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EDITORIAL PREFACE

In *Pharos* III we had the sad task of announcing the untimely death of our colleague S.C. Bakhuizen. Without his drive and enthusiasm, the Netherlands Institute at Athens would not have become what it is today. This fourth issue includes a memorial for him, written by S. Bommeljé, one of his former students and collaborators in survey archaeology in Greece.

Fieldwork was conducted in 1995-96 by members of the Netherlands Institute in Geraki and Halos. The team led by J.H. Crouwel of the University of Amsterdam gives a report on their second season at in Geraki (Laconia). R. Reinders of the State University of Groningen and his team describe the discovery and exploration of the monumental city-gate of Hellenistic Halos.

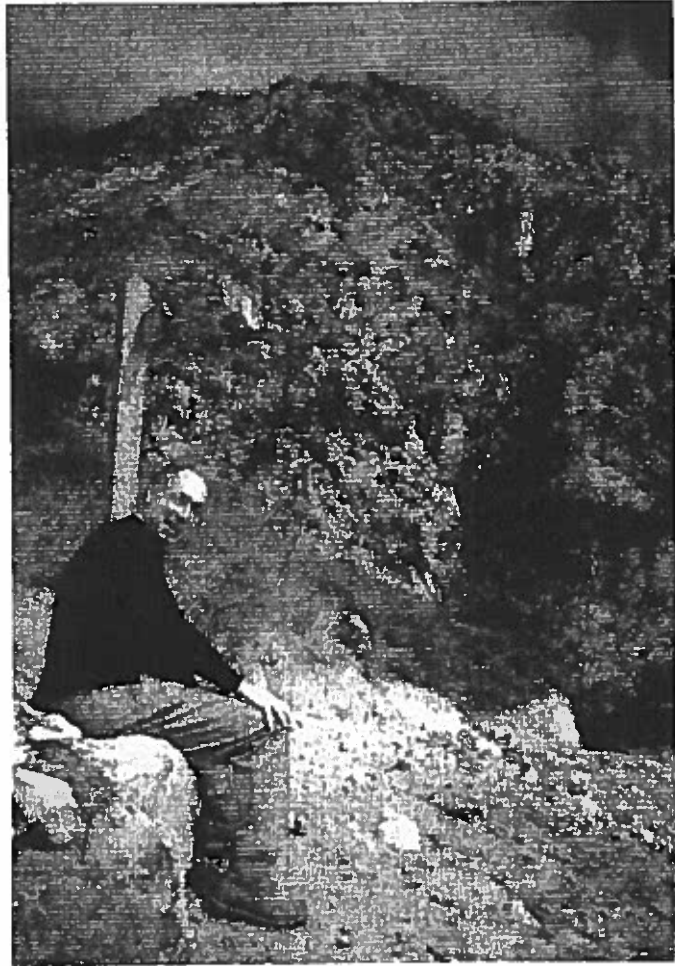
The use and disuse of anonymous tomb cults was studied by J. van der Kamp in his master's thesis; he interprets the development of these cults in relation to the conquest and subjugation of the Messenians by the Spartans in the Archaic period, and their liberation and restored political autonomy in the fourth century B.C.

S.E. Hijmans discusses how Dionysus replaces Helios on Late Hellenistic Rhodian coins, which until now have not been given secure dates. He proposes that this switch can be traced to 42 BC, when the Rhodians were eager to show their support for Marc Antony.

The interests of the Dutch scholars working in Greece are not restricted to its classical and earlier past. We are pleased that this issue of *Pharos* reflects a wider range in interest.

The find of a piece of Kütahya Ware at Archondiki in Boeotia led J. Vroom to discuss the spread of the coffee-drinking culture from the East to Western Europe, and to Ottoman Greece in particular.

The explorations by the Belgian-Dutch Colonel Rottiers in Greek waters between 1824 and 1826, and his 'excavations' on Milos, are the subject of a study by D. Koster, who draws much of his information from Rottiers' notes. At the same time, this study provides an opportunity to examine the history of legislation for the protection of its cultural heritage by the emerging independent Greek state.



IN MEMORIAM

SIMON CORNELIS BAKHUIZEN (1935-1996)

WHEN Dr Simon Cornelis Bakhuizen died on 16 February 1996 at the age of 61, the Dutch historical and archaeological community lost more than a widely respected ancient historian, more than a field worker who initiated or inspired much of the Dutch archaeological research in Greece carried out during the last decades, and more than the man who stood at the cradle of the Netherlands Institute in Athens. Bakhuizen ('Kees' to many who knew him; 'Simon' to his Greek friends) played a pivotal role in the acceptance in the Netherlands of site surveying, surface survey, and other modern field research methods as fundamental contributions to the understanding of the classical world.

Born on 11 January 1935 in Amsterdam, Kees Bakhuizen was trained as a classicist at the university of his hometown. However, since his very first travels to Greece in the early 1960s, his heart was in the study of ancient Greek history and in particular of ancient Greek settlements. Without denying classical philology as one of the main sources of information about antiquity, he gradually embraced the perspectives offered by anthropology, systems-analysis and 'new archaeology'. In those years these intellectual developments constituted unparalleled departures from traditional practices, and by introducing them to his students and colleagues, Bakhuizen contributed greatly to the shaping of modern Dutch field research in the Aegean region. What exists today of Greek settlement studies in the Netherlands is hardly conceivable without his influence.

Part of that influence is undoubtedly the result of Bakhuizen's great teaching qualities. He began his career in 1959 as a teacher of classics at the Gymnasium Erasmianum in Rotterdam, and further developed his skills between 1961 and 1966 in the northern provincial town of Stadskanaal (Province of Groningen), where he settled with his wife Elly. There he began to consider writing a dissertation concerning Greek settlement history.

In 1970 his efforts resulted in *Salganeus and the Fortifications on its Mountains* (Chalcidian Studies 2), which was accepted *cum laude* at the University of Utrecht where Bakhuizen had started his academic career two years earlier in the Department of Ancient History. This book on the defense works guarding the mainland approach to Euboea (all measurements of the fortifications were made without the aid of calculating machines) proved to be the first step of a three-part study on the topography and history of Chalcis on Euboea; *Chalcis-in-Euboea, Iron and Chalcidians Abroad* (Chalcidian Studies 3) appeared in 1976, and *Studies in the Topography of Chalcis on Euboea* (Chalcidian Studies 1) in 1985.

The year 1970 also witnessed the start of what was to become Bakhuizen's life-work: the survey of Goritsa, the fortified settlement facing the large ancient city of Demetrias on the other side of the Gulf of Vólös (or Pagasitic Gulf). Between 1970 and 1975

Bakhuizen mobilized large survey teams which included several of Holland's most promising young archaeologists; thereafter he returned many times with small groups or on his own to the rich but partly heavily overgrown site of Goritsa. After an arduous process of systematic documentation and classification of the surface remains, the survey resulted in 1992 in *A Greek City of the Fourth Century BC* (S.C. Bakhuizen co-ordinator) which appeared in the 'Bibliotheca Archaeologica' series of «L'Erma» di Bretschneider.

Still in the midst of the final stages of the Goritsa project, Bakhuizen embarked in 1976 on another project: the survey of the large and well-preserved fortress of Velouchovo (Kallion), situated deep in the mountainous countryside of Aetolia. Here he had the opportunity to combine systematic site surveying with large-scale regional explorations, not only aiming at a clearer understanding of the East-Aetolian *polis*, but also of the history of the *ethnos* of the Aetolians as a whole.

Unfortunately, Bakhuizen never found the time to fully work out his pioneering ideas about the rise and fall of this Greek mountain people, save for contributions to some of the many renowned international congresses and conferences to which he was invited. His work did result, however, in prolonged Dutch field research in Aetolia, with which he remained in close contact. Bakhuizen himself succeeded in finishing his documentation of the complex multi-period remains on the acropolis of Velouchovo (a report on this work was published in *Pharos* II).

In the meantime Bakhuizen witnessed from some distance, but not without satisfaction, the evolution of *The Archaeological Survey School of Holland in Greece*, which he had founded in the early 1970s, into what eventually became the Netherlands Institute at Athens.

The final years of Bakhuizen's life were somewhat overshadowed by the sudden termination in 1988 of his tenure at Utrecht University, due to an enigmatic mix-up of re-organizations which went out of control, cuts in expenditure, and what seems to have been a total lack of appreciation by the university management of that period for his internationally acclaimed scholarship. However, Bakhuizen was immediately offered the post of Visiting Professor at McGill University, Montreal, where he stayed until the end of 1992.

The remaining years in the Netherlands were a period of undiminished scholarly activity, of harvesting the results of earlier endeavours, of organizing additional field work in Greece, and of making plans for future research.

The premature death of Kees Bakhuizen, after a sudden serious illness, leaves many of his Dutch fellow fieldworkers in Greece without their 'guide and philosopher' — and without a friend.

December 1996

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COFFEE AND ARCHAEOLOGY

A Note on a Kütahya Ware Find in Boeotia, Greece

Joanita Vroom

SINCE 1978 the Boeotia Project has been investigating the history of habitation of this large and until then rather neglected province of Central Greece.¹ Initially, one of the targets of the intensive archaeological survey was to open up research into the history of rural Greece from prehistory to the end of the Roman period, using techniques of surface field survey that had been pioneered by prehistorians to recover detailed settlement patterns. However, when it became evident that the quantity and the quality of the sampled material dating from Medieval and Post-Medieval times was as rich as the finds from any earlier period, the chronology of the project was extended to the 19th century.

Much additional information concerning the Post-Medieval period in Boeotia was gained by the study of the detailed village tax registers of the early Ottoman Empire, as well as of the less detailed archives for late Ottoman times, and of the accounts of European travellers from the 17th century onwards.² To some extent it proved possible to relate this textual evidence directly to the archaeological finds in the research area. Several sites were positively identified, various alterations in village-names could be pinpointed in time, and changes in settlement locations could be traced.³

Today it is widely recognized that the Medieval era has been a neglected period in Greek archaeology. This is all the more true of Post-Medieval times. Hardly anything

¹ The Boeotia Project is a 'joint venture' of the universities of Durham and Cambridge. Since 1978 survey work has been carried out in Southwestern and Northern Boeotia under the direction of Dr J.L. Bintliff and Professor A. Snodgrass; cf. Bintliff & Snodgrass 1985; Bintliff 1991 and 1996a.

² The registers from the Ottoman imperial archives have been studied and translated by Dr H.C.M. Kiel (University of Utrecht; University of Munich); see Kiel in press.

³ The Ottoman village population maps are published in Bintliff 1995 and 1996b.

is known about Post-Medieval Greek ceramics, let alone about ceramics of this period sampled in the course of surface surveys. With this state of affairs it is almost superfluous to add that the relation between Post-Medieval pottery in Greece and textual sources is a field of study yet untrodden by archaeologists and historians alike.

This paper sets out to make a small attempt at mapping this unknown territory. One piece of Ottoman pottery found in Boeotia is used here as an example to illustrate the possibilities (and problems) of integrating the information provided by the written sources and the information provided by archaeological artefacts.

The site of Archondiki in Boeotia

Once the Boeotia Project had embarked on the task of locating as many of the Ottoman census villages as possible, it seemed an attractive and helpful strategy to start with visiting the deserted villages known in the research area. These villages appear in the Ottoman village archives and remains of them can be recorded in the modern landscape. One such village, or rather — as is apparent from the archives — a pair of villages, bore the name 'Archonditsa' or 'Archondiki' (one community appears for the first time in 1466 as 'Archondiki Bala', the other in 1521 as 'Archondiki Zir').

The location of the twin villages of Archondiki (provisionally labelled 'Upper Archondiki' and 'Lower Archondiki') was recorded 5 km east of the modern (paired) villages of Thespies and Leondari (see Fig. 1).⁴ Both Archondiki-villages appear in the Ottoman archives as Albanian settlements, one giving rise to the other in a relatively short time during the early Turkish period. By the late 19th century, however, only one can be traced as a deserted village on contemporary maps. The sources are of little help as to which of the villages outlived the other.

On the sites of both Upper and Lower Archondiki the surface ceramic material of the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods is abundant and clear in character: both sites yielded Late Frankish-Early Turkish sherds (15th-16th centuries), but outside that timespan they show a very different archaeological record. The material evidence suggests that Lower Archondiki was established as a village in Frankish or possibly late Middle Byzantine times (12th-13th centuries) and indeed almost all its pottery is pre-Ottoman in date, whilst on the site of Upper Archondiki pottery from predominantly the 17th to 19th centuries can be found.

This later inception of activity at Upper Archondiki may at first glance correlate with the mention of the later daughter-settlement of 'Archondiki Zir' in the Ottoman census archives. The Upper Archondiki site also shows significant occupation in later Turkish times (contrary to the site of Lower Archondiki), which might clarify the later cartographic data of one surviving settlement. However, the comparative rarity of 15th-19th century pottery at the Lower Archondiki site makes it more likely that this settlement is in fact neither of the Albanian hamlets cited in the Ottoman archives, but the remains of a preceding Byzantine-Frankish community abandoned before the Ottoman conquest.

⁴ More precise information on these sites will be given in Bintliff & Vroom (in preparation).

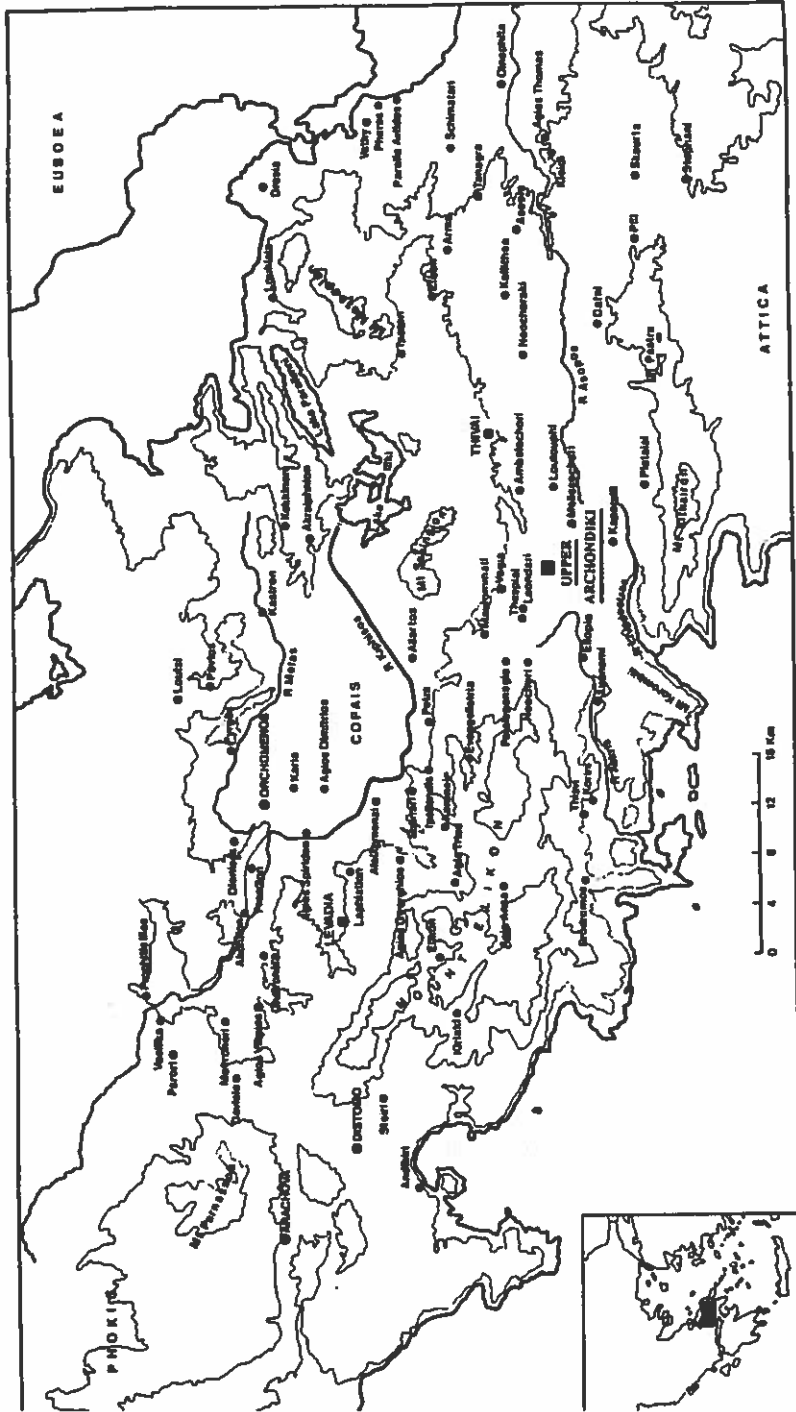


Figure 1. Map of Boeotia with approximate position of Upper Archondiki

The implication is that we have still to locate the second Albanian Archondiki settlement, since the rare finds of pre-Ottoman pottery at Upper Archondiki can be explained by offsite activity, and the rare finds of Ottoman pottery at Lower Archondiki likewise by offsite rubbish disposal and agricultural activity.⁵

What matters here is that in the course of the Boeotia survey some 400 sherds were collected on the site of Upper Archondiki, of which the bulk can be designated to the 17th to the 19th centuries.⁶ Among the finds are imports from Italy (Pesaro and Grottaglie) and Turkey (Kütahya and Çanakkale). Here one piece of Kütahya Ware of the Upper Archondiki-collection will be described in more detail.

Description of the find

Kütahya Ware is very rare indeed in Greece in general, and in Boeotia in particular. Some beautiful examples of very well preserved Kütahya pottery are kept in various collections in Athens (e.g. Benaki Museum, National Historical Museum), but their provenance is often unknown.⁷ These vessels have been studied as far as their aesthetic qualities are concerned, but not much is yet known about their function and use in Late Ottoman society. From the point of view of excavations and surveys, the study of Kütahya Ware is therefore not only interesting because of the extreme rarity of this pottery, but also because of the unknown functional aspects.

Here, the colour of the fabric of the Boeotian fragment is described according to the classification of the *Munsell Soil Color Charts* (1970 edition) (e.g. 5 YR 6/6 for orange). The colours of the decoration which fall outside the range of the Munsell Soil Color Charts are described according to the standard Pantone Matching System (PMS).⁸

1. Hemispherical small cup, rim fragment. Fig. 2.
pres. H. 0.029, est. Diam. of rim 0.080.

Moderately soft, fine, light yellow orange fabric (10 YR 8/3) with a few, fine quartz particles? Smooth feel. White slip and transparent glaze in and out. Decoration: black lozenge design and blue lines (PMS 278 C) on the inside; bluish gray (PMS 285 C)/turquoise (PMS 319 C)/black/reddish brown (7.5 R 4/4) design on the outside. Small straight rim with rounded lip and convex divergent upper wall.

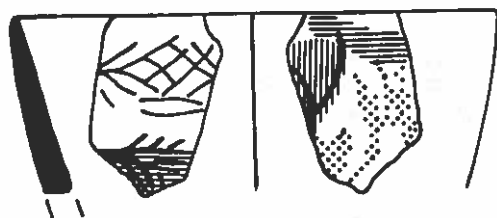
Late Turkish Kütahya Ware. Cf. Hayes 1992, figure 100 for similar shapes found during excavations in Istanbul. 18th century AD.

⁵ Bintliff (personal communication, November 1996) suggested that the establishment of Albanian settlements usually near but not on top of abandoned Byzantine-Frankish villages seems so common in Boeotia that it was probably a deliberate policy of the Dukes of Athens who invited the Albanian colonists during the 14th century.

⁶ The pottery was collected in 1993. After examination, recording and preliminary dating, the sherds were added to the Boeotian corpus of material (now kept at the Thespies Museum).

⁷ Kyriazopoulos 1978 and Hayes 1992, 266 (note 2) give an enumeration of published examples of Kütahya pottery in various collections in- and outside Greece. Furthermore, I also noticed some Kütahya Ware pieces in the Agora collection in Athens (published in Frantz 1942, group 8, nos. 7 and 8, fig. 25; group 10, nos. 1-3, fig. 35) and in the storage rooms of the museums of Corinth and Thebes (unpublished).

⁸ Pantone Color Formula Guide 747XR (New Jersey USA, 1989).



= Blue



= Green



= Red-brown



= Black

Figure 2. Kütahya Ware fragment with painted decoration (1:1) from Upper Archondiki, 18th century AD

Kütahya Ware

Situated in Central Anatolia, about 200 km from Istanbul, Kütahya is particularly noted for its 18th century painted table wares and tiles. By this time the city occupied the position held by adjacent Iznik in earlier Ottoman times.⁹ In the 17th century, the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi already recorded the decline of the Iznik potteries and noted also the production of ceramics in Kütahya. He wrote of his visit in 1669-1670, "Kütahya has thirty-four quarters, among them the quarter of the infidel china-makers [...] their dishes and cups, their various drinking-vessels and jugs, their bowls and plates are not only for local consumption. But the dishes of Iznik are more world-famous" (as cited by Lane 1957, 63).

According to some scholars (e.g. Glassie 1993, 435), fine ceramics were already being made in Kütahya from the end of the 14th century. The heyday of Kütahya pottery, however, was in the 18th century. In that period the ware found its way to all the corners of the Ottoman Empire: from Jerusalem and Cairo in the East to Budapest in the West, and to the Crimea in the North. A few pieces even reached North America.¹⁰ A later phase of poorer quality (mainly cups and dishes) continued into the 19th century, when Kütahya potters tried to make an unconvincing imitation of early Ottoman Iznik ware.

⁹ Kütahya Ware is similar in character to the painted high-quality ceramics of Iznik (about 96.5 km southeast of Istanbul), where from the 15th to the 18th century vessels and tiles of a very high standard were produced for the Ottoman market and beyond.

¹⁰ See Hayes 1992, 266 (notes 3-5) with extensive references regarding these finds of Kütahya Ware in and out the Levant.

Lately, through a series of revivals the industry has attained something of a second youth (Glassie 1993, 435-562).

Classic Kütahya Ware is characterized by a fine, buff-coloured body, covered with an irregular lead glaze. Usually polychrome, the colours (including blue, green, red, purple and yellow) are painted on a white slip beneath a transparent glaze. Kütahya Ware is strongly influenced by Chinese porcelain, and is, therefore, sometimes described as a cheap substitute of real porcelain or 'peasant-porcelain' (Lane 1957, 65).

The painted designs are usually geometrical, floral or figurative. Characteristic are Christian subjects (figures of saints) or the depiction of men and women wearing contemporary 18th century Turkish costume. Some scholars believe that most of the potters in Kütahya seem to have been Armenians or Greeks, because the vessels often bear inscriptions in these languages (Lane 1939, 234 and 1957, 63-66; and, in particular, Kyriazopoulos 1978).

The most distinctive products of the Kütahya potters are small, thin-walled utensils, including coffee cups (often with matching saucers), bowls, jugs and coffee pots. The shapes of the small cups are probably derived from those of porcelain coffee cups made at Vienna and Meissen (Germany) about 1730-1740 (Fig. 3).¹¹

In the written sources of the time we actually see references to the use of this sort of coffee cup. In 1839 the Western traveller Ami Boué described the serving of coffee in the Ottoman Empire, apparently referring to Kütahya Ware: "Der Kaffee wird in sehr kleinen, weissen Porzellantassen [...] aufgetragen, welche oftmals mit einem feinen Goldrand, aber nur bei sehr reichen Leuten mit Malereien verziert sind" (as cited by Ursinus 1985, 157).¹²



Figure 3. An 18th century Kütahya coffee cup (from the catalogue of the Sadberk Hanım Museum in Istanbul, no.K42)

¹¹ According to Lane 1939, 236 and 1957, 65, some examples even bear an imitation of the crossed-swords mark found on Meissen coffee-cups.

¹² Such 18th century coffee-cups were, according to Faroqhi 1995, 177, in the Ottoman Empire also found in the property of travelling merchants and artisans.

Coffee in the Ottoman Empire

From the 15th century onwards coffee and tobacco were new products in the Ottoman Empire. As to the origin of coffee, there are many (unreliable) stories: the coffee tree was once thought to be a native of Persia, but more probably came from the region of Ethiopia or Yemen.¹³ In any case, coffee is recorded to have been drunk in Mecca by 1511, since there in that year its consumption was forbidden.¹⁴ During the 16th and 17th centuries coffee consumption was forbidden and re-authorized at regular intervals by the authorities, because coffee houses (an exclusive male preserve in the Ottoman Empire) were considered hot-beds of social and political unrest (Ursinus 1985, 158, Faroqhi 1995, 242, and especially Hattox 1985).

Nevertheless, coffee gained ground within the Ottoman Empire. It was drunk at home, in coffee houses and even in distant villages deep in Anatolia (Faroqhi 1995, 241). Especially after the conquest of Egypt in 1517 by the Turkish sultan Selim I, the coffee house spread widely throughout the Muslim world (Fig. 4). Since then the distribution of coffee between Yemen (productive of coffee beans), Egypt (centre of the transit trade) and the rest of the Ottoman Empire was better organised. Through these trade routes the first coffee house-owners reached Aleppo and Damascus in 1532, and Istanbul around 1555 (Hattox 1985, 77). Also pilgrimages to Mecca functioned as a catalyst for the success of coffee houses (Reinders & Wijzenbeek 1994, 35). According to the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelibi, there were seventy-five such establishments in 17th century Bursa.¹⁵ One of their chief attractions was the possibility of drinking a non-alcoholic liquor, while smoking tobacco, playing chess, transacting business or simply exchanging gossip.¹⁶

It did not take long before Western scholars and sailors began to note this Turkish drink, made of 'a kind of pulse like peas'. The German physician and botanist Leonhart Rauwulf, travelling through Aleppo and Baghdad, observed in 1580 as the first European the drinking of a beverage 'as black as ink' called *chaube*: "The Arabs will drink it early in the morning, also in public places without any diffidence, from earthenware and porcelain cups. They sip it as hot as possible, and pass the cup around while sitting in a ring."¹⁷

¹³ According to Brown 1995, 4, the drinking of coffee was already popular among the *Sufis*, a mystic religious sect, and also with the tribesmen of Ethiopia and Yemen in the beginning of the 15th century. Reinders & Wijzenbeek 1994, 13, also believe that the coffee shrub came from Ethiopia.

¹⁴ See Braudel 1981, 256 and, especially, Reinders & Wijzenbeek 1994, 13 (note 16) and 35, who refer to a manuscript of Abd-al-Kadir (1587), or the oldest known Arabian source about coffee, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

¹⁵ As cited by Faroqhi 1995, 244. She also mentions the existence of a coffee house in the registers of Ankara around 1600. According to Mansel 1995, 170, Syrians established the first public coffee house in Istanbul in 1554. See also, in general, Hattox 1985.

¹⁶ As such the German traveller Carsten Niebuhr described the atmosphere of 18th century coffee houses in the Ottoman Empire. See Reinders & Wijzenbeek 1994, 14 and also 35, and Hattox 1985, 81-82 for more information about the interior of such establishments. Mansel 1995, 171, believes that there were also separate Greek, Albanian, Persian, and Janissary coffee houses in Istanbul.

¹⁷ Leonhart Rauwulf, *Eigentliche Beschreibung der Raisse in die Morgenländer* (1582), 102-3, as cited by Brown 1995, 7. See also Reinders & Wijzenbeek 1994, 15.



Figure 4. Turkish miniature of a coffee house, mid-16th century (after Hattox 1985, pl. 6)

And the Italian traveller Pietro della Valle, visiting Istanbul a thirty years later, wrote in 1615: "One hardly sees a gathering where it is not drunk. A large fire is kept going for this purpose and little porcelain bowls are kept by it ready-filled with the mixture; when it is hot enough there are men entrusted with the office who do nothing else but carry these little bowls to all the company, as hot as possible, also giving each person a few melon seeds to chew to pass the time. And with the seeds and this beverage, which they call *kafoue*, they amuse themselves while conversing [...] sometimes for a period of seven or eight hours."¹⁸

According to a French treatise on coffee the Turks used a kind of small cylindrical machine to roast the coffee beans.¹⁹ The writer of this treatise, Ph. Sylvestre Dufour, also showed in his book a picture of such 'a coffee roaster', which he called an *instrumentum ad torrefaciendam Cafam*. The roaster is depicted at the bottom of the engraving next to some coffee beans, and at the top a Turk is drinking coffee from a cup of a similar shape as the later Kütahya coffee cups (Fig. 5).

Until then, the Turks had been able to maintain exclusive control over the production and distribution of the Arabian coffee beans. They were gathered in the Valley of the Great Mountains in Arabia Felix (now Yemen), transported to Cairo and then down the Nile to the port of Alexandria where they were distributed to Anatolia and Europe.²⁰



Figure 5. 'A coffee-drinking Turk', Ph. Sylvestre Dufour, *Traitez Nouveaux et Curieux du Café [...]*, 1685. Johann Jacobs Museum, Zürich (Reinders & Wijsbeek 1994, 14)

¹⁸ Pietro della Valle, *Les Fameux Voyages... I* (1670), 78, as cited by Braudel 1981, 256.

¹⁹ Ph. Sylvestre Dufour, *Traitez Nouveaux & Curieux du Café, du Thé et du Chocolate* (1685), as cited by Reinders & Wijsbeek 1994, 13-4.

²⁰ See Inalcik & Quatert 1994, 487, 507-9, for more information on Cairo as centre of the inter-regional and international trade in coffee.

It was not before the second half of the 17th century when the English, Dutch and French companies were also interested in merchandising the coffee bean.²¹

Coffee outside the Ottoman Empire

Coffee was (together with tea) introduced in Europe during the first half of the 17th century. Initially, these drinks were great luxuries for the Western elite, but consumption widened as prices fell. By 1615, the first coffee beans reached Venice from the Middle East.²² Thereafter they were imported in large quantities through Venice and Marseilles. The Sire de la Roque, an important merchant from Marseilles, was said to have brought the first coffee beans to his native city in 1644, along with some expensive cups and tea-pots.²³ The new drink was introduced in Paris by 1643, in London by 1651 and in Amsterdam the first coffee auction was held in 1661 (Reinders & Wijsenbeek 1994, 11).

Like tea, coffee was thought to be a marvel remedy. At first regarded as medicines, these new drugs were only sold in chemists' at high prices.²⁴ Physicians and botanists listed all kinds of virtues and vices attributed to coffee. Some thought it to be the Elixir of Life whilst others considered it a poison which could cause impotence, baldness and even black teeth. It was generally agreed, though, that an excess of coffee would cause problems, but this did not deter a French Marquis who was reputed to drink 100 to 150 cups a day without ill effect! (Brown 1995, 42). However, physicians (and public rumour) claimed that coffee was an antiaphrodisiac and a 'eunuch's drink' (Braudel 1981, 257).

But despite these accusations the taste for coffee was quickly exploited by the many coffee houses springing up in towns everywhere. One of the earliest was opened in 1652 in London by Pasqua Rosie, who launched this drink "to prevent miss-carryings in child-bearing women [...] and against sore eyes."²⁵ During the reign of Charles II coffee-houses multiplied so rapidly in London that by 1675 the city was said to have above two-hundred-fifty such establishments.²⁶ They soon became the favourite meeting places of merchants, lawyers, politicians and writers (and were known as 'penny universities'). As

²¹ When the Dutch, French and English companies developed trade from their colonies in South-America and the East Indies this caused a real competition for the Arabian coffee bean. After the 1740s the Ottoman shores also became the destination for cheaper colonial goods (including coffee) coming from the New World. As a result, the transit trade of Cairo got into a deep crisis in the 18th century. See Faroqhi 1995, 58, and Inalcik & Quatert 1994, 725 and 728.

²² According to Reinders & Wijsenbeek 1994, 36, Venice was the first European city to open a coffee house in 1645.

²³ According to his son, Jean de la Roque in *Le Voyage de l'Arabie Heureuse* (1716), 364, as cited by Braudel 1981, 256.

²⁴ According to Reinders & Wijsenbeek 1994, 11-12, coffee beans can also be found in the 1682 edition of the *Pharmacopea Amstelredamensis*, a famous reference book for chemists.

²⁵ *The Virtue of the Coffee Drink, first publicly made and sold in England by Pasqua Rosie*, undated broadsheet, ca. 1655, as cited by Brown 1995, 12.

²⁶ Lillywhite 1963. See also Braudel 1981, 257-8 about the Parisian coffee houses and Reinders & Wijsenbeek, 36-54 about those in the Dutch Republic.

in the East, they had an all-male clientele, who enjoyed the informal club-like atmosphere, but at the same time gave opportunity for political commotions.²⁷

The new drink spread gradually from the coffee-houses to the homes of the gentry, and soon no household of any standing could afford to be without, although coffee remained expensive. Still, these stimulating beverages (including tea and chocolate) were not approved of by everyone in the upper classes. In 1704 Liselotte von der Pfalz wrote about these fashionable drinks at the French court of Versailles: "Ich kann weder thé noch chocolat noch caffè drincken; all das frembt Zeug ist mir zuwider: den chocolat findt ich zu süß, caffè kompt mir vor wie Ruß und das thé wie eine halbe Medicin, summa ich kann in diesem Stück wie in viellen andern garnicht alamode sein" (as cited by Schwerdel-Schmidt 1992, 118).

In the late 17th century coffee, tea and chocolate influenced the appearance of most European households through the variety of new utensils associated with their making, serving and drinking. The main problem was, however, that these new drinks were intended to be drunk 'as hot as possible'. At first, Europeans were not used to this idea, for food and drink were rarely taken hot at the table and the word 'hot' was generally understood as a medical term rather than as a word related to the temperature of food and beverage. Besides, most 17th century households did not have the suitable equipment (i.e. porcelain) to cope with the heat of these new liquids.²⁸

Massive increases in imports of coffee and tea date from the 1710s,²⁹ and by the mid-18th century to drink tea or coffee was an expected part of the behaviour of people of middle rank. In some households it became even something of a ceremony, with matching expensive coffee- or tea-sets. Individual members of the family had their own personal coffee pots with long spouts and China cups from which to drink the new beverages.³⁰ As a result, China porcelain or cheaper porcelain-type ceramics (such as Kutahya Ware) were imported in large quantities in the 18th century.³¹ The French merchant Paul Lucas sent, for instance, in 1715 from Istanbul "une douzaine de tasses à café avec leurs soucoupes, une tasse, deux bouteilles pour mettre de l'eau de rose, deux salières et deux escitoires, le tout de porcelaine de Cutaje" (as cited by Lane 1957, 63).

According to the British historian Lorna Weatherill, some of the most dramatic visual changes in the material culture of the 18th century resulted from the influx of these highly decorated, functional utensils for drinking the new hot liquids. Porcelain and pseudo-porcelain were, she thinks, "stunningly different in style and colour from any other

²⁷ According to Tsigakou 1981, 70, the Athenian coffee house 'Orea Ellas' (Beautiful Greece) was the source of many political disturbances in 19th century Greece. An illustration in her book shows the famous Athenian coffee house, drawn by Ludwig Köllnberger in 1837. See also Petropoulos 1979 for general information about coffee houses in Greece.

²⁸ According to Weatherill 1988, 28, who studied the ownership of domestic goods in England between 1675 and 1725, China porcelain and other equipment for the new hot drinks were virtually unknown in 1675. See also her tables 2.1-2.

²⁹ The average yearly import of the English East-India Company increased six fold from 110,000 lbs during the period 1675-1699 to 625,000 lbs for the first quarter of the 18th century. For these imports see Chaudhuri 1978.

³⁰ Coffee and chocolate succeeded ale and beer as their breakfast drinks.

³¹ In British households China and utensils for hot drinks expanded from being virtually unknown in the 1670s to being virtually ubiquitous by 1715, especially in London and the major towns; cf. Weatherill 1988, tables 2.1-2, 3.3-4 and 4.4.

domestic utensils of the time — an impact lost on us because we have become accustomed to decorated china and crockery" (Weatherill 1988, 159). Other scholars (Brown 1995, 65) even argue that the demand for objects needed to consume coffee, tea and chocolate helped prompt the rise of the industrial revolution in Britain.

Discussion: Coffee in Boeotia

Apart from the fact that the sample from Upper Archondiki is relatively small compared to pottery collections from sites which were surveyed intensively (or excavated), very few fragments of Kütahya Ware have been found until now in Boeotia as a whole. Apparently this also holds true for the rest of Greece. This sparsity of Kütahya Ware is in contrast with the finds of other imported fine wares (the occurrence of which seems to be in proportion to the rest of the domestic assemblages).

This can indicate three things. First, the drinking of coffee in 18th century Boeotia (and Greece?) may have been far less widespread than in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. From the village tax registers of Mavrommati in Boeotia we do know that in the 16th century people drank a beverage with the name *boza* or *bouza*, a mild alcoholic liquid made of a bad quality barley.³² Although no mention is made of coffee in the written sources of the 16th century, this does, of course, not exclude the drinking of coffee, let alone the drinking of coffee two centuries later. On the contrary, Western travellers explicitly mention coffee consumption in 18th century Greece. During his stay in Boeotian Livadhia, the American politician Nicholas Biddle observed in 1806 the widespread consumption of the hot beverage: "On entering a house you first are presented with a pipe then coffee & sometimes a spoon full of citron & a bowl of water. The breakfast is generally a cup of coffee" (McNeal 1993, 104).

The absence of Kütahya Ware could also indicate that coffee in Boeotia (and Greece?) was consumed in other types of vessels or mugs. This assumption, however, seems to be refuted by the same Nicholas Biddle, who mentions in his journal a visit to the Aga of Tripolizza (modern Tripolis in the Peloponnese) during which coffee "without any mixture of milk or sugar" was served in "a little cup with matching saucer" (McNeal 1993, 181). This must have been a kind of porcelain or pseudo-porcelain (probably) made in the same way as Kütahya Ware. There is no reason to assume that Boeotia was too distant a region for imports from Kütahya, because even in the remote settlement of Archondiki several fragments of other 17th-19th century imported pottery from Italy and Turkey have been found.

A third reason for the absence of Kütahya Ware may be that archaeologists working in Greece have until now paid very little attention indeed to this 18th century type of pottery — or to any Post-Medieval pottery at all. However, this does not explain why in the course of modern intensive surveys in Greece so little of the ware is recorded.³³

³² H.C.M. Kiel, personal communication, November 1996.

³³ Only in Eastern Phokis were two fragments of Kütahya Ware found; cf. Armstrong 1989, nos.35 and 37, fig.17, pl.9.

The fragment of Kütahya Ware found at the site of Upper Archondiki in Boeotia is, in short, a special find. It must have been part of a coffee cup, because this specific type of Kütahya Ware was specially designated for the drinking of this new hot liquid, as the written sources indicate. It is also markedly different in style and decoration from the rest of 18th century domestic pottery in Greece.

The textual evidence suggests that Kütahya Ware was exclusively used by rich and privileged persons. The extreme rarity of Kütahya Ware in Upper Archondiki may raise the question whether the Albanian village (and Boeotia at large?) had only a very small elite (which would have been Albano-Greek rather than Ottoman).³⁴ Nowhere in the village tax registers concerning Boeotia is mention made of the existence of a coffee house. On the other hand, it is certain that during the 18th century coffee was also popular as a drink in private houses, in all corners of the Ottoman Empire, even in the most distant villages. The uncertainty about the social realities of 18th century rural villages in the Greek countryside is further enhanced by the fact that for this era the tax registers are fragmentary and difficult to interpret.

Today the drinking of coffee and tea is so commonplace that it is difficult for us to realise how revolutionary the introduction of these hot beverages and their matching pottery once were in the 17th and 18th centuries — inside and outside the Ottoman Empire. The single piece of Kütahya Ware found at the Archondiki site in Boeotia suggests, however, that at least one person must have enjoyed the consumption of coffee from a nicely decorated real Kütahya coffee cup — and undoubtedly he drank it as it should be drunk: as hot as possible and as black as ink.

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³⁴ Nicholas Biddle counted in 1806, for instance, about 8000 or 10,000 inhabitants in Athens of which 1/5 were Turks (McNeal 1993, 148); in preceding centuries, the percentage of 'muslim' inhabitants of Athens seems to have been even smaller; cf. figures in Kiel 1987.

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COLONEL ROTTIERS, GREEK ANTIQUITIES, AND GREEK PROVISIONAL LAW

Daniel Koster

BUT *who, of all the plunderers of yon fane
on high, where Pallas linger'd, loth to flee
The latest relic of her ancient reign;
The last, the worst, dull spoiler, who was he?
Blush, Caledonia! such thy son could be!
England! I joy no child he was of thine:
Thy free-born men should spare what once was free:
Yet they could violate each saddening shrine,
And bear these altars o'er the long-reluctant brine.*

*But most the modern Pict's ignoble boast,
To rive what Goth, and Turk, and Time hath spar'd:
Cold as the crags upon his native coast,
His mind as barren and his heart as hard,
Is he whose head conceiv'd, whose hand prepar'd,
Aught to displace Athena's poor remains:
Her sons too weak the sacred shrine to guard,
Yet felt some portion of their mother's pains,
And never knew, till then, the weight of Despot's chains.¹*

¹ *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto II, Stanza's XI and XII, in *The Works of Lord Byron*, Ware, Hertfordshire 1994, 191.

In 1987 Dr F.L. Bastet, archaeologist and curator of the Rijksmuseum of Antiquities at Leyden, published his study on the three Rottiers collections acquired by this museum in the early 19th century.² Bastet studied in particular the history of the acquisition of the third Rottiers collection, many items of which can still be admired by adherents of the 'Grecian taste.' The most spectacular items of this collection were unearthed by a certain Colonel Rottiers, who had some knowledge of archaeology, in a short campaign on the island of Milos during the first part of August 1825. On the tenth, Rottiers received an official protest by the local (revolutionary) authorities on the grounds that his excavation was illegal and the export of antiquities prohibited. The antiquarian colonel was ordered to pay a fine of 5000 Spanish dollars. He and his company, however, left Milos two days later without paying. Bastet presumed that he did so for the simple reason that the man-of-wars which had brought Rottiers to the island were to accompany the vessel of the newly arrived Dutch ambassador, Baron van Zuylen van Nyevelt, on his voyage to Constantinople; the departure thus had nothing to do with Greek intervention. He further assumed that up until that moment no Greek legislation on antiquities existed. This article aims to prove that he was mistaken and that the Greeks were not only fighting the Turks (since 1827), but were also already formulating legislation on the remnants of their ancient heritage in the early years of their revolution, before their recognition by the Great Powers as an independent state (since 1829).

Plunderers of you fame

The appreciation of all things Greek has seen many vicissitudes in time; since the Roman period material manifestations of the Greek spirit have been pillaged or simply destroyed by invading 'barbarians' or Christian zealots. Earthquakes and other natural disasters contributed to the gradual evaporation of many an ancient building or statue from the ancient landscape. Only when foreign conquerors incorporated the ancient structures into their building programs were statues, shrines, temples and public buildings saved from complete destruction. This was the main reason why western antiquarian travellers could still recognize the original shape of the monuments on the Akropolis of Athens amidst a jumble of medieval Frankish and Ottoman additions, before the disastrous Ottoman-Venetian wars of the second half of the 17th century.

Ironically, it was after the destruction of the Parthenon in 1687 that an ever growing stream of western admirers of Grecian art appeared in the eastern Mediterranean, especially when the influence of the Enlightenment and classical taste had spread over western Europe and made Hellenism into a powerful ideology at the end of the 18th century. For the time being the locals, both Turks and Greeks,³ were ignorant of this fact and continued to turn marble into mortar. Sometimes they even smashed the precious marbles to bits, led by their greed to believe that the radiant stones hid treasures. This behaviour gave the Europeans the pretext of seeing themselves as conservationists, using

² See for a short biography F.L. Bastet, *De drie collecties Rottiers te Leiden*, Leiden 1987, 2-5, and A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek, zestiende Deel*, Haarlem 1874.

³ During the period of Turkish rule, religious denomination was considered more important than ethnic background. In these terms all Muslims were called Turks and all Orthodox Christians Greeks.

Greek and Turkish ignorance alike to justify their zeal for collecting antiquities.⁴

Round the turn of the 18th and 19th century, when the revolutionary wars swept over the old continent, the hunt for ancient masterpieces became practically obsessive and led to an undeclared war between the English and the French, resulting in the demolition of the sculptures of the Parthenon; a most ignoble deed, not only in the eyes of the young Lord Byron, but in those of many others as well. The most ruthless plunderer appeared to be Thomas Bruce, the 7th Earl of Elgin and eleventh Earl of Kincardine, Byrons' "noble Caledonian" who between 1799 and 1802 had become the British ambassador at the Sublime Porte.⁵ It was during that time that the debate on the legitimacy of the continuing assimilation of Hellas' ancient remains became a topic in western Europe.

The outbreak of the War of Independence (1821) did not stop the international brigade of antiquity-poachers as they went on with their activities, undisturbed by the ferocious war of mutual extermination. Not believing in a positive outcome for the Greeks, they justified their actions by continuing to argue that they were on a rescue-operation, saving the ancient monuments from destruction by the Turkish host. Some of them even came into conflict with the provisional government and reluctantly acknowledged the existence of legislation by this government on the preservation of the ancient remains. One of these antiquity-poachers was the Flemish Colonel Bernard Rottiers.

The first Rottiers collection⁶

Colonel Bernard Eugene Antoine Rottiers (1771-1858) had an extremely colourful military career. He served in the army of the Austrian Netherlands, in the army of the Dutch Republic, in the British navy, in the army of the Kingdom of Holland under Louis Napoleon, the brother of the French emperor, and finally between 1809/10 and 1818 in the Caucasian armies of imperial Russia. From those troubled regions he found his way home by travelling along the Black Sea coast to Constantinople, where he stayed for 4 months. From there he journeyed through Greek waters to arrive at Athens on 8 February 1819. While Rottiers Sr. was hunting antiquities, his son Jean made 'le tour de la Grèce.' Bernard Rottiers became acquainted with the Frenchman Louis François Sebastien Fauvel⁷

⁴ See C. P. Bracken, *Antiquities Acquired, The Spoliation of Greece*, London 1975; F.M. Tsikagou, *The Rediscovery of Greece*, London 1981; Richard Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods. The Search for Classical Greece*, London 1987; Roland and Françoise Etienne, *De schatkamer van het oude Griekenland*, Houten 1992, a Dutch translation of *La Grèce antique, archéologie d'une découverte*, Paris 1990; Robert Eisner, *The History and Literature of Travel to Greece*, Ann Arbor 1993, and Daniel Koster, *To Hellen's Noble Land, Dutch Accounts of Travellers, Geographers and historians on Greece (1488-1854)*, Groningen 1995.

⁵ For a discussion on the Elgin Marbles, see Christopher Hitchens, *The Elgin Marbles*, Athens 1988, and William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, Oxford 1967.

⁶ For the first Rottiers collection, see Bastet, 5-50.

⁷ Fauvel (1753-1838) was an artist, antiquarian, archaeologist and cicerone, who first experienced Greece between 1780 and 1782 when he was an agent for Count Choiseul-Gouffier, the French ambassador at the Sublime Porte. In 1802 he became the Vice-Consul of France at Athens. When the revolution broke out he left Greece and settled in Smyrna, where he died in miserable conditions. His house in what is now called the Plaka was hit by shell-fire and many items of his archaeological collection, which he was not able to move to Smyrna, were destroyed; see further Stoneman, 167.

and the Prussian Georg Christian Gropius,⁸ who by their long stay in Athens had been the cicerones of many a well-known traveller. He bought from them antiquities and with their assistance he excavated near Aixone.⁹

These excavations produced little, and so Rottiers decided to buy from the collections of Fauvel and Gropius. During his sojourn in Athens, Rottiers of course met his old acquaintance Origone,¹⁰ who in the meantime had become consul of the Kingdom of the Netherlands at Athens, as well as his chancellor Giuracich,¹¹ from whose collection he also purchased several antiquities. Rottiers managed to send his collection to Antwerp with the 'Lynx' under the command of a certain captain Coertsen on 1 April. Rottiers left the city of Minerva on 15 April and travelled through Corinth and Patras to Lefkas. Before he and his family visited Corfu he called at Parga, which the British had just delivered into the hands of Ali Pasha. From Corfu he crossed the Adriatic and travelled from Bari to Naples and Rome, where he arrived at the end of 1819. His next stop was Paris where he met the well-known cartographer and scholar Barbié du Bocage. By the end of May 1820 he was back in his native-city Antwerp. Finding himself a citizen of an enlarged kingdom of the Netherlands, he entered Dutch service again and managed to sell his collection to the National Museum of Antiquities in Leyden, founded two years prior by King William I.¹²

⁸ Gropius (1776-1850) was a draughtsman and etcher. He worked for George Hamilton Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, and followed Jacob Ludwig Salomon Bartholdy on his journey to Italy and Greece in 1802/3. He was a man of many talents, exporting olive oil, collecting, excavating and selling antiquities in Greece, which led to his involvement in the wheeling and dealing of the Aegina marbles (1811) and those of Bassae (1812) for which he earned the scorn of Lord Byron. He became Vice-Consul of Austria in 1818 and Consul-General in 1840. When the Revolution broke out he managed to take a neutral stand which was accepted by both Greeks and Turks, although the Greeks suspected him of espionage and releasing information to the Turks. Whatever the case may be, he was able to ransom many prisoners of war on both sides. See *Biografisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, M. Bernath ed., 2. Band, 94-95.

⁹ An Attic deme near the west coast between the modern airport of Ellenikó and Glyfada. See E.K., *Der Kleine Pauly, Lexikon der Antike in fünf Bänden*, Vol.1, München 1979, 211, and Evg. Kefallinéou, *I prostaia ton archeotéton stin "Efimeridha ton Athenón" episódhia archeokapiliás*, in *Parnassós*, Vol.ka, No.3, 1979, 420 note 2.

¹⁰ Domenico Origone was a Corsican merchant and shipowner who met Rottiers at Ak Liman on the southern coast of the Black Sea. On the colonel's recommendation he became Vice-Consul of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Athens. See Rottiers, *Itinéraire de Tiflis a Constantinople*, Brussels 1829 and Bastet, 7.

¹¹ Paul Giuracich was a merchant from Ragusa, modern Dubrovnik. In 1814 he became a donor of the Athenian Filomousa Society. Before becoming Origone's secretary in 1819, he was the chancellor of the Austrian Vice-Consul Gropius.

¹² In a copy of a letter written by Ludwig, Crown Prince of Bavaria on 27 October 1819 mention is made of two Dutchmen who were planning to start an excavation in the area of the theatre of Milos. This area had been bought in 1817 by the traveller and archaeologist Karl von Haller von Hallerstein (1774-1817), Ludwig's agent in Greece a few months before his death. Could the two Dutchmen have been Rottiers and his son? See also Bastet, 134, where a concise report of Rottiers' activities between 1824 and 1826 is reproduced. There one reads that "le colonel avait loué un morceau de terrain, qu'il supposait d'après ses recherches antérieurs en 1819," but see also Bastet's doubts in note 207. Other Dutch travellers who were touring the Levant at that time were the young lawyer Alewijn from Utrecht and his friend Rohenstart, who had met Fauvel, Gropius, Lusieri, Elgin's agent at Athens, and Origone during their stay in Athens. See E.G. Protopsaltes, *Istoriká Éngrafo perí archeotéton ke lipón mnimion tis istorías katá tous chrónous tis epanastáseos ke tou Kapodistria*, Athens 1967, 14 note 1.

The second Rottiers collection¹³

This collection came into being as a sideline of a trading-mission to the Black Sea. King William I gave the merchant and shipowner Jean-Baptiste De Lescluze¹⁴ permission to sail to the Levant in order to check the possibility of promoting Dutch trading interests in the Black Sea, and to conclude treaties with the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵ He was accompanied by his son, the Frenchman De Taitbout de Marigny,¹⁶ who had been appointed vice-consul for the south coast of the Black Sea, and Jean Rottiers, the colonel's eldest son. They left Flanders with the 'Triton' and the 'Therèse' on 10 April 1821 and entered Greek waters at the beginning of June when the Greek revolution was 2 months old.

From Zea (Keos) they sailed to Hydra where they stayed on the roadstead until the twenty-fourth when they weighed anchor to arrive the next day in Piraeus, which was in control of the revolutionary forces. Greek threats coerced them into leaving again. Panic broke out in the town at the approach of Ottoman forces. As history does not repeat itself in the same way (not enough 'wooden walls' were available), De Lescluze evacuated 1100 Athenians from the mainland to the island of Salamis.¹⁷ By 18 August, De Lescluze and company had returned to Zea where they anchored until the twenty-sixth. From there they sailed to Syra where Rottiers Jr. bought a collection of antiquities from Paul Giuracich, who had fled to this island after the outbreak of the Revolution.

Under these circumstances the goal of the whole expedition became inaccessible and De Lescluze decided on 22 October 1821 to return to the Netherlands. He and Jean Rottiers were back on 18 December and Rottiers Sr. managed to sell the antiquities (the

¹³ See for Rottiers II, Bastet, 51-78.

¹⁴ De Lescluze, Jean-Baptiste (1780-1858), of French ancestry, was a merchant and shipowner from Bruges. In 1819 he was appointed one of the directors of the Chambers of Commerce at Oostende to promote the interest of that city by king William I. With the support of the Dutch government he undertook several expeditions to the Eastern Mediterranean between 1821 and 1825. In Egypt he collected antiquities. See also B. van de Walle, "Jean-Baptiste De Lescluze, négociant et armateur brugeois (1780-1858)," in *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges XCVI*, 1959, 77 ss.

¹⁵ A.W.C. van Nagell (1756-1851), Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1814 until 1823, considered De Lescluze, Taitbout de Marigny, and Rottiers as belonging to the "class of fortune seekers" because of their wanderings in foreign parts and objected to them at first. A.R. Falck (1777-1843), Minister of Education, Industry and Colonies from 1818 until 1824, was however in favor of an expedition, see J.G. Nanninga, *Bronnen tot den Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, Vol. 4: 1765-1826, The Hague 1964, 1036-1038.

¹⁶ De Taitbout de Marigny was born in the Levant from French parents. Before he became Consul of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, he served as a lieutenant in the Russian armies; see Nanninga, 1034-1036.

¹⁷ See Bastet, 54 and Wagner-Heydendal, 117 and note 2; but if De Lescluze saved so many Greek lives the fact that he received threats around 3 August 1821 becomes incomprehensible. The Greeks suspected the Dutch mission of aiding the Ottomans and had threatened to cut their ropes. See consular reports published by G. Zoras, "Éngrafa tou Archlou Chéyis perí tis Ellinikís Epanastáseos" in *Mnimia tis Ellinikís Istorías* No. 11 published by the Academy of Athens, Athens 1991, 224-226 and 228. Moreover in the same consular reports no mention whatsoever was made of this philanthropic action, bringing the event itself into question. Origone's entry for 29 June only mentions that many families were going down to the harbour. He himself went to the harbour on 6 July and left temporarily for Syra on 2 August. It is possible, however, that the rescue-operations occurred after 3 August. On 30 August, De Lescluze wrote to De Hochepeid, the Dutch consul at Smyrna, that the Greeks did not recognize Dutch neutrality. See Nanninga, *Bronnen*, 1054.

second Rottiers collection), again to the Museum in Leyden.

The third Rottiers collection¹⁸

Rottiers' obvious experience as a traveller as well as his apparent antiquarian expertise led the Dutch government to commission him in late 1824 to do research in the Mediterranean and collect antiquities (in the interest of Archaeology, as King William stated) for the new Museum.¹⁹ This was thus the first time the Dutch state officially sponsored an archaeological expedition in Greek waters. Reuvens suggested survey and/or research on the island of Delos, Olympia on the Peloponnese, the south coast of Asia Minor from Karamanie to Syria, with precise descriptions and plans as well as possible purchases of movable antiquities. In addition Rottiers was to look for antiquities in places as varied as Arcadia, Elis, Albania, Smyrna, and Epidaurus, as well as the islands of Zea (Keos), Zante, Ithaca, and Samos.²⁰

That the eastern Mediterranean was in a state of turmoil did not seem to trouble the government of the enlarged kingdom of the Netherlands or the conscience of the antiquarian colonel. In the preface of his *Descriptions des monumens de Rhodes* (1828), Rottiers stated that he could not be bothered by attacks, however poetic, such as Lord Byron's at his fellow Lord Elgin: "J'ai besoin de déclarer ici, afin de repousser d'avance un reproche banal, que je n'aurais point été arrêté dans mon entreprise par la crainte du blâme inconsidéré et des invectives poétiques dont quelques autres explorateurs d'antiquités, et en particulier Lord Elgin, ont été si longtemps les objets. Lord Byron s'irrite en vain et s'écrie: le descendant des Pictes se fait une gloire honteuse de briser ce qu'avaient épargné les Vandales, les fils de Mahomet, et la faux même du temps!"

Using the well-known arguments about the miserable state of Greece under Ottoman rule which turned European collectors into the guardians of classical Greek heritage, he had to admit however that "la question est changée aujourd'hui, pour ce qui concerne le Péloponèse, quelques îles, et peut-être même l'Attique; et le décret dont j'ai parlé prouve que les Grecs connaissent eux-mêmes leurs droits. (...) Là, il même restait quelques îles, explorées, fouillées, parcourues en tous sens." So he decided to go to Rhodes, where the Turks were still firmly in the saddle and "n'avaient pris de leur côté aucune mesure

¹⁸ See for Rottiers III in general, Bastet, 85-149.

¹⁹ On 7 May 1824 Rottiers proposed his plans to D.J. van Ewijck (1786-1858), Falck's substitute as Minister of Education. In the beginning there was some opposition but at last Rottiers obtained permission, albeit with severe instructions especially from the classicist and archaeologist C.J.C. Reuvens (1793-1833), director of the Museum, who had a low opinion of Rottiers. For the planning, organisation and conditions, see Bastet, 85-89.

²⁰ On p. 9 of the preface of his travel account *Description des monumens de Rhodes, dédié à sa Majesté le Roi des Pays-Bas, par le Colonel Rottiers, membre de plusieurs Académies, Commandeur et chevalier de différens ordres* (Brussels 1828), Rottiers maintained however that H.M. the King let him choose which places were suitable for excavation: "en me chargeant de faire un voyage scientifique dans le Levant, Sa Majesté le Roi des Pays-Bas avait daigné me laisser le choix des lieux que je jugerais à propos d'explorer et où je voudrais entreprendre des fouilles."

pareille à celles du Gouvernement grec.²¹ Leur insouciance m'abandonnait toutes les îles encore en leur possession."²² But there was danger since the Turks "n'avaient permis à personne, jusqu'à nous, de dessiner les monumens de l'île, surtout l'intérieur des églises et des autres édifices." Rottiers was to be accompanied by his younger son Victor and the draughtsman Petrus-Joseph Witdoeck whom the Greeks would call 'Áspro Mandíli.'²³ They left for the Mediterranean in October. While his son and Áspro Mandíli went by sea, Rottiers Sr. took the land route to Marseille from where they would sail together to Port Mahon at the island of Menorca, the base of the Dutch Mediterranean squadron. He was to use the vessels of this squadron and could in this way be controlled by the government. Before Rottiers sailed to the Levant to commence his mission, he went to Algiers to fulfil an unofficial (?) intelligence assignment for the French government in the name of the Duke de Blacas, whose acquaintance Rottiers had made in Rome on his journey in 1819. He was to measure the coast and describe suitable points for landing. When the Dutch visited the Dey, they learned that this ruler had prepared a fleet of 12 ships to assist the Sultan against the unbelievers, among them a ship of the line with 60 cannons.²⁴

From Algiers they sailed to Smyrna, the great Anatolian depot and base of the largest Dutch mercantile community in Levantine waters by way of Malta, Milos, Syra, and Mykonos. According to Bastet, it is difficult to say when Rottiers arrived at Smyrna for the first time, as this part of his itinerary is rather hazy. At Mykonos Rottiers bought some Delian inscriptions. On 25 February they were at Syra and arrived in Smyrna on March 11.²⁵ Rottiers himself wanted to excavate for two months at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos, but was prevented from doing so by Dutch naval affairs.²⁶ He further had plans to survey Santorini (Thera) en Nanfi (Anafi) but feared competition from the Austrians (probably through Gropius) and Captain Hamilton of the English squadron. Caution was advised regarding excavation in Asia, as Testa, the Dutch minister in Constantinople,

²¹ The Turkish attitude towards Greek antiquities was one of indifference. Neither conservation nor systematic destruction took place. Turks who lived in Greek cities such as Athens even showed some form of veneration for the ancient remains, as they superstitiously believed that the marbles were the homes of spirits. In a metaphoric sense this was true, but not the way they thought. The same could be said of most of the Greeks during Ottoman rule. Both peoples re-used ancient remains in their building activities or reduced marbles to mortar.

²² See Rottiers, 12.

²³ *Áspro mandíli* is the literal translation of the draughtsman's name and means 'white kerchief'. Witdoeck was born in Antwerp in 1803. When Rottiers returned to the Netherlands in 1826, he stayed behind and returned a year later in 1827; see Bastet, 90.

²⁴ See Bastet, 91. The Dutch reported this at Syra, before 26 February, as page 2 of issue No.46 of the *Efimeris Athinón*, of 4 March 1825 confirms.

²⁵ In Consular Report No.91, Origone reported to Gaspard Testa, the Dutch minister in Constantinople, that on February 5 there was no sign yet of Col. Rottiers; see Zoras, *Éngrafa*, 323. See also Consular Report No. 93, p. 325, in which Origone mentioned the arrival of the "Courier" at Syra (directo per Smirne), and p. 387, where Vuscino, the Dutch consul at Syra, also reported the arrival of the "Courier" (de Maone ed Algeri). See also *Efimeris Athinón*, No. 46. p. 2 (1825), and Bastet, 91 and note 10, where one reads that due to contrary winds at Milos, Syra, and Mykonos, the "Courier" was delayed, which in my opinion indicates that Rottiers arrived at Smyrna on 11 March 1825 for the first time. For a complete itinerary, see Appendix I.

²⁶ See Bastet, 91.

reported. Some English had been assaulted during analogous activities.²⁷

A naval disaster detained his company at Smyrna the whole of April,²⁸ and so he had time to compose his first report which he sent to Reuvens on the twenty-seventh.²⁹ During the month of May Rottiers roamed the Aegean again. On the twelfth he met Ibrahim Pasha³⁰ near Modon (Methoni), dined with him, and presented him with a luxurious gun. He maintained that in so doing he managed to ransom a Greek leader.³¹ Later that night he witnessed the Greek-Egyptian naval battle at the roadstead of the former Venetian stronghold.³² Around 19 May he returned to the bay of Milos and bought some antiquities (the so-called head of Nerva for 125 guilders) discovered near Kastri, which borders the site of ancient Melos. From there Rottiers sailed to his Smyrna base where he arrived the next day.³³ During the greater part of June and July he cruised along the coast of Asia Minor (taking water at Vourla) and visited Tinos, returning again to the shores of the island of Milos by the beginning of August.

He was to meet the newly appointed Dutch ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Baron van Zuylen van Nyevelt, on the island. He hired a plot of land for 16.10 guilders in the vicinity of the place where the head of Nerva had been unearthed and not far away from the spot where the Venus of Milos had been found. Except for his own team of about eight men, a large part of the crew disembarked each day as a labour force for a brief archaeological campaign which started on 2 August. This campaign lasted until the tenth when they were stopped by the local representatives of the Greek provisional Government: "Mes opérations furent interrompues par l'archonte de Milo. Ce magistrat m'apprit l'existence d'un décret du Gouvernement grec, par lequel il était défendu à tout individu, de quelque nation qu'il fût, d'entreprendre ou de poursuivre des fouilles et de s'approcher les débris des monuments antiques. Tous ces objets appartiennent au domaine public. Les Grecs se proposent de les rassembler, dès qu'ils auront accompli une tâche plus pénible, et d'en former un musée hellénique. Ils pourront, avec un juste orgueil, montrer à l'étranger ce qui leur reste de leurs ancêtres, de ces hommes à qui l'Europe doit ses arts et sa civilisation. C'est un héritage dont chaque jour ils se montrent plus dignes. J'obéis donc avec respect aux injonctions de l'archonte, quoique j'eusse fait préalablement l'achat du terrain ou j'avais établi mes travaux, par devant le consul de S.M. le roi de France, M. Brest, mon digne et respectable ami."³⁴

²⁷ Ibid., 95. Testa, a Levantine, was Chancellor from 1798 to 1807 and Chargé d'Affairs from 1808 to 1810, and from 1814 to 1825.

²⁸ Ibid., 93.

²⁹ Ibid., 91.

³⁰ (1789-1848), adopted son of Mehmet Ali, khedive of Egypt, an Albanian, like the famous Ali Pasha of Ioannina.

³¹ Ibid., 96-97 and note 24. See also p. 113 where one of Rottiers' reports states that Ibrahim Pasha received his gun on 9 May.

³² For details of the battle, see Finlay, *History of the Greek revolution*, London 1971 (repr.) Vol.I, 365, and A. Vakalopoulos, *Istoria tou néou Ellinismou tomos Z'*, *Thes/niki* 1986, 94-97. See also Bastet, 97 note 24.

³³ According to Bastet, 98, Rottiers bought the head on 19 May, but on p. 97 Bastet says that at that date Rottiers had returned at Smyrna.

³⁴ See Rottiers, *Description des monumens de Rhodes*, 9, and Bastet, 100, who asserts that Rottiers had to cease his excavation solely because of the departure of Van Zuylen van Nyevelt. Bastet supports this on p. 135 by quoting Rottiers verbatim: "s'il n'eut pas été pressé par le départ de la frigate, il avait tenté

He agreed to stop the excavations, but did not return the antiquities, which can still be admired in the rooms of the archaeological museum at Leyden.³⁵ From correspondence found in the archives of the provisional government it is clear that he complained about this incident through Emmanuel Xenos, a Greek merchant who had been in the Netherlands and was a nephew of Stefanos Paleologos, an Amsterdam based merchant and leading member of the Amsterdam Philhellenic Committee.³⁶ Rottiers returned to Smyrna where he arrived on 18 August and stayed until 11 September, when he left for another tour of the Aegean³⁷ to collect antiquities. Between the 17th and 20th of September he surveyed the 'Temple of Theseus' at Athens and bought some vases and other antiquities. On the twenty-first he collected some fragments from the ancient city of Thera on Santorini. On Rhodes, where he stayed between 27 September and 2 October, he managed to buy a basrelief from Lindos.

The Dutch were back in Smyrna on 21 October and did not sail the Aegean again until 14 November, returning to Athens ten days later and staying there until 7 December. According to his report to Van Ewijk, written 26 January on Rhodes, Rottiers collected a rare inscription from "the castle of Athens [*i.e. the Akropolis, DK*]", an ancient sundial, a sitting Sybil, a marble vase from Sounium, a column from the Academy, as well as two large vases, some smaller ones and some cups.³⁸ On 17 December he was back at Smyrna,³⁹ and set sail for Rhodes on the first day of Christmas, remaining there until 9 May. During the final part of his mission, Rottiers and his company did not collect many antiquities. Instead Witdoeck was busy making drawings of the buildings of the medieval city of the Knights of St. John, which a century later would serve the Italians during their restoration campaign when they ruled the islands of the Dodecanese occupied by them in 1911. On 17 May Rottiers was once more in Smyrna, made his last short tour of the Aegean and set sail for the Netherlands on 19 June. He passed Santorini on 24 June and arrived at Port Mahon on 23 July.

d'enlever la mosaïque entière." Bastet further claims that until that moment such legislation did not exist. Van Zuylen van Nyevelt (1784-1853) reported the event of the excavation at Milos on August 12th in a letter to Van der Hoop (1742-1825), the Dutch minister of Naval Affairs. He arrived in Constantinople on 5 September 1825 and was to play an important diplomatic role in Greek affairs after the allied ambassadors had left the city. He also collected antiquities. See A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, and Nanninga, *Bronnen*, 1145 note 1.

³⁵ See Bastet, 100-108.

³⁶ Xenos must have been for a short time Minister of Economic Affairs in the provisional government of western Greece, see Aik. Koumarioú, *Tipos ston Agóna*, Vol. II, Athens 1971, p. 92. Stefanos Paleologos (1773/4-1835) was accused of having delivered arms and ammunition to the Greeks, see Wagner-Heydendal, *Het Filhellenisme in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden (1821-1829)*, Brussel 1972, p. 100-104; R.A.D. Renting, "Nederland en de Griekse Vrijheidsoorlog", in: *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 67 (1954), 21-49, and J.H.A. Ringeling, "Het eerste Philhellenische Comité in de Nederlanden: Amsterdam 7 februari 1822", in *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 1964, 145-155. See also the memoirs of the American Philhellene Jarvis who stated that the contraband was too expensive and that no deal was concluded.

³⁷ See Bastet, 100-112.

³⁸ To enter the Acropolis, Rottiers had to pay the guard one 'dollar' a day. See Bastet, 168.

³⁹ On December 17, 1825, H.M. corvette 'Proserpina', commanded by M. Tieman, was back in Smyrna from a tour through the Archipel and had picked up Rottiers, who had not been very lucky in his mission of obtaining of archaeological objects, see Nanninga, *Bronnen*, 1159.

Greek reactions

It is obvious that before the outbreak of the Revolution Greek legislation did not exist. However, there were enough educated Greeks who were well aware of their ancient heritage, especially after Lord Elgin's disastrous activities; thereafter various outcries were heard against the removal of Greek sculpture.⁴⁰ The most influential intellectual of the Greek diaspora was Adamantios Korais. Regarded in western Europe as the teacher of his people, he became enraged by Edward D. Clarke's activities in Greece and suggested in 1807 several measures to preserve the material remnants of his ancient forebears. His main goal was to fight the ignorance of his people by proposing programs of education so that modern Greeks could again proudly bear the name of the ancient Hellenes.⁴¹ As far as was in their power, Greeks tried to rescue the antiquities from destruction and removal. This was one of the main goals of the Philomousa Society. This Society was founded by Athenian notables such as Alexandros Logothetis Chomatianos, Ioannis Marmarotouris (who had taught Lord Byron Modern Greek during his stay at Athens in 1810), Petros Revelakis, George Sofianos, and Ioannis Tatlikaras in 1813. They were supported by the British and by a number of other foreign travellers with an antiquarian interest.⁴² This Society can be considered the forerunner of the Archaeological Society founded in 1837. Next to the enlightenment of Greek youth, the publishing of useful books and financial assistance to students, came the search and conservation of antiquities, be it reliefs with inscriptions, statues, coins, or any antiquities for that matter. The ultimate goal was their exhibition "pros theán ton peri táfia erastón" in a museum, for which the Erechtheum or Theseum seemed a suitable place.⁴³

In March 1821 the Greek Revolution broke out and their own physical survival was naturally of greater concern to the Greeks than the preservation of antiquities. There were however admirable exceptions; during the first Greek siege of the Akropolis in 1821, the Greeks, represented by Pittakis, later to become the first General Keeper of Antiquities, offered bullets to the besieged Ottoman garrison so that they would not melt down the

⁴⁰ See, for instance, Christopher Hitchens, *The Elgin Marbles*, 115-135.

⁴¹ See A. Korais, *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce*, Paris 1803, 60, and "Prolegómena stous archéous éllines singrafsia ke i aftoviografa tou," Vol.1, in Adamantios Korais, *Stochasmi aftoschédhii peré tis elliniks pedhias ke glásses*, Part III, Athens 1984, ed. Dimaras, M.I.E.T., 250-262. See also A. Koukkou, *I mérimna ya tis Archeótites stin Elláda ke ta próta mousia*, Athens 1977, 27-31. In a letter to Ioannis Orlandos of Spetses written on February 22, 1807, Korais explicitly blamed ignorance as the principal cause for the English ability to rob Athens of its monuments and as the primary reason why the local Athenians did not guard their ancient heritage. See A. Korais, *Allillografa*, Vol.2, 1799-1809, M.I.E.T., Athens 1966, 371.

⁴² The Vienna-based Greek periodical *Ermis o Lóyios* published the founding charter and added a list of benefactors and donors, among them many British travellers and, paradoxically, Cockerell, Baron von Haller, Linkh and Baron von Stackelberg, the quartet who would rob not only the temple of Athena Aphaia on the island of Aegina of its marbles, but also the isolated temple in Bassae in the Arcadian wilderness. Further donors were Pietro Hagobi from Nafplio, who was Agope Origone's brother-in-law, and Paolo Antonio Gluraciche from Ragusa, who was the same Paul Giuarich as mentioned before. See *Ermis o Lóyios*, Vol.4-5, 1814, 100-103.

⁴³ See the Greek version of the *Grande Encyclopédie Larousse/Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Athens 1993, Vol.11, 244, and Emm. Protopsaltes, "Néa Stichía perí tis en Athínes Eterías ton Filomouón," in *Athína* No.61 (1957), 253-288.

lead clamps of the ancient buildings.⁴⁴ Those with a western education, and members of the class of the Phanariotes such as Alexander Mavrokordatos and Theodore Negris, understood perfectly well the ideological impact in European eyes of the preservation of the famous remnants of their classical progenitors.⁴⁵ But also simpler men like the uneducated General Makriyannis became aware of this heritage (perhaps in hindsight), for when some of his soldiers were willing to sell marbles to two European travellers he took these soldiers aside and told them not to give the marbles away, not even for ten thousand 'talers' for it was for them they had fought the war of liberation.⁴⁶ Fortunately they had some allies; pressured by the British Ambassador Strangford, the Sultan issued a firman which instructed his own commanders to respect the Athenian antiquities, at least theoretically.⁴⁷

In 1822 one of the decrees proclaimed by the government of eastern Greece, the so-called Areios Pagos, was "the duty and rights of the Ephor of Culture" which included the care and protection of antiquities (art.no.4).⁴⁸ In the same year Ioannis Kolettis, the Minister of War in another provisional government (in Nafplio),⁴⁹ asked Colonel Voutier, a French Philhellene who was in command of a battery of artillery, to try to preserve the Athenian antiquities.⁵⁰ George Psyllas and others tried to reactivate the Philomousa Society by means of a notification in the *Efimeris ton Athinon* and a proclamation of the Society itself in a following issue of the same paper.⁵¹ One of the goals was the founding of a museum in Athens, presumably in the temple of Athinas Polidos,⁵² where all the

⁴⁴ See Hitchens, *The Elgin Marbles*, 129.

⁴⁵ And if they themselves did not have this insight, there was always Adamantios Korais to remind them of their obligation to their ancient heritage; see A. Koukkou, 34.

⁴⁶ Hitchens, 129.

⁴⁷ The European powers interfered again during the second siege of Athens in 1826, when Mehmed Reshid Pasha (Kioutachi) was the Ottoman commander in the field. See the memoirs of George Psyllas, publisher of the *Efimeris Athinon*, (an Athenian newspaper which appeared between 1824 and 1826 and was printed on the press which the Philhellene Leicester Stanhope of the London Greek Committee had brought to Greece): "Just a few years ago, that is to say before the invasion of Kioutachi in Athens, the European governments had detached from the government of the Sultan a 'firman' (decree) which forbade the Turkish army to destroy by artillery the ancient monuments on the Akropolis." The firman was brought to Athens by some European vessel and entrusted to the Consul of Austria, Mr. Gropius, to be delivered to Kioutachi. See George Psyllas, *Apomnimonefmata, Mnimia tis Ellinikis Istorias* No.8, published by the Academy of Athens, Athens 1974, p. 129. This, however, was theoretical since the dogs of war acted otherwise; the various bombardments of the Acropolis continued to seriously damage the remaining ancient structures. See also Koukkou, 34 and 36 and note 1, and 44 and note 2, and Protopsaltes, *Istoriká Éngrafa*, ke, ks, and 32-33.

⁴⁸ See Kefallinéou, 418.

⁴⁹ Before formal independence was achieved, the Greeks organised several general assemblies to draw up a constitution. Two of these assemblies had been held prior to the period here under consideration. The first one was at Néa Epidavros (Piada) from 20 December 1821 until 15 January 1822, with Alexandros Mavrokordatos as chairman; the second was at Astros in 1823 between 29 March 29 and 18 April with Petrobey Mavromichalis as chairman.

⁵⁰ See Hitchens, 47 and E.G. Protopsaltes, *Istoriká Éngrafa*, kz: "Mais n'oubliez pas que dans la forteresse sont renfermés ces restes précieux de l'antiquité, restes que le temps destructeur n'a pu anéantir; nous recommandons à votre amour du beau les chef-d'oeuvres de nos ancêtres. Que l'égide de Minerve garantisse son temple."

⁵¹ See No.4., Sept. 13, 1824, 3-4, and No. 16, Sept. 25, 1824, 4.

⁵² At that time the northern 'propyle' of the Erechtheion; see Koukkou, 34 and note 1.

scattered antiquities could openly be displayed. Psyllas was to be the director and Turkish prisoners of war would be used for the collection of the antiquities. The continuing war, however, determined otherwise.⁵³

A few years later under a nominal united provisional government the Greeks issued further legislation. In January 1825 Grigorios Konstantas, the Ephor of Education, submitted to the Assembly and the Executive of the provisional Government a draft concerning the duties and the rights of the Ephor of Education which became law through an order of Grigórios Dikéos (Papaflessas), the Minister of the Interior, on 10 February 1825:

The Ephor had to order the local governors, the local notables, committee members and schoolteachers to collect antiquities wherever they might be found. Coins, statues, inscriptions, and whatever ancient remains had to be saved up in the schools in order to turn, with the passing of time, each school into a museum; a thing most necessary for history, for the revocation of the ancient toponyms, for the knowledge of the dexterity of our forefathers and for the veneration with which the educated nations of Europe regard them, they who blame us with justice for giving them away as a present or selling them for a small price to any traveller who admires them.⁵⁴

In reality the smuggling of antiquities went on as usual and in the chaotic years of the War of Independence it was almost impossible for the Greeks to implement the law, as a report of 14 July 1825 by Andreas Xanthis, the Athenian Chief of Police decisively shows. In it a certain Pitsel(?), commander of an English frigate, and many of his officers were accused of smuggling antiquities. If the situation was beyond control in Athens and Attica, it was so much the worse in other parts of Greece and the islands of the Archipelago.

The Rottiers case

On 10 September 1825, Ioannis Vasiliou, one of the archonts of the island of Milos reported the following to the assembly of the provisional government:

With proper respect I report to the respected assembly that a certain Dutch colonel arrived here on a Dutch naval frigate and disembarked many sailors who started to excavate and look for antiquities. We [i.e. the archonts, DK] discussed intervention, but we felt it was not possible nor did we want or feel able to use force against him. At last he promised to remit to our respected Government one third of the price of the discovered antiquities and not to excavate on any other field than the one he had agreed upon with the owner. For next to that field was (on another plot) a large and short pillar [Vasiliou probably means the altar, DK]; it had been covered some time

⁵³ In 1825 the ephors were Talándios Neófytos, Ioannis Gouras for the army, S. Serafim, M. Tournavitis, G.C. Gropius, and in his absence D.K. Vitalis. N. Karoris was secretary.

⁵⁴ My translation; see Kefallinéou, 419 and notes 1 and 2.

ago by a farmer who was collecting stones for a country chapel. This (artefact) the colonel brought to light and furthermore discovered underneath its head three cattle-shaped heads, different birds and other ancient artefacts (skevi).⁵⁵ At the same time another Dutch frigate appeared bringing the Dutch minister to the Sublime Porte and disembarking today a great number of sailors to gather the antiquities. We discussed intervention but to no avail. He [presumably Rottiers, DK] said to have a firman from the Sultan and did not have to recognize the Greek provisional government. I delivered a protest to him, signed also by two other commissioners dated in the old style, and declared that the provisional government set the value of the antiquities at 5000 kolonata (Spanish dollars) in each case. What his answer will be I do not know. He says that he wants to return in order to excavate again. Let our respected government thus take some measures in cases like this and deliver adamant decrees in order to prevent any number of men to start further excavations, while also threatening the locals not to release their fields for excavations which will denude Hellas without compensation.

The price of the column which has been found should also be discussed. In haste I remain with proper respect.

At Milos, August 29, 1825 (o.s.)

Your most humble servant,

Ioannis Vasiliou

P.S. Enclosed is the protest.⁵⁶

Presumably Rottiers had asked the provisional government, by way of Emmanuel Xenos (see above), for a letter of recommendation in order to travel at will and to continue his research without the hindrance from local authorities. The seat of the provisional government was at Nafplio and it was from there that Alexandros Mavrokordatos, the Secretary General, responded on 9 September (o.s.). His reply is quite outspoken and he used the whole vocabulary of (phil)Hellenic rhetoric:

⁵⁵ In his *Description des monumens de Rhodes*, Rottiers stated on p. 10 that he discovered a "beau lithostrote (pave de mosaïque), un superbe autel de marbre, quelques vases, des lampes antiques et plusieurs médailles très-rares portant le type de cette île." See also Bastet, 99.

⁵⁶ Written in Greek, my translation. Vasiliou informed his government one month after the events he had described in his protest took place. The protest was written in Italian and runs as follows: "All'illustrissimo S. Sig(n)re Colonello Olandese. Con grande nostre stupore vediamo che voi Sig(n)re levate questa terra un marmo che niente vi appartiene di esso. Noi, come procuratori del nostro Governo, vi abbiamo detto in persona, ed inanzi del Sig(n)re Console Inglese che non vi è permesso scavare in altro terreno che solamente in quello che avevate principiato, e cui l'avete accettato; e poi pretendete un marmo scoperto da un'altra persona, ed in un altro terreno, il quale era conservato sotto li ordini del nostro Provisorio Governo. Per questo motivo vi preghiamo lasciarlo a qualunque situazione si trova. se poi volete prenderlo colla forza, vi avvertiremo che vale cinque milla collonati, per i quali e per nostra cautela, protestiamo da parte del nostro Governo, che li pretendera da chi spetta, ed in ogni tempo. Il presente vale per legittimo protesto, e vi siamo, Milo le 29 (luglio) /10 Agosto 1825
Umil(issi)mi e devot(issi)mi serv.(itori), Giacomo Tatarachi, Giacomo Armeni, Giovanni di Vasilio,
Copia conforme ed uniforme all'originale esistente in questa Cancellaria Greca di Milo si rimette all' Sig(n)re Collonello Olandese per i fini vostri, Il Governatore, Emanuel Stauro; Il scrivano, N. Emanuel"
— The English vice-consul at Milos was probably a certain John Bankes; see E.G. Protosaltis, *Istoriká Éngraifa*, 13-14.

When the antiquities located in the classical earth are honoured by all nations, then the nation which daily sheds rivers of blood in order to retrieve them through armed struggle, and excavates them out of the bowels of the earth, and which has recently and at last been able to escape the curses of a shameful barbarity, has indubitably the holiest and indisputable rights of ownership. Each man has to acknowledge and respect these rights. But the wise and Philhellenic shall consider even the smallest damage done as sacrilege. And could such a one ever deny the effects, which the view of these antiquities shall have in the progress of ethics, by recalling in the memory of the Greeks the virtue of their forebears? (...) However, your behaviour at Milos, Sir Colonel, does not correspond as it should with this love. Therefore my government has ordered me to complain officially to the government of his Majesty the King of Belgium [sic] about the seizure of all the antiquities, which you found at the aforementioned island and I shall consider myself happy to be able to defer the execution of these orders, in the hope that you will remedy the situation by the restitution of the seized antiquities. It is out of the question, Mr. Colonel, that we should compensate you in this affair, for if someone has asked you for money, as you wrote to Mr. Xenos, you should have had sympathy for those who acted in such a way and, instead of offering such presents as a shotgun,⁵⁷ you ought to have been obliged as a Philhellene to teach them that everything (of the referred) that was precious in the eyes of their forefathers should also be so in theirs, as precious as freedom itself. However, the export of any antiquity is prohibited by law. Force may violate this law, since we would need more people to guard the antiquities than we have citizens. But we shall never cease to claim what belongs to us, and, greatly respecting the wisdom of the governments of Europe, we are convinced that they will recognize our claims.⁵⁸

In a letter from the French Philhellene Colonel Fabvier⁵⁹ to Mavrokordatos, one reads that Rottiers had become alarmed by the demands of the provisional government to return the antiquities and pay a fine.⁶⁰ A few weeks later Fabvier reported again to Mavrokordatos about Rottiers, this time in a very negative way for he stated that Rottiers was badly received in Athens. Fabvier also maintained that Rottiers was detested by the Dutch naval officers. He further reported on the desertion of two men who according to Fabvier were not sailors but members of Rottiers' entourage. He further stated that more

⁵⁷ Rottiers used Levantine methods by bribing or giving presents to the magnates and functionaries he encountered, whether Greek or Ottoman. On May 12, Rottiers had presented a luxury gun to Ibrahim Pasha. He repeated this tactic in August when he handed the harbourmaster of Milos a less luxurious shotgun. Between September 17-20 he gave the guard of the Greek commander of the Akropolis another shotgun. He still had enough guns left in November to influence the curator of Athenian antiquities, making the role of this member of the Filomousa Society ambiguous. The Chief of Customs in Piraeus was not disappointed as he also received a shotgun between November 21 and December 7.

⁵⁸ My translation; the original letter was written in French. For the Greek translation, see E.G. Protosaltis, *Istoriká Éngrafa*, 20-21.

⁵⁹ Charles Nicolas Fabvier (1782-1855), a Bonapartist officer with Philhellenic inclinations, went to Greece in 1823 and was two years later invited by the Greek government to organise a regular army, which he first tried to do at Nafplio and later in Athens.

⁶⁰ "Le colonel Rottiers des Pays Bas est très alarmé de votre colère", in *Mniméa tis Ellinikés Istorias*, Vol. 5, No. 5, *Istorikou Archiou Alexándrou Mavrokordátou*, Athens 1976, No. 2482 (A.M. 3098), 419, dated Nov. 1, 1825.

crew members were willing to desert. More serious was the accusation that Rottiers was considered by many to be a Turkish spy.⁶¹ Rottiers was also vehemently attacked by a certain D.K., who could have been D.K. Vitalis, Vice-Consul of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily and Ephor of the Philomousa Society in an article in the *Efimeris Athinón*:

*Due to their love of pergrination we saw many honourable travellers arriving in this city during the last years of the war of the recovery of our national rights; they did not miss the opportunity to assist us in word and deed in the struggle for the conservation of our long desired freedom. Our fatherland did respect and will always respect this by acknowledging their philomusical and Philhellenic spirits. However, around November 16 a certain Colonel Rottiers in the service of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands arrived here and he is the exception which proves the rule. Therefore we consider it our duty to describe this man's character in order not to taunt others. This man arrived in our harbour with the Dutch corvette Persephone. He disembarked at once and, accompanied by his son and his draughtsman, directly made for the city. In different conversations with some citizens he did not miss the opportunity to frighten them and make them desperate by stating that everything was lost, and that Greece in a short time would groan again under the Turkish yoke. These words gave us reason to look a bit closer into the reason for his arrival, that is to say whether it was solely for the love of travel or with other goals in mind which he tried to hide. (...) However, our police took the necessary measures, keeping watch on him and surveying all his movements step by step, until they could catch him directing a horse laden with antiquities to Piraeus. In one word, all along his sojourn here he did not have any other thing in mind than to deceive some poor fellow in order to take a piece of marble or some ancient coin and to corrupt the guards of the city gate so that he could steal different pieces of antiquity as he desired. Yesterday, out of despair because he did not reach his goals, he finally left without paying either his hotel or the poor fellows who had been working for him, threatening all the while to show our enemies how to besiege our city. Moreover we learned from trusted sources that the same person went to Milos and took from there by force some antiquities which had survived the ages. We judge it superfluous to make other observations on his behalf, for everyone is now able to judge from the history of his conduct what kind of man he is. We are sure however that his Majesty the King of the Netherlands won't bear that more of such base subjects will come to trade the ruins of our sad country and will vilify his respected name.*⁶²

⁶¹ See Archlou Mavrokordátou, no. 2540 (A.M. 3128), 485 dated 8-12-1825: "Pour l'affaire de Mr. Rottiers je puis vous dire seulement qu'il a été fort mal ici avec tous, qu'il est detesté à son bord où les officiers sont parfaits. Le commandant surtout les 2 hommes désertés sont ses ouvriers, non des marins; son fils avait tâté des officiers disant qu'il voulait faire désertier 90 hommes et j'avais défendre à nos gens de les enrôler: le moins du monde, les 2 hommes sont mauvais ouvriers, je les ai fait travailler quelques jours sans les enrôler et, ils sont sur le pavé à Athenes, du reste ce Mr. Rottiers passe pour un espion Turc." See also Bastet, 107 note 69.

⁶² My translation; see *Efimeris Athinón*, No.5, 25 Nov. 1825, 16.

In the *Yeniki Efimeris tis Elládhos* an anonymous author commented on Mavrokordatos' letter by stating "that the Dutchman ought to have felt ashamed when receiving the letter and should have handled the situation of his sojourn in Greece as a man who had received a good European education under a liberal government, by not only returning the seized antiquities, but also by not willing to seize others. But this did not happen, instead he dared to come to Athens (...) and was willing to seize secretly and wily there other remains (...) we have to be careful by not allowing such people to come to Greece, as they came in the time of Turkish rule, grabbing the holy remnants of our forefathers."⁶³

These accusations are not mere signs of xenophobia. The Greek War of Independence was in a very critical stage. Almost the whole of the Morea had been overrun by the troops of Ibrahim Pasha. The Greeks themselves were divided as ever and many of them felt that their case was lost. In respect to the serious situation, other foreigners were also accused of spying for the Turks.⁶⁴ A day later, Luigi-Julius Porro⁶⁵ reported to Mavrokordatos the fact that Rottiers had left bad memories by not paying his debts and taking antiquities with him. Porro also mentioned the aforementioned desertion which, according to the Dutch commander of the Golette, had already taken place at Nafplio.⁶⁶

Although legislation against the illegal export of antiquities had been promulgated in February 1825 (see above), it was probably difficult to put into practice or was not as widely known as a footnote in one of the January 1826 editions of the *Efimeris Athinón* seems to imply. There the author of an article about the question of whether the people or the government were supposed to summon the national assembly, asked himself: "'Damned', one foreigner said to me when I told him that legislation which prevents the export of antiquities from Greek soil existed. Where is that legislation to be found? Because I know it passed the executive and the assembly! Does it remain in some corner of the house of the First Secretary of the Assembly?"⁶⁷

A week later the Austrian Consul Gropius used the columns of the *Efimeris Athinón* to publish a long article "on the antiquities of Greece." It was obviously written as a reaction to the attacks of the anonymous author who commented on Mavrokordatos' letter to Rottiers (see above), but should also be read as an apology for his own conduct before the outbreak of the Greek revolution: "...when the purpose of the publication is to improve the methods of hindering the export of antiquities and to preserve them for the nation and future generations, I agree, for this should be a holy and patriotic goal for each good,

⁶³ See *Yeniki Efimeris tis Elládhos*, No. 19, Dec. 9, 76.

⁶⁴ Among them were the Austrian Consul Gropius and Anton Prokesch, a young Austrian officer who had been sent by Metternich to the Mediterranean on a fact-finding mission. See the letter of a certain G. Stavrou to Koundouriotis, the then acting president of the Greek executive, dated Oct. 2, 1825, from the archives of George and Lazaros Koundouriotis.

⁶⁵ Luigi-Julius Porro-Lamberangi (1780-1860), an Italian revolutionary and Philhellene who went to Greece in 1825. He became Fabvier's Chief of Staff, but left Greece in 1827.

⁶⁶ See *Istoriakón Archion Al. Mavrokordátou*, No.2543 (A.M. 3131), 490, Athens, Dec. 9, 1825: "Mr. le colonel Rottiers est parti d'ici laissant des dettes et un mauvais souvenir et se faisant prendre à la Porte des Marbres qu'il avait caché sous des choux et qui même étaient mauvais, ce qui montre qu'elle tête et quelle âme il a. Nous avons hier rendu visite au Commandant de la goelette, elle part aujourd'hui; elle est venue voir s'il y a avait ici des déserteurs qui'ils étaient échappés à Napoli de Romanie et que'elle n'a pas pu trouver."

⁶⁷ See *Efimeris Athinón*, No.14, Jan. 9, 1826, 1.

righteous and enlightened citizen, and moreover the time has come in which the Greeks are able, obliged and justified to undertake the heritage of their glorious forefathers!"

Gropius then continued to argue that the anonymous author wandered from the straight road of justice by confusing the past with the present and by putting everyone in the same box. He described *in extenso* the conduct of locals and foreigners regarding the ancient remains in the past as well as in the present. In that way he managed to distinguish positive acts of conservation by foreigners (Lord Elgin always being the exception to the rule) from negative acts by the locals. Due to ignorance they had turned thousands of ancient marbles into mortar or had profited by selling numerous of these antiquities. At the end of his long diatribe he concluded that the situation had improved dramatically, for under their own government the Greeks were able to take the necessary measures to protect their national heritage: "...the well intended and patriotic law which the Government proclaimed to prohibit the export of antiquities is the first step in the right direction (...) and shall make any further collection of antiquities by foreigners unjust."⁶⁸

In the following issue of this paper, the ephors of the Philomousa Society, in advance of further forthcoming legislation, suggested all kinds of measures to the executive in order to preserve the Athenian antiquities.⁶⁹ The Executive was not slow in picking up these suggestions by introducing a bill to the assembly on 31 Januari 1826, which runs as follows:

Draft No. 1660-1661

As the conservation of the ancient remains and fine arts is necessary;

As to the fact that many such antiquities are to be found in Athens, entangled in a jumble of ugly contemporary buildings, and because of this fact are not only difficult to keep in good shape but run the danger of disappearing all together by the ever recurring fires to which the modern buildings are subject;

As most of these buildings belong to the public domain, so that it is easy for the Government to decide in favour of the greater interest of their conservation and care and (with regards to the ancient remains) before the public sale of the aforementioned buildings has taken place;

In accordance with the accurate information concerning this case given by the Philomousa Society,
we order (that)

I. The Governor of Athens together with the commissioners of the district, the Ephors of the Philomousa Society, and Colonel Mr. Fabvier in agreement with the view of the Athenian committee on public sale, that they have to prevent the sale of those buildings which are advantageous to hold under the authority of the Nation (by not transforming them) but to judge the case in the greater interest of the conservation of the antiquities, and to report them to the Government through the relevant Ministry in order to decide whether those buildings and building sites will stay forever in the public domain,

II. They are to demolish those buildings adjoining the antiquities in such a way that

⁶⁸ See *Efimeris Athinón*, No.16, Jan. 17, 1826, 52-56.

⁶⁹ See *Efimeris Athinón*, no. 18, 26 Jan. 1828, 72; and *Protopsaltis, Engrafa*.

they might damage them or cause them to disappear by the endemic fires raging in those contemporary buildings, and to report these to the Government through the relevant ministries,

III. They are to take care of the improvement and arrangement of the most important streets and squares of the city, when a small change or separation of the national buildings or building sites from each other will be possible,

IV. The Ministries of Internal and Economic affairs are to carry out the present order in as far as it belongs to their office.

January 31, 1826, Nafplio

The chairman, George Koundouriotis

The general secretary, A. Mavrokordatos⁷⁰

A little later the Assembly ordered the Executive to declare all the existing Athenian antiquities as belonging to the public domain and ordered the Philomousa Society to collect and transfer all statues and similar movable antiquities to a safe place until they were suitably housed with funds from the committee of public sale.⁷¹ On 21 February the Executive presented another bill which differed on some points from the one drafted on 31 January:

Since the conservation of the ancient remains is necessary,

Since many of the existing antiquities in Athens are scattered or entangled in badly shaped modern buildings or hidden in their walls, and considering preamble no. 1195 of the Assembly,

we order that

I. The copy of the preamble is to be directed to the committee on the public sale of decayed buildings in agreement with the governor of Athens and the Philomousa Society in order to take care of the conservation (and care) of the antiquities,

II. That antiquities existing in whatever building that is up for public sale, are to be taken out and guarded in a safe area,

III. Since those of the ancient Greek structures incorporated into modern buildings in such a way (...) national buildings existing next to ancient buildings so that they are in danger of the endemic fires, the committee shall not sell the aforementioned plots, but shall keep them under the authority of the Philomousa Society, which is obliged to direct them in such a way that not a single ancient building will be endangered,

IV. The provincial government together with the Philomousa Society shall take care to empty the ancient structures when material and things are found inside which can implement damage, and shall look for the safest building in which antiquities can be safeguarded.

⁷⁰ My translation; see Protopsaltis, *Istoriká Éngrafa*, No.12, 23.

⁷¹ See Protopsaltis, *Istoriká Éngrafa*, No.13, 24.

February 21, 1826, Nafplio⁷²

The measures were discussed again and again in the several governmental bodies during March and April and extended to the islands of the Archipelago. The assembly issued a decree in which the Executive of the provisional government was asked to order the Executive of the Aegean islands to demand from the authorities of the island of Milos that they would inform their citizens that further export of antiquities would be illegal, that they should preserve them, and when discovered that they should bring them to safety and inform the local authorities.⁷³

The aftermath

In July 1827, England, France, and Russia concluded the Treaty of London in which Greek autonomy was proclaimed. This decision imposed on the Great Powers a policy of mediation and led ultimately to the "untoward event" of the Battle of Navarino in October of the same year, which brought Greece *de facto* independence. In January 1828, Count Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776-1831), who had been elected as president in 1827, arrived at the island of Aegina. Among his many directives were supplementary laws for the protection and conservation of Greek antiquities. In the next year the Great Powers forced the Sultan to renounce the Ottoman sovereignty and Greece became nominally independent. An agreement as to the borders, however, was not reached until 1832. In 1831 members of the Maniate Mavromichalis clan assassinated the authoritarian Kapodistrias and again anarchy spread like wildfire. To quell the chaos, the Great Powers concluded in 1832 the Convention of London in which the Greek crown was offered to the second son of the Bavarian king Ludwig. When the young king Otto, who was still a minor, landed at his provisional capital Nafplio in February 1833, the Athenian acropolis was still occupied by an Ottoman garrison. After they evacuated Hellas' holiest rock, Otto moved the seat of government to Athens in 1834. At last the serious handling of Greek archaeological affairs was possible. This resulted in the founding of the Greek Archaeological Society in 1837 which still exists today.

Until that time the Greeks had to cope with a paradox. The glorious marbles which came to decorate the estates of European princes and the rooms of royal museums made the Hellenic ideal visible and influenced European thought in such a way that ultimately helped to create the independent state. But before 1827 the European states did not

⁷² My translation; see Protosaltis, *Istoriká Éngrafo*, No. 14, 24-25. Although the names of the members of the executive are not given, they were probably the same as those who undersigned the bill of February 22, 1826 which was published by Aik. Koumariannous in: *O Tipos ston Agóna*, Athens 1971, Vol.3, 240-241, excerpted from the *Yeniké Efimeris tis Elládhos*. They were: George Koundouriotis as chairman, Ghikas Botasis, Anagnostis Spiliotakis, Konstandinos Mavromichalis and Ioannis Kolettis, while A. Mavrokordatos acted as the general secretary. More significant is the fact that the text of February 22 differs from its predecessors.

⁷³ At Nafplio, March 26, 1826, Vice-Chairman Theodoritos, Bishop of Vrestheni, and 2nd secretary Vaios Georgiou, in: *Archai tis Ellenikis Palingenesias*, Athens 1974, No.8, Vol.5, 459. A slightly different version is printed in No.7, Vol.4 of the same series (Athens 1973, 473); in this version, measures would be taken against the illegal export of antiquities from Milos and would be combined with actions in Athens.

recognize the struggling Greeks and were still in the grip of their rescue-operation mindset, which made preservation and conservation for the Greek provisional government extremely difficult. As Mavrokordatos had said, Greece could not muster enough manpower to guard the remains of its ancient heritage.

It is thus not surprising that Colonel Rottiers continued his mission until the end of May 1826. He even went back to Milos, where he managed to buy other antiquities. He was not the only one. To please Baron van Zuylen van Nyelvelt, Origone, who alternated his residence between Athens and Syra (Syros) did send some antiquities, probably coins, "plus une baque en or avec l'empreintende l'oiseau consacré à Minerve, que je prie Votre Excellence de faire agréer à madame Votre épouse" to Constantinople on 27 January 1826.⁷⁴ There were also other poachers in the field. Rottiers himself mentioned Austrian and British competitors a few times, and in the summer of 1825 newcomers arrived: an American squadron under the command of Admiral Rodgers. Officers as well as ordinary sailors of this squadron collected antiquities as souvenirs.

First of all the admiral himself, who scavenged Attica and assembled a large amount of statues, most of them 'akroteriasména', but some of them of Parian marble and hence priceless. Even cannon balls made out of remnants of the Parthenon by the Greeks became collectors items. The American squadron also visited the bay of Milos and Rodgers ordered some of the crew of his flagship 'North Carolina' to open a tomb. According to George Jones, who reported these events in his chronicle *Sketches of a Naval Life* (published in New Haven in 1829), the contents were disappointing. He himself took some 'lekythous' from a grave in the Christian catacombs.⁷⁵ Even the arrival of Kapodostrias did not stop the 'pillage' for the French forces who oversaw the withdrawal of Ibrahim Pasha's Egyptian army in the Morea also collected many antiquities.⁷⁶

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⁷⁴ See Zoras, *Éngrafa*, No.98, 331.

⁷⁵ See Simópoulos, *Pos ídhan i xéni tin Elláda tou '21*, Vol.4, 1824-1826, Athens 1982, 374 and 391, and *Ellás 1775-1865, pos tin ídhan i Amerikáni*, Athens, n.d., 83-84 and 266, note 52; this is the Greek translation of Stephen A. Larrabee's *Hellas observed. The American Experience of Greece, 1775-1865*, New York 1957.

⁷⁶ Kapodostrias was a Corfiote who became Secretary of State of the Ionian Republic between 1800 and 1807. Afterwards he joined the Russian service and became a foreign minister in 1816 for Near Eastern affairs, from which he resigned in 1822.

Appendix I. Itinerary (1824-1826) of the third Rottiers collection⁷⁷

Departure for Marseille by land, end of October 1824

Departure from Marseille, 14 January 1825.

Port Mahon

Algiers

Malta

Milos

Mykonos

Syra, arrival 25 February

Syra, departure 27 February

Smyrna, arrival 11 March

Departure from Smyrna 29 April

Passage of Matapan

Modon (Methoni), arrival 9 May?

Modon, departure 12 May

Milos

Smyrna, arrival 19 May, Convoying along Anatolian coast in June and large part of
July Vourla (Asia Minor)

Tinos

Smyrna, return 19 July

Delos to port, in sight of Bay of Milos, 31 July

Milos, arrival 31 July

Milos, departure 12 August

Smyrna, return 18 August

Smyrna, departure 12 September

Tinos, 13 September

Piraeus/Athens, arrival 17 September

Piraeus, departure 20 September

Santorini, 21 September

Rhodes, arrival 27 September

Rhodes, departure 2 October

Chios, arrival 4 October

Chios, departure 6 October

Paros, 10 October

Smyrna, return 20 October

Smyrna, departure 13 November?

Piraeus/Athens, arrival 24 November

Piraeus, departure 7 December

Hydra, arrival 11 December

Hydra, departure 15 December

Smyrna, return 17 December

⁷⁷ Data collected from Bastet, Rottiers, Nanninga, and Zoras.

Smyrna, departure 25 December
 Lesbos (Mytilini, Port Olivetto), 27 December
 Milos, arrival 4 January 1826
 Milos, departure and return 9 January, second attempt 16 January
 Rhodes, arrival 19 January, Survey of the city of Rhodes
 Rhodes, departure 9 May
 Smyrna, return 17 May
 Smyrna, departure for the Netherlands 19 June
 Port Mahon, arrival 23 July
 Antwerp, arrival 17 September 1826

Appendix II. Excavation near Kastri on Milos between August 2-10, according to the Journal of the commander of the Diana⁷⁸

- 2 August, Tuesday 06.30: Rottiers with 3 of his company (Son Victor, Draughtsman Witdoeck and domestique) and 10 men of the crew with food for 8 days went ashore; a detail of 50 man also went ashore.⁷⁹
- 3 Aug. Wednesday 06.30 detail of 20 men
- 4 Aug. Thursday 06.30 detail of 20 men and a officer
- 5 Aug. Friday 06.30 detail of 20 men and a officer
- 6 Aug. Saturday 06.30 again detail
- 7 Aug. Sunday arrival of Van Zuylen van Nyevelt, the new Dutch ambassador to the Sublime Porte
- 8 Aug. Monday 06.30 detail of 30 men and 1 lieutenant
- 9 Aug. Tuesday: no entry
- 10 Aug. 10 Wednesday: detail of 85 men and 2 officers, in the afternoon the detail embarked again as well as Rottiers and his company with some cases, packages and sacks of antiquities.
- 11 Aug. Thursday: no entry
- 12 Aug. 'Diana' sailed for Smyrna

⁷⁸ See Bastet, 170-171.

⁷⁹ The detail returned on board each day. Rottiers himself took about 50 and 60 men. See Bastet, 99. He rented the plot for 16.10 guilders and brought food and drink including 30 oka (36 l) of wine each day at 25 paras, which in 10 days totals to 46.17 guilders.

DIONYSUS, HELIOS, AND RHODIAN COINAGE IN THE FIRST CENTURY BC

Steven E. Hijmans

IN 408 BC the polis of Rhodes was founded as a synoecism of Camirus, Ialysus and Lindus. It adopted Helios as its tutelary deity, and the cult of Helios became the most important on the island. Its annual games, the Haliaia, were widely renowned (Zusanck 1994; Morelli 1959, 94-99). Classical and Hellenistic Rhodian coinage reflects the importance of this god: for almost four centuries Rhodian coins carried Helios on the obverse and a rose on the reverse.¹ At some point in the second half of the first century BC, however, Rhodes abandoned this tradition and replaced its coins of Helios and rose with coins on which Dionysus and Nike were represented. This change is intriguing, and the more so because it took place in a period of turmoil in Rhodian history. The question I wish to discuss here is why Helios was abandoned on Rhodian coins in favour of Dionysus. I will propose a hypothesis which, if proven, will not only answer that question but will also give a precise date to the change.

Rhodian coins, notably of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, have received little attention. No absolute chronology has been established for this period (barring some later coins bearing imperial portraits) and suggested dates are vague and vary widely; in some cases even the relative dates of certain issues are contested. Under such circumstances one could argue that it is pointless to ask why certain coins were minted as they were without first establishing how and when they were produced. This would imply that a

¹ This was true of all Rhodian coins, with an exception only in the late third and early second centuries BC, when Rhodian silver coinage with Helios and rose was accompanied by a few issues of bronze coins with Zeus or a veiled female head on the obverse. Rhodes was not the only Greek state whose coinage was dominated by one motif. Athenian coins were equally recognizable. As a rule, however, Greek cities issued a more varied coinage.

discussion of the disappearance of Helios from Rhodian coins is also pointless until the completion of the necessary preliminary numismatic research. I have, however, ignored this seemingly elementary principle because I believe that the historical context in which Rhodes replaced Helios on its coins with Dionysus may well offer both a clear reason and a precise date for this change. I fully realize, however, that historical evidence alone provides no more than the basis of a hypothesis, to be supported or disproved by the necessary numismatic analyses, and I hope that my suggestion will stimulate numismatists to take a closer look at early Roman Rhodian coinage.

Rhodes and Rome

The change I wish to discuss took place at a time when events at Rhodes were dominated by events in Rome. Rhodes had long been a dominant economic force in the Eastern Mediterranean and it had already established contacts with the Romans at an early date. Together with Pergamum it was the first state in the region to ask Rome for assistance (201 BC) during one of many power-struggles between the various Hellenistic kingdoms. In the subsequent wars against Philip V and Antiochus III it gave Rome its full support, for which it was rewarded with an expansion of its territory (Van Gelder 1900, 122-141). During the Third Macedonian war (172-167 BC), however, Rhodes maintained a more ambivalent position. Rome retaliated by taking away the territory it had given to Rhodes some 20 years earlier, and by strongly favouring Delos, to which it granted the status of free port. This decision dealt a serious blow to Rhodes' economic position and the Rhodians dispatched a number of embassies to Rome in an attempt to regain favour. In 164 BC the Rhodians signed a treaty with Rome, becoming *socii atque amici imperii Romani* (Van Gelder 1900, 157; Gruen 1982, 569-572; Sherwin White 1984, 30-33). In subsequent decades Rhodes remained prosperous, although it was no longer the leading commercial centre of the region.

In 88 BC, Rhodes was one of the few states in the Eastern Mediterranean which remained faithful to Rome against Mithridates, and in reward Sulla returned to Rhodes most of the regions which it had lost in 167. As a result the Rhodian economy improved significantly, as is evidenced by the substantial size of its fleet (Sherwin White 1984, 34). When the civil war between Pompey and Caesar broke out Rhodes faced a dilemma. Together with most regions in Greece, it first sided with Pompey, but after the battle at Pharsalos (48 BC) Rhodes quickly switched allegiance to Caesar, who subsequently reaffirmed Rome's treaty with the island.

After Caesar's death, Rhodes apparently attempted to remain neutral (Van Gelder 1900, 169), but it clearly leant more towards Mark Antony and Dolabella than towards the Republicans, who therefore considered it to be a hostile nation.² In the spring of 42 the

² Cicero *Fam.* XII, 14,3 (May 29th, 43 BC): Rhodii nos et rempublicam quam valde desperaverint, ex litteris, quas publice misi, cognosces. (...) malus animus eorum in nostram salutem, cupiditas partium aliarum, perseverantia in contemptione optimi cuiusque ferenda mihi non fuit. Cf. XII 15,2. (You will gather from my official correspondence how badly Rhodes has abandoned the state and us. (...) Their ill-will where our well-being was concerned, their enthusiasm for the other factions, and their steadfast disregard for all our foremost men was more than I could bear).

Republicans attacked Rhodes and after a short siege Cassius conquered the city. The victors purportedly took from Rhodes 8500 talents in gold and silver and all the city's art-treasures, sparing only Lysippus' chariot of Helios. Fifty leading Rhodians were executed. Cassius left behind a strong garrison under the command of Varus and in September of 42 a new disaster befell the island when Cassius' admiral took with him its complete fleet, a large part of which he burned (Sherwin White 1984, 35; Magie 1950, 423-426; Schmitt 1957, 186; Van Gelder 1900, 170-172). For a nation dependent on trade, this blow was devastating.

Following the second battle of Philippi (Oct. 23, 42 BC) and the death of Brutus, Varus and his garrison abandoned the island. Mark Antony arrived on Rhodes shortly afterwards.³ He did what he could to help the battered *polis*, increasing its territory to include Myndos, Naxos, Andros and Tenos, and also, perhaps, Amorgos (CAH² X, 11; Schmitt 1957, 186 n. 2; Magie 1950, 428). Antony's allies, including king Herod (Joseph. *B. Jud.* I, 424), also assisted Rhodes, and although it is difficult to judge to what extent the city managed to revive, it is clear that it had every reason to be grateful to Antony.⁴ Rhodes supported him against the Parthians, and although we know little of Rhodes' subsequent dealings it seems clear that it maintained its support for Antony up to, if not beyond, Actium.

Augustus dealt harshly with Rhodes, taking away the islands which Antony had given it twelve years earlier, and the Rhodians went to considerable lengths to achieve reconciliation with him. The island was quick to install a cult of the first Roman emperor, and we know that Eupolemos, son of Basileides, was sent by Rhodes on at least four embassies to Augustus.⁵ Erskine (1991, 272-3) points out that both the cult honours for Augustus and such a large number of embassies by one man indicate "...a concern on the part of the Rhodians to win the favour of the emperor and establish good relations with him." In fact, Eupolemos was not only sent on embassies to Augustus, but also as the official representative of Rhodes to the games at Actium and at Alexandria, both founded by Augustus to commemorate the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra.

It is difficult to determine how successful Rhodes was in its attempts to win over Augustus, but there are indications that these were not or at least not immediately effective. Why else was Eupolemos sent to Augustus repeatedly? It has hitherto been

³ Schmitt (1957, 186) only mentions one visit to Rhodes by Antony in 40 BC, but Van Gelder (1900, 172-173) assumes two visits, the first not long after Philippi (for which he refers to Appian *BC* V, 2) and the second in 40 BC (Appian *BC* V, 52).

⁴ There is little indication of the extent to which Rhodes regained prosperity. Pointing to the rapid decline and ultimate disappearance of Rhodian Amphora-stamps, some have assumed that it never revived. However, there is no reason to assume *a priori* that Rhodian amphorae continued to be stamped (cf. Schmitt 1957, 187 n.5). Berthold (1984, 230-232) stresses that Rhodes, even in decline, remained wealthy, and maintained an important, if diminished local commercial role. He bases this in part on Dio Chrysostom's (XXXI, 66-7) somewhat opaque statement that, contrary to most cities in Asia Minor, Rhodes refused to accept bankruptcy and remission of debts in 30 BC, presumably so that it could retain its credibility with its creditors; cf. Van Gelder 1900, 173.

⁵ *RE* Suppl. V, 808-809. Eupolemos is the subject of a Rhodian inscription recently published by Kontorini (1989, 153-155). The inscription, which is incomplete, implies at least one other, unknown, embassy.

assumed that Rhodes did manage to retain its status of *socius*,⁶ i.e. nominally free ally bound to Rome by a formal treaty, but even that may not have been the case. It is true that the only time our sources mention Rhodes losing its freedom was in AD 44 under Claudius, but their interest in this event is roused primarily because Rhodes regained its liberty ten years later after the personal intervention of young Nero (Cass. Dio LX 24,4; Tac. *Ann.* XII 58; Suet. *Ner.* 7). In mentioning the action of Claudius, Tacitus clearly states that Rhodes had lost its freedom a number of times (*saepe*) previously, without specifying when.⁷ This cannot have been the case before the civil wars, as Rhodes consistently sided with Rome from the moment it became a *socius* in 166 BC. We know that Caesar renewed the alliance with Rhodes, despite its initial support of Pompey. It is likely that Cassius had the treaty revoked, but it seems implausible that Tacitus would refer only to that. This leaves Augustus and his successors. Augustus certainly had ample reason to revoke the treaty with Rhodes, and this would help explain the many embassies of Eupolemos. In addition, if Rhodes were not a free state, this could also explain its failure to mint even a single coin with a portrait of Augustus. This omission is otherwise almost inexplicable in view of the indications that Rhodes actively attempted to improve its relations with the victor of Actium.⁸ I would therefore suggest that in view of Tacitus' "*saepe*", it is safe to assume that Rhodes was deprived of its status of *socius* by Augustus. At some later date it was granted the lesser status of a *civitas immunis et libera sine foedere* (free state, but without a formal treaty), only to lose that position again at least once (under Claudius).⁹

It is difficult to establish exactly when these various fluctuations in Rhodes' official status took place. It may be that Rhodes had regained its liberty by AD 12 when, according to Cassius Dio (LVI 27,2), Augustus passed a law banning exiles from living on islands less than 400 stadia from the mainland, excepting only Cos, Samos, Lesbos, and Rhodes. As exiles were generally obliged to leave Roman territory, the fact that Rhodes is explicitly excepted from this new law could imply that it had regained its

⁶ Van Gelder 1900, 173; Schmitt 1957, 187. *RE* Suppl. V, 808 refers to Plin. *N.H.* V, 128, a passage which has no bearing on the matter.

⁷ Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 58: "reddita Rhodiis libertas, adempta saepe aut firmata, prout bellis externis meruerant aut domi seditione deliquerant." (The Rhodians regained their freedom, which had often been taken from them or had been confirmed, depending on whether they had earned it in foreign wars or had forfeited it by domestic sedition).

⁸ The omission is furthermore remarkable since over 150 other cities did mint coins portraying Augustus (Butcher 1988, 19).

⁹ Cuntz (1926, 199) suggested that Rhodes had lost its status as *socius* "in der Triumvirzeit". He did not know of the inscription of Eupolemos (see above), however, and bases this conclusion solely on the fact that Pliny and Tacitus speak only of Rhodian *libertas*, without mentioning a *foedus*. Cuntz gives no reasons for preferring the Triumvirate (which?) to the reign of Augustus. Although he does not address the issue directly, Marquardt (1881, 77 n. 2) also believed that Rhodes was robbed of its *foedus* with Rome at some point before the reign of Claudius. He quotes the passage from Tacitus under consideration to illustrate the position of *civitates sine foedere immunis et liberae*, i.e. cities who were not a *socius* with a formal treaty, but whose freedom was simply a favour bestowed on them by a *senatus consultum*. This differs significantly from Rhodes' original status as full *socius* with a formal treaty. Schmitt (1957, 189, quoting Cuntz incorrectly) rejects the idea, but offers no evidence to support his view. It is interesting to compare this hypothesized fluctuation of Rhodes' official position within the Roman Empire with that of Cyzicus, also mentioned by Marquardt (*loc. cit.* above): Cyzicus lost its liberty in 20 BC, regained it in 15 BC, and lost it again under Tiberius.

nominal independence.¹⁰ We have no information on how Rhodes fared between the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, but know that in AD 69 Rhodes again lost its liberty.¹¹

Rhodian coinage during Roman rule

Late Classical and Hellenistic Rhodian coins are easily recognizable. For almost four centuries from the late fifth century BC onwards, virtually all the coins struck in Rhodes had Helios on the obverse and a rose on the reverse (cf. n. 1). However, Rhodian coinage is still a confused field,¹² and notably the chronology of later Rhodian coins is poorly understood.

It is generally agreed that the second century BC was dominated by a series of plinthophoric drachms, which is thought to have run until the start of the First Mithridatic war in 88 BC, or perhaps a little later (Jenkins 1989). These were followed by silver and bronze coins which differed from their predecessors in weight and in representation on the reverse in so far as the traditional rose is now represented as a full-blown one viewed from above (Pls. I-II) — a type of representation of a rose not found previously on Rhodian coins (Ashton 1991, 76-77). The new silver coins weigh considerably more than the plinthophoric drachms, and are usually identified as Attic weight drachms, although they may be slightly too light for that (Ashton 1991, 81-2, n. 6). We know of forty magistrates issuing these Attic weight drachms (Ashton 1991, 82-3 n. 9; 84), and the dates traditionally given to this phase of Rhodian coinage are 88-43 BC. The Attic weight silver coins were superseded by large bronze coins, presumably also drachms. These large bronzes exist in two main types. The traditional type as always has the head of Helios on the obverse and a rose, full-blown and encircled by an oakwreath, on the reverse (Pl. III). These bronze drachms were issued together with small bronzes, also with the full-blown rose reverse. At some point in this period, however, Rhodes changed the representations on its coins, minting large bronzes with Dionysus on the obverse and Nike on the reverse (Pls. V-VI). These large bronzes are generally dated to the earlier part of the following period, for the moment best defined as Early Empire.¹³ This period is usually thought to have seen a marked decline in the number of coins issued by Rhodes. Neither Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula nor Claudius appear on Rhodian coins. Nero is thus the first emperor to be portrayed on an issue, with Nike on the reverse (Pl. VII). Under subsequent emperors, Rhodes issued coins intermittently, generally with the portrait of the emperor on the obverse and either Dionysus or Helios on the reverse. In addition, it sometimes issued bronzes with other deities. At some point Rhodes also issued a rare

¹⁰ Pace Schmitt (1957, 188), this does not mean that Rhodes was necessarily free when Tiberius stayed on the island from 6 BC to AD 2. Tiberius was not an official exile, and retained positions within the Roman government (first as Tribune, 6-1 B.C., and then as *legatus Augusti*). On Tiberius' stay on Rhodes, cf. Jakob-Sonnabend 1995.

¹¹ Schmitt 1957, 190. On Rhodes under Tiberius, cf. Cassius Dio LVII 11,2.

¹² For recent studies on Rhodian coinage, cf. Ashton 1991, Jenkins 1989 and Kromann 1988. Roman provincial coinage in general has not received the attention it deserves; cf. Butcher 1988, 9.

¹³ The RPC dates these coins between 31 BC and AD 60.

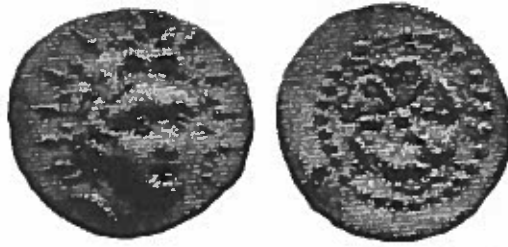


Plate I. *Ar.*; *Obv.*: Head of Helios. *Rev.*: Full-blown rose from above
(*BMCGrC pl. xli, 2*)



Plate II. *Ae.*; *Obv.*: Head of Helios,
Rev.: Full-blown rose from above
(*Ashton 1991 pl. 4.1, 25*)



Plate III. *Ae.*; *Obv.*: Head of Helios; *Rev.*: Full-blown rose from above in oakwreath (*BMCGrC pl. xli, 3*)

silver full-blown rose drachm of much lighter weight (RPC I, 2744). It minted its last coins under Commodus.

The dates

The dates currently given to almost all the issues discussed above are extremely tentative, and can vary by well over half a century. Ashton (1991) offers the most extensive discussion of these dates, and also proposes the most radical re-dating of the coins.

Ashton's study is concerned primarily with a hoard of 70 small bronze coins of two closely related types. All coins have a head of Helios (r. or l.) on the obverse; 63 have a full-blown rose seen from above on the reverse, the other 7 carry a profile rose. Die-links make it possible to establish the relative chronology of these coins, and show that the profile-rose coins superseded the full-blown rose bronzes (Ashton 1991, 71-75). As Ashton (1991, 76) points out, the small bronzes with full-blown rose reverses share magistrates' names with a number of large bronzes with a facing head of Helios on the obverse and a full-blown rose within an oakwreath on the reverse.¹⁴ The full-blown rose on the reverse of both the small and the large bronzes with full-blown rose reverses share magistrates' names with a number of large bronzes with a facing head of Helios on the obverse and a full-blown rose within an oakwreath on the reverse. B.V. Head (BMC Caria, cxiii) already remarked on the similarities between the iconography of these large bronzes and that of the Attic weight drachms, and Ashton concurs with Head's suggestion that the large rose-in-oakwreath bronzes were drachms intended to supersede the silver coins. The smaller bronze coins, which were minted by the same magistrates as the large ones, would then be obols. This means that following the silver drachms with a full-blown rose on the reverse, Rhodes switched to minting large bronze drachms with a full-blown rose within an oakwreath on the reverse. The small bronzes with full-blown roses are obols which were minted simultaneously with these large bronze drachms.

The other small bronzes studied by Ashton, with a profile rose on the reverse, are also obols. It is possible to link them to the issue of large bronzes with Dionysus on the obverse, even though none of the profile-rose obols carries a magistrate's name. The first of the large bronzes with Dionysus on the obverse not only shares the profile-rose reverse, but also the poppy and corn-ear combination of symbols with one of the four profile-rose obols (Pl. IV). Ashton (1991, 76) feels that "the similarities are such, that the different variety of omega used in either denomination can be overlooked." The magistrate named on the large Dionysus-profile-rose bronze is Teimostratos. This magistrate also minted a number of the large bronzes with Dionysus on the obverse and Nike on the reverse, which are die-linked to the profile rose large bronzes (Ashton 1991, plates 4.4 & 4.5, 108-112). Twelve other magistrates also minted large bronzes with Dionysus and Nike, but Teimostratos is the only one to inscribe his coins TAMIA TEIMOΣTPATOY (the others all write EΠI + name of *ταμίας*) and Teimostratos is also the only one to have minted both Dionysus/profile rose bronzes as well as Dionysus/Nike types. On these

¹⁴ For the small bronzes the known magistrates are Sosthenes, Satyros, Epityches, and Sphairos; for the large bronzes they are Zenon, Sosthenes, Satyros, and Sphairos. This brings the total number of magistrates to five.



Plate IV. Ae.: Obv.: Head of Dionysus, radiate;
Rev.: Profile rose; *Tamias Teimostratos* (RPC I, 2748)

rose as too early. He points out that only two, or possibly three of the magistrates named on the silver full-blown rose drachms also occur on coins of the preceding plinthophoric issues, stating that "there thus seems no compelling prosopographical reason to suppose, with the conventional view, that the silver full-blown rose drachms began as soon as the plinthophoroi left off." Furthermore, he tentatively suggests that as they appear to be too light for Attic weight drachms, they were possibly meant to be denarius weight silver. As denarius weight silver did not begin to play a role in Asia Minor until the 40s BC, Ashton (1991, 81-2 n. 6 & 83 n. 10) feels that the silver Rhodian full-blown rose coins cannot be dated long before the reign of Augustus.

As the large bronzes supersede the Attic weight silver, Ashton (1991, 78) feels that they cannot have been minted much earlier than the reign of Tiberius. He believes that they were probably issued over a span of fifty years at the most, and claims a stylistic link between the reverse of the Dionysus/Nike bronze of Chareinos (with a profile rose next to Nike as symbol on the reverse) and the reverse of a large Rhodian bronze with a portrait of Nero on the obverse and Nike with a similar profile rose on the reverse (Pl. VII). Ashton (1991, 77) refers to a hoard of large bronzes, dated around AD 100, to sub-

grounds, Ashton (1991, 76) plausibly concludes that Teimostratos was the first magistrate to mint the new Dionysus/Nike type, and that the subsequent magistrates followed his example. Appendix 1 gives a complete list of the magistrates and the coins issued in this series, as it is these Dionysus/Nike coins with which this article is primarily concerned.

Thus in the relative chronology established by Ashton, the silver Attic weight drachms and accompanying bronzes come first (Pls. I-II), followed by the large bronze drachms with a full-blown rose in an oakwreath (Pl. III) and the accompanying smaller obols. These in turn were followed by the large bronzes of Teimostratos, the first with Dionysus on the obverse and a profile rose on the reverse (Pl. IV), the later ones with Nike on the reverse. Twelve subsequent magistrates also issued bronzes with Dionysus on the obverse and Nike on the reverse (Pls. V-VI).

As far as the absolute chronology is concerned (Table 1) Ashton (1991, 77) rejects the traditional date of 88-43 BC for the silver drachms with full-blown



Plate V. Ae.; *Obv.: Head of Dionysus;*
Rev.: Nike; Tarnas Eudoros (RPC I, 2766)

Plate VI. Ae.; *Obv.: Head of Dionysus;*
Rev.: Nike; Tarnas Charinos (RPC I, 2767)



Plate VII. Ae.; *Obv.: Head of Nero; Rev.: Nike (RPC I, 2772)*

tantiate his chronology. He points out that while the coins of Nero and Domitian in the hoard were in relatively good condition, many of the bronzes with Dionysus and Nike were worn; this was particularly true of the coins minted by Teimostratos (*CH2*: no. 136).

Chronology of Rhodian Coinage according to Ashton (1991)

Plinthophoric series (AR)	continued beyond 88 BC
Helios/Full-blown rose (AR)	ca. 40 BC - AD 20
Helios/Rose-in-oakwreath (AE)	early 1st c. AD
Dionysus/Nike (AE)	early 1st c. AD to reign of Nero

Table 1

I find Ashton's arguments for these dates rather speculative and unconvincing. His contention that there is no "compelling prosopographical reason" to suppose that the silver full-blown rose drachms began as soon as the plinthophoroi left off creates more problems than it solves. As we have seen, the period up to 42 BC was one of relative prosperity for Rhodes, during which it reaped the rewards for its support of Rome against Mithridates (Head 1911, 641). The immense booty in gold and silver which Cassius is said to have taken from the city in 42 BC attests to Rhodes' wealth in the mid-first century BC. Yet unless Ashton can show (against Jenkins 1989) that the plinthophoroi were minted well beyond the 80s BC, his suggestion that the full-blown rose silver drachms were minted under Augustus would imply that Rhodes ceased minting coins for up to half a century precisely in this period of prosperity. Furthermore, Ashton would have Rhodes finally resume minting coins within a decade or so after the tremendous blow of 42 BC, in which Rhodes lost both its fleet and its wealth. In the span of at best five or six decades (ca. 40 BC to AD 20), according to Ashton, at least forty different magistrates would then have minted full-blown rose silver drachms until these were superseded under Tiberius by the rose-in-oakwreath large bronzes. Leaving aside the fact that such a large and steady output of autonomous silver is not attested elsewhere for this period (RPC pp. 6-13, 26-30), it would be quite a feat for Rhodes to finance such a rich silver coinage when it was virtually bankrupt (see n. 4). As I have argued above, it would also be extremely surprising for Rhodes to issue such a substantial number of coins in this period without once depicting Augustus, especially in the light of the other evidence showing how much the Rhodians were at pains to accommodate the emperor.¹⁵

Clearly the main objection to the suggested dates is that they are at variance with what we know of Rhodian history in this period. Lack of detailed numismatic studies of all the relevant issues further undermines the value of the proposed dating systems. Although without such studies it will remain impossible to arrive at secure dates for the issues under consideration, I believe that it is possible to suggest more convincing, albeit hypothetical, dates for late Hellenistic and early Imperial Rhodian coins.

¹⁵ Erskine 1991. The RPC has quite rightly not taken up Ashton's suggestion, and does not include the Attic weight silver drachms in its catalogue. It is therefore forced to date the large bronzes which superseded the Attic weight drachms very tentatively as 31 BC-AD 60.

Helios and Dionysus

The most striking event concerning Rhodian coinage is the abandonment, after almost four centuries, of the tradition of representing Rhodes' patron deity Helios on the obverse and a rose on the reverse, replacing them with Dionysus and Nike respectively. The line of reasoning set out below to explain this change hinges upon the assumption that Rhodes did not do so with ease, but needed a strong incentive to abandon its traditional coin-types. We must therefore first examine this assumption more closely and attempt to establish whether this change from the traditional Helios/Rose types to the new Dionysus/Nike coins would really have struck the Rhodians themselves as important.

Next to the cult of Helios, the cult of Dionysus was probably the most important on Rhodes (Morelli 1959, 122-126). As it was fairly common practice in antiquity to merge Dionysus and Helios into one deity, the fact that Dionysus is portrayed radiate on many of the Dionysus/Nike coins (see Appendix 1; cf. fig. 4) could be taken as proof that the Rhodians had ceased to differentiate between the two. This would appear to be supported by a passage from Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 31,11), where he states in a speech to the Rhodians that "some claim that Apollo, Helios and Dionysus are one, and so you [Rhodians] believe."¹⁶

It is tempting to conclude from such evidence that the Rhodians considered Helios and Dionysus interchangeable, and that therefore the replacement of Helios with Dionysus on Rhodian coins had little significance. This conclusion, however, is unacceptable for two reasons. On the one hand, it addresses but half the change, for it was not only Helios on the obverse who had to make way for Dionysus, but also the equally traditional rose on the reverse which was replaced by Nike. More importantly, however, any attempt to argue that Helios and Dionysus were actually interchangeable is based ultimately on a mistaken interpretation of the religious processes which led to their fusion.

The phenomenon of combining different gods into one gained momentum in late Hellenistic times, and is generally described with the unhappy and misleading term *syncretism*. The implicit dynamism of this term misleadingly suggests that separate gods had (been) united to form one new deity. Thus defined, the ultimate outcome of syncretism would have to be monotheism, and yet it was not (Fox 1986, 34-5; MacMullen 1981, 92-4). The fundamental tenet of polytheism, namely that many different gods coexist, remained unchanged. Thus when gods were syncretized this did not mean that they had grown together to become one, but rather that they were perceived as both one and different at the same time.¹⁷ In other words, whether a polytheist expressed a preference for one deity, or lumped together a number of gods, the implication was never that this was the only god. Concomitantly no attempt was made to deny the separate and

¹⁶ Dio Chrysostom lived from ca. AD 40-112, which means that he spoke well over a century after the events under discussion. Servius *ad Ecl.* 5,66 tells us that Porphyry (AD 232/3-ca. 305) stated that the *potestas* of Apollo was triple: the Sun among the gods, Liber (i.e. Dionysus) on earth, and Apollo in the underworld. Cf. Macrobi. 1.17.5-6; MacMullen 1981, 86 & 187 notes 47 & 48.

¹⁷ Closely related to this development was the acclamation εἰς ὁ θεός which became increasingly popular in the Roman Empire. According to Versnel (1990, 35), this was not a claim that there was but one god, but it implied "a personal devotion to one god (...) without involving rejection or neglect of other gods." It is not a monotheistic acclamation, but rather a henotheistic one, and as a phenomenon did not even necessarily form a prelude to monotheism.

individual existence of the gods which were combined into one. In fact, syncretism often seems to have taken the form of a deliberate paradox or fusion of opposites. Helios-Sarapis is an excellent example: by representing Sarapis (a god of the underworld) as one with a god of light, the unity of two seemingly incompatible elements is emphasized — light cannot exist without darkness, but that does not make the two identical.¹⁸ The syncretism of Helios and Dionysus runs along similar lines; both represent fertility and growth, but whereas Helios symbolizes cosmic order, Dionysus is characterized by orgiastic chaos. They were linked as complementary and related parts of the greater whole, not as identical phenomena. The greater whole made them one, as parts they were different.

Thus when Rhodes replaced Helios on its coins with Dionysus, it replaced, if not one god with another, then at least one aspect of God with another. There can be no doubt that to the Rhodians this decision was significant, especially because it meant abandoning such a longstanding tradition. This brings us, at last, to the question of what the significance was.

Rhodes, Antony, and Dionysus

We can rule out the possibility that the change of representations was meant to avoid confusion between the large Dionysus/Nike coins and other similarly large Rhodian bronzes which perhaps had a different value. The only other large bronzes would, in fact, have been the coins with a full-blown rose in an oakwreath on the reverse; the oakwreath alone makes these coins easily recognizable. This means that it is not the coin which explains the change in representation. One must assume that it is the representation itself.

Dionysus and Nike can easily be linked to the most traumatic events Rhodes had experienced since it was founded: the capture of Rhodes by Cassius in 42 BC; the execution of fifty of its leading citizens; the loss of 8500 talents in gold and silver; and the destruction of its whole fleet. When the Republicans who had wreaked this havoc on Rhodes were defeated by Marc Antony a few months later, the Rhodians undoubtedly greeted this event with great relief and satisfaction. Certainly the Rhodians had every reason to consider Antony their liberator and victor over their enemies.

We know that it pleased Antony to be hailed as the New Dionysus; this happened in Athens as well as in other cities of the Greek East (Marasco 1987, 25-30, 41-2, 87-8; Marasco 1992; Taeger 1960 II, 90).¹⁹ What better reason than this for Rhodes to change the time-honoured tradition of its coin-representations and mint a new type, with Dionysus on the obverse in tribute to Antony, and Nike on the reverse in tribute to his victory. Perhaps the Rhodians also felt that so shortly after disaster had struck Rhodes, the emphasis on cosmic order implied by Helios was less appropriate than the emphasis on rebirth out of chaos associated with Dionysus.

¹⁸ Other "opposites" combined in the fusion Helios and Sarapis are earth and sky, death and rebirth, beardless youth with bearded age, etc. Representations of Helios-Sarapis coexisted alongside representations of Helios and Sarapis as separate deities; cf. Tran Tam Tinh 1984; Thelamon 1974.

¹⁹ Cf. the evidence from the temple of Dionysus in Ephesos: Andreae 1985; LIMC VI s.v. Odysseus 85 (Touchefeu-Meynior); cf. Magie 1950, 427.

If we accept this link with Antony, the first Dionysus/Nike coins would then date to 42/1 BC. If this date, and more importantly this reason for the minting of the first Dionysus/Nike coins is accepted, we can also postulate a second fixed date. It is extremely unlikely that Rhodes would (or could) continue to mint coins of a type so intimately linked to Antony after his defeat at the hands of Octavian. Rhodes would almost certainly have ceased to produce them after Actium (31 BC), or after Antony's death in Egypt a year later.

A third date for our framework has been suggested by a recent study concerning Rhodian plinthophoroi, in which Jenkins (1989) reaffirms that these coins ceased to be minted around 88 BC or slightly later. This date is based on a combination of numismatic evidence, as set out by Jenkins, and historical evidence.²⁰ It is generally assumed that the First Mithridatic war widely forced Asiatic cities to revise their coinage-systems. In abandoning its plinthophoric system at this time Rhodes would have been no exception. Indeed, such a step would have been logical and necessary; a city as dependent as Rhodes was on trade could not afford to have a coinage-system which was out of step with that of its neighbours.

Although Jenkins' date of around 88 BC is by no means absolute, there are no convincing arguments against it, and no attractive alternatives. Thus we must assume that the coins preceding the Dionysus/Nike bronzes, i.e. the silver Attic weight drachms and large bronzes with a full-blown rose on the reverse, were struck between 88 and 43 BC. We know of forty magistrates who struck the silver drachms, and as Ashton (1991) has convincingly argued, these coins were superseded by, not contemporary with, the first large bronzes issued, those with a full-blown rose within an oakwreath on the reverse. These bronzes and their accompanying obols provide us with the names of five magistrates (see n. 14). Together with the Attic weight drachms, this brings the total number of magistrates for the period between 88 and 43 BC to 45. Of these, almost 90% minted silver and about 10% minted the subsequent large bronzes. Theoretically, the bronzes should therefore account for no more than 10% of the time-lapse between 88 and 42, i.e. about 4-5 years.

This brings us to the following hypothetical chronology: Attic weight silver drachms and their accompanying bronzes were minted from about 88 BC to about 48 BC (Pls. I-II); the large bronzes and their accompanying obols with a full-blown rose on the reverse were minted from about 48 to 43 BC (Pl. III); in 42 or 41 BC, after issuing an intermediate type with Dionysus on the obverse and a profile rose on the reverse (Pl. IV), Teimostratos introduced the new large bronzes with Dionysus on the obverse and Nike on the reverse in tribute to Antony's victory at Philippi (Pls. V-VI). These were minted by twelve subsequent magistrates until Antony's defeat at Actium (31 BC) or possibly his death a year later. The chronology suggested here implies that Rhodes then ceased to mint coins altogether up to the reign of Nero (Pl. VII).²¹

²⁰ The numismatic evidence is still very confused. Jenkins states that he cannot, as yet, make much sense of the die-links, notably as far as the system of magistrates' names and symbols is concerned.

²¹ The rare lightweight silver drachm with a full-blown rose on the reverse may have been minted during this period, and it cannot be excluded that some of the bronzes tentatively dated to the late first and second centuries AD also belong here. The absence of the latter from *CH* 2, 82 (with bronzes running from the rose-in-oakwreath series to coins minted under Domitian) makes this unlikely,

Conclusion

Without detailed numismatic studies of the coin-series involved, it is impossible to determine conclusively whether the numismatic evidence can be reconciled with the dates suggested above; any evaluation is at the most tentative and preliminary. The first point which should be determined is whether the coinage struck between the last plinthophoric issue and the first Dionysus-Nike issue could have been limited to the period 88-43 BC. Ashton (1991, 77) has argued that they do not share enough magistrate's names with the preceding plinthophoric issues to have followed them immediately. He has also suggested that they may have been minted to the denarius standard, in which case they would belong to a much later date in the century (Ashton 1991, 81-2 n. 6). We can ignore the latter argument, for it is not certain that the new Rhodian drachms (weights recorded from 3.5-4.44 g) were meant to fit the denarius standard (3.98 g), and if they were, it could equally well be argued that Rhodes was one of the first Greek nations to adopt that standard. As for the problem of the magistrates' names, it is clear that the change from plinthophoric coins to the full-blown rose silver drachms coincided with a change in the weight standard of Rhodian coins. We can only guess at the reasons for this change and cannot rule out that the changes in coinage also extended to changes in the administration of the treasury. As Jenkins (1989) has shown, the system of magistrates' names, symbols, and die-links becomes progressively more confused during the preceding plinthophoric series, and he frankly admits failure in understanding the underlying patterns. All that can be said with certainty is that the magistrates mentioned were probably *tamiai* (and certainly not the eponymous magistrate of the year), that there is no straightforward link between a magistrate and a symbol (magistrates recur with different symbols, symbols recur with different magistrates), and that more than one magistrate's name appears on the coinage of a given year. It would be interesting to see whether the system of magistrates and die-links is more straightforward with the Attic weight drachms: if so, it would imply a reorganisation not merely of the coinage itself, but of the whole treasury department. Such a reorganisation may, in turn, help to explain why only three magistrates' names recur on both the plinthophoric coinage and the Attic weight drachms. It is, in fact, possible to speculate on a new system, instituted in 88 BC, in which one, eponymous, magistrate is mentioned each year on Rhodian coins. The arguments for such a system, however, are purely hypothetical, and for that reason, as well as for reasons of space and clarity, I have discussed this possibility separately in Appendix II.

The apparent necessity of replacing the Attic weight silver drachms with bronze, however large, implies a crisis of some sort. If we accept the date of 48 BC suggested above, the nature of this crisis is obvious. Rome's civil war between Caesar and Pompey had just moved to the East, and Rhodes, after having first supported the wrong faction, was shifting its allegiance to Caesar. Without speculating on the precise impact these events had on Rhodes' treasury, it seems a foregone conclusion that it must have been serious. Surely Rhodes paid a high price (in silver?) to gain Caesar's goodwill.

What little we know of Rhodian history in the Augustan period supports the conclusion that Rhodes ceased to mint coins at this time. Augustus dealt harshly with Rhodes,

stripping it of many of its possessions. The early installation of a cult of Augustus on Rhodes and the intense diplomatic activities of Eupolemos, discussed above, show that Rhodes was at pains to gain the emperor's favour, although we can wonder how successful it was. Losing its freedom under Augustus would explain why Rhodes failed to mint any coins bearing his portrait.

Ashton has argued that the stylistic similarity between Nike on the reverse of the Rhodian bronze struck under Nero (Pl. VII, portrait of Nero on the obverse) and Nike on the reverse of the large bronze with Dionysus on the obverse, struck by Chareinos in the tradition established by Teimostratos (Pl. VI), implies that there was only a short lapse of time between the two (Ashton 1991, 78, pl. 4.6, 124 & 125). Style is a difficult criterium, and actually I would claim a substantial stylistic difference between the two. On the Neronian bronze, the proportions of Nike are different (larger head, stockier body), and her pose is much stiffer. On the obverse, Nero's head is far too small for the coin, and in both style and concept completely different from the large, well-proportioned Hellenistic bust of Dionysus on Chareinos' coin. This alone would imply a substantial gap between the Dionysus/Nike coins and the Nero/Nike issue. In addition, the fact that many of the 245+ Dionysus/Nike bronzes in *CH* 2, 136 are in worn condition, unlike the 30+ bronzes of Nero and Domitian in the hoard, implies a lapse of time between the two types.²²

None of the evidence currently at our disposal precludes the chronological framework suggested here. At the same time, attempts to analyze Rhodian minting policies within the context of Rhodian history has provided us with plausible reasons to assign specific dates to certain changes in Rhodian coinage. Such reasoning cannot stand in lieu of full numismatic analysis of the coinages involved, but we may have to wait a long time before such analyses are available. In the meantime, the current line of reasoning has provided us with a persuasive chronological framework which can serve as a working hypothesis until the necessary further research has been done.

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²² The coin of Chareinos from this hoard, illustrated by Ashton (1991, pl. 4.6, 125) is clearly more worn than the Neronian bronze from the same hoard (126). There is nothing remarkable in a circulation period of a century or more for coins in antiquity, and it is therefore quite normal to find coins of widely varying date together in one hoard.

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Appendix I. The Dionysus/Nike coins.

The Dionysus/Nike coins discussed here are: (all coins AE)

A. Large coins, ca. 23.7 g.

1. Radiate head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Rose (profile), poppy, ear of corn.
Magistrate's name: Teimostratos.
RPC 2748
Plate IV
2. Radiate head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, r., standing on prow, holding palm and aphaiston.
Teimostratos.
RPC 2749
3. Radiate head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, r., on rose, holding palm and aphaiston.
Damaratos.
RPC 2750
4. Radiate head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, l.
Nike, r., on prow, holding palm and aphaiston.
Damaratos.
RPC 2751
5. Head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, l.
Nike, r., holding palm and wreath.
Antipatros.
RPC 2752
6. Head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, l, with trophy and unidentified object.
Antipatros.
RPC 2753
7. Head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, l, on prow, holding palm and aphaiston.
Phainila
RPC 2754
8. Head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, l, on rose, holding palm and wreath.
Phainila
RPC 2755
9. Radiate head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, l.
Nike, r, on rose, holding palm and wreath.
Antigonos
RPC 2756
10. Radiate head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, r, on prow (?), with wreath and thyrsus (?).
Antigonos
RPC 2757
11. Head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, l.
Nike, r, holding palm and aphaiston.
Antigonos
RPC 2758
12. Radiate head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, l, on globe, holding palm and unidentified object.
Hierokleus
RPC 2759

Appendix I. The Dionysus/Nike coins (*continued*)

13. Radiate, draped bust of Dionysus, ivy wreath, l.
Nike, l, holding palm and wreath
Hierokleus
RPC 2760
14. Radiate head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, r, on prow, holding palm and aphlaston.
Hypsikleous
RPC 2761
15. Radiate head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, l.
Nike, l, on rose, holding palm and aphlaston
Epikrateus
RPC 2762
16. Head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, l, on rose, holding palm and aphlaston.
Apollonios
RPC 2763
17. Head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, l, holding palm and wreath
Zenodotos
RPC 2764
18. Head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, l.
Nike, l, on globe, holding palm and wreath
Diodoros
RPC 2765
19. Head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, l.
Nike, l, on globe and rose, holding palm and wreath.
Eudoros
RPC 2766
Plate V
20. Head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, l, on prow, holding palm and wreath; rose.
Charcinos
RPC 2767
Plate VI

B. Small coins, ca. 2.3 - 3.7 g.

1. Head of Dionysus, ivy wreath, r.
Nike, r, on prow, holding palm and wreath; cantharus.
RPC 2768
2. Draped bust of Dionysus, r.
Full-blown rose.
RPC 2769

The magistrates, 13 in total, are:

Teimostratos	Epikrates
Damaratos	Apollonios
Antipatros	Zenodotos
Phainilas	Diodoros
Antigonos	Eudoros
Hierokles	Charcinos
Hypsikles	

Appendix II. Magistrates' names on Rhodian coins.

So far, no headway has been made in the interpretation of the system of magistrates' names and symbols on Hellenistic Rhodian coins. Jenkins (1989) assumes more than one magistrate per annum for the plinthophoric coinage. He points out that the term of office lasted for only six months, and that probably more than one magistrate per term put his name on the coins. This makes the system quite complex and Jenkins admits his failure to make full sense of the available evidence.

It is important to note that the chronological framework which I propose here assumes a change in the system of magistrates' names coinciding with the coinage reform of 88 BC. This change led to a substantial decrease of the number of magistrates mentioned per year. In fact, it is interesting that for the 58-year period after the coinage reform (88-31/30 BC according to the chronology proposed here) we know of precisely 58 magistrates: 40 for the silver Attic weight drachms and accompanying bronzes, 5 for the full-blown rose-in-oakwreath bronzes (large and small) and thirteen for the Dionysus/Nike bronzes. This makes it very tempting to assume a new system with one, eponymous magistrate per annum. Unfortunately there is no hard evidence to support this conjecture. The addition of just one name to our list would virtually rule out such a system, and as four new names were added only five years ago (Ashton 1991, 84, addendum), further additions are in fact a distinct possibility. The evidence of die-links — if they were known — would also quickly reveal the extent to which the hypothesis of one magistrate per year is viable. Further research must be awaited.²³

All that can be said at this point is that the dates proposed by Ashton (1991) and the RPC imply a far more drastic change in the system underlying the magistrates' names. They would have Rhodian coinage change from multiple magistrates per year (plinthophoric coinage) to multiple years per magistrate in their attempt to spread the post-plinthophoric coinage evenly over the period from ca. 80 BC to AD 60.

²³ One of the unproven assumptions which should not be overlooked is that each *tamias* would have minted coins. This need not have been the case, in which case 45 *tamiai* should be read as "more than 45 years" if they were elected annually, or "more than 22.5 years" if they were elected every six months, as was the case in the preceding period — still assuming that only one *tamias* was mentioned per term of office! This should serve as a further warning against too facile a linkage between the number of magistrates and the passage of time.

ANONYMOUS TOMB CULTS IN WESTERN MESSENA

The search for a historical explanation

Jeroen S. van der Kamp

IN the last fifteen years, a popular subject in Greek archaeology has been the anonymous tomb cult, a phenomenon mostly found in Attica, the Argolid, and Messenia. Although there are some cases of Early Iron Age tomb cults, most anonymous tomb cults began in the 8th century BC; in the last decade several authors have tried to relate these instances to the historical events of this century, sometimes called 'the Greek renaissance'. In the 8th century Messenia lost its independence to Sparta and did not regain it until the beginning of the 4th century BC. Because of this, the Messenian archaeological data have not played much of a part in the discussion of the role of anonymous tomb cults as part of the developing world of 8th century Greece. Only the unusual prosperity of the Messenian anonymous tomb cults in the Late Classical and Hellenistic period has drawn archaeologists' attention in the last decade. This strange revival of an old tradition was quickly associated with the unexpected recovery of Messenian independence in 369 BC. According to some modern scholars, a feeling of nationalism in Messenia — oppressed for centuries by the Spartan invaders — was called in to unite the population, and to define and defend a long suppressed regional identity (Alcock 1991, 456). This feeling of Messenian nationalism made use of the most prominent part of the human landscape left by the Messenian ancestors — the Mycenaean tholos and chamber tombs. This use consisted of the placement of offerings in or over the Mycenaean tombs. This Late Classical and Hellenistic practice seems to have had its precedent in the Late Geometric and Archaic period; from ca. 740 BC onwards, several Mycenaean tholos and chamber tombs in Messenia were visited, as can be shown by the presence of Late Geometric and Archaic pottery. In Attica and the Argolid, anonymous tomb cults sprang up in roughly the same period, most of them continuing until the 6th century BC.

This article will not contain a detailed study of the inventories of the Messenian Late Bronze Age tombs which yielded post-Mycenaean material; this time-consuming work has already been published by Korres (1981/1982) and Antonaccio (1995).¹ Instead this article aims at discerning an underlying pattern in the material in order to acquire a better understanding of the people behind the tomb cults and the motives behind their actions. In my opinion, the first step in tracing this local pattern is to pinpoint the geographical and chronological distribution of the tomb cults, such as has been done for the Argolid and Attica in the last ten years (see below).

This, together with the conclusions drawn from a study of the inventories, should lead to the discovery of the extent to which the Messenian tomb cults were inspired by a feeling of nationalism, either at the beginning of the Spartan domination or after the expulsion of the Messenians' eastern neighbour in 369 BC. Were the tomb cults part of a pan-Messenian attempt to create a feeling of solidarity, and do they show then a nationalistic-like character? The main problem is in determining whether a certain tomb cult displays an attraction which surpasses local boundaries and appeals to all Messenians alike, or whether it has merely a local or even familial meaning. The geographical situation of a tomb cult in relation to through-roads and internal boundaries, together with the quality and quantity of the material offered, should suffice for a general idea about the initiators of the cult and the range of its influence. The regional pattern of Messenian tomb cults must be linked with our knowledge of the historical events which took place in Messenia from the end of the Geometric period until long after the liberation of Messenia and the foundation of the new capital city of Messene.

A first glance at the geographical distribution of the anonymous tomb cults (Figs. 1 and 2) shows them to be concentrated in western Messenia, and entirely absent from the northern and southern areas of the Stenyklaros plain. Anonymous tomb cults will therefore be studied as a West-Messenian phenomenon, and it may be no coincidence that this area seems to have set its own course in many ways from the earliest times on.

Views on anonymous tomb cults and 8th century Greece

The fact that tomb cults in or over Mycenaean tombs flourished in the same period in which the Homeric epic spread across the mainland of Greece led many historians and

¹ With the help of Prof. Korres, I was able to study the inventories in the Chora Museum; since some of Korres' co-workers are still studying the material from various Messenian sites, the data from these inventories will be excluded from this paper. Nonetheless, the ceramic material exhibited in the museum of Chora yielded new information especially on the votive pottery from the tomb cult in a tholos near Papoulia, and the presence of Hellenistic pottery in the various tombs of Volimidia.

In Antonaccio (1995) one can find an extensive bibliography and a detailed description of the tombs here studied. These tombs, together with an indication of the period of tomb cults (the question mark indicates periods where the evidence of tomb cult is for various reasons ambiguous), and page references, are as follows: Peristeria (Ar/Hel): 82; Kopanaki (Geo?/Cla?/Hel): 85; Mouriatada (Hel?): 81; Psari (Hel?): 87; Vasiliko (Ar/Hel?): 84; Tourliditsa (Ar/Hel): 74; Koukounara Akona I (Ar): 77; Koukounara Gouvalari I (Ar/Cla?/Hel): 75; Kremmidia (Cla?/Hel): 70; Papoulia (Ar): 73; Routsis (Hel): 82; Voidokilia (Hel): 80; Osmanaga (Cla?/Hel): 72; Ano Englianos (Geo?): 100; Volimidia (Geo?/Hel): 94; Nichoria tholos tomb (Cla/Hel?): 90; Nichoria Vathirema chambertomb (Cla/Hel?): 89; Nichoria Akones graves (Geo?/Ar?/Hel): 89; Dhafni (Cla?): 71.

archaeologists at the end of the 19th century to believe that these were hero cults. This concern with hero cults coincided with the widespread study of ancestor worship at this time and thus many historians, such as Erwin Rohde (1890), believed that these hero cults (including the cults in the Mycenaean tombs) were part of an old tradition of ancestor worship. The late 19th century emphasis on the Homeric epic as the source of the newly evoked interest in heroes and hero cults remained the leading view among historians and archaeologists in the first half of this century. Most of them were convinced that the tomb cults were initiated by people who were real descendants of the Mycenaeans buried in the tombs, and who had somehow kept alive a vague recollection of the Mycenaean tombs and their occupants throughout the Dark Ages. Carl Blegen was one of the first archaeologists to define this "problem of continuity of race, civilization and of memory" (1937), which has since dominated the discussion of hero cults. Although many archaeologists rejected Blegen's notion of continuity of race and civilization throughout the Dark Ages, convinced that they had to "reject the idea of a survival (or even properly speaking of a revival) of heroic cults, and assume that these Hellenic cults were instituted by people who preserved no continuity of memory (and little enough of blood) some centuries after the occupants of the tombs passed into oblivion" (Cook 1953, 115), all of them stressed the role of Homeric and other epic in the renewed interest in the Late Bronze Age past.

As late as 1976 Coldstream underscored Rohde's and Cook's view on the origins of hero cults. The importance of his article for later research was that he was the first to try to explain the geographical distribution of the hero cults. Coldstream saw the differences between the Late Geometric burial customs of the Greeks in Attica, the Argolid, and Messenia, and these of their Late Bronze Age ancestors as the immediate cause of the first offerings in or over Mycenaean tombs. "The great size of a Mycenaean tomb, and the richness of the offerings, would fill them with superstitious awe; so he would leave some offerings as a mark of respect, after his imagination had been stirred by the first Panhellenic circulation of Homeric epic. And the wish to show such veneration was by no means confined to the actual descendants of the Mycenaeans" (Coldstream 1976, 14).

This attention to the geographical distribution was quickly linked with our knowledge of the historical events which took place in the 8th century BC. Snodgrass remarked that the three regions with Late Geometric hero cults showed important changes in the way society was organized (1980/1982). Together with a remarkable increase in population, agriculture shifted from pastoralism to intensive tillage of the arable land. This new agricultural regime could not have been installed without creating conflicts and a sense of insecurity (Snodgrass 1982, 116-17). "But by instituting a cult of a local hero, a community could acquire a sense of security in an age of apparently fluid and unpredictable settlement" (Snodgrass 1980, 39). Snodgrass considered the hero cults as a weapon in the territorial dispute between the dying aristocracy from the Dark Age and the ascending free peasantry.

At the end of the eighties, archaeologists called for more regional explanations for the hero cults that would allow for the differences in cult between the Argolid, Attica, and Messenia. James Whitley (1988) was the first to provide such regional explanations. Referring to Snodgrass' theory, he stated that "if we are to attribute the institution of this

practice to the actions of free peasants wishing to establish their title to the land they would then farm, we would expect such a practice to be most common in the younger and smaller communities of the late 8th century" (Whitley 1988, 177). In Attica, this seems not to be the case. The hero cults in Menidhi, Thorikos, and Eleusis were situated in areas with clear evidence of Proto-Geometric inhabitation. According to Whitley, this evidence, together with the abundance and richness of the offerings in the tholos of Menidhi, shows that the Attic hero cults were initiated by the old Dark Age aristocracy, as "a reaction of long established communities to the threatening infilling of the landscape" (summarized by Morris 1988, 756), sometimes called the internal re-colonization of the Attic countryside from Athens itself (Coldstream 1977, 135). Whitley considered the hero cults in the Argolid, on the other hand, as part of the struggle between the various *poleis*, Argos and Mycenae in particular. These *poleis* situated their hero cults at the boundaries of their territory or at the urban centre of their city. So, in the Argolid, according to Whitley, these hero cults would appear to have been "as politically motivated as other kinds of cult (such as the institution of extra urban sanctuaries situated at the *eschatia* of a city's territory), and were if not directed by at least encouraged by the state" (Whitley 1988, 180-81).

Ian Morris (1988) also underscored the range of meanings hero cults might have had, not from region to region, but within one single community: "We cannot reduce the cults to one message, but they provide evidence for the ideological turmoil and conflicts which surrounded the rise of the 'polis' and the triumph of the citizen ideal. The same cults could simultaneously evoke the new, relatively egalitarian ideology of the polis and the older aristocrats who protected the grateful and defenceless lower orders, while standing far above them" (Morris 1988, 750).

As a result of the diminishing link between the offerings in or over Bronze Age tombs and the Homeric epic, the idea of 'hero cult' was, in the last ten years, gradually replaced by the phrase 'anonymous tomb cult'. The distinction between hero cults and the cults in or over Mycenaean tombs, however, is not always clear, as Whitley pointed out in his second article on the subject (1994). He remarked that, although the sherd with the graffito (reading $\tau\omicron$ $\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$] $\epsilon\mu[\tau]$) found by Schliemann in Grave Circle A in Mycenae is the only dedication to a hero ever found in association with later material in a Mycenaean context, the anonymous tomb cult is still theoretically part of the hero cult (Whitley 1994, 221-22). At the same time the offerings in a Mycenaean context show clear similarities with the so-called *Opferrine* in the Kerameikos, clearly belonging to the category of tomb cult. Hero cult and tomb cult can thus overlap. "Some (but not all) hero cults were tomb cults; some (but not all) tomb cults were cults of ancestors; and some (but not all) ancestors were also heroes" (Whitley 1994, 214). Because of the fact that the offerings in or over Late Bronze Age tombs are nowadays studied as belonging to tomb cult, more and more archaeologists are convinced that "the avenue to understanding the whole phenomenon of tomb cult lies in funerary practice" (Antonaccio 1995, 248).

The Messenian situation

All of the historical explanations for the tomb cults from the last ten years are related to — and based on — the cults in Attica and the Argolid. There has been no serious attempt at a historical explanation for the anonymous tomb cults in Messenia, the region with the highest number of such cults. Distributed over sixteen sites, post-Mycenaean material, dating from the Late Geometric period through to the Roman and even Early Christian period, was found in or over thirteen Mycenaean tholos tombs, ten Mycenaean chamber tombs (of which one was possibly Geometric), two Mycenaean absidal cist graves, and over one Mycenaean palace. The larger part of the post-Mycenaean pottery in these tombs is evidence for a tomb cult. Despite this high number of tomb cults, Messenia has not received the same degree of attention as Attica and the Argolid. Messenia, blessed with the fertile Stenyklaros plain, was conquered by its neighbour Sparta at the end of the 8th century and did not regain its freedom until 369 BC. The Messenians, degraded to helots, would not have used the tomb cults as a weapon in a struggle over land, either between various *poleis* or between various sections of the population. How, then, did the archaeologists in the past explain the presence of so many anonymous tomb cults in this southwestern part of the Peloponnese?

The larger part of the archaeological fieldwork related to tomb cults was conducted by the Greek archaeologist Spyridon Marinatos (1901-1974). He excavated seven Mycenaean tholos tombs and eight chamber tombs which contained post-Mycenaean material, mostly in the 1950s and 60s. One year after his first discovery of Late Geometric and Hellenistic offerings in the chamber tombs of Volimidia, he wrote: "Während der dunklen Zeit der Besetzung von Messenien durch die Spartanen scheint der Kult unterdrückt, sogar verboten gewesen zu sein. Man hat ihn intensiv nach Leuktra und Mantinea wieder begonnen" (Marinatos 1955, 154). Marinatos was not completely certain that the offering Messenians were the real descendants of the Mycenaeans, although he was convinced that they considered themselves as such, and Marinatos left the possibility open. According to Marinatos, they did so because they needed this link with the Mycenaeans to solve various disagreements. "Die Traditionen der einzelnen Gegenden, territoriale Ansprüche, Familienrechte, Nationalstolz, alles geht bis ins 'Mykenische' zurück und wird mit 'mykenischen Beweisen' bekräftigt oder entkräftet" (Marinatos 1955, 156).

Between 1969 and 1973, the American School of Archaeology excavated a hill near Nichoria on which they found, among other things, a Mycenaean tholos tomb containing clear traces of late 5th and early 4th century activities, most probably belonging to some kind of tomb cult. The excavators, Coulson and Wilky, suggested that "...perhaps this was a way of perpetuating local traditions in the face of Spartan occupation. It is clear that the functions of the Messenian cults must have changed radically between the 8th century and the 4th; and it is clear that they must have meant very different things to

the Messenian serfs and the Spartan overlords, who could oppose, ignore or reinterpret them in their own favour" (McDonald et al. 1983, 333). Contrary to Marinatos, they were thus convinced that the tomb cults continued to exist during the period of Spartan domination, and were used, somehow, to resist the Spartan oppressor.

According to Coldstream, not only did these tomb cults continue under the foreign rule, but they even expanded in number. "At all events, the general picture is one of stress and conflict — an impression intensified by the widespread growth of hero-cults in Mycenaean tombs, more numerous in Messenia than anywhere else in Greece. When threatened by Spartan invaders — and, later, when reduced to helotage by Spartan oppressors — the people of Messenia had every reason to visit the tombs of their local heroes and ancestors, appealing for their help and protection" (Coldstream 1977, 164). Snodgrass, too, considered the tomb cults as a means of keeping alive a Messenian feeling of past freedom. "On peut néanmoins faire remarquer que des preuves abondent, tout au long de cette période, qui démontrent que les Messéniens ne pardonnaient ni n'oubliaient leur assujettissement, et que la mémoire de leur liberté resta vivace jusqu'au jour où Epaminondas la leur rendit. Il est possible que, en rappelant la grande époque des Messéniens, quand ceux-ci vivaient heureux sous le règne de Nestor le cavalier générien, ces cultes des héros aient contribué à garder en éveil cet esprit, et que les Spartiates, tout en le refusant aux Hilotes de la proche patrie, l'aient ignoré ou toléré en Messénie" (Snodgrass 1982, 118).

Not all archaeologists were eager to consider every piece of post-Mycenaean pottery as evidence for some kind of tomb cult. In the only article dealing specifically with the Messenian situation, Yorgos Korres (1981/1982) was rather cautious in recognizing tomb cults in this southwestern part of the Peloponnese. He underscored the relatively gradual change in Proto-Geometric burial customs in Messenia and stressed the continual use of the Mycenaean tholos and chamber tombs as places of sepulture after the end of the Mycenaean period. As a result, Korres would ascribe all the Late Geometric or Archaic ceramic material in a Mycenaean tomb in Messenia as belonging to a later burial, or as a result of the use of the tomb as a refuse dump, house, or animal shelter. Korres furthermore remarked that plundering could also be responsible for the presence of later pottery. Because of all this, Korres believes tomb cults not to have existed in the Late Geometric or Archaic periods. At the same time, though, he does admit that some of the Late Classical and Hellenistic material, due to its clear and undisturbed votive context, must be the result of some kind of tomb cult, the situation on the northern rock of the Voïdokilia bay being the clearest example (see below).

Building on the theory of the Late Geometric and Archaic tomb cults as the actions of the oppressed Messenians in their struggle against the Spartan aggressor, Susan Alcock (1991) classified the post-369 BC tomb cults as a result of Messenian nationalism as well. "Reliance upon power drawn from the past has long been accepted as an element in the formation of the Classical polis. It must now be acknowledged that stages in its transformation were played out through tomb cult as well" (Alcock 1991, 460). Alcock considered the Late Classical and Hellenistic tomb cults in Messenia as a means "to define and defend a long suppressed regional identity" (Alcock 1991, 456); these tomb cults were thus used to unite the Messenian population, fragmented as a result of almost three and a half centuries of Spartan domination. According to Alcock, this identity was strengthened by the use of early Messenian history and heroes as propagandistic elements

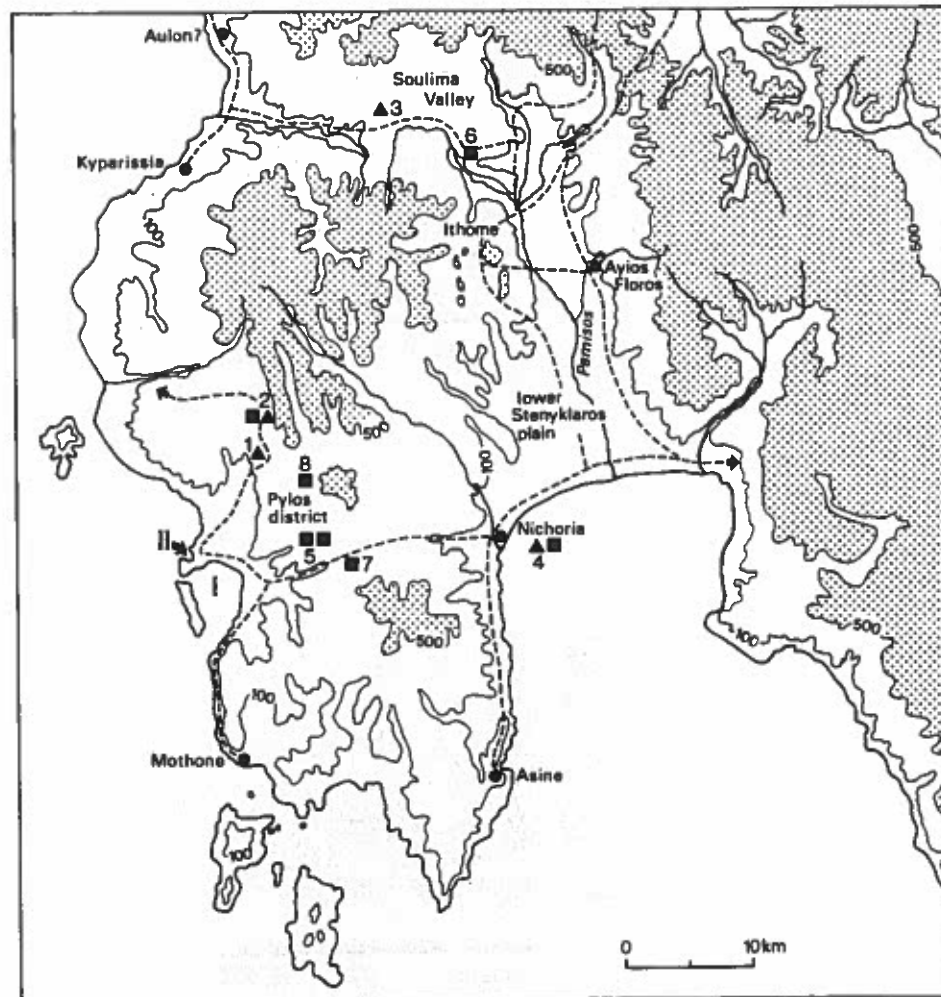
from the Classical to Roman period, and she recalled "the summoning of 'local heroes' to the foundation of Messene" (Alcock 1991, 456). Seen in the light of this last remark, it is even more striking, that — as Alcock noticed (1991, 456) — almost none of the Messenian tomb cults can be linked to a major settlement.

Apart from this 'nationalism-theory', there has been no attempt to find a historical explanation for the high number of cases of interest in the Mycenaean tombs by the Late Geometric, Archaic, Late Classical, and Hellenistic Messenians. This is especially odd since Messenia shows some remarkable disparities from Attica and the Argolid. First of all are the many Mycenaean tombs with traces of later intrusions, not concentrated in a few places (as in the Argolid), but spread widely across the western part of the region. Also remarkable is the flourishing of Messenian tomb cult in the Late Classical and Hellenistic period, after more than two centuries of silence in the 6th and 5th century BC. This revived interest in the Mycenaean past, expressed in a growing number of visits to Mycenaean tombs, is not perceptible to this extent in the rest of Greece. Messenia also harbours the highest number of conclusive examples of Late Classical and Hellenistic tomb cult, whereas almost all the post-Archaic intrusions in the Mycenaean tombs in the Argolid have no clear context (Alcock 1991, 460-67). Messenia furthermore shows some remarkable characteristics in votive material; it provides the best examples of presumed banqueting activity, that is, coarse pottery and cooking wares combined with layers of ashes and animal skeletal remains. At the same time, the clearest evidence of a different, perhaps more formalized, ritual practice of tomb cult can also be found in Messenia, illustrated by the presence of terracotta figurines and votive plaques found outside two tombs at Voidokilia and Peristeria (see below).

Tomb cults in Messenia are thus much more pronounced than in the Argolid or Attica, yet even so they still await an explanation which can account for these characteristics and relate them to our knowledge of historical events in Messenia.

Late Geometric activities in Mycenaean tombs

Messenia produced four sites with a total of seven Mycenaean tombs which yielded Late Geometric pottery (Fig. 1), all of which were situated in areas with clear traces of Dark Age activity. The oldest Late Geometric pottery in a Mycenaean context was not found in a tomb, however, but appeared in the layers just above the ruins of the Palace of Nestor at Ano Englianos. Although the layer in which the DA III pottery was found consisted of a dark black material, nowadays most archaeologists are convinced that this black colour is the result of something other than fire. No animal bones, ash or charcoal were reported in connection with this layer, and the pottery (dated to ca. 750 BC) could belong to the Iron Age reoccupation of the palace hill which underwent new construction, as the recent work on this site shows (Popham 1991). Reoccupation, however, is not responsible for the presence of the high number of Late Geometric vases in five of the thirty-two chamber tombs excavated by Marinatos at Volimidia (only five kilometers northeast of the Palace of Nestor). Three tombs each yielded only one piece of Late Geometric pottery, all but one heavily fragmented. The other two tombs (Angelopoulos 4 and 5) on the other hand each yielded 11 and 12 pieces of Late Geometric pottery, all



- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|---|--------------|
| ▲ | Late Geometric intrusions | 1 | Ano Eglianos |
| ■ | Archaic intrusions | 2 | Volimidia |
| --- | Ancient roads | 3 | Kopanaki |
| I | Bay of Navarino | 4 | Nichoria |
| II | Bay of Voidokilia | 5 | Koukounara |
| | | 6 | Vasiliko |
| | | 7 | Tourliditsa |
| | | 8 | Papoulia |

Figure 1. Map showing Late Geometric and Archaic intrusions in Messenia (drawing by J.H. Zwier)

mostly complete, dating from ca. 740-730 BC. Like those from Ano Englianos, all of these vases are either pouring and/or drinking vessels, or were used to store liquids (Pl. I). The question is whether the vases formed part of a sacrifice made to anonymous forefathers presumed to be in the tombs, or if they belonged to Late Geometric burials placed inside the chambers. Placing burials in Mycenaean tholos and chamber tombs is a phenomenon known to Messenia from the Proto-Geometric period onwards, as is the reuse of these tombs for shelter or storage.

The Geometric vases were apparently not found in association with any bones, animal or human, nor pyres, but this is not surprising considering the extent of the

Hellenistic and Roman disturbance in both tombs. The presence of several Late Geometric bronze pins in both tombs (and a bronze double axe in one of them), together with the absence of any clear ritual context, was for many archaeologists sufficient reason for considering the Late Geometric pottery as grave goods (Korres 1981/1982, 412), although others have noted that the bronze pins could equally have been votive gifts (Antonaccio 1995, 98). A detailed study of Marinatos' excavations diaries may lead to a definite answer, but until then I shall consider the Geometric vases in the tombs of Volimidia as grave goods.

Another example of a Mycenaean tomb with Late Geometric pottery is the tholos tomb of Kopanaki. Although the Late Classical and Hellenistic sherds from this tomb were found in a clear votive context (together with animal bones and traces of fire), the thirteen Geometric sherds (one of which bears a graffito 'A') in the deepest layer of the chamber fill were widely spread across the chamber floor. Their presence might have been the result of plundering, indicated by the disarray of the Mycenaean human skeletal remains on a low stone bench along the wall of the chamber. Although the Geometric sherds were found in a grey, ashy layer, it is not clear whether this layer is from the Mycenaean, Geometric, Classical or Hellenistic period. No pottery shapes are mentioned, although a lid was recorded. Due to the great disturbance of the tomb, it is impossible to determine whether the Geometric sherds in the Kopanaki tholos tomb belong to a tomb cult, a later burial, or are simply a chance find. The fragmentary state of the pottery could point to the latter.

The fourth site with Late Geometric pottery in a Mycenaean context is located southwest of Nichoria and consists of three absidal cist graves, known as the Akones graves, in a small tumulus along the road leading south towards Petalidhi. In Grave I, Late Geometric (or early Archaic) pottery was found, although the excavator did not mention whether it was found in association with the one intact burial on the floor (Parlama 1972, 262-64). No ash, charcoal or animal bones were reported in association with the Geome-



Plate I. Late Geometric deep cup from Tomb Angelopoulos 4, Volimidia (W.D.E. Coulson. *Geometric pottery from Volimidia*. AJA 92. fig. 4)

tric vases, and no pottery shapes were mentioned. The fact that only one of the three intact graves seems to have been deliberately opened in this period, and that the bronze knives on the floor of the chamber were left alone, may show that plunder was not the motive behind these later activities. Not enough is known to draw any final conclusions; the exact date of the pottery is still disputed, and the question remains if the burial on the floor of the tomb was Late Geometric, as was the case in the nearby situated Vathirema chamber tomb (see below).

The Late Geometric archaeological evidence is — in my view — too ambiguous to allow the classification of the pottery from this period found in Mycenaean contexts as the result of anonymous tomb cult. The presence of all these Late Geometric finds must be due to later occupation, burials, or dumps. The Late Geometric activities in these tombs are not very surprising, considering the clear traces of Dark Age activities in the areas in which the tombs were situated. Differences between the Mycenaean tombs and the DA activities in their immediate surroundings only seem to underscore the idea that no tomb cult activity took place in these tombs at this time. A fruitful comparison can be made with the DA building on the acropolis of Nichoria, dating from the late 10th and early 9th century BC. Within this building (possibly a 'chieftain's house'), a stone circular structure was found, partly enclosed by a low wall, with a layer of ashes and charcoal on top, and large quantities of animal bones (deer, sheep, goat, pig, dog, bovids) and pottery (large quantities of skyphoi) immediately west of it (McDonald et al. 1983, 18-56). It is possible that the platform was used to set out part of a sacrifice or ritual meal, which took place nearby (probably as part of ancestor worship) and was later buried close to the platform together with the pottery used (Antonaccio 1995, 205). Already in the beginning of the DA period then, ancestor worship could consist of sacrificial meals with the slaughter of animals and liquid offerings. The fact that none of the Geometric pottery in the Mycenaean tombs was found in close association with animal bones and charcoal seems to indicate that this pottery was not part of a sacrificial meal, as at Nichoria.

In the DA building at Nichoria, small, locally produced cups were very rare, and of the cult pottery the skyphos seems to have been the most popular shape. In the DA III period, the locally produced cup was more common, and was frequently used as a burial gift, often together with skyphoi.² This could indicate that the pottery from the Palace

² In a field on a gentle slope locally called Lakkoules, north of the acropolis of Nichoria, some 200 DA III sherds were found in the ploughed soil. In this field, four cist graves and a tholos tomb from the DA II period were located, "and the presence of DA III sherds in the same area indicates the continued use of Lakkoules as a cemetery in DA III" (Coulson 1986, 67). Only six sherds could be reduced to specific shapes: three skyphoi, a cup, a krater, and a closed vessel were represented. Skyphoi and cups were used as grave goods between 750 and 700 BC as well. The Late Geometric burial in the centre of the chamber tomb on the acropolis of Nichoria, along the Vathirema ravine, is a good example. The grave goods of this burial consisted of three skyphoi, a cup, a kotyle, and a pyxis lid (McDonald et al. 1983, 109-110). A cup was also used as a grave good in a Late Geometric pithos burial on the northeast slope of the acropolis of Nichoria. The funeral offerings consisted of an iron sword and spear point, bronze ring, two bronze phialae, and pottery. This pottery consisted of a cup, a kantharos, and a shallow bowl. The presence of the bronze objects and the kantharos is very striking, and it has been suggested that this warrior died in the First Messenian War and was buried on the northeast slope of the Nichoria acropolis "to enlist the dead hero's continued vigilance to help the living ward off the incursions of the hated foe from across Taygetos" (McDonald et al. 1983, 326). Although this is disputable, it is noteworthy that the hero-like character of

of Nestor (with three locally produced cups and one skyphos) belongs to a burial as well. Most of these Late Geometric skyphoi were imported, and eventually the locally produced cup gave way to various imported drinking shapes, the skyphos being the most important. This imported pottery that appears in Messenia in the late 8th century is often taken as an indication of a new period in the history of Messenia; a period of broadening horizons after centuries of isolation (Coulson 1988, 64). Pottery from various regions was imported or imitated (Attica, Laconia, Corinth, Argos), as were the many bronze objects that appeared at this time, mostly found together with the imported pottery. Many historians take this external influence as a substantiation of the — possibly corrupt — tradition about the First Messenian War (Coulson 1988, 73). Pausanias (IV, 11, 1) tells us that during this war the Spartans were aided by Corinth while the Messenians gained support from contingents of Argos and Sikyon.

That tomb cults did not appear in Messenia prior to ca. 700 BC is not surprising. First of all, there was not the kind of stress on arable land, as there was in Attica, which might have led to a struggle between various sections of the population. McDonald and Rapp (1972, 255-256) estimated that Messenia had a population of around 50,000 at the end of the Bronze Age. In the Dark Age this number dropped considerably, and despite a continuing increase in population from the end of the 8th century onwards, it probably never reached this level again. At the same time, there was sufficient arable land to support a substantially larger population: estimates run from 112,000 (Roebuck 1945, 162) to 300,000 (Wersch in McDonald & Rapp 1972, 186). Strife over the resources would thus not have been a likely incentive for the tomb cults. Furthermore, Messenia never knew the various *poleis*, as in the Argolid, which used tomb cults to secure their territories. The only threat to Messenia's broadening horizons and increasing wealth came from outside, from its eastern neighbour Sparta. Tradition tells us that Sparta began to show interest in the upper Stenyklaros plain around 750 BC; the First Messenian War broke out some time later, now dated by many historians to between 743 and 723 BC (although Huxley, among others, believes it to have begun in 736 BC; 1962, 34, 113). The Messenians did not respond unanimously; some had already left before the war broke out, others fled during the war or joined Spartan forces. Finally, the Messenian stronghold on Mount Ithome fell, and Sparta gained control of the Stenyklaros plain and the lower plain west of the Pamisos.

According to MacDonald and Rapp, the Pylos district and the area around Kyparissia remained independent after the war (1972, 85). Like the occupants of southern Messenia, the inhabitants of the Pylos and Kyparissia districts were probably the descendants of the pre-Dorian population, the Dorians themselves living in the fertile Stenyklaros plain (MacDonald & Rapp, 1972, 84). This might explain why all the examples of Late Geometric activities in Mycenaean tombs were found outside the Stenyklaros plain. In this Late Geometric period the inhabitants of the Pylos district enjoyed the advantages of the perfect natural harbour of the Navarino and Voïdokilia bay and used their freedom to gain a certain degree of wealth. With the war at a fairly safe distance, the inhabitants

of this western part of Messenia did not yet feel directly threatened and thus refrained from taking action.

The beginning of the anonymous tomb cult in the Early Archaic period

When the outcome of the First Messenian War became obvious, the threat to the independence of western Messenia was finally realised, and it is probably no coincidence that the first unequivocal example of tomb cult dates from the first quarter of the 7th century BC. In one of the tholos tombs from Koukounara (Akona I) — an area with traces of Early Iron Age and DA III activities — half of a deer skeleton was offered, together with a small oinochoe and skyphos, dating from ca. 700-675 BC. At the time of the sacrifice, several human skulls must have been visible on top of the ca. 80 cm thick chamber fill (perhaps due to plundering shortly before); the sacrifice seems to have taken place in relationship with the skulls and some of them were (perhaps accidentally) also burned together with the deer. The pottery was locally produced, but shows influence from Laconia and Corinth. No human skeletal remains other than the skulls were reported, and the sacrifice does not seem to have been part of an early 7th century burial. The idea of a cult in this tomb is enhanced by the situation in one of the tholoi nearby (Gouvalari I). In this intact tomb part of the low back fill of the chamber was removed in the 7th century, and a fire was lit on a floor of pebbles. When the tomb was visited for the second time shortly later, the ash (which contained no animal remains) was removed and carefully deposited within a small wall of stones in the northeast part of the chamber. After the second fire on the pebble floor was put out, a pithos base was placed upside-down on top of the ash. This pithos base could have served as a plate for the meat that was offered, of which the bones were found lying close to the two ash deposits. The sherds of a large Orientalizing pyxis (ca. 675-650 BC) were found divided over both ash deposits. A small Archaic lamp was found, possibly used to provide light for the offering Messenians and to light the fires. As in Akona I, the sacrifices in this tomb seem to have taken into account the several human skulls that were visible on top of the low back fill of the chamber.

Several other tholos tombs yielded traces of Archaic activities. An example of Early Archaic activities can be found in a tholos near Vasiliko, at the eastern end of the Soulima valley, which joins the upper Stenyklaros plain and the Kyparissia district. Sherds of a small Proto-Corinthian vase were found 75 cm above the floor and just below a closed niche in the wall of the chamber. The filling underneath these PC sherds contained many ashes and animal bones. Although these could very well date from the Mycenaean period, the excavator considered the sherds, animal bones and ashes as votive material, sacrifices for the burial in the niche (Valmin 1927/1928, 198).

Another example of Archaic involvement with a Mycenaean earlier tomb can be found west of Nichoria. As mentioned, Grave I of the Akones group was deliberately entered and pottery offered in the Late Geometric or Early Archaic period. Archaic pottery was also found in Grave III, in connection with a skeleton and Mycenaean pottery. Only fragments of an amphora were recorded, possibly also a base that served as a plate, although no animal bones were reported inside the chamber. An Archaic amphora base was found in a tholos tomb near Tourliditsa, together with Hellenistic pottery and large quantities

of animal bones, partly burned, and ashes at several spots in the chamber, dromos, and stomion of the tholos. The Archaic and Hellenistic pottery was found just above the largest pit in the floor, which probably originally contained the main burial(s) of the tholos. The pit had been plundered, most likely some time before the Archaic sacrifice was made in the intact tholos. It is not certain to which period (Archaic or Hellenistic) the animal bones and pyres belong.

The latest example of Archaic tomb cult in Messenia can be found in a tholos near Papoulia. On top of the collapsed roof of the chamber two pyres had been lit, animals were slaughtered (ox, goat, sheep), and pottery was offered. This pottery, as far as could be determined, consisted entirely of mugs dating from 600-575 BC (based on Laconian parallels).³ The excavator stated that sacrifices continued while the tomb gradually disintegrated and finally collapsed.

In Volimidia activities continued in the Archaic period, although on a much smaller scale than before. Tomb Angelopoulos 10 yielded a small Archaic olpe and black-glazed kyathos, although nothing is known of their context. The same is true for a small black-glazed kyathos from Angelopoulos 11, dated around the middle of the 6th century BC.

The increase in population that had set in at the end of the 8th century continued in the Archaic period. The number of sites doubled in comparison with the Late Geometric situation, and a high percentage of these new settlements were situated in areas with no traces of prehistoric habitation (McDonald & Rapp 1972, 144). Most of these new settlements appeared in the Pylos district (McDonald & Rapp 1972, map 8-16), while in eastern Messenia the settlements probably remained quite small. The population along the western shore of Messenia saw its independence once more, and this time severely, endangered when Sparta consolidated its domination over eastern Messenia after a revolt had broken out, possibly as a reaction to Sparta's defeat at Hysiae against Argos in 669 BC. This Second Messenian War was over before the middle of the 7th century, and this time "the only places likely to have been allowed a continued free expansion are those in northern Mani, and probably Asine, as well as the more remote areas such as Pylos and Kyparissia" (Lazenby & Hope Simpson in McDonald & Rapp 1972, 94).

Although the Pylos district seems to have witnessed an increase in population in the Archaic period, it was apparently not accompanied by an increase in wealth, although a few inhabitants did quite well, as the various metal objects in an Archaic pithos burial near Pila (*Deltion* 1965, 208) would indicate. Neither were the Messenians in the Stenyklaros plain, under Spartan rule by that time, very prosperous, as can be judged from the 7th century BC Pamisos temple near Ayios Floros. In this sanctuary the first bronze objects appear only after the second half of the 6th century; the gifts of the 7th and 6th centuries are otherwise quite simple (Valmin 1938, 417-67). Miniature kantharoi and

³ Until now, the pottery from the tholos of Papoulia has not been specified as to date or form. Coldstream alone records "black-glazed pottery, probably going back to the late 7th century" (Coldstream 1976, 10 n. 24). In the museum of Chora, four black-glazed mugs are exhibited and assigned to this tholos. Three of these one-handled mugs have parallels in group C of the category 'one-handled mugs' of Stibbe's classification of Laconian black-glazed pottery (1994), especially the numbers C2, C3, and C4 (p. 141, figure 98-100, and plate 6.6). The three grooves on the shoulder, in good Laconian fashion, of the fourth and slightly larger mug supports this comparison with Laconian pottery.

lakainai formed the larger part of the Early Archaic votive objects, and the popularity of these shapes in Laconian sanctuaries seems to underscore the domination of Sparta over this area.

Precious objects were also lacking in the tomb cults, and all the Archaic votive pottery in these tombs appears to be of a moderate quality, and locally produced (excepting the vase in the tomb at Vasiliko), although there are examples of Laconian influence (e.g. Volimidia, Papoulia). This moderate quality could indicate that peasants were responsible for the tomb cults. The fact that the greater part of the Archaic sacrifices was closely associated with visible Mycenaean human skeletal remains (the two tombs of Koukounara and the Akones graves near Nichoria), or the original Mycenaean burial spots (Vasiliko, Tourliditsa), could mean that the peasants felt a strong bond with the former inhabitants of western Messenia.

Three of the four Archaic tomb cults were situated along routes that joined the independent districts of Pylos and Kyparissia with the Spartan territory, and two of the cults were located at the border between these two regions — the tombs at Vasiliko and the Akones graves near Nichoria (Fig. 1). It is possible that the cult near Nichoria was forbidden by the Spartan oppressor, and that an alternative tomb cult was formed near Tourliditsa, farther away from the Spartan territory yet still along the same route that connected this territory to the independent Pylos district. The tomb cult near Vasiliko, at the northern extremity of the border between occupied and independent Messenia, also seems to have occurred in the early 7th century, and was possibly also forbidden by the Spartans after the Second Messenian War.

The Theban general Epameinondas stated that Messenia suffered under Spartan oppression for 230 years until he delivered them in 369 BC (Plutarchus, *Moralia*, 194b); this would give an initial date of ca. 600 BC for complete Spartan control over the area. According to some historians, the Spartans had by that time gained control over western and southern Messenia as well, ruling for the first time the entire peninsula of Rhion, including the districts of Pylos and Kyparissia (Lazenby & Hope Simpson in McDonald & Rapp 1972, 86). It is surely no coincidence that the last clear example of Archaic tomb cult in the Pylos district (Papoulia) was situated inland, on the west slope of the southernmost foothill of the Kyparissia mountains, at that time possibly the last free area in the Pylos district. Nothing is recorded of Messenia after ca. 600 BC for over a hundred years. The territory seems to have been divided between Spartan lands worked by helots and a number of perioecic towns, mostly east of the river Pamisos, but also at the southern and northern ends of the west coast (Mothone in the south and probably Kyparissia and Aulon in the north). For almost 200 years the west-Messenians were obliged to neglect their ancestors and to discontinue their tomb cults. They would have to wait for better times.

The revival of tomb cult in the Late Classical period

During the 5th century BC, the Messenians undertook two attempts to throw off the Spartan yoke. The first rebellion took place around 490 BC; little is known of it and it probably never really endangered Spartan control of Messenia. The second attempt —

which probably began in 470 BC — was much more successful, and was strengthened in 464 BC by an earthquake that almost destroyed the Spartan state (Diodorus XI, 63-64). Finally, a treaty brought an end to this Third Messenian War and Messenians were allowed to leave Messenia freely, on the condition that they would never return again. Most of them settled, with Athenian help, in Naupaktos on the Corinthian Gulf. During the Peloponnesian War, the Athenian general Demosthenes chose Koryphassion as a base, garrisoned with Messenians from Naupaktos, for raids into Spartan land.⁴ These Messenians won a victory over Spartan forces on the island of Sphakteria, but finally left in 409 or 408 BC through an accord with the Spartans. During this war, signs of a more liberal Spartan attitude towards the helots began to appear, and many of the helots regained their freedom by swimming to Sphakteria with provisions for the Spartan forces trapped on the island. Many also grabbed the opportunity to flee to the Athenian fortress.⁵ It is not certain what became of the Pylos district after the Athenians left, but Spartan forces were probably stationed there to prevent this area from being seized again (Roebuck 1941, 29).

The more liberal Spartan attitude towards the helots at the end of the 5th century explains why the first post-Archaic tomb cult could appear in this period; the Spartan concentration on the Pylos district explains why this cult occurs outside this area, this time on the acropolis of Nichoria (Fig. 2). The tomb cult was situated in the Mycenaean tholos tomb at the northwestern corner of the hill, where access was the easiest because of the gentle slope. At 50 to 80 cm above the floor of the chamber, a black stratum, 20 to 30 cm thick — the result of several visits to the tomb — almost covered the entire chamber. Charcoal, ash and small mammal bones (including pig) were concentrated in the centre of the chamber. Large quantities of pottery, dating from the late 5th and early 4th century BC, were also found in this black layer. In the earliest phase this pottery consisted of various fine tablewares, e.g. many black-glazed skyphoi, mugs, salt cellars, and a lekythos. Cooking and storage pots were also found, including chytrai, lekanai, a lопас, amphorai, pithoi, and other shapes. The coarse storage and cooking pots have been dated slightly later, most of them to the first quarter of the 4th century. The excavators noted that the votive pottery of this tomb consisted of ordinary household pots and that specially shaped ritual vessels were absent (McDonald et al. 1983, 336). Some archaeologists take this as an indication that the tholos was used as a shelter in the Late Classical period (Antonaccio 1995, 92); however, specially shaped ritual vessels have never been found in any Mycenaean tholos tomb in Messenia. The tomb cult continued even while the tholos roof began to disintegrate, and came to an end only when the structure finally collapsed.

At the same time, a cult seems to have taken place in a chamber tomb on the steep southwest slope of the same acropolis, along the Vathirema ravine. It is not certain

⁴ Thucydides tells us that the Spartans did not use the very successful Athenian raid in 416 BC as a reason to break the Peace of Nicias made five years before (Thucydides V, 115, 1-2). This might indicate that the old inhabitants of the Pylos district, rather than the Spartans, were the ones who had to pay for these marauding expeditions made by the Athenians and the Messenians from the Stenyklaros plain camped at the fortress at Koryphassion.

⁵ For the relationship between Sparta and the helots during the Peloponnesian War, see Cartledge 1979, 230-63.

whether this Vathirema chamber tomb was constructed in the Mycenaean or Geometric period. Two Late Geometric burials were found on the floor of the chamber, and large quantities of later pottery and animal bones were discovered, mostly in ashy deposits at four spots within the lower strata of the chamber fill. There is some uncertainty whether Archaic pottery was present, but it seems certain that "the last phase of the votive pottery was contemporary with the cult worship in the tholos" (McDonald et al. 1983, 270), although some archaeologists claim that the cult continued until the Early Hellenistic period (Alcock 1991, 461).

There were also other Mycenaean tombs with traces of activity prior to 369 BC, although these activities do not seem to have included any tomb cult. A tholos tomb near Peristeria (northeast of Kyparissia) yielded, besides Hellenistic material, a 5th century sherd, the base of a (possibly) Olympian mug.⁶ About ten kilometers east of Peristeria, a 5th century burial was placed inside the tholos of Kopanaki, which also yielded Late Geometric sherds. A 5th century coin was found in the deepest layer of the stomion of this tomb.

The existence of tomb cults in the area around Nichoria before the expulsion of the Spartan forces is exceptional and illuminates the strong bond the inhabitants of this area must have felt with their ancestors. This bond was the result of a clear "continuity of population and tradition, as reflected in the artefactual assemblages and observable behaviour" (Antonaccio 1995, 87). In the Pylos and Kyparissia districts in the 5th century, the inhabitants still refrained from resuming their anonymous tomb cults.

Help from outside finally brought Messenia its long awaited freedom, and shortly after the Theban general Epameinondas dispelled the Spartan forces in 369 BC, a new capital city — Messene — was founded on the western slope of the mountain Ithome, halfway between the upper and lower Stenyklaros plain. The territory of Messene comprised both the upper and lower Stenyklaros plain (including the area west of Pamisos), as well as the Soulima valley in the northwest.

After 369 BC the districts of Pylos and Kyparissia seem to have been independent regions with possibly no connection whatsoever with the newly founded capital city. In 365 BC a war broke out between two neighbouring regions of Messenia, Arcadia and Elis. Sparta allied with the Eleans, while Messenia came to the aid of Arcadia. Arcadian troops invaded Elis, but did not stop at the border between Elis and Messenia; they went on to conquer western Messenia as well (Diodorus XV, 77, 4), although we have no indications that this part of Messenia was under Elean control at this time. The inhabitants of both Kyparissia and Pylos apparently resisted ('εἰλον πόλεις' is the phrase used), but in vain, and finally the area seems to have been handed over to Messene.⁷ As in the

⁶ The underside of this Olympian mug, depicted in *Prakt.* 1961, plate 130, has the same decoration with two circles of black glaze, much like a late 5th century mug from the cult in the tholos on the acropolis of Nichoria (McDonald et al. 1983, P1627). There is some uncertainty whether more of the pottery from the tomb of Peristeria goes back to the 5th century BC.

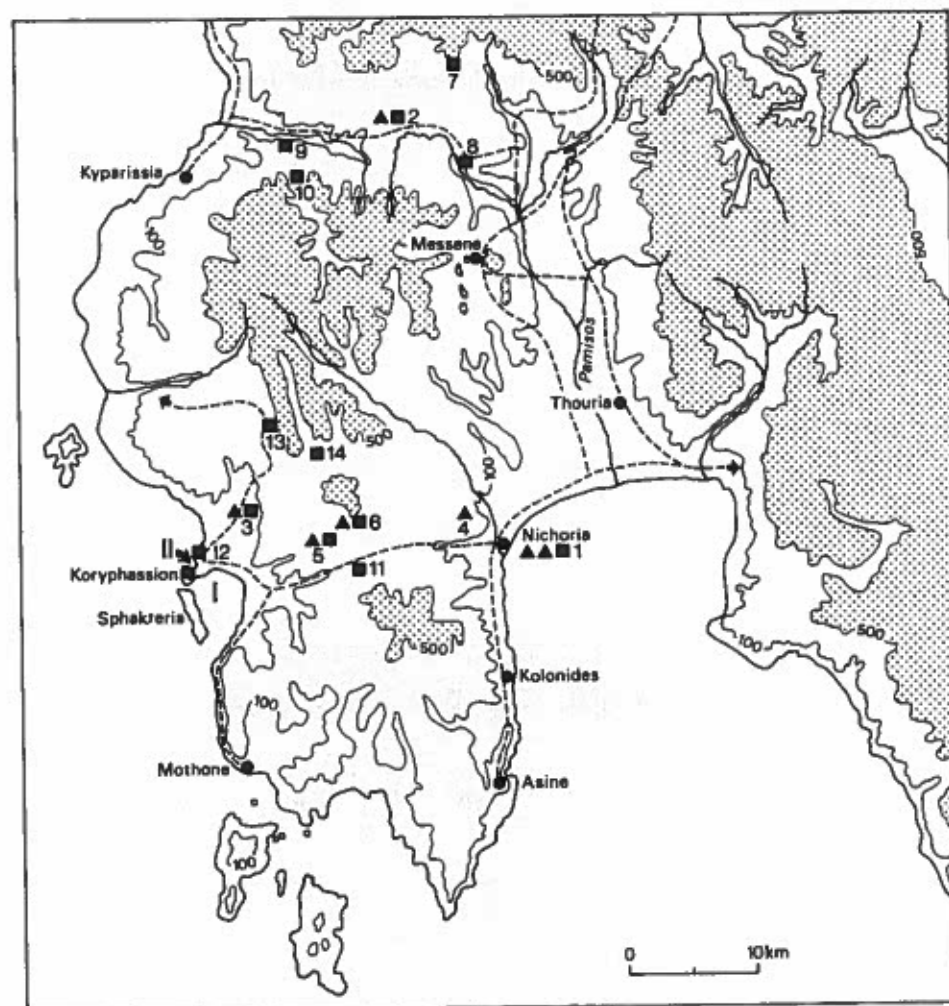
⁷ This episode of the Arcadian-Elean War is only reported in the abbreviated account of Diodorus (XV, 77) who only records the capture of western Messenia, "but Scylax (*Periplus* 45) refers to Kyparissia as Messenian. Presumably then, it was turned over to Messene by the Arcadians. There is no record of Pylos in Scylax, but it seems probable that it would be included with Kyparissia since the island of Prote, not far from Pylos, also seems to be referred to as Messenian" (Roebuck 1941, 38-39).

Peloponnesian War, the inhabitants of the Pylos district were once more made to suffer for the fault of the Messenians from the Stenyklaros plain and their allies. This time the result would be much more profound.

The inhabitants of the districts of Pylos and Kyparissia were outraged by this act of violence done to them by their companions in misfortune under the Spartan yoke, whom they had even assisted during the Second Messenian War (Pausanias IV.18.1). Not able to shake off this new subjection by military force, they returned to a practice last used 200 years before as a means of displaying their title to the land: the anonymous tomb cult. Shortly following the subjection of western Messenia by the allies of the capital city Messene, the number of tomb cults in western Messenia was not yet very high, the reason perhaps being the loose organisation of the Messenian state between 369 and 338 BC. In this period, the cities of the Kyparissia and Pylos districts, as well as all the newly founded cities, were probably bound with Messene in only a very loose federation. Messene may have been just one of many cities in this southwestern part of the Peloponnese, although because of its size it probably played a dominating role from the moment it was founded (Roebuck 1941, 109). Prior to 338 BC Messene had never officially ruled over the other cities. This may account for the low number of Late Classical tomb cults in the areas outside the territory of Messene. Aside from this scarcity, the obscurity of Late Classical traces is also striking: possible Late Classical pottery was mentioned in the catalogue of the tomb at Kopanaki, but not in the description of the tomb itself; possible Classical traces are recorded in the tomb of Osmanaga, though only Hellenistic pottery was diagnosed with any certainty; in the upper layers of a tholos tomb near Dhafni (northwest of Nichoria) Late Classical black-glazed sherds were found together with traces of fire; fourth century pottery was also found in Koukounara, in tholos tomb Gouvalari I, which had also yielded clear traces of Early Archaic tomb cult. The context of this Classical pottery is not very clear though, and Hellenistic objects (together with a human hand on an animal bone) were reported in the layers underneath. Classical sherds were also found in a tomb near Kremmidia, together with animal bones and ashes, which seem to have been part of cult activity. This cult might already date from the same period as the cult in the tholos on the acropolis of Nichoria, as may be shown by the resemblance of a black-glazed, one-handed mug from Kremmidia with an example from the tholos of Nichoria.⁵

In summary, almost all Late Classical traces are obscure, and only in three cases (Dhafni, Gouvalari, Kremmidia) can they be ascribed with any certainty to an anonymous tomb cult. The increase of Late Classical activities in the long forgotten Mycenaean tombs is nonetheless very striking, and the geographical distribution of these activities seems to indicate that the inhabitants of all western Messenia enjoyed a certain level of freedom. The low number of tomb cults could show that they considered the new capital city of Messene as only a minor threat.

⁵ Compare the one-handed black-glazed mug from Kremmidia (*Prakt.* 1975 plate 323) with mug number 1627 from the tholos tomb at the acropolis from Nichoria (McDonald et al. 1983, plate 7-1 and figure 7-3).



- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|---|------------|----|-------------|
| ▲ | Late Classical intrusions | 1 | Nichoria | 8 | Vasiliko |
| ■ | Hellenistic intrusions | 2 | Kopanaki | 9 | Peristeria |
| --- | Ancient roads | 3 | Osmanaga | 10 | Mouriatada |
| I | Bay of Navarino | 4 | Dhafni | 11 | Tourliditsa |
| II | Bay of Voïdokilia | 5 | Koukounara | 12 | Voïdokilia |
| | | 6 | Kremmidia | 13 | Volimidia |
| | | 7 | Psari | 14 | Routsis |

Figure 2. Map showing Late Classical and Hellenistic intrusions (drawing by J.H. Zwier)

The flourishing of tomb cult in the Early Hellenistic period

This threat however became real in 338 BC, when Philip II, "by his territorial additions and the guarantee of independence furnished the separate towns by the Hellenic League, provided a groundwork for the union of the district. This incipient federal state did not develop, however, because of the disturbed conditions of the following years in which the capital city came to assert a preponderating influence" (Roebuck 1941, 109-10). Messene sided with Philip and, after the victory at Chaironeia, was in a position to demand the delivery of the areas of Messenia still in Spartan hands, receiving thus the Ager Denthaliatis, the coastal area along the eastern shore of the Messenian Gulf, and probably the cities of Asine, Mothone, and Thouria as well. Messene now controlled the whole of Messenia, although there are some indications of a certain degree of local autonomy. Thouria, Asine, and Mothone possessed an autonomous coinage in the 3rd century BC. Kyparissia, too, seems to have had a certain degree of autonomy at this time, as may be illustrated by a late 4th or early 3rd century inscription from this city which contains a regulation of the taxes on imports and exports by sea in the territory of the Kyparissians (*I.G.* V.1.1421). The body passing the decree is not indicated, but the specification about Kyparissian territory at least shows that it was regarded as a separate entity (Roebuck 1941, 112-13). Messene, however, tried to strengthen the relationship between the capital city and the cities that were added to her territory in 338 BC, and used to this end means other than military force alone. We know that after 338 BC, the Thourian tribal divisions had the same names as those in the capital city, which were named after the Heraclides, evidently as part of the attempt to create a tradition for the state (Roebuck 1941, 113-14).

This expansive behaviour of Messene after 338 BC probably worried the inhabitants of the Kyparissia and Pylos districts even more than their partial subjection in 365 BC, and after 338 the number of anonymous tomb cults strikingly increased (Fig. 2). Seventeen tombs yielded Hellenistic objects including pottery. As in the Archaic period, all the Hellenistic tomb cults were situated in western Messenia only, especially in the Kyparissia and Pylos districts; none were found in the territory of the capital city. In the region of Nichoria, with its concentration of Late Classical tomb cults, activities in the tombs diminished quickly in the Hellenistic period. The only indications are in the area immediately northeast of the three cist graves of the Akones group, where several fires had been lit with Hellenistic pottery left behind, perhaps indicating a continuation of possible Late Geometric and Archaic tomb cults in these same graves. This area around Nichoria was probably at the limits of the territory of the capital city, and tomb cults may have been forbidden by the leaders of Messene, just as the Archaic cults had been forbidden by the Spartan oppressor. The presence of Hellenistic material in the tomb at Vasiliko as well as that at Psari, both situated in the Soulima valley in the territory of Messene, is hard to explain if we ascribe these Hellenistic traces to tomb cult. The context of the Hellenistic material in both tombs is not very clear, though, and cult is in fact far from proven.

The territory of Messene ended at the watershed near Kopanaki, explaining the presence of clear traces of Hellenistic cult in the tomb at Kopanaki. The tomb of Peristeria was located on the same route as Kopanaki, leading from the harbour of Kyparissia to the

northwest corner of Messene's territory; the Hellenistic cult in this tomb must have been directed at the same travellers on this northern east-west route through Messenia. The large quantity of animal bones in the tomb of Mouriata da could be the result of Hellenistic tomb cult as well. Along the southern east-west route through Messenia, tomb cults were also located close to the road, as at the tomb of Tourliditsa. Many other new tomb cults in the Pylos district were situated at central points or along major routes, such as the tomb cults of Voïdokilia, Osmanaga, and Volimidia. At the same time, though, Hellenistic tomb cults also sprang up in the interior of the Pylos district, e.g. at Kremmidia, Koukounara, and Routsis.

Contrary to the Archaic period, the Late Classical and Hellenistic tomb cults involved several visits to the tombs, which can be demonstrated — among other things — by the thick layers of ash and charcoal, the result of more than one fire. The cooking and storage pots that were used for the first time around 400 BC in the tomb cult on the acropolis of Nichoria played an important role in the Hellenistic cults, although drinking shapes continued to be used as well. Preferences differ locally, and some tombs only yielded coarse household shapes (Tourliditsa), while others only contained drinking cups of various shapes (Kopanaki). New objects appeared, with loomweights, spindles, and bronze coins being the most important. The pottery is of a very moderate quality and all pieces were locally produced, showing little influence from other regions. As in the 7th century, fire and animal sacrifice formed a large part of the ritual. Some tombs yielded large quantities of animal bones, and in one case pottery formed no part of the sacrifice at all (Mouriata da). Pig was the most common species, followed by ox. Goat and sheep are both mentioned in only one case, as is the horse. One dog skeleton was found (Mouriata da), while turtles, birds, and crab shells appear in several tombs.

Careful attention was given to these animal sacrifices, and many skulls and pieces of meat were placed on tiles, pithos sherds or in bowls, sometimes surrounded by stones. Much of the cooking ware shows traces of secondary burning, which would imply that the meat was prepared in the tomb itself. The presence of so many plates could point to real banqueting as part of the cults. Most of the animal bones showed traces of burning, although in some cases the fires and the animal sacrifices seem to have been separate.

Although some of the Hellenistic cults took place in partially collapsed chambers, the Messenians seem to have preferred intact tombs and many cults apparently came to an end as soon as a tholos totally collapsed. The tomb of Kopanaki shows an unmistakable example of a 'farewell sacrifice': a sacrifice brought immediately after the roof of a tomb collapsed, placed directly on top of the stones of the collapsed roof, after which the tomb was left alone. Many other tombs yielded later pottery in the upper layers of the chamber fill, which might be the result of similar 'farewell sacrifices' (Dhafni, Routsis, Kremmidia, Psari, Angelopoulos 2 [Volimidia], Nichoria). Although part of the sacrifice was always placed inside the chamber of a tomb, the stamion and dromos often received a part as well. Contrary to the Archaic period — when almost all sacrifices seem to have been made in direct association with the then visible remains of the Mycenaean contents of the tombs, either human bones or pottery — only a few of the Hellenistic sacrifices seem to have been made in regard to the Mycenaean contents. This diminishing link between the sacrifices and the Mycenaean contents of a tomb may be the result of an increasing tomb



Plate II. The bay of Voïdokilia and the Osmanaga lagune at the right, seen from the southwest. The rocky promontory at the upper left of the bay harboured a Hellenistic cult (photo by the author)

fill. As was true for the Archaic period, the Hellenistic Messenians did not try to rob the tombs of their precious contents.

In the beginning of the 3rd century, a more formalized form of cult seems to have existed, expressed by the presence of clay votive relief plaques with a variety of scenes, including horse-and-rider motifs, funerary banquets, and scenes of worship. More than 400 of these plaques were found on the rocky promontory north of the Bay of Voïdokilia (Pl. II). The tholos on this rock contained an entire ox in the upper layer of the chamber (probably dating from the Hellenistic period), but yielded no other traces of cult. The late 4th and early 3rd century plaques were found spread over the promontory, and a small Hellenistic structure (a 'chapel' for hero-funerary-chthonian cult according to the excavator; Korres 1988) was found close by. Figurines and Hellenistic vessels also formed part of this anomalous form of cult. The Late Classical and Hellenistic settlement at Koryphassion was located on the southern arm of the bay, its cemetery close by. This cult seems to be the only one related to a major settlement, which might explain its unusual character. Although the cemetery of Koryphassion shows considerable wealth, the cult on the rocky promontory, due to the poor quality of the plaques and the lack of precious objects, seems to be the result of poor peasants; the same is apparently true of the cult in and around the tomb of Peristeria. Outside this tomb (which shows clear traces of Hellenistic cult inside) a votive plaque was found, dating from the beginning of the 3rd century. No settlement seems to have been located close by.

From the late 4th century onwards many new settlements arose in Messenia, the largest increase being in the Pylos district where the number of sites in the Archaic period quadrupled in the Late Classical and Hellenistic period. Many new cities were situated

along the coast and were armed with defensive works to ward off the pirates attracted by the increasing wealth which Messenia enjoyed from the late 4th century onwards; this wealth was displayed in some of the graves of the cemetery of Koryphassion, dating from the late 3rd century BC.

This cemetery sheds light upon the sacrificial practices in the Mycenaean tombs; although the excavator mentions only two kinds of burials (cist graves and tile graves) in his brief account of the excavation of the cemetery, he indicates simple inhumations as well on the plan of the necropolis (*Deltion* 1966 B1, 164). While the cist graves yielded many precious objects (e.g. bronze mirrors, coins, glaze bowls, lead pyxis, golden earrings) and large quantities of pottery, the tile graves and inhumations contained only one or two vases and clearly belonged to the poorer section of the population.

The cemetery included many pyres, most of which were distinctly made from successive layers of ash and burnt earth with alternating layers of clean yellow sand. Vases of various shapes (e.g. skyphoi, oenochoai, lagynoi, phialae, tear bottles, and especially plates) were found in these pyres, together with animal bones (including birds) and several heaps of various charred nuts. The pottery was smashed when stones were thrown into the still burning pyres after the ritual. The plan of the necropolis shows that almost all the pyres can be linked with the modest tile graves and inhumations. This would explain why so few grave goods were found in these burials, which match the sacrificial practices in the Mycenaean tombs. The poor section of the population used a sequence of fires and a sacrifice of pottery and food to commemorate both its 1000-year old ancestors and its recent dead. The pottery from both contexts consisted of ordinary shapes which contained both liquid and food offerings.

Some of the cist graves in the cemetery of Koryphassion were made of reused 4th century grave stelai, some of which still bore partial inscriptions. This conscious reuse of old artefacts can also be seen in the Hellenistic tomb cults, although the only examples of this phenomenon were found in the tombs of Voidokilia. In Tomb Angelopoulos 2, the sherds of a Mycenaean vase (probably a kyathos) were found spread across one of the steps of the dromos as well as in the remains of a sacrificial fire in the southern half of the chamber, together with sherds of a Hellenistic amphora. In Angelopoulos 6, two burial pits each contained a skeleton accompanied by Hellenistic and Mycenaean pottery. Although the evidence is not conclusive, these two burials were probably Hellenistic (as was the one in the upper layer of the dromos fill of this tomb); both were given additional gifts from a heap of ca. 50 Mycenaean pots in the north of the chamber.

In all the other instances of Late Classical and Hellenistic cult, the Messenians deliberately left alone the Mycenaean objects which they stumbled upon, just as in the Archaic period. The situation in the tholos of Nichoria is a good example. The layer of sacrifice was located only ca. 50 cm above the Mycenaean floor of the chamber, and several pits in this floor contained burials with many precious Mycenaean objects; the same is true of the four burials on the floor itself. The Mycenaean objects consisted among other things of many bronze vessels and tweezers, a bronze sword and daggers, two bronze mirrors with bone and ivory handle, gold and ivory rosettes, a silver bowl, faïence, rock-crystal and golden beads, many seals, and a small amount of pottery. Considering that they were covered by only a thin layer of sand, and that the Messenians probably knew from experience that the tholos tombs often contained luxury objects, it

is striking that the offering Messenians never tried to retrieve them. Many other tholos tombs with traces of tomb cult yielded large quantities of precious Mycenaean objects, e.g. at Peristeria, Routsis, Voïdokilia, and Gouvalari I in Koukounara. It is probably no coincidence that the site with the highest number of Hellenistic burials in Mycenaean tombs (Volimidia) also showed the only two examples of considerable reuse of the Mycenaean contents of a tomb, together with a thorough plundering of the Mycenaean remains, shown by the complete absence of precious objects.⁹

The end of the anonymous tomb cults in western Messenia

Although many of the Hellenistic tomb cults are difficult to date with any precision, there seems to be a concentration of cults in the first half of the 3rd century BC. Cults may have continued until the second half of this century, but an end seems to have come to the cults in the 2nd century. Apart from a possibly Roman burial in the stomion of the tholos from Nichoria, and possible Roman sherds in the chamber fill of the tholos of Vasiliko, the only site with solid evidence of Roman activities is the necropolis of Volimidia. Fairly well preserved Roman pottery, exhibited in the museum of Chora, was found in Angelopoulos 2, 4 and 6, and Roman pottery was also recorded in Angelopoulos 5 and 10. Although the excavator (Marinatos 1955, 154) ascribes the Roman pottery from Angelopoulos 6 to continuous cult activity, the context is far from clear, and we must bear in mind that the pottery could just be trash, thrown into the chamber through the opening that was created when the roof of the chamber collapsed (Korres 1981/1982, 418-19).

Why did the tomb cults end? At the end of the 4th century, the Messenian state was organized in a very loose federation, and is called an *ethnos* by Scylax (*Periplus* 45) soon after its refounding. In the latter part of the 4th century, the term *ethnos* was the usual name for any ethnic or federal organization which was not a *polis*. Several authors "have identified a concern with territories and boundaries as characterizing the *poleis*, whereas for the various *ethne*, the important thing was not the control of space, but of time: descent was the determining factor in group membership... This emphasis on time and descent that is supposed to characterize *ethne* should make hero cult and tomb cult particularly appropriate for these communities. Instead, however, the reverse is true" (Antonaccio 1995, 254). Most areas with anonymous tomb cults would then seem to be *poleis*. Achaia, however, was an *ethnos* which did yield evidence for tomb reuse or cult and in

⁹ The cemetery of Volimidia yielded an overwhelming number of Hellenistic burials: Korres assigned part of the Hellenistic pottery from Angelopoulos 3 to a burial (1981/1982, 427); Angelopoulos 4 and 5 yielded large quantities of well preserved Hellenistic pottery, although a cult in those tombs at this time is mentioned nowhere; a (probably) Hellenistic burial was found in the upper layer of the dromos of Angelopoulos 6; the two burials on the floor of this chamber probably belong to this period as well; between Angelopoulos 4 and 9, five rectangular cist graves were found, the largest containing seven Hellenistic inhumations; a niche on the right side of the dromos of Angelopoulos 9 yielded a Hellenistic burial; and a (probably) Hellenistic burial was found on the floor of the chamber of Angelopoulos 11; a niche in the dromos from Kephavryso 2 contained a Hellenistic burial, and the two inhumations on the floor of this tomb might date from the same period; burials in Kephavryso 4 were assigned by Korres to the Hellenistic period as well (1981/1982, 425). Burials continue in the Roman period, although on a much smaller scale.

the first half of the 3rd century, Messenia also appears to have been an *ethnos*; the high number of Messenian tomb cults in the Hellenistic era would then underscore the theory after all.

The epigraphic evidence from the latter part of the 3rd century, though, refers to the *polis* of the Messenians (Roebuck 1941, 110), which would indicate that a shift had taken place. The treaty of isopolity concluded ca. 240 BC with Phigalea, for instance, was made between the *poleis* of Phigalea and of the Messenians (Roebuck 1941, 111). Polybius' writings reiterate the indications that the city of Ithome conducted the external affairs of the district of Messenia in the latter part of the 3rd century. In connection with the raids of the Illyrian pirates on the coasts of Messenia and Elis, he implies that the responsibility for defence lay with the city of Ithome (Roebuck 1941, 112): "Similarly it is significant that the capital city referred to by its traditional name of Ithome in the 4th century has taken the former name of the country, Messene, by the time of Polybius and that the country is referred to as Messenia" (Roebuck 1941, 112). This shift from an *ethnos* organization to a *polis* structure could be the reason why the inhabitants of western Messenia, forced into a new administrative rule, reduced the emphasis on time and descent in the second half of the 3rd century BC.

The total absence of tomb cult from the second century BC onwards may have a simple explanation. Around the middle of the 3rd century BC, the interest of the Achaean League in Messenia presented a new threat to its independence, and although the rival Aetolian League appeared to offer some protection at first, the armies of the Achaean League began to encroach upon Messenia when they annexed Pylos in 220 BC (Polybius IV, 25, 4). In the same year, though, the Aetolian armies invaded Messenia, and the Messenians were virtually compelled to appeal to the Achaean League for help, which resulted in the withdrawal of the Aetolians. The Pylos district remained in Achaean hands, and by 196 BC this League also controlled Asine. When Messene was forced to become a member of the Achaean League in 191 BC, the terms under which it was made to join were unduly harsh: the towns of Mothone, Kolonides, Korone, and Kyparissia were probably made independent and joined the League as separate entities, so that, with the prior loss of Pylos and Asine, the Messenians from the Stenyklaros plain were completely cut off from the west coast. Just as one and a half centuries before, the inhabitants of western Messenia were able to shake off the yoke of their oppressor (Messene) with the aid of a foreign force, and the relative freedom which they seem to have enjoyed after ca. 220 BC (and especially after 191 BC) could be the reason why the inhabitants of western Messenia no longer needed their 1000 year old ancestors. The fact that activities continued on the necropolis of Volimidia only seems to underscore the differences between the burials of later periods in prehistoric tombs and the anonymous tomb cults; although both phenomena are somehow connected to each other through the ancestors who were buried there (Antonaccio 1995, 248-49), the exact relationship between the two must remain the subject of further study.

Many other questions remain to be answered. Why was the wealthy section of the population apparently not involved in the anonymous tomb cults? Was it because the rich inhabitants of western Messenia earned their living with (maritime) trade, and hence did not feel threatened by the pending loss of territory by the new capital city? If so, were these wealthy traders originally part of the group of newcomers which settled in Messenia

after its liberation in 369 BC, and, finding the land in western Messenia already divided between the resident inhabitants of these districts, were thus forced to become traders? In that case, these newcomers probably never felt a strong bond with the land on which they lived; this may also be a reason for the lack of involvement in the tomb cults by the wealthy inhabitants of western Messenia. For now, however, these suppositions must remain speculation.

Acknowledgements

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GERAKI
AN ACROPOLIS SITE IN LAKONIA
Preliminary report on the second season (1996)

Joost H. Crouwel, Mieke Prent, Stuart MacVeagh Thorne,
Gert-Jan van Wijngaarden, Neil Brodie, Jos A.K.E. de Waele

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

The second campaign of the new Dutch fieldwork project at Geraki in east-central Lakonia took place in May-June 1996. The investigations, conducted with the permission of the Greek Ministry of Culture by the Department of Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of Amsterdam, began in 1995 and followed on the limited research of 1905.¹

The village of Geraki is situated 26 km SE of Sparta in the foothills of the Parnon mountains (Fig. 1). It is built against and around an imposing acropolis, with a wall of megalithic construction around its top.

The modern agricultural community of Geraki occupies the site of ancient *Geronthrai*, mentioned in inscriptions (from Archaic to late Roman times) and in ancient literary sources. The present name first appears in texts from the 13th century AD relating to the period of Frankish domination in the Peloponnese.

The brief excavations in 1905 and chance finds on the acropolis and elsewhere at Geraki produced material ranging from the Early Bronze Age to medieval and more recent times. The newly resumed investigations so far concentrate on the acropolis and its ad-

¹ The 1995 team consisted of J.H. Crouwel (director), M. Prent (archaeological survey), S. MacVeagh Thorne (study of the acropolis wall), G.-J. van Wijngaarden (geodetical survey), N. Brodie and T. Dudley (geophysical survey), J.A.K.E. de Waele (study of the spolia), E. Hom (find processing) and the students N. van Balen, R. Dooyes, H. Hochscheid, H. Jansen, I. Mantel (photography), L. Reinders, L. Schram and W. Westerveld. C. Harjadi acted as housekeeper.
For a description of Geraki, the history of research and a preliminary report on the 1995 campaign, see Crouwel et al. 1995.

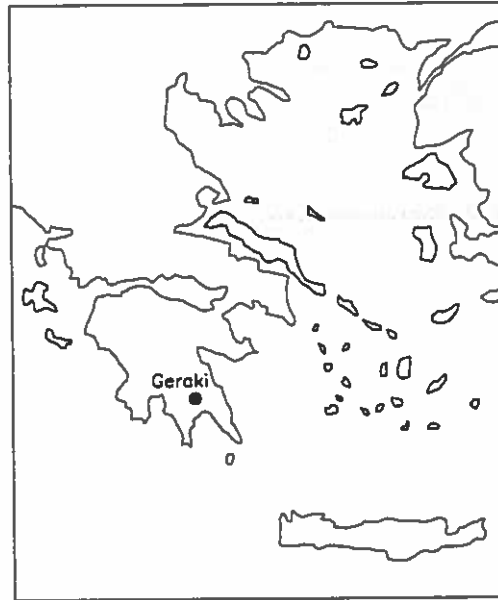


Figure 1. Geraki in Lakonia

were subsequently entered in a computer database in Amsterdam. In addition, a geophysical survey was conducted to help relate the distribution of surface material in a meaningful way to subsurface deposits, and to help locate areas suitable for future excavation. Finally, a start was made on the study of the *spolia* incorporated in the various medieval and later churches in and around Geraki.

In 1997 we hope to excavate a series of test trenches in different parts of the site, within and outside the acropolis wall. The objectives are to test the hypotheses on the occupational history of the site which were formulated on the basis of the intensive pick-up survey, to check the results of the geophysical work, and to obtain material which can help date the acropolis wall. Also planned for the 1997 campaign is a geomorphological study, with particular attention to erosion processes in order to evaluate the degree of artefact movement in the landscape. Further work on the *spolia* is planned as well.

Pending the outcome of trial excavations and geomorphological work, the project may continue after 1997 with larger-scale excavations.

The study of the acropolis wall (S. MacVeagh Thorne)

Extensive clearance of vegetation obscuring the northwest and northeast perimeter of the acropolis wall allowed the preparation of plans, elevations and section drawings at specific locations. Our intentions were to further define the types of construction encountered last year and to demonstrate the interrelationships between these types. The focus was on understanding first the recurrent sequences of construction, modification, abandonment,

joining slopes. The primary aim is to establish the long history of occupation in greater detail, specifying the size and function of the site in any given period and documenting possible shifts in location. Eventually this will lead to a better understanding of the position of Geraki/Geronthrai in the settlement hierarchy and socio-political structure of Lakonia.

The 1996 campaign aimed for the most part at completing the work started in 1995: drawing detailed topographical maps; mapping and studying the standing remains — in particular the large enceinte of no less than 760 m encompassing an area of 240 x 160 m; and the systematic collection of artefacts found on the surface (Fig. 2). These aims were achieved, including processing the numerous finds which

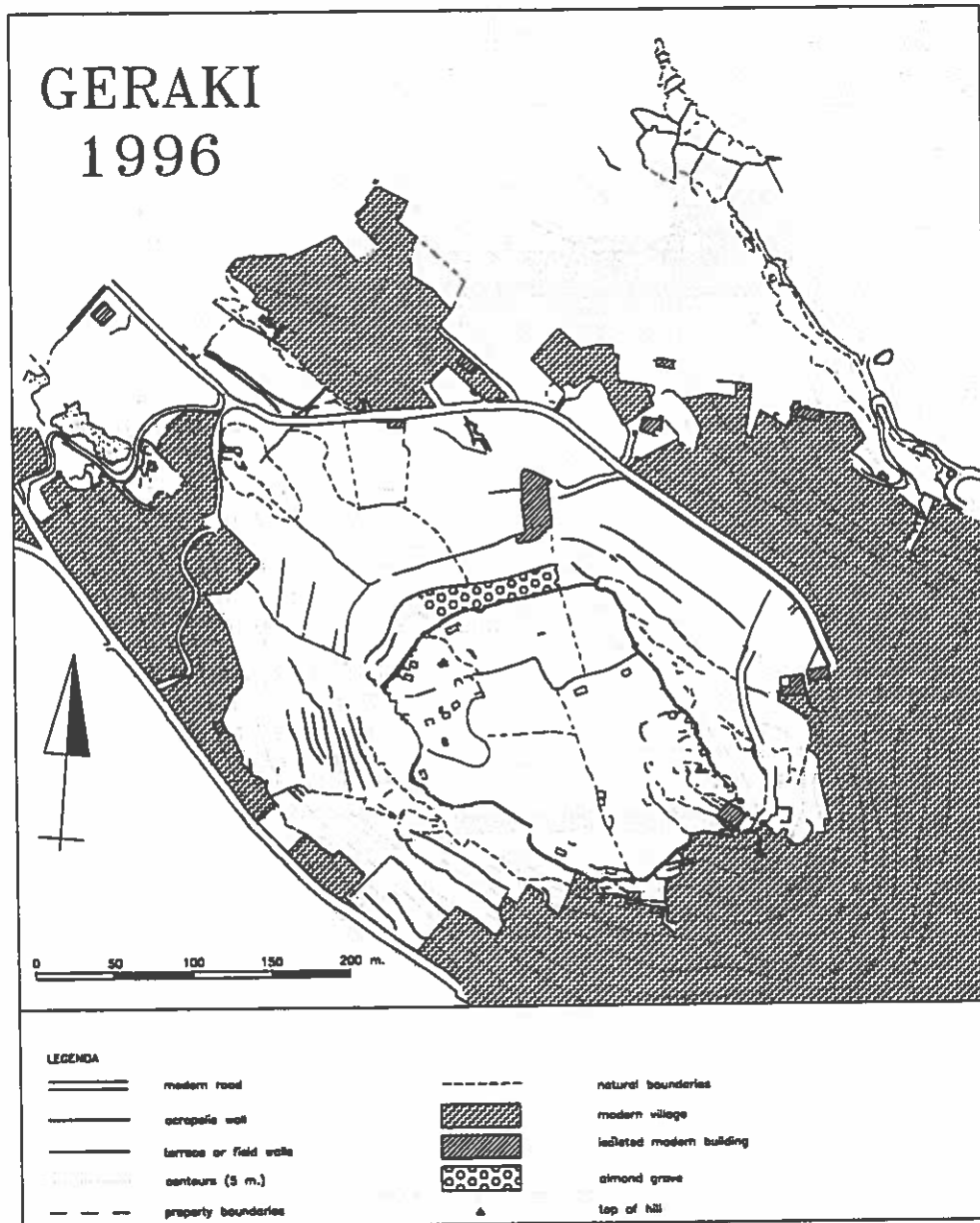


Figure 2. Geraki, acropolis hill: topographical map (1996)

collapse and reuse and, second, the roles played by these processes in the redeposition of material recorded in surface survey. Locations were sought for test trenches pertinent to these two areas of focus and to the collection of direct archaeological evidence for dates of construction.

Initial evaluation of the acropolis wall in 1995 resulted in the isolation of six basic types of masonry. Types 1 through 5 can be sequentially associated with phases of construction. Type 6 reuses materials fallen from the earliest walls and is a recurrent feature on the site, common to all periods and assignable by phase only in specific instances.

Absolute dating is available only for the phases represented by two subtypes of Type 5 — 5b and 5c. Type 5b was used in defensive construction during the Civil War and dates reliably to 1946-1947. Type 5c consists of subsequent agricultural and ecological terracing.

Types of masonry and phasing

Sections of the wall on the north side of the acropolis are preserved to heights of up to three meters. These provide examples of masonry forms categorized last year as Type 1, using large, roughly shaped and rounded fieldstones, and Type 2, with angular blocks considerably smaller than those of Type 1 and Type 4, which is composed of small, unworked stones possibly in a matrix of mud mortar.² The three varieties of Type 5 are also clearly represented.

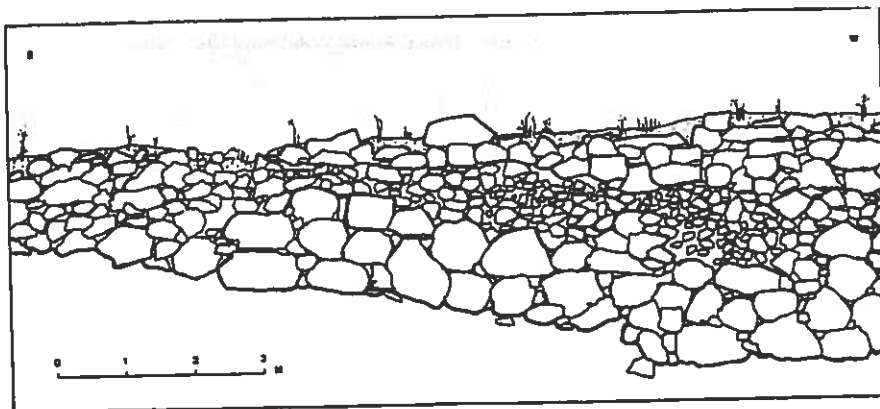


Figure 3. Geraki, acropolis hill. masonry Types 1, 4, 5a-c and 6

² The accretion of soil at the interstices of the stones used in this type is a characteristic both in the acropolis wall and in terraces of similar construction on the slope below. Other construction using stones of similar shape and size lack this defining characteristic. I have not been able to determine whether this is a valid by-product of construction (mud mortar) or simply a result of the movement of soil by erosion. The coherence of this characteristic with an apparently identifiable construction phase implies the former. Mud mortar is clearly identifiable in Civil War construction of Type 5b, but only in 'froulia' or guardhouses in the interior of the acropolis.



Plate 1. Geraki, acropolis wall at junction of Fields 30 and 26. Type 5c construction to left, built on ruins of earlier wall; gun emplacement to right of tree; masonry Types 1, 4, 5a-c

Figure 3 represents the acropolis wall above the junction of Fields 30 and 27 (see also Pl. I; for the location of Fields see Fig. 7). The large, roughly shaped blocks of the lower courses of Phase I Type 1 construction remain *in situ*. A patch of our Type 4 with unworked fist-sized stones deeply embedded in mud can be seen resting above this just right of center. This patch is continued to the right and to the left by a looser construction of slightly larger stones, more densely packed together, diagnostic of later agricultural and ecological terracing of Types 5a and 5c. Surmounting this more or less continuous stretch of patching in Types 4 and 5 is a well constructed wall of larger, carefully chosen, occasionally roughly worked blocks. Continuing left, a homogeneous construction using unfinished fieldstones of medium size completes the segment. The stones are loosely stacked rather than fitted together. This is common to the latest construction on the site, Type 5c. Here some of the stones of the lower course show signs of rough treatment and apparently fell from a megalithic (Type 1) predecessor, only to be hauled back up the hill and used as a foundation course for the new wall.

Phasing is largely self evident. Type 1, the megalithic, provides the basis for all successive types of construction, except for the segment of Type 5c where the megalithic has been totally lost save for the occasional block in reuse. After the collapse of the upper courses of Type 1 masonry, patching in Type 4 was applied. This would have been anchored to the left and to the right by the remaining megalithic, which subsequently collapsed, or the patch itself may have extended further along the wall and eventually

collapsed in its own right.³ In either case, the gaps opened by either the failure of the patch or the loss of the megalithic to which it was anchored were filled in their turn by the larger, more tightly packed stones of Type 5 to the right and left of the remaining section of Type 4. The low wall surmounting this patched and repatched section is what remains of fortification work done during the Civil War. This period is indicated by the style of construction and determined by the presence of a gun emplacement at ground level in the center of the drawing (Fig. 3). This low wall provided protected vantage points for soldiers in a trench which had been dug behind it. The construction of a Civil War parapet on top of the patched and repatched section dates the Type 5 construction below prior to 1946-47 and helps to define more clearly our Type 5a construction. To the left a section of the wall has been entirely rebuilt from the lowest courses up. The (larger) unworked stones and the stacked, rather than fitted, technique are indicative of our Type 5c, showing recent agricultural and ecological terracing on the acropolis. The lack of any remains of the Civil War construction above confirms that this section of the wall collapsed and was rebuilt most recently after the Civil War (Pl. I).

Figure 4 represents the section of wall above the western extremity of Field 30. Megalithic Type 1 construction is prominent in the lower right hand side of the drawing. In the lower left hand side of the drawing a patch using smaller, more angular blocks fills an area where the megalithic work has been interrupted. These stones are well fitted in a carefully constructed wall but surface treatment is restricted to the occasional refining of natural fractures. This type of construction, which appears as patching in the megalithic Type 1 wall, we identified last year as Type 2.⁴

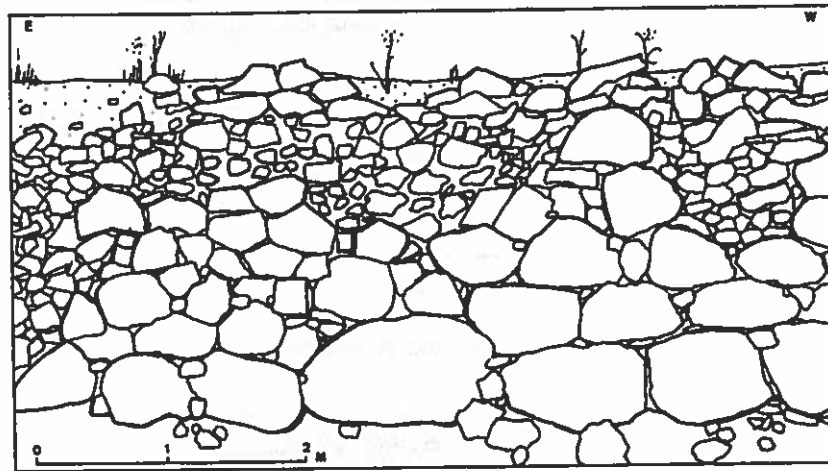


Figure 4. Geraki, acropolis hill: masonry Types 1, 2, 4 and 5a-c

³ There are indications of one course of Type 4 patching remaining to the left.

⁴ Type 2 is less finely worked than thought last year, see Crouwel et al. 1995, 47, 50 note 18.

Above this patch are the remnants of another patch of Type 4, utilizing small stones that we found embedded in a matrix of mud. A few larger flat stones, perhaps related to the Civil War parapet, remain *in situ* above this Type 4, while to the left recent trauma has taken this away and destroyed the wall down to its foundation. The resulting gap has been filled with loose rubble constituting a Type 5c patch. In the upper right a U-shaped breach in the megalithic wall has been filled with construction of Type 5a over which Type 5b, for the Civil War, continues.

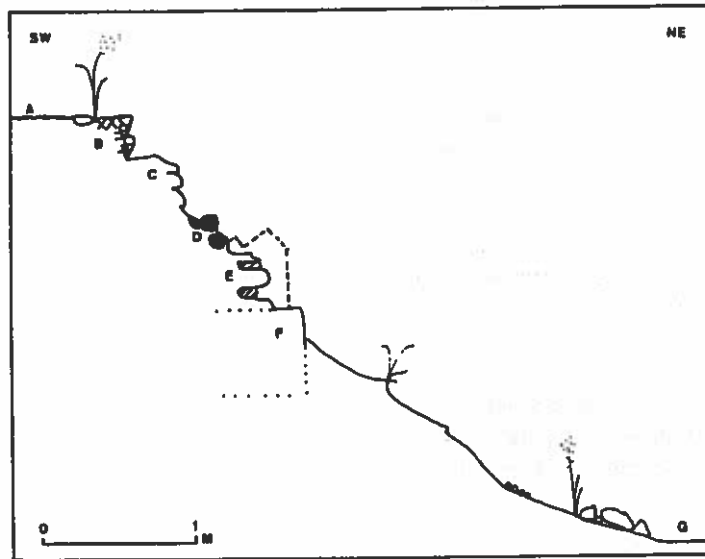


Figure 5. Geraki, section of acropolis hill site showing Type 3 construction using Type 1 as foundation. A: level of field interior of acropolis; B: Type 5b construction; C: Type 5a construction; D: Type 4 construction; E: 'medieval' (Type 3) construction; F: megalithic (Type 1) construction; G: level of field exterior

Figure 5 presents a section of the hillside just to the N of the gate examined by A.J.B. Wace and F.W. Hasluck in 1905, and the successive stages of construction upon it. Intact remains are scanty but revealing. Erosion has played a significant and visible role. At the bottom of the drawing are the remnants of the early megalithic wall, a single course, incomplete and much obscured by soil eroding from above. This course was used as a foundation by a wall of Type 3 construction. The distinguishing characteristic of Type 3 masonry is the use of mortar. The sparse inclusion of tile fragments and small flat stones as spacers and fillers and for rudimentary coursing is common but sometimes lacking. The size of the stones used will vary from cobbles to material reused from earlier Type 1 or Type 2 construction. After the collapse of the 'medieval' wall,⁵ it was replaced with patches of Type 4 anchored by remaining fragments of earlier construction and eventually stretching some 10 m to the SE. Itself also subject to collapse and erosion, this construction and its failing medieval and megalithic anchors were later replaced by a series of walls and patches of Types 5a, 5b and 5c.

⁵ Crouwel et al. 1995, 51 notes 19-20.

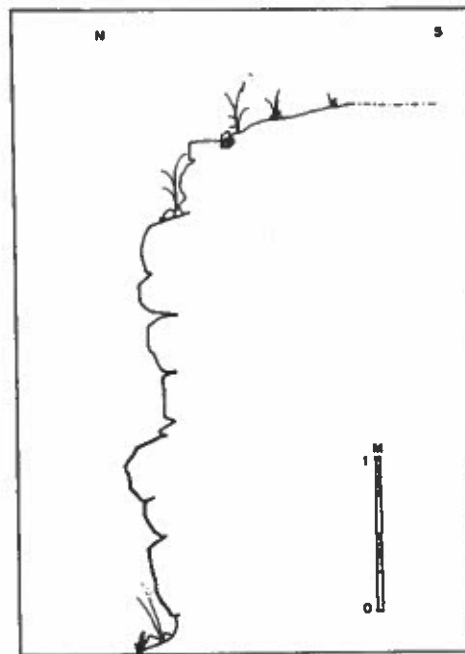
Wall collapse

Figure 6. Geraki, section of acropolis hill above Field 30 showing the remaining three courses of displaced original megalithic (Type 1) wall with reconstructed megalithic (Type 6) surmounted by Civil War parapet (Type 5b)

reading the results of surface survey. The erosion of the wall's foundations weakens resistance to pressure from behind. Water run-off and agricultural practices at the base of the wall can undermine the foundation course by as much as half a meter. This danger has been recognized in all periods and the replacement or strengthening of the foundation courses of earlier walls is especially noticeable in the medieval and modern periods.

The destructive capabilities of vegetation, especially of tree roots, is another factor. The roots of trees growing just inside the circuit wall will gradually shift even the largest of megalithic blocks, forming U-shaped breaches at the top of the wall. This type of collapse also implies years of neglect (Fig. 4).

Once the wall has been breached by roots, or collapsed under the pressure of the earth behind, erosion of the soil begins in earnest. When water run-off from the fields above is allowed to establish a channel, the masonry below the fallen or displaced walling also becomes subject to collapse. This is again a long and gradual process which can be arrested simply or prohibited entirely by preventive maintenance. If allowed to continue, however, the channel broadens and deepens, bringing down sherd material from behind the wall and inviting further collapse.

Attention was also paid to the recurrent causes and mechanisms of wall collapse. Earthquake and intentional destruction by man have undoubtedly played important roles in the collapse and breach of the successive walls around the acropolis at Geraki. Excavation will be necessary to properly define these roles. Other types of destruction are endemic to the site and can be considered with the results of survey.

The effect of the pressure of the soil retained behind the wall can easily be seen (Pl. II and Fig. 6). The wall is pushed outward from the top and faces the danger of collapse. This slow form of destruction requires an extended period of disuse and disregard of the wall. Understanding this process of destruction is valuable in establishing a rudimentary comparative chronology for different phases; it may also be of help in

Variation within types

The typology developed last year and the clearance of approximately one-third of the acropolis wall has allowed some preliminary consideration of the variations within established types of construction. Variations within types can be extensive and, for our purposes, more or less significant. The larger the scale of the construction phase, the more potentially important differences within the type will be, in some cases approaching distinct subtypes and suggesting the possibility of sub-phases within the period to which they belong. Other factors can also be responsible for differences within a type. Topographical influences are considerable. The place where a wall segment is built, at shallow slope or cliff edge, will be influential. The type of foundation on which a wall is built, bedrock or soil, will determine some physical characteristics. Materials available and materials used, purpose and other factors all play an important part.

Types 5a and 5c are the product of individual farmers bettering their property. Some are more capable and more devoted to their walls than are their neighbours. The materials close at hand are the materials used, but some builders are clearly more selective than others. The variations here have little or no chronological importance. Type 5b, the defenses of the Civil War, was constructed in one or two years, but broad variations can be seen. Here the position, the most readily available materials, and the military requirements in different sectors strongly influence variations within the type. The small-stone patching and terracing of Type 4 is remarkably uniform, variations being few and limited to the rare inclusion of somewhat larger blocks among the usual fist-sized stones. This uniformity is significant in that use of small stones must have been intentional, as many larger stones fallen from earlier masonry were bypassed in their selection. There are indications that Type 4 patches failed and were patched again in Type 4 construction.



Plate II. Geraki, acropolis wall above Field 30, showing displacement of megalithic and Type 5c patch in foreground

This suggests an extended period of use for this type or method of construction. In this the uniformity of style becomes more significant.

The 'medieval' work of Type 3 varies considerably in different locations. Much of the walling of this phase, however, has been lost, and the construction of the portions that have been preserved may have been subject to many factors capable of influencing construction technique. Available materials, defensive requirements and, indeed, aesthetics seem to have played a role, obscuring the extent of true typological change.

Type 2 construction is limited to patching in the earlier megalithic wall. The few examples are distinct and homogeneous. Type 1 megalithic construction, like its medieval successor, varies considerably. Construction varies from true cyclopean with rough largely unworked boulders a meter or more in length, loosely fitted together without preparation, to a series of more finished megalithic styles, carefully joined and fitted. Figure 3 shows a stretch of megalithic where boulders have been roughly shaped and fitted together. Figure 4 shows a more formalised attempt at coursing. Variations in Type 1 construction suggest the possibility of an extended and continuous period of use for this early wall.

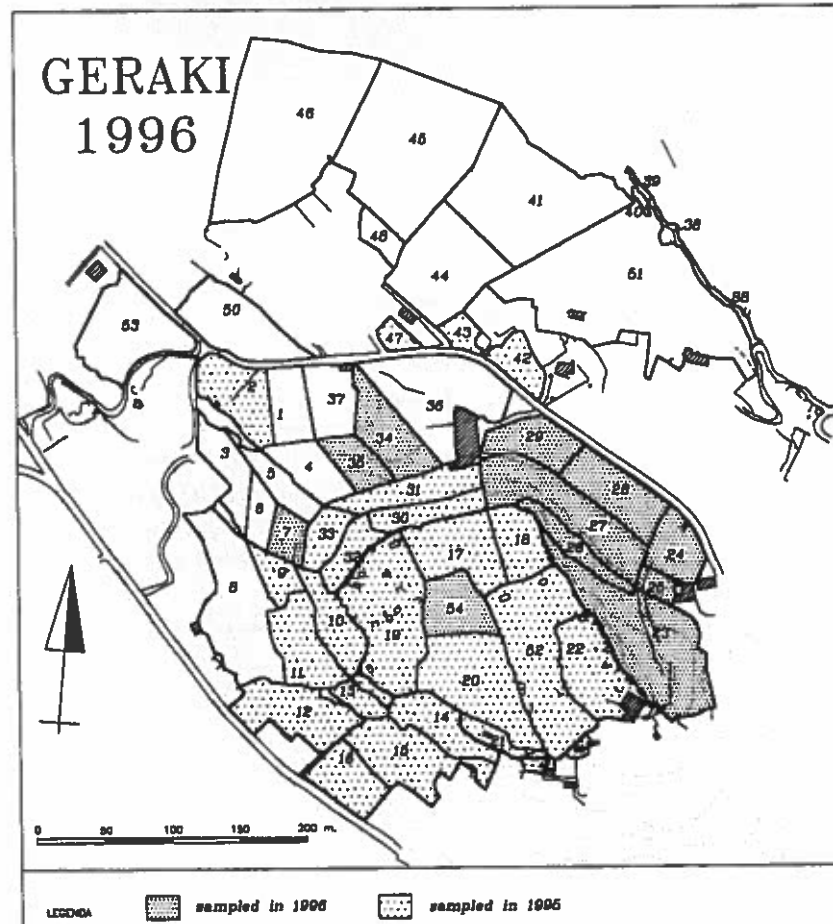


Figure 7. Geraki acropolis hill: fields intensively surveyed in 1995 and 1996

Archaeological survey (M. Prent)

During the 1996 season the intensive archaeological survey of the acropolis hill, begun in 1995, was completed. Using the methods for urban or 'large site' survey described in the report for the previous season,⁶ another 11 fields, covering a total area of ca. 2.5 hectares, were intensively sampled (see Fig. 7). These fields were subdivided into 85 smaller units, which vary in size but usually are not larger than 20 x 20 m each. As with last year, the sampling required 18 days in the field for a team of four to five persons.⁷

Other work in the field consisted of rewalking or resampling specific areas to check observations made previously, or because circumstances had altered since the initial survey. Exceptionally heavy rainfall over the winter, for instance, had exposed artefacts in areas already affected by erosion, such as the southwest corner of Field 19. Also, removal of vegetation on and around the acropolis wall to facilitate architectural study in the 1996 season revealed surfaces previously covered, in some cases warranting additional sampling. With less ground to cover this year, fieldwalkers were employed on some occasions in the more laborious task of cleaning such areas themselves. This was done especially below parts of the acropolis wall with a complicated sequence of collapse and rebuilding, thus enabling us to keep separate sherd material from different erosion events.

Considerable progress was made this year in processing both individual finds and survey data. Using Paradox 5.0 for Windows, a series of tables was set up, forming a relational database which can be linked to the digital site-map.

Artefact distribution and 'site edge'

This year's intensive survey was primarily directed at the terraces on the north and northeast slopes of the acropolis (Fields 23-29, 34-35) and at the one field on the summit (Field 54) which had not been sampled last year. All other fields in the survey area (the ones not hatched in Fig. 7) were excluded from intensive sampling, either because artefact densities were considered too low or for other, more specific reasons.⁸

Average artefact densities had been obtained for each field in the first days of the 1995 season by means of 'tract walking': with an intermediate distance of 15 m, fieldwalkers had counted the number of artefacts in a one-meter strip in front of them, while at the same time making observations on the slope and character of the terrain, vegetation, and other factors affecting the ground visibility. After reconstructing the walked lines in the digital map, their length was established and average artefact densities for each field were calculated. Visibility of the ground surface had been expressed on a scale of 0 (no ground surface visible) to 10 (100% of the surface visible). Compensating for the lack of

⁶ See Crouwel et al. 1995, 53-56.

⁷ In comparison to 1995 much less ground was covered. This was due to several reasons, the main one being that surfaces of Fields 23 and 26 were covered with a dense layer of dried grass and other vegetation. This was cleaned off with small, hand-held rakes by the fieldwalkers as they moved along sampling. Fields 27-29 consist of broader terraces closer to the road and could be mechanically mowed.

⁸ Such as in the case of Fields 8 and 39, see *infra*.

visibility, so-called weighted density values were obtained (absolute density $\times 10$: visibility value). These formed a principal criterium for selection of fields suitable for intensive sampling. Excluded from intensive sampling were fields with a compensated or weighted artefact density of less than 1.50 per square meter (Fig. 8). This was not considered an absolute threshold, however, and a few exceptions were made on both sides of the line. It was, for instance, decided to intensively sample Field 13, a small area high up the southwest slope of the acropolis, despite the low artefact count. Material turned out to be so unevenly distributed that the acquired low artefact density appeared to apply only to the middle section covered by the fieldwalker.⁹ Field 39, actually covering an unpaved road, was exempted from intensive sampling because none of the sherds noted during tract walking were diagnostic.

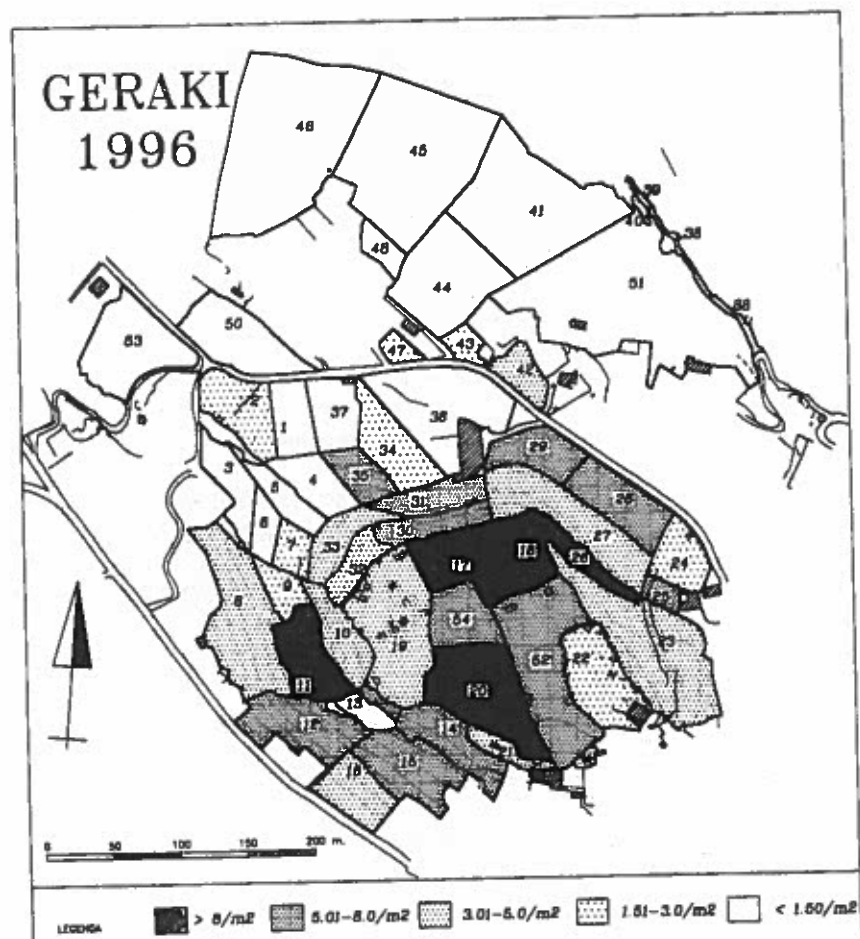


Figure 8. Geraki, acropolis hill: map showing weighted artefact densities

⁹ The upper half, located just below the cliff carrying the acropolis wall, contains more soil and artefacts.

The fields with very low to low weighted artefact densities (i.e. 0.05-1.50 per m²) are situated on the lower northeast slope, in the area around the limestone crest forming Field 2 and on the summit and slopes of the hill in the northwest section of the survey area. This relatively large and continuous zone with a clear fall-off in artefact density imposes an effective boundary for further archaeological research in the N and NW. The question as to what extent it should be interpreted as an area which was not occupied in ancient times is as yet unanswered, pending geomorphological study (planned for 1997). As already discussed in last year's report, the terrain of these fields mainly consists of sloping bedrock, with occasional patches of earth in fissures and small depressions. Recent erosion may therefore have removed deposits of earth and artefacts which would probably have been redeposited in the valley to the NE. More significant in respect to defining the boundaries of the site is perhaps the low density noted for Fields 1 and 37. These are former agricultural fields, ploughed until recently, much like Field 34 which yielded a higher weighted artefact density and was intensively sampled this year.

The highest artefact densities (more than 8.0 per m²) were observed in (former) agricultural fields located on the summit and upper slopes of the acropolis hill. The fields on the summit (17, 18 and 20) are relatively flat and were cultivated until recently. Present-day use is confined to grazing by only a few animals, but at least two of these Fields (17 and 18) are still regularly ploughed. These display higher artefact densities than their unploughed neighbours, Fields 52 and 54 (with values of 5.07 and 6.34 per m² respectively); on the latter two, a thin cover of humus has developed over the past years. Weighted artefact densities of over 8 items per m² occur also in three discrete areas outside the acropolis wall: Fields 11, 26 and 49, which consist of untended terraces with no signs of recent ploughing. All three fields may have acted, or still act, at least partially as 'catch-basins' for material washing down from the top of the acropolis; Field 49 is located immediately below an entirely rebuilt section of acropolis wall,¹⁰ while Field 11 and Field 26 constitute level areas below the much steeper, uncultivated slopes carrying the acropolis wall. The pattern of ongoing erosion, responsible for the redeposition of previously stratified material from the southwest corner of Field 19 (at the top) onto the narrow terraces of Field 11 has been described in last year's report.¹¹ Instream of artefacts is also observable, though less localized, from Fields 18 and 52 at the top to the terrace of Field 26.

The remaining three categories of artefact densities (1.51-3.0, 3.01-5.0 and 5.01-8.0 per m²) all include a variety of terrain types. These range from recently ploughed agricultural fields (with a high likelihood of yielding artefacts from underlying deposits) to abandoned, eroding terraces (with a potential mix of finds from underlying deposits and eroded material from upslope) and areas consisting of sloping bedrock (usually with only little of the original deposits preserved). Until the finds are further studied, taking into account their date, size, weight and condition (type and degree of wear), only some preliminary remarks will be made.¹²

¹⁰ Rebuilt in Type 5a masonry, for which no absolute dating is available yet.

¹¹ See Crouwel et al. 1995, 58.

¹² The effects of different natural and cultural agents on the displacement and alteration of (surface) artefacts have been studied especially in the context of (North) American archaeology, see for an overview Schiffer 1987.

Fields with weighted artefact densities of 5.01-8.0 per m² were encountered both at the top and in several areas around it. In many of these fields, the most obvious being the ploughed Field 30, horizontal displacement of material may have been limited. Elsewhere, however, such as at the untterraced slopes of Fields 14 and 12, these high artefact counts may be due to erosion from higher up, rather than representing ancient activity at the spot itself.¹³ In Field 35, intensive sampling revealed that only a few sherds were diagnostic, most of them being so small and worn that the conclusion of erosion seems warranted. The artefacts recorded in Field 15 may represent a mixture of eroding, incoming material and material from the (previously ploughed) terraces itself. Moving downwards, to Field 16, artefact densities lessen somewhat and, as noted last year, sherds become more and more worn.

The two rocky crests on the summit, Fields 19 and 22 with weighted artefact densities of 3.05 and 2.60 per m² respectively, present yet another picture: with possible later deposits eroded away by rainwater and wind, remaining surface material largely consists of Early and Middle Helladic artefacts, with a high proportion of obsidian. Black-glazed sherds from the same fields, assignable to the general period of Archaic-Hellenistic, appear to be smaller and display more signs of wear than the prehistoric material.

Summarizing this overview of artefact distribution on the acropolis hill, the following points may be emphasized. The very low weighted artefact densities in the N and NW impose a boundary for further archaeological research that may coincide with the edge of the ancient site in certain periods of its existence. The situation is less clear in the area from the SE to the NE, where high weighted artefact densities in some cases persist right up to the buildings of the modern village. Ancient habitation may well have continued here, especially in the direction of the two springs which are located halfway down the east slope and at the northeastern foot of the hill.¹⁴

Preliminary results of the 1996 season (M. Prent and J.H. Crouwel)

The fields intensively sampled this year consist mainly of agricultural fields and terraces, some of them recently ploughed or mowed. The terrain dealt with was thus more homogeneous than that covered by the intensive survey of 1995, and visibility of the ground surface was generally good. Although this side of the acropolis hill has a more gentle slope than to the S and W (see Fig. 10), erosion is still an important factor affecting artefact distribution. Current erosion is due to the fact that the terrace walls of Fields 26-29 are not being tended. There are further clear signs of major collapse, in the past, of sections of the acropolis wall. Similar collapse at the junction of Fields 30 and

¹³ The same applies to Field 8 at the lower west slope, with a weighted artefact density of 4.41 per m² and located below the extremely artefact rich terraces of Field 11. Field 8 was not sampled: when we returned in 1996 dense vegetation had sprung up in the sparse pockets of remaining soil, while the material visible in areas of bare rock had clearly been washed in from above and was much abraded. It must be added that the sherds counted during tract walking in 1995 were concentrated in the southern half of Field 8. Most of the material counted in the northern half turned out to be modern refuse, from the neighbouring (tiled) houses.

¹⁴ See also Crouwel et al. 1995, 53. The relatively high weighted artefact density in Field 16 may to a large extent be attributed to erosion from higher up.

27, and near the Gate at the north-western section of Field 23,¹⁵ must have released considerable quantities of soil and associated artefacts. At the junction of Fields 27 and 30 a sloping bank of earth has formed which, in contrast to the rest of the fields, was ploughed in a N-S direction. Erosion from behind the Gate must have taken place over an extended period of time and here incoming material proved more difficult to isolate. Most of it may by now have been thoroughly mixed into the ploughsoil of the underlying terraces.

Fields 28 and 29, forming a continuous, broad field now used only as a pasture, yielded material datable mainly to the Archaic to Hellenistic times. There was a mixture of fine pottery with a larger proportion of coarser household pots. Of interest are the discovery of two small, joining fragments of a terracotta disc acroterion (Pl. III). The disc acroterion is a

feature characteristic of Lakonian and Lakonizing roofs, crowning the low front pediment of a temple or shrine, dating from ca. 650 BC into the early Classical period.¹⁶

Among the numerous stone tools found this year was half of a drilled shaft-hole axe (Pl. IV). This type of implement was introduced into the Helladic world from the North towards the end of the Early Bronze Age. Parallels, including some from Lakonia, date to Early Helladic III and continue into the Middle Helladic period.¹⁷ The presence of these prehistoric tools (and more fragments of the same green stone with less obvious shapes) in Fields 28 and 29, together with much later (Archaic-Hellenistic) pottery, raises the question of whether they were ploughed up from the field itself or rolled down from much higher up. Both ploughing and erosion may have size-sorting effects which could account for the presence here of these relatively large and sturdy items without being accompanied by (fragile) sherds of the same period. While ploughing tends to bring a higher proportion of larger artefacts to the surface, case-studies have also shown that heavy and rounded objects such as stone tools may move much further along gentle slopes than lighter objects.¹⁸ At present, however, the second explanation appears somewhat

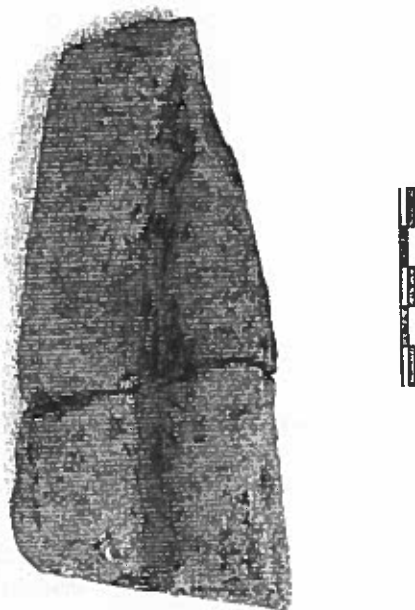


Plate III. Geraki, terracotta disc acroterion

¹⁵ See the observations by S. MacVeagh Thorne, *supra*.

¹⁶ See, recently, Winter 1993, 101-104, 137-140; Catling 1995.

¹⁷ See, recently, Forsén 1992, 227-232; T. Carter in Cavanagh et al. 1996, 172, Pl. 5d, upper right (SF 2, of similar greenish stone, from site U 502 in the Lakonia Survey area).

¹⁸ Schiffer 1987, 131, 268; Baker 1978; Rick 1976, 135, 140-143.

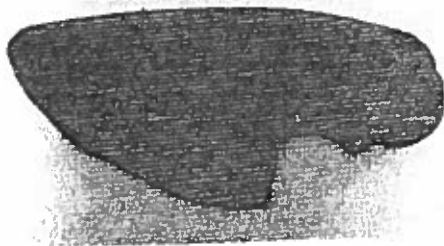


Plate IV. *Geraki, shaft-hole axe*

Fields 28-29, the ceramic material is generally assignable to the Archaic-Hellenistic periods.

Higher up the northeast slope (Fields 23 and 26) the assemblages of collected material appeared to gradually change in character and date. Sherds were certainly less eroded, and the proportion of fine ware, including pieces of good quality black-glaze, increased. Also more frequent at these higher fields were clearly recognizable prehistoric coarse ware sherds. An important concentration of early prehistoric material was found at the southeast end of Field 23 (now labelled Field 25). The levelling of this area and the layout of a dirt road, enabling the construction of the new water-line mentioned above, had exposed material still buried in 1995. In addition to a large quantity of obsidian, much pottery was found here with a most unusual surface treatment consisting of 'smear marks'. This pottery was provisionally dated to the Late or Final Neolithic.

Completion of the intensive survey this year also enables us to make some preliminary observations on the distribution of specific find categories, such as prehistoric obsidian. A total of more than 1000 fragments of obsidian was collected during the 1995 and 1996 seasons. Although scattered over a large area, four major concentrations can be discerned (see Fig. 9a-b, showing absolute and weighted amounts of obsidian per field unit). The source of the very large quantities of obsidian found on the terraced slopes of Fields 10 and 11 should be sought at the southwest top of the acropolis (Field 19), where, due to severe erosion, only parts of the original deposits have been preserved. Likewise, the occurrence of a second concentration of obsidian at the much denuded lower south slope of the hill (Field 16), appears to be caused by the washing down of material.

Another concentration of obsidian was encountered on the eastern summit and its immediate slopes (Fields 22 and 25). As in Field 19, obsidian and prehistoric sherd material at the crest of Field 22 was left exposed after the erosion of most of the sediments. The presence, however, of much obsidian in Field 25, lower down the slope, is in this case not due to erosion, but represents a distinct nucleus of prehistoric activity,

more likely. Resampling, at the end of the 1996 season, of sections of Field 28 with the explicit aim of identifying obsidian and prehistoric sherds — which might be recognizable primarily by their fabric — only yielded a few very small pieces of obsidian. The trench for a new water-line, dug down to the bedrock at the corner of Fields 24 and 28, also revealed no sherds predating the Archaic period.

Field 34, on the northwest slope, produced mainly fragments of household pots, mortaria and loomweights as well as a number of (green) stone tools. As in

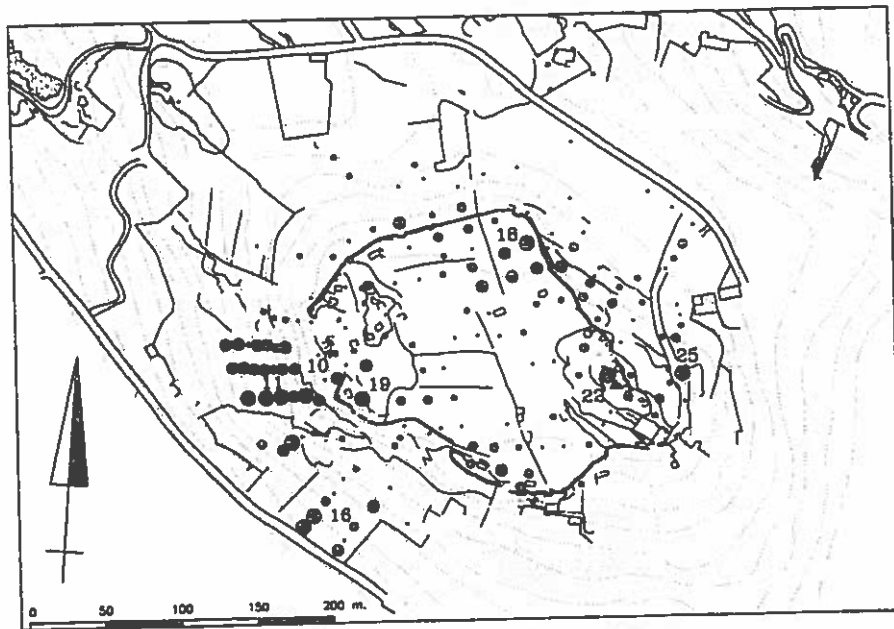


Figure 9a. Geraki, acropolis hill: maps showing absolute numbers of obsidian per field unit

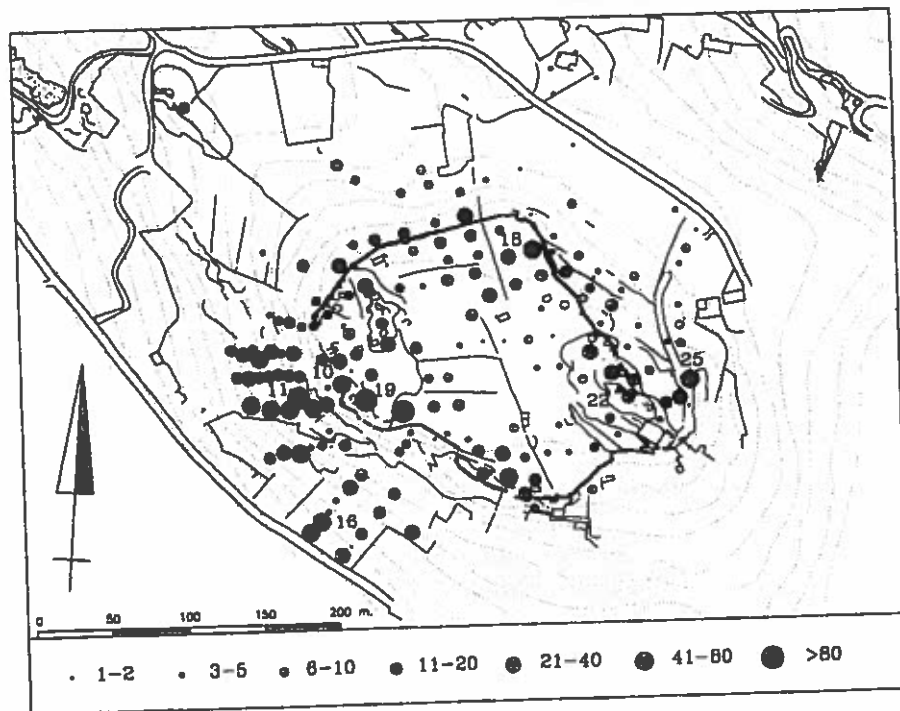


Figure 9b. Geraki, acropolis hill: maps showing weighted numbers of obsidian per field unit

with both obsidian and pottery recently brought to the surface by the construction of the water-line.

In the large fields between the two rocky crests less obsidian was found. Many fragments seem to have collected along the southern edge, behind the acropolis wall. Last year the possibility was considered that the relative scarcity of obsidian and prehistoric sherds in the central fields indicated the undisturbed nature of early levels, rather than their absence. Also, obsidian is much less easy to spot in (partially overgrown) agricultural fields than in rocky areas such as Fields 19 and 22. The occurrence of a third major concentration of obsidian in the northern section of the top fields (especially Field 18) is therefore of interest. Field 18 constitutes an area lower than the neighbouring top fields, from which it is separated by terrace or field walls. At the NE, the study of the acropolis wall has revealed a long, repeated sequence of wall collapse and erosion. It is possible that erosion of the upper layers in Field 18 has brought deeper, prehistoric layers within reach of the plough, resulting in a comparatively high frequency of obsidian at the surface. If this hypothesis is true, prehistoric habitation may have covered more of the summit, the concentrations of obsidian at the rocky crests of Fields 19 and 22 forming only the tip of the iceberg.

As for later activities on the acropolis hill, attention should be called to the presence of large numbers of (usually small) pieces of what appears to be iron slag. Having recorded more than 1050 such pieces,¹⁹ it is clear that they occurred in all the fields on the summit and on the upper slopes; further down the hillsides they become less frequent. Several larger fragments may, judging by their semi-globular form, be identified as slag cake or 'furnace bottom'. This derives from so-called bowl furnaces, clay-lined pits in the ground used for iron-smelting.²⁰

We may close with a general comment on the range of the pottery found this year. Apart from the possible Neolithic pottery, the 1996 campaign confirms the observations made last year. While the Early and Middle Helladic periods are represented by pottery of different fabrics, finds of firm Mycenaean date are again notably absent. This enhances the doubts expressed last year regarding the dating of the original acropolis wall to this period. After a long gap, activity is again attested by a handful of painted sherds classed as Geometric. The Archaic to Hellenistic periods are well represented, some of the pottery being clearly votive in character. Among later material, mainstream diagnostic Roman Red slip, Middle Byzantine painted or sgraffito wares and Late Byzantine fine and glazed wares are relatively rare.

Geodetical Survey (G.-J. van Wijngaarden)

The first objective of the geodetical survey in 1996 was to reconstruct the grid system that had been created the previous year, especially in the fields that would be covered

¹⁹ The number of slags was recorded per field unit. Examples of different type and larger pieces were kept for future analysis.

²⁰ See Cleere 1972, 8-11 with figs. 1-2. We are indebted to Mr H. Koens for this reference as well as expert information. For a probable furnace of this type from a 7th century BC context at Kommos at Crete, see Shaw 1984, 283 with pl. 55e.

by the geophysical and the archaeological survey. Once this was done, the grid system had to be extended to the north and west into areas that had not been mapped in 1995, so that these could be included in the digital map. Next, absolute levels needed to be transferred to the measurement system from the trigonometric points of the Greek National Geodetic Network. Furthermore, several sections of the acropolis hill needed to be drawn in order to check the accuracy of the contours on the map and to gain more insight into the relief of the terrain. Finally, the team conducting the archaeological survey had to be assisted in subdividing the fields into smaller units, while assistance would also be required with the drawing of the acropolis wall.

In order to fulfil these various goals, the same equipment was used as in the 1995 campaign.²¹ The team carrying out the geodetical survey consisted of two persons, one of whom was a student. All in all 26 days were spent in the field, while daily computer work was done back at the house.

Grid system

In 1995 the grid system had not been fixed by proper benchmarks. Instead, several points on and around the acropolis that would certainly remain for many years had been measured and sketched.²² The reconstruction of the grid system began by relocating three such points on the acropolis. The Total Station was then set up on one of these on the northwestern top of the acropolis hill (Top 2) and backsight readings were taken to the two other points, thus determining the correct location and orientation of the theodolite within our measurement system. Next, the set-out option of the Total Station was used to locate some points that had been marked in 1995 by hammering iron tubes completely into the ground. The retrieval of all four of these tubes confirmed that the orientation of the Total Station deviated less than one centimetre from our grid system. The reconstruction of the grid system was completed by fixing and marking several points on the acropolis with a good view of the terrain.

In the fields that would be subject to geophysical and archaeological research, the grid system was laid out in squares of 20 x 20 m. These were established from the fixed points mentioned previously, with an accuracy of within 5 centimetres. In order not to disturb the readings of the geophysical equipment, only wooden pegs were used as markings. The retrieval of several rusted nails of the 1995 season confirmed, again, the reliability of the reconstructed grid system.

The main difficulty in extending the grid into the unmapped areas to the north and west of the site was the obstruction of a direct view from these areas to the top of the acropolis by modern construction and the slope of the terrain. Hence gridlines could not simply be extended and benchmarks needed to be established in these areas in several steps. From the northern slope of the acropolis hill, still within our survey area, one has a clear view of the hills to the north of our site. As the southern slopes of these hills are

²¹ Sokkia Set4B-G Total Station, SDR 33 electronic field book and AutoCAD R13; see Crouwel et al. 1995, 61-62.

²² Crouwel et al. 1995, 62.

also visible from the top of the acropolis (distance 300-400 m), four benchmarks were created on these slopes from the permanent point on Top 2. These points were subsequently checked by measuring distances and angles among them and to the fixed points on the acropolis. Having thus established that the accuracy was within a one-centimetre range, the northern slopes could be mapped by using these benchmarks as stations for the theodolite. To be able to establish our grid system in the west, a point was measured on the westernmost top of the acropolis (Top 3). The accuracy of this measurement was confirmed by using this point as a station with backsights on several fixed points. From Top 3 we were able to set out four benchmarks in the area concerned. After checking their reliability, these could serve as standpoints for the Total Station. The methods used to map these areas were the same as in 1995.²³ This work resulted in a complete, digital map of the site (see Fig. 2).

Levels

For reasons of efficiency, a two-dimensional measurement system was used in the 1995 season. The third dimension was a necessary addition in order to make detailed drawings and elevations of the acropolis wall and to be able to check the contour lines in the map of the site. Levels of the Greek National Geodetic Network were available to us from three trigonometric points which were located at distances from the acropolis of 1500, 1900 and 2300 m respectively. The furthest of these points, situated on the saddle of the hill of the medieval Kastro, was, however, inaccessible with the cumbersome geodetical equipment.

A standpoint was chosen for the theodolite with a clear view of the acropolis and the two trigonometric points, the absolute coordinates of which were determined by resection from these points. The distances between this station and the two trigonometric points were 720 m and 1730 m respectively, while the distance to the acropolis was 650 m. Although these distances were within the tolerance range of the Total Station (1800 m), caution was taken by measuring very early in the morning with clear, dry weather. The coordinates of three gridpoints on the acropolis were measured three-dimensionally from this station, thus providing levels to our measurement system.

Three checks were carried out to establish the accuracy of these measurements. First, the north and east coordinates which were the outcome of the measurements were compared with the absolute coordinates determined in 1995.²⁴ Second, the Total Station was set up on the acropolis. As the distances involved allowed only the nearest (ca. 1500 m) trigonometric point to be used from this standpoint, the differences in height between this point and each of the three points on the acropolis were measured. Finally, another standpoint on the acropolis was chosen and differences in height among the three points on the site were established.

These checks revealed an error with a maximum of 24 cm in the levels determined for the three gridpoints. The results of all the measurements, however, sufficed to reduce

²³ Crouwel et al. 1995, 63.

²⁴ Crouwel et al. 1995, 62-63.

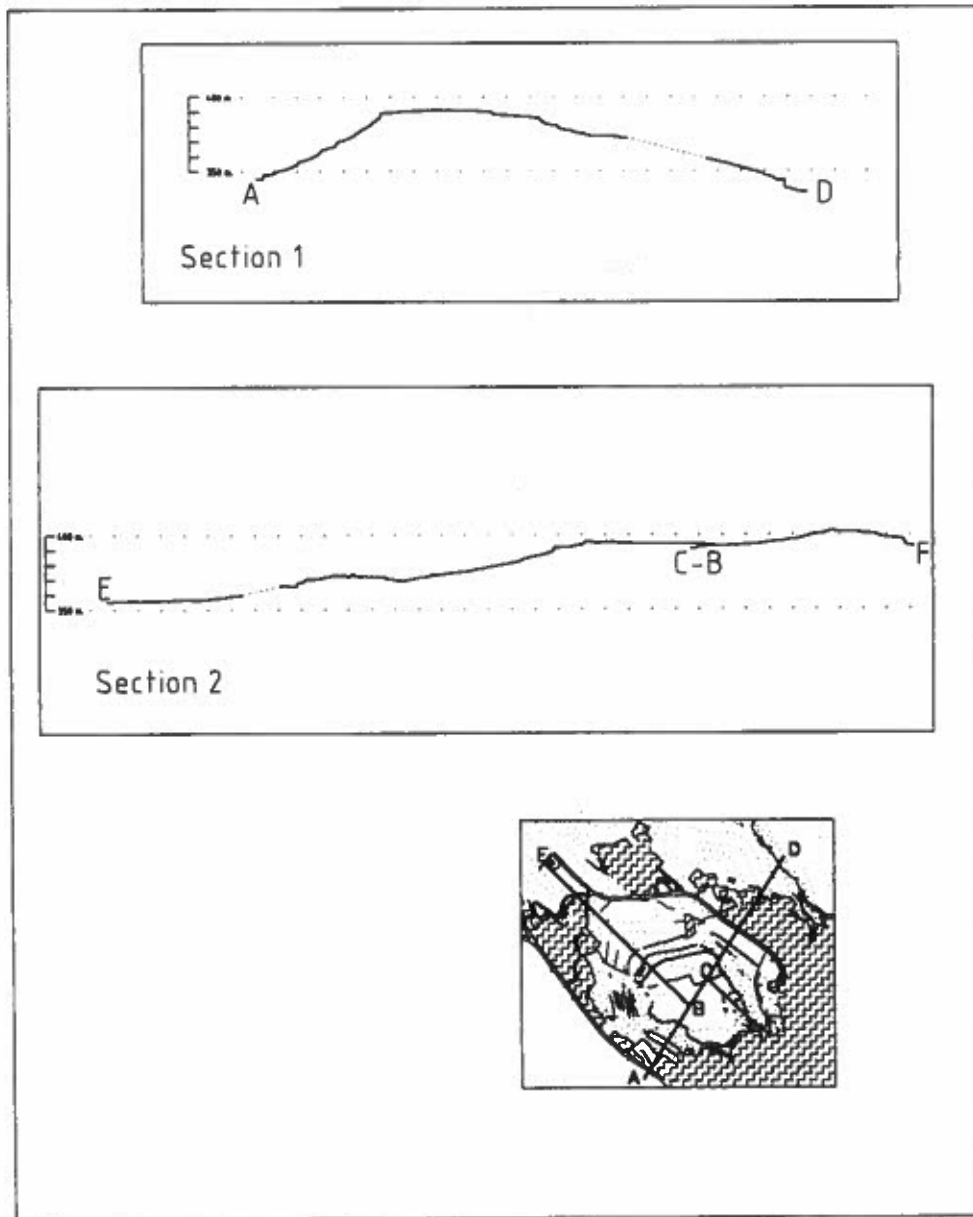


Figure 10. Geraki, acropolis hill: sections 1 and 2

this error to 9 cm. Thus, the height of Top 2 was established at 392.30 ± 0.045 m. With this information, levels could be given for all the permanent points in our grid system.

Sections of the acropolis hill

The contour lines on the map represented in Fig. 2 were taken from the 1:5000 maps that were available to us at the beginning of the project.²⁵ The accuracy of these lines is, however, insufficient where maps on a larger scale are concerned. Three sections were made of the acropolis to check the accuracy of the contours. At the same time, these sections provided for an adequate representation of the relief of the acropolis hill (Fig. 10).

The sections were created by establishing a number of points on three lines that were determined on the map. The Total Station was set up on one of these points and orientated along the line. The prism was then carried between the line-points, avoiding deviation from the line by not rotating the theodolite. Measurements were taken every two meters and at every notable rise in the terrain. When the view along the line was blocked by modern construction or the inclination of the terrain, the Total Station was transferred to another point on the line.

The result of this work can be seen in Fig. 10 which shows the sections at an angle of 90°. The first section, from points A to D, runs roughly from SW to NE and indicates the width of the acropolis. The second and third sections (E-B, C-F) are shown here together as they run parallel with a setback of 65 m (at C-B) to include all the three tops. It was impossible to measure in areas with intensive modern construction; these are therefore indicated only approximately. Also, it is important to realize that lines end at the edges of the survey area, which corresponds with the bottom of the hill in only one case. Point A is situated roughly halfway up the acropolis, while point F is near the top of the hill. Beyond point E the hill gradually continues to slope downwards, while point D is at the bottom of the northern slope.

These sections reveal that the existing contour lines from the 1:5000 maps suffice to roughly indicate the relief of the acropolis hill. For example, the top of the acropolis wall in the SW rises 45 m above the modern road. Nine contours are accordingly shown on the map; however, these contours are hardly ever located exactly at 5 m intervals, but have severe errors up to 3.5 m. This means that the contours cannot be used to determine absolute levels in the field.

Future work

As far as fieldwork is concerned, future campaigns should involve drawing a reliable contour plan. This could be done by measuring many more sections of the acropolis hill, which could then be used to correct the existing contours. A more reliable but very laborious method would be to measure the whole site in a grid of 1 x 1 m units, thus

²⁵ Crouwel et al. 1995, 61.

facilitating the creation of 3-D images of the site. In addition, benchmarks need to be established in areas where excavation is planned.

Other remaining work is the combination of the results of all the different types of research that have been carried out at Geraki in a comprehensive Archaeological Information System for the site.

Geophysical survey (N. Brodie)

The geophysical survey was carried out over two weeks during May 1996. Soil resistivity was measured using a Geoscan Research RM 15 Resistivity Meter and magnetic intensity with a Geoscan Research FM 36 Fluxgate Gradiometer. Measurements were taken along S-N oriented parallel traverses spaced 1 m apart in a series of grids, each of which measured 20 x 20 m, and which were related to the main site grid by a series of wooden pegs measured at 25 m intervals by the Geodetical team. The sampling interval was 1 m for the resistivity meter and 0.5 m for the gradiometer. The grids were grouped into four areas (Fig. 11), each of which will be discussed separately. The good-natured assistance in the field of Tina Dudley is gratefully acknowledged.

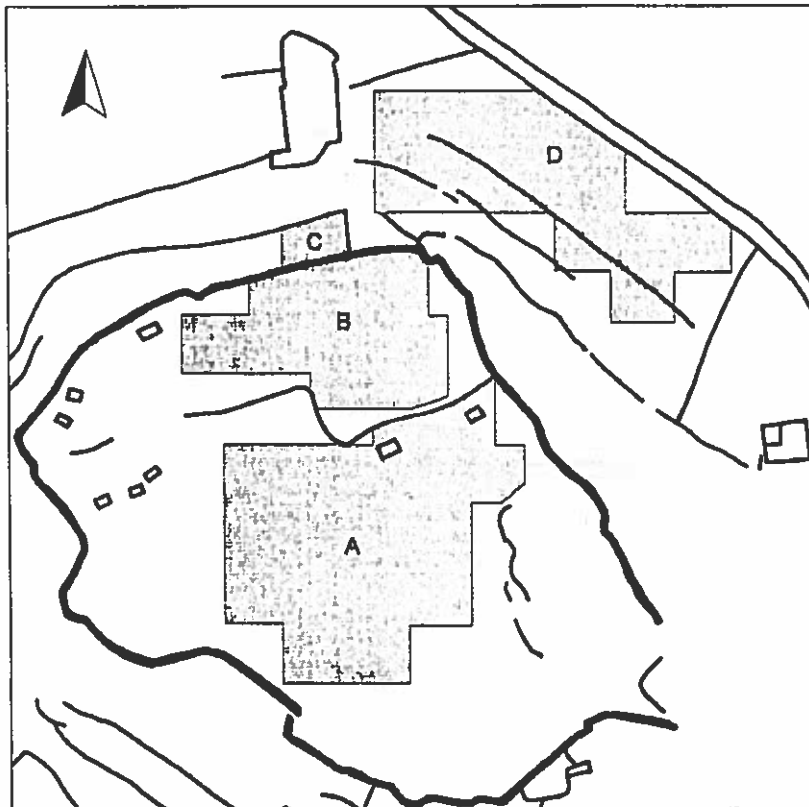
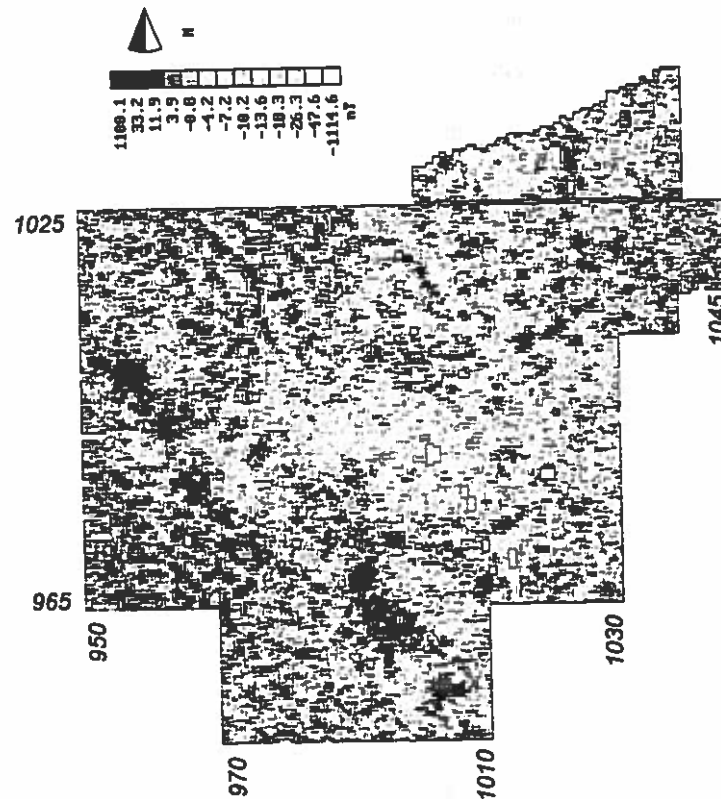


Figure 11. Geraki, acropolis hill: schematic plan showing areas surveyed geophysically

Data processing and visualisation were performed on an IBM-PC platform using Geoplot 2.01 and Paint Shop Pro software packages. Before display the raw data from each area were first processed with a low-pass filter for noise suppression and then interpolated to provide a uniform reading interval of 0.5 m along both grid axes. These data manipulations were carried out in Geoplot which was then used to produce a grayscale image which was grabbed using the screen capture facility of Paint Shop Pro. The brightness histogram of the image was then stretched to enhance contrast for final display.

As time available for survey was limited, it was decided to achieve maximum coverage with the more rapid technique of gradiometry and then to further investigate areas of interest with the resistivity meter. In the event, this strategy was only partly successful as the resistivity meter failed towards the end of the survey. Both instruments are sensitive to a depth of about 1 m. This causes problems on an eroded site such as Geraki, as in many places the soil is less than 1 m deep, so that the configuration of the underlying bedrock often dominates data plots. Upon occasion it was not possible to insert the probes of the resistivity meter as soil cover was reduced to a couple of centimetres. The problems



caused by geology are further complicated by the fact that any stone building material on the site is likely to be limestone and hence indistinguishable from the bedrock. Thus a collapsed building could produce an irregularly shaped high resistance/low magnetic intensity anomaly which would be difficult to tell apart from an area of raised bedrock.

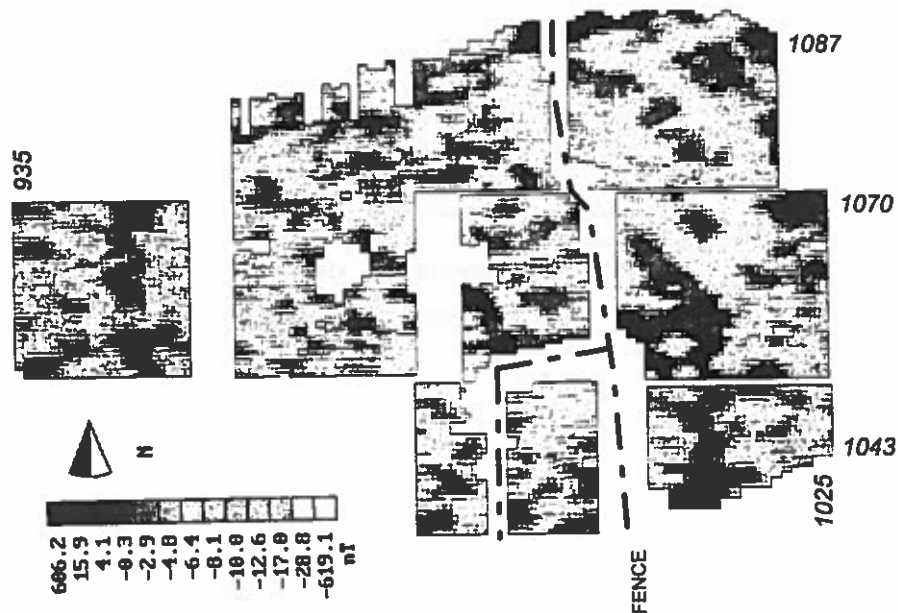
On a more positive note the comparison of plots derived from gradiometric and resistivity data shows that the gradiometer can successfully interpret high-resistivity stone features as low magnetic anomalies so that the failure of the resistivity meter was not fatal to the survey. The resistivity meter did not detect any features that were not previously revealed by the gradiometer.

Area A

This is the relatively flat area at the top of the acropolis. The magnetic data are shown in Fig. 12, which is dominated by a large high-intensity feature running SE from the centre of the western edge of the area surveyed. This feature is several meters wide in places and is probably geological. The wide range of intensities associated with this feature has tended to suppress the expression of weaker anomalies, although there do seem to be some linear features in the northeastern half of the area. The linear anomalies in this area are clearer and are usually of high intensity, bordered on one or both sides by corresponding lines of low intensity. These linear features are in general between 1 to 3 m wide and are the most probable archaeological indicators in this area. They perhaps mark the line of trenches.

Area B

This area is broken up by a wire fence and also by a ridge running W-E which crops out in several places. The magnetic data are shown in Fig. 13, although it is difficult to see any features which might be of archaeological interest.



Area C

This is a small area just beneath the acropolis wall. Among the magnetic data there are features present but these are difficult to interpret. There are no rocky outcrops, which would suggest a reasonable depth of soil but it is not possible to say whether this is greater than 1 m, so again it is not clear if the features are natural or archaeological. They are not regular but, as was mentioned earlier, collapsed and/or damaged architecture do not necessarily generate a regular anomaly.

Area D

This is the large field that runs alongside the modern road to the N of the site. The magnetic data are shown in Fig. 14 but are disappointing. There are several linear features running SE-NW but they are almost certainly geological, as they follow the orientation of visible outcrops (shown in Fig. 14 as white areas). There was a large amount of scrap metal in this area and, although every effort was made to remove it, some may have remained just below the surface, causing the odd high readings seen on the plot.

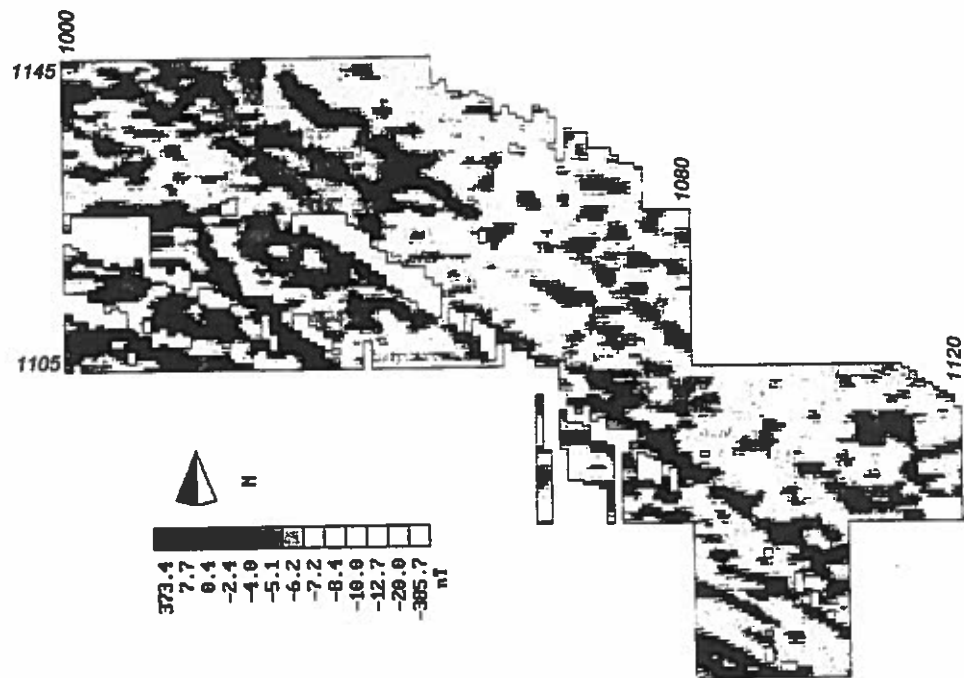


Figure 14. Geraki, acropolis hill: gradiometer survey of Area D

Spolia from the Byzantine churches of Geraki (J.A.K.E. de Waele)

The Geraki project includes a study of the ancient Greek architectural remains that were re-used as *spolia* in the local Byzantine churches in and around the present-day village. In all, there are seven such churches: Ayios Ioannis Chrysostomos; Ayios Athanasios; Evangelistria; Ayios Sozon or Sostis; Ayio Theodori; Ayios Nikolaos; and a ruined anonymous church. The main church (Theotokou) metropolis was temporarily not accessible for study but is on the programme for next year, as are the buildings on the nearby medieval citadel, the Kastro.

The ancient Greek architectural remains or *spolia* can easily be detected in the walls, both by size and kind of stone. Fragments such as triglyphs were clearly used (Pl. V).

From the measurements of several fragments some observations can be made as to the building(s) from which they originate. Altogether, five triglyphs belonging to the same Doric building can be recognised. A Doric capital must also derive from the same building. The size of these building elements rather speaks for a temple. Although the provenance of these *spolia* cannot be established with certainty, there is evidence that they come from the temple of Apollo on the acropolis of Geronthrai, mentioned by Pausanias (III, 22, 7). No traces of temples have so far been identified.



Plate V. Geraki, Evangelistria, south side

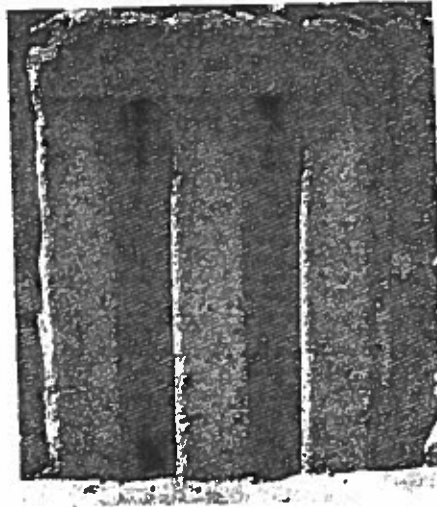


Plate VI. Geraki, Evangelistria, south side, triglyph

the three bands and the separating glyphs have the same width of 7.5 cm, whereas the halves on either side are exactly half of it: 3.75 cm. The total width was thus divided into seven parts: 5 equal parts of 7.5 cm, and 3.75 cm at either end. This width of 7.5 represents $\frac{1}{4}$ foot or 1 palm (*palamè*).

A foot of 30.0 cm

A foot unit of 30.0 cm can be established on the basis of the triglyph width of 45 cm or $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The precision with which this width is executed further confirms this unit.

Triglyph of greyish marble

Measurements:

L. (max.) 0.68 m

W. 0.45 m

D. ?

Taenia H. 0.09 m

In width the triglyph (Pl. VI) is divided into two cuttings (*glyphs*) and two half glyphs on either outer side; in between are three vertical bands (*interglyphs*). The

The interaxial (Fig. 15)

With the dimensions of the triglyphs the size of the metopes can be established according to the rules of Doric architecture; triglyphs and metopes are of the same height. The maximum triglyph height is 0.68 m or $2\frac{1}{4}$ ft, which therefore is also the metope height. The metopes being square, their dimensions are 0.68 m x 0.68 m, or $2\frac{1}{4}$ ft x $2\frac{1}{4}$ ft.

The width of a triglyph and metope together thus amount to:

$$0.45 \text{ m} + 0.68 \text{ m} = 1.13 \text{ m, or}$$

$$1\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft} + 2\frac{1}{4} \text{ ft} = 3\frac{3}{4} \text{ ft.}$$

As the normal axial spacing between two columns consists of two triglyphs and two metopes, the interaxial can be calculated as:

$$2 \times 1.13 \text{ m} = 2.26 \text{ m, or}$$

$$2 \times 3\frac{3}{4} \text{ ft} = 7\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft.}$$

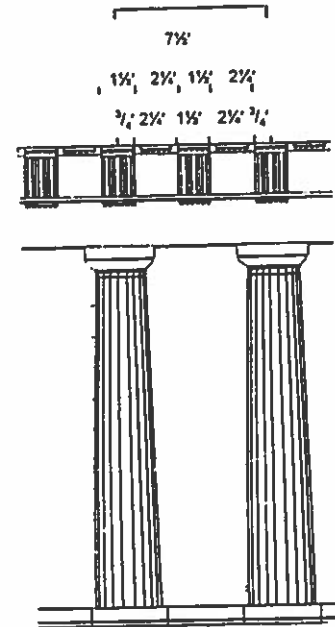


Figure 15. Geraki, temple of Apollo (?).

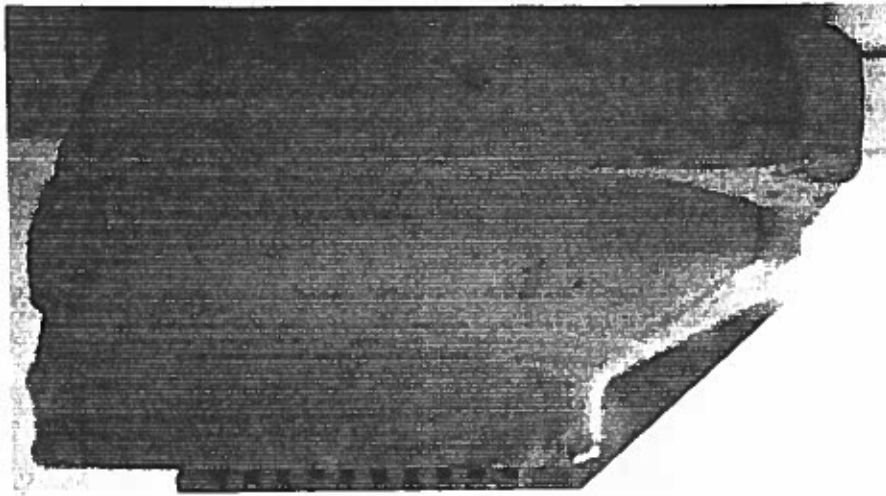


Plate VII. Geraki, Ayios Sostis, Doric capital

Doric capital (Pl. VII)

In their search of the temple of Apollo on the acropolis, Wace and Hasluck discovered two capitals, one (A) of limestone ('poros'), the other (B) of marble.²⁶ The marble capital had been turned up by the plough on the acropolis itself, while the limestone capital was found built in "the wall of a field on the east slope of the acropolis not far below the gate of the Pelasgian wall". The measurements of the marble capital given by the British archaeologists are:

abacus	L. 0.60 m (square, although this is not explicitly stated)
	H. 0.09 m
echinus	L. 0.12 m
	H. 0.08 m
column upper	D. 0.32 m ²⁷

A fragmentary Doric capital (Pl. VII) carved in greyish marble with blue stains is still extant in the church of Ayios Sozon (Ayios Sostis). Its measurements are:

abacus	L. 0.68 m (square, reconstructed, because partially preserved)
	H. 0.09 m
echinus	L. 0.12 m
	H. 0.08 m
anuli (necking)	H. 0.08 m
in the centre a hole (lathe hole?)	
column upper	D. 0.39 m

²⁶ Wace and Hasluck 1904-05, 95, 98f, with fig. 4 (marble capital).

²⁷ Wace and Hasluck 1904-1905, 99: "Below the necking is a bare unfluted shaft measuring 0.32 m in diameter and 1.07 m in circumference".

Although some measurements coincide, others differ: the abacus of our capital can be reconstructed as a square of 0.68 m, whereas Wace's and Hasluck's better preserved marble capital is reported to be 0.60 m. The upper column diameter (0.39 m) of our capital is 7 cm larger than Wace's and Hasluck's (0.32 m). The latter capital, however, is so similar to ours that there can hardly be any doubt that they belonged to the same building which, following the indications of the British archaeologists, lay on the acropolis.

Rule of thumb

In order to determine the foundations of a temple, the ancient architect had a rule of thumb: the dimensions of the foundations should be the number of columns multiplied by the interaxial.

Hence, in width a temple with six columns on the facade measured:

$$6 \text{ columns} \times 7\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft (interaxial)} = 45 \text{ ft}$$

The length of the temple was determined by the cella which was included in the columns. If the cella had a pronaos and opisthodomos, the temple could have had 10 to 13 columns along its length.

length of 10 columns	$10 \times 7\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft} = 75 \text{ ft}$
length of 11 columns	$11 \times 7\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft} = 82\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft}$
length of 12 columns	$12 \times 7\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft} = 90 \text{ ft}$
length of 13 columns	$13 \times 7\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft} = 97\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft}$

The dimensions of the foundations were:²⁸

width: 45 ft (or 13.50 m)

length: 75, 82½, 90, or 97½ ft, according to the number of columns in the length.²⁹

If we allow for a *krepis* of 5 ft, i.e. 4 steps of 1¼ ft each, the stylobate would have had the following dimensions:

width: (45 - 5 =) 40 ft

length: 70, 77½, 85, or 92½ ft from 75, 82½, 90, or 97½ respectively.

We cannot speculate on the size of the cella. Following the canonical Doric rules it may have had the following dimensions:

width: 3 interaxials $\times 7\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft} = 22\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft}$

length: 9 interaxials $\times 7\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft} = 67\frac{1}{2} \text{ ft}$

This would yield a ratio width : length of 1 : 3.

²⁸ It is not certain whether the architect took into consideration the contraction at the corners (probably ½ or ¾ ft) right from the foundations.

²⁹ Varying from 22.50 to 29.25 m.

As for the provenance of the architectural remains, the temple of Ares on the agora or that of Apollo on the acropolis of *Geronthrai*, both mentioned by Pausanias, come into consideration first. As we have seen, the two capitals published by Wace and Hasluck derive from the acropolis and its eastern slope respectively. This renders their provenance from the temple of Apollo probable. Since the capital in Ayios Sozon — if it is not the same piece as that found by the British archaeologists — provides the same basic measurements, we can surmise that this capital belonged to the same temple. The *spolia* in the Byzantine churches fit in with the dimensions of the capitals, giving us reason to believe that they were taken from the acropolis as well.

On the basis of the interaxials only a theoretical model of the temple can be suggested. Future excavations may produce further evidence for a reconstruction, by revealing the rock cuttings for the foundation beddings.

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THE SOUTHEAST GATE OF NEW HALOS

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SINCE 1976 a team of Dutch archaeologists has been investigating the town of New Halos in Thessalia (Greece) under the auspices of the Netherlands Institute at Athens (Reinders 1988). After a survey of the archaeological remains of the site, resulting in a map of the town, attention was paid to the investigation of houses in the built-up area of the lower town (Fig. 1). In the period 1978-1993 six houses in three different building blocks were excavated (Reinders 1994). A review of the results of these excavations is in preparation.

Apart from the houses, stretches of walls as well as towers and gates have also been investigated. Part of the Acropolis Gate and a small gate in the southern wall of the town were excavated in 1979 and 1982 respectively. The investigation of the town's main gates, the Northwest Gate and Southeast Gate, which was initiated in 1982, resulted in a preliminary plan of the two gates, based on data from a small number of trenches and the information that could be obtained from structural remains visible at the surface.

Since 1976, the year in which the investigation of New Halos was started, many structural remains, such as the foundations of houses in the built-up area, have been destroyed or removed by farmers. The town of New Halos was inhabited for a short period only and its archaeological remains hence consist of a very thin layer just below the surface. Modern farm implements have caused a great deal of damage and only a few archaeological remains have survived the reallocation of this area. Fortunately, however, fairly large parts of the town walls have survived, in spite of the fact that long stretches disappeared in lime kilns or were used for the construction of a palace by Veli Pasás in the 19th century.

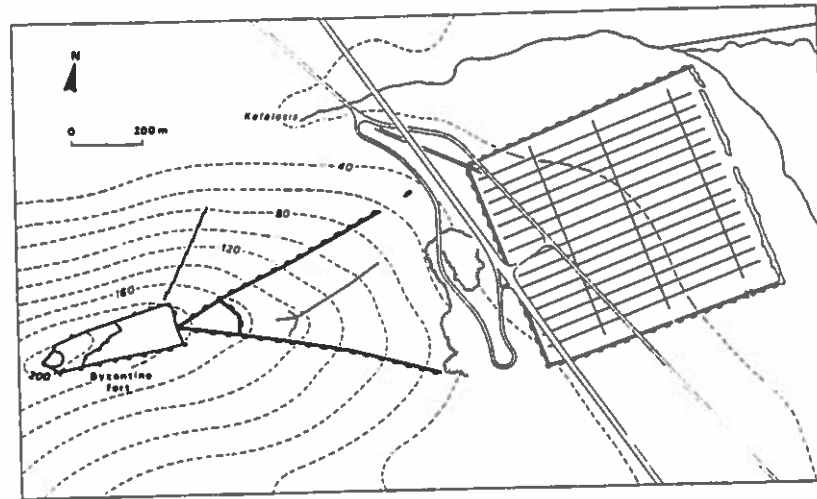


Figure 1. Schematic representation of the plan of New Halos, based on the results of the 1976-77 survey

Until recently, the remains of the Southeast Gate were covered by a mound. The site was well-known to the locals for the presence of 'The Tree', a huge *velanidhiá*, just south of the gate. From 1987 onwards the mound attracted the attention of illegal diggers; a stretch of the town wall near the gate was destroyed by a power shovel, which left a huge gap in the course of the wall, and several pits were dug by hand in the mound of the Southeast Gate, exposing the limestone blocks of the lower structure. One of these pits yielded evidence indicating that the site had been occupied after the gate had been abandoned.

In view of the continuing threat of illegal activities in the area and on the mound of the gate in particular, we discussed the excavation of the gate with the archaeologists of the Volos Museum. An agreement was reached allowing the commencement of excavation in the summer of 1995 in the understanding that the remains could be made accessible to the public after the excavation.

The first excavation campaign took place from May 29 until July 21, 1995. Fifteen archaeologists and students from the universities of Groningen, Amsterdam and Leiden participated in the excavation, which was directed by the first author. Ido Dijkstra and Sierd Jan Tuinstra supervised the fieldwork, while Vasso Rondiri participated as a representative of the Volos Ephory. A number of students and archaeologists visited the excavation and assisted for only short periods.

Weather conditions were fair for this time of year, hot days with a breeze after nine o'clock. The excavation proved hard work, partly owing to the fact that a great number of large limestone blocks had to be removed from the trenches. Unfortunately no skilled workmen were available during this season, since they always work in the fields during harvest time. This implied an extra heavy burden on the members of our team who worked in the trenches.

At the beginning of the excavation the investigation of the Southeast Gate focused on the following questions:

- did the gate have an upper structure consisting of limestone blocks or was the upper structure built from mudbricks on limestone foundations?
- what phases of construction and destruction of the gate can be distinguished, and in what periods can they be dated?
- does the plan of the gate represent an early stage of the courtyard type, comparable with the plan of the gate in the Pnyx-Mouseion saddle in Athens?
- is there any evidence for the earthquake that is presumed to have destroyed New Halos, for instance, in the form of skeletons showing signs of injury caused by heavy objects or dislodged parts of the upper structure?
- was the gate abandoned or re-used and inhabited after the presumed earthquake of 265/4 BC?
- is the gate, forming part of the 4.5-km-long enceinte reinforced with 120 towers, an example of Demetrios Poliorketes' 'Imponierarchitektur'?

Previous Research

The Southeast Gate had attracted the attention of a number of travellers who visited Halos in the 19th and 20th centuries. Sir William Gell (1827, 256) was the first to mention the site of the gate:

- A temple, or tower, and the finely constructed walls of an ancient city, running up an insulated hill l. Vestiges of many other buildings. Probably the city of Alos. Strabo says Halos was 40 stadia from the temple of Minerva Itonia, which probably lay on the l.
- Cross a wall.
- Corner tower of the city wall l. defended by a ditch. On the summit l. is the citadel. R. a few habitations.

Before the reallocation of the arable land within the enceinte, the old country road from Soúrpi to Almirós was still in use and so we know the exact route which Gell followed. Before he crossed the wall, the first conspicuous elements of the ancient site were "a temple, or tower, and the finely constructed walls of an ancient city." Obviously Gell had first observed the mound covering the Southeast Gate, which he interpreted as a temple or a tower. Then he crossed the southern wall of the town between towers 41 and 42 (Reinders 1988, map 1), approximately 100 m from the gate.

Gell went through the town via the country road. The investigation of the Northwest Gate showed that the country road and the asphalt road from Almirós to Soúrpi passed through the remains of the gate (Reinders 1988, 86). Gell observed no gate at this spot but he mentioned the "Corner tower of the city wall", which was in fact also the gate's western tower, before continuing his journey to Almirós. Until 1970, when the Thessaloníki-Athína national road was constructed, the old route through the town of New Halos

was still used to a varying extent. This route passed through the remains of the Northwest Gate and then cut across the town in the direction of the Southeast Gate. However, it did not follow the original street pattern, but crossed the wall at a short distance from the mound covering the Southeast Gate.

Other 19th century travellers did not specifically mention the Southeast Gate. As far as the question of the gate's upper structure is concerned — i.e. whether it was made from limestone blocks or mudbrick — a remark made by Leake (1835, 336) deserves attention: "The walls of this lower enclosure are nine feet and a half thick, are flanked with towers, and their masonry, wherever traceable, is of the most accurate and regular kind; two or three courses still exist in some places." Three courses were indeed found between towers 40 and 41, where the archaeologists of the Volos Museum cleaned a stretch of the wall in 1992. No fallen blocks or coping stones were found during this excavation. Were these the remains of foundations consisting of two or three courses of limestone blocks? No remains of mudbrick were recorded in this excavation.

A map published by Stählin in 1924 shows the old Soúrpi-Almirós country road, the enceinte of New Halos with the towers and gates (Fig. 2). With respect to the southeast corner of the town he mentions the Southeast Gate: "Dort ist auch eine grosse Toranlage mit 19 m langem Torweg erhalten; ausserdem sind noch einige schmale Pforten zu erkennen." On his map the gateway is shown as a passage between two straight walls, at right angles to the enceinte, behind two projecting towers.

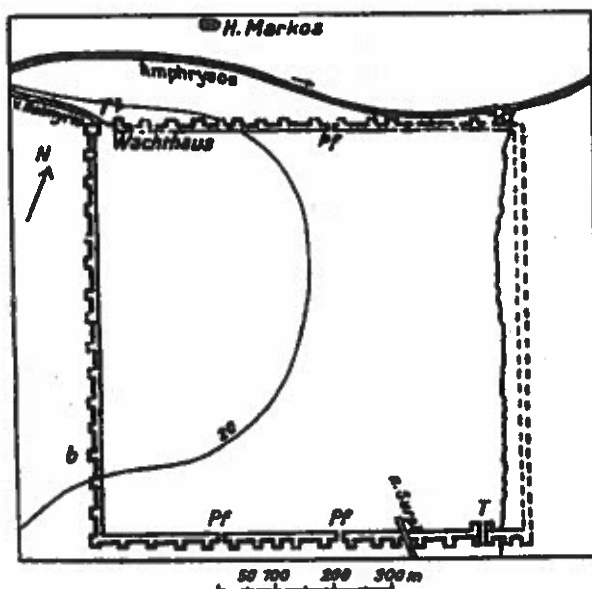


Figure 2. Plan of the lower town of New Halos according to Stählin (1924), showing the gates and the old Soúrpi-Almirós country road

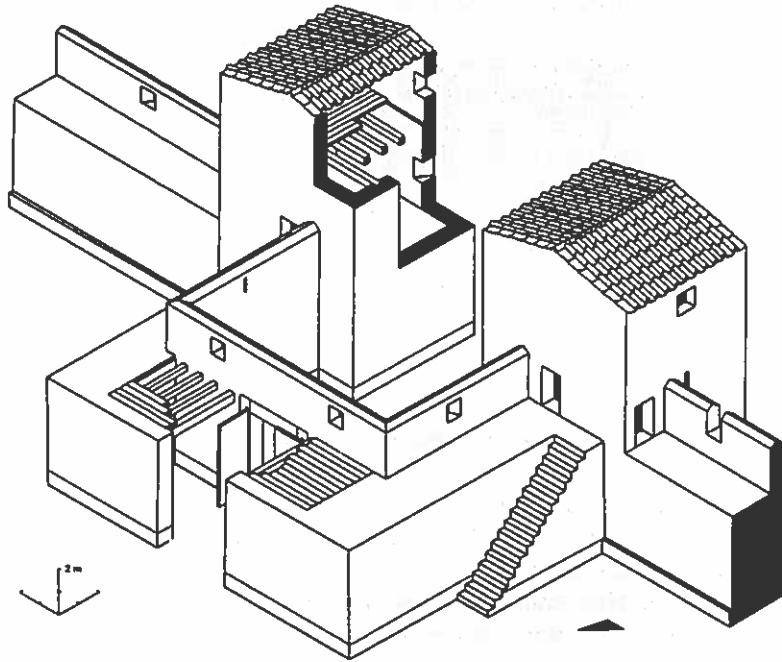


Figure 3. Isometric reconstruction of the Southeast Gate (Reinders 1989, fig. 49)

A straight passageway between two walls, although narrower than the distance between the projecting towers, can also be observed on the survey map drawn in 1977 (Reinders 1988, fig. 12). In 1982 attention was paid to the gateways of the lower town. Part of a minor gateway was excavated and the facing blocks of the Northwest and Southeast Gates were cleared of overgrowth and loose stones to facilitate the recording of the gates' structure (Fig. 3).

Observations made during the cleaning of the gate led to the following description of the Southeast Gate (Reinders 1988, 83): "On the outward side the entrance is flanked by two heavy towers, leaving an opening of 6.5 m. The entrance itself is 17.70 m long and consists of two walls running in the direction of the town. Two pairs of spur-walls narrow the gateway entrance to 3.40 m. From outside the town the gateway must have been an impressive sight; the total front length of towers and entrance came to 20.57 m." The plan of the Southeast Gate is comparable with that of the gateway in the Pnyx-Mouseion saddle in Athens, though the latter is wider and less deep and has only one pair of spur-walls (Thompson & Scranton 1943, fig. 29; Winter 1971, fig. 230). But as the Pnyx-Mouseion gateway was only partly excavated, it may well have had two pairs of spur-walls (Reinders 1988, 91).

The excavation of the houses within the enceinte revealed that the site was not inhabited after the presumed earthquake of 265/4 BC. During the cleaning of the surface of the Southeast Gate in 1982, we observed that the opening in the rear spur-walls was blocked with *poros* blocks. Moreover, one of the pits dug by the illegal diggers yielded a great

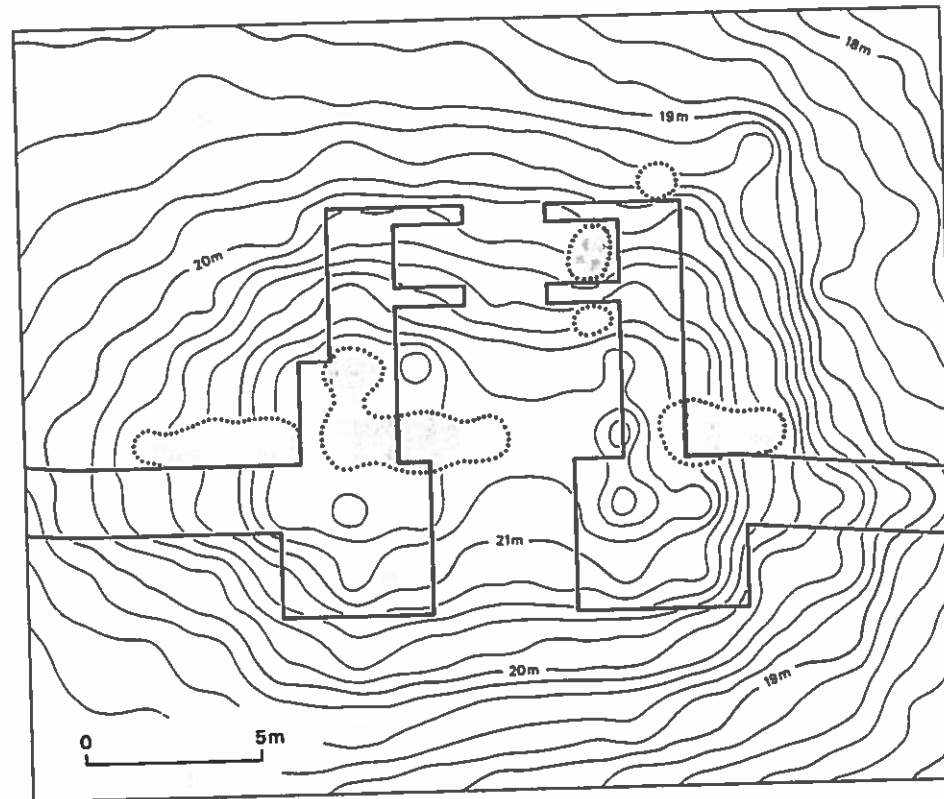


Figure 4. Contour lines of the mound covering the Southeast Gate; positions of the pits dug by the illegal excavators

number of artefacts from a level at least 2 m above the old land surface on which the gate had been built. At first glance, the pottery appeared to comprise fabrics and types that differed from those found in the excavations of the houses. This suggested that this area was inhabited after the gate had been destroyed.

The 1995 Excavation Campaign

The mound covering the gate's remains was originally covered with a dense vegetation of bushes, mainly prickly *Quercus coccifera*, kermes oak, and *Paliurus spina christi*, Christ's thorn. The bushes had been removed in 1992, but within three years the vegetation had recovered, creating an ideal habitat for lizards, snakes, tortoises, scorpions and other small creatures. Work started on May 30 with two days of sawing and chopping to remove all the bushes and other vegetation. This led to an exodus of the fauna. It was frustrating to see that *Paliurus spina christi* had grown to a height of about 50 cm again even before the end of the campaign on July 21.

The denuded mound offered a clear view of the illegal diggers' activities. At least seven pits had been dug in the mound, one to a depth of 3m at the centre of a tower, between the two faces of limestone blocks, resulting in a pile of pebbles and cobbles. In consultation with the archaeologists of the Volos Ephory it was decided to dig trenches in the areas where the pits had been dug and an additional trench in front of tower 38. The area of the gate was split up into sectors a-r. Before excavation work was started, a contour map was drawn, on which the towers of the gate and the illegal activities were clearly indicated (Fig. 4).

In the trenches in front of and behind the gate, the original Hellenistic surface was reached at depths of 17.90 m and 18.10 m above sea level respectively. Measurements of the depth of the Pleistocene surface, some 50 m west and east of the gate, and the data obtained during the excavation showed that the Pleistocene hardpan sloped considerably from west to east in this area (from 20.28 m to 16.48 m above sea level). This slope is clearly visible on the contour map. Two large trenches were dug east and west of the gate, along the back of the town wall. They were found to contain many large limestone blocks, which were removed from the trench. In both trenches the walls of the gate had been preserved to a high level. Unfortunately the limestone blocks of the wall in trench K were destroyed on a full-moon night, obviously by those who had dug a pit there before we started our campaign. In neither of the two trenches was the Pleistocene soil reached.

During the campaign all the loose stones and blocks scattered around the mound were collected. Later on, the mound and the surroundings of the gate were cleaned with the help of a bulldozer. At the request of the Greek Ministry of Culture, we placed a board in front of the gate with information on the gate and the excavation. In August 1995 the site was fenced to keep out undesired visitors.

Results

Measurements

The Southeast Gate had already been recorded in 1982 (Reinders 1988, 82). The gate consisted of two towers flanking an open passage. Behind these towers two sidewalls ran in the direction of the town. The end near the city was closed off with two pairs of spur-walls. The gate's doors must have been situated between the southernmost pair of spur-walls. In front of these doors was a large rectangular courtyard, which was open to the south. The space between the two pairs of spur-walls obviously contained guardrooms (Fig. 3). In the course of the 1995 excavation a large part of the gate was remeasured; the new measurements differed only slightly from the 1982 results. The front width of the gate was 20.60 m; there was a 6.30-m-wide opening between the towers. The gate was 17.20 m long and the gateway itself was 3.40 m wide.

A large part of the lower structure of this gate had been preserved in the mound covering the site. In several places the walls could be traced to a height of approximately 3.50 m or 21.60 m above sea level. Most of the walls and the towers consisted of an outer and an inner facing of limestone blocks with a rubble core in between. The city wall had the same structure. Only the spur-walls consisted of a single row of approximately 70

cm-wide blocks of limestone. No remains of mudbrick were found on top of any of the walls.

Foundations

The walls in trenches B and Q were excavated to the Pleistocene hardpan. That meant that we were able to investigate part of the wall foundations. The following description is based on observations made in trench Q. A foundation extending 0.7 m beyond the face of the wall was observed in the hardpan. This trench contained limestone foundation blocks whose top surface had been partly dressed. They protruded 20–45 cm beyond the face of the wall. The top surface of these blocks lay at 18.10 m above sea level. Their exact thickness could not be measured, but they were at least 30 cm thick and were probably more or less flat slabs. The actual wall had been built on top of the foundation slabs.

The foundation trench and the foundation slabs were covered with a layer of concrete-like pink substance of grit and chalk with a maximum thickness of 25 cm at the wall, extending 2.20 m from the wall, sloping downwards. It was covered with a 25 cm-thick layer of earth, on top of which we found a layer of roof tile fragments. This must have been the ground surface in Hellenistic times.

The same sort of foundation was observed in trench B in front of the eastern tower, except that the unearthened foundation slab did not extend as far beyond the wall here (10 cm). The reason for this may be that the heavy tower had a deeper, stepped foundation trench, of which we had unearthened only the topmost slab. In this area the foundation trench had moreover been disturbed by later digging activities: large pits had been dug here in order to place huge *pithoi* against the tower wall. The type of foundation described here is almost identical to that of the city wall 50 m east of the gate (Reinders 1988, 65).

Building materials

During the excavation large quantities of building materials were found, consisting of limestone blocks, mudbricks and roof tiles. Parts of broken limestone blocks were found in all the trenches. Intact limestone blocks were found in secondary contexts in trenches K, J and Q. The lengths of the limestone blocks, in primary and secondary contexts, varied from 0.44 to 2.30 m, their widths from 0.40 to 0.70 m and their heights from 0.30 to 0.80 m.

One block was found to contain a rectangular recess measuring approximately 9 x 9 x 9 cm, which was interpreted as a beam socket. The block was found out of context in the rubble at the northeast corner of the gate building in Area Q. Since it had the same dimensions as the building blocks of the rear wall it must almost certainly have belonged to the upper part of that wall. Apart from several heavy nails, this is the only evidence of the use of wood in the gate building found so far. Some of the outer faces of the limestone building blocks showed vertical grooves. They were observed on *in situ* blocks

of the building's outside walls but also on blocks of the interior partition walls and on some of the stray blocks found among the debris surrounding the building.

Mudbricks were found in rubble layers in trenches O1, O2 and B1. Only in O2 were mudbricks found *in situ*; there, six mudbricks came to light at the surprisingly high level of 19.89 m. They had formed part of a mudbrick wall that had been erected during the gate's later occupation phase. The mudbricks had been partly burned, which probably explains why they had survived. We left everything *in situ* here as our excavation campaign was reaching its end.

No complete mudbricks were found in the other trenches. The width and height of quite a few large pieces could be measured: 23 x 10 cm. The width of these pieces is comparable with that of the bricks in trench O2, suggesting that the bricks originally measured about 60 x 22 x 10 cm. As far as the mudbrick is concerned, we only have evidence that mudbrick was used, or perhaps re-used, for the construction of walls during the later non-military occupation phases. Whether mudbrick had been used for the upper structure of the original Hellenistic gate is not certain and cannot be proven until mudbrick is found *in situ* on top of the remains of the gate walls. The layer of mudbrick that was found overlying the storage vessels in front of the eastern tower does not clarify matters as those mudbricks may equally well have formed part of the walls of the later storage building.

Fragments of rooftiles were found in great quantities in all the trenches. A distinction can be made between slightly concave pan tiles and rounded cover tiles. The gate towers, and perhaps also the *parodos*, were obviously covered with a tiled roof.

A deviation in the course of the wall

During the excavations of trenches J and K it became clear that the front of the gate was not in line with the city's southern wall, but was oriented at an angle of about 6 degrees to this wall. This slight angle was visible on both sides of the gate. In trench K, to the east of the gate, it was observed at the point at which the east tower was joined to the city wall. West of the gate, in trench J, the first stretch of city wall was in line with the gate. An angle was clearly visible at a distance of 9.5 m from the west tower. At this point, the remains of a side wall extending at right angles to the city wall were unearthed. To the west of this side wall we continued digging in trench J down to the original Hellenistic surface. The side wall was found to extend beyond this depth; its foundations must have been laid in the hardpan, like those of the gate and the city wall itself. The side wall may have belonged to an annex built onto the gate.

The gate in relation to the street grid

When we take a look at the plan of the city (Reinders 1988, map 1), we note that the city's southern and northern walls do not run parallel to the city's street grid. A comparison of the orientations of the southern wall, the street grid and the Southeast Gate shows that the front of the gate does run parallel to the street grid, the gateway lying in

line with avenue D. This suggests that the gate complex, comprising the gate itself, parts of the city wall, and possibly the annex as well, was designed as an entity in relation to the street grid.

Other observations

In trench Q the northeast spur-wall was uncovered over almost its entire length. The top layer of limestone blocks showed cracks, running longitudinally across the blocks. These cracks may have been caused by tremors and tensions generated by the earthquake that is believed to have destroyed the city of Halos.

In trench K some building blocks of the side wall were found to be of *poros* instead of limestone; small stones had been used to compensate for differences in height. Being softer, lighter and easier to work than limestone, *poros* could be cut on the spot to the required size and then inserted into the wall. This raises the question whether these *poros* blocks were used to repair the side wall after the earthquake. There were indications suggesting that parts of the gate behind the towers had also contained *poros* blocks.

The remains found in area B outside the gate probably belonged to two different buildings. One of those buildings — that containing the two rows of *pithoi* — is believed to have been a storage building. Its position in front of the gate indicates that the gate by this time had lost its defensive function. It is difficult to date the building remains as no diagnostic pottery or coins were found amongst them. The remains of the second building, which were found outside the gate in the southernmost part of the trench, were insufficient to allow us to determine the building's date or function.

We cannot yet answer the question as to what type of gate stood here. The uncovered wall remains and the groundplan suggest that it was an early type of courtyard gate (Winter 1971, 225-228), but for a more precise answer we require more information on the position of the gate doors, which will have to be obtained in further excavation.

Chronological evidence

About 150 coins were found during the excavation of six houses in the lower town of New Halos providing evidence for the end of the period of occupation, ca. 265/4 BC (Reinders, in press). This date is based on the occurrence of coins struck by Kassandros (316-297 BC), Demetrios Poliorketes (306-283 BC), Pyrrhos and Ptolemaios II. In particular, the letter between the eagle's legs on the reverse of the coins of Ptolemaios II, indicating the regnal year or a serial number (Morkholm 1991, 101), the relatively small number of two coins struck by Antigonos Gonatas (276-239 BC) and the absence of bronze coins struck by Ptolemaios II after 261/60 BC together yield a date of around 265 BC for the end of the occupation. The inhabitants abandoned the town, presumably after an earthquake, and the houses were not rebuilt (Haagsma & Reinders 1991, 24).

During the excavation of the Southeast Gate, layers of occupation remains were found in trench O in the guardroom between the two spur-walls, among which were loom-weights, pottery, nails and coins. The period of occupation of this area could be dated

on the basis of the coins. They included five bronze coins struck by Ptolemaios II, one of them bearing the letter Λ. The other coins were too worn to allow determination of the letters between the eagle's legs. Five coins of Antigonos Gonatas were found in the same layer. Together, these coins indicated that someone had lived in this area shortly after the town and gate had been destroyed and abandoned in 265 BC. This period of habitation did not last very long; the burned artefacts showed that it had ended in a fire. Traces of occupation were also found around the gate, but they are more difficult to date.

Coin hoard

Coins, similarly, provided evidence for the construction date of the enceinte and the gate. Trench J was found to contain a small hoard of coins just north of the facing blocks on the inside of the town wall, at the edge of one of the pits dug by the illegal excavators. The coins were found in secondary position, lying at a short distance from one another at a depth of approximately 20.60 m above sea level, about 30 cm beneath the surface. They lay at a point where the facing blocks were somewhat out of alignment and a large block had fallen down. Soil from the fill of the wall between the two rows of facing blocks must have spilled out behind the wall. If this interpretation is correct, then the coins would have been lost or hidden at some point during the construction of the wall, but exactly where we do not know.

In total, 15 coins were found (Appendix I), but we do not know how many coins the hoard originally comprised. Surprisingly few coins of Hellenistic kings were found: only two coins of Alexandros III. These coins were slightly worn, indicating that they had been in circulation for some time. In the case of other Thessalian coin hoards, more than 50% of the coins are usually coins of Hellenistic kings; they generally contain only a few coins struck by Thessalian or other cities (Oeconomidou 1994, 336).

In this coin hoard, however, coins struck by cities prevailed. One of the coins, showing an Boeiotian shield and amphora, had been struck in Boeotia. Such coins of a federal mint are generally dated to the period 338-315 BC. There were many coins from the cities of Euboea: six coins of Histiaia, one coin from Chalkis and two from Karystos, the southernmost town of Euboea. The coins from Chalkis and one from Karystos were rather worn. The coins from Histiaia, however, were in excellent condition; three of them showed no traces of wear whatsoever. Coins showing the nymph Histiaia seated on the stern of a galley are known from two series, struck before 338 BC and in the 3rd century BC respectively (SNG Copenhagen, Histiaia 516; *Num. Notes & Mon.* 2, 1921, p.8). These coins will be studied in detail to determine from which of the two periods they originate. The coin from Chalkis, which showed traces of wear, was of a common type showing a flying eagle holding a serpent on the reverse. Rather surprising are the two didrachms of Karystos, showing a cock on the reverse (cf. SNG Cop, Karystos 415). The legends read KA PYΣ and [K]APYΣTIΩ[N] respectively (Fig. 5). These coins are generally dated to 411-336 BC.



Figure 5. Didrachm of Karystos, no. 4, reverse

Another two coins came from nearby Tenos, one of the Cycladic islands. A tetradrachm shows a laureate Zeus Ammon on the obverse, and an enthroned Poseidon holding a sceptre and a dolphin on the reverse (Morkhølm 1991, 90). The other coin from Tenos also shows a laureate Zeus Ammon on the obverse, and a bunch of grapes and the legend THN on the reverse. Comparable coins in bronze are known (SNG Cop, Tenos 775-7). The last coin of the hoard was struck by the city of Ephesos: it showed a bee and EΦ on the obverse, and the front part of a stag, standing with its head reverted in front of a palm-tree, and the name of the magistrate OPXAMENO on the reverse. According to Morkhølm (1991, 93), a very large number of magistrates signed this coinage; this series has been generally dated from ca. 387 to 301. The specimen in the hoard was rather worn.

For the time being we assume that this hoard was hidden or lost during the construction of the enceinte of New Halos. The coins will have to be studied in detail to determine the precise date of their deposition. It is tempting to assume that these coins from Ephesos, Tenos, Karystos, Chalkis, Histiaia reflect the approximate route that was followed by the individual who buried or lost these coins some time during the construction of the wall near the Southeast Gate. There is a difference of opinion as to who founded New Halos: Demetrios Poliorketes (Reinders 1988), or Kassandros as suggested by Marzloff (pers. comm.). In any case, the hoard included no coins from the cities of Thessaly. There where coin hoards do contain coins from Thessalian cities they are usually coins from the city of Larisa. There is no evidence to suggest that the coins or their owner came from the north, considering the small number of Alexandrian coins. The hoard may well support the hypothesis that the city was founded by Demetrios Poliorketes, because we know that he sailed from Rhodos along the Cyclades to Chalkis in 304 BC and on to Larisa Kremaste and the Krokion Plain in 302 BC (Fig. 6).

Occupation of the gate in later periods

The gate was certainly re-used for a short period after it had been damaged by an earthquake, but not for defensive purposes — probably because there was no longer a city to defend. Instead, the former gate complex was re-used for occupation; the surviving walls probably served as convenient supports for the construction of new walls. One of the new buildings that were built here may have been a storage building.

In trench O several layers of building remains were observed, indicating that the area of the guardroom between the two spur-walls had been re-occupied. The Pleistocene soil was not reached in this area. By the end of our excavation campaign we had dug through a 1.70 m-thick layer of occupation remains, but we had not yet reached the Pleistocene soil. At least three separate building phases were distinguished. In chronological order they are:

1. the original solid limestone walls of the gate (the corresponding floor level was not reached in this campaign);
2. a floor level between 18.70 and 18.85 m above sea level, on top of which limestone rubble walls had been built, which closed off the gate;
3. a floor level between 19.25 and 19.40 m above sea level with *poros* walls built on top of the previous level.



Figure 6. Route from Rhodes to Larisa Kremaste followed by Demetrios Poliorketes in 304 and 302 BC

No separate occupation levels were distinguished above these remains, but several inhabitants of the nearby village of Platanos informed us that a shack stood on top of the mound covering the gate until about 50 years ago. No traces whatsoever were found of this recent occupation phase.

The occupation layers yielded many finds. They consisted of all kinds of household objects, indicating that the gate must have lost its military function quite soon after the city had been destroyed. All layers contained pottery which was of a somewhat darker fabric than that found in the excavated houses inside the city. The sherds represented more or less the same types, but the somewhat more 'evolved' types appeared to be most frequently represented in the area of the gate. This suggested that the gate had been occupied at a slightly later date than the city itself. The difference was probably not more than a few decades (C. Kruyshaar, pers. comm.). The various layers were all found to contain coins, too. They indicate that this area was inhabited during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas.

More indications of re-occupation were found in trench B, in front of the east tower, where the remains of two walls came to light at distances of 5.4 and 6.4 m from the face of the tower. The wall closest to the tower was made of *poros* blocks, the other of

limestone rubble. The two walls did not run parallel to one another. Huge *pithoi* or storage vessels were found between the tower and the *poros* wall. They had probably been placed in two rows, one against each wall, at a distance of 2 m from one another. The *pithoi* were covered with a layer of roof tile fragments and mudbrick remains, on top of which several strata of debris separated by vegetation layers were observed.

A different stratigraphy was observed in the westernmost part of the trench south of the rubble wall. The most important feature observed in this area was a compact layer of roof tiles and pottery covered with a 25 cm-thick ash layer.

Remains from a later occupation phase were also found west of the gate building, in Area J. Two walls of limestone rubble extended at right angles from the city wall at 5.2 and 8.1 m from the west tower. The westernmost of these small walls extended from the aforementioned side wall at the bend in the city wall. These remains hence represented two building phases:

1. the original Hellenistic city wall + side wall
2. a smaller room or building with walls of limestone rubble that was built inside the original walls.

The rubble walls seemed to represent the remains of a rectangular room, abutting the city wall; only the width of this room could be determined (approximately 3 m). The most remarkable feature found in this room were the remains of a layer of white mortar or plaster with which the walls had been covered. They suggested that the room dated from the Roman period (V. Andrimi, Volos, pers. comm.). As no diagnostic finds were recovered and we did not uncover the room's floor, we do not yet know what its function was.

Conclusions

On the whole, the results of the excavation of the Southeast Gate of New Halos in 1995 confirmed the layout of the gate determined in 1982. Valuable information was obtained on the structure of the gate's walls. It was found that the gate's foundation slabs had been laid in a trench dug into the hardpan. The gate's lower structure consisted of two faces of large limestone blocks with a fill of rubble and earth; its height was at least 3 - 3.5 m. For the time being we assume that the gate's upper structure was built from mudbrick, although no mudbricks were found *in situ* on top of the limestone blocks. Layers of mud washed away from some mudbrick structure and fragments of mudbricks were, however, found around the gate. Moreover, the number of fallen limestone blocks found around the gate was far too small to assume that the entire gate was built of limestone blocks up to a height of 12 - 14 m.

Remains indicating that the area of the gate had been re-occupied after the gate had been destroyed were found between and outside the gate's walls, for instance in one of the guardrooms between the two spur-walls and in front of the eastern tower. Pottery, loom-weights and *pithoi* indicated that the area had been used for domestic and storage purposes. The coins that were found in several trenches showed that the area had been re-occupied only shortly after the gate had been destroyed. The following phases can be distinguished:

1. Hellenistic gate complex (ca. 300-265 BC)
2. earthquake (Trench Q; ca. 265 BC)
3. reparation (Trench K; 265- ? BC)
4. re-occupation, loss of defensive function (Trench B, Trench O, Trench J) (several decades following 265 BC; Roman period?)
5. abandonment, ruin and partial demolition of the entire complex (Roman period - the present)

A small hoard, consisting of 15 silver coins, was found amongst the debris just behind the city wall, a few metres to the west of the gate's western tower. The hoard's position suggested that the coins had been lost or deposited some time during the wall's construction. A conspicuous feature of this hoard is that the number of coins struck by cities is much greater than in other coin hoards known from Thessaly, in which coins of Hellenistic kings prevail. The composition of the hoard suggests that it was buried or lost in the late 4th century BC.

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Appendix I. Coin hoard Halos 1995; list of coins**ALEXANDROS III**

ALEXANDROS III. *Obv.* Heracles in lion's skin. *Rev.* Zeus enthroned, holding eagle and sceptre; ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Drachm.

- 1 Find No.317. Weight 4.10 gr. Die Position 12. *Rev.* on left, monogram 15.
- 2 Find No.362. Weight 4.23 gr. Die Position 11. *Rev.* below, monogram A.

BOEOTIA

FEDERAL MINT. *Obv.* Boeotian shield. *Rev.* Kantharos. Hemidrachm

- 3 Find No.362. Weight 2.53 gr. Die position 11.

EUBOIA

KARYSTOS. *Obv.* Cow suckling calf. *Rev.* Cock. Didrachm.

- 4 Find No.324. Weight 7.68 gr. Die position 12. *Rev.* KA PYΣ. SNG Cop 415 (ca. 411-336 BC).
- 5 Find No.357. Weight 7.75 gr. Die position 7. *Rev.* [K]APYΣTIΩ[N]. SNG Cop 416 (KA PYΣTIΩN).

CHALKIS. *Obv.* Female head. *Rev.* Flying eagle, holding serpent. Drachm.

- 6 Find No.357. Weight 5.30 gr. Die position 11. *Rev.* XAA; left torch.

HISTIAIA. *Obv.* Head of Maenad wearing vine-wreath. *Rev.* Nymph Histiaia seated on stern of vessel. Tetrobol.

- 7 Find No.324. Weight 2.40 gr. Die position 9. *Rev.* ΙΣΤΙ (left above), ΕΩΝ (below); monogram 3 (below); trident (below stern).
- 8 Find No.324. Weight 2.43 gr. Die position 2. *Rev.* ΙΣΤΙΑ[Ι] (left above); ΕΩΝ (below); monogram 3 (below); trident (below stern).
- 9 Find No.325. Weight 2.45 gr. Die position 2. *Rev.* ΙΣΤΙΑΙ (left above) ΕΩΝ (right below); monogram 3.
- 10 Find No.325. Weight 2.43 gr. Die position 11. *Rev.* ΙΣΤΙ (right below) ΑΙΕΩΝ (left above); monogram A (? , below).
- 11 Find No.357. Weight 2.31 gr. Die position 5. *Rev.* ΙΣΤΙ (right below) ΑΙΕΩΝ (left above, retrograde).
- 12 Find No.362. Weight 2.45 gr. Die position 3. *Rev.* ΙΣΤ[Ι] (right below) [Α]ΙΕΩΝ (left above); double axe (below).

Appendix I. Coin hoard Halos 1995; list of coins (continued)**AEGEAN ISLANDS**

TENOS. *Obv* Laureate Zeus Ammon. *Rev* Poseidon enthroned, holding dolphin and sceptre. Tetradrachm.

- 13 Find No.325. Weight 12.35 gr. Die position 12-1. *Rev* THNION; dolphin and bunch of grapes (left). Morkhølm 1991, 90.

TENOS. *Obv*. Zeus Ammon laureate. *Rev* Bunch of grapes.

- 14 Find No.362. Weight 3.17 gr. Die position 12. *Rev*. THN; trident (left).

ASIA MINOR

EPHESOS. *Obv* Bee; EΦ. *Rev* Forepart of a stag, head reverted, placed before a palm-tree. Tetradrachm.

- 15 Find No.323. Weight 14.80 gr. Die position 12. *Rev*. OPXAMENO. Morkhølm 1991, 93.