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Editorial secretary
J.J.V.M. Derksen
De Bogerd 27
NL – 4132 GJ Vianen
The Netherlands
Tel. +31 (0)347 372896
E-mail: J.Derksen@museum.uu.nl
or: J.J.V.M.Derksen@uva.nl

Netherlands Institute in Athens
Makri 11
117 42 Athens, Greece
Tel.:+30 210 92 10 760/1
Fax:+30 210 92 10 770
E-mail: nia@nia.gr

Director
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EDITORIAL PREFACE

Since the last issue of *Pharos* (X, 2002) we have had changes in the editorial staff. We would like to thank Jan Jaap Hekman, who has served as editorial secretary since 1998. At the same time, we welcome his successor Joop J.V.M. Derksen, who is responsible for the current issue of *Pharos*.

The contents of this eleventh issue follow a format that has by now become well established. In the first section, reports are given of research carried out under the auspices of the Netherlands Institute at Athens (NIA). Joost Crouwel and Mieke Prent discuss the fieldwork at Geraki, Laconia, focusing on important remains from the Final Neolithic through the late Hellenistic periods. Next, John Bintliff gives an account of the work at Tanagra, Boeotia. Different types of survey are being carried out there, both in the urban area and in the surrounding countryside. Albert Schachter supplements Bintliff's report from a historical and geographical perspective. Finally, Sophia Voutsaki describes her research into Middle Helladic identity which is still in its initial stages; her work involves a variety of analyses of funerary remains, employing both traditional and modern scientific methods.

The second section of *Pharos* XI consists of five papers originally presented at a colloquium at the NIA that took place on 28-29 October 2002. The colloquium was entitled *Greek Archaeology and the Formation of European and National Identities*. It was part of a series of bi-annual meetings at the NIA concerning the role of Classical Greece with regard to European and national identities in the 19th and 20th centuries. This series began with a general symposium (in 2000) that has been published by Gieben.[1] The papers published here follow upon a first set from the 2002 colloquium which appeared in *Pharos* X. A third colloquium will be organized by the NIA in November 2004, this time focusing on translations of Homer. The papers to be delivered at this colloquium, which is entitled *Rewriting Homer from the Renaissance to the Present*, will be part of future issues of *Pharos*.

[1] Haagsma, M., P. den Boer, E. Moormann, eds., 2003: *The Impact of Classical Greece on European and National Identities*, Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, publisher.

GERAKI
AN ACROPOLIS SITE IN LAKONIA
Preliminary report on the ninth season (2003)

Joost H. Crouwel, Mieke Prent, Elizabeth Langridge-Noti and Jos van der Vin

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

In the summer of 2003, the Department of Archaeology of the University of Amsterdam undertook a ninth campaign of archaeological investigations at the acropolis of Geraki (ancient *Geronthrai)* in Lakonia. The preceding campaigns entailed two seasons of intensive on-site survey of the acropolis hill and adjoining slopes (1995-1996), a season of trial excavations (1997), a study season (1998), three seasons of systematic excavation (1999-2001) and another study season combined with on-site tests and cleaning as part of a wall consolidation program (2002).[1] As with the preceding campaigns, the 2003 excavation took place under the auspices of the Netherlands Institute at Athens and with the permission of the Greek Ministry of Culture and the Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Lakonia and Arkadia.

As in previous years, the excavations were conducted in Field 17, located in the northwestern part of the summit of the acropolis. Four teams were employed, each consisting of an experienced trench supervisor, a student-assistant and two to three local workmen.[2] Soil samples for

[1] For a description of Geraki, the history of research and preliminary reports of the 1995-2002 campaigns, see Crouwel *et al.* 1995-2002.

[2] The year's team consisted of J.H. Crouwel (director, study of the prehistoric pottery), M. Prent (field director, stratigraphy and site conservation), S. MacVeagh Thorne (architectural and stratigraphical study of the acropolis wall and trench supervisor), J. Brouwers, M. van Dijk and M. Wijker (trench supervisors), H. Jansen (architect), D. Scahill (architect and geodetical survey), E. Hom (head of apothiki and find processing), M. Overeem (conservation and small finds), W. Westerveld (computing), A. Hom (drawing), A. Reyling (drawing and apothiki assistant), A. Dekker (photography), R. Dooijes assisted by M. Bakker (conservation of metal artefacts and sealings), E. Langridge-Noti (Classical-Hellenistic pottery), S. Mulder and J. Jans (botanical remains), M. Boersma, P. Bruyel, M. van Krieken, M. Termeer, S. van der Velde, M. de Visser and M. Nieuwe Weeme (student assistants). The local workmen consisted of our pickmen I. Maroudas, P. Kourtesis, P. Piliouras and I. Tsipouras, assisted by T. Piliouras, Th. Mitris, G. Angeletos, L. Kourlas, N. Mitris and I. Laliotis. M. Kourtesi washed the pot sherds; T. Dijkslag acted as cook and housekeeper.

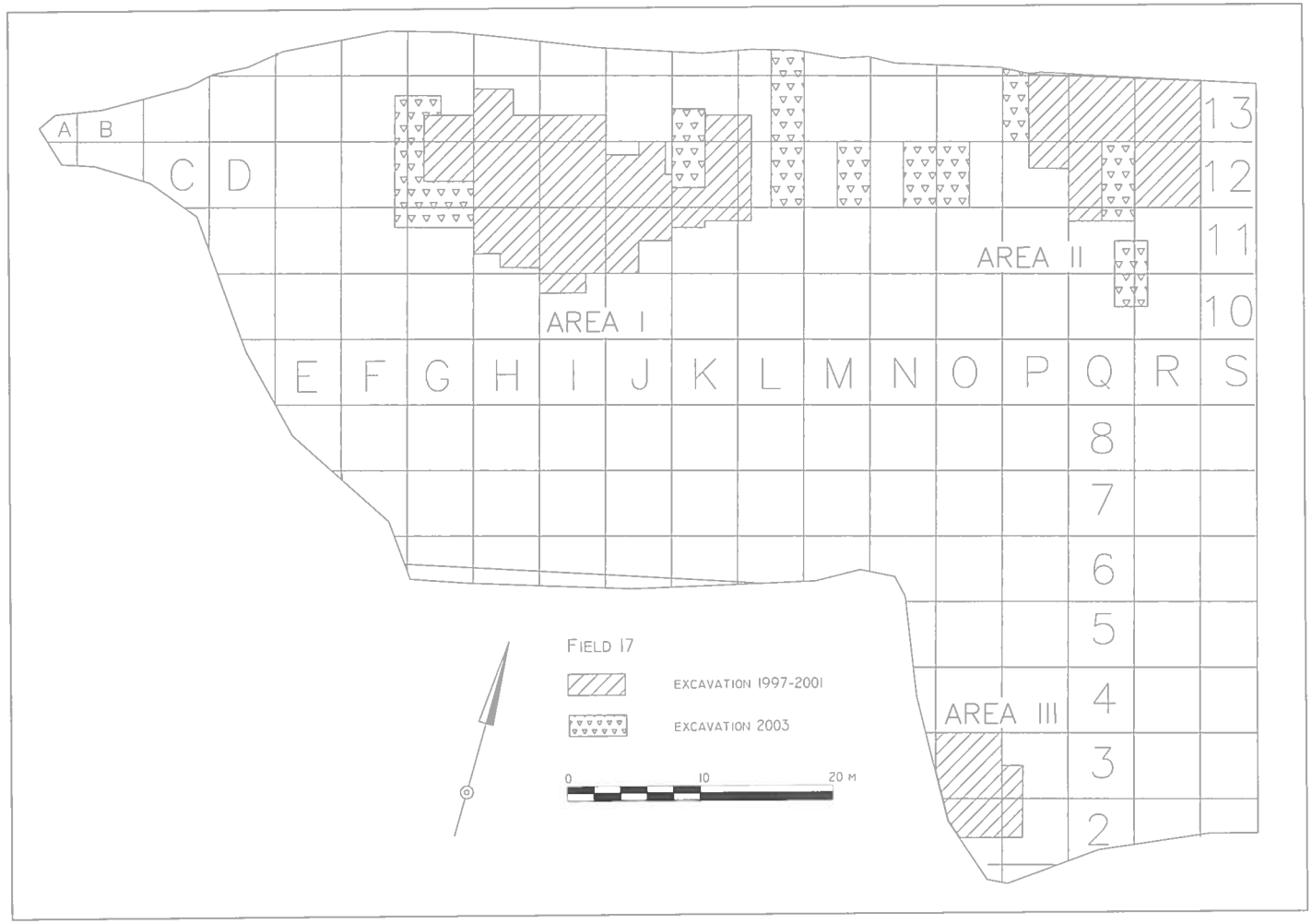

Figure 1. *Field 17 in the northwestern part of the acropolis, with position of excavated trenches and 5 x 5 m grid system*

wet sieving were taken from well-defined archaeological contexts. These were processed by two palaeobotanists from the State University of Groningen.

The excavations at the acropolis of Geraki (locally known as 'Ta Dontakia') took place for a period of five weeks, from 23 June to 25 July 2003. The excavation was followed by one week during which the finds were sorted, conserved, recorded and packed for their transfer to the Sparta Museum. In addition, the program of wall conservation, begun in 2002, was continued.

The aims of the 2003 season were the following:

- To define the perimeters of the Hellenistic domestic and industrial complex of which ten rooms had already been (partially) uncovered in Area I and three in Area II in previous seasons.
- To further explore the complicated building history of the fortification wall(s) around the acropolis. From our earlier investigations, it is known that this wall experienced major building or rebuilding during the Early Helladic II period, the Middle Helladic period, the late Archaic or early Classical period, the Hellenistic period and the late Roman or medieval period.
- To carry out a number of additional tests and explore the presence and state of preservation of pre-Hellenistic remains, with special emphasis on the Early Helladic II and Middle Helladic periods.

Preliminary results of the 2003 campaign (M. Prent)

During the 2003 excavation a combined total of ca. 160 m^2 was newly opened (see fig. 1): in trenches to the west of Area I (17/11-13, f-g), south of Area II (17/10-11, q-r), and in the central area between Area I and II (17/12-13k, 17/12-13l, 17/12m, 17/12n, 17/12o and 17/13p).

The opening of these new trenches considerably clarified the topography of the Hellenistic settlement and in some places also enabled us to reach the underlying pre-Hellenistic deposits. In addition, some excavation was done in rooms that had been defined earlier, e.g. in Area I in Rooms 3 and 7 (in trenches 17/12h and 17/11i respectively) and in Area II in the westernmost Hellenistic room (17/12q) and in the Early Helladic II casemate room (in 17/13q, north of Wall 140).

The Hellenistic street

The Hellenistic street previously exposed in trenches 17/11i-k was traced further to the east (fig. 2). The continuation of its northern wall (Wall 1) was found in trenches 17/12l and 17/12m. The southern perimeter of the street consisted of different walls which formed the façades of separate buildings extending to the south. In 17/11i-j the southern perimeter is formed by Wall 40, in trench 17/12m by Wall 50. The street has not been identified in trenches 17/12n and 17/12o, but the presence of a large threshold block, facing south, in Wall 51 (trench 17/12n), may indicate that it here turns to the southeast (see plate I; to be further discussed below).

Another stretch of street running in an east-west direction was identified this year south of Area II, at the junction of trenches 17/10-11, q-r (see fig. 3). Excavation in 2004 will explore its relation to the street to the northwest.

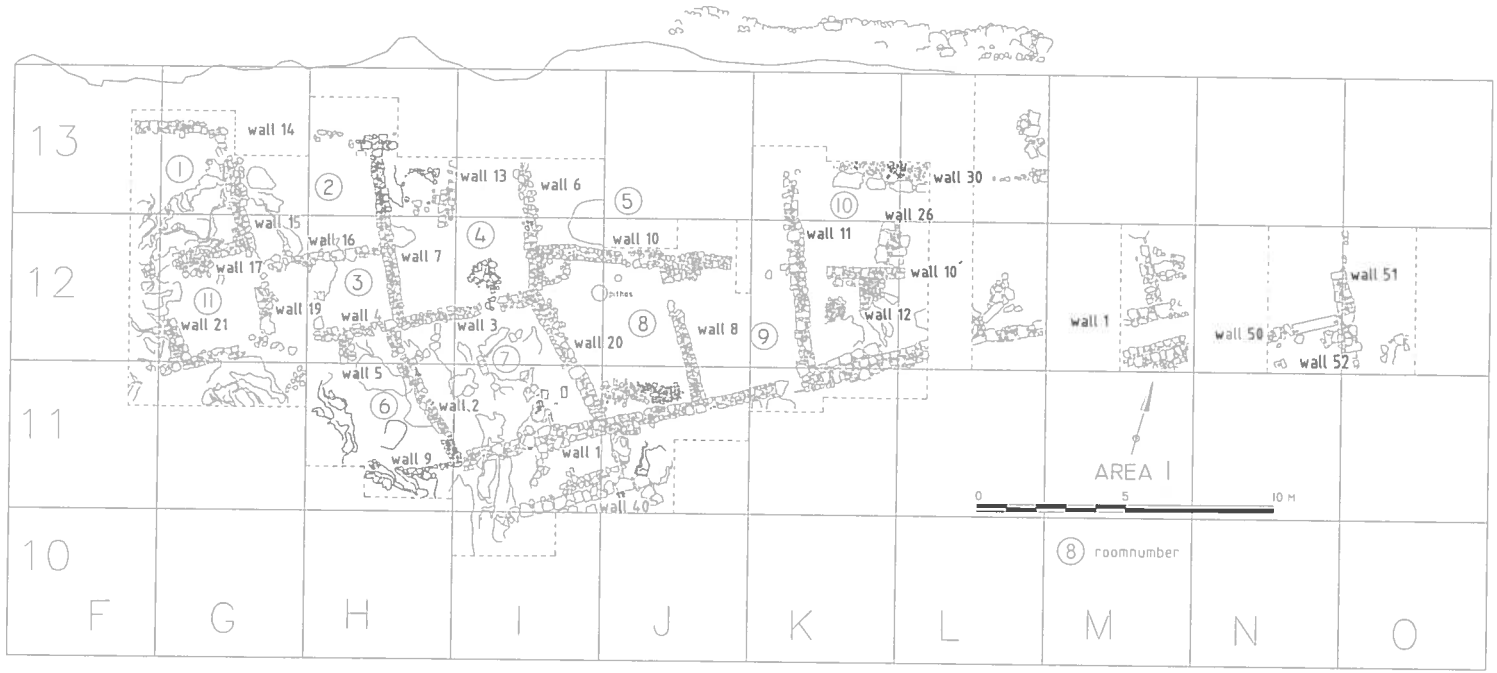

Figure 2. *Area I and Central Area*

It should perhaps be added that there is no consistent use of one type of surfacing material in the street, but rather various types of fill. In the far west of the excavated area (in trench 17/11i) there were different layers of silt, while to the east there was a fill of small stones and sherds (in trench 17/11j) and further on (in 17/12l opened this year) a layer of hard packed earth. In the portion of the street south of Area II, identified this year, a test revealed a series of superimposed street surfaces, the upper ones consisting of earth, small stones, tile and plaster fragments, the lower ones of gravel with sparse tile fragments and large quantities of Middle Helladic sherds.

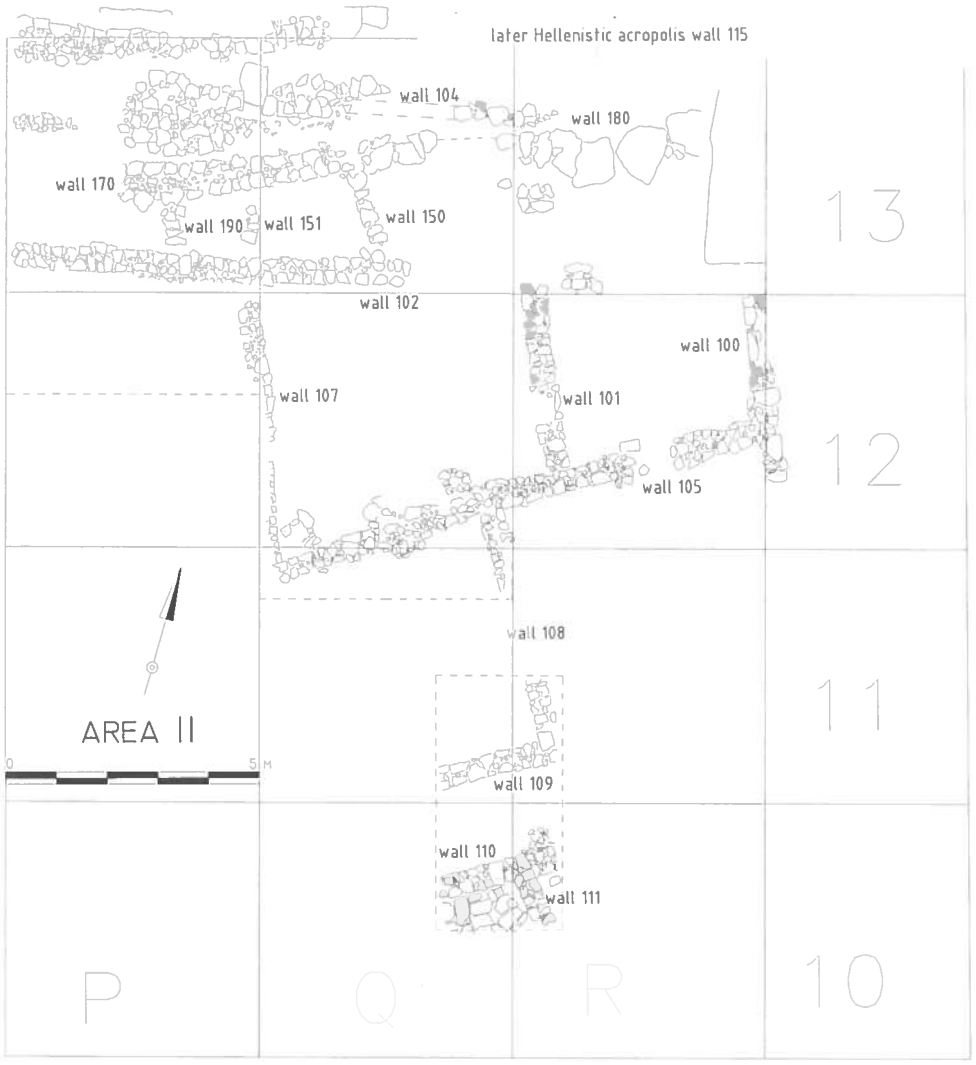

Figure 3. *Area II*

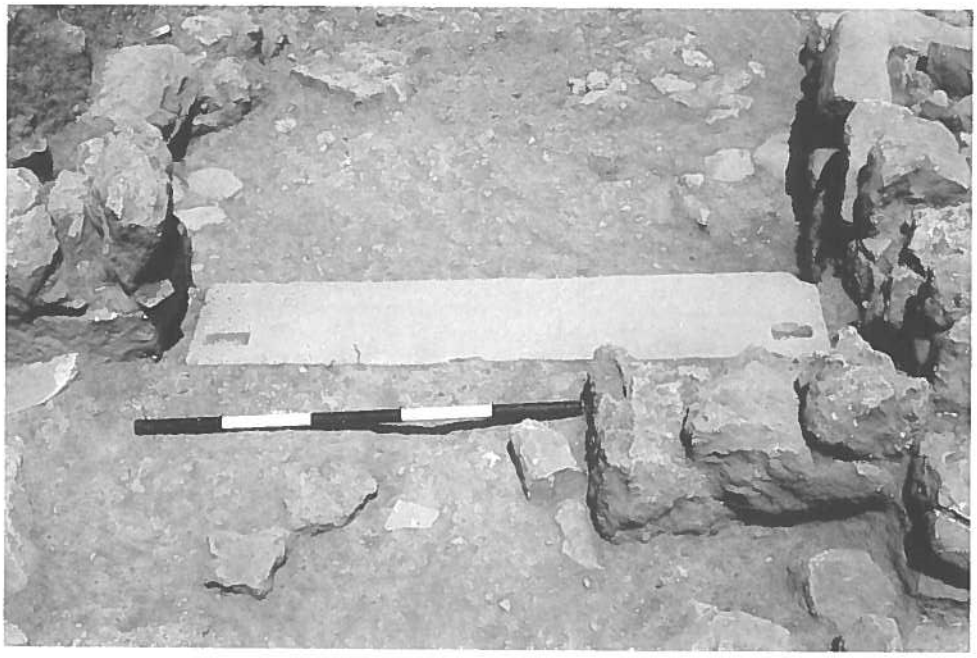

Plate I. *Central Area, large marble threshold block incorporated in Wall 51; from north*

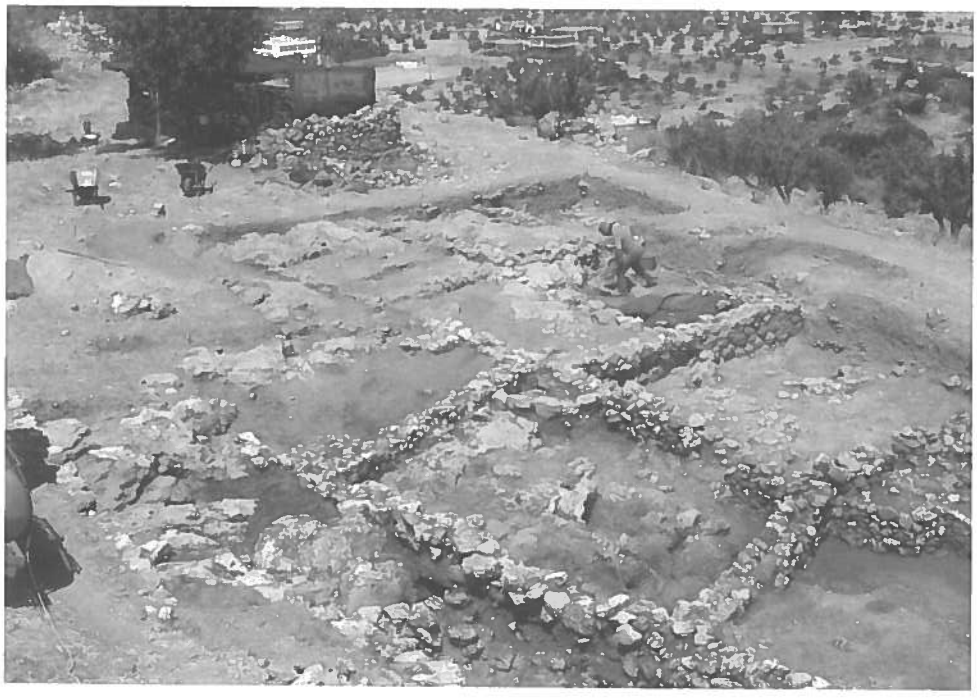

Plate II. *Overview of Area I; from south-east*

The Hellenistic complex in Area I

While the outlines of the rooms making up the Hellenistic complex in Area I have not been fully revealed, work has progressed far enough to establish that there were at least 11 of them, and quite possibly 12 (fig. 2 and plate II).[3]

In 2003, the south-west corner of this Hellenistic complex was identified by the exposure of a corner formed by Walls 4 and 21. Wall 4 protrudes beyond western Wall 21, closing off the small aperture between the latter and the steeply rising bedrock. Both this aperture and the area to the south of Wall 4 were provided with a layer of gravel, which would have helped to divert the rain water coming in from the bedrock expanse to the west. The presence of this gravel layer and the absence of fallen roof tiles suggest an outside surface. Inside Room 11 a thick layer of collapsed tiles was found, the removal of which was not completed.

More of the north wall of the Hellenistic complex in Area I, Wall 14, was exposed in Room 1 (trench 17/13f) to the northwest. Despite the fact that this area had been severely disturbed during the Civil War (1946-1949), the north wall was in better shape here than in trench 17/13h to the east (excavated in a previous season). Contrary to our expectations, the northwest corner and western wall of the complex did not appear in trench 17/13f. There is a small portion of a mortared wall visible in the west section of this trench, the further excavation of which was postponed because of the presence of a pile of large stones in the area immediately to the west. While the western wall may not be far away, Room 1 is at present defined only by Wall 14 to the north, Wall 15 to the east and Wall 17 to the south. Below the tile fall remnants of the floor were found. The floor surface was made up of a relatively flat expanse of bedrock in the south, while to the north it probably had consisted of earth or clay. As often in areas near the acropolis wall, the surface itself seems to have washed away, leaving the underlying packing of small stones exposed. Most notable among the contents of the room was the upper part of a pithos, decorated with an incised herringbone design (plate III).

Another room excavated in the western part of the complex in Area I is Room 3, defined by walls 19, 16, 7 and 4, with a possible door opening in the southwest. While the tile fall was less dense here than in the rooms to the north and west, portions of the underlying clay floor were preserved, especially along Wall 19. Several objects were found here, including pottery fragments, part of a stone hopper mill (5111/SF4; plate IV),[4] a bronze and an iron hook and a terracotta loomweight (5111/SFs1-8). The eastern part of the room yielded the fragments of a terracotta sieve (5011/SFs1-2).

In the southwest corner of Room 7 an unexcavated corner of Hellenistic tile collapse was removed, exposing two superimposed clay floors with a small fireplace. On the upper floor the associated patch of burning was delineated in the east by two small slabs set on edge against Wall 1. Somewhat further to the north of this, below the level of the Hellenistic floors, we encountered a rectangular depression in the bedrock, which was filled with gravel and a mixture of Final Neolithic, Early Helladic II, Middle Helladic and a little pottery of historical date (see plate V and the contribution

[3] Considering the size of the unexcavated area north of Wall 10, this may well consist of two rooms, perhaps with a north-south division wall that is continuous with Wall 8.

[4] For this type of mill, which was widely distributed in the Aegean and other parts of the Mediterranean, see Moritz 1958, 42-52; Runnels 1981, 119-122; Kardulias and Runnels 1995, 121-123; Frankel 2003.

on the prehistoric pottery by J.H. Crouwel below). The upper part of this depression may have been rock-cut. First use deposits are lacking, but if rock-cut, the depression may have been constructed in the Early Helladic II period (which would make it contemporary with the pithos, mudbrick stand, sealings and other remains found just to its south in 1997),[5] or in the Late Archaic/Early Classical period, the putative date of the earliest constructions of the historical period in Area I.[6]

Further to the east, an unexcavated strip of top and plough soil was removed from trenches 17/12-13k, exposing the continuation of Wall 11. The northern wall of the complex (the continuation of Wall 14 to the west) was robbed out in this area. However, the line of the east-west robbing trench indicates that it had been built on top of one of the phases of the pre-Hellenistic acropolis wall (Wall 30). When extending the line of the northern wall of the Hellenistic complex in Area I from Wall 14 in the west, over Wall 30, and then all the way eastwards to Area II, one ends up on the line of the Wall 102, the northern wall of the Hellenistic complex in Area II. This indicates a common north boundary for both complexes, which, at least in Area II, left ample space for circulation behind the acropolis wall.

The eastern boundary of the Hellenistic complex in Area I was also defined more clearly in 2003. The presence of an open area or court (Room 10) was already noted in 2001 in the area east of Wall 11.[7] Further excavation in 17/12l and 12m, the results of which are to be discussed further in the following subsection, showed that these areas were also open in the Hellenistic period, giving a clear separation between the Hellenistic complex in Area I and the contemporary complexes in Area II.

Plate III. *Area I, Room 1, upper part of Hellenistic pithos (Inv . no. 4738/SF1) on eroded floor; from west*

[5] See Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 1997, 58-61.
[6] See Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 9-10; also the next subsection.
[7] See Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 9-10.

Plate IV. *Area I, part of andesite hopper mill (Inv. no. 5112/SF4) from Room 3*

Plate V. *Area I, below Room 7, rectangular depression in bedrock; from north*

The Central Area

The opening of portions of trenches 17/12l and 17/12m revealed the existence of an area to the east of the Hellenistic complex, previously discussed that had been left open during the Hellenistic period (fig. 2). It could be reached from the street in the area of trench 17/12m, where some stones had been pulled out from Wall 1. The open space seems to have run from the street up to the line of the Hellenistic acropolis wall (which is here poorly preserved) and therefore must have measured at least 7.5 m (east-west) by 10 m (north-south). Excavation in coming seasons may prove it to be larger. A 1.5 m baulk along the western side of trench 17/12l was left unexcavated and it is not clear whether this open area forms a direct continuation of the open area or court (Room 10) found earlier to the east of Wall 11 or whether the two are separated by an as yet undiscovered wall. Considering the very different stratigraphy noted on either side of the unexcavated baulk, the second possibility seems the more likely.

The purpose and use of this open space remain enigmatic. In the western part, in the area of trench 17/12-13l, a large pile of stones and some large tile fragments was found directly below the plough soil, suggesting that in later times the area was used to collect debris deriving from the clearing of surrounding fields and/or buildings. Below this, the continuation of Wall 30 was found, with different layers of fill to its south. While the construction date of this wall has not yet been firmly established, it is certain that parts of it still stood into Hellenistic times. An upper layer of fill behind contained medium to large stones and the lower one predominantly tile fragments. There was little diagnostic pottery that could help date these fills more precisely within the historical period, but the lower one contained several small (and often fragmentary) metal finds, including an Archaic bronze pin (952/SF2, plate VI),[8] but also a bronze coin dating to 197-192 BC (see the contribution by van der Vin, below, coin no. 2). These fills may have been laid out in connection with construction or repair of the acropolis wall.

In the eastern part of this open space, i.e. in the area of trench 17/12m, none of these layers of (wall) fill was encountered. Instead, there were a number of silted-up trodden surfaces and a pile of domestic refuse, containing tile fragments, some stones and broken pottery. One of the sherds from this pile (2739/1) joined the large neck fragment of a krater found in the westernmost Hellenistic room in Area II, some 20 m to the east (trench 17/12q, 1787/SF4, see also plate IX).

Also in the Central Area, but ca. 5 m to the east (trench 17/12n), part of a Hellenistic room was uncovered, defined by Wall 51 to the east and by Wall 50 to the south. The latter was provided with a monumental threshold, consisting of a marble ashlar block taken from elsewhere for re-use (plate I). It contrasts with the surrounding walls, which are composed largely of rubble masonry. The interior of the room yielded a collapse layer with tile fragments over two occupation surfaces. The lower of these consisted of earth and cobbles. The upper one was some 25 cm higher and consisted of silted earth. At this level the threshold had been covered and the associated doorway was blocked by stones. The relationship of this room with the complex in Area II to the east remains to be established.

The Central Area is also important in that it revealed additional evidence for activities in an earlier phase of the historical period, before the construction of the Hellenistic buildings. In previous years two compartments or rooms (formed by Walls 10' and 12) had been found further to

[8] Such pins are well-known from Greek sanctuary sites, including in Laconia; see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984 (*Typengruppe* C).

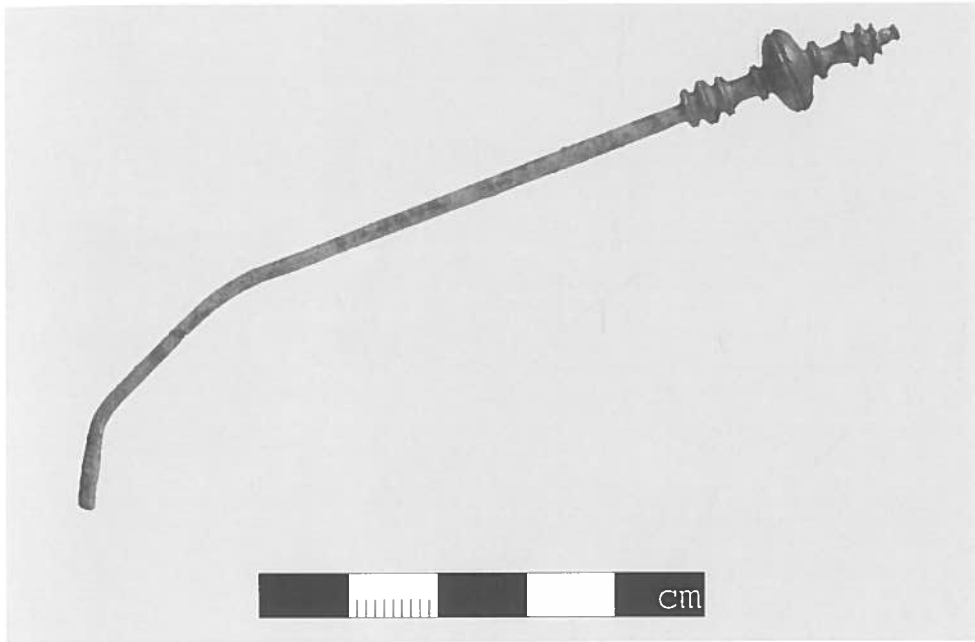

Plate VI. *Central Area, Archaic bronze pin (Inv. no. 952/SF2) from tile fill*

the west (in the area of trench 17/12k). These were tentatively dated to Late Archaic or Classical times. This year some kind of industrial installation was discovered in trench 17/12m, probably belonging to the same period. It consists of a north-south running wall (Wall 22), which abuts Wall 1. To its east is a horseshoe-shaped, stone-built construction, which partially rests on the bedrock, and a concentration of fine ashy soil. In trench 17/12o a similar rounded structure was found on the bedrock, with next to it a patch of burning and what seems a small iron anvil *in situ* (2968/SF1, see plate VII).

Area II

The layout of the Hellenistic buildings in Area II (fig. 3) awaits further excavation and study. It is clear that there are at least four rooms formed by Walls 100-102, 105, 107-109 (in the area of trenches 17/12p-r and 17/11q-r) and a room of yet another Hellenistic building to the south of the street. Of the latter only a small corner has been exposed (formed by Walls 110-111). This is of interest because of the relative care of its construction, as indicated by the presence of a stone-paved floor and a small rectangular drain leading onto the street (plate VIII).

Additional work was done this year in the westernmost room of the Hellenistic complex in Area II (defined by Walls 107, 102, 101 and 105). The eastern half of trench 17/12q was brought down to the level of the upper occupation surface, in the process of which the continuation of Wall 105 was uncovered. Scattered over this occupation surface were concentrations of sherds

Plate VII. *Central Area, 17/12o, iron anvil in situ (Inv. no. 2968/SF1); from north*

belonging to the same abandonment deposit retrieved from the western half of this room in 2001.[9] In a previous report the wide spread of sherds belonging to the same vessels in this room was interpreted as evidence for upper floor collapse. However, this year's results give reason to modify this interpretation. As a large neck fragment of a krater, found against the north face of Wall 105 (1787/SF4, see plate IX), joined a sherd from the dump in trench 17/12m, the scattering of sherds over the occupation surface is instead to be explained as the result of cleaning operations.

[9] See Prent in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 13.

Plate VIII. *Area II, part of paved Hellenistic room South of Area II; from south*

Plate IX. *Area II, westernmost room, neck fragment of krater (Inv. no. 1787/SF4) against north face of Wall 105; from north*

In trench 17/13p an unexcavated area was brought down to the level of cobble packing behind Wall 104, part of the Late Archaic/Classical fortification wall.[10] Some more work was also done in the small strip north of Middle Helladic wall 170, during which a few more sherds of the so-called duck askos from the Early Helladic II casemate room to the south were extracted.[11]

Preliminary notes on the prehistoric pottery from the bedrock depression in Trench 17/11i (J.H. Crouwel)

The depression in the limestone bedrock in trench 17/11i, described above by M. Prent, was filled with gravel and over 700 potsherds. The sherd material is worn and mostly of small to smallish size. It is not homogeneous in date. Much of it can be assigned to Early Helladic II, but there are also several Final Neolithic pieces, along with a few sherds of Middle Helladic and Archaic-Hellenistic date. In addition, the gravel fill contained parts of a stone tool (Inv. no. 4792/SF2) and a possible worked stone (Inv. no. 4786/SF1), as well as some animal bone fragments.

Plate X. *Joining sherds of Early Helladic II jug (Inv. no. 4786/SF 2)*

[10] See MacVeagh Thorne in Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 21-23.
[11] See Crouwel *et al.* 2002, pl. IV.

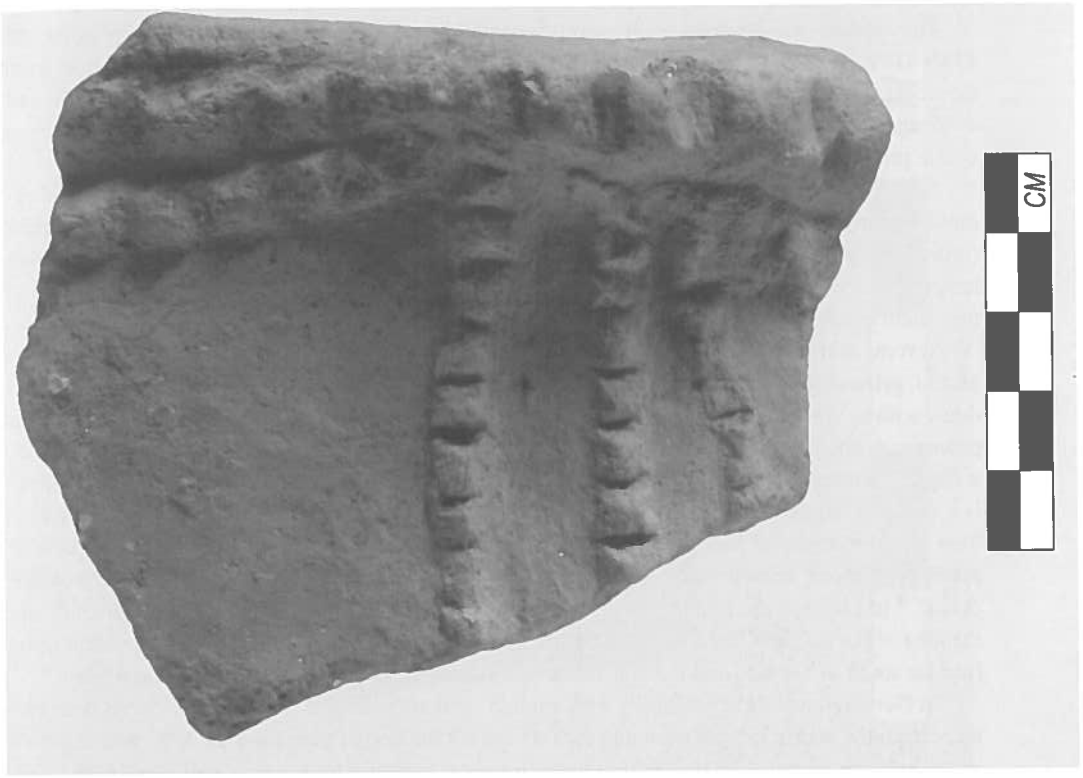

Plate XI. *Rim sherd of Final Neolithic bowl (Inv. no. 4787/64)*

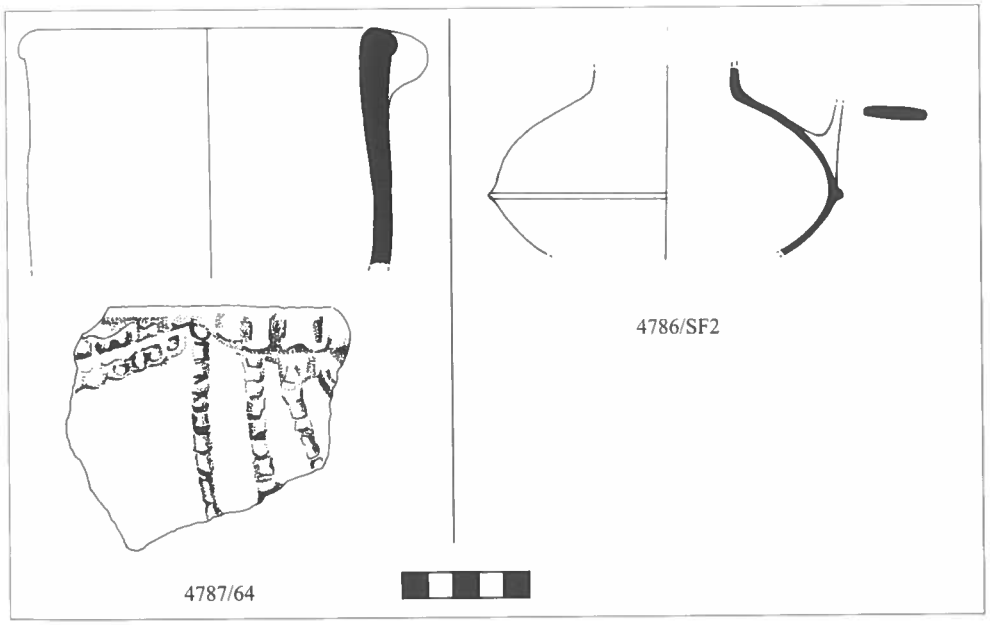

Figure 4. *Rim sherd of Final Neolithic bowl (Inv. no. 4787/64)*
Figure 5. *Joining sherds of Early Helladic II jug (Inv. no. 4786/SF2)*

The contents of the depression were excavated as one lot, using seven pottery zembils (## 4786-4789, 4791-4793). Preliminary sorting resulted in some cross-joins between sherds from the different portions of the fill. In one case, a set of 11 joining sherds from zembils # 4786 and 4787 makes up part of an EH II fine-ware jug or askos (plate X), but no complete vessels or even whole profiles could be reconstructed.

All this suggests that we have here to do with a so-called redeposited context (material removed from original contexts in filling or levelling operations) rather than a cumulative context (representing the gradual, sequential formation of deposits in antiquity, as will occur in rubbish heaps).[12] A *terminus post quem* for the redeposition may exist in the presence in zembil # 4786 of two small black-glazed body sherds of Archaic to Hellenistic date.

Several sherds of medium coarse and coarse fabrics may be attributed to the Final Neolithic period, primarily by the character of their plastic decoration.[13] The latter consists of applied cordons, with or without finger-tipping or incised slashes, arranged in distinct, angular or curvilinear patterns. A good example is the sherd from a large deep bowl of medium coarse fabric and with a slightly outward-rolled rim (Inv. no. 4787/64; rim diameter ca. 0.33 m. fig. 4; plate XI). There is a complex arrangement of groups of finger-tipped and incised cordons at and below the rim. This kind of patterned plastic decoration is widely found in the Peloponnese and other parts of mainland Greece as well as on Aegean islands, where it is usually dated to the Final Neolithic period.[14] In Laconia, the find places include both open-air sites in the Helos plain in the south and the area of the Laconia Survey east of Sparta, and the inland caves of Kouveleïki near Alepotrypa (not far south of Geraki) and the coastal cave at Alepotrypa near Diros in the northern Mani.[15]

At Geraki, the several potsherds with applied cordons arranged in angular or curvilinear patterns from the bedrock depression dug in 2003 are not the first of their kind. In 2000 we excavated in the adjacent trench 17/11h a fissure in the bedrock, overlaid by a clayey soil deposit and with Hellenistic floor packing on top. The fill in this fissure contained 29 potsherds, this time clearly a homogeneous group and datable to the Final Neolithic period.[16] In addition, other sherds of such a date have turned up in our excavations, mixed with later material.[17]

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[12] Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 95 (using the terminology developed by E.B. French).

[13] The term Final Neolithic is commonly used in the Anglo-Saxon literature (see a.o. Howell 1992; Pullen 1995, 7-10; Vitelli 1999. chapter 5; also Demoule and Perlès 1993, 398-405). German scholars often prefer the term Chalcolithic (see a.o. Maran 1998, 7f., 25, 74f., 152f.), while the term Late Neolithic II is also used (see a.o. Zachos 1987, 4-16, 148-156; Coleman 1992, especially 252). Cf. Phelps 1975, 296-355a (Final Neolithic equals his period IV in the Peloponnese); Alram-Stern 1996, 95-98, 154-162, 198-205; 2001, 64-70.

[14] See the literature referred to in note 13.

[15] Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960, 87-89 with pl. 19a, 5-7 (Ayios Strategos i.e Efstratios in the Helos plain); Cavanagh *et al.* 1996, 3 *s.v.* no. 3 with fig. 11.1, 1 (Laconia Survey); Koumouzeli 1989, 155 with fig. 13 (Kouveleïki cave A); Kaznesi and Katsarou 2003, 31 with fig. 4 (Kouveleïki cave B); Phelps 1975, 332-334, and Papathanasopoulos 1996, ed., nos. 21, 27-28 (Alepotrypa cave). For Neolithic Laconia, see now Cavanagh *et al.* 2002, 121-128.

[16] Crouwel *et al.* 2000, 44 with fig. 4 (zembil 4141).

[17] Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 94 (from Trench 17/11i); 2000, 67, note 32 (from a stone fill in Trench 17/13q in Area II. Of the 44 sherds found, a few appear to be of Early Helladc II and Archaic-Hellenistic date.)

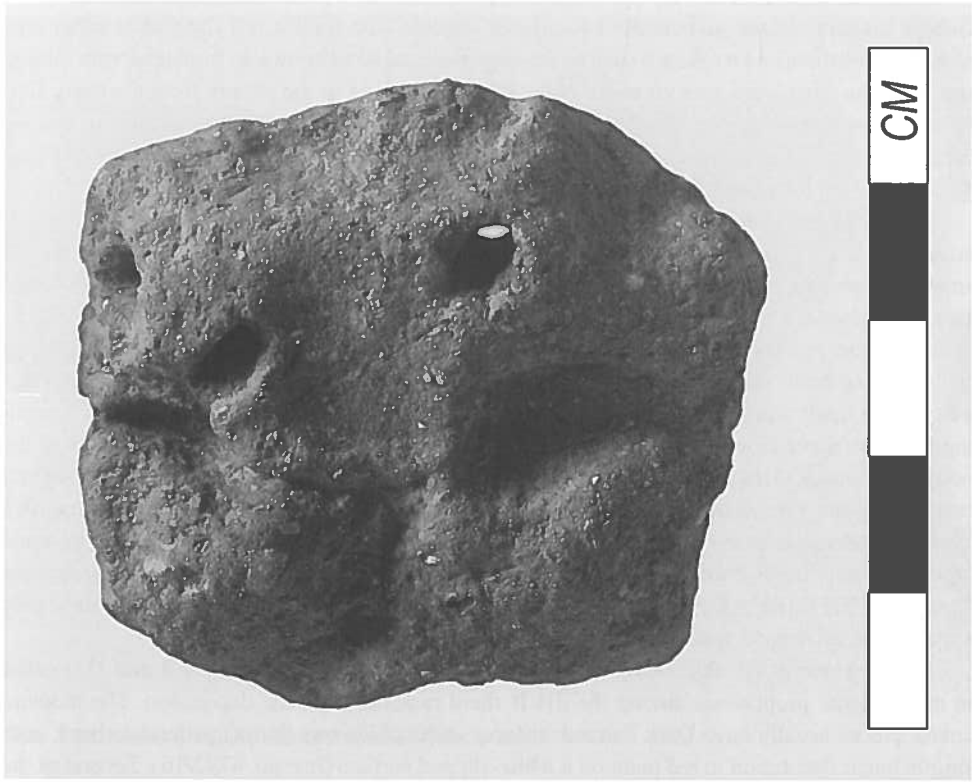

Plate XII. *Rim sherd of Final Neolithic 'cheesepot' (Inv. no. 4792/9)*

Of particular interest is also another sherd from the depression in trench 17/11i at Geraki. It belongs to open vessel of coarse fabric, with much more crudely made applied cordons at and below the ill-defined rim (Inv. no. 4792/9; plate XII). Its thick wall is pierced by a irregular horizontal row of holes, recalling those of the widely attested 'cheesepots' or baking pans of the Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in mainland Greece and the Aegean islands.[18]

All in all, the newly identified but only very provisionally studied Final Neolithic pottery forms an important addition to what we know of the earliest human occupation at Geraki. While no architectural remains of this period have come to light so far, the distribution of the pottery – and of some obsidian tools of Late or Final Neolithic date – seems to point to Neolithic occupation at different spots on the summit of the acropolis.[19]

The fill of the bedrock depression does not contain any potsherds immediately recognizable as belonging to Early Helladic I. Pottery of this period in assemblages elsewhere in mainland

[18] See a.o. Zachos 1987, 191-194; Weisshaar 1990, 9-10; Alram-Stern 1996, 158; 2001, 66; Pullen 2000, 158, 161 no. 57. Cf. Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 105; 2000, 67, note 32.

[19] For the obsidian tools of such an early date and which come from the surface survey, see T. Carter in Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 112; 2002, 37 with note 72.

Greece is characterized particularly by surfaces covered with a thick red slip that is either burnished or polished, and by shapes such as the large pedestal bowl known as fruitstand with incised rim.[20] On the other hand, there is much in the fill that is typical of the pottery from the Early Helladic II destruction horizon observed in different parts of the acropolis of Geraki. This horizon can be dated to EH II late, on the basis of many links with the large corpus of pottery from Lerna IIIC in the Argolid which is of that date and has been fully studied by Martha Wiencke.[21]

The pottery of Early Helladic II late from the depression at Geraki dug in 2003 consists of an already largely known, limited range of fabrics, shapes and surface treatment.[22] The relatively small number of sherds of fine fabric (our fabric A) belongs mainly to open shapes with Light Painted surfaces. Small bowls, commonly known as saucers, again figure prominently. Sauceboats are also represented, including a fragment with Dark Painted surfaces. Of note is the set of 11 joining body sherds already mentioned above (Inv. no. 4786/SF 2. fig. 5; plate X). They belong to a finely made, Light Painted vessel of closed shape – either a jug or an askos, according to the preserved lower part of a thin vertical strap handle. A jug is more likely in view of the body's symmetrical shape. At Geraki and elsewhere, EH II jugs in fine or other fabrics divide into two basic types, one square-spouted, and the other with a beaked mouth.[23] The very fragmentary example under discussion here had a plain horizontal rib at the maximum diameter of its squat globular body. Sherds from closed vessels with one or two ribs in this position also occur in other contexts of EH II late at Geraki. Among better preserved vessels from Lerna and other sites, they appear to be associated with jars rather than jugs.[24]

As elsewhere at Geraki, medium coarse and coarse fabrics – our fabrics B and D – occur in much higher proportions among the EH II sherd material from the depression. The medium coarse pieces usually have Dark Painted surfaces and include one (burnt) patterned sherd, with simple linear decoration in red paint on a white-slipped surface (Inv. no. 4792/16). Several of the sherds of coarse fabric belong to what we have come to call Geraki Ware, after its distinctive plastic decoration, with 'smear marks' neatly arranged in patterns.[25] The same or other sherds from bowl-shaped or necked pithoi may also be decorated with applied horizontal cordons, which are either left plain, impressed with fingertipping or incised with oblique slashes.

Three body sherds can be assigned to the Middle Helladic period. Two of these (Inv. no. 4786/21 and 4789/25; plate XIII) are of coarse fabric and bear incised decoration of a kind that in the past was often referred to as 'Adriatic'. Along with other similar sherds from Geraki, they may well belong to a vessel shape that occurs at sites in different parts of the Peloponnese and central mainland Greece: a wide-mouthed jar with one high-swung strap handle. Elsewhere, such incised jars are attributed to Middle Helladic I, while at Lerna they first appear in the Early Helladic III period (Lerna IV).[26]

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[20] See a.o. Phelps 1975, 356-359; Maran 1998, 8-9, 26-27, 75-76, 153; Pullen 1995, 10-19; Wiencke 2000, 631-632; Alram-Stern 2001, 66-70.

[21] Wiencke 2000. For the Early Helladic II pottery from Geraki, see Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 96-105; 2000, 25-27; 2002, 8-23.

[22] See Crouwel *et al.*, 1998, 96-105; 2001, 25-27; 2002, 8-23.

[23] See Wiencke 2000, 569-572. For examples of Light Painted, fine-ware jugs of either type, see Goldman 1931, 105 with fig. 137(Eutresis); Müller 1938, pl. VIII:1-2 (Tiryns).

[24] Wiencke 2000, 564f., 567 (*s.v.* Lerna jar types 3 and 6).

[25] See especially Crouwel *et al.* 1998, 100-101; 2002, 23.

[26] Crouwel *et al.* 2001, 287f. with pl. XIV. For finds from other sites, see a.o. Zerner 1978, 188ff.; Forsén 1996, 67, nos. 106-107 with fig. 10.1; Rutter 1995, 632-634, shape XXXI.1 and ill. S-21 (Lerna).

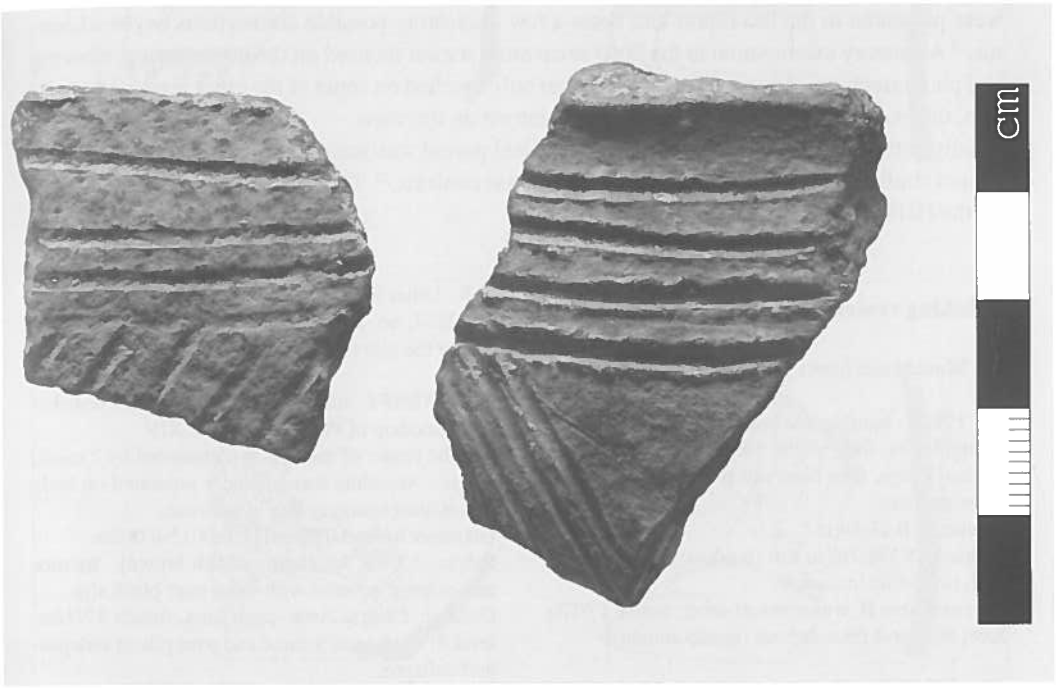

Plate XIII. *Middle Helladic sherds (Inv. nos. 4786/21 and 4789/25)*

The third Middle Helladic sherd from the depression (Inv. no. 4789/26) is of a distinctive medium coarse fabric that is quite frequently encountered at Geraki. This fabric may well fall within the category of Middle Helladic pottery called Lustrous Decorated Mudstone and Chert by Carol Zerner. It is decorated with shiny paint, in dark-on-light or (monochrome or polychrome) light-on-dark, and reveals strong similarities to pottery of Minoan Crete. Scientific analyses of samples from Lerna and other sites in the Argolid, from Ayios Stephanos on the south coast of Laconia and from the offshore island of Kythera suggest this pottery category was made in one area, somewhere in the Peloponnese. Zerner is inclined to favour Laconia and Kythera as the areas of production, in view of the quantities of this pottery found at Ayios Stephanos and on the island in combination with the strong connections with Crete that are evident there.[27]

Preliminary Report on the Pottery of the Historical Periods (E. Langridge-Noti)

This brief second preliminary report on the Classical through Roman period pottery presents shapes that strengthen current site chronology, confirms the identification of some shapes that

[27] Zerner 1993, 45-47. This pottery category was called Oatmeal Minoanizing or Fine Minoanizing by Rutter and Rutter (1976) in their pioneer study of pottery from Ayios Stephanos.

were presented in the last report and notes a few interesting possible connections beyond Laconia.[28] As pottery examination in the 2003 excavation season focused on the inventorying, drawing and photographing of pottery from Area II and only touched on some of the other areas of excavation, the examples discusses below will concentrate on this area.
Finally, although more material from the Classical period was found in the 2003 season, we still cannot confirm the identification of any primary use contexts.[29] Thus, this year's report will focus on the Hellenistic material.

Drinking vessels

1. Mouldmade bowls

1a. 1792/1: mouldmade bowl, import[30]; fig. 6
Straight rim with slight bulge where decoration begins. Ridge, then bead and reel and then another ridge survive.
Diameter: 0.13-14 m
Fabric: 7.5 YR 7/6 to 6/6 (reddish yellow). Sandy with no visible inclusions.
Context: Area II, westernmost room, trench 17/12q, level 50; latest floor deposit (abandonment).

1b. 2752/2: Mouldmade bowl, local; fig. 6
Base with small ferns/leaves. Indented late base with slightly raised and rounded outer edge. Small leaves/ferns rising up from base.
Diameter base: 0.05m TH: 0.002-0.004m
Fabric: 2.5 Y 5/1 to 4/1 (gray to dark gray). Sandy fabric with no visible inclusions. Interior and exterior covered with a matt black, gritty slip.
Context: Central Area, open area, trench 17/12m, level 11; wash level around and over pile of redeposited collapse.
N.B.: Other fragments of same bowl from no. 2753, no. 2757, no. 2760, belonging to same wash level and/or the pile of redeposited collapse.[31]

1c. 2737/SF4: mouldmade bowl, local: possibly the workshop of Philocles[32]; plate XIV
Rosette center of medallion surrounded by 2 raised ridges. Acanthus leaves widely separated on body and at least squiggly line in between.
Diameter base: 0.035m, TH: 0.0015-0.002m
Fabric: 2.5 YR 7/4 (light reddish brown). Interior and exterior covered with worn matt black slip.
Context: Central Area, open area, trench 17/12m, level 8; wash level around and over pile of redeposited collapse.

1d. 5081/3 mouldmade bowl, local, possibly from the workshop of Philocles; fig. 6
Small part of a long flaring out rim. Below are 2 ridges, then one large leaf with circle rosette on one side and a flower on a stem on the other.
Diameter: 0.13m
Fabric: 2.5 Y 5/2 (grayish brown). Interior and exterior covered with a worn gray to reddish slip.
Context: Area II, Hellenistic room south of street, trench 17/11q, level 35; latest floor deposit (on paved floor).

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[28] Special thanks are due R. Catling, E. and A. Hom, C. Pickersgill, M. Prent, G. Sanders, N. Vogeikoff and A., F., K. and A. Notis. Thanks also are due to the American College of Greece for appointment to the Institute for Academic Research and to the libraries of the American College of Greece, the American School of Classical Studies, the British School at Athens and the Corinth Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies for facilitating my research.

[29] This includes a number of fragments of late fifth-century to fourth-century Attic red-figure vases such as 2865/SF1, 2758/2, and 4838/1.

[30] Rotroff 1982, no. 398 with a similar rim form and pattern. The clay of her example is somewhat different from the Geraki example: 7.5 YR 6/4; very micaceous, gritty, light brown clay. It is also an import into Athens and Rotroff notes parallels in Messenia and Delos, see Bruneau 1970, D9; Laumonier 1977, no. 4482 and no. 4579. Another possibility is Laumonier 1977, no. 365. In all cases, although rim form and pattern are similar, clay fabric is somewhat different.

[31] See the contribution by M. Prent, p. 10.

[32] A close parallel to this bowl in both medallion and body decoration and form is 4194/1-2.

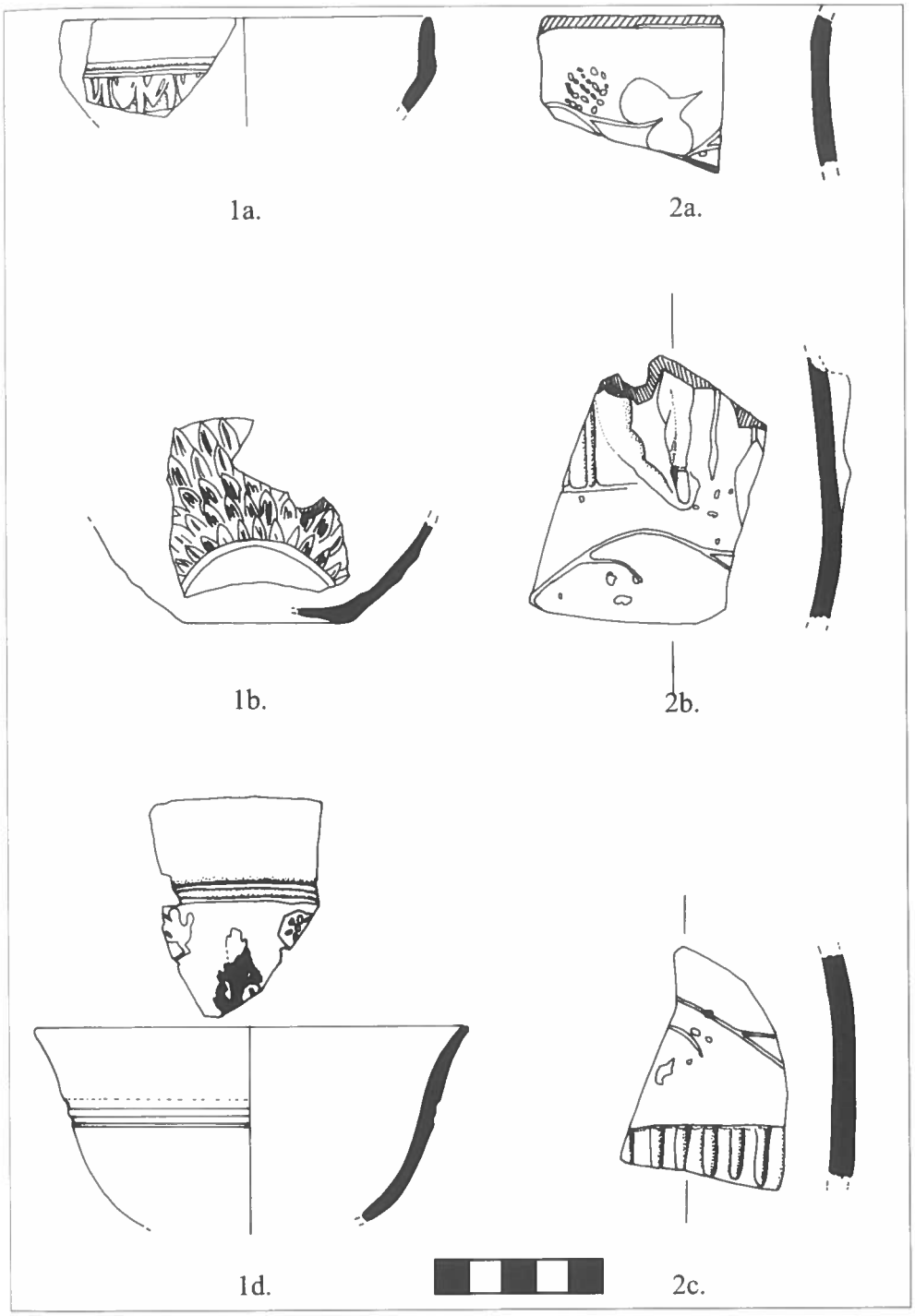

Figure 6. *Mouldmade bowls and plaketten-vases*

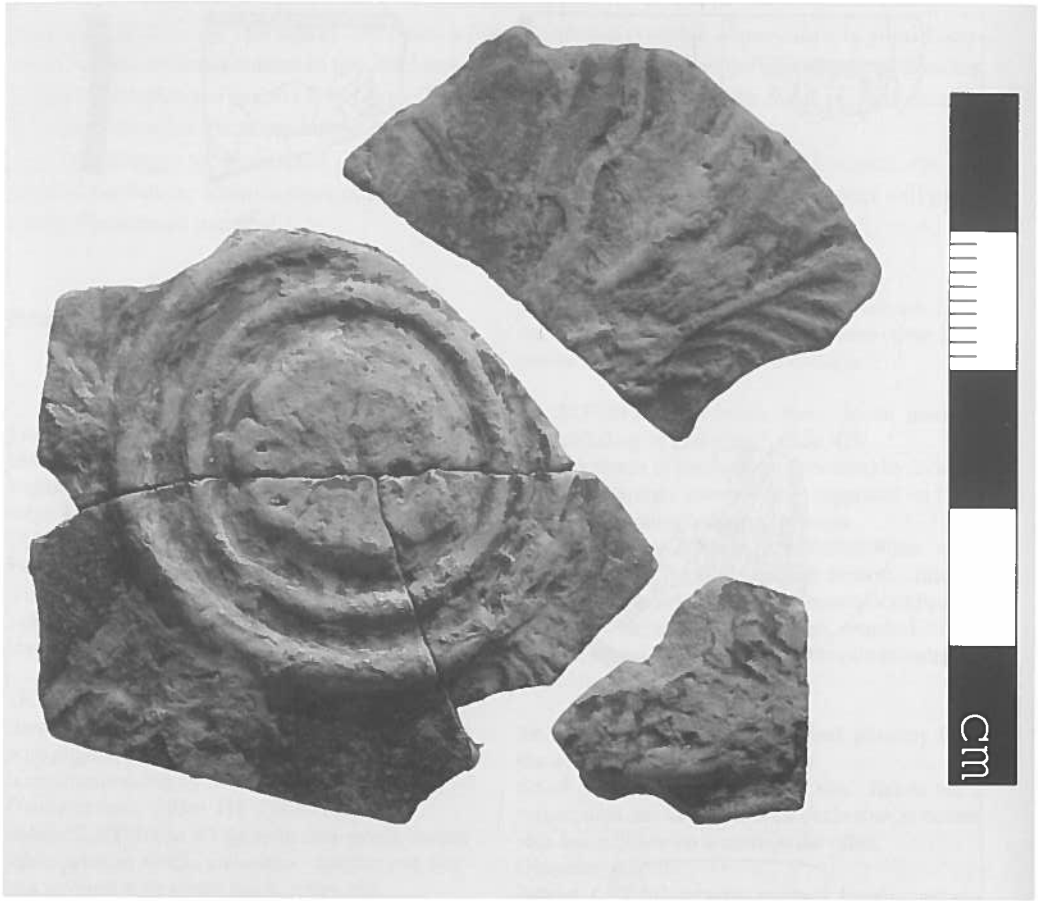

Plate XIV. *Mouldmade bowl (Inv. no. 2737/SF4)*

Discussion: As in previous seasons, mouldmade bowls appear regularly in excavated deposits. Profiles and fabric types continue to suggest that the majority belong to Laconian workshops and, therefore, probably span the second century BC.[33] Numbers 1c (2737/SF4) and 1d (5081/3) bear a close resemblance in patterns, design composition and profile to examples attributed to the workshop of Philocles.[34] The examples here show both connections between areas of the excavated site as well as adding to the representatives of the form from the site.

Serving vessels

2. Plaketten-vases

2a. 585/1: body fragment of an open vase with west slope decoration; fig. 6
Fragment of the body that preserves the ivy leaf and dot rosette pattern above and the horizontal grooving of the body below.
TH: 0.005m

[33] For Laconian workshops, see Siebert 1978. For the dates of Laconian mouldmade bowls, see Siebert 1978, 172-73.

[34] Siebert 1978, Sparta no. 6, no. 24, and no. 31, plate 82.1, 3 and 4.

Fabric: 2.5 YR 6/3- 5/2 (light reddish brown to weak red). Interior and exterior covered with a matt black slip.
Context: Area I, Room 10, trench 17/12k, level 8; wash level/earth fill (?).

2b. 2741/2: section of the moulded plakette; fig. 6
Small section of vertical ribbed body and moulded plakette that preserves the lower body and legs of a draped human figure. Under the figure is a flat band that preserves a curved, incised line and traces of added white decoration.
TH: 0.005+m
Fabric: 2.5Y 6/3 (light yellowish brown). Sandy with a few tiny inclusions. Traces of black slip on exterior.
Context: Central Area, open area, trench 17/12m, level 16; cleaning top of redeposited collapse.

2c. 2755/3: body fragment of a open vase with West Slope decoration; fig. 6
Body fragment with vertical ribbing on the lower part of the fragment and a flat band that preserves a curved, incised line and added white dot rosettes and ivy leaves.
TH: 0.006+m, PH: 0.076m
Fabric: 2.5Y-5Y 6/2 (light brownish gray to light olive gray). Gritty with no visible inclusions. Interior and exterior covered with a matt black slip of which only tiny traces survive on interior. Traces of added white remain.
Context: Central Area, open area, level 17; redeposited collapse.

Discussion: The excavations this year revealed fragmentary vases that permitted the confirmation of 4460/SF7 and 4504/SF3 as a plaketten-krater and suggest the existence of a number of plaketten-vases or similar appliqué-vases at the site.[35] Most important is this regard is 2b (2754/2). The fragment preserves not only the plakette itself, but also the West Slope decoration that characterizes this type of vase. There is a variation in the fabric color of the examples from Geraki that may suggest more then one source for the extant vases, but most of the fragments tend towards the pale brown or grey.[36]

3. Plates

3a. 2907/1: plate with upturned rim
Upturned rim to slightly slanting floor.
Diameter: 0.19m
Fabric: 2.5YR 5/6 (red). Interior and exterior covered by a black slip.
Context: Central Area, trench 17/12o, level 39; earth fill (?)

3b. 5081/6: plate with upturned rim; fig. 7
Upturned rim to almost flat floor.
Diameter: 0.26m.
Fabric: Fabric is sandwiched red 5YR 4/3 (reddish brown) and black. Interior and exterior covered with a matt black slip that shows signs of slight spawling.
Context: Area II, paved room south of street, trench 17/11q, level 35; latest floor deposit (abandonment).

3c. 1848/2, 3a, 3b: plate with upturned rim; fig. 7
About one quarter to one third of the upturned, rounded rim with a very shallow body.
Diameter: 0.25m
Fabric: 5YR 7/4-6/6 (pink to reddish yellow). Interior and exterior covered by a matt red slip.
Context: Area II, trench 17/13p, level 100; foundation trench for Wall 102?

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[35] See Langridge-Noti 2003, no. 9. For a different kind of appliqué-krater see Schilbach 1999, no. K1749 figure 80. Schilbach (124) suggests that Laconia is a possible source for the appliqué vases at Olympia on account of clay colour and consistency. Zervoudaki 1997, 118-120 also suggests the possibility of a Laconian workshop. Schliebach and Zervoudaki both refer to earlier discussions by Schäfer 1968, 88-89 and Hübner 1993, 52 for this suggestion. Support for this is adduced from a possible stamp found in the early British excavations on the Spartan acropolis, Hobling 1923-25, figure 1b, although Hobling noted that the motif on the stamp is one that is strongly associated with Pergamon itself. Add to examples of moulded plakettes in Laconia, Phaklaris 1990, pl. 96e.

[36] Kenrick 1985, 506, appendix 1.9a discusses the atomic absorption analysis that was done on the plaketten-vases found at Berenice. The analysis excludes the attribution of this ware to south Italy, although it leaves open the possibility of attribution to either Crete or Alexandria. Kenrick also notes a group of mouldmade bowls whose composition is chemically similar, suggesting a similar point of origin, Kenrick 1985, 507 appendix 1.11b, cluster 22. His examples for this cluster are of fine, pale gray clay with lustrous black.

3d. 2603/SF1 and SF5 and 1792/SF9: plate with upturned rim; fig. 7
Part of the upturned, rounded rim with a very shallow body
Diameter: 0.25-26m
Fabric: 5 YR 6/-5/6 (reddish yellow to yellowish red). No visible inclusions. No traces of slip.
Context: Area II, westernmost room, trench 17/12q, level 50; latest floor deposit (abandonment).

3e. 2753/2: plate with upturned rim; fig. 7
Part of the upturned, slightly pointed lip and sharp inturn to the body. Very slightly raised outer edge at turn in to body.
Diameter: ca 0.22m
Fabric: 5Y 3/1 (very dark gray) exterior; 5YR 5/1 (gray) for interior, thin, light sandwiched layer. Very dense with many tiny white and shiny inclusions, although the fabric itself does not appear shiny.
Context: Central Area, trench 17/12m, level 11; wash level around and over pile of redeposited collapse.

Discussion: Scholars have traced this form at least back into the second century BC.[37] While Rotroff has noted that the form is unusual and restricted in time in Athens, it is more common and long-lived in Laconia since it appears in a number of contexts there into the early Roman period.[38] The Geraki examples thus far catalogued display a variety of fabrics, slips and lip forms, and further study is likely to split the shape into subcategories.[39] Numbers

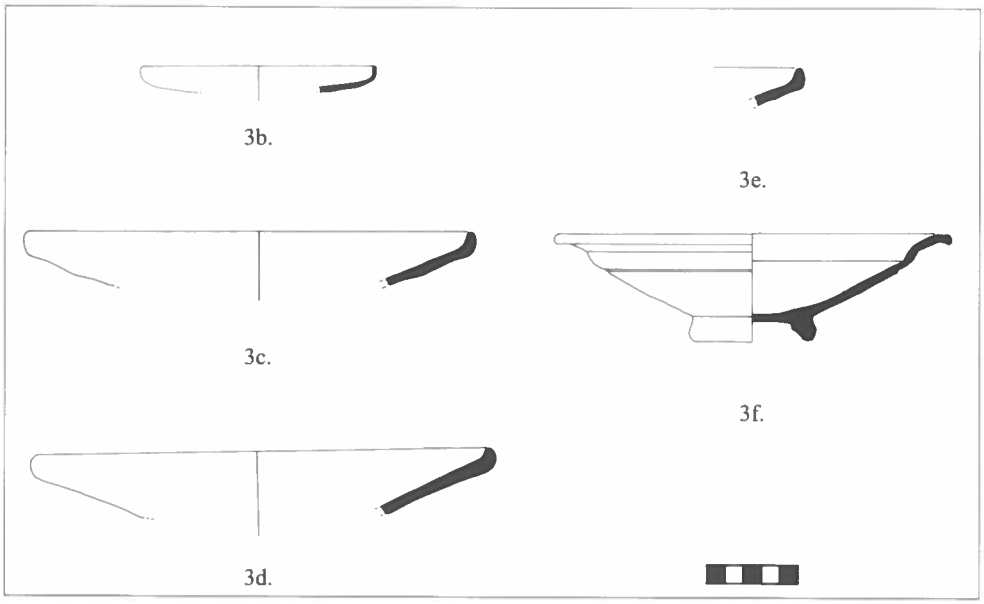

Figure 7. *Plates*

[37] Hayes 1985, 14 (form 2); Morel 1981, types 2234, p. 150-51, pl. 37 or 2252, p. 153, pl. 39; and Raftopoulou 2000.

[38] Pickersgill and Roberts 2003, nos. 14-15 for some of the latest contexts; Bailey 1993, no. 9, no. 133 and no. 169. Raftopoulou 2000, plate 218a 12.763 and 12.762. I would like to thank C. Pickersgill for sharing Spartan examples of this form with me and for discussing the implications for dating of the transition from black slip to red slip in Laconia.

[39] In the examples shown here, two subcategories are immediately visible in rim type comprised of 3a-b and 3c-e. I have kept both types of rims under this category as the rim of the second type also appears to have been formed by pulling the clay upwards and outwards, not by rolling the clay onto the interior of the body. The latter method is often the case with rolled rim plates, which the second Geraki subcategory sometimes resembles.

3e (2753/2) and 3b (5081/6) have fabric types that may be imports.[40] Number 3c (1848/2, 3a-b) displays a red slip that suggests a late first-century BC date at the very earliest for this example.[41] All that has been recognized of the shape at Geraki to date is the upturned lip and sloping body, but the foot of the shape is very small (less than a third its width) and may be revealed in closer examination of the pottery in future seasons.[42] Parallels noted for the shape at Geraki bear a broad range of names, a point that bears directly on our uncertainty as to the form's use.[43] Further investigation of the context and associated finds of the examples at Geraki may help to resolve this issue of usage, at least for the Geraki examples.[44]

3f. 5076/SF4: plate/dish with outturned rim; fig. 7
Outturned rim with a grooved upper and outer edge to an angled join to the body, marked on the exterior by a shallow groove. The ring foot has a small projection on its upper, inner surface.
Diameter: 0.22m
Fabric: 7.5YR 5/3 (brown). Black slip on interior and exterior of both body and foot. Burnt and worn.
Context: Area II, room north of street, trench 17/11q, level 32; latest floor deposit (abandonment).

Discussion: The outturned lip with grooved upper edge and convex rim as seen in 3f (5076/sf4) appears in a number of fragments throughout the deposits thus far excavated. It is unclear, however, at this date whether all of them should be restored to this form. The closest parallels for the plate form as seen here appear in the second century BC, although the plate form itself spans a longer period of time.[45]

3g. 2909/3: stamped plate floor with linked palmettes; plate XV
Flat floor preserves the traces of a single stamped palmette, the incised linking lines and an incised central medaillion.
TH: 0.003-0.005m
Fabric: 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow)
Context: Central Area, trench 17/12o, level 39; earth fill (?)

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[40] Rotroff 1997,155. Rotroff ties her shape to Morel 1981, type 2234 (150-51, plate 37) dating to the third to second centuries BC, but another possibility is type 2252 (153, plate 39) dating to the second century BC. Both of Morel's types appear in a variety of Italian black slipped wares including Campana A, B and Etruscan. This possibility, in conjunction with the variety of fabrics and the plaketten-vases noted above, suggests the possibility of ties towards the west. Other probable examples of this plate form include: 4576/1; 1242/8; 2739/3; 2907/1.

[41] The form appears in both black slip and red slip examples, see Hayes 1985, 14. When local vases in Greece are deliberately coloured with a red slip rather than a black slip is a matter for some debate. Much depends on whether the strongest external influences on the pottery are perceived as being from the East, where the tradition of red slipped pottery goes back into the second century BC, or from the West, where the red slipped tradition appears to begin a bit later, see Roberts 1997, 1989; Rotroff 1997, 43-44 and Slane 1997, 273-74.

[42] Rotroff 1997, 154-55.

[43] Pickersgill and Roberts 2003 refer to the form as a dish. Bailey 1993, no. 9 and no. 169 refers to the form as a bowl and no.133 as a lid; no. 169 displayed traces of burning that suggested that the form had been used over the fire. Raftopoulou 2000 refers to the examples there as plates with up-turned rims. Others have suggested that this may be a reversible lid. However, the examples at Geraki do not display the West Slope decoration that Rotroff 1997, 192 felt characterized this last form. Some of the Geraki examples have a spotty red slip on the interior and exterior with no other traces of decoration. Full profiles and close, full examinations of contexts may help to pinpoint use and parallels. Other parallels for the shape as it appears at Geraki include: Skordou 2000, plate 11 figures 21.9g and 22.7e and 23.8e; Ioannidou 1994, K185; Thompson 1934, E151-52 and 154-56. Kenrick 1985, forms 6, 8 and 65 are other possibilities, but the diameter of all three of these examples is substantially smaller than that of the Geraki examples.

[44] For the possibility of multiple uses for single vessels, see Allison 1999.

[45] Hayes 1995, figure 5.10 (Hellenistic); Ioannidou 1994, no. 195-98 (late third century BC through to the early first century BC. The Geraki example appears closest to the second century BC examples; Eiring 2001, 3.6s (dating to the late first century BC and red slipped). C. Pickersgill kindly shared with me a number of Spartan examples of the form that will appear in her dissertation and that suggest the continuation of the form through at least the end of the first century BC.

Plate XV. *Stamped plate floor with linked palmettes (Inv. no. 2903/3)*

Discussion: The very flat profile of the surviving fragment suggests that this is the floor of a rolled rim plate.[46] Linked palmettes as decoration on plate floors do not appear to continue much beyond the beginning of the third century BC.[47] Note in particular the careful incision of the linking lines on the Geraki example so that there is no overlap. We should note that Laconia has appeared preliminarily to be conservative with other shapes, so the possibility should not be discounted that stamping on the floor surface of plates may continue just a bit longer at Geraki.

4. 2583/SF3: Lekane/large mug/krater (?) rim; fig. 8
Lip is rolled out and down with a deep undercut and a slightly grooved and bevelled exterior. The exterior rim is convex and turns onto a straight neck and flaring body. The interior lip is flattened, while the upper rim is concave onto the straight neck.
Diameter: 0.362m
Fabric: 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown). Many tiny to medium black stone and grog inclusions. Surviving black slip is very thin and the body of the vase shows through red in many places.

[46] Rotroff 1997, 142-45.

[47] Rotroff 1997, 37 notes that linked palmette stamps, such as are seen on this plate, can carry into the third century BC on plates, but that the linked palmettes do not last much longer. A similar distinction for Italian wares is noted by Kenrick 1985, 26-27 following Lamboglia 1952, 204 and Morel 1969.

Context: Area II, westernmost room, trench 1712/q, level 50; latest floor deposit (abandonment).

Discussion: This is a rather elaborate rim form for a lekane, and another possibility is that the shape may be considered a krater or large mug.[48] The vase was probably used for serving, whatever the name given here.

Storage and Transport

Transport amphora

5. 4660/SF2: Transport amphora; fig. 8
Flaring rounded toe that rests on its inner surface and has a depressed underside. Wall angles out sharply.
Diameter toe: 0.075+m
Fabric: 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red). Numerous small white stones visible in the deep depression on underside.
Context: Area I, Room 11, trench 17/13f, level 5; Post-abandonment wash level.

Discussion: The lack of transport amphorae noted last season continued to be the case. Only a few diagnostic pieces were recognized in the examination of the pottery, despite close scrutiny for any sign of this shape. That this may be a peculiarity of Laconia has been noted elsewhere.[49]

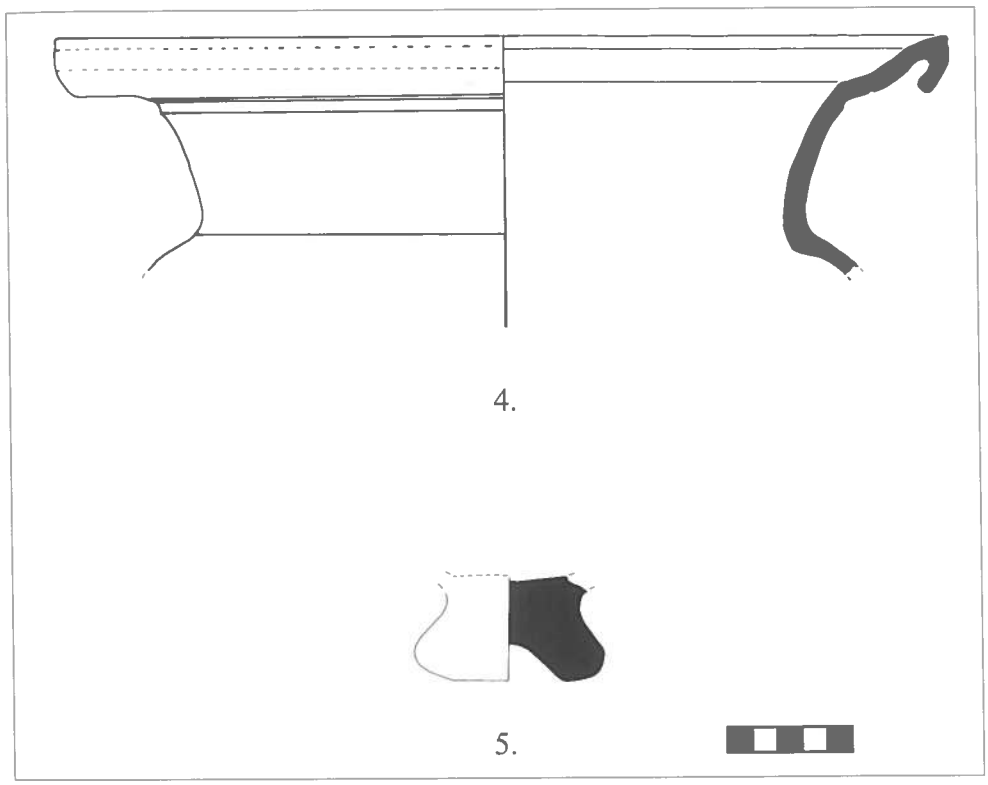

Figure 8. *Lekane (?) rim and transport amphora*

[48] Catling 1996, form 4, and Visscher 1996, no. 11f for a possible Hellenistic parallel, if the body bulges out again. Catling calls the form a large mug, while Visscher refers to it as a lekane. Both of them note that the form would have been used for serving. Catling 1996, 39, in particular, notes that the form may well have replaced earlier krater forms in Laconia.

[49] Pickersgill and Roberts 2003, Catling 1996, 88 and Visscher 1996, 105. This last for the small number of Hellenistic amphora types from the Laconia Survey. One should note that at least some transport amphorae appear in Gytheion, see Yannakopoulou 1966, figs. 42-43.

Coins found in 2003 (plate XVI) (J. van der Vin)[50]

Abbreviations used:

BMC	*A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London 1873.
Grunauer	S. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier*, Berlin 1978.
SNG Cop.	*Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum*, Copenhagen 1942.
Svoronos	J.N. Svoronos, *Die Münzen der Ptolemaeer*, Athens 1908.

Peloponnese

1. Inv. no. 4804/SF1. Sparta, 223-222 BC, bronze coin (very worn).
   Obv. head of Heracles r., in lion's skin.
   Rev. club between two stars and ΛA.
   Weight: 5.3 g.
   SNG Cop.--; *Grunauer*, Gruppe VI.
   Context: Area I, trench 17/12g, level 16; old plough soil/post-abandonment wash.

2. Inv. no. 950/SF1. Sparta, 197-192 BC (struck under Nabis), bronze coin (very worn).
   Obv. head of Athena with Corinthian helmet r.
   Rev. amphora, in field ΛA.
   Weight: 2.95 gr.
   Context: Central Area, open area, trench 17/13l, level 30; tile fill behind Wall 30.

3. Inv. no. 4649/SF2. Argos, 468-421 BC, silver hemidrachm (worn).
   Obv. forepart of wolf l.
   Rev. A in shallow incuse, in upper part part of which two deeper incuses; below, pellet.
   Weight: 2.7 gr.
   Cf. *SNG Cop.* 7; *BMC* 9-11.
   Context: Area I, trench 17/13f, level 1; plough soil.

4. Inv. no. 4801/SF1. Hermione (in the Argolid), 350-322 BC, bronze coin (worn).
   Obv. head of Demeter r., crowned with corn.
   Rev. torch and E R within corn-wreath.
   Weight: 1.5 gr.
   SNG Cop 143; *BMC* 14-15.
   Context: Area I, trench 17/12g, level 15; plough soil.

[50] For an important recent article on coinage from Laconia, see Christien 2002 (with references to the coin hoard found at Geraki in 1997 and published in van der Vin 1998).

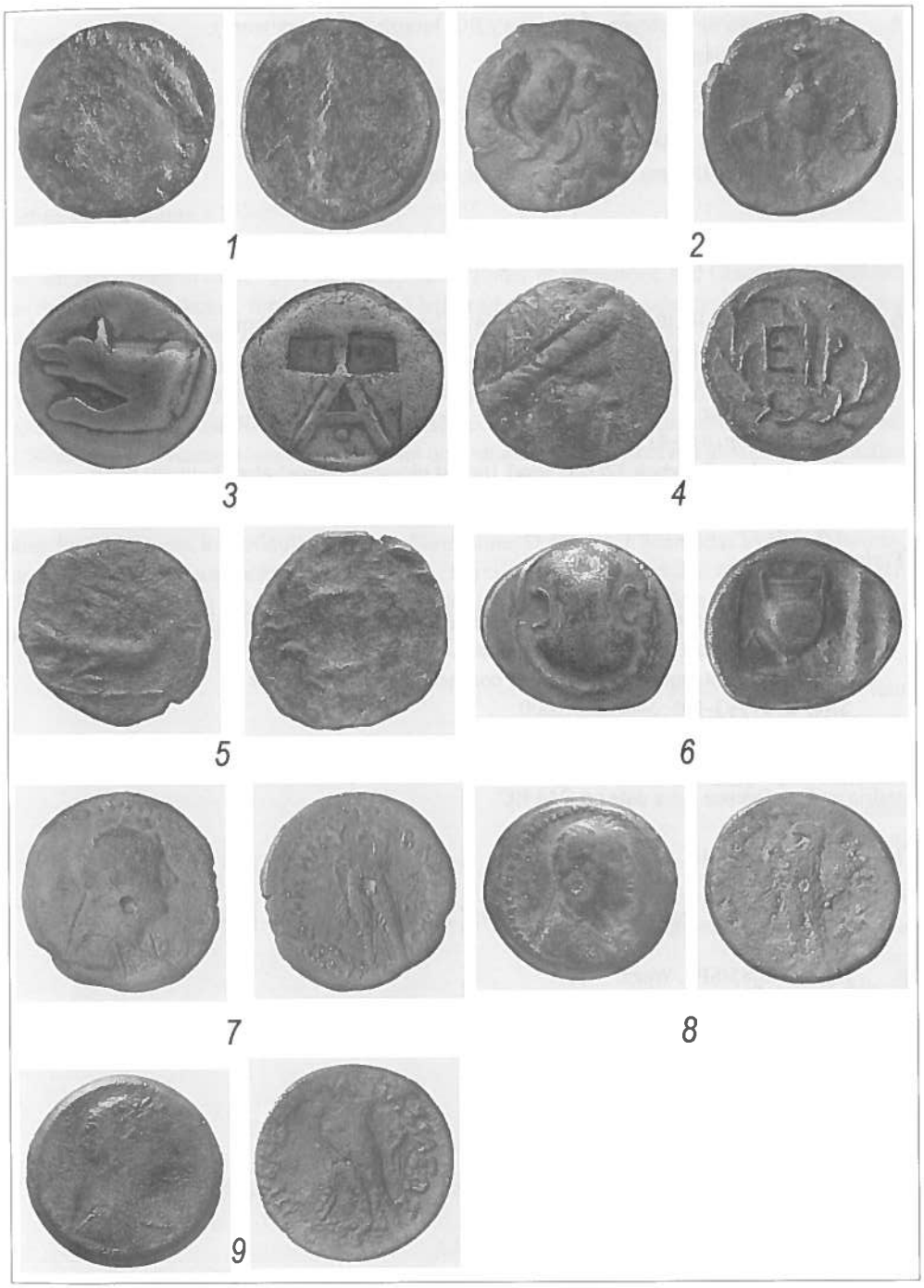

Plate XVI. *Coins found in 2003*

5. Inv no. 5046/SF1. Sicyon, 4th century BC, bronze coin (very worn).
Obv. dove flying r.
Rev. dove flying l.
Weight: 1.4 gr.
SNG Cop. --; cf. *BMC* 89ff.
Context: Area II, trench 17/11q, level 18; cleaning Wall 111.

Boeotia

6. Inv. no. 4804/SF2. Boeotia, ca. 420-374 BC, silver drachm (worn).
Obv. Boeotian shield
Rev. amphora; above, pellet, beneath, Δ-I, all within incuse square
Weight: 5.25 gr.
Cf. *SNG Cop.* 412-413; *BMC* 25-26.
Context: Area I, trench 17/12g, level 16; old plough soil/post-abandonment wash.

Ptolemaic Egypt

7-10. Ptolemaios III Euergetes Egypt (struck in Alexandria) 246-221 BC, four bronze coins.
Obv. laureate bust of Ptolemy III r.; dotted border
Rev. eagle l. on thunderbolt; in field, cornucopiae; dotted border
SNG Cop. 193-195; *Svoronos* 1000.

Note. According to *SNG Cop.* attribution to Alexandria uncertain; *Svoronos* 24: mintplace Alexandria and preference for a date ca. 244 BC.

7. Inv. no. 4811/SF1. Slightly worn.
Weight: 5.0 gr.
Context: Area I, trench 17/12g, level 19; Civil War disturbance (1946-49).

8. Inv. no. 5085/SF1. Worn.
Weight: 5.4 gr.
Context: Area II, trench 17/11q, level 36; latest floor deposit in paved room south of Wall 111.

9. Inv. no. 2768/SF1. Worn
Weight: not yet measured.
Context: Central Area, trench 17/12m, level 19, open area; collapse near Wall 1.

10. Inv. no. 4631/SF1. Extremely worn. (No ill.)
Weight: 2.05 gr.
Context: Central Area, 17/12n, level 7, room behind threshold; latest collapse (abandonment).

Uncertain Greek

Note: Another two coins (956/SF4 and 2753/SF1) were too badly worn on both sides to be studied or illustrated here.

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Finally, we are once again deeply indebted to the Mayor of Geraki, Mr Ph. Piliouras, and other local residents, in particular Messrs I. Fasmoulou, D. Iannes, I. Maroudas and Th. Piliouras, for their hospitality and help in various ways. Special thanks are also due to Stuart MacVeagh Thorne, for improving the English of this article, and to Els and Ans Hom and Anneke Dekker, for preparing the illustrations.

J.H. Crouwel and M. Prent
Amsterdams Archeologisch Centrum
Nieuwe Prinsengracht 130,
NL - 1018 VZ Amsterdam
The Netherlands
j.h.crouwel@uva.nl

E. Langridge-Noti
American College in Greece
6-8 Xenias Street
GR 115 28 Athens
Greece

J. P. van der Vin
Het Geld-+Bankmuseum
Postbus 2407
NL - 3500 GK Utrecht
The Netherlands

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THE LEIDEN-LJUBLJANA TANAGRA PROJECT: THE 2003 SEASON

John Bintliff

With the assistance of Emeri Farinetti, Jeroen Poblome, Kalliope Sarri, Kostas Sbonias, Bozidar Slapsak, Vladimir Stissi, and Athanasios Vionis

This Project is co-directed by John Bintliff (Leiden) and Bozidar Slapsak (Ljublana), whilst the Assistant Director is Kostas Sbonias (University of Corfu). The ceramic analysis is carried out by Kalliope Sarri (Athens) for prehistory, Vladimir Stissi (Amsterdam) for Geometric to Hellenistic, Jeroen Poblome (Leuven) for Roman, and Athanasios Vionis (Leiden) for Medieval to Ottoman pottery. The computer database and GIS manipulation of our results are in the hands of Emeri Farinetti (Leiden). The student participants came in 2003 from Leiden and Ljubljana. As usual we had outstanding assistance from the Ephor of Classical Antiquities Vassilis Aravantinos, whilst our accommodation was provided by Bishop Hieronymus of Livadheia and his assistant Mr. George Kopanyas. Field geophysical research was carried out by Branko Music and his team from Ljubljana. Albert Schachter is the Project's ancient historian.[1]

In 2003 the archaeological and architectural parts of the Project team spent the month of August in the field, whilst the geophysics was carried out in shorter Spring and Autumn seasons. The Roman ceramic team also worked on the finds during the same non-summer periods. Apart from the continuing analysis of the ceramics from this and earlier seasons, the work in 2003 had several aims. Firstly, the Geoprospection team was to complete as much as possible of its programme to study the entire, more than 30-hectare, surface of ancient Tanagra City within its late Classical wall-circuit, primarily deploying electrical resistivity and magnetometry, but with localised use of georadar. By the end of the autumn season this goal had almost been accomplished (plate I).

[1] See his article in this issue of *Pharos*, pp. 45-74. For previous preliminary reports see Bintliff & Farinetti *et al.* 2000, Bintliff & Evelpidou *et al.* 2001 and Bintliff & Farinetti *et al.* (*BCH* in press).

Spectacular results are now available for the exact delineation of the street plan and insula layout of the Classical-Hellenistic town, clarifying and in some respects modifying the excellent previous work on these aspects by Duane Roller in the 1970s and 1980s.[2] Major monuments of Greek and Roman times are being identified, and changes to the city during Roman Imperial to Late Antique times are being carefully unravelled.

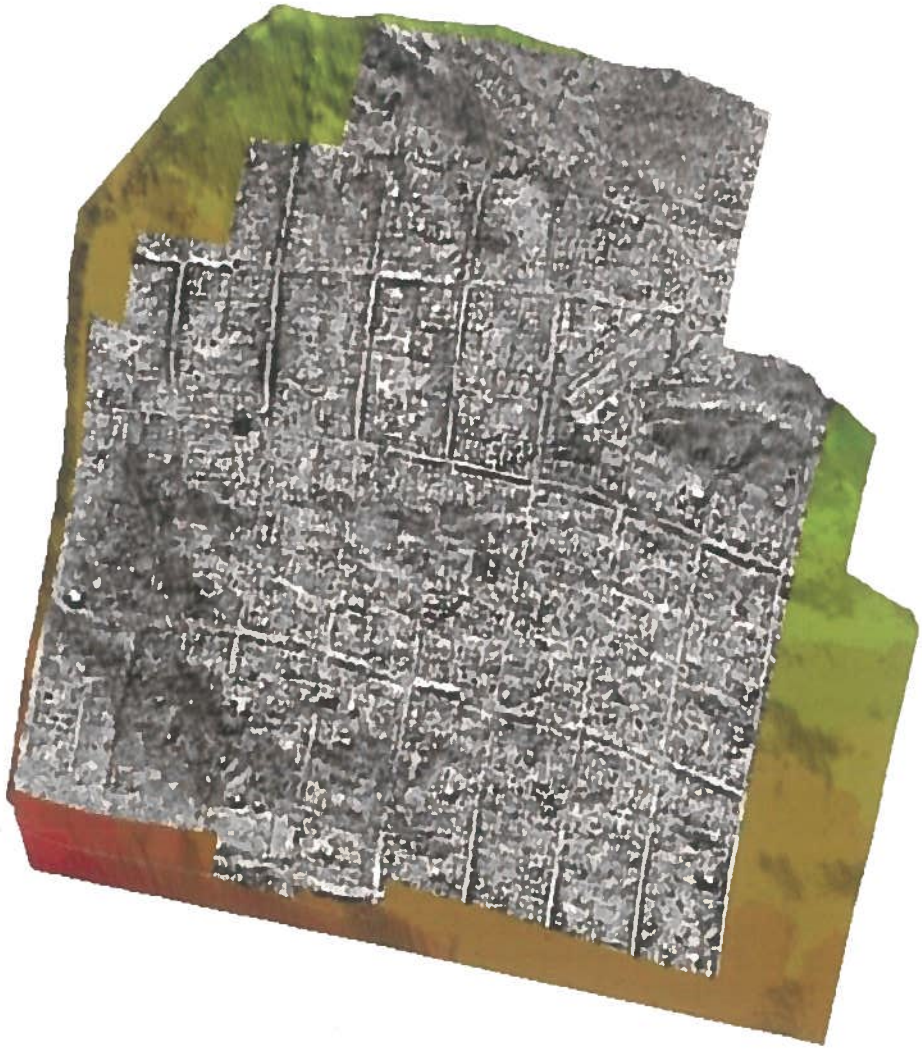

Plate I. *Tanagra: results of the geophysical and topographical survey*

[2] cf. Roller 1987.

Naturally the detailed image provided by subsurface geoprospection is essentially the accumulation of all building changes from the earliest historic town to its end sometime in the 6th-7th century AD, but it is possible to model the dominant town plan which Roller argued to have been set out around the 4th century BC, and then highlight what appear to be subsequent modifications. In one case, for example, a Greek housing block seems by Late Antiquity to have become a single large mansion and a row of street-shops. The Greek agora was dramatically altered by the erection of a giant Early Christian basilican church (the cathedral?) over part of its open space, and on an entirely different alignment to the pagan city-centre structures (incidentally Bozidar Slapsak now believes the ancient agora lies significantly further to the west than where Duane Roller suggested). Analysis of the complex architectural plans is only just beginning, but promises to offer new tools to archaeologists who are faced with long-lived monumental sites where they are not allowed, or do not have the time or desire, to carry out major urban excavations. Tanagra, as a protected monument, will not in the conceivable future – barring major illegal activity there – be open to excavation.

Nonetheless co-director Bozidar Slapsak has been developing a complementary field methodology – surface architectural microrecording – to aid the Geoprospection team in understanding how the Greek town changed through Roman times to its final state when town life ceased in Late Antiquity. The site surface, covered with low scrub, is cleaned mechanically, then the visible walls are planned and photographed in great detail. This study, first applied in the 2003 season, has already answered one of the first mysteries which Duane Roller's studies had created: how could it be that the dominant surface architectural traces in a large Late Roman town were the street lines, insulae and house-walls of the late Classical Greek city? In the small sector of the town so far investigated

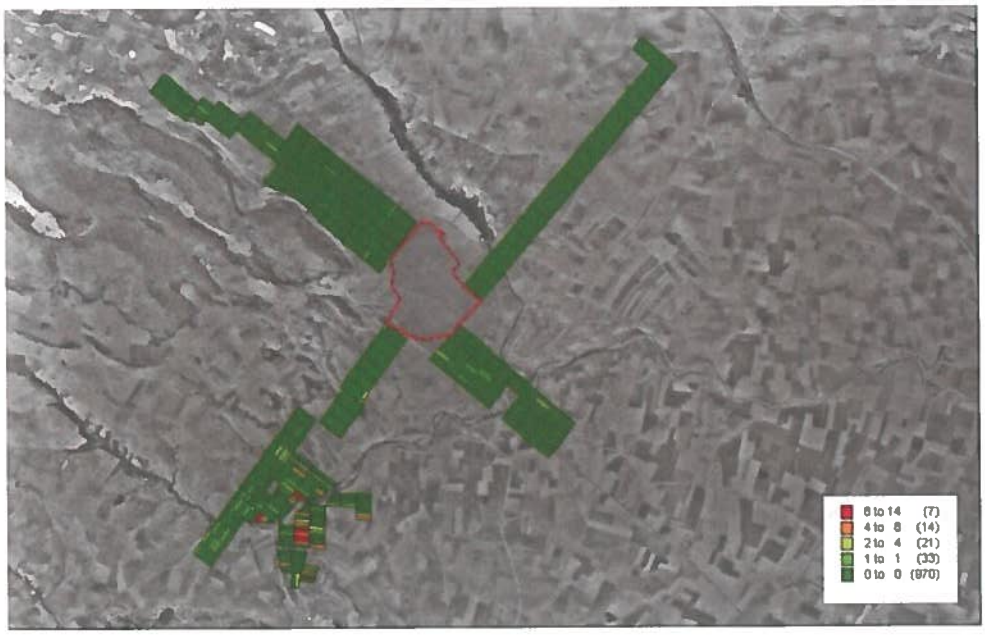

Plate II. *Prehistoric pottery densities 2000-2003*

by Bozidar, all walls appear to have been rebuilt in post-Greek times using a mixture of building pieces of earlier date and new building material, but usually on the same alignments and respecting the older major divisions of the city. As this work progresses, we hope it will show whether parts of the Classical town went out of use in Roman times, and also point to new functions of space, for example whether the intramural gymnasium and other monuments were reassigned new roles in Late Antiquity, such as for domestic housing. The combined geoprospection and surface architectural analysis will also greatly assist the interpretation of the plotted dated surface pottery over the city surface – the recording and collecting stage of this was finished already in 2002 – where we very much wish to know if Tanagra city was reduced in size in Late Hellenistic and Early Roman to Late Roman times in comparison to its Classical extent (as we have shown in the older Boeotia Project studies at the cities of Haliartos, Thespiae and Hyettos[3]).

Outside of the city, the work in 2003 had a number of aims, each associated with a particular period of occupation in the countryside. Let us begin with Prehistory. In 2002 we had discovered that the extremely vestigial type of small rural site of Neolithic and Bronze Age date demonstrated for the Thespiae countryside and discussed in a provocative study in the *JMA* in 1999[4], was also detectable through similar micro-landscape fieldwork in the Tanagra hinterland. This result was announced again in *JMA* in late 2002[5] where it gave rise to further debate. What seemed clear was that two kinds of settlement and land use could be identified, both around Tanagra and Thespiae. Associated with the presentday stream banks we could discover a series of small rural occupation sites, which were essentially of Neolithic age, whilst in the wider terrain of the interfluves – all the land between streams – other small sites were more likely to be of Bronze Age date. At regular intervals in the Thespiae region our older Boeotia Project had found small nucleated settlements of hamlet or village character, often some 2-3 kilometres from each other. Tanagra City from its surface finds was known from our intensive survey to have been one such village, in all periods of farming prehistory, lying not on but close above the river Laris.

In 2003 at the instigation of Kostas Sbonias, the rural field survey team, under his and John Bintliff's direction, carried out fieldwalking along the banks of the river Asopus and its tributaries upstream from Tanagra city (see plate II, in SW). We had not been sure if the prehistoric small farming sites found on small streams feeding into the Asopus in 2002, would also occur on larger tributaries and beside the main river, but we were surprised to find that it did, and indeed often formed a near-continuous occupation surface along the modern river edge of the floodplain. Understanding this location however was problematic. Both the sites found in 2002 beside tiny but still-perennial streams and the new, 2003 prehistoric occupation sites found by the larger streams and the Asopos river faced onto a deeply-incised, gravely bed hardly amenable to past cultivation. In Neolithic times, the absence of the plough till the final phase of that era meant that farmers favoured moist ground for their hand-based, hoe agriculture, and the location of our sites seemed suitable except for the absence of cultivable sediment along the watercourses. However advice from a visiting geomorphologist, Renato Sebastiani, immediately clarified the situation:

[3] cf. Bintliff & Snodgrass 1988.
[4] Bintliff, Howard & Snodgrass, 1999.
[5] Bintliff *et al.* 2002.

the occupation traces were all that was left, the outer rim in fact, of a broad alluvial terrace which had in prehistoric times stretched right across these streams and rivers and was highly fertile. Subsequent stream incision had removed all but the highest level of this terrace, and our ability to find these traces was being helped by the final stages of removal of the terrace, where the farmers had dwelt but whose prime farming land had lain on the lost high-level floodplain.

Clearly early farmers were very active along all the permanent streams and rivers of Boeotia, and we must probably imagine that the almost continuous occupation layer we could find running along the sides of these watercourses represents centuries if not millennia of horizontally-shifting small family settlements. In the final Neolithic era and through the Bronze Age, the arrival of the traction plough meant that farmers could also cultivate, through rainfed farming, the much larger expanses of fertile land away from the rivers, and this is a time when similar small sites are found in such non-riverine locations, although the attractions of the alluvial valley land would have remained until it began to be washed away. When the latter process became critical is a matter for our further investigations in 2004.

We have mentioned that framing these prehistoric dispersed settlements were regularly-spaced nucleated sites, and we had the opportunity to find out more about the nearest village neighbour to the prehistoric village at Tanagra city when we made a thorough survey of a well-known prehistoric site just a couple of kilometres to its southeast across the Asopos – the hilltop settlement of Ayios Konstantinos.[6] Sherding conditions have become exceptional here due to relatively recent events. Previous to the 1970s the hill possessed an ancient chapel on a terrace below the actual summit, but at that time a large new convent was built around the chapel, in the course of which the real summit was heavily disturbed to build an additional chapel. The entire upper parts of the site now lie within the convent precincts, so that our field teams were required to subdue their usual noisy exuberance in the field as they worked in and around the modern complex. Soft drinks, nibbles and gifts from the nuns were however ample reward at the end of a hot day in exposed hilltop conditions! The prehistoric finds from the upper parts of the hill were in unusually good condition as a result of the severe soil erosion caused by the recent building work, and will prove very helpful in Kalliope Sarri's study of the much smaller and more worn sherds we usually recover from open field ploughsoils elsewhere in the region. Their quality and extent confirm that this hill was the next major nucleated site to Tanagra in an eastern direction. It is already known that to Tanagra's west, but some 5 kilometres away, one or more major prehistoric settlements lie around the modern village of Tanagra.

There was a disappointment at Ayios Konstantinos, however. For similar geographical reasons we have reason to believe that a city such as Classical Tanagra would also have possessed villages or *komai* at intervals of every 2-3 kilometres through its chora, and previous scholars had hypothesized that the Konstantinos hill was the location of such a settlement.[7] To our surprise finds of Archaic to Hellenistic date were very slight, perhaps indicating a sanctuary or small cemetery. As Konstantinos lies just below one of the two modern villages which dominate this district of the

[6] Fossey 1988.
[7] cf. Fossey 1988.

former chora – Kleidi, one is now tempted to suggest that the missing village lies on or around the location of its near neighbour to the north-east – Ayios Thomas, where much material of Classical and Roman date has been recorded.[8]

Now that we have moved this discussion into historic and specifically Classical Greek times, we can note that our fieldwalking in the Asopus Valley south of Tanagra in 2003 was also designed to test our previous model from earlier seasons' work, namely that there was a good spread of small Classical farms and rural cemeteries in the *chora* – but not close to the city – and rare examples of larger Roman villa sites. A second model suggested that the Classical sites tended to favour the hilly valley slopes and plateaux even higher up, the Roman the lower piedmont and historic valley floor with their heavier soils (a pattern already established around Thespiae by Rob Shiel and the preceding Boeotia Project[9]). The 2003 season began indeed with the gridding and detailed study of a large Roman villa – TS 9 – found in 2002, and suitably located low on the Asopus valley piedmont. A new Classical farm was found on a plateau location east of the valley, but as the exception to prove the rule, we also found a clear Classical farm on the historic Asopus floodplain, well below the position of the many Classical farms found in previous seasons around Tanagra. It is very reminiscent of another unique farm found by the river Askris during the Thespiae chora survey of the late 1980s, and this may help us understand the locational decisions and land use strategies used in this period.

To compensate us for the Classical shortcomings of Ayios Konstantinos however, the great surprise of the season was what we found at this hilltop site for Roman and primarily Late Roman times. We should commence by observing that although the hill's pre-convent name was Kastro, we found no significant Medieval or Post-Medieval activity there before the late 20th century AD. What we did find, though, in extraordinary quantities, were Late Roman ceramics, and not only over the entire surface of the upper hill, but there was an extramural settlement at its northwestern foot. Most intriguing was the evidence for a substantial enclosure wall found at several widely-spaced points of the hilltop, behind which great piles of late antique tile and amphorae had built up (surely the reason for its being termed Kastro). In the absence of significant use of the hill after Late Antiquity, we are currently suggesting that this large settlement was enclosed, if not fortified, although its population was large enough to include an additional suburb in the fields below its precipitous slopes. Both Duane Roller and our own team have found good evidence for the repair of the Classical city wall of Tanagra in late Antiquity, so that a fortified *kome* in its *chora* should not at first sight be a surprise, both responding to the increased barbarian attacks on Mainland Greece from the 3rd century and especially 4th century AD onwards, which led to the rewalling of parts or less commonly all of the surviving poleis in Boeotia.[10] But Bozidar Slapsak has wisely queried the point of defending a village less than 2 kilometres from Tanagra, when that city's defences and larger militia force would surely have been a safer refuge against all but an unexpected lightning raid. Maybe, he suggests, the walling of Konstantinos occurred after Tanagra ceased to be defensible. There is a persuasive logic in these admittedly early speculations: after the arrival

[8] Fossey 1988.
[9] cf. Bintliff, Howard & Snodgrass *in press*.
[10] cf. Gregory 1982 for a discussion of this phenomenon in Roman Greece.

of the bubonic plague in the Balkans from the late 6th century AD, population is believed to have been halved, whilst the onset of Slavic invasions left only the larger cities in the control of Imperial forces. In such an historical context, the defence of a 30 hectare enceinte may have been less feasible and necessary, especially as it lacks any natural protection. Konstantinos in contrast is a highly defensible hill, whose weak points were reinforced with a rubble and cement wall in Late Roman times. Did the Tanagra population abandon the city and join the existing villagers across the river? Could the Konstantinos site have survived into the little-known Dark Ages of the 7th-8th centuries AD? To add spice to our speculations, our medieval ceramics expert, Nasos Vionis, has identified a previously-unknown coarseware from the latter site which he suggests could maybe belong to this putative 'sub-Roman' period, whilst our Roman ceramics specialist, Jeroen Poblome, has also pointed to some possible material that might be of 7th-8th century AD date.

There certainly is a gap to be filled between the clearly-identifiable landscape of pre-600 AD times, with a flourishing Tanagra city (several churches and the wall repaired to its full extent, masses of broken sherds of Late Roman types), large villas across the *chora* (with signs of wealth such as pillars, imported window glass) and the extensive Konstantinos village, and the next well-documented period in the landscape, the Middle Byzantine demographic explosion of the 10th-11th centuries AD. Historically the crisis-centuries of the 7th-9th AD, with endemic plague, a countryside only gradually won back from Slav conquest by Byzantine armies, and very few urban sites remaining in active roles for the southern Mainland of Greece, all meant that the countryside of Boeotia should have been little populated and poorly provided with material culture for surveyors such as ourselves. Refuge villages such as we hypothesize for Konstantinos may be exactly what we might expect to find, but they would be rare, and should have succumbed to either destruction or takeover by Slav tribes well before the whole region was reconquered by the Byzantine armies in the 8th century. The older Boeotia Project also found putative Dark Age sites at Askra and Haliartos, both believed to have been Slavicised in this period.[11]

The reincorporation of Boeotia into the Empire, achieved by the mid-9th century with security, is famously symbolized by the erection of notable churches at Skripou-Orchomenus and in Thebes, but our field survey has given a new breadth to this phenomenon of regional growth. By the beginning of the 2003 season we had already shown that the district around Tanagra city was cultivated in Middle Byzantine times from a village 1 kilometre to its east, around the 11th century church of Ayios Thomas. We might now ask if Tanagra and its possible successor at Konstantinos were replaced as population *foci* by this small community, which lasts into later Frankish times, since neither older site shows significant settlement during those periods. Upstream, above the Asopus Valley, we had found in 2002 a small Byzantine hamlet marking a second new foundation of the Middle Byzantine revival. In 2003 we discovered at least four more small nucleated settlements of the same period, scattered at regular intervals across the wider landscape. Thus, for example, to the west of Tanagra city lies another long-known Middle Byzantine church at a similar distance to Ayios Thomas but on the opposing side of the ancient town – at Ayios Polycarp. Earlier visits had not shown a settlement by the church, but deep ploughing on its north side in 2003 revealed a dense if limited site of the same period as the church and continuing into later centuries.

[11] cf. Bintliff *et al.* 2000.

As part of a 'Siedlungskammer' or Settlement Chamber approach to the long-term settlement geography of Boeotia[12], we are attempting at Tanagra as in the areas studied by the previous Boeotia Project, to follow the shifting location of settlement foci around small landscapes period by period. Knowing the Byzantine and Frankish settlement system comes essentially from surface survey, but before the modern villages we have the advantage of being able to combine fieldwork with the detailed Ottoman imperial tax archives for the Boeotian villages, previously studied by John Bintliff and Machiel Kiel (currently Director of the Dutch Institute in Istanbul).[13] Not every settlement in these archives can yet be located in the landscape, but we have been able to pinpoint closely or approximately some 70-80% of the villages named. Today the district formerly dominated by ancient Tanagra is divided between the villages of Kleidi and Ayios Thomas to its southeast, the village of Tanagra to its west, and the burgeoning town of Schimatari to its north. Kleidi seems to have already been in existence in Byzantine times, belonging thus to the network of settlements set up in the 10th -11th centuries, but we have reason to believe that this and all the other Byzantine communities of the district were wiped out or abandoned during the 14th and early 15th centuries, in a crisis era reminiscent of that of the late 6th – 8th centuries AD: bubonic plague, invasions and civil war were all involved. As a result, a complete recolonisation of this and most other parts of the Boeotian countryside was required. This was begun by the last Frankish dukes of Athens and the Venetians from Euboia , and continued under the first Ottoman provincial governors. The colonists were warlike and semi-pastoral Albanians or Arvanites from beyond the northwest borders of modern Greece. By the first surviving Ottoman village censusses of 1466 and 1506 the only communities of the Tanagra district are at Kleidi, at modern Tanagra (then called Bratsi), at Schimatari, and at a now deserted pair of related villages called Ginosati – all described as Arvanitic in ethnicity. Modern Ayios Thomas village is then a relatively recent foundation and seems to have replaced the Ginosati settlements around the time of the Greek Revolution in the 19th century AD.

Old maps and local informants had led us in 2002 to the location of one of the Ginosati deserted villages, and in 2003 a team led by Nasos Vionis scoured and gridded its overgrown surface for pottery, and recorded the standing walls of the last phase of its longhouses. The finds so far confirm the historical sources. But a spin-off of our work here, a beautiful fertile upland valley several kilometres south of modern Ayios Thomas and hence 5 or 6 kilometres distant from ancient Tanagra, was that the same local informants were knowledgeable about other lost villages in this area. Several turned out to be non-sites or Classical farm sites, but three were definitely medieval villages. The first lies immediately south of and on the outskirts of modern Ayios Thomas, and is a Middle Byzantine to Frankish hamlet. The second lies 1-2 kilometres east of Ginosati around a recently rebuilt church, presumably originally Middle Byzantine to judge from its associated settlement. The third also lies 1-2 kilometres from Ginosati, this time in a north-east direction, and may be associated with a ruined chapel, and an extensive Graeco-Roman settlement too.

[12] cf. Bintliff *et al.* 2000.
[13] cf. Bintliff 1995; Kiel 1997.

The accumulated information we have gained from these extensive researches in the wider *chora* of ancient Tanagra for the patterns of medieval and post-medieval settlement are very consistent with the general models outlined above and evidenced also in regions covered by the earlier Boeotia Project in Central and Northwest Boeotia.

Prof. Dr. J.L. Bintliff
Faculteit der Archeologie
Universiteit Leiden
Postbus 9515
2300 RA Leiden
The Netherlands
j.l.bintliff@arch.leidenuniv.nl

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TANAGRA: THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT: PART ONE[1]

Albert Schachter

Author's Note:

The aim of this article is to complement the survey work of the Leiden-Ljubljana Tanagra Project, by putting the polis of Tanagra into its geographical and historical setting. This is not intended to be a definitive history of Tanagra, but rather a working paper in which I have analysed the data available prior to the survey. It is meant to be used, together with the material in Mogens Hansen's inventory of Boiotian poleis, as a background against which the findings of the survey may be set, and with which they may be compared.[2] Eventually, when the data are in and they have been reconciled with each other, it may be possible to write a proper "history" of Tanagra.

Section I of this article is an attempt to define the territory of the polis.[3] Section II is a summary of the traditions concerning the early history of Tanagra. Section III is an account of the history of the polis from its beginnings to the eve of the battle of Leuktra. There are two appendices dealing with inscriptions from the sixth and fifth centuries BC. A sequel, to be published later, will continue the historical sketch to the end of antiquity. It will be accompanied by notes on the foundation legends and on the Tanagran poetess Korinna.

*

[1] I am grateful to John Bintliff, Robert Buck and Mogens Hansen for their helpful comments and encouragement, particularly on Section I. I alone am responsible for the content and any faults which remain.

[2] Hansen 1996,74 (Aulis, Delion), 75 (Drymos, Glisas, Graia, Harma, Heleon), 76 (Salganeus, Stephon), 92-93 (Mykalessos), 97-98 (Oropos), 98-99 (Pharai), 103-104 (Skolos), 104-106 (Tanagra). See also, in the same volume, pp. 55-62 ("Database Layout Filled in for Tanagra").

[3] Surprisingly, no systematic analysis of the data has been done before. Even Fossey 1988, 98, is content with a brief general statement. And yet, the boundaries are not at all "self-explanatory", for, as will be apparent, a study of the evidence turns up a number of surprises.

I The ΧΩΡΑ[4]

Introduction:

During the Bronze Age, the whole of southeastern Boiotia, from Mount Helikon on the west and extending across the Euboian Strait to Karystos and possibly beyond, belonged to the lord of the palace at Thebes.[5] Included within this space was what later became Tanagra.

The area controlled by the polis of Tanagra fluctuated in size over the centuries. This investigation of the ancient sources (literature, inscriptions, coins, remains) gives some idea of its extent and how it changed over time. It also shows that the Tanagrans were able to exploit land not normally identified as theirs, especially in southern parts of the χώρα.

In 395, at the outbreak of the Corinthian War, the Boiotians were divided into eleven parts (μέρη), each providing one boiotarch. The Thebans provided four boiotarchs (two for the polis and two for the Plataians and their former dependencies), Orchomenos and Hysiai/Hyettos two, Thespiai with Eutresis and Thisbe provided two and the Tanagrans one, while the other two boiotarchs were provided in rotation by Haliartos, Lebadeia, and Koroneia, and by Akraiphnion, Kopai, and Chaironeia respectively. For each boiotarch the members were entitled to sixty councillors, and for each they had to provide 1000 hoplites and one hundred cavalry (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3-4 [382-400] Chambers).

The Tanagrans, being entitled to a single boiotarch and sixty councillors, were required to provide 1000 hoplites and 100 cavalry, that is, nine percent of the Boiotian army. If we assume that contributions as well as representation to the commonwealth were more or less proportional to the resources available to each member, then it ought to follow that both the population base and by extension the territory of the Tanagrans were at the time sufficient to provide only one boiotarch's worth of fighting men.

*

Boundaries: (1) East

In order to be able to establish the boundaries on the east between Tanagra and Oropos, it is necessary first to examine the sources for the location of Graia and Delion.

(a) Graia[6]

(1) Thucydides 2.23.3: In 431, the Peloponnesians, after ravaging parts of Attica, "returned by way of Boiotian territory . . . as they passed by Oropos, they ravaged the land called †'the border'†, which the Oropians, who are subjects of the Athenians, graze" (ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν . . . παριόντες δὲ Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν †πειραϊκὴν† καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι, ἐδῄωσαν).

[4] As M. H. Hansen has pointed out, Herodotos and Thucydides normally refer to the χώρα as ἡ Τάναγρα, while later sources use ἡ Ταναγραία, ἡ Ταναγραϊκή: Hansen 1995, 36-37; 1996, 56, 104-105.

[5] See, for example, Aravantinos, Godart, and Sacconi 2001, 355-358.

[6] The name may occur on Linear B tablets from Thebes: Fq 169.4: ka-ra-wi-ja, and Fq 207.1: -]ṛa-wi-ja. See Aravantinos, Godart, and Sacconi 2001, 201-202.

3.91.3-5: In 426, the Athenian fleet left Melos and "sailed to Oropos in the †borders†, and landing at nightfall the hoplites immediately marched from the ships to Tanagra in Boiotia. The Athenians from the city, led by Hipponikos son of Kallias and Eurymedon son of Thoukles, came in full force overland at a signal, and met them. After pitching camp they spent the day ravaging in the territory of Tanagra, and passed the night. And on the following day, they defeated in a pitched battle those who had come out to confront them, Tanagrans and some Thebans who had come to help them. They took their arms, set up a trophy, and went away, some to the city, the rest to their ships" (ἔπλευσαν ἐς Ὠρωπὸν τῆς †πέραν γῆς†, ὑπὸ νύκτα δὲ σχόντες εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὁπλῖται ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πέζῃ ἐς Τάναγραν τῆς Βοιωτίας. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἱππονίκου τε τοῦ Καλλίου στρατηγοῦντος καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος τοῦ Θουκλέους, ἀπὸ σημείου ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ γῆν ἀπήντων. Καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ Τανάγρᾳ ἐδῄουν καὶ ἐνηυλίσαντο. Καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἐπεξελθόντας τῶν Ταναγραίων καὶ Θηβαίων τινὰς προσβεβοηθηκότας καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντες καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς).

This episode is also described by Diodoros of Sicily, who assigned it to the year 429: "Nikias . . . sailed away (sc. from Melos) to Oropos in Boiotia. There he left his ships and marched along the coast with his hoplites into the territory of the Tanagrans, where he met a second force of Athenians, whom Hipponikos son of Kallias was leading. Once the two armies had met, they set off pillaging the land, and when the Thebans came out to help, the Athenians joined battle with them, killed many of them, and defeated them. After the battle the soldiers with Hipponikos made their way back to Athens, and Nikias marched back to his ships and sailed along the coast to Lokris" (Ὁ δὲ Νικίας . . . ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ὠρωπὸν τῆς Βοιωτίας. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολιπὼν παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ταναγραίων χώραν μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, καὶ κατέλαβεν ἐνταῦθα δύναμιν ἑτέραν Ἀθηναίων, ἧς ἐστρατήγει Ἱππόνικος ὁ Καλλιου. Συνελθόντων δὲ εἰς ταὐτὸ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀμφοτέρων, οὗτοι μὲν ἐπεπορεύοντο τὴν χώραν πορθοῦντες, τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων ἐκβοηθούντων συνάψαντες αὐτοῖς μάχην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες ἐνίκησαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην οἱ μεθ' Ἱππονίκου στρατιῶται τὴν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπάνοδον ἐποιήσαντο, Νικίας δὲ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς παρέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα) (12.65.3-5).

Cf. Protagoras 11 Diels-Kranz (Athenaios 5 [218B]): a reference to this affair.

Comments:

(1) On the text of Thucydides: at 2.23.3, the manuscripts read Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν πειραϊκὴν καλουμένην, and at 3.91.3 ἐς Ὠρωπὸν τῆς πέραν γῆς. Editors usually read Γραϊκὴν and Γραϊκῆς, citing Stephanus of Byzantium *sv* Ὠρωπός: καὶ Θουκυδίδης δευτέρᾳ Παριόντες Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν Γραϊκὴν καλουμένην . . .

Simon Hornblower 1991, 278-279, following D. M. Lewis and Jowett, retains the manuscript readings, with the meaning "the land opposite (sc. Euboia)". Hornblower cites Lewis's note that Πειραϊκήν is the reading of a papyrus of the first century AD (*POxy* 878), which may counterbalance the evidence of Stephanus (see above).[7] If Lewis is correct, then Stephanus would have been reading a variation introduced after this.

[7] Hemmerdinger 1955, 19-20 suggests that all the manuscripts and papyri of Thucydides depend on an edition made by Aristophanes of Byzantium.

Another possibility would be to read Πειραϊκῆς at 3.91.3, and interpret Πειραϊκή as "the land at the far end of the χώρα", from πεῖραρ.

(2) The incident may be commemorated in a casualty list found at Athens, which is headed "The following knights of the Athenians died at Tanagra and at Spartolos" ([οἵ]δε Ἀθεναίον hιππεῖ ἀπέθαν[ον] | [ἐν] Τανάγραι καὶ ἐΣπαρτόλο[ι].[8]

(3) It would be unwise to rely on either passage of Thucydides as evidence for the location of Graia.

(2) Aristotle, fr. 613 Rose (Stephanus of Byzantium *sv* Τάναγρα): "Aristotle calls Graia what is now Oropos; it is a district of the polis of the Oropians next to the sea" (Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ Γραῖαν καλεῖ τὴν νῦν Ὠρωπόν· ἔστι δὲ τόπος τῆς τῶν Ὠρωπίων πόλεως πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ); (*sv* Ὠρωπός): "Aristotle says that Oropos is called Graia; Graia is a place in the Oropia next to the sea, situated opposite Eretria in Euboia" (Ἀριστοτέλης γοῦν τὸν Ὠρωπὸν Γραῖάν φησι λέγεσθαι· ἡ δὲ Γραῖα τόπος τῆς Ὠρωπίας πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατ' Ἐρετρίαν τῆς Εὐβοίας κειμένη. To which add Strabo 9.2.10 (404): "Aristotle (says) that (it is the same as) Oropos itself" (Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ αὐτῷ <τῷ> Ὠρωπῷ).[9]

(3) Strabo 9.2.10 (404): "And Graia is a place near Oropos, and (there is) the sanctuary of Amphiaraos and the monument of Narkissos of Eretria, which is called the monument of the Silent One, since people keep silent as they pass by; some people say that Tanagra is the same as Graia" (καὶ ἡ Γραῖα δ' ἐστὶ τόπος Ὠρωποῦ πλησίον καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τὸ Ναρκίσσου τοῦ Ἐρετριέως μνῆμα, ὃ καλεῖται Σιγηλοῦ, ἐπειδὴ σιγῶσι παριόντες· τινὲς δὲ τὴν Τάναγρ[αν τῇ Γρ]αίᾳ τὴν αὐτήν φασι[10]).

4) Pausanias 9.20.2: "They say that the surrounding peoples shortened her name and called both the woman herself (i.e. Tanagra) and with the passage of time, the city as well, Graia" (τοὺς περιοίκους φασὶν ἀφελόντας τὸ ὄνομα τήν τε γυναῖκα αὐτὴν καλεῖν Γραῖαν καὶ ἀνὰ χρόνον τὴν πόλιν).

Location of Graia

Graia has been identified with several sites in eastern Boiotia, including Tanagra itself.[11] But there is no reason to question the authority of Aristotle, according to whom Graia was a place in the Oropia by the sea. It is even possible that the toponym survived in current use into the fourth century.

Excavations being conducted at Skala Oropou under the direction of A. Mazarakis Ainian have unearthed remains dating from the 10th century BC and later, perhaps belonging to two

[8] *SEG* 48.83 = Parlama & Stampolides 2000, 366-369, no. 452. The action at Spartoloi in Chalkidike occurred in 429/428 (Thucydides 2.79, Diodoros 2.47.3). Perhaps Diodoros was right about the date of the Tanagran battle.

[9] Passages from Strabo are cited using the text established by Sbordone 2000.

[10] J. Tréheux 1994 suggests reading (p. 470) τινὲς δὲ τὴν <Γραῖαν τῇ> Ταναγραίᾳ τὴν αὐτήν φασιν.

[11] For a summary of ancient and modern identifications, see Mazarakis Ainian 1998a, 210 notes 140-142, to which add Tréheux 1994 (Graia = a place in the Oropia).

distinct settlements. Since the work is ongoing, and focusses on only one small section of what was clearly a large and complex site, it would be inadvisable to draw too many conclusions at this stage. The excavator identifies this site as Graia, and it may be so.[12]

(b) Delion

(1) Herodotos 6.118: in 490 BC, Datis, the Persian commander, on his way back from Marathon, had a dream at Mykonos, as a result of which he found in a Phoenician ship a gilt image of Apollo which had been taken from Delion. He left it at Delos and ordered the Delians to take it "to Delion which belonged to the Thebans" (ἐς Δήλιον τὸ Θηβαίων). They did not, but "after twenty years the Thebans themselves, in accordance with an oracle, brought it to Delion" (δι' ἐτέων εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεοπρόπου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δήλιον).

Comment:
This would date the introduction of the statue in the vicinity of 470 BC. Pindar is said to have written that Apollo's progress from Delos to Delphi went by way of Tanagra (fr. 286 S-M. [Schol. Aischylos, *Eumenides* 11]): perhaps this came from an ode celebrating the occasion?

Theban control of Delion implies Theban control of the eastern seaboard at least, and it is difficult to envisage this in isolation from control of the territory between Thebes and the coast.

(2) Thucydides 4.76.4: in 424 Delion was in Tanagran territory: "the Athenians were to occupy Delion, the sanctuary of Apollo in Tanagran territory facing Euboia" (τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἔδει Δήλιον καταλαβεῖν, τὸ ἐν τῇ Ταναγραίᾳ πρὸς Εὔβοιαν τετραμμένον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν).

(3) Other sources are in agreement that Delion lay on the sea, not far (either 30 stades – Strabo – or five Roman miles – Livy) from Tanagra: Skylax 59, Diodoros 12.69.2, Livy 35.51, Strabo 9.2.7 (403), Pausanias 9.20.1.

(4) Remains of a Hellenistic stoa discovered on the shore at Dilisi have been identified as part of the sanctuary at Delion.[13]

Location of Delion

There seems no reason to doubt that Delion was at Dilisi.[14]

(c) The boundary between Tanagra and Oropos

(1) Thucydides 4.90.4: in 424, the Athenians fortified Delion; "then, when most of the work was done, the force moved off from Delion for about ten stades on the way home; most of the

[12] Mazarakis Ainian 1998a, which brings together the results of excavations up to 1996; 1998b, a shorter version of the foregoing; 2002, esp. 151-152, where the argument is recapitulated. Subsequent reports have been published annually in *Ergon* and *Prakt.*
[13] Piteros 2000 (map on p. 606).
[14] See, with earlier bibliography, Fossey 1988, 62-66.

light armed troops were already gone, but the hoplites had set down their arms and were resting" (ἔπειτα, ὡς τὰ πλεῖστα ἀπετετέλεστο, τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον προαπεχώρησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δηλίου οἷον δέκα σταδίους ὡς ἐπ' οἴκου πορευόμενον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν, οἱ δ' ὁπλῖται θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἡσύχαζον). Meanwhile (4.91.1) the Boiotians were gathering at Tanagra, where "they heard that the Athenians were heading for home" (ᾐσθάνοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προχωροῦντας ἐπ' οἴκου; most of the boiotarchs were opposed to fighting, "since they were no longer in Boiotia (indeed the Athenians were already in the borderlands of the Oropia when they set down their arms)" (ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἔτι εἰσί [μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ὠρωπίας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦσαν ὅτε ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα]).

Comment:

From this it can be deduced that the μεθόρια – the no-man's land between two poleis – was around ten stades away from Delion, that is, somewhere between 1.5 and 2 kilometres.

(2) Confusion as to whether the battle took place in Oropian, that is, Athenian, or Boiotian territory:

(i) The Theban commander harangues his men: "For (the Athenians) having come from the land next to us, have built a fort here and intend to destroy Boiotia, and to be sure, they are our enemies wherever they may be when they are apprehended, even in the land from which they set out to bring war upon us" (τὴν γὰρ Βοιωτίαν ἐκ τῆς ὁμόρου ἐλθόντες (sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) τεῖχος ἐνοικοδομησάμενοι μέλλουσι φθείρειν, καὶ εἰσὶ δήπου πολέμιοι ἐν ᾧ τε ἄν χωρίῳ καταληφθῶσι καὶ ὅθεν ἐπελθόντες πολέμια ἔδρασαν) (Thucydides 4.92.1).

Comment:

The impression is that the Thebans believed they would be fighting in the Athenians' territory (see below, Appendix 2.5).

(ii) The Athenian commander to his troops: "Let none of you think that this great risk we are to run is not important because it is happening in someone else's territory. For the battle in their land will be fought for the sake of our own" (παραστῇ δὲ μηδένι ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ οὐ προσῆκον τοσόνδε κίνδυνον ἀναρριπτοῦμεν. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ τούτων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται) (4.95.2).

Comment:

On the other hand, the Athenians thought they were going to be fighting on Boiotian soil.

iii) After the battle, the Athenians requested permission to remove their dead from the field. "The Boiotians replied that, if they were in Boiotia the Athenians should leave their territory and take away what belonged to them, but if they were in Athenian territory, they themselves should work out what had to be done. (The Boiotians said this because they) believed that although the Oropia – in which the bodies happened to be lying and in the borders of which the battle had taken place – was subject to the Athenians, they (the Athenians) would not get them back by force, while they themselves for their part were not making a truce involving Athenian territory; they also thought it was reasonable to reply that the Athenians would receive what they were asking for once they

had gone away from Boiotian land" (Οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ εἰσίν, ἀπιόντας ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀποφέρεσθαι τὰ σφέτερα, εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων, αὐτοὺς γιγνώσκειν τὸ ποιητέον, νομίζοντες τὴν μὲν Ὠρωπίαν, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς μάχης γενομένης κεῖσθαι ξυνέβη, Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸ ὑπήκοον εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς βίᾳ σφῶν κρατῆσαι αὐτῶν [οὐδ' αὖ ἐσπένδοντο δῆθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων]· τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν εὐπρεπὲς εἶναι ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἀπιόντας καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν ἃ ἀπαιτοῦσιν). (Thucydides 4.99).

(3) Tanagran small denomination silver coinage conventionally attributed to the period 386-374, but probably beginning earlier, carries on the reverse the stern or prow (depending on how you decipher the image) of a ship. This might refer to Delion, or Aulis, or neither.[15] On the other hand, bronze Tanagran coins apparently of the same period carry the head of Apollo on the obverse and agricultural symbols on the reverse.[16]

(4) Plato, *Critias* 110d-e (in a description of ancient Attica): "And furthermore, what was said about our territory is both credible and true, first that it had at that time boundaries marked off in the direction of the Isthmos and the rest of the mainland right up to the peaks of Kithairon and Parnes, and that as the boundaries descended they kept the Oropia on their right, but on the left in the direction of the sea, they excluded the Asopos" (καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν πιθανὸν καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐλέγετο, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ὅρους αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ τότ' ἔχειν ἀφωρισμένους πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἤπειρον μέχρι τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος καὶ Πάρνηθος τῶν ἄκρων, καταβαίνειν δὲ τοὺς ὅρους ἐν δεξιᾷ τὴν Ὠρωπίαν ἔχοντα, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ πρὸς θαλάττης ἀφορίζοντας τὸν Ἀσωπόν).

Comment:
This may be a fictional description, but it provides valid negative evidence, namely that at the time of writing the Athenians considered the boundary as being west of the mouth of the Asopos.

(5) Skylax, *Periplous* 57: "From Sounion up to the borders of the Boiotians it is 650 stades" (ἀπὸ Σουνίου μέχρι τῶν ὅρων τῶν Βοιωτίων στάδια ἑξακόσια πεντήκοντα). Kahrstedt calculated that this would place the border somewhere west of Oropos. His reckoning is based on the fact that the distance given in Skylax from the Athenian boundary with Megara to Sounion (490 stades) is accurate and works out at ca. 90 km. Using the same figures, he works out the 650 stades between Sounion and Boiotia to 120 km.[17] The measurements follow the coastline (in and out of bays), and use the Attic stade of 185 metres.[18]

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[15] Head, 1911, 348; Babelon 1914, 301/302.354-356. For the dates of the autonomous Boiotian coins (the beginning of the series is to be put back into the latter years of the fifth century) see Hansen 1995, 20-21. A great deal of work remains to be done, especially in the light of recent revisions to the date of the Boiotian adoption of the Ionic alphabet: see Vottéro 1996.

[16] Babelon 1914, 303/304.357-358. For the date, see the preceding note.

[17] Kahrstedt 1932, 20.

[18] See Peretti 1979, 53 note 31 and 303 note 333, on the various lengths of stades. Peretti notes that the difference between the Attic stade of 185 m. and the Delphi stade of 178 was not regarded as significant in antiquity. 650 Delphic stades would give 116 kilometres, which would still produce a border west of the Asopos.

(6) Strabo 9.2.7 (403): Delion was a "small town of the Tanagrans" (Ταναγραίων πολίχνιον).

(7) Strabo on the Asopos: "There is also the Asopos which flows past Thebes and Plataia and Tanagra" (ἔστι δ ''Ασωπὸς καὶ ὁ παρὰ Θήβας ῥέων καὶ Πλαταιὰς καὶ Τάναγραν (8.6.24 [382]); "(the Asopos) flows past Plataia and has its mouth near Tanagra" (καὶ γὰρ παρα[ρρεῖ] (sc. ὁ 'Ασωπὸς) Πλαταιὰς καὶ παρὰ Τάναγραν ἐκδίδωσιν) 9.2.24 [409]).[19]

(8) Pausanias 1.34.1: "The land of Oropos is between Attica and the territory of Tanagra" (τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν 'Ωρωπίαν μεταξὺ τῆς 'Αττικῆς καὶ Ταναγρικῆς).

(9) Pausanias 9.20.1: "There is a place in the Tanagraia called Delion, by the sea" ("Εστι δὲ τῆς Ταναγραίας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καλούμενον Δήλιον).

The Eastern Limits:
The upshot of this is that the boundary between Tanagra and Oropos was not definitely fixed at a specific point, but was a fairly fluid area about 1.5 to 2 kilometres east of Delion.

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Boundaries: (2) North

(1) Before the Persian War, Mykalessos was one of several Boiotian poleis to mint a full range of coins (staters, drachms, half-obols) (Head 1911, 346). Compare Tanagra in the same period (drachms, half-drachms, obol) (Head 1911, 348).[20]

Comment:
This suggests that Tanagra and Mykalessos were more or less equal in status at the time. Compare contemporary coins of Orchomenos: these were small denominations only (Head 1911, 346).

(2) Soon after the outbreak of the Archidamian War (431), the people of various places which had no fortifications of their own were synoecised to Thebes. These included the populations of the former Plataian settlements of Erythrai, Skaphai, and Skolos, as well as Aulis, Schoinos, and Potniai (*Hell. Oxy.* 20.4 [436-440] Chambers: the restoration κα[ὶ Αὐ]λίδος at 438-439 is virtually certain).

Comment:
It would appear that at this period these places all belonged to Thebes. The presence of Aulis in this list suggests that all the territory between Thebes and Aulis belonged to Thebes.

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[19] For the restoration of the text compare 9.2.31 (412): εἴρηται δ 'ὅτι παραρρεῖ τὰς Πλαταιὰς ὁ 'Ασωπός.
[20] Pre-classical coins usually attributed to Pharai were probably minted by Thespiai. See Knoepfler 1976, 219 note 755, and 1981, 147.

(3) In 413 the Athenian strategos Diitrephes was taking a contingent of Thracian mercenaries back to their home, by way of the Euboian Strait. En route he landed them "onto the territory of Tanagra" (ἐς τὴν Τάναγραν) for a quick raid; then he made for Chalkis, from which he set sail at nightfall, "and disembarking them onto Boiotia he led them to Mykalessos" (καὶ ἀποβιβάσας ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Μυκαλησσόν), which on the next day they attacked in murderous fashion (Thucydides 7.29.2); when the Thebans heard of this, they came to help, and in the ensuing fighting a Theban boiotarch was killed (7.30.1).

Comment:
It may be significant that Thucydides specifies that the first raid was into Tanagran territory, but that the second one was into Boiotia, and that it was the Thebans rather than the Tanagrans who came to help.

(4) In 396, Agesilaos was prevented by boiotarchs from sacrificing at Aulis, and conceived a lasting hatred of the Thebans: Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.4.3-4, 3.5.5, 7.1.34; Plutarch, *Agesilaos* 6.4-6.

(5) Mykalessos and Pharai (location unknown) minted coins from late in the fifth century until some time in the fourth (Head 1911, 346, 347, and see notes 15 and 46).

Comment:
It is to be emphasized that these were small denomination coins only (obols and smaller). As Hansen points out, they are not necessarily an argument for autonomy.

(6) Ephoros, *FGrHist* 70F119 (Strabo 9.2.2 [400]), describes the seaboard facing Euboia as being "in two parts, on one side in the direction of Aulis and the territory of Tanagra, on the other in the direction of Salganeus and Anthedon" (σχιζομένης τῆς παραλίας . . . , τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Αὐλίδα καὶ τὴν Ταναγρικήν, τῇ δ᾽ἐπὶ τὸν Σαλγανέα καὶ τὴν ᾽Ανθηδόνα).

(7) Nikokrates, *FGrHist* 376F1 (*PMich.* 4913): "There are in the territory of Tanagra Salganeus and Aulis" (ἔστιν δ᾽ἐν τῇι Ταναγρικῇι χώραι καὶ ὁ Σ[αλγα]νεὺς καὶ ἡ Αὐλίς). -- Hellenistic, possibly before Apollodoros' work on the Catalogue of Ships, according to F. Jacoby.[21]

(8) Strabo 9.2.14 (405), possibly quoting Apollodoros: Pharai "is one of the Tanagran tetrakomia consisting of Eleon, Harma, Mykalessos, Pharai" (ἔστι δὲ τῆς τετρακωμίας τῆς περὶ Τανάγραν, ᾽Ελεῶνος, ῎Αρματος, Μυκαλησσοῦ, Φαρῶν).

(9) Strabo 9.2.8 (403), Aulis a "district and village of the Tanagrans" (χωρίον καὶ κώμη Ταναγραίων); 9.2.11 (404), Mykalessos also a "village in the territory of Tanagra" (κώμη τῆς Ταναγραϊκῆς), and similarly Harma τῆς Ταναγραϊκῆς, an abandoned village near Mykalessos; 9.2.12 (404), Hyria is now τῆς Ταναγραίας, but was formerly Theban.

[21] Nikokrates also wrote about the Mouseia on Mount Helikon, and one would expect this to have been a creation of the Hellenistic period.

(10) Bronze Tanagran coins of the imperial period depict, among other local figures, Asopos (labelled), Artemis (of Aulis), and three female figures, probably the Three Maidens of Eleon.[22]

(11) Pausanias 9.19.8: "Tanagrans graze the territory (of Aulis), as well as the land around Mykalessos and Harma" (νέμονται <δὲ> Ταναγραῖοι ταύτην τε τὴν χώραν (sc. τῆς Αὐλίδος) καὶ ὅση περὶ Μυκαλησσόν ἐστι καὶ Ἅρμα).

(12) *IG* 7.2450 and *IG* 12.9 *Suppl.* 646: two inscriptions of early in the third century AD (after 212) deal with ephebic agons. Although the first was transcribed in the Thebes Museum and the second at Chalkis, both are Tanagran and deal with agons in the Tanagraia.[23] The lists include agonothetai "for Aulis, of the Oreionia, for Mykalessos" (εἰς Αὐλίδα, Ὠρειονίων, εἰς Μ[υ]κέλασον).

The Northern Limits:
The impression is that until some time in the fourth century the region north of Tanagra belonged to Thebes, but subsequently, and throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, to Tanagra (on the river Thermodon between Tanagra and Glisas, see below 4.3).

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Boundaries: (3) South[24]

(1) In 479, Mardonios, who had entered the Megarid, was told that the Hellenes were gathered in force at the Isthmos. "He therefore marched back by way of Dekeleia. The boiotarchs had sent for inhabitants of the regions along the Asopos[25], who showed him the way to Sphendaleis, and from there to Tanagra. After spending the night under canvas in Tanagran territory, on the next day he changed direction for Skolos and found himself in the territory of the Thebans" (οὕτω δὲ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελέης· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν· ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν) (Herodotos 9.15.1).

Comment:
The route followed by Mardonios must be presumed to have gone to the east of Mount Parnes[26], from Dekeleia to Sphendaleis (location unknown)[27], and from there straight into Tanagran territory, which accordingly bordered directly on Attica at this point, that is, east of Mount Parnes.

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[22] Asopos: Head 1881, 97; Artemis: see Schachter 1981, 95; Three Maidens: see Schachter 1986, 199.
[23] As established by L. Robert 1969 and 1969b.
[24] Chandler 1926, esp. 2-9, gives a good account of the subject from the Athenian point of view.
[25] I have taken Ἀσωπίων as a neuter plural.
[26] Mastrokostas 1983 (= *SEG* 33.244), excavated an altar of Zeus on the top of Parnes, which yielded alabastra of the seventh century, including one with a dedication (Ἀρχίλαρχος ἀνέθεκε) in the Boiotian alphabet. No details are available. See Mersch 1996, 167-168.53.
[27] See Traill 1975, 91-92 ("a small community near the I Boeotian border associated with one of the constitutional demes in the trittys to which Dekeleia, Oion Dekeleikon, and possibly Anakaia, belonged"); 121.38 (listed among "Late Roman Demes", with sources).

(2) In 420 the Boiotians justified their destruction of the fort at Panakton on the grounds that "the Athenians and Boiotians had once settled a disagreement about the place by swearing oaths a long time previously that neither side should live in the place, but they should graze it in common" (ἦσάν ποτε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς ἐκ διαφορᾶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅρκοι παλαιοὶ μηδετέρους οἰκεῖν τὸ χωρίον ἀλλὰ κοινῇ νέμειν) (Thucydides 5.42.1).

Comment:
Panakton is at the southwest corner of the Skourta Plain, where surface survey revealed no traces of settlement between the Protogeometric period and the fifth century BC.[28]

Tension between Athenians and Boiotians in this area is reflected in the story of the duel between the Athenian Melanthos and his Boiotian counterpart Xouthos, which Hellanikos, *FGrHist* 4F23 (Schol. Plato, *Symposium* 208B) associates with a battle over Oinoe and Panakton or Melainai.[29]

(3) In a hoard of ostraka discovered in the Kerameikos was one which is restored "[Mega]kles I son of Hippokrates I of Alopeke I because of Drymos" ([Μεγα]κλέες I hιπποκράτος I Ἀλοπεκεθεν I Δρυμῶ hόνεκα: Matthaiou 1992-1998, 171-176.[30]

This has been associated with the second ostracism of Megakles (*PA* 9695), which is dated in the 470s.[31] Matthaiou has suggested that the charge against Megakles concerned the part played, by himself or a forebear, in an Athenian defeat involving the place called Drymos, on the location of which see:

(i) Aristotle, fr. 612 Rose (Harpokration *sv* Δρυμός). "Then there is Drymos, one in Attica, another in Boiotia" (ἔπειτα Δρυμὸν ἓν Ἀττικὸν καὶ ἕτερον Βοιώτιον).

(ii) Demosthenes 19.326: "We are on the march over Drymos and the country around Panakton" (περὶ Δρυμοῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Πανάκτῳ χώρας ἐξερχόμεθα).

(iii) Various later sources identify Drymos as a polis between Attica and Boiotia, or a fortress in Attica.[32]

(iv) *IG* 2^2.1672, lines 271-272 (329/328 BC): Aparchai "from Drymos", dedicated to the goddesses at Eleusis.

The Drymos incident could, in Matthaiou's view, have been an otherwise unknown affair sometime after Salamis, or, as he himself seems to prefer, something connected with the events of 506.[33]

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[28] Location of Panakton: Ober 1985, 224-225, cf. p. 98; Munn 1989. On the gap after Protogeometric see Munn 1989, 242-244.

[29] Munn 1989, 236-239; Robertson 1988, 205-207.

[30] See too Berti 2001, 59-60.

[31] Lewis 1997, 110-115.

[32] Matthaiou 1992-1998, 173.

[33] Herodotos 5.74: "Kleomenes, leading a large force, got as far as Eleusis, while the Boiotians, as agreed, took Oinoe and Hysiai, outlying demes of Attica, and the Chalkidians attacked and laid waste districts on the other side of Attica" (Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οἰνόην αἱρέουσι καὶ Ὑσίας δήμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Χαλκιδέες τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐσίνοντο ἐπιόντες χώρους τῆς Ἀττικῆς).

(4) Thucydides 2.18.1: "Oinoe, which is in the border lands of Attica and Boiotia" (ἡ γὰρ Οἰνόη οὖσα ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας).

(5) Towards the southwest the territory of Tanagra was bounded by that of Eleusis: Pausanias 1.29.6 describes a funereal monument in Athens:

"There is a stele . . . with cavalrymen fighting; their names are Melanopos and Makartatos, who died fighting against Lakedaimonians and Boiotians, where the boundaries are of the territory of Eleusis and the Tanagrans" (ἔστι δὲ . . . στήλη μαχομένους ἔχουσα ἱππεῖς· Μελάνωπός σφισίν ἐστι καὶ Μακάρτατος ὀνόματα, οὓς κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένους, ἔνθα τῆς Ἐλευσινίας εἰσὶ χώρας πρὸς Ταναγραίους ὅροι).

Comment:
This passage has been overlooked because editors since Bekker have printed the reading Ἐλεωνίας, which is a conjecture by Boeckh, for Ἐλευσινίας, which is the reading of all the manuscripts. The manuscript reading is perfectly acceptable, and suggests a boundary somewhere in the Skourta Plain.[34]

The Skourta Plain – which was common pasture land shared by Boiotians, Athenians, and even Corinthians[35] – can be regarded as μεθόρια, no-man's land between the territories proper of Attica and Boiotia. It is therefore by no means inaccurate to write of boundaries between the territory of Eleusis and the Tanagrans.

A fragment of the stele has been recovered. The inscription is dated ca. 410? which suits the context of border clashes at the time.[36]

(6) The Boiotian side of the boundary:
Munn 1988, 363-371, identifies two watchtowers in the northeast corner of the Skourta Plain, at Tsoukrati and Limiko, as Boiotian: see Figure 1 on page 371 (both towers), and fig. 4 on page 324 of Munn 1989, (Tsoukrati tower).[37] Munn and Zimmerman Munn 1990 state that these towers "mark the southern limits of specifically Tanagran control of this hinterland" (p. 37), and that "it seems likely that Tanagra, whose prosperity during this period (Hellenistic and Roman) is attested, exploited this hinterland after Athens" (p. 38). Although they offer no evidence to support these statements, it is clear from (5) above that it was the Tanagrans to whom this territory belonged.

(7) Strabo 9.2.11 (404): "in the vicinity of Phyle, a deme of Attica bordering on Tanagra" (. . . περὶ Φύλην, δῆμον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὅμορον τῇ Τανάγρᾳ).

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[34] Bekker 1826, *ad loc.*, accepted by Siebelis 1828, vi and 10. Three manuscripts have Μακεδονίων, and two have Μακεδόνων for Λακεδαιμονίων.

[35] Munn & Zimmerman Munn 1990, 36-37. Some of the pottery found by E. Mastrokostas on the top of Mount Parnes – see above, note 26 – was identified as Early Corinthian.

[36] *CEG* 1.90 and Addenda in *CEG* 2.

[37] See too Ober 1985, 104 Map 3 (both towers). Ober, and E. Vanderpool before him, took these towers to be Athenian, but Munn's view that they are Boiotian (based on their design) is convincing.

The Southern Limits:
Tanagran territory extended into the Skourta Plain on the west, and eastward along or into the northern flanks of Mount Parnes, past Sphendaleis, and, clearly, up to the Oropia.[38]

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Boundaries: (4) West

(1) Herodotos 9.15.1: after reaching Tanagran territory by way of Sphendaleis, Mardonios changed direction towards Skolos and found himself in the territory of the Thebans. See above, Boundaries (3) South (1).

Comment:
Skolos must have been the first place along the Asopos which was inside Theban territory, so the border would have been not far to the east of it.[39]

(2) Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.49: in his campaign of 377, Agesilaos marched from Plataia to Erythrai, and "passed the stockade at Skolos before the Thebans returned from their post at his former point of entry. Having accomplished this, he ravaged the eastern regions of the polis of the Thebans right up to the polis of the Tanagrans" (ἔφθασεν ὑπερβὰς τὸ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταύρωμα, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς, καθ' ἣν τὸ πρόσθεν εἰσῆλθεν. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως ἐδῄου μέχρι τῆς Ταναγραίων). See below note 85.

Comment:
This supports the observations in (1) above.

(3) Herodotos 9.43.2 quotes an oracle of Bakis:[40]

> "The gathering of Hellenes and barbarian shrieking
> at Thermodon and grassy Asopos,
> where beyond their fate and destiny many of the bow-bearing Medes
> will fall, when their day of doom has come".
>
> (τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίῃ
> Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰυγήν,
> τῇ πολλοὶ πέσονται ὑπὲρ λάχεσίν τε μόρον τε
> τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθῃ),
>
> and adds that "the river Thermodon flows between Tanagra and Glisas" (ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος).

[38] Cf. Chandler 1926, 6: "The confines of Boeotia were pushed, therefore, in later times at least, a good distance into the heart of the Parnes mass. An examination of the history of Panakton and the land round about it shows that this was true in the fifth century too".
[39] For the location of Skolos, see the references in Schachter 1986, 133 note 2.
[40] For this passage, see Flower & Marincola 2002, 187.

Comment:
The oracle implies that the Thermodon and the Asopos were near each other, that is, in the battlefield of the battle of Plataia in the direction of Tanagra. If Herodotos says that the Thermodon flowed between Tanagra – i.e. the territory of Tanagra – and Glisas, then Glisas must have been in that area, and not where later sources put it (see below).

The only other classical author who mentions Glisas is Hellanikos, who is quoted as writing that the battle between the Epigonoi and the Thebans took place ἐν Γλίσαντι (*FGrHist* 4F100 = Schol. Pindar, *Pythian* 8.48). He does not specify its exact location.[41]

Strabo 9.2.31 (412) identifies Glissas (*sic*) as a "settlement on Mount Hypaton, which is in the territory of Thebes near Teumessos and the Kadmeia [the text is corrupted], and hills beneath which lies the so-called Aonian plain, which reaches from Mount Hypaton up to Thebes" κατοικίαν ἐν τῷ Ὑπάτῳ ὄρει, ὅ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Θηβαϊκῇ πλησίον <τοῦ> Τευμησσοῦ (<οἱ δὲ γράφουσι τοῦ θευμησσοῦ>) καὶ τῆς Καδμείας ({γεώλοφα καλεῖται δρία} ᾧ ὑποπίπτει τὸ Ἀόνιον καλούμενον πεδίον, ὃ διατείνει [μέχρι Θηβ]ῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑπάτου ὄρους).

Pausanias: the ruins of Glisas were seven stades from Teumessos, on the left as one headed east; before them was a low mound, where Argive leaders who had accompanied Aigialeus and fallen there were buried, notably Promachos son of Parthenopaios (9.19.2); there was also a direct road from Thebes to Glisas, and above Glisas was Mount Hypaton; "they call the mountain stream Thermodon" (τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν τὸν χείμαρρον Θερμώδοντα ὀνομάζουσιν) (9.19.3).

I would suggest that the location of Glisas, like that of many other places mentioned in the Catalogue, had been forgotten, and that we owe to Hellenistic scholarship – perhaps Apollodoros, who wrote on the Catalogue and whom Strabo used as a major source – the location northeast of Thebes.

Fixing Glisas and the Thermodon where I think they belong, that is, in the Parasopia, north of the river, does not, unfortunately, help very much in pinpointing the boundary between Thebes and Tanagra, but it does remove a prop for the opinion that Tanagran territory extended up to just northeast of Thebes.[42]

(4) On the slopes of Mt. Soros west of Kallithea (formerly Moustaphades) Stamatakis excavated a small sanctuary, with evidence for worship from late in the fifth century, and the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods. The inscriptions from the site are attributed to Tanagra, for no very good

[41] The episode is alluded to several times by Pausanias, at 1.44.4, 9.5.13, 9.8.6, 9.9.4, and 9.19.2 (see below). Other sources do not identify the location of the battle at all: Diodoros Siculus 4.66, Hyginus, *Fab.* 71, pseudo-Apollodoros 3.7.3 (the Argives, opening hostilities, πορθοῦσι τὰς πέριξ κώμας). Buck 1979, 62 remarked that "the story that is found in several traditions of a Theban defeat at Glisas, northeast of Thebes, at the hands of the Argives seems strange, because Glisas lies off the direct route from Argos". His solution involves having the Argives move into Boiotia by way of Attica.

[42] It is essential to avoid falling into the trap of compulsively identifying "suitable" sites with Catalogue names. The Catalogue of Ships was a sort of snapshot of towns in existence at the time of its composition, since when, in the nature of things, some of these places were abandoned and their locations lost forever. The only Catalogue towns which can be located are those which were still inhabited later and were written about as such by later authors and mentioned in inscriptions. So, if Herodotos implies that Glisas and the Thermodon were near the Asopos, then that is probably where they were. In fact, a location south of Thebes would be quite suitable for the deciding battle of the invasion of the Epigonoi (see the preceding note).

reason, as the site is actually nearer to Thebes, although on the other side of the mountain. It could have been connected with Skolos or Glisas, or some other settlement.[43]

(5) Strabo 9.2.12 (404): "As one goes from Thebes to Argos Tanagra is on the left and . . . is on the right" (Ἔστι δὲ τῷ ἐκ Θηβῶν εἰς Ἄργος ἀπιόντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἡ Τάναγρα καὶ [c. 15 letters] ἐν δεξιᾷ κεῖται): probably Plataia on the right.[44]

The Western Limits:

Here too the actual border area is vague; all that can be said for certain is that Skolos was the first settlement in Theban territory one reached on coming west from Tanagra.

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Summary

Most of the evidence for the limits of the χώρα of Tanagra is from the classical period. If the borders between Tanagra and Oropos are typical, there were no fixed boundaries but rather areas of no-man's land, τὰ μεθόρια, where the distinction between the territories of adjoining states was not clearly marked.[45] With this in mind, the territorial limits of classical Tanagra can be defined as follows: to the east, between Tanagra and Oropos, at roughly 1.5 to 2 kilometres east of Delion; to the south, between Tanagra and Eleusis, at the north-east corner of the Skourta Plain; to the west, it was somewhere east of Skolos; in the north, it was south of the territories of Eleon, Harma, Pharai, Mykalessos, and Aulis.[46]

At some time during the fourth century, the territory of Tanagra was extended to include at least Aulis if not the other towns in the region, which were certainly Tanagran in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Just after the Persian Wars the eastern seaboard was controlled by the Thebans. This may even have been the case before the wars, if the Thebans' oracle of Amphiaraos consulted by the Persians was, as I believe it was, located in the Oropia.

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[43] See Schachter 1986, 132-137.

[44] Indeed the editor of the latest Budé text proposes <τῆ τῶν Πλαταιέων> for the gap.

[45] Note for example the confusion over whether the battle of 424 was fought on Boiotian or Athenian soil: see above (b) 2 and Appendix 2.5.

See too the anecdote attributed to Agatharchides: during a dispute between Athenians and Boiotians over the ownership of a piece of land called Sidai, Epameinondas won the argument by pointing out that the word σίδα was the Boiotian term for pomegranate: *FGrHist* 86F78 (Athenaios 14 [650F]).

[46] The exact locations of Eleon, Harma, Pharai, and Mykalessos are impossible to fix. It is clear from Thucydides 7.29.2 that Mykalessos was near the coast and easily accessible from Chalkis. It is logical to infer that the burial grounds at Ritsona belonged to Mykalessos, even though the townsite has not been found. The "tetrakomia" of Eleon, Harma, Pharai, and Mykalessos must also have been close to each other, that is, in the region of Mykalessos (Strabo 9.2.14 [405]). The ancient remains at Dhritsa (now called Arma) are usually identified as those of Eleon: e.g. Fossey 1988, 89-95. The site seems to have been inhabited for most of antiquity, and might be a likely candidate for Pharai, on which see above I.2.5.

Several other sites of the Tanagraia are impossible to place: Eilesion (a Catalogue site – *Iliad* 2.499 – if it was in the Tanagraia), Stephon (a site first occupied by the founders of Tanagra, presumably a fortified place: Plutarch, *QG* 37 [299C]), Schedia (a village, to judge from the name – raft, or pontoon bridge – near the Asopos, perhaps on the north bank, perhaps occupied by the Gephyraioi: *Etymologicon Magnum s.v.* Γέφυρα), Hyria (*Iliad* 2.496), and Oinophyta.

*

The identification of the extent – if not the precise boundaries – of the territory of Tanagra makes a number of things clearer. For example, it appears that, originally, before the addition of Aulis and the Tetrakomia, the χώρα fell naturally into two sections, roughly equal in area. This may explain at least in part the choice of Grimaidha as the urban centre of the polis. It is roughly in the middle of the χώρα, and would have been a suitable meeting place for economic and social purposes. A central location certainly makes more sense than an eccentric one.

Because of its location, Tanagra was open to a variety of influences from abroad. Athens, with which it shared a long border, is an obvious source. Direct contact with Athens was restricted by the intervening buffer zones of Oropos and the Skourta Plain, but a powerful and aggressive foreign neighbour could not be ignored, especially in those periods when the Athenians controlled Oropos and/or Euboia. The Tanagraia, as events in the fifth century show, was particularly vulnerable to attack by land and sea. This would have been a factor in keeping the Tanagrans loyal to the Thebans for most of the classical period. The only time we hear of an anti-Theban faction in power in Tanagra was during the 370s, when a group led by Hypatodoros controlled the polis. He and his followers ruled under Spartan protection, and were no doubt of the same oligarchic persuasion as those who ran Thebes from 382 to 379/378.[47] The name Hypatodoros is more at home at Thebes than at Tanagra[48], and the fact that it was borne by a Tanagran suggests that his family had connections with people of the same class at Thebes. As he was active in the 370s Hypatodoros would have been born sometime during the Peloponnesian War. Family connections at the upper levels of society may also account for the presence of two Eretrians in the Tanagran inscription *IG* 7.585 (col. I.17 and col. II.15-16), which is probably a list of Tanagrans who fell at Delion.

Another important area of access to the Tanagraia was the coast. There must have been a great deal of coming and going along the eastern seaboard throughout antiquity. Early connections with the east, particularly Aiolis, are reflected in eastern elements in pottery decorations[49], in the traditions of the "Aiolian Migration"[50]and Tanagran participation in the foundation of Herakleia Pontike (see below).

On the whole, however, the subject of external influences on Tanagra is one which awaits closer examination. At present, there are insufficient usable data.

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[47] Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.49: ἔτι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν Τάναγραν οἱ περὶ Ὑπατόδωρον, φίλοι ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἶχον.

[48] *LGPN* 3B, *sv.*

[49] See, for example, Kilinski 1990, 38-40 (34-38: influences from Corinth and Athens).

[50] The so-called Aiolian migration, which began under Orestes, at one point set out from Aulis, naturally enough: Strabo 9.2.3 (401). There were, apparently, so many Boiotians involved in colonizing Aiolis that it was also called the Boiotian colony: Ephoros, *FGrHist* 70F119 (Strabo 9.2.5 [402]).

This legendary event might have been the subject of Korinna's poem *Orestas* fr. 690 *PMG*.

II The Polis: Traditions[51]

The traditional founder of the polis was Poimandros, the "herdsman". His authority was challenged by Polykrithos, he of "much grain". The story itself cannot be traced back any farther than the fourth century BC, and was no doubt thoroughly reworked at the time (see the sequel to this article), but the names, which are unusual for this kind of story, may be grounded in a much earlier tradition. So is the choice of Hermes, the herdsman's god, as the poliouchos, the patron god of the polis. Although most of the evidence for Hermes at Tanagra is late, we can accept Pausanias' identification of his cult image as the work of Kalamis as firm evidence for the importance of the cult in the middle of the fifth century. Even Hesiod may have been aware of Hermes' connections with this part of Boiotia (see below, note 56), and it is in fact more than likely that the worship of Hermes in the area went back at least to the Bronze Age. He, like Hera, is listed on a Linear B tablet at Thebes. Neither of these gods was worshipped in Hellenic Thebes, but both of them were important in what later became southern Boiotia, Hera on Mounts Kithairon and Helikon, Hermes at Tanagra. It is not fanciful to suggest that the founders of the Tanagran polis consciously selected Hermes as the poliouchos – a rare case of a god rather than a goddess filling this rôle – in order to attract and secure the allegiance of the hersdmen of the χώρα.[52]

The absence of Tanagrans from the traditions of the Trojan War (and from Hesiod for that matter) gives a terminus post quem for the foundation of the polis (see below). For the historical Tanagrans, this absence was something which had to be explained away. The story was that they had for some reason refused to participate in the expedition; as a result the Achaians, encamped nearby at Aulis, attacked them, besieging them at a place called Stephon. Poimandros led them from there to another site, which he proceeded to fortify, and called Poimandria. The story of the siege occurs only in Plutarch, who does not name his source. The refusal of the Tanagrans to take part in the expedition against Troy was apparently alluded to by Euphorion. Their reason may have been that Achilles carried off Stratonike – Poimandros' mother or wife, depending on the source – and killed Akestor – Poimandros' son or grandson, depending on how one reads the text.

None of this is of any historical value except that it reflects the Tanagrans' desire to position themselves within basic Hellenic traditions. The fact that the stories begin to emerge in the first half of the fourth century could also be taken as a sign of heightened self-consciousness at a critical period.

There are undercurrents in the foundation legends of discord among the founders of the city (not the polis, for they were already a community, lacking only a focal point, an urban centre): Poimandros set out to dig a ditch around the new settlement, was mocked by Polykrithos, and threw a rock which missed, and killed Leukippos instead. This could at a pinch be interpreted as quarrels among the herdsmen, farmers, and aristocrats of the community. Certainly there are hints of an upheaval of some kind during the archaic period:

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[51] Foundation legends (in rough chronological order):

Aristophanes of Boiotia, *FGrHist* 379F2bis (*P.Oxy.* 2463.14-32) (possibly quoted by another, later source); Rhianos, *FGrHist* 265F47bis = fr. 715 *Suppl. Hell.* (*P.Oxy.* 2463); Euphorion, *CA* p.42F59 (Schol. B. *Iliad* 2.498 & Eustathios ad *Il.* 266.20); Plutarch, *QG* 37 (299C-E) (perhaps from Diokles Peparethios: Halliday 1928, 160); Pausanias 9.20.1.

[52] The Linear B tablet: Spyropoulos & Chadwick 1975, 100. Of 31. See Schachter 1996a 898; 1996b, 14-15; 2000, 12.

(1) The Athenian tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton were descended from the Gephyraioi, a kinship group[53] based in Aphidna. The Gephyraioi claimed that they had originated from Eretria, but Herodotos – and Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1F118) before him – identified them as Tanagrans. Herodotos (5.57) claimed that they were originally Phoenicians who had come with Kadmos to Boiotia and been allocated the Tanagrike. They were subsequently driven out by the Boiotoi and moved to Athens, where they were admitted to citizenship on special terms which on the one hand respected their own traditions and on the other debarred them from full participation in Athenian citizenship (5.57 and 61). Herodotos does not date any of this except to say that it was after the expulsion of the Kadmeians by the Argives and also after the arrival of the Boiotoi. These dates are meaningless. The Tanagran origin on the other hand may be secure enough. When Hekataios wrote there would not have been a stigma attached to their having Boiotian ancestry, whereas later in the fifth century there might well have been.

(2) Tanagrans were said to have taken part in the foundation of Herakleia Pontike by the Megarians, which is dated ca. 560 BC.[54]

(3) Late inscriptions from Naples mention a local phratry of Eunostidai, whose name has been connected with the Tanagran hero Eunostos. Neapolis was founded early in the seventh century from Cumae, itself a Euboian foundation of the eighth century.[55]

(4) The "Aiolian Migration": see above, note 50.

If this evidence has any value, it is that it points to a state of uncertainty or unrest in the region of Tanagra in the archaic period. One might suppose for example that the foundation of a polis by a dominant group resulted in the dispossession or simply disaffection of others who moved off to seek a better life elsewhere. People may have found themselves without κλῆροι – property – of their own, or the means to get it.

III The Polis: Historical Sketch (to the 370s)

But so much for what is, at best, outright speculation. A little less uncertainty results from a consideration of the contemporary evidence, which suggests that the polis was established during the seventh century BC.

The Homeric Catalogue of Ships, the Boiotian section of which was probably brought up to date during the Archaic period[56], omits Tanagra, although it includes other sites from the vicinity: Hyria and Aulis (496), Graia and Mykalessos (498), Harma (499) and Eleon (500). Of these, only

[53] Herodotos 9.55: γένος ἐόντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι: but were they a γένος in the technical sense? – See Parker 1996, 288-289.

[54] See Hanell 1934, 128-129 for sources.

[55] See Pappalardo & Sonnabend 1998; Schiff 1909, 1134-1136; Guarducci 1938, 107 and 133.XLV. For Eunostos at Tanagra, see Plutarch, *QG* 40 (300D-301A).

[56] It must have been quite soon after the foundation of the polis of Thebes, since Thebes was still called Hypothebai, that is, "Below Thebes".

Hesiod does not mention Tanagra either, but he -- or the author of the relevant section of the *Theogony* – does seem to have been aware of at least one tradition which the Tanagrans adopted, namely that Hermes was born in the neighbourhood: see Schachter 1986, 45-46.

Aulis and Mykalessos definitely survived into the classical period and beyond. The location of the others has been subject to scholarly debate since antiquity.[57]

It is not until late in the sixth century that the name of the polis was even alluded to. The earliest inscriptions are on two bronze shields dedicated at Olympia. One of them commemorates a victory by Ταναγραῖοι over an opponent whose name has been lost. The other is restored as identifying booty taken from the Tanagraians (see below, notes 70 and 71 and Appendix 1). The earliest literary source to mention the Tanagrans is Hekataios, *FGrHist* 1F118 (Stephanus of Byzantium, *sv* Γέφυρα), who is cited as having identified the Gephyraioi as Tanagraioi. Coins of Head's Periods I and II -- their precise dating not being possible, it is safest to say merely "before 480" – carry the mint marks T, T-T, T-A, no doubt signifying Ταναγραίον (see below). The name of the polis itself does not appear before Herodotos and Thucydides.

It is possible that Graia – wherever it was – may have been some kind of forerunner of Tanagra, if only because the names seem to be similar. If this similarity is real rather than apparent, and Τάναγρα is connected with Γραῖα, then the element τανα- might be derived from ταναός, and refer to Mount Kerykeion, on the slopes of which the city was built.[58] Tanagra might then be seen as an offshoot – on high ground – of Graia.

At Tanagra itself, two stamped roof tiles have been dated in the first half of the seventh century BC. If this dating is secure, this is the earliest published datable evidence from the townsite.[59] The existence of these tiles is an indicator of a fairly high level of prosperity at an early date. Another is the great number of graves, many of them on prime land, where of course they have been easier to find. Visible burial is an indication not so much of the level of population but of the relative level of prosperity. If there are graves in arable land – it happens at Akraiphia and Thespiai and in the Teneric Plain – it suggests that there is wealth, certainly conspicuous waste.

Among the many graves, both looted and officially excavated, the earliest seem to have contained pottery and terracotta figurines dated ca. 625-600 BC.[60] The cemetery near the military airfield contained pottery dating from the first quarter of the sixth century BC on.[61] The earliest known inscription from the site, the epigram on the monumental tombstone of the two young men Dermys and Kitylos, is dated to the beginning of the sixth century. The stone was apparently found on Kokali, opposite the townsite across the Lari, but in a context of re-use.[62] If a private

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[57] Unless Hyria and Hysiai were identical, as some ancient writers believed: Strabo 9.2.12 (404). There may be some merit to this idea. For Graia, see above I.1a.

[58] See the Orphic *Argonautika* 1126: τανυ–/ταναήκεες Ἄλπεις, "the high peaks of the Alps". See Frisk 1954-1974, sv ταναός, and Chantraine 1968-1980, sv τανυ– C.

Compare also Herakleides Kretikos 1.8 Pfister, describing Tanagra: ἡ δὲ πόλις τραχεῖα μὲν καὶ μετέωρος, "the city is on rugged terrain, high up".

[59] Felsch 1979. The two tiles in question are described on p. 30 (D1 and 2) and dated (on stylistic grounds) pp. 6-7. A larnax dated to the beginning of the seventh century was said to have been found at Tanagra: Waiblinger 1974, 23 (col. 1), citing "*AJA* 38, 1934, p. 4-8". The reference is incorrect, and I have been unable to track it down.

[60] See for now the useful resumé in Higgins 1986, 41-49, with figure 21 on p. 40.

It is to be hoped that Fabienne Marchand's researches into the nineteenth century excavation reports will provide more information about the findspots: Marchand 2002.

[61] Andreiomenou 1985, 109.

[62] *LSAG* 94.8 = *IG* 7.579 = *CEG* 1.109 = Venencie 1960, 608-610. Each of the youths is identified by name, and on the base is the epigram Ἀμφάλκες ἔστασ' ἐπὶ Κιτύλοι εἰδ' ἐπὶ Δέρμυι.

The findspot: Higgins 1986, 44 and 45 (on figure 28), and cf. 64.

person was capable of commissioning a monument on this scale, there must have been a great deal of accumulated private wealth in the region at this time.

The earliest non-funerary inscriptions which can be connected with Tanagra are two dedications of the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century BC. One (*LSAG* 94.5) is on a bronze lebes and reads "Demotheres | Sacred property of Apollo Karykeios" (Δεμοθέρες | hιαρὸν Ἀπόλονος KαρυκεFίο). The other (*LSAG* 94.7), on a bronze phiale, reads "'Chosen' Thebans, under the command of Phlowax, dedicated (this) as the sacred property of the Karykeian" (hιαρὸν τô KαρυκεFίο ΦλόFαϙος ἀπάρχοντος λεϙτοῖς Θεβαίοις ἀνέθεαν).

It is noteworthy that both of these objects were dedicated by outsiders, 94.5 by a Euboian (his name, Demother(s)es, being inscribed by a different hand in Euboic script), and 94.7 by Thebans. Here, as at Thebes, outsiders paid their respects to Apollo as the patron god of the leaders of the polis.[63] It was a common practice for the founders of a polis to claim the patronage of the Delphic god.[64] We know about the Tanagran Apollo only from these dedications. No trace has been found of his sanctuary, nor for that matter, has any Tanagran sanctuary been firmly identified.[65] The epithet Karykeios suggests that it was by or on the mountain; perhaps it was within the area enclosed by the later city walls.

Another early visitor to the Tanagraia might have been the poet Alkaios. He wrote about the sanctuary of Athena at Koroneia, about Onchestos, and possibly about Eros at Thespiai. As D. L. Page put it, "it is at least highly probable that he was familiar with Boeotia".[66] Page has also restored references to the Asopos and to Tanagra in a commentary on Alkaios which seems to deal with one of his periods of exile (apparently the second). In his text of the fragments, G. Liberman suggests that this exile took Alkaios to Thebes and that the "battle near the bridge" (τὴν π̣[ρὸς] τ̣ῆ̣ι γεφύρη<ι> παράταξιν) may have been fought in Boiotia or nearby[67] (one thinks inevitably of the Athenian Gephyraioi).

The dedication by the Thebans is the first of several examples of close relations between Tanagrans and Thebans. The circumstances of this offering by a group of Theban elite warriors and

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[63] For Thebes, see for now Schachter 1981, 83 note 2.
It would be tempting to see the dedication by Demother(s)es and the appearance on the casualty list *IG* 7.585 (see above) of two Eretrians as signs of ancestral connections with Eretria going back to the foundations of the polis, if indeed the founding fathers were from Graia, which had close links with Eretria. However, it is equally if not more likely that what we have here are examples of ξενία between the upper classes of Tanagra and Eretria.

[64] See Schachter 1992, 37-38.

[65] For suggestions, and references to earlier studies, see Roller 1987, 226-229, and 1974, 155-156.

[66] Page 1955, 271, and in general 268-272. See too Schachter 1981, 119 (Athena), 1986, 214 note 3 (Onchestos).

[67] Liberman 1999, 117-120.

D. L. Page's restorations: Alkaios, T9(c) Campbell = fr. 306Ae bis Liberman = *POxy* 2506 fr. 98(b) l. 16-22: l. 18: π] α ρ᾽ Ἀσω[πῶι; l.20:]περὶ Τά[ναγραν. In the first line of the fragment, G. L. Huxley suggests something like]γεφ[ύρηι.

The second exile and the battle at the bridge (Liberman's restoration):

T9(c) Campbell = fr. 306Ae Liberman = *POxy* 2506 fr. 98(a) col. III. l. 4-7:

[κατα or μετὰ τὴ]ν δευτέ–
ραν [εἰς Θή]βας φυγὴν καὶ
τὴν π̣[ρὸς] τ̣ῆ̣ι γεφύρη<ι> παρά–
ταξιν.

Fragment 82 of the papyrus (fr. 306Ac Liberman) refers twice to Boiotia (l.3 Βοιωτίας, l. 7 Βοιωτ) and perhaps also to Thebes (l.5 Θῆ]βαι ζάθε[αι).

their commander are unclear: military manoeuvres, "showing the flag", participation at games, are only some possibilities. What is clear is that Thebans were welcome at a Tanagran sanctuary at the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries. Towards the end of the sixth century, the Thebans, according to Herodotos, reckoned the Tanagrans among their nearest allies[68], and Tanagra was one of the members of the Boiotian league minting coins before the Persian Wars.[69]

The Tanagrans were involved in at least two serious battles near the end of the sixth century. The evidence comes from two bronze shields dedicated at Olympia. One, from the last quarter of the century, records a Tanagran victory over an unnamed adversary.[70] The other, from late in the century, records a victory over Tanagra by another unnamed opponent, and poses problems of decipherment and interpretation (see Appendix 1).[71]

These battles were probably part of the campaign fought between Boiotians and Athenians in 506 which resulted, according to Herodotos (5.74-77) and the Athenians, in the utter rout of the Boiotians and Chalkidians, who had joined them for the occasion. The Chalkidians, in fact, were more closely involved with the Boiotians than Athenian sources suggest. They were, if only for a relatively short time, members of the Boiotian league, and minted silver coins on the Euboic standard but bearing the Boiotian shield charged with a Euboian chi (Ψ) on the obverse.[72]

The coins bear on the reverse the device of a wheel. So do some Tanagran coins (from staters on down) which the Tanagrans minted on behalf of the Boiotoi; others in the series have the old-fashioned mill-sail incuse on the reverse. These coins are usually dated after the Persian Wars, and it has been argued that they were issued just afterwards, when the Thebans had lost control of the Boiotoi and their position had been usurped by the Tanagrans.[73]

This is not necessarily so. The mill-sail incuse and wheel device on the reverse of the coins point rather to the end of the sixth century, contemporary with the Chalkidian issue. Not all of the Tanagran coins with the wheel or mill-sail incuse bear the B, B-O, or BOI as well as the T or T-A,

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[68] 5.79: Οὐκῶν ἄγχιστα ἡμέων οἰκέουσι Ταναγραῖοί τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θεσπιέες; καὶ οὗτοί γε ἅμα ἡμῖν αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον.

[69] Babelon 1907, 963-967; Head 1911, 348. The dates assigned to these coins are to be lowered: Vottéro 2001, 182 dates them to the sixth century/first half of the fifth century.

See below for the Tanagran federal issue.

[70] *LSAG* 95.12 = Lazzarini 1976, no. 958: Ταναγραῖοι τὸν – – –.

[71] *V. OlBer* 36-37 = *SEG* 15.245 = Lazzarini 1976, no. 968. Vottéro 2001, 273 dates it at the beginning of the fifth century.

[72] Kraay 1976, 90-91, 109. At 90 note 4, Kraay cites two examples: Babelon 1907, 973-976.1372 (in Berlin) = Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 221-222.55 = *CAH* 4² 362 fig. 35, and Babelon 1912, 10.V.18 (Taranto).

The Taranto hoard was buried early in the fifth century BC. See Wallace 1962, 38.

[73] Babelon 1907, 967-970.1359-1365. The wheel: nos. 1359, 1360, 1362, 1363, 1364; mill-sail incuse: no. 1361; square: no. 1365. Babelon, 974, connected the adoption of the wheel at Tanagra with the alliance between the Boiotians and Chalkidians in 507. He also (975-976) regards these coins as signifying that Tanagra was the leader of the Boiotoi, but towards the end of the sixth century.

Head 1881, 20-21, dating this issue to his Period III (ca. 480-457), proposed that the coins suggested an inference "that Tanagra, relying perhaps on the support of Athens, aspired for a time to the leadership of all Boeotia"; cf. Head 1911, 348. In this he is followed in the main by Fowler 1957, 164-170, Kraay 1976, 110, and Buck 1979, 141.

Lewis 1992, 96 and 116 was less certain about this.

which suggests to me that those which did have the Boiotian symbol may have been intended for uses specifically connected with Boiotian rather than Tanagran purposes.[74]

Nor was the status of Thebes after the Persian Wars as dire as is generally assumed. Although all the Boiotian poleis save the Thespians and Plataians had medized, the only punishment of which we read was that inflicted on a handful of the leading men at Thebes.[75] Within five years, and probably less, of the battle of Plataia, the Thebans had staged a full recovery: a victory by a Theban boy at the Pythia in 474 and by another Theban at the Isthmos at about the same time if not before bear witness to their rehabilitation.[76] Moreover, by 470 BC, the Thebans were already in control of the coastal sanctuary at Delion, where they organized the (re)dedication of a gilt cult image of the Delian Apollo (see above, I. Boundaries 1.b.1). If the Thebans were in control of the region, the Tanagrans would have been subordinate rather than equal to them at the time.

A Theban presence in the period immediately preceding or following the Persian Wars is manifested by a deposit of black-glaze kantharoi left at a site on the outskirts of the military airfield north of the townsite. Several of these were incised with words and names:

Andreiomenou 1985a, 118.27.1: [h]ιαρό[ς]; 118.27.2-3: hιαρ[ός]; 118.27.4: hιαρο̂[ς]; 118.27.5: [hι]αρός; 118.28.1: τὸρακλ[ῖος]; 119.28.2: [τὸ]ρακλῖ[ος]; 119.28.3: [τ]ὸρακλ[ῖος]; 119.28.4: [τὸρ]ακλῖος; 119.29 and fig. 5: Καπυνεὺς I[77] τὸρακλῖ (*SEG* 35.411 bis).[78] Guy Vottéro dates these in the first half of the fifth century, although some of the lettering looks earlier, and indeed the editors of *LGPN* 3B *sv* Καπυνεύς date *SEG* 35.411 bis "vi/v".[79]

Such of the pottery fragments whose shape might be instructive seem to resemble most closely kantharoi of "Form 1" as analysed by Heimberg 1982, and particularly kantharos no. 2 (p. 127.2), which she dates to the first half of the fifth century B.C.

Whatever date we care to assign to this deposit, it reveals not only a Theban interest in Tanagra but also a Theban presence, for Herakles was the symbol *par excellence* of Theban military power.[80]

Tanagran – and Theban – prosperity in the second and third quarters of the fifth century is partly reflected in the commission of statues from Kalamis. At Thebes he created a statue of Zeus, called Zeus Ammon by Pausanias, but more likely to have been Zeus Karaios, patron god of the Boiotian ethnos, a suitable god for the Thebans to have claimed at this juncture.[81] For the Tanagrans he made cult images of Dionysos and of Hermes Kriophoros, their poliouchos.[82]

[74] Perhaps the payment of mercenaries, or even for ransoming prisoners – Boiotian and Chalkidians – after the war: see Herodotos 5.77, and below, Appendix 1.

[75] Herodotos 9.86-88.

[76] Pindar, *Pythian* 11 (a victory by Thrasydaios son of Pythonikos). According to the scholiast, Thrasydaios won two victories, one as a boy in 474, the other in 454.

Isthmian 3 and 4 is dated 474/3? by Snell-Maehler, 476? by Bowra 1964, 408.

Theban recovery after the Persian Wars: Schachter 2004, 350-352.

[77] Actually three dots, vertically incised.

[78] Dr. Andreiomenou's article 1985b is an abbreviated version of the paper in 1985a. In addition to the references given above, there is a brief description of the find on p. 113 of 1985a.

[79] Vottéro 2001, 183.

[80] Compare the similar but to all appearances later deposit on Mount Kithairon: Hornbostel 1984, 176-179 (*SEG* 35.36); cf. Ober 1987, 217.58.

[81] Schachter 1994, 146-147; Pausanias 9.16.1.

[82] Dionysos: Pausanias 9.20.2, and see Schachter 1981, 183-185. Hermes: Pausanias 9.22.1.; Schachter 1986, 44-47. See Neudecker 1999, and Dörig 1965, 177-192 (Dionysos), 200-210 ("Ammon"), 220-230 (Hermes).

In 458[83] a force of Lakedaimonian and allied troops under Nikomedes, who had been on campaign in Phokis, found themselves unable to get back to the Peloponnese over the Krisaian gulf or by land over the Isthmos, because the Athenians were in the way. "They decided to wait in Boiotian territory and work out the safest way to get through" (ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς περιμείνασι σκέψασθαι ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἀσφαλέστατα διαπορεύσονται) (Thucydides 1.107.4). Thucydides adds that they had also come to Boiotia because some Athenians had asked them to invade Athens and put an end to the democracy.[84] The Athenians and their allies marched into Boiotia to meet the Lakedaimonians and battle was joined at Tanagra (1.108.1). Among the allies of the Athenians were Thessalian cavalry, who switched sides during the battle (1.107.7). The Lakedaimonians won and went home by way of the Isthmos. But on the sixty-second day after this battle, the Athenians entered Boiotia, defeated the Boiotians at Oinophyta (location unknown), took control of Boiotia and Phokis, tore down the walls of the Tanagrans, took one hundred Opountian Lokrians hostage, and finished building their own long walls (1.108.2-3). Diodoros Siculus, depending on another source, perhaps Ephoros, tells the story differently: he says that the Thebans asked the Lakedaimonians for help in their campaign to regain control of Boiotia, and that the Lakedaimonians helped them extend the walls of Thebes, and compelled the poleis of Boiotia to submit to the Thebans. In order to forestall this, the Athenians sent out a force under Myronides, who defeated a superior force of Boiotians, laid siege to Tanagra, took it, tore down the walls, dissolved the Boiotian league and devastated the territory. The Boiotians regrouped and fought Myronides at Oinophyta, where they lost again. Myronides subjugated all of Boiotia except for Thebes, and then went off to deal with the Opountian Lokrians, whom he also defeated (11.81-83).

Several inscriptions deal with the battles at Tanagra and Oinophyta: see Appendix 2.

The walls of Tanagra which the Athenians tore down were later rebuilt. Their subsequent reconstruction is reflected in the foundation legends of the fourth century; the τεῖχος of which Xenophon writes in his description of Agesilaos' campaign of 377 was not the wall of Tanagra, but probably the Theban stockade.[85]

After their victory at Oinophyta, the Athenians set up people favourable to themselves to govern poleis throughout Boiotia. Eventually a large number of those they had driven out gathered at Orchomenos and when a suitable opportunity arose, in 446, managed to defeat an Athenian force at Koroneia, throw the Athenians out of Boiotia, and re-establish themselves throughout the land.[86]

There then followed a period of good fortune for the Thebans and their Boiotian allies under the auspices of the Spartans, for whom they acted as willing agents throughout the Peloponnesian War. The Tanagrans shared in these good times. At some time in the third quarter of the century

[83] For the date see Lewis 1992, 501.

[84] Thucydides 1.107.4. Another possibility, not to my knowledge put forward before now, is that the Lakedaimonians were heading for a harbour – probably Delion – in friendly territory.

[85] *Hellenika* 5.4.49. Agesilaos passed over the stockade (τὸ σταύρωμα) before the Thebans could get to it, and then laid waste the territory of the Thebans to the east right up to the territory of the Tanagrans, which was at the time governed by friends of the Lakedaimonians. "And then he went back, keeping the wall on his left" (καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀπῄει ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὸ τεῖχος). The only "wall" which Agesilaos would have had on his left as he proceeded westward was the stockade, as Mark Munn has pointed out: Munn 1987, 106-138, esp. 124-126. Munn's interpretation is accepted by Hansen 1996, 105.

[86] Thucydides 1.113.2, 3.62.5, 3.67.3, 4.92.6; Diodoros 12.6.2; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.5.4.

they built a large temple to Apollo at Delion. This seems to have been destroyed before 424.[87] The Tanagrans of course also shared in the bad times: the Athenian raid of 426 (see above, I. Boundaries 1.a.1), and the battle of Delion, where, although they were on the winning side, they suffered heavy losses.[88]

In the Boiotian confederacy of the time, the Tanagrans had the rights and responsibility attendant upon providing one of the eleven boiotarchs. See above, I *ad init.*

Presumably the Tanagrans followed the Thebans into the Corinthian War, this time fighting against the Spartans, although there is no direct evidence of the involvement of Tanagrans. During the Spartan occupation of Thebes (382-379/378) and Thespiai (?382-375/373), however, a pro-Spartan faction ruled at Tanagra under Hypatodoros (see above). Indeed the Spartans may even have installed a harmost, Panthoidas, with a force of Lakedaimonians.[89] The pro-Spartan government was thrown out by the Thebans between 375 and 373[90], and from then on we must presume that the Tanagrans were contented followers of the Thebans.[91] It may have been at this time that the foundation legends, as we have them, took shape, to mark a "second foundation".

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Appendix 1: Inscription from Olympia (*V. OlBer* 36-37 = *SEG* 15.245 = Lazzarini 1976, no. 968):

The text is in three lines, of which the second is illegible, and is transcribed as follows:

1)]ΙΟΝΙΟ..ΧΑΡΜΑΤ..Ε....
2)
3)]ΝΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΙ...ΕΛΟΝΤΕΣ.

[87] Piteros 2000, 602-604.

[88] Thucydides 4.89-101. The Tanagrans were posted on the left of the Boiotian line (4.93.4), which was overwhelmed by the Athenians (4.96.3).

A list of names found at Tanagra has been plausibly identified as giving Tanagran casualties in this battle: *IG* 7.585 = Venencie 1960, 611-615.D.

Several of them are commemorated in a series of remarkable funereal stelai of black stone with the figures and their surroundings incised and intended for painting. The following come from the territory of Tanagra: Koiranos (*IG* 7.585.IV.1, as Κοέρανος): Schild-Xenidou 1972, 43-44.46; Nikias (*IG* 7.585.I.15): Kalogeropoulou 1968, 92 and note 4; Saugenes (*IG* 7.585.IV.4): Schild-Xenidou 1972, 43.45. The man honoured in a fourth stone from Asopia (Chlembotsari), Pherenikos, is not in the inscription as it stands, but could have been listed near the beginning of column I, where there is space for four names, two of them ending in −ος: Schild-Xenidou 1972, 44.48.

[89] Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 15.4: Pelopidas defeated a large force of Lakedaimonians near Tanagra and killed Panthoidas the harmost. Munn 1993, 165 suggests that Agesilaos installed Panthoidas at Tanagra in 377. Panthoidas and his troops need not have been based at Tanagra, although it is possible.

[90] Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.4.50; at the same time they threw out the pro-Spartan rulers of Thespiai (5.4.55).

Four funereal reliefs from Tanagra, depicting horsemen or young athletes, and dating from the first or second quarters of the fourth century, might commemorate Tanagrans who fell in battle during this turbulent period: Schild-Xenidou 1972, 45.50, 52.58, 52.59, 58.66.

[91] Isokrates, *Plataïkos* 9: the Thebans had persuaded the Thespians and Tanagrans to associate themselves formally with Thebes (συντελεῖν . . . εἰς τὰς Θήβας).

The original editor, E. Kunze, identified the script as Boiotian, and this has been widely accepted..[92] However, the *chi* in line 1 (which seems to be clear enough in the photograph Figure 17 on page 37) is shaped like an X, whereas Boiotian *chi* looks more like a *psi*, and the right leg of the Γ in line 3 is not short (as in Boiotian), but almost equal in length to the left leg. X-shaped *chi* and a lopsided *gamma* are found in Attic, as are all the other letter forms.[93]

Kunze suggested restoring line 1 as K]ρονίοι.χάρμα or K]ρονίοι.χάρματ[α. He pointed out, however, that the traces before the first omicron were hard to reconcile with a P (pg. 36 note 4). M. L. Lazzarini, on the other hand, proposed K]ρονίοι.χἄρματ[α].Ε.....[94]

Χάρμα is found in poetry only, and means something which gives joy or pleasure to people, both friendly and – when used ironically – hostile.[95] If this is the correct restoration, line 1 and probably line 2 as well, would have been an epigram commemorating a victory.

Hάρμα/τα, on the other hand, would mean that whoever dedicated the shield also dedicated chariots as part of the spoils of war. If the shield was dedicated by Athenians, as the lettering suggests, the first two lines of the inscription may refer to the four-horse chariot dedicated to Athena as a tithe of the ransom taken for Boiotians captured in the campaign of 506.[96] In this case, line 3 could be restored, *exempli gratia*, Διὶ Ἀθεναῖοι ἀνέθεσα]ν Ταναγραί[ον ἁ]λόντες. I find this the more attractive interpretation of the two.

On this reading the shield would have been dedicated at Olympia to make known to the Greek world what had happened in eastern Boiotia, at least from the Athenian point of view.

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Appendix 2: Inscriptions dealing with the Battles of Tanagra and Oinophyta.

Tanagra:

1) *IG* 1^3.1149 = ML^2 35 = *CEG* 1.135 = Pritchett 1996, 170.4 (*SEG* 46.2341):
Fragments of a monument at Athens listing Argives who fell at Tanagra.

2) *SEG* 34.560 = 37.488 = 45.620 = 46.646 = *CEG* 2.637 (118a) = Pritchett 1996, 170.2 = Knoepfler 1992,) 423.22:
Funereal relief of a man of Atrax (Thessaly) who fought ἐν Τανάγρας πεδίωι.

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[92] Although it is not listed in the supplement of *LSAG*^{2}; cf. Knoepfler, 421.14.

[93] Immerwahr 1990, 135 (gamma), 164-165 (chi), xxii-xxiii (letter forms on Attic vases); *LSAG*^{2} 66 (Attic letter forms).

[94] 1976, 107-108.

[95] Chantraine 1968-1980 *sv* χαίρω.

[96] Herodotos 5.77.4. The inscription which Herodotos transcribed has been found in two versions, one from the end of the sixth century, the other (the one which Herodotos saw) from about the middle of the fifth century: *IG* 1^3.501 = ML^2 15 = *CEG* 1.179. To the bibliographies in these, add *SEG* 35.21, 39.1789, 40.24, 42,230, 43.1250, 46.59. See above, note 74.

3) ML² 36 = Lazzarini 1976, no. 998 = Pritchett 1996, 170.3ò

(Supplemented by Pausanias 5.10.4) Tithe dedicated at Olympia by the Lakedaimonians and their allies of booty taken from the Argives, Athenians, and Ionians, from Tanagra.

4) Daux 1958 = *SEG* 17.243 = 45.496 = Lazzarini 1976, no. 987 = Pritchett 1996, 169.1[97]:

An inscription at Delphi, recording an official dedication of a bronze horse by the Thessalians:

Θεσσαλοὶ τὸν hίππον τὸπόλλονι δεκάταν τôν ἀ[π]ὸ Ταναγ[–

The original editor chose to restore Τανα[ραίον] rather than Τανάγ[ρας], and suggested that this was dedicated from spoils taken at the battle of Oinophyta.[98]

This interpretation has been widely accepted. Marta Sordi, however, interprets it otherwise. She restores τôν ἀ[π]ὸ Τανάγ[ρας], and takes it as referring to οἱ ἀπὸ Τανάγρας, the Thessalians who were "exiles from Tanagra", or the "rebels of Tanagra" (favouring the first).

Another interpretation, less complicated than the others, would be to read τôν ἀ[π]ὸ Τανάγ[ρας], and see the horse as a dedication by the Thessalians who changed sides at the battle of Tanagra. This option was put forward as a possibility by Pritchett. It has the advantage of not requiring us to have the Thessalians come back to fight on the side of the Athenians two months later at Oinophyta.[99]

Oinophyta:

5) Plassart 1958, 133-134.174 = *SEG* 19.363r = Knoepfler 1992, 456-457.86:

An epitaph from Thespiai:

Φιλολάϊος
Φηγήας ἐν Οἰνοφύτοῖ
Λαυκλῆς ἐν 'Ωρωποῖ
Φιλολάϊος ἐν 'Ωρωποῖ
Φιλολάϊος ἐν Κορωνείη

The lettering is no earlier than the middle of the fourth century BC. P. Jamot, who discovered the stone, suggested that it commemorated several members of the same family who had fallen in battle over a period of years (quoted by Plassart 1958, 133). If the battles are listed in chronological order, then the battle "at Oropos" would probably have been the one which we know as the battle of Delion (see above, Section I.1c2), while the battle at Koroneia would have been the battle of 394.

[97] See too Sordi 1958, 344-347; *Bull. épigr.* 59.189; Larsen 1960, 241-242 (*SEG* 18.207); Larsen 1968, 125 and note 3; *LSAG*² 375.

[98] Daux 1958, 332: "Il n'est pas impossible que les Thessaliens aient cette fois (sc. at Oinophyta) tenu à réparer leur défection précédente, à se conformer aux clauses d'alliance et à commémorer leur action par une offrande dans le sanctuaire de Delphes". But he also points out that this dedication could just as well have commemorated some other action altogether, of which posterity knows nothing.

[99] Ἀπό + genitive in dedications of spoils normally refers to spoils taken from people rather than a place, but the latter is not unheard of: Lazzarini 1976, no 996 and cf. no. 964.

6) *CEG* 1.114 = *SEG* 25.551 = *LSAG*² 435.16b = Fossey 1991, 169-180.77 (*SEG* 41..453) = Knoepfler 1992, 500.178ter:

From Kopai, stone with traces of a funerary epigram of one who ἐπ᾽ Ἀσοποῖ δὲ δαμασθές. It has been associated with both Oinophyta and Plataia (the letter forms support either). Plataia is now regarded as more likely.

7) Pindar, *Isthmian* 7.23-37:

Ode in honour of Strepsiades of Thebes, whose uncle and namesake had died in battle in the defence of his homeland. It has been suggested that this might refer to the battle of Oinophyta.[100]

Albert Schachter
(Emeritus Professor, McGill University)
jaschachter@compuserve.com

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[100] ML², 78; Bowra 1964, 412.

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LERNA, 2000 – 1500 BC: A PILOT ANALYSIS OF FUNERARY SKELETAL AND BIO-MOLECULAR DATA

Sofia Voutsaki

I Introduction

This paper presents part of a new 5-year research project financed by the NWO (Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research) and the University of Groningen, the Netherlands.

The aim of the wider project is to interpret the important *social, political and cultural changes* that took place in the southern Greek mainland during the Middle Helladic period and the transition to the Late Helladic (approx. 2000 - 1500 BC). During this period, the relatively egalitarian, materially austere and culturally introverted societies of the MH mainland became transformed to the socially differentiated, competitive, cosmopolitan and expansionist polities of the Late Helladic period. The interpretation of these changes remains one of the most pressing questions of Aegean archaeology.

The task is undertaken by means of an *integrated analysis of settlement, funerary and skeletal data* from the MH Argolid. Here, we would like to present the pilot analysis of the funerary and skeletal data: the analysis of the MH cemetery at Lerna.

The MH site at Lerna

Lerna was excavated by the American School of Classical Studies in the 1950s, under the direction of John Caskey (Caskey 1954; 1955; 1956; 1957; 1958). The MH cemetery of Lerna was published in preliminary form by Blackburn (1970), while the small finds were presented by Banks (1967). The MH settlement and graves are now being prepared for final publication by Dr. Carol Zerner (University of North Carolina), with whom our project is closely collaborating. Therefore, in our analysis we will be able to use the stratigraphic information and revised dating of the tombs kindly provided to us by Dr. Zerner.

The skeletal material from Lerna was published by Angel (1971) in a study that remains fundamental. However, the goals and methods of biological anthropology have undergone a substantial transformation since the beginning of the 1970s (Larsen 1997). For this reason, we have

decided to re-examine the entire skeletal assemblage of Lerna and to use a combination of new analytical techniques.

II The pilot analysis of funerary data from Lerna

The analysis of the funerary data of Lerna will include:

1 *A systematic re-examination of the osteological material.* This is undertaken by Dr. Sevi Triantaphyllou. The analysis of stable isotopes will be carried out by Dr. Michael Richards, Palaeodietary Research Group, Department of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford, United Kingdom.
2 *The analysis of ancient DNA of human skeletons,* to be carried out by Prof. Sofia Kouidou-Andreou and Dr. Leda Kovatsi.
3 *A contextual analysis of the archaeological data,* which is undertaken by Eleni Milka.

This pilot analysis is unique in Aegean archaeology, as it includes an extensive programme of sampling and analysis, it combines several analytical techniques, and it sets out to integrate archaeological, osteological and molecular data.

1 The re-examination of the osteological material

The re-examination of the Lerna material will employ new methodological tools and theoretical approaches developed in biological anthropology. Special emphasis will be given on the *biological quality of life* of the Lerna population, and in particular on pathologies and nutrition (Larsen 1997).
The analysis will focus on two broad categories of pathologies:

i Bone lesions associated with *mechanical load and occupational activities* repeatedly exercised on the skeleto-muscular system – e.g. degenerative joint disease, trauma, vertebral defects, enthesopathies and indices of muscular attachments;
ii Pathological conditions associated with *physiological stress* and *episodes of stress* which affected the individual during his/her lifetime – e.g. metabolic disease referring usually to anemia, enamel hypoplasia and non-specific infections.

The aim of the re-examination is not merely to identify these features in individual cases, but to recognize patterns of pathological conditions and stress markers at the level of the entire population.

Dietary patterns reflect the availability of natural resources as well as subsistence management and possibly social inequalities. The analysis will employ three different analytical techniques:

i The *systematic recording of dental disease* at a macroscopic level, as certain types of dental disease can be associated with specific food categories – e.g. dental decay could be attributed to a high consumption of carbohydrates (Larsenet et al. 1991).
ii In addition, a *dental microwear analysis* of tooth enamel will be carried out in order to explore the texture of food categories consumed shortly before death (Teaford 1991). This analysis will be undertaken by Dr. Sevi Triantaphyllou as part of a separate project financed by the Institute of Aegean Prehistory – INSTAP.

iii The analysis of *stable isotopes of nitrogen and carbon* will contribute to the recognition of certain isotopically distinctive nutrients in the diet (Katzenberg 1992).

The analysis of pathologies and dietary variation will enable us to reconstruct individual life histories of the inhabitants of Lerna and the biography of the Middle Bronze Age community of Lerna.

2 *The analysis of ancient DNA*

The pilot analysis of ancient DNA from human skeletal material from Lerna has two goals:

i The *identification of sex*. This method can be useful when the traditional morphological analysis and study of bones cannot provide sufficient information, either because of poor preservation, or because the skeleton belongs to a young person – as is very often the case in MH Lerna.

ii Second, the *reconstruction of family relationships*, which is feasible only with the help of DNA analysis. Reconstructing the network of kinship relations in MH Lerna, a society without overt signs of social differentiation, will be particularly valuable, as it will allow us to establish the significance of kinship in social life.

The selection of samples for analysis will be based on the information derived from the osteological study and the analysis of the archaeological data. A pilot analysis of 12 samples will be carried out first; this will give us preliminary indications about the success rate of DNA isolation and amplification. If results prove encouraging, we will ask permission to undertake a more extensive sampling programme. We would like to include men, women and children, as well as different wealth categories and modes of disposal from each burial group and each phase of the life of the cemetery. Teeth will be used as samples.

DNA (mitochondrial and genomic) will be isolated from the samples with a method developed at the laboratory of the Medical School, University of Thessaloniki. Mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA), which is much more abundant than genomic DNA and suitable for studying ancient material, will be analyzed in order to establish family relations. mtDNA is inherited from one generation to the next through the maternal line. Therefore, all relatives sharing a common maternal ancestor share the same mtDNA (Sullivan et al. 1992).

Genomic DNA will be used for the identification of sex. Analysis of the amelogenin gene, located at the Y chromosome of genomic DNA yields characteristic products (of different size than that located in the X chromosome) (Sullivan et al. 1993).

Ancient DNA analysis is prone to PCR-introduced errors due to both DNA damage and inappropriate enzyme activity. In order to ensure that our results are genuine, the target sequences are amplified and sequenced twice, and in some cases the whole procedure is applied to two different DNA extracts of the same specimen. Furthermore, in order to overcome the problem of contamination with modern material, handling of samples in our laboratory is carried out under very stringent conditions (Ovchinnikov and Goodwin 2001).

3 Contextual analysis and integration

The aims of the archaeological analysis of the burial data are:

i To observe *variation* among the burial population of Lerna, and, more specifically, to examine whether variation in the type, construction and wealth of the graves or the disposal of the dead represents differences between age, sex and burial (kin?) groups.

ii To reconstruct and explain *processes of social, political and cultural change* through the Middle Helladic and the transition to the Late Helladic (ca. 2000 - 1500 BC).

iii To understand the *funerary ideology* of the Middle Helladic society of Lerna.

These aims will be achieved by means of a *rigorous contextual analysis* of the funerary data and the *integration of archaeological and bio-archaeological data.*

The analysis will examine all the aspects of the mortuary data, i.e. the location, type, size, construction and orientation of the graves and their association with the space of the living; the position and orientation of the body; the traces of ritual; the quantity, quality and meaning of the funerary offerings (Caskey 1954; 1955; 1956; 1957; 1958; Banks 1967; Blackburn 1970; Zerner 1978; Angel 1971).

At a final stage, the archaeological data will be integrated with the results of the bioarchaeological analyses. The integration of the archaeological information concerning treatment at death and the anthropological information about each individual skeleton will help us interpret variation across the Lerna community. In addition, the aDNA results will be used to test our working hypothesis: that the spatially more or less demarcated burial groups represent kinship groups.

Mortuary differentiation will be thus used as a tool to reconstruct the social structure, political organization and cultural orientation of the communities of the Middle Helladic Argolid, and to understand the causes of their transformation (Chapman 1991, 2000, Parker-Pearson 1993; Voutsaki 1998).

Dr. Sofia Voutsaki
Groningen Institute of Archaeology
Poststraat 6
NL – 9712 ER Groningen
The Netherlands
s.voutsaki@let.rug.nl

Dr. Sevi Triantaphyllou
Archaeological Institute of Northern Greece
Thessaloniki, Greece

Prof. Sofia Kouidou-Andreou
Department of Biological Chemistry
Medical School, Aristotle University
Thessaloniki, Greece

Dr. Leda Kovatsi
Department of Forensic Medicine and Toxicology,
Medical School, Aristotle University
Thessaloniki, Greece

Ms Eleni Milka
Groningen Institute of Archaeology
Groningen, the Netherlands

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GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE FORMATION OF EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES

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

RUINS INTO RELICS: CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, EUROPEAN IDENTITIES AND THEIR REFRACTIONS

Michael Fotiadis

I shall begin with a double caution. On the one hand, we should take care not to overestimate the work of archaeology in the formation of national and European identities. The decisive battles in this area – some predominantly intellectual in nature (since they were contained in the minds of individual scholars), others bloodier and more bitter (for they spread through the public culture of entire nation states) – took place in other fields: history, folklore and, especially, language. Some of those battles, moreover, were fought *before* archaeology rose to disciplinary status. In mid-18th century one not only already spoke of "national character" but might also be familiar with the assertion, offered by Condillac, "every language expresses the character of the people that speak it."[1] In the later 18th and early 19th centuries, Herder, Fichte, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Korais and many others reiterated, and inquired deeper into, the primacy of language in matters of "national character." Witness Humboldt: "Language is the external manifestation of the genius of peoples" (*die äussere Erscheinung des Geistes der Völker*). For Humboldt, a people's *National-charakter* and its language were intimately fused; the one could be deduced from the other. Let us also recall that, although Humboldt considered all tongues, even those of "the wildest savages," to be equal in their expressive capacities, and he also devoted his later life, after 1820, to the study of Javanese and Amerindian languages, he still thought of Greek as the "best formed" (*höchst-gebildeten*) tongue.[2] Korais was of the same mind: through its language, he wrote, "an entire nation's character can be known."[3] His conception of *Hellenikon Mouseion*, put forth in the early 1800s, was entirely in line with this conviction: the *Mouseion* was conceived not as a treasury of ancient sculpture, of art and artifacts, but as the depository of all ancient Greek manuscripts.[4]

[1] Quoted in Gourgouris 1996, 93; from E.B. de Condillac, *An Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, 1746 (Engl. transl. 1756). See also Szegedy-Maszák 2001, esp. 110-116.

[2] Humboldt quoted in Bunzl 1996, 32, 34. Gourgouris 1996, 93-95. See Bunzl 1996, 29-35; Marchand 1996, 24-33.

[3] Quoted in Gourgouris 1996, 98.

[4] "Museum" was commonly used at the time in senses comparable to Korais's (e.g., as the title of philological publications; see Stray 2002 [2004])

For the early 19th century, then, *language* is where a people's genius resides. The spectacular efflorescence of philology from about 1800 on, the rapid ascent of that vocation to the status of an academic discipline, did not occur independently of this new kind of positivity acquired by language. More crucial yet: by virtue of the same kind of positivity, language now emerged as a field ripe for state intervention. That is to remind us not only that language – specifically, classical Greek, the "best formed" language – was made the centerpiece of *Bildung*, but also that the ultimate beneficiary of *Bildung* was intended to be no other than "national character." With time, this identification of a nation's "character" with its language would generate opportunities for educational reforms, but it would also find itself at the focus of significant political rifts. Have we forgotten, for instance, that the "Language Question," the long drawn war between Purists and Demoticists in Greece in the late 19th and 20th centuries, was a struggle over the definition of "national character"?

All this is well known, and has been argued in detail and much more elegantly by others;[5] if I dwell on it here, that is for a single reason. I wish to explicitly acknowledge that "national character," *Volksgeist*, "the Greeks," and the like *neither* first emerged *nor* were they first intensely theorized in the course of pursuits that we can easily recognize as archaeological – at least not in the 19th century and later senses of "archaeological." The relevant discourses antedate the rise of archaeology as a discipline. When archaeology emerged in the course of the 19th century, it grafted itself on a body of already existing discourses – philological, historical, linguistic, ethnographic – on "national character," "the Greeks," etc., and adopted their central tenets and concerns. Caught between, on the one hand, the logocentrism it inherited from those discourses and, on the other hand, the silent materiality of its objects, archaeology became, and has remained to date, an uncertain resource in the construction of national and European identities.

On the other hand – and here is the second part of my caution – we should not *under*estimate the import of archaeology in the shaping of European and national identities. Consider. In Greece, antiquities were said to be "national" already during the War of Independence; the earliest mention I know of this dates to 1826 and is found in an order issued by the revolutionary Legislative Body (*Bouleutikon*) to the Executive Body (*Ektelestikon*): "The *Bouleutikon* is of the opinion to order the *Ektelestikon*, the said Committee, to consider national (*na nomizei ethnikas*) all old antiquities, such as statues, and as many as should be found in expropriated houses."[6] From three years later – October 1829; just weeks before Capodistrias decreed the creation of a National Museum (*Ethnikon Mouseion*), to be housed in an Orphanage in Aigina – we have a most remarkable document, signed by the Interim Commissioner of Elis, Panayiotis A. Anagnostopoulos, and addressed to the inhabitants of that prefecture. It is written in strong, unequivocal language. It begins by defining the word "Museum" ("the place where antiquities are deposited and safeguarded"). It then offers an intensive definition of "antiquities" ("old things [*palaiotites*], those, that is, which are works of the ancestral Greeks and were preserved below or above ground") and continues with an extensive definition (a long list of things that constitute antiquities). Last, it identifies the significance of antiquities for the people and it specifies in 11 articles the duties of citizens and government vis-à-vis such antiquities. Article 6 absolutely prohibits the sale of antiquities, "only the Nation is the possessor and buyer of all antiquities..."[7]

[5] See works cited in footnotes 1 and 2.

[6] Published in Protopsaltis 1967, 24.

[7] Published in Protopsaltis 1967, 107-109. An exception to the prohibition is noted: gemstones.

It is patent, then, that the association of antiquities with ancestors and the nation in Greece was already in effect at the dawn of statehood. We should also remember that the National Assembly of 1827 passed a resolution against the sale and exportation of antiquities (article 18 of the "Constitution of Troizen"), and that Capodistrias issued an order to the same effect in 1828, adding a detailed set of regulations in 1830.[8] Of the suite of relevant actions in the ensuing decades (more familiar to archaeologists today, thanks to a series of recent articles and books[9]) I will only mention here the following. The Greek Antiquities Law, drafted by the jurist Ludwig von Maurer in the regency years (1834), not only explicitly associated antiquities with the ancestors of the Greek people but also defined them as "national estate" (*ktema ethnikon*) of all Greeks.[10] It was also in 1834 when the restoration of ancient monuments was inaugurated – with an impressive public ritual, rife with symbolism and political significance. It brought together in one act the king, antiquities, the nation, its past and its future, ancient Greece and modern Europe. In its symbolic condensation of time, it stands in retrospect as an archetypal nationalist performance (and it has attracted much scholarly attention).[11] Last, the restoration of ancient monuments that proceeded through the remainder of the 19th century entailed, as we know, the meticulous removal from archaeological sites of almost every ruin deemed un-Hellenic.

Utterances, gestures, projects and incidents that reveal the import of archaeology in the practice of Greek national identity are legion indeed, and they have turned up in every path of public life to the present day. Antiquities have all along been yoked to the politics of culture, and have some times been put in the service of oppressive, unsavory projects. We may not forget, for example, that antiquities were deployed in the Makronisos concentration camps in efforts to re-inscribe hellenism onto the bodies of those who were thought to have rejected it.[12]

"Utterances, gestures... are legion indeed:" in the scholarship that, since the 1990s, seeks to expose archaeology's multiple involvements in the construction of national identity (in Greece as much as elsewhere), claims of this sort are commonplace. It seems to me, however, that such claims rest on a premise that may not be, at least not always, justified. The premise is that all those utterances, gestures, etc. are manifestations of one and the same social reality, namely, a national identity that relies for its efficacy on the "antiquarian" logic; on the logic, that is, of "the person who preserves and venerates ... who looks back with loyalty and love on the origins through which he became what he is..."[13] Our arguments have indeed been habitually committing an empiricist fallacy: we treat such utterances and gestures as if they had a stable meaning, the same for nearly two centuries, and were therefore entirely transparent to us in the present, as instantiations of the selfsame phenomenon. We are happily oblivious to the possibility that those utterances and gestures might have a different purport and effect in other times, in their specific

[8] Published in Protopsaltis 1967, 30, 39, and 142-145.

[9] See, e.g., Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; Hamilakis 2001, 6-8; Yalouri 2001; and see references in footnotes 10-12.

[10] Quoted in Petrakos 1982, 20. Maurer's antiquities law is often said to have been based on the equivalent law of the Papal State (Zepos 1966, 199). That must have been, then, the Pacca Edict of 1820, on the contents of which see Ridley 2000, 221-224.

[11] See, e.g., Tsigakou 1981, 63; Mallouchou-Tufano 1998, 17; Bastéa 2000, 102-103; Yalouri 2001, 35-36.

[12] Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996, 123-125. Hamilakis 2002.

[13] Nietzsche 1995 [1873], 102; Nietzsche's entire section on the *antiquarian understanding of history* (ibid. 102-108) is relevant here.

historical contexts. Despite our critical intent, to undermine the mythology of nationalism, our methods begin by essentializing their domain of application – by resorting, that is, to the very tactics favored in the most devout nationalist scholarship. Let me explain by way of example.

For this, I return to the circular signed by Anagnostopoulos in 1829, to the founding of the National Museum in Aigina in the same year, and to the resolution of the *Bouleutikon* from 1826 "to consider national all old antiquities." When the Commissioner of Elis proclaimed that "only the Nation" could be the possessor of antiquities, what exactly was the charge of the proclamation? To our ears – the ears of 21st century Europeans, that is[14] – the conjunction of "nation" and "antiquities" rings entirely familiar, so much so that we are unlikely to stop and wonder about its meaning. We are convinced we already know what it says (after all, antiquities were already "national" when we were born; we are thoroughly habituated to this idea). At most, we might think to ourselves "just another instance – and what a remarkably early one! – that demonstrates the Greeks' pious attachment to the past, their reverence for their ancestors." I doubt, however, that such was the charge of the proclamation for the Commissioner who drafted it and for his contemporaries.

To begin with, in the 1820s the notion of "national antiquities" (or "national monuments") was still a novel one. The phrase "national antiquities," if I am not mistaken, gained currency first in Paris in 1790, in a multi-volume work by Aubin-Louis Millin dedicated to the monuments of the Empire. Soon after, in 1795, the Musée des Monuments français was set up in Paris by Alexandre Lenoir (closed in 1816). The existence of this Musée inspired Rasmus Nierup in 1806 to put forth a proposal, followed by "a prophetic vision" in 1807, for the creation of a Danish National Museum in Copenhagen. The latter museum was indeed founded in 1807 (and opened to the public in 1819), but it was officially called "Museet for nordiske Oldsager" rather than "Nationalmuseet" until 1892.[15] The idea of national monuments and national museums was spreading in the early decades of the 19th century, albeit unevenly; in England, for instance, discussion of "national monuments" is said to have arisen only in the 1840s. The fact is that very few museums for antiquities qualified as "national," and even fewer officially bore that title, at the time Capodistrias created the one in Aigina: besides the Museet in Copenhagen, such museums existed in Stockholm and Christiania (Oslo), while attempts to establish a national museum in Ljubljana in the early 1820s were frustrated.[16] The idea was novel, as I indicated. We should take account of these conditions when interpreting the deeds of the Greek founding fathers, their proclamations that antiquities were "national" and that their home was a "national" museum: could theirs be *not* so much a plan to turn ruins into relics (and thus to introduce "old things" as a key ingredient of nationhood) but an attempt to keep apace with the times? Could it be, in other words, not so much an instance of antiquarian fervor as a project of modernization, or at least an effort – as in the case of Nierup, who at once complained of the "inexcusable neglect" with which Danes treated their antiquities and pointed to France as a model for emulation – to bring home novel ideas?[17]

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[14] And, probably, to the ears of most of our contemporaries, but not Americans of the U.S.A.

[15] Schnapp 1996, 52; Lundbeck-Culot 1994, 96-102, 107; Kristiansen 1981, 22. I thank John Lund for first calling my attention to the fact that Copenhagen's Nationalmuseet had originally a different name.

[16] Champion 1996, 123; Lundbeck-Culot 1994, 198-199; Slapsak and Novakovic 1996, 268, 271.

[17] For Nierup see Lundbeck-Culot 1994, 98-99. There may have been an earlier parallel to such a "project of modernization": in 1703, Roger de Gaignères had tried to persuade the king of France "to preserve all the monuments which may be of some importance..." by pointing out that France was behind most other nations in this respect. See Schnapp 1997, 250.

But that is not all. In the words of the Commissioner ("only the nation…") and, in general, in the prominence of antiquities in the Revolutionary legislation – the repeated resolutions against the sale of antiquities, the compulsive language in which those resolutions were cast – today we are prepared to recognize a will, to claim a luminous past as a most crucial dimension of Greek identity. Has not, after all, that luminous past been invoked ever since (usually, formulaically) whenever one spoke of the nation in Greece? Did not the Greeks of the modern era become unthinkable to themselves (and to many others) without that past? Once more, however, I will suggest that the legislators and administrators of the 1820s need not have had such a plan in mind. We should consider alternatives that take into account specific circumstances: is it inconceivable indeed that the attention so frequently paid to antiquities during the Revolution had less to do with a will to establish a deep and luminous past to accompany the nation in the future,[18] and more with what was immediate and threatening, namely, the hitherto uncontrolled traffic in antiquities? Should it not be crucial to our understanding that such traffic had dramatically intensified in the previous two decades and could now seriously undermine the authority of the emerging state? Moreover, is it irrelevant that the circular to the inhabitants of Elis was drafted in the aftermath of the "Olympic marbles" episode, that is, amid exceptional, and exceptionally awkward, circumstances for the Capodistrias government?[19]

Not necessarily or exclusively a project of Romantic nationalism, therefore, not a plan to turn "ancient things" into enduring national narrative, but perhaps a set of *remedial measures*, addressed to concrete circumstances at hand – such, I suggest, may have been the logic that led to the nationalization of antiquities in Revolutionary Greece. We should also ask questions of the adjective "*ethnikos*" (national), its possible interpretations, when we find it attached to antiquities and related domains at the time. To some, no doubt, *ethnikos* already had the semantic dimensions we associate with the Romantic conception of the nation. But it also appears to have been used in opposition to "individually owned;" in the sense of "public" therefore, or "owned collectively by the people/the state." That is evident from documents of the period, most clearly, from a government order issued in 1826. Here the appellations "national" and "in the control of the Nation" are applied to buildings (mainly houses) of a recent age and "in bad shape," buildings which, by virtue of their location amid antiquities in Athens, prevent the proper curation of those antiquities and pose fire hazards to them. Since these recent buildings are *national*, the document goes, it should be easy for the government to demolish them or, at any rate, to prohibit their passing onto private hands, which might hurt the antiquities.[20] In this case, then, "national" means no more than "at the government's disposal." Equally instructive is a 1828 proposal which called for the creation of a *Public* – significantly, not *National* – Museum of Archaeology (*Demosion Archaiologias Mouseion*).[21] The author pointed out that, in conjunction with a total ban on the sale of an-

[18] A future, moreover, that must have appeared, as it *was*, rather uncertain at the time.

[19] In 1829 the *Expédition scientifique de Morée* conducted excavations at Olympia and subsequently demanded from Capodistrias to allow the exportation of some of the finds. The governor had eventually to yield to the demands, notwithstanding the prohibition he had previously promulgated on the exportation of antiquities. To do this, a special law was proposed and passed by the national assembly, but embarrassment was not avoided. The circular was one of the maneuvers in these complex circumstances. For details see Protopsaltis 1967, pp. λβ'–λγ' and associated documents.

[20] Published in Protopsaltis 1967, 23; "in the control of the Nation": *eis tin exousian tou Ethnous*. The appellation "national" is never applied to the antiquities themselves in this document.

[21] Published in Protopsaltis 1967, 38-39.

tiquities, the creation of the Public Museum would address the problem of the drain of antiquities abroad. The point is unmistakable: "national" (*ethnikos*) can be a synonym of "public," meaning "belonging to no one in particular but to all collectively as their inalienable property."[22] More important yet, whether "Public" (as proposed at first) or "National" (as baptized in the end), the archaeological museum is here conceived as a remedy to a concrete and pressing problem: it is *a timely device rather than a timeless institution*.

I propose, then, that there was a moment – a short period in the 1820s – in the history of modern Greece when the nationalization of antiquities ("works of the ancestral Greeks") *may* have had meanings beside those we are prone to attribute to it in retrospect from today. The nationalization may have been intended primarily as a way of removing antiquities from the field of commercial exploitation and individual profit and, thereby, preventing their loss abroad. At the same time, the creation of a national museum appears to have been part and parcel of the same plan, geared to resolving a pressing problem, and may also have been understood as a step forward, a modernizing measure. Neither gesture *need* have been dictated primarily by antiquarian fervor (veneration of the ancestral relics) or Romantic nationalism (a longing for a past deep and luminous), although they certainly prefigure both. I do mean these as *possibilities*, even as questions: they can serve us better as pointers to research potentials, which can be open-ended. It is such potentials that are foreclosed when we adhere to the empiricist premise I identified earlier, and allow our scholarship to lapse into facile essentialisms.

Be that as it may; in Greece, antiquities *were* with time turned into the nation's relics. (Note that the meeting in which this paper was read took place at the foot of "the Sacred Rock," as the ancient acropolis of Athens has been more piously called in Greece since the 19th century.[23]) I am in no position to trace here the history of this transformation. The observations offered in a recent work are pertinent, but they hardly suffice as "a history."[24] It seems to me that such a history ought to be sensitive to all that has been changing through time *as well as* to all that remains same. It should also – because identities are never wholesome, fully sutured dispositions – be attentive to the Greeks' critical ambivalence toward their own *progonoplexia*, or "seizure by the ancestors."[25]

In Greece the identification with the ruins of classical antiquity has followed a trajectory exceptional among European nations. Nevertheless, some important analogies obtain with those nations. It is the tradition of neoclassicism in the arts that provides the material for comparison. For instance, we should recall that 19th century Greeks were routinely compared (by themselves and by others) to their classical ancestors, only to be consistently found inferior, wanting in every respect, contaminated by shameful oriental manners. Classical antiquity thus came to be experienced much of the time as a *loss*, an *absence* amid present day life. In this context, along with the clearing of archaeological sites from ruins deemed unfit to hellenism (see above), neoclassicism was implemented in architecture as a corrective means, a way of re-instilling into national

[22] Ibid.: "a ban exempting antiquities altogether from the rules of political economy."

[23] "This rock on which we gathered was once sacred ... is sacred today for on it ranges the spirit of antiquity, protecting Greece": A.R Ragavis (Rangabé), Secretary of the Archaeological Society, Athens, 1840. Quoted in Petrakos 1996, 91.

[24] Bastéa 2000, 127-131.

[25] Bastéa 2000 provides telling examples of the ambivalence. For a sustained discussion of the ambivalence see Herzfeld 1987 and 1991.

character its long ago "departed worth." Here precisely lies the analogy with the substantially earlier neoclassicism in other nations: in England, France and through much of Europe, later 18th century neoclassicism in the arts, from architecture to wallpaper manufacture, was nourished by progressive political thought (e.g., anti-clericalism, republicanism) and offered itself as an antidote to present day aesthetic decline and diminished morality. As in the case of 19th century Greece, that is, neoclassicism in 18th century Europe promised to offer what the present was thought to lack.

It seems to me indeed that this last point can be made with greater generality: the anchoring of European identities on the ruins of Greek classical antiquity was predicated on the modern experience of the loss, the decay, the deficiency. The experience of classical antiquity as absence appears, for instance, to have been seminal to Winckelmann's *Gedanken* (1755). That is evident, first of all, in his distaste for the art of his contemporaries (see, e.g., among his remarks: "modern works are distinguished from those of the Greeks by numerous little hollows, by too many and too conspicuous dimples."[26]), but also elsewhere. As Whitney Davis has observed, "[Winckelmann's] imagination worked as a reflection of what the present lacked," and what the present lacked was not *naturally* beautiful boys that could pose as models for modern artists, but the ancient system of erotics: boys that *made themselves* beautiful in anticipation of their lover's regard, true homoerotic *subjects* who sought fulfillment by becoming objects for others who also did the same thing.[27] The issue is not whether the ancient world ever contained such subjects (Winckelmann thought for some time that he could trace them archaeologically), but rather that, for Winckelmann, "ancient homoeroticism as a formerly existing social reality is imagined on the model of how its very absence is experienced in modern times."[28] Greek antiquity, I wish to add, had by the 18th century receded beneath the exterior surface of things and the immediately perceptible, and had become an "inner reality," hidden in the interior of things and people: a matter of (what the Enlightenment already called) *character*. Or, as Winckelmann said it, "authentic expression springs from inner sentiment." It was such "inner sentiment" that modern times lacked. And so, "the draughtsman who wishes to convey this quality of truth to his academy will not achieve a shadow of it unless he himself supplies what the heart of the unmoved and indifferent model does not feel."[29]

But "character," that inner reality, can manifest itself and become external and objective in almost anything one chooses. And so, Petrus Camper thought he could find it in physiognomy, specifically in a person's "facial angle," when he evaluated the races of mankind (1785). This angle was formed by the direction of the forehead and a horizontal line drawn from the ear to the base of the nostrils. With a facial angle of 100°, the "Greek type" for Petrus stood as the unattainable ideal. In comparison, the modern European type, next in the hierarchy of races, was characterized by a facial angle of only 80°.[30]

By the early 19th century "the new discipline of classics ... imagined antiquity as the inspiration for a modern future counterposed to a past seen as Christian, status-bound, and organized by

[26] Winckelmann 1985 [1755], 37. See also Marchand 1996, 11-12.
[27] Davis 1996, 266-268.
[28] ibid. 268. Davis dismisses Winckelmann's own explanation that the beauty of the Greeks and of their art was the effect of the country's privileged climate.
[29] Winckelmann 1985 [1755], 35.
[30] See Cohen 1999, 146-148.

relations of patronage."[31] Archaeology was hardly part of that new discipline, still Greek antiquities proved paradigmatic for aesthetic discourses. (Antiquities were now being massively carted away from Greece and were soon to be exhibited in the place of honor in the new museums, buildings specifically designed and constructed as public museums, for instance in Munich, Berlin, Leyden, and London.) In this context, Humboldt revisited the theme of classical antiquity as loss amid contemporary life:

> a modern sculptor ... might well vie with the works of the ancients, so far as excellence is concerned. Genius can still occur, as formerly; technical studies have advanced... skill ... has made great progress. But what can never be attained, what divides antiquity from modernity by an unbridgeable chasm, is the breath of ancient days that covers the simplest potsherd, as it does the perfect masterpiece, with an inimitable magic. It is not the property of any particular sculptor... it is, rather, the reflected glow, the flowering of a nation and an era. And since these shall not return, it too is irreparably lost with them. For it is the melancholy yet proud prerogative of living things that they never reproduce themselves in the same way again, that the past in them is forever past.[32]

For Humboldt, this loss became, as we know, the opportunity to define a new ethical and political task for the present. Elsewhere in the same essay (1807) he made it clear that the loss should not "make us sad and downcast, like the prisoner's recollection of unhindered joyous freedom...," that the chasm between "them" (the Greeks) and "us" (Germans in the aftermath of the battle of Jena) – a chasm, according to Humboldt, isomorphic with that between "art" and "reality" – was in fact a productive precondition for the realization of the nation's inner potential.[33] The ancient Greeks, he intimated, "move us, not with compulsion to be more like them, but with inspiration to be more ourselves."[34] German identity, but also human nature, were hereby defined as a *project*; in terms of an open-ended *telos*, therefore, rather than in terms of a fixed origin, in terms of futures rather than pasts. Three years later (1810), Wolfian *Altertumswissenschaft* became a most central discipline in the newly created University in Berlin and, soon after, Greek came to occupy a most central place in the newly instituted *Gymnasium* curriculum.[35] As I indicated in the beginning, such institutions were highly logocentric, and they remained logocentric for the next half-century or so. As I also indicated, the intended primary beneficiary of those educational reforms was national character: the German psyche. Or, in Stathis Gourgouris' phrase, "the core of *Altertumswissenschaft* in Germany is precisely the Humboldtian thesis that the ancient Greeks are the transcendental cultural body that can be reinscribed into German modernity and thus used to dissolve its social and political fragmentation."[36]

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[31] Humphreys's 2002, 211.

[32] Humboldt 1963 [*History of the Rise and Fall of the Greek Free States*,1807], 86.

[33] The quotation is from Humboldt 1963 [1807], 80. For the pair antiquity vs. modernity as art vs. reality: ibid. 82-83.

[34] *ibid.* 81.

[35] See Marchand 1996, 21-22, 27-28.

[36] Gourgouris 1996, 133.

Two clarifications are necessary here. First, the Humboldtian vision that sought to reinscribe the cultural will of the ancients into the bodies of the moderns was at once universalist and exclusionary/elitist, at once humanist (in the Enlightenment's terms of humanism) and German/nationalist. Gourgouris as well as Suzanne Marchand have demonstrated this, each with a different emphasis, the first with respect to Humboldt's teleological conception of German identity, the second with reference to the social effect of *Gymnasien* educational orientation.[37] Second, although in Humboldt's time archaeology was an insignificant component of *Altertumswissenschaft*, classical antiquities proved by no means irrelevant to the new vision of collective identity (national, German, European, universal) as a project. This is best demonstrated by the work of Humboldt's contemporary, the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1845), especially in his design of the Altes Museum Berlin, but also in his writings.

Schinkel, too, turned to classical antiquity out of a sense of privation and discomfort in the midst of modern life. Only, this time the discomfort was brought about by a contemporary social transformation: the dissolution of traditional communal bonds and (to quote from a recent paper by John Toews) "the triumph of anxiety-prone, restless, self-centered activity by isolated individual egos in a civil society regulated only by the vagaries of the market."[38] As an antidote to the fluidity of this modern condition, Schinkel put to work his notion of "aesthetic serenity" (*Kunstruhe*), drawn up from the principles of vertical stability, horizontal rest, and hierarchy of Greek temple architecture. The Altes Museum was designed and built between 1823 and 1830 precisely on these principles.

In this project, the classical Greek accomplishment was once more posed as an ethical task for the present. The Museum was meant not so much as a place where a nation safeguarded or displayed its ancestral artistic achievements as a "Temple of Aesthetic Education." Its central, most noble space, a rotunda modeled after the Pantheon, was conceived as nothing short of a sanctuary, a place where "the individual would be drawn into an aesthetic experience that offered the possibility of subjective transformation and self-recognition ... Modern Germans did not find the idea of their own particular cultural identity as they entered the rotunda space, but rather a universal model of the way in which any culture must perfect its historical and natural potentialities in fully articulated aesthetic form."[39] The rotunda was reserved for the finest Greek statuary, in several cases, restored; *Heiligtum* (sacred space, sanctuary) was the word Schinkel himself used in referring to it. And so, in language as well as by virtue of their placement in an evocative setting, the ruinous statues of Greek antiquity were transformed into venerable relics.

Finally, it is of interest that the same tension between the universalist and the exclusionary/elitist evident in Humboldt's vision also underpinned Schinkel's conception of "aesthetic education." As Toews points out, such "aesthetic education" was, on the one hand, addressed to that new creature of modern times, the emancipated individual carried by self-interest in a market-dominated society, and was intended to integrate him back into community and thus assure him that the world was still his home. On the other hand, it is clear that the shaping of "aesthetic education," its continuing functioning, the functioning of the civil community (and, I would add, the reproduction of the classical ideal) depended on a class of educated civil servants and political administrator, that is, the sort of elite the *Gymnasien* were producing.

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[37] Gourgouris 1996. 271-72 (his nuanced argument cannot be easily summarized here); Marchand 1996.
[38] Toews 2000, 177.
[39] *ibid.* 180, 182.

From the time classical archaeology was instituted as a disciplinary subject in the later 19th century, invocations of its "national significance" became a standard part of the arguments archaeologists would make to state agencies in order to secure moneys and other support for the practice. Practitioners and their state sponsors became thoroughly involved in politics at all levels, as states competed with one another for the pieces of the classical pie. Possession of classical marbles and vases had, of course, been a source of prestige long before; to this source of prestige now were added new ones, for example, mounting a "great excavation" at a famous ancient site, erecting a magnificent edifice to house antiquities, boasting the longest tradition of scholarship in classical archaeology. All this again is well known. In recalling it here, I have two points in mind. First, prestige derived from disciplinary practices focused on classical antiquity is today an important dimension of European identities, and an identity that relies significantly on prestige is of a very different kind from identity as an ethical project, as that identity was construed in the early 19th century. That, of course, is not the only difference between the modern and the early 19th century construal: "This exhibition is an expedition to the original sources of Europe" (*Ursprüngen Europas*) – so assures us in its opening phrase the Preface to "Die griechische Klassik," the great exhibition that was mounted in Berlin and Bonn in 2002.[40] While appeals to classical origins have been common since the Roman period, contemporary construals of European identity appear to me overwhelmingly past- rather than future-oriented; they draw on a fixed origin, not on an open-ended telos. We are all too comfortable, it seems, with an understanding of history that is distinctly "antiquarian" (see above).

Second, European identity as underpinned by classical antiquity seems to me to have most of the time been understood and practiced through its refractions along national lines. I can think of no better illustration of this than that provided by Artemis Leontis in her *Topographies of Hellenism*, on occasion of a letter by Virginia Woolf. Visiting the Acropolis on a stormy afternoon ("the blue was as blue as hard as china, and the storm and the blue fell upon each other") Woolf was disturbed at the sight of a terrible incongruity, what she calls "10 million German tourists" visiting at the same time as she, "rush[ing] across the temple precisely like suppliants in their grey and purple mackintoshes." As Leontis observes, this little text "reveals in its ironic margins ... the national and quite exclusive competition for the Acropolis's rightful inheritance ... In the eyes of the British, French, German, or Austrian traveler (or, after World War II, the American tourist), only *one's own* national group reached the soul's eternal 'home' when entering the gates of the Propylaia."[41] Or, as Virginia Woolf herself put it in her "Dialogue on Mount Pentelicus," in Greece "Germans are tourists and Frenchmen are tourists but Englishmen are Greeks."[42]

Michael Fotiadis
University of Ioannina
Department of History and Archaeology
P.O. Box 1186
GR 451 10 Ioannina
Greece
mfotiadi@umich.edu

[40] Schuster and Wenzel 2002, vii
[41] Leontis 1995, 54-55.
[42] Quoted in Leontis 1995, 108.

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CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND BRITISH IDENTITY: THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

James Whitley

Archaeology is not an homogeneous discipline. There is no single, widely accepted definition of what archaeology is, where its affinities lie, what may count as kindred areas of enquiry, and what is the primary purpose of its endeavours. This fact can best be appreciated by a visit to the museums of the University of Oxford. For there are in Oxford not one, but two archaeological museums. The museum best known in Greek and Classical circles is, of course, the Ashmolean. It is a museum which, in outward form and inward content, most resembles the archaeological museums of Greece. The building itself is a Neo-Classical one, designed by that sometime architect and sometime Classical archaeologist, C.R. Cockerell. Amongst its original, internal decoration is a cast from the frieze from the Classical temple of Apollo Bassitas at Phigeleia (Bassai) in Arcadia. At the core of the Ashmolean's collections are the Arundel marbles, Classical sculptures collected by the Earl of Arundel in the seventeenth century from the area of Asia Minor (modern western Turkey).[1] In the Ashmolean, Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Near Eastern and prehistoric European antiquities are displayed in separate rooms, and the artefacts are grouped together by material, area, and date. Elsewhere in the museum European oil paintings, furniture, ceramics and glass can be examined. The Ashmolean is, in brief, a fairly typical 'art museum', where the antiquities of Greece and Rome can be viewed as the common ancestors of a common European heritage.

But if museums like the Ashmolean can be found in almost every European country, the same cannot be said for Oxford's other archaeological museum, the Pitt Rivers. For one thing, its outward appearance is quite different – it is a large open hall, with three levels (a ground floor

[1] On the Arundel marbles, see Haynes 1968; for their importance in the development of Classical archaeology, see Whitley 2001, 17-20.

open to two upper balconies), in a style that can best be described as 'industrial gothic'. It can be reached – in both a literal and metaphorical sense – only through the Oxford museum of Natural History. Displays are not spacious, allowing an object to be seen whole against a flatteringly plain background, but cramped. For the object itself, as a work of art, unique and sufficient in itself, is not of interest. Finds are arranged, not by period or area, but by type and function. The guiding principle is one of comparative anthropology, a principle that mixes up folklore, ethnography and archaeology. Here bagpipes from Britanny, Scotland and Samothrace are displayed in the same case; objects used for depilation in 'modern' Burma and India are compared with prehistoric 'depilatory tweezers' from Britain and Crete; stone tools from eighteenth-century Polynesia are arranged alongside polished stone axes from the Danubian Neolithic (Linienbandkeramik); and amulets for warding off the 'evil eye' from both Greece and India can be examined side by side. The museum is no respecter of the dignity of Classical objects – if a votive terracotta from the sanctuary of Asklepios has the same function as an offering from a church in nineteenth century Sicily, then they will appear in the same place. In all this, the arrangement of the museum reflects the interests of its founder, the pioneering archaeologist and soldier, General Pitt Rivers. For Pitt Rivers, as for many late nineteenth-century antiquarians and archaeologists, there were no clear boundaries between archaeology, folklore and comparative ethnology. The contemporary, the ancient and the prehistoric are to be juxtaposed in the service of a general science of humankind. In the Pitt Rivers museum, archaeology is anthropology or it is nothing (and Classical archaeology is nothing in particular).

These two museums represent the two poles of the British archaeological imagination. One is traditionally humanistic, the other is avowedly ethnographic, and so principally concerned with the primitive and the irrational. Both museums provide a paradigm for what archaeology can and should be. What is perhaps surprising is that it has often been the 'anthropological' archaeology represented by the Pitt Rivers as much as the 'Classical' archaeology represented by the Ashmolean that has inspired British archaeological work in Greece. At times, and not just in recent times, prehistorians in particular have sought to stress links between archaeology and anthropology rather than between archaeology and Classics. The archaeological work of the School has oscillated between these two poles – at times attracted by the magnetism of the grand, comparative approach represented by the Pitt Rivers, at others more comfortable with Greek archaeology's more usual affiliation with Classical Studies.

I am not so much concerned with Classical archaeology in the formation of national identities, since both traditional Classical archaeology and British 'ethnographic' archaeology are but two facets of what Bruce Trigger would call an imperial archaeology.[2] Insofar as such archaeologies affected national identity, they both confirmed Britain's role as one that was central to world civilization. Anthropological archaeology had a greater political impact at the end of the nineteenth century, since its evolutionary metanarrative tended to place contemporary Britain at the apex of human technological, cultural and intellectual achievement. The spirit of Romantic neo-classicism had been more prevalent in the earlier part of that century. Possession of large parts of the

[2] Trigger 1984; for the relevance of Trigger's concepts to Classical archaeology, see Whitley 2001, 25-32.
[3] See in general Jenkyns (1980) for the Victorian and Edwardian background.

Parthenon sculptures had persuaded many nineteenth-century Britons that they were indeed modern Athenians. As late as the early twentieth century, British politicians, whether Liberal (such as Asquith) or Conservative (such as Balflour) retained a genuine interest in Ancient Greece. But such interest was rarely evident in their speeches, since Ancient Greece had little resonance amongst the newly enfranchised lower middle and working classes.[3] British neo-hellenism was a waning force by the end of the nineteenth century.

This is not to say that it was without influence. The setting up of the British School at Athens in 1886 was one of the last achievements of Victorian Hellenism. An anthropological interest was hardly apparent in the School's first decade. The founders of the School were, for the most part, established Classical scholars from Cambridge and Oxford – in this respect Richard Jebb was typical. The School's inaugural meeting at St James' Palace in London emphasised its Classical orientation, and made it crystal clear that it had been set up in emulation of the considerable achievements made in Classical archaeology by German scholars.[4] The School's first two directors were very much in the Victorian mould. F.C. Penrose was an architect and archaeologist in the tradition of C.R. Cockerell, for whom the study of ancient architecture could inform modern architectural practice. Penrose was largely responsible for detecting, through his precise measurements, the architectural 'refinements' of the Parthenon, and it was Penrose who designed the Upper House (then the School) in a clearly neo-Classical style. E.A. Gardner was a traditional classicist and archaeologist, for whom the material remains of ancient Greece vividly illustrated the timeless truths of the ancient texts. Study of both literature and art helped to maintain standards of rationality, morality and aesthetics.[5]

In the years around 1900 all this began to change. There were various reasons for this. One was negative. The School's first attempt to emulate the French and the Germans in the excavation of a traditional Classical site was a failure – the excavation of the Kynosarges site in Athens remains an embarrassment to this day. The British lost out in the lottery of traditional sanctuary and city sites to excavate. There was to be no British equivalent of the German excavations at Olympia, the French at Delphi or the Americans at Corinth. There seemed to be nothing to focus the energies and the attention of British archaeologists working in Greece.[6]

The failure of the School's first major 'Classical' enterprise provided prehistorians with their opportunity. It is no coincidence that the School's first published excavation was the Bronze Age town of Phylakopi on Melos.[7] Its excavator, Duncan Mackenzie, was soon to join Arthur Evans in his excavation of the Bronze Age palace of Knossos, which began in 1900. Though this was not initially a School initiative – it was Evans' – the Knossos excavation, and the related British investigations of Bronze Age Crete, do illustrate much that remained distinctive about British archaeological practice.[8] For one thing it initiated a bias towards prehistory, which has persisted

[4] Anonymous (no author) 1895; see discussion in Whitley 2000, 36-7.
[5] On these two directors, see Waterhouse 1986, 8-12; Macmillan 1911.
[6] On French, German and American excavations, see Whitley 2001, 31-6 (with refs). On the British School's early efforts at the Kynosarges site, see Rodeck 1898; Droop 1906.
[7] Atkinson et al. 1904.
[8] For early results from Knossos, see Evans 1900; 1901a; 1902.

to this day. For another Evans interpretations of his material were imbued with an anthropological and comparative perspective that was quite lacking in the heyday of 'Homeric Archaeology', which had preceded Evans. For though, in some respects, Arthur Evans was typical of his class in having both a classical education and immense private means, few other scholars of his time (and certainly few from other countries) could have cut their scholarly teeth on the investigation of ritual caves from the Saami peoples of northern Scandinavia, and few others could have made major contributions to the study of 'Celtic archaeology' before they ever set foot in Crete.[9] But it was experiences such as these that both broadened his perspective and coloured his interpretations. His comparative perspective enabled him to set Cretan civilisation more firmly in a wider, Eastern Mediterranean context. It enabled him to see that Bronze Age Crete had as much in common with Near Eastern palace civilisation and with Egypt as it did with the palaces of the mainland Bronze Age, palaces which (unlike those of Crete) could still be interpreted within the literary framework of Homeric Archaeology. It is to Evans, after all, that we owe not merely the material facts of 'Minoan civilisation', but the way these facts are commonly understood. It is moreover sobering to reflect that the debate about 'lustral basins', 'pillar crypts' and Bronze Age 'tree and pillar cult' may owe as much to Evans' experiences in Scandinavian caves as to the material facts which his excavations revealed.[10]

This mix of Hellenism and Orientalism, archaeology and ethnology was not unique to Evans. Traditional histories of Aegean archaeology have painted Alan Wace and Arthur Evans as inveterate intellectual opponents. Certainly they differed in their interpretation of the relationship between Crete and Mycenae. But in fact their range of intellectual interests were equally wide, and in many ways quite similar. Together with M.S. Thompson, Wace had managed to combine an archaeological investigation of prehistoric Thessaly with an ethnographic study of the 'Nomads of the Balkans' in his travels in Northern Greece around 1910.[11] When the School was persuaded to undertake the excavation of a major Classical site – Sparta – in 1906, Wace undertook the study of votive lead figurines from the Menelaion and Artemis Orthia, but continued to publish articles on such topics as 'Grotesques and the Evil Eye' and 'Mumming plays'. It was Wace too who suggested that the School extend its interest to botany and geology as well as archaeology and anthropology.[12]

Neither Wace nor Evans was untypical of their generation. Though R.M. Dawkins began as a prehistorian (he helped to excavate Palaikastro) and went on to publish the School's first major Classical site (Artemis Orthia near Sparta), he interspersed these archaeological endeavours with visits to the islands of Karpathos and Skyros, making observations on the folklore, dialect and

[9] For Evans' contributions to 'Celtic' archaeology (the excavation of the Aylseford cremation urns), see Evans 1890; for his experiences in Saami caves, see Bradley 2000, 3-5 & 18-19.

[10] Evans 1901b, especially 200-04 (an ethnographic account of a ritual in a Macedonian muslim 'pillar shrine'). Evans' account of 'Mycenaean tree and pillar cult' is full of anthropological and archaeological analogies, which are rarely explicitly stated in the publications of today's 'Minoan' archaeologists.

[11] Wace and Thompson 1912 (*Prehistoric Thessaly*); Wace and Thompson 1914 (*Nomads of the Balkans*).

[12] On lead figurines, see Wace 1929; on his other early excavations in Laconia (at the Menelaion etc), see Wace et al. 1909; on his interests in folklore, see Wace 1904; 1913; and on Frankish sculpture, see Wace 1905. On his suggestion that geology form a part of the School's interests, see Waterhouse 1986, 25.

customs of these islands as well as their antiquities. It was in this way, at the end of his academic life, he had established himself as the leading expert on Greek folklore.[13] J. L. Myres' interpretation of the finds from the peak sanctuary at Petsofas were strongly coloured by Sir James Frazer's brand of anthropology.[14] Myres retained wide interests, and his statement in his magisterial book 'Who are the Greeks' that 'Greeks are always in the process of becoming' retains an important resonance in current debates about ethnicity and identity.[15] What is striking about the articles published in the BSA between 1900 and 1920 is the their variety. Excavation reports on prehistoric sites jostle with discussions of Byzantine hymnography; articles on the School's excavations at Sparta are accompanied by studies of the medieval churches of the Mani; and a sober transcription of the text of the hymn to Dictaean Zeus from Palaikastro is juxtaposed with Jane Ellen Harrison's fascinating 'sociological' interpetation of the content of that inscription.[16]

One of the unfashionable subjects pursued at the School at this time was Byzantine and Frankish Greece. This was the especial province of that other great polymath of the School's early years, F.W. Hasluck. Hasluck is justly remembered as the man who put the School's library on a secure footing, as commemorated by a plaque you can see there. Hasluck's early interest in the Classical sculpture of Cyzicus (sic) was soon diverted into studies of the monuments left by the Genoese family of the Gattelusi, the distribution of Albanian speakers in the islands of the Aegean, the history and folklore of the Konia plain, and 'stone cults' in Greece and Anatolia.[17] Hasluck was the first foreign scholar really to appreciate how strange Western archaeologists (particularly British, German, American or French archaeologists) appear to the peoples in whose lands they excavate – archaeologists are people who take things. It is for these reasons that there has been a remarkable flowering of interest in Hasluck's life and work (there has even been a recent conference devoted solely to him).[18]

[13] On Artemis Orthia, see Dawkins 1929; on his work at Palaikastro and elsewhere in Crete, see Dawkins 1903a: 1904a; 1905a; Dawkins and Laistner 1913. Excavation at Palaikastro was interspersed by trips to Karpathos and Skyros to gather material on Greek customs and folklore, see Dawkins 1903b; 1904b; 1905b. Towards the end of his life (Dawkins 1951) he also spoke warmly of Wace's interest in these matters.

[14] Myres 1903.

[15] Myres 1930, esp. 538-9; for the contemporary relevance of Myres' ideas, see Hall 2002, 45-7.

[16] So, between 1900 and 1916 we have articles on medieval churches in the Western Mani (Traquair 1909), Byzantine hymns (Tillyard 1912; 1913); on early 'phenemenological' interpretations of sacred localities (Halliday 1911; Hasluck 1916) on cruciform fonts (Dawkins 1913), interspersed with topographical studies and archaeological reports from Laconia, Crete and elsewhere. Articles on strictly classical subjects are comparatively sparse. On the Palaikastro hymn, three explicitly different approaches have been taken by three different scholars; the epigraphic (Bosanquet 1909), the philological (Murray 1909) and the 'sociological' (Harrison 1909).

[17] On Cyzicus, see Hasluck 1902; 1910; on the Gattelusi, Hasluck 1909b; on Albanian settlements and population movements, Hasluck 1909a; 1911; on the history and folklore of the Konia plain, Hasluck 1912; 1913a; 1913b; 1913c; 1929, 363-9; on 'stone cults' and 'natural cults', Hasluck 1916; 1929, 175-225.

[18] On Hasluck's comments on Western archaeologists working in Turkey, see Hasluck 1929, 641-5; Nixon 2001, 93. Recent interest in Hasluck has been marked by a conference, organised by Dr David Shankland and held in Lampeter in November 2001, in which Amalia Kakissis (the School's archivist), Stephen Mitchell, Giovanni Salmeri and Lucia Nixon (amongst others) gave papers.

The First World War changed things. The loss of a number of the School's members (including Hasluck in 1920) inevitably dampened British enterprise a little. Though new possibilities for exploration in Macedonia had been opened up, excavation now tended to be concentrated on a few major sites (Sparta, Knossos). Wace now found himself fully occupied by Mycenae.[19] The number of 'ethnographic' articles declined. Still, the same variety of interest can sometimes still be seen in the work undertaken by the School in the 1920s and 1930s. Scholars of the next generation, such as Stanley Casson and J.D.S. Pendlebury continue to combine 'ethnographic' observations with archaeological interpretation. Casson was, with Xanthoudides, the pioneer of what might be called the 'ethnoarchaeological' study of contemporary Greek potters. Studies of modern Aegean potters were made to furnish analogies for a better understanding of ancient patterns of production, consumption and trade. Similarly, Pendlebury's interpretation of Early Iron Age Karphi was directly influenced by his observations of the life of the people of Tzermiado in Lasithi.[20] Despite this, in the 1920s and 1930s the spirit of scientific positivism began to be felt more strongly in the articles published in the *Annual*. Since 1912, J.D. Beazley had been publishing a number of a number of important articles in the *Annual*. These increased in frequency (and quality) during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Beazley's articles tended to be lists of vases attributable to a single painter, heavy with examples, but almost free from discussion (though not free from judgments on the quality of the painters or their pots).[21] The effect of Beazley's example can be seen in the increasing popularity of articles on pottery, particularly Archaic pottery, published in the *Annual*. In the late 1920s and 1930s Payne, and J.M. and R.M. Cook are all writing articles on pottery, to a greater or lesser degree in the Beazley manner.[22] These articles remain important today, but in their rigorously descriptive tone we can sense the shape of things to come.

It is this positivist spirit that dominates after the Second World War. Articles on Byzantine hymnography gradually disappear (the last one comes out in 1953).[23] In their place are topographical studies (particularly studies relating sites with Bronze Age pottery to the Catalogue of the Ships in the Iliad), and articles on epigraphy, Bronze Age tombs and ancient pottery. Articles on pottery in particular proliferate – Bronze Age, Archaic, Protogeometric, Classical – it doesn't matter so long as it is pottery. These articles differ from those in the earlier years of the School in that they assume a specialised audience that might, for example, immediately understand the significance of IG II2

[19] Large portions of the *Annual* in the early 1920s are devoted to Mycenae, *BSA* 25 [1921-23] wholly so.

[20] See Casson 1938 on early 'ethnoarchaeological' studies of modern Greek pottery; see Pendlebury et al. 1938, esp 66-8 for analogies between ancient Tzermiado and modern Karphi.

[21] Beazley's early articles in the *Annual*: Beazley 1912; 1913; 1928; 1930; 1932. Beazley is elegant in his damning of painters he dislikes, for example on the Nikoxenos painter (introduced apparently in a discussion of the painter's date): "I take it that his amphorae are not older than the amphorae of Euthymides; they look older at first sight, but they are really only stupid. For mere technique, Euthymides is in some ways more archaic; but Euthymides is an excellent artist, and our master, to speak truly, a clown" (Beazley 1913, 246-7).

[22] For example, Payne 1928 (pottery from Knossos); R.M. Cook 1934 (Fikellura pottery); J.M. Cook 1935 (Protoattic pottery). The early 1930s also saw the publication of Payne's *Necrocorinthia* (Payne 1931), for long the standard work on Archaic Corinthian pottery.

[23] Tillyard 1953 is the last of his series of ten articles on Byzantine hymnography published in the *Annual*. No article on this subject was to appear until Beaton 1980.

10.[24] The change coincides with the inception of J.M. Cook's directorship. His excavations at Old Smyrna demanded a more systematic approach than had been common in the past. Sinclair Hood subsequently brought an equivalent sense of order to the study of Bronze Age Crete.

Now of course there were many good reasons for these changes. One fair criticism that can be made about British efforts in the years before 1945 was that they were often amateurish – fuelled by enthusiasm but frequently lacking what the Germans call *Grundlichkeit*. The published results of British excavations often compared poorly to those of the American, French or German schools – the only 'site reports' the School had managed to complete before 1940 being Artemis Orthia, Palaikastro and Phylakopi.[25] Many large conclusions about prehistoric population movements and had been drawn from numerous small holes dug in Thessalian *magoules*. In part too the new emphasis on the publication of archaeological material simply reflects the increasing professionalization of both archaeology and Classical studies after 1945. Professionalization affected the School directly, since it was now funded on a regular (if not entirely secure) basis from British government sources, channelled via the British Academy (a situation that prevails to this day).[26] Professionalization requires specialisation. Increasingly, the departments in British universities became full of academics who had chosen to specialise in a particular field, and whose careers depended, in part, on being seen to make contributions to that field. Gentlemen scholars, whose breadth of interest had shaped the character of the School's work in the previous generation, did not disappear, of course. But they did tend to follow the example of professionals in seeking to gain an academic reputation in one particular field. In this way, the School became the Greek outpost of a distinctly British academic culture that sought to present a 'disinterested' scholarly face to the rest of the world.

If there were good reasons, there were also some good effects. Old excavations – notably Humfry Payne's excavations at the Fortetsa cemetery (Knossos) and at Perachora in the Corinthia – were fully published during this time.[27] Important syntheses, which everyone now regards as fundamental – notably Desborough's *Protogeometric Pottery*, L.H. Jeffery's *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* and J.N. Coldstream's *Greek Geometric Pottery* – were the direct result of this new concentration of scholarly effort.[28] And the School did continue to support anthropology in Greece – John Campbell's fundamental study of the Sarakatsani is a work of the 1950s after all.[29] But there are no more articles on folklore and ethnography in the School's *Annual*, and ethnographic and archaeological work is now undertaken by different people working in different 'disciplines'.

[24] Examples of kind of articles published in the late '40s and '50s include Desborough 1948 (on Protogeometric); J.M. Cook 1947; R.M. Cook 1949 (both on Archaic pottery); Hereward 1952 (on one inscription); Hood et al 1952 (on Late Bronze Age 'warrior graves').

[25] Atkinson et al. 1904 (Phylakopi); Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923 (Palaikastro); Dawkins 1929 (Artemis Orthia).

[26] See discussion in Whitley 2000, 39-41.

[27] For Fortetsa, see Brock 1957; for Perachora, see Payne 1940; Dunbabin 1962.

[28] Jeffery 1961; Desborough 1952; Coldstream 1968.

[29] Campbell 1964. Though Campbell's relations with the British School at the time were tangential, he did later take up the Visiting Scholarship in the School in 1983/4.

Professionalization, of course, entails compartmentalization – the hardening of boundaries between subjects, and the acceptance amongst practitioners of certain disciplinary norms. The 1950s and 1960s were for both archaeology and anthropology an era of what the historian of science, Thomas Kuhn would call 'normal science' – where everyone works within an agreed overarching theoretical paradigm (that is, a set of guiding principles and fundamental research questions).[30] For anthropology in these years the paradigm was British structural/functionalism. In this paradigm it is the study of a society as a functioning social system that is important. Speculations about the historical origins of a particular feature of that system (marriage customs, language, economy) are irrelevant to an understanding of how that feature functions. History is therefore bad for anthropology, and archaeology is worse since it reminds anthropologists of a time when both archaeology and anthropology were joint partners in the study of the 'primitive'.

But if structural functionalism dominated British anthropology, what was Classical archaeology's dominant paradigm? Ostensibly there was none, though one can detect a strongly 'cultural historical' flavour to many of the preferred interpretations of the Bronze Age. The culture history of post-war British prehistoric archaeology owes much to Evans and Wace, of course. But while Evans and Wace were 'cultural historians', they were not merely cultural historians. Cultural historical labels (such as 'Minoan') were to them a means to an end, not an end in themselves. Their position thus contrasts with that of the positivism of much of British post-war archaeology in Greece. For the official line in British Classical Archaeology was 'facts not theory'. Theory was equated with speculation, and facts were, if not quite sufficient in themselves, at least intrinsically good things to know. I have made no secret of the fact that I find this position to be absurd – disciplines cannot exist at all without theories, or, to put it another way, without research questions, and a framework of interpretation for those research questions. Facts only exist in relation to research questions – facts are never neutral, they are always for and against.

In most disciplines (and certainly all the sciences) statements such as these would be uncontroversial. But in certain areas of archaeology they still appear to cause considerable concern. Post-war British Classical archaeology (at least as represented by major institutions such as the British Museum) has had a strange view of itself; Classical archaeology is a discipline objectively and straightforwardly concerned with establishing facts, facts which, once established, do not have to be interpreted, but simply 'speak for themselves'. It also has a curious belief in its own innocence, expressed in statements such as the desirability of 'trusting the eye before any preconceptions'.[31] The necessary converse of this belief in one's own innocence is an outward disdain towards 'theory'. Theory, in this view, is nothing more than a bundle of preconceptions, invariably held by other people. Classical archaeology is of course happily free from such preconceptions, since it looks at everything with an unprejudiced albeit perfectly rational eye. In the past, I have used the label 'traditional' to describe people who hold to this view, but this is clearly

[30] For a discussion of how Kuhn's concepts apply to Classical archaeology and Aegean prehistory, see Snodgrass 2002.

[31] Williams 1993, 61:-"The essential tool of the archaeologist as well as the historian is the eye. It requires an eye to make an attribution and it requires an eye to assemble 'schematic artefact classifications'. To see a scholar trusting her eye *before any preconceived conceptualisations* is a real joy." [emphasis mine].

wrong. The 'traditional' view is a recent one. Its widespread acceptance goes back only to 1945 or so. Winckelmann, the 'father of Classical archaeology', certainly did not disdain theory – his conceptual scheme was almost entirely theoretical, as he was the first to admit. Pendlebury, in his 'Archaeology of Crete, published in 1939, was quite explicit in saying that what he was proposing were theories (we might call them models), which were likely to be replaced when better theories came along.[32] Faith in the innocent objectivity and transcendent aesthetic worth of Classical archaeology is a theme which emerges strongly only after the second world war, perhaps fuelled by a belief that high culture was the only effective antidote to the barbarism into which Europe had descended during those years. It is in these years that the aesthetic qualities of the objects of Classical archaeology are emphasised, and in these years that subjects such as Classical archaeology (which represent public culture) begin, in Britain at least, to receive more generous funding from the state. Professional academics began to see themselves as being akin to civil servants, whose professional virtue of impartiality was perhaps understandably confused with the epistemological goal of objectivity.

Ideas of professional practice – an idea of what it is to be a *professional* Classical archaeologist – cannot take hold without a paradigm. Someone had to provide the model, the example for others to emulate. By 1943, Britain already had an example of the perfect professional – J.D. Beazley. Beazley's achievement was in one sense to classify thousands of Attic Black and Red-figure vases by painter, rather than by archaeological period. It is because of Beazley that we talk about pottery of the early fifth century in terms of the Kleophrades painter and the Berlin painter, rather than Red Figure II. Beazley's published work, on the one hand, at first seems rigorously and objectively factual: list of vases attributed to particular painters, the very paradigm of disinterested objectivity.[33] But it would be a mistake to view his achievement as that of providing 'mere lists', as some have done. Beazley's work entailed a radically new synthesis of several intellectual strands that earlier scholars had thought separate; the spirit of scientific positivism (in the lists); a method of distinguishing the work of individual vase painters which I (and most but not all scholars) think was derived from G. Morelli's work on the attribution of Italian painters on the grounds of individual style; and an older emphasis on the uniqueness of the 'Greek miracle', a standpoint which in fact provided the interpretative framework for his work. In articles like *Citharoedus*, and his explication of Attic Black Figure, we can perhaps detect a style of writing that is strongly reminiscent of the Aesthetic Movement. Beazley therefore provides the link between the old-fashioned Hellenism of a scholar such as Gardner, and the new post-war requirement of 'objectivity'.[34]

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[32] "In the absence of documents … we are bound to progress by means of theories. Any theory is justifiable which agrees with the greatest number of facts known at the time and contradicts neither a vital fact nor human nature and reason. The most reasonable theory, which gives a connected history, should hold the field until a better one is produced or until it is flatly contradicted by some newly discovered fact. *Facts, like words, are by themselves useless*. They must be combined as a means to an end" [emphasis mine] Pendlebury 1939, xxviii. I have discussed Winckelmann's thoughts on his 'conjectural schemes' (Winckelmann 1764, xxiv) elsewhere (Whitley 2001, 20-3).

[33] For Beazley's 'lists', see *ABV* and *ARV2*. Beazley published two articles in the *Annual* after 1940, Beazley 1945; 1951 (the latter, curiously, in a volume dedicated to Alan Wace).

[34] For arguments that Beazley's method was derived from Morelli, see Kurtz 1985; Beazley and Kurtz 1983. Beazley's own thoughts on method are most clearly set out in Beazley 1922, and explicated with regard to black figure in Beazley 1986 (original edition 1951). That Beazley was in any sense a *theorist* is more controversial; see the different opinions of Williams 1996; Neer 1997; Whitley 1997; Snodgrass 2002.

Beazley therefore did not simply discover new facts about Black and Red Figure pottery – in an important sense he created them. Or, to put it another way, the Berlin Painter and the Kleophrades painter are as much the intellectual consequences of adopting a particular approach as they are 'real' artists who painted in Late Archaic/Early Classical Athens. Beazley's prestige and his example had the greatest effect on young scholars who were establishing themselves both during and after the Second World War. Its presence can be sensed in both the structure and the manner of articles on Protocorinthian and Laconian pottery by Robertson, Dunbabin and Shefton.[35] Beazley's new paradigm took hold without significant intellectual opposition, and without being properly acknowledged for what it was. As a result, something akin to old-fashioned hellenism, perhaps for the first time, became the School's intellectual 'common sense'.

The emphasis on the study of pottery that took hold during the 1950s and 1960s could however have some unpredictable consequences. John Boardman's 1952 article on pottery from Eretria was the first in a series of steps that led, first to the excavation of Lefkandi, and finally to the starring role that the Euboeans have in most contemporary histories of Early Greece.[36] But there were some problems of identification that could not be solved by expert study and observation, and so ceramic specialists began to turn to archaeological science. Scientific provenance studies on Bronze Age pottery and prehistoric obsidian appeared in the early 1960s.[37] A landmark article is John Boardman and F. Schweizer's 1973 article, on the provenance of pottery from Tocra in N. Africa, which for the first time identified Cretan pottery of sixth-century date.[38] This fruitful collaboration between ceramic specialists and archaeological scientists led, in 1974, to the founding of the Fitch Laboratory, the first of its kind in Greece. Every Fitch director since then has been a ceramic petrologist, and the Laboratory is recognised as a leader in this field. But if it began in the spirit of scientific positivism, where problems of provenance could be solved by more and more sophisticated chemical analyses, and where hypotheses could be tested in a relatively straightforward manner, this is not quite how it sees itself today. The Laboratory's current 'mission statement' emphasises the anthropological or ethnoarchaeological dimension of its work, and so refers back to the work undertaken by Casson, Pendlebury and others in the 1930s.[39] The work of the current Fitch Director, Dr Vangelio Kiriatzi, on the island of Kythera combines contemporary observation of 'traditional' potters, a search for clay beds, traditional typology and petrographic characterisation all in the service of dating finds by fabric as well as type.

The purpose of dating finds (pots) by fabric is, in this instance, to help with the interpretation of survey data, in dating finds that would otherwise be undatable. Survey is the other principal area

[35] Dunbabin and Robertson 1953; Shefton 1954. It is true that earlier scholars, such as Payne, were also influenced by Beazley. But *Necrocorinthia* (Payne 1931) remains distinct in both its method and its interests from Beazley's work, whereas Dunbabin, Robertson and Shefton are more obviously (one hesitates to say 'more slavishly) seeking to apply Beazley's method to other classes of material (Corinthian and Laconian 'Vase Painting' respectively).

[36] Boardman 1952; 1957.

[37] Catling et al. 1963; Renfrew et al. 1965.

[38] Boardman and Schweizer 1973. Other important early studies include those of hadra hydriae, Callaghan and Jones 1985, and Megaw and Jones 1983 on Byzantine pottery.

[39] For a compendium of the Fitch's work until 1985, see Jones et al. 1986. Vangelio Kiriatzi's work is still being published.

where the School has led the field during the 1970s and 1980s, and which has too taken a distinct 'anthropological' turn in recent years. Survey in a sense began with the travellers and topographers of the nineteenth century. Pendlebury's explorations of Crete were in some ways a continuation of this tradition, but he was the first to date sites largely by their surface remains, and the first to produce a period-by-period distribution map of Cretan sites based in large part on datable potsherds. Extensive surveys such as these, often with an emphasis on 'Homeric' topography, continued to be conducted by School members into the 1960s.[40] In the 1970s a new generation of archaeologists brought new rigour to field survey. The first 'intensive' survey in Greece, and the first explicitly to consider the problem of sampling was that conducted by John Cherry and Colin Renfrew on the island of Melos.[41] The School began an ambitious programme of large-scale field survey in the 1980s. The Laconia survey and the Boeotia survey (directed by Anthony Snodgrass and John Bintliff) both sought to understand long-term changes in demography and settlement pattern through time.[42] These large surveys however had again to turn to ethnography and modern analogy to explain some of the unexpected phenomena they uncovered. I will not bore you with a debate on the question of 'background noise'. Suffice to say that much of rural Greece (when not extensively bulldozed) is literally carpeted with potsherds, sherds which often do not seem to come from any settlement site, and whose presence can only be explained by making observations of contemporary farming practices in Greece and elsewhere, and using analogies derived from these observations to interpret survey data.

Several reasons could be given for this 'return to anthropology'. One is that it was in the 1960s that Neolithic specialists began to take a closer interest in Greece, as a bridge between the Near East and Europe. These specialists were more likely to frame their research questions in ways directly influenced by trends in prehistory at large, and so through the terms of debates that had developed in American 'cultural anthropology'. An example here is Colin Renfrew, in whose person the spirit of comparative anthropology burst in on the School in the 1960s and 1970s. Renfrew's fundamental article on European prehistory – Wessex without Mycenae –was, after all, published in the School's *Annual*.[43] It was this article that in many ways prefigured the fundamental argument of one book Renfrew was soon to write *Before Civilisation*. This book was, in a sense, the brother of another more directly related to Greece – *The Emergence of Civilisation*, a work which has set the agenda for research into the Aegean Bronze Age for the past thirty years or so.[44] I have singled out Renfrew, but from the 1970s onwards there were others with primarily Neolithic interests (such as Paul Halstead and Glynis Jones) who had a significant impact both on how we frame our questions and how we study our material. Such interests led to a revival of the kind of 'ethnoarchaeological' studies of modern (or traditional) Greek farming practices, not seen since the 1930s.[45] Plant seeds and animal bones are now matters which archaeologists can no longer ignore, that is if they wish to have any degree of scientific credibility.

[40] For example, Sackett et al. 1966.
[41] Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982.
[42] See discussion in Snodgrass 1987, 93-131. The Laconia survey has now been fully published (Cavanagh et al. 1996; 2002).
[43] Renfrew 1968.
[44] Renfrew 1972; 1973.

Such considerations might explain the 'anthropological turn' amongst British prehistorians working in Greece, but would not perhaps account for the 'sociological tinge' that Helen Waterhouse detected amongst a wide range of research projects in the early 1980s.[46] It is not, I think, a coincidence that this subtle change of direction took place during Hector Catling's directorship. Hector was (and is) no anthropologist. He is a Classical scholar and archaeologist whose guiding ideas took shape during the 1950s. But he was also a serious intellectual with wide interests, who made it his practice rigorously to examine the research projects of every student coming through the School (on occasions we all remember as 'hectorials'). He thereby raised the quality of the debate within the School, and subtly encouraged scholars working within different and apparently unrelated fields to talk to each other. The quality of debate was, I think, particularly high during Roger Just's term as assistant director. Roger was (and is) an anthropologist, and the different guiding assumptions between his and Hector's work set up a certain creative tension in the early 1980s.

Now it should be obvious where my sympathies lie in this account of the School's history and character, and I would be the first to admit that I have preconceptions, and that I may, in consequence, have neglected some of the more 'Classical' sides of the School's work. Certainly the study of epigraphy (one thinks of Lillian Jeffery and David Lewis), of Classical sculpture and of Classical art (John Boardman) have formed part of the School's longstanding interests, and will continue to do so.[47] Nor am I trying to argue that the (relatively) recent 'anthropological' turn in the School's direction is a straightforward example of linear progress – I have no wish to write a 'whiggish' history that simply provides a useful genealogy for current practice. Instead of linear progress there has been oscillation, oscillation between the two poles of the British archaeological imagination represented by the two museums in Oxford described at the beginning. The undoubted improvement in our knowledge of all periods of Greek history, prehistory and culture to which the School has made a significant contribution is thus more a result of a kind of creative tension between the two than a simple tale of the triumph of one paradigm over another. The two poles represent intellectual virtues that cannot exist on their own. A comparative approach without a detailed knowledge and description of what is being compared yields only platitudes. Empirical research without reflection on the purpose of that research increasingly yields results whose significance eventually become impossible to comprehend.

So I have no real sympathy with accounts of the history of archaeology that promote a simple model of development. The idea that archaeology has proceeded – or 'advanced' – from the traditional through the processual to the post-processual is both crass and wrong.[48] In this account,

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[45] See for example, Jones 1987; Halstead 1987a; 1987b.

[46] Waterhouse 1986, 50: " ... an anthropological or sociological tinge appeared more often among the topics of research" during the 1980s. An example might be Tom Gallant's (1982) article, which is the first to make extensive references to anthropological works (and Karl Marx) since the 1920s.

[47] E.g. Jeffery 1961. John Boardman's publications are just too extensive to list here, though Boardman 2001 provides a good summary of his lifetime's work on Greek painted pottery.

[48] Whiggish histories of archaeology and archaeological thought, which perpetuate the myth of the 'traditional – processual – post-processual' sequence unfortunately abound, especially as primers in archaeological theory. While Trigger (1989) is relatively circumspect, both medievalists such as Johnson (1999), classicists such as Shanks (1996) and even Palaeolithic specialists such as Gamble (2001) wholeheartedly endorse this crude typology, though Gamble adds a further stage, 'Darwinian'.

John Boardman, Arthur Evans and Alan Wace would all be classed as 'traditionalists', a label that takes no real cognisance of the differences in their intellectual range and interests. We must remember that disciplinary boundaries are to a large extent arbitrary. The interests and activities of earlier generations of British scholars in Greece bear witness to the fact that, in Hellenic studies, everything is connected to everything else. If I may be allowed to allude to another distinguished Oxford scholar, archaeological interpretation depends as much on the restless curiosity of the fox as on the scholarly diligence of the hedgehog.

James Whitley
British School at Athens
Soueidias 52
GR 106 76 Athens
Greece
director@bsa.ac.uk

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THE GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AT ATHENS
Its birth and growth seen against the European and national backdrop

Martin Kreeb

In his review of Susan Marchand's book "Down from Olympus"[1] Lambert Schneider criticized the German Archaeological Institute in a very harsh way.[2] Reviewing the same book, William M. Calder III was much politer.[3] According to Schneider, the German Archaeological Institute is an old-fashioned, conservative institution. Of course, he is right in stating that there is a need to deal with the history of institutions and with the history of the German Archaeological Institute. There are, however, some publications concerning the subject, as we shall see immediately.

It might be of help, as an introduction, to articulate certain thoughts of general character, which may sound prosaic, but are, nonetheless, a kind of basic requirement for the following arguments:

1 Any institutional activity depends on persons and personalities. Christopher Stray, in his contribution to the meeting at the Netherlands Institute, expressed the thought that one should pay more attention to the institutions and less to persons. I agree, but there is a need to interpret the intentions of the persons, too. It has to be mentioned, in brief, at this point, how the German Archaeological Institute is organized in order to gain an understanding of how it works and how much it depends on persons[4]: on top, there is a president and the Central Direction. Each single branch (that is Berlin, Rome, Athens, Istanbul, Cairo, Madrid, Teheran, Baghdad, Damascus, Bonn, Munich and some others, altogether 15 branches) has a director and, usually, a deputy-director. The members of the *Zentraldirektion* are the president and the

[1] Marchand 1996.
[2] Schneider 1997.
[3] Calder III 1998. See also the reviews by Barbanera 1996; Jelavich 1998 (*non vidi*).
[4] See Rieche 1979, 223–227 no. 77.

directors of the different institutes, professors of German universities, one for each Federal State, plus a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (as the foreign minister is the superior of the German Archaeological Institute), representatives of one museum of antiquities, and the *Akademischer Mittelbau*. All of them meet once a year in order to hear the single branches' activities reports, elect new members of the Institute and discuss planned publications and finances. The directors have full responsibility for their institutes, and it is their task to provide research directions. That indicates that the directors have a good deal of power. They also meet once before the general meeting, early in the year, in the so-called *Direktorensitzung*, in order to report to the president. In Italy, there was a discussion about control of the *Centro Nazionale di Ricerca*, the CNR, some years ago.[5] The point was that there is little or no control on how excavations and other research work is financed. In the German Archaeological Institute, finances are controlled through Government administration. The Institute and its directors are free, however, to decide on the targets of research.

2 Any person or personality depends on the actual historical moment. This is true, above all, for the establishment of the Athens branch of the German Archaeological Institute, as will be shown in this brief paper.

3 Any person or personality depends on the historical and political situation of the time and, by extension, on the finances connected with this situation. For instance, if there is political instability or unemployment is increasing dramatically, there will be no funds for archaeological research. If the economy is strong, there chances of obtaining some extra money may be good. I shall explain this in connection with the excavations at Olympia.

To the degree that we accept these arguments as facts, there is much less breathing space for initiative on the part of any director or representative of the institution. Also, as Schneider underlines[6], the institution "German Archaeological Institute" was from its very beginning financed by the state – which gives it a certain security, but at the same time loss of independence.

What follows is an attempt to explain, briefly, the history of the Athens branch of the German Archaeological Institute based on the early history of the Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica at Rome, as well as books and articles dealing with the Athens branch written by Ulf Jantzen and Lothar Wickert and the contribution of Helmut Kyrieleis in a book edited by Kurt Bittel.[7] First three special topics, the creation of the Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica at Rome, the circumstances that led to the founding of the Athens branch, and the relationship of both with the excavations at Olympia, shall be highlighted. A reflection on the history of the Athens branch follows.

1 The *Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*

On April 21, 1829, the first Archaeological Institute of the world was founded at Rome, under the name of the "Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica" and under the auspices of "Sua Altezza

[5] La politica culturale 1973.
[6] Schneider 1997, 191. 193.
[7] Jantzen 1986 (see also the review by Schindler 1988 [*non vidi*]); Wickert 1979; Kyrieleis 1979.

Reale, il Principe ereditario di Prussia", that is the future king Friedrich Wilhelm IV. (1840–1861). The president was the Duc de Blacas, at that time French ambassador at Rome[8], and directors were Carl Bunsen, German; Carlo Fea, Italian; Eduard Gerhard and August Kestner, Germans; James Millingen, British; Antonio Nibby, Italian; Theodor Panofka, of German origin, but elected as secretary of the French section[9]; Albert (Bertel) Thorwaldsen, Dane; and Friedrich Welcker, German.[10] The purpose of the Instituto was "to collect the new discoveries which result either from excavations or from surveys of classical monuments, and are related to the arts, ancient topography and epigraphy". These should be printed in annual reports and illustrated by drawings.[11]

The newly established institute had no official economic background, but was financed by the selling of the "Annali" and the "Bullettino" in the first years, which, however, due to the reduction of subscribers, did not result in an income that would allow the institute to survive on its own means. For that reason, the Royal House of Prussia, present even at the foundation ceremony, supported the institution for some decades, paying the rent for the institute's seat and, later, a certain annual sum. The creation of the "Instituto", however, had been not only protected by the *Kronprinz* of Prussia, but also sponsored by the Duc de Luynes; the first president of the "Instituto" was a Frenchman, the Duc de Blacas.[12] Due to financial difficulties of the Duc de Luynes and also to the idea of the foundation of the École Française de Rome[13], Eduard Gerhard proposed in a motion, in 1857[14], to transform the international institution into a "Preussische Staatsanstalt" which – as a result of historical events in Germany[15] – became a "Reichsanstalt" within short time. In 1859, Prussia took over in general the funding of the institute. The modification proposed in 1857 occurred, finally, in 1870, and from the beginning of 1871, the German Archaeological Institute belongs to the just established German *Kaiserreich*. National concerns were mentioned for the first time in the 1857 motion: The Institute should "educate professors and explainers of the history of art for Germany's universities and museums".[16] In the second half of the 19th century, it was obvious that the *nation* played a decisive role.

It is essential to briefly focus on the house of Hohenzollern in order to understand their affection for archaeology and the Archaeological Institute.[17] In addition, it has to be underlined that Prussia

[8] "Presso la corte delle due Sicilie". See also Rieche 1979, 52–54 no. 15.

[9] See Lullies & Schiering 1988, 25–26..

[10] See the declaration of foundation as printed in Bollettino dell'Instituto 1829–1843, reprinted in Rieche 1979, 52–54 no. 15.

[11] "Questo instituto assume l'obbligo di raccogliere … le nuove scoperte provenienti dagli scavi operati o dallo studio dei monumenti dell'antichità classica, e relative alle arti, alla topografia ed epigrafia antica: archeologia impresa, la quale più ch'altra mai abbisogna di scambievoli rapporti ed ajuti, ed a cui si darà opera mediante la stampa periodica di una serie di annali e la incisione di disegni di monumenti inediti", Rieche 1979, 52.

[12] See above note 8.

[13] Deichmann 1986, 14–15.

[14] Rieche 1979, 102–108 no. 26.

[15] See, for instance, the articles by vom Bruch 2002, and Klinkhammer 2002. See also Deichmann 1986, 10–11.

[16] Rieche 1979, 108: "zur Heranbildung gründlicher Lehrer und Erklärer der Kunstgeschichte für Deutschlands Universitäten und Museen".

[17] It may be mentioned, at this place, that even at the end of the 17th century, the Brandenburg line of the Hohenzollern had their first contact with archaeology – naturally in the tradition of renaissance and baroque. Lorenz Beger then tried to acquire (and obtained, finally) the collection of Giovan Pietro Bellori for the future king Friedrich I. in Prussia (1701–1713), and he published his three volumes of the "Thesaurus Brandenburgicus" (1696–1701), the third of which contains the catalogue of Bellori's collection. Cf. for Giovan Pietro Bellori: Borea & Gasparri 2000, for Lorenz Beger: Wrede 2000, esp. 24–36.

played an important role in the unification of Germany through the third quarter of the 19th century. It was Friedrich Wilhelm III who, immediately after his coronation (1797), declared that the private collections of the House of Hohenzollern belonged to the state Encouraged by Wilhelm von Humboldt, Friedrich also created a museum in Berlin. Friedrich Wilhelm supported, as mentioned above, the foundation in 1829 of the Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica. He had been tutored, as a young man, by the historian Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831), and had dreamt of "being a Sire in Greece, in order to walk within the ruins, to dream and to excavate".[18] When the family tried to find a tutor for his nephew, the future emperor Friedrich I, they choose Ernst Curtius (1814–1896), a classical philologist, historian and archaeologist, who had spent nearly ten years in Greece. For many years, Curtius fought for the idea of an archaeological institute in Greece.

After the Roman Institute's financing by the Prussian state in 1859, the famous "Reisestipendium" was inaugurated in 1860[19], given for the first time to Alexander Conze and Adolf Michaelis, who travelled to Greece. They had close contact with the Prussian Embassy at Athens where at that time one of the attachés had to be educated in the Classics. In 1860, this attaché was A. von Velsen, who brought together a complete archaeological library. Velsen's books were purchased in 1861 by the embassy and served as a starting point for the Institute's library in the year 1874.

2 The birth and beginning of the German Archaeological Institute's Athens branch

In his article on the role of Ernst Curtius in the establishment of a German Archaeological Institute at Athens, Klaus Fittschen[20] pointed out some years ago that there were three major reasons supporting the need for such an institution: first the *antagonism with the French*, who had had an institute at Athens since 1846; second the fact that there was *no topographical research* and, in connection with that, topographical maps of Greek regions, definitely necessary for further exploration; and third, the desire that an institution of this kind would *urge architects to make contact* with Greek monuments. Obligations of the Athens branch were to maintain a publication service, hold public lectures and guided tours, and provide a scientific library and an archive of drawings (and, later, photographs) as well, with free access for scholars of any nation.

Fittschen does not place any emphasis on the argument of the architects making contact with Greek monuments. Curtius may have thought of Jacques-Guillaume Legrand who at the end of the 18th century dreamt of a French institute of art and archaeology "pour la reconstitution des monuments antiques", as Marie-Christine Hellmann tells us.[21] On the other hand, he may have remembered all the "pensionnaires-architectes" of the Villa Medici, the so-called "les Prix de Rome" who, after 1845, travelled to Greece (and not just to Paestum and other sites in Italy).[22] Possibly, we are facing, again, a certain antagonism with French science in connection with Curtius's wishes to give architects an opportunity to get into contact with Greek monuments.[23]

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[18] See Stark 1880, 279.
[19] See Rieche (note 4) p. 116–119 no. 31.
[20] Fittschen 1996. Citation: *ibid.* 6–7.
[21] Hellmann 1996. Citation: *ibid.* 191 with note 3.
[22] See Hellmann & Fraisse 1982.
[23] For early accounts of occidental travellers in Greece in the 18th century that have improved our knowledge of Greek architecture, see, for instance, Mordaunt Crook 1972, esp. 1–62.

It is not easy to estimate the reasons of the antagonism especially with France. But certainly, it is not sheer nationalism. I would like to emphasise Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann's sensible analysis[24]: he underlines the fact that from its very beginning the "Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica" was an *international* institution, with French and German members being nearly equal in number – something that has been mentioned before.

On the other hand, one must admit that it was a "national task" for every state to be a leader in scientific research. And Altertumswissenschaft *was* certainly a German science. I do not agree with the interpretation of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens exclusively as a national establishment (Schneider) but of course, I see that side of the coin, too. We shall consider, later, if the discovery of national identity is involved in the Institute's founding.[25]

3 The excavations at Olympia

A strong connection may be established between the history of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens and the German excavations at Olympia. In the first five years, that is the "grande fouille" of Olympia between 1876 and 1881, however, it was *not* the German Archaeological Institute at Athens that directed the excavation, but a committee at Berlin, the "Direction für die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia".[26] Johann Joachim Winckelmann had pronounced the idea of an excavation at Olympia in 1767 in his "Anmerkungen über die Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums" proposing excavations at "Pisa".[27] The site, discovered by Richard Chandler in 1776[28] attracted the members of the "Expédition scientifique de Morée" who carried out some excavations in 1829.[29] The fragments of the Temple of Zeus in the Louvre[30] derive from these excavations – sent to Paris a short time before the Greek law on antiquities, introduced in 1834, prohibited their export. In Germany, the case for Olympia was sponsored mainly by Ernst Curtius, the same person who played a decisive role in the establishment of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens.[31] Curtius delivered a famous speech in 1852. He expressed also some thoughts that were to accompany a motion in 1853. Curtius wrote:

"Wenn irgendwo, so kann man hier mit hinlänglicher Zuversicht behaupten, daß jede mit Sachkenntnis und Beharrlichkeit unternommene Nachgrabung nicht ohne ansehnliche, für Wissenschaft und Kunst sehr belangvolle Ergebnisse sein werde. Im Verlauf weniger Monate muß man über die Lage aller Hauptgebäude und Denkmale in der Altis im klaren sein, und da die Bau-

[24] Deichmann 1986, 14 and following, esp. 16–18.

[25] Deichmann 1986, 14–18 demonstrates that no nationalistic motives led to the transformation of the Roman Institute to a "*Preussische Staatsanstalt*". On the other hand, statements like the following by a German parlamentarian in the *Reichstag* were quite normal: „the English and the French try to buy treasures of art while German scholars do the real scientific work", cited after vom Bruch 2002, 9, from the acta of the *Reichstag*, 1st legislatory period, May 17th, 1872, pages 443–444.

[26] For the history of the excavations see Weil 1897; Wiegand 1926; Marchand 1996, 77–91.

[27] See Herrmann 1972, 201 with notes 821–822.

[28] Chandler 1776, 294–295 („the walls of the cell of a very large temple … a deep hollow …, where, it is imagined, was the Stadium … scattered remnants of brick-buildings").

[29] Blouet 1831–1838.

[30] See, for instance, Hamiaux 1992, 111–131.

[31] See Fittschen 1996.

lichkeiten in ihren Grundbauten alle noch vorhanden sein müssen, wird durch deren Aufdeckung zum ersten Mal die großartige Einrichtung eines hellenischen Nationalheiligtums vor die Augen geführt. … Wieviele von den Statuen noch aufgefunden werden können, läßt sich freilich nicht bestimmen, die wichtigsten Quellen altgriechischer Geschichte aber, die beschriebenen Steine, darunter namentlich die wichtigen Urkunden griechischer Staatsverträge, die man hier zu allgemeiner Kenntnisnahme aufgestellt, sind von Römern und Barbaren sicherlich weder verschleppt noch zerstört worden".[32] (That is, in brief: The excavations have to be carried out in order to uncover the entire sanctuary with its buildings. It is not important whether there are statues to be found – which might have vanished even in antiquity –but with certainty there were to be expected inscriptions with contracts between ancient states.) That sounds quite idealistic. The *Kronprinz* himself wrote that *Greeks and Germans may excavate together ancient Greek treasures of art but the German State alone will gain all the honour of that progress.*[33]

However, the appropriate time for fundraising came with the victory over France. At the *Bundesrat* and the *Reichstag* on December 5, 1874, Olympia was given 50,000 Taler for excavations and 7,000 more Taler for preparation. Ernst Curtius declared the excavation work as first great accomplishment of peace by the *Deutsches Reich* after the war against France![34]

One understands that the aims of the excavation, among others, were to uncover an ancient Greek sanctuary and to collect all material testimonies one could get. Of course, there was a good deal of hope that important sculpture would be found – which would have been agreeable for the continuation of financing –, but that was no longer the main objective for the research. The excavation of the stadium was not planned, however, because – as Curtius argued – there would be no statues in it. Actually, funds were discontinued after five years for exactly the reason that the excavations did not have enough success for the *Reich* – no important statues, with the exception of the Praxitelian Hermes, were found.[35] The publication of the excavation work did succeed that first period of five years within only 16 years, and the reports cover five big volumes.[36]

The next major phases of research at Olympia, then under the auspices of the Institute at Athens, were:

From 1906, Dörpfeld investigated the prehistoric strata.

From 1936 to 1942, excavations were to take place at the competition buildings, *id est* the stadium, the gymnasium and the hippodrome. Only the first monument was excavated, with support by the authorities of the *Third Reich*. Hitler himself was involved in questions of financing.

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[32] See Weil 1897, 113–114.

[33] Weil 1897, 109.

[34] Curtius 1889, esp. 7: „Seinem königlichen Herzen that es wohl, daß nach blutigem Völkerkriege die Aufdeckung von Olympia das erste Friedenswerk des jungen Reiches war." Cf. Curtius in a motion, in order to get funds by the German *Reich*'s parliament, cited in: Weil 1897, 114 „Gewiss kann das neugegründete Reich deutscher Nation keine würdigere Friedensaufgabe in Angriff nehmen als eine wissenschaftliche Expedition nach Griechenland, und da findet sich keine lohnendere Aufgabe, als eine methodische Aufdeckung der Altis von Olympia". See also vom Bruch 2002, 10 and note 6.

[35] See vom Bruch 2002, 14 with n. 35, reference to the parlamentarian August Reichensperger, and *ibid.* 15 with n. 42, reference to *Reichskanzler* Otto von Bismarck, who was an enemy of the financing of the excavations, without acquiring material returns like statues and so on, from the very beginning.

[36] Curtius & Adler 1890–1897.

From 1952, Emil Kunze continued the excavations at the stadium, but also within the wells where he found lots of anathemata, mainly bronze, and he brought other research to an end, as the study of the workshop of Pheidias and of the Leonidaion.
After Kunze's retirement, the architect Alfred Mallwitz became the new director of the excavations, and study of architectural monuments moved ahead. Then, Helmut Kyrieleis succeeded Mallwitz, and he investigated again the prehistoric strata in order to control and correct Dörpfeld's theories and to get material for an interpretation of the beginning of the Olympic Games.[37]

Two years ago, with the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the beginning of the excavations, a conference was held at Berlin to bring together what had been done at Olympia in the last decades.[38] At this conference, Thanasis Kalpaxis referred on the history of the bilateral contract between Greece and Germany.[39] We are used to see the *Olympiavertrag* as a fair-minded, not-discriminatory text that, actually, was to become a model for other excavation contracts. What we do not realize normally is that Greece was asked to show a certain amount of gratitude for Germany's sponsorship of the excavations, so that "duplicates" could be given to the Berlin museums. Whereas in the Olympiavertrag the expression is „il dépendra de sa [i.e. Greece's] propre volonté"[40], later the *Reich* sent a list to the Greeks asking very clearly for specific objects.[41]

It is very difficult, of course, to decide what a "duplicate" is, when speaking of ancient statues, architecture and so on. Finally, Berlin got four statues, two of them from the nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus, lots of small bronzes[42], but also architectural fragments (lion's heads from the temple of Zeus and the Philippeion, capitals of the treasure of Gela and other pieces). Kalpaxis emphasises another fact not mentioned by anyone who deals with the contract: the text names some sort of collaboration between Greek and German archaeologists such at the excavation as at the publication – which, however, did not take place. By the way, to date nobody (included myself) dealing with the history of the excavations has ever studied Greek archives. Kalpaxis made his position clear, and we have to consider it.

In any case, the wording used in the small catalogue accompanying the Berlin symposium, and published by Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer and his collaborators, is not right: "Dieser Ausgrabungsvertrag war für seine Zeit ungewöhnlich – betonte er doch das vorwiegend wissenschaftliche Interesse der deutschen Ausgräber und sprach das Eigentumsrecht an allen zu erwartenden Funden Griechenland zu"[43]: it has to be underlined that there could not have been any excavation if

[37] Kyrieleis 2002a. See also Rambach 2002.
[38] Kyrieleis 2002.
[39] Kalpaxis 2002.
[40] See the Olympiavertrag, published by Weil 1897, 110–113, esp. 111 „Article VI. La Grèce aura la propriété de tous les produits de l'art antique et de tout autre objet dont les fouilles amèneront la découverte. Il dépendra de sa propre volonté de céder à l'Allemagne en souvenir des travaux poursuivis en commun et en considération des sacrifices que l'Allemagne s'imposera pour cette entreprise, les doubles ou les répétitions des objets d'art trouvés en faisant ces fouilles."
[41] 2200 objects, of which 876 have been given to the Berlin museum, see Kalpaxis 2002, 28.
[42] One may examine the museum indices in the books by Heilmeyer 1979; Neugebauer 1931, ca. 130 examples; Maass 1987, ca. 50 fragments of tripods.
[43] Heilmeyer 2000, 8. The subtitle of the booklet, „125 Jahre Ausgrabungen der Berliner Museen in Olympia", is also wrong: the *Berliner Museen* did *not* excavate at Olympia, something they had planned to do – finally it was the *Deutsches Reich* and, after 1881, the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* to carry out the excavations.

Germany would have insisted on taking the finds outside Greece. The Greek law on antiquities of 1834 forbids this explicitly!

However, what do the excavations at Olympia have to do with the birth of the Athens branch of the German Archaeological Institute? At first glance, nothing. For the five years of the „grande fouille", the responsibility lay in the hands of the *Directorium* at Berlin. The foundation of the Institute and the excavation, however, took place nearly at the same moment. The research at Olympia could not have been supervised by a German institution in Greece that had begun his work only few months before the excavation began. But the enormous publicity that accompanied the Olympia campaign[44] doubtlessly had its positive impact on the Athenian institution.[45] Immediately after the end of the first five years of research at Olympia, the Athens branch took over responsibility, and even in 1906, Wilhelm Dörpfeld continued archaeological excavations at the site. – Another connection between the Institute and the excavation in their early days may be seen, as Klaus Herrmann pointed out to me, in the person of Rudolf Weil. Having won the scholarship of the Institute, the *Reisestipendium*, he also participated in the first campaign of the excavations at Olympia[46] and delivered, except of his "Geschichte der Ausgrabung"[47], two articles on the progress of the excavations at the Athens Institute's publishing organ, the *Athenische Mitteilungen*.[48] Curtius, however, gave preference to well known scientifical journals in order to have articles on Olympia published, not to "newcomers" like *Athenische Mitteilungen*, from which had been issued just two volumes at the time when Weil's first article was published.[49] Weil seems not to have had any more contact with Athens after the termination of his work at Olympia and his journey.[50]

4 The history of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens

In preparing my contribution, I was not sure whether one could identify the different periods of the Athens Institute with the directors in charge. Vincenzo La Rosa helped me in taking my decision that, yes, one can.[51] The Institute's history and activities depend mainly on the personalities and visions of the directors of the day. Let us see how they influenced the research:

- The first director, *Otto Lüders* (director 1874–1875, archaeologist), was of no great help to the newly founded institution, and there is no need to discuss his work. The second one, *Ulrich Köhler* (director 1875–1886, archaeologist), laid the foundations for the work to be done in the following decades. He was personally interested in Altertumswissenschaft as a whole, and wrote lots of articles in the Institute's publication instrument, *Athenische Mitteilungen*

[44] See Sösemann 2002.

[45] So, for instance, Sösemann 2002, 73: „Parallel dazu verfolgte er [Ernst Curtius] das Ziel, das 'Kaiserlich Deutsche Archäologische Institut' im Bild Olympias öffentlich möglichst wirkungsvoll positiv darzustellen".

[46] See Lullies & Schiering 1988, 83.

[47] Weil 1897.

[48] Weil 1877. 1878.

[49] See, for Curtius' inclination, Sösemann 2002, 58.

[50] It has to be mentioned, however, that he participated in the first volume of the final publication on Olympia, Weil 1897.

[51] See acknowledgements at the end of my text.

(launched in 1876, that is the year following Köhler's election as director; *Athenische Mitteilungen* have reached 117 volumes in the year 2002, having gaps only in the years of World War II and shortly after, 1943–1952). Köhler's interests, according to the titles of his articles, extended from sculpture, ceramics, epigraphy, and ancient history to numismatics. He also examined prehistoric sites, for instance tombs at Spata in Attica and at Mycenae. Köhler (and his successors) managed to get articles for the periodical not only by Greek colleagues (who, as may be underlined, used to publish not only in German but in Greek, too); there were also Austrians, French, Americans, Italians, and Russians. As for the beloved child of archaeologists, the excavations, there was not so much work in Köhler's days, only minor excavations executed by members of the Institute (as mentioned above, the excavation of Olympia which began in 1876 was directed from a committee at Berlin and was, at that time, no "Institutsgrabung"). Köhlers successor was *Eugen Petersen* (director 1886–1887, archaeologist) who stayed at Athens for less than a year before he moved to Rome.

- *Wilhelm Dörpfeld* (director 1887–1912) was one of the central personalities in the history of the Institute. As an architect, he had worked together with Schliemann, before he was elected deputy-director in 1886 and, a year later, director. He was very interested in the new method of photography and it is due to him that the Athenian Institute owns one of the world's finest collections of old photographs, partly of topographical interest and partly showing excavations' progress or objects in museums and private collections in both Greece and Asia Minor. It was Dörpfeld who sent a young man to Berlin to have him educated as photographer.[52] With Dörpfeld, *Baugeschichte* acquired new importance, and his work on the Acropolis as his theories are well known and of great consequences for future research. His appropriate observations, but also his errors, have been interpreted in an exhaustive article by Manolis Korres.[53] He himself conducted a series of excavations, and participated in others. Let me mention only the Enneakrounos and the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens, the Sanctuary of the Kabiroi at Thebes, and, in Asia Minor Troy, Tralleis and the theatre at Magnesia/Mäander. His work includes "Das griechische Theater", "Der Hypäthraltempel", "Der ältere Parthenon", "Eumenes-Stoa" and "Nikias-Monument" (twice) and also studies on metrology.[54]
- *Georg Karo* was director twice, from 1912–1920 and again from 1930–1936. Of Jewish origin, he had to leave his post in 1936, fortunately only six months before his reaching the age of 65 (in fact was given a sabbatical for the last six months and his official retirement took place exactly at his 65th birthday). He was one of the last Jews holding such a high position in Germany in 1936 and it was the president of the German Archaeological Institute, and also the Zentraldirektion, who did not want him to be dismissed and who supported him by all means. Karo was unfortunate, both scientifically and politically: Being director in the period of World War I and at the onset of an economic crisis, he was not able to carry out much research due to financial restrictions; and despite being a passionate German nationalist, he was, nevertheless, persecuted by the Nazi regime. In his second period as director, perhaps due to the general political situation of Germany, he also failed to complete a great archaeological study.[55] His successors in 1920/21, *Franz Studniczka* and *Ferdinand Noack*, both archaeologists, did not stay long enough at Athens.

[52] Hübner 1988, esp. 20.

[53] Korres 1993.

[54] See, for instance, Goessler 1951; Goessler 1956.

[55] For Karo, see his own autobiography: Karo 1959. See also the obituaries by Matz 1964, and by Marinatos 1966.

- The next "historical period" of the Institute is the one under *Ernst Buschor* (director 1921–1929). Buschor had to rebuild trust in German scholarship after World War I. He was interested primarily in Greek sculpture. He was a follower of Stefan George and tried to write in a very subtle, though not very easily understood style. He also translated Greek drama into German. With Buschor, "Stilforschung" became part of the Institute's research, but excavation work was continued, too, this time at Samos.[56]
- After the second term of Karo's directorship, the *Zentraldirektion* elected *Armin von Gerkan*. He actually transferred his household to Athens and immediately began with excavations at Olympia, when *Walther Wrede*, member of the Nazi party, asked his political friends for an intervention. This took place, – indeed, the only case of politicians' direct interference in the electoral decisions of the *Zentraldirektion* – and von Gerkan had to leave Greece. Wrede was director from 1937–1944, and in Susan Marchand's book you may see a picture of him in uniform, showing his friends, also in uniform, the monuments on the Acropolis. On the other hand, he tried to prevent the Army and other interested people, mainly members of the *Amt Rosenberg*, that is, German *Altertumswissenschaftler*, from executing excavations (and research) without permission of Greek authorities. There are some books and articles on this subject in recent times, mainly by Susan Marchand[57], Julia Hiller von Gärtringen[58], and the obituary of Ulf Jantzen by Klaus Fittschen.[58]
- *Emil Kunze* (director 1951–1967, archaeologist) continued the excavation at Olympia begun by himself and Ulf Jantzen in 1936. Except for the stadium, he excavated mainly deposits within wells, but studied also the Pheidias atelier (as mentioned in the section on Olympia). The Institute is indebted to him and his good contacts with our Greek colleagues for the reopening after World War II (which was much more difficult than after World War I, for obvious reasons). He translated the book on "Aristodikos" written by his friend Christos Karouzos that was published by the Institute – the first "Sonderschrift", as far as I know.[60]
- His successor, *Ulf Jantzen* (director 1967–1974, archaeologist), reopened the prehistoric excavation at Tiryns and studied and published material found at Samos. He was director during the Institute's centenary and he asked his associates to collect material for the Institute's history, which was published finally in 1986, twelve years after his retirement, in a small book, unfortunately without any notes. On the occasion of the centenary, he also organized a symposium on "Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern".[61]
- *Helmut Kyrieleis* (director 1974–1988, archaeologist) excavated at Samos and, later, at Olympia.[62] He tried to advance publications, mainly left behind by Ernst Homann-Wedeking and his crew (Samos), and by Emil Kunze and his crew (Olympia). He organized a congress on

[56] For Buschor, see Greifenhagen 1963; Möbius 1963; Raubitschek 1963; Homann-Wedeking 1966; Walter 1978a. – See also the bibliography in: Buschor 1956, 205–208. – Buschor's translations: Luzzatto 1961.

[57] Marchand 1996.

[58] Hiller von Gärtringen 1995. Cf. also the following article, by Ulf Jantzen: Jantzen 1995.

[59] Fittschen 2000. On Wrede, see also the obituary by Rathke 1991. – See in general Losemann 1977; for reviews of this book see now Näf, Forschungsbibliographie, in: Näf 2001a, 17. Cf. the whole article, Näf 2001a; Losemann 2001. – See also Junker 1997.

[60] For Kunze see Siedentopf & Zanker 1994; Fittschen 1995; Schiering 1995.

[61] Jantzen 1976. For Jantzen see the obituary published by Fittschen 2000.

[62] See note 37.

Archaic and Classical Greek sculpture where colleagues from Greece, Germany and other countries presented (and subsequently published) brand new material.[63]

- Kyrieleis' successor was *Klaus Fittschen* (director 1989–2001, archaeologist), whose aim was to reinstate topographical research at Athens, something that had been done for many years in the beginning of the Institute's history, but had given its place to excavation work and publications of "Kunstwerke" (Buschor, Kunze). Unfortunately, Fittschen did not succeed in this plan due to lack of finances. He managed, however, to reintroduce guided visits to sites and monuments, something first initiated under the directorships of Dörpfeld and Karo, the so-called "Attika-Kurs".[64] He also wanted to bring to an end an old project of the Institute, the research of Orchomenos in Boeotia, and he organized two meetings concerning the history of the institution, the first one on Karl Otfried Müller[65] and the second, an international congress in collaboration with the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, in memory of Habbo Gerhardus Lolling, who had been the first director of the Epigraphical Museum.[66] Both meetings had to do with early topographical research. He also organized a congress on the excavations in the Kerameikos, and the question of how publications of the work could proceed.[67]
- Since 2001, the Institute's director is *Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier* (archaeologist). He is continuing, with great success, the excavation work in the Kerameikos, assisted by Jutta Stroszeck as field-director.[68]

The Institute carried out excavations at Olympia, Kerameikos at Athens, Samos, Tiryns, the Kabirion at Thebes and Aigina. There have been many minor excavations and research, such as Orchomenos in Boeotia, Amyklai , and so on. The Institute provides scholars with a scientific library with over 80,000 volumes, the collection of photographs, and a publication service. Having opened with only one person in the 19th century, the "Sekretar", it has today, aside from the two directors, assistants for the excavation at Olympia and at the Kerameikos, for the library, the photographic department, the publications and the "assistant to the Institute", *Allgemeiner Referent*. We are publishing, as we have since the beginning, many articles written by our Greek colleagues and friends concerning new excavations, monuments and interpretations. What we have not succeeded in doing is the planned publication of catalogues of Greek museums: there are photographs of the objects on show in the museum of Chalkis in our archive, but unfortunately, the project never took off. That would be an important task for joint work with our Greek colleagues. Publication of excavation work is continuing; at the time being two volumes on Tiryns and two volumes on the Kerameikos are being edited. We are supporting German scholars who wish to investigate Greek sites and monuments, and organizing congresses, the last ones, in collaboration with the University of Athens, on Ludwig Ross, and, in collaboration with the American School, on Hellenistic portraits.

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[63] Kyrieleis 1986.

[64] Guided tours and visits of archaeological sites are foreseen also by instructions of the *Zentraldirektion* to the Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica's directors („Secretare") from 1859, see Rieche 1979, 112–113 no. 29 § 8, as also by the Athenian Institute's statutes (see above p. 115 with note 16).

[65] Gehrke 1991. See also Fittschen 1991.

[66] Publication of the acta foreseen within 2004.

[67] Publication of the contributions in *AM* 114, 1999.

[68] See, for the moment, Niemeier 2002.

What needs to be done, then, in connection with the study of the Institute's history?

The testimonial given by Deichmann in his volume "Vom internationalen Privatverein zur preussischen Staatsanstalt" (see above, note 4) are a serious omission from Jantzen's book. Certainly, there is some work to do. A second point has been underlined by Christopher Stray who said that we all should focus on stronger collaboration. Stefanie Kennell's contribution at the Netherlands Institute's meeting points in the same direction. Collaboration, however, is needed not only as far as the history of the institutions is concerned, but also for our work in general: There is not much collaboration in archaeological research between our schools, as far as I know. Nor is there enough collaboration with our Greek colleagues (depending partly, however, on difficulties with the Greek law). Third, and returning once again to the history of the institution: One could think of articles of the kind like the one written by Catherine Valenti.[69] Nothing in this direction has been done so far, if I am not mistaken, related to the German Archaeological Institute.[70]

That leads us, of course, to other, major problems. What are we doing, where is our research going, and why? Will we be able to continue to catch the interest of politicians and the public (and, as a result, to get funds) for our institutions? Will we discuss our theoretical background, and are we ready to change theories, if not actual any more?

The staff of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens did carry out considerable research from the time of its foundation. Publications of our excavation work were delivered whenever possible (I may mention Olympia, the Kerameikos, Samos and, lately, Tiryns. Klaus Fittschen is working on a volume concerning Orchomenos in Boeotia). The staff tried to do its work at their best – of course all work depends on human nature and may thus be not perfect.

What the Institute lacks, as seems to me, is great scale cooperation with other nations, and we are short of theoretical discussion. There is, therefore, need for a critical history of our institution, its development and its aims. In this point, I agree with Lambert Schneider.

Finally, what is there to say about the European perspective, which was the main subject of the meeting in the Netherlands Institute? Moreover, was the German Archaeological Institute meant to help in finding national identity? Well, the Institute used to be European – and became national after fifty years, although mainly for reasons of financing. In fact, the nineteenth century was not a century, especially in its second half, to raise European ideas against narrower, national feelings. Cooperation proposed here by me (and by others, much more competent than myself) might help in becoming more European again.

Martin Kreeb
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Fidiou 1
GR 106 768 Athens
Greece
kreeb@athen.dainst.org

[69] Valenti 1996.

[70] Let me mention, at least, the volume published by Junker 1997. But see also the critical remarks by Manderscheid 2000.

Acknowledgements

Warm thanks are due to the Netherlands Institute at Athens and its staff who organized the colloquium on "Greek archaeology and the formation of European and national identities" in October 2002. This article is a revised version of a paper delivered at the colloquium. In preparing my contribution, I used the extracts given to us by the NIA, especially the one written by Vincenzo La Rosa, and the text of Christopher Stray, who sent it to me by email, and whom I would like to thank very much for his kindness. For improvements of my English I am much obliged to Diane Shugart, Athens.

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ITALIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN GREECE

Vincenzo La Rosa

In this survey, which necessarily must be brief, I have stayed within several guidelines. I have decided, for example, not to consider the activity of the *Soprintendenza alle Antichità e ai Monumenti di Rodi* (The Italian Superintendency of the Dodecanese) which began in 1924 and continued throughout the period of the Italian occupation of these islands, since it was very similar to that of other Italian, sister-institutions and because the choices that it made, at least in the field of archaeological research, were of little consequence. In the second place, I have decided not to consider research in Greek archaeology and the history of art conducted by Italian scholars who were not in modern Greece physically, inasmuch as their work, so to speak, had not "been born" in Greece. The work of such scholars, furthermore, does not seem to have been motivated by specific ideological choices or to have followed a consistent line of research.

For greater breadth of discussion I have turned to official archives and to collections of letters that often provide greater evidence regarding the scientific options that were available and the choices that were made than one finds in publications. During the years of my Athenian sojourn, I have had access to the archive of the Italian School[1]; but one may also find more information in the central State archives at Rome, especially for the earliest phases of research, in the letters of the protagonists themselves. For the individual phases of research I propose eponymous figures, which beginning at a certain point necessarily coincide with those of the Directors of the Italian Archaeological School in Athens – those who inspired and coordinated the Italian national archaeological enterprises in Greece.

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[1] In the role of Assistant Director from November of 1993 to October of 1999, nominated by A. Di Vita. Additional permission has been supplied generously by the current director E. Greco. I take this opportunity to thank both. I thank also the Dutch Institute at Athens for the honour in asking me to present the Italian perspective in occasion of the *table ronde* "*Greek Archaeology and the formation of European and national identities*". Thanks are finally offered to B. E. McConnell who has been subjected to the effort required to render my text more acceptable in English.

In order not to modify the nature of my speech, I have preferred to avoid using the footnotes, listing the essential bibliography in the Appendix.

Such a theme as this deserves development in a full monograph, so I have avoided including all of the bibliography relevant to the excavations and to the discoveries. The gaps, when they are intentional, are meant to avoid dispersing the discussion into a thousand rivulets. Fundamental points of departure remain the reflections on this subject of L. Beschi and A. Di Vita.

The zero phase (XVI-XIX Centuries). From the various interests of the Venetian Scholars in Crete to the philhellenism of Italian patriots. Greeks and Western Greeks: searching for roots

The numerous and valuable contributions by L. Beschi have already shown just how active and varied the interests of Italian antiquarians in Greece really were from 1400 on and how, for obvious reasons, Crete was the chosen land for so many Venetian scholars (geographers, cartographers and officials of the Serenissima, but also physicians and botanists).

The stream of the Venetian scholars, which was useful for the description of ancient monuments or for following the movements of statues and inscriptions which were taken from Crete to the Serenissima, had a remarkable influence, albeit by chance, on the subsequent development of an Italian presence in Greece. When the young F. Halbherr disembarked for the first time to Crete late in the spring of 1884, carrying with him the text of a Greek inscription from Oaxòs which had been transcribed by F. Barozzi in the second half of '500, an inscription that D. Comparetti, had known about from a colleague, he was given the task of tracking it down. The precise interest in this inscription lay in the fact, at that time not so perspicuous, that the phonetic values of some of the letters did not seem compatible with those of the Greek language. The discovery, itself also fortuitous, of the Great Inscription of Gortyn in the same journey, would seal the closest ties up even to the present between Italian archaeological research and the island of Minos.

The second important element, in what I call the 'Zero Phase', seems to lie in the deep solidarity and in the philhellenic nature of a great many Italian patriots within the context of a wider European movement that opposed the power of the Triple Alliance. In such a context, the freedom of Greece was considered, in Europe, the only way for the great Classical Tradition to survive. Italians with a more political than cultural approach, men who were more patriots and exiles than men of letters, identified the Ottoman yoke with that Austrian one that they suffered in their own country. The most meaningful aspect remained instead, within the events that led to the Unification of Italy, the search for the cultural traditions of single regions, at a moment in which the different areas and the different political structures were trying to create a new government entity. In the case of Southern Italy (and that means the Bourbon Kingdom of the Two Sicilies) that search for traditions proceeded along two principal paths, influenced at various points by political possibilities. To heed the call of Roman tradition and the Roman Empire certainly was to embrace the cause of the New Italy. But to look back, instead, to the Greek colonies in the West and to Greece as a golden age in the history of the southern portion of the peninsula, was also to justify a degree of political autonomy within the new Italian state. In other words, the call of Greece became, for the educated of southern Italy, a sort of search of their own roots. In this context the excavation, albeit episodic, in the Kerameikos at Athens in 1863 by the Sicilian A. Salinas, the first post-unitary Italian sent for training to Greece, and later the first full professor of archaeology in Italy, became very meaningful.

The first phase (1883-1916). F. Halbherr and the unveiling of Crete

The arrival in Athens of F. Halbherr in 1883 would have other more important consequences. This young man from the Trentino region, which at that time was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, had preferred to study in Rome, and he had become an Italian citizen. His original "*Irredentist*" state would weigh on his cultural choices and it would inspire him to work closely together with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The "*Irredentist*" F. Halbherr, flanking the physician-archaeologist J. Chatzidakis in the attempt to affirm the Hellenic character of Crete and therefore the need to liberate it from the dominion of the Sublime Porte, become the new version, wholly cultural at last, of Italian philhellenism.

We may consider the *Deus ex machina* of the whole first phase to be the great philologist D. Comparetti, of whom Halbherr at the outset was only the operational arm: the interests of this first moment, in other words, were entirely epigraphic. The finds of the first Cretan expedition (not the small inscription of Oaxòs that was so dear to Comparetti but the extraordinary law-code of Gortyn) would condition, absolutely by chance, what happened afterwards. Halbherr would become one of the protagonists of what I have called «the twenty-years' war», during which France, Great Britain, Germany, United States and Italy would try to assert an archaeological presence on the island, beginning with the site that literary tradition presented as the most prestigious: Knossos. It would be J. Chatzidakis who would condition, more directly, the future of Cretan archaeological research. Next to the "siege of Knossos", as J. Driessen put it, there would be that of Gortyn, albeit less 'bloody', where the Germans would try to take the rights earned already by F. Halbherr, who himself was ready to take up the call of field archaeology. I have tried elsewhere to reconstruct the attitude of our Halbherr with regard to excavating, underlining the paradox of an epigrapher who metamorphosed, for his young collaborators, into a master of topography and archaeological excavation. Those initial years were when Halbherr was the foreigner closest to J. Chatzidakis and who answered his calls for help, but they are also those in which, after digging several trial trenches at Gortyn, the Italian began to conceive the idea of a systematic excavation in the area of the Great Inscription. Political conditions would not allow the realization of that project and Halbherr would begin, together with several collaborators, a topographic survey of the whole island, searching especially for inscriptions, but also making small trial trenches (this is *excavation as an aid to topography and epigraphy*).

The bloody riots of 1897-98 resulted in a kind of autonomy for the island under the Sublime Porte, autonomy guaranteed by the admirals of France, Italy, Great Britain and Russia. The chief of the allied fleet was the Italian Felice Napoleone Canevaro who, upon his return to Italy, would become Minister for Foreign Affairs. So, in June of 1899 the Italian archaeological Mission of Crete, thanks to the significant support of L. Pigorini, was born, and Halbherr would be the Master. The first excavations in the area of the Great Inscription of Gortyn convinced the director of the newborn institution that Roman and Byzantine reoccupations had cancelled every trace of the original building and they would preclude the recovery of other inscriptions in levels that had not been disturbed. The excavation was then moved to Phaistos, also as answer to the English presence at Knossos. The young L. Pernier was with him from the first day, and rapidly he would become responsible for the undertaking. The building revealed itself in all of its monumentality and complexity of phases, but the discoveries could not compete in terms of number and quality with those which Sir Arthur Evans had the fortune to make at Knossos (even in terms of – and this was particularly irritating for an epigrapher – inscribed tablets).

Halbherr then, in 1902, tried his hand at A. Triadha, where surfacing finds of pottery promised a more generous site: a perplexing decision because at that moment he already had plans to explore Libya together with G. De Sanctis. At A. Triadha, nevertheless, our Halbherr remained alone, inasmuch as R. Paribeni, after the long 1903 excavation campaign, abandoned the Cretan mission. For this phase of activity I have proposed elsewhere the sub-title: *Systematic excavation: from epigraphic to prehistoric research. From the gruyere of the 'test-wells' to investigation on a wide scale (1900-1905).*

Different events kept the chief of the mission away from the island for several years. Upon his return, his greatest concern, after that of the epigraphic corpus, would remain the completion and final publication of the excavation of A. Triadha. It is one period of genuine suffering, considering the scarce interest of Halbherr, who decided to take on with him in this enterprise the capable draftsman E. Stefani. We are in the *endless season of re-reading the ruins.*

Independently of the attitude of Halbherr towards the excavation, it is worthwhile underlining the wide scientific interests of the founder of the Italian studies in Greece. The original and fundamental epigraphic focus and the competing Minoan focus led to a basic early-Greek core, the accidental beginning of which was the excavation in the Idaean Cave. This point of view, attributable to the basic education of the classicist Halbherr, was consolidated as consequence of his topographic and historical-epigraphic research; it constituted, in other terms, the other side of the balance of his interest for Greek epigraphy on the island. The most meaningful results would come with the excavations on the Patela of Priniàs, entrusted to L. Pernier in the years 1906-08.

A national-patriotic component that was completely justified in the Cretan context concerned studies on architectural traces of the island's Venetian era. Halbherr promoted them wholeheartedly immediately after the creation of the Italian Mission, and he involved the young G. Gerola. But the most important act conducted by F. Halbherr, from the point of view of strategic choices and their relative consequences, was the constitution, in May of 1909, of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens; its direction is assigned to L. Pernier. The young Halbherr realized the importance to Italy of having an institute at Athens since his first stay in this city (a project was in existence since 1886!), and he had expressly written to Comparetti about it, offering to assume its direction. The greatest difficulties lay, as often happens, with Italy not Greece.

The first problem to be resolved was that of the relationship between the School of Archaeology in Rome and the one that was being constituted in Athens. The School at Athens was created not only to allow students from Rome to complete their instruction, but also to recruit directly pupils who wished "to refine their studies in archaeology in general and in Greek antiquities in particular". The designation of the young L. Pernier as Director pointed out that, at least at the beginning, the cultural choices of the School would become the prerogative of the director of the Cretan Mission.

The scientific motivations for the foundation of the School are clearly stated by the *tutelary deity* D. Comparetti in the preface to the first issue of the new Periodical, the *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente*. The inevitable reference to the common matrix of classical civilization and the indissoluble bonds between Italians and Greeks tended already to place the new School on a different plane in comparison to its sister-institutions already present on Hellenic soil. It would be this, in effect, the common feeling held by all Italian archaeologists in Greece that finding a national identity could not consist in searching a reflection *ad excludendum* in the past of the Greece, but rather by discovering in common roots an identity which otherwise would be incomplete.

Furthermore in regard to the constitution of the School, some other observations are worth noting. The Athenian centre is seen also as point of reference for "the archaeological exploration of the Hellenic East" (Anatolia *in primis*), as was recalled expressly in the frontispiece of the new periodical. The second point of interest was represented by the fact that already the first call for applications for two students (for the year 1910) anticipated a scholarship for the 'History of Classical Art' and another for 'Aegean Archaeology', indirectly confirming the 'Cretan' inspiration for the cultural content of the School.

The initial activities of the School at Athens were decidedly uncertain, for the absolute lack of resources, including a building of her own. Pernier performed some explorations with the students in the search for a place to excavate. The most important attempt was made in 1911 in northern Euboea, an island which then was substantially virgin from the archaeological point of view. Pernier, inevitably, asked also for Halbherr's opinion: his polite answer suggested, instead, the islet of Anaphi, with motivations (Greek inscriptions in a sanctuary, relationships with Crete in historical age, and the existence also of Venetian monuments) that confirm the scientific choices of the pioneer and that nullify in effect those of the Director of the School. This director, in the same year 1911, received from Halbherr and from the Cretan Mission the excavation at the Odeion of Gortyn and thus any other excavation programs in Greece were abandoned. The students of the School in these first years were able to work not only in excavations on Crete but also on those of the newly occupied Rhodes. The School on several occasions was asked to offer its collaboration, with serious embarrassment for the Director who found it hard to justify in Athenian circles, the Italian presence in the Dodecanese.

The second phase (1919-1938). A. Della Seta: the abandonment of Crete and the discovery of Lemnos

Halbherr, watching over on the future of his creature, thought that the new Director had to be looked for among those people that had belonged to the Cretan Mission, to assure perfect continuity. In particular, he had identified in the ancient historian G. De Sanctis the ideal candidate, worrying however that the interference of politicians would lead to the arrival at Athens of a person not up to the assignment. The surprise nomination of A. Della Seta, despite the persistence of good relationships, led to split of the School at Athens from the Mission in Crete.

The new Director, who already had dedicated some of his studies to Minoan topics such as the sphinx of A. Triadha or the Phaistos Disk, had a precise personal project that was different from those of Halbherr, despite the sincere deference and the respect which Della Seta professed for him. Having to choose between the Cretan area and the new pole represented by the Italian presence in the Dodecanese, Della Seta did not seem to have doubts that the second option was the right one and he decided on an exploration of Caria in collaboration with a former student of the School, A. Maiuri, who would become Superintendent for the Monuments and the Excavations of the Dodecanese.

This choice found its justification, as one reads in the letters to the Italian ambassador in Greece, in politics (it was necessary to look towards Anatolia rather than Greece, to take concrete advantage of the collapse of the Ottoman empire).

Affirmations on the need for Italian political penetration into Anatolia are numerous and rather explicit, and so is reference to the opportunity for close coordination among the permanent

Mission to Rhodes, the temporary mission to Asia Minor and the School at Athens itself, which "should become the vital union of our various oriental activities". There were, just the same, precise scientific motivations. Inasmuch as Minoan-Mycenaean civilization had been revealed in all its splendor (with the direct contribution of Italian research!), it became desirable to try to investigate its remote origins, beginning with geographical regions such as those related to the *Karikoi* and the *Leleghes*, the populations that had lived along the coasts of the Anatolia and the islands of the Aegean according to literary tradition.

A second scientific theme that interested A. Della Seta from the beginning was that of the origins of the Aegean civilization itself, which had been investigated in Neolithic levels by his favourite student, D. Levi, in the years 1922 and 1923: the excavation on the south slopes of the Acropolis in Athens, research in the Cave of Aspripetra at Kos, and exploration expressly recommended to Levi in the caves of Crete, all point in that direction. A. Della Seta also entrusted to D. Levi his project of Mesopotamian exploration (in the years between 1930 and 1933). It was, apart perhaps from the excessive geographical distance, the realization of the "Mission to the Levant", which was present in the minds of those who founded the journal of the School at Athens. As in the case of the Caria (for Minoan-Mycenaean civilization), also for Greece itself, the interest of Della Seta seems to be directed to the problem of the origins, and it is not completely by chance that in those same years in Italy the problem of the pre-Roman civilizations was being debated.

The search for an excavation where students could be trained continued therefore with a series of surveys together with the students and with a precise island-oriented choice, from the southern Euboea to Kythera, to Seripho, to Santorini (where Della Seta even identified a new site), but also to Lemnos (the first exploration of which dates to 1923). "The ground of Greece is no longer suitable for a grandiose and brilliant enterprise", he would write in 1929. L. Beschi has already underlined in an impeccable way the times and the kinds of the interest that A. Della Seta had in the island Philoctetes. The connection of the Tyrrhenoi of Lemnos with those of Italy, and therefore the problem of the Etruscan origins, undoubtedly represented an inspiring motive. "The Italian School, even without the illusion of being able to resolve on Lemnos the Etruscan question, has considered as its natural and rightful duty to seek the layer of civilization belonging to the Tyrrhenoi", he wrote in 1926.

But it is even too obvious that the debate in Italy and the propaganda of Regime, fatally driven to dignify Italic elements as a chapter immediately preceding the greatness of Rome, ended up making him consider research on Lemnos to be a "duty of national archaeology". The feverish search to remove the very famous stele of Kaminia from isolation led in 1930 to the unexpected location of a new prehistoric site, that of Poliochni. Della Seta arranged immediately for the transfer of the excavation crew from Hefestia to the new site, for a 'meditated choice', dictated by two considerations: the one, expressly declared, was of didactic character, and it concerned the best opportunities for stratigraphical training that a prehistoric excavation could offer; the other, much subtler consideration, was the "hope to be able to encounter in a presumably long stratigraphical excursion, a sign of the passage from Aegean early history to the appearance of the Tyrrhenoi." From the problem of the origin of the Etruscans, in short, to that of the origin of the Tyrrhenoi.

Precisely in the period of the excavation of Poliochni, in 1933, we find an interesting happening which explains the strategic choices and the 'nationalism' of A. Della Seta, an episode which has already been pointed out. It concerns the opposition, both scientific and political, of the Director to begin an archaeological undertaking in Aegean together with the other Schools present in Greece.

It was a proposal that came to him from a long-time friend, Attilio Rossi, Vice-President of the *Institut Internationale de Cooperation Intellectuelle*, of the *Société des Nations* which was based in Paris. The danger that Della Seta foresaw was not only that as an area of excavation "someone suggested one of the Italian islands" in the Dodecanese, but also that Greece pretended equal international access for enterprises in Italy.

The Cretan Mission, to conclude with this second phase, had substantially lost its propulsion. The energies of the old Chief, who was tired, oriented towards the post-Halbherr period, were concentrated for the most part on the real estate of the Mission. The only scientific activity of note remained the excavation at the necropolis of Arkades, an old dream of Halbherr, who asked and obtained from the School that his student D. Levi would make it a reality. The Chief of the Mission had already assigned him the study of Minoan glyptics. This is also the long season of torment for Halbherr, who did not succeed in publishing the excavations at A. Triadha. *The publication of the excavation as deontological torture* is the heading that I have choised for this period.

The third phase (1939-1943). G. Libertini and L. Laurenzi: The Fascist ideology

R. Bianchi Bandinelli was designated as successor to Della Seta, but he did not want to accept a position which had opened only because of the racial laws. The choice of G. Libertini, who did not possess specific credentials nor who had particular scientific interest in Greece, came as a surprise. The first excavation campaign of the new Director was on the island of Lemnos, as a sign of continuity or perhaps because there had not been the time to organize anything else. In 1940 the request for an excavation represents the first, true 'ideological' choice in the history of the Italian research in Greece. Pallantion, in Arcadia, with the legends of Euandros and his arrival in Italy, should permit the School to give it an archaeological content, in the context of the ennoblement of the origins of Rome, which was close to the heart of the fascist regime.

The Greek sojourn of G. Libertini was indeed very brief. Named as Director on the first of July 1939, he returned to Italy for the holidays at the beginning of October 1940, just a few weeks before the Italian invasion of Greece. Because of the new political situation he did not return to Athens anymore, and at Rome in July 1941 he gave the charge to his successor, L. Laurenzi. The leadership of L. Laurenzi coincides with the final years of the Fascist regime. Above all, he had to manage politically the unexpected Italian occupation of Greece with all the resulting practical complications that did not make his life easy at all, also because he was the Italian ex-Superintendent for the Antiquities of the Dodecanese. The archives of the School preserve the repeated protests of the Greek Authorities about the damage that Italian soldiers had wrought to Athenian monuments (above all on the Acropolis), and their behavior, too.

The request, certainly rich in ideological content that Laurenzi makes to the Greek authorities in 1942 to dig in the Roman Agora of Athens, provoked strong opposition. And the Greeks, in June, officially deliberated that he would be assisted by two of their archaeologists, A. Orlandos who was Director of Restoration and J. Miliadis, Archaeological Superintendent of Athens. The campaign was rather long. It began on July 20, precisely on the day that Mussolini visited the Acropolis, and it continued first on to October 31 and then on to December 5. Speaking of that visit, oral tradition among the students of the School probably has produced a tasty anecdote. Mussolini, stiff in front of the Parthenon, is said to have told the Director who accompanied him

that he always imagined the temple as being bigger than its actual dimensions. Laurenzi, without losing his composure, is said to have replied that the Greeks were already thinking about doing what he wanted.

Work was resumed in the Roman Agora the following year, and it was certainly in progress in September, when Laurenzi upon the announcement of the armistice signed by Italy with the allies the 8th of September, decided to voluntarily withdraw from the position and immediately return to Italy. We are not even sure that the Roman Agora had been his choice rather than an attractive suggestion from Rome. Anyhow the *Archeologo fascista* (or perhaps the *Fascista archeologo*), to use the terms of a purely Italian debate of the 1980s, was able to show himself openly only through the Superintendency of Rhodes, and that was in the preceding phase.

In 1939 the Cretan Mission was still active, with excavation trenches at Phaistos and A. Triadha, in the Praetorium, in the Pythion and on the Acropolis of Gortyn, with restoration projects, beyond those obviously for the revision and development of the epigraphic *corpus*. In a document of April 1943, what remained of the Cretan Mission would seem absorbed into that of the "Scientific Missions in the Levant", within the Royal Institute of Archaeology and the History of Art (always under the responsibility of R. Paribeni). But in the following phase the new Director of the School at Athens, assuming the coordination of the Missions in the Levant, would claim for himself the buildings and excavation concessions of the glorious Cretan Mission.

The fourth phase (1949-1976). D. Levi: the return to Crete. From Crete to Anatolia

Having escaped to Princeton because of the racial laws, this ex-student with long experience at the School, an expert in the language and local customs and with a Greek wife, D. Levi represented the right man in the right place to recover the political and cultural relationships with Greece which had been brusquely interrupted in the years of the Second World War. The nomination happened in the beginning of July 1947, but only in March 1950 was the new director in a position to reside regularly at Athens. Finally he regained from the Greeks that re-legitimation to which his past as a man and persecuted researcher and his feelings for the Greek people gave him full right.

In this climate of 'restoration', D. Levi was inspired by the two great figures of which he considered himself ideally a disciple. F. Halbherr, who had given him the opportunity to study Minoan gems and inspired him to excavate at Arkades, again drew him towards the island of Minos. Of the two scientific themes that had already been established, the Minoan one and the Early Greek, Levi decided initially to privilege the first and to chose Phaistos as the excavation for the students of the School. It was lucky discoveries, therefore, that led to the global reexamination of Minoan civilization, and that brought Levi to absolutely new positions about chronology, positions that some judged to be at the limits of heresy. It was the second attempt to establish a wholistic chronology after that of Evans, but like the first one it was invalidated by the fact that it was based almost exclusively on the core of one's own research in the field, whether it is at Knossos or Phaistos.

Chance discoveries on the acropolis of Gortyn – the temple, the altar and the votive deposit – brought a return in grand style to the 'Early-Greek' research that Levi had cultivated during his time in America. The experience on the acropolis of Gortyn led to that at Priniàs, which was desired by one of the protagonists and clearly supported by D. Levi. From 1969 on G. Rizza

(with his school at Catania, already in its third generation!), has carried forward the exploration of the extraordinary and stratified necropolis, a sector of the Kerameikos, and several blocks of the inhabited area on the Patela.

To A. Della Seta one may ascribe the second of the great field projects of D. Levi, the excavation of Iasos in that Caria that his Teacher had tested and from which new data for the expanding Mycenaean civilization was awaited. The Pupil disembarked there with a precise goal: to find the traces of a Minoan presence along the coasts of Anatolia. That presence today considered obvious and much more varied than it was once thought to be (Minoan, Mycenaean, Cycladic), but what needed to be sought in 1960 was really a good dose of courage.

A second tribute to the memory of Della Seta and to his scientific choices (but indirectly a return on those footsteps that the same Levi had hoped to make personally complete on the island of Phyloctetes) is represented by the resumption of the excavation of Poliochni, in 1951-53 and then again in 1956. The Director entrusted it to one of the ex-students of the Lemnian project, L. Bernabò Brea, with results that constitute even today an important point of reference.

The fifth phase (1977-2000). A. Di Vita: the resumption of all past research and honouring scientific debts

With a meaningful option, A. Di Vita left his position as University Chancellor to take office in Athens, in April 1977. He has recently proposed a meticulous and weighty *review* of the period of his leadership that exempts us from reporting all the details here. The long-term activity in Libya of the new Director, his interest in the Roman world, the monumental situation of the site, and the problems left open from the earlier excavations, directed Di Vita from the beginning to choose Gortyn as centre of the most important activities of the School. He re-proposed in this manner, both ideally and scientifically, the administrative entity of the Roman empire that had been the province of Crete and Cyrene.

At Gortyn the new and volcanic Director acted in all fields, coordinating a truly massive series of projects and producing, with a tested *équipe*, an impressive mass of publications. Always on Crete, the School would judge that the time was right to return to the excavation of A. Triadha. With an minimalist approach and under the motto "to re-excavate the excavated", the Minoan Mission of the School would proceed with a series of chronological verifications in order to rewrite the history of the site and to be better able to compare it with that of Phaistos. It would make a series of proposals on the political history of the Messarà and of the whole of Crete.

With the completion of field verifications at A. Triadha, the Minoan Mission of the School was moved in 2000 to Phaistos, and it collaborates there now with the Centre for Cretan Archaeology of the University of Catania. The precise intent was that of verifying, through limited trial trenches, the stratigraphic succession proposed by D. Levi for the protopalatial period. The intention was also to make the huge quantity of data accumulated by the Teacher better usable, starting with the use of the same terms and the same indications that from the time of Evans up untill now have constituted a sort of Minoan archaeological Esperanto. Close to the Roman Crete of Gortyn and to the Minoan Crete of Phaistos and A.Triadha, Crete in the early-Greek age continues to interest Italian researchers. In fact, the geometric-daedalic focus of the Mission at Priniàs was solidified in this phase.

In the context of a comprehensive return to all the initiatives undertaken by the School, an important place has been reserved for the island of Lemnos, where all the excavations, from Hefestia, to Chloi, to Poliochni, have been revitalized. In this phase one 'political' action of great importance for the School was the resumption of scientific research in the Dodecanese, where the Italian occupation continues to be a subject of debate. The great foresight of the Ephor of Antiquities, I. Papachristodoulou, has permitted in this way the payment of a series of scientific debts. In fact, the publication of old excavations or monumental complexes has been, in general, one of the most worthy activities, also because it has concerned all of the excavation projects of the School.

A important feature of this phase, furthermore, was the rediscovery of the identity and the history of the School and of the Cretan Mission, a rediscovery to which the Director and some of his collaborators have devoted more than just a few publications, not only on the institutions as a whole, but also on some of the most representative figures. They also have tried to underline, whenever possible, the effects in Italy of the activities carried out in Greece.

The fifth phase of the Italian archaeological presence in Greece has also been characterized by a series of exhibitions and conferences. The first such conferences was organised in October of 1979, and it was devoted to *Grecia, Italia e Sicilia nell' VIII e VII sec. a.C.* At the same time it was also a careful choice in cultural politics (the goal was to underline the specificity of the relationships of collaboration between Italians and Greeks, in the name of their common 'Classical' past). The first of the exhibitions, 'Ancient Crete. One hundred years of Italian archaeology (1884-1984)' proposed quite openly a model of 'long duration' in which the archaeologists and the protagonists, their letters, and the outlets of their minds, but also their places and their buildings, received the same attention as the ruins and the ancient sites.

Ten years after the Cretan Exhibition there arrived that on the Dodecanese, in the context of the celebrations for the 2400th anniversary of the foundation of the city of Rhodes, *La presenza italiana nel Dodecaneso tra il 1912 e il 1948.* It represented, through the considerable degree of documentation, the bond in the resumption of the relationships among Italian and Greek archaeologists in those islands, and it crowned one of the policies of cultural politics tenaciously pursued by A. Di Vita.

The last big initiative has marked for the School a return to the island where it began. The international conference *Creta romana e protobizantina*, held at Iraklion in September 2000, of which the weighty proceedings are in process of publication, may be regarded as the scientific testament of the Director Di Vita: but for a long time to come his humanity and his erudition will be remembered by his many friends there.

One thing that is destined to mark deeply the life of this institution and to influence in a very clear way Italian research in Greece has been the restructuring of the School itself. In 1988 it was accredited on a par with graduate schools in Italy and authorized to confer a diploma with legal value to students following their completion of a three-year program. The Italian School, in this way, differs significantly from her sister-institutions at Athens because its educational mission is more comprehensive. The program of study, with a college of teachers, lessons and seminars, apprenticeship on excavations, annual examinations, and final thesis, affords (and it is unique in this respect) five different *curricula*, each related directly to the archaeology and the antiquities of Greece, from the prehistoric to the early byzantine periods.

A separate treatment is merited by the activities of other Italian institutions that, more or less in collaboration with the Italian School, dedicate their efforts to Greek themes. The *Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, which was founded in 1968 and which Doro Levi towards

the end of his tenure had piloted towards a Cretan landing, has one field mission on the island (in collaboration with Greek archaeologists) from 1977. The excavations of Nerokourou were followed by the ones at Thronos-Sybrita and by research in the zone of Achladia. Interest in the Late Bronze Age subsequently changed, as a result of the finds, to that in the Greek Dark Age, along the lines of a rich thread of research that has constituted for a long time one of the major themes addressed by Italian archaeologists in Greece.

A second, more recent nucleus of Cretan interests in Italy is represented by the *Centre for Cretan Archaeology* formed at the University of Catania in 1998. It is deeply rooted in the sound pragmatic approach of F. Halbherr and in the activities of D. Levi; it is also inspired by their broad interests in Crete from Minoan times to the Roman Period. The Centre, which has scientific responsibility for the excavation of Priniàs, publishes the periodical *Creta antica*, of which third issue is in press, as well as a series of Monographs (*Studi di Archeologia cretese*).

For a final balance. And now? The Italian School at Athens between Science and Politics?

The phases that we have tried to distinguish are the chapters of a temporary report, articulated with a substantial degree of continuity around the bipolar nucleus of Crete and Lemnos, and integrated, for reasons of history and politics, with that of the Dodecanese. Certainly this is a complex horizon, from which there emerges nevertheless the central role of the Crete in the *longue durée* (up to the hegemony of Venice).

Of the principal threads of research which have been discussed (the Minoan-Mycenaean, the Early Greek, the Roman-byzantine, the Tyrrhenian, and that of the Early Bronze Age in the North Aegean), the first two or three have led to the creation of groups or 'schools' that even today seem able of continuing these kinds of studies. It would perhaps be good to add to this panorama another thread, that related to Athenian topography and monuments: albeit episodic and neither homogeneous nor coordinated, but nevertheless recurrent, it has demonstrated that the sojourn in the capital of Greece has stimulated the minds of generations of students.

Finally, I will not neglect to mention the historiographic thread, stimulated certainly by exhibitions or conferences, which is beginning to have concrete results in Italy also, where the activity of the Italian School very often has been that of 'an illustrious stranger'. Here, too, Crete and the Cretan Mission have catalyzed the greatest interest.

Everything that has been said up to this point permits us to disavow that for Italian research in Greece there has ever been a specific problem of national identity, an identity which has always been seen within a common participation in the Classical Tradition. We have recalled just how much Western Greece and Sicily could have served as a call to Italian scholars (especially those in the South of the peninsula), and just how much the comparison with Greece itself could also have been dictated by the need to recognize a specific Western Hellenism.

The second, more general affirmation is that political or ideological conditioning in the course of Italian archaeological research in Greece has been very infrequent, not very meaningful and substantially tied to the third phase. Also in the long years of the Fascist Regime under the direction of Della Seta choices were made always and only on the basis of cultural and scientific considerations.

Some bits of news, finally, should be reported as the prolegomena to a sixth phase. The latter part of the Di Vita administration (or more exactly in the year that he was Commissioner) has

represented a traumatic episode and an ill-omened nightmare for the future of the School at Athens. The most disagreeable occurence has been represented by a violent and free attack to the preceding management of the School from a prestigious colleague and recognized *maître à penser* that has entertained it in his review, in an unhappy, bulky and muddy Editorial, appeared – it is useful to remember it – when the nomination of the new Manager had already happened[2]. It was the best way to theorize the interference of the political power, showing in the facts an absolute contempt toward the institution and a total indifference for its future. It is not this, obviously, the centre to reply[3].

The times are not mature yet for outlining a sixth phase of Italian research in Greece, inspired by the current Director of the School, E. Greco who was named only on the first of October 2000. But some tendencies already seem to be emerging. The most remarkable one appears to be that of the direct involvement of Italian universities in excavation projects. This is a positive element, without doubt, because in Italy the study of archaeology and the history of Greek art is not as florid as it might be. The risks of such a policy are not lacking and only in the future one can really say whether or not they were worth taking. I refer to the parcelling out of research projects (there are seven separate excavation missions planned for Gortyn and two for Phaistos), and there is the danger that the School will be deprived of a substantial degree of its scientific authority and be reduced to a more bureaucratic role. The Director has chosen for himself, as a project for training students, the excavation of Hefestia and he promises therefore to resume on a wide scale research into the problems of Hellenism in the historical period, in a rather unique context such as the 'tyrrhenian' question on Lemnos. I can only wish him, in all sincerity, the best of luck.

Vincenzo La Rosa
Department for Archaeological, Phylological and Historical Studies
Centre for Cretan Archaeology
University of Catania (Italy)
vlarosa@mbox.unict.it

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'THOSE DIVINE MONUMENTS OF ART' GREEK ARTEFACTS IN THE EARLIEST DUTCH COLLECTIONS

Ruurd B. Halbertsma

Introduction

During the 17th and 18th centuries collectors in the Netherlands encountered the classical Greek art only through Roman copies of the Greek original sculptures. Greek ceramics were almost totally absent. Although there is a probability that the 17th century collector Jan Six owned a 5th century Attic grave relief, the recorded 17th century collections only show Roman objects, Roman copies of Greek originals or Greek sculptures and inscriptions from the Roman imperial period.

The most important 17th century collection of ancient art was assembled by the brothers Jan and Gerard Reynst, rich and influential merchants in Amsterdam and Venice.[1] In Venice Jan Reynst had encountered the riches of the Venetian palazzi with their colourful paintings, splendid glass objects and fine collections of ancient sculptures. His dream to create a Venetian 'palazzo' on the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam was realized in 1629 when he bought the complete inventory of the Palazzo Vendramin in Venice, which consisted of 200 paintings and some 300 antiquities, including a large collection of sculptures. The sculptures were published in the lavishly illustrated catalogue *Signorum Antiquorum Icones*, where we encounter some Roman copies of Greek originals like the Hercules Farnese by Lysippos. This renaissance dream of the Reynst brothers came to an end after the death of Gerard Reynst in 1658. Part of the collection was donated to Charles II, king of England, as part of the Dutch Gift in 1660. The rest was auctioned and divided between various Dutch and foreign collectors.

Parts of the Reynst collection ended up in the 18th century collection of Gerard van Papenbroek, another wealthy collector in Amsterdam, who put his collection of around 200 classical sculptures on display in a garden gallery at his estate Papenburg near the village of Velsen.[2] As a

[1] For the brothers Reynst and their collection see: Logan 1979; Halbertsma 2003, 6-10.

[2] See for Van Papenbroek and his collection: Van Regteren Altena and Van Thiel 1964; Halbertsma 2003, 14-20.

Plate 1. *Statue of Hecate Triformis, 1st century AD. National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, inv. Pb 136*

collector Van Papenbroek was a typical representative of the Dutch 'sedentary' school. He did not make travels to the Mediterranean to see the ancient remains and buy antiquities (as many British, French and German travellers did on their Grand Tour), but he enlarged his collections mainly by buying antiquities from other collectors or by bidding at auctions. In his collection we encounter more Roman copies of Greek originals, like the Hecate Triformis after Alkamenes (which once had belonged to Peter Paul Rubens, plate 1) and also a Greek Hellenistic portrait (plate 2)

Plate 2. *Hellenistic portrait. National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, inv. Pb 135*

Founding the *Archaeological Cabinet* in Leiden

We are very well informed about the pieces in the collection of Van Papenbroek, because of the bequest of this collection to the University of Leiden in 1744. The antiquities were placed in the central hall of the new orangery in the botanical garden of the university (plate 3). Five sketches give an impression of their symmetrical placement along the walls of this building. The collection was published by Franciscus Oudendorp in 1746. In this description no distinction was made between Roman and Greek sculptures.

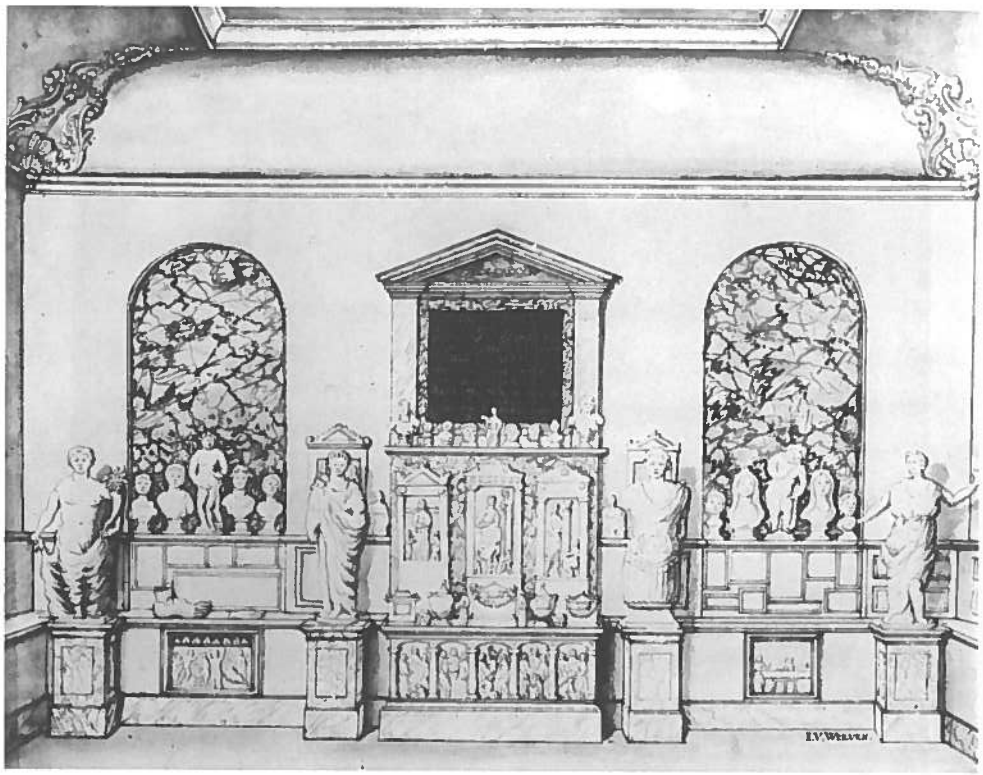

Plate 3. *The Papenbroek collection in the orangery of Leiden University, ca. 1745. Drawing by J. van Werven, City Archive, Leiden*

The presence of the 150 marbles from the Papenbroek bequest was the reason, in 1818, to choose Leiden for the first academic chair of archaeology. Caspar C.J. Reuvens was appointed professor of archaeology and director of the 'archaeological cabinet' of the university.[3] Reuvens (plate 4) had received his education as a lawyer and a classicist at the universities of Leiden, Amsterdam and Paris. In Paris he had encountered the results of the revolutionary ideas concerning the

[3] Recent publications on Reuvens are Brongers 2002; Halbertsma 2003.

Plate 4. *Portrait of Professor C.J.C. Reuvens, ca. 1820. Leiden University History Museum*

creation of public museums and the huge accumulation of European art and archaeology in the French National Museum, the Musée Napoléon. At the moment of his appointment, Reuvens was 25 years old and had worked as a professor of classics for three years.

During the first years of his directorship Reuvens' ideas about the role of an archaeological museum and a consistent collecting policy started to take shape. He envisaged the museum in Leiden as the central assembly point of all archaeological artefacts in the Netherlands, which were until then dispersed among various museums and private collections. In theory he was in favour of more archaeological museums: the examples from the neighbouring countries showed that a healthy competition between museums and universities helped to promote archaeology. But the Netherlands were a small country and establishing one museum was already a difficult task. In 1820 he wrote to the department:

> I would dare say that our country is too small and not rich enough to maintain more than one archaeological museum. If it is possible to have various good ones, for example like London and Oxford, then I consider this preferable (however tempting the thought may be to unite everything); because this fosters scholarship in more than one place, and thus the scholarly competition. It keeps monopoly and aristocracy, if I may express myself in this

> way, outside of the realm of the humanities. Also Germany maintains various museums of first and second rank: Vienna, Munich, Dresden, Berlin, Kassel etc. These belong to different sovereigns, and this fosters competition in buying and extending, and none of them is disused or neglected. And nobody should wish that the study of antiquity, which now thrives in the whole of Germany, would be confined to one single spot in that country.[4]

For the Netherlands Reuvens suggested to create another kind of museums with collections of plaster-casts and ancient coins, as the study of numismatics in his view was the best introductory school to archaeology, which should be taught at least two universities: Leiden in the northern part of the Netherlands, and Ghent in the southern provinces. The Museum of Antiquities should become the central assembly point, which meant that other institutions had to part with some of the *corpora aliena* in their collections. With zeal he started to convince the ministry that the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities, the Royal Coin Cabinet, the Royal Art Academy and the Royal Institute in Amsterdam should send their antiquities to Leiden, which in most cases they did, and in some cases they did not.

After these initial difficulties in collecting the antiquities which were present in the Netherlands, Reuvens continued to formulate his collecting policy. Of course, the highlights of the collection had to be formed by classical art. In his inaugural speech 'De Laudibus Archaeologiae' he had already expressed his enthusiasm for Greek art of the classical period:

> Especially the spirit of the Athenians was for a long period prepared for a sense of beauty and grace by the superb Ionian poets. The lovely climate and the happy issue of the war for freedom had evoked in their minds all possible noble feelings. It is not surprising that once the wealth and power of Athens had increased, she produced in the period of Pericles and Phidias those divine monuments of art, which in all later periods, and even in the most recent period, have been a source of admiration for everyone.[5]

The classical world was Reuvens' point of departure: he included in his museum's policy all cultures which were known by, or influenced by the world of Greece and Rome. From this theory resulted collections of Egyptian, Persian and Nordic art, but also ancient buddhist art from Afghanistan (Gandara) and India, as it was influenced by Hellenistic and Roman art. And as a consequence also hindu and buddhist antiquities from the Dutch Indies, which had derived many motives from the Indian examples, had to be shown in an archaeological museum, and not in an ethnological collection. An ethnological museum had to confine itself, according to Reuvens, to still existing peoples. The ancient Indonesian artefacts were too far removed from the modern, Islamic community to be placed in an ethnological collection. This principle led to a rich collection of far eastern archaeological objects in the museum, and even of American antiquities which were considered to have bonds with European prehistorical cultures.

Reuvens did not content himself with a mere 'archaeological cabinet' of the university. His formative years in Paris had given him the vision of a real National Museum of Antiquities, of expeditions to the Mediterranean and of excavations both in the Netherlands and abroad, endeav-

[4] Reuvens to Van Ewijck, 25-11-1820, Museum Archive, 17.1.1/1.
[5] Reuvens 1818, 9.

ours which were to be crowned with publications. His wish to expand the collections was fostered by the Government, which with the support of king Willem I donated large sums of money for archaeological expeditions and new collections.

Antiquities from Greece: the collection Rottiers

The first opportunity to acquire original Greek sculpture from the classial period presented itself in 1820, when Reuvens met with B.E.A. Rottiers, a retired colonel who had spend most of his active years in the armies of the Russian Czar (plate 5).[6] In 1819 Rottiers had undertaken excavations together with the French consul Fauvel and the Austrian diplomat Gropius in the neighbourhood of Athens. Rottiers acquired some grave reliefs of considerable size and quality, grave lekythoi, juridical inscriptions, some small bronzes and ceramics.

His finds were offered to the newly created museum of antiquities. To establish the pecuniary value of the pieces, Reuvens had to look at comparable pieces which were recently auctioned or sold. In his report Reuvens summed up the most recent auctions of antiquities: the collections of Count de Choiseul Gouffier (Paris, 1818), of Léon Dufourny (Paris, 1819) and of Sir J. Coghill (London, 1819). Furthermore he mentioned the prices paid for the collections of Towneley, Hamilton, Elgin and Borghese.

The most important piece, the grave relief of Archestrate (plate 6), could be compared in size and depth of the relief with the metopes of the Parthenon. But the price should be lower, because the Parthenon metopes were 'much more interesting and offered more nude'. The relief could also be compared with the price of two statues 'of reasonable quality' or with half the price for 'one single outstanding statue'. In that case the price had to be around 3,000 guilders. A grave relief of a nude standing young man with a dove (plate 7) could be compared in size and relief with the slabs of the Parthenon frieze. But on those fragments generally four to six figures were depicted. On these grounds Reuvens suggested to estimate the grave relief on one-thirth of the price paid for the single slabs of the Parthenon frieze, i.e. 500 guilders. A long inscription with a lease contract naming Athenian archonts was classified according to the three classes of inscriptions: the most important ones were of historical or cultural value, like political treaties and poetry. The second class contained inventory lists or contracts between private persons. The third and less valued class consisted of the grave inscriptions. Rottiers' lease contract belonged to the second category and after comparing its length with inscriptions in London and Paris was estimated at 750 guilders.

In this manner all sculptures, vases, statuettes, enamels and bronzes were compared with similar or comparable pieces in recent auctions. It is clear that Reuvens took no chances with this first report to the Ministry about a collection he was eager to buy. On 4 February 1821 the responsable minister wrote to Reuvens that the Rottiers collection had been bought according to his taxation for 12,000 guilders.

[6] See for the archaeological activities of Rottiers: Bastet 1987; Halbertsma 2003, 49-70.

Plate 5. *Portrait of B.E.A. Rottiers. Engraving by J. van Genk after a painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence. From the book Les Monumens de Rhodes (1830)*

Plate 6. *Attic grave relief of Archestrate, c. 325 BC. National Museum of Antiquities, inv. ROIA 1*

Plate 7. *Attic grave relief of a boy, c. 360 BC. National Museum of Antiquities, inv. ROIA 2*

A further extension to this budding collection of Greek art was made by the Dutch Minister of the Interior, Anton Falck: he donated a magnificent torso from Eleusis (plate 8) and a classical gravestone, which had marked the grave of Philon, son of Kalippos. A collection of Greek ceramics from Athens came to the museum in 1822. Rottiers' son Jean had brought the antiquities to the Netherlands after a journey to Greece, during which he participated in the rescue operations of citizens following the *Epanastasis* in Athens of 1821. Together with the shipowner Jean Delescluze he evacuated some 1100 Athenian citizens to the island of Salamis, before the situation grew worse and Rottiers jr. was forced to leave Piraeus. Between 1824 and 1826 Rottiers himself made another travel through the mediterranean, during which he made excavations and bought antiquities. New classes of Greek antiquities entered the museum, like marble cycladic vessels, archaic sculpture and archaic pottery, which were classified by Reuvens as 'of the highest antiquity'.

In the meantime also the other collections continued to grow. Another retired colonel, Jean Emile Humbert, was employed by Reuvens in North Africa and Italy, where he bought important Punic, Etruscan and especially Egyptian antiquities.[7] The latter collection, bought in Leghorn, comprised more than 6000 objects, and made Leiden rank with London, Paris and Turin in riches of Egyptian antiquities. An important collection of Greek vases, on sale in Naples around 1829, was not bought because of the exorbitant high price paid for the Egyptian antiquities: the Greek collection began to suffer from the initial successes of Reuvens' collecting policies.

Promotion and elevation of the arts by the Greek examples

The tide began to turn. The Trustees of Leiden University had never envisaged a money consuming National Museum within their organisation. A modest archaeological cabinet was more than enough for their ideas about teaching archaeology to the few students who ventured to choose this profession. The Dutch government initially had different views. The idea to compete in cultural policy with other European nations had a great appeal to the Ministry of Education and to King Willem I personally. Large sums were reserved for the archaeological travels to Greece, North Africa and Italy and very fine collections of ancient art were bought. But the problems with the government did arise when the ministry was confronted with the consequences of collecting these amounts of ancient art: the housing in Leiden was inadequate to display the antiquities and to preserve them against the influence of the Dutch climate. Especially the mummies suffered from the moist conditions in which they were kept after the purchase of 1828.

From 1826 onwards, Reuvens tried to convince Trustees and Ministry about the urgent need for a new museum building. From Reuvens' plans, drawings and notes concerning the new museum it becomes clear how much importance he gave to the influence of Greek art on modern architecture. Reuvens stressed the important role for archaeologyto to improve contemporary art and architecture. The creation of an academic chair of archaeology was also important for society: it could create a taste for the real classical architecture, as it had done in England and France. The erection of a building for the archaeological collection would be a unique chance to make these ideas concrete. In a letter to the Dutch king he wrote: 'If archaeology is in one aspect the

[7] See for Jean Emile Humbert: Halbertsma 1995; Halbertsma 2003, 71-111.

Plate 8. *Hellenistic torso from Eleusis. National Museum of Antiquities, inv. GF 2*

coadjutrix of all thorough science, it also has an indispensable effect on the civilization of both the non-scholarly classes as well as on the promotion and elevation of contemporary art.'[8] And the arts in the Netherlands, especially architecture, had been neglected during the last centuries:

> Architecture and sculpture in our northern provinces are in decay, only partly because of the economizing spirit of our ancestors (who were very luxurious in other areas), but mainly because of their general unacquaintance with the beautiful examples of antiquity. [...] Architecture is taking a very high flight in England nowadays through the manifold travels to the beautiful ruins of Greece and the former Greek colonies, not only of the artists but also of the nobility and scholarly classes. Especially after the French Revolution the art of painting in that country and the taste in applied art and jewellery (which also had its influence on us) have been purified and improved. This can only be ascribed to the will (which in that period deteriorated into passion) to imitate antiquity in everything.[9]

Building an archaeological museum in classical style could give an impulse to architecture in the Netherlands, which was badly needed: 'Although we have two Royal Academies of Art, the museums in Leiden are disgraceful examples of architecture in the northern part of the Netherlands, and this is especially a sad statement about a museum in which ancient architecture once shall be taught.'[10]

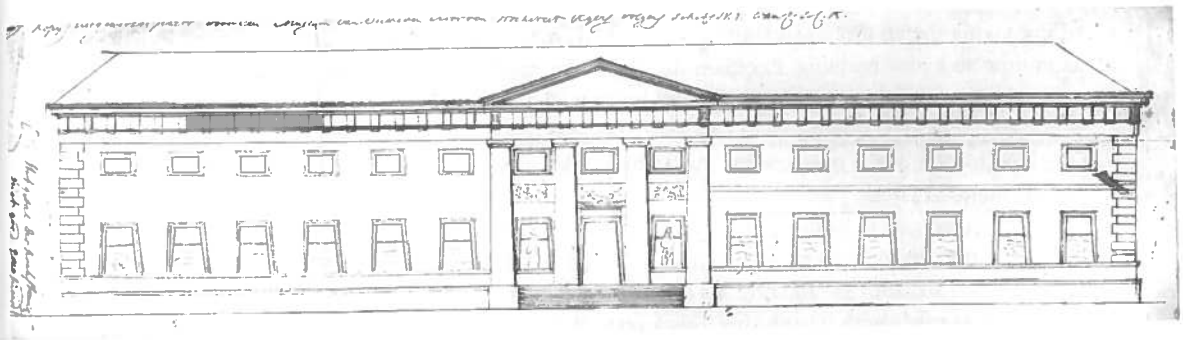

Plate 9. *Project for an archaeological museum by Zeger Reijers, 1826. Archive, National Museum of Antiquities*

The sketch of the new building was commissioned to the architect Zeger Reijers, who was ordered to design a two storied building in Greek-Doric style. His first sketch (plate 9) showed a symmetric building with a monumental staircase and four Doric columns. A figured frieze ran above the entrance and the windows. The entablature had metopes and triglyphs in classical style. On both sides of the entrance two wings had been designed with 12 large windows for the ground floor and 12 smaller ones for the first floor. Reuvens was not at all pleased with the first

[8] Reuvens to King Willem I, 29-3-1826, Museum Archive, 17.1.1/2.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Reuvens to Trustees, 7-2-1824, Museum Archive, 15.1/1.

sketches. In his eyes the architect had 'totally misunderstood the spirit of the Greek order' by mixing elements of the Roman-Doric ('Tuscan') order with classical Doric architecture. The proportion between height of the columns and the entablature was incorrect. In Greek Doric temple architecture there were never two triglyphs between columns and, moreover, the columns lacked flutings. The horizontal ledge and the heavy cornerstones 'spoiled the perpendicular effect of the columns'. The overall impression was wrong: 'the whole substructure makes the building too tall, whereas it has to be ponderous and stately, and it is very costly.'[11]

The costs for such a building proved to be too difficult to solve. Reijers had made an estimate of about 250,000 guilders for the whole building, a sum which was 'far beyond the expectations' of Reuvens and the department. The department could not do much but hope on the benevolence of the king. From the archives it is clear that Reuvens tried hard to lower the price of the building by amending the sketches, but he was not able to reduce the price below 200,000 guilders. The king refused to spend this amount of money and urged the Trustees to look for other solutions, like placing the collection in an already existing building. The consequences of collecting had not been foreseen.

The clear lines for the future of the National Museum of Antiquities which Reuvens had set out were suddenly thwarted by his sudden death in 1835, only 42 years old. His pupil Conrad Leemans became his successor, initially in the rank of 'first curator' of the archaeological cabinet. An already existing building was forced upon him by the Trustees, who now decided to take over control. The chair of archaeology however was left vacant. In three years time Leemans succeeded in moving the enormous quantities of Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Etruscan, Nordic and Indian antiquities to a new building. Leemans decided to let most of the ambitious projects of Reuvens rest, and focused his attention on the publication of the Egyptian catalogues of the museum, which began to appear from 1839 onwards. However, he succeeded in putting the crown on the Greek collection of the museum by buying one class of objects which had been missing considerably: hundred Greek vases and fragments dating from the sixth and fifth centuries BC, which were offered on sale in Rotterdam in 1839.[12] They were bought from the Principe di Canino, who had found the ceramics on his estate in Italy, which covered the necropolis of the Etruscan town of Vulci. And so, after the tumultuous formative years of the National Museum of Antiquities a start could be made with introducing Greek art to the Dutch public and publishing the catalogues of Greek sculpture and ceramics, which appeared in the course of the 19th century.

Ruurd B. Halbertsma
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
P.O.B. 11 11 4
NL-2301 EC Leiden
The Netherlands
r.halbertsma@rmo.nl

[11] Informal notes by Reuvens, 3-12-1826, Museum Archive, 15.1/1.
[12] Halbertsma 2003, 149-52.

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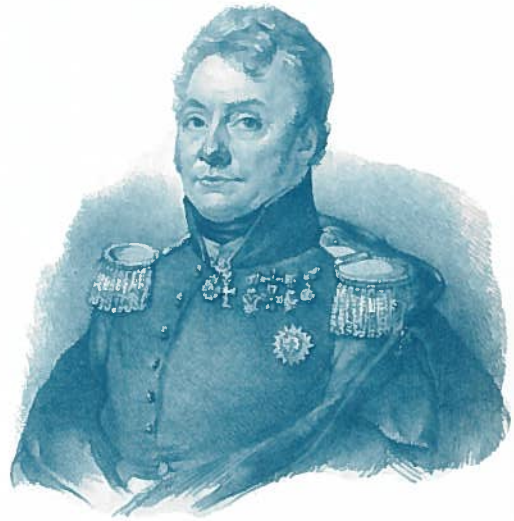

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