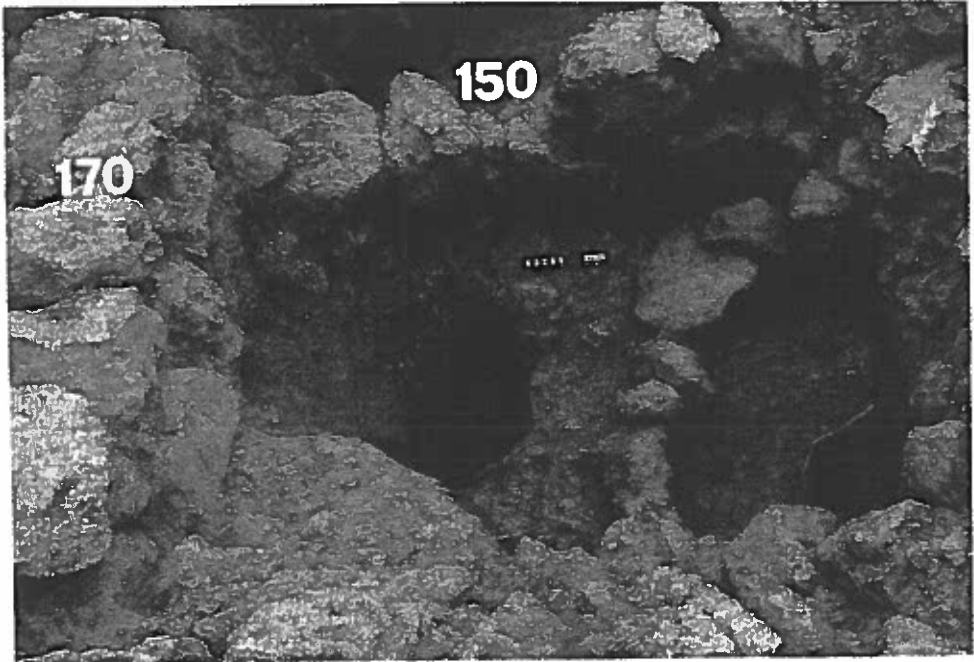


Plate XIV. *Geraki, Area II, Early Helladic II pithos room, showing depression with underlying gravel fill after lifting of pithos with seeds (from west)*

destruction horizon, first attested in 1997 in trench 20/15g and dated by coin hoard to the later 3rd century BC.³⁵ Some activities attested by the finding of a few coins of the 1st century BC in Areas I and II, mostly in post-abandonment silt and plough layers.

Conversion of part of the summit into a burial ground. Graves (most of them very disturbed by ploughing) using tiles and plaster between the abandoned building remains.

Late Roman or Medieval. Reconstruction of the acropolis wall in type 3 masonry (defined by the use of small stones, tile and mortar and, in places, of a rubble core).³⁶

Return to agricultural use, involving repairs of the acropolis wall.

Civil War (1946-49). Defensive use, involving the erection of stone-built shelters and digging of a system of trenches, and the reconstruction of the acropolis wall.

Modern agricultural use. Represented by upper layers of plough soil, as encountered during excavation in Field 17.

³⁵ Van der Vin 1998 (with historical note by Crouwel).

³⁶ MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 1995, 47.

Coins found in 2000 (Plate XV) (J. van der Vin)

Abbreviation used:

SNG Cop. = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Metals. Danish National Museum. Copenhagen 1942.*

Central Greece

1. Inv. no. 2412/SF1. Aegina 4th century BC drachm

Obv. Tortoise

Rev. Incuse square divided into five irregular compartments, above left, two pellets.

SNG Cop. 520-521.

Weight: 3,3 gr.

Context: Area II, trench 17/12r; silted-up collapse.

Macedonia

2. Inv. no. 2382/SF1. Magnesia ad Maeandrum 319-305 BC drachm Alexander the Great (posthumous)

Obv. Head of Herakles in lion's skin r.

Rev. Zeus enthroned holding eagle and sceptre, feet on footstool; in field l.: Δ in wreath;

Below throne: AT- monogram

Price 1991, 2090

Weight 4,1 gr.

Context: Area II, trench 17/12r; transition old ploughsoil to silt.

Peloponnese

3. Inv. no. 1373/SF 3. Sicyon 4th century BC silver triobol

Obv. Chimaira standing l.

SNG Cop. 50 or 57

Weight: 2,7 gr.

Context: Area I, trench 17/13q.

4. Inv. no. 541/SF 1. Sicyon 323-251 BC aes

Obv. Dove flying l.

Rev. ΣI within olive-wreath

SNG Cop. 80

Weight: 2,3 gr.

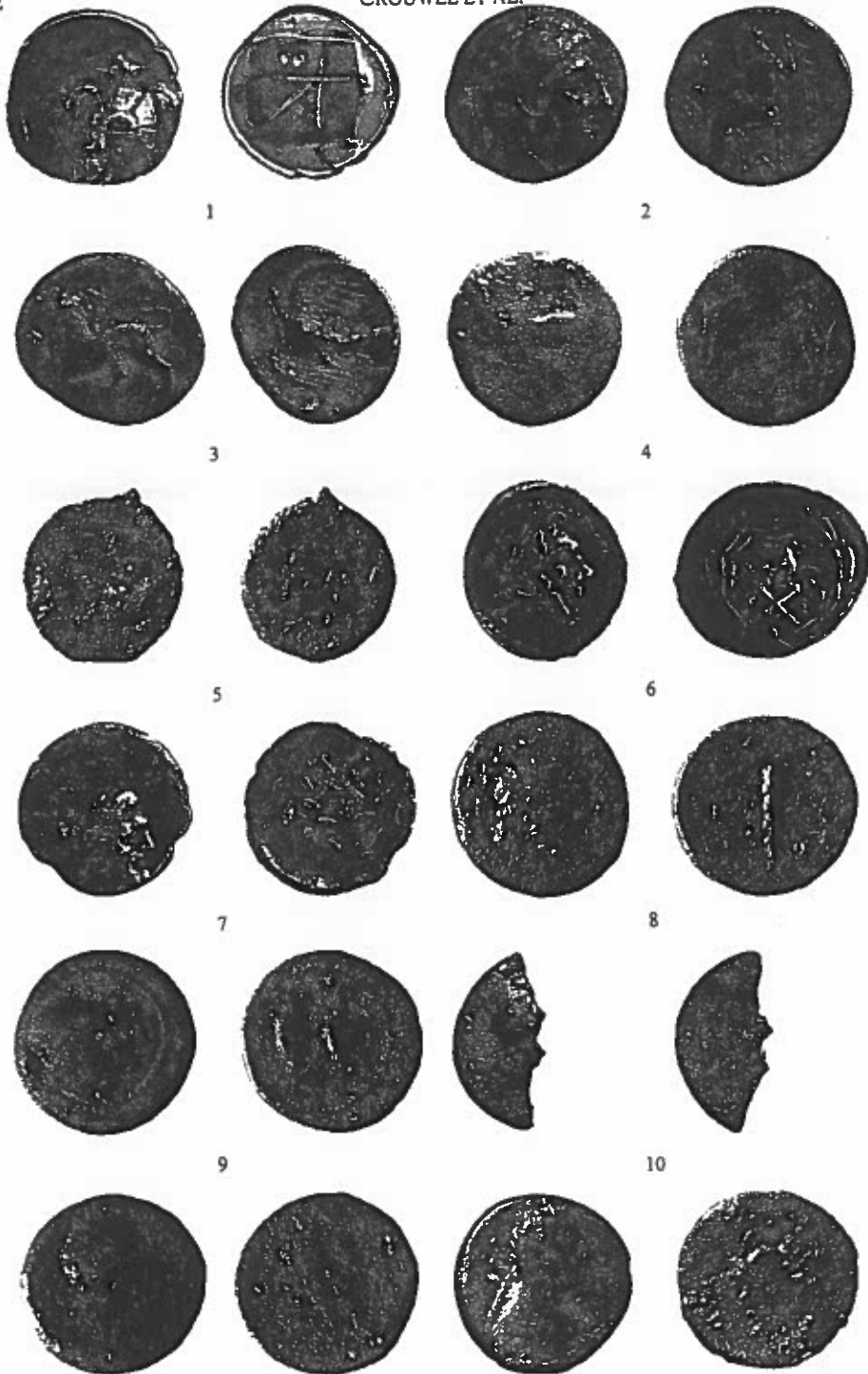
Context: Area I, trench 17/12h; eroded collapse.

5. Inv. no. 2406/SF 1. Sicyon 323-251 BC aes

Obv. Dove flying l.(?)

Rev. Σ within olive-wreath

SNG Cop. 77-79



11
Plate XV. Geraki, coins found in 2000

Weight: 1,3 gr.

Context: Area II, trench 17/12r; silted-up collapse

6. Inv. no. 4187/SF 1. Achaean League (Aegeira?) 274 BC triobol

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus Amarios r.

Rev. AX-monogram in laurel-wreath, AAKI

SNG Cop. 230

Weight: 2,3 gr.

Context: Area II, trench 17/12r; wash level.

7. Inv. no. 455/SF 1. Achaean League (Sicyon) 251 BC triobol

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus Amarios r.

Rev. AX - monogram in laurel-wreath; AA KI, below ΣΙ

SNG Cop. 258

Weight: 2,2 gr.

Context: Area I, trench 17/12h; clayey layer.

8. Inv. 418/SF 6. Sparta 48-40 BC aes

Obv. Bearded head of Herakles laureate r.; dotted border

Rev. Club between AA and ΣΙ, all within laurel-wreath

SNG Cop. 585ff.; Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, Gruppe XVI, nos. 23-29

Weight: 3,5 gr.

Context: Area I, trench 17/12h; eroded collapse.

9. Inv. no. 4272/SF 1. Sparta 48-35 BC aes

Obv. Heads of the Dioscuri jugate, two stars

Rev. Two amphorae, AA, all within laurel-wreath

SNG Cop. 579ff.; Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, Gruppe XV

Weight: 6,0 gr.

Context: Area I, trench 17/12j; old plough soil.

10. Inv. no. 416/SF 3. Sparta 35-31 BC aes

Obv. Head of the Dioscuri jugate, wearing laureate pilei; dotted border

Rev. AA within laurel-wreath

Cf. SNG Cop. 592; Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, Gruppe XX

Halved coin, weighing 9,3 gr.

Context: Area I, trench 17/12h; occupation surface?

Ptolemaic Egypt

11. Inv. no. 4378/SF 1. Ptolemaios III 246-221 BC aes Alexandria (probably ca 244 BC)

Obv. Laureate bust of Ptolemaios III r.; dotted border

Rev. Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in field, cornucopiae; dotted border; ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ

SNG Cop. 193-19; Svoronos 1908, 1000

Weight: 6,0 gr.

Context: Area I, trench 17/12j; occupation level.

12. Inv. no. 418/SF 5. Ptolemaios III 246-221 BC aes Alexandria (probably ca. 244 BC)

Obv. Laureate head of Ptolemaios III r.; dotted border

Rev. Eagle l. on thunderbolt; in field, cornucopiae; dotted border; ITTOAEMAIOY
 BAΣIAEΩΣ

SNG Cop. 193-195; Svoronos 1908, 1000

Weight: 5,5 gr.

Context: as no. 8.

Uncertain Greek city

13. (no ill.). Inv. no. 393/SF 1. ca. 4rd-2nd century BC aes

Obv. Completely worn

Rev. Completely worn

Weight: 1,4 gr.

Context: Area I, trench 17/12h; ploughsoil.

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A SMALL BRONZE LION FROM GERAKI IN LAKONIA

Conrad M. Stibbe and Joost H. Crouwel

The object under discussion came to light in 1999 during excavations conducted by the University of Amsterdam on the acropolis of Geraki (ancient *Geronthrai*) in Lakonia. The small bronze figure of a couchant lion (Inv. no. 2201/SF 1; Fig. 1; Pl. I) was found in level 8 - a wash layer containing material ranging from Early Helladic II to Classical-Hellenistic times - in trench 17/11j, which formed part of excavation Area I in the northern part of the acropolis.¹

The lion (length 5.8, width ca. 1.5, height 3 cm) is cast solid and modelled in the round, with the exception of the underside which is flat and set at a slant when compared to the head and rest of the body. Viewed from above, the lion's underside describes a slight curve. The lion is shown in a relaxed, recumbent position, with its head turned sideways. The forelegs are stretched out, but not articulated, and carry what looks like a rivet hole in the middle. The body, small when compared to the thick-set neck, is plain, without indication of muscles. The muzzle and rest of the head are badly worn, but small sunk eyes, semicircular ears and a closed mouth, the latter indicated by a horizontal incised line, can be made out, as can traces of an incised flame-like collar of manes around the neck. The tail is mostly missing, its remaining stump curving forwards and upwards. Beyond the rear of the body there is a flat extension, broken at the end.

The small bronze lion can be reconstructed as having formed part of the upper attachment of the vertical handle of a hydria or oinochoe of the 6th century BC. The vertical handles of both these types of Archaic bronze vessel frequently carried such plastic adornments at their attachment to the rim, with a lion fitted on either side. The lions associated with hydriae are fitted along the side

¹ For the 1999 excavations in Area I, see Crouwel *et al.* 1999, 25-32 with figs. 1-3.



of the rim, with their underside set at an angle, and usually have their heads turned towards spectator, whereas those of oinochoae sit horizontally on top of the rim and face forward. The Geraki lion can thus be firmly attributed to a hydria, where it was placed at the right side of vertical handle's wide upper attachment and held fast with the help of a rivet.²

² For Archaic Greek, and particularly Lakonian, hydriae and oinochoae, see Weber 1993; Stibbe 1992, 1994, 86-101; 1994b; 2000, chapters I and II; Stibbe in Pelegatti and Stibbe 1999, 37-47.

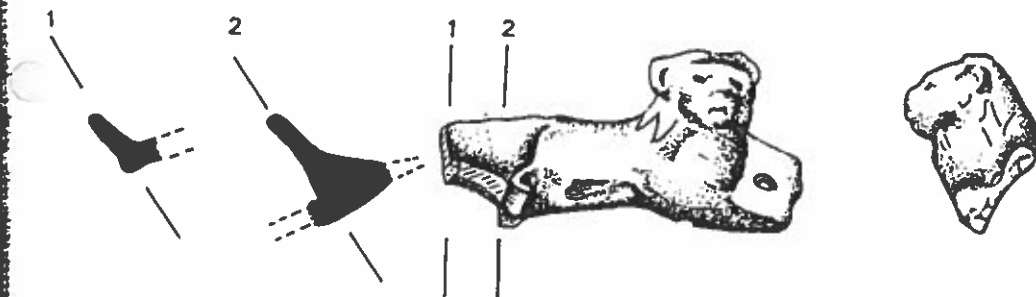


Figure 1: *Geraki, bronze lion*

An important detail of the Geraki lion is what remains of the tail: when complete, it would have been long and laid on the hydria's vertical handle or, more likely, have been held by a naked youth replacing the handle. There are several such bronze kouros-handles of both hydriae and oinochoae.³ The youth is always shown facing forward, slightly arched in side view, and has both his arms bent up to hold the tail of the two couchant lions fastened on either side of his head, at the rim of the vessel.

Such ornate hydriae and oinochoae originated in the highly creative bronze workshops of Lakonia in the earlier 6th century BC and were imitated in Corinth in the later part of the century.⁴ The lion attachment from Geraki, although not very well preserved, can be dated on stylistic grounds to ca. 530 BC or later in the 6th century. The combination of a short body and thick-set neck, and what remains of the incised flame-like manes on the neck are particularly common among Corinthian bronze lions.⁵

The lion attachment from Geraki can be added to the still fairly small corpus of Archaic decorated bronze vessels - all preserved in a very fragmentary state - from controlled excavations in Lakonia. (There are also several examples, acquired on the art market with the same reported provenance). The firmly provenanced examples are from sanctuaries - in and around Sparta and at some other

³ For kouros-shaped handles, see Stibbe 1992, 32-37 (group H); 1994, 44; 2000, 7-9 and chapter II (for the only find so far from controlled excavations in Lakonia - at the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos on the acropolis of Sparta - see p. 34 no. A 6 with fig. 21 = 1992, 57, no. H3).

⁴ For an overview: Stibbe 2000; see also Stibbe 1996 (on the beginnings of the production of elaborate bronzework in Lakonia, in which lions and lion heads figured prominently).

⁵ For parallels, see Stibbe 1992, 38-44, groups I and K, especially nos. K3 and K 5 with figs. 56-57 (reportedly from Palaionpolis and Olympia); Rolley 1982, 89 with figs. 198-200 (from Novi Pazar, Delphi and Dodona); recently, Arapoyanni 1996, 136 with pl. 51a (from a sanctuary at Phigaleia in Arcadia).

places in Lakonia.⁶ This is not surprising in view of the paucity of excavated and published material from habitation and burial contexts in this part of the Peloponnese.⁷

The newly found Archaic bronze lion from Geraki does not come from a good context but from a wash level, and the function of the original hydria remains uncertain. Was it a votive offering, or was it (first) used in a cultic ritual or in a symposium? In this connection, it may be noted that at Geraki the Archaic period is so far best represented by votive material collected during the Dutch survey in 1995 and 1996: the remnants of a votive deposit were located on the upper west slope of the acropolis and fragments of a terracotta disk akroterion belonging to a cult building on the northeast slope.⁸ In addition, the British scholars A.J.B. Wace and F.W. Hasluck collected an early-looking marble Doric capital from the surface somewhere on the acropolis during their brief explorations in 1905.⁹ This capital may have belonged to the Apollo temple reported by Pausanias (3.22.6-8) as standing on the acropolis of *Geronthrai* in the third quarter of the 2nd century AD.

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⁶ See lists in Stibbe 1992 and 1997; also 2000, 25-46. Hodkinson 1999, table 3a: published bronze vessel finds (without bibliographical references). The sanctuaries with such finds away from Sparta are that of Athena Hyperteleatas at Phoiniki (see Stibbe 1992, 57 no H4 = 2000, 45 no. C14; 1997, 60 no. VI.90) and one at Aiyies attributed to Artemis (Bonias 1998, 100, nos. 549-550).

⁷ Hodkinson 1999, 55.

⁸ See Crouwel *et al.* 1995, 57-58; 1996, 103 with pl. III.

⁹ Wace and Hasluck 1904-05, 95, 98-99 with fig. 4 (fragments of another Doric capital, in poros-stone, were built into a fieldwall on the east slope below the fortification wall). For Archaic stone sculptures from Geraki, without details of findspots, see Wace 1904-05, 99-103 with figs. 1-5.

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AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY IN THE SOÚRPI PLAIN (THESSALY, GREECE)

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& Vaso Rondiri*

Introduction

From 1990 on an archaeological survey has been conducted in the Almirós-Sourpi plain in Thessaly (Greece). The survey was initiated by the *Biologisch-Archaeologisch Instituut* (now Groningen Institute of Archaeology), University of Groningen, the Netherlands. Fieldwork has been carried out in cooperation with the 13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Vólos in 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996 and 2000. The objective of the project is to investigate the occupation history of the Almirós-Sourpi plain in all periods from the Paleolithic until recent times.

From June 15th until August 10th, 2000 a team of specialists worked in the depot near the museum of Almirós. They studied the artefacts found during previous surveys in order to prepare an article on the prehistoric sites in the Almirós-Sourpi plain.¹ Research on the Bronze Age sites was continued by examining the bone material and the mollusc shells from Magoúla Pavlína. In particular the spiny oysters are of interest. These molluscs were cut from the seabed at a depth of at least 6-8 m. The edges of the shells show cutting marks at the edges,

¹ Among the participants of this project are Dr Reinder Reinders (University of Groningen), Dr Mies Wijnen (Netherlands Research Foundation, Neolithic pottery), Mrs Vaso Rondiri (13th EPKA, Neolithic pottery), Dr Elmar Christmann (University of Heidelberg, Early Bronze Age), Dr Vladimir Stissi (University of Amsterdam, Iron Age settlement and burial mounds), Mrs Zoë Malakasioti (13th EPKA, Iron Age monuments), Drs Leonie Kwak and Drs Juliette de Winter (University of Groningen, topography of Iron Age burial mounds), Dr Wietske Prummel (Groningen University, archaeozoology), Dr Lia Karimali (Laboratory of Archaeo-environment Rethymnon, lithic studies), Dr Stamatis Floras and Dr Ioannis Sgouras (National Agricultural Research Foundation, Larisa, soil survey). The participation of these specialists is funded by the Institute of Aegean Prehistory.

perhaps an indication of how these shells were opened. Much attention was given to the sites which were found during the 1990 survey in the Voulokalíva area. In 2000 the topography of the Voulokalíva *tumulus* field was analysed and the study of the artefacts from the *tumuli* and from site Voulokalíva 35 was continued.

Construction work on the national road from Athens to Thessaloníki led to the discovery of a great number of prehistoric sites. Greek archaeologists of the 13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities conducted largescale excavations along the national road, which yielded interesting material for comparison with the results of the survey. Apart from other sites they excavated two Iron Age cemeteries with tholos graves, single graves from the same period, a building and a large *tumulus*. This *tumulus*, found by our survey team in 1990, was practically undisturbed. Presumably the whole complex is one of the most impressive examples of Iron Age occupation in Greece.

In the same period an archaeological field survey was conducted in the Sóurpi plain. During six weeks a team of three archaeologists and ten students from Groningen University together with two Greek archaeologists and two technicians surveyed the fields in the plain and on the finger-ridges, the colluvial slopes and the foothills.²

An article about the results of previous surveys in the Almirós-Sóurpi plain is currently being prepared for publication in *Pharos*. After the survey in 2000 it was decided to first publish the prehistoric sites in the southern part of the Almirós plain, including a section about geomorphology and soil survey. The sites from other periods in the Almirós plain and the sites in the Sóurpi plain will be published in a following volume.

Sóurpi plain

The small Almirós-Sóurpi plain in Thessaly, surrounded by mountains and hills, borders the Pagasitikós gulf. In 1992, 1994 and 1996 the southern part of the Almirós plain was surveyed from the village of Anthótopos to Kokkinóvrachos mountain, including the northern part of the Sóurpi plain (Efsthíou et al., 1990; Haagsma et al., 1993; Reinders, 1993; Reinders et al., 1997). Until last year we considered the Almirós-Sóurpi plain as an entity for the sake of convenience, but after the survey of the Sóurpi plain we changed our mind.

The Almirós plain gently slopes from an altitude of 300 m in the west to sea level in the east where it borders the Pagasitikós gulf. The Pleistocene soil of the Almirós plain is intersected by the riverbeds of the Platanórrema, Xeriás and Cholórrema. The steep sides of these rivers show alternating layers of red clayey soil, pebbles and cobbles. Fingerridges, on

² Three archaeologists and ten students of the University of Groningen participated in the survey: Reinder Reinders, Leonie Kwak, Juliette de Winter, Paula Fijma, Pieter Baak, Jorn Seubers, Saskia Mulder, Inger Woltinge, Marian Wilts, Marlies Schipperheijn and Elsa Kleine. The archaeological field survey was funded by Groningen University, the Thessalika Erga Foundation and Mr Arend de Roever. Participants from the 13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Vólos included the archaeologists Zoë Malakasioti and Vaso Rondiri, and the technicians Yoannis Nikou and Thomas Papadoyannis. Valuable information on the toponymy in the Sóurpi plain was provided by Nikos Peristeras from Sóurpi. We are indebted to the Greek Ministry of Culture for their permission to conduct the survey and to Drs Margriet Haagsma and Mr Willem Ledeboer from the Netherlands Institute at Athens for their support during the preparation of the campaign. We very much appreciated the visit to the survey area of Mr. Paul Brouwer, Her Netherlands Majesty's ambassador at Athens, and Mr Eric Mohrman, deputy director of the Netherlands Institute at Athens.

which a great number of archaeological sites are situated, slope down from the foothills of Mount Óthris into the plain. The riverbeds in the plain are wide with many wild gulleys. Only occasionally is the full width of the riverbed necessary for the discharge of the water from the mountains. Along the coast holocene sediments, up to 6 m thick, were deposited by the rivers from 1000 BC on.

The Soúрпи plain is an extension of the Almirós plain towards the south. The plains are connected by a small stretch of land between a spur of Mount Óthris and a back swamp along the Pagasitikós gulf. After the survey of the Soúрпи plain in 2000 we realised that the plains have a different morphology and can better be considered as two different plains. The Soúрпи plain—a basin-shaped valley—is surrounded by low mountains on three sides. Only at the northern end is the plain open to the Pagasitikós gulf. A river with several tributaries flows from the eastern slopes of Mount Óthris down through the plain.

Along the eastern side of the plain, colluvial fans slope down from Kokkinóvrachos and Chlomón. At the opposite side of the plain, finger-ridges run from the eastern foothills of Mount Óthris to the northeast. Two low saddles in the south, at either side of Psilórrachi hill, connect the Soúрпи plain with the small plains of Pteleós and Áyioi Theódoroi. The central part of the Soúрпи plain consists of a rather flat area through which the Salamvrjas flows. The lower course of the river is now canalised. The canal empties in the back swamp to the south of Soúрпи bay.

About 3 km northwest of the village of Soúрпи the distance between a rocky outcrop in the east and a finger-ridge in the west is less than 500 m. The areas to the north and the south of this narrow passage are filled with fine river sediments. Obviously the river occasionally flooded the plain before the lower course was canalised. The only village in this part of the plain, Ayía Triáda is surrounded by a low dam and a ditch, obviously to prevent the risk of flooding. With exception of the riverbed with coarse boulders, cobbles and gravel, the sediments in the lower part of the plain are fine-grained.

A number of samples were taken from corings in the neighbourhood of the archaeological sites which were discovered during the survey. Samples were also taken from the river sediments in the central part of the plain, although not a single site was discovered in this area.

Present-day habitation

Until the 1960's the Soúрпи plain was a remote rural area without large buildings. A narrow road from Almirós via Soúрпи to Pelasyía formed the connection with the coastal plains along the Maliakós gulf, but apart from the regular bus service, Vólos-Athens traffic along this road was not intensive. The construction of the national road in the 1970's marked the start of a good north-south connection, the development of industry in the back swamp at the transition of the Almirós and Soúрпи plains, and the construction of over-scaled olive oil and tomato factories and storehouses (Reinders, in press).

The present-day habitation in the Soúрпи plain is mainly concentrated in three villages: Soúрпи, Ayía Triáda and Drímona (Dímos Soúrpis). Soúрпи, at the eastern side of the plain and Drímona in the foothills of Mount Óthris at the western side possibly date back to medieval times. Ayía Triáda is obviously a younger village, labeled Kalívía on 19th century maps. In the 19th century the habitation in the area was more dispersed than nowadays. A number of hamlets were situated in the foothills of Mount Óthris. Until the liberation of Thessaly (1881),

the river Salamvrjas, also called Salambriás or Sourpiótikos, marked the border between the Kingdom of Greece and the Ottoman Empire. The villages of Sóurpi and Mitzéla, on the Greek side of the border, belonged to the district of Phtiótida (Kondonatsios, 1997). On topographical and geological maps the upper courses of this river are called Ayianórrema, Paloskiórrema, Fánga rema and Klimatórrema. In the area of Magoúla Sóurpi these rémata flow together. Most riverbeds and gulleys between Ayía Triáda/Sóurpi and the back swamp along the coast are canalized nowadays.

At present the greater part of the Sóurpi plain is in use as arable land; grain, maize, cotton, olives, almonds and tomatoes are cultivated. Before the use of large machinery in the 1950's only small plots of land which surrounded the villages and hamlets were cultivated: grain, tobacco, vine and olives. It is difficult to imagine the 19th century landscape, because detailed maps of the area are lacking and additional information is scarce, such as the story that in the 19th century the village of Sóurpi counted thousands of mulberry trees.

Apart from locals involved in husbandry, a great number of transhumant pastoralists still live in the foothills at the border of the plain, among them a few Vlachs and many Sarakatsans. Arvanitóvlachi settled in Sóurpi already in the 19th century, but many of the Sarakatsan families came here in the 1950's when the Greek state offered the last *tselingáta* marginal pasture land, in an attempt to force them to exchange transhumance for sedentary life (Reinders & Prummel, 1998). Nowadays only a few families pasture their flocks in the mountains in summertime. The others stay in the plain and foothills all year around. Until recently many Sarakatsans lived together, e.g. in Palióuri, Klínovos, Kiléria, Kondaróllaka and Kefalósi, but gradually they exchanged their *kalíva* in a *stáni* for a house in the village.

Archaeological field survey

A team of archaeologists and students surveyed the Sóurpi plain in July and the first week of August 2000. During part of this period temperatures were extremely high and several fires occurred in the district of Magnisia. Nevertheless a large area of the plain was surveyed which resulted in the mapping of 55 archaeological sites and younger monuments, ranging from a settlement of the Middle Neolithic period to Turkish border forts of the 19th century. All sites were described and mapped. Drawings were made of those sites where structural elements were visible at the surface.

Unfortunately no detailed 19th-century maps of the area are available to study habitation and landuse during Ottoman rule or earlier periods. For the 2000 survey campaign, maps on a scale of 1:5000 were available and proved to be helpful for drawing charts of the sites. For some areas, copies of reallocation maps were provided by the Dímos Sóurpis. Much attention was paid to the study of toponyms of the area in order to accurately name each site. In general toponyms from the topographical and geological maps were used, but toponyms from the Volos sheet of the British 1:100,000 map (1944) were also helpful. Additional information was provided by Mr Nikos Peristeras, a teacher who had his class conduct a survey of the toponyms of the area. We are indebted to him in particular for providing locally known toponyms as Yéorgou Trípa, Dimaréllou Yefiri and Toúvla.

The aim of the project is to study the occupation history of the territory of the Hellenistic city of New Halos in the periods preceding and following city life in the first half of the 3rd century BC. The survey is conducted as a cooperation between Groningen University and the

13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. A consequential goal is to map all the sites from all the periods in the area. Although it is almost impossible to cover the whole area by fieldwalking, we were successful in the area west of the city of Almirós between Anthótopos and Efxinoúpolis. The company LARKO tried to obtain permission to excavate an area of 50 km² for lignite; the presentation of a map of the area with about 50 archaeological sites, among which the well known Magoúla Zerélia, was instrumental in preventing this. So far three prehistoric sites, discovered in the 1990's, are now protected under the Monument Act.

For the coming years we will focus our research not only on the distribution of sites in the Soúrpi plain during the Classical-Hellenistic period, when the two cities of Halos and New Halos existed, but also on the prehistoric periods, in particular concerning the questions about the beginnings of agriculture in the Neolithic and the distribution of sites in the Middle Neolithic. Another theme is the explanation of the presence and the nature of the relatively large number of Middle Bronze Age sites in the Soúrpi plain. For the period after the abandonment of New Halos around 265 BC, attention will be paid to the question whether the many Late Roman/Early Byzantine sites in the Almirós-Soúrpi area are related to the city of Thebai in the northern part of the Almirós plain. The same holds for the relation between the different kinds of settlements and sites in the Soúrpi plain and the medieval city of Almiros during the Middle Byzantine period.

In the Voulokalíva area all plots of land were covered by fieldwalking in 1990. It was one of the few areas in the Almirós plain where pottery sherds were relatively abundant on all plots, presumably because this land was in use by the farmers of the village of Plátanos for a long period. The number of artefacts on the fields of the other areas of the Almirós and Soúrpi plains, however, was small. In the foothills of Mount Óthris in the western part of the Soúrpi plain fieldwalking was restricted to the finger-ridges; the small valleys in between were not surveyed. We did not expect to find sites on the colluvial fans and pleistocene sediments in the eastern part of the plain, where we covered a large area of waste land, mostly used as pasture land by pastoralists. To our surprise, however, a number of Mid-Byzantine sites occurred in this area. The same attention was given to the area with river sediments in the central part of the plain, but apart from a Turkish border fort no sites were found. Unfortunately we do not know how thick these sediments are nor when they were deposited: perhaps from 1000 BC on, like the coastal sediments in the Almirós Plain? Soil samples were taken by Stamatis Floras and Ioannis Sgouras near five of the sites and in the area of the river. Information about the sites, visibility, directions of fieldwalking, soil characteristics and other remarks were recorded on the 1:5000 maps.

Apart from prehistoric dwelling mounds and the remains of the two large Classical-Hellenistic cities, forts, monasteries and churches, most sites consisted of a simple scattering of artefacts. Due to the absence of other material on the fields, these scatterings were easy to determine. Only a random sample was collected from most sites for artefact study. Exceptions to this were two large prehistoric sites in the Soúrpi plain, Magoúla Pavlína, where artefacts were collected from squares of 50 x 50 m and the Mid-Neolithic Kamára site where a random sample was collected from each plot of land. All the periods mentioned in this article are just global indications, based on a quick scan of the collected artefacts. Although we believe that many sites represent only one relatively short period, experience shows that occasionally more periods are discovered in the sample after detailed investigation of the artefacts. However, sites

which were inhabited over a longer period, like Magoula Zerélia in the Almirós plain, or in different periods, like the one in the Voulokalíva area, are still exceptional.

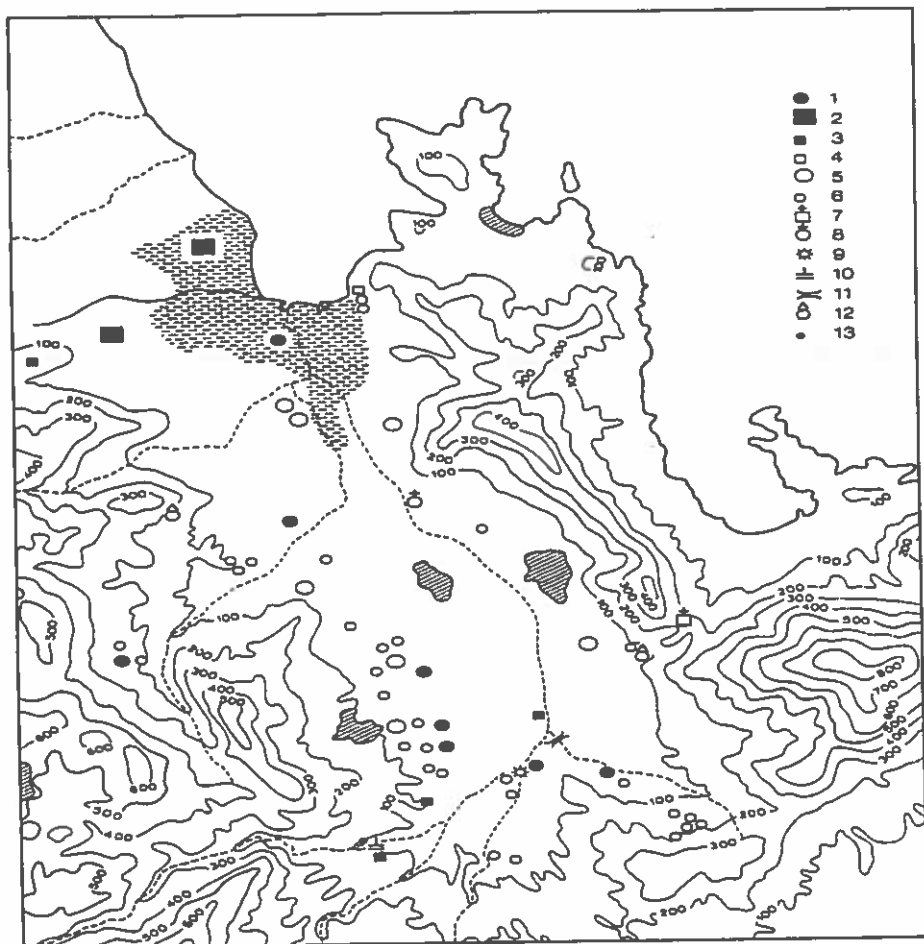


Figure 1. Map of the Sourpi plain showing the archaeological sites mentioned in the text. Nature of the sites: 1) Prehistoric settlement, 2) City, 3) Fort, 4) Watch house, 5) Large rural site, 6) Small rural site, 7) Monastery, 8) Chapel, 9) Water mill, 10) Olive press, 11) Bridge, 12) Petromándri, 13) Uncertain.

Results

Prehistoric sites. Along the Athens-Thessaloníki national road, a small part of a Neolithic site was excavated by archaeologists of the 13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Vólos in an area with the toponym Kamára. During the survey it became clear that the site extended over a large area of at least 400 x 250 m. The excavation provided a great amount of pottery sherds with a red on white decoration dating to the Middle Neolithic. Visibility

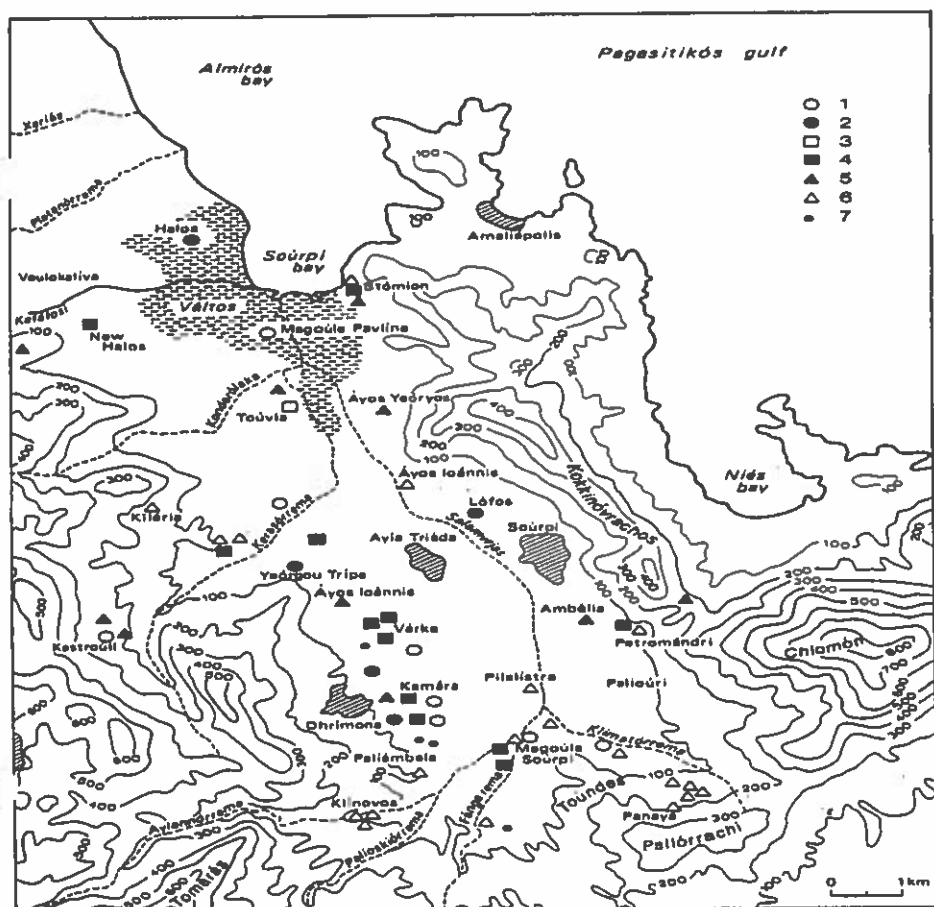


Figure 2. Map of the Soûrpi plain showing the archaeological sites mentioned in the text. Period of occupation: 1) Prehistoric period, 2) Classical/Hellenistic period, 3) Hellenistic/Early Roman period, 4) Late Roman/Early Byzantine period, 5) Middle Byzantine period, 6) Post Medieval period, 7) Uncertain.

depended on the use of the different plots of land on which this site was situated. On a recently ploughed plot of land with young olive trees, at the southwestern corner of the site, a great number of artefacts were collected: ceramics, grinding stones, stone tools, obsidian implements, bones and mollusc shells.

In the area of Almirós we surveyed four Neolithic sites: the Early Neolithic site of Karatsádhagli (Reinders et al., 1997), and the Middle Neolithic sites Magoúla Zerélia, Magoúla Ambélia Almírou, near the river Xerias, and Magoúla Almírou, situated northeast of the city of Almirós. Compared to the three Middle Neolithic 'raised settlements' in the Almirós plain, the large 'non-raised' Kamára settlement is a remarkable phenomenon. Besides the Middle Neolithic Kamára site, Greek archaeologists excavated two other sites from the Neolithic period along the route of the national road.

In the northern part of the Almirós plain the huge Aïdhiniotikí Magoúla is an impressive monument of the Bronze Age. Except for an Early Bronze Age settlement in the Voulokalíva

area, Bronze Age sites are relatively scarce in the Almirós plain. In the Sóurpi plain, however, no less than three Bronze Age sites are known: Magoúla Pavlína, situated in the back swamp in the northern part of Sóurpi plain, Magoúla Sóurpi and a settlement on Kastroúli hill.

Magoúla Pavlína is a site on a low elevation in a back swamp (Váltos) to the south of Sóurpi bay. It was discovered during a coring campaign in 1978, conducted by Paulien de Roever. At that time only very few sherds lay at the surface. The plot of land was cultivated in the early 1990s and a great number of sherds, bone fragments, spindle whorls, lithics and mollusc shells were collected in 1996. Among the pottery was grey Minyan ware, matt-painted ware, coarse ware, use ware and fine ware. With the exception of a few Byzantine sherds, all the ceramic finds date to the Middle Bronze Age.

Magoúla Sóurpi, already known to Wace and Thompson (1912), is situated in the southern part of the Sóurpi plain on a promontory of Toúndes hill. Close to the north of the *magoúla* is the riverbed of the Ayiannórrema. Until the construction of the national road in the 1970s Magoúla Sóurpi was a landmark in an unspoiled landscape. The construction work on the national road and the construction of a petrol station and refreshment facilities will further affect the surroundings. The visibility at this site is poor, but along the eastern slope of the site we observed a few trenches, opened by looters. A selection of artefacts from the dump near these trenches was collected for further research.

The Bronze Age site on Kastroúli hill was discovered during the construction of an access route to the new nunnery Moní Theotókou Xenías. This site is also situated on a promontory and a spring is situated nearby, close to the road to the old nunnery, now partly ruined after the 1980 earthquake. Excavations by Greek archaeologists on Kastroúli hill revealed occupation during the Middle and Late Bronze Age (Batziou-Efstathiou, 1997). A sample of artefacts was collected from this site.

An Archaic site was discovered near the exit from the Thessaloníki-Athens national road to the village of Drimóna. Near the junction, part of the site was excavated by Greek archaeologists, but no diagnostic artefacts were found. During the survey a selection of artefacts was collected from an area of 250 x 150 m in a cotton field. Only a few sherds turned out to be diagnostic for the Archaic period, but at the opposite side of the national road, graves were excavated which dated to the Archaic period. In the Sóurpi plain no other sites from the Archaic period are known. A number of Archaic sherds, possibly from a grave, were found during the 1990 survey campaign in the Voúlokalíva area (Reinders et al., in prep.).

Classical-Hellenistic and Late-Roman sites. On the finger-ridges in the neighbourhood of the village of Drimóna some sites from the Classical-Hellenistic period were mapped during the survey, one of which was a large site in an area with the toponym Yeórgou Trípa, with numerous artefacts including pottery sherds, loomweights, rooftiles etc. Another site from this period is situated at the other side of the plain, just north of the village of Sóurpi on the southern slope of Lófos hill. Very few diagnostic artefacts were collected at the surface.

In Classical-Hellenistic times the cities of Halos and New Halos were the central places in the southern part of the Almirós plain (Reinders, 1988). A number of sites from this period are situated in the Almirós as well as the Sóurpi plain. Obviously these sites, or rather artefact scatterings, were small settlements or farmsteads. Watchtowers and small forts from this period such as those which were found in the Almirós plain are absent in the Sóurpi plain.

Until now clear evidence for Hellenistic/Early Roman sites in the Almirós plain was absent, with the exception of a site in the Toúvla area, already found during the 1996 survey. When

we revisited the site in 2000 we found an abundance of artefacts on a recently ploughed plot of land: pottery sherds, terra sigillata, a coin, loom weights, glass and tiles. A selection of these artefacts was collected. At two places limestone blocks were piled up, obviously material from the walls of a building (villa?).

In the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period the city of Thebai, the present-day village of Néa Anchíalos, was the central place in the Almirós-Sóurpi plain. Sites dating from Late Roman/Early Byzantine times were abundant in the Almirós plain, but in general these were only small sites, presumably farmsteads or storage buildings. Artefacts which were found at these sites consist of combed ware, fragments of roof tiles, sherds of storage ware and fragments of grinding stones. In the Sóurpi plain a large site, at least 500 x 500 m, was mapped close to a series of graves of the same period which were excavated along the route of the national road. The site was situated in an area with the toponym Thárka. In addition about ten smaller sites were recorded, mainly situated on the finger-ridges in the western part of the plain.

Medieval and Post-medieval sites. In the Middle Byzantine period, during the 12th and 13th centuries AD, the city of Almirós became the central place in the Almirós-Sóurpi area, situated along the shore, east of present-day Almirós. It was the second harbour of the Byzantine Empire. Previous surveys in the Sóurpi area resulted in a number of sites of the Middle Byzantine period: a fort on a hill west of the city of New Halos, a small storage building near Stómion, a small village with a chapel near an *ikonostasis* dedicated to Áyios Yeóryos, and a large rural site in the Toúvla area.

Another monument from this period is the monastery of Ayía Triáda, situated on the saddle between Kokkinóvrachos and Clómon, where the remains of the *katholikón* are preserved. In 2000 seven new sites of the Middle Byzantine period were mapped in the Sóurpi plain and a selection of artefacts was collected, among which a great number of sherds of nicely decorated glazed ware, combed ware storage ware, grinding stones and tiles. Two of these sites were situated close to Sóurpi and Drimóna. Presumably these sites may be considered as the predecessors of the present-day villages. Two other sites were found near an *ikonostasis* dedicated to Áyios Ioánnis, 2 km north of Drimóna, and in a quarry close to the new nunnery Theotókou Xenías. In particular the latter site was rich in diversity of shapes and wares.

At the southeast end of Sóurpi plain, in an area just west of Klíma, a series of sites was discovered which were situated on a number of ridges descending from Psilórrachi hill. Obviously these sites belong together. On one of the ridges sherds were found which dated to the Middle or Late Byzantine period. Structural remains were recorded in a small valley called Panayía, and on a nearby ridge the remains of a chapel, an oven and a building from Post-medieval times were mapped. The site is called Old Sóurpi by the locals.

Although the small city of Almirós counted no less than five mosques in 1881, the year of liberation from the Ottoman domination, almost all Ottoman structures were razed to the ground. The last Turkish towerhouse was damaged by the earthquake of 1980 and was not restored. In the Sóurpi plain however the remains of a number of buildings survived. Two Turkish border forts were described and measured. These forts are situated along the border river in areas called Pilalístra and Paliámbela. At the opposite side of the river two Greek forts are known, one in the village of Sóurpi and another in the area called Klínovos; the latter was measured. During the survey attention was also given to other postmedieval sites and structures: a watermill, a bridge, an olive factory and an abandoned farmstead.

We intend to continue the survey in 2002 in the same area by checking the data about the sites and the artefacts. Fieldwalking in the remaining part of the Sóurpi plain and a geomorphological survey will also be a part of the programme.

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THE TANAGRA SURVEY REPORT ON THE 2000 SEASON

*John L. Bintliff, Emeri Farinetti, Kostas Sbonias,
Lefteris Sigalos & Bozidar Slapšak*

Part 1: Introduction and general preliminary report (John Bintliff, Director, Kostas Sbonias, Assistant Director)

In the month of July 2000 we directed the first stage of a complete surface survey of the ancient city of TANAGRA in Eastern Boeotia. This was a joint project, with John Bintliff (Leiden University) as Director, Kostas Sbonias (Greek Open University) as Assistant Director, and 15 Dutch archaeology students from Leiden University, but also with Greek research students (A. Vionis, E. Sigalos, Leiden) and specialists (K. Sarri, Centre for Hellenic Studies Athens, prehistoric ceramic specialist). We were based in the Ecclesiastical Research Centre, Evangelistria, through continuing close collaboration with the Bishop of Livadheia, and were very positively assisted throughout the season by the Ephor of Antiquities in Thebes, Dr V. Aravantinos. In late November and early December 2000, a small team of specialists in Geoprospection led by Professor Bozidar Slapšak from the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, carried out a two week mapping of a small part of the city site already investigated in the summer (some 1.4 hectares), deploying a range of geophysical devices to capture information non-invasively about subsurface architectural and sedimentary structures across the intramural area. That Geoprospection mapping was integrated with the archaeological study of the Leiden summer team through the presence of Emeri Farinetti, a Leiden Geographical Information System specialist. A separate report on the provisional results of the Geoprospection team follows below as Part three of this paper.

Our aim in this first season was to build upon the excellent previous topographic research carried out by Professor D. Roller, which had produced detailed analysis of the 4th century

BC city walls and surface traces of major structures and roads within the town.¹ Our method was to make a regular grid across the surface of the site and beyond its walls, counting the total density of surface artefacts (calibrated against artefact visibility on the surface) and collecting a small sample (less than 1%) from each square for dating purposes. In this first season we completed the study of around one-third of the area enclosed by the late-Classical walls (a little less than 12 hectares studied from an intramural area of approximately 30 hectares). Our intention is to identify the proportion of the site in heavy occupation at each phase of the town's history, beginning in prehistory and continuing up to the latest human activity (Medieval). The surface gridding and ceramic collection within the city (and in the extramural transects, see below) was directed by John Bintliff, Kostas Sbonias and Athanassios Vionis, with additional supervision from Oscar Holthausen. As has been already admirably explained by Roller, the city is characterised by quite varied topography: flattish or gently sloping surfaces on the north expanses (which in the north-west may have been the location of gymnasia), a central E-W ridge identified as the acropolis – with public buildings and shrines, and then – across a depression, steep slopes into which the theatre was built, running south up into a rocky ridge (Figure 1). The area subjected to surface ceramic survey in 2000 lay in the eastern third of the intramural zone, and ran from the north to south walls and also up to the eastern wall. It thus ran from the lower slopes of the southern hillside, across the depression up onto the central acropolis ridge, then down steep and then gentle slopes to the north wall (Figure 2).

Alongside the sampling of surface ceramics, we undertook a very intensive mapping of the contours of the city surface, using a Total Station device. All standing wall fragments, stone piles and architectural pieces on the surface were noted. As this work was slower than the ceramic survey, only some 6 hectares was studied in this fashion. This work was carried out by Lefteris Sigalos and Emeri Farinetti with student assistance. The comparison of small changes in the groundsurface elevation, with remains of walls on the surface, should enable us to test further Roller's hypothetical reconstruction of the layout of the main streets, domestic house blocks and public monuments within the walls. A separate detailed report on this work follows in Part two of this paper.

A second area of our activity was extramural (Figure 2). Surface fieldwalking was undertaken in two directions out from the city wall (two strip transects each 1 kilometre long and made up of ten individual 100 m squares), to identify extramural settlement, sanctuary and burial zones. It is clear that the late-Classical walls need not have been the limits of urban activity, and at certain phases of the town's history the spread of settlement may have significantly extended beyond them. Our previous research experience has also shown for other cities in Boeotia, that after Late Antiquity, although the successor settlement of Byzantine times may lie on or very close to an ancient town, it may only occupy a small part of it or even lie outside and in its vicinity.²

In both the extramural and intramural studies of July 2000 important research results were obtained. Prehistoric ceramics (analysed by Kalliope Sarri) from Neolithic to Late Bronze Age 1 were ubiquitous across the intramural area so far studied, and suggest both a core village in these periods and evidence for a zone of shifting prehistoric farms which extends well into the

¹ Summarised in D. Roller 1987, Tanagra Survey Project 1985, The Site of Grimadha, *BSA* 82, 213-32.

² cf. J.L. Bintliff and A.M. Snodgrass 1988, Mediterranean survey and the city, *Antiquity* 62, 57-71

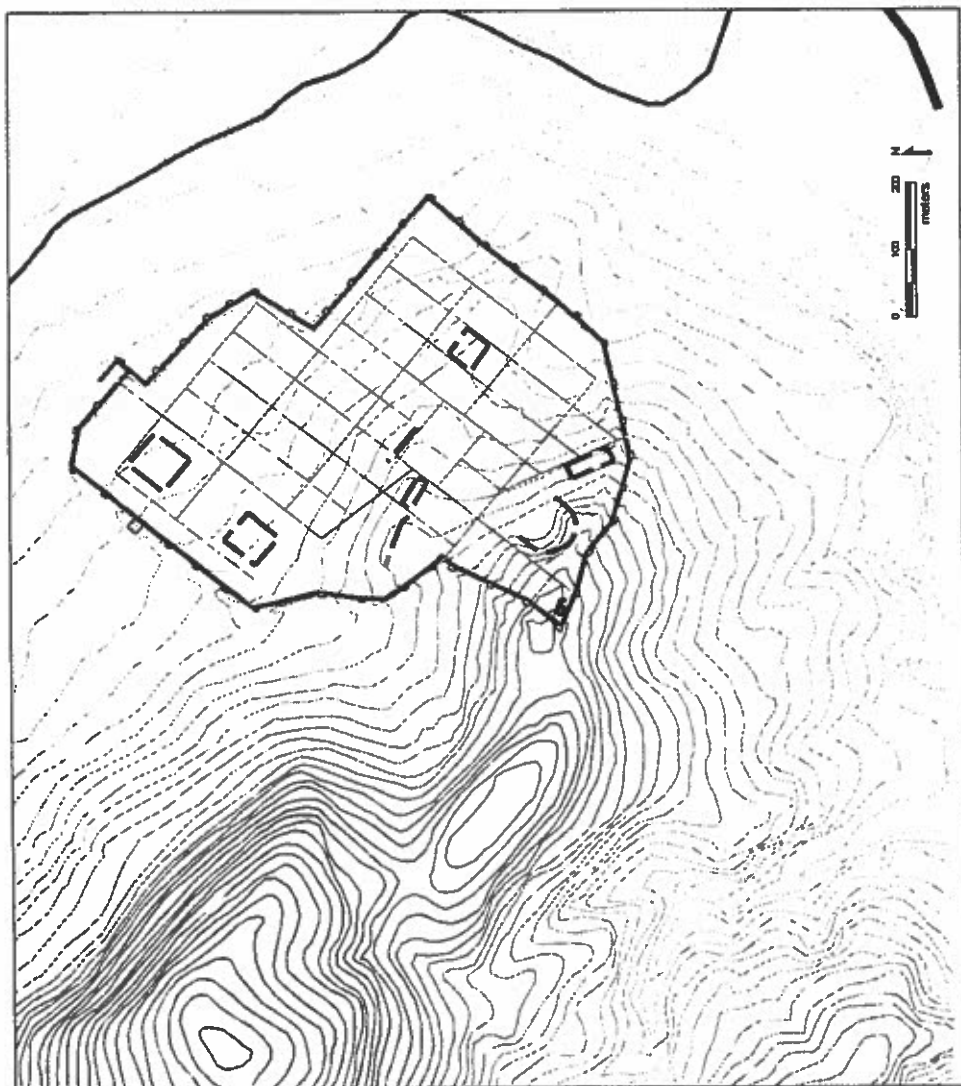


Figure 1. The ancient city of Tanagra and its topographical situation

countryside beyond the ancient walls.³ Near absence of later Mycenaean pottery suggests that ancient Tanagra was not a significant focus in mature Mycenaean times, so that the Homeric references ("Graia") and rich major Mycenaean cemeteries nearby ought to be associated with

³ For the latter concept see now: J.L. Bintliff, P. Howard and A.M. Snodgrass, 1999, The hidden landscape of prehistoric Greece, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 12.2, 139-68.

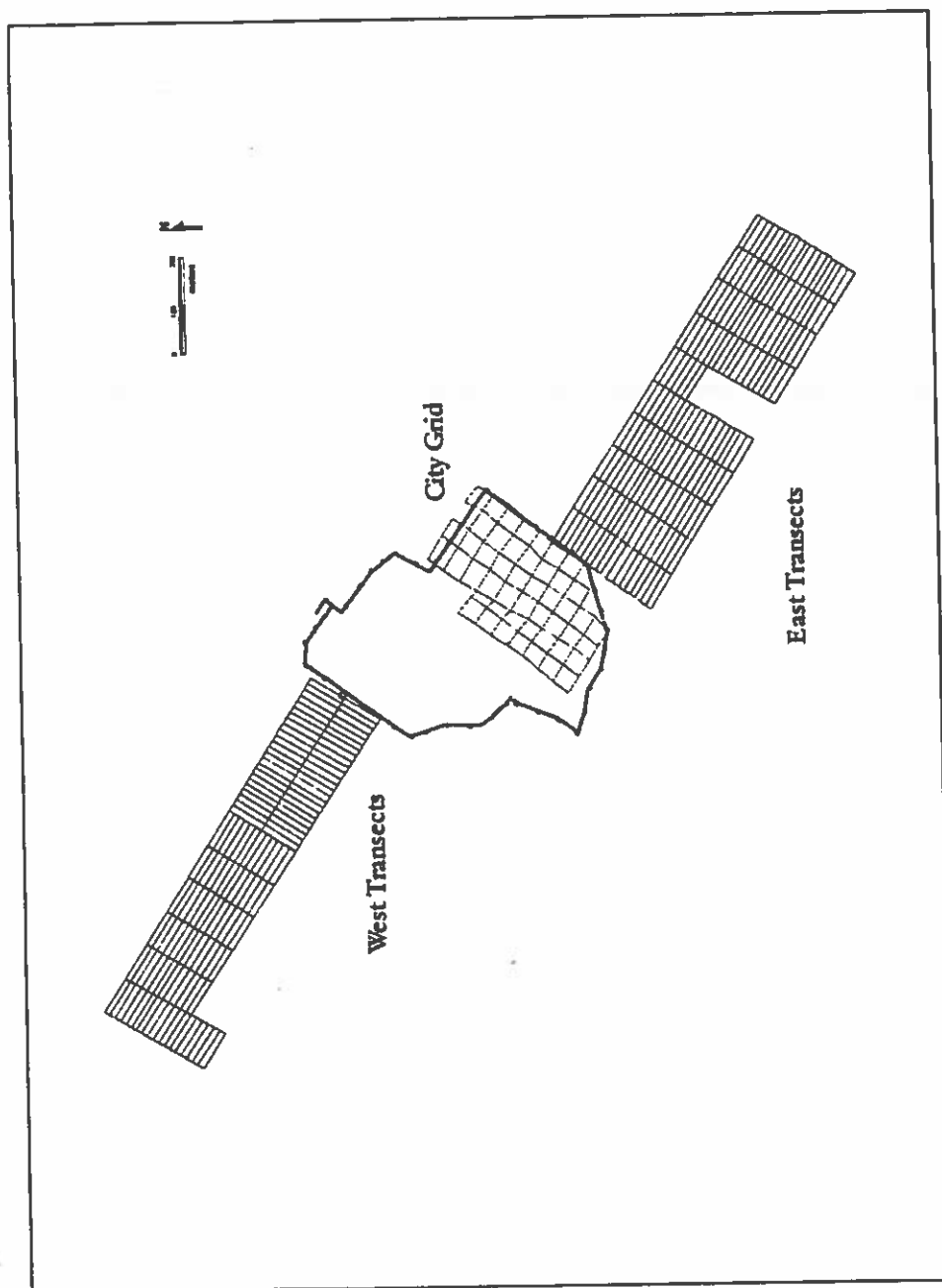


Figure 2. *The intramural and extramural surveyed area*

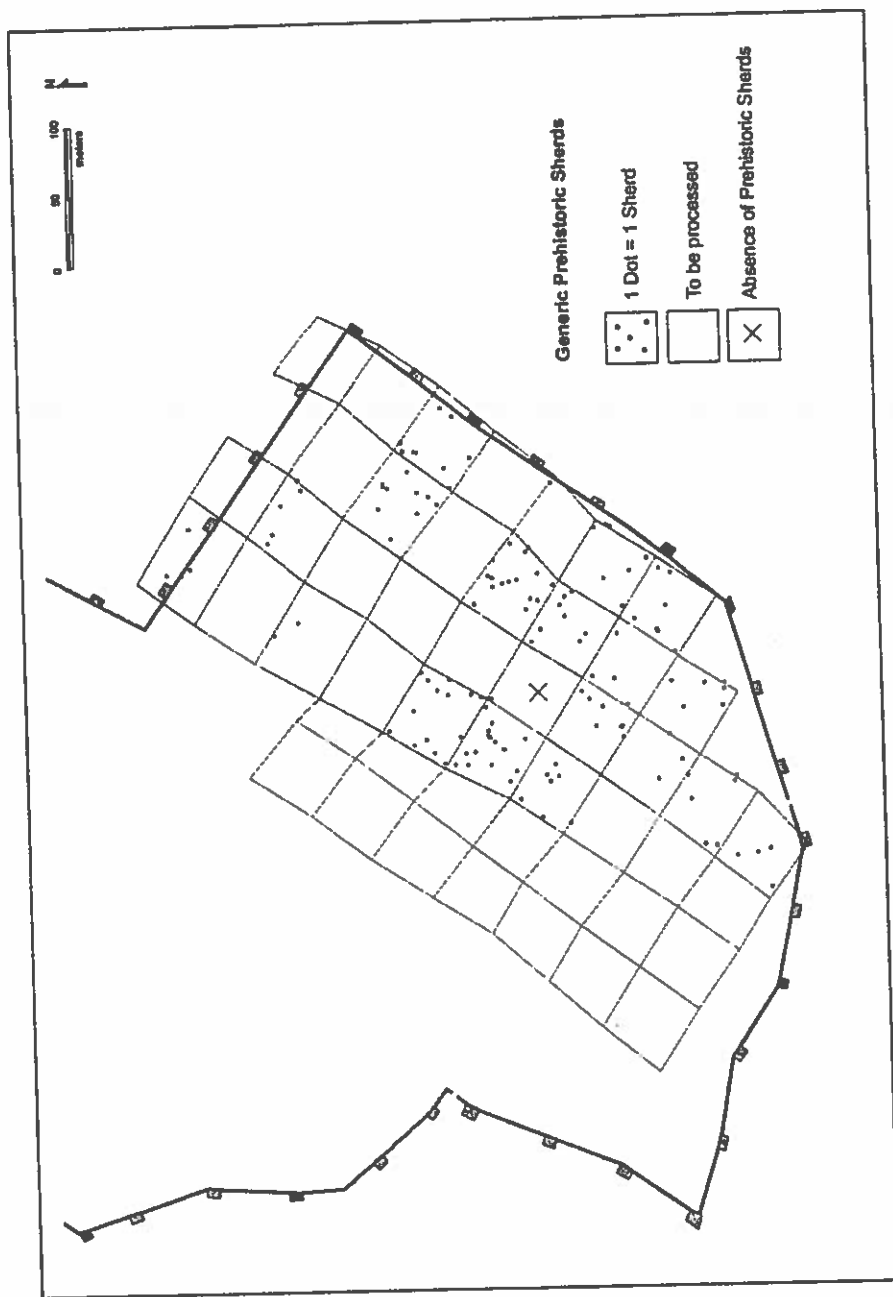


Figure 3. Distribution of generic Prehistoric sherds

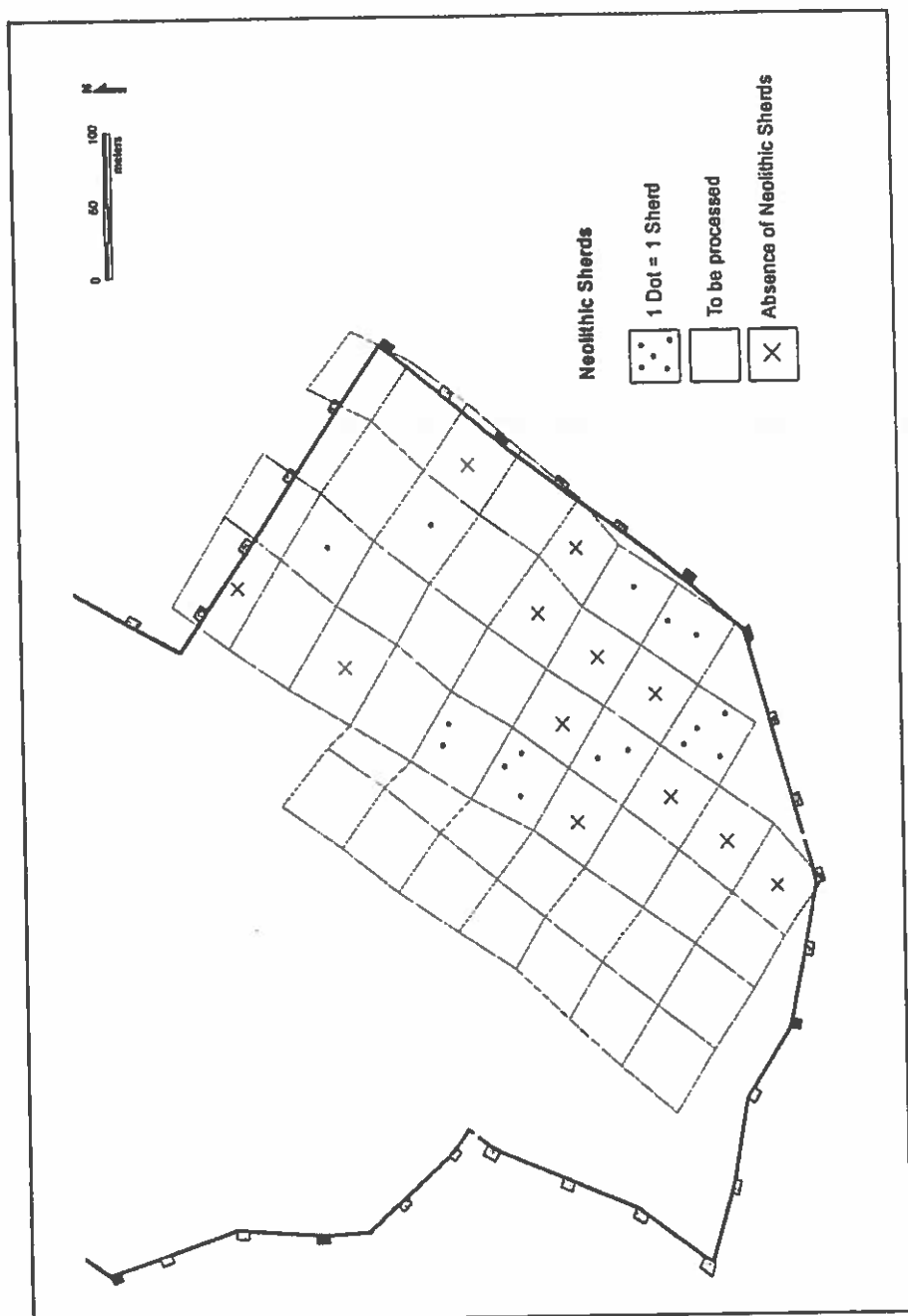


Figure 4. Distribution of Neolithic sherds

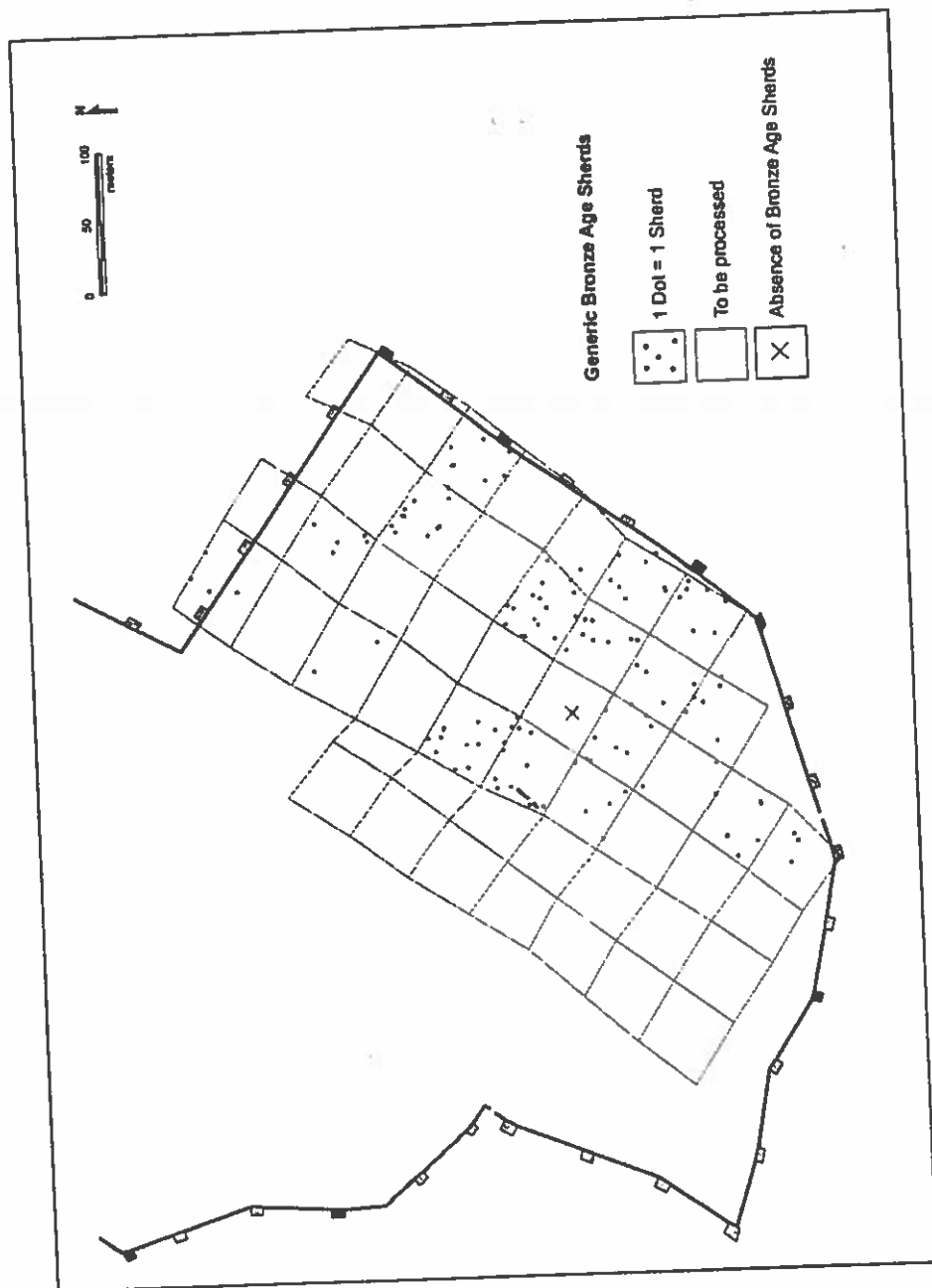


Figure 5. Distribution of generic Bronze Age sherds

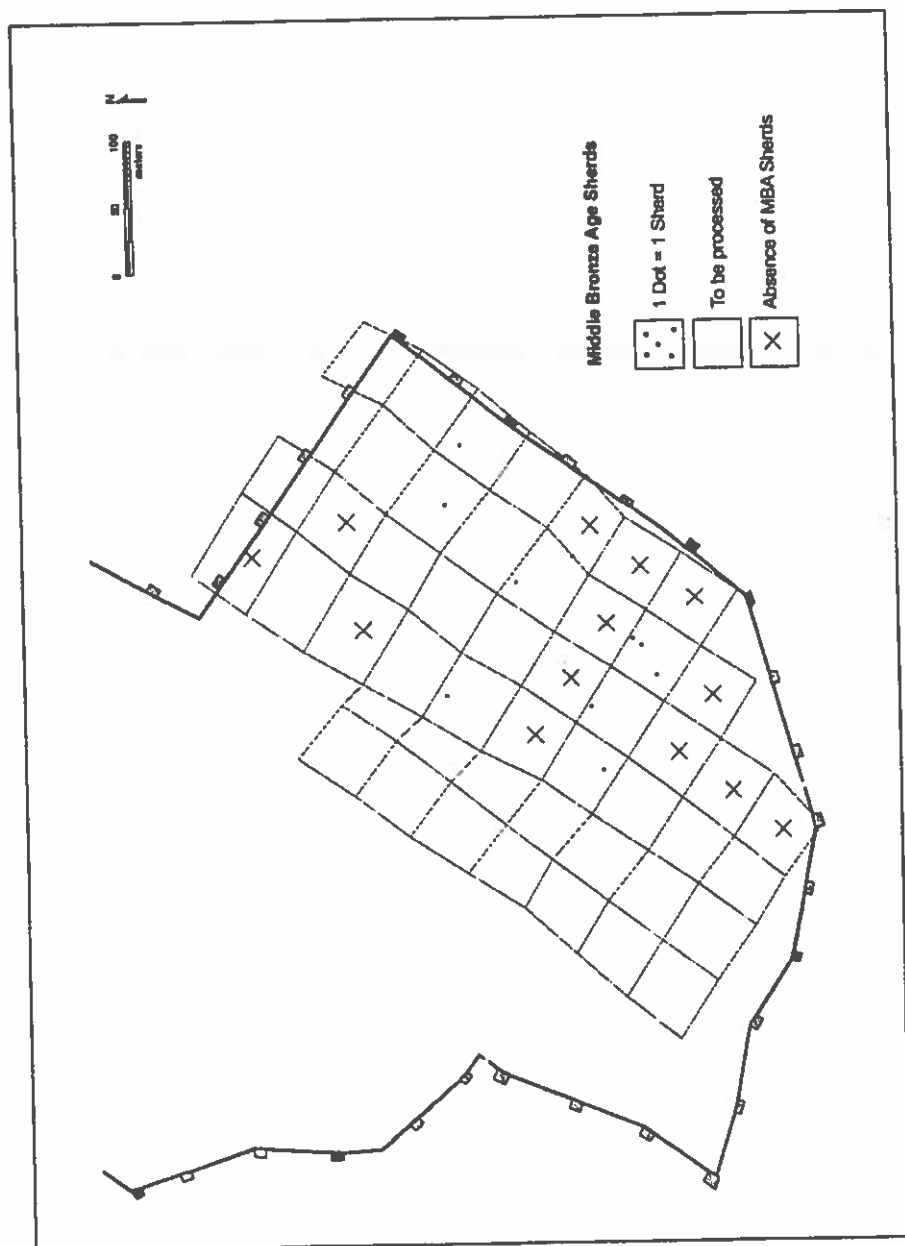


Figure 6. Distribution of Middle Bronze Age sherds

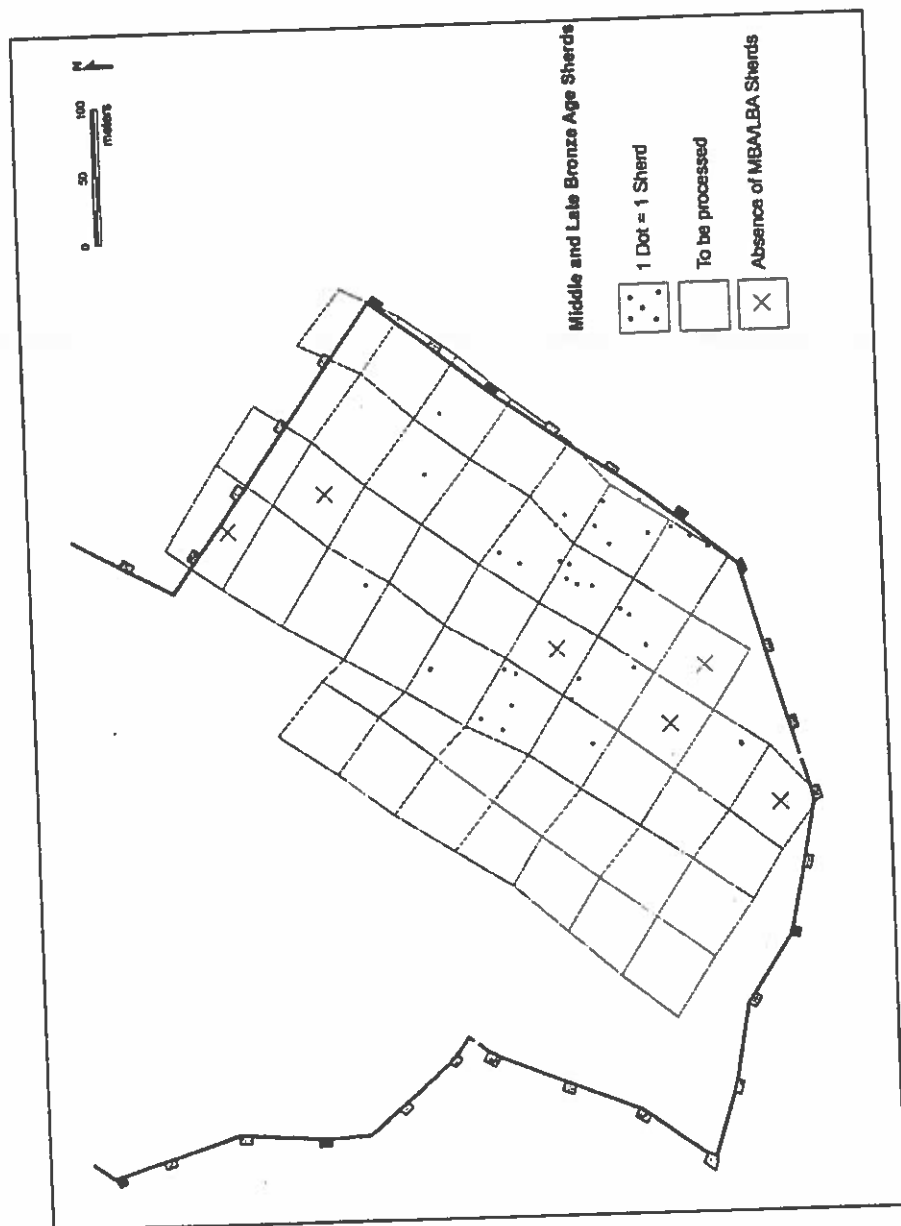


Figure 7. Distribution of Middle and Late Bronze Age sherds

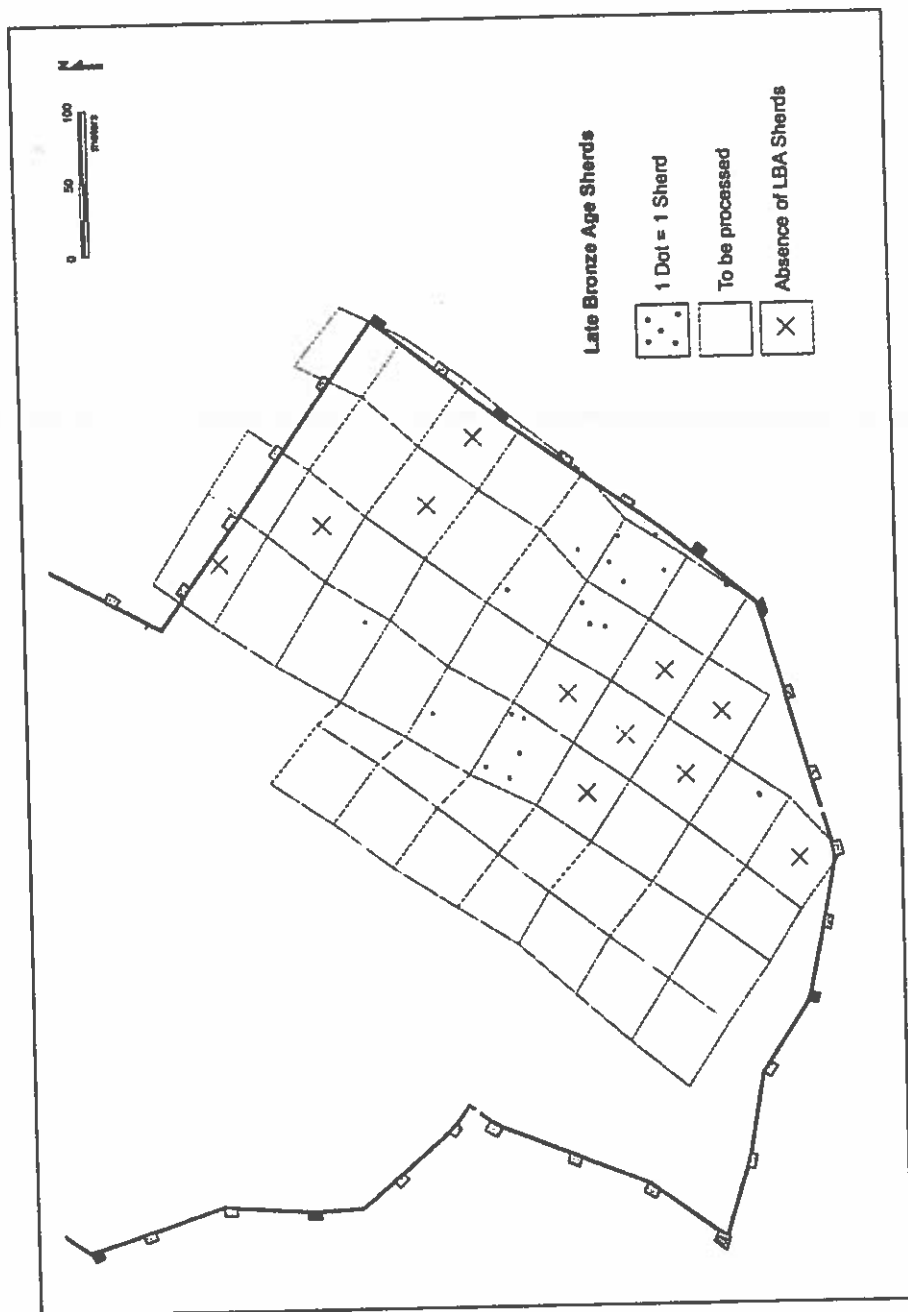


Figure 8. Distribution of Late Bronze Age sherds

another major site. In detail the spread of Neolithic and generic 'Bronze Age' or generic 'Prehistoric' finds shows the widest distribution, with only one grid unit where the finds so far analysed lack material at least one of these categories (Figures 3, 4, 5). This is generally coarseware and probably is dominated by finds of the era Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age. The subsequent Middle and Late Bronze Age finds show a narrower spread, especially for Late Helladic (Figures 6, 7, 8). Since the existence of dense house and street remains of Greco-Roman times limit the possibilities for sherd movement on the surface at Tanagra, only small parts of our prehistoric spread are likely to be due to erosion; specifically we may note the focus of all finds on the central block of surveyed squares on the steep slopes of the acropolis E-W ridge, which we suggest marks a settlement site with current localised downslope erosion. But the wider spread of prehistoric finds to the N and S, also upslope in the S, must emanate from local contexts. We consider it most likely that the majority of all our prehistoric finds are derived from secondary (if not tertiary or more!) redeposition contexts related to the Greco-Roman sediments of occupation, but reflecting disturbed prehistoric levels below those eras of settlement. Numerically the prehistoric finds are slight compared to the vastly commoner historic sherds, and are the result of deliberate emphasis in collection on small, badly preserved sherds likely to be prehistoric, and avoidance of the temptation merely to collect the large and fine potsherds of later times.

The Greek ceramic eras were studied by Vladimir Stissi (University of Amsterdam). Early Iron Age activity is very poorly represented, so that the Classical town seems to grow very rapidly from later Archaic times into dense activity not just within the walled area but also in extramural settlement extending some notable distance away from the walls. In Early Roman times provisional results may suggest some contraction of the settled zone, however in Late Roman times once more the entire sector studied yielded plentiful finds, suggesting major renewal of the town's importance. Medieval finds were studied by Joanita Vroom (Leiden). Byzantine finds were very low within the city walls but increased in the extramural zone towards a major Middle Byzantine church. A medium-sized village surrounding the latter church seems to have replaced the Greco-Roman city by the 10th century AD as the local habitation centre, within less than 1 kilometre of the ancient urban walls.

The extramural surface survey, as noted, allowed us to show that the prehistoric farms were equally outside as inside the ancient walls of Tanagra and represent a dispersed settlement of the whole district, although a genuine village of Bronze Age date is provisionally suggested on and around the acropolis of Tanagra. In Classical Greek and Roman to Late Roman times domestic activities could be shown extending several hundreds of metres out from the walls. In this area we also identified several Classical Greek cemeteries of the family type. This discovery casts doubt about the standard view that the ancient Tanagra cemeteries were essentially located on major routes out from the city gates - it seems more likely that the smaller burial clusters, at least, mark rural estates. Further out on the border of the Western extramural transect was found a large suburban Roman villa, with architectural fragments, further evidence of the prosperity cited by Pausanias (IX.19.8) and other Roman-era sources.

Preliminary comments can be made on the density characteristics of the surface finds from the city and the two extramural transects (Figures 9, 10, 11), particularly in comparison with similar measurements which our previous work in Boeotia has provided, from other urban and rural contexts.⁴ The intramural city of Tanagra is now a protected monument and is no longer

⁴ cf. J.L. Bintliff and A.M. Snodgrass, 1988, Off-site pottery distributions: A regional and interregional perspective, *Current Anthropology* 29, 506-13; J.L. Bintliff, 1992, The Boeotia Project 1991: survey at

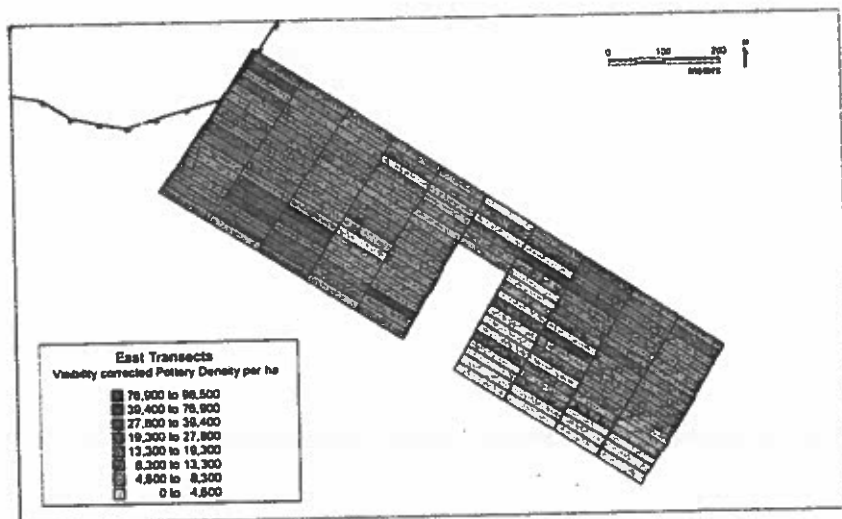


Figure 9. Density of surface finds from the Eastern extramural transects visibility-corrected per ha

cultivated; a herd of sheep keeps vegetation low but not minimal. These circumstances mean that the surface disturbance of archaeological layers is minor compared to that we have experienced on other Boeotian ancient cities hitherto surveyed (Askra, Haliartos, Thespieae and Hyettos). Correction for surface visibility due to vegetation cover can assist allowing for biases introduced by lack of cultivation, but the soil surface ceramic density will be unavoidably diminished where human and natural disturbance is limited. At Hyettos, for example, a city close in size to Tanagra (20 hectares), maximal densities in a cultivated area at the core of the Lower Town rose to around 250,000 sherds per hectare on the surface, whilst those from the area so far covered at Tanagra reach 100,000. The difference should reflect far greater annual surface disturbance at Hyettos. As for the extramural transects, it is striking that in both west and east transect lines, surface densities for several hundred metres out from the city walls are very high. Here we must allow for the existence of cultivation in these zones, so that a direct comparison with the intramural densities is not possible. Given the multiplier of some 2.5 we noted between Tanagra and Hyettos for intramural densities without and with cultivation, it would seem likely that the high values immediately outside the walls show figures comparable to the lower levels inside the walls. These areas may well represent extramural suburban dwellings, industrial activity, heavily manured garden zones and cemeteries. Beyond these urban halo effects densities drop further out, but still remain significant everywhere. Our recent study of the density of surface finds in an area of over 5 square kilometers in the hinterland of the ancient city of Thespieae in Boeotia (Bintliff and Howard 1999) found an average of 2-3000 sherds per hectare, mostly the result of intensive Classical manuring out of

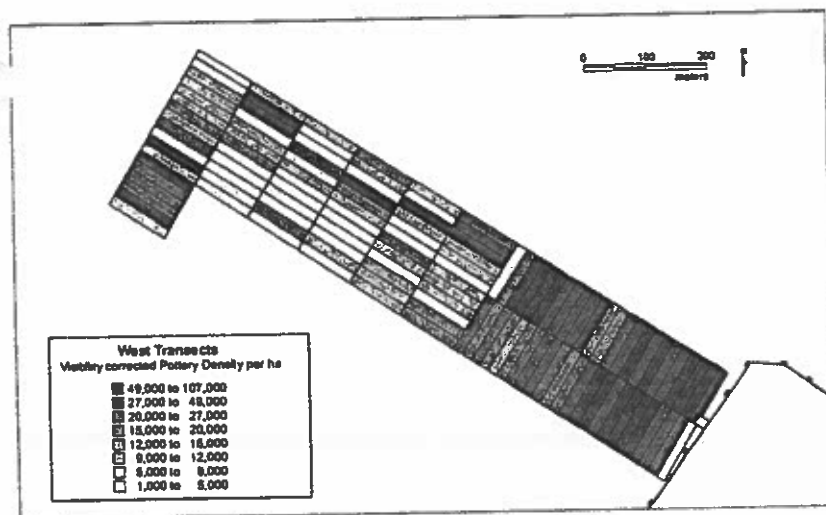


Figure 10. *Density of surface finds from the Western extramural transects visibility-corrected per ha* Thespieae city for a radius of 2-3 kilometres. The density and condition of the finds in these Tanagra transects, beyond the immediate impact zone or halo of several hundred metres, is comparable, if we except several locations which we have identified as classical cemeteries or settlement locations.

Part 2: The detailed topographical survey of the city (Emeri Farinetti, Lefteris Sigalos)

Within the context of the surface survey, we conducted a detailed topographical survey aiming at the precise location and mapping of the architectural features still observable on the surface, the ceramic and lithic assemblages collected, as well as the results of the geophysical prospection, discussed below. Our ultimate target though was to attempt to reconstruct the topography of the city and its functional areas through combining the multivariate material and topographical information by means of Geographical Information Systems, producing data not readily available in the field. For this purpose, the units used by the ceramic survey teams provided the basis of our investigation. Within each of the units (ca. 50 by 50 metres) we took detailed measurements, by means of a Total Station, at regular four metre intervals. Special attention was paid to topographical features such as terraces and depressions that could easily be missed by the grid of points.⁵ The architectural features we recorded (fig. 12) represent

⁵ This method was a development of the one first introduced to the preceding Boeotia project by Mark Gillings, who very successfully managed to capture invaluable information about the residential area of the Frankish and Early Ottoman site VM4 or Palaio-Panagia, in the vicinity of ancient Askra, in the Valley of the Muses (M. Gillings 2000, *The Utility of the GIS Approach in the Collection Management, Storage and*

more or less what Roller surveyed some years ago (Roller 1987). We distinguished the features (stone blocks) *in situ* in evident connection with each other and belonging to walls (walls *in situ*), from what we have called *disiecta membra*, the architectural blocks not in their original place or probably *in situ* but not in evident connection with others. All features, regardless of their nature, were located and recorded both manually and electronically. Due to the number of measurements and the variety of architectural data collected, the team only managed to cover a considerably smaller region than that of the ceramic collection, *i.e.* 6 hectares.

It has been argued that Tanagra during the 4th century BC. was provided with a new fortification wall and possibly a regular street plan. Thus, Tanagra being situated at an irregular slope would have required extensive terracing so as to allow a regular street plan to be introduced. Based on these two assumptions the detailed topographical survey would permit the plotting of such terracing to be identified.

The point elevation data collected during the survey have been interpolated in order to build a Digital Elevation Model (DEM) that is a virtual continuous representation of the surface topography (Figure 13). The main macro-features characterising the topography are the ridge (left on the image) that crosses the city along the central axis, from the West to the East, and the hollow (top right) close to the city wall to the East. The micro-features clearly discernible are quite wide terraces in the area to the South of the ridge, going up towards the West, and narrower and steeper terraces going up towards the South, to reach the theatre. These terraces were meant to sustain the roads and the buildings along them. The correlation between terrace features and roads can be clearly seen when the road system of the ancient city as suggested by Roller is overlain (Figure 14). As far as roads running South West-North East we have plenty of clues. On the other hand, as for the avenues, or the streets running perpendicularly to the previous, we have topographical proof in only one case. Here terraces have been built perpendicularly to support a crossroad. Another feature clearly visible (Figure 13) is the steep slope leading to the easternmost edge of the ridge starting a few metres from the city wall (uppermost left of the image).

In the Southern part of the surveyed area, not only the few preserved walls but also the scattered architectural features, represented by points, follow the main direction of terraces and proposed roads. In contrast some of the avenues (perpendicular to the roads) seem to be differently located to the theoretical plan of Roller (Figure 15). They are, at least in this area, running in the same direction as the slope, causing them to be more vulnerable to erosion. On the top of the acropolis ridge, where we have the 'plateau' gently ascending towards the West, the pattern is less clear, but it is easy to connect the position of the features with the presence of larger and public buildings, characterised by structures of variable size and orientation. On the slope to the North we cannot detect any pattern, and the majority of the present blocks can reflect one of the two possible processes. Either they cannot be considered *in situ* and have rolled down from the buildings on the top of the ridge, or these isolated larger could conceivably represent supportive larger blocks for houses, terraces and streets composed of

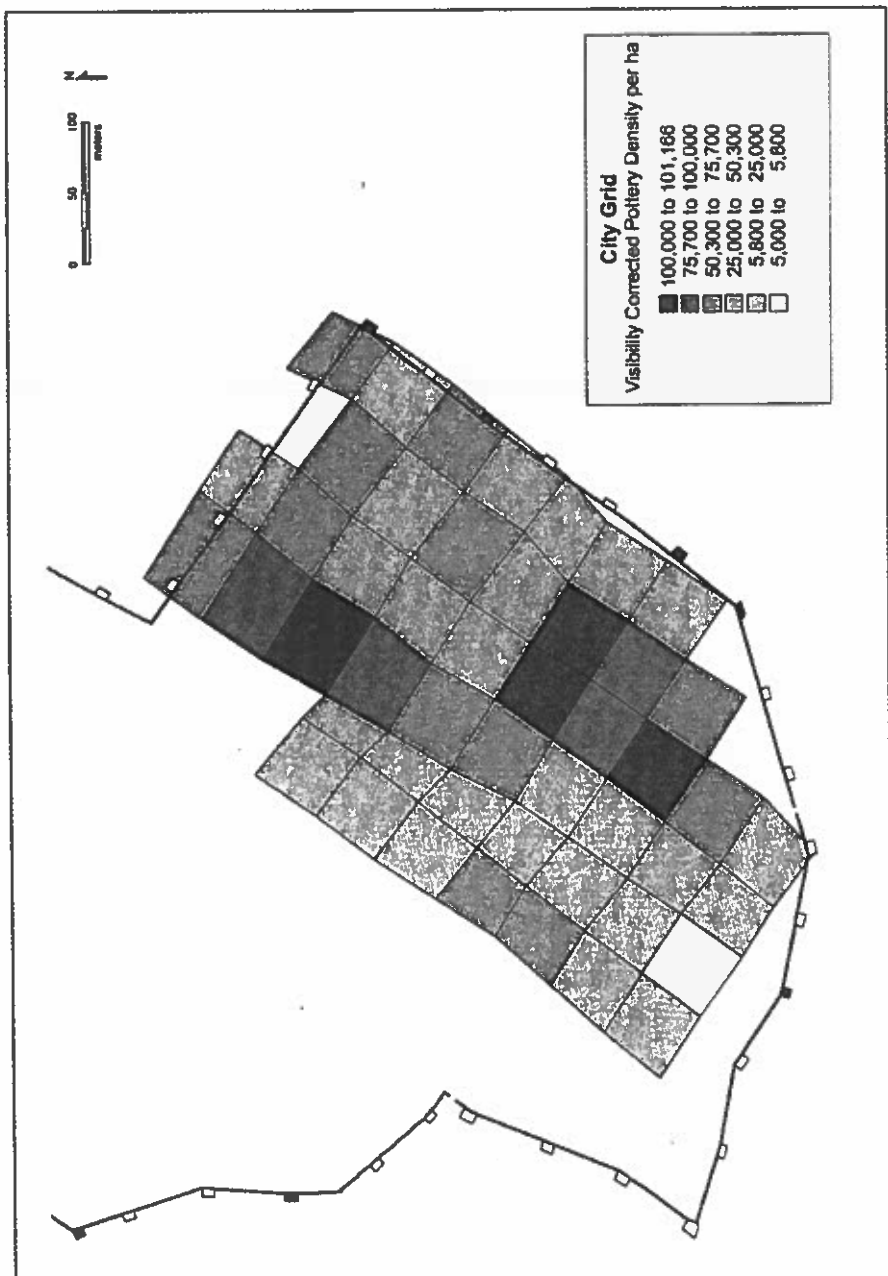


Figure 11. Density of surface finds from the intramural area surveyed visibility-corrected per ha

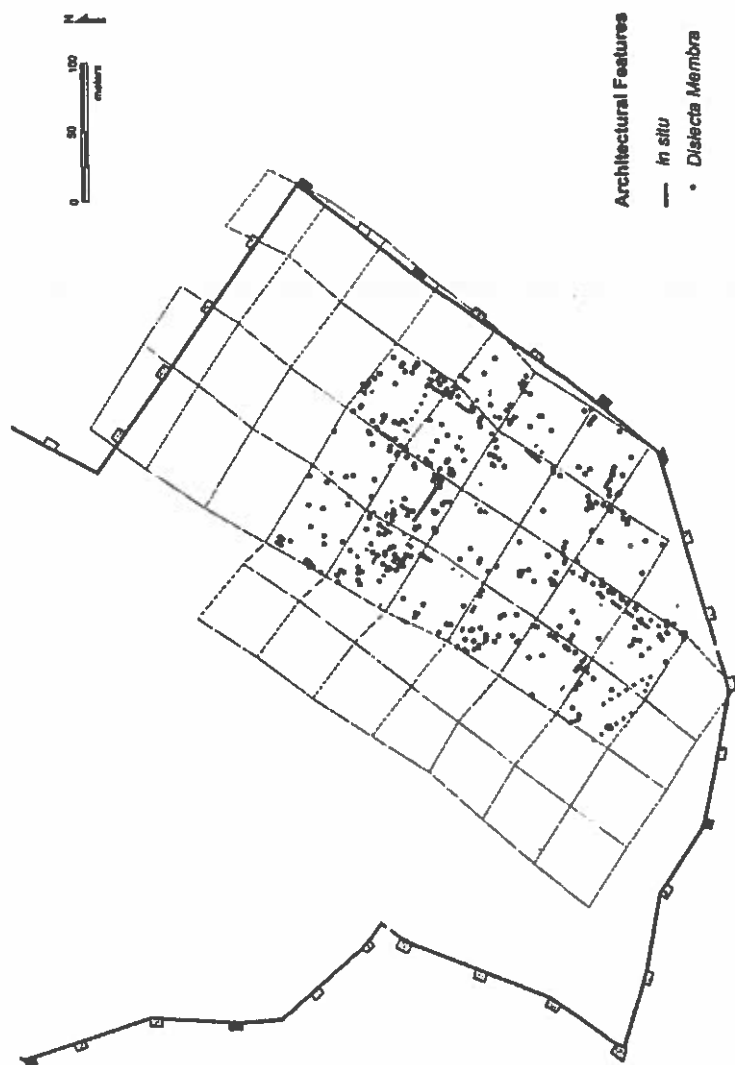


Figure 12. The survey of the architectural features visible on the surface

mudbrick and smaller stones.

As for the architectural features themselves, marked in bold, a series of walls were discovered and recorded that in most cases, especially in the SW corner of the city, seem to have belonged to road terracing or continuous house walls bounding the streets. Some more elaborate structures are evident in the northwestern side of the area covered during the first season. These particular structures are only at the most 20 cm above the ground surface, but their location on the top of a ridge and the nature of the masonry, imply that either a public building or a temple was located on the site. Furthermore, a capital located towards the south of the city may indicate the presence of a temple or a civic building in the vicinity (Roller 1987). At the south and south west side of the surveyed area a section of the fortification wall was measured which in large part was concealed by soil and rubble.

Part 3: The geophysical survey (Branco Mušič and Božidar Slapšak)

The geoarchaeological and geophysical survey by the Ljubljana team was made possible by special funding from the Faculty of Archaeology of the University of Leiden, and was further supported through the Programme of Slovene-Greek Scientific Cooperation (with Athanassios Rizakis of KERA, Athens, as Greek co-director), and linked also to the COST Action G2. Emeri Farinetti was the Leiden University project member of the team in the field. The goal of preliminary geophysical prospection on the site of Ancient Tanagra was to find the combination of geophysical methods best suited for detection of architectural remains there. For this purpose, we chose a test area of 1.44 hectares close behind the walls, in the northeast corner of the ancient city (Figures 16 and 18). In parallel, geological mapping of an area of roughly 3 km² around the site was carried out by Igor Riznar, in collaboration with Niki Evelpidou and Andreas Vassilopoulos of the Remote Sensing Laboratory of the Geology Department at the Polytechnic School, University of Athens. Greek undergraduate geology students were partly involved in this survey. Results will be presented after the 2001 campaign.

For the description of geophysical results in terms of the archaeology of the site, observation 18). Here, we will only report on the results which relate to the immediate goals of these preliminary prospections as stated above. Interpretative results on map Figure 25, however accurate, must be regarded as orientative only, and will be revised after geophysical methods chosen for the site based on the 2000 work are deployed, and archaeological implications fully discussed. Archaeological results pertaining to interpretation of urban structure as proposed by Roller are presented in the concluding paragraphs of this part of the report. units were defined based on Roller' plan of the urban area of ancient Tanagra (Figures 17 and 19).

An array of geophysical methods was tested on sample areas of various extent (Figure 19):

Magnetic methods

- Measurements of vertical gradient of magnetic field, by fluxgate gradiometer *Geoscan FM36*, 14400 m² (Figure 20).
- Measurements of total magnetic field, by caesium magnetometer *Geometrics G-858*, 1600 m² (Figures 21 and 22).
- Measurements of apparent magnetic susceptibility, by *Kappameter KT-5* instrument, on samples of soil and rock.

Geoelectric resistivity method

- Geoelectric mapping, by resistivity meter *Geoscan RM15*, 14400 m² (Figure 23).

Electromagnetic methods

- Conductivity and magnetic susceptibility by *Geonics EM-38*, 6000 m² (Figure 24).
- Georadar GSSI SIR 3, antenna 200 MHz, profiles 1-28.

Magnetometry

Applicability of magnetic methods for detecting subsurface architectural remains was checked by measurements of apparent magnetic susceptibility of soils and of stone rubble from architectural debris on the surface (by *Kappameter KT-5* instrument). The success of magnetic measurements will depend mostly on the contrast in magnetic susceptibility between target objects (architectural remains) and the surrounding soil. The contrast is the more important if we deal with difficult surface conditions such as at our site. With high noise caused by surface morphology and inhomogeneity, we can hope for adequate signal/noise ratio only at high contrast in magnetic susceptibility.

Based on our geological survey, we may assume that most of the architectural remains consist of limestone, displaying values between 0.02 and 0.05×10^{-3} SI, which is near to zero magnetic susceptibility. Limestone is therefore relatively pure, with only small quantities of inclusions of non-carboniferous terrigenous components, which includes ferrous minerals. Susceptibility of the topsoil is much higher, its mean value is 1.23×10^{-3} SI. Given the considerable contrast in magnetic susceptibility between materials assumed to constitute the bulk of the architectural remains, and the topsoil, we came to the conclusion that, under the circumstances, magnetic methods can be expected to be appropriate for the detection of wall structures. That should be even more true for industrial activity areas with ceramic objects, which display susceptibility much higher (8.44×10^{-3} SI) than that of the topsoil. The same should go for burnt clay, with susceptibility values only slightly lower than that of ceramics (7.84×10^{-3} SI). Indirectly, we would be mapping these contrasts in susceptibility with magnetometers, which measure differences in the density of the local magnetic field: these are in turn the effect of differences in magnetic susceptibility of archaeological remains, and the

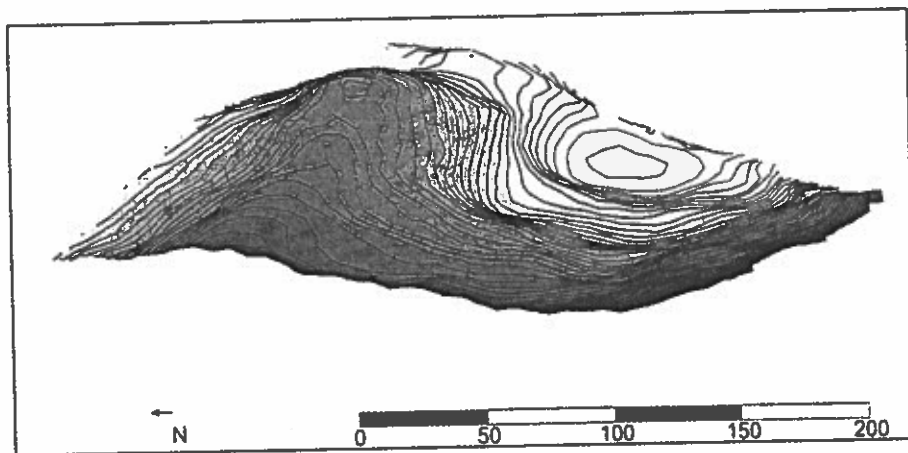


Figure 13. A 3D reconstruction of the area covered by the detailed topographical survey seen from the West

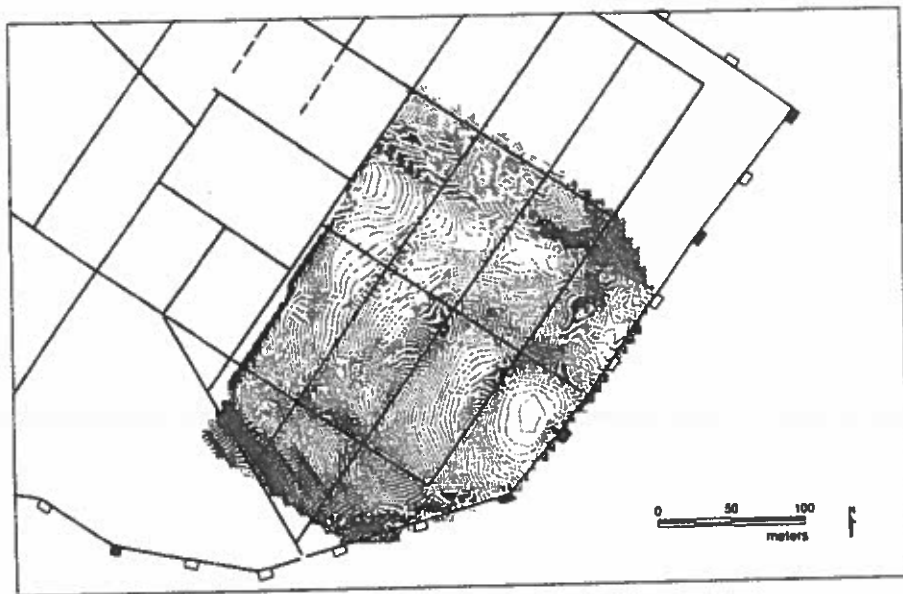


Figure 14. A correlation between topographical features and the road plan suggested by Roller

sediments, or rather varieties of the surrounding soil.

To detect anomalies in the local magnetic field resulting from subsurface architectural remains on the totality of the test area, we used the *FM36 Fluxgate* gradiometer, which measures the vertical gradient of the magnetic field (Figure 20). The distance between transects was 1m, with measurements along transects being taken at 0.5m. Under the circumstances, the main advantage of the instrument is its size, which permits good mobility in difficult working conditions on uneven ground. The whole test surface of 14400 m² was surveyed by that method. Many anomalies of the vertical gradient of the magnetic field were detected, which can be interpreted as the effect of the contrast in induced magnetisation of architectural remains, layers of ruins, and subsoil. Explicit linear magnetic anomalies in northeast-southwest direction coincide with the edges of Roller's city blocks, while in a northwest-southeast direction, such anomalies indicate a somewhat different organisation of urban space. Besides these, a number of stronger magnetic anomalies were detected, indicating areas of thermoremanent magnetisation caused by important concentrations of archaeological remains. They can plausibly be interpreted as industrial activity areas which involved the use of fire / furnaces.

Based on the results of magnetometry by the *Geoscan FM36* instrument, a suitable area was chosen (1600 m²) to carry out measurements of total magnetic field by Cs-magnetometer (*Geometrics G-858*) (Figure 19). For this restricted test area, we had at our disposal, besides data on vertical gradient of magnetic field (*Geoscan FM36*) and resistivity (*Geoscan RM15*), also those on conductivity and magnetic susceptibility (*Geonics EM-38*). Results by Cs-

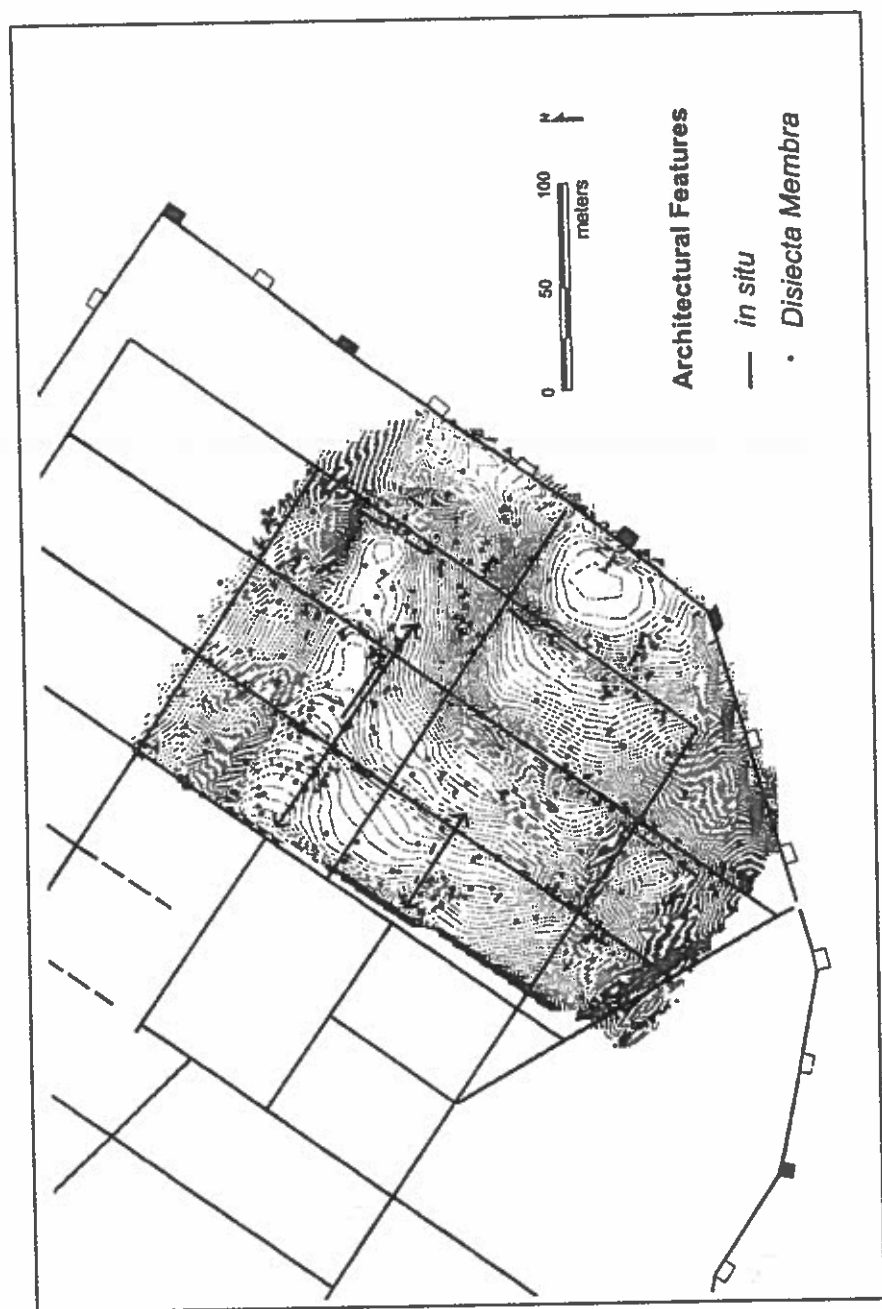


Figure 15. A comparison between the topographical and architectural features resulting from our survey and the city plan suggested by Roller

magnetometer (Figures 21 and 22) are by far the best and clearest. To some degree, that comes also from our taking readings by transects at 0.5m distance, while with all other methods the distance was 1m. Nevertheless, it is our opinion that the signal/noise ratio with this instrument is best suited for detection of subsurface architectural remains. On the level of interpretation, the important advantage of the Cs-magnetometer is the fact that it provides values for total magnetic field for the bottom sensor (nT), top sensor (nT), as well as for the gradient (nT/m), or rather pseudogradient, which is the difference between the upper and lower sensor (Figure 22).

With the mapping of gradient values, we can avoid the effects of the changes in magnetic field through the day, which would affect mapping measurements of total magnetic field. Corrections can be made by additional use of a base magnetometer, which unfortunately we did not have at our disposal. However, the total magnetic field values at both sensors will still be invaluable in the interpretation of the anomalies showing on the gradient magnetograms. The map of the test area (Figure 21) shows results of magnetometry by fluxgate gradiometer (*Geoscan FG36*), and the gradient values by Cs-magnetometer (*Geometrics G-858*). It is obvious that the resolution is much better with the Cs-magnetometer. Architectural remains are clearly seen also in the total magnetic field for the bottom and top sensors (Figure 22).

Under reasonably good conditions, and with the distance between transects at 1m, we can cover up to 1 ha by Cs-magnetometer in one day. We can define the speed of reading ourselves, the highest speed is at 0.1s. On our test area, we applied 0.2 s, not least because resolution depends also upon the speed of reading. Our opinion is that, given the nature of our target objects, such a setting gives an optimal ratio between resolution and surveying speed. Over a transect of 40m, we come thereby to some 300 readings, which is readings at ca. 13 cm - more than sufficient for the dimensions of our target object.

Geoelectric mapping

Geoelectric mapping was started after several days of heavy rain, which thoroughly soaked previously completely dried-out soil. While the rainfall made geoelectric survey possible in the first place, the contrast between subsurface architectural remains and the surrounding soil was weak immediately after heavy rain because of too much moisture. Nevertheless, and given the limitations of time, we decided to start immediately. Results were good under the circumstances, and especially useful in combination with magnetometry. In some sectors, results are identical, in other complementary. Roughly across the middle of the area surveyed, there is a marked border between higher resistivity values in the southern parts, and lower to the north (Figure 23). This can be explained through higher moisture in the northern lower parts, as a result of impermeable subsoil and/or deeper stratification.

Since with *Twin probe* geoelectric mapping only relative differences in resistivity are measured, we documented also distances between remote probes, so as to permit at least partial quantification of measured resistivity values, and comparison with other sites in our database. Distances between remote probes vary between 0.41 and 0.95m, mean value is 0.61m. Measured resistivity values are between 19 and 233 ohm.m, at the mean value of 35 ohm.m, and the standard deviation is 14 ohm.m. The values correspond to conditions for resistivity with pedosequences on soft carbonate bedrock such as marls. Such natural environments would normally be favourable for resistivity methods in terms of soil moisture, somewhat poorer results in our case result from too much moisture in topsoil after the rain, and from massive subsurface debris.

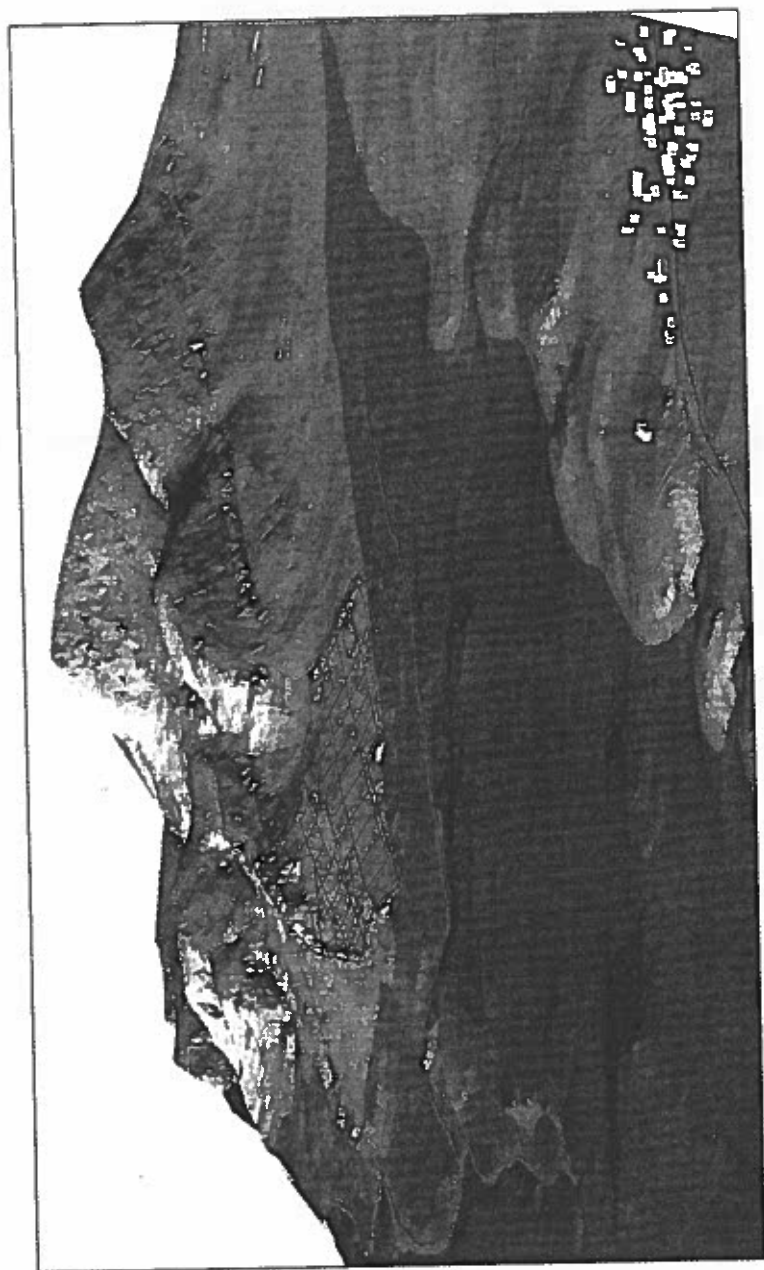


Figure 16. Situation map of the site and location of the area investigated (bottom left corner of the topographic grid)

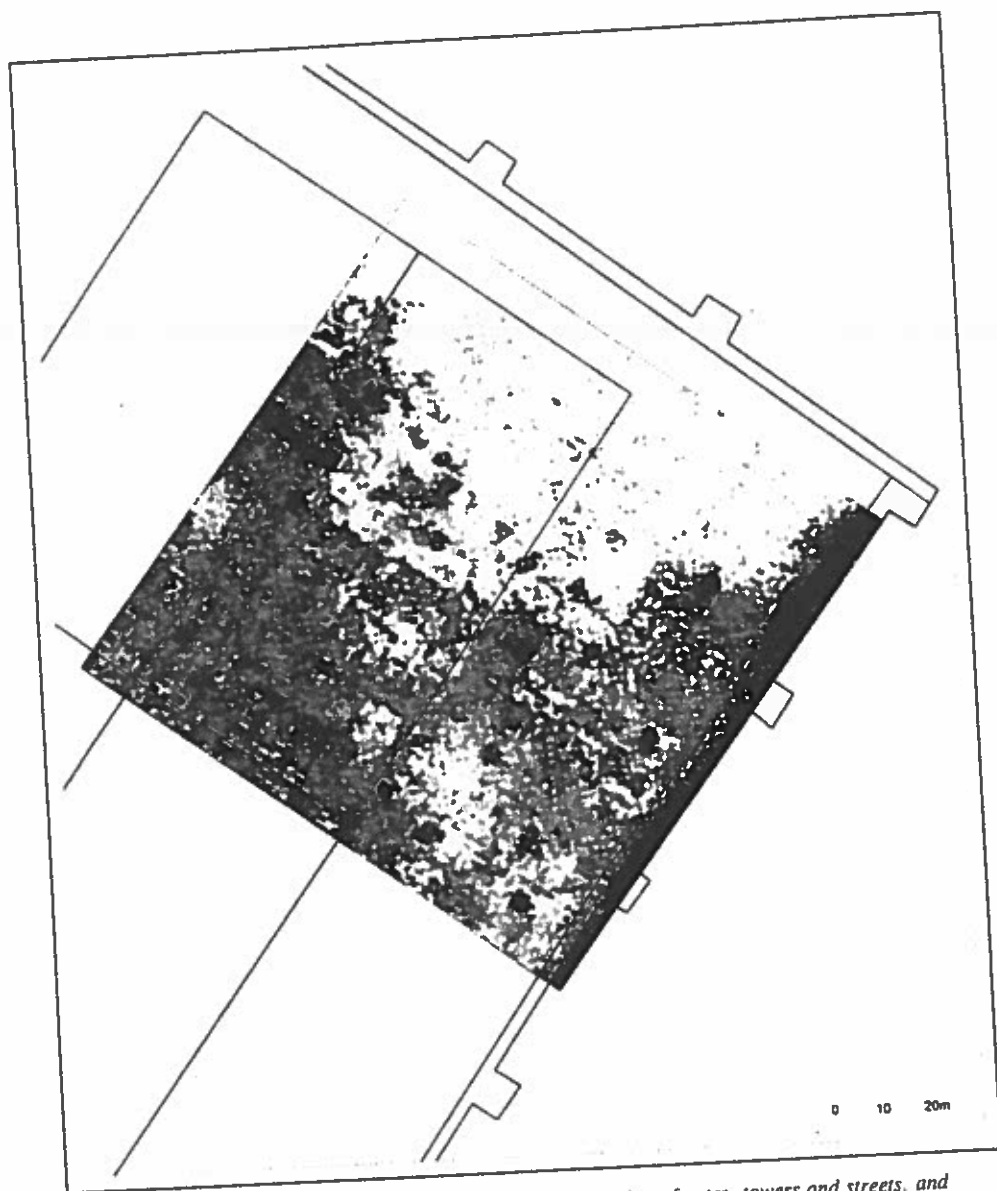
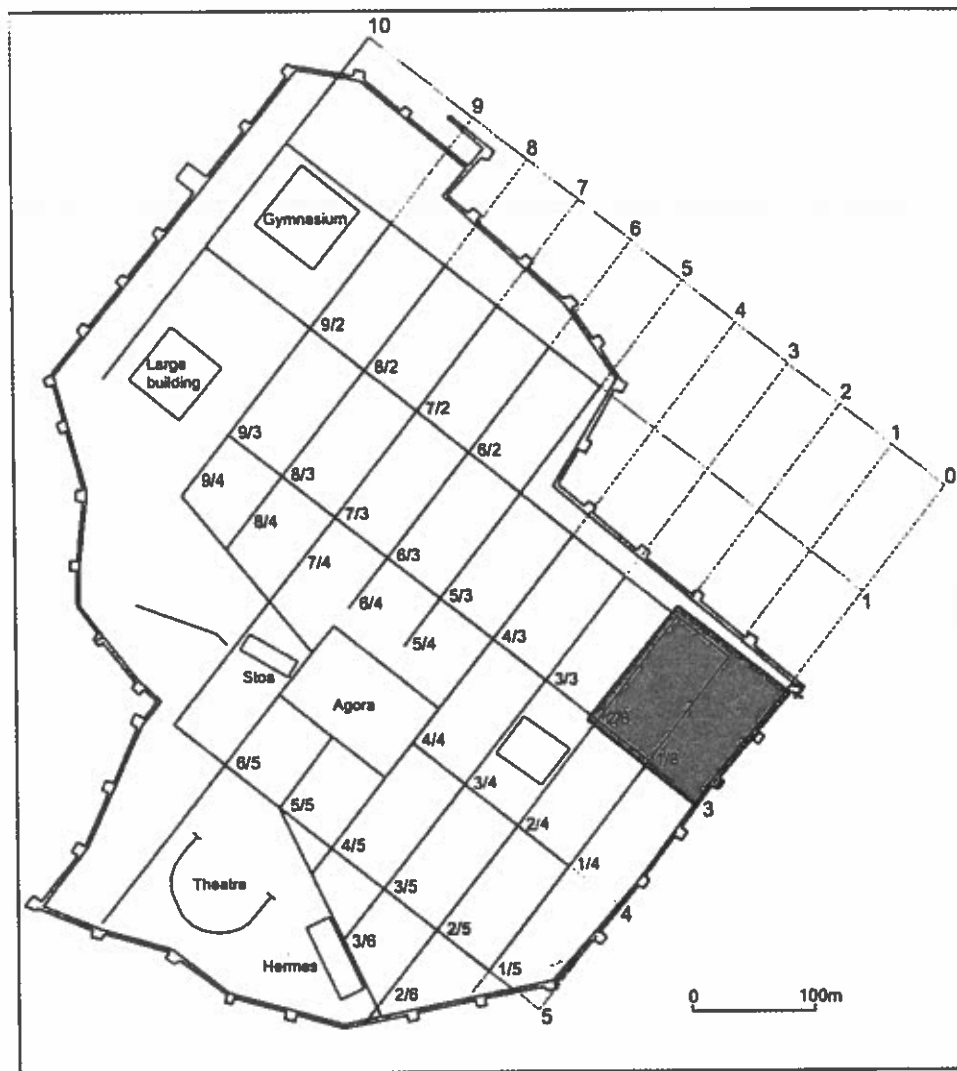


Figure 17. Plan of the ancient city of Tanagra, with denomination of gates, towers and streets, and interpretation of public spaces, after Roller 1987



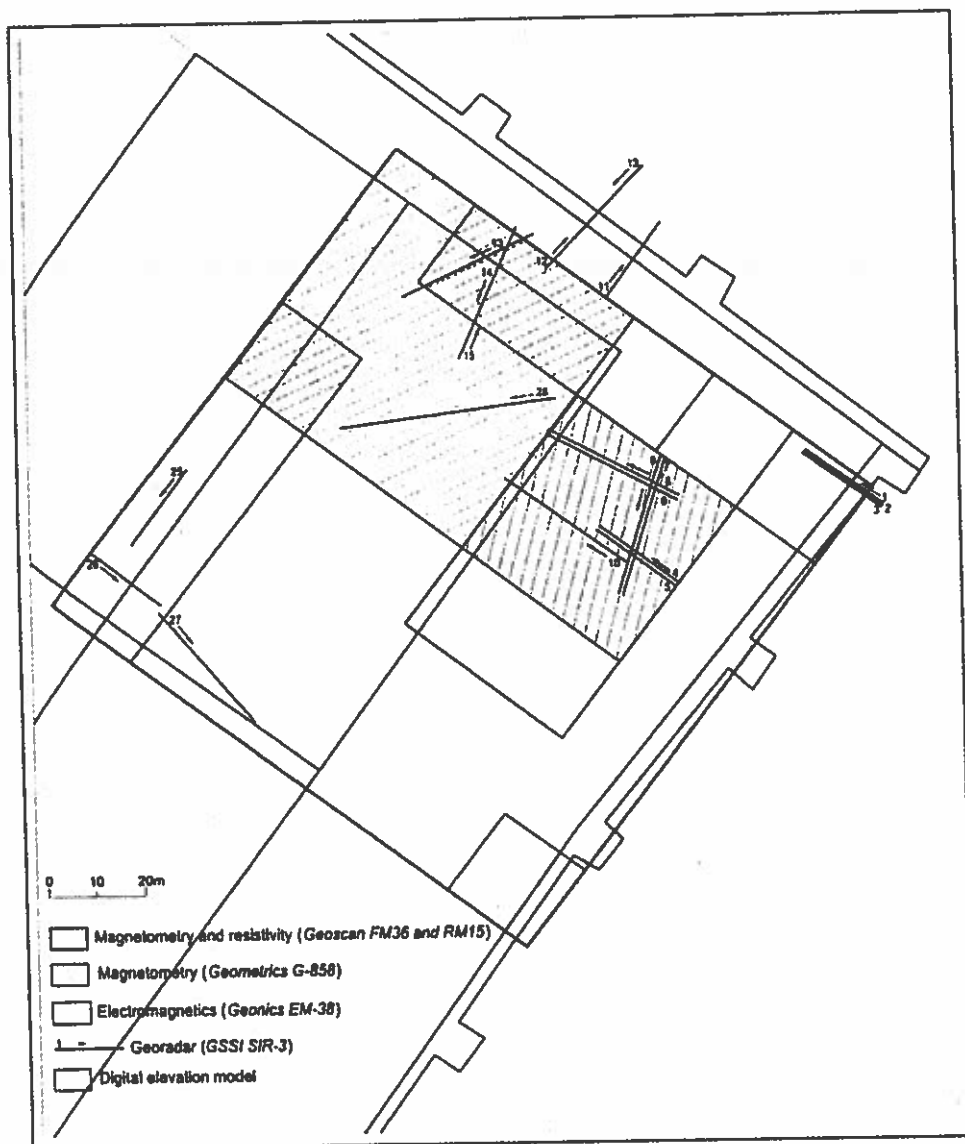


Figure 19. Geophysical methods applied

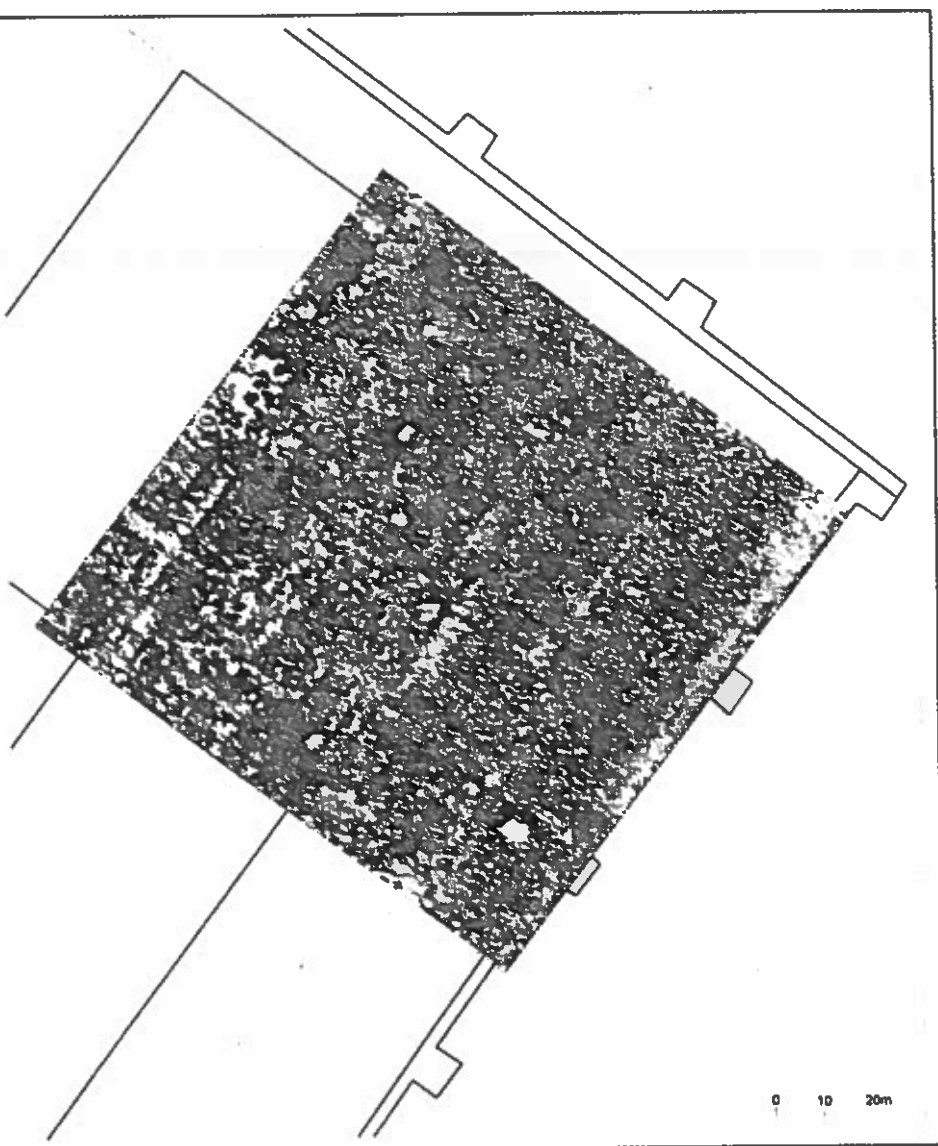
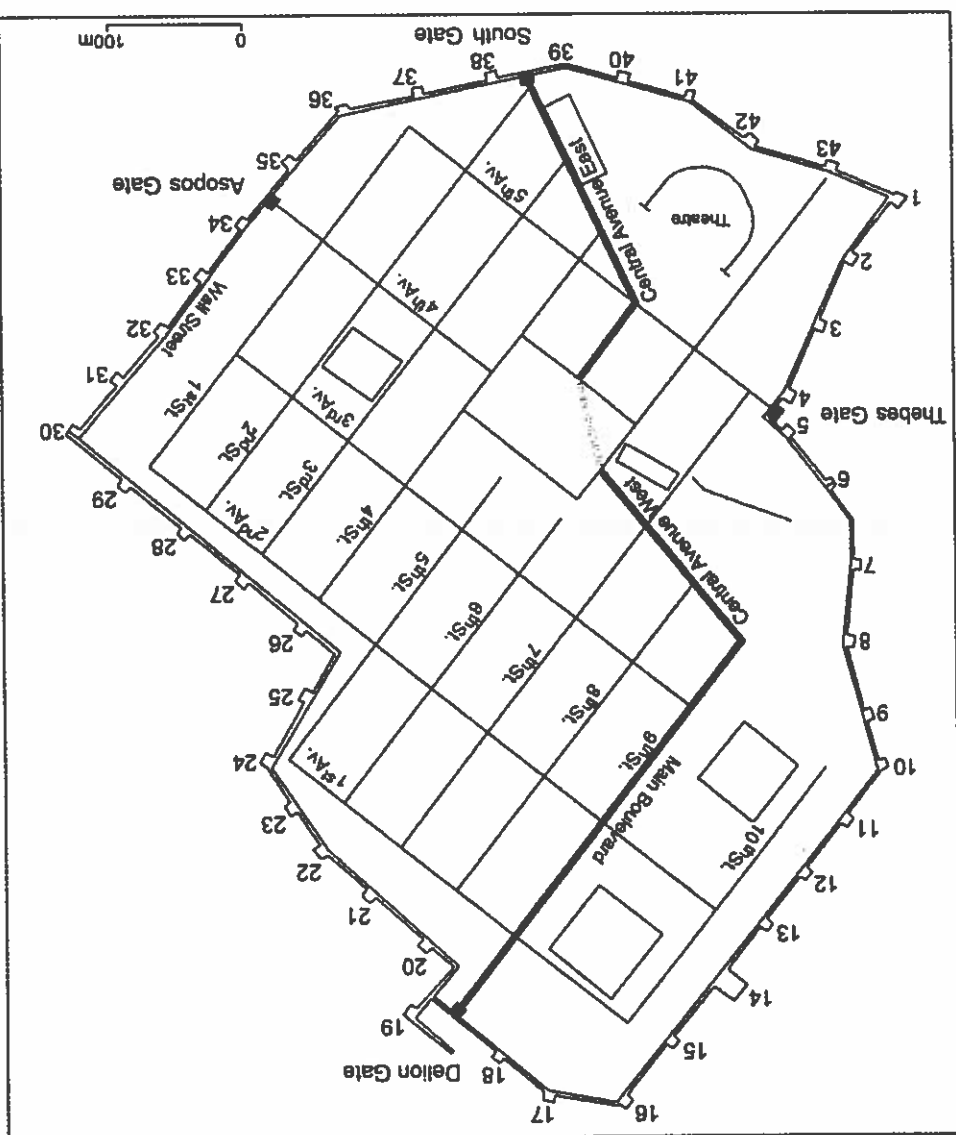


Figure 20. Magnetometry. Vertical gradient of magnetic field (Fluxgate gradiometer Geoscan FM36)

Figure 21. Magnetometry. Gradient of total magnetic field (Geometrics G-858)



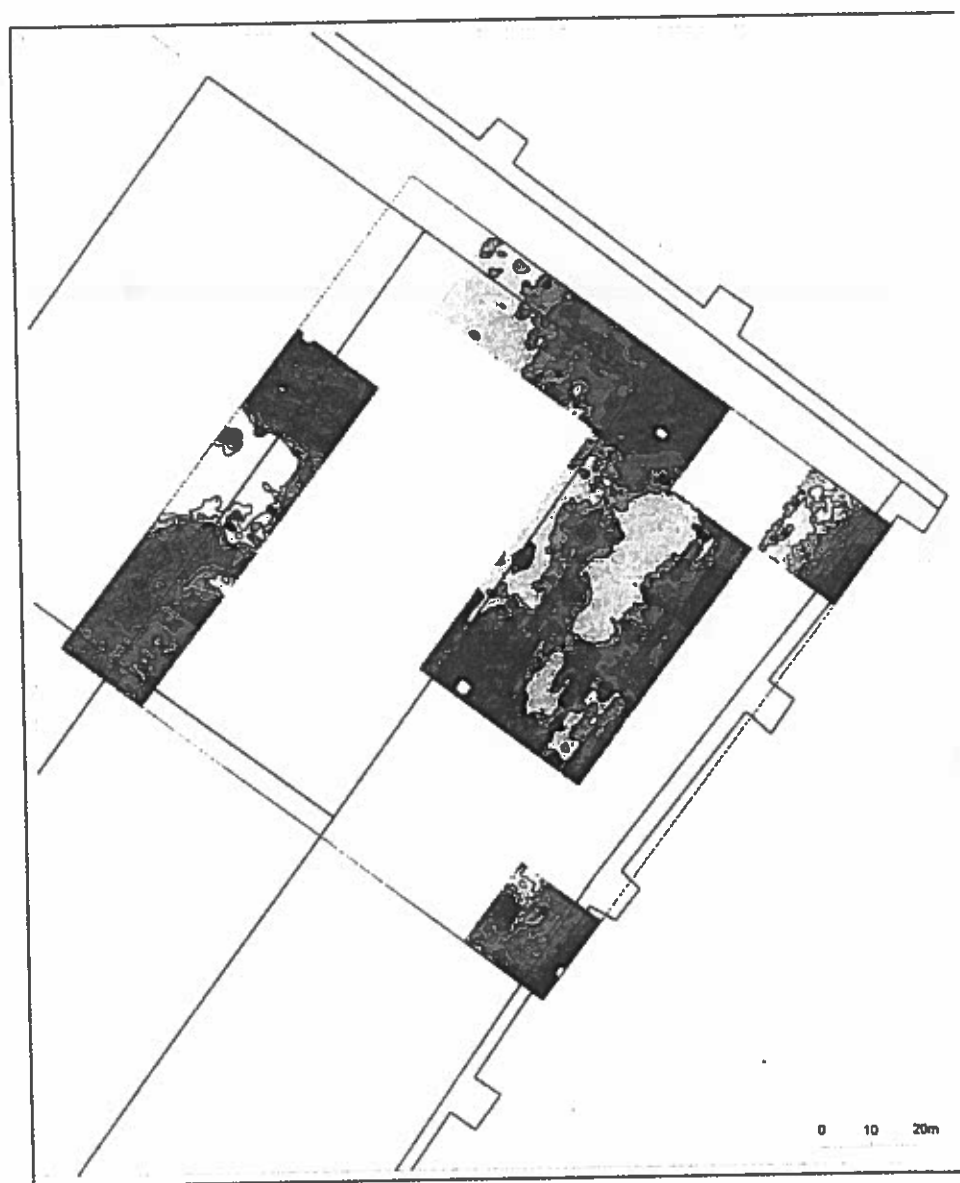


Figure 22. Magnetometry. Total magnetic field (Geometrics G-858)

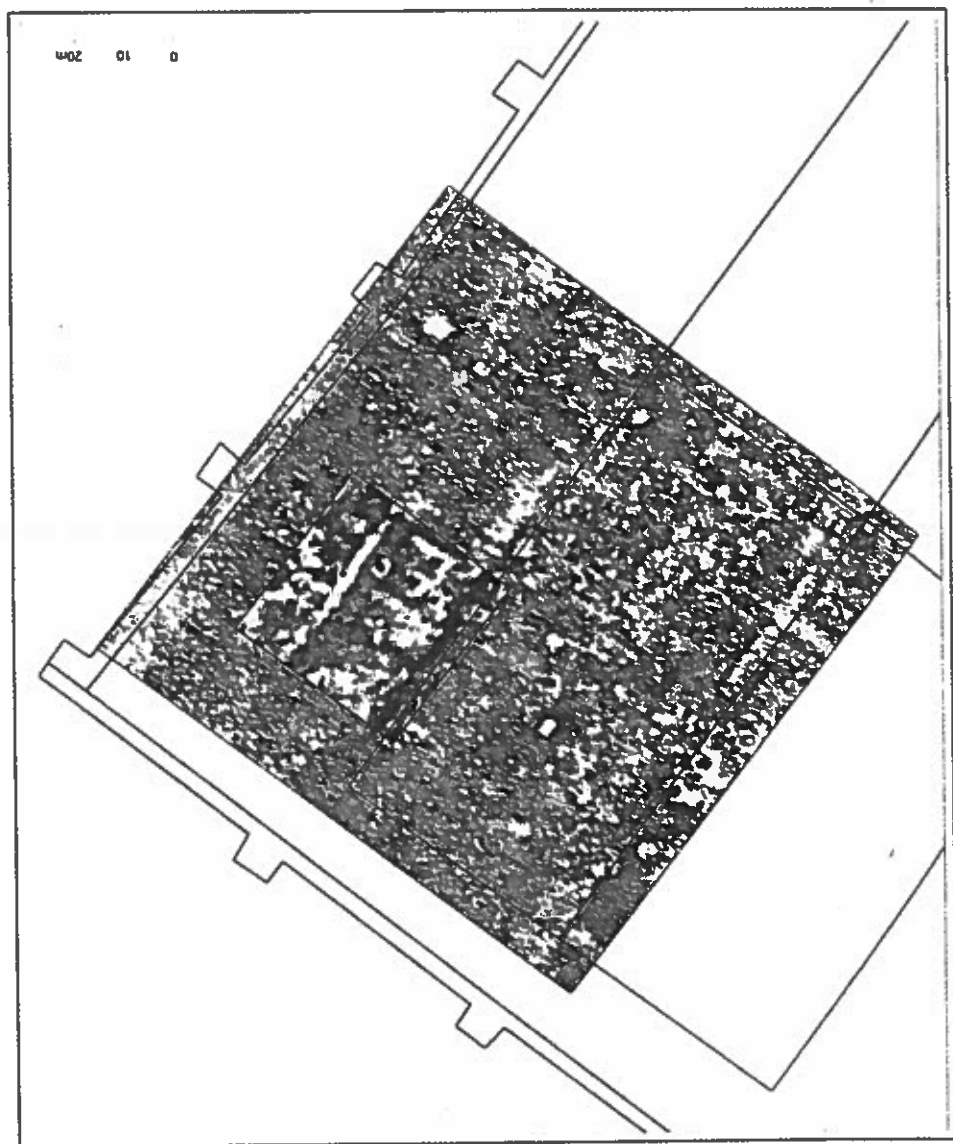


Figure 23. Resistivity. Geoelectrical mapping by Twin probes array (Resistance meter Geoscan RM15)

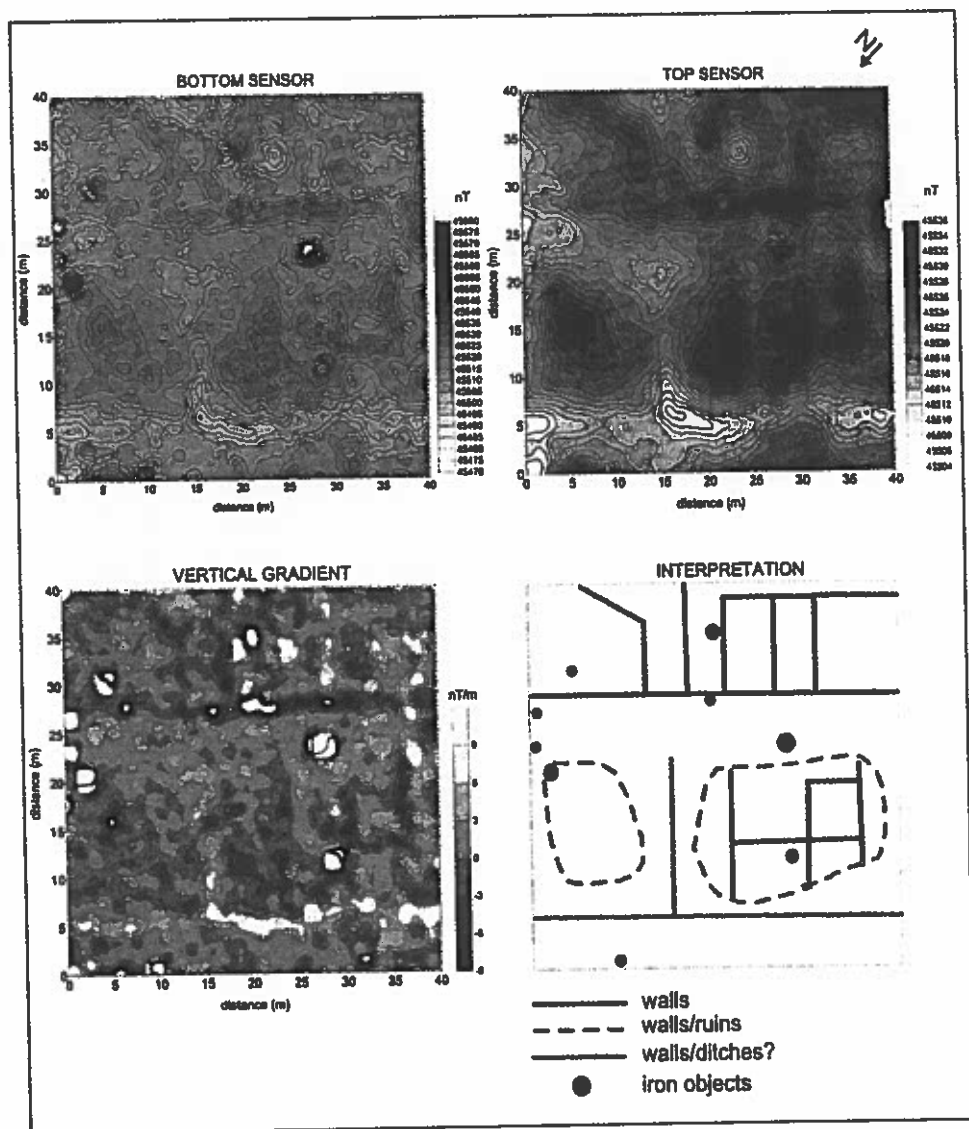


Figure 24. Conductivity (Conductivity meter Geonics EM38)

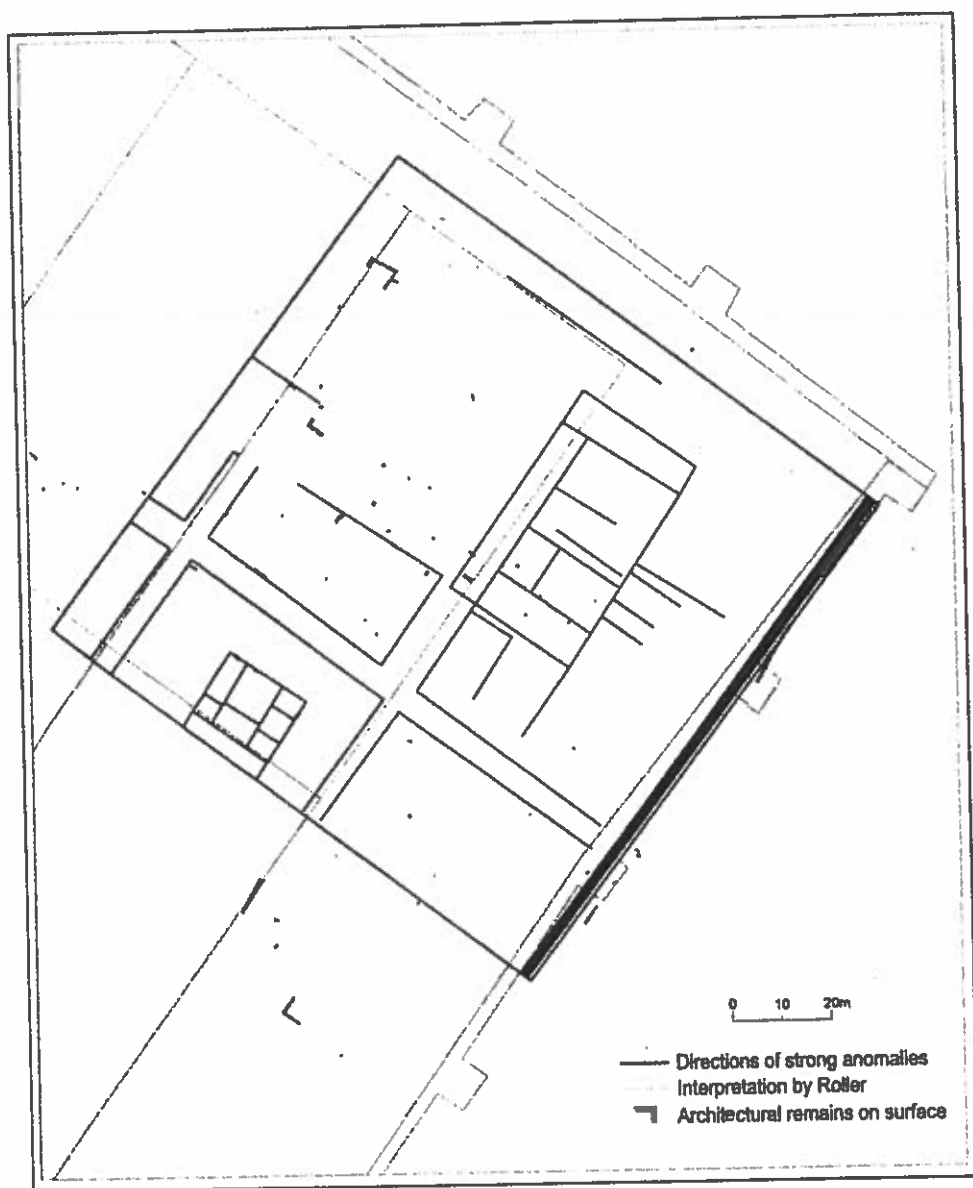


Figure 25. Interpretation of geophysical results

Conductivity

Since long dry seasons make the use of resistivity methods difficult if not impossible during most of the year (high resistivity contact), we tested also the conductivity meter (*Geonics EM-38*). In contrast to resistivity meters, this instrument uses the principle of electromagnetic field and therefore does not require physical contact with soil. Conductivity (mS/m) is a physical property inversely proportional with resistivity (ohm.m). We therefore anticipated comparable results from both methods. Given the expectations, the results were somewhat surprising in several sectors of the surveyed area.

The conductivity results (Figure 24) do not coincide with results from magnetometry and even resistivity. For detailed comparison, we chose the area tested also by Cs-magnetometer (Figure 21). Here we could see that the difference was mainly that of contrast. The amplitude of measured resistivity values is larger than those of conductivity, and so are the amplitudes of the anomalies. The high resistivity anomalies are better seen on the resistivity map, while the in-between areas of resistivity and areas of good conductivity are better defined on the conductivity map. Based on these observations, we can conclude that conductivity cannot adequately replace geoelectric resistivity mapping, but can certainly complement it in a meaningful way.

Georadar

The performance of georadar (*GSSI SIR-3, antenna 200 MHz*) in detecting architectural remains was tested at the very end of the field season, when results of all other geophysical survey methods were available. Eighteen profiles were done within the test area (Figure 19), plus ten transects in the area of the theatre. Georadar was used to check the areas where other methods gave reliable indications for remains of architecture. We could confirm that with georadar, we can significantly complement the results by other methods, especially when it comes to the estimation of the depth of the architectural remains, and to their preservation. Given the many obstacles for area mapping, such as quantities of surface stones and rubble, sounding in transects may well remain the sensible solution also in the future. However, the team would very much wish to be able to overcome the costly technical and logistical problems connected with georadar area mapping, and open the way for slicing and 3D visualisation of composite profiles for analysis of stratigraphy.

Archaeological implications

The area surveyed turned out to be more difficult than anticipated. Standard techniques such as resistivity (using *Geoscan RM15*) and magnetometry (using *Geoscan FM36*) applied to cover the whole of the sample area proved to be useful but not sufficient. While response to resistivity was excellent in some parts (e.g. in block 2/4), the technique was unable to detect clear features in areas where there seems to be more substantial rubble covering the walls, as well as on some of the steep slopes. As for magnetometry, much better results come from the *Geometrics G-858* instrument, which we were only testing here on a limited surface. The northernmost part near to the wall displays the weakest anomalies and is most difficult to interpret. One obvious reason could be the thickness of post-classical colluvial deposits behind the walls and the consequent depth of architectural remains, which all obscure the readings. Techniques such as georadar will have to be applied here to crack the problem, and the initial testing by transects during this preliminary campaign is promising in this respect. Furthermore, there seems to have been some important restructuring in this area in a late phase, which

disregarded earlier building by insulae and introduced, in part of the area, a strictly east-west organization of the urban space. Such complexity demands more refined procedures that would permit a consideration of the stratification of the features observed. On the other hand, to deal with steep slopes and terracing would require the introduction of precise data on surface morphology, which may, together with data on structural remains such as walls observed on the surface, lead to an interpretation of the geophysical anomalies: such data could only be provided for part of the area under study.

Having said that, it is obvious that even at this stage, and with all the limitations above, we can make a number of observations, which complement significantly our understanding of the organization of urban space at Tanagra. It should be noted at this point that, while interaction between geophysicist and archaeologist was very good throughout the process, it was not our objective to clear up all archaeological questions raised by geophysical results, and to ensure absolute convergence of geophysical and archaeological interpretation. A typical example is the situation in the northern part of the Block 2/3, where observations were made on a shift in orientation of very feeble linear anomalies. While from the archaeological viewpoint, these features were of highest interest, the more so as several fragments of Early Christian church inventory were found on the surface there during our fieldwork, from a geophysical point these features were too weak to comment on, and did not find place in the geophysicist's report, or on the interpretative map on Figure 25 for that matter.

A comparison of our results (Figure 25) with the modular plan (Figures 17 and 18) proposed by Roller permits us to assess the following points of convergence / divergence:

Intervallum East. The Block 1/3, displayed on the Roller plan as part of the intervallum along the eastern wall, appears densely built-up from our survey. While his architectural survey did not produce any surface features which would permit one to assume the existence of city Blocks 1/3 to 1/5, Roller did allow for such a possibility, the more so as his intervallum represented exactly one modular unit (52 m - 160 feet) wide. At this point our results, which clearly diverge from his published plan of the city, actually confirm the assumption in his text. The question remains, however, whether the blocks above are part of the original (4th century BC?) plan, or they were initially left open as intervallum, and were only built over in some later period. Observations made, which support this second interpretation, will have to be checked by further prospection.

Wall Street. Roller assumed that, in the case where the intervallum was actually built over, there must have been another street there to service the Blocks 1/3 to 1/5 along the eastern wall, which he named Wall Street. At this point, we can neither confirm nor dismiss this assumption. There are some features there, which might indeed be interpreted as part of the front walls of the buildings within Blocks 1/3 and 1/4. There is too much noise though in the narrow strip by the wall, apparently resulting from the massive wall rubble there, so techniques such as georadar should be applied to resolve the question unequivocally.

1st and 2nd Street. The two south-north axes of the Roller plan which fall into our sample area can be identified on both our resistivity and magnetometry map (accuracy within 5 m). The situation is somewhat blurred, however, by a number of features, which seem to block the streets at various points. Some of these may simply be steps / stairs, the existence of which was obviously necessary in several sectors on the south-north streets, and has been assumed also by Roller. Such interpretation is possible for features crossing the 2nd Street south of the 3rd Avenue. Given the steep slope at the continuation of this street north of the 3rd Avenue, this part could hardly do without steps either. Our preliminary interpretation of

geophysical features along the 1st Street north of the 3rd Avenue may be affected by this kind of features, difficult to discern from walls. There is no doubt, however, that at least in the lower northern part of the 2nd Street north of the 3rd Avenue, there are features which definitely belong to buildings, and which block communication along this axis.

2nd Avenue / Intervallum North. There are feeble linear features which coincide with the northern limit of the Blocks 1/3 to 3/3 as proposed by Roller. These features seem to be further corroborated by georadar profiles across and near the northern wall. Nevertheless, we must be cautious about these observations because geophysical anomalies detected by our standard techniques are weak in this sector, and georadar readings are few. Area georadar mapping would be needed to make any meaningful conclusions here.

3rd Avenue. This street is clearly readable both by resistivity and magnetometry. However, it is not where Roller would have it, but rather some 25m more to the North. Consequently, Blocks 1/3 to 3/3 do not fit the proposed 150 x 300 feet module, they are only 250 feet along their longer side. This is the most serious divergence from the Roller plan established so far. It should be noted that our 3rd Avenue lies half way between the Intervallum North (2nd Avenue) and the top of the ridge to the south. If we double the length of our revised blocks 1/3 to 3/3 we find that it coincides with the distance between the 2nd Avenue and the major corner where the Main Boulevard (9th Street) is met by Central Avenue West, suggesting that the dramatic angle of those two roads meeting might mark the end of two North-South blocks (9/3 and 9/4) rather than breaking up an otherwise regular series of insulae. We may therefore be up to more surprises concerning the city modular structure, as we proceed with our geophysical survey.

East wall. According to our results, the east wall within the limited area surveyed seems to have been straight, rather than deflected as suggested by the Roller plan.

Observations can be made also on the inner structure of the city blocks. Some buildings such as in block 2/4 show clearly on our maps, but most would need further prospection to interpret. We will therefore reserve our comments until we have covered the area with the *Geometrics G-858* magnetometer and checked problem sectors with other techniques.

Conclusions

In the month mid-July to mid-August 2001 we plan to continue the Tanagra city survey. This would involve the complete surface study of a further one-third of the area within the late Classical walls. The aim would be to further test our hypotheses of the changing size of the settled zone in different phases of the town's history. We would also wish to continue with the very successful study of the immediate environs of the town, evaluating further the border of dense extramural settlement and the town's relationship to fringing cemetery clusters, sanctuaries, *villae urbanae* and the succeeding Byzantine village (a maximum zone of up to 1000 metres from the city walls will include all likely phenomena of this kind). Furthermore, we are preparing a commentary on the physical condition of the city site today and threats to conservation of its remains.

May 2001

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MODELS OF POLITICAL EVOLUTION AND THE FORMATION OF THE POLIS

Edward van der Vliet

The aim of this contribution is to define the particular nature of the Greek polis and its early evolution in a more specific context of evolutionist anthropological theories. The scope of the recent discussion on evolutionism and societal evolution in particular has generated a broader perspective which allows a better understanding of ancient Greek history in a general(ising) context. Until now, the main problem has been that the Greek polis, its origin and early evolution could not easily be placed in the current, neo-evolutionist, typologies of social-political evolution. These typologies are dominated by the two parallel, but basically different models of Fried and Service.¹ Fried departs from a model of conflict and the evolution of relations characterised by dominance and coercion, whereby the difference between the two final stages of 'stratified' and 'state' societies is seen as quantitative rather than qualitative. Service's point of departure is a model of management or cooperation, and in this perspective the difference between the chiefdom, where structural coercion as a means of power is absent, and the state, which is by definition based on it, is fundamental. Because Greek society in the Archaic period evidently has evolved from a stateless society into a state society, it seems appropriate to consider the emergence of the polis in the perspective of the evolutionist typologies first and for all in the context of the transition from chiefdom to state.

This, however, immediately poses great problems. Although we may describe the pre-polis society of the imagined world of the Homeric epics and the real world of Hesiod as one of chiefdoms,² the polis, on the other hand, and also the early polis, does not suit the obvious evolutionist subsequent type of the 'Early State'.³ The Early State is monarchically ruled and is supported by a structure of kinship relations. Its political economy is characterised by redistribution accompanied by forms of tribute extraction and forced mobilisation of labour and regulation of production, while the polis is a kind of political organisation based on collective

¹ Fried 1967, Service 1971 and 1975.

² Donlan 1999, 1-34, 345-56; Ferguson 1991.

³ Claessen and Skalnik 1978b, 589-91; Claessen 1978 (typology of Early States).

participation, with the idea of participation on the basis of equality and equal sharing as a founding principle. The polis is not structured on extensive kinship relations and its economy is organised through the production by individual 'households' and market exchange on the basis of reciprocity. The foundation of the polis, in short, are the principles of equality and cooperation. The political system that emerged in the polis—as a state—and that comparatively best agrees with the concept of the Early State is the archaic tyrannis.⁴ The Greeks themselves, however, actually considered the tyrannis as the negation of the idea of the polis and as the abolition of the polis as a political society. It could nowhere develop a lasting stability.

Polis and State

The decoupling of centralisation and hierarchy from complexity is a central theme in recent debate. This, perhaps paradoxically, seems to facilitate the study and understanding of the evolution of the Greek polis as a political system and as a state within the broader perspective of general societal evolution. The rise of the state and the emergence of the polis in archaic Greece are two sides of the same coin. Yet, the origin of the state and the formation of the polis should not be seen as, conceptually and analytically, identical processes. First, the 'state' is a modern and in anthropological terms an 'etic' concept, while 'polis' was the concept whereby the Greeks themselves designated and described a typical form of their 'political community', on the one hand state and society in one, but on the other sometimes also society or state. Polis, thus, is an 'emic' concept.⁵ In other words, what the Greeks called a polis is not always a state in our perspective; many, if not a majority of the poleis were mere villages, and what we may call a state not always took the form of a polis in the perception of the Greeks themselves. We may speak of a state when the power-holders (or rulers or authorities) in a society have a legitimate monopoly of power to enforce, if and when necessary, obedience and dispose of the means to apply this power successfully.⁶ The essence of this definition is the concept of legitimacy of use of power.

The concept of 'polis' has been most analytically defined and described by Aristotle. Its essence is the definition of the polis as a 'koinōnia of politai' that is, as the community of those who make up the 'citizens' of the polis.⁷ The most obvious and characteristic feature of the polis as a political community and as a state is the communal or collectivistic nature of its political organisation. One-man rule or rather administration by one man was generally avoided or, when not avoided, restricted in its tenure of office and through its accountability. Office-holding by a board of magistrates, or rather office-holders, was the rule, like control by a council and the final authority of the assembly. Magistrates and other office-holders, and in a number of poleis the councillors too, generally were elected or appointed for a period of one year only, and continuation of office was forbidden or subjected to strong limitations. The idea of office-holding by turns predominated. In these respects the political system of the polis essentially deviates from the great majority of other, monarchical, forms of known 'primitive', 'pre-modern', or early states.

The anomalous nature of the origin and evolution of the polis as a state, or of the state

⁴ Van der Vliet 1990.

⁵ For the definitions of etic and emic respectively, see Harris 1969, 575 (etic) and 571 (emic).

⁶ Weber 1976, 29.

⁷ Arist., Polit. 1252a1-7, 1274b32-75a33, cfr recently Hansen 1993b and 1998.

within the polis as I would prefer to define the problem, also manifests itself in the domain of the political economy and the economic basis of the political system. In this respect the dominating characteristic of the Early State as well as of the chiefdom, from which it has evolved, is a system of (more or less) centralised redistribution.⁸ Its ideology is one of symmetrical reciprocity; its material realisation, however, is asymmetrical. In the Greek polis, on the other hand, redistribution is of minor and even marginal importance. Exchange in the Greek polis was based on generalised reciprocity, leading consequently to the evolution of agora- or market-orientated behaviour.⁹ Because in recent theories of state formation the control of the supply of strategic goods and products and even of subsistence goods through redistributive systems is seen as a fundamental factor (although always one among others), the anomaly of the origins of the polis-state in archaic Greece does not remain restricted to its purely political form, but extends also to its economic base. The evolution of the state in archaic Greece thus seems to diverge basically from the generally known pattern.¹⁰

Evolutionist typologies

Most of the current typologies of the evolution of human societies and in particular of human societies in relation to their political systems, are still essentially based on the above mentioned schedules of respectively Fried and Service.¹¹ Notwithstanding their apparent parallelisms and similarities, their basic assumptions are principally different. These two models thus must be used separately, and confusion of their respective typologies should be avoided.¹² Fried's typology is the more abstract of the two. Fried discerns egalitarian, ranked, stratified and state societies. He defines a society as 'ranked' when there are less status positions available than there are persons ambitious and capable to occupy them, differences of age and gender or sex taken into consideration. 'Ranking' often goes together with a hierarchical order of status positions. In egalitarian societies (egalitarian not being the same as equality!) everybody in principle, depending on ability, ambition, age and sex, can achieve the status position he aspires to, on the basis of achieved prestige and 'prestations'. There is, besides, no necessary or self-evident relation between social ranking, based on status and prestige, and economic wealth or status, contrary to the social relations in stratified societies.¹³ In stratified societies social inequality and restricted access to positions of high status, are related to unequal access to basic resources, goods which are immediately as well as indirectly means of subsistence, between members of different social strata. Fried, however, does not know stratified societies which not also had become state societies. Without the power of the state and only embedded in kinship relations such a society, he thinks, cannot be stable.¹⁴

Fried's approach, thus, explains societal evolution in the perspective of social tensions and conflicts, and emphasizes the aspects of coercion and control. Service, on the other side, rather emphasizes the role of management and cooperation, and thus the importance of leadership and

⁸ Earle 1991b, 2; Service, *Origins*, 75; Lewellen 1983, 31, cfr 20; Lambert 1966 on the limited importance of redistribution in chiefdoms.

⁹ Von Reden 1995; Tandy 1997.

¹⁰ But see now Détienne 2000.

¹¹ E.g. Lewellen; Claessen 2000, 49-56.

¹² Cfr Haas 1979.

¹³ Fried 1967, 52.

¹⁴ Fried 1967, 185, 224-25.

integration. He discerns the band, the tribe, the chiefdom, and the state as the successive stages of the evolution of human society to greater complexity. Underlying Service's approach is the distinction between societies structured by 'achieved' and those structured by 'ascribed' status positions.¹⁵ Considering the vagueness of the 'tribe' as a social entity—it is rather a matter of identity which may vary according to circumstances and needs, and of self-definition¹⁶—, the contrast of the dominance of achieved, respectively of ascribed positions seems to offer a better footing to descriptions and definitions of stages in the evolution of political forms of social organisation. Thus, a sequence from big man-society to chiefdom to state seems to provide an operational schedule. The idea of an evolution from big man to chief related with increasing stratification and social tensions consequently has played a major role in recent discussions of the evolution of 'homeric society'.¹⁷

It is, however, not without its problems. The differences between a big man and a chief are conceptually fundamental and go much further than simply the difference between an achieved and an ascribed status.¹⁸ A big man can acquire real power over an entire community, but this power is strictly bound to his person and he will lose it when he, inevitably, grows older and becomes weaker. Essentially, a big man is an entrepreneur, and his leading and organising capacities are rather economic and social than political (or ritual). The position of a big man is built up through investment in obligations, starting with obligations by himself. By building an extensive network of marriage alliances, for which he has to pay, the typical Melanesian big man may reach a point where the returns—obligations of his brothers in law towards him—, turn into profits. The wealth thus acquired can and will be used to gather a large group of young dependants and followers. The key to his power is on the one hand his role in the organisation of ceremonies and feasts, and on the other the exchange of goods and products with other groups and the organisation of production and redistribution of *specific* goods, often foodstuffs.¹⁹ His role is active, that of a chief compared to that of a big-man often rather passive.

A big man society thus is in principle egalitarian in character. Every ambitious (young) man has the opportunity to work hard, gather brides and build a position as a big man for himself. The position is personal, not institutional. A community can do very well without a big man, but enough of ambitious men will be found attempting at using the opportunity offered by the absence or weakening of a big man. Yet, a certain measure of stratification within the kinship structure which makes that some are in a better position than others to become a successful big man, is not absent from most big man societies.²⁰ The position of a chief, on the contrary, is in principle an ascribed one depending on kinship relations or the position within a kinship system, and thus mainly on descent (although in many and especially in smaller chiefdoms there is much room for manipulation of kinship relations and for achievement). A chief, generally spoken, has to base his authority on his prestations—gifts and feast-giving, mediation—no less than a big man. He has no power, only authority which he risks to lose when he overstates his ambitions and insufficiently reciprocates for what he asks from his kin.

¹⁵ Sahlins 1963; Claessen 1988, 55.

¹⁶ See in particular Lewis 1968 and the contributions by Dole, Hymes and Fried in Helm 1968; cfr Fried 1975.

¹⁷ Ulf 1990, 218-20, 223-31; cfr van Wees 1992, 281-94; Carlier 1996: the homeric basileus is not a Big Man.

¹⁸ Sahlins 1963.

¹⁹ Johnson and Earle 1987, 20, 159-60, 186, 200; see also Feil, 93-94, 111-20, a similar role of old married man among the Lele: Onwuejeogwu 1975, 205-6; Claessen 2000, 143, with references, esp. Allen 1984.

²⁰ Feil 1987, 115-20.

followers and dependants. A chief can be a very poor man.²¹ As a center of redistribution the chief may occupy an economic and social key position, but while redistribution by a big man is centered on particular goods or products, that in a chiefdom is characterised by the exchange of a variety of goods and products. Redistribution by a chief may have the effects of a market. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the importance of redistribution in 'a' chiefdom should not be overestimated. It may be rather restricted, and even marginal from the point of view of the community or society in its entirety.²² This is as far as theory goes. It has been pointed out on the other hand, however, that in practice the distinction of 'big man' and 'chief'-forms of leadership appears to be much less evident. In both Melanesia and Polynesia leadership possesses the characteristics of both, so that it is a virtual tour-de-force to define them according to type.²³

Criticism of neo-evolutionism

In the last decades classical neo-evolutionism and its typologies have been gradually, one might say step by step, deconstructed. It was soon observed that this kind of typologies did not sufficiently account for the known diversity of forms of societal organisation not belonging to the categories of complex chiefdoms and primitive states, especially big-man systems and age-grade societies.²⁴ Besides, the concept of evolution raises a much more fundamental problem. It suggests—although that has not been the intention of its authors—, a kind of inevitability that every human society contains in itself the possibility and even the tendency that it will evolve from less to more complex, more or less along the rather strict lines of these typologies. The sequence proposed recently by Hayden, of despot, reciprocator, and entrepreneurial communities neither escapes from this trap.²⁵ Besides a considerable degree of teleology these typologies strongly suggest a unilinear way of evolution, albeit not intentionally. These representations do not leave enough room for the idea that there are more ways leading to a similar outcome—let us say, the 'state'—, along different paths and through different stages. And also devolution may happen from more to less complexity.

After the observation, that the neo-evolutionist typologies did insufficiently account for the existence of a great variety of so-called non-complex societies, Yoffee subjected the concept of chiefdom to debate, as being too extensive, and thus consequently vague and unusable.²⁶ It encompasses such a variety of different and divergent societies, from non-complex African chieftaincies of which several may be present within small settlements, to the complex 'theocratic' chiefdoms of Polynesia, that it has been called 'devoid of conceptual content'.²⁷ Moreover, the establishment of the, in my view not less vague, term of 'intermediate societies' clearly illustrates the problems with definitions and delineations which the neo-evolutionist typologies increasingly cannot solve convincingly. In particular a range of African cases shows how within a same culture complex different forms are narrowly related to each other and

²¹ Clastres 1974, 25–43, in particular 37.

²² Lambert 1966.

²³ Yoffee 1993, esp. 64–5.

²⁴ Upham 1990a, esp. 97–98; Bender 1990, 252–56; Hallpike 1986, and now also Feinman 1995, Arnold 1996, Chapman 1996, and in particular McIntosh 1999 on problems with neo-evolutionist explanations in general.

²⁵ Hayden 1995, cfr van der Vliet 1997.

²⁶ Yoffee 1993.

²⁷ Shennan 1994.

should be seen as variations within a similar cultural pattern, and may easily evolve into one form or the other in either direction.²⁸ The description and delineation of that particular social-cultural pattern, characterised by its own social-political forms and the values and concepts of power implied by them, are more illuminating than the use of such a thing as a state-non state dichotomy. Acephalous societies, that is without a political centre of power or authority, may dispose of institutions like secret societies or similar 'clubs' performing 'staatliche' (I don't know an English equivalent of this thoroughly German concept) functions,²⁹ while in societies or polities where an obvious centre is present (in the form of a kingship) and which may be classified as 'states', it turns out that the actual power of that centre is practically non-existent or strictly limited to its immediate surroundings and dependents. In this respect we may also refer to the type of the segmentary state, consisting of a pyramid of entities which are hierarchically ranked but actually autonomous within their respective scopes of action.³⁰ In some societies, more than one social-political institution or kind of authority (religious besides political, for instance) whereby the enforcement of regulating behaviour can be achieved, may exist and function independently besides each other. In Fipa-society two complementary gender organizations functioned besides each other,³¹ and among the Ben'Ekie two distinct institutions, "based on distinct principles of power and authority", coexisted.³² It must be concluded from a range of studies of societies in Africa, America and prehistoric Europe, that (societal) complexity does *not* necessarily imply (political) centralisation and a hierarchical social structure.

Heterarchy

Studies of political evolution and state formation based on the concepts of chiefdom and early state, also considers the coupling of increasing (societal) complexity, centralisation and consequently hierarchisation as essential to the whole process. The criticisms which have been raised recently against this rather monolithic way of approaching the matter, help formulating and constructing alternative models of societal evolution which permit including 'deviant' pathways, of which the ancient Greek polis unmistakably presents one example. Their essence is the decoupling of complexity, hierarchisation, and (political) centralisation.³³ Thus Roscoe stressed the importance of cultural "practice" in processes of political centralisation,³⁴ while Boehm emphasized the counteracting of hierarchical tendencies by egalitarian forces.³⁵ Eisenstadt et al. observed the presence of two alternative forms of centralisation, congruent and

²⁸ McIntosh 1999, and Kopytoff 1999, 94: "an underlying generative structure producing the variation in forms" cfr 88: "generating a certain range of kindred forms, any of which could change into any other with relative ease"; David and Sterner 1999.

²⁹ E.g. among the Yakò (Forde 1967; cfr the role of age sets, age grades and societies among the Yoruba: Lloyd 1967), but also in many other Grassfield societies (Kopytoff 2000, 92 (checks on chiefly power) and McIntosh 1999. See also Fairley 1989, 309, referring to Brown 1950.

³⁰ Southall 1999; 1989; 1965; MacIntosh 2000, 14-15.

³¹ Willis 1989; 1981.

³² Fairley 1989, esp. 308. Cfr Dietler 1995 on 'Celtic' Europe; Collis 1995.

³³ Upham 1990b.

³⁴ Roscoe 1993.

³⁵ Boehm 1993.

noncongruent.³⁶ In a similar vein Feinman discerns 'network' from 'corporate' modes.³⁷ In this context 'heterarchy' appears to be a good alternative to the idea of centralised hierarchies. Its introduction has been proposed by Crumley and others.³⁸ These approaches prove to be very useful, doing much more justice to the variety of the anthropological and archaeological material. The emphasis thus shifts from typologies to processes. Moreover, the dichotomies of heterarchy and hierarchy, and of network and corporate mode respectively, can be reduced to that of sequential versus simultaneous hierarchies. The latter concept has been formulated by Gregory A. Johnson³⁹, as a response to 'scalar stress' and an alternative operational device in societies lacking our well-known 'simultaneous' hierarchies. Among the !Kung, for instance, sequential decision-making occurs when greater numbers of people and of nuclear groups, which in other times of the year live dispersed, are assembled during the rainy season. From a number of examples from various societies it can be deduced that this form of organisation and decision-making allows them to control conflicts and organise collective activities without having to resort to a kind of integration based on permanent ranking or hierarchy, and thus to function without the presence of a more or less permanent central authority. Activities may be initiated and organised in turn by specific groups or leaders, whose position of initiative and authority also are restricted to these specific tasks and the moment they must or will be performed, or through the temporary collaboration of groups. Participation and involvement are effectuated not through a top-down order from a central point, but through widening circles of participating and cooperating groups, encompassing increasing numbers of people, rather like ripples in a pond wherein a stone has been thrown.

The concept of sequential hierarchy describes and defines just such a situation, when within a rather flat social and political structure, where hierarchisation and central authority are absent, the execution of necessary communal tasks (initiation and other feasts, hunting parties on a large scale, mediation of conflicts involving the entire community, marriage arrangements between extended groups, etc.) is performed on an occasional, but not necessarily irregular, basis in turns by specific leaders, clubs, kingroups, and the like. A similar role is performed by secret societies and 'clubs' in West-African societies.⁴⁰ This is a structural phenomenon, characterising a model of social-political organisation that contrasts with our well known model of a 'simultaneous' hierarchy, functionally differentiated, hierarchised and centralised, and permanently functioning.

An apparently neat and centralised hierarchy may actually hide only a ranking order. This means, that there are no essential or structural differences in what is being performed by the various elements (or their heads) of which a political organisation, like an 'Early State' has been constructed. The central authority may rank higher than the subjected parts, but it does not perform functions (administrative, economic) which are not also performed on lower levels, and actually its direct authority and functioning remains restricted to its own immediate sphere of influence. This structure is characteristic of what has been called 'segmentary states' in Africa, and of the European medieval Holy Roman Empire. Southall calls this a 'pyramidal'

³⁶ Eisenstadt, Abitol and Chazan 1983 and 1988.

³⁷ Feinman 1995; see also Leach 1964 on shifting from individual to collective decision-making processes and back.

³⁸ Crumley 1995, 30: "I define heterarchy as a system in which elements are unranked relative to one another or ranked in an variety of ways depending on conditions. The term is borrowed from cognitive psychology (McCulloch 1945)"; 1979 and 1987, Ehrenreich 1995.

³⁹ Gregory A. Johnson 1982, 402-14.

⁴⁰ See above, and note 32.

kind of hierarchy.⁴¹ These structure may easily break apart without loss into their components, which simply will continue their existence. In a centralised and integrated hierarchy, on the contrary, higher level functions are performed by higher level centers only and for the whole, being only partially delegated to 'below'. Centralisation and hierarchisation here are connected with specialisation and differentiation. In such a kind of organisation, in case of the collapse of the center its functions can nor will automatically be assumed by lower level authorities, and the loss and damage to the society are much more serious and desintegrating.

A vector model of evolution and devolution

The model which I propose here is based on the assumption that any political system can be placed on the crossing of the continua of two axes, the sequential/simultaneous one and the pyramidal/centralised one. In other words, any system can be seen being both somewhere on both a sequential/simultaneous and a pyramidal/centralised scale. A 'band' will be found in the field between the sequential and pyramidal sides, a state between predominating levels of simultaneous and centralised, a chiefdom between simultaneous and pyramidal, and the big man system between sequential and centralised (see figure 1). Evolution can thus be studied as the movement from one point to another in this field, generally in two directions at the same time, but not equally strong in both directions (see figure 2). From this model we can deduce, which way the evolution of a particular society will take on any trajectory, whether it will be dominated by a tendency towards centralisation and hierarchisation, or by one towards more simultaneity, for instance. In general both 'forces' will be at work, but the impact of one will be the stronger or dominate in a particular case. The model explains, besides, why a trajectory from big man to chief (increasing simultaneity of positions of authority, but accompanied by a devolution of centralisation), is less plausible than one from chief to big man (increasing hierarchisation, but accompanied by as loss of permanency of status positions). It also shows the greater occasional and personal power of the big man, compared with the less powerful but structurally better established position of a chief. In this model, the trajectory which Fried proposed, based on coercion as a stronger force than management, thus follows a course which is dominated by increasing centralisation, while that of the evolution as seen by Service, departing from the requirements of cooperation and management, follows the alternative path, rather along a line from sequentiality to simultaneity, with in the end the step to statehood: centralisation and power.

The political organisation of a Greek polis is characterised by sequential features. These are found in both the formal organisation and the resulting procedures of decision-making, and in particular in Athens, which is best known in detail and furnishes an example-, their implementation. First, there is the principle of rotation of function and office-holding by turns. Second, the decision-making process with proposal by committee, subsequently by the entire council and final decision-making by the assembly encompasses step by step increasing circles of the citizenry, thus resembling the image of 'ripples in a pond'. Finally, the implementation of decision-making and control does not occur along centralised hierarchical lines (the center at the top is the citizenry in its entirety, organised as assembly), but in a similar flat pattern, involving various administrative bodies in turn. The Greek polis as a state thus is both a centralised and a hierarchical institution (through the citizens and their assembly) and functions

⁴¹ Southall most recently 1999; cfr 1989 and 1965.

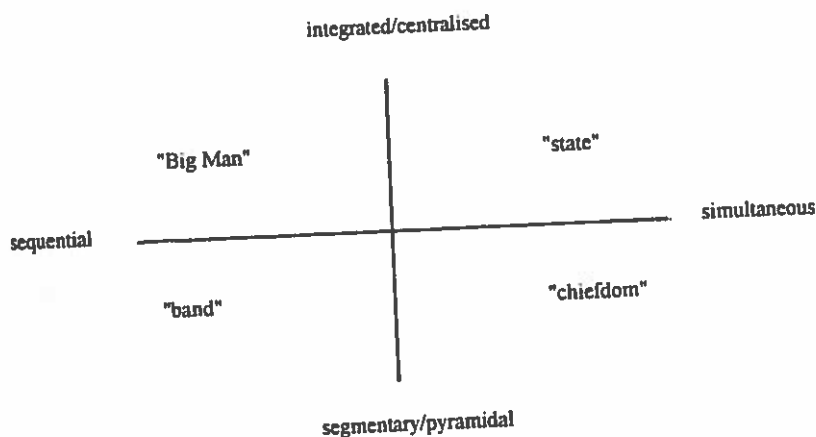


Figure 1. Every political system can be given a place on a gradual scale ranging from (exclusively) sequential to (exclusively) simultaneous, and on a similar range from segmentary/pyramidal to integrated/centralised. Evolution occurs from one point to another within this frame.

in a sequentially structured way. Thus the essentially democratic and communal nature of this kind of community-state was maintained. This also makes the Greek polis appear so particular in the more general, anthropological and evolutionist, perspective. It is, however, not unique.⁴² Similar polis-like features could be found with people in southern Ethiopia, in particular the Ochollo.⁴³

The particular evolution of which the polis-state was the result, can be explained as the resultant of the wobbling balance of two equally strong opposing forces or tendencies. One was the result of the ambitions of notable and powerful individuals to be the first among, and eventually the ruler over the other citizens. Occasionally, and in particular in the archaic age, this could lead to the establishment of tyrannies, which, however, never proved of long duration. The other force was formed by the jealousy and envy any outstanding individual attracted, and which involved institutional rivalry and mechanisms of mutual control. These communal forces and values levelled the ambitions of the elite and created typical 'democratic' or rather polis institutions. The tension was between on the one side a pull towards centrality and authority, and on the other a pull to levelling and sequentiality. The model I propose here shows the dynamics of this process, and allows for a better understanding of the evolution of political systems in general, and in particular the origin and evolution of 'peculiar', that is non-

⁴² See now Détienne 2000.

⁴³ Abélès 1983; Bureau 1981, 76, 153-54.

monarchical or near-monarchical systems like the Greek polis in its varieties, and the political community of the Ochollo.

increasing
integration/centralisation

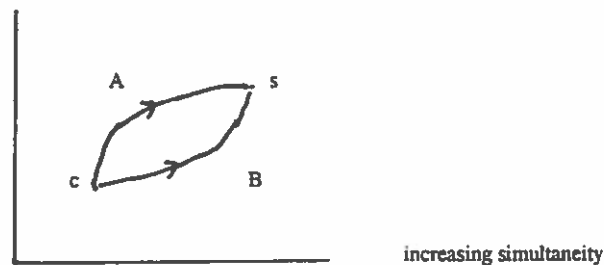


Figure 2. *Alternative trajectories of the evolution from "chiefdom" to "state".*

A. Increasing integration/centralisation of functions or tasks, complemented and followed by increasing simultaneity of authority and coercion, rather corresponding with Service's "management" model.

B. Increasing simultaneity of authority and coercion, complemented and followed by increasing integration/centralisation of functions and tasks, rather corresponding with Fried's "coercion" model

The polis as a political community

The way the polis took form as a state cannot be seen apart from the way it exercised internal pressure, much more than social control, in order to have strong minorities and powerful individuals obey its laws. The polis did have the means to make individuals and groups complying to its decisions, but it cannot be denied on the other hand that its structural weakness remained the 'flat' nature of its political organisation. 'Stasis', or its imminence, proved to be a permanent feature of the history of the Greek polis.⁴⁴ In a community dominated, or, one might even better say, formed by a class of citizen-warriors, physical force effectively could be applied through the mobilisation of a strong majority, or by the use of wealth, influence and power in the hands of a minority elite or individual ambitious leaders. The former mainly, at least in the beginning, must have been a means of combined opposition and resistance. On the other hand, aristocratic or wealthy, powerful and ambitious men did not operate in a vacuum either. Greek society was highly competitive, and rivalry among the notable was strong. As a goal, however, high status was much more important and aspired to than much power, which attracted envy and hatred. In this agonistic context the achievement

⁴⁴ Gehrke 1985.

of reputation and influence depended on recognition by one's equals as well as by the community in its entirety. Recognition depended on shared values and on compliance with communal values. Without rules and obedience to the rules, there is no game. Tyranny, the possession of personal and unbounded, unlimited political power, implied also social isolation, at least in the long run. The political dynamics and manipulation of power in the Greek polis thus depended on the interaction of various balances of opposing forces: between the nobility of *kalokagathoi* (both by birth and by wealth) and the mass of the 'useless' or poor, between individual and ambitious leaders and the rest of the nobility, and between the outstanding and mighty man and the polis in its whole, the citizens, poor and noble and wealthy alike, together. The outcome or the form this took mostly was struggle and rivalry among a few noble leaders for support and authority with the people, the *dēmos*.

In order to mobilise the people politically, one had to appeal to it. It appears that such an appeal could be very effective, in particular when it was made against arrogance and injustice (on the side of either part), against civil strife and for unity and reform, and when it was made by a strong and charismatic personality, with convincing words moving the people. The most impressive example are Solon's verses. In his poem 'Eunomia' he evokes the evils of *Dusnomia*, Lawlessness or rather the disruption of society, the follies of unabated avarice and satiety, disrespect for what belongs to gods, community, and men, which will ask its price and cause civil war and bloodshed.⁴⁵ When this once got loose, nobody is safe from it behind the walls and doors of his house. Unjustice thus is caused by human arrogance and delusion, and can only be fettered and curtailed by *Eunomia*, when social harmony prevails and justice rules. But Solon begins invoking '*our polis*' which until then did not have had to fear destruction from the part of Zeus or other immortal gods, as long as its protector goddess Athena has held her hands stretched out over it.⁴⁶ The emphasis and evocation are '*our polis*', the words whereby this song opens.

How the polis 'thinks'

Obviously, this appeal could and did move the Athenians to give Solon the support and cooperation he needed to get his reforms accepted and achieved. It was an appeal to their sense of identity, to their feeling and consciousness of forming a society, a community depending on mutual social and political responsibility. The important thing here is, that the expression 'we, the polis' could do this. In a similar vein the Megarean aristocratic poet Theognis referred to 'this polis which still is a polis' (but the people are others), meaning, this is still a community of citizens. That those citizens are, or should be, 'we', appears from his warnings for the possible rise of a tyrant: I am afraid that this polis is going to bring forth such a man, he says, as one who will put our bad ways straight.⁴⁷ Again, 'we' and 'the polis' are strongly connected, although one should admit that these aristocratic singers, like, e.g., also the Lesbian Alkaios, do not express the strong sense of identification as Solon does. Yet it is obvious that in the 6th century B.C. the word 'polis' had become the strongest expression of this collective identity. It made the citizens identify with their polis as being a community, distinct from any other such a community. These verses were to be, and were, song, and in that way they

⁴⁵ fr. 4W, 16-31 (*dusnomia* and its consequences), 31-39 (*eunomia*).

⁴⁶ fr. 4W, 1-4; cfr 5-8.

⁴⁷ Theogn., 39-40, cfr 53-6.

functioned as catchwords. Thus Solon's 'I' became 'we (did)'. This implied involvement and commitment, both to the policy proposed and defended, and to the community to which it was addressed.

Humans possess a special capacity of identifying themselves with something—a group, a nation, a religion—, through symbols.⁴⁸ Such a symbol may be a sign (like a cross, a labrys, a flag), but it can also be a word or words referring to a certain concept or image. Ideas are represented through images and symbols, evoked by special words, and people identify themselves through these words with these ideas and what they represent. This identification is strong enough to mobilise them to act in a certain way, positive as well as negative. The word and concept of 'polis' functioned in this way as a symbol. It represented and evoked a sense of identity with a particular community, as well as the social values and norms of behavior that were associated with it. Concepts order and structure our perception and view of the world and our social environment. As a social institution the polis was based not only on a sense of identity, but also on solidarity. "True solidarity is only possible to the extent that individuals share the categories of their thought", states Mary Douglas.⁴⁹ The concept of the polis, with its related values and representations, shaped the way the Greeks thought of society and social structure,⁵⁰ and thus directed the way they created social order. The idea of the polis and the idea of being a *politês* not only conferred identity on its members, but also provided them with a way to classify the world they lived in. Thus institutions structure communal and control individual behavior. In this way, Mary Douglas argues, "Institutions think".⁵¹ They also act, by giving direction to actions, which will, in their turn, tend to confirm the world view from which they are derived.

Polis and community in Hesiod and Homer

This approach allows to shed light on the much debated question of when the polis did emerge. On the one side, there can be no doubt that it existed in the second half of the seventh century. In Sparta, Tyrtaios' songs testify to the presence of the polis as a politically formalised institution, a state, with its regular procedures and decision-making institutions.⁵² The more or less contemporary laws of Dreros on Crete (ca. 650 BC) are made as a decision by the polis, and confirmed through an oath by, among others, the 'twenty of the polis'.⁵³ On the other side, the question is whether at the end of the eighth century Hesiod and Homer already knew the polis in this politically institutionalised form. They knew the word, and Homer at least knew a kind of assembly which, according to some scholars, indicates the presence of a rudimentary polis.⁵⁴ Others, however, disagree.⁵⁵ According to van Wees the structured and well-ordered hierarchical society represented in the Homeric epics was a polis.⁵⁶ There seems to be a growing consensus among scholars that the Greek society as described by Homer and Hesiod

⁴⁸ Young 1975; cfr Service 1971, 23.

⁴⁹ Douglas 1986, 7.

⁵⁰ Cartledge 1993.

⁵¹ Douglas 1986.

⁵² Tyrtaios, fr 4W.

⁵³ GHI 2.

⁵⁴ Hölkeskamp 1997.

⁵⁵ Flaig 1997, esp. 16; cfr Hansen 1993b, 10-12.

⁵⁶ Van Wees 1992, 269-73.

was, at least in its nucleus, a polis.⁵⁷ In this paper I argue that this position is wrong.

The central question is whether Homer and Hesiod did know the polis as a community of citizens. First, Hesiod. The Boiotian poet, living in the final decades of the eighth century, in his search for justice did nor could appeal to the polis as a community of fellow-citizens. Facing the might, arrogance, corruption, and injustice of the basileis he could only refer to the highest god, Zeus. He was dependant of these 'gifts-devoring basileis' for their judgment, sense of values, and jurisdiction. Much trust did he obviously not have in them. From his place, the village of Askra, he saw the polis as the place where the basileis administered justice, a 'crooked', however, rather than straight justice, as he experienced it.⁵⁸ In his view the polis is a (physical) place, a (small) town perhaps, although we should be cautious in seeing Hesiod's town as a fortified place because of the epic reminiscences in his words.⁵⁹ The image of the polis as a city is nearly automatically implied by the use of epic formulations.⁶⁰ Hesiod's polis is visually distinct from its surroundings: it can be destroyed,⁶¹ the revenge for the injustice of its princes, the basileis, can hit it when the raped Justice is being dragged through it.⁶² Hesiod's polis thus is not (yet) a community. That may be formed by the demos, which may have to pay for the injustices of its princes but remains passive.⁶³ The idea that the polis may 'contain' right or wrong, justice or injustice is also expressed by Theognis,⁶⁴ but while for Theognis the polis is 'free', and summons to action, and thus the polis is experienced as a community of citizens, it is for Hesiod 'the place where', in the direction of which, towards which he aims his admonitions and warnings. The place as such, however, is essentially neutral. His words are directed at the nobles, the princes who give crooked justice. The role of the people is a passive one. It stands at the side-line, as lookers-on. Although their existence is at risk because of the injustices of their nobles, the people do not act.⁶⁵

In the homeric epics the situation seems more complicated. In the epics the word polis denotes a place, generally a town. With the same meaning the poet uses 'ptoliethron'. In the homeric epics well-ordered, polis-like societies are present.⁶⁶ People are living in towns which are well laid out and are defended by walls. There are rulers, kings, but also institutions of 'the people', and king and people are tied together by mutual obligations. The demos offers, for instance, a temenos to the king in order that he has the means to fulfill his obligations as the representative head of the community. Similarly, he collects gifts from among the people, which he needs to present to his equals and guests.⁶⁷ When necessary, the assembly of the people is convoked, and although it is not consulted and has no voice of its own, it listens to the public deliberations of the king with the council of chiefs, who are being called 'kings', basileis, as well. Actually, the opinion of the community, as it is expressed by its leaders, prevails. Thus a number of scholars have concluded that in the homeric society the essential elements of the classical polis (assembly of the community, or the people, a council of elders

⁵⁷ Snodgrass 1993, 36-39; Raaflaub 1993, 46-64; cfr Morris 1986, 100-104, cfr 96-97 and 122-24.

⁵⁸ Hesiod., Erga 639-40.

⁵⁹ see Erga 238-247.

⁶⁰ cfr Erga 527; cfr. West 1978, 291-92; and the *Aspis* ascribed to Hesiod - but certainly reflecting the same social milieu, 270-313.

⁶¹ Erga 189.

⁶² Erga 220-24.

⁶³ Erga 259-64.

⁶⁴ Erga 270; Theogn., 39-60.

⁶⁵ Walter 1993, 51-57.

⁶⁶ see in particular Van Wees 1992, 269-73.

⁶⁷ Il. VI, 193-5; XVIII, 550 ff. and Odys. 13, 5-15.

or 'betters', public deliberation and decision-making, but still with an authoritative rather than mighty or powerful king present) are present. In Homer's description the institutionally most elaborated political community is that of the Trojans, which in a recent study has been explicitly analysed as the reflection of the 'polis'.⁶⁸

On the other hand, it has been argued, that the so-called people's assemblies of the world of the epics have no relation with the assemblies and other democratic elements or features of the classical polis. Although the word 'agoreuein' is used for the gathering of the *dèmos*, there is nothing that indicates that this is a formal institution. In the famous scene when the young Telemachos on Ithaka calls the people into such a gathering in order to obtain and mobilise their support against the 'Suitors', arrogant and self-aware warriors and sons of noble fathers, he fails completely. At the end the assembly is simply dismissed.⁶⁹ The people remain silent, and return to their own business. They were called upon to listen, but their 'assembly' has no power, institutionally nor informally. A somewhat different impression, however, emerges from the famous 'trial scene' on the shield made by Hephaistos for Akhilles.⁷⁰ The contest is over the compensation for murder or manslaughter between two parties. There is, however, a second contest or agon going on among the judges themselves: there is a prize set apart for who will give the best formulation of what should be decided upon. The people are silently present, but their role is not entirely restricted to that of passive onlookers. They will decide or at least confirm, obviously by their reactions and signs of approval, to whom of the judges this prize is to be awarded.⁷¹ They are involved in the procedure as well as in the norms of the case. Their judgement rests upon communal and social norms and values.

The question of the justice and social harmony of a community is an essential one in Homer too. Justice and social harmony go together, and are the basis of the prosperity of any town or community. The Shield of Akhilles⁷² shows a community of prosperous townspeople, living from its land and fields, forming a harmonious society where justice and respects for the gods prevail. This, however, is not the same as an ideal polis. The arguments adduced to defend the thesis of the presence of a, more or less, rudimentary polis in the world depicted by the homeric epics, are essentially external, and thus miss the point. It is not a matter of buildings (even for communal purposes, like a temple or a market-place) or the planned layout of a settlement, nor of the presence of formal institutions like a kind of assembly or a council—these can be found in numerous societies without a polis. By 'polis' I mean the typical construct of a political community where the formal organisation is expressively and explicitly related to a sense of communal identity which is rooted in the concept of citizenship.⁷³ What is typical of the Greek polis is the mobilising force of the common symbol of 'we, the polis'. That is still lacking in the world of Homer. The *dèmos* as such occasionally plays a role which may be deemed political. But a *dèmos* is not a polis. The homeric *dèmos* functions and operates in a dialectical situation, facing its noble chiefs and its basileus.

⁶⁸ Sale 1994.

⁶⁹ *Odys.* 2, 1-257, and in particular 256-57.

⁷⁰ *Il.* XVIII, 497-508.

⁷¹ Gagarin 1986, 26-33, espec. 31.

⁷² *Il.* XVIII, 490-508.

⁷³ The expression of the polis in the epics which most closely approaches the idea of the polis as a community of citizens is *Odys.* 8, 523-25.

Conclusion

Homer and Hesiod were near contemporaries, the former living probably somewhat later than the latter. When they refer to the society wherein they live, they must be thinking of similar social relations and institutions. Their perspective, however, is essentially different. Hesiod shows the look from below, from the position of the free, but in front of the basileis powerless, farmer. Homer shows us the world as the basileis liked to see it. Regarding the sense of communal identity they express, the views of Homer and Hesiod are complementary. For Hesiod the polis was a place, a habitated center, and, when facing the basileis, there was no citizenry to which he belonged and on whose support he might reckon. In Homer, the social or communal identity of the common people is also a matter of place. People belong together when they live together in a certain region: an island, a district, a landscape, and also, but not always, a town. They are Ithakians, Thesprotians, Pyliaans, and the like. Their collective identity is not a political one. Their chiefs and leaders, or perhaps rulers, are also bound to a certain place or region, but that is not the most important thing. They may migrate, sometimes of necessity, because they killed somebody, but also voluntarily joining a highly reputed man or house, or marrying the daughter of someone of high reputation. Their social identity is created by their collective status of 'noble warriors', *kalokagathoi*, and by their descent and through the names of their famous forebears and highest, often divine, ancestors. Their collective identity is articulated through the relations among themselves and their positions of relative status among each other. When facing the people they lead, the decisive point is how famous they are among themselves and how successful they are able in attracting a following of other warriors and young nobles.

Neither Homeric nor Hesiodic society was a polis. The emergence of the polis occurred not much after them, in the first half of the seventh century. It was a sudden breakthrough. It has been appropriately called a process of 'crystallization', and its description as a process of peer polity interaction comes close to the mark.⁷⁴ But that process should be the subject of another paper. The aim of this contribution was, first, to describe and explain the development of the peculiar Greek form of the state, the polis, in a general anthropological evolutionist model. I have argued, that this can be done by constructing a model wherein political evolution is depicted as taking place along a pathway determined by two vectors, one between sequential and simultaneous, the other between segmentary-pyramidal and centralised forms of political organisation. This implies a distancing from categorical concepts like chiefdom and Early State, while the idea of the evolution of heterarchical systems as an alternative to centralised hierarchies, has proved very useful. Second, I have argued that the polis-as-state not only was a particular form of political organisation, but also that its emergence and endurance depended upon the strength and persistence of the idea of the polis as a community of citizens. In this respect, Mary Douglas' analysis of the way how and why 'institutions think' has appeared very illuminating. Besides, this approach has helped to answer the question whether the social world reflected in the works of Hesiod and in the Homeric epics, already was characterised by this polis or its early manifestations. My answer to this question is 'no', so that the rise of the polis must be sought in the first half of the seventh century BC, and not earlier, and its explanation must therefore be sought in the historical processes at work at that time.

⁷⁴ "Crystallization": Raaflaub 1993, 77; on Peer Polity Interaction see Renfrew 1986 and Snodgrass 1986.

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Desiderius Erasmus and his Contribution to the Study of the Greek Classics, 2

On 18 November 1995 the NIA organized a colloquium on the role of the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam to the study of Ancient Greek (see also the introduction to the the three papers published in *Pharos* VII). Six papers were delivered at the colloquium:

- 1 *Erasmus in praise of the Greek Classics*, by Professor Dr E. Rummel (Wilfred Laurier University, Ontario, Canada)
- 2 *Erasmus and the Greeks*, by Professor Dr J. IJsewijn (University of Louvain, Belgium)
- 3 *Some Greek acquaintances of Erasmus*, by Professor Dr K.M. Panayotakis (University of Crete and director of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies at Venice, Italy)
- 4 *Erasmus and the edition of the Adagia*, by Dr K. Staikos (specialist in the art of printing in Greece, Athens, Greece)
- 5 *Linguistic scrutiny of the Erasmian pronunciation*, by Professor Dr G. Babiniotis (Athens University, Greece)
- 6 *Erasmus and his dialogue on the correct pronunciation of Latin and Greek*, by Em. Professor dr W.J. Aerts (University of Groningen, The Netherlands)
- 7 General discussion. Chairman Professor Dr G. Babiniotis.

Of these six papers three were published in the previous issue of *Pharos* (Rummel, IJsewijn and Aerts). In this volume the papers by Panayotakis and Staikos are presented. Professor Babiniotis has unfortunately not been able to prepare his paper for publication in the volume. Regarding the contribution by Professor Panayotakis, it must be observed that the author passed away before he had the chance to get it completely ready for publication; in other words the text was complete, but notes and references were as yet lacking. Despite this, the organization of the colloquium and the editorial staff of the *Pharos* believe that this contribution should not be omitted from the series of contributions to the colloquium.

GREEK ACQUAINTANCES OF ERASMUS

Nikolaos M. Panayotakis (†)

I feel a special pleasure and honour for the invitation of the Dutch Institute of Athens, which gives me the opportunity to speak to you today about one aspect of the very eventful activities of Erasmus, the most famous European humanist both in his lifetime and since his death, and about his literary work, which established his fame as a universal writer in the intellectual history of Europe.

In particular, I will speak about the circle of his Greek acquaintances. His relations with Greeks are in general well-known, but to date none of those who have studied him have paid particular attention to them—despite the fact that, as we will see, it is well worth the effort—or have examined them as a whole and systematically. I believe that these relations, which were rather due to circumstance and chance, played a not insignificant part in the fulfilment of his intellectual development, especially in improving his knowledge of Greek, which constituted the second element of the intellectual baggage of every humanist.

Undoubtedly, the subject has not only an obvious timeliness and pertinence for what I believe are the first cultural events in honour of the great Dutch scholar to take place in Greece, but is also of interest for us modern Greeks, as it sheds some light on the European dimension of our contribution, not only in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, but also in more recent times.

Meetings with Greeks

Erasmus' meetings with Greeks, all of them refugees from their Turkish-occupied homelands, took place in France, Italy, England and the Low Countries, and were particularly frequent and meaningful in the first half of his life. These meetings were, as we said, more or less circumstantial. Even if in some cases they had a positive influence on the great scholar, they

had no follow-up and never led to a lasting friendship. In Erasmus' enormous correspondence there is only one letter addressed to a Greek, Ianos Laskaris, and from the Greek side another letter addressed to Erasmus, written by Arsenios Apostolis. We will examine both these letters in more detail later in this paper. In spite of this, no other European scholar had so many friendships in high places, in the church, government and universities, with kings and emperors, noblemen and distinguished civilians, cardinals, popes and intellectuals, mainly intellectuals. For Erasmus, his acquaintances with Greeks were simply coincidences which marked his life in a fleeting way without a meaningful continuity, but, as we will see, not without certain consequences that were beneficial for him.

The chance nature and absence of continuation of these acquaintances of Erasmus means that they must be presented in a narrative way, with a spine-like structure. Because of the excerpt-like nature of the subject, we will examine it in small, separate units, which are not directly connected, but anyway are not entirely unrelated the one to the other.

Erasmus' knowledge of Greek

It is a fact that compared to Erasmus' perfect, fluent knowledge of Latin, his knowledge of Greek was not of the same standard. He knew excellent ancient Greek, of course, and with his natural genius was able to progress to a deeper understanding of Greek texts, something that others who knew Greek better than he did, never achieved, but he wrote almost nothing in Greek, not even one of his surviving 3,000 letters. He was reluctant to write in Greek, because he was never sure that he would write it flawlessly. In 1502, at the age of 36, after a year of Greek studies in Paris, he himself admits: "I have immersed myself in Greek studies, but I have not yet achieved perfection. I have reached the point where I can more or less write the language, but not as well as I would like, and only with some effort." Elsewhere, he writes: "Translation from good Greek to good Latin is the most difficult of tasks." And we know in fact that he did not avoid mistakes in his translations from Greek into Latin. His deep esteem and respect for the Greek language are emphasised at many points in his work. "If you want to draw deeply from the well of wisdom, learn Greek. In Latin, in the best case, we have muddy pools. By comparison, the Greeks have the clearest springs, rivers that overflow with gold." Elsewhere, he writes: "The richness of Latin, however wide it may be, is crippled and incomplete without Greek." And elsewhere: "We see that, even if Latin education has its own weight, it is deficient and poor when compared to Greek." Even as late as 1527, in the twilight of Erasmus' life, his young friend Pierre du Chastel wrote that Erasmus was very hesitant to tackle Greek writers with whom he was not familiar, and that every time he translated or wrote comments, he would seek the help of others who knew Greek better than he did. This was, however, the conscientiousness and search for perfection of a scholar. Erasmus' exceptional knowledge of Greek can in no way be disputed. It seems that he learnt his first elementary Greek in Deventer, where his teacher was Alexander Hegius.

From then on, he never ceased to cultivate it with the help of his numerous friends, many of whom knew excellent Greek, such as Colet and More, for example, in London, particularly during his first visit to England in 1499.

In 1500 he returned to Paris to continue his theological studies, determined to find a teacher to improve his Greek. How limited his knowledge of Greek was at this period can be seen from the first edition of *Adagia* (1500), where the quotations from Greek writers are incomparably fewer than in the second edition which was published in Venice in 1508. "I have put my whole

soul into my study of Greek," he wrote on 12 April 1500. "I first buy Greek books and then buy clothes."

Paris - Hermonymos

In Paris, in the first period of his stay there, he found a professional teacher of Greek, Georgios Hermonymos, a refugee from Mystras, who, however, by no means satisfied his pupil, even if he surely taught him more Greek than he knew until then. Erasmus' complaints about his Greek teacher were the reason why the name of this quite distinguished Greek scholar has been blackened.

We now know much more about Hermonymos than before, and it is now time for his standing to be somehow re-established and for the reasons for Erasmus' complaints and dissatisfaction to be interpreted.

Erasmus refers to him by name in a complaining way only once, much later (1523), but in his letters between 1500 and 1506 he does not even mention the name of his Greek teacher. There cannot, however, be the slightest doubt that it was Hermonymos, who was after all the only Greek teaching Greek at that time in Paris, and who had other distinguished pupils such as Guillaume Budé, Reuchlin, Beatus Rhenanus, Lefèvre d'Étaples (Erasmus' Faber Stapulensis), and others. The relation of pupil and teacher between Erasmus and Hermonymos is borne out by the fact that Hermonymos had in his possession a poor quality manuscript of the liturgy of Chrysostomos in a Latin translation, which he possibly used for teaching purposes. At least four manuscripts in his own hand with the same text in both languages have survived. This text was known to Erasmus too, who, believing that it was the authentic text of the Byzantine liturgy, corrected the inelegant Latin translation at many points; the translation with Erasmus' name was first published in Paris in 1536 (the year of his death) and was reprinted together with the Greek text of Hermonymos' manuscript the following year, and thus, thanks to Erasmus' name, acquired a unique authority.

Erasmus first mentions his Greek lessons in Paris in a letter of 14 January 1501, in which he writes that he had just begun them (*hvis linguae nuper esse candidatus coepi*). Two months later, he had already formed the worst opinion about his (unnamed) teacher, calling him disdainfully a Greek, or rather, as he adds, two times a Greek (*plane Graecum vel potius bis Graecum*), who was always ready for a drink and was excessively demanding in terms of fees (it is well-known that Erasmus did not have a reputation for open-handedness). Despite all that, this stressful pupil/teacher relationship continued for almost another four years.

In September 1502, Erasmus declared that he was not satisfied with his progress in Greek, and two years later he confessed that although he had by then dedicated three whole years to Greek, he was still not satisfied. It seems that his lessons with Hermonymos continued until the beginning or middle of 1506. In a letter of 12 June of that year he wrote to his English friend Linacre that his poor Greek teacher (*meus graeculus*) was impatiently waiting to receive some present that Erasmus had promised him for his services and was asking for it insistently. Erasmus calls him a fool, because, he says, Hermonymos had not noticed how he had phrased his promise. Erasmus had promised him "I will send you as a present something worthy of you," that is, as he explains, *rem malum*, something cheap, hinting thus at the low value of Hermonymos' teaching.

Seventeen years later, he was to summarise as follows his impression of Hermonymos,

without even mentioning that he had been his teacher: "From the time that I was a child I had acquired a taste of Greek. Later and for about thirty years I was able to increase this knowledge of mine, even though there was at that time no abundance of Greek manuscripts, and even more so of teachers. In Paris only a certain Georgios Hermonymos stammered a little Greek, but he could neither teach it, even if he wanted to, nor would he want to, if he could. Thus I was compelled to become my own teacher."

Hermonymos seems in fact not to have been a particularly gifted teacher. This was also confirmed later (1540) by Louis Le Roy, Budé's biographer: "There came to Paris," he writes, "Georgios Hermonymos, who called himself a Lacedaemonian, a mediocre person, who either had no education at all, or that which he did have was minimal. Since, as it seems, there was no one else at that time who knew Greek, in the beginning he won the great admiration of our compatriots. When Budé met him, he hired him for a large fee, and in addition, before he dismissed him, very generously gave him five hundred gold coins. He was not sparing with money and gifts, as long as he succeeded in getting what he wanted. He was a pupil of this Greek for some years and he was taught Homer and other famous writers by him—but in no way did he become any wiser. Because his teacher could not teach him more than he already knew. Hermonymos' Greek was a mixture of learned and popular language (as much as he knew). The only thing he knew well was how to earn a living selling the teaching of Greek."

This insulting description is confirmed by Budé himself in a letter of 19 March 1517: "I found a certain old Greek," he writes, "and he (with expensive fees) taught me as much Greek as he knew, or perhaps even more, mixing the learned language with the popular one. He made me suffer with his teaching, though I must say that he knew how to read and to pronounce beautifully, and he taught me to write elegantly. I considered him, the only Greek in France, the wisest of men and he, by showing me Homer and by mentioning several writers to me, knew how to excite me to fanatical study ... It was only when books from Italy finally began to arrive that I realized what a great mistake I had made from ignorance because of my youth, and began to buy books and devote more time and effort to them. Only then did I realize how badly I had been taught—my teacher knew hardly anything 'except letters and those, however, badly'. So I decided to stop having lessons with the Greek, even though he kept pestering me."

Equally disappointed with Hermonymos' teachings were two German pupils of his, the famous Hebrew scholar, Johann Reuchlin, or Kapnion, as he is known in Greek, who seems to have been a pupil of Hermonymos quite early, in 1478, and a lesser scholar, Michael Humelburg, who studied in Paris from 1504 to 1511. On the other hand, the famous Alsatian scholar, Beatus Rhenanus, the friend and biographer of Erasmus, who was also a pupil of Hermonymos in Paris at the time that Erasmus was there too (1503-1507), makes no complaint about his teacher, as he calls him. And at least one pupil of Hermonymos, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, one of the most famous French humanists of the period, a friend of Erasmus, wrote of his teacher in the best of words, and actually even dedicated to him Budé's translation of Plutarch's *Areskonton tois philosophois* which was published in Paris in 1505.

From all the above we can draw the conclusion that Hermonymos, as we have already said, was not a gifted teacher. It seems that he had no philosophical training, and was not capable of interpreting Plato and Aristotle, as his talented pupils would wish, or of discussing a literary subject in a way that would satisfy the intellectual curiosity and high demands of an Erasmus, a Budé or a Reuchlin. He was more of a primary school teacher, who, however, despite everything that he is blamed for, knew all the phases of the Greek language and had the

inclination to teach Greek to his pupils. He was perhaps a little eccentric, perhaps a little miserly and demanding, but for all that he was a useful person, especially when there were no others who were better. If he had not been useful they would not have kept him as their teacher, Erasmus for four years and Budé for perhaps longer.

It is unfortunate that his reputation for ignorance and stupidity managed, thanks to the categorical opinions of Erasmus (and not only Erasmus), to find their way into almost all the biographies of the Dutch humanist. I will refer here only to some of the unfavourable descriptions that the unfortunate Hermonymos has been the object of in the works of modern writers. I will mention, by way of a sample, what three of the younger ones write. Leon Halkin considers that Hermonymos "had a rather mediocre knowledge of ancient Greek and the progress of his pupil was one measure of the incompetence of his teacher" (1987). Geanakopoulos (1962), without checking the existing data, calls him "rather incompetent", while Henri Omont, the writer of the only special study on Erasmus so far (1885-1886), which is now out of date, does not even accept that he was Erasmus' teacher.

Hermonymos may have been an average and grasping primary school teacher, but he did not have a mediocre knowledge of Greek, nor, as we have said, was he incompetent and unsuitable. If he had been, he would not have exercised the profession of Greek teacher in Paris for 32 whole years. Nor was he a person without some culture and education. The surname Hermonymos is clearly archaized. His real surname, it seems, was Hermetianos. Four persons appear at exactly the same period (and no other), with the surname Hermonymos and the Christian names Georgios, Hieronymos and Haritonymos, combined or not with Hermonymos. Already by 1978, the German Byzantologist, Erich Trapp, after examining all the evidence, had come to the conclusion that it was in fact a question of two people, Georgios and Haritonymos (that is, Ioannis) Hermonymos. However, very recently a young Greek, Maria Kalatzi, has proved convincingly, on the basis of palaeographic criteria, that it is not a question of two, but of one single person, the teacher of Erasmus. The chronologies of the supposedly two persons interlace without clashing, and what comes out is a single curriculum vitae that is by no means to be looked down on. This single Hermonymos was neither an idiot, nor uneducated, nor a poor Greek.

Georgios Hermonymos, previously Hermetianos, was born in Sparta, that is Mystras, the outstanding intellectual centre of the Peloponnese, around 1450. He was a pupil of Andronikos Kallistos and Plethon, and followed the bishop Thomas Palaeologos into exile, after the seizure of Mystras by the Turks in 1460. In 1465, by way of Corfu and Ancona, he arrived in Rome, where he became a member of the circle of Cardinal Bessarion and Pope Paul II, who also supported him financially. He had composed a funeral elegy, for Plethon, as early as 1452, a second one for the death of Princess Katerina Palaeologos (1460), as well as a small theological work. In addition, four letters of his in Greek have survived, which date from the first period of his life up to 1465.

His relations with circles of Rome were certainly the reason why Pope Sixtus IV sent him on a diplomatic mission to England to mediate for the release of George Neville, the Archbishop of York. His mission was a success, the Archbishop was freed, but he himself, for unknown reasons, was imprisoned in London, and had no money to pay for his release. Fortunately, his old teacher, Andronikos Kallistos, happened to be in London at the time, and his letter to the King had the desired results. Four months later, Hermonymos was in Paris where, it seems, he remained for the rest of his life.

Deprived of his protectors, and without other means of support, he was from then on forced

to earn his living as a teacher of Greek and a copyist of manuscripts. As a copyist of manuscripts he was quite productive. In all 76 Greek manuscripts survive that bear his name or are attributed to him on the basis of the handwriting, many of them of classical authors (Aristotle, Thucydides, Aeschylus, Xenophon, Plutarch, Galen, etc.), but mainly of ecclesiastical writers.

The manuscripts of Hermonymos reveal a writer with elegant, calligraphic handwriting, good taste and, above all, education and knowledge, which allowed him to make the correct choice of good texts and to copy without many mistakes or misspellings. A quite high level of education is also shown in his Greek writings, where he uses the ancient Greek language with characteristic ease and accuracy. If there are faults in the ancient Greek texts of his, they are the faults of all Byzantine texts of the kind: it is the obscurity and affectation which create a considerable difficulty for understanding. They are texts in which the writer wishes to show off his competence in handling the Attic dialect. From the point of view of language, Hermonymos is no worse than the average scholar of Palaeologan times.

Finally, we must emphasise another side of Hermonymos' education and literary activity, which up to now has been neglected or at any rate not sufficiently projected. He knew excellent Latin, something rare for a Byzantine scholar. He translated into Latin and printed in a pamphlet in Paris Aristotle's *On Virtues and Vices*, the sayings of the Seven Sages, the letters of Themistocles to Plato, a life of Mohammed, a treatise of Georgios Scholarios against the Turks, and other smaller texts. The only Greek text that he wrote after he settled in the West is an undated letter to his pupil Reuchlin, which is accompanied by his own Latin translation. We know nothing about the real quality of his Latin texts, but I presume that if it had been much below mediocre, Erasmus would not have omitted to count it against him and include it in his most bitter complaints.

At any rate, it would be worthwhile for Hermonymos' Latin texts to be studied, as well as his life and work as a whole, without preconceptions and inhibitions.

Venice

After his second journey to England (1505-1506), Erasmus began his journeys to Italy which lasted for more than three years, from 1506 to 1509.

Of particular interest to us are the nine months he stayed at the house of Aldus Manutius in Venice, where he had the opportunity to improve his Greek and meet Aldus' Greek collaborators and other Greek scholars of the region, among them the most distinguished of them all, Ianos Laskaris, who was ambassador of France to Venice at that time. As Erasmus himself declares, the aim of his visit to Italy was mainly to perfect his Greek (*Italiam ... ad vivum Graecitatis potissimum causa*). After receiving his doctoral degree from the University of Turin and a stay of thirteen months in Bologna, Erasmus decided to write to Aldus (28 October 1507) asking for information about recent and forthcoming publications of Greek writers, and about the possibility of having his Latin translation of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigeneia in Aulis* published (they were published in December 1507). A few days later, Erasmus appeared in Venice, his principal goal being to edit a second, improved edition of *Adagia*. From January to September 1508 Erasmus was a guest at the house of Aldus, or rather the house of Aldus' father-in-law, Andrea d'Asola, under circumstances that were by no means favourable and which were to be indelibly engraved in his memory and increase even more his anti-Italicism. He was to write his by no means flattering description of the wretched

conditions of his stay in Venice some twenty whole years later, a description that, while containing some grains of truth, must in general be considered exaggerated and distorted in a satirical way.

His main concern in Venice was the second edition of *Adagia*. In Aldus' circle he was able to find Greek manuscripts much more easily, even of unpublished works. Aldus himself lent him manuscripts from his own library, while Aldus' close Greek collaborators, Markos Mousouros, Ioannis Grigoropoulos, Arsenios Apostolis and others were always at hand ready to help him, not to mention Aldus' close circle of friends, such as Zacharias Kallergis and Ianos Laskaris. The second edition of *Adagia*, the Aldine edition of 1508, is a huge volume of 500 pages which contains over 3,000 sayings, that is it is 80 percent larger compared to the first edition. This time 84 percent of the whole of *Adagia* includes texts of Greek writers.

The printing took nine months and during this period Erasmus was in daily contact with the Greek collaborators of the printer's. Actually, one of them calls him a friend and for this reason we will start with him.

The person in question is Arsenios Apostolis, the pro-Catholic Archbishop of Monemvasia, who was Mousouros' and Grigoropoulos' teacher in Crete.

Erasmus does not mention him at all in his letters. He does, however, mention his father, Michael Apostolis, who was a collector of proverbs and was the co-editor of the so-called *Ionià*, which his son continued to enrich, and which was published in part in Rome in 1519 and in its totality in Basle in 1538. *Ionià* was undoubtedly one of the principle sources of the second edition of *Adagia*, even if Erasmus never admits it and, on the contrary, on the two occasions he refers to Michael Apostolis' collection of proverbs, characterises it as uninformed, full of mistakes, and in general to be avoided.

Anyway the measure of his relations with Arsenios can be seen in a letter from the latter to Erasmus written on 31 August 1521 and sent from Florence. Because of its uniqueness, I will quote the whole text according to Manousakas' edition:

Arsenios of Monemvasia to the renowned Erasmus, may he be in good health.

It is normal that traces and signs imprinted on one's body should be perishable, since the material they are written on is perishable too. On the other hand, it is absolutely normal that such traces and signs inscribed and imprinted in the book of the soul should remain imperishable, since what they are written on is itself imperishable. Thus, although you are absent, your being a friend makes me see you in the mirror of my soul and of my heart, feel affection and sympathy towards you and retain my indelible love for you. How would it be possible for me not to love the wise Erasmus, whose fame has spread in all the villages and the cities and with whose renown all feasts and gatherings are full? I expect you feel the same way towards me, since our acquaintance goes back to the time when the wise Muses brought us together in Venice. You can prove it more convincingly when you respond to my letter. For I am afraid that, if we get accustomed to silence, our friendship may wither with time.

The bearer of this letter is a compatriot of yours. On his return home he asked me to write a letter addressed to you, which I did. With him I am also sending you a copy of a book of Apophthegms, which I recently printed in Rome. A small token of our mutual friendship. Fare thee well.

When Apostolis wrote this letter after so many years of silence, Erasmus was indeed at the height of his fame; he was, according to Huizinga, the intellectual monarch of his time. So Arsenios had every reason to want to secure his favour. It is, though, very doubtful if Erasmus ever replied.

However, the two more important acquaintances of Erasmus in Venice were Markos Mousouros and Zacharias Kallergis. Mousouros was the outstanding Greek scholar, publisher of so many *editiones principes* at Aldus' press and had been a professor at the University of Padua since 1503. We do not know where Erasmus met him for the first time, whether in Padua or in Venice. Be that as it may, Mousouros held a reception for him one evening in his house in Padua, where Erasmus met Zacharias Kallergis and Mousouros' very old father, who spoke only Greek. Erasmus writes that, in order to pass the time, he grabbed the old Cretan's hand, and said "we two old men", even though, as he writes, he was not much older than Mousouros (about four years). Then Mousouros in his turn embraced Zacharias, "the wisest young man", and said "we two young men". The slight difficulty concerning this episode stems from the characterisation of Zacharias as a young man, when we know that Kallergis must then have been two or three years younger than Erasmus, who was around forty. When Michaelangelo was forty, he already used to say that his old age had begun. Erasmus, however, as we see from his texts, was more optimistic: for him youth, *juventus*, lasted until forty.

Erasmus was later to admit that he owed a lot to Mousouros during the preparation of the second edition of *Adagia* of 1508. Even so, some malevolent people around 1511 hastened to inform Erasmus that Mousouros was his enemy and was speaking badly of *Adagia*, saying that the texts of the Greek writers it included were badly translated. We have no indication either from the side of Mousouros or from the side of Erasmus that there was in fact any enmity between them. Erasmus' close friend, Beatus Rhenanus, at an advanced age was a regular pupil of Mousouros in Padua, and praises his teacher, calling him the companion and priest of the Muses (*vere Musarum custos et antistes*), who read everything and knew everything: figures of speech, myths and all the *realia* of antiquity, and, in addition, was full of kindness and humanity. Erasmus, who was most sparing in his praise, expresses his admiration for the beautiful Latin of Mousouros, and writes that after his death there was no one, either French, German or Italian, who could compete with him and no one who could replace him. In general, all the references to Mousouros in Erasmus' letters are unreservedly favourable and praising, both for his learning and for his character.

It is very probable that Erasmus' connection with Mousouros improved his knowledge of Greek, and Erasmus may have attended the Cretan scholar's lessons during the two months of his stay in Padua.

Erasmus also entertained a special esteem for another famous Greek of the period, whose learning and admirable knowledge of Latin he also singles out: Ianos Laskaris, who was the ambassador of France to Venice at the time. He met him for the first time in 1508 in Venice, and not in Paris, and after that they do not seem to have met again. Laskaris was another of his Greek friends who helped him with the Venetian edition of *Adagia*.

In fact he invited Erasmus to stay at his house, away from the noise and commotion of Aldus' press for as long as he stayed in Venice. It seems that Erasmus discussed the correct pronunciation of Greek with Mousouros and Laskaris at this time. Both Mousouros and

Laskaris spoke it with a modern Greek pronunciation, but they admitted that their pronunciation did not represent the ancient one. We can surmise that the pre-history of the so-called Erasmian pronunciation can be traced to these discussions. On 26 April 1518, Erasmus sent a letter to Laskaris, the only letter he addressed to a Greek, written in Louvain, in which he asks him to suggest a Greek scholar for the chair of Greek at the Collegium Trilingue of Louvain, and describing the terms of the teaching post with such enthusiasm that it seems very probable that he hoped to attract Laskaris himself. He even makes the concession that the Greek in question would teach in his language and with his pronunciation, "so that the authentic pronunciation of spoken Greek would be directly impressed upon his audience." Finally Laskaris did not go to Louvain, but Erasmus followed his career with interest and regularly sent him greetings.

However, an unfortunate incident occurred which clouded their relationship in the last two years of their lives. In his *Ciceronianus*, Erasmus referred somewhat disdainfully to Budé, who was a great friend and pupil of Laskaris, in a way that very much displeased Budé and his friends. Laskaris replied to Erasmus with a "very bitter epigram" in Greek, which has not survived. The epigram, however, came into the hands of friends of Erasmus who hastened to communicate it to him. Erasmus, who spoke about Laskaris with enthusiasm in *Ciceronianus*, expressed in various letters his bitter complaints about these criticisms of Laskaris which he considered unjust.

It is difficult to evaluate Laskaris' contribution to Erasmus' work. His contribution in providing proverbs which Erasmus used in *Adagia* was great. But we do not know with any certainty how great his contribution was to the shaping of Erasmus' views about the correct pronunciation of ancient Greek. Anyway, Laskaris and Mousouros were the two Greeks who made a greater impression on Erasmus than did not only any Greek but also any foreign Hellenist of his time.

Other Greek acquaintances and admirors

I will end with two other Greek acquaintances of Erasmus. The first was a certain Christophoros Palaeologos from Constantinople, a monk of Mount Sinai, who visited Erasmus in Antwerp in 1517 as part of his attempt to raise money in Germany, with the Pope's permission, for the rebuilding of the monastery of Mount Sinai which had recently suffered damage at the hands of the Arabs. According to Erasmus, he knew only refined Greek, and communication with him was not always easy. Erasmus met Palaeologos again in Antwerp in 1520; his fund-raising for the reconstruction of Sinai had not borne fruit and he was planning to cross over to England in the hope of managing to raise more money. Erasmus recommended him warmly to the Archbishop of York, Thomas Wolsey, and he asked him to help him.

Finally, another Greek, or rather Venetian of distant Greek origin, Nicholas Secoundinos, or Sagundino, the grandson of a well-known Byzantine scholar of the same name and himself a scholar, met Erasmus either in Venice, where he was a senior civil servant (1504-1514), or in London where he served as Secretary to the Venetian ambassador to England (1514-1518). In a letter to his friend, Mousouros, written from London on 22 April, 1517, a few months before his death, he mentions that he had frequently met Erasmus (who remained in England until 1514), and praises him extravagantly, saying that the whole world admired him (*totus illum suspiciat et admiretur orbis*). On 27 August, 1517, Francisco Chieregato sent Erasmus Secoundinos' greetings from Antwerp. There is no doubt that Secoundinos was a simple

acquaintance of Erasmus, but a great admirer of him and a close friend of Mousouros and Thomas More.

There are also some other Greeks whose paths crossed with Erasmus', persons about whom we know nothing more than their name. I will mention, however, one more Greek of a slightly later generation, who never met Erasmus but was also a great admirer of him, and has left us the first Greek text written specially about the Dutch scholar. The person in question is Andronikos Noukios, from Corfu, a scholar, editor and writer, and at the same time a professional soldier and adventurer, who has left us with the description of a journey from Venice to England in the years 1546-1547, as a member of the retinue of Gérard de Velwich de Ravenstein, the ambassador of Charles V to the Sultan.

It is the well-known text *Apodemiai*, which is unique of its kind, written in an Atticizing idiom, which calls to mind Arrian, and is full of noteworthy and interesting information. Noukios by and large describes cities and their inhabitants, but in two cases he speaks at length in separate entities about specific people: Luther and Erasmus. What he writes about Erasmus, which interests us here, is clearly drawn from word of mouth information and for that reason is not free of mistakes. For example, he mentions that Erasmus also studied in Cologne, places his stay in Bologna after his stay in Venice, and, worst of all, refers to Strasbourg as the place of his death, and not Basle. Of more importance, though, is not what he writes, but why he wrote it. Clearly his motives were strange, the peculiarity of Erasmus' reputation as a great scholar, the most famous scholar of the Western world, he writes, worthy of being placed next to any sage of Antiquity. It is worth quoting the whole section from Noukios' *Apodemiai* that refers to Erasmus:

On Erasmus, man of renown

After we left these two cities, the next day travelling across the plains of Holland we arrived at a very ancient city called Rotterdam. Erasmus, whose fame is the greatest amongst the peoples of the West, was born here. He lived not too many years before our time. He is known to have written in an excellent manner a larger number of important works not only in Latin but also in Greek. He is considered second to none compared with the most renowned ancient sages as far as his use of language, his elegance of vocabulary and his precision of thought are concerned. As we said, he was born in the city mentioned above, raised by parents who were certainly not wealthy, living modestly and barely able to support themselves. He enrolled in a school and after he completed his studies at Louvain in Brabant and in Cologne, he left for Italy and Venice. He occupied himself with the humanities at Bologna and Padua and becoming acquainted with and well known by the best humanists, he was highly considered by all. He was invited by the king of France to appear before him but he declined, and instead spent most of his time in Germany as well as in Basle and in Strasbourg. By the time he had reached a very advanced age, he had left behind a multitude of writings and, more than any other, a great reputation amongst men. It was in Strasbourg, a famous German city, that he reached the end of his life. He was buried there at the age of eighty.

I will close with another interesting piece of evidence of the authority of Erasmus in the modern Greek world. It is well-known that from the middle of the 16th century Erasmus' books were included in the Index of books banned by the Roman Catholic Church. This fact, apart from the complete banning of the many Italian editions of his works and their

disappearance from bookshops, resulted in their gradual withdrawal from public and private libraries, or destruction, over the following decades. Such copies as were saved or continued to be smuggled into Italy were kept in private libraries, and there are several cases where the possession of a book by Erasmus attracted the attention of the Inquisition and brought trouble on its owner. So systematic was this persecution of Erasmus' works that only a very few copies of his first editions have survived in Italian public libraries. I may point out that in Venice there is not even a single copy of the Venetian edition of the *Adagia* of 1508. The Italian book world's loss of works by Erasmus is described magnificently by Silvana Seidel Menchi in her book *Erasmus in Italy, 1520-1580*.

Among the cases she refers to is that of a young Greek doctor from Candia, today's Heraklion, in Crete, Manousos Maras, who in 1568 was arrested by the Inquisition and was sent for trial in Crete and later in Venice as being pro-Reformation and a follower of Calvin. One of the charges brought against him was the contents of his small library with works that were heretical in the opinion of his accusers. Among these works there were at least two by Erasmus, his edition of the New Testament with his prologue *Paraclesis Ad Lectorem*, and the *Paraphrasis in Acta Apostolorum*. Both of these, together with the rest of Maras' books, were burnt publicly in the centre of the city.

Concluding remarks

I do not know if this excerpt-like presentation of information about the Greeks whom Erasmus met in his life was interesting and useful, and above all I do not know if finally I was entirely convincing when, at the beginning, I promised to show that these acquaintances of Erasmus played a part in his intellectual development and in particular in the cultivation of his knowledge of Greek.

What is important, however, as the great scholar wrote, is not who was a genuine Greek and who was not. In his opinion, a Greek was whoever could concern himself, with love and success, with the Greek writers, even if, as he writes, he did not have a beard (as, in contrast to Westerners, all Greeks had at that time): *mihi Graecus est quisquis in Graecis autoribus diligenter ac feliciter versatus est, etiamsi barbam not habeat*.

**THE GREEK SECTION OF ERASMUS'
COLLECTION ADAGIA.
Thoughts and observations regarding
the conditions for its publication**

Konstantinos Sp. Staikos

The publication of Greek and Latin sayings by Erasmus which first appeared in Paris in 1500, under the title *Adagia*, represents perhaps the most encyclopaedic achievement to be published during the Italian Renaissance. Knowing the great problem faced by the humanists in finding suitable manuscripts for the philological preparation of first editions (*editiones principes*), I believe that it is understandable that such an ambitious publishing undertaking as the *Adagia* presents us with a number of problems.

On the other hand, the method followed by Erasmus in cataloguing and commenting on the sayings was without precedent in Greek scholarship, since other such collections are of a clearly epigrammatic character. For this reason I intend to put down here certain thoughts on the tradition of similar collections and on the conditions prevailing in Erasmus' time so that the material in book form necessary for the compilation of this achievement can be consulted.

Older collections

The collection of proverbs-sayings that Erasmus described in his book as: 'λόγος ωφέλιμος, εν τω βίω επικρύψει μετρία πολύ το χρήσιμον έχων εν εαυτώ',¹ was not of course his own idea; Aristotle himself as long ago as the 4th century BC, according to Diogenes Laertius,² had compiled a first collection of Proverbs, the fate of which is unknown. His pupil, Clearchus of Soli followed his example, as did Aristotle's successor in the Peripatetic School, Theophrastus, who gave his book the title *On Proverbs*. The circle of selections of sayings of a philosophical nature closed with the collection by the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus.

¹ See the Basel edition of the *Adagia*, edited by Johann Froben, 1523, 3.

² See Diogenes Laertius, 5, 26.

During the Alexandrian period collections of proverbs were compiled for the sake of philology, such as that of Demon (*On Proverbs*) of which only a fragment has survived. From that period there still exist the collections of Aristophanes of Byzantium, the very prolific Didymus, and Lucillus of Tarrha in Crete.

In the later period of the Sophists collections of proverbs enjoyed great popularity, since the sayings were used as an important component of rhetoric, as for example in the works of Lucian and Libanius. The origins of the *Corpus Paroemiographorum*³ go back to the studies of the sophist Zenobius, who lived during the reign of Hadrian, in the 2nd century A.D., and compiled an Epitome in 3 books based on the collections of Didymus and Lucillus of Tarrha.

In the Middle Ages the Corpus consisted of i) the collection of Zenobius, arranged alphabetically for scholastic purposes; ii) a collection of *Proverbs of Plutarch used by the Alexandrians* which was most probably based on Seleucus of Alexandria; and iii) an alphabetical list of *Popular Proverbs*, derived from the same source as Zenobius, which is ascribed to the lexicographer Diogenianus, but is probably the work of some anonymous writer. It was from this material that the collections of the bibliophiles of Byzantine times were compiled, those of Gregory of Cyprus (13th century) and Macarius (14th century).

In the time of Erasmus, the first who attempted to revive the compilation of proverbs was the loyal friend of Cardinal Bessarion, Michael Apostolis.⁴ In the course of a visit to Rome, Apostolis had promised the former secretary of the Greek cardinal, Gaspar Zacchi, Bishop of Osimo, that he would compile for him a selection of sayings and proverbs taken from Greek classical writers. Apostolis indeed satisfied Zacchi's wishes in 1471-1472 and gave his collection the title *Ioniá*.⁵ He subsequently sent a copy of the manuscript to Zacchi, drawing his attention to the fact that for most of the proverbs he had added footnotes regarding their origin. After Michael Apostolis' death in around 1480, the original manuscript of the work probably passed into the possession of his son, Arsenios Apostolis, who published part of the collection under the title *Apophthegmata* (Rome, about 1519).⁶

We owe the first edition of the proverbs, inspired by Zenobius, to the initiative of a printing centre that was important for Greek literature, which functioned in Florence under the supervision of the philhellene publisher, Filippo Junta. The book was published under the title

³ See *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, edited by E. L. Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, 2 vols., Hildesheim 1958, and Supplement, 1961.

⁴ Michael Apostolis was one of the closest collaborators of Cardinal Bessarion and played an important part in the collecting and reproducing of valuable Greek codices, working mainly in his scriptorium in Handax (Heraklion), Crete, from 1455 on. See H. Noiret, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*, Paris 1899; D. J. Geanakoplos, *Ἑλληνες λόγιοι εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν. Μελέται ἐπὶ τῆς διαδόσεως τῶν ἐλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου εἰς τὴν Δυτικὴν Εὐρώπην*, μετ. Χ. Γ. Πατρινέλης (*Greek Scholars in Venice. Studies on the Spread of Greek Letters from Byzantium to Western Europe*), Athens 1965, 75-101; and E. Mioni, Bessarione scriba e alcuni suoi collaboratori, *Medioevo e Umanesimo* 24 (1976), 230, 296.

⁵ See Noiret, *op. cit.*, 126-27. When in fact Apostolis sent his manuscript to Zacchi, in order to justify the delay, he writes: "Anyway, it is better for the one who wants to achieve something worthwhile to be slow rather than to hurry for nothing".

⁶ See E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs au XVe et XVIe siècles*, vol. 1, Paris 1885, 169-72 (no. 62). The full title of the publication is *Apophthegms of Philosophers and Generals, Orators and Poets. Collected by Arsenius, Archbishop of Monemvasia*. The Prologue to the publication is dedicated by the author to Pope Leo X, and is followed by a list with the names of 123 Greek writers from whom the proverbs were collected. The book was printed without a date of publication at the workshop of the Greek college that was housed in a villa on the Quirinal hill.

Epitome of the Proverbs of Tarrhaeus and Didymus, in 1497,⁷ and represents the first of the three printed by Benedictus Ricardinus for Junta.

Greek manuscripts and printed books in Erasmus' time

What led me to formulate some thoughts about the Greek section of the collection of the *Adagia* are the remarks of Erasmus himself, who, after the publication in Paris of a pitiful selection of proverbs, wrote: 'Nowhere could I get hold of Greek manuscripts, without which, of course, every attempt to compile a collection of proverbs is like trying to fly without wings, as Plautus said so characteristically,'⁸ and also that 'he had used those writers whose works had been published until then.'⁹

It is a fact, with regard to Greek manuscripts, that access to libraries with the relevant material was the great and constant problem of the humanists in Italy and the North throughout the 15th century and into the first decades of the 16th century. And despite the fact that printed books with classical texts, which were available after 1470, gradually replaced the monopoly of the manuscripts, nonetheless their often unapproachable price seriously limited their circulation among the scholarly public. There were no public libraries at the time of the Italian Renaissance, and either the reluctance of the monastic centres to make their treasures easily available, or the 'book-burying' disposition of some important collectors of manuscripts, as well as the inaccessibility to the broader scholarly public of important libraries founded by Maecenases of letters and the arts, created various problems for whoever wanted to publish reliable editions.¹⁰

It is worth referring here to certain relevant cases. When Palla Strozzi, an outstanding figure in the intellectual life of Florence, wanted to support Manuel Chrysoloras' teaching theories in Florence in 1397, he organised a special mission to the East with the aim of buying Greek manuscripts. In spite of the fact that the important library of Cardinal Bessarion, after his death in 1472, passed into the possession of the Senate of Venice with the aim of it becoming the nucleus of the first public library of Venice, it remained for at least 40 years tightly closed in chests in the rooms of the complex of St. Mark's church.¹¹ Similarly, in spite of the fact that Ianos Lascaris, who had undertaken to organize the Greek section of the Medici library in Florence, brought more than 200 manuscripts back from two journeys to the East, the Medici library was not accessible, except to a limited number of scholars belonging exclusively to Lascaris' personal circle. It is characteristic of the privileged treatment enjoyed by some that after the death of Angelos Politianus, 35 rare codices from the Medici collection were found in his home.¹²

⁷ See *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, vol. 6, London 1963, 690 (IB 26061a) = BMC.

⁸ See Allen, *Epistolae Erasmi*, vol. 1, 446-47.

⁹ See the Prologue to the *Adagia*, Johann Froben's edition (Basel 1515).

¹⁰ See Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, edited by A. Greco, vol. 2, Florence 1976, 140-41 and K. Sp. Staikos, *Βιβλιοθήκη. Από την Αρχαιότητα έως την Αναγέννηση. Και σημαντικές Ουμανιστικές και Μοναστηριακές Βιβλιοθήκες (3.000 π.Χ.-1.600 μ.Χ.)* (Library. From Antiquity to the Renaissance. And Important Humanist and Monastery Libraries (3000 BC-AD 1600)), Athens 1996, 223.

¹¹ See M. Lowry, Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius, *Bulletin of John Rylands University Library Manchester* 57/1 (1974), 128-66.

¹² See E.S. Piccolomini, *Intorno alle condizioni e alle vicende della Libreria Medicea privata*, Florence 1875.

Nevertheless, the great desire of the humanists to get to know the works of classical literature can clearly be seen in the circle of Aldus Manutius and especially in Aldus himself, who, despite having easy access to the richest libraries of the time, such as that of Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi, never ceased to dream and to draw up plans for discovering new, unknown material for publishing. And while he was continually receiving new manuscripts from humanists in the North, he and other members of the so-called New Academy never ceased at their meetings to discuss literary and publishing matters, and also to believe the stories of the Hungarian Janos Pannonius concerning whole castles in Dacia full of rare Greek manuscripts.¹³

Erasmus' *Adagia*

Let us return, however, to Erasmus who, when he decided to publish the first collection of sayings in Paris, at the printing house of Jean Philippe, under the title *Adagiorum collectanea* (1500),¹⁴ seems to have had hardly any access to the libraries of collectors of Greek manuscripts, despite the fact that Greek manuscripts, actually copied by his first Greek teacher, Georgios Hermonymos of Sparta, were circulating in the circle of Tristan Salazar, Luis de Beaumont, Germain de Brie and many others.¹⁵

On the other hand, the important publishing production of Greek books in Italy had not yet begun to spread beyond the Alps. Aldus' editions were of course enriching private collections in France, England and Germany, but the systematic promotion of Greek publications in the university centres of the North did not begin until the end of the first decade of the 16th century, when Gerolamo Aleandro, a close friend of Aldus, acted from 1508 as the connecting link between Aldus' printing house and the University of Paris, promoting every kind of Greek book.¹⁶ It is indicative that when Erasmus published the first edition of his *Adagia*, there had already been published one year earlier a book from which he took valuable material for the later editions of the *Adagia* in Venice; this was *Suidas* which was first published in Milan, in 1499, edited by Demetrius Chalkokondylis.¹⁷

¹³ See A. Firmin-Didot, *Aldus Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*, Paris, 1875, 220 and G. Orlandi, *Aldo Manuzio editore*, vol. 1, Milan 1976, 67.

¹⁴ See *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, vol. 8, no. 9375.

¹⁵ For the pre-humanistic period in Paris, see A. Renaudet's work, *Préforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)*, Paris 1916, 25-52.

¹⁶ Aleandro acquired a reputation as an outstanding teacher in Venice, and soon his fame crossed the Alps. Then after an invitation from King Louis XII of France and in combination with the enthusiastic descriptions of Erasmus, he decided to visit the most important centre of humanism in the North. Even so, Aleandro's readiness to work in Paris can also perhaps be explained differently. Apart from the undoubted honour that it was for him, he would have the possibility of creating new marketing horizons for Aldus' books. In July 1508 he wrote to Aldus that the three crates of books he had brought with him from Venice had all been sold. So, he was not in a position to begin teaching without the *Erotemata* of K. Lascaris, and he asks Aldus to send him, as soon as possible, twelve *Grammars*, 6 *Lexicons* (probably of Crastonus) and the same number or more books of Lucian. See P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, Paris 1887, 57; for the three crates of books see *Journal Autobiographique du Cardinal Jérôme Aleander, 1480-1530*, edited by H. Omont, *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, Paris, 35 (1896), 2.

¹⁷ BMC VI 792 (16.26913). The first edition (*editio princeps*) of *Suidas* (*Soudas*) was published by a consortium in which the printers Giovanni Bissoli and Benedetto Mangio, the bookseller Alessandro Minucciano and Chalkokondylis participated. This voluminous publication was printed in 800 copies. See K. Sp. Staikos, *Charta of Greek Printing. Contributions of Greek Editors, Printers and Publishers to the Renaissance in Italy and the West*, Cologne 1998, 236-39.

We must note here that at the time Erasmus published the *Adagia* in Paris, the dean of Byzantine scholarship, Ianos Lascaris, was active there.¹⁸ A publisher, printer and noteworthy collector of Greek books, but also the most important representative of the international character of the Greeks during the Renaissance, Lascaris would have been in a position to enrich, as no one else could, Erasmus' knowledge on the subject of Greek scholarship. Besides, Lascaris knew more than anyone else about the material available in Greek manuscripts in the French capital, as he was the spiritual advisor on related subjects to Charles VIII, Louis XII and François I. In addition, he collaborated closely with Guillaume Budé in the organisation of the royal library and its transfer from the palace of Blois to Fontainebleau.

However, as Erasmus was still undistinguished in the intellectual circles of Europe, he did not have the proper connections that could open to him the doors of the rich libraries of France, which had in the meantime been enriched with unique manuscripts from the campaigns of the French in Italy. When Erasmus wrote that for the edition of the *Adagia* in Paris he had used the works of writers who had been published, he was obviously not aware of the chart of Greek publishing at the time of the beginning of publishing.

If we try, even in a few words, to draw such a chart, we would say this: up to 1500, Greek books were printed only in Italy, except for a manual on grammar, which in this particular case also has a symbolic character. The manual in question is the *Coniugationes verborum graecae* which was published not later than 1488 in Deventer in Holland.¹⁹ Namely, there where Erasmus had studied under the direction of the Greek scholar Alexander Hegius. This bilingual edition was meant to cover the teaching material that Hegius and Johann Sintheim had selected.²⁰ Sintheim was actually a teacher at the school of St. Lebuin's, where Erasmus was a pupil, in 1478, with fellow pupils- members of the idiosyncratic philosophical discipline of the 'Brethren of the Common Life'.

Greek first editions, as we mentioned, were basically printed only in Italy and constitute a corpus of 80 publications, of which 21 are of a purely grammatical character: grammars and bilingual lexicons.²¹ Even so, the publication of important works of Greek literature had been completed, such as the complete works of Aristotle (1495-1498), the *Natural History* of Theophrastus (1497), the *Idylls* of Theocritus (1495/6), the *Tragedies* of Euripides (1495), the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (1496), the *Dialogues of the Dead* of Lucian (1496), the *Comedies* of Aristophanes (1499) and many others. In addition we must note that almost all

¹⁸ On Lascaris, see B. Knös' monograph, *Un ambassadeur de l'Hellénisme — Janus Lascaris — et la Tradition Greco-Byzantine dans l'Humanisme Français*, Uppsala-Paris 1945.

¹⁹ BMC IX 50 (IA. 47796). This manual of grammar, which contains equal amounts of Greek and Latin texts, was printed by Richard Pafraet, perhaps 'in platea episcopi', where his printing house was housed, during the second period of his career (1488-1511). These conjugations are based on Chrysoloras' *Erotemata* and indeed it is worth noting that the same verb πίπτω was used as an example for the conjugations. During the second period of his career, Pafraet had as a colleague Jacobus de Breda, who knew about Greek typography and possessed a series of Greek printing types. See R. Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford 1900, 143, 204; G.D. Painter, *The First Greek Printing in Belgium with Notes on the First Greek Printing in Paris, etc.*, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1960, 146; and Wytze and Lotte Hellinga, *The Fifteenth Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1966, 108.

²⁰ The printing presses of Pafraet and Breda maintained close relations with Johann Sintheim, a teacher at the school of St. Lebuin's, and must have supplied the scholars and students of the school with teaching material, handbooks. See L.A. Sheppard, *Printing at Deventer in the Fifteenth Century*, *The Library*, 4th series, 24 (1943-1944), 101-19.

²¹ The full catalogue of Greek archetypes is contained in the book: Staikos, *Charta...*, 4.

the works of Greek literature had been printed in Latin translations²² and the tradition had been established of aphorisms and proverbs not being translated but being published in the original and, in cases where the printer did not have the suitable material, of being completed by hand or of a gap being left for pages to be added in handwriting.²³

Learning Greek by translation

Erasmus began to improve his Greek by translating into Latin the *Tragedies* of Euripides, the *Speeches* of Libanius and almost all the literary works of Lucian.

In 1507 he began corresponding with Aldus from Bologna,²⁴ where he was hoping to perfect his Greek studies as the guest and under the guidance of Paolo Bombasio.²⁵ The subject of their correspondence was the publication by Aldus' publishing house of the Latin translation of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*. In the letter in question, actually, Erasmus skilfully combines respect with humility and apologizes for his audacity in translating these two tragedies of Euripides.²⁶ Even so, he notes that their common friends Thomas Linacre and William Grocyn, and William Latimer and Cuthbert Dunstal had read his text and were satisfied with the result, and finally he adds that their wisdom ruled out mistaken judgements and flattery, and informs Aldus that the first translation by Josse Badius in Paris²⁷ was full of mistakes, and even though Badius had proposed to republish it, he was afraid that, as Sophocles said, he was trying to correct 'one evil with another'.

Aldus proceeded with the publication of Euripides, and Erasmus was so delighted with the result that he changed his plans and instead of going to Rome, went to Venice with the aim of attempting a new edition of the *Adagia*.

The Venice edition of the *Adagia*

Erasmus arrived in Venice and took up residence at the house of Aldus' father-in-law and collaborator, the printer Andrea Torresani d'Asola.²⁸ His stay there, however, was not a happy one, because not only was he forced to share a room with Girolamo Aleandro, but he also ate in a common mess with Aldus' other simple typesetters and correctors (thirty-one in number). Erasmus himself complains in one of his dialogues that 'the building was wretched and for the sake of inhuman economizing only two meals a day were served, one at midday, and the other

²² For the editions of Greek texts in the original and in translation, whether they consist of separate volumes or are included in collections, see M. Flodr, *Incunabula Classicorum*, Amsterdam 1973.

²³ R. Proctor had compiled a first catalogue of families of Greek printing types, which can be found in Latin texts. Following in his steps, I supplemented his catalogue and despite the fact that my research was not completed, I have discovered more than 190 families of Greek printing types.

²⁴ See P. de Nolhac, *Erasmus en Italie*, Paris 1898, 26.

²⁵ P. Bombasio taught Greek at the University of Bologna. See L. Simeoni, *Storia della università di Bologna*, vol. 2, Bologna, 1940, 46-47 and P. de Nolhac, *Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce. Matériaux nouveaux d'histoire littéraire (1483-1514)*, *Studia e Documenti di Storia e Diritto* 9 (1888), 230-32.

²⁶ See P. de Nolhac, *Erasmus en Italie*, op. cit., 27.

²⁷ See P. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, Imprimeur et Humaniste (1462-1535)*, vol. 1, New York (Burt Franklin), 73.

²⁸ Erasmus himself bears witness to his stay in Aldus' environment in his dialogue *Opulentia Sordida*. See J. Mangan, *Life, Character and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam*, vol. 1, New York 1927, 247.

when the master of the house, that is Andrea d'Asola, came home. The meals were always frugal: usually soup and poor quality wine, which actually caused lithiasis, while the main meal consisted of a piece of dry cheese and seven small cabbage leaves floating in a bowl of sour vinegar.²⁹

Erasmus, who after the first edition of the *Adagia* never stopped revising his original views and collecting and annotating new material, and actually keeping notes in the margins of the pages in his books, found himself in Venice in front of a real treasure. Not only was he introduced to all of Aldus' publications, which multiplied impressively in the 16th century, but also Aldus himself did not hide from him anything in his priceless personal library and in those of the other members of the New Academy, and very generously pointed out codices to him and provided him with valuable information. In this rare publishing endeavour, Erasmus had the assistance not only of Aldus but also of his particularly gifted close collaborators, Markos Mousouros, Ianos Lascaris, Battista Egnazio, Urbano Bolzanio and Gerolamo Aleandro. Besides, Erasmus never denied his debt to them and in the prologue dedicated to his pupil Lord Mountjoy, with which the second edition of the *Adagia* begins, he acknowledges that without their assistance, the edition would have been far less complete.

It would be particularly interesting to reconstitute the 'library' on which the 1508 Venice edition of the *Adagia* is based, with regard both to separate publications with proverbs and to the Greek works (in manuscript and in print), from which Erasmus drew unpublished aphorisms. And this is because in his edition, Erasmus did not limit himself to a simple listing of proverbs and sayings by author or by alphabetical arrangement of the relevant material, but extended himself to an exceptionally assiduous attempt at interpreting and commenting (in Latin) on the proverbs, while at the same time noting the differences of syntax and phrasing that can be found from writer to writer. For example, Pythagoras' phrase 'what friends have, they share' (which probably comes from the life of Pythagoras, according to Diogenes Laertius, 8,10) appears in Euripides' *Oresteia* as 'because what friends have, they share' and in his *Phoenissae* as 'the pains of friends are shared'.³⁰ The length to which Erasmus went to find parallels and to comment on the aphorisms shows in the best way his exemplary method of working and his deep philological basis.

Any attempt to compile a catalogue of the manuscripts and the publications on which Erasmus based the 1508 Venice edition of the *Adagia* might today border on utopia. Even so, I believe that any effort in this direction not only enriches our knowledge about the thorny question of the books that were available during the great period of the rebirth of classical education, but also honours Erasmus himself and his insatiable passion for Greek scholarship, if we judge from the words he addressed to his patron Antonio de St. Bergen: 'If you want to draw deeply from the well of wisdom, learn Greek. In Latin writers, in the best case, we find small streams and muddy pools. By comparison, the Greeks have clear springs and rivers that overflow with gold.'³¹

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²⁹ P. de Nolhac, *Erasmus en Italie*, 40.

³⁰ See the edition of the *Adagia* of 1515, 13-14.

³¹ See Allen, *Epistolae Erasmi*, vol. 1, 352.

PEISISTRATOS AND THE TYRANNY

A REAPPRAISAL OF THE EVIDENCE

EDITED BY

HELEEN SANCISI-WEERDENBURG

The period when the tyrants dominated Athens is a very intriguing one. The historiographical evidence is of a late date and often of a puzzling nature. Connections between historiography and the archaeological evidence are not unproblematic. What influence did the tyrants have on building-policies or on vase-painting? Is the traditional interpretation of the Peisistratids as sponsors of the arts sufficiently documented in our sources? What was the nature of the resistance they met with? What did the Athenian army look like in the second half of the sixth century? What was the level of institutional organisation of the Athenian state in this period? How does the tyranny compare to anthropological theory? These are the questions addressed in this volume by a group of Dutch archaeologists and ancient historians. It is the result of a seminar on Peisistratos, organised in 1993 by the Department of History of Utrecht University.

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WALLINGA, H.T.: The Athenian Naukraroi.
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He vindicates the Periegetes in most cases, finding his most serious error is duplicated in Strabo and Pliny. Tables are offered of figures where distances are given in stades, leading to the observation that various scholars independently hypothesize that alphabetical numerals, easily corruptable, were used at some stage in the transmission of the text. A third chapter is devoted to Pausanias' description of ruins, including towns and temples. The Periegete reported more ruins in Arkadia than in any other province. A final chapter collects Pausanias' record of sixty-one festivals and panegyreis.

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