

Looking at the Past of Greece through the Eyes of Greeks

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Introduction

The history of archaeology in Greece as it has been conducted by the Greeks themselves is too major an undertaking to be presented thoroughly within the limits of the current paper.¹ Nonetheless, an effort has been made to outline the course of archaeology in Greece from the 19th century to the present day with particular attention to the native Greek contribution. The presentation of the historical facts and personalities that played a leading and vital role in the formation of the archaeological affairs in Greece is realized in three sections: archaeology in Greece during the 19th, the 20th, and the 21st centuries. Crucial historical events, remarkable people, such as politicians and scholars, institutions and societies, are introduced in chronological order, with the hope that the reader will acquire a coherent idea of the evolution of archaeology in Greece from the time of its genesis in the 19th century to the present. References to these few people and events do not suggest by any means that there were not others. The personal decisions and scientific work of native Greek archaeologists past and present has contributed significantly to the same goal: the development of archaeology in Greece. Nonetheless, due the limited nature of this paper, these individuals, events, and projects could not all be mentioned, but they are certainly acknowledged by the author as important examples to be referred to and emulated by new archaeologists.

Following the three main sections listed above is a sizeable Appendix of ‘events, resources, dates, and people’ compiled as a result of researching written histories and scholarly journals. It is intended to provide a documented overview of how archaeology is organized in Greece at the level of the government, cultural societies, and the university. The careers of two

¹ It should be noted that for the purposes of this thesis “Greece” is defined geographically by the historical events that followed the Greek War of Independence in 1821, according to which Greece’s borders reached Mainland Greece in the north, and Peloponnese, and a few islands in the south. Over time the Greek territory was expanded and places like Epiros, Macedonia, Crete, Aegean, and Ionian islands were gradually annexed to the map of Greece.

highly prolific professors, Eleni Mantzourani and Olga Palagia, are also presented there in detail. Together they give a vivid impression of the impact that current academicians in the Greek university system have on their respective fields of Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology, as well as the approaches and methods they are employing. The writings and research of such scholars, as well as their field work, sets them on a par with the famous Greek archaeologists of the past centuries whose contributions are detailed in the following pages.

In this paper there are several questions and themes that should be kept in mind. To begin with, how has Greek archaeology as practiced by Greeks and how have their practices changed over time? What are the specific circumstances - cultural, political, social, and economic - that have fed these changes? How is the archaeology of Greece fairing with regard to the Global revolution and outlook that seems to be dominating the media and the academic environment at present? And, finally, what ethical responsibility do Greek archaeologists have to their own cultural heritage, and how can they ensure the long term protection of the sites, monuments, objects, and museums, especially in light of the current economic crisis which plaques the country? Although none of these questions can or will be answered in detail, collectively they provide a framework for current thought and future studies.

Section I: Archaeology in Greece in the 19th Century

The first signs of national archaeological research in Greece emerged in the second half of the 19th century, when most of Europe was permeated by a true passion for Classical antiquity and its remains, literary and artistic. Greek and foreign antiquarians, amateur archaeologists and travelers were gradually replaced by qualified Greek archaeologists and land surveyors. The latter were motivated to explore, record, and better understand the material culture of their countries as well as the whole of Greece and Italy, the focus of their recent fascination. Soon archaeology emerged and developed as an independent field of science. It featured the history and the civilization of all European people, enhancing at the same time the latter's awareness of their direct 'descent' from the classical antiquity of the ancient Greeks.² Within the same spirit the Greeks of the time realized that the preservation of their cultural and historical identity was of critical importance for the future of Hellenism following the formation of the first independent Greek state in the 1830's.³ It should be noted though that the Greek people had been living for more than four centuries as Ottoman subjects. This long occupation left indelible signs on the formation of their cultural character. Nonetheless, they managed via heroic and endless efforts to keep the spirit of their ancestry alive and unadulterated, passing it through many generations.

Before the institutionalization of the Greek state it had become apparent that the Greeks who were speaking the same language and living in the same geographical locus with that of their ancestors, remote or more recent, were not completely aware of their immediate kinship with and continuation of their Hellenic cultural past. It was then deemed that the discovery and rescue of the antiquities of Greece, movable and immovable, by Greek archaeologists and other erudite entrepreneurs of the country was of vital importance. Only the citizens of the future

² Recent skepticism for such a perspective is found in Damaskos and Plantzos, 2008. See also Hamilakis, 2007.

³ About the history of Greece during the War of Independence see Brewer, 2003.

Greek state would be able to obtain and maintain strong bonds with their ancestral past, which would undoubtedly also enhance the understanding of their present identity. The unearthing and preservation of the ancient remains were great accomplishments of the Greek scholarly societies, whose prime concern was the termination (or at least the lessening) of the disappearance of the remaining antiquities. The plundering of the archaeological sites perpetrated unfortunately by the still uneducated and poor Greeks themselves as well as by foreign antiquaries and illegal dealers of antiquities had to come to an end.⁴ Due to the lack of interest on behalf of the police to constrain the illegitimate trading of the antiquities and the ignorance of their real value, ancient monuments were unobstructively destroyed or sold abroad. In the effort to preserve as much as possible of the country's remaining monuments, scholars, politicians, and learned qualified societies, institutes and organizations realized the imminent cultural threat and united systematically their efforts against these destructive tactics.⁵ Resisting the Ottoman authority in an organized fashion and being supported by the existing but still atypical government, these scholarly groups were responsible for the issue of decrees or laws. These laws unequivocally protected all the ancient monuments of the country, considering them property of the Greek State.

In 1828, the first governor of autonomous Greece, Ioannis Kapodistrias, a few months after his arrival in Greece, issued an edict, with which he unequivocally prohibited the export of antiquities from the country.⁶ Soon after however, he realized that his aim would not be efficiently achieved through prohibitions. Rather positive actions and encouragement of his citizens to assume personal efforts to collect and gather the scattered antiquities in an appropriate space would provide safety for the antique treasures. To this end, he suggested the foundation of

⁴ On the illicit trade of antiquities and its ethical aspects see Cook, 2000, 68-69; Brodie and Tubb, 2003.

⁵ Petrakos, 1982, 13.

⁶ Circular No. 953 as cited by Petrakos, 1982, 113-117

the country's first archaeological museum on the island of Aegina, The National Museum of Aegina, which opened on October 21, 1829.⁷ As director of the museum, the governor appointed a Kerkyraian native, Andreas Moustoxydis (1758-1860), whom he also employed later as the Ephor General of Antiquities and the only employee of the rudimentary Archaeological Service for almost two years.⁸ Supported by the developing but yet official government as well as by a few minimal private initiatives, the Service issued a circular letter via which it urged all Greeks to consign to the National Museum every antiquity they possessed. Thus, the collection of the Museum would be gradually enriched and most importantly the ancient artifacts would remain within Greek territory.⁹ Even though substantial gains had been achieved in this respect, the Service did not succeed in protecting the antiquities enough from a legal perspective, since its efforts were suspended after the murderous death of the ambitious governor I. Kapodistrias, on September 27 1831. Due to this regrettable loss and its immensely negative impact on the political affairs of the Greek state, Moustoxydis was forced to resign from his position and to return to Corfu a few months later. A little over a year later, the Bavarian architect Adolf Weissenburg assumed the position that Moustoxydis deservedly possessed as Conservator of the Antiquities, while Kyriakos Pittakis and Joannis Kokkonis became his associates in Mainland Greece and Peloponnese respectively.¹⁰ Their task was hindered by the shortage of archaeologically educated personnel and the lack of financial means necessary for the undertaking of excavations. Moreover, the absence of an adequate number of museums or repositories, where the unearthed finds could have been stored and conserved was another impeding factor.

⁷ Petrakos, 1982, 18.

⁸ Γενική Εφημερίς της Ελλάδος, έτος Δ, αρ. 77, 17 Νοεμβρίου 1829 as cited by Petrakos, 1982, 18.

⁹ Γενική Εφημερίς της Ελλάδος, έτος Ε, αρ. 50, 28 1830, as cited by Petrakos, 1982, 115.

¹⁰ Petrakos, 1987, 17-18.

With the choice of the Bavarian Otto of Wittelsbach as King of Greece, a new era for the archaeological legislation and the protection of the antiquities began. The first methodical and well-structured jurisprudential text concerning the ancient cultural heritage of Greece was the law 10/22 May 1834, deed of G. Maurer. This law, very modern for its time and based on the well-established legislation of Italy for the monuments of Rome, constituted the starting point for the formation of the Archaeological Service.¹¹ The nucleus of the Archaeological Service was created with the nomination of the Ephor General, the Supervisor of the Scientific and Technological Collections and all the Ephors, responsible for each archaeological collection.¹² The Ephor General was entrusted with the administration and the overseeing of the antiquities of the entire country; without his consent no site or monument could be altered from its existing condition.¹³ The same person, namely the Ephor General, was also the president of the Central Committee for the Antiquities, an organization comprised of two members of the Academy of Fine Arts, two university professors, and two other scholars who resided in Athens. Its competences can be compared to those of the current Archaeological Council, which was initially formed in 1910, succeeding the Archaeological Committee.¹⁴ The Committee, however, did not flourish for long. Two years later it was restructured and functioned under its new regulations and identity until October 1838.¹⁵

At the end of the 1830's Athens was a small village that aspired to be called a town. Its fast expansion and financial growth were not beneficial for its ancient monuments, which suffered from the construction of new streets and buildings. The ancient ruins, unsheltered and scattered

¹¹ Ζέπος, 1966, 199. See also Lekakis 2012.

¹² Petrakos, 1982, 20.

¹³ Article 48, 10/22 May 1834 as cited by Petrakos, 1982, 40.

¹⁴ The course and character of the Archaeological Council will be presented below.

¹⁵ Κόκκου 1977, 84. The evolution of the Committee and the changes of its character will be discussed below more thoroughly.

around as they were, were illegitimately used as building materials for the dwellings of the city's new residents. Pittakis was responsible for Mainland Greece, the northernmost part of the independent country, and used all his energy to rescue at the very least the movable antiquities that were being increasingly revealed. In addition to the Archaeological Service, under whose jurisdiction the archaeological affairs of the entire country were placed, another institute was considered imperative primarily for the monuments of Athens. Athens had become the capital of freed Greece just two years earlier and begun attracting the interest not only of the Greeks but also of the learned Europeans who were interested in high intellect and culture. On December 1836 the well-educated baron, Konstantinos Bellios, a Greek entrepreneur and trader from Vienna, visited the Athenian Acropolis and the other known theretofore monuments of the city, escorted by Pittakis. The rich Greek, well-rounded and classically educated, experienced firsthand the tragic condition of the ancient monuments of the capital. He realized how crucial the formation of an organization was that would procure systematically the protection of the ancient monuments of the capital as well as of those of the rest of Greece. Also influenced by Pittakis, Bellios soon decided to organize a *Society for the Excavation and the Exposure of the Antiquities*.¹⁶ His concept was soon approved and succored by the minister of Education and head of its department, Iakovakis Rizos Neroulos and Alexandros Rizos Ragavis.¹⁷ Soon thereafter, a new organization, the Archaeological Society, was established on January 6, 1837, having as principal purpose to complement the governmental efforts, which were pursued only by the Archaeological Service thus far.¹⁸ Established through private initiatives for “the preservation, the discovery and the collection of the country's archaeological treasures,” as its

¹⁶ Petrakos, 1987, 20.

¹⁷ Petrakos, 1987, 253-256. See also http://www.fhw.gr/chronos/12/en/1833_1897/civilization/people/02.html. Neroulos was a Phanarioti (i.e. from Phanari, namely Constantinople).

¹⁸ Petrakos, 1987, 20.

memorandum of association clearly states, it almost immediately attained its intended purpose, even though its financial means were definitely meager.¹⁹ It consisted of a group of 66 people of letters, sciences, fine arts, the church, and politicians.²⁰ Their joint endeavors and ambitions helped to preserve and promote the intellectual legacy of their country, abundant in material and textual artifacts, variable in size. This intellectual bourgeoisie became the leaven of every future endeavor towards this aspiration, navigating and inspiring by their example the many generations of archaeologists and classicists who succeeded them.

The foremost concerns of the Society, immediately after its establishment, were the increase in excavations and the restoration of the collapsed ancient monuments. As a result the discipline of archaeology would benefit and be widely recognized by learned Greeks and entrepreneurs. Anybody who aspired to contribute to the elevated purposes of this Society via financial support, which consisted of a minimum of 15 drachmas annually, a not inconsiderable amount, could become a member of it.²¹ The Society accepted monetary donations as well as archaeological books in order to enrich its library. It aimed at incorporating eminent foreign scholars into its body of members, so that it would acquire a desirable intellectual status internationally. The president, the secretary, the treasurer and four of its members composed the Ephoria of the Society, responsible for its smooth administration.²² The Ephoria had to cooperate with and be guided by the curator of the Central Museum, who was also the head of the Archaeological Service, in taking vital decisions for the course and the future progress of the Society. Thus, the curator of the Central Museum had to approve every archaeological action

¹⁹ Petrakos, 1987, 17.

²⁰ Petrakos, 1987, 244.

²¹ Article 4 of the legislation of the first organization of 1837 as cited by Petrakos, 1987, 214.

²² Article 5 as cited by Petrakos, 1987, 215.

undertaken by the Society, namely excavations and monument restorations.²³ All the antiquities that were unearthed by its scientific personnel and via its expenses were automatically considered state property and were officially recorded in the state lists.²⁴ Because the scientific aspirations of the young Society were not grand, at least at the beginning, the task for the publication of the finds from its excavations was assigned to the short-lived governmental Central Committee for the Antiquities, which in 1837 issued the *Ephemeris Archaeologike*.²⁵ This first governmental archaeological publication was redacted and issued almost exclusively by the Ephor General, Kyriakos Pittakis (**Fig. 1**) until its discontinuance in 1860.²⁶ Due to its inclusion of accounts and studies of the excavations, it is considered to be a valuable source of information of the condition and appearance of many monuments, as they appeared at that time. Most significantly the first Greek archaeological journal is nowadays cherished as a particularly illuminating source for the history of Greek archaeology, as it accounts in substantial detail the latter's first stages. In 1861 the task for the issuance of the *Ephemeris Archaeologike* was assumed by the Archaeological Society of Athens, which renamed it *Archaeologike Ephemeris (AE)*.²⁷ The Archaeological Society has maintained the steady report of its own research activities since then with some intervals between 1861 and 1883.²⁸ In 1883 it was reissued and from that time onward one volume every year has been printed. As expected, some volumes, in particular those from the war years or from times of internal crisis, were composed of the accounts of more than one year, since the archaeological activity during those periods was inevitably limited.

²³ Article 6 as cited by Petrakos, 1987, 215.

²⁴ Article 9 as cited by Petrakos, 1987, 215.

²⁵ Petrakos, 1987, 191 and 250.

²⁶ Petrakos, 1987, 45 and 193.

²⁷ The epithet preceded the noun, thus emphasizing the scholarly focus of the publication. See also Stylianopoulos, 2012, 717-718, 720.

²⁸ <http://www.geocities.com/antequem/Publications.html>. See also Catling, 1983, 4.

With its meager funds the Archaeological Society began its mission in the second half of 1838 with an ambitious project, the excavation of the Theater of Dionysos, on the south slope of the Acropolis in Athens.²⁹ The Thrasyvoullos choragic monument, in the proximity of the Theater, attracted also the excavators' interest, who had decided to restore it soon after the commencement of the expensive project of the Theater of Dionysos. Moreover in the same year it was reckoned necessary to excavate the well-preserved Tower of the Winds and its surroundings, clearing it from any recent backfills that resulted from the recent use of the monument by the Ottoman Turks. The following year, an even more ambitious plan was initiated: the excavation of the steps of the Parthenon, of the interior of the Erechtheion, the Propylaia, and the place where the temple of Augustus and Roma were standing. The excavation around the Tower of the Winds continued, while the gate of the Agora and part of the Piraeus wall were also revealed.³⁰ Finally, in the same year, 1840-41, K. Pittakis attempted to excavate one of the vaulted tombs at Mycenae, possibly the one of Klytaimnestra, but his endeavor was not crowned a success. He was therefore compelled to confine himself to the clearance of the Lion Gate, without proceeding further into the interior of the Mycenaean precinct, where Henrich Schliemann much later was to make his astounding discoveries. A year later, the two remarkable archaeologists and members of the Ephoria of the Society, Pittakis and Ragavis, assumed for the first time the restoration of 42 drums, 1 capital, and 28 marble plinths of the Parthenon. After special permission was granted to the Society by the Ministry of Education, the demolition of the Turkish and medieval structures of the Acropolis, such as the mosque in the cella of the Parthenon, was carried into effect. It is worth mentioning that the first official request on behalf of the Greek government towards the British Museum to return four pieces from the

²⁹ Petrakos, 1987, 24-25. Camp, 2001, 254-257.

³⁰ Petrakos, 1987, 25. See also Hitchens 2008.

Parthenon frieze occurred in 1843, even though it was unsuccessful.³¹ Nevertheless, a few years later, the same museum, as an indication of its good will, and by means of diplomacy, sent to Greece as a present several casts of the Parthenon marbles, which were received with exceptional gratification by the populace of Piraeus and Athens.³²

The unfavorable political and financial circumstances in 1848 forced Ragavis, the first secretary general of the Society, to take drastic actions that affected the structure of the Society along with its name, which was modified by the addition to it of the attributive adjective ‘Hellenic’.³³ Thus, the Society, as its name suggests, acquired automatically a more inclusive character than previously and began to extend the scope of its activities and jurisdiction authoritatively into other places, outside of Athens. Nonetheless two serious factors, the military invasion and blockade of Piraeus and Athens by Anglo-Frankish troops as well as a deadly epidemic disease that afflicted the inhabitants of Athens on September 1854 caused the suspension of every archaeological project.³⁴ Until 1859 the Society was in such a precarious financial position that it was constantly on the verge of collapse. In that year the distinguished scholar and epigraphist by then name of Stephanos Koumanoudis (1818-1899) appeared on the scene. By becoming the Society’s Secretary General, a post he worthily held for 35 years until 1894, he managed to save it from an impending demise.³⁵ With his expertise, methodical mind, and enthusiasm he breathed new life into the Society, and on his initiative large-scale excavations were carried out in Athens (Kerameikos, Acropolis, Hadrian’s Library, Stoa of Attalos, Theater of Dionysos, Roman Agora), elsewhere in Attica (Rhamnous, Thorikos,

³¹ Petrakos, 1987, 29.

³² Petrakos, 1987, 32.

³³ Petrakos, 1987, 33.

³⁴ Petrakos, 1987, 39.

³⁵ For the life, the philological oeuvre, and the archaeological personality of Koumanoudis see Petrakos, 1987, 264-276.

Marathon, Eleusis, the Amphiaraeion, Piraeus) and in Boeotia (Chaironeia, Tanagra, Thespiai), the Peloponnese (Mycenae, Epidauros, Lakonia) and the Cyclades.³⁶ In many of those, such as at the Asklepieion in Athens, he presided. In 1860 he issued a pamphlet entitled “Greek inscriptions, mostly unpublished”, enhancing the early publication history of the Archaeological Society, which had so far published only the early *Ephemeris Archaeologike*.³⁷ His most famous archaeological publication entitled “Sepulchral Inscriptions of Attica, Athens 1871” was developed a decade later, making him known in scholarly European circles. In the meantime he continued his publishing endeavors by co-editing two magazines, *Philistor* (four volumes 1861-1863) and *Athinaion* (ten volumes 1872-1891) along with Xanthopoulos and Kastorchis, respectively.³⁸ During Koumanoudis’ secretariat and with his initiatives the Society founded several large museums in Athens, such as the Varvakeion and the University museums, whose collections were a few years later amalgamated into the National Archaeological Museum.³⁹ Koumanoudis’ contribution to the preservation and enhancement of his country’s cultural past had been acknowledged not only by his fellow Greeks but also by foreigners. The latter had admired his keenness for archaeology and made him an honorary member of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in London.⁴⁰

After the first systematic excavations were successfully realized, the Ephoria of the Archaeological Society realized the necessity for a regularly published journal in which excavation finds would be reported in addition to the Society’s activity. Thus, in 1870, while

³⁶ Petrakos, 1987, 42-58.

³⁷ Koumanoudes’ scholarly projects were considered authoritative and have been cited by many scholars interested in Greek inscriptions, primarily from early Christian times.

³⁸ Petrakos, 1987, 276. Petrakos, 1987, 42.

³⁹ Petrakos, 1987, 42. The construction of the National Archaeological Museum was begun in 1866 and completed in 1889 with the gradual addition of the west wing in 1874, of the north in 1881, of the south in 1885 and finally, of the east wing. The building was erected on a large plot donated by Helen Tositsa, with the financial support of Demetrios and Nicolaos Vernardakis, the Archaeological Society, and the Greek state. See further Tzortaki 2012.

⁴⁰ Bosanquet, 1900, 167.

Koumanoudis was its secretary general, the Society inaugurated the third period of the *Proceeding of the Archaeological Society in Athens (Πρατικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας [IIAE])*, which has been published since its founding in 1837.⁴¹ Initially, *Praktika*, as its name denotes, included the proceeding of the Society's meetings, speeches of its president and secretary, statements of accounts of its fiscal activity, results from elections etc. Eventually, however, the *Praktika* acquired a more scientific content and it included detailed reports on the excavations and research carried out in all parts of Greece, with text illustrations and numerous plates. Since then, every year one volume has been released concerned with the activity of the Society from the previous year. Nonetheless, when the historical and political circumstances of the country were not propitious and the archaeological activity was definitely diminished, the Society published the proceedings of more years in one volume (1922/24, 1925/26, 1941/44, 1945/48). Since 1975 the proceedings of some years with great archaeological activities have been occasionally published in two volumes.

The *Praktika* became the venue where one of the most distinguished and representative Greek archaeologists of the 19th century published their activities. This was under the the Laconian archaeologist, Panayiotis Stamatakis (died in 1885), who excelled during Koumanoudis' incumbency and under his auspices.⁴² Employed initially as an assistant of the Ephor General of Antiquities in January 1866 by the Archaeological Service, Stamatakis was deputized to assist in recording all the antiquities that were held in private estates. This way the government would acquire knowledge of the approximate number of the already unearthed antiquities, as well as of their current condition. In 1871 Stamatakis was detached from the Archaeological Society and became an itinerant Ephor, assuming assignments in various places

⁴¹ Petrakos, 1987, 189. See further Stylianopoulos, 2012, 717-718.

⁴² Petrakos, 1987, 279.

in Greece, wherever he was needed. Almost a decade later, in 1875 he was promoted to Ephor and in 1884 to Ephor General, being granted thus the highest office of the Service. He excavated in many places in Greece, including Attica, Boeotia, Fthiotis, the Peloponnese, Delos, and Delphi. His activity in the prefecture of Boeotia, where he established the first archaeological collections in Thebes, Chaeronia, Tanagra, in Peloponnese, where he excavated the chamber tomb close to the Heraion, and in Attica, where he explored the Mycenaean tomb at Spata, is indeed remarkable.⁴³ In 1876, as a representative of the Archaeological Society, he was present at the excavations of Grave Circle A at Mycenae by Schliemann, conducted under the auspices of the Society. There the following year, Stamatakis discovered the sixth shaft grave in the same circle.⁴⁴ The account of his excavation at Mycenae, that he kept using extreme scientific detail, remained for many years exemplary, even though Stamatakis was a self-trained archaeologist, who lacked a high level, university education. It is uncontroversial, however, that his activity, methodology, and precision imparted scientific quality to all his archaeological projects. A few years before his death, being conscious of the ethical obligations he had to the discipline of archaeology and its future students, he organized the diaries from his excavations at Mycenae, Chaeronia, Tanagra, Spata, and Thespies, so that they could be published at a suitable time. Thus, it becomes apparent that Stamatakis was committed to the principles of a genuine archaeologist, who ought not only to unearth antiquities, but to study, interpret, and publish them as well, for the discipline's greater benefit.

In the meantime, in March of 1881, events of national importance occurred, such as the annexation of Thessaly and the region of Arta to Greece, with a great impact on the country's

⁴³ Petrakos, 1987, 49.

⁴⁴ <http://www2.rgzm.de/Tomba1/Institutes/Athens.htm>.

archaeological dynamics.⁴⁵ In the same year, Panayiotis Kavvadias (1850- 1928), the successor of Stamatakis in the office of Ephor General, undertook one of the biggest and most extensive excavations of the time, that of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidaurus.⁴⁶ After making significant progress in his first sustained project, Kavvadias decided to excavate on the Athenian Acropolis.⁴⁷ With determination and intensive efforts he completed this great enterprise within a five-year period, starting in November of 1885 and finishing in February of 1890. Presiding over excavations in many parts of Greece in addition to the ones just mentioned, such as in Thessaly, Epiros, Macedonia, and the islands, Euboea, Corfu, Kefallonia, Lesbos, Samos and the Cyclades, he made famous many of the archaeological sites of the country. Kavvadias also administered the first exhibition of the National Archaeological Museum as well as that of the Acropolis Museum, which was constructed on the hill amongst the ruined structures between 1865 and 1874, being one of Koumanoudis' enterprises.⁴⁸ As one of the first systematic organizers of the Archaeological Service, Kavvadias founded another of the Service's publication venues in 1885, the *Archaiologikon Deltion* (AA), of which he himself edited six volumes.⁴⁹ Undoubtedly Kavvadias' *Archaiologikon Deltion* was the predecessor of the journal issued by the Archaeological Service three decades later, and which has been published for almost 100 years.⁵⁰ In the original short-lived journal valuable information about the antiquities that were recently discovered and permanently exhibited in museum collections can be found, complemented by excavation reports.

In addition to these commendable activities, Kavvadias, holding the highest position in the

⁴⁵ <http://www.fhw.gr/chronos/13/en/society/facts/04.html>.

⁴⁶ Petrakos, 1987, 71.

⁴⁷ Petrakos, 1987, 59.

⁴⁸ <http://www.culture.gr/2/21/211/21101m/e211am01.html>.

⁴⁹ Petrakos, 1982, 23; and Petrakos, 1987, 282. Kavvadias' volumes of the *Archaiologikon Deltion* are the following: A (1885), Δ (1888), E (1889), ΣΤ (1890), Ζ (1891), and Η (1892).

⁵⁰ The *Archaiologikon Deltion*, as it is published today, will be discussed in the 20th century section (II).

Archaeological Service, had the opportunity to introduce his famous law ΒΧΜζ (2646) on July 24, 1899. Via this law he amplified and improved upon the previous versions that had been issued by the royal government in 1837 for the identification and the protection of antiquities. Kavvadias' law, which emanated from many previous decisions and circular letters that he himself from time to time had taken and issued, remained valid and unadulterated for many decades. It should be noted that quite a few of its articles remain unchanged even today.⁵¹ A few years before Kavvadias passed the ΒΧΜζ law, he had been concerned with the matter of the best possible archaeological administration of the country. Based on the law of 10/22 May 1834, which had appointed three Ephor-superintendents of Peloponnese, Mainland Greece and the Islands, Kavvadias for the first time divided the country methodically into archaeological regional structures. These were unequivocally designated in the degree of January 8, 1886 along with the tasks of the Ephors of Antiquities, accountable for the archaeological activities assumed in those districts.⁵² Since the estate of an Ephor has been proven to be very useful and efficient as the time elapsed and the country expanded its borders, more Ephorates were established, facilitating the task of the central administration for a more effective superintendence of the archaeological regions. Kavvadias' division of Greece remained in place for decades. With another decree dated 13 February 1886, it became mandatory that Ephors could be only nominated from those who had a degree from any department of the Philosophical School of Athens, and who preferably thereafter pursued their graduate studies in archaeology at universities abroad. As an alternative to this, candidates for the same office could be mere

⁵¹ Petrakos, 1982, 21. Comparing law 5351/1932 "About Antiquities" that is in effect today with that of Kavvadias one can effortlessly discern the similarities they share if not their exact identity in some cases, namely in those of articles 1 and 3.

⁵² Petrakos, 1982, 46. The archaeological districts in which Kavvadias divided Greece were the following: a. Attica, b. Boeotia and Euboea, c. Fthiotis and Fokis, d. Thessaly, e. Aetolia, Akarnania, and Arta, f. Argolis and Corinth, g. Achaia and Elis (Olympia excluded), h. Ancient Olympia and Messinia, i. Arcadia, j. Lakonia and Kythera, k. Cyclades.

graduates of the Athens Philosophical School, who had to be thoroughly tested by examination in the subjects of archaeology, history, ancient Greek and Latin in order to prove their intellectual qualities in the field.⁵³ At this point it is worth mentioning that a year later Kavvadias introduced stricter criteria for the selection of Ephors. According to these criteria all the candidates, who necessarily would have already possessed a doctorate either in philology or in archaeology, were to be examined for their competency in specific subjects by a committee composed of the Ephor General himself and university professors of classics, archaeology, and history.⁵⁴ The emphasis on the proper selection of the most knowledgeable and talented Ephors demonstrates their prominence within the Greek society of the 19th century. It also alludes to their immense obligations extended towards the Greek people for the comprehensive stewardship of their invaluable cultural heritage.

Finally, Kavvadias is responsible for the establishment of the Archaeological Receipts Fund, an association that is still in existence today. With a decree issued on November 25, 1885, it was clearly stated that all the income from the sale of museums tickets, casts, and exhibition catalogues would go to the Archaeological Receipts Fund.⁵⁵ This fund was responsible for the proper apportionment of the money principally for the preservation and restoration of various monuments, including the Parthenon.

Kavvadias' commendable enterprises as a field archaeologist and accomplished scholar continued until his death in 1928. He became a professor at the University of Athens and a founding member of the Academy of Athens in 1926. He, along with Christos Tsountas, bridged the two centuries with their lives and thriving careers in archaeology; they elevated the discipline

⁵³ Petrakos, 1982, 50.

⁵⁴ The subjects, on which the candidates were examined, were: a. Translation and Interpretation of Ancient Greek and Latin texts, b. History of Ancient Art, c. Greek Antiquities, d. Ancient History, and e. Archaeological Legislation.

⁵⁵ Petrakos, 1987, 55.

and were themselves pioneers of modern archaeology. Christos Tsountas (1857-1934) (**Fig. 2**), who became director and secretary of the Archaeological Society, Ephor of Antiquities of the Archaeological Society and Service, professor at the philosophical schools of the universities of Athens and Thessaloniki, and honorary member of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in London, was simultaneously one of the most eminent Greek archaeologists.⁵⁶ His career as a newly appointed Ephor of the Archaeological Society began in 1884, when he supervised the explorations off the bottom of the sea of Salamina, looking for possible remains of the famous sea battle.⁵⁷ Later in 1886 and 1891 he made some rescue excavations in the classical cemeteries of Eretria, which had already been looted by treasure hunters. In 1886 he began his excavations in Mycenae which lasted until 1893, uncovering the palace located atop the citadel, as well as over seventy chamber tombs, thus furthering our knowledge about Bronze Age burial customs.⁵⁸ What however remains the most outstanding of Tsountas' contributions is the fact that he established some important chronological boundaries at Mycenae by outlining synchronisms between Mycenaean pottery and Egyptian pottery and frescoes. He discerned that the 16th century B.C.E. is the *terminus post quem* and the 12th the *terminus ante quem* for the Mycenaean civilization. He therefore set the foundations for a scientific study of the civilization that Schliemann had discovered a few years earlier.⁵⁹ His research project of Mycenae was long and lasted until 1910, while at the same time he conducted excavations elsewhere. Between 1889 and 1890 he excavated at Amyklai and Vaphio in Laconia, where he discovered the celebrated gold cups of Vaphio, products of the excavation of a *tholos*.⁶⁰ A year later he excavated the prehistoric sites of Sesklo and Dimini, laying the ground foundation for future projects at this

⁵⁶ Medwid, 2000, 291.

⁵⁷ Petrakos, 1987, 284.

⁵⁸ Ξενάκη-Σακελλαρίου, 1985, 47-291. See Preziosi and Hitchcock, 1999, 148-152, on Mycenaean burial customs.

⁵⁹ Frothingham, 1894, 109. See also Shelton 1993, and Higgins, 2005, figs. 178 and 179.

⁶⁰ Tsountas, 1897, 145.

famous Neolithic region in Thessaly.⁶¹ Finally in 1894 Cycladic graves in Amorgos, Naxos, Paros, Antiparos, Despotiko, Siphnos, and Syros attracted his scientific interest. There he was almost the first to observe that the Cycladic civilization had a unique and homogeneous character of its own, compared to the other Bronze Age civilizations that flourished almost contemporaneously on Crete and later at Mycenae. Tsountas imprinted an important chapter of the history of archaeology in Greece during the 19th century setting the foundations and prerequisites for a thriving continuation of the same course during the 20th century.

The Cycladic island of Amorgos, more specifically, well known in the philological and historical literature at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, became a big draw for diplomats and politicians, army officers, artists, travelers, and antiquarians, who were well involved in various ‘illicit’ ways in the acquisitions of Cycladic antiquities.⁶² Its antiquities enjoyed such great popularity that even before Tsountas had introduced the term “Cycladic,” the early Bronze Age in the Cycladic sphere was referred to as the “Period of Amorgos.”⁶³ Late in 1885, the art historian, philologist and philosopher Georg Ferdinand Dammler opened the way for private diggers and dealers as he became the first to excavate some graves there, removing of course anything that intrigued him in order to synthesize a careful study of the island civilization, as he claimed.⁶⁴ He was assisted by his local guide, Dimitrios Prasinos, an Orthodox priest, who demonstrated great archaeological activity on the island, between the 1870s and the 1900s, being a first port of call for all the travelers and antiquarians who visited the island.⁶⁵ Finally, along with Papaprasinos, an experienced digger and inexhaustible dealer from Athens, Ioannis Palaialogos conducted illicit excavations on the island and particularly at a field at Kapros,

⁶¹ Medwid, 2000, 291. Preziosi and Hitchcock, 1999, 33-44.

⁶² Galanakis, 2013, 182.

⁶³ Galanakis, 2013, 182; Tsountas 1898, 137 n.1.

⁶⁴ Dammler, 1886, 1901.

⁶⁵ Galanakis, 2013, 191.

before Tsountas set foot on Amorgos, where he found of the tombs already looted.⁶⁶ The objects he was unearthing (being himself an art dealer) he was selling indifferently both inside and outside of Greece, establishing the antiquities trafficking in the 19th century.

⁶⁶ Galanakis, 2013, 193.

Section II: Archaeology in Greece in the 20th Century

Greece in the early 20th century was in a transitional political, economic, and social stage, being affected by the political events and wars that occurred in southeastern Europe. Greece's military endeavors against the Ottoman Empire in order to expand its borders compounded serious economic problems, culminating in national bankruptcy in 1893. The economic difficulties that resulted from this crisis were primarily responsible for the great wave of emigration, principally from the Peloponnese to the United States. At that moment a charismatic figure, Eleutherios Venizelos, appeared on the political forum and dominated it for the first third of the century, with some short intervals. Venizelos had already proved his patriotism as he had made his mark in the politics of his native Crete where an autonomous regime had been established in the aftermath of the 1897 war.⁶⁷ As his power was legitimized through elections held in December 1910, Venizelos plunged into a wide-ranging program of constitutional reform, political modernization, and economic development of the country. In the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, he contributed to the final expulsion of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkan Peninsula. Greece, under his premiership, doubled its territory and population by the acquisition of southern Macedonia (Thessaloniki and the hinterland), south Epiros (Ioannina Preveza and Arta), Crete, and the Aegean Islands. It also gained territorially and diplomatically after World War I in negotiations with Italy, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Nonetheless, during a short period of his absence from the political scene, in 1922, when his political opponents displaced him, the catastrophe of Asia Minor took place.⁶⁸ The disastrous military defeat of Greece at the hands of the Turks ensured that the National Schism would define Greek politics and keep society divided through the next two decades. At that time, political stability was rare, except for the successful

⁶⁷ <http://www.turk-yunan.gen.tr/english/relations/theotto04.html>. See also Clogg, 2002, ch. 3.

⁶⁸ <http://www.venizelos-foundation.gr/endocs/bio20-23.jsp>. See also Clogg, 2002, ch. 4.

return of Venizelos between 1928 and 1932. By 1931, however, world economic crisis brought a new set of internal conflicts.

During this politically turbulent era in Greece, excavations did not cease to be conducted particularly by the Archaeological Society in Athens.⁶⁹ Being a private organization, it had more flexibility in its actions than the governmental Archaeological Service. Even though the financial circumstances of the Society were not flourishing, few new projects and the expansion of its activities were realized in places recently annexed to the Greek state, such as Macedonia. It was in 1915 that the first systematic excavation, conducted in Macedonia, revealed Pella, the hometown of Alexander the Great.⁷⁰ In the same year the Archaeological Service under the auspices of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education issued the *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* or Archaeological Bulletin. It is a quarterly bulletin, in which archaeological reports and news of the fieldwork conducted by both the Greek *Ephorates* and the foreign archaeological schools in Greece was and still is published. Versakis, Kourouniotis, Leonardos, Orlandos, Papadakis, Rhomaios, Stais, Soteriadis, and Tsountas were the first scientific contributors to this effort, as they published archaeological material that they had discovered that year.⁷¹ Five years earlier in 1910 the Archaeological Committee was abolished and in its place another similar estate, the Archaeological Council, was introduced, which was composed of 10 members.⁷² The opinion of this ten-member Council was and still remains critical for the decisions made by the Minister of Education at that time and by the Minister of Culture now, regarding the state of the country's antiquities.

⁶⁹ Many interesting essays concerned with Greek archaeology and identity of this period can be found in Damaskos and Plantzos, 2008.

⁷⁰ Petrakos, 1987, 120.

⁷¹ Εισαγωγή, *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον του Υπουργείου των Εκκλησιαστικών και της Δημόσιας Εκπαιδεύσεως*. Τόμος Ι, 1915. See also Catling, 1988-89, 3; Catling, 1986-87, 3.

⁷² Petrakos, 1982, 41. The Archaeological Council was formed by two university professors, ephors of antiquities, directors of museums in Athens, and the director of the Archaeological Service.

Within the spirit of administration the Ministry of Education decided also in 1910 to alter the existing division system of the archaeological regions, compartmentalizing the country into seven new archaeological districts.⁷³ Nonetheless the new archaeological restructuring of the country did not last for long. After the Balkan Wars and the consequent expansion of Greece's borders, as previously mentioned, the archaeological districts were increased into twelve; Macedonia, Crete, and many more Aegean islands had been added to the map of Greece.⁷⁴ This same organizational system of the Ephorates is still valid today with some minor alterations, as expected. The system of the regional structure of the many Ephorates contributed in a high degree to the decentralization of the archaeological administration of the country. Each of these departments, spread throughout Greece, is responsible for submitting a report to the Ministry on its activities. This report is intended for publication in the *Chronika* section of the *Archaiologikon Deltion*.⁷⁵ The Ephorates mainly perform administrative functions such as data acquisition, surveying, monument cataloguing and classification, preservation and restoration planning and control, administrative functions as expropriations, funding and action approvals. They often respond to inquiries about various aspects of a monument or a set of monuments. Today the number of them responsible for the prehistoric and classical antiquities has increased to 39 and to 28 for Byzantine and post-Byzantine monuments. There is also one *Ephorate* of underwater archaeology and another of palaeoanthropology and speleology.⁷⁶

The years that followed the debacle of the Greek army in Asia Minor and the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey were similarly dense in political events. The

⁷³ Petrakos, 1982, 46. The new archaeological division of Greece was the following: a. Thessaly and Fthiotis, b. Euboea, Thebes, and Phocis, c. Akarnania, Aetolia, Epiros, and the islands Leukas, Kerkyra, Paxoi, and Ithaca, d. Achaia, Elis, Trifyllia, Olympia, Kefallonia, and Zakynthos, e. Lakonia, Kalamata, Messinia, Pylos, and Kythera, f. Argolis, Corinth, and Arcadia, and g. Cyclades.

⁷⁴ Petrakos, 1982, 46.

⁷⁵ Catling, 1988-89, 3.

⁷⁶ <http://www.culture.gr>. See also http://www.copeam.org/press/php/view_11.php?id=242.

dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas, World War II, the German occupation (1936-1944), and the civil war that broke out immediately after the German occupation of Greece stamped indelibly archaeology and its continuation.⁷⁷ The long martyrdom of the Greek people affected the intellectual and scientific sphere. Nonetheless, the outstanding personalities of the intellectual world, who eagerly pursued their elevated goals, managed to keep archaeology alive. One of them was Anastasios Orlandos, a celebrated architect and archaeologist, whose studies of Greece's most famous monuments remain still unsurpassed. It is indeed difficult to do justice to Orlandos' scientific oeuvre that has been identified with Greek archaeology, from the first decade of the 20th century until 1979, the year of his death.⁷⁸ Descendant of the famous Greek politician during the War of Independence, Ioannis Orlandos, and of the Kountouriotis family, A. Orlandos demonstrated exceptional interest in the preservation of his country's monuments.⁷⁹ After he received his higher education, taught by accomplished architects at German universities, he returned to his home country. There, until nearly the end of his life, he was engaged with excavations, monument reconstructions and publications of his work. From 1920 to 1942 Orlandos was the head of the Department of Restoration of the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Greece, except for those of the Acropolis. After 1942 and for nearly 15 years he focused his studies on the monuments of the Athenian Acropolis.⁸⁰ Among the most famous monuments that he restored during his thriving career are the Propylaia, the Parthenon, the temple of Athena Nike, of Poseidon at Sounion, the Odeion of Herodes Atticos, the Theater of Epidauros, and the chamber tombs at Mycenae, Pylos, and Orchomenos. For many years he excavated at Sikyon

⁷⁷ For the history of modern Greece see Woodhouse, 1986, and Clogg, 2002.

⁷⁸ Catling, 1979-80, 3. "The closing months of 1979 were saddened by the news of the death in his 92nd year of Anastasios Orlandos, doyen of Greek classical archaeologists, member of the Academy of Athens, sometime Professor of Byzantine Archaeology in the University of Athens, for over forty years Director of Anastylosis in the Archaeological Service, for many years Secretary of the Archaeological Society of Athens, honoured by learned bodies in Greece and far beyond."

⁷⁹ Δρακοπούλου, 1999, 24. See also Damaskos and Plantzos, 2008, 180 and 310.

⁸⁰ Thompson, 1955, 50.

(1932- 1952), where he also founded a museum and at the hill of Alipheira at Arcadia, about which he wrote “The Arcadian Alipheira and its Monuments” (1967-1968). He concluded his fifty-year excavating efforts at Messene (1957-1974), bringing to light the monumental center of the 4th century BC state. With his excavations and publications, Orlandos covered all the periods of Greek archaeology, from prehistory to the 19th century. “Perhaps it is not too much to say that his work reflects not only an imaginative creativity of mind peculiarly his own, but an era steeped in the Classical and Byzantine past as a matter of course in education and upbringing.”⁸¹

During Orlandos’ secretariat at the Archaeological Society of Athens, in 1955, the *To Έργον της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* or *The Work of the Archaeological Society* was first published with brief reports on the Society’s excavations and copious illustrations. A few years later, the Ministry of Culture was founded in September 1971, in the era of the “iron” years when democracy was threatened by the junta of the colonels. The Ministry of Culture is the governmental body responsible for the cultural heritage and the Arts in Greece, areas that were taken care of until then by the Ministry of Education.⁸² Its decentralized departments (Museums, Ephorates of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Ephorates of Byzantine Antiquities and Ephorates of Recent Monuments) are spread throughout Greece—as has been previously explained—while its administrative departments are situated in Athens. After democracy was restored, the first Minister of Culture was the writer, philosopher and academic Konstantinos Tsatsos who later became President of the Hellenic Republic. His successor was the writer I.M. Panayotopoulos. The other Ministers that followed were the academic and historian Konstantinos Tripanis, Georgios Plitas, Demetrios Nianias and Andreas Andrianopoulos. Probably the most famous Hellenic minister of Culture was Melina Merkouri, who in the late 1980’s raised again

⁸¹ Caskey, 1981, 453.

⁸² <http://www.culture.gr>.

the subject of the return of the Parthenon marbles to Greece from the British Museum.⁸³

The successor of Orlandos in the significant position of the Secretary General of the Archaeological Society was Georgios Mylonas (1898-1987) (**Fig. 3**). Although he had a checkered early life, experiencing directly the Asia Minor catastrophe and its aftermath, Mylonas managed to overcome all these obstacles and obtain a great education, becoming a superb archaeologist and scholar.⁸⁴ In Smyrna, where he was born, he studied at the Evangelical School and at the American College. In 1919 he registered at the Philosophical School of the University of Athens, from where he received a degree in archaeology in 1922.⁸⁵ Taken as a prisoner of war during the Asia Minor debacle of the Greek army, he almost lost his life at the hands of his captors. Fortunately he managed with the help of his American friends to bribe his way to freedom, arriving in Greece in 1923, at the same time as 2 million uprooted refugees. Arriving in Athens in April of that year, he became an assistant and interpreter of the architect of the Gennadeios Library, Stuart Thomson. Between 1923-1928 Mylonas worked at the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in Ancient Corinth, Nemea, Agiorgitika, and in 1928 he organized the great excavation at Olynthos along with David M. Robinson. In the meantime, in 1927, he received his PhD *summa cum laude* from the University of Athens and a year later he went to the United States, where he took more archaeology classes at the Johns Hopkins University. From there he was awarded a second doctorate and for a short time taught at the University of Chicago. In 1930 he returned to Greece, where he studied the topography of Attica and excavated briefly at the Bronze Age site of Agios Kosmas and at Eleusis with K. Kourouniotis. In 1931 returned to the United States, where he taught at the University of Illinois for two years and finally at Washington University in St. Louis until his retirement. In St. Louis

⁸³ Hitchens, 2008.

⁸⁴ Petrakos, 1987, 304.

⁸⁵ Borza, 1992, 757.

he was promoted to the Chairman of the Department of Art and Archaeology, and finally to the Rosa May Distinguished University Professor.⁸⁶

In 1968 Mylonas left the United States permanently and returned to Greece. In 1969 he became a member of the Academy of Athens and in 1980 its president. While Mylonas was teaching and contributing to research and scholarship at several universities in the United States, he participated in archaeological fieldwork in Olynthos, Mykiverna, Polystylos, and Aspropotamos in Macedonia (1938). Between 1951 and 1954 he excavated in Grave Circle B with Spyridon Marinatos and John Papadimitriou. Also at Mycenae, from 1958 onward he directed excavations both inside the citadel and outside. He investigated ruined houses near the Treasury of Atreus, ruins along the northwest and east slopes within the citadel, the area around Tsountas House, as well as four Late Helladic IIIc chamber tombs at Gortsoulia (2 kilometers northeast of Mycenae). He discovered an altar and various Late Helladic IIIb cult objects in the area near Tsountas House, a place that he established as the cult center of the citadel.⁸⁷ Professor Mylonas conducted excavations actively or as the guiding authority over the course of more than 60 years.⁸⁸ The work of the copious excavator, scholar, teacher, and interpreter of the past was recognized by many learned societies and Institutions, which rewarded him with great honorary titles. Thus, in the United States he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the Ohio State University, Washington University, and the University of Illinois awarded to him honorary degrees. Most importantly however he received the Gold Medal for Distinguished Archaeological Achievement of the Archaeological Institute of America, of which he had served twice as president.⁸⁹ Mylonas was also presented with the golden key of the city of Washington

⁸⁶ Mylonas, 1966, iv.

⁸⁷ Wardle and Wardle, 2000, 113-116.

⁸⁸ Medwid, 2000, 212. See also Marinatos and Hirmer, 1960.

⁸⁹ Mylonas, 1971, 194.

D.C. In Greece he was created a Commander of the Royal Order of King George I and a Grand Commander of the Royal Order of the Phoenix. He received an honorary degree from the University of Thessaloniki and was made an honorary citizen of the city of Eleusis and of the community of Mycenae. He was a member of several learned institutions and an honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries in London.⁹⁰ Although Mylonas lived most of his career abroad, he managed to retain a very good relationship with scholars in Greece, such as Anastasios Orlandos, John Papadimitriou, and John Kondis.⁹¹

Being a close collaborator of Orlandos and Mylonas, Spyridon Marinatos (1901- 1974) (**Fig. 4**) is another extraordinary scholar of the 20th century, who marked with his scientific field work the archaeological activities and discoveries in Greece. Spyridon Marinatos was for 55 years one of the most distinctive archaeologists of the 20th century.⁹² From 1919 to 1929 he was Provost and Ephor of the Antiquities on Crete, director of the Herakleion Archaeological Museum (1929-1937), twice director of Antiquities and Historic Monuments, appointed by the Ministry of Education (1937-1940 and 1956), Inspector General of Antiquities (1967-1974), and of course Professor of Archaeology at the University of Athens (1939-1968). Marinatos was also a member of the British Academy, Honorary member of the Academy of Vienna, of the Archaeological Institute of America, and Gottfried V. Herder Preis (1967). He was awarded with the gold medal by the French Academy of Science (1967).⁹³ Marinatos directed a number of excavations at several sites of decisive meaning for the prehistoric Greek culture, unearthing many remarkable finds. Thus, before World War II, he excavated the geometric temple at Dreros, the Minoan Megaron at Sklavokampos, the graves at Kartero, at Krassi Pediados, and at

⁹⁰ Iakovidis, 1989, 237.

⁹¹ Mylonas, 1966, viii.

⁹² Thompson, 1979, 59.

⁹³ Medwid, 2000, 197.

Vorous Messaras. He also revealed the caves of Eilithia and Amnisos. After World War II Marinatos continued intensively his excavating activity on Crete (Vathypetro: 1949-1956, Archanes and Idaion Andron 1955-1956), on Kefhalonia (1951, 1960), Thermopylai and Marathon, at Pylos (1952-1966), and finally on Santorini (1967- 1974).⁹⁴

On Santorini Professor Marinatos, under the auspices of the Archaeological Society at Athens, decided to excavate at Akrotiri wishing to validate an old theory of his, proposed in 1939.⁹⁵ According to Marinatos' theory the eruption of the Thera volcano was responsible for the collapse of the Minoan civilization. Soon after its announcement this speculation met with much resistance and discreditation within the scholarly world, since the chronology of the two events does not coincide. Irrespective, however, of whether Marinatos' theory has been confirmed or denied, it is a fact that this excavations opened up a new chapter in the study of the Aegean prehistory. The site that he excavated was covered beneath a thick layer of pumice and ash created by the eruption of the volcano in around 1500 B.C.E. It has yielded some of the most complete wall paintings and architectural remains from the Bronze Age to be found anywhere.⁹⁶ Since Marinatos' fateful, unexpected death, October 1, 1974, while excavating Akrotiri, the excavations have been continued under the direction of one of his students, later Professor in prehistoric archaeology at the University of Athens, and Ephor of Antiquities of the Cyclades, Christos Doumas.⁹⁷

In addition to the compendious presentations and analyses of his excavation material in the *Praktika*, where he formulized his interpretations and theories, Marinatos published annual

⁹⁴ Doumas, 2000, 16.

⁹⁵ Doumas, 1999, 10.

⁹⁶ Catling, 1972-73, 3. Preziosi and Hitchcock, 1999, 122-129.

⁹⁷ Doumas, 2001, 15.

reports of his excavations at the Akrotiri in independent volumes both in Greek and in English.⁹⁸ In this way, he made his finds accessible to the scientific world internationally, shortly after their discovery. Nonetheless, one of his most important contributions to the scholarship of archaeology was the publication of the periodical *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν* or *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, when he was director of the General Inspectorate of the Antiquities and Restoration in 1968.⁹⁹ Issued every four months this journal featured short reports with illustrations concerning new archaeological finds and questions. In addition to Greek, English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish articles are today included in it.

Almost a contemporary of Marinatos and a student of Anastasios Orlandos at the National Metsovian Polytechnion, John Travlos (1908-1985) was another outstanding scholar, who marked the course of Greek archaeology during the 20th century with his extraordinary architectural and archaeological work. Among his teachers, Anastasios Orlandos played a decisive role in the formation of his professional life. In 1931, while he was still a student, Travlos served as an architect on the joint Greek-American exploration of the Pnyx and the monument of Philopappos. Soon thereafter, he was appointed architect of the Agora Excavations (1935-1940) and in general architect of the School's Excavations (1940-1973).¹⁰⁰ Travlos supervised the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos, having prepared a complete set of drawings for the project.¹⁰¹ Moreover the excavations of the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, the Academy of Plato, the Asklepieion, the Theater of Dionysos, and the Library of Hadrian attracted his scientific interest, in which he actively participated. Outside Athens, he worked at his favorite

⁹⁸ See Marinatos, 1968.

⁹⁹ Marinatos, 1968, iii. Stylianopoulos, 2012, 718.

¹⁰⁰ Verneule and Travlos, 1966, 55. See also Sakka 2008.

¹⁰¹ Petrakos, 1987, 311.

site, Eleusis.¹⁰² Along with Kourouniotis, he conducted research on the Sacred Way that leads from the temple of Aphrodite to Eleusis for three years, beginning in 1936.¹⁰³ Before Travlos had excavated at Eleusis, he had teamed up with Ioannis Threpsiadis in 1934, revealing the agora of the city. Right after the German occupation of Greece and the unfortunate death of Kourouniotis in 1945, archaeological work was resumed at Eleusis. Then Travlos worthily assumed the direction of the site, where he worked with Orlandos and Mylonas.¹⁰⁴ Later in 1960, he assisted Oscar Broneer, who excavated at the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmus of Corinth, to make the plans of the theater known. Travlos produced the plans of several other very significant sites, such as those of the Athenian Acropolis of the Mycenaean period, of Agios Kosmas, of Gla in the Copaic Basin, of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria, and of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos.¹⁰⁵ In the 1970s he worked at the Hellenistic Palace of Vergina with colleagues from the University of Thessaloniki, including Andronikos. In Cyprus, between 1961 and 1970, he contributed to the restoration of the ancient theaters in Salamis and Kourion and the Odeion in Paphos. Throughout his career Travlos was an active member of the Archaeological Society, the Greek Architectural Society, the Administrative Board of the National Theater (1964-1967), the Commission of the Conservation of the Acropolis (1975-1981), and the committee for the conservation of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae (1975).¹⁰⁶ Travlos is known from his book, *The Urban Development of Athens* (1960), a project well illustrated with pictures and drawings. There he studied the city's settlement's history from 3500 BC to the present time. He is, however, best known from another book, *The Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, published with the German Archeological Institute in 1971. In it he focuses on the time between the

¹⁰² Travlos, 1949, 138-147.

¹⁰³ Petrakos, 1987, 133.

¹⁰⁴ Vanderpool, 1954, 232.

¹⁰⁵ Blegen and Lang, 1961, 153.

¹⁰⁶ Thompson, 1986, 345.

Archaic and Roman periods, treating the individual monuments in much detail.¹⁰⁷

Due to the nature of this limited paper, the retrospection of 20th century archaeology in Greece, as practiced by Greeks, will conclude with Manolis Andronikos (1919-1992) (**Fig. 5**). The Macedonian archaeologist remains living myth and a national symbol in the minds and hearts of the young generations of Greek archaeologists. Being a bright and knowledgeable scientist, Andronikos could “enliven the ancient monuments and reveal the secrets Greek art.”¹⁰⁸ After he graduated from the gymnasium in 1936 he joined the team excavating the Hellenistic palace at Vergina, under the direction of K. A. Rhomaios.¹⁰⁹ During World War II he fled to the Middle East, serving with the free Greek forces. After he returned to Greece, he joined the Archaeological Service and continued his studies at the Aristotelian university of Thessaloniki, from where he earned his doctorate in 1952. In 1954 the Aristotelian University offered him a scholarship, which he used in order to attend the Oxford University and to work with Sir John Beazley for two years.¹¹⁰ In 1957 he was appointed lecturer at the University of Thessaloniki, and by 1964 he had become a professor. Being an active archaeologist he excavated in several sites in central Macedonia such as Chalkidike, Veroia, Naousa, Kilkis, Dion, and Thessaloniki. With G. Bakalakis he conducted a joint excavation of the Hellenistic palace of Vergina, resuming the project of his teacher Rhomaios, when Andronikos was appointed Ephor of Antiquities in that area in 1949.¹¹¹ In 1977 Andronikos discovered two 4th century tombs, which he claimed to be the burials of King Philip II the Macedon and his wife. A year later, he uncovered a third tomb, also unlooted, where he believed that Alexander IV, the son of Alexander the Great, rested. Andronikos revealed the city plan of ancient Aegae, including a

¹⁰⁷ Thompson, 1986, 343. See now Camp (2001) for the sites and monuments.

¹⁰⁸ Σαστσόγλου-Παγιαδέλη, 1999, 18.

¹⁰⁹ Andronikos, 1984, 21.

¹¹⁰ Borza, 1992, 757.

¹¹¹ Andronikos, 1964, 3.

theater, an agora, the circuit walls, and the acropolis.¹¹² He excavated the nearby village of Palatitsia, where he also found a number of 4th century tombs. In addition to lecturing he wrote a large number of articles in scholarly journals presenting his discoveries and his own interpretations of them. One of his most famous monographs is *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (1984). In addition to being a member of the Archaeological Society of Athens and the Society of Macedonian Studies, Andronikos was a member of the German Archaeological Institute, of the Association Internationale des Critiques d'Art, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, and an honorary member of the Archaeological Institute of America.¹¹³ His honors included a corresponding membership in the Academy of Athens, an honorary professorship at Bristol University, the Gottfried von Herder award of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, the "Olympia" Prize of the Onassis Foundation, and the Grand Phoenix Cross, the highest civilian award of the Greek nation.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Kottaridi, 2011.

¹¹³ Σαστσόγλου-Παγιαδέλη, 1999, 18.

¹¹⁴ Medwid, 2000, 21.

Section III: Archaeology in Greece in the Early 21st Century

At the dawn of the 21st century the aspiration of Greek archaeologists not only to continue the field projects that they and their predecessors had already started but also to bring them a step further by initiating new ventures. In many respects, there have been no dramatic changes and it could be said that by and large it is difficult to distinguish and separate the character of Greek archaeology in the early 21st century from that of the late 20th. Many field projects that were initiated during the last decade of the previous century by the same people are still in progress or in some instances have been just completed. Therefore continuation and maintenance seem to be the most distinctive feature of Greek archaeology in the first years of the new millennium. Some great state endeavors, namely the Metropolitan Railway of Athens or *Attiko Metro*, which began in 1992 and has been completed in most districts of the capital according to its initial plan, inevitably touched upon the ‘fields’ of present-day Greek archaeology.¹¹⁵ The Hellenic State in collaboration with the Archaeological Service contributed to the discovery and revealing of “the city beneath the city,” as the catalogue of the exhibition that was accrued from a few unearthed finds is called.¹¹⁶ Enormous quantities of antiquities from all times and periods, that would have remained otherwise probably forever hidden in the Attic soil, were brought to light, as the city expanded its underground passages. Moreover, matters concerning the topography of districts of Athens were illuminated. The 3rd Ephorate of Classical and Prehistoric Antiquities, responsible for rescue excavations during the construction of the Metro in Athens, and under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, had the ingenious initiative to create ‘mini’ museums at each station, displaying the stratigraphy of the trench there as well as a few important finds that the excavators

¹¹⁵ <http://www.ametro.gr/page/>.

¹¹⁶ See Parlama and Stampolidis, 2000.

left on purpose *in situ*.¹¹⁷ Small display cases, nicely lighted and properly situated in space, exhibit a few, very attractive but instructive objects, which are complemented by descriptive and informative labels. Undoubtedly one of the intended purposes of this uniquely collaborative and interdisciplinary work team of archaeologists and technicians was to engage immediately the residents and visitors of this modern city into an interactive game with the past. It is this interaction that makes the modern user of the *Attiko Metro* be aware of the fact that archaeology is intricately related to the contemporary reality, frequently affecting it. The wealth of ancient material that came to light unquestionably answered a lot of questions that had previously troubled the experts of the Athenian archaeology. At the same time, it validated preexisting theories, enriching the bibliography of Athenian archaeology with even more objects and comparative examples.¹¹⁸ The conducting of excavations in Athens has inspired the unification of the most significant archaeological sites of the city. The biggest and most considerable archaeological park of Greece has been created.¹¹⁹ The benefit that resulted from this enterprise was of course dual, since the project was one of the most substantial environmental interventions in the heart of the city.

Outside of Athens and throughout Greece, in addition to the rescue excavations, the usual fieldwork of the Ephorates of Antiquities that continue to absorb much of the energies of the Archaeological Service, important sites are investigated and excavated by the Archaeological Society of Athens. The latter sponsor annually between 30 and 40 research excavations throughout mainland Greece, Crete, and the Aegean Islands. Short accounts of these excavations

¹¹⁷ It is worthwhile mentioning that on December 14, 2004 at the Metro station at Syntagma, in the heart of the city of Athens, a small exhibition called “Celebrating the Paths of an Olive Tree” was inaugurated by the mayor of Athens and the Minister of Culture. Through sounds, pictures, smells, and tastes the visitors to the Syntagma Metro station have the opportunity to experience an aspect of the tradition and the culture of Mediterranean countries, which is based on olive oil and its multiple usages. Dionysiou, 2004

¹¹⁸ See Camp, 2001.

¹¹⁹ <http://www.culture.gr/>.

appear the following year in the Society's *Ergon*, traditionally published on the Sunday in spring, when the Society's Secretary General delivers his report to the Society on the previous year's work.¹²⁰ Thus, over the past few year, the Archaeological Society of Athens has conducted excavations at Rhamnous of Attica (Ephor of Antiquities V. Petrakos), at the prehistoric cemeteries Tsepi and Vranas in the district of Marathon (Prof. M. Pantelidou-Gofa), at Thorikos of Attica (Ephor of Antiquities G. Dontas in collaboration with the archaeologist M. Oikonomakou), at Skala Oropou of Attica (Dr. A. Mazarakis-Ainian), at the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas in Epidaurus (Prof. V. Lambrinoudakis), at the temple of Athena and Zeus of Phigaleia (Ephor of Antiquities X. Arapogianni), at the Mycenaean cemetery of Kallithea at Achaia (Prof. Th. Papadopoulos), at Thermo of Aetolia (prof. I. Papapostolou), at Pantanassa of Philipias (prof. P. Vokotopoulos), at the sanctuary of Dodoni (Profs. Chr. Souli, A. Vlachopoulou, K. Gravani), at Byzantine Amphipolis (Ephor of Antiquities Ch. Bakirtzis), at the Neolithic settlement of Dikilitas (Ephor of Antiquities Ch. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki) and at Akrotiri on Thera (Prof. Chr. Doumas). Finally it has made restorations at Amphipolis (archaeologist K. Lazaridi) and at the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Viannos, Crete (Ephor of Antiquities A. Lembessi).¹²¹

The Greek University departments of archaeology conduct research excavations in various places in Greece. They work together with the local Ephorates and report the results of their work in *Ergon* and *Praktika*.¹²² Thus, the department of History and Archaeology of the University of Athens is conducting currently research at Paleomanina of Aetoloacarnania, in collaboration with the 6th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. It also excavates at Oiniades of Aetoloacarnania, at Palaiopolis on Andros in collaboration with the 21st Ephorate of

¹²⁰ Catling, 1988-89, 3.

¹²¹ <http://www.culture.gr/2/21/215/21502/e21507.html>. For recent reports see also *Archailogikon Deltion* and English summaries in *Archaeological Reports*.

¹²² Catling, 1988-89, 3.

Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Iria and Sangri on Naxos, at Xombourgo on Tenos, and at the Sanctuary of Apollo at Kardarnaina on Kos. Some underwater research on Melos is made by the Department of Geology. The Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Thessaloniki is conducting research at Archontikon Toumba of Giannitsa in collaboration with the 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, at the sanctuary of Eucleia, the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, acropolis, walls, out of the walls area, theatre and palace at Vergina, continuing the precious tradition of Andronikos. It also excavates at the area of Langada in Thessaloniki with the 16th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, at Philippoi, at Dispilio of Kastoria, and at Toumba in Thessaloniki. Excavations at the ancient agora of Pella, capital city of Alexander the Great's and his father Philip's kingdom, have been renewed for another five years under University of Thessaloniki professor of classical archaeology Ioannis Akamatis, following the Central Archaeological Council's approval. Field work is being focusing on the area south of the agora, the northern stoa, the central square and the eastern wing, to look for structures earlier than the Hellenistic metropolis' remains of the mid-4th century BC to the 2nd century BC. The compound of the ancient agora covers 70,000 square meters and contained multiple buildings and workshops attesting to the city's economic strength from ceramic and sculpture studios, to metal processing, food and perfume manufacturing, administrative offices and the city's archive, containing the clay stamps of papyrus records. Recent excavations have revealed a temple-like rectangular structure that will be researched further, several coins, ceramic storage vessels stamped with identifiable data and statuettes.

Professor, Stelios Andreou, a prehistoric archaeologist at the same university, has been conducting surface survey of the Anthemous river valley since 2010 in collaboration with the

Hellenic Ministry of Culture and the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Poznan, Poland. His colleague, Kostas Kotsakis, also professor in prehistoric archaeology of the same university has been the co-director of the excavations held at the Neolithic site of Paliambela, Kolindros along with Professor Paul Halstead, from the University of Sheffield since 2000. The department of Geology of the same university has undertaken the research program “Environmental consequences of the touristic development of the Petralona Cave, Chalkidiki”. Finally the Laboratory of Architecture and Technology is doing research at the Nekyomanteion (Oracle of the Dead) at Acheron. The department of History and Archaeology of the University of Ioannina is doing research at Paleokastro on Kythera, at the area of Dourouti, at the sanctuary of Apollo Erithirnios on Rhodes in collaboration with the 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and on north Ithaca. The department of History and Archaeology of the University of Crete excavates at Eleuthema, the communities of Ancient Eleuthema-Prine and Mylopotamos. The University of Thrace is doing research in the Peristeri I cave at the area of Ioannina and at the prehistoric settlement of Paradimi in collaboration with the 19th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. Finally, the Ionian University the department of History is studying material from survey work on ancient Kythnos.¹²³

A quick glimpse at *Excavating Classical Cultures: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece*, a compendium of a colloquium presented at Somerville College on 24-26 March 2001, under the auspices of the Faculty of Classics of the University of Oxford, provides us with a glimpse of recent and ongoing projects of prominent scholars working in Greece.¹²⁴ A number of famous Greek archaeologists, namely Sgourou, Cambitoglou, Pandermalis, Mazarakis-Ainian, Korres, Valavani, Lambrinouidakis, Themelis, Kourou, Bournia, and Marangou, just to name a

¹²³ <http://www.culture.gr/2/21/215/21502/e21506.html>.

¹²⁴ Stamatopoulou and Yeroulanou, 2002, xiii.

few, presented their ongoing fieldwork and the wide range of the archaeological discoveries. In locations such as Thasos, Chalkidike, Dion, Oropos, the Athenian Acropolis, Kerameikos, Epidauros, Messene, Tenos, Naxos, and Amorgos, among many others, Greek scholarly archaeologists, aware of the substantial cultural heritage they were entrusted by their predecessors, have continued with enthusiasm to conduct research and excavations throughout Greece. They are the bridge connecting the late 20th century to the early 21st.

In the summer of 2004, Greece hosted its long-awaited Olympic Games. The Athens 2004 Olympics, so long expected, marked an important moment in the history of modern Greece and had an event with unexpected consequences for archaeology.¹²⁵ At this vital point for modern Greece its government, taking advantage of this sumptuous event and in collaboration with Greek and foreign universities and organizations such as the Trondheim University of Norway and the Norwegian Archaeological Institute and under the auspices of the Ephorate of Submarine Antiquities, whose aim is to protect the underwater cultural heritage of the country,¹²⁶ encouraged important underwater research programs and excavations in places like the Northern Sporades.¹²⁷ Similar excavations, like those at Ithaka-Kefallonia where a shipwreck of the 1st century BC has been detected, at Alonnisos one of the classical period, and many others elsewhere in the Aegean and the Ionian seas, were reactivated.¹²⁸

In general archaeological practice, the interpretation and management of the historic environment and the material traces of human action, undertaken for the public benefit, has been mostly funded by foreign archaeological schools that continue a tradition of decades, and in some instances, over a century. Characteristic is the case of the American School of Classical

¹²⁵ Waterfield, 2004, 321-324. Damaskos and Plantzos, 2008, 11-14.

¹²⁶ Law 3028/2002, Εγκύκλιος Γενικού Γραμματέως ΥΠΠΟ/ΓΔΑ/ΑΡΧ/Α3/Φ30/70868/2539/27-11-2002. See also Appendix.

¹²⁷ Theodoulou, 2011, 39-58.

¹²⁸ Chatzidakis, 1999, 1019-1020.

Studies at Athens, a non-profit educational institution, founded in 1881 by a consortium of nine American universities, which first arrived in Athens in 1882.¹²⁹ It conducted its first excavation at Thorikos in Attica in 1886, ten years later (1896) at Corinth, and in 1931 began its excavations in the Athenian Agora, establishing thus the School's great tradition of archaeological exploration that continues to this day in cooperation with the Greek Ministry of Culture.

Likewise, the British School at Athens, also founded almost contemporarily in 1886, supports research into all aspects of archaeology in central Macedonia, Aegean, the island of Aegina and Keros.¹³⁰ Particularly at Knossos, a place that has been a major focus of the School since the pioneering work of Sir Arthur Evans and David Hogarth over a century ago, the scientific presence of the British School at Athens is quite remarkable, particularly in research. Moreover the British School promotes all studies of the Greek language, art and architecture, as well as of history and society in Greece.

Since archaeology is not only intended to unearth 'pretty objects' that entice human imagination but first and foremost to present, interpret, and comprehend them as much as possible by examining them in their context and epoch, modern archaeological scholarship comes in to fill in the gap that the field archaeology leaves – namely, post-excavation scholarly research. Already in the 21st century the study Greek art and archaeology has been enriched worldwide, as researchers have been greatly facilitated by modern technology (i.e. the internet, 3-d modelling, GIS), in addition to the usual printed form of the books available. Lucie W. Stylianopoulos extensively surveys the scholarship in archaeology from the early 20th century to the present focusing on the major schools of thought and approach, while at the same time

¹²⁹ Dyson, 2012, 702; <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/>.

¹³⁰ <http://www.bsa.ac.uk/index.php>.

presenting “the best and brightest of the resources available to the scholar.”¹³¹ Foremost, Sir John Beazley’s archives, both actual and virtual, are accessible to every scholar who wishes to approach and study in depth Greek vases in particular, their potters and painters, from the art historical point of view.¹³² Closer to the archaeological model remains the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* or *CVA*, founded by Edmond Pottier, where the technical details of each vase are examined, illustrated, and presented. Dictionaries and encyclopaedias, such as the *Grove Dictionary of Art* and *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, as well as subscription databases like the Oxford Art Online, are but a few invaluable resources that a scholar of Greek art and archaeology can consult for his or her effective and profound research. The Classical Art Research Center, the Perseus digital library, Zenon and Dyabola are a few more equally important websites when ambitious portals are combined and primarily assist any student of the Greek art who wishes to have access, even visual, to items that are scattered literally over the world’s museums and private antiquity collections. Inextricable to one’s thorough investigation remain the textual sources with the most ambitious and accomplished of them being the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* or *LIMC* and the previously mentioned *CVA*. No doubt these two are the most comprehensive lists of objects, which focus on iconography and its interpretation, categorizing it, with photographs, descriptions, commentaries, and extensive bibliography that envelop each item that is mentioned. Reports on the ongoing as well as on past excavations could not be eliminated from the plethora of the essential scholarly research tools as they convey very important and quite detailed information not only about a specific object but principally about its context. In particular, the latter periodically published, include museum publications of collections *The Archaiologikon Deltion* and the *Praktika tes en*

¹³¹ Stylianopoulos, 2012, 711.

¹³² <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/archive/>.

Athenais Archaialogikes Etaireias, the most useful excavation reports, essential for any serious study on archaeological sites in Greece, along with *Archaialogike Ephimeris* and *Archaialogika Analekta ex Athenon* engulf all aspects of Greek archaeology, immediately available to any Modern Greek reader. Some journal publications, such as *Hesperia*, the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, issued by national archaeological schools, are likewise important reading for any scholar of Greek art and archaeology, as excavation reports that their respective schools conduct in all over the Mediterranean sea are there published and easily accessible. Finally, one could not omit the journals published by achieved academic institutions and learned societies, such as the *American Journal of Archaeology*, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and *Babesch: Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology* just to name a few of the most important ones that fill in academic the archaeological gaps.

Therefore, it becomes quite obvious that all the book stacks, journals, periodicals, or websites that provide access to the otherwise inaccessible items, mostly found in the storages or in showcases of various museums worldwide, dramatically help scholars and students nowadays, Greeks and their foreign colleagues, to search and understand the Classical past, both Hellenic and Roman, in all its aspects. The recent publication of the *Companion to Greek Art*, edited by T.J. Smith and D. Planzotos, indicates the internationalism of Greek archaeology, and its current, more cosmopolitan outlook. With a notable percentage of Greek speaking contributors (e.g. Palagia, Damaskos, Tzortaki, Paspalas, etc.), many permanent members of the Greek academic establishment, it is evident that Greek archaeologists have much to say about the sites, monuments, and objects of their ancient past. Furthermore, they have joined the ‘global’

conversation that embraces reception studies and grapples with post-colonial theory.¹³³

¹³³ Smith and Plantzos, 2012. See further Damaskos and Plantzos 2008; Hamiliakis 2007. E.g. Neils, 2010, an edited volume on the Parthenon, concerns itself with the monument in every period of its history.

Conclusion: How the Economic Crisis in Greece is Affecting Archaeology

Being part of the industrialized world, which experienced a prolonged episode of economic growth at the second half of the previous and the first years of the current centuries, Greece was one of several European countries whose slow but steady development was unfortunately significantly reliant upon borrowing. With the scale of long-standing economic problems emerging in August 2007 an economic downturn was truly in action, having a profound effect not only in governmental budgets but also on the everyday lives of numerous civilians worldwide. In this severe economic and political turmoil the Greek ministry of finance found itself unexpectedly facing bankruptcy, a fact which forced it to launch an austerity program in order to deal with the national budget deficit. This unforeseen financial situation not only jeopardized the country's economic future but also seemed to devastate its rich cultural past, as antiquities, long fragile, were endangered by budget reductions due to austerity measures imposed by the Greek government and particularly the European Union and the International Monetary Fund since 2010. Effects of the cultural cuts have been already felt by the public, as nationwide, some of Greece's greatest glories, museum galleries and sometimes whole museums suffer from sporadic closings. For instance, Delphi, one of the most important archaeological sites in the world, was closed for quite some time in 2010, due to rock-slides that made the area of the stadium dangerous, according to the official reason, and due to lack of personnel and insufficient resources, as the guardians admit.¹³⁴ Its famous Castalia fountain has also been kept closed in recent times for the same reasons. As a result of this paucity a complete study that will finally solve the problems that in the past have even damaged the seats of the stadium, has not yet been conducted. In Attica, Sounion, the third most visited archaeological site in the region, is also one of the most abandoned because of lack of funding, provoking disappointing feelings to

¹³⁴ *Τα Νέα*, 31.3.2010.

its visitors. Its classical fortifications, held up by metal posts, are collapsing day by day, as their restoration, even though inevitable, appears to be unreachable, as the amount of 100,000 Euros that is demanded for it is not available. Moreover, the Lyceum of Aristotle, another ancient treasure of the Greek capital that has remained closed for a long period, is another victim of the economic crisis that crippled Greece.¹³⁵ It should be noted though that the amount required for its restoration being quite large, ca. 4.5 million Euros, even in times of prosperity, urged the Greek Department of Antiquities to seek a different solution for the roofing of the Lyceum. Soon however, it is hoped that it will open along with the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens.¹³⁶ Thus, it becomes apparent that long before the economic meltdown in Greece, archaeological sites of some significance were lost or poorly kept, partly as a result of the immensity of the task of preserving and carefully restoring the country's past.

It is almost impossible to overlook the acute phenomenon noticed in this period of uncertainty, namely that economic recession has had significant adverse consequences on archaeology in Greece, as both a discipline and as a profession, since research and excavations are being mostly abandoned by the Greek side. Despina Koutsoumba, president of the Association of Greek Archaeologists, in an interview given in March 2012, underlined that the government no longer funds new research projects—other than those involving foreign partners to whom they are contractually obliged. In addition, a shortage of site guards, again a result of the implemented massive budget cuts, damages the sites and the archaeological process by contributing indirectly to an increasing number of illegal digs at or near archaeological sites..¹³⁷

Michalis Tiverios, a professor of archaeology at the University of Thessaloniki, persuaded the

¹³⁵ <http://culturenow.wordpress.com/category/λύκειο-του-αριστοτέλη/>.

¹³⁶ <http://www.tanea.gr/news/greece/article/5008480/dyo-neoi-xwroi-peripatoy-sthn-athhna/>.

¹³⁷ These are conducted either by semi-professionals who work for art trafficking networks or by treasure hunters who contribute to antiquity smuggling. <http://www.ethnos.gr/article.asp?catid=22768&subid=2&pubid=63630480>.

Greek Ministry of Culture early in 2012 to rebury a previously unknown Early Christian basilica that came to the fore two years ago during digging on Thessaloniki's new underground railway. "Let us leave our antiquities in the soil, to be found by archaeologists in 10.000 AD, when Greeks and their politicians will perhaps show more respect to their history,"¹³⁸ noted ironically the leading expert who also advises the project. The future of archaeological practice is difficult to predict, yet what is clear is that detrimental effects of the economic downturn have been already felt.

In the midst of this discouraging financial situation, the opening of the new Acropolis Museum in Athens, was one of the most important national museological events of the 21st century, and one that instigated not only many positive comments worldwide for but also uplifted the spirit of the Greek citizens, who saw themselves depressed by their politico-economic predicament. Designed by the Swiss-born but based in New York architect Bernard Tschumi in cooperation with his Greek associate Michael Photiadis, and under the direction and curatorship of Dimitrios Pandermalis, a professor of Classical archaeology in the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, the Acropolis Museum, uncompromisingly modern, opened its doors to the public 21 June 2009.¹³⁹ More than ever, it was deemed indispensable in order to enhance and promote the ideal Classical past of the country and to forge a new national identity that meets the requirements of the western world. "Not to be studied but revered, addressed to the spirit rather than the intellect" the Classical is treated as "a unique phenomenon, timeless and supra-historical,"¹⁴⁰ insightfully observes Dimitris Plantzos, a professor of Classical archaeology at the University of Athens. In an article he published two years after the opening of the new Acropolis Museum with his sharp retractable lead he aptly criticizes the eulogizing comments of

¹³⁸ <http://www.tanea.gr/news/culture/article/4698813/?iid=2>.

¹³⁹ Tschumi, 2009.

¹⁴⁰ Plantzos, 2011, 620.

reporters, politicians, museologists, and dilettanti by simply seeing in it a “self-satisfying parading of ‘masterpieces’,” which “precludes any interaction with the public at large and suggests a structural inefficiency”¹⁴¹, namely underlining its static and unchanging character. Moreover he notices that it repeats itself, without meaning much to a contemporary viewer who may not be an informed archaeologist, as it seems to give emphasis to a barren archaeological scientism, offspring of western modernity, to the former of which he attributes all the negative aspects of it.

Even though not so judgmental, Beth Cohen, after an extensive museum review, concludes that its uneven architecture, even though conceptually brilliant, lacks “an underlying sensitivity to Greek art that might have produced a happier environment overall.”¹⁴² In addition to that, she sees that Athens’s marbles from the Acropolis will never be restored to their initial positions on their respective buildings, but will continue to simply be displayed, regardless of whether they are original or not, in this new museum, changing nothing from their museological status.

In contrast to Plantzos, Miriam Caskey praises the entire project by analytically presenting its spacious, daylight-filled galleries with their exhibits, the way they are arranged, well labeled and lit, focusing more on their pleasing outcome and of course giving prominence to the informative and self-sufficient Parthenon marble sculpture display, which includes casts of the so-called Elgin Marbles removed to London in the early 19th century, a controversial and divisive subject for decades to this day.¹⁴³ Importantly, Caskey focuses on the meaning of the Acropolis Museum, which she views in the context of its proximity to the actual Acropolis and more specifically the Parthenon, as being *sine qua non*, an inextricable element of it, forming together an indivisible whole. The political role of securing the repatriation of the Parthenon sculptures

¹⁴¹ Plantzos, 2011, 620.

¹⁴² Cohen, 2010, 753.

¹⁴³ Caskey, 2011, 9. Hitchens 2008.

has undoubtedly affected the museum's overall quality, as an entire floor, the top, a glass-enclosed rectangle, echoing the temple's own orientation, is devoted to the Parthenon, intended as "the ultimate showcase of classical civilization," as Mr. Samaras, Greece's culture minister said for the museum's debut.¹⁴⁴ With it Melina Mercouri's promise that Greece would one day build a suitable home for the Parthenon frieze and other exiled masterpieces of classical art seems to have been fulfilled.

¹⁴⁴ http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/20/arts/design/20acropolis.html?_r=0.

Abbreviations

AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*

CVA *Corpus Vasorum Antiquarum*

LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologicae Classicae*

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Web Resources

http://www.mfa.gr/english/Greece/through_time/archaeology/schools/institutes

http://www.webitaly.com/hellenismos/the_athens_archaeological_society_eng.htm

<http://www2.rgzm.de/Navis/Musea/Athens/HIMASgr.htm>

<http://www.ime.gr>

<http://www.culture.gr>

http://www.mfa.gr/english/greece/through_time/archaeology/ancient_sites/mycenaean.html

http://www.mfa.gr/english/greece/through_time/archaeology/schools/greek.html

http://www.mfa.gr/english/greece/through_time/archaeology/schools/institutes.html

<http://www.tap.culture.gr>

<http://www.culture.gr/2/20/201/reg.html>

http://www.culture.gr/2/21/toc/arc_act.html

http://www.efah.org/en/resources_for_culture/policystudy/pdfs/greece.pdf

<http://www.area-archives.org/greece.htm>

<http://www.culture.gr/8/82/index.html>

<http://www.culture.gr/8/nomos4.pdf>

<http://www.gleocities.com/antequem/Publications.html>

<http://culturenow.wordpress.com/category/λύκειο-του-αριστοτέλη/>

<http://www.tanea.gr/news/greece/article/5008480/dyo-neoi-xwroi-peripatoy-sthn-athhna/>

<http://www.bsa.ac.uk/index.php>

<http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/>

<http://www.ethnos.gr/article.asp?catid=22768&subid=2&pubid=63630480>

<http://www.tanea.gr/news/culture/article/4698813/?iid=2>

http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/20/arts/design/20acropolis.html?_r=0

Appendix: Events, Resources, Dates, and People

Dates to be considered

Balkan Wars: 1912-1913
World War I: 1914-1918
Asia Minor Catastrophe: 1921-1922
World War II: 1939-1945
Military Junta: 1967-1974

Major Cultural Organizations

Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού

Ministry of Culture

Ευρωπαϊκό Κέντρο Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Μνημείων

European Center of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments

Γενική Επιθεώρηση Αρχαιοτήτων και Αναστηλώσεως

General Inspectorate of Antiquities and Restoration

Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων

Archaeological Receipts Fund

Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων

Fund of Credits Management for Archaeological Projects

Ενοποίηση των Αρχαιολογικών Χώρων των Αθηνών

Unification of the Archaeological Sites of Athens

Οργανισμός Ανέγερσης Νέου Μουσείου Ακροπόλεως

Organization for the Construction of the New Acropolis Museum

Major Foundations- Research Centers

Ελληνική Αρχαιολογική Υπηρεσία

Hellenic Archaeological Service

Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία

Archaeological Society at Athens

Αρχαιολογικό Συμβούλιο

Archeological Council

Ακαδημία Αθηνών, Κέντρο Ερεύνης της Αρχαιότητας

Athens Academy, Research Center of Antiquity

Ινστιτούτο Ενάλιων Αρχαιολογικών Ερευνών

Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology

Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, Κέντρο Ελληνικής και Ρωμαϊκής Αρχαιότητας

National Hellenic Research Foundation, Center of Greek and Roman Antiquity

Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών, Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών

National Hellenic Research Foundation, Center of Byzantine Research

Major Periodical Publications

ΠΑΕ **Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας** (*Praktika tis en Athinaiis Archaeologikis Etairias*) **Proceedings of the Archaeological Society at Athens** since 1837, containing detailed reports on the excavations and researches carried out in all parts of Greece, with text illustrations and numerous plates.

ΑΑ **Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον** (*Archaeologikon Deltion*) **Archaeological Bulletin**. Issued by the Ministry of the Ecclesiastical Affairs and the Public Education for the first time in 1915, this quarterly bulletin publishes archaeological reports and news of the work conducted by both the Greek and the foreign archaeological schools in Greece.

ΑΕ **Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς** (*Archaeologike Ephimeris*) **Archaeological Newspaper** since 1837, containing papers on subjects to do with Greek antiquities, including excavation reports.

ΑΑΑ **Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών** (*Archaeologika Analekta ex Athinon*) **Athens Annals of Archaeology**, since 1968. Issued every four months by the General Inspectorate of Antiquities and Restoration, this journal included short reports with illustrations concerning new archaeological finds and questions. In addition to Greek, English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish articles are included into it.

ΒΑΑΕ **Βιβλιοθήκη της Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας** (*Vivliothike tis en Athinaiis Archaeologikes Etairias*) **The Library of the Archaeological Society at Athens Series**. These are monographs on archaeological subjects and reports on excavations, mostly those carried out by the Archaeological Society.

ΕΑΑΕ **Το Έργον της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας** (*To Ergon tis en Athinaiis Archaeologikes Etairias*) **The Work of the Archaeological Society**, since 1955, published every May, with brief reports on its excavations and copious illustrations.

Ο Μέντωρ. Χρονογραφικό και Ιστοριοδηγικό Δελτίο της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας (*O Mentor. Chronographiko kai Istoriodigiko Deltio tis en Athinaiis Archaeologikes Etairias*) **Mentor**. A quarterly journal containing news about the Archaeological Society and its activities, short articles on subjects of archaeological or antiquarian interest and the history of Greek archaeology, and extensive notes on the present state and condition of Greek antiquities.

Ενάλια (*Enalia*) **Submarine**. A quarterly bulletin issued by the Institute of the Submarine Archaeological Researches since 1989.

Μελετήματα (*Meletemata*) **Studies**. Series of monographs published since 1985 by the Research Center for Greek and Roman Antiquity, a section of the National Research Center.

Popular Periodical Archaeological Publications

Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες	<i>(Archaeologia kai Technes)</i>
Άνθρωπος	<i>(Anthropos)</i>
Νέμεσις	<i>(Nemesis)</i>
Δαυλός	<i>(Daulos)</i>
Corpus	
Λαογραφία	<i>(Laografia)</i>
Ελληνικοί Αρχαιολογικοί Χώροι	<i>(Hellenikoi Archaeologikoi Choroi)</i>

Periodicals Published by Local Societies

Amaltheia (Society for the History and Folk History of the Nome of Lasithi)
Anthropologica ki Archaeologica Chronika (Euboean Philantiquity Society)
Archeion Euboikon Meleton
Archeion Thessalikon Meleton
Dodekanesiaka Chronika
Phthiotika Chronika
Chiaka Chronika
Kalymniaka Chronika
Epeirotika Chronika
Kephalliniaka Chronika
Kritika Chronika
Serraika Chronika
Mikrasiatika Chronika
Epeirotiko Imerologio (Society of Epirote Studies)
Thrakika (Thrakikon Kentron and Society of Thracian Studies)
Kritiki Estia (Historical, Folk Historical, and Archaeological Society of Crete)
Lakonikai Spoudai (Society for Lakonian Studies)
Lesbiaka (Society for Lesbian Studies)
Makedonika (Society for Macedonian Studies)
Navpaktiaka (Society for Naupaktan Studies)
Nisyriaka (Society for Nisyrian Studies)
Meliaka Ariadne (Faculty of Philosophy in the University of Crete)
Dodoni (Faculty of Philosophy in the University of Ioannina)
Epistimoniki Epeteris (Faculty of Philosophy in the University of Thessaloniki)
Trikalina (Annual philological, historical, folk historical and literary publication of Trikala)
Etc.

Ephorates of Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology

1. Athens: Acropolis, Greek and Roman Agora, Theision, Kea
2. Attica (except for areas covered by 1&3): Aigosthena, Islands of the Saronic Gulf, Troizen, Kythera
3. City of Athens, Eleusis, the Megarid, Agioi Theodoroi
4. Argolis
5. Laconia
6. Achaia, Aitoloakarnania, Kephallenia
7. Eleia, Messinia, Zakynthos
8. Kerkyra
9. Boiotia, Larymna
10. Phokis kai Arachova, Distomo, Antikythira
11. Euboea, Skyros, Aulis
12. Ioannina, Arta, Leukas
13. Magnesia
14. Phthiotis, Eurytania
15. Larissa, Trikala, Grevena
16. Thessalonike, Kilkis, Chalkidike
17. Pella, Kastoria, Emathia
18. Kavala, Drama
19. Rodope, Evros, Samothrake
20. Lesvos, Lemnos, Chios
21. Kyklades (except Kea & Arnorgos) Samos, Ikaria
22. Dodecanese & Amorgos
23. Herakleion (except Avdos, Krassi, Malia) & the deme of Anogeia, the community of Seisarcha and the Idaian Cave
24. Lasithi & Abdos, Krassi, Malia
25. Chania, Rethymnon (except Anogeia, Seisarcha, and the Idaian Cave)
26. Piraeus
27. Pieria
28. Serres
29. Florina
30. Kozani
31. Xanthi
32. Thesprotia
33. Preveza
34. Karditsa
35. Argostoli
36. Mesologgi
37. Corinth
38. Kalamata
39. Tripolis

The Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology (HIMA)

Founded in 1973 as a private, non-profit organization, its main aim is to organize and promote maritime archaeological research in Greece and to assist the Greek Archaeological Service. It has over 400 members, with diverse academic credentials, all of whom work voluntarily. HIMA's scientific and technical expertise provides a solid background for the promotion of underwater archaeology in Greece and beyond. Its non-governmental status gives HIMA an advantageous flexibility not shared by bureaucratic governmental organizations. HIMA's multifaceted scientific activities include: underwater surveys and excavations; publications; training; international cooperative projects. From 1973 until 1989 HIMA completed numerous small projects such as a survey and rescue excavations. From 1989 to 1992, under the direction of Dr. George Papathanassopoulos, HIMA has systematically investigated an Early Helladic II underwater site at the island of Dokos. On the evidence gathered to date the underwater find of Dokos is dated to ca. 2150 BC and might well constitute the cargo of an Early Helladic II ship. It could therefore prove to be the oldest known shipwreck yet discovered. The wreck at Point Iria, in the Argolid, was excavated from 1990 to 1994 under the direction of Haralambos Pennas. The cargo from the wreck, consisting of pottery from three different areas (Crete, Cyprus, and mainland Greece) is dated to 1200 BC. It confirms the apparently frequent and direct links between the Argolid and Cyprus at the time, and represents an "everyday" trading expedition within the Mycenaean world. The shipwreck from the islet of Antidragonera, near Kythera (4th cent. BC) has been excavated since 1993 under the direction of Dr. Dimitris Kourkoumelis. Finds to date include nine large stone anchors, amphorae and at least two-storage pithoi.

Famous Greek Archaeologists

Stephanos A. Koumanoudis (1818-1899)

Panayiotis Kavvadias (1850-1928)

Christos Tsountas (1857-1934)

Anastasios Orlandos (1887-1979)

Georgios Mylonas (1898-1987)

Spyridon Marinatos (1901-1974)

Joannis Papadimitriou (1904-1963)

John Travlos (1908-1985)

Manolis Andronikos (1919-1992)

Greek Universities

University of Athens

University of Thessaloniki

University of Ioannina

University of Crete

University of Thrace

Ionian University

University of Patras

National Technical University

Prehistoric Archaeology

Professors

Mantzourani Eleni (Head of the Faculty)
Karali-Giannakopoulou Ioulia
Polychronakou-Sgouritsa Panagiota

Assistant Professors

Platon Eleftherios
Kourtesi – Philipaki Georgia

Lecturers

Papademetriou – Grammenou Anna
Chasiakou – Argiraki Aphroditi
Papadatos Ioannis
Kopanias Konstantinos
Vavouranakis Georgios

Teaching Assistant

Stathopoulos Georgios

Emeriti Professors

Davaras Kostis
Doumas Christos
Korres Georgios
Pantelidou – Gofa Maria

Classical Archaeology

Professors

Palagia – Ladopoulou Olga
Palaiokrassa Lydia
Simantoni-Bournia Evangelia
Valavanis Panagiotis

Associate Professor

Peppa – Papaioannou Irini

Assistant Professors

Plantzos Dimitris
Kefalidou Eurydice.

Lecturers

Kanellopoulos Chrysanthos
Katakis Stylianos

Emeriti Professor

Bozana – Kourou Panagiota
Kokkorou – Alevra Georgia
Lambrinouidakis Vasileios
Lemos Anna
Papoutsaki – Serbeti Eleftheria

*Byzantine Archaeology***Professor**

Konstantoudaki – Kitromelidou Maria

Assistant Professors

Kepetzi Victoria
Petridis Platon

Lecturer

Pallis Georgios

Emeriti Professors

Gioles Nikolaos
Kalopissi – Verti Sophia
Panayiotidi Maria – Aphroditi
Vokotopoulos Panagiotis

*History of Art***Assistant Professor**

Pavlopoulos Demetrios

Lecturer

Mavromichali Euthymia

Teaching Fellow

Schina Athina

Emeritus Professor

Zias Nikolaos

*Museology***Lecturer**

Maria (Marlen) Mouliou

Eleni Mantzourani

Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology¹⁴⁵

Academic and research interests: Minoan Archaeology, Cypriote Archaeology and Archaeological Surface Survey.

Field Work

The “Northern Keos survey” (jointly with Professors John Cherry and Jack Davis).

The “Nemea Valley Archaeological Project.”

The “Excavation of the Neolithic Settlement at Kantou-Kouphouvounos, Cyprus.”

The “Architectural Reconsideration of the Minoan Villas in East Crete.”

http://www.learningsites.com/NVAP/NVAP_text/NVAP_biblio.htm

[Mantzouranihttp://www.learningsites.com/NVAP/NVAP_text/NVAP_biblio.htm - Mantzourani](http://www.learningsites.com/NVAP/NVAP_text/NVAP_biblio.htm)

Current projects:

The publication of the artifacts from the “Excavation of the Neolithic Settlement at Kantou - Kouphouvounos, Cyprus.”

The publication of the finds from the excavation of the “Late Minoan Villa at Makrygialos, Crete.”

The publication of the finds from the excavation of the “Late Minoan Farmhouse at Azokeramos, Crete.”

The “Archaeological Surface Survey of Epidaurus Limera,Laconia,” jointly with the 5thEphorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of the Greek Ministry of Culture.

Published Monographs

Cherry, J., J. Davis and E. Mantzourani, 1991, *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands* (Monumenta Archaeologica 16). Institute of California, Los Angeles.

Mantzourani, E. 2001, (second revised edition 2006), *The Archaeology of Prehistoric Cyprus*. Kardamitsa, Athens (in Greek).

Mantzourani, E. 2002, *Prehistoric Crete, Topography and Architecture: from Neolithic to Neopalatial Times*. Kardamitsa, Athens (in Greek).

Mantzourani, E. 2009, *The Excavation at the Neolithic Site Kantou-Kouphouvounos in Cyprus*. Part Á, Volumes 1-2: *Stratigraphy and Architecture*. Department of AntiquitiesCyprus, Nicosia (in Greek).

Mantzourani E. and Betancourt P. (eds), *PHILISTOR, Studies in Honor of Costis Davaras*. INSTAP Academic Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 2012.

¹⁴⁵ http://en.arch.uoa.gr/fileadmin/arch.uoa.gr/uploads/cvs/mantzourani_en.pdf

Selective bibliography (from 2001 onwards)

1. “Kantou-Kouphovounos. A Late Neolithic site in the Limassol District”. In Guilaine J. et A. le Brun (eds) 2003, *Le Néolithique de Chypre, Actes du Colloque International Organisé par le Département des Antiquités de Chypre et L' École Française d' Athènes, Nicosie 17-19 Mai 2001*, 85-98.
2. “Architectural and Social Organization of Space in Late Neolithic Cyprus: The North-South Divide Revisited”, *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, 2003, Vol. 3, No.2, 35-52.
3. “Practical and Epistemological Implications of Recording Methods: the Neolithic Excavation Project at Kantou-Kouphovounos, Cyprus”. (jointly with G. Vavouranakis). In Doerr M. and A. Sarris (eds), 2003, CAA 2002, *The Digital Heritage of Archaeology, Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology, Proceedings of the 30th Conference, Heraklion, Crete, April 2002*, 355-360.
4. “Predicting Archaeological Site Locations Using G.I.S. and Fuzzy Logic”. (με Ε. Χατζηνικολάου, Θ. Χατζηγρήστο και Α. Σιόλα). In Doerr M. and A. Sarris (eds), 2003, CAA 2002, *The Digital Heritage of Archaeology, Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology, Proceedings of the 30th Conference, Heraklion, Crete, April 2002*, 169-178.
5. “Histories Carved in Stone: Ground Stone Tool Production and Consumption in the Limassol District during the Late Neolithic” (jointly with D. Katapoti), *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 2004, 1-17.
6. “Chemical Analysis of Pottery Samples from Late Neolithic Kantou-Kouphovounos and Sotira-Tepes”. (jointly with I. Lyritzis) *Report of the department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 2006, 63-76.
7. “What Future in Mediterranean Past?” (jointly with D. Katapoti). In Antoniadou S. & A. Pace (eds), *Mediterranean Crossroads*, 2007, 63-83.
8. “The Religious and Social Dimension of Festivals in Prehistoric Crete and Cyprus: a Comparative Approach”. Paper presented in the International Congress «The Public Festival: A Diachronic Glimpse at its Socio-economic and Political Role», organized by the University of Thrace in Soufli in 16-20 Νοεμβρίου 2005., in press.
9. “The Klimataria-Manares Building Reconsidered”. (jointly with G. Vavouranakis and Ch. Kanellopoulos), *AJA* 109, 2005, 743-776.
10. “Megalithic Versus Status: The Architectural Design and Masonry of Exceptional Late Minoan I Buildings in East Crete”, *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, Vol. 5, No 2, 2005, 35-48.
11. “Achlada and Epano Zakros: A Re-examination of the Architecture and Topography of Two Possible Minoan Villas” (jointly with G. Vavouranakis) *Opuscula Atheniensia*, 30, 2005, 99-125.
12. “The Minoan Villas in East Crete: Households or Faction Leaders ? The Case of Prophetes Elias Praissou” (jointly with G. Vavouranakis), in Glowacki K. and Vogeikoff-Brogan N. (eds), *Acts of the International Colloquium “STEGA: The Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete from the Neolithic Period through the Roman Era”*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 44, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, New Jersey 2011, 125-135.
13. “Makrygialos Reloaded: the LMIB Pottery. A response to Dario Puglisi”, Paper presented in the International Workshop “LMIB pottery: relative chronology and regional differences” Th. Brogan and E. Hallager (eds), *Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, Volume 11,1*, Athens 2011, 291-306.
14. “Συγκριτική μελέτη της αρχιτεκτονικής των Μινωικών οικιών στις θέσεις Ρουσσές Χόνδρου και Αζοκέραμος Ζάκρου” (με Γ. Βαβουρανάκη). Paper presented in the International Cretological Congress at Chania in October 2006, in press.
15. “Sexuality or Fertility Symbol? The Bronze Figurine from Makrygialos” in Mantzourani E. & Betancourt P. (eds), *PHILISTOR, Studies in Honor of Costis Davaras*, INSTAP Academic Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 2012, 105-112.

Palagia Olga

Professor of Classical Archaeology¹⁴⁶

Main areas of interest: Greek sculpture, iconography, ancient Macedonia.

Academic appointments

1. 1978 - 1981: Research Assistant, Acropolis Museum, Athens.
2. 1981 - 1988: Lecturer, Athens University, Department of Archaeology and Art History.
3. 1988 - 1993: Assistant Professor, Athens University.
4. 1993 - 1999: Associate Professor, Athens University.
5. 1999: Professor, Athens University.
6. 2002-2004: Chair, Department of Archaeology, Athens University.
7. 2006-2007: Deputy Head of the Faculty of History and Archaeology, Athens University.

Membership in Professional Societies

1. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, London.
2. Association Internationale d'Archéologie Classique (AIAC), Rome.
3. Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones Used in Antiquity (ASMOSIA).
4. The Athens Archaeological Society.
5. Association Internationale pour la Peinture Murale.

Honorary membership in Professional Societies

1. Honorary member of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, London.
2. Corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute.
3. Corresponding member of the Archaeological Institute of America.

Membership in committees of the Greek ministry of Education and Culture

Committee for the Restoration of the Acropolis Monuments 2005-2009

Visiting Fellowships

1. Centenary Bursary, British School at Athens, for research in the British Museum, January/February 1989.
2. Guest lecturer, Archaeological Institute of America, March, 1991.
3. Fulbright Travel Award, 1991.
4. Visiting Fellow, Program in Hellenic Studies, Princeton University, April 1991.
5. Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, May, 1991.
6. Guest lecturer of the Swedish Academy and the University of Uppsala, April, 1993.
7. Australian-Greek Award, Visiting Fellowship of the Australian Vice-Chancellors' committee, August/September, 1995.
8. Sylvan C. Coleman and Pamela Coleman Memorial Fund Fellowship, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, March, 1998.
9. Kress Lecturership in Ancient Art, Archaeological Institute of America, 2000/2001.
10. Andrew W. Mellon Art History Fellowship, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, October, 2004.
11. Alexander Onassis Public Benefit Foundation guest lecturer in USA, September-October 2005.
12. Short term Stewart Fellowship, Princeton University, November 2012.

¹⁴⁶ A complete listing of Palagia's professional activities, from which the current information derives, can be found at: http://archaeology.arch.uoa.gr/dep_members/palagia/palagia.htm

Papers given at international congresses (since 2005)

1. "Keeping up with the Seleucids and the Ptolemies," 106th annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Boston, 2005.
2. "Art and royalty in Sparta of the third century B.C.," Sparta and Laconia from Prehistory to Premodern, Sparta, 2005.
3. "Menander, our contemporary," Greek Self-Fashioning: Alcibiades to Menander, Langford Seminar, Florida State University, 2006.
4. "The marble of the Bassai frieze" (with Scott Pike), ASMOSIA VIII, Aix-en-Provence, 2006.
5. "Gorham Stevens and Athena on the Acropolis," Symposium Celebrating the 125th Anniversary of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the 75th Anniversary of the Agora Excavations, Athens, 2006.
6. "The marble of the Penelope from Persepolis and its historical implications," Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters, National Hellenic Research Center, Athens, 2006.
7. "Euphranor, a contemporary of Praxiteles," Figures d'artistes dans l'Antiquité grecque: les limites de la monographie, Louvre, Paris, 2007.
8. "Spartan self-presentation in the panhellenic sanctuaries of the classical period," Athens- Sparta, New York, Onassis Foundation, 2007.
9. "The date and iconography of the calendar frieze on the Little Metropolis, Athens," Xe Colloque International sur l'Art Provincial Romain, Arles and Aix-en-Provence, 2007.
10. "The Parthenon Frieze: Boy or Girl? The Question Resolved," Colloquium on Classical Archaeology in Celebration of Sir John Boardman's 80th Birthday, Athens University, Athens, 2007.
11. "Underworld and royal hunt: the wall paintings from Tombs I and II," Colloquium on The Chronology of the Royal Macedonian Tombs at Vergina, 109th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Chicago, 2008.
12. "Philip's Eurydice in the Philippeion at Olympia," Philip II and Alexander III: Father, Son and Dynasteia, Clemson University, South Carolina, 2008.
13. "The frescoes from the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale as reflections of Macedonian funerary paintings of the early Hellenistic period," The Age of the Successors (323 – 276 BC), Leuven – Brussels, 2008.
14. "Three little girls on the Parthenon frieze," Parthenon Sculpture – Towards Next Stage in New Acropolis Museum, Tsukuba University, Japan, 2008.
15. "The nature of the orange-red patina of the Parthenon" (with Scott Pike), 110th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Philadelphia, 2009.
16. "The three Graces at the Panathenaia," The Feminine and the Sacred in Ancient Athens, Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, New York, 2009.
17. "The peplos figure Athens National Museum 3890: Roman grave statue or copy of classical prototype?" Classical Tradition and Innovative Elements in the Sculpture of Roman Greece, Thessaloniki, 2009.
18. "Ptolemaic seaways and the diffusion of royal portraiture," Ptolemaic Waterways and Power, Third International Ptolemaic Colloquium, Laskaridis Library, Piraeus, 2009.
19. "Early archaic sculpture in Athens," Scolpire il marmo, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa, 2009.
20. "Three sculptors named Scopas," Scopas of Paros, The Paros and Cyclades Institute of Archaeology, Paros, 2010.
21. "From the spoils of Marathon: Pheidias' bronze Athena on the Acropolis," Marathon, the Day After, European Cultural Centre, Delphi 2010.
22. "Macedonian aspects of the art of Central Asia," The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East, University of Exeter, 2010.
23. "The royal court in Macedonia: evidence from art and archaeology," The Hellenistic Court, University of Edinburgh, 2011.
24. "Towards a publication of the Piraeus bronzes – the Apollo," XVIIth International Congress of Ancient Bronzes, Izmir, 2011.

25. "Statues on columns behind Athena: the evidence from a painted record relief," *The Matter of Antiquity, An Archaeological Conference in Honor of Susan I. Rotroff*, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2011.
26. "A fresh investigation of the orange-red patina of the Parthenon," (with Scott Pike) *ASMOSIA X*, Rome, 2012.
27. "Naxian or Parian? The Provenance of the marble of the Sounion and Dipylon kouroi," (with Yannis Maniatis) *ASMOSIA X*, Rome, 2012.
28. "The Motya Charioteer – an alternative view," *Sport and Competition in Greece and Rome*, London, British Museum, 2012.
29. "Spyridon Marinatos and the Restitution of Antiquities Removed to Austria and Italy during World War II", *Spyridon Marinatos 1901-1974*, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2012.
30. "A 'new' female portrait from Megara and the Hellenisation of Roman portraiture", *XVIII International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Merida, National Museum of Roman Art, 2013.

Recent public lectures

1. "Going with the Flow: the Nile, Euthenia and Friends in the Pediment of Samothrace," Institute of Classical Studies, London, 23.2.05.
2. "From Rhadamanthys' Paradise to the Hunting "paradeisos" of Alexander the Great: New Perspectives on Macedonian Painting," The Archaeological Society of Athens, 28.3.05.
3. "New Perspectives on Macedonian Painting," Town Hall, Sparta, 20.5.05.
4. "The Sculptures of the Parthenon," The University of Maryland at Baltimore County, 19.9.05.
5. "The Sculptures of the Parthenon," George Mason University, 20.9.05.
6. "The Sculptures of the Parthenon," The Parthenon Museum, Nashville, Tennessee, 27.9.05.
7. "Sculpture in Classical Athens: Materials and Techniques," The Parthenon Museum, Nashville, 28.9.05.
8. "The Sculptures of the Parthenon," Austin Peay State University, Clarkesville, TN, 29.9.05.
9. "The Sculptures of the Parthenon," Cornell University, 4.10.05.
10. "New Perspectives on Macedonian Painting," Cornell University, 5.10.05.
11. "Sculpture in Classical Athens: materials and techniques," Cornell University, 6.10.05.
12. "The Sculptures of the Parthenon," The University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 10.10.05.
13. "New Perspectives on Macedonian Painting," The University of California at Los Angeles, 12.10.05.
14. "Sculpture in Classical Athens: Materials and Techniques," The University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 13.10.05.
15. "The North Pediment of the 'Hieron' of Samothrace: A Preliminary Report," Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 17.10.05.
16. "Art and Royalty in Sparta of the Third Century B.C.," Institute of Classical Studies, London, 16.11.05.
17. "New Perspectives in Macedonian Painting," Oxford University, 23.1.06.
18. "New Perspectives in Macedonian Painting," U.K. Greek Committee, Hellenic Centre, London, 9.2.06.
19. "New Perspectives in Macedonian Painting," University of Florida, 27.2.06.
20. "New Perspectives in Macedonian Painting," University of Salzburg, 4.5.06.
21. "New Perspectives in Macedonian Painting," University of Vienna, 10.5.06.
22. Five lectures on the sculptures of the Parthenon, University of Vienna, 10-11.5.06.
23. "New Perspectives in Macedonian Painting," The British School at Athens, Athens, 29.11.06.
24. "The Persepolis Penelope and the Boston Throne: new light on old problems," Institute of Classical Studies, London, 10.1.07.
25. "The Sculpture of Samothrace," Archaeological Society of Athens, Athens, 5.3.07.
26. "The Date and Iconography of the Calendar Frieze on the Little Metropolis, Athens," Institute of Classical Studies, London, 23.1.08.
27. "The Tomb of Philip in Vergina, Macedonia: Which Philip?" University of Oxford, 24.1.08.
28. "The Tomb of Philip in Vergina: Which Philip?" Université Libre de Bruxelles, 26.2.08.
29. "Monumental Sculpture from Samothrace," Institute of Fine Arts, New York, 8.4.08.

30. "The Date and Iconography of the Calendar Frieze on the Little Metropolis, Athens," Australian Archaeological Institute, Athens, 14.4.08.
31. "New Perspectives on Macedonian Painting," University of Regensburg, 15.5.08.
32. "Three Little Girls on the Parthenon Frieze," University of Vienna, 20.5.08.
33. "New Perspectives on Macedonian Painting," Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan, 6.11.08.
34. "Philip's Eurydice in the Philippeion at Olympia," British School at Athens, Athens, 8.12.08.
35. "Philip's Eurydice in the Philippeion at Olympia," Institute of Classical Studies, London, 11.3.09.
36. "The Boscoreale Frescoes and their Macedonian Prototypes," Friends of the National Museum, Athens, 3.11.09.
37. "The Victory of Samothrace and the Aftermath of the Battle of Pydna," La Sapienza University, Rome, 16.11.09.
38. "Spartan self-presentation in the Panhellenic Sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi in the Classical Period," Sparta, 23.11.09.
39. "Ptolemaic Seaways and the Diffusion of Ptolemaic Portraiture," Institute of Classical Studies, London, 16.12.09.
40. "Dione and the Athenians," Ioannina Museum, 3.2.10.
41. "Ptolemaic Portraits from Greece and their Historical Implications," University of Vienna, 18.11.10.
42. "The Calendar Frieze on the Little Metropolis, Athens," The Athens Archaeological Society, 24.1.11.
43. "Themes in Macedonian Painting," Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 12.7.11.
44. "New Perspectives on Euphranor," École Française d' Athènes, 17.10.11.
45. "The Sculptures of Herodes Atticus in Athens and Attica," Athens, Acropolis Museum, 25.10.12.
46. "The Motya Youth and the Battle of Himera: Classical Art and History in Sicily," University of California at Los Angeles, 7.11.12.
47. "Life and Afterlife: Wall-paintings in Ancient Macedonian Tombs," Getty Museum, Malibu, 8.11.12.
48. "Sculptures from the Roman Peloponnese," Princeton University, 14.11.12.
49. "Ritual Dances and Visual Culture in Classical Greece," Princeton University, 15.11.12.
50. "The Boscoreale Frescoes as Reflections of Macedonian Funerary Paintings," Institute of Fine Arts, New York, 20.11.12.
51. "Herodes Atticus in the Peloponnese," Athens, Archaeological Society, 16.1.13.
52. "Life at Court and Afterlife: Wall-paintings from Ancient Macedonian Tombs," American Research Center in Sofia, Sofia, Bulgaria, 10.4.13.

Organiser or co-organiser of conferences and colloquia

1. Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992.
2. The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1992.
3. Athenian Potters and Painters. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1994.
4. Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1996.
5. The Macedonians in Athens, 322-229 B.C. Athens University, 2001.
6. Ludwig Ross in Griechenland, 1833-1843. German Archaeological Institute, Athens, 2002.
7. The Timeless and the Temporal: The Political Implications of Art during the Peloponnesian War, 431-404 B.C. Colloquium, 104th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, 2003.
8. Biennial colloquium on current research of the Department of Archaeology and Art History, Athens University, 2003.
9. The Panathenaic Games. Athens University, 2004.
10. Athenian Potters and Painters II. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007.
11. Colloquium on Classical Archaeology in Celebration of Sir John Boardman's 80th Birthday. Athens University, 2007.
12. The Chronology of the Royal Macedonian Tombs at Vergina. Colloquium, 109th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Chicago, 2008.

Books

1. *Euphranor* (Leiden 1980).
2. *Ο γλυπτός διάκοσμος του Παρθενώνα* (=The sculptured decoration of the Parthenon) (Athens 1983).
3. *The Pediments of the Parthenon* (Leiden 1993, paperback edition 1998).
4. *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia*, edited by O.Palagia and W.Coulson (Oxford 1993).
5. *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica Under the Democracy*, edited by W.D.E.Coulson, O.Palagia, T.L.Shear,Jr., H.A.Shapiro and F. J.Frost (Oxford 1994, reprinted 1996).
6. *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture*, edited by O.Palagia and J.J.Pollitt, *Yale Classical Studies* 30 (Cambridge 1996, reprinted 1997; paperback edition 1998).
7. *Athenian Potters and Painters*, edited by J.H.Oakley, W.D.E. Coulson and O.Palagia (Oxford 1997).
8. *Greek Offerings. Essays on Greek Art in Honour of John Boardman*, edited by O.Palagia (Oxford 1997).
9. *Regional Schools in Hellenistic Sculpture*, edited by O.Palagia and W.D.E.Coulson (Oxford 1998).
10. *The Macedonians in Athens 322-229 B.C.*, edited by O.Palagia and S.V.Tracy (Oxford 2003).
11. *Ludwig Ross und Griechenland*, edited by H.R.Goette and O. Palagia (Rahden 2005).
12. *Greek Sculpture: Function, Materials and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, edited by O. Palagia (Cambridge 2006).
13. *The Panathenaic Games*, edited by O. Palagia and A. Choremi-Spetsieri (Oxford 2007).
14. *Art in Athens during the Peloponnesian War*, edited by O. Palagia (Cambridge 2009).
15. *Athenian Potters and Painters II*, edited by J. H. Oakley and O. Palagia (Oxford 2009).
16. *Samothracian Connections* in honor of J. R. McCredie, edited by O. Palagia and B. D. Wescoat (Oxford 2010).
17. *Sailing to Classical Greece*, Essays on Classical Art, Archaeology and Epigraphy in Honour of Petros Themelis, edited by O. Palagia and H. R. Goette (Oxford 2011).

Recent Articles

- 1."Hephaestion's Pyre and the Royal Hunt of Alexander," in A.B. Bosworth and E.Baynham (eds.), *Alexander the Great: Fact and Fiction* (Oxford 2000) 167-206.
2. "A Gymnasiarch's Dedication and the Panathenaic Torch-Race," in *Αγαθός δαίμων. Mythes et cultes: études d' iconographie en l'honneur de Lilly Kahil* (BCH Supplement 38, 2000) 403-408.
3. "Meaning and sculptural techniques in statue bases of the Pheidian circle,» in B.A.Sparkes and N.K.Rutter (eds.), *Word and Image in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh 2000) 53-78.
4. "Through a Glass Darkly II: Misconceptions about the Study of Greek Sculpture," Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology (Amsterdam 2000) 296-299.
5. "Skopas of Paros and the 'Pothos'," in D.U.Schilardi and D. Katsonopoulou (eds.), *Paria Lithos* (Athens 2000) 219-225.
6. "Parian Marble and the Athenians," in D.U.Schilardi and D. Katsonopoulou (eds.), *Paria Lithos* (Athens 2000) 347-354.
7. "Sculpture from Roman Sparta," in *Kallisteuma. Festschrift for Olga Tzachou-Alexandri* (Athens 2001) 285-300.
- 8."Athens National Museum: Archaic Sculpture Galleries Reopened," *Minerva* 12,6 (2001) 22-24.
- 9."The Tomb of 'Eurydice'", Vergina, Plundered," *Minerva* 13,1 (2002) 4-5.
10. "Investigation of Marbles at Delphi" with Norman Herz, in J. J. Herrmann, Jr., N. Herz and R. Newman (eds.), *ASMOSIA V: Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone* (London 2002) 240-249.
11. "Zeus Naios and Dione on the Athenian Acropolis", in D. Damaskos (ed.), *Ancient Greek Sculpture in Memory of Stelios Triantis, Benaki Museum Supplement* 1 (Athens 2002) 171-180.
12. "Sculptures from Calauria and Troezen in the Poros Museum" (in Greek), in E. Konsolaki-Giannopoulou (ed.), *Argosaronikos II* (Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History and Archaeology of the Saronic Gulf, Poros, June 26-29, 1998) (Athens 2003) 171-187.
13. "The Impact of *Ares Macedon* on Athenian Sculpture", in O.Palagia and S.V.Tracy (eds.), *The Macedonians in Athens, 322-229 B.C.* (Oxford 2003)140-151.

14. "A New Metope from Bassai", in L. Lazzarini (ed.), *ASMOSIA VI: Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone* (Padova 2003) 375-382.
15. "Did the Greeks Use a Pointing Machine?" in *Approches Techniques de la Sculpture Antique, Bulletin Archéologique* 30 (2003) 55-64.
15. "An Imperial Portrait from Aulis," in P. Noelke (ed.), *Romanisation und Resistenz, Akten des VII. Internationalen Colloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunsthaftens* (Mainz 2003) 537-547.
17. "The Boy in the Great Eleusinian Relief" (with Kevin Clinton), *AM* 118 (2003) 263-280.
18. "Interpretations of two Athenian Friezes: the Temple on the Ilissos and the Temple of Athena Nike," in J. M. Barringer and J. M. Hurwit (eds.), *Periklean Athens and its Legacy* (Austin 2005) 177-192.
19. "Fire from Heaven: Pediments and Akroteria of the Parthenon," in J. Neils (ed.), *The Parthenon from Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge 2005) 224-259.
20. "Λουδοβίκος Ροσσ, πρώτος καθηγητής αρχαιολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών (1837-1843)" (= "Ludwig Ross, first professor of archaeology in the University of Athens, 1837-1843"), in H. R. Goette and O. Palagia (eds.), *Ludwig Ross und Griechenland* (Rahden 2005) 263-273.
21. "A New Interpretation of Menander's Image by Kephisodotos II and Timarchos," *ASAtene* 83, 2005, 287-296.
22. "Classical Athens," in O. Palagia (ed.), *Greek Sculpture: Function, Materials and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Cambridge 2006) 119-162.
23. "Marble Carving Techniques," in O. Palagia (ed.), *Greek Sculpture: Function, Materials and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Cambridge 2006) 243-279.
24. "Art and Royalty in Sparta of the 3rd century B.C.," *Hesperia* 75, 2006, 205-217.
25. "Baby Out of a Basket in the Athenian Asklepieion," in C. C. Mattusch, A. A. Donohue, A. Brauer (eds.), *Common Ground; Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities*, Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Boston, August 23-26, 2003 (Oxford 2006) 606-609.
26. "The Preservation of the Past in Ancient Athens: Progress or Conservation?" in H. A. Kalligas (ed.), *The Protection of the Past* (Athens 2006) 83-90.
27. "Berenike II in Athens," in P. Schultz and R. von den Hoff (eds.), *Early Hellenistic Portraiture. Image, Style, Context* (Cambridge 2007) 237-245.
28. "The Chronology of the Macedonian Royal Tombs" (with Eugene Borza), *JdI* 122, 2007, 81-125.
29. "The Parthenon Frieze: Boy or Girl?" *Antike Kunst* 51, 2008, 3-7.
30. "The Marble of the Penelope from Persepolis and its Historical Implications," in S.M. Reza Darbandi and A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters* (Athens 2008) 223-237.
31. "Women in the Cult of Athena," in N. Kaltsas and A. Shapiro (eds.), *Worshipping Women: Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens* (exh. cat. New York 2008) 31-37.
32. "The Grave Relief of Adea, daughter of Cassander and Cynnana," in T. Howe and J. Reames (eds.), *Macedonian Legacies*, Studies in Ancient Macedonian History and Culture in Honor of Eugene N. Borza (Claremont 2009) 195-214.
33. "Archaism and the Quest for Immortality in Attic Sculpture during the Peloponnesian War," in O. Palagia (ed.), *Art in Athens during the Peloponnesian War* (Cambridge 2009) 24-51.
34. "New Investigations on the Pedimental Sculptures of the "Hieron" of Samothrace: A Preliminary Report" (with Y. Maniatis et al.), in Y. Maniatis (ed.), Proceedings of *ASMOSIA VII, BCH Suppl.* 51 (2009) 113-132.
35. "The Marble of the Bassai Frieze" (with Scott Pike), in P. Jockey (ed.), Proceedings of *ASMOSIA VIII, ΑΕΥΚΟΣ ΑΙΘΟΣ* (Paris 2009) 255-271.
36. "The Date and Iconography of the Calendar Frieze on the Little Metropolis, Athens," *JdI* 123, 2008, 215-237.
37. "Spartan Self-presentation in the Panhellenic Sanctuaries of the Classical Period," in N. Kaltsas (ed.), *Athens – Sparta* (New York 2009) 32-40.
38. "Philip's Eurydice in the Philippeum at Olympia," in E. Carney and D. Ogden (eds.), *Philip II and Alexander III: Father and Son. Lives and Afterlives* (Oxford 2010) 33-41.

39. "Phidias *epoiesen*: Attribution as Value Judgment," in F. Macfarlane and C. Morgan (eds.), *Exploring Ancient Sculpture*, Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Waywell, *BICS Suppl.* 104, 2010, 97-107.
40. "Sculptures from the Peloponnese in the Roman Imperial Period," in A. D. Rizakis and C. E. Lepenioti (eds.), *Roman Peloponnese III* (2010) 431-445.
41. "The Victory of Samothrace and the aftermath of the battle of Pydna," in O. Palagia and B. D. Wescoat (eds.), *Samothracian Connections* in honor of James R. McCredie (Oxford 2010) 154-164.
42. "Early archaic sculpture from Athens," in G. Adornato (ed.), *Scolpire il marmo* (Pisa 2010) 41-55.
43. "Limestone reliefs with raised hands from Messene," in O. Palagia and H. R. Goette (eds.), *Sailing to Classical Greece* in honour of Petros Themelis (Oxford 2011) 62-69.
44. "Hellenistic art," in R. Lane Fox (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon* (Leiden and Boston 2011) 477-493.
45. "Euphranor," in P. Schultz and K. Seaman, *Artistic Personalities in Ancient Greece* (forthcoming).
46. "Architectural Sculpture," in T. J. Smith and D. Plantzos (eds.), *Blackwell's Companion to Greek Art* (Oxford 2012) 153-170.
47. "Aspects of the Diffusion of Ptolemaic Portraiture Overseas," in K. Buraselis, M. Stefanou and D. J. Thompson (eds.), *The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile* (Cambridge 2013) 143-159.
48. "The Frescoes from the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale as Reflections of Macedonian Funerary Paintings of the Early Hellenistic Period," in H. Hauben and A. Meeus (eds.), *The Age of the Successors and the Creation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms* (Leuven 2013) 207-231.
49. "The Royal Court in Ancient Macedonia: the Evidence from Tombs," in A. Erskine, L. Llewellyn-Jones, S. Wallace (eds.), *The Hellenistic Court* (Swansea, forthcoming)
50. "Tomb Markers, Tombs and Tomb Paintings," in M.M. Miles (ed.), *Blackwell Companion to Greek Architecture* (forthcoming).
51. "The Motya Youth and the Battle of Himera," (in Greek), in A. Delivorrias, G. Despinis, A. Zarkadas (eds.), *Epainos*, Festschrift for Luigi Beschi, *Benaki Museum Supplement* 7 (Athens 2011) 283-293.
52. "Not from the Spoils of Marathon: Pheidias' Bronze Athena on the Acropolis," in K. Buraselis (ed.), *Marathon: The Day After* (Athens, forthcoming).
53. "Towards a Publication of the Piraeus Bronzes: the Apollo," in E. Lafli (ed.), *Greek and Roman Bronzes from the Eastern Mediterranean. Acta of XVIIth International Bronze Congress* (forthcoming).
54. "The Peplos Figure Athens National Museum 3890: Roman Copy of a Classical Medea?" in T. Stefanidou-Tiveriou et al. (eds.), *Classical Tradition and Innovative Trends in Sculpture from Roman Greece* (Thessaloniki 2012) 89-97.
55. "The Impact of Alexander the Great in the Art of Central Asia," in R. Stoneman, K. Erikson, I. Netton (eds.), *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East* (Groningen 2012) 369-382.
56. "An Unfinished Molossian Hound from the Dionysos Quarry on Mount Pentelicon," *Marmora* 7, 2011, 11-17.
57. "The Functions of Greek Art," in C. Marconi (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Art and Architecture* (Oxford, forthcoming).